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Making Old Norse New: Nynorsk Saga Translations as a Tool for Corpus Planning from 1853 to 1917

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Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Scandinavian Studies

THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

OILTHIGH DHÙN ÈIDEANN

2025

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published by another person, except where indicated by reference of acknowledgement in the text. It has not been submitted in any previous application for a degree or professional qualification.

Joseph Wade

28th May 2025

Abstract:

This thesis investigates the role Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature played in the development of the Nynorsk language, particularly its lexicon. In the early period of the Nynorsk language (1853-1917), a significant number of Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature was produced by a variety of prominent proponents of Nynorsk. Most prominent among them was Ivar Aasen and his translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* in 1858, as this study will demonstrate. Through an interdisciplinary approach, the relationship between Nynorsk translation history and Nynorsk language history is explored in order to determine the role translational work played in the development of the Nynorsk lexicon, not only between 1853 and 1917, but also up until today. Furthermore, this thesis examines how Nynorsk saga translations were used as a tool for corpus planning in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is somewhat hard to fathom that translational work is often overlooked in discussions connecting languages and corpus planning in the Norwegian context considering the amount of translational activity that often occurs as a result of such ideas. Thus, this thesis attempts to bring this translational work to the fore in discussions of Nynorsk language history. Additionally, through an innovative case study containing an in-depth comparative analysis of the four Nynorsk translations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, this thesis interprets trends and contrasts in the development of the Nynorsk lexicon from 1858 to 2013.

Lay Summary:

This thesis investigates the role Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature played in the development of the Nynorsk language (one of two official written standards of the Norwegian language). In the early period of the Nynorsk language (1853-1917), many Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature were produced by a variety of prominent proponents of Nynorsk. Most prominent among them was Ivar Aasen and his translation of ‘The Saga of Frithiof the Bold’ in 1858, as this study will demonstrate. Through an interdisciplinary approach, the relationship between Nynorsk translation history and Nynorsk language history is explored in order to determine the role translational work played in the development of the Nynorsk vocabulary. It is somewhat hard to fathom that translational work is often overlooked in discussions connecting languages and language planning in the Norwegian context considering the amount of translational activity that often occurs as a result of such ideas. Thus, this thesis attempts to bring this translational work to the fore in discussions of Nynorsk language history. Additionally, through an innovative case study containing an in-depth comparison of the four Nynorsk translations of ‘The Saga of Frithiof the Bold’, this thesis interprets trends and contrasts in the development of the Nynorsk vocabulary.

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To my darling wife and bokki sæl, Ellen, thank you for everything. Thank you for welcoming me into your family, our wonderful boys and the life we've built. I couldn't have done this PhD without your love and support. I could go on forever, but I'll stop before this exceeds the thesis' word count. Eg elskar deg, min beste venn.

Notes

- In the main body of the text, quotations are generally left in their original language. English translations are provided for them in a footnote at the bottom of the same page. Unless otherwise stated, these translations are my own. For singular words or short phrases in languages other than English, an English translation is often provided immediately after in parenthesis in quotation marks.
- The titles of texts, particularly saga titles, are generally given in the original language in italics.
- The names of institutions, organisations and publishers are generally given in the original language in normal type.
- Norwegian words are spelt in Nynorsk, unless there is cause to do otherwise, such as in direct quotations or if there is need to differentiate between the Nynorsk and Bokmål spellings.
- In quotations prior to 1929, it should be noted that Nynorsk is often called *Landsmål*/*Landsmaal*, or in other cases *Det Norske Folkesproget* or *Folkemaalet*. Similarly, Bokmål is often called *Riksmål*/*Riksmaal*, or in other cases *Dansk-norsk* before 1929.
- The capital city of Norway – Oslo – was called Christiania/Kristiania before 1925.
- The alphabetical order followed in the references, tables and word lists conforms to the Norwegian alphabet, in which *Æ*, *Ø* and *Å*/*Aa* follow *Z*. It is also important to note that in many quotations and names *Å*/*å* is written as *Aa/aa*.
- It should also be noted that nouns were capitalised in Norwegian up until 1869. In direct quotes from before this time, nouns are left capitalised as they appeared in the text.

1 Introduction

“Orða sinna á hver ráð” (“Each man has command over his own words”), so says the eponymous outlaw of ‘The Saga of Grettir the Strong’ in response to a raiding berserker informing him that he is talking too much. Grettir’s point, here, is that people are free to choose their own words when expressing themselves (orally), a reasonable notion to flippantly assert considering the circumstances. However, when applied to the choosing of written words within the context of nineteenth-century Norway, this statement acquires layers of complexity, as this study will highlight. The choosing and selecting of words was a crucial task in the establishment of the Nynorsk language in the mid-nineteenth century, one of two official written standards of Norway. This became an important task for those who first translated into this written language, newly codified in 1853. This study interprets various strands of Norwegian language and translation histories in order to reveal new perspectives on the development of the Nynorsk language. Indeed, having command over one’s words is crucial for a translator and written acts of translation necessitate the existence of written words to translate into. This study intends to highlight whether the establishment of written Nynorsk words was aided by translations of Old Norse literature.

1.1 Research questions and aims

This study aims to shed light on the role Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature played in the development of the Nynorsk language, particularly its lexicon, from 1853 to 1917, and beyond. Through an interdisciplinary approach, the relationship between Nynorsk translation history and Nynorsk language history will be explored in order to determine the significance of the Nynorsk saga translations studied within the cultural history of the Nynorsk language. Viewing this history through the lens of translation, Nynorsk saga translations will add a new depth and perspective across multiple important areas of Nynorsk cultural history such as Nynorsk corpus planning, lexicography, book history, language history and literature.

This study also endeavours to provide an in-depth analysis of Ivar Aasen’s 1858 translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, a fourteenth-century saga set

predominantly in eighth-century Western Norway. As the creator and codifier of the Nynorsk language, the importance of Aasen's life and work will be further detailed in Section 3.3. Furthermore, as the case study in Chapters 5 and 6 will highlight, Aasen's translation was a significant part of his language planning project indeed and played an important role in the development of the Nynorsk language in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This Nynorsk (or Landsmål as it was known before 1929) translation was a foundational text in the history of the Nynorsk language as Jan Hagland argues:

> Men etter artikkelforfattarens syn var omsetjinga også del av språkplanleggingsprosjektet hans. Og det etter måten store innslaget av sagaomsetjingar som kom til å sjå dagens lys før hundreåret var omme, kan sjåast som eit uttrykk for den tyngda denne tilbakeskodande dimensjonen kom til å få i oppdyrkinga av det nye skriftspråket som litteraturspråk. (Hagland, 2018)[1]

Aasen's translation approach in *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858), as highlighted in his foreword, also provides a foundational line of enquiry for this study, where he states:

> Dat er endaa Raad til aa bruka myket dei same Ordi, som i dan gamle Saga; og dat er ogso Raad til aa minna seg atter paa mange gamle Ordalag, som no ero litet kjende og paa mange Stader avlagde, men som lettelega kunde friskast uppatter. (Aasen, 1858: vi)[2]

Aasen's attempt to remind the Norwegian people of the old vocabulary found in the written sagas is of utmost interest to this study, as through a comparative analysis of Aasen's translation with subsequent Nynorsk retranslations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, I will demonstrate the varying successes of this approach and to what extent Aasen managed to make Old Norse new, in the sense of bringing vocabulary found in the sagas into the modern, new written language of Nynorsk.

---

[1] However, in the author of this article's [Hagland's] opinion, the translation [Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga*, 1858] was also a part of his [Aasen's] language planning project. And the fact that a relatively large proportion of saga translations came to see the light of day before the century was over can be seen as an expression of the weight that this retrospective dimension had on the cultivation of the new written language as a literary language.

[2] It is still possible to use a great deal of the same words that are in the old saga; and it may also be advisable to remind oneself of many old phrases that are now little known and, in many places, forgotten, yet which could easily be brought back again.

Through an analysis of the history of Nynorsk saga translations alongside an innovative case study of the four Nynorsk translations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, this study addresses the following research questions:

First, 'What role did Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature, in particular Ivar Aasen's 'Fridtjofs Saga' (1858), play in the establishment and development of the Nynorsk language from 1853 to 1917, and what were the motives behind these translations?' Whilst the importance of producing texts in the Nynorsk language was a central motive behind the translations studied here, other motives will also be explored. Foremost amongst them are motives related to National Romanticism and its link with the nation-building project in nineteenth-century Norway, as will be further explored in Section 3.1.

Secondly, 'What effect or influence, if any, did translations of Old Norse literature have on the Nynorsk lexicon?' This question was also implied by Kjell Venås in 1968:

> Ein språkleg etterrøknad av omsetjingane frå norrønt kunne også førast eit steg lenger. Det kunne vera naturleg å spørja om det er råd å påvise verknader i allmenn nynorsk målbruk som skriv seg frå denne litteraturen. Har ord vorte tekne over og vunne inngang i nynorsk skriftmål? Har omsetjingane hatt noko å seie for utviklinga i språkkjensla vår? (Venås, 1968: 158).[3]

However, it is not until now that such an in-depth linguistic study has been attempted regarding these Nynorsk saga translations and their potential effect(s) on the Nynorsk lexicon.

Finally, 'Can the establishment of the Nynorsk language be interpreted, in part, as a translation project?' As will become apparent, the Nynorsk language was established and developed through a variety of linguistic, political and cultural factors. This study aims to focus on one of these factors but by no means claims that Nynorsk saga translations were the sole reason behind lexical changes and the development of the Nynorsk lexicon. It is of note that Nynorsk translational activity had a particularly prominent role in the literary output during the early period of the

[3] A linguistic study of the translations from Old Norse could also go a step further. It could be natural to ask whether it is possible to prove the effects in common Nynorsk usage that originate from this literature. Have words been adopted and gained a foothold in the Nynorsk written language? Do the translations have any implications for the development of our language sensibilities?

development of the Nynorsk language. Therefore, the establishment of the Nynorsk language can be regarded, in part, as a translation project. In a literal sense, Nynorsk translations or written-form equivalents of the Norwegian *bonde*'s speech were needed to give voice to the Norwegian rural class that Aasen belonged to (as explained in Section 3.2).[4] However, translation here can also be regarded as a metaphor for change or transformation, i.e. moving from Danish or Old Norse to Nynorsk. Thus, the entire strategic approach of Aasen, and others, to provide the Norwegian *bonde* with a written language in every area of Norwegian life and culture, i.e. schools, the church, legal texts, newspapers and literature can be seen as the translation of a linguistic reality.

In addressing these questions, this study attempts to emphasise the significance of translational work during the early stages of Nynorsk and the way in which proponents of Nynorsk utilised saga translations as a tool to develop the Nynorsk language and its lexicon. In order to answer these questions, however, it is first necessary to highlight key concepts and outline the scope and limitations of this study.

1.2 Key concepts and definitions

In order to better understand the Nynorsk situation in the period studied here, in addition to the translational activity surrounding the sagas, it is crucial to provide definitions of the following concepts.

Firstly, Nynorsk (literally "new Norwegian" or "new Norse") is one of the two official written standards of the Norwegian language, based on the spoken dialects of Norway, with its roots partly in the Old Norse language. The other standard is Bokmål (literally "book language"), based on a Norwegianised form of the Danish written language. Both standards have their origins in the nineteenth century as Chapter 3 will explain. Nynorsk was established by linguist Ivar Aasen (1813-1896),

[4] *Bonde* – "farmer/peasant." A difficult word to translate into English as its meaning goes beyond our understanding of both "farmer" and "peasant". Brit Berggreen defines the old *bonde* as "a non-specialized person, or rather a whole household of young and old, males and females based in the countryside and each occupied in a multitude of activities" (Berggreen, 1990: 117). The *bonde* was characteristically from the rural and agricultural parts of Norway as opposed to the urban town centres.

who published a grammar – *Det norske Folkesprogs Grammatik* (1848) – and a dictionary – *Ordbog over det norske Folkesprog* (1850) – based on his comparative study of the dialects of Norway. It is important to note that Bokmål is the dominant standard in most parts of the country and there exists certain sociolinguistic differences between Nynorsk and Bokmål, which will be elaborated upon in Chapter 3.

Furthermore, Nynorsk and Bokmål were not always the names for these written standards. Prior to 1929, they were commonly known as Landsmål ("language of the country/land") and Riksmål ("language of the kingdom") respectively. In this study, I will predominantly use the more modern terms when referring to these standards, despite occasional anachronisms, in order to avoid confusion and to maintain consistency with the term most familiar to modern readers. I will also refer to Nynorsk as either a 'language' or 'written language/standard' throughout this thesis, since this is how the Nynorsk language has been referred to throughout Norwegian history (*språk* or *skriftspråk* in Norwegian), for the most part, and also represents the status of Nynorsk as an official language/standard today.

Secondly, it is important to define what I mean by translation in this study, especially when I discuss Nynorsk saga translations. The question of what could or could not be considered translation was an important philosophical question for many Nynorsk saga translators in the early period of the language, as Chapter 5 will demonstrate. Indeed, as this study will illustrate, the creation of Nynorsk led to a variety of discourses on the concept and nature of translation. Gideon Toury provides a straightforward and practical definition of translation for a historical study such as this:

> Regarding a text as a translation entails the obvious assumption that **there is another text, in another culture/language, which has both chronological and logical priority over it:** not only has such an assumed text presumably *preceded* the one taken to be its translation, but it is also assumed to have served as a *point of departure* and a *basis* for the latter. (Toury, 2012: 29, emphasis in original)

Translation scholar Christiane Nord also provides a useful definition of translation in terms of its function or purpose when she asserts: "translating can thus be regarded as an intentional, intercultural, partly verbal communicative interaction involving a

source text" (Nord, 1997: 44). With these definitions, a great deal of Nynorsk translational activity can be excavated for examination. However, the presentation, or lack of presentation, of a text as a translation is also important to this study. The presentation of the translations studied here can be further analysed and assessed regarding to what degree they can be interpreted as a translation or whether they take on forms that are entirely different, such as original works.

Furthermore, whilst I use the terms "translational work" and/or "translational activity" throughout this study to primarily mean the act(s) of translating a source text from one language (Old Norse) to another (Nynorsk), the act of translating can have multiple meanings, both literal and metaphorical. The Oxford English Dictionary defines the verb 'to translate' in a variety of ways, the following of which are relevant for this study:

> – To convert or render (a word, a work, an author, a language, etc.) into another language; to express or convey the meaning of (a word or text) using equivalent words in a different language.
>
> – To convert or render something from one language into another language; to practise translation; to make a translation.
>
> – To use (a word or phrase) in a metaphorical, figurative, or transferred sense.
>
> – To express (a thing) in a different manner or medium; to interpret or explain the meaning of (a symbol, a person's actions, etc.); to convert or adapt (an idea, an artwork, etc.) from one form, condition, system, or context *into* another.
>
> ('Translate', *OED*)

Definitions 1 and 2 are particularly useful for the comparative linguistic analysis in Chapter 6. However, definitions 3 and 4 indicate a more metaphorical interpretation of the word translate. In her challenging of the term translation as merely referring to finding linguistic equivalents, Hephzibah Israel (2019) explores the importance of examining differing metaphors for the term translation. A similar examination in this study offers a new understanding of the translational activity carried out by Nynorsk saga translators in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Israel highlights:

> 'Equal but different' – is crucial for a transfer to be conceived and to be acted upon. For instance, for translation to be considered a tenable act between

> languages, these must be recognized as languages in the first place: that is, commensurable as social sign systems but necessarily different sign systems (Israel, 2019: 5)

This idea is of utmost interest when applied to the Nynorsk situation in the nineteenth century, since Nynorsk was not widely recognised as an official language in the first place at this time and, thus, the Nynorsk language as a "necessarily different sign system" needed to be recognised through acts of translation or transferred to the Norwegian people. That is, translation, taken both literally and metaphorically, helped to make visible this new, different sign system, so that Nynorsk began to be viewed as a new written language. This need to translate is a way to argue for the recognition of difference and the drawing of boundaries between languages and cultures as Naoki Sakai argues: "Translation is believed to be necessary because incommensurability exists not necessarily between the addresser and addressee but essentially between one linguistic community and another (Sakai, 1997: 10). Thus, translation in the Nynorsk context helped to differentiate between the languages and cultures of the Norwegian *bonde* and urban classes. Sakai further elaborates on this phenomenon:

> Thus, the representation of translation also enables the representation of ethnic or national subjects, and, in spite of the presence of the translator who is always in between, translation, no longer as difference or repetition but as representation, is made to discriminatorily posit one language unity against another (and one "cultural" unity against another). (Ibid.: 15)

Such acts of differentiation need not be limited to the translating of source texts into this new written standard and can be metaphorically applied to the entire strategy and activities of Nynorsk production in the early periods of the development of the Nynorsk language.

The terms 'equivalent' and 'equivalence' also have their complications within this study, since translation equivalence as it was understood by Nynorsk saga translators and lexicographers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has changed a great deal and its previous usage and emphasis on words being equal to one another across languages has been challenged within the fields of translation studies and lexicography (see Snell-Hornby 1983; Toury 1995). However,

for this study which focuses on translation choices of Nynorsk translators and lexicographers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, equivalence and translation equivalents refer primarily to these agents' understanding of the words, i.e. a Nynorsk equivalent of an Old Norse word would be a Nynorsk word that has the same or similar meaning of the Old Norse word. This approach to the term translation equivalent is also useful as it enables me to describe word choices within the translations and lexicographical works examined here both consistently and practically.

Thirdly, Old Norse is used throughout this study as a blanket term to refer to both the ancestral language of the modern Scandinavian languages – i.e. Danish, Faroese, Icelandic, Norwegian and Swedish – and the language in which the sagas and poetry of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries were written. Thus, in discussions of the Old Norse source texts and their Nynorsk translations, Old Norse is predominantly referring to a written language rather than a spoken language. Whilst not highlighting the nuances concerning the split between West Norse (Norwegian, Icelandic and Faroese) and East Norse (Danish and Swedish), Old Norse as a blanket term is useful to highlight the linguistic connections shared by the Nordic region from the Viking Age to the fourteenth century.

The term Old Norse is further complicated by the language's common names in Norwegian. Both *norrønt* and *gamalnorsk/gammelnorsk* are used to refer to the language of the sagas and the language spoken by the peoples of Norway and Iceland in the Viking Age and Medieval period. *Gamalnorsk* can also mean "Old Norwegian", i.e. the language spoken in Norway in the aforementioned period, and has a geographical specificity related to the country of Norway. However, unlike *gamalnorsk*, both Old Norse and *norrønt* can also be interpreted as "Old Icelandic". Nonetheless, unless stated otherwise, Old Norse, in this study, refers to the ancestral language of Bokmål and Nynorsk or the written language in which the sagas were written.

This leads to an examination of what constitutes a saga. Broadly speaking, the saga is a narrative text written in the Old Norse language produced predominantly, but not exclusively, in Iceland. As Jakobsson and Jakobsson highlight: "As far as we can presently assert, saga writing in Iceland began in the

early twelfth century, gaining much momentum in the thirteenth centuries and surviving well into the fifteenth century" (Jakobsson and Jakobsson, 2017: 2). Massimiliano Bampi goes on to explain:

> The extensive corpus of the Old Norse-Icelandic sagas is without any doubt quite heterogenous in many respects. In terms of subject matter, style, and fictional worlds, the sagas can indeed be said to give shape to a kaleidoscope of characters and places, both real and invented, set within a broad time frame. (Bampi, 2017: 4)

These texts, whilst written in Old Icelandic by, for the most part, Icelanders, were an important part of Norway's cultural history due to many of their central characters being Norwegian. Furthermore, a significant portion of the action takes place in Norway and several key sagas were commissioned by Norwegian kings. Thus, these texts became an important tool for building the Norwegian nation in the nineteenth century, as Chapter 3 will examine. What is of note, however, is that most Norwegians in the nineteenth century could not understand these texts in the Old Norse language nor were they in possession of the Icelandic manuscripts that were preserved primarily in Copenhagen. Thus, it was translational work that became the most important tool for recovering these ancestral cultural items. As translation scholar Theo Hermans points out:

> The distance in time between a base text and its translation may be counted in seconds, as in simultaneous interpreting, or in centuries. The wider the gap, the more evident it is that translation constitutes an act of recalling the past to repurpose it in and for the present. (Hermans, 2022: 101)

This repurposing, in the context of Nynorsk saga translations, will be analysed further in Chapter 4.

In general, I use the term sagas to refer to those texts that constitute the entirety of Old Norse literature produced between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. However, there will be occurrences when *saga* is not appropriate, for example when discussing non-prose source texts such as *Sæmundar Edda*.

The final key concept to clarify for this study is that of National Romanticism, specifically the German-influenced National Romanticism found in Norway during the nineteenth century which provided a crucial motive for the Nynorsk translational

activity at the time. Discussing National Romanticism in nineteenth-century Norway, historian Oscar J. Falnes explains how romanticism influenced national movements:

> Its [the Romantic movement's] concern for folk-lore and folk-culture helped to emphasize the peculiarities of individual groups while much of its philosophical speculation was but the intellectual justification for its faith in the basic uniqueness of every people. Each nation seemed a unity unto itself, indivisible and self-sufficient, fully able to develop in isolation all the potentialities of its being. Because it helped to center attention upon the individual folk personality, romanticism had a separatist influence on racial and national groups. (Falnes,1968: 17)

These ideas will be explored in more detail in Chapter 3 in connection to the Norwegian context. Historian Miroslav Hroch also highlights a crucial historicising element of the Romanticism associated with National Romanticism:

> The historicism of the Romantics, however, also had another aspect: the individual sought continuity, a connection with previous generations, at the levels of both the individual and the community that he or she identified with. This historicizing component of the search for security could strengthen the group identity, which either already existed or had been rediscovered, by searching for a common fate, shared heroism, or the suffering of the national community in the distant or recent past. It was in the historical context that the relationship to the community, the 'nation' moved, as we shall see, to the fore. (Hroch, 2007: 6)

This historical component to National Romanticism is important to highlight in the Norwegian context, especially in relation to the sagas and their translations. The desire to establish Nynorsk as a language that bound individuals into a community with a shared past was aided by the sagas as they presented a cultural item from the shared past around which they could coalesce. This will be further developed in Section 3.1.

1.3 Time period and scope

1.3.1 Time period

The starting point for this study is 1853, chosen to coincide with Ivar Aasen's *Prøver af Landsmaalet i Norge* (1853).[5] Whilst his 1848 grammar and 1850 dictionary provided the building blocks for establishing a new national Norwegian language, it was not until his 1853 work that a standard was put forward with examples of dialects from throughout the country, in addition to original writings and brief translations of canonical literature by Aasen. For this reason, I have chosen to use the establishment of this Nynorsk standard as a starting point when looking at translations into this standard.

The study ends at 1917 as this marks the end of the nationalist period of language planning resulting from the language reforms that were implemented that year. As Ernst Håkon Jahr explains: "The language reforms of 1917 represented the conclusion of the first Norwegian language planning period, which had focused on creating a national written standard" (Jahr, 2014: 96). However, whilst this time period is useful to focus the comparative linguistic analyses, it is not as strict or defined a period as one may assume. As Hermans warns about time periods:

> Most case studies in translation history are on a relatively small scale, both timewise and in the geographical reach and domain of activity they cover. They tend to take conventional divisions into periods and areas for granted. This is no doubt convenient, but it may also leave them hostage to convention. It can even be misleading insofar as the standard period divisions may evoke stereotypes, exaggerate internal uniformity or suggest sharp breaks from one period to another. (Hermans, 2022: 34)

Thus, Nynorsk as generally used did not change overnight following the 1917 language reforms. Moreover, the Nynorsk language, on both sides of this date, was not universally consistent either in terms of grammar, vocabulary and spelling. Changes and influences can be seen beyond 1917, and as my linguistic analysis in Chapter 6 will demonstrate, it is also important to use examples post-1917 to better understand the development of the Nynorsk lexicon as a whole. Indeed, through my analysis of Nynorsk retranslations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* from 1925, 1976

[5] Samples of the language of the country in Norway.

and 2013, this study offers valuable insights into the development of the Nynorsk lexicon far beyond 1917 and the end of the early period of Nynorsk language history.

However, the time period selected here, 1853-1917, is useful for a number of reasons. Most importantly, it contains the first and most significant Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature, among them Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858), Steinar Schjøtt's *Heimskringla* (1874-1879; 1900) and Ivar Mortensson-Egnund's *Edda-kvæde* (1905). Furthermore, whilst there were new translations of Old Norse literature after 1917, a great number of the most important sagas had already been translated into Nynorsk prior to 1917, for example, Eirik Sommer's *Saga um Sverre Magnus Sigurdsson* (1864), Matias Skard's *Saga um Gunnlaug Ormstunga* (1872), Olav Aasmundstad's *Njaala* (1896), Stefan Frich's *Laksdøla* (1899) and Leiv Heggstad's *Egils-soga* (1914). This period also includes the publication of important lexicographical works useful for this study, such as Aasen's revised dictionary *Norsk Ordbog: med dansk Forklaring* (1873), Schjøtt's dictionaries *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) and *Norsk ordbok, med ordtyding paa norsk-dansk* (1914), and Marius Hægstad and Alf Torp's Old Norse-Nynorsk dictionary *Gamalnorsk ordbok: med nynorsk tyding* (1909). This time period, in relation to representing the early period of the Nynorsk language, will also become more apparent in Chapters 3 and 4 when the language and its proponents are contextualised. However, the analysis in chapters 5 and 6 is not confined to the above time period and will take a broader look at the development of the Nynorsk lexicon in order to shed light on changes and consistencies in the vocabulary from 1858 up until today.

1.3.2 Scope

As mentioned previously, the development and establishment of Nynorsk occurred due to a variety of linguistic, political and cultural factors. In focusing on translational work surrounding Old Norse literature and its relationship with the development of the Nynorsk language, a great deal of other types of translational activity have appeared and highlighted a need for further analyses of Nynorsk translational activity. A study of the translations of legislature into Nynorsk carried out by Nikolaus Gjelsvik and Knut Robberstad has the potential to explore the development of the Nynorsk lexicon with regard to technical legal vocabulary, or a study of the

translations of biology text books (*Biologi for gymnasiet 1: Botanikk* and *Biologi for gymnasiet 2: Zoologi*) into Nynorsk by Einar Breidsvoll in the early twentieth century has the potential to explain the development of the Nynorsk lexicon with regard to technical scientific vocabulary, to name a couple of hypothetical examples.

Beyond these translations, there were multiple other publication activities that affected the development of Nynorsk such as the publishing of Nynorsk newspapers in the late nineteenth century such as Aasmund Olavsson Vinje's *Dølen* beginning in 1858, Elias Blix's Nynorsk translations of hymns alongside original hymns in *Nokre Salmar* (1869-1875; 1883; 1887; 1892) for use in church, and the original prose and poetry written in Nynorsk by a variety of authors, to name a few limited examples. Indeed, the Nynorsk translations of biblical texts also played an important role in the development of the Nynorsk language and have been covered extensively by Norwegian philologist Jarle Bondevik (1988; 1992; 2003). However, Bondevik did not study the other key cultural texts in translation, i.e. Nynorsk saga translations. There were also other factors affecting the development of Nynorsk such as education, language policy-making and social classes that this study does not have space to explore in great detail. These works are of great use to this study as will be highlighted in the following chapter, since they represent comprehensive studies of not only translational work of a historic and linguistic nature but specifically Nynorsk translational work. Whilst these factors should not be overlooked or forgotten, in concentrating on Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature, a new perspective will be brought to light on the development of the Nynorsk language. As Hagland points out: "Ser ein det relativt avgrensa korpuset av tidlege omsetjingar til landsmål under eitt, vert det klart at den sterke tilknytnaden til sagalitteratur og bibelspråk var der alt frå starten av" (Hagland, 2018), highlighting a need for this deeper analysis of Nynorsk saga translations.[6] This study addresses the gap in current scholarship by focusing on saga translation as an important element in the cultural history of Nynorsk.

It should also be noted that this thesis deals solely with the development of the Nynorsk lexicon. I do not examine the development of other aspects of the

[6] If you look at the relatively limited corpus of early translations into Nynorsk as a whole, it becomes clear that the strong connection to saga literature and biblical language was there from the very beginning.

Nynorsk language such as morphology, syntax or literary style since these are not as easily traced through written history. The lexicon of the Nynorsk language, on the other hand, is readily seen in a wide variety of lexicographical works and thus change can be traced through a word's omittance or inclusion in certain dictionaries alongside the word's appearance in translational works in a far more transparent way. This method will be explained in more detail in Section 2.2.3.

The translation of Old Norse literature was not an exclusively Nynorsk phenomenon and was, in fact, occurring long before Aasen's work, albeit into Danish or Dano-Norwegian in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Jon Gunnar Jørgensen has written extensively on this history in *Oversettelsen av norrøn litteratur* (2018), and particularly in his chapter on the historian Rudolf Keyser: *Rudolf Keyser and His Use of Old Norse Texts in the Norwegian National Initiative* (2022). Both works have been of great use to this study. Whilst this study focuses on Nynorsk, there is certainly some overlap between the motives behind, and approaches to, translations of Old Norse literature into both Norwegian standards, and into Danish. Furthermore, as Chapter 6 will highlight, there was certain vocabulary unique to the saga genre where both standards would use the same word. Despite this common vocabulary, this study aims to fill a gap in the history of the Nynorsk language, a gap that can be appropriately filled with a targeted study of the Nynorsk saga translations of Old Norse literature produced in the early period of the Nynorsk language.

Linked to this, whilst this study focuses on Norwegian, specifically Nynorsk, language and translation histories, similarities and contrasts exist between the Norwegian context and the wider Nordic region. In particular, the parallels between Ivar Aasen's work on the Norwegian language and Venceslaus Ulricus Hammershaimb's work on the Faroese language run deep and this study has the potential to inspire and develop a comparative study of the Nynorsk and Faroese language situations through the lens of translation history. Beyond this, translation histories of other post-colonial nations within the Nordic region such as Iceland, Greenland and Finland may also be aided by this study, even if it is not this thesis' aim to compare them all.

1.4 Thesis structure

This thesis seeks to shed light on the role of translation in the early period of the Nynorsk language development and examine what effects, if any, Nynorsk saga translations may have had on the Nynorsk lexicon. In order to achieve these aims and present a new perspective on the history of the Nynorsk language, the thesis will follow the structure outlined here. Chapter 2 will present the theoretical framework and methods utilised in this study. This will be followed by a contextualisation of the Norwegian history relevant to this thesis, in addition to the linguistic background that gave rise to Aasen's creation of Nynorsk in Chapter 3. Following this, I will present my Foucauldian "archive" of Nynorsk saga translations and examine key Nynorsk saga translators and translations published between 1853 and 1917 in Chapter 4. Through the establishment of this "archive", an innovative case study of Ivar Aasen's 1858 translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* and its three subsequent Nynorsk retranslations has been developed, culminating in a thorough comparative linguistic analysis of said translations in Chapters 5 and 6. I will conclude with the implications of my findings and their benefits to future research across multiple disciplines.

2 Theoretical Framework and Methods

This chapter presents the theoretical framework underpinning this study and highlights the methods utilised in order to build a Foucauldian *archive* of Nynorsk saga translations and explore the effect translational work had on the development of the Nynorsk language, specifically its lexicon. First, a theoretical framework for studying and writing translation history is established through the use of Foucault (1972), Pym (1998) and Hermans (2022). This is followed by a description of the key theories and terms associated with corpus planning using Haugen (1983), Vikør (1993) and Nahir (1984) in order to discover where translational work may fit within the planning and development of a language. The focus on translation and corpus planning will be intersected with emerging ideologies of National Romanticism and the nation-building project in nineteenth-century Norway, for which Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1983; revised edition 2006) will prove very helpful. Indeed, National Romantic ideologies informed the creation of the Nynorsk saga translations to a great extent during the nineteenth century and Anderson's work provides a useful perspective on how nations come to be. Following this, methods utilising the works of Bondevik (1992), Genette (1997), Pym (1998) and Hermans (2022) are examined, focusing on how they relate to gathering data/translation statements (see below), comparing translations and building the archive of Nynorsk saga translations. Finally, I put forward a method, specific to the Norwegian language situation, in order to trace the development and significance of certain Nynorsk words and how they relate to translational work into Nynorsk.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

2.1.1 Foucault's 'Archaeology of Knowledge'

Since this study involves a significant amount of research into the translation history of Norway, it is necessary to formulate a theoretical approach to how such a history of Nynorsk translation can be constructed. However, it is first necessary to present this study's understanding of the term 'history' as an interpretative discourse on the past rather than a description of facts on past events or people. According to influential historian Hayden White, the writing of history is the writing of narratives

which he describes as “verbal fictions, the contents of which are as much *invented* as *found*” (White, 1978: 82; his emphasis). Hermans highlights this understanding in the writing of translation histories and points out: “A particular historical narrative is then only one story; it is neither the whole story nor the only possible story” (Hermans, 2022: 11). He goes on to say: “constructing a narrative on the basis of historical evidence requires, as a minimum, the evidence to be organised in a certain way (ibid.: 13). Thus, it is important to highlight that the historical narrative constructed in this study is but one interpretation of Nynorsk translation history where historical evidence has been carefully selected, or omitted, by myself in order to foreground translations of Old Norse literature within the development of the Nynorsk language. White explains the nature of this interpreting by the historian in his essay ‘Interpretation in History’:

> On the one hand, there are always more facts in the record than the historian can possibly include in his narrative representation of a given segment of the historical process. And so the historian must ‘interpret’ his data by excluding certain facts from his account as irrelevant to his narrative purpose. On the other hand, in his efforts to reconstruct ‘what happened’ in any given period of history, the historian inevitably must include in his narrative an account of some event or complex of events for which the facts that would permit a plausible explanation of its occurrence are lacking. And this means that the historian must ‘interpret’ his material by filling in the gaps in his information on inferential or speculative grounds. (White, 1978: 51)

White further asserts:

> A specifically *historical* inquiry is born less of the necessity to establish *that* certain events occurred than of a desire to determine what certain events might *mean* for a given group, society, or a culture’s conception of its present tasks and future prospects. (White, 1986: 487; his emphasis)

This interpretation of, and approach to, history is fundamental to this study and can also be seen in the works of historian and philosopher Michel Foucault, whose seminal work *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972) will provide a fundamental theoretical lens for this study.

Historical discourse as defined by Foucault is “constituted by a group of sequences of signs, in so far as they are statements, that is, in so far as they can be assigned particular modalities of existence…the term discourse can be defined as

the group of statements that belong to a single system of formation" (Foucault, 1972: 107). As Peter Barry emphasises in his exploration of Foucauldian concepts of history: "Discourse is not just a way of speaking or writing, but the whole 'mental set' and ideology which encloses the thinking of all members of a given society. It is not singular and monolithic – there is always a multiplicity of discourses" (Barry, 1995: 176). Therefore, the research gathered in this study, i.e. the Nynorsk translations, their paratextual data, the biographical data of their translators, in addition to the historical, cultural and political factors surrounding them, can be regarded as "statements" in Foucauldian terms that when seen as a whole, form a discourse of Nynorsk translation history. Such an understanding of historical discourse, it should be noted, need not apply solely to translation history, that is, a set of statements may be equally applied in the discourse of Norwegian book history or Norwegian language history to name a few examples. This way of conceptualising Nynorsk translation history may aid further studies in developing fresh perspectives on how a Foucauldian "archive" on the development of the Norwegian language may be constructed through different disciplines, as will be explained further below.

The conceptualisation of discourses and statements leads to Foucault's idea of the "archive", a concept he differentiates from its previous meaning of "the sum of all the texts that a culture has kept upon its person as documents attesting to its own past" (Foucault, 1972: 128-129), to its new meaning of "the general system of the formation and transformations of statements" (ibid.: 130). Viewed through Foucauldian understandings of history and the archive, Norwegian statements on language and translation build into a significant archive of the Nynorsk culture's self-perception and desire to construct a language based on clear ideologies (see Chapters 3 and 4). This formation and transformation of statements within the Norwegian context, that I will interpret, can help highlight the significance of translational work within the history of the Nynorsk language in the period covered here, and explain how such statements, i.e. the Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature and their paratextual data, acted as a tool in the establishment and development of the Nynorsk lexicon. Moreover, these statements can be seen as acting as a tool for other purposes such as building the nation of Norway or educating an emerging literate class of Norwegian citizens. Indeed, the source texts of the Nynorsk translations themselves, i.e. the Old Norse sagas, also held a

privileged position within the Norwegian cultural archive. It was translations of these source texts that gave Norwegians access to these shared cultural roots and played an important role in the nation-building efforts of the period studied here, as will be explored in Section 3.1.

Foucault's philosophy does not limit itself only to the statements that are articulated, for as he points out: "The archive is first the law of what can be said, the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events. But the archive is also that which determines that all these things said do not accumulate endlessly in an amorphous mass" (ibid.: 129). Furthermore, the archive does not focus solely on the statements that appear throughout a period of history, but also the statements that do not or cannot appear, i.e. the statements that are left unsaid. Unfortunately, but not unsurprisingly, it is impossible to analyse these unsaid statements. Yet, according to Foucault, their absence from the archive should not be overlooked, since it is important to understand the factors that allow certain statements to be made, whilst others are supressed or omitted. As Theo Hermans warns:

> Historical studies of translation therefore tend to follow the broad divisions of time and space made in political and cultural history. There is also the pragmatic consideration that history writing requires material evidence. In the absence of such evidence – in the case of oral traditions or where sources have been lost or destroyed – only limited guesswork is possible. (Hermans, 2022: 34)

Whilst guesswork is far from ideal, the analysis of the factors surrounding a lack of material evidence can sometimes provide more concrete reasoning than this initial guesswork may imply. For example, as Section 3.2 will highlight, the lack of a Norwegian translation of the Bible following European Reformation could be interpreted as a statement which could not be articulated in that historical period. In contrast, I read the existence of only the Danish translation of the Bible being articulated in Norway as a 'counter-statement' which had a significant impact on Norwegian as a written language and can shed light on the history of the Norwegian language and Norwegian translation archives. Such an approach is of significance to this study since there are likely a multitude of historical events and movements, such as the Landsmål/Riksmål language conflict, Norway's independence from Sweden in 1905 or Aasen's and other's linguistic approaches to the nation to name a few, that helped not only create but also omit and supress certain statements within the period

covered here. By constructing this archive, this study aims to highlight not only the historical artefacts which form a discursive system of Nynorsk translation history but which also reveal the effect(s) that translational work had on the Nynorsk language. Each translation effort can be viewed as a 'statement' that added to an archive that has built Nynorsk as a language since the nineteenth century. By viewing translations and statements about translation as an archive, particularly those relating to the goals of corpus planning, this study aims to highlight the significance of Nynorsk translational work, especially the translation of Old Norse literature, in its attempt to achieve a range of transformations: language purification, language revival, language reform, language standardisation, language spread, lexical modernisation and terminological unification (see Nahir (1984) in Section 2.1.3). It will also provide a new perspective on the history and establishment of Nynorsk as a written language. However, as Foucault warns: "It is obvious that the archive of a society, a culture, or a civilization cannot be described exhaustively; or even, no doubt, the archive of a whole period" (Foucault, 1972: 130). Yet, by accumulating as much translational data as possible within the period studied here and contextualising this information within the historical and cultural setting covered in the following chapter, a thorough understanding of Nynorsk saga translation history may be developed as one plausible explanation or interpretation of the past.

It is also important to highlight that the conceptual archive built in this study is but one of many potential archives that can be formulated from a set of statements and non-statements. Indeed, the material evidence explored in this study could be equally analysed and constructed to form an archive of a more general Norwegian translation history, a biographical archive of Nynorsk translators or an archive of general Norwegian history, literature and culture, to name a few. Whilst it is not this study's aim to construct such archives, it is important to note the overlapping and parallel archives that certain translational statements are able to construct and contribute to.

2.1.2 Translation history

The works of translation in this study, or translational statements as they will also be referred to, are the primary sources that this thesis describes and analyses in order to understand a history of Nynorsk translational activity. First, however, it is important to explore what 'translation history' is and reading translations as history. Regarding translation as history, translation studies scholar Theo Hermans astutely points out:

> Reading a work from the past – a painting, a film, a piece of writing – for the traces it carries of its historical moment is, to an extent, a reading against the grain. It does not seek to reconstruct what its author subjectively intended – although, as we shall see, intention remains part of the picture. Instead, it seeks to understand the object as a product of its time and place, and to do so from today's vantage point. We can also read translations in this way and historicise them. (Hermans, 2022: 116)

It is important, therefore, to historicise the Nynorsk saga translations explored in this study in order to shed light on the development and history of the Nynorsk language as a whole. Another historical approach towards translation history is also emphasised by Christopher Rundle as "the attempt to use translation to enrich a particular historical subject" (Rundle, 2012: 234). This is significant for this study for the historicization of the Nynorsk saga translations will enrich our understanding of the history of the Nynorsk language and its lexicon. Translation history as a field was first comprehensively defined and explored in Anthony Pym's seminal work *Method in Translation History* (1998).

Initially, Pym defines useful theoretical principles of what translation history actually is, the first of which is that "translation history should explain *why* translations were produced in a particular social time and place" (Pym, 1998: ix). This principle is of importance regarding the research questions of this study, that is: What was translated? Who translated it? Why was it translated? And what effect did these translations have? These questions are especially significant with regard to Pym's second principle of translation history, i.e. that "the central object of historical knowledge [in relation to translation] should be the human translator, since only humans have the kind of responsibility appropriate to social causation" (ibid.: ix). This attention to causation is key to the research questions of this study and leads to Pym's three areas of translation history, two of which are useful and applicable to this study. The first area that Pym defines, which is quintessentially Foucauldian

despite Pym's protests, is that of "translation archaeology", i.e. "a set of discourses concerned with answering all or part of the complex question 'who translated what, how, where, when, for whom and with what effect?'. It can include anything from compiling catalogues to the carrying out of biographical research on translators" (ibid.: 5). The second area is that of "explanation", described by Pym as "the part of translation history that tries to say *why* archaeological artefacts occurred when and where they did, and how they were related to change" (ibid.: 6). It is important to note that, for this study, the understanding of archaeological artefacts here does not refer to fixed materials waiting to be unearthed, rather they are Foucauldian statements waiting to be interpreted through the lens of translation.

These areas open research up to both quantitative and qualitative methods and are interlinked in many respects, since it is not possible to offer an explanation of the presence of translation without having the translation archaeology to analyse, interpret and back it up. Hermans develops the importance of the *why* question further, stating: "The question *why* is of a different order. It invites a speculative answer and involves a recognition of stakes and interests and the attribution of motives and hence narrative emplotment" (Hermans, 2022: 32). These approaches are intrinsic to this study since excavating the translation statements in the period studied here and then using this information to provide an explanation as to why the Nynorsk saga translations were produced, will aid the subsequent analysis of how the translations relate to change and to what extent they impacted the Nynorsk language.

Pym recommends that the researcher begins with focusing on the compiling of lists before dealing with causation, a recommendation that will benefit this study since no motive, purpose or effect can be traced without first constructing an archive of Nynorsk translation. This method will be further elaborated on in Section 2.2.1. The theoretical framework here focuses on why these Nynorsk translations were produced using Pym's aforementioned "area of *explanation*". Drawing on Aristotle, Pym argues for four types of causes:

- Material or initial cause (*causa materialis*): Everything that precedes the translating and is necessary for its achievement: the (assumed) source text, language, communication technology, and so on.

- Final cause (*causa finalis* or *causa ut*): The purpose of justifying the existence of the translation, its *utilitas*, the use that is to be made of it, no matter whether this be a positional function within a target culture or the ideal completion of an action.
- Formal cause (*causa formalis*): The historical norms that allow a translation to be accepted as a translation, no matter who is doing the accepting (the clients, receivers, the translator, other translators).
- Efficient cause (*causa efficiens* or *causa quod*): The translator, be it individual or collective, along with everything specific to the translator's collective position. (Pym, 1998: 149).

Whilst, as Pym warns, many researchers may focus on one of these individual causes being responsible for the creation of a translation, in this study, the focus will be on multiple causation, i.e. that there are various causes working alongside each other and at times intersecting with one another. As Pym confirms, "If, as I have suggested, all four (or more) types of causes are necessary before we can have a translation, and as I have argued, none of these causes can be accorded any *a priori* dominance that would downgrade the others to the level of inactive necessary conditions, it follows that the kind of causation we find operative in translation history must be plural in its very nature" (ibid.: 158). Indeed, by researching these causes all together, this study seeks to provide a clear picture as to *why* these Nynorsk translations were produced, whilst simultaneously shedding light on previously obscured or hidden causal factors behind the translations. It also interlinks ideological motives with language planning motives and emphasises that the intended purpose of a translation need not be one-dimensional. As Hermans asserts: "The most likely motive for any act of translation is self-interest, whether on the part of the translator or others involved in the process. It can take the form of personal or collective gain in one form or another, or simply of self-preservation" (Hermans, 2022: 33). However, in the case of the Nynorsk saga translators and Nynorsk language activists, the motives for Nynorsk saga translations can be seen as representing a collective self-interest for establishing and promoting the Nynorsk language and helping to build the Norwegian nation.

As this study aims to highlight, translations of Old Norse literature into Nynorsk may have been carried out to achieve the language planning goals clarified by Moshe Nahir (1984), highlighted in the following section, but may have equally

been carried out in order to help build the nation of Norway, reclaim a forgotten Norwegian history or develop a literary culture in Norway. Furthermore, the linguistic motives need not be seen as completely separate from other ideological motives of national independence and nationhood. Rundle highlights an "added dimension to the way translation history is conducted, one that focused on the **context**" (Rundle, 2021: xxi. Emphasis in original), which is necessary to help us understand these motives. Rundle explains: "the main characteristic of the research that includes this dimension is the premise that any history of translation or interpreting must be contextualised within the history of the period/context in which the translation events being studied occurred" (ibid.: 2021: xxi). Indeed, as this study intends to demonstrate, there were various motives behind translational acts which affected and were affected by one another in addition to multiple political and cultural factors and events which will be contextualised in the following chapter.

2.1.3 Corpus planning

In order to draw connections between translation and corpus planning and explore how translational statements may have been used as a tool to achieve language planning goals, it is first necessary to understand the theoretical principles behind corpus planning as defined by American-Norwegian linguist Haugen (1983) and Norwegian linguist Vikør (1993). This section will also highlight the language planning goals described by Nahir (1984) and how these may be applied to the translational statements found in the archive of Nynorsk saga translations.

Corpus planning is one of the three main types of language planning and separates itself from status planning, which "addresses the functions of language(s) in society, and typically involves the allocation of languages to official roles in different domains – government or education, for instance. Inevitably, these allocative decisions enhance, or detract from the status of these languages – hence status planning" (Ferguson, 2006: 20), and acquisition planning, which "refers to planning directed at increasing the number of users/speakers of particular languages" (ibid.: 34). Corpus planning, on the other hand, "addresses the language form, the code itself, and seeks to engineer changes in that code, central among which, as summarised by Ferguson (1968), are graphisation (the development of

writing systems), standardisation and modernisation" (ibid.: 21). Corpus planning, here, can also be seen through a Foucauldian lens in that it exemplifies the process of archiving. The collection of words and the accumulation of what is considered an acceptable set of words as opposed to what is not is carried out by Aasen initially and then continuously changed, reinforced and added to by subsequent agents, that is other proponents of Nynorsk. In this way, the Nynorsk translators of Old Norse literature, as well as other Nynorsk users, can be seen as being responsible for the selecting and preserving of the Nynorsk lexicon through their production of Nynorsk statements.

It is corpus planning that will be the main focus of this study, since "the involvement of persons with linguistic expertise is, therefore, typically greater than in status planning, which remains the province mainly of politicians and administrators" (ibid.: 21). That is, that the linguistic work of the Nynorsk saga translators can be regarded as an action of corpus planning for the Nynorsk language, where an emerging code (Nynorsk) was seeking to transform the written language of the Norwegian peasantry. However, corpus, status and acquisition planning are often intertwined and may lead to and influence one another.

In his seminal article 'The Implementation of Corpus Planning: Theory and Practice' (1983), American-Norwegian linguist Einar Haugen separates four areas of corpus planning, those of *selection*, *codification*, *implementation* and *elaboration*, the former two dealing with the language norm and the latter two with the function of the language. As Haugen explains, selection "is necessary only when someone has identified a *language problem*. Most problems can be identified as the presence of conflicting norms, whose relative status needs to be assigned" (Haugen, 1983: 270). In the case of Nynorsk being "selected" by Ivar Aasen, the conflicting norm which led to a language problem was the Danish written language, as Chapter 3 will explain. Codification, as Haugen defines it: "may also be the work of a single individual, who more or less informally, more or less knowledgeably, decides to give explicit, usually written, form to the norm he has chosen" (ibid.: 271). Richard Baldauf also offers a succinct definition of codification, i.e. "codification of a language focuses on the standardization procedures needed to develop and formalize a linguistic and usually literate set of language norms" (Baldauf, 1989: 4).

Haugen further highlights three aspects of codification building on the work of Charles Ferguson and his 1968 article 'Language Development', those of *graphisation*, *grammatication* and *lexication*. Haugen explains how *graphisation*, i.e. "where the concept of an alphabet, a syllabary, or a system of ideograms exists, a writing tradition can arise simply by the adaption of a known system to the new language" (Haugen, 1983: 271), is often the first step in the codification of a new language. The second step is that of *grammatication*, where linguists "learned to extract and formulate the rules of a correct grammar" (ibid.: 271) for prescriptive pedagogical reasons, followed by *lexication*, which as Haugen defines, is "the selection of an appropriate lexicon" (ibid.: 271) and which "involves the assignment of styles and spheres of usage for the words of the language" (ibid.: 271). As this study emphasises, the translational work of the Nynorsk saga translators played a significant role in the lexication of Nynorsk and will hopefully open the door to further analysis of other types of translational work and their potential relationship with the corpus planning of a language. Moreover, Haugen clarifies how the "typical product of all codification has been a prescriptive orthography, grammar, and dictionary" (ibid.: 271). Thus, as elucidated in the following chapter, the works of Ivar Aasen, *Prøver af Landsmaalet i Norge* (1853) *Norsk Grammatik* (1864) and *Norsk Ordbog* (1873), and, as I will argue in terms of *lexication* in Chapter 5, *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858), can be regarded as the codification of the Nynorsk language. Whilst the individual who selected and codified the Nynorsk orthography was undoubtedly Ivar Aasen, the elaboration and implementation of Nynorsk can be seen to have been carried out to a much greater extent by Nynorsk translators, among others.

The third area of corpus planning, *implementation*, as defined by Haugen, "includes the activity of a writer, an institution, a government in adopting and attempting to spread the language form that has been selected and codified… this is done by producing books, pamphlets, newspapers, and textbooks in the language" (ibid.: 272). However, Haugen does not differentiate between books, pamphlets, newspapers and textbooks produced in a writer's first language or whether they are translated works, nor does he differentiate between writer and translator. This area is of significance for this study, particularly in the exploration of the motives and effects of translational statements produced by publishers and the translators themselves, since the intended purpose and subsequent effect(s) of a translation may be readily

seen in its implementation once translated. As Chapter 4 will prove, the popularity and availability of Nynorsk saga translations during the foundational and developmental decades of Nynorsk as a written language highlights how Nynorsk saga translations were implemented within Norwegian society and how this implementation affected the development of the Nynorsk language.

Implementation may also be linked with André Levefere's (2017) notion of 'patronage', which he defines as:

> The powers (persons, institutions) that can further or hinder the reading, writing, and rewriting of literature… Patronage is usually more interested in the ideology of literature than in its poetics, and it could be said that the patron 'delegates authority' to the professional where poetics is concerned. (Levefere, 2017: 12)

Levefere goes on to explain:

> Patronage can be exerted by persons… and also by groups of persons, a religious body, a political party, a social class, a royal court, publishers, and, last but not least, the media, both newspapers and magazines and larger television corporations. Patrons try to regulate the relationship between the literary system and the other systems, which, together, make up a society, a culture. (Ibid.: 12)

Utilising these ideas, Chapters 3 and 4 will highlight certain patrons who helped to implement the Nynorsk language into Norway's literary system such as Aasen and Det Norske Samlaget.

The fourth area of corpus planning, that of *elaboration*, is equally significant for this study. Baldauf defines the elaboration of a language as focusing on "the functional development of that language" (Baldauf, 1989: 6), and as Haugen reinforces, a codified language must continue "the implementation of the norm to meet the functions of a modern world" (Haugen, 1983: 273). This "functional development", as this study examines, can be tied to the language planning goals put forward by Moshe Nahir (1984), which involve aspects of "language purification, language revival, language reform, language standardization, language spread, lexical modernization, terminological unification and language maintenance" (Nahir, 1984: 426-436). Indeed, Haugen himself separates elaboration into terms of *terminological modernization* and *stylistic development* (Haugen, 1983: 275). *Terminological modernization* "involves the development of new lexical items or

terminology for a language" (Baldauf, 1989: 6), and it is this aspect which this study intends to explore with regard to the translations of Old Norse literature into Nynorsk. However, in the case of Nynorsk translations from Old Norse, the lexical items are not necessarily new in the traditional sense, as Chapter 4 and 5 will explain, rather revived and/or solidified.

From these ideas of corpus planning, the Norwegian linguist Lars S. Vikør establishes general, systemised principles of language planning that are relevant to this study. Vikør distinguishes four categories of corpus planning principles:

> Internal linguistic principles, [which includes] phonemicity, morphophonemicity, simplicity, etymology, invariance and stability; Principles related to attitudes toward other languages, [which includes] rapprochement (adaptation) or reaction (purism); Principles concerning the relationships between the language and its users, [which includes] majority, liberality, prestige, counter-prestige, usage, esthetism and rationalism; and Principles derived from societal ideologies, [which includes] nationalism, traditionalism, democracy, liberalism, modernity, authority. (Vikør, 1993: 280-284)

Whilst it is not necessarily important to discuss all these terms in great detail for this study, certain principles will be highlighted and explored in Chapter 3, i.e. the purism, nationalism and democracy principles, in order to understand how these corpus planning principles are connected to the translational work of Aasen and subsequent Nynorsk language activists and saga translators as well as the ideologies and motives behind them. What is important, however, is to recognise the multi-layered aspects of corpus planning so that each or all of them may be considered in the analysis of a translation. As Haugen points out: "while the four steps in my model show a certain logical succession, they are not necessarily temporally successive, but may be simultaneous and cyclical" (Haugen, 1983: 270). These steps remain theoretical in character, although Haugen also claims: "Even with this revised model I cannot claim that it amounts to a theory of language planning. It provides a description of what language planners have done, but it does not tell us why they have done it, nor what goals they have hoped to attain" (ibid.: 274). In order to discover the *why* behind the Nynorsk saga translations analysed in this study, a practical approach will be put forth to trace the motives and functions these translations may have had.

Moshe Nahir offers a stable foundation for analysing the goals of the language planning processes mentioned above in his article 'Language Planning Goals: A Classification' (1984). It is first important to mention that whilst these goals were originally meant to apply to language planning processes and the actions of agencies involved in language planning, here, they will be used to explain the reasoning behind Nynorsk translation projects. By providing an overview of each relevant goal, I hope to emphasise how translational work should be regarded as a major tool in achieving them and in Chapter 4, the use of Nynorsk saga translations as a tool to achieve these language planning goals will be explored further.

Of the eleven goals put forward by Nahir, seven are of use for this study. I omit "terminology unification" as it focuses on "establishing unified technologies, mostly technical… especially in the technological and scientific domains" (Nahir, 1984: 433) and therefore does not apply to Old Norse literary works. I also disregard "stylistic simplification" which is "simplifying language *usage* in lexicon, grammar, and style, in order to reduce communicative ambiguity between professionals and bureaucrats on the one hand and the public on the other" (ibid.: 435) as this study focuses on the expansion of available Nynorsk lexical items through time rather than the reduction or simplification of them. Also, this domain of usage is different to the translations studied here. "Interlingual communication" which is "facilitating linguistic communication between members of *different* speech communities" (ibid.: 436) is also disregarded, since this study focuses on written texts from the same speech community; and "auxiliary-code standardization" which is "standardizing or modifying marginal, auxiliary aspects of language such as signs for the deaf, place names, and rules of transliteration and transcription" (ibid.: 441) since these aspects are not relevant to this study's aims.

The following language planning goals are of use when applied to the Nynorsk context, although it should be noted that the aspect of translation has not been taken into account in Nahir's formulation of these goals. Whilst these goals remain useful in identifying language planning activity and motives within the Nynorsk context, my proposal of a new language planning goal 'lexical solidification' (see below) will help to connect features of translation with language planning.

The first language planning goal of use is ‘language purification’ – both *external purification* which is “the prescription of usage in order to preserve the “purity” of language and protect it from foreign influences” (ibid.: 426), and *internal purification* which “involves “protecting” the accepted standard code as it exists at a given time against deviation that occurs from *within* in the form of non-normative, “incorrect” usage in the language” (ibid.: 427). This goal will be explored further in Section 3.3 concerning Ivar Aasen’s linguistic principles.

The second is ‘language revival’, which is “the attempt to turn a language with a few or no surviving native speakers back into a normal means of communication in a community” (ibid.: 428). Many Norwegian linguists, including Aasen, during the late nineteenth century, saw the creation of Nynorsk as a continuation of the Old Norse language spoken in Norway during the Middle Ages, providing a written voice to the common people who retained parts of the Old Norse lexicon in their dialects.

The third is ‘language reform’, i.e. “deliberate change in specific aspects of language, intended to facilitate its use. Usually this involves changes in, or simplification of, orthography, spelling, lexicon, or grammar” (ibid.: 429). Changes in spelling, grammar and, in this study’s case, lexicon can be readily seen in works of translation and their subsequent retranslation(s) as Chapter 6 will show. However, it is important to note here that in terms of translational work, how “deliberate” the changes are may be hard to assess when it comes to the individual translators’ word choices.

Next is ‘language standardization’, which is “the attempt to turn a language or dialect spoken in a region, usually a single political unit, into one that is accepted as the major language of the region and, as a result, is often considered its best form” (ibid.: 430). This will be explored in more detail in Section 3.3. but it is important to mention how Aasen differed from this usual route of choosing one language or dialect to standardise and instead combined dialects from all over Norway.

A particularly relevant language planning goal for this study is that of ‘language spread’, i.e. “the attempt to increase the number of speakers of a language at the expense of another language (or languages) … it is an attempt to *cause* speakers of a given language to shift to another” (ibid.: 431). Obviously, in the case of studying translational statements, “speakers” should be read as “readers” here, and in the

Nynorsk case “language” should perhaps read as “written language” as the publication of Nynorsk saga translations can be seen as a tool to increase the number of readers of Nynorsk and shift from Bokmål and Danish to Nynorsk.

Next is ‘lexical modernization’, which is “word creation or adaptation as a way to assist developed, standard languages (at times referred to as ‘mature’) that have borrowed concepts too fast for their natural development to accommodate” (ibid.: 433). In the case of Nynorsk in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, however, the accommodating of new or modern lexical items or perhaps, more accurately, the providing of new and modern written forms to pre-existing spoken words was needed in order to establish and develop the nascent written standard.

The final language planning goal of use is ‘language maintenance’, defined as “the preservation of the use of a group’s native language, as a first or even as a second language, where political, social, economic, educational, or other pressures threaten or cause (or are perceived to threaten or cause) a decline in the status of the language as a means of communication, a cultural medium, or a symbol of a group or national identity” (ibid.: 439). This preservation may be achieved through the publication of key texts/translations in the language in question. Indeed, as Chapter 4 will explain, translational work, particularly the translations of central texts such as the Bible and *Heimskringla*, played a significant role in the maintaining of Nynorsk as a written standard and helped to preserve its status as a written language.

These goals are useful to bear in mind when discussing translational statements, texts and language use as a whole, however, there seems to be a goal lacking in Nahir’s classification to deal with establishing a newly created language’s lexicon. Perhaps this is due to the focus on languages as both a spoken and written phenomenon rather than solely written, which this study is limited to due to the non-oral nature of the translational statements. Through the examination of the Nynorsk saga translations studied here, I have discovered a need for a more useful term for describing the goal of language planning at word level.

I propose the term ‘lexical solidification’ and define it as an attempt to solidify a lexical item within an orthography. I use ‘solidify’ here in the sense of reinforcing a word or phrase’s usability and appeal as a word choice for the translator. This

solidification of a word occurs every time it is used in a written text but gains strength and solidifies further when used in multiple texts. This is particularly true in translational work, where if a particular word is chosen as an equivalent for another ST word repeatedly in subsequent retranslations of a text, then the word is solidified and alternatives to the solidified word are no longer sought as future translators assume that one equals the other. Lexical solidification also occurs every time a word appears in a dictionary, authoritative or not. However, the more authoritative a dictionary, or if the dictionary is bilingual, the stronger the lexical solidification. There is a clear connection between lexical solidification and the inclusion of words in a dictionary, since a word's usage can often be linked to its appearance or lack of appearance within a dictionary. Again, an archiving process, in the Foucauldian sense, can be seen here. The selection and non-selection of certain words in Nynorsk dictionaries helped to establish an archive of the Nynorsk lexicon. Naturally, there are some dictionaries whose aim is to merely list as many words as possible that are found in the corpus and speech of a language, *Norsk Ordbok* is one such example, but a lexical item can still be seen to have been solidified if it finds its way into such a dictionary.

Lexical solidification differs from Nahir's lexical modernisation, as it does not deal with keeping the language up-to-date (although a word is more likely to be solidified if it is modernised), nor does it focus on the overarching planning of governments and institutions defined by Haugen's *implementation*; rather it focuses on the writer's individual word choices. Lexical solidification is primarily concerned with the securing of a lexical item through repeated use in literary and non-literary works, and through the act of translation and re-translation, so that the word is more likely to be used by future language writers. This is most visible when looking at translational work and retranslations, especially in the case of Nynorsk saga translators, since there is a common source leading to a word choice rather than the infinite imagination of the author of an original work. Lexical solidification will be demonstrated in Chapter 5 in a more practical way in order to be better understood.

It is important to note that this term may only apply to translators working as corpus planners and possibly also lexicographers since I have only tested this term in the Nynorsk saga translation context. Whilst it may only be relevant in the context of Nynorsk saga translators, I encourage its application to other languages and

contexts across disciplines. However, I acknowledge its specificity to Nynorsk saga translators in this study, and the overlap with some of Nahir's previous goals. It may also fall under the terms of elaboration and implementation by Haugen, which may render its use unnecessary elsewhere. The use of the term lexical solidification for certain Nynorsk words within a Nynorsk translation context will be elaborated further in the following chapters.

Before moving to the methods utilised in this study for dealing with the linguistic analysis of a translation and building the archive of Nynorsk saga translations, it is important to highlight the lack of emphasis on translation, or perhaps a lack of awareness of the important role of translation, within the field of language planning. Whilst there have been a few works mentioning the use of translation as a tool for language planning, for example, Bednarowicz (2017), within Haugen's and Vikør's seminal works, translation is neither mentioned in Haugen's stages of corpus planning nor Vikør's principles of language planning. Bednarowicz's chapter 'Translation as Corpus Planning: *The Little Prince* in the Neo-Aramaic Minority Language Turoyo' is extremely significant to this research as it highlights the motives of corpus planning and language planning behind certain translational work. Bednarowicz draws attention to concepts mirrored by this study of Nynorsk saga translations, that is, questions of the motives behind translational work and translation as a tool for corpus planning. It is of further significance that the Turoyo translation of 'The Little Prince' (*Malkuno Zcuro*) "is characterized by linguistic purism and the use of the classical old Syriac language as the main source of word formation" (Bednarowicz, 2017: 23). Similarly, Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858) was characterised by linguistic purism and the utilising of Old Norse vocabulary as one of the main sources for word formation, in addition to the dialectal vocabulary found in Aasen's 1850 dictionary, as Chapters 5 and 6 will demonstrate.

As Bednarowicz also states, "the role of translators in the formation of lexical corpuses of languages may also be significant…Through coining neologisms translators improve the 'imperfect' vocabulary of the target language and ipso facto participate actively in corpus planning" (ibid.: 17). Unlike the Turoyo translators, Aasen rarely creates a new word in the traditional understanding of the term neologism, choosing rather to use a word from the Old Norse source text or a dialect word throughout his translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*. However, the fact that

the majority of his translation consisted of words that had never been written down in such a way before and were thus new in the sense of finding an original written form, Aasen's translation can be considered to contain a number of "neologisms" that helped to improve the "imperfect vocabulary of the target language" in much the same was as Bednarowicz indicates the Turoyo translation of 'The Little Prince' did. Bednarowicz's chapter is also significant in that whilst it does not prove the effect that the translation of *The Little Prince* had on the Turoyo language, it does, however, prove a conscientious attempt to affect the Turoyo language through translation. This notion has significant implications for language and translation histories and will be explored within the Nynorsk context throughout this study.

How and why translation is overlooked within the field of corpus planning and has been left unincorporated into discussions of Nahir's (1984) language planning goals requires more research and understanding. This is a gap this study intends to fill to some extent. This study will highlight that translational work throughout Norwegian history can often be seen to go hand in hand with the development of the Norwegian language, especially the Nynorsk language, and translational work can often be used as a tool for attempting to achieve language planning goals.

2.1.4 Nation building

In order to discuss the relationship between the archive of Nynorsk saga translations and the nation-building project that took place in nineteenth-century Norway, it is not only necessary to define what nation building signified in the Norwegian context (see Section 3.1), but also outline and explore the concept of the nation state and the process of nation building. As Benedict Anderson describes in his seminal work *Imagined Communities* (1983, revised edition 2006), a nation "is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (Anderson, 2006: 6), i.e. a nation is imagined and created by a group of people who conceive a "deep, horizontal comradeship" (ibid.: 7) shared between them. Put simply, as Seton-Watson argues: "a nation exists when a significant number of people in a community consider themselves to form a nation, or behave as if they formed one" (Seton-Watson, 1977: 5). The concept of nationalism in relation to the nation is also described by Anderson when he emphasises: nationalism "has to be

understood by aligning it, not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with the large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which – as well as against which – it came into being" (Anderson, 2006: 12). These large cultural systems may be twinned with the Foucauldian archive in the way it is regarded not as a static reality but a system connecting statements that are dependent on the researcher's own dynamic perspective. Furthermore, it requires actors to construct and build the notion of what a nation is and what it is not, in much the same way an archive is constructed. The cultural systems preceding a nation, such as a religious community or monarchical state, are imagined and inconstant throughout time and connect cultural statements that are shared between a specific, but also changeable, community, examples of which will be highlighted in Section 3.1.

The Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature studied in this thesis can be regarded as a part of the cultural system that gave rise to, or perhaps emerged simultaneously with, the nation of Norway. As Anderson stresses throughout *Imagined Communities*, nations are not inherent to a particular people, nor do they pre-exist the awareness that such nations exist; rather they are imagined by people that share a community and cultural roots, particularly with regard to a shared language and history. As Robert McColl Millar asserts:

> The development of national consciousness often has a linguistic element; never more so than in the nationalist climate which has been dominant around the world since 1789. There are certainly other ways in which nationality can be expressed; none of them has the immediacy which language use has, however. (Millar, 2005: 198)

The links between history, language and the nation-building process in Norway will be further explored in Chapters 3 and 4.

The imagining of a community may be regarded as the first step to a nation-building process, since a nation requires multiple foundations upon which to build on, such as, at least according to the National Romantics found in Norway during the period studied here, a shared history and language, for example. Anderson devotes multiple chapters to the use of language in the building of a nation, primarily in relation to print capitalism, and the significance of languages in the establishing of a nation is key to this study also. In particular, Anderson states that "national print-

languages' were of central ideological and political importance" (Anderson, 2006: 67) to the newer nationalisms arising between 1820 and 1920, and that these nationalisms "were all able to work from visible models provided by their distant predecessors ... the 'nation' thus became something capable of being consciously aspired to from early on" (ibid.: 67). Thus, it is apparent that there is an intrinsic link between language and nation, and that this language and nation require a national print-language based on a shared historical past of its users. As Millar emphasises: "At the heart of nationalism, or, more correctly, a sense of large-scale group identity, are often shared historical, cultural and, most importantly from our point of view, *linguistic* features" (Millar, 2005: 9-10). Miroslav Hroch further explores these ideas:

> The nation-forming processes usually had their own linguistic and ethnic component, whether a vernacular, which sought the road to codification, or the rationalistic linguistic unification of state territory. Linguistic homogenization was anyway a process that ran in parallel with the formation of modern nations, where both processes often penetrated each other and also clashed. (Hroch, 2007: 14)

These ideas, along with the utilising of a shared history and print capitalism in the forming of an imagined community, will be further examined in order to highlight how a nation and its language(s) were often closely related to one another during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As Anderson explains when discussing the link between national building and print languages:

> The search was on, so to speak, for a new way of linking fraternity, power and time meaningfully together. Nothing perhaps more precipitated this search, nor made it more fruitful, than print-capitalism, which made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways. (Anderson, 2006: 36)

Whilst print capitalism can be seen to encompass a broad plethora of cultural material that does not necessarily differentiate between the multifaceted nature of such material, for this study, print capitalism as used by Anderson is useful as it can be used to incorporate the Nynorsk saga translations analysed here.

While a language could function as a tool in itself for the building of a modern nation-state, the significance of translating into or out of a new national print-language is not explored in Anderson's work. In this study, the significance of

translational work as a tool for creating a national print-language and within the nation-building process itself will be investigated in relation to the Norwegian context. It is interesting, however, that Anderson does not highlight translation as a decisive factor in the creation of a national print-language and in the building of a nation, particularly when he states: “It remains only to emphasize that in their origins, the fixing of print-languages and the differentiation of status between them were largely unselfconscious processes resulting from the explosive interaction between capitalism, technology and human linguistic diversity” (ibid.: 45). Interactions between capitalism, technology and human linguistic diversity have the potential to require translational work at some point in the intersection between the three. However, Anderson’s neglect of the aspect of translation is even more noteworthy, when his chapter “Travel and Traffic: On the Geo-biography of *Imagined Communities*” is considered. Writing in 2006 for the revised edition of *Imagined Communities*, Anderson does indeed demonstrate that he is aware and considerate of translational work: “this proliferation of translations [of *Imagined Communities*] suggests that the force of vernacularization, which, in alliance with print-capitalism, eventually destroyed the hegemony of Church Latin and was midwife to the birth of nationalism, remains strong half a millennium later” (ibid.: 208). Anderson’s awareness of the mutually influencing relationship between translation, vernacularisation and print-capitalism demonstrates that this relationship should indeed be examined in discussions of nationalism and nation building.

Anderson’s oversight of, or perhaps intentional disregard for, the use of translation as a tool for nation building is also of note, when considering his discussion of the Norwegian translation of *Imagined Communities*, where he recounts his communications with the translator Professor Harald Bøckman:

> When I asked Bøckman why a Norse edition was needed – in a country with a small population, most of whom would have no trouble reading the Swedish translation – he laughed and said: ‘You know how we feel about the Swedes and Swedish. We’d rather read the English original than the Swedish version. But best of all would be one in our own national language.’ (ibid.: 217)

Indeed, the need for a translation into the Norwegian national language, in this case Bokmål, rather than Swedish highlights not only a nationalist sentiment towards the

Norwegian language but also how translational work can facilitate National Romantic sentiments. This will be explored further in the following chapter.

2.2 Methods

This section will highlight the methods used in order to answer the research questions underpinning this study. These methods will focus on the gathering of a translational archive, the analysis of paratextual data, the comparative analysis of translations and retranslations at word level and the use of lexicographical and canonical works to examine the effect of translational statements.

2.2.1. Data collecting and building the translation archive

The gathering of data and selection of which statements will be of use in building the archive of Nynorsk saga translations is not without its problems. As Hermans points out: “Finding primary data remains problematic in the case of translations… This is because translation is an ill-defined category and translations have often been held in low esteem” (Hermans, 2022: 28). Sergia Adamo also highlights a further issue with searching for material evidence from the past, claiming that:

> … the generalized marginality of translation practices has prevented records from being linked in the present in a systematized, recognizable way. Catalogues, archives, libraries dedicated to translation are rare if they exist at all; records of translators’ experiences have not often been conserved and passed on. Translators are only in a few cases easily identifiable individuals whose experiences left clear records that we still have access to; consequently, the records sometimes have to be searched for elsewhere than in traditional sources and recognized archives. (Adamo, 2006: 92)

This point is also emphasised by Pym:

> In translation history, the object [likely to help us answer our research questions] usually comprises translational documents… The real problem is instead how to select the translations… And what kind of pitfalls await when we start from the indications most at hand, namely the lists of translations we find in our books and libraries” (Pym, 1998: 38).

In the case of Nynorsk translation history, whilst there are certainly some instances of the translators' invisibility and gaps in the translational documents surrounding the Nynorsk saga translations, there are also many instances of the translators' visibility, and the labelling of the Nynorsk saga texts as translations of pre-existing source texts, as Chapter 4 will examine. My selection of Nynorsk saga translations will become more apparent and justified following the historical contextualisation of these texts. However, it is important to note here how, and from where, these translations were selected.

Pym highlights an advantageous approach which involves "the use of lists to extract corpora, which can then be subjected to a series of operations including the application of working definitions, the plotting of distributions across space and time, and explanatory analyses of the resulting forms" (ibid.: 38). These lists can then be utilised in various ways as Zhou and Sun assert: "Bibliography-based quantitative methods can be used to verify or question an impression, find trends and look for patterns and can carry great persuasive power in historical research" (Zhou and Sun, 2017: 115). Indeed, Pym also focuses on the importance of bibliography-based quantitative methods such as the mapping of translation statistics when questioning the importance of frequencies of translational work: "When lists have been compiled, one of the few things you can immediately turn them into is a frequency curve… The curves can confirm or deny the countless minor hypotheses, suspicions or hunches that surface as one goes along compiling the lists" (Pym, 1998: 71). The usefulness of compiling lists for comparison should not be ignored in translation history as they can show important trends in translational work and will therefore be utilised throughout this study within varying contexts.

Unfortunately, while there is currently no comprehensive bibliography/list of specifically Nynorsk translations to begin with for this study, there does exist an extremely useful and detailed Danish bibliography of Scandinavian translations of texts from antiquity and the Middle Ages. Titled *Oldtidens og Middelalderens Litteratur – i skandinaviske oversættelser* (website: http://skandinaviske-oversaettelser.net/), and edited by Johanna Akujärvi and Lars Boje Mortensen, it focuses on Norwegian (both Bokmål and Nynorsk), Danish and Swedish translations of texts from the Middle Ages, predominantly Old Norse texts, and texts from antiquity, predominantly classical Greek and Latin texts. Texts can be searched by

original title, original author, target language or translator, which has been of great use to this study. There are certain limitations to the search field in that it is not possible to search by source language, i.e. focus on Old Norse source texts only, or filter results by date, i.e. translations following the codification of Nynorsk in 1853. There are also instances where a text is labelled as having been translated simply into *norsk* ("Norwegian") rather than specifying Bokmål or Nynorsk. Whilst this discrepancy is understandable from a non-Norwegian bibliography, it does highlight a need for clearer definitions and detail when it comes to comparing and differentiating between Bokmål and Nynorsk translations.

Highlighting the purpose of the bibliography, *Oldtidens og Middelalderens Litteratur – i skandinaviske oversættelser*'s home page states:

> Filologer, historikere og forfattere har gennem tiderne lagt et kolossalt arbejde i at fortolke og gengive de gamle teksters indhold i et samtidigt sprog. Denne kulturarv bliver desværre mere og mere usynlig da mange nordiske læsere lader sig nøje med lettere tilgængelige engelske oversættelser som man fejlagtigt tror er bedre, mere videnskabelige, mere poetiske, eller lettere at forstå. (Akujärvi and Mortensen, *Oldtidens og Middelalderens Litteratur – i skandinaviske oversættelser*: home page)[7]

It is of note that Scandinavians themselves do not seem to have a broad awareness of their own translation history, and it may seem surprising to a first-language reader of English to hear that Scandinavians with perfectly good, perhaps even superior, translations of classical texts in their languages would prefer to read them in English translation. However, one key factor here, as will be frequently shown in this study, is that the significance, ability to influence and success of a translation is its availability. Indeed, the editors of *Oldtidens og Middelalderens Litteratur – i skandinaviske oversættelser* are in agreement that if one looks hard enough into the translation history of Norway (or Denmark/Sweden), a suitable translation of an Old Norse (or Greek/Latin) text already exists. This study will also show the need to organise and further analyse these hidden/forgotten texts that are found not only in this bibliography but also elsewhere in the Norwegian cultural archive.

[7] Throughout the ages, linguists, historians and authors have put in a massive amount of effort in interpreting and reproducing the content of the old texts in a contemporary language. Unfortunately, this cultural heritage is becoming more and more invisible as many Nordic readers settle for more readily available English translations, which they mistakenly believe to be better, more academic, more poetic, or easier to understand.

Beyond the compiling of lists and bibliographies, the building of an archive of Nynorsk saga translations requires locating and linking texts from pre-existing archives and libraries. Fortunately for this study, and other translational research carried out concerning Norway, a great amount of data concerning the history of Norwegian texts is available at the National Library of Norway (Nasjonalbiblioteket) both physically and digitally. This means that the translational statements being researched here can be readily found online, for the most part. As the National Library of Norway states:

> The National Library of Norway is digitizing its entire collection. The Norwegian Legal Deposit Act requires that all published content, in all media, be deposited with the National Library of Norway…The digital collection contains material dating from the Middle Ages up to the current day. (‘Digitizing at the National Library’).

Furthermore, the National Library of Norway provides “infrastructure for external users and contributes to the development of new knowledge and methods in the digital humanities field” (‘Strategy’). This has been of great use in the writing of this thesis as a researcher situated outside of Norway.

Having access to digital copies of not only the translated texts, but also letters, diaries and other works of the translators facilitates the research and analyses in this study. Nonetheless, not every text, piece of correspondence and draft linked to the archive of Nynorsk saga translations can be found online, or indeed at all, so these gaps in knowledge need to be acknowledged when appropriate. As Hephzibah Israel and Matthias Frenz point out: “The missing pieces frustrate attempts to re-construct stories but, in doing so, also provide clues to the networks that tie the collection of (random?) information to the control of knowledge” (Israel and Frenz, 2019: 335). Why certain translations appear and the visibility of translational work within the Norwegian cultural archive, in the Foucauldian sense, are key factors that will be addressed in Chapter 4.

In the case of Norway and specifically Nynorsk, a significant number of translational statements have been preserved thanks to the relentless collecting and maintaining of texts, letters and diaries by Ivar Aasen himself. Indeed, a great number of his works, diaries and letters can still be found in good condition at the National Library of Norway and Aasentunet, a cultural museum and archive

dedicated to Nynorsk and its creator Ivar Aasen. Whilst Aasen was an especially prolific collector and maintainer of his personal letters and correspondences, many manuscripts and letters of other Nynorsk saga translators have unfortunately not survived. For this reason, it is important to look elsewhere for information on the archive of Nynorsk saga translations as the sections below highlights.

2.2.2 Genette and paratexts

The gathering of information on Nynorsk translational work in this study is greatly benefitted by the inclusion of not only the translations themselves but also of the paratextual data surrounding them. Indeed, when discussing motives and purposes of a translation within the context of translation history, it is fruitful to analyse as many causes as possible that may have given rise to said translations. Thus, this study does not limit itself to solely analysing the main text of these translations, thereby developing a more complete archive of Nynorsk saga translations. Paratexts can also be linked with Foucault in that they can be viewed and analysed as additional statements that build an archive of Nynorsk language/translation, adding to the overall discourse on translation in Norway. Firstly, however, the term "paratextual data" or simply "paratext(s)" must be clarified.

In Gérard Genette's influential work, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (1997), he asserts that a "text is rarely presented in an unadorned state, unreinforced and unaccompanied by a certain number of verbal or other productions, such as an author's name, a title, preface, illustrations" (Genette, 1997: 1). These "verbal or other productions" are precisely what Genette, and consequently this study, define as paratexts. Indeed, paratextual data can be extremely useful to translation historians, especially when searching for motives and intended functions of a translation, just as translation historian Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar asserts: "Paratexts can offer valuable insight into the production and reception of translated texts by drawing attention to concepts such as authorship, originality and anonymity" (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2002: 44). This study intends to utilise paratextual data, particularly translators' forewords attached to the text, personal diaries and correspondences and newspaper reviews in order to draw attention to the motives behind Nynorsk saga translations and what their intended effects may have been.

Genette further categorises and defines two different paratextual elements each of which are of use to this study. These are based on the location of the element in relation to the text. The first are “peritexts” which are elements physically attached to the text such as “the title or the preface and sometimes elements inserted into the interstices of the text, such as chapter titles or certain notes” (Genette, 1997: 5). The second are “epitexts” which are distanced elements that are “located outside the book, generally with the help of the media (interviews, conversations) or under cover of private communications (letters, diaries, and others)” (ibid.: 5). The peritextual elements such as prefaces and footnotes, along with epitextual elements such as letters and diaries are significant pieces of information for this study, not only from a historical perspective but also from a linguistic perspective, since the prefaces and footnotes attached to these Nynorsk translations often highlight linguistic choices/etymological information of certain words in addition to the ideological motives concerning nation building, motives that are also highlighted in the letters and diaries of the translators (for example, Arne Garborg’s *Dagbok 1905-1923*). Another paratextual category is that of the “publisher’s peritext” which Genette defines as “the whole zone of the peritext that is the direct and principal (but not exclusive) responsibility of the publisher…we are dealing here with the outermost peritext (the title, the title page, and their appendages)” (ibid.: 16), since the publishers of these Nynorsk translations often exhibit certain elements of nation building. Thus, any information added by these institutions may shed light on the motives and intended functions of the translations.

This notion of the publisher’s peritext highlights a limitation in Pym’s principles of translation history, in particular his second principle which states that “the central object of historical knowledge should be the human translator” (Pym, 1998: ix). Clearly the human translator cannot be considered in isolation, especially when historical research on translation is contextualised within an entire nation or culture, influenced by a variety of institutions, cultural aspects and historical events to name but a few of the factors affecting and being affected by translation. Indeed, it seems pertinent, especially with regard to Pym’s emphasis on multiple causation, to study translation history with a focus not on *one central* object but with multiple objects in mind, each possessing varying and fluctuating value at a specific point in time, for example, studying the history of translation with regard to the translator, the

publishers of translations, the political and social situation a translation was produced within, in addition to cultural and historical events that affect and are affected by translational work. As Hermans wisely warns: “Of course, translators and other participants may volunteer information about why they did certain things, but the researcher would do well not to take these claims at face value” (Hermans, 2022: 32). Analysis of paratextual data enables this kind of historical study to uncover new and significant information, since as Genette states, paratexts contain “spatial, temporal, substantial, pragmatic, and functional characteristics” (Genette, 1997: 4). These characteristics are able to highlight why certain translations were produced and how they were intended to affect the target culture. Indeed, it would be remiss to neglect the paratextual data of these Nynorsk translations, as Szu-Wen Kung astutely emphasises: “the paratext is thought to contain vital clues for researchers to infer or understand the translational phenomena absent or implicit in translated text” (Kung, 2013: 50). Thus, before attempting to examine the effect of these translations on the Nynorsk lexicon, their paratextual data must be analysed in order to uncover their potential intended effect and *raison d’être*.

A final important note on Genette’s formulation of *paratext* is how it relates to translations. Genette concludes his 1997 work by saying:

> I have likewise left out three practices whose paratextual relevance seems to me undeniable… The first of the three practices is *translation*, particularly when it is more or less revised or checked by the author… and all the more so when the entire task is undertaken by the author alone, in keeping with the established practice of a bilingual writer such as Beckett, each of whose translations must, in one way or another, serve as commentary on the original text. (Genette, 1997: 405)

It would seem that Genette considers a translation to be a paratext of the original source text, in that it “serves as commentary on the original text”. Furthermore, Genette’s assertion that “the paratextual element is always subordinate to ‘its’ text” (ibid.: 12) complicates the relationship between, and values of, translations and their source texts. Kathryn Batchelor highlights the problematic nature of this idea in her 2018 work *Translation and paratexts*, asserting that:

> The role played by translation in Genette’s typology is premised on a view of translation that does not completely ignore the possibilities for meaning-laden decision-making that translation processes offer, but nevertheless adopts a

> conservative view of the changes wrought though translation, viewing translations as synonymous with later editions of an original text and involving no change in authorship. Needless to say, such a view runs counter to the understanding of translations that currently holds sway in the discipline of translation studies whereby translation is seen as a creative process of rewriting. (Batchelor, 2018: 22)

In the case of the Nynorsk saga translations analysed in this study, it was clearly not possible for the nineteenth- and twentieth-century translators to consult with the authors of the Old Norse source texts to have them check over their translational work. To view these Nynorsk translations as later editions of the original texts would seem somewhat anachronistic and as Batchelor also warns: “interpreting translations as paratexts is a process fraught with difficulty and perhaps even fundamentally flawed” (ibid.: 20). Regardless of one’s stance on whether translations are paratexts or not, the methods utilised in this study focus on the paratextual elements of the translated text as a starting point in order to avoid any notion of a subordinate value being placed on these significant works of translation.

2.2.3 Translation comparisons and dictionary methods

In order to examine the effect a translation may have had on the language it was translated into, Bondevik, in his PhD thesis *Studiar i det nynorske bibelmålet: morfologi og ordtilfang* (1992), puts forward certain methods that are extremely useful and applicable to this study. Firstly, it is important to note that Bondevik focuses solely on *Det nynorske bibelmålet* (“the Nynorsk Bible language”), that is, his study is on the Nynorsk language found only in translations of biblical texts. This constant variable allows comparisons to be made and developments to be studied, since by looking at retranslations/republications of the same text, similarities and differences can be analysed and chronological developments in the vocabulary (and/or style and syntax) may be considered by the words that went out of use, or the words that were brought into use, in Bondevik’s words: “ord som går ut or bruk” (Bondevik, 1992: 359) and “ord som vert tekne i bruk” (ibid.: 360).[8] However, with

[8] ‘Words that went out of use’; ‘words that were taken into use’

regard to this study's linking with the theory and goals of corpus planning, I will also add the term words that were solidified, revived and/or maintained.

Bondevik also emphasises the importance of a chronological look at translations: "Variasjonen i ordtilfanget under ein kronologisk sysnvinkel har vore det viktigaste emnet i dette kapittelet" (ibid.: 354).[9] Furthermore, Bondevik compares not only several versions of Nynorsk translations of biblical text but also translations of biblical text in a variety of other Germanic languages, such as Danish, Icelandic and English, in order to discover the sources that the translator may have used for a particular word. Whilst it is not this study's intention to trace from where a particular word was chosen by a particular translator, the idea of using languages outside of Nynorsk to compare word choices with and perhaps explore why a word was chosen is helpful. Thus, this study will not only compare translations and retranslations of Old Norse literature into Nynorsk, but also translations, if they exist within the time period, into Danish and Bokmål. This will help highlight whether certain words were chosen or created in order to deliberately deviate from Danish or the Bokmål standard based on the motives and ideologies highlighted by the translation statements, in addition to understanding how the initial Nynorsk translation may have affected the Nynorsk language in subsequent translations. It may also often be the case that a word shared by all Scandinavian languages is used when translating Old Norse, facilitating a need to occasionally compare the Norwegian translations with both Danish and Swedish ones as well. Chapter 4 will highlight key cultural texts too, such as Arne Garborg's translation of Homer's *Odýsseia*, which will be used in the comparison of translations and word choices of the Nynorsk saga translators. These key cultural texts have been selected due to a connection between them and a Nynorsk saga translation/translator. In the case of Garborg's Homer translation, this is highlighted due to it being co-translated with Steinar Schjøtt, translator of *Heimskringla* into Nynorsk, for example. More detailed reasons for these additions to the comparative work will become apparent when these texts are contextualised. However, their use and pertinence are re-emphasised where appropriate, namely in Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

[9] "The lexical variation from a chronological point of view has been the most important topic within this chapter" [Chapter on the vocabulary of Nynorsk Bible translations].

In addition to this, the use of dictionaries and lexicographical work is also of great significance in Bondevik's study. As he rightly asserts: "Til vanleg har nyno-brukarar sett på ordbøkene som norm for kva ord som kunnne brukast i nyno" (ibid.: 354).[10] Indeed, not only does Bondevik use translations into languages other than Nynorsk to compare to the Nynorsk translations, but also contemporary dictionaries, for example Aasen's *Ordbog over det norske Folkesprog* (1850) and *Norsk Ordbog* (1873), Hans Ross' *Norsk ordbog I-VI* (1895-1913) and Matias Skard's *Nynorsk ordbok for rettskriving og litteraturlesnad* (1912), in order to discover the source behind certain word choices. In this study, a similar approach will be used; when selecting words to analyse, contemporary dictionaries will be the first port of call in order to discover whether the translator picked a pre-existing word or used, or even created, a new term. A key dictionary for Bondevik and this study is *Norsk Ordbok. Ordbok over det norske folkemålet og det nynorske skriftmålet* (1939-2016), published by Det Norske Samlaget, as this dictionary not only includes a comprehensive lexicon of the Nynorsk written language, but also of the various Norwegian dialects.

Unlike Bondevik, this study will also utilise *Nynorskordboka* (1986-present), which was "first published in 1986 as a collaborative project between the University of Oslo and the Norwegian Language Council" ('History'). Within the dictionary, "spelling and inflection are always in line with current standards. The dictionary states meanings, examples of usage and gives short etymologies" (ibid.). These two dictionaries used in conjunction provide a modern and historical overview of the Nynorsk language and lexicon, in addition to being reliable and official sources for the Nynorsk language. Thus, this study uncovers words that have gone out of use or been brought into use within these Nynorsk translations, and details whether these words were adopted into one or both of these dictionaries and therefore, gained a permanent place in the Nynorsk language, or in other words, were lexically solidified. Two further significant dictionaries will also be used within the case study in Chapter 6, and contextualised in Chapter 4, namely Alf Torp and Marius Hægstad's *Gamalnorsk ordok* (1909) and Steinar Schjøtt's *Norsk ordbok, med ordtyding paa norsk-dansk* (1914).[11] The former is useful due to its provision of Nynorsk

[10] "Commonly, users of Nynorsk have looked at the dictionaries as the norm for which words can be used in Nynorsk."
[11] Old Norse dictionary (1909); Norwegian dictionary with definitions in Norwegian-Danish (1914).

translations of Old Norse words and the latter for its usage and method of word-selection.

Many of these dictionaries had a pedagogical use: the title pages of the later editions of Heggstad's *Norsk ordlista* state, for example, that the work is "autorisera til skulebruk av Kyrkje- og undervisningsdepartmentet" (L. Eskeland, 1919: title page).[12] Through the locating of words within these lexicographical works, a more immediate impact of the translational work may be traced, for when this study finds a word in one of the Nynorsk saga translations which is then found in one of these lexicographical works post-dating the translation, a potential connection may be made between translational work and subsequent additions to the vocabulary within official and authorised dictionaries. Obviously, other causes for additions to dictionaries may exist. Indeed, this study does not aim to answer whether spoken speech and the personal dialect of the lexicographer may have influenced entries into a dictionary. However, the mere use of a word in a translated work of Old Norse literature would have helped solidify that word and made it more likely for such a word to appear in a dictionary, as Chapters 4 and 5 will argue. Moreover, whilst correlation does not always signify causation, by analysing significant amounts of lexical items and consequential lexicographical works, this study will make a strong case for the importance of translational work on the development of the Nynorsk lexicon.

How these lexical items are chosen, beyond words that have gone out of use and brought into use within these translations and retranslations, must also be explained here. As Bondevik highlights: "Sidan dei nordiske måla har eit stort sams ordtilfang (vi ser bort frå ortografi), er det uråd å bruka nokon statistisk metode i jamføringa, det må gjerast eit utval" (Bondevik, 1992: 367).[13] How this selection of lexical terms should be made is, according to Bondevik, up to the personal judgement of the researcher; yet, he also highlights basic principles behind this judgement, which will also be applied to this study. Firstly, Bondevik asserts that the words that are chosen should not be "altfor frekvent[e]" (ibid.: 367).[14] This study may

[12] "Authorised for school use by the Royal Ministry of Church Affairs and Education."
[13] "Since the Nordic languages have a large, shared vocabulary (that is, not considering orthography), it is impractical to use any statistical method in the comparisons, instead a selection [of lexical terms] must be gathered."
[14] "too frequent."

deviate from this if a word is simultaneously frequent and valuable for reasons of being a neologism, being connected to significant paratextual data, or being brought into use compared to a previous translation. Secondly, Bondevik states that the words must have "synonym, eller litt mindre presist, alternative leksem som kan brukast til å få fram om lag det same semantiske innhaldet" (ibid.: 367-368).[15] Finally, this study suggests that words that have significant paratextual information attached should also be analysed, since the translator has often highlighted certain words for their linguistic importance. More detail on my selection of words will be highlighted in Chapter 6.

A relatively new feature of the National Library of Norway's digital collection called NB N-gram, introduced in 2006, was initially going to be used to provide quantitative data for the comparative linguistic analysis in Chapter 6, since it allows researchers to investigate word frequencies through the searching of the digital collection of the National Library of Norway. As the website explains: "NB N-gram^{BETA} er en søketjeneste som gir deg muligheten til å finne og sammenligne ordfrekvenser, dvs. når og hvor ofte ord forekommer i et historisk perspektiv" ('N-gram beta').[16] This service has the potential to help formulate frequency graphs for individual words throughout a chosen time period. Such frequency curves, as Pym says, "can confirm or deny the countless minor hypotheses, suspicions or hunches that surface as one goes along compiling the lists" (Pym, 1998: 71). Unfortunately, however, this service is still in its beta stage and is thus not complete. Furthermore, as it relies on electronic scans and checks of the physical texts, the National Library of Norway warns that mistakes may appear, or results may be missing from the frequency graphs, especially for older texts. As this study utilises mainly older texts, often written in the gothic script, it has proved to be unsuitable in demonstrating reliable or comprehensive results of word frequencies. For example, searches for the word *daper* came back with results for the word *håper* as well, perhaps due to different fonts or unclear scans of the original text. For this reason, providing the frequency numbers of these words would have undoubtedly been not only inaccurate but also misleading. Therefore, the linguistic analysis in Chapter 6 is approached

[15] "synonyms, or less precisely, alternative lexemes which may be used to produce approximately the same semantic content."
[16] "NB N-gram^{BETA} is a search service that allows you to find and compare word frequencies, i.e. when and how often words appear within a historical perspective."

from a qualitative perspective, rather than a quantitative one. Despite its limitations, this service has still proved to be a useful tool for finding other texts where certain words may appear, i.e. whilst the frequency numbers may be inaccurate, the results often include among them the texts where the searched word appears.

2.2.3.1 Translation comparisons at word level

The comparison of translations is also of importance to this study, since through the comparison of a translation and its subsequent retranslations at word level, one can trace language change and lexical development. Indeed, within translation history, retranslations are of central significance and can shed light on how translational statements may connect to one another. As Hermans points out:

> Retranslations are equally obvious illustrations of the way successive translations interlink over time. They may be produced for a variety of reasons. Ignorance might be one of them, a translator being unaware of an already existing version, in which case the direct intertextual link is not with this pre-existing version but with other translations more generally. Another reason might be competition among publishers vying to dump their translations on the market as quickly as possible… The most common reason to produce a retranslation is a sense of dissatisfaction with one or more previous versions. (Hermans, 2022: 120)

However, as argued in Chapters 4 and 5, the reasoning for retranslations of Old Norse literature within the Nynorsk context is multifaceted and frequently focuses on the language choices of the previous versions. The dissatisfaction mentioned by Hermans above in the case of Nynorsk saga translations is often with regard to the language, grammar and style of the previous versions, although very often it is a modernising of the skaldic and Eddic poetry that is focused on by the retranslators. For this reason, the development of the Nynorsk lexicon was and is often mirrored by Nynorsk translational work of Old Norse literature as will be highlighted in the lexical comparative work found in Chapter 5 concerning the four Nynorsk translations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*.

Through my analysis of Nynorsk retranslations, this study is also able to challenge the ‘Retranslation Hypothesis’ as described by Andrew Chesterman that: “later translations tend to be closer to the source text” (Chesterman, 2004: 8), which

built upon Antoine Berman's *Palimpsestes* (1990). As Outi Paloposki and Kaisa Koskinen pointed out in 2004:

> Many of the studies that explicitly deal with first translations and retranslations and would thus be ideal for testing the hypothesis do not mention it. Thus, there seems to be no substantial body of evidence either in support of or against the retranslation hypothesis. (Paloposki and Koskinen, 2004, 27)

Whilst it was not this study's aim to support or challenge the retranslation hypothesis, through my analysis of the Nynorsk translations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, Aasen's first translation and Fosse's most recent translation have revealed the opposite to be true with regard to the retranslation hypothesis. Indeed, Aasen's translational choices are much closer to the source text than the three later translations are.

It is not just at word level that retranslations should be considered, however. Sharon Deane-Cox points out the value of case studies that go beyond linguistic comparisons in her seminal work *Retranslation: Translation, Literature and Reinterpretation*:

> In contrast, the following case studies choose to look outwards from the text, placing frequent and illuminating emphasis on the socio-cultural factors as the driving force behind the shape and substance of retranslation. They all engage with the textual and extratextual dynamics of retranslations, and in so doing, instigate evidence-based examinations of the phenomenon which then underscore the capacity and the limitations of the Retranslation Hypothesis as a descriptive model in particular or of the history-as-progress model in general. (Deane-Cox, 2014: 7)

In much the same way, this study will also examine the external factors and paratextual information of these Nynorsk retranslations in order to reveal a limitation of the Retranslations Hypothesis within the context of Nynorsk saga retranslations.

The method of analysing (re)translations in this thesis could be seen, in light of Bondevik's work, at least initially, as a study in "det nynorske sagamålet", as the method has focused mainly on researching translations of a single text or genre, where retranslations are frequent and varied.[17] However, this theoretical framework and methodology may also be applied to other studies on translation history or

[17] The Nynorsk saga language.

language planning. For example, this method could be applied to study the translation history of a single author, perhaps Shakespeare or Homer, whose influence may be apparent but not immediately measurable, but whose work is often retranslated and is considered to have a distinct voice and use of language. Conversely, this comparative method and use of lexicographical works may prove fruitful for studies on the effect of translational work on the creation and establishment of scientific or technological terms in Nynorsk, such as the scientific and other non-fiction translations of textbooks that were produced from 1853 onwards. In order to apply these methods to Nynorsk saga translations, it is necessary to first contextualise Norway's history and the Nynorsk language situation in the following chapter.

As this chapter has emphasised, translational work has historically not been taken into account in the study of corpus planning and linguistic nationalism, particularly in the Norwegian context. By intersecting these ideas with theories and approaches from translation studies, this study not only brings a new dimension to the history of the Nynorsk language but also provokes new perspectives for other histories where the fields of translation, language planning and nation building may again be intersected.

3 Historical Context

This chapter will provide the historical context within which the Nynorsk language developed, and the translations of Old Norse literature explored in this study. I will also examine tensions between the perceived old and the new within the context of Norwegian nation-building and Norwegian language planning in the nineteenth century. This will help shed light on the significance of the Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature and establish the context from which they were produced. This chapter will also highlight key translational works within the history of Norway and moments when translations either did not come to fruition or were avoided altogether. By highlighting these translation moments and the lack of translation(s), I will further emphasise the need to foreground translational activity when discussing the archives of Norwegian history and Norwegian language history. This chapter will end with an exploration of Ivar Aasen's ideological background combined with his personal motives in creating the Nynorsk language in order to better understand the unique aspects of Nynorsk and lay the foundation for Chapter 4.

3.1 The growth of the idea of the Norwegian nation and the post-1814 nation-building project

In order to discuss the motives and influence of translational work with regard to Norwegian nation-building and Nynorsk corpus planning, it is necessary to understand nationalism in the Norwegian context and situate these Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature within the nation-building processes of Norway during the period studied here. However, all the many nuances and factors affecting the history of Norway cannot be covered fully here and it is not this study's aim to do so. Instead, this chapter intends to provide a brief contextualisation of Norwegian history, specifically the periods in which Norwegian nation-building and the Norwegian language came to the fore in relation to translation activity, so that the archive of Nynorsk saga translations may be then introduced and inserted into this wider archive of Norwegian history.

Where and when the nation, or imagined community as Benedict Anderson (1983, revised edition 2006) defines it, of Norway begins is widely debated and

relative to the researcher's perspective to some extent, yet the cultural systems that preceded the creation of the Nynorsk saga translations post-1850 can be reasonably traced to the beginning of the Viking Age in the late eighth century C. E. when the inhabitants of regions that now belong within the borders of Norway began to traverse the seas. However, the lands and peoples that constituted the nation of Norway from the Viking Age to 1853 held varying positions of power as a result of a variety of unions with Denmark and Sweden during this period. For example, the thirteenth century is often known as the 'Age of Greatness' for Norway, although as Ivar Libæk highlights: "Labelling the 13th century an 'Age of Greatness' may be a form of nationalistic vanity, since the country was almost entirely a rural society and the Norwegian state a poor one compared to most others" (Libæk, 1999: 37). Nonetheless, from the perspective of the nation builders in the nineteenth century, this period was indeed a time they could harken back to and promote as a building block for the fledgling Norwegian realm post 1814. This harkening and promoting would prove to be a significant aspect of the translations of Old Norse literature in the nineteenth century also.

It is of note for this study that this 'Age of Greatness', particularly the reign of King Haakon Haakonsson from 1217 to 1263, was also a period of significant translational activity. During his reign, Haakon Haakonsson had to provide legitimacy to his rule due to political struggles concerning his claims to the throne. This problem was not easily overcome, and as Donald Sunnen stresses: "If Haakon was to persuade his subjects of his legitimacy, he needed to place both himself and his office in a well-established tradition" (Sunnen, 1993: 88). In order to accomplish this, Haakon and his followers looked to the royal courts of Europe as Knut Helle highlights: "From the mid-thirteenth century, and under European influence, a distinctive court culture was consciously fostered. Thus, the old martial virtues were augmented by courtly manners and elegant appearance. This helped attach the aristocracy to the service of the crown" (Helle, 1995b: 63). The establishment of Haakon's royal court and his legitimacy as ruler was further strengthened through the commissioning and creation of Old Norse translations of Old French romances and chivalric tales, primarily the *chansons de geste*, as Sunnen emphasises: "Through his authorization of all these literary works, Haakon sought not only to amuse his court but to cast himself in the image of a 'just king', thereby bringing

stability to the monarchy and establishing his descendants as the rulers of Norway" (Sunnen, 1993: 101). It is perhaps here that the idea that translations of classic literature could be used as a tool to help strengthen a monarchy and bring stability to the state first began in Norway. Indeed, this type of significant and substantial translational activity would occur again in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries within Norway, in order to help strengthen not only the notion of Norway as an independent nation state but also establish and strengthen the Nynorsk language itself as a fitting representative of the nation. This coming together of the national state and a 'national' language will be further explored in Chapter 4.

The 'Age of Greatness' for Norway would not last, however, as the Kalmar Union, which united the kingdoms of Norway, Sweden and Denmark in 1397 (Helle, 1995c: 116), weakened Norway's independence and tied the Norwegian kingdom to its increasingly more powerful neighbours. Norway's independence as a separate kingdom would be effectively culled in 1536, despite Sweden leaving the Kalmar Union in 1523, when Christian III of Denmark, after having introduced the Reformation in Denmark, declared in his coronation charter:

> Because Norway now is much reduced in power and fortune, and the subjects of the realm of Norway no longer are capable of supporting a Ruler and King… and because most members of the council of Norway, and most especially Archbishop Olav, twice now have failed to fulfil their obligations towards Denmark, we have therefore sworn and promised Denmark's council and nobles that… the realm of Norway hereafter shall be and remain under the crown of Denmark in like manner to the other lands of Jutland, Fyn or Skåne, and hereafter shall neither be nor be called a separate kingdom, but be part of Denmark and under Denmark's crown for evermore. (Christian III's coronation charter, cited in Libæk, 1999: 47)

The sentiments presented in this charter would certainly resonate for hundreds of years in Norway and have severe consequences not only for the imagined community of Norway, but also the notion of what would develop as the Norwegian language. The union with Denmark would finally come to an end in 1814 following the Treaty of Kiel, in which Norway was ceded to Sweden as a spoil of the Napoleonic Wars. This sudden change in circumstances sparked the Norwegian elite, sensing an opportunity to establish a Norwegian democracy, into action. On 10 April, 1814, 112 popularly elected representatives assembled at Eidsvoll in order to

draft a constitution for Norway. This constitution was signed on 17 May, 1814, with which: “Not only had Norway been restored as an independent state, it also had a constitution that gave political rights to an unusually wide spectrum of the people” (Dyrvik, 1995: 207). This outcome relied on a great many external factors not just within Norway but also in Scandinavia and Europe as a whole, as Rasmus Glenthøj and Morten Nordhagen Ottosen point out:

> A different outcome to the Swedish crisis of succession in 1810 would have led to a different chain of events and certainly influenced the trajectory of Scandinavian history, particularly given the twists, turns and above all monumental impact of the Napoleonic Wars. Hence, there was nothing inevitable about the eventual course of Scandinavian history in the nineteenth century, let alone the present Scandinavian nation-states. (Glenthøj and Ottosen, 2024: 8)

Indeed, the territorial gains and losses following the Napoleonic Wars would have a significant effect across Scandinavia, not just in Norway. For example, whilst Denmark lost Norway as a result of siding with Napoleon, Denmark retained the territories of the Faroe Islands, Greenland and Iceland. Thus, the nation-building processes in these countries, despite having many parallels with Norway at this time, followed a different route to nationhood.

This idea of *restoring* the Norwegian nation rather than *creating* or *establishing* highlights an important question not only for the nation builders and linguists of nineteenth-century Norway, but also for this study, i.e. is Norway an old or a new nation? After all, as early as the 890s CE, the ideas of the country of Norway and the ethnic group of Norwegians were documented by King Alfred in his Anglo-Saxon adaptation of *Orosius*, when the Norwegian Ohthere of Hålogaland came to England. In the description of his origins and homeland, Ohthere differentiates the lands of Norway (*Norðwege*), Sweden (*Sveoland*) and Denmark (*Denamearc*), amongst others, and repeatedly uses the word *Norðmann* (modern Norwegian: *nordmann*; English: *Norwegian* or *North-man*) to describe his fellow countrymen, claiming that he himself “dwelt the northmost of all the Northmen” (Thorpe, 1902: 249). Furthermore, saga descriptions from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of the unification of Norway in 872 CE highlight how the petty kingdoms of Norway were unified into a single kingdom by Harald Fairhair, a kingdom that nation builders in nineteenth-century Norway would look back on as the predecessor to

their own nation. Indeed, this production of “a system of small and middle-sized states based on territorial unification under a royal or princely power” (Helle, 1995a: 24-25) by Harald Fairhair would eventually lead to the ‘Age of Greatness’ for the kingdom of Norway in the thirteenth century.

From these examples, there was a clear case to be made that Norway was indeed an old nation with ancestral roots that were well documented, if not lost to, or forgotten by, the contemporary Norwegian populace post-1814. It was perhaps this gap in knowledge that the Nynorsk saga translators intended to fill in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with a motive to not only establish the Nynorsk language but also restore and remind Norway of its own past. As will be shown in Chapter 4, for the National Romantics, Norwegian/Norse linguists and saga translators of post-1814 Norway, the answer to whether Norway was an old or a new nation would have predominantly been a resounding *old*. After all, for the National Romantics, the idealisation of the past provided legitimacy for that which was born new in the present. However, getting this idea across to a population dominated by Denmark and the Danish language for centuries was a far from simple task, complicated further by events following the 1814 constitution. One solution for disseminating this idea, however, as this study argues, was to produce modern translations of Old Norse literature, as through the act of translation, one could meaningfully link the past to the present and to the future in the service of the nation-state.

Following the events of 1814, the democratic freedom gained from the national assembly at Eidsvoll would not last, as Sweden exerted its power over Norway and redrafted the constitution in November of the same year in order to maintain the personal union between Norway and Sweden put forward in the Treaty of Kiel. Nonetheless, Sweden did allow Norway to retain its constitution. The politics of the year 1814 were complex and reached far beyond Norway and Sweden in the fight for a constitutional Norway, as historian Ruth Hemstad points out:

> Det var en kamp om opinionen, om å påvirke det som ble kalt den offentlige stemme, i ønsket retning. Denne kampen ble ført like mye utenfor som i Norge og Norden. De

> primære målgruppene var det norske folk – og den britiske politiske offentlighet. (Hemstad, 2014: 409)[18]

Again, this highlights the influence from external factors and nation states on Norway's history and nation-building process.

However, the National Romantic ideals growing in Norway throughout the nineteenth century coincided with, and most likely directly affected, an increasingly tense relationship with Sweden towards the end of the nineteenth century. Indeed, as the union weakened, "den økende nasjonale selvbevisstheten og de stadige stridighetene med Sverige for å oppnå et likeverdig forhold i unionen hadde fått mange til å vurdere alternative løsninger på konfliktene" (Hoelseth, 2007: 211).[19] This alternative solution was to be a dissolution of the union in 1905, culminating in an independent Norway at long last. However, the debates and ideas circulating in Norway during the latter half of the nineteenth century concerning the national language, literature and history of Norway did not come to an end following Norwegian independence in 1905. Indeed, these factors that affected nation building came to the fore to a far greater extent due to the need to establish and legitimise this newly independent imagined community.

As Dyrvik asserts: "The Norwegian constitution was the most important legacy of 1814. For over 175 years, it has been the rock on which political life and the country's basic civil rights have rested" (Dyrvik, 1995: 209). 1814, therefore, has become a natural starting point to discuss nationalism within nineteenth-century Norway as the beginning of the nation-building project, although, in practice the nation-building activities would occur 20 years later in the 1830s. The 1830s would also be the beginnings of Scandinavianism as Glenthøj and Ottosen assert:

> In its initial ideological manifestation, Scandinavianism emerged in the late 1830s, centred on cultural exchanges, but many of its adherents had liberal or radical sympathies. Several young Swedish and Danish liberals saw Scandinavian unification as a vehicle for constitutional reform, preferably

[18] It was a battle for public opinion, to influence what was called the public voice, in the desired direction. This battle was waged as much outside as within Norway and the Nordic countries. The primary target audiences were the Norwegian people and the British political public.
[19] the growing, national self-consciousness and the constant struggles with Sweden to achieve an equal relationship within the union had prompted many to consider alternative solutions to the conflicts.

> modelled on the Norwegian constitution of 1814. (Glenthøj and Ottosen, 2024: 10)

Old Norse literature would form a part of these cultural exchanges during the 1830s when a great deal of the sagas were translated into Danish and Swedish by Carl Christian Rafn and Carl Gustaf Kröningssvärd respectively.

Whilst it is not accurate or wise to place a starting date for the birth of a nation, considering the cultural systems that precede an imagined community and the multiple causalities that bring it into existence, 1814 does mark a pivotal point in the growth of an imagined community in Norway as a constitution can be regarded, and was most certainly regarded by the 112 representatives at Eidsvoll, as a foundational stone in the building of a legitimate nation. After all, it was legitimacy that these representatives sought, not just on the global stage, but more importantly for the Norwegian people. The linguists commentating on Norwegian culture and language history in the nineteenth century were predominantly of the opinion that Norway had long been a nation in and of itself, as will be shown in the following section. How such legitimacy should be achieved, however, was widely debated in Norway during the nineteenth century. As this study intends to highlight, one significant solution was to produce translations of Old Norse literature, literature that was rooted in Norway's ancestral past and a perceived 'Age of Greatness' in the collective imagination, into the New Norwegian language created by Ivar Aasen.

Jon Gunnar Jørgensen highlights the importance of Norwegian translations of Old Norse literature during this period of Norwegian history:

> Arbeidet med å gjøre sagaene og de historiske kildeskriftene tilgjengelige var rettet mot ulike målgrupper. På den ene side var det et vitenskapelig arbeid, på den annen side folkeopplysning. Bærebjelken i den norske konstitusjonen var demokratiet, og for at den demokratiske ideen skulle realiseres, måtte folket opplyses. Folk måtte skjønne at Norge var en nasjon, og de måtte oppdras til å nære stolthet til landet sitt og til å ta del i de demokratiske prosessene. Sagaene, og særlig kongesagaene, ble derfor viktige redskaper i folkeopplysningen. (Jørgensen, 2018)[20]

[20] The job of making the sagas and historical source texts accessible was aimed at different audiences. On the one hand, it was an academic task and on the other hand, it was for public enlightenment. The mainstay of the Norwegian constitution was democracy, and for the democratic

This initiative in the mid-nineteenth century of educating the Norwegian people on their ancestral Norse roots would be championed by Rudolf Keyser (1803-1864), professor of history at the University of Christiania. Again, it is Jørgensen who highlights the importance of Keyser's use of Old Norse texts in the nation-building initiative:

> Rudolf Keyser successfully built up the study of Norwegian history at the University of Christiania… Keyser's scholarly significance lies, on the one hand, in his teaching of the Icelandic language and Old Norse literature, which recruited many future experts in such fields as history and philology, on the other, his own initiatives in the publishing of source documents. Thanks to Keyser and his students, especially, C. R. Unger, P. A. Munch and Chr. C. A. Lange, the latter half of the nineteenth century became a golden age for the publication of Norwegian source documents. (Jørgensen, 2022: 255-256)

Keyser's emphasis on the teaching of Old Norse language and literature would have a significant influence on the Nynorsk language too, as Keyser was the one who commissioned Ivar Aasen's translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* in 1858, which will be examined in Chapter 5.

The Norwegian nation-building project was influenced by both the rationalist philosophies of the Enlightenment in addition to National Romanticism. As Olav Christensen highlights: "Det norske nasjonsbyggende prosjekt tok del i et klima preget av opplysningstenkning og rasjonalisme…denne måtte først og fremst fremelskes ved å romantisere naturen, historien og befolkningen" (Christensen, 2007: 73).[21] Thus, these two foundational yet opposing ideas led to the Norwegian elite, or, more accurately, educated Norwegian men[22] primarily, having "sterke synspunkter på hvordan det nasjonale kunne styrkes, både som individuelle affekter

idea to be realised, people had to be enlightened. People had to understand that Norway was a nation, and they had to be brought up to nurture pride in their country and to take part in the democratic processes. Therefore, the sagas, and especially the King's sagas, became important tools in the people's enlightenment.

[21] The Norwegian nation-building project occurred in a climate characterised by Enlightenment-thinking and rationalism…this had to be, first and foremost, nursed by a romanticising of nature, history and the population.

[22] By educated Norwegian men, here, I am referring to the *embetsmenn*, i.e., the Norwegian elite who governed society at almost level for most of the nineteenth century. *Embetsmann* can be translated as a *jurist*, *civil servant* or *government official*, yet, during this time (specifically 1814-1884), it can also apply to a number of professionals with a formal education from the University of Kristiania. The role of the *embetsmann* will be further detailed in Section 3.2 below.

og følelser, og som kollektiv integrasjon. Den nye nasjonen hadde selvidealiserende nasjonale selvbilder og en stolt fortid til rådighet" (ibid.: 70).[23] This proud past was a central cultural system from which the dynamic imagined community of Norway could grow. As Anne-Lise Seip argues, in reference to nineteenth-century Norway: "Nasjonalisme ble forankret i tradisjon, men tjente integrasjon og modernisering" (A. Seip, 2007: 108).[24] Norway's National Romanticism further countered the rationalism found in the preceding Enlightenment era, as Gudleiv Bø emphasises: "For romantikerne, derimot, gjør tidas idealistiske filosofi at det essensielt nasjonale forankres metafysisk, og knyttes til de åndelige krefter som styrer historia – derunder nasjonenes utviklingshistorie" (Bø, 2007: 118).[25] This interaction between Norway's ancestral roots and modernisation in nineteenth-century Norway would also play a crucial role in Aasen's work and emphasises one way in which the past could be manipulated to aid the nation-building process in Norway. Indeed, Norway's ancestral past, i.e. the Viking Age and the 'Age of Greatness' when the sagas were written down for the first time, was an important tool for the creation of the Norwegian imagined community in the nineteenth century, as Seip further stresses: "Arbeidet med å skape nye rammer for selvforståelse begynte med å skape forestillingen om et folk og en fortid" (A. Seip, 2007: 99).[26]

Indeed, these ideas were in keeping with the National Romantic philosophy found throughout Europe in the nineteenth century, but specifically German National Romanticism, which had a vast cultural influence on Norway during this time. The National Romantic ideas of the German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder were of particular importance for the Norwegian elite post-1814 as Helge Sandøy explains:

> På 1820- og 1830-talet fangar dei norske intellektuelle opp ideane åt den tyske filosofen, teologen og diktaren Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) om at det er eit samband mellom nasjon, kultur og språk, og dei prøver sjølvsagt å bruke idéane på sitt eige sjølvstendige land. Oppgåva blei da å skape eit bilde av ein norsk nasjon. På

[23] strong views on how the nation could be strengthened, both with regard to individual passions and feelings, and collective integration. The new nation had a self-idealising, national self-images and a proud past at its disposal.
[24] Nationalism was rooted in tradition but served integration and modernisation.
[25] For the romanticists, on the other hand, the contemporary idealistic philosophy rooted the essential nationalism metaphysically, and linked it to the spiritual powers that govern history – including the evolution of the nations.
[26] The work of creating new parameters for a self-image began with creating the idea of a people and a history.

> den måten kunne dei definere kva "ægte" skulle bety, og den folkelege kulturen kunne koplast til ei historie. (Sandøy, 2018: 206-207)[27]

Language, therefore, became a key aspect of the Norwegian nation-building project as a result of this German influence, as Brit Mæhlum and Stian Hårstad further clarify: "Med den tyske romantikken som bakteppe ble det nå postulert et særlig inderlig forhold mellom språk og nasjonalkarakter… Gjennom språket uttryker et folk sin genuine folkeånd eller nasjonalkarakter, som manifesterer seg i form av språkprodukter som sagn, fortellinger og folkeeventyr" (Mæhlum and Hårstad, 2018: 288).[28] It is of note that translations of ancestral and/or canonical literature are omitted from the examples of these "linguistic productions", since as this study intends to highlight, translations into new national languages, in this case, Nynorsk, were utilised to express or promote a national character. Indeed, the saga translations studied here can be paralleled with the collecting of Norwegian folktales by Asbjørnsen and Moe in the middle of the nineteenth century, *Norske Folkeeventyr* (1843-1844), for as Ørnulf Hodne claims, the act of collecting folktales was carried out by people who were "på leting etter sine kulturelle røtter og bruker *sin* muntlige tradisjon i nasjonsbyggingen" (Hodne, 2007: 125).[29] In much the same way, translators of Old Norse literature can be seen not only as searching, but also identifying, revealing and disseminating their cultural roots by using a language based on their oral tradition. That translational work is often overlooked in the ideas connecting languages and nations in the Norwegian context is somewhat hard to fathom considering the amount of translational activity that occurred as a result of such ideas. This will be further examined in Chapter 4.

It is evident from the German-influenced National Romanticism, that language, or more specifically according to Benedict Anderson, a national print-language, was a key tool within the nation-building project of Norway, as it was for

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[27] In the 1820s and 1830s, the Norwegian intellectuals absorbed the ideas of the German philosopher, theologian and poet, Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) that there was a connection between nation, culture and language, and naturally, they attempted to use these ideas for their own independent country. Thereafter, the task became that of creating an image of a Norwegian nation. In this way, they could define what was "genuine", and the culture of the people could be linked to a history.

[28] With German Romanticism as a backdrop, a particularly intimate relationship between language and national character was now postulated… Through language, a people expresses its genuine popular spirit or national character, which manifests itself in the form of linguistic productions such as fables, stories or folktales.

[29] searching for their cultural roots and using *their* oral tradition in the building of the nation.

other countries in Europe during the Romantic period. As Joshua Fishman highlights: “One of the major motivational emphases of modern nationalism has been that the ethnic past must not be lost for within it could be found both the link to greatness as well as the substance of greatness itself” (Fishman, 1973: 44-45). This link, and active linking, between the ancestral past and Norway’s national print-languages will be further detailed in Section 3.2 but it is significant to highlight here the connection between Romantic Nationalism in the nineteenth century and Norway’s national print-languages. In *Imagined Communities* (2006), Anderson mentions this connection in passing when he rather erroneously states that: “In the case of Norway, which had long shared a written language with the Danes, though with a completely different pronunciation, nationalism emerged with Ivar Aasen’s new Norwegian grammar (1848) and dictionary (1850), texts which responded to and stimulated demands for a specifically Norwegian print-language” (Anderson, 2006: 75). This oversimplification of Aasen’s work and the incorrect dating of the nation-building project in Norway may simply be due to Anderson’s unfamiliarity with the Norwegian context, but it is important to clarify, as Stephen Walton rightly asserts, that “Nationalism, a sense of the nation and what constitutes it, preceded Aasen, and that he reworked the definition that had previously been developed” (Walton, 1987: 26). Nonetheless, the linking to the past found in Norway in the nineteenth century would become even more relevant to the work of Aasen and the Nynorsk language in the nineteenth century and would become actualised in the translating of Old Norse literature in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

3.2 Norwegian language history

Links and tensions between the old and the new were as much an issue for the Norwegian language as they were for the nation of Norway, as this section will explore. The modern Norwegian language, with its two official written standards of Bokmål and Nynorsk, descends from what is known in the English-speaking world as Old Norse (*norrønt* or *gamalnorsk* in Norwegian). This ancestral language was shared with the other states in the Nordic region, i.e. Iceland, the Faroe Islands, Denmark, Sweden and parts of the Orkneys, Shetland and Greenland, from the Viking Age up until 1349-1350, when the Black Death ravaged Europe, wiped out

more than 60% of the population (Moseng and others, 1999: 300), and effectively halted the progress of Old Norse as a written language. However, Old Norse, as a blanket term for the written and spoken language in Scandinavia, and in particular Norway, before 1350, does not highlight the nuances concerning the split between West Norse (Norwegian, Icelandic and Faroese) and East Norse (Danish and Swedish) and, therefore, most commonly refers to the language in which the Icelandic and Norwegian saga texts of the thirteenth century were written. Nevertheless, as these languages were, and still are in the cases of Norwegian, Swedish and Danish, mutually intelligible, such a blanket term is useful to highlight the linguistic connections shared by the Nordic region from the Viking Age to 1350.

Following the Black Death in 1349-1350 and the resultant deaths of many of the clergy who were responsible for writing texts in the Old Norse language, coupled with the increasing influence of the Danish language as an administrative written language in Norway following the Kalmar Union, the Old Norse language as a vehicle for written and spoken communication within Norway began to decline. Lars Vikør asserts that after 1400, “Danish and Norse continued to exist side by side, more or less intertwining. With the introduction of the Reformation in 1536, however, the imposition of Danish was almost complete” (Vikør, 1975: 37). Whilst the Reformation promoted national languages as a replacement for Latin throughout Europe, in Norway, it effectively eliminated the national written language, i.e. Old Norse, and replaced it with Danish.

It is of importance, here, to mention that the reason for the elimination of the Old Norse language in Norway and its replacement with Danish was to a significant extent due to translational activity or, perhaps, lack thereof. Following the Reformation, and its promotion of national languages, there was a need in Scandinavia for new Bible translations in the vernacular of each nation. Whilst Sweden received their own translation of the Bible in 1541, *Biblia: Thet är All then Helgha Scrifft på Swensko*, translated by Gustav Vasa, Norway did not receive a Norwegian translation of the Bible. Rather, Norway received “96 eksemplarer”[30] (Rian, 1995: 13) of the Danish translation, *Christian IIIs Bibel* (1550), first translated by Christian Pedersen in 1529, and subsequently revised and retranslated by Peder

[30] 96 copies.

Palladius, Niels Hemmingsen and Peder Tidemand in 1550 (ibid.: 13). As Rian describes this translation of the Bible, which was commissioned by King Christian III of Denmark (highlighting the politics of patronage and Danish as the language of power at this time): “Stilen er et folkelig dansk med få arkaiserende-poetiske ord og få germanismer… Først og fremst var dette en bibel til bruk i kirkene” (ibid.: 13).[31] Therefore, it can be argued that it was from this point that the Danish written language gained a foothold within Norway, since the relative mutual intelligibility between the Danish and Norwegian languages at this time negated the need for a costly, separate publication of a Norwegian translation of the Bible. After all, the Danish translation with its 3000 copies and price of 5 thaler, equivalent to 30 barrels of rye or one good ox at that time (ibid.: 13), was already considerably expensive for the clergymen of Denmark-Norway. This lack of a written, wide-spread form of the spoken Norwegian language would inevitably prove disastrous for the construction of the national language required by the Norwegian nation builders in nineteenth-century Norway, especially from Aasen’s point of view.

The lack of a Norwegian-language Bible following the Reformation is further complicated when compared to one of the other Danish colonies at this time, namely Iceland. Unlike Norway, Iceland received an Icelandic translation of the New Testament, translated by Oddur Gottskálksson, following the Reformation in 1540, as Margrét Eggertsdóttir further describes:

> Oddur Gottskálksson translated the New Testament into Icelandic. His translation (based in part on an older translation by Jón Arason) was published in Roskilde in Denmark in 1540 and is the oldest printed book preserved in Icelandic. With this publication the status of Icelandic as a language separate from Danish within the Danish church was recognized, and this was of great importance for the subsequent history of the Icelandic language. (Eggertsdóttir, 2006: 177-178)

Here, there is a clear example of how a language can be maintained and promoted through translational work. Had there been a Norwegian translation of the Bible, it can be argued that Norwegian could very well have gained the status as a separate language from Danish as early as the sixteenth century, negating a great deal of the linguistic research and translation projects carried out by Aasen and others in the

[31] The style is a vernacular Danish with few archaic-poetic words and few Germanisms… First and foremost, this was a bible for use in the churches.

nineteenth century. Naturally, one could argue that the reason an Icelandic translation was produced, and a Norwegian translation was not, was due to the linguistic closeness of Danish and Norwegian and the more distant relationship between Icelandic and Danish at this time. However, the fact that the *Christian IIIs Bibel* was not circulated and implemented in the churches of Iceland as it was in Denmark's other colonies of Norway and the Faroes, for example, highlights the nature of the status of the Norwegian language within the Kingdom of Denmark and how the lack of translational statements reduced the power, relevance and status of Norwegian under Danish rule. Thus, translation can be seen to play an important part in helping to create, foreground or obfuscate borders between languages with the effect that languages are perceived as either merging into each other or identified as distinct.

As the Foucauldian theoretical framework of this study has previously highlighted, the archive is predicated on statements said and *unsaid*. This example from Norwegian history highlights how the lack of a translational work, or statement, can have an equal, if not greater, effect on a language. It is of note that Vikør highlights that: "The final stroke against Norse was the translation of Magnus the Law-mender's law, which had been used in Old Norse till then, into Danish in 1604" (Vikør, 1975: 37). Again, this highlights a significant moment where an opportunity arose to maintain a language (Old Norse) by not engaging in translational work or promote a new one (Norwegian) through translational activity, yet both options were not undertaken in favour of a translation into the Danish written language.

By 1814, the written language of Norway had been Danish for c. 264 years, i.e. since *Christian IIIs Bibel* came to Norway, with no signs of change. The urban, upper classes in Norway had even begun to use the Danish written standard in speech, albeit with Norwegian pronunciation. Although those in the ruling elite, the *embetsmenn*, were statistically low in number, they wielded great power and influence over the affairs of Norway from 1814 to 1884 (Ulltveit-Moe, 1997: 18). This period was defined by historian Jens Arup Seip (1997) on the basis of the constitution written in 1814 which gave the *embetsmann* a central role and ended with the introduction of parliamentarism in 1884 which significantly reduced the powers of the *embetsmenn*; Seip named this period *embetsmannsstaten* or "The

embetsmann's state". As Knut Dørum further explains with regard to the *embetsmannsstaten* and the influence of the *embetsmann* on Norwegian society:

> De [embetsmennene] styrte landet gjennom politiske organer – regjeringen og Stortinget – og det landsomfattende byråkratiet. De bestemte den politiske dagsordenen, og ideologien deres gjennomsyret mye av den politiske tenkningen, slik som den økonomiske liberalismen og forestillingen om embetsmennene som det naturlige politiske lederskap, i kraft av utdannelse, dannelse og embete... Embetsmennene hadde både politisk og ideologisk hegemoni. Embetsmennene hadde studert jus eller teologi på Universitetet i Kristiania eller gått på krigsskolen i samme by. (Dørum, *embetsmannsstaten* in *Store norsk leksikon*)[32]

The power of this ruling class is not to be underestimated, especially with regard to the Norwegian language situation, since they led a great deal of the debate, dissemination and language planning at this time.

As highlighted in the previous section, the rise in National Romanticism in nineteenth-century Norway, specifically one inflected by German National Romanticism, led to the increasing importance of a *Norwegian* written language for the nation of Norway a generation later. As the National Romantic, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, stated in his address to the German people in 1806: "Those who speak the same language are joined to each other by a multitude of invisible bonds by nature herself…they belong together and are by nature one and an inseparable whole" (Fichte, 1922: 223-224). Thus, it was a natural progression for those redrafting the constitution on 4 November, 1814, when they wrote: "Alle Love udfærdiges i det Norske Sprog" (*Kongeriget Norges Grundlov*, article 81) that a written standard for the Norwegian language would surely be needed post haste.[33] Indeed, it is hard to pinpoint exactly what was intended and what was understood by the term *Det norske Sprog* in this article of the constitution, since a Norwegian written standard at this time did not exist and as is glaringly evident for the readers and drafters of the constitution, this article itself was written in Danish. Here, another translation issue

[32] They [the *embetsmenn*] governed the country through political bodies – the government and the Storing ("parliament") – and the nationwide bureaucracy. They decided the political agenda, and their ideology permeated a great deal of the political thought, such as economic liberalism and the idea of *embetsmenn* as the natural political leadership, by virtue of their education, decorum and station… The *embetsmenn* had both political and ideological hegemony. The *embetsmenn* had studied law or theology at the University of Kristiania or attended the Norwegian Military Academy in the same city.
[33] All laws should be issued in the Norwegian language.

arises. If the people regarded the written Danish in Norway as the “Norwegian language”, would there be any need for a new Norwegian written language and ergo a need for new translations into this language? Or, if they were aware that the “Norwegian language” was expressed using a different language, i.e. Danish, would a demand for a Norwegian written language and thus translations from Danish into the new language appear? These questions are a challenge to answer, as the Norwegian people’s opinions and understanding of the “Norwegian language” or even what “Norwegian” signified at this time are not overtly apparent. However, it highlights how issues of language and what a language is or is not, often directly raises translation issues simultaneously.

However, lacking a Norwegian written language, at this time, was surely problematic for the *embetsmenn* and linguists such as Aasen at least, for how could a nation exist without a language to bind its people? It is also important to distinguish the nuances between a written language and a spoken language here, since for all intents and purposes, a Norwegian national language already existed in the living tongues of the Norwegian people, spawning from Old Norse and breaking off into a plethora of regional dialects that often still contained fragments of their Old Norse roots, and also survived the imposition of the Danish language as an administrative written language in Norway. However, as Agnete Nesse highlights: “Men tidens lærde tolket ‘språk’ som skriftspråk, og da var det ingen annen utvei enn å skape et norsk skriftspråk, hvis en skulle ta på alvor det ideologiske kravet om at en egen nasjon besto av et folk med en egen egenart og et eget språk” (A. Nesse, 2013: 125).[34] As Brit Mæhlum and Stian Hårstad explain, for certain Norwegians trying to solve this national written language problem during the nineteenth century, it was the glorious past that would provide the answer: “I fortida finnes en gullalder der nasjonen var på sitt reneste og sterkeste, og målet er en gjenreisning av den fullkomne nasjonale opprinnelsessituasjonen” (Mæhlum and Hårstad, 2018: 291).[35] This shared past, combined with a shared language and importantly, a vast, extant literature combining both, would be of utmost importance to the work of Aasen and

[34] But the scholars of that time took ‘language’ to mean a written language, and thus, there was no way of avoiding the creation of a Norwegian written language, if one were to take the ideological demand seriously that an independent nation consisted of a people with its own unique nature and its own language.

[35] Within the past, a golden age is found where the nation was at its most pure and strong, and the goal was a restoration of the perfect, national point of origin.

the establishment of Nynorsk. Yet, the solution to this national language problem was widely debated post-1814 and throughout the nineteenth century and a variety of approaches to a written standard were put forward.

After 1814, the two main approaches towards a Norwegian written language were that of gradually Norwegianising the written Danish used in Norway, which already had its foothold within the administrative centres of Norwegian society, and that of creating a new written standard based on the many dialects found around Norway whilst using their Old Norse roots to fill in the gaps and find a common thread between them all. These two approaches would eventually lead to the two official written standards found in Norway today: Bokmål and Nynorsk, respectively. The former approach was championed in the nineteenth century by the teacher Knud Knudsen (1812-1895) who believed that the Danish language would provide a suitable foundation to Norwegianise "according to the norms of urban upper-class speech…The variety resulting from it, which Knudsen and his followers called 'Dano-Norwegian', was the basis of modern *Bokmål*" (Vikør, 2001: 55). The latter approach, and the approach that is of the most significance for this study, was pioneered by the linguist and farmer's son, Ivar Aasen (1813-1896) who created a new Norwegian written language in 1848-1850 with the publications of *Det norske Folkesprogs Grammatik* (1848) and *Ordbog over det norske Folkesprog* (1850) and subsequently, formally presented a standard with *Prøver af Landsmaalet i Norge* (1853).[36] Aasen, his linguistic work and the creation of the new Norwegian written standard that would eventually become Nynorsk will be explored in greater detail below. However, it is important to first highlight the approaches that preceded the work of both Aasen and Knudsen in order to gain a wider perspective on the history of the Norwegian language.

Prior to Knudsen, the national poet Henrik Wergeland (1808-1845) gave vocal support for the utilisation of distinctly Norwegian vocabulary when Norwegians wrote in Danish, as Nesse states: "Det viktigste for ham [Wergeland] var ordforrådet, det at han kunne bruke de ordene som falt ham inn uten å måtte tenke på om dette var

[36] *Grammar of the Norwegian people's language* (1848); *Dictionary of the Norwegian people's language* (1850); *Examples of the Norwegian people's language (1853)*.

innenfor skriftspråksnormen eller ikke" (A. Nesse, 2013: 126).[37] In this regard, he can be seen as the precursor to Knud Knudsen. Wergeland, nevertheless, wrote and published his major works in Danish whilst he simultaneously "eksperimenterte med å skrive ulike grader av dansk-norsk blanding, alt etter tema og tenkte mottakere" (ibid.: 126).[38] It could, however, be argued that this writing of a "blend of Danish and Norwegian" is actually a translational activity, and one of the early attempts at a translation from Danish into Norwegian.

On the other side and prior to the work of Aasen, the historian, student of Rudolf Keyser and prolific translator of saga literature, Peter Andreas Munch (1810-1863), believed a completely new written standard was necessary. As Nesse highlights: "Munch så for seg at en kunne velge en konservativ dialekt og skriftliggjøre den i tråd med gammelnorsk og så få et ekte norsk skriftspråk" (ibid.: 125).[39] Nesse goes on to explain why such a project was never actualised by Munch: "At dette språket hadde blitt et fremmedspråk for de fleste – untatt de som hadde satt seg inn i gammelnorsk – var en grunn til at et slikt prosjekt aldri ble satt ut i livet" (ibid.: 125).[40] The fact that Old Norse or Old Norwegian had now become a "foreign language" to the Norwegian people is crucial from a translation perspective since it created a divide between the contemporary Norwegian people and their language in the nineteenth century and their past. Furthermore, it suggests a need for translational work in order to restore and rediscover not only their storied past, but also their language. This is also of note since the same problem manifests for Aasen when he translates 'Frithiof's Saga' in 1858, as will be explored in more detail in Chapter 5. Moreover, it explains and underscores the production of a plethora of Nynorsk saga translations in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The parallels between Munch and Aasen are manifold, and it is clear to see the influence Munch had on Aasen's thinking. Munch, like Aasen, was one of those

[37] The most important thing for him [Wergeland] was the vocabulary, that he could use the words that came naturally to him without having to think about whether this fitted into the written language norm or not.
[38] experimented with writing various degrees of a blend of Danish and Norwegian, depending on the topic and perceived audience.
[39] envisioned that one could choose a conservative dialect and produce a written form for it in line with Old Norse and, thus, achieve a genuine Norwegian written language.
[40] That this language [Old Norse] had become a foreign language for most people – except those who had acquainted themselves with Old Norse – was one reason why such a project was never implemented.

who “acquainted themselves with Old Norse” and could not quite fathom why the Norwegian people continued to lose this connection with their past. It is also of note that one method utilised by Munch to educate the masses on their shared past and Old Norse heritage was to translate many of the Old Norse sagas and produce an Old Norse grammar, albeit into Danish rather than a new, Norwegian written language. From 1833 to 1845, Munch had published a number of translations such as: *Snorre Sturlesøns norske Kongehistorie* (1833) (incomplete translation), *Brudstykke af en gammel norsk kongesaga* (1834), *Hønse-Thorers saga* (1845) and *Saga eller Fortælling om Gisle Suurssøn og Syrdølerne* (1845); and in 1847, he published an Old Norse grammar: *Det oldnorske Sprogs eller Norrønasprogets Grammatik*, in which he states in the foreword:

> Men fremfor Alt ønske vi at den maatte fremkalde Bevidstheden om at vort Oldsprog ei er noget fremmedt, udenfor os liggende, og kun Lærde og Skolemænd vedkommende, men at det i Ordets egentligste Forstand tilhører os, endnu saaatsige lever iblandt os og er let tilgængeligt for Enhver, der omfatter det med Interesse. (Munch, 1847: vii)[41]

This was a quintessential problem for the Norwegian nation builders during the nineteenth century and underlines the importance that those discussing national issues placed on increasing the awareness amongst the people of Norwegian language history. As Helge Sandøy points out:

> Nasjonsbygginga kunne såleis fungere som politisk ammunisjon for målrørsla ikkje berre fram til unionsbrottet i 1905, men òg for utbygginga av nasjonen fram til andre verdskrigen. Målrørsla såg seg som ein viktig del av oppbygginga av ‘det norske’. (Sandøy, 2018: 214-215)[42]

The sentiment expressed by Munch above would be echoed by Aasen years later, especially when it came to discussions concerning his translation of ‘Frithiof’s Saga’ in 1858. However, this idea of restoring the past is important to highlight here, before

[41] But above all, we wish that it [the Grammar book itself] should evoke the awareness that our ancient language is not something foreign, lying outside of us, and is not only of concern for scholars and teachers, but that, in the truest sense of the word, belongs to us. It still lives among us, so to speak, and is easily available to anyone who embraces it with interest.

[42] Nation-building could thus function as political ammunition for the Nynorsk language movement not only until the dissolution of the union in 1905 but also for the development of the nation up until the Second World War. The Nynorsk language movement saw itself as an important part of constructing ‘the Norwegian’.

examining the work of Aasen, as it demonstrates the lasting effect that the Danish language had had on the Norwegian people and their language and how linguists and translators in the mid-nineteenth century were beginning to focus on the past to solve the language problems of the present.

Before moving on to Aasen, it should be noted that it was not just Norway that was struggling with the Danish language's grasp on the country's writing system during the nineteenth century. The Faroe Islands, still belonging to Denmark following the Napoleonic Wars, also used Danish as its official written language. As Lutheran minister Venceslaus Ulricus Hammershaimb points out in his seminal work on the language, literature and history of the Faroe Islands *Færøsk Anthologi, 1* (1891):

> Det færøske og det norske have haft lignende kår efter reformationen: dansk som kirkesprog, retssprog og undervisningssprog, danske lærebøger for ungdommen og opbyggelsesbøger for hjemmene. (Hammershaimb, 1891: 55)[43]

Hammershaimb then contrasts this poor language situation with that of the Icelanders post-Reformation:

> Islænderne vågede med troskab over deres gamle sprog og udviklede det på den gamle grund, så det endnu den dag i dag er ligt oldsproget; ved sit bogsprog, som har været fælles for hele landet, har Island samlet alle, selv i de mest ensomme bygder, under ét, og er derfor blevet befriet for de mange indbyrdes forskellige dialekter, som såvel i Norge som på Færøerne ere fremkomne på grund af mangelen på litteratur i folkets eget sprog. (Ibid. 55)[44]

These same sentiments can be found in Norway prior to and after Hammershaimb's *Færøsk Anthologi* (1891), and it is of note that like Aasen's initial work on Nynorsk, Hammershaimb also utilised translational work to help with the corpus planning of the Faroese language. While this comparison needs more development than there is

[43] The Faroese and Norwegian languages have had similar circumstances following the Reformation: Danish as the language of the church, the language of the law and the language of education, Danish textbooks for the young and development books for homes.
[44] The Icelanders faithfully guarded their old language and developed it on the old foundation, so that it is still an ancient language today, through its literary language, which has been common to the whole country. Iceland has gathered everyone, even in the most isolated villages, under one roof, and has therefore been freed from the many different intrusive dialects, which have emerged in both Norway and the Faroe Islands due to the lack of literature in the people's own language.

space for in this study, this example does point towards a broader Nordic linguistic and translational history that is underexplored currently.

3.3 Ivar Aasen

Norway's national language problem during the nineteenth century became increasingly important for the *embetsmenn* of Norway and whilst solutions were discussed and put forward by Munch, Wergeland and Knudsen, for example, it was not clear prior to Aasen's work who would be able to take on the task of solving this problem in a pragmatic way. As Vikør highlights: "the persons engaged in these discussions were all men of the upper class, writing Danish and speaking Dano-Norwegian as their only language. Their knowledge of the Norse dialects and of linguistics generally was very slight" (Vikør, 1975: 39), although, of those mentioned above, this was not true for Munch and Knudsen. It is here that the self-taught linguist Ivar Aasen would come to the forefront of the Norwegian national language problem and cultivate not only a deeper knowledge of the Norwegian language and dialects but also create a new written standard for the Norwegian population. As Arne Garborg (1851-1924), another important proponent of the Landsmaal/Nynorsk language, states in his biography of Aasen in 1902: "Ivar Aasen var ikkje anna enn han gav seg ut for: bonde fraa Aasen i Ørsta sokn, Volla prestegjeld paa Sunnmøre. Han hadde ikkje so mykje som ein eksamen. Men um norskt maal visste han meir enn nokon annan i den tid" (Garborg, 1902: 6).[45] Thus, this *bonde*'s son from Sunnmøre would take on the task of formulating a national written language on behalf of the Norwegian people.

In terms of his language planning, Aasen was very much influenced by the ideas of P. A. Munch. Munch, however, philosophised that one single conservative dialect could be used in conjunction with the Old Norse language as the basis for a Norwegian standard as he stated in an article in *Den Constitutionelle* in 1845:

> Man vilde derved, istedetfor at faae een Dialect saagodtsom for hver Bygd, tilveiebringe eller kalde til Live et almindeligt norskt Folkesprog, der ikke skilte sig

[45] Ivar Aasen was nothing more than he let on to be: a *bonde* from Åsen in Ørsta parish, part of the Volda parish in the Sunnmøre district. He had little to no formal qualifications. Yet he knew more about the Norwegian language than anyone else at the time.

> synderligt fra det gamle… Et Skriftsprog kan nu engang ikke lempe sig efter alle Dialect-Forskjelligheder. (Munch, 'Om Indførelsen af en forbedret Retskrivning i vort Folkesprog', 03.07.1845)[46]

Aasen, on the other hand, disagreed and decided to travel throughout Norway (with state funding) in order to study the various dialects of each region and from them, create one written standard that would bring them altogether with the help of their shared Old Norse roots. Aasen carried out this research between 1842 and 1846, which culminated in the publishing of a grammar in 1848, *Det norske Folkesprogs Grammatik*, and a dictionary in 1850, *Ordbog over det norske Folkesprog* (V. Skard, 1980: 79-80). This provided the raw data for a new written language to be codified, which Aasen accomplished three years later with his publication *Prøver af landsmaalet i Norge* (1853), signalling the starting point of Landsmål/Nynorsk as a national language of Norway.

The ideologies that lay behind this language planning work were beginning to be formulated long before Aasen carried out his research in 1842-1846. From an article entitled *Om vort Skriftsprog*, written in 1836, although unpublished until 1909, Aasen outlines his views and ideologies concerning the national written language of Norway, which would form the basis of his language planning project years later and indeed, the stance he would take on the Norwegian language throughout his life. However, a distinction can be made between the ideologies that influenced Aasen as a product of his time, that is Enlightenment values and those of National Romanticism, and his personal motives for carrying out his linguistic work, such as a national need, class-solidarity and populism. Stephen Walton, in his book *Farewell the Spirit Craven: Ivar Aasen and National Romanticism* (1987), outlines Aasen's approach towards language planning as being fundamentally populist, whilst incorporating elements of National Romanticism: "Aasen's populism is permanent, inalienable and unredeemed, and that the incorporation into it of National Romantic elements has causes which leave his populism undiminished" (Walton, 1987: 140). Populism, as used by Walton here, draws on Ottar Brox and Andreas Hompeland's definition of an ideology "forankret i 'det jamne folks' interesser og

[46] Instead of having one dialect for almost every village, one would thereby provide or bring to life a common Norwegian language of the people, which did not differ visibly from the old one [i.e. Old Norse] … A written language cannot now accommodate all dialect differences.

virkelighetsoppfatning" (Brox and Hompeland: 1982: 154).[47] This definition of populism as a representation of ordinary people is further explained by Walton: "The central populist element in Aasen's work is a concern with the actual speech of the majority of the peasantry" (Walton, 1987: 146) This crucial principle of creating a written language that was representative of the Norwegian people, more specifically the *bonde* population, can be readily seen throughout Aasen's 1836 article. As Sandøy points out: "Den sosiale appellen i målrørsla kom ideologisk fram ved at mange målfolk la vekt på at skriftmålet skulle gi dialektane auka prestisje og folket sterkare sjølvkjensle" (Sandøy, 2018: 217).[48] Yet, the nationalist elements found in Aasen's rhetoric must also not be underestimated.

Aasen's opening statement in his article of 1836 sheds significant light on his linguistic and ideological thinking and demonstrates a clear union between his populist and nationalist ideals: "Efterat vort Fædreneland atter er blevet hvad det engang var, nemlig frit og selvstændigt, maa det være os magtpaaliggende at bruge et selvstændigt og nationalt Sprog, eftersom dette er en Nations fornemste Kjendemærke" (Aasen, 1909: 1).[49] This harkening back to the past is evident again in Aasen's view on language and this rhetoric of the nineteenth century Norwegian nation building process in general, and Aasen here is clearly linking contemporary Norway with the Golden Age of Norway in the thirteenth century when it was free and independent, and possessed a national language. Whilst it was not necessarily ground-breaking at the time to highlight the link between language and nation, it is significant that Aasen claims that a national language is the "most" distinguishing characteristic of a nation. This idea, influenced by the Germanic National Romanticism that permeated Norway at this is time, is surely aided by Aasen's expert knowledge of Old Norse/Old Norwegian, since his awareness of the language situation and linguistic structure during Norway's Golden Age allowed him to notice the links between the old and the new and how they could be utilised and

[47] rooted in the interests and perception of reality of "the common people".
[48] The social appeal of the Nynorsk language movement emerged ideologically due to the fact that many Nynorsk proponents emphasised that the written language should give the dialects increased prestige and the people a stronger sense of self.
[49] Now that our fatherland has once again become what it once was, namely free and independent, it is imperative that we use an independent and national language, as this is a nation's most distinguished characteristic.

manipulated to create a modern written language that would benefit the Norwegian people.

As Walton points out, Aasen's 1836 article also highlights populist impulses: "Yet Aasen in the second section of his essay legitimises language-reform on the basis of popular demand and need, a demand which is presented explicitly as a deviation from the customary subservience of the people" (Walton, 1987: 143). This need for a national language, for Aasen, was a direct consequence of the Danish rule and the end of that period and Aasen would consistently lament the influence of the Danish language on the Norwegian language regarding both the written language and the speech of the Norwegian people. Aasen airs this frustration with the Danish language and the Norwegian people rather strongly in his 1836 article:

> Dersom Norge gjennem disse Sekler havde hævdet sin politiske Selvstændighed, da skulde vort Hovedsprog ogsaa været Almuens, det skulde været Sammenligningen af Landets Dialekter, Middelpunktet, hvorom de dreiede sig. Men vi lode os, med en vidunderlig Taalmodighed, i saa lang Tid uretfærdigen beherske af Andre; derfor tabte vi vort Held og Hæder, derfor tabte vi vort Fædrenesprog. At gjenvinde dette er os endnu ikke umuligt; vor Nationalære fordrer det, og vort Lands lykkelig forandrede Stilling berettiger os dertil. Bonden har den Ære at være Sprogets Redningsmand; til hans Tale skulde man altsaa lytte. (Aasen, 1909: 3)[50]

Aasen's frustrations are evident and also mirror Munch's consternation with the people of Norway's lack of knowledge concerning their shared history and language. However, it seems that for Aasen, his most significant objection to the Norwegian national language situation is not that Danish was the written language of Norway as a result of historical and political ties in of itself, but rather it is the overwhelming unnecessariness of having Danish as a written language. After all, the Norwegian people and the language they spoke already had deep roots in the language of Old Norse on which to build, which also happened to have a pre-existing and significant literary tradition. The idea of the Norwegian people forgetting their past, especially

[50] Had Norway asserted its political independence throughout these centuries, then our main language would also have been that of the common people's; it would have been a combination of the country's dialects, the middle point around which they revolved. But with a peculiar patience, we allowed ourselves for a long time to be controlled by others; thus, we lost our fortune and honour, thus, we lost the language of our forefathers. To regain this is not yet impossible; our national honour demands it, and the refreshingly new situation our country is in gives us the right to it. The *bonde* has the honour of being the saviour of our language; it is his speech you should therefore listen to.

their shared Norse history and language was a source of frustration for Aasen, which comes to the forefront in his translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* and perhaps explains its publication as a tool for (re)educating the Norwegian people as will be explored in Chapter 5.

As Lars Vikør highlights: “The New Norse movement, determined to break the dominance of Dano-Norwegian, used and uses both nationalist and democratic arguments in advocating its policy” (Vikør, 1975: 29). These two ideologies, i.e. National Romanticism and democracy, relating to providing a voice for the common people, as the foundation of the Nynorsk language are evident in Aasen’s thinking in 1836 and were deeply rooted in Aasen’s work throughout his life. Furthermore, the rationalist ideology of the Enlightenment added to Aasen’s work regarding its emphasis on education and dissemination of information to the public. It was these ideologies combined with Aasen’s personal motives that led to his 1853 work *Prøver af landsmaalet i Norge*, the culmination of his work on creating a written standard that was both rooted in Norwegian’s ancestral language of Old Norse and simultaneously rooted in the modern, daily speech of the people of Norway. There has been a great deal of debate as to what extent Aasen was motivated by national and social ideologies and which motive influenced his work the most. However, as Gustav Indrebø highlights, the two motives are not necessarily mutually exclusive; rather, he sees both motives arising when talking about the differences between a written language and the common speech of the people, particularly in the Norwegian case and the work of Aasen:

> Denne skilnaden lyt ha ein grunn. Grunnen er historisk. Noreg var ei politisk eining i gamal tid og vart det på nytt i ny tid, og Noreg fekk eit serskilt skriftmål i den fyrste rikstidi. Det vekte upp i folket eit hugsviv um at eit serskilt skriftmål med retto høyrde til i Noreg for folket «nordmenn»; at «norsk» var ein «National-Eiendom» (Aasens ord i 1836). Den politisk-kulturelle soga, «det nasjonale», er grunnfyresetnaden for at Ivar Aasen kunde leggja fram slike tankar som han gjorde i 1836, og for at ei målrørsla med krav um lausriving kunde koma upp i Noreg. Samstundes var det bonden som hadde «den Ære at være Sprogets Redningsmand» (Aasen 1836), med di at han hadde halde fast på «norsk» i tale frå den gamle rikstidi til notidi. Det gjorde at eit sosialt motiv òg vart med og farga målkjenslone både hjå Aasen og hjå mange målmenn av bondestand seinare. Hjå mang ein uti 19. og serleg i 20. hundradåret

> som var bunden til tankegangen um klassestrid, kunde dette sosiale momentet verta viktugaste eller einaste medvitne motivet. (Indrebø, 1951: 426)[51]

It is evident from Aasen's 1836 article and Indrebø's reasoning that the historical and national elements played a part in Aasen's language planning principles, yet, as Walton argues, it is his populist ideals that are at the forefront of his linguist work:

> The central populist element in Aasen's work is a concern with the actual speech of the majority of the peasantry. This concern is rooted in an appreciation of the practical pedagogical difficulties the peasantry encountered when faced with a demand to become literate in a language [Danish] it knew imperfectly if at all. (Walton, 1987: 146)

Aasen's commitment to the living speech of the Norwegian people is evident throughout his language planning work, yet it is of interest for this study how his populist ideals are somewhat challenged when it comes to translating *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* from Old Norse in 1858. Whilst Aasen's ideologies when translating from Old Norse will be explored in further detail in Chapter 5, it is worthwhile to highlight here how Aasen's populist principles and his translation approach causes certain problems when translating from Old Norse. For example, concerning the translation of the name of the title character in *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, Aasen puts forward this populist argument in his foreword: "Namnet paa Hovud-Mannen i denne Saga heve eg skrivet "Fridtjov", sidan dar er fleire Namn i Saga, som enda med «Tjov», og denne Skrivemaaten høver best til Talen, som no er brukleg i Landet" (Aasen, 1858: vi).[52] Despite this reasonable argumentation for the use of "Fridtjov" instead of "Fridtjof" (the form that was closest to the Old Norse *Friðþjófr*), the title of Aasen's translation is actually published as *Fridtjofs Saga*, resulting in two

[51] This difference must have a reason. The reason is historical. Norway was a political entity in olden times and became so again in modern times, and Norway had its own separate written language during the first national period. There arose in the people a notion that a separate written language rightly belonged to Norway for the people "Norwegians"; that "Norwegian" was a "national property" (Aasen's words in 1836). The political-cultural saga, "the national", was the foundation for Aasen to present such thoughts as he did in 1836, and for a language movement with demands of liberation to appear in Norway. At the same time, it was the *bonde* who had the "honour of being the saviour of the language" (Aasen 1836), because he had held onto the "Norwegian language" in his speech from the old national period to now. This meant that a social motive also became a part of, and coloured, the Sprachgefühl of Aasen and many other linguists with a *bonde* background in later times. For many in the nineteenth century and especially in the twentieth century, who were tied to thoughts on class struggles, this social aspect could be the most important or only conscious motive.

[52] I have written the name of the main character in this saga as "Fridtjov", since there are many names in the saga that end in "Tjov", and this way of writing suits the speech that is now used in this country the best.

synchronous translations for the title character. Aasen also uses the form “Fridtjof” multiple times in his foreword when talking about the characters in the saga, adding further confusion as to which form Aasen believes should be used as a translation for *Friðþjófr*.

This duality and contrasting principles, i.e. remaining faithful to the old or the new, are a clear problem for Aasen when it comes to translating from Old Norse into his newly created written standard. Whilst Aasen’s populist ideology is evident in his work prior to and after his translation in 1858, when translating *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, Aasen appears to want to have his cake and eat it too, and the fact the language being translated from is Old Norse seems to influence Aasen’s use of both antiquarian forms/words found in the Old Norse language and simultaneously, the use of the more modern speech of the peasantry. These contrasting approaches were not unique to Aasen, however. As the following chapter will examine, the tensions between the old and new, of an ancestral past and modern society, created an environment where Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature would occupy the minds and activities of many prominent proponents of Nynorsk.

4 An Archive of Nynorsk Saga Translations

This chapter highlights integral features of my Foucauldian archive of Nynorsk saga translations and the key translations, translators and publishers that contributed to the development of the Nynorsk language and lexicon through translational activity. This chapter will also focus on the second area of translation history: "explanation", put forward by Pym, i.e. "the part of translation history that offers an explanation as to *why* archaeological artefacts occurred when and where they did, and how they were related to change" (Pym, 1998: 6). This is followed by examples of the unique priority and significance granted to Nynorsk saga translations in the early stages of the Nynorsk language. Finally, links between Nynorsk saga translations and Nynorsk lexicographic works in the development of the Nynorsk lexicon are explored. Through the building of this archive, I will emphasise how saga translations played a significant role within the Nynorsk language project in helping to implement, spread and solidify the Nynorsk language.

As the previous chapter has highlighted, Norwegian language history is intrinsically linked to Norwegian translation history, and vice versa. Indeed, I would argue that central aspects of the history of the Norwegian language, and Norwegian culture in general, can be linked to translational activity. Even before Aasen's new Norwegian written language was put forward in 1853, there existed key translations that marked significant points in the history of the Norwegian language. For example, the aforementioned translations of French romances during Norway's golden age in the thirteenth century and the 1604 Danish translation of Magnus the Lawmender's *landslov*. Gaps in translation, either where translations have been silenced or avoided, are equally important to note, since they highlight Norwegian language practices and attitudes within a specific context. For example, the lack of Norwegian translation activity during the Reformation was of great significance as it led to a Danish, rather than a Norwegian, translation of the Bible. Similarly to general Norwegian language history, the history of the Nynorsk language (1853-present) can also be linked to translational activity, and, as this chapter will explore, the language planning goals as defined by Nahir (1984) of the Nynorsk language were both directly and indirectly influenced by Nynorsk saga translations. Before moving on to the archive of saga translations, however, it is important to also highlight key events

and texts within the early translation history of the Nynorsk language in order to understand the relevance and significance of the Nynorsk saga translations examined in this study.

Following Aasen's *Prøver af Landsmaalet i Norge* in 1853, the language that would become Nynorsk had an initial standardised form, a dictionary and a grammar, yet little else. Outside of *Prøver af Landsmaalet i Norge*, there were no texts written in this form and it would take many years before the Nynorsk language developed into a literary language in and of itself. Indeed, the establishment of the Nynorsk language as an official, national written language would take decades to achieve and is still developing and changing to this day. Furthermore, the methods to achieve such a task were unclear and not centralised in the nascent years of Nynorsk. It is of note that the earliest of Nynorsk texts often involved translational work, or were, in fact, entirely translated texts. Whilst Aasen's linguistic work and creation of the Nynorsk language are often seen as a language planning project, they may also be understood, in part, as a translation project. As aforementioned, one of Aasen's first tasks in testing out his new written standard in *Prøver af Landsmaalet i Norge* was to translate texts of high cultural value, such as works by Shakespeare, Schiller and Byron, thus providing a degree of legitimisation for Nynorsk as a literary language.

The idea that languages without a literature or literary system have less value than those that do, whilst problematic for oral cultures, not to mention illiterate speakers of a language, was evidently a prevalent idea for the early proponents of the Nynorsk language such as Ivar Aasen, Aasmund Olavsson Vinje and Hagbard Berner (the first chairman of Det Norske Samlaget) to name a few. Furthermore, in creating a new written language with no extant literature, a great deal of translational work would be needed to fill this hole in the literary system and speed up the process of establishing Nynorsk as a national language. This idea can be linked to Even-Zohar's 1978 article 'The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem' where he emphasises the importance of translation within the literary polysystem.[53] As Even-Zohar states:

[53] Polysystem = "a multiple system, a system of various systems which intersect with each other and partly overlap, using concurrently different options, yet functioning as one structure whole, whose members are independent." (Even-Zohar, 1990: 11)

> Moreover, in such a state when new literary models are emerging, translation is likely to become one of the means of elaborating the new repertoire. Through the foreign works, features (both principles and elements) are introduced into the home literature which did not exist there before. These include possibly not only new models of reality to replace the old and established ones that are no longer effective, but a whole range of other features as well, such as a new (poetic) language, or compositional patterns and techniques. (Even-Zohar, 1978: 242)

In the case of Nynorsk, the old and established reality that was no longer effective can be seen as the Danish written language. Although, in the case of translating sagas into Nynorsk, it was not necessarily introducing new features that did not exist before, rather, it was a reclaiming and remembering of features that once belonged to the Norwegian people but had perhaps been forgotten or lost due to the Danish dominance of the Norwegian literary system. The selecting of texts to translate is also of importance as Even-Zohar explains:

> It is clear that the very principles of selecting the works to be translated are determined by the situation governing the (home) polysystem: the texts are chosen according to their compatibility with the new approaches and the supposedly innovatory role they may assume within the target literature. (Ibid.: 242)

Thus, it is of no small significance that the first standalone literary publication written in the Nynorsk language was 1) a translation, 2) translated by Ivar Aasen himself, 3) a translation from Old Norse – the ancestral language of Nynorsk, and 4) a translation of an Old Norse saga, a genre of deep cultural importance for Norwegians and Nynorsk users. Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858) will become a central component of the case study found in the following chapter, but for now, it is important to highlight its significance as the first standalone literary Nynorsk text and the first Nynorsk saga translation from which all subsequent Nynorsk saga translations would follow in addition to the innovatory role it assumed for Nynorsk literature and the Nynorsk lexicon.

1858 also signified the establishment of the first Nynorsk newspaper: *Dølen*, founded by the journalist, poet and Nynorsk pioneer, Aasmund Olavsson Vinje. Before its first edition on 10 October, 1858, Vinje was unsure of which language form the paper would be written in, since his main focus was on his work as a journalist and Oslo correspondent, and not necessarily on the language conflict. Having

become more familiar with Aasen's new written standard and being ideologically aligned with Aasen's ideas, Vinje chose a written form closely related to Aasen's norm for his newspaper. As Djupedal highlights: "Dette [*Dølen*] var opptaket til ein ny og viktig bolk i norsk åndshistorie… Dølen sprang såleis ikkje ut av landsmålstanken, men Dølen overtok landsmåltanken etter at andre utvegar hadde vore prøvde og ikkje hadde ført fram" (Djupedal, 1970: iii).[54] Whilst this new and ground-breaking newspaper sparked a great deal of criticism and opposition from the Norwegian public, who were perhaps not ready for a radically different written standard to what they had been accustomed to for centuries, it was Vinje's ideas and opinions that seemed to bring about the most opposition and resistance, as Djupedal explains:

> Vinje møtte mykje motbør. Merkeleg nok var det ikkje dølemålet som skapte vanskane for han og gjorde han utlæg i visse krinsar i Kristiania. Det var heller hans meiningar og synsmåtar i konkrete saker som skapte motstanden. Målmannen Vinje kunne folk godta, samleis som dei godtok målmannen Aasen. Men ein mann som pirkar ved autoritetane og ruskar litt opp i vanetenking og fordomar, har det gode borgarskap gjerne vanskeleg for å tåle. (Ibid.: iv)[55]

Regardless of the contemporary reaction to *Dølen*, the newspaper did provide a communicative medium for translational work and a discourse for the Nynorsk language. Aasen himself wrote many articles for *Dølen* arguing in favour of his written standard, and there was also space given to translational work by other writers eager to experiment with Aasen's new language form. For example, the third edition of *Dølen* featured a partial translation of *Þorsteins þáttr stangarhǫggs* ('The Tale of Thorstein Staff-Struck') by the philologist Gustav Antonio Gjessing under the pseudonym Vigfús (ibid.: 10-11). Whilst the language form of this translation differed from Aasen's norm in a variety of ways, it was markedly different from the Danish and Dano-Norwegian found in other Norwegian newspapers at that time, further emphasising the link between saga translations and the implementation of Aasen's

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[54] This [*Dølen*] became a new and important chapter in the intellectual history of Norway… *Dølen* did not spring forth from the idea of Landsmaal, rather *Dølen* took the mantle of the idea of Landsmaal after other methods had been tried and been unsuccessful.

[55] Vinje met a great deal of opposition. Strangely enough, it was not *Dølen*'s language that created difficulties for him and ostracised him from certain circles in Oslo. Rather, it was his thinking and opinions in specific cases that caused opposition. People could accept Vinje the proponent of Nynorsk, just as they accepted Aasen as a proponent of Nynorsk. But the good bourgeoisie found it hard to tolerate a man who taunted the authorities and shook up habitual thinking and prejudices a little.

new Norwegian written standard. Evidently, there were others who believed that one potential starting point for a new Norwegian national language could be a translation of an Old Norse saga. Aside from this saga translation, *Dølen* also featured translations of poems by Goethe (ibid.: 34), Byron (ibid.: 151) and a short story by Dickens (ibid.: 174-175) to name but a few.

Ten years after *Dølen*'s establishment, one of the most influential and important Norwegian publishing houses was founded: Det Norske Samlaget. Det Norske Samlaget focused primarily on publishing and promoting texts in the Nynorsk language and remains to this day as the foremost Nynorsk-orientated publishing house, as their website highlights:

> Det Norske Samlaget er eit kultur- og kunnskapsforlag som gir ut litteratur på nynorsk og norske målføre. Vi gir ut omlag 100 titlar kvart år av norsk og omsett skjønnlitteratur, barne- og ungdomsbøker, dokumentar- og faktalitteratur, ordbøker og læremiddel for høgare utdanning. Samlaget har lang tradisjon med omsetjing og utgiving av sentrale internasjonale titlar, både samtidsbøker og klassikarar. ('Om Samlaget')[56]

It is of significance how openly they acknowledge their tradition of publishing translated texts, and the marketing department obviously see some value in highlighting this aspect of publishing a wide variety of translated texts in Nynorsk for them to mention it in bold on their website. Regarding the foundational years of Det Norske Samlaget, it is evident how important the national language situation and its link to the nation-building project in Norway were for the publisher. However, this concept was not unique to Norway at this time, as Sigmund Skard, son of saga translator and educator Matias Skard, highlights: "Både grunntankane og dei praktiske arbeidsmåla åt laget hadde sidestykke i andre europeiske land med nasjonale språkproblem" (S. Skard, 1968: 7).[57] Skard goes on to explain how the idea of making Nynorsk the predominant language in Norway was connected to the nation-building project alongside the enlightenment of the people: "Målreising vart ei

[56] Det Norske Samlaget is a cultural and knowledge-based publishing house that publishes literature in Nynorsk and Norwegian dialects. We publish around 100 titles each year of Norwegian and translated fiction, books for children and young adults, documentary and non-fiction literature, dictionaries and learning tools for higher education. Samlaget has a long tradition of translating and publishing key, contemporary and classic international titles.

[57] Both the foundational thinking and the practical goals of the publishing house had equivalents in other European countries with national language problems.

opplysningssak. Ho måtte på dei same premissar bli ei nasjonalsak" (ibid.: 8).[58] One of the most practical ways to connect these ideals and spread the new national language was through the establishment of publishing houses dedicated to promoting this new language form, as Djupedal points out: "I land etter land vart det skipa målselskap og boklag som skulle hjelpe fram nasjonal kultur og dyrke opp skriftmål for språklege minoritetar" (Djupedal, 1968: 39).[59] The language planning principles of language spread and language standardisation can be seen in many of the early and subsequent publications of Det Norske Samlaget, and its translations played an important role in this, as the following sections will highlight.

A shift in the political regime of Norway in 1884 led to another key moment in the history of the Nynorsk language, when the liberal political party Venstre ("The Liberal Party") was founded. As Oddmund Løkensgard Hoel explains: "Sentrum for Venstre-rørsla på bygdene var gjerne dei same skulemiljøa som danna sentrum for landsmålsarbeidet, og desse miljøa fekk etter regjeringsskiftet i 1884 ein kanal heilt inn i regjeringskontora" (Hoel, 2018: 493).[60] One of the first resolutions put forward by Venstre and passed by the Storting, i.e. *jamstillingsvedtaket* (1885), became of great importance for the Nynorsk movement and marks a key turning point in the acceptance and legitimisation of the language.[61] The *jamstillingsvedtak* stated that *det norske Folkesprog* and *Skrift- og Bogsproget* (i.e. Nynorsk and Bokmål) were now considered equal, as the wording of the act highlights: "Regjeringen anmodes om at træffe fornøden Forføining til, at det norske Folkesprog som Skole- og officielt Sprog sidestilles med vort almindelige Skrift- og Bogsprog" (ibid.: 494).[62] This achievement of official status for Nynorsk had little direct effect for the practical use of Nynorsk beyond what was already being done, yet it demonstrated the legitimisation of Aasen's written standard and led to another key parliamentary

[58] The movement of making Landsmål/Nynorsk the predominant language in Norway became an enlightenment cause. It had to, in the same way, become a national cause.
[59] In country after country, language societies and publishing houses were created that would help the progression of a national culture and cultivate written languages for linguistic minorities.
[60] The centre of the Venstre movement in the rural villages was basically the same school environments that formed the centre of the Landsmål movement, and following the change of government in 1884, these communities gained a direct channel into the government offices.
[61] *Jamstillingsvedtaket* (also known as *likestillingsvedtaket*, *sidestillingsvedtaket*) = the equality resolution, i.e. both the Norwegian written standards would have equal value/status.
[62] The Government is requested to ensure that the necessary steps are taken so that the Norwegian folk language [i.e. Nynorsk] as a language for schools and official use be given equal status with our common written and book language [i.e. Bokmål].

decision as part of the School Act in 1892, i.e. *målparagrafen*.[63] This paragraph of the School Act allowed local school boards to decide which written standard their school would use and which language the school textbooks would be written in. As Ernst Håkon Jahr asserts: "Parliament's decision to place both standards on an equal footing was thus finally incorporated into the School Act in 1892. An additional clause stated that pupils were to learn to read both standards. Thus, in 1892 the Landsmaal movement acquired the necessary legal basis for setting out to win over the school districts for their cause" (Jahr, 2014: 64).

This legal basis and requirement for pupils to learn both written standards would have significant consequences for the Nynorsk language in the years following and would have a considerable effect on Nynorsk translation activity too. After all, this school requirement meant that there was a great need for Nynorsk texts in the classroom and in public life, more so a school generation later when some children had been learning to read and write Nynorsk right from the start. As Roar Sanderud highlights when discussing Norwegian prime minister Johan Sverdrup's school reforms of 1889: "For å likestille landsmålet med bokmålet mente han videre det var nødvendig å sørge for å få bøker på landsmål i alle fag og på alle skolens trinn" (Sanderud, 1951: 109), demonstrating further the need for Nynorsk texts.[64] Indeed, the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century saw a significant rise in the number of publishing houses, newspapers and organisations focused on publishing texts in Nynorsk in order to promote, legitimise and spread the language. For example, the newspapers *Fedraheimen* (1877-1891), *Norsk Barneblad* (1887-), *Den 17de Mai* (1894-1935) and *Norig* (1909-1935); the journal *Syn og Segn* (1894-) published by Det Norske Samlaget; the Nynorsk organisations Vestmannalaget (1868-), Noregs Ungdomslag (1896-), Noregs Mållag (1906-); and the publishers Det Norske Samlaget (1868-), Mons Litleré (1887-1895) and Olaf Norli (1890-), to name but a few (Almenningen, 1984: 8-9 and Grepstad, 2006: 135; 161). As Olaf Almenningen points out: "Siktemålet med bokproduksjon på landsmål var i første rekkje å få reist ein eigen nasjonallitteratur" (Almenningen, 1984: 8).[65] In order to

[63] *målparagrafen* = the language paragraph.
[64] In order to give Landsmål equal status with Bokmål, he [Johan Sverdrup] further thought that it was necessary to ensure that books were published in Landsmål on all subjects and school levels.
[65] The aim of book production in Landsmål was first and foremost to construct a separate national literature.

achieve this aim, an increase in book production was evidently desired, and with this, an increase in translational activity would also be required. As Even-Zohar explains of young literatures:

> In the first case translated literature simply fulfils the need of a younger literature to put into use its newly founded (or renovated) tongue for as many literary types as possible in order to make it serviceable as a literary language and useful for its emerging public. Since a young literature cannot immediately create texts in all types known to its producers, it benefits from the experience of other literatures, and translated literature becomes in this way one of its most important systems. (Even-Zohar, 1978: 243)

This establishing of a Nynorsk literature can be paralleled with the corpus planning principles of *implementation* and *elaboration*, since in the case of the Nynorsk language, the language was constructed, developed and spread alongside its literature.

Before looking in the following sections at the saga translations that would form a large part of this separate national literature, it is important to highlight another piece of Nynorsk translational activity that would also play a significant role in the development and legitimisation of the Nynorsk language, that is, the translation of the New Testament into Nynorsk in 1889. The first complete translation of the New Testament into Nynorsk, i.e. *Det nye Testamente. Umsett fraa den greske Grunntekst paa norsk Folkemaal* (1889), published by Det Norske Samlaget, was carried out for a variety of reasons. Jarle Bondevik in his seminal works on Nynorsk Bible translations *Studiar i det nynorske bibelmålet: morfologi og ordtilfang* (1992) and *Og ordet vart nynorsk: Soga åt den nynorske bibelen* (2003) provides four key motives behind the 1889 translation: “Det pedagogiske motivet; det nasjonale motivet; det kristelege motivet; det demokratiske motivet” (Bondevik, 1992: 26-32).[66] The link between translational work and national motivation is evidenced clearly in a letter of 1881 from Det Norske Samlaget to the Storting highlighting the need for financial assistance in translating the New Testament into Nynorsk: “Det norske Samlag har allerede længe været sig bevidst Vigtigheden og Nødvendigheden af at faa den hellige Skrift overført paa det norske Folkesprog.

[66] The pedagogical motive; the national motive; the Christian motive; and the democratic motive.

Biblen er jo den Bog, som ethvert Folk, der arbeider paa Reisningen af et national Sprog og en derigjennem formidlet national Aandsudvikling" ('Dokument no. 12', 1881).[67] This appeal to the national sentiments of the Storting evidently worked, since in 1881, "løyvde Stortinget dei første offentlege kronene til utgiving av bøker på landsmål. Det Norske Samlaget fekk 1000 kroner til ei prøveomsetjing frå Det nye testamentet" (Grepstad, 2006: 107).[68] This marks a key shift in the funding of Nynorsk translations, since it demonstrates a burgeoning willingness of the state to help produce Nynorsk texts and translations for the Norwegian public rather than solely relying on the support of Nynorsk activists and enthusiasts. As the next section will demonstrate, the Norwegian state's involvement in the publishing and funding of Nynorsk saga translations was not just limited to religious material but was also extended to other key cultural texts, namely the sagas (see Tables 3a-c). This will further emphasise the widening appeal of Old Norse literature and the increasing demand for Nynorsk texts.

The significance of Nynorsk Bible translations and their effect on the Nynorsk language is of no small importance in the archive of Norwegian language history. Jarle Bondevik's works (1992; 2003) cover this subject extensively and highlight some key points of discussion when exploring the history of the Nynorsk language. In his foreword to *Og ordet vart nynorsk. Soga åt den nynorske bibelen* (2003), Bondevik begins: "I grunnlegginga av nynorsk som religiøst mål, som kulturmål og som bruksmål, har bibelskriftene vore ein verdfull byggjestein" (Bondevik, 2003: 7).[69] This point is well argued and Bondevik reinforces many of the ideas of this study with his assertion: "So eit nynorsk mål i Bibelen heng nøye saman med grunnlegginga og framvoksteren av landsmålet/nynorsk" (ibid.: 27).[70] Bondevik puts forward a case that the development and growth of the Nynorsk language was aided and affected by biblical translation activity but alternative valuable building blocks other than Bible translations are not explored in any great detail. For example, the Nynorsk

[67] Det Norske Samlaget has already long been certain of the importance and necessity of translating the Holy Scriptures into the Norwegian people's language [Nynorsk]. Indeed, the Bible is *the* book for every nation that works on erecting a national language and thus, also a conveyed development of a national spirit.
[68] The Storting granted the first public money for the publishing of books in Nynorsk. Det Norske Samlaget received NOK 1000 for a sample translation [of a section] from the New Testament.
[69] In the foundation of Nynorsk as a religious language, cultural language and everyday language, biblical scripture has been a valuable building block.
[70] Thus, having the Bible in the Nynorsk language is closely related to the foundation and growth of Landsmaal/Nynorsk itself.

translational work on saga literature, schoolbooks and legal texts were also important building blocks for the Nynorsk language, not to mention non-translational works such as the Nynorsk newspapers *Den 17de mai* and *Dølen* to name but a few. However, this is understandable as it was neither the aim of Bondevik's study to explore factors outside of Bible translations nor does it make any claims of biblical translations being the sole contributor to the growth of the Nynorsk language. However, it is this study's aim to highlight the other important factors affecting the development of the Nynorsk language, whilst simultaneously focusing and bringing to the forefront the importance of Nynorsk saga translations. The following sections will also emphasise the prestige of certain Old Norse texts for the Norwegian people and how Nynorsk translations of canonical Old Norse texts were often placed on equal footing with Nynorsk translations of the Bible (e.g. *Heimskringla*).

Indeed, Bondevik's *Og ordet vart nynorsk* (2003) can be seen as Bondevik's own attempt at cultivating a Foucauldian *archive* of Nynorsk Bible translations in much the same way that this study cultivates an *archive* of Nynorsk saga translations. Bondevik's work is also important to highlight here since it demonstrates how the development of the Nynorsk language can be connected to translational work in a tangible way. However, in his examination of the motives behind the Nynorsk translation of the Bible in 1889, i.e. the pedagogical, national, Christian and democratic motives, there is no mention of a linguistic or language planning motive. Obviously, translating into Nynorsk was significant and played a role in each of these motives; still, Bondevik does not regard the 1889 translation as being motivated by linguistic or language planning principles, unlike this study that focuses on the linguistic and corpus planning motivations behind Nynorsk saga translations.

One reason for this may be that the principal translators of the 1889 Bible translation, and subsequent Nynorsk bible translations, were first and foremost theologians. For example, the three main translators were Elias Blix, a professor of theology and Hebraic languages, Johannes Belsheim, a priest and author of theological literature, and Matias Skard, an educator and psalmist (ibid.: 54). It is important to note that Matias Skard translated both Biblical scriptures and Old Norse literature, having translated *Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu*, *Víglundar saga* and *Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings* from 1872 to 1874, long before he translated any Christian texts, since this demonstrates the priority given to Nynorsk translations of Old Norse

literature. The Royal Ministry of Church Affairs and Education also appointed two consultants: one to represent the theological side, Professor Frederik W. K. Bugge, a theologian and eventual bishop, and one to represent the philological side, Carl Richard Unger, a historian and philologist (ibid.: 57).[71] This trend of Bible translators primarily coming from a theological background continued throughout the history of Nynorsk Bible translations as Bondevik highlights: “lista over omsetjarar inneheld 42 namn, og av dei er 26 teologar” (Bondevik, 1988: 11).[72] This is not particularly unusual since sacred texts throughout history and in other cultures have often been translated by the faith community who utilise these texts. However, it is important to note that from the moment Det Norske Samlaget received funding for a Bible translation in 1881 and Elias Blix was thus commissioned to translate the Epistle to the Romans, Ivar Aasen became a key consultant for issues of language on Blix’s insistence: “Han tok på seg oppgåva, men stilte eit krav: Ivar Aasen måtte vere med” (Grepstad, 2006: 107).[73] Indeed, Aasen played a significant role in the 1889 translation of the New Testament, as evidenced by the regular visits with Blix: “I dagboka noterte Aasen over 150 besøk berre av Elias Blix frå sommaren 1882, då arbeidet tok til, fram til verket låg føre i 1889. Alt gjaldt nok ikkje bibelomsetjinga, men i lange periodar var det daglege konsulteringar” (ibid.: 107-109).[74] Aasen’s presence and work on the 1889 translation undoubtedly provided a greater legitimisation and linguistic accuracy for the Nynorsk written standard as a Bible language and this was not the first time he had translated a biblical text, having previously translated the Parable of the Lost Son (Luke 15: 11-32) in 1859 (cf. Djupedal, 1957: 355-357).

The 1889 Nynorsk translation of the New Testament certainly had a significant effect on the Nynorsk language, as Bondevik demonstrates. Furthermore, I would argue that this translation provided the Norwegian people with the text they had lost during the Reformation when the Bible was translated into Danish instead of Norwegian. Indeed, the importance of translational activity and its effect on the history of a language and people is not to be underestimated; yet, translational

[71] Unger was also a prominent student of Rudolf Keyser (Jørgensen, 2022: 242).
[72] The list of translators [Nynorsk Bible translators] contains 42 names, 26 of which are theologians.
[73] He [Elias Blix] took on the job but demanded one thing: Ivar Aasen had to join the project.
[74] In his diary, Aasen mentioned over 150 visits just by Elias Blix from the summer of 1882 when the work began, until the work was completed in 1889. Naturally, not all these meetings concerned the Bible translation but for long periods, there were daily consultations.

activity covers far more than just translations of biblical texts. For example, there is a need for constructing an archive for various other areas of Nynorsk translation history and Norwegian language history, such as legal translations or scientific translations as mentioned in Section 1.3.2. For this study, the next section will highlight how Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature played an equally important role in the development of the Nynorsk language as the Nynorsk translations of biblical texts did.

4.1 Ivar Aasen as translation consultant

Following the publication of Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* in 1858 by Selskabet for Folkeoplysningens Fremme (see Chapter 5 for more information), with the translation also appearing in this society's journal *Folkevennen*, the attention given to translations of the sagas into Nynorsk would increase gradually but significantly until 1905, when the desire for Nynorsk saga publications began to increase much more rapidly.[75] This attention and work on the Nynorsk saga translations, whilst initiated by Rudolf Keyser and Selskabet for Folkeoplysningens Fremme, was taken up with increasing fervour by the *målmenn*, i.e. proponents of the Nynorsk language, who were in favour of using and promoting Aasen's new written standard. As's second principle of translation history highlights: "the central object of historical knowledge [in relation to translation] should be the human translator, since only humans have the kind of responsibility appropriate to social causation" (Pym, 1998: ix), and, thus, these *målmenn* must be examined in order to shed light on their translational activities. It is of note that the majority of these *målmenn*, although working across a variety of disciplines with varying degrees of expertise in the Nynorsk language and/or Old Norse, chose not only to use translations in their promotion of the Nynorsk standard but specifically translations of Old Norse literature. Indeed, of all the well-known public proponents of Nynorsk in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a vast number of them can be traced to carrying out some kind of Nynorsk saga translation or translational activity. There is no doubt that Aasen was the father of the Nynorsk language, but the language spread, promotion and

[75] The Society for the Advancement of the People's Enlightenment.

maintenance of the Nynorsk language was carried out by many other saga translators who had been inspired by Aasen and his work.

One such *målmann* greatly inspired by Aasen was Eirik Torvaldson Sommer (1832-1904), a teacher from Trondheim, who took up writing in Nynorsk soon after its codification in 1853, as can be seen by his publication in 1857 of a collection of saga folk songs concerning Norwegian kings, and who also exchanged a great deal of correspondence with Aasen himself. In a new edition of Sommer's saga folk songs *Soga-visor om de norske Konungar og de største Hend i Norrig i den hedenske Tidi til Haaken Jarl sit Fall* (1921), first published in 1857, Anton Aure points out the significance of Sommer's work within the history of the Nynorsk language: "Næst etter Ivar Aasen var Eirik Sommer den fyrste som gav ut ei bok paa nynorsk landsmaal… Nett difor er denne boki forvitneleg for dei som arbeider med maalreisingi, endaa boki i seg sjølv er heller lite tess" (Anton Aure in Sommer, 1921: 5).[76] This back-handed compliment is further explained by Aure describing how Sommer was "diverre ikkje diktar" (ibid.: 5), and so this collection of ballads that Sommer had hoped to become well-known folk songs among the Norwegian public, unfortunately, never manifested in such a way.[77] Sommer's afterword to his 1857 publication does, however, contain some poignant insights into his aims and how Nynorsk and Norwegian history would aid them, opening with: "Kjendskab til vort Lands og vore Forfædres Historie giver hver Mand Hygge og Nytte" (Sommer, 1921: 42).[78] Sommer continues this rhetoric:

> Det er unegtelig, at af alle de Bøger, som ere bestemte for Almuen, maa de fædrelandshistoriske gives en høi Plads, og det turde ikke vare meget længe før enhver brav Bondemands Bogsamling vil foruden Bibel, Huspostille, Psalmebog osv. tillige indeholder Snorre Sturlesøns norske Kongesagaer. (Ibid.: 43)[79]

Again, this placing of the sagas, specifically Snorri's *Heimskringla,* on level footing with canonical religious texts highlights the importance and sentiments surrounding

[76] After Ivar Aasen, Eirik Sommer was the next person to first publish a book in Landsmål/Nynorsk… Therefore, this book is interesting for those working on the creation of a language standard, even though the book in itself is of little use.
[77] Unfortunately, no poet.
[78] Knowledge of our country's and forefathers' history is of comfort and utility to everyone.
[79] It is undeniable that of all the books required by the public, those about the history of our fatherland must be given a high priority, and it should not be too long before every brave bonde's book collection will contain Snorre Sturluson's Sagas of the Norwegian Kings in addition to the Bible, homilies and Psalm books etc.

Norwegian history and the sagas among the proponents of Nynorsk and Norwegians in general. This will be further explored below when discussing Schjøtt's translation of *Heimskringla*.

On his choice of Nynorsk for his folk songs, Sommer, echoing Aasen's democratic and National Romantic ideologies, explains:

> Hvad sproget angaar skal jeg kun bemærke, at Sangene ere skrevne i almennorsk Landsmaal, mestendels efter I. Aasens Fremstilling deraf, hvilket jeg brugte, fordi jeg tror, at dette Maal er mere tiltrækkende og forstaaeligt for Almuen, da det er dens eget, end Skriftsproget… og det høver vistnok bedst, at Fortællinger om norske Tildragelser indklædes i virkelig norsk Sprog. (Ibid.: 42-43)[80]

Whilst Sommer's and Aasen's ideologies and aims for Nynorsk were evidently closely aligned, Aasen's letters to Eirik Sommer from 1858 to 1862 demonstrate a slight reluctance for publishing too many works in Nynorsk at one time. Whilst Sommer was working on a book on the history of Norway, *Noregs Saga i Stuttmaal* published in 1862, he sent drafts to Aasen to look over and correct any mistakes in his use of Nynorsk. Writing in November 1858 to Sommer, approximately one month after Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* was published, Aasen advises Sommer on which pieces of his draft should be published in *Folkevennen* by Selskabet for Folkeoplysningens Fremme as a demonstration of the Nynorsk language:

> Oplysningsselskabet havde nylig udgivet et Tillægshefte (nemlig *Fridtjofs Saga*) i Landsmaalet; man havde derfor nogen Frygt for, at endeel Folk vilde synes, at det blev for meget af dette Maal paa een Tid; hertil kom ogsaa det Hensyn, at man nu i denne Sprogstridens Tid maa være meget varsom med hvad man lader trykke i dette Sprog. (Aasen, in Djupedal 1957: 349)[81]

This reluctance to publish more texts in Nynorsk must, to some extent, come from the critical backlash his *Fridtjofs Saga* received a month earlier but is perhaps

[80] Concerning the language, I will just mention that the songs are written in general Norwegian Landsmål, for the most part following Ivar Aasen's representation [of Landsmål]. I have used this because I believe that this language is more appealing and understandable to the public, as it is their own, than the written language [Riksmål/Bokmål]… and it seems best that stories concerning Norwegian events should be expressed in a genuine Norwegian language.

[81] The Society for the Advancement of the People's Enlightenment has recently published a supplementary book (namely, *Fridtjofs Saga*) in Landsmål; therefore, one has a certain fear that some people would think that there was too much of this language all at once. There is also a consideration, in this time of language conflict, that one must be extremely careful about what one allows to be printed in this language.

peculiar that the creator of the Nynorsk language was far less enthusiastic about publishing in Nynorsk than many of the publishers, historians, linguists and writers inspired by his work. Aasen is, however, rather complimentary of Sommer's work despite his use of the Trondheim dialect here and there, stating: "maa jeg virkelig sige, at jeg fandt Arbeidet bedre end jeg havde ventet" (ibid.: 350). Aasen also provided a foreword to Sommer's 1862 *Noregs Saga i Stuttmaal*[82]*,* receiving another chance after *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858) to explain to the public the need for, and benefits of, the Nynorsk language:

> Det som Folk vilja fyrst merka ved denne Boki, er at ho er skrivi i eit Maal, som er litet kunnigt i Skrift. Den Tanken, som visar seg i denne Freistnaden kann vel snaraste tydast soleides, at sidan det no lenge hever voret so, at Aalmugen laut tvau Maal, eit til Tale og eit til Skrift, so vilde det inkje skada, um Aalmugen ogso fekk nokre Bøker til at lesa i det Maale, som han sjølv kann tala, og som høyrer Landet til ifraa gamle Tider. (Aasen, in Sommer, 1862: i).[83]

Evidently, four years on from his letter to Sommer warning him about publishing in Nynorsk, Aasen had had a change of heart, or perhaps the four-year gap was considered enough to not be a bombardment of Nynorsk texts on the public and he now wanted to see more books written in Nynorsk.

In addition to general feedback on Sommer's draft, Aasen added a list of corrections that highlight Aasen's influence on the Nynorsk vocabulary (in addition to the morphology also) used by his contemporaries. These corrections can also be seen as having a direct effect on the lexicon of the Nynorsk language, since Sommer's adoption of Aasen's corrections and suggestions in his published work show how Aasen directly influenced the Nynorsk language and took part in the language standardisation, language spread and lexical modernisation of the Nynorsk language. For example, Aasen warns Sommer in 1858 about the use of *arbeid* (meaning "work") as it is one of his *mislige ord* ("disliked words") (Aasen, in Djupedal, 1957: 351), and again in 1861 where he explains in more detail: ""Arbeidet" er et besynderligt Ord og vanskeligt at blive klog paa… Jeg tror, at vi til Nød kunde bruge

[82] The History of Norway in Brief.
[83] The first thing that people will notice about this book is that it is written in a language that is little known in writing. The idea, that appears in this attempt, can most likely be interpreted as such: that since it has long been the case that the public has had two languages, one for speech and one for writing, it would not hurt if the public also had some books to read in this language, that they themselves can speak, and which belongs to this country from olden times.

Formen Arbeid, men at det var godt, saa ofte som muligt bruge andre eenstydige Ord, saasom Verk, Orka, Yrke, Onn, Idn; Verknad" (ibid.: 393).[84] Evidently, Aasen's suggestions had a tangible effect on Sommer's vocabulary since he does not use *arbeid* in his *Noregs Saga i Stuttmaal* (1862) and *Soga um Sverre Magnus Sigurdsson, Noregs Konung* (1864), opting instead for *verk* in the majority of cases (Sommer, 1862: 31; 37; 47 etc.; Sommer, 1864: 137;151; 216, to name but a few). Aasen's influence on the vocabulary used by several other translators such as Matias Skard, Georg Grieg and Stefan Frich can also be seen within Aasen's letters, examples of which will be explored later.

Beyond his original works in Nynorsk, Sommer occupies an important position within the archive of Nynorsk saga translations since he produced the second complete translation of a saga, after Aasen, when he translated *Sverris saga*, published by Jacob Andersens Enke in 1864. The choice of this saga is significant for several reasons. Firstly, like *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, *Sverris saga* mainly takes place in Norway and centres around Norwegian people, namely the Norwegian king, Sverrir (1151-1202) in this case. Secondly, as Ármann Jakobsson points out: "*Sverris saga* is a lengthy biography, rich in detail and artistry, and replete with minor characters, dialogues and elaborate scenes" (Jakobsson, 2005: 392), demonstrating the complexity and length of *Sverris saga* as a source text for a translation. Whilst Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858) consisted of 46 pages, Sommer's *Saga um Sverre Magnus Sigurdsson* (1864) was a hefty 269 pages long, which further highlights Sommer's enthusiasm and commitment to publishing Nynorsk texts. Lastly, the nation-building potential of a translation of a saga concerning the exploits of a Norwegian king who fought to stabilise the political divide in Norway during his lifetime had a great chance of resonating with the Norwegian public in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

In order to understand the readership, influence and cultural importance of Sommer's translation and *Sverris saga*, one can simply look at a correspondence in the newspaper *Den 17de mai* in 1899, which highlights the awareness, and lack of awareness, of Sommer's translation. On the seventeenth of May in 1899, precisely

[84] "Arbeidet" ("(the) work/job") is a strange word and difficult to get a grasp of… I think that we could use the form "Arbeidet" if need be, but it would be better, as often as possible, to use other synonymous words such as "Verk", "Orka", "Yrke", "Onn", "Idn"; "Verknad".

75 years after Norway's constitution day, an article on King Sverrir and *Sverris saga* was written anonymously, with much nationalistic jingoism, detailing the cultural importance of the Norwegian king and need for a Norwegian version of the saga:

> Samla Norig, det var det han vilde. Samla det; byggja det - ; tryggja det – mot ytre og indre fiender. Til det vigde han sine herlege evner og heile si livskraft. Det vart eit liv i ustanseleg strid. Han var den største talar paa si tid. Ja ein kan vel trygt seia at han var den største talar norsketunga hev havt. Det var ikkje dansk-norsk den mannen tala; det var norsk, liksom han sjølv var norsk ut og inn. For ein nedgang! Kong Harald, Olav Trygvasson, Heilag Olav, all Haakonar, kong Sverre – dei tala alle det norske maalet. Og me "det unge Norig", me skjemmest ved det, sparkar til det. Me pyntar oss med dei gamle namn; me døyper skipi vaare "Harald Haarfagre," "Kong Olaf", "Kong Sverre" o.s.b. Men me kyter av at me ikkje forstend norskt maal! Alle sagaer gjev me ut paa dansk. Kong Sverres saga hev me einast paa dansk. Naar "det nye Norig" les ein tale av Kong Sverre, so les dei han paa dansk. ('Kong Sverre', 17.05.1899)[85]

These passionate statements highlight not only a complete ignorance of Sommer's translation, but also demonstrate the prevailing rhetoric that the Norwegian nation needed its own language and to reclaim its ancestral roots that had been masked by Denmark and the Danish language, and again, drawing a line between the "old" and "young/new" Norway. However, the author's statement that "All sagas, we publish in Danish. We only have King Sverrir's saga in Danish" is categorically not true in 1899, since one could find translations of *Friðjófs saga ins Frækna* (1858, translated by Ivar Aasen), *Sverris saga* (1864, translated by Eirik Sommer), *Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu* (1872, translated by Matias Skard), *Víglundar saga* (1874, translated by Matias Skard), *Heimskringla* (1874-1879, translated by Steinar Schjøtt) and *Njáls saga* (1896, translated by Olav Aasmundstad).

[85] Unite Norway, that's what he [King Sverrir] wanted. Unite it, build it -; protect it – against external and internal enemies. To that end, he dedicated his wonderful abilities and his entire vitality. It became a life of constant struggle. He was the greatest orator of his time. Indeed, one can safely say that he was the greatest speaker the Norwegian language has ever had. It was not Danish-Norwegian that man spoke; it was Norwegian, just as he himself was Norwegian inside and out. What a decline! King Harald, Olav Trgyvasson, Saint Olav, all the Haakons, King Sverrir – they all spoke the Norwegian language. And we "the young Norway", are ashamed of it, kick it to the kerb. We adorn ourselves with the old names; we christen our ships "Harald Fairhair", "King Olaf", "King Sverrir" etc. But we make a noise about not understanding the Norwegian language! All sagas, we publish in Danish. We only have King Sverrir's saga in Danish. When "the new Norway" reads a speech by King Sverrir, they read it in Danish.

This mistake was fervently pointed out by one anonymous reader less than a week after the first article was published:

> Du skriv, gode syttande, i nr. 111b: - “Alle sagaer gjev me ut paa dansk. Kong Sverres saga hev me einast paa dansk.” Dette er eit mistak, som eg tenkjer, folk i Oslo hev retta paa, fyrr du fær denne bodstikka fraa Bjørgvin. Me *hev* Sverres saga paa norsk. Ho kom ut alt i 1864 i Trondheim hjaa Jacob Andersens Enke. Boki heiter: “*Saga um Sverre Magnus Sigurdsson, Noregs Konung.* Umskrivi fraa det gamle i det nyare norske Landsmaalet til lesnad aat Aalmugen av *Eirik Thorvaldson Sommer.*” Ho er god og greid denne umskrifti hans Sommer, og daa det er von, at boki longe er utseld, turvte *det norske Samlaget* elder ein norsk bokhandlar tenkja paa ei ny utgaava. Gjer so, godtfolk, er De takk verde. Bjørgvin 19. Mai 99. (‘Sverres saga’, 23.05.1899)[86]

This response highlights multiple factors concerning the reception of Nynorsk saga translations. Firstly, this well-read reader was very aware that the Norwegian public had received a Norwegian translation of *Sverris saga* decades earlier. Secondly, that Sommer’s translation was sold out and therefore, it can be inferred that it was presumably popular. Thirdly, Sommer’s translation was well received and thought highly of, at least according to this one reader. Fourthly, the knowledge of Sommer’s translation spread from Trondheim all the way to Oslo, since the reader knew the readers there would also make this correction, and Bergen, where this reader sent his response from, highlighting a network of transferring knowledge about Nynorsk saga translations. Finally, and at least here, the author and reader are in agreement, there appears to be a desire and need for a new publication of *Sverris saga* for the Norwegian people.

Directly below this correction, in the same newspaper, *Den 17de mai*’s committee responded with: ““Den 17de” tenkjer aa taka Sverres saga i utklipsbolken so snart me er ferdige med “Folkeliv i Paris”. Sverres saga er so spandande som

[86] You wrote, dear *17de*, in issue 111b: - “All sagas, we publish in Danish. We only have King Sverrir’s saga in Danish.” This is a mistake, which I believe people in Oslo have corrected, before you received this message from Bergen. We *do have Sverris saga* in Norwegian. It came out in its entirety in 1864 in Trondheim, published by Jacob Andersens Enke. The book is called: “*Saga um Sverre Magnus Sigurdsson, Noregs Konung*. Umskrivi fraa det gamle i det nyare norske Landsmaalet til Lesnad aat Aalmugen [“translated from the old into the newer Norwegian Landsmål for reading by the common people”] av Eirik Thorvaldson Sommer.” This translation of Sommer’s is good and appropriate, and there is a hope, since the book has long since been sold out, that Det Norske Samlaget or a Norwegian bookseller needs to think about a new edition. Do so, good people, thank you. Bergen, 19 May.

nokor roman" (ibid.).[87] This reply is noteworthy since they do not acknowledge making a mistake and, moreover, they reveal that they were already intending to publish a new version of *Sverris saga* at the time of writing. Indeed, this new translation was published in 1899 as a supplement to *Den 17de mai* under the title *Kong Sverres Saga: umskrivi fyr "Den 17de mai"*. This new translation was published and translated anonymously; the foreword written by the translator signed simply as *umskrivaren*.[88] However, it was evidently known around that time that this publication was translated by Rasmus Steinsvik (Kolsrud, 1919: 4), the editor and founder of *Den 17de mai*. Given the close publication dates of the 'Kong Sverre' article in *Den 17de mai* and Steinsvik's new translation of *Sverris saga*, it would seem that the article was written to promote and give grounds for the upcoming new translation. This is evidenced not only by the writer of the article's glaring ignorance, or perhaps intentional exclusion to promote the new translation, of Sommer's translation, but also the omission of any reference to Sommer's translation in the foreword to Steinsvik's translation.

Contrary to *Den 17de mai*'s statement that Norway only had its sagas in Danish, a number of key translations of Old Norse literature into Nynorsk were published before 1899. The first of these, published after Aasen's and Sommer's attempts, were two texts translated by Matias Skard (1846–1927), the teacher and philologist previously mentioned as one of the principal translators of the Nynorsk Bible in 1889. Skard's translation of *Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu* was published in 1872, followed by his translation of *Víglundar saga* in 1874. Both these translations were published by Det Norske Samlaget (1868-), emphasising its desire to produce Nynorsk saga translations from a very early stage in its publishing history. This desire to translate Old Norse literature was mirrored in Skard's own literary production, although he did not limit himself to translations from Old Norse literature alone. Indeed, Skard also translated Friedrick Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* (1804) in 1872, the same year his translation of *Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu* was published. It is of note that Skard's translation of *Wilhelm Tell* was, as stated on the title page, "Prentat paa Umskrivaren sin Kostnad" (M. Skard, 1872b: title page), since it highlights not only a lack of economic enterprise on the contemporary publishers' part for Nynorsk

[87] *Den 17de mai* intends to incorporate *Sverris saga* into its portfolio as soon as it is finished with *Folkeliv i Paris*. *Sverris saga* is as exciting as any novel.
[88] *the translator/the rewriter*

translations from German, but also emphasises Skard's willingness to publish and translate into Nynorsk.[89]

Skard's motivation for these translations can be seen in their forewords and mirrors the sentiments of previous saga translators Aasen and Sommer. In his foreword to *Vilhelm Tell* (1872), Skard draws connections between Switzerland and Norway and the past and the present, utilising National Romantic sentiments as he does so:

> Sveis er eit Bergland og likjest i mangt vaart eigjet Land. Det er eitt av dei vænaste Landom i Verdi. Nede i dei rike, vokstlege Dalom smøygjer Elvarne seg fram millom dei mangbøndte Gardom med Aaker, Eng og sume Stader Vinberg (ibid.: i).[90]
>
> I dette vetle, fagre Landet bur det eitt litet gjævt Folk. Kor dei er ættade fraa er uvisst. Etter ei gamall Segn, dei sjølve hev, skal ein Deil vera komen fraa Nordlandom (ibid.: ii).[91]
>
> I dei eldste Tidom budde dei daa der og styrde seg sjølve; det var eitt rent Bondefolk. (ibid.: ii).[92]

These connections between the old and new and an underlying envy of a nation's freedom are found also in the foreword to Skard's *Saga um Gunnlaug Ormstunga* (1872), in this instance comparing Norway with Iceland:

> Ja, hotki det var, so likade Nordmennerne Island, og so strøymde dei dit. So vart Island folkat fraa Noreg. No var det snaudt dei mest frihugade Nordmennerne, som flutte til Island, dei, som inkje vilde tola Kongen yver seg. So var det Von, Fridomen skulde faa raada der; og so gjekk det. Island vart eitt Friland med Folkestyre. (M. Skard, 1872a: 4-5)[93]

[89] Printed at the translator's own cost.
[90] Switzerland is a mountainous country, which, in many ways, is similar to our own. It is one of the most beautiful countries in the world. Down in the rich, expansive valleys, the rivers spread forward in between the well-employed farms with fields, meadows and in some places, mountainous vineyards.
[91] In this little, beautiful country live a small and excellent people. Where they came from is unclear. According to an old tale, they themselves tell, a part of them came from Scandinavia.
[92] In the most ancient times, they lived there and governed themselves; they were a pure bonde-people.
[93] Norwegians liked how Iceland was and so they flooded over there. Thus, Iceland was populated from Norway. It was soon the most liberal-minded Norwegians who moved to Iceland, i.e. those who could not tolerate the King having power over them. So there was a hope that freedom would govern there, and so it did. Iceland became a free country with a republic.

It is not difficult to read between the lines here in order to see how Skard, like many other *målmenn* at that time, resented Norway's current situation under the rule of Sweden, and past situation under the rule of Denmark, and wanted to enjoy the same freedoms that countries like Iceland and Switzerland did. These sentiments are also no doubt influenced by Rudolf Keyser's 1839 work on the origin and relationship between Norwegians and Icelanders *Om Nordmændenes Herkomst og Folke-Slægtskab*. For Skard, a principal freedom that had been long denied to Norway was that of a national language as he continues:

> Islendingarne bruka enno det gamle norske Maalet sitt, som dei havde med seg fraa Noreg. Det likjest soleids det Maal, som talast paa Landsbygdom hjaa oss… Soleids bruka Islendarne baade i Skrift og Tala det sama Maalet, som Landsfolekt her talar. Likavel er det eitt Folk med mykjet Upplysning og Lesnad, endaa Framstigi der er mykjet meinkade ved eitt framandt Styre. (Ibid.: 8).[94]

Evidently, to be able to write the same language as one speaks was a privilege granted to the old Norwegians, i.e. modern-day Icelanders but not to modern-day Norwegians, something that Skard's translation hoped to rectify.

It is also of note that Skard highlights the great deal of reading matter available to the Icelanders in their own language and how he believes this to be a great benefit to the Icelanders and their language situation. It follows, therefore, that regardless of "foreign governance", having a large source of reading matter was paramount to achieving a linguistic freedom and promoting the language of the people, and what is even more noteworthy is that the method that Skard chose to achieve this was the production of translations. That these translations, from Old Norse and German, were the first to be produced, long before Skard turned his hand to translating Biblical texts and translating religious material, i.e. *Evangeliet etter Markus* (1883), *Evangeliet etter Lukas* (1884) *Det nye Testamente* (1889), is of significance since it demonstrates a priority and usefulness given to the sagas (more so than German literature since Skard did not have to produce the saga translations

[94] The Icelandic people still use the old language that they brought with them from Norway. Therefore, it is similar to the language spoken in our countryside… The Icelanders use the same language in both speech and writing that the rural people speak here. Moreover, they are a people with a great deal of history and reading matter, even though progress there is greatly impaired by a foreign governance.

at his own cost) in order to establish the Nynorsk language years before canonical Biblical texts were translated and utilised.

Like Sommer, Skard also sought Aasen's expertise and advice on his translations, sending him a draft of his translation of *Víglundar saga* in 1874. Following Aasen's feedback, Skard replied "Takk fyr Dykkar Råder; eg skal fylgja deim" (Skard, in Djupedal, 1958: 337), demonstrating Aasen's authority on translating from Old Norse at that time.[95] Skard also translated *Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings* in 1874, sending a draft to Aasen again to proofread in 1877 (ibid.: 159). This translation was not published until 1907 under the title *Soga um Haavard Isfjording* by Orkdølens prenteverk in Svorkmo, yet in its foreword, Skard does not forget the help Aasen provided: "Men eg tok deim med, etter samraad med Ivar Aasen, som elles hev sét heile umskrifti igjenom" (M. Skard, 1907: 7).[96]

A letter from Skard to Det Norske Samlaget dated 21 October, 1874 (see Appendix 1), reveals that Skard had initially tried to sell his translation of *Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings* around the same time as his translation of *Víglundar saga* in 1874. Within this letter, one discovers that Skard had received 5 daler (NOK 1303 in 2021, ca. GBP 108) for his translation of *Víglundar saga*, but for his translation of *Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings*, Skard requested 6 daler (NOK 1564 in 2021, ca. GBP 130) due to the difficult poetry verses he had to translate: "Men med alle dei leide Kvadane i denne Saga finn eg høvelegt aa setja Prisen til 6 Daler" (M. Skard, 1874a: *174 Brev*).[97] Evidently, this increased price was important to Skard hence his underlining of the price, demonstrating the perceived value of translating difficult skaldic and eddic poetry from the perspective of the saga translator. This letter also reveals Skard's insistence on maintaining the paratextual information of his translation, as he finds his definition of certain words to be paramount to the reader's understanding of the text: "Ordtydingarne vil eg helst hava nedst paa Sidom, men vil de det slett ikkje, so baki Boki; aa lata deim ute vil eg ikkje, for det gjeld um at Folk kan skyna det, som verk skrivet paa norsk" (ibid.).[98] Providing paratextual definitions and information is a

[95] Thank you for your advice; I shall follow it.
[96] But I included them [certain words/phrases such as *harm* and *berg*], after consultation with Ivar Aasen, who has looked through the entire translation in any case.
[97] But with all the accompanying poems in this saga, I find it reasonable to set the price at 6 daler.
[98] I would preferably have the word definitions at the bottom of the pages, but if you do not want that, then at the back of the book; I do not want to leave them out, since it is about the people being able to understand it, as a work written in Norwegian.

fundamental method in the solidifying and promoting of lexical items, a notion that Skard was aware of in these early stages of the Nynorsk language. Skard's insistence on making the definitions of the Nynorsk vocabulary visible to the reader demonstrates how his saga translation could potentially educate the reader about new or revived words not found in Danish or Bokmål and thus solidify their usage within a written culture. It is of note that Det Norske Samlaget chose not to buy Skard's translation at this point in time: perhaps his request for a wage increase put them off or, perhaps, like Aasen, they did not want to publish too many sagas all at once and wanted to invest their money elsewhere. However, it would eventually find its way to Det Norske Samlaget's catalogue in 1930, when it was released as number 27 in the Old Norse book series *Gamalnorske/Norrøne bokverk* with some minor corrections on the 1907 publication carried out by Skard's son Eiliv Skard.

Aasen's influence on Skard's use of Nynorsk vocabulary, as well as the development of Nynorsk since 1874, can be readily seen through a comparison between Aasen's corrections/advice and Skard's 1907 translation of *Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings*. It is evident from the table below that Aasen directly affected Skard's translational choices and, therefore, also continued to affect this part of the living corpus of Nynorsk texts. Whilst Aasen does not necessarily coin new terms, he does lead Skard towards more appropriate vocabulary which not only reduced the amount of Danish- and German-influenced vocabulary in the translation but also solidified and spread lexical items within the Nynorsk language. As can be seen from the table (**1**) below, the extent to which Skard takes Aasen's advice is varied, yet Aasen's influence can be readily seen in a number of cases:

Table 1: Aasen's feedback to Matias Skard - Letter 344, 29.10.1877 (Djupedal, 1858: 159-162)

Skard's original word/phrase in draft, according to Aasen's letter. (Aasen's comments in bold)	**Aasen's suggestion/correction** **(Aasen's comments in bold)**	**Skard's choice(s) in 1907 translation: *Soga um Haavard Isfjording* + comments on whether Skard followed Aasen's advice**
(Han var) av god Ætt	*Han hadde stor Ætt*	Skard uses *av stor ætt* and *av god ætt* (pp. 9-10). Takes Aasen's advice but still uses his original choice too.
Det er ikkje lugomt	*Det høver ikkje so fyre meg (**lugom, som Adjektiv, er noko uskaplegt**)*	*Det er ikkje høvelegt* (p. 27). Rewords his original to be closer to Aasen's suggestion but does not use Aasen's suggestion verbatim.
H. tyktest ingen Ting tess	*tyktest vera reint hjelpelaus (gagnlaus).* ***Ogso detta "tess" er nokot uskaplegt***	*H. ikkje syntest duga til nokon ting meir* (p. 31). Does not use *tess* anywhere. Takes advice on *tess* but rewords his original and ignores Aasen's suggestion.
daa han gjekk burtyver	*burt etter, (burt-atter), derifraa*	*daa han gjekk nedyver* (p. 33).

		Rewords his original and ignores Aasen's suggestion.
*Smerta (**dansk***)* *Aasen indicates here that this is a **Danish** word.	*Hugverk, Hugsott, Harm*	Uses *harm* (pp. 37-38, 66). Does not use *smerta* anywhere.
det lyt vist hava voret gamle H.	*Det maa visst... **Detta "lyt" (som Teikn paa ei sterk Von) synest meg ikkje høvelegt.***	*det hev visst vore gamle H.* (p. 38). Takes Aasen's advice about *lyt* but rewords his original and ignores Aasen's suggestion.
gjerer det utum inkje atter millom T. og S.	*gjere Skilnad (Hjonskilnad), Skilsmaal*	*gjer det uturn inkje millom Torbjørn og Torgjeld* (p. 42). Rewords his original slightly and ignores Aasen's suggestion but does use *skilsmaal* elsewhere (p.24).
Skip	*Baat, elder Skuta*	Uses *baat* and *skuta* (pp. 26, 43, 49, 53) more often as Aasen advised, although still uses *skip* in other instances (pp. 42, 51, 76)
*Kvad (**dansk**)*	*Kvæde*	*kvæde* (p. 47). Takes Aasen's advice.
Kvalpinnar	*Kvalriv*	*kvalpinnar* (p. 51). Ignores Aasen's suggestion.

*var Fjellet sleipt (**Fjell fyre Berg er Kristiania Maal**)*	*var Berget sleipt*	*var berget haalt* (p. 55). Takes Aasen's suggestion of using *berget* instead of *fjellet* but also rewords original.
setja Varme paa Garden	*setja Eld p. G.*	*set eld paa garden* (p. 58). Takes Aasen's advice.
so reint burtbytt	*umskapad (umsnudd)*	Neither found in translation.
ein stor Tufs	*ikkje nokon dugande Mann*	*ein rein tufs (p. 74)* Rewords his original choice slightly and ignores Aasen's suggestion.
Pakke dykk	*Burt med dykk, stygge Ulukkefuglar, der hava de gjort det største Uheppaverk o.s.v.*	*Burt med dykk, syrgjelege ulukke-ting de er! No hev de gjort det verste ugagnsverk* (p. 71). Takes Aasen's advice but also rewords slightly.
*taka seg av dykk (**dansk**)*	*taka imot dykk, hjelpa, hylla dykk*	*taka imot dykk* (p. 71). Takes Aasen's advice.
Sinn	*Huglag, Huglynde*	*Huglynde* (p. 80). Takes Aasen's advice. Does not use *sinn* anywhere.
*i deg hev eg ein stor Skatt (**Framandt***)*	*eg heve ein stor Skatt, naar eg heve deg. (Elder: medan, so lenge eg heve deg)*	*i deg hev eg ein stor rikdom (p. 79).*

*Aasen indicates that this is **foreign**-sounding, with regard to syntax in this case.		Rewords his original slightly and ignores Aasen's suggestion.
lata oss stinga i Hel inne	*stengja - **"stanga" i Originalen er vistnog alltid tolket med "stinga"; men etter Samanhengen skulde ein snaraste tru, at det her tydde "stengja". Men detta er det no ikke so grant med.***	*lèt oss stinga her inne* (p. 86). Ignores Aasen's suggestion that this is a misinterpretation of the verb *stanga*.
so frakke Ting	*mange uhøyrelege Illverk (Illgjerder), mange forskammelege Tiltak*	*mange uhøyrde tiltak* (p. 91). Slightly reorders Aasen's suggestion but mostly takes his advice.
*kvat dei hadde upplivt (**dansk**)*	*kor det hadde gjenget deim*	*kva som hadde hendt deim* (p. 94). Rewords his original and does not use Aasen's suggestion.
Atle var sidan halden fyre den beste Kjempa	*den gildaste Mann (ein av gildaste Gutom), ein Fagnamann (Munamann), Heidersmann*	*Og sidan vart Atle halden for ein framifraa gjæv og djerv mann* (p. 94). Rewords his original and does not use Aasen's suggestion.

tri Aar	*try Aar*	*tri aar* (p. 47). Ignores Aasen's suggestion.
magtstal	*Mergstal*	Uses the form *magt* instead of *merg* (pp. 21, 23, 55). Ignores Aasen's suggestion.

Naturally, Skard's 1907 translation was not exclusively influenced by Aasen's suggestions and there are multiple instances where Skard sticks to his original choice or rewords his original and ignores Aasen's suggestion completely such as: *kvalpinnar, tufs* and *magt*, for example. After all, Aasen had been dead for eleven years when this translation was published and Skard admits in his foreword that he had gone through the Source text and his translation again: "No hev eg gjenge igjenom grunnteksti og umskrifti paa nytt lag" (M. Skard, 1907: 7). Furthermore, other key saga translations had been published such as Steinar Schjøtt's *Kongesogur* (1874-1879; 1900) and Ivar Mortensson's *Edda-Kvæde* (1905), which may have also had an effect on subsequent translations of Old Norse literature. For example, in Schjøtt's *Kongesogur* (1900), *baat* and *skuta* can be found instead of *skip* (Schjøtt, 1900: 134, 303, 581), *hugverk* can be found instead of *smerta* (ibid.: 242) and *huglynde* can be found instead of *sinn* (ibid.: 274) to name but a few similar occurrences.

Whilst it is impossible to say with 100% accuracy why Skard chose certain items of vocabulary instead of others in his translation of *Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings*, the suggestions from Aasen and their sustained appearance in Skard's translation forty years after having been suggested, combined with the clear omission of any Danish-sounding words, demonstrates how Aasen had a significant influence on Skard's use of vocabulary. Moreover, it also shows how a saga translation could be used as a tool for spreading and solidifying vocabulary within the Nynorsk corpus. For example, Aasen's suggestions of using words such as *harm, hugsverk*, *skilsmaal* and *huglynde* can be seen to have been solidified in the Nynorsk lexicon when one looks at Lars Vikør's new translation of *Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings* in 2014 where he uses these words in the same instances that Aasen suggested 137 years before:

“han var full av harme og sorg og hugverk” (Vikør, 2014: 280); “og gjorde skilsmål mellom Torbjørn og Torgjerd” (ibid.: 282); “ikkje nokon stormann i huglynde” (ibid.: 292). Clearly, these lexical items, whilst not everyday words, were still relevant and useful choices in 2014 and they can be traced back to Aasen’s language consultancy work and saga translations in the early period of the Nynorsk language, demonstrating the significance and impact of these activities at that time.

4.2 *Heimskringla* and Steinar Schjøtt

In order to delve into the significance of saga translations in Norway, either into Nynorsk or Bokmål, or indeed the topics of Old Norse literature and Norwegian history, it is difficult to avoid mentioning *Heimskringla*, a saga, or collection of sagas, of the “history of the Norwegian dynasty from its alleged founder, the pagan god Odin, to 1177” (Sverre Bagge, 2010). The work is an extensive chronicling of the Norwegian kings and written allegedly by the Icelandic chieftain Snorri Sturluson (1179–1241), “despite the fact that no extant manuscript gives his name” (ibid.). In the foreword to the jubilee edition of *Noregs kongesoger* (1979), celebrating the 800th anniversary of Snorri’s birth in addition to the 100th anniversary of the first completed translation of *Heimskringla* into Nynorsk by Steinar Schjøtt (*Heimskringla, elder Norigs Kongesogur fraa den ældste Tio til Aare 1177: 1-4*, 1874–79), Finn Hødnebø writes:

> Kva dei gamle kongesogene har hatt å seie for det norske folket, kan knapt nok overvurderast. Gjelda vår til Snorre er ubetaleleg. Inga verdsleg bok har sett så djupe merke i folkesinnet eller hatt ein så vedvarende innverknad på norsk historie, litteratur og kunst som Heimskringla. Ikkje noko politisk skrift har appellert så sterkt til norsk nasjonal sjølvhevding og fridomstrong. (Hødnebø, in Hødnebø and Magerøy, 1979a: xxviii)[99]

Jon Gunnar Jørgensen expands on this sentiment, highlighting the importance of the content of *Heimskringla* for the Norwegian people:

[99] What the old Kings’ sagas have meant for the Norwegian people can hardly be overstated. Our debt to Snorri is unpayable. No other secular book has made such a deep impression in the public mind or had such a lasting influence on Norwegian history, literature and art as *Heimskringla*. No political writing has appealed so strongly to Norwegian national self-assertion and need for freedom.

> Men når verket har hatt større betydning i Norge enn i noe annet land, Island inkludert, så er det på grunn av innholdet. Kongesagaene levendegjorde Norges historie som selvstendig stat i middelalderen, og knytter den nye staten til røtter som strakte seg minst like langt tilbake som nabolandenes. (Jørgensen, 'Med Snorre skulle landet bygges', 26.11.2005)[100]

In the most recent translation of *Heimskringla* into Bokmål, translated by the author and theologian Kjell Arild Pollestad in 2012, Pollestad claims:

> Snorres norske kongesagaer regnes som noe av det ypperste som er skapt på nordisk språk gjennom alle tider… Fremdeles står Snorres kongesagaer i bokhyllen i mange hjem, men ikke sjelden er boken like uåpnet og ulest som Bibelen man fikk til bryllupet. (Pollestad, 2012: 13-14)[101]

Here, the equating of Snorri and the Bible is seen yet again, further emphasising the importance of the saga genre above all other original and foreign literature in Norway. These anecdotal references to the high esteem *Heimskringla* was held in by the Norwegian people are not difficult to find and occur in many conversations concerning the Norwegian translations of Snorri's work. As Nana Rise, marketing consultant for Det Norske Samlaget, highlights: "I min heim heitte boka berre "Snorre" og stod ved sida av Bibelen. Ikkje nett i ei bokhylle, snarare i ei oppsamlingshylle for nips og skyttarpokalar" (Nana Rise, in Rue, 1993: 205).[102]

It is unsurprising then that *Heimskringla* became a key text for translational activity during the period of National Romanticism in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, since the literate Norwegian public held it in such high regard, and furthermore, it helped trace the Norwegian people's roots to a glorious past. However, whilst there had been translations into Danish (by Peder Claussøn (1633), Jón Ólafsson (1777), Nikolai F. S. Grundtvig (1818–22) and Jacob Aall (1838–39)) and Riksmål (by P. A. Munch (1859) and Gustav Storm (1899)), the first translation

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[100] But when the work has had greater significance than in other countries, including Iceland, it is due to its content. The Kings' sagas made Norway's history as an independent state in the Middle Ages come alive, and linked the new state to roots that stretched back at least as far back as those of the neighbouring countries.

[101] Snorri's Norwegian Kings' sagas are considered to be some of the best [examples of literature] that have ever been created in the Nordic languages throughout all time… Snorri's Kings' sagas still remain on the bookshelf in many homes, but not infrequently is this book left as unopened and unread as the Bible one receives when getting married.

[102] In my house the book was simply known as "Snorri" and stood next to the Bible. Not quite on a bookshelf, rather a shelf for trinkets and shooting trophies.

into Nynorsk was carried out by the *målmann*, teacher, historian, translator and lexicographer Steinar Schjøtt (1844–1920). Schjøtt's Nynorsk translation in 1874–79 also marks the first translation of *Heimskringla* into a written standard of Norwegian distinct from the Danish translations that came before, as Kjell-Olav Masdalen also argues: "Schjøtts oversettelse av kongesagarene var den første oversettelsen til norsk" (Masdalen, 2014: 207).[103]

Like Sommer and Skard, Schjøtt was similarly inspired by Aasen's work and shared the other translator's desire to test out this new written standard and publish texts written in a national Norwegian language. However, Schjøtt utilised a Nynorsk norm that was built upon the dialects found in Telemark since he "tykte Aasen-norma var for stiv og for fjern frå talemålet" (Venås, 'Steinar Schjøtt').[104] This viewpoint was shared by other *målmenn* at that time such as Olaus Fjørtoft, Werner Werenskiold, Hans Ross and most prominently the poet and *Odýsseia*-translator Arne Garborg.

Whilst Schjøtt produced many important works from histories of Norway to schoolbooks and dictionaries, it is perhaps as the translator of *Heimskringla* that he is most well-known. As Arne Garborg wrote shortly after Schjøtt's death:

> Det han serleg hadde arbeidt med var umsetjingi til nynorskt av eit verk, som sjølvsagt maatte vera ein av grunnsteinarne i det boklege byggverket vaart: dei norske kongesogurne av Snorre ("Heimskringla")… Sjølve umsetnaden er, serleg etter siste gjenomsynet (Nasjonalutgaava aar 1900) eit mesterverk. Og her var det, at Schjøtt – som nemnt – steig fram med den nye landsmaalsformi si fullt ferdug: eit midlandsmaal bygt paa telemaalet. (Garborg, 1920: 53-54)[105]

Schjøtt's first publication of his translation of *Heimskringla* came in 1872, appearing in Olaus Fjørtoft's newspaper *Fram*, but was later bought by Det Norske Samlaget and published in four volumes between 1874 and 1879 (ibid.: 54). It is of note that this translation was published anonymously in 1874, particularly since previous

[103] Schjøtt's translation of the Kings' sagas was the first translation [of *Heimskringla*] into Norwegian.
[104] thought the Aasen norm was too rigid and distant from everyday speech.
[105] What he particularly worked on was the translation into Nynorsk of a work, which, of course, had to be one of the foundational stones of our literary construction: Snorri's Norwegian Kings' sagas (*Heimskringla*)… The translation itself, especially after the revised edition (the National edition from 1900), is a masterpiece. And it was here that Schjøtt – as mentioned – stepped forward with his new Landsmål form as a finished product: Midland Norwegian, a language form (from the middle of Norway) built upon the Telemark dialect.

Nynorsk translators did not feel the need to publish anonymously; on the title page it mysteriously states: “Umsett av S.” (Schjøtt, 1874: title page).[106]

What motivated this desire for anonymity is unclear, but several reasons could be argued. Firstly, Schjøtt was young and freshly out of university and may not have been confident enough to publish under his own name a brand-new translation of such a prestigious and important text, especially as the renowned historian P. A. Munch had already published his own translation a mere fifteen years earlier. Secondly, the language used in the translation was based on the Telemark dialect and went against Aasen’s norm in many ways, thus, Schjøtt may not have wished to provoke the ire of Aasen nor question his authority on the Nynorsk language publicly. Thirdly, reducing the visibility of the translator would place more emphasis on the text itself, drawing focus to the fact that this was a text concerning the kings of Norway above all else. Finally, Schjøtt may not have been as pleased with his translation as he would have liked, which is further highlighted in the foreword to his retranslation of *Heimskringla*, published in 1900 as a “national edition”:

> Denne umskrifti var ikkje paa vanlegt landsmaal, men paa eit maalføre, som eg tenkte skulde høve betre for Austlande. I 1880 kom der ei ny utgaave av fyrste boki; det var mykje daa, som eg ikkje lika i skrivemaaten... Denne utgaava, som no kjem ut paa Stenersens forlag med statshjelp, er soleis 3dje utgaava... Skrivemaaten er no lempa mykje paa, og er truleg no mykje finare. (Schjøtt, 1900: iii)[107]

Despite this, as Masdalen claims in his book *Boka som redda Norge!* (2014), which deals with the reception and utilisation of *Heimskringla* in Norway throughout history: “Med den sette Schjøtt ein høg standard i ei form som på same tid var verdig og folkeleg, og Heimskringla-omsetjinga hans har vore grunnlaget heilt til ny tid” (Venås, ‘Steinar Schjøtt’).[108] Whilst Masdalen is correct in his assertion that Schjøtt’s translation of *Heimskringla* has been “the foundation” for later editions, I would argue that it was not his 1874-1879 editions but the national edition that he reworked in

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[106] Translated by S.

[107] This translation was not in the usual Landsmål, but in a dialect that I thought would be more suitable for Eastern Norway. In 1880, a new edition of the first book was published; there was a great deal there in the writing style that I did not like… This edition, that is now published by Stenersens forlag with state help, is therefore the 3rd edition… The writing style has now been modified a great deal and is likely much finer now.

[108] With it [Schjøtt’s translation of *Heimskringla*], Schjøtt set a high standard in a form that was both worthy and popular/national at the same time, and his *Heimskringla* translation has been foundational right up to recent times.

1900 that has been truly foundational due to its availability and cost, not just for later editions of *Heimskringla*, but for all subsequent saga translations and, perhaps, many other works published in the Nynorsk language, in particular Nynorsk dictionaries, as will be shown in Section 4.5.

The national edition marks a seminal moment in not only the archive of Nynorsk saga translations, but also Norwegian archives of book history, cultural history and language history to name but a few. The idea to publish a Norwegian translation of *Heimskringla* that was readily available to the public first came in 1896 from the publisher Johan Martin Stenersen (1865-1948) and this book was to be adorned and filled with magnificent illustrations from the leading artists of the day such as Erik Werenskiold, Christian Krohg, Gerhard Munthe, Eilif Peterssen, Halfdan Egedius and Wilhelm Wetlesen (ibid.: 208). Gustav Storm (1845-1903), professor of history at the Royal Frederick University in Christiania (present-day University of Oslo), was commissioned to translate *Heimskringla* into Bokmål for Stenersen's edition (ibid.: 208). This translation was first published in 1899 under the title *Kongesagaer*, and one year later the government invested a large sum of money to produce two editions of this ornate work, one in Bokmål and one in Nynorsk as it states on the inside cover of the 1900 editions: "12te mai 1900 gav stortinge eit tilskot, kr. 20,000.00, til aa gjeva ut Heimskringla paa vanlegt bokmaal og landsmaal, so boki kunde koma langt umkring, naar ho vart billeg" (Schjøtt, 1900: ii).[109]

This was a significant stipend for one book, current day ca. NOK 1.62 million/GBP 120,000 ('Inflation calculator'), and furthermore, a great deal of copies were produced: "Dei to parallellutgåvene på dansk-norsk (omsett av Gustav Storm) og landsmål vart prenta i 100,000 eksemplar [70,000 in Riksmål and 30,000 in Nynorsk] til saman, og alle vart raskt utselde. For ein populasjon på omlag to millionar menneske er dette svært høge opplagstal" (Hagland, 2018).[110] At 30,000 copies, this was the most wide-spread text written in Nynorsk up until this point, rivalled only by Elias Blix's translation of Luther's *Der Kleine Katechismus* (*Dr. Martin Luthers litle Katekisma*, 1891), which had been published by Det Norske Samlaget

[109] On May 12th, 1900, parliament gave a grant of NOK 20,000.00 for the publication of *Heimskringla* in common Bokmål and Landsmål, so that the book could reach far now that it is available cheaply.
[110] The two parallel editions in Dano-Norwegian (translated by Gustav Storm) and Landsmål were printed in 100,000 copies [70,000 in Riksmål and 30,000 in Nynorsk] altogether, and all were quickly sold out. This is a very high circulation figure for a population of around two million.

with a total of 15,000 copies over two editions up until 1900 (cf. Kolsrud, 1919). No other Nynorsk text, translation or otherwise, had been printed in such a volume before this, and it was a clear motive of the Norwegian government that Schjøtt's translation should find its place on the bookshelves of Norwegians throughout the country. As Hagland highlights: "Denne omsetjinga og denne spesielle utgåva vart slik særleg viktig for utviklinga av landsmålet" (ibid.).[111] It is of little doubt, therefore, that this saga translation would have a significant effect on the Nynorsk language, since it was cheap and affordable, widely available and popular amongst the population who bought up every last copy. The vocabulary found in this text would be promoted and solidified due to the text's prestigious status and wide-spread availability.

Comparing the forewords of the Bokmål and Nynorsk national editions reveals some stark differences between the two translators, whilst simultaneously revealing the challenges of translating *Heimskringla* for writers of both standards. Firstly, both forewords highlight the difficulty of translating the poetry found in Heimskringla. Gustav Storm believed it was the modern language itself that made it difficult to translate the skaldic verses in *Heimskringla*: "Oversættelsen af versene har voldt mig megen møie, ikke saa meget paa grund af indholdet (skjønt dette ogsaa kunde skabe vanskeligheder, da versene ofte er forvanskede under afskrivning), som formedelst formen, der ikke godt kunde gjengives helt i vort sprog" (Storm, 1900: iii).[112] Schjøtt appears to have the same problem with some of the verses in the Nynorsk edition, but deals with these challenges in thorough detail within his foreword, devoting two pages to describe the various forms of poetry found in *Heimskringla*, the characteristics of said forms, the relative difficulty of translating each form and some suggestions for overcoming such difficulties. His extensive description of the Old Norse poetry certainly makes Skard's appeal for 1 more dalar for translating so much poetry a very reasonable request.

Indeed, the appearance of challenging poetry in these Old Norse source texts played a role in their selection as texts for translation. Not only did they contain

[111] This translation and this special edition, therefore, became particularly important for the development of Landsmål.
[112] The translation of the verses has caused me a lot of trouble, not so much due to the content (although this could also cause difficulties, as the verses are often distorted during the transcription), but due to the form, which could not be completely reproduced in our language.

material from Norway's ancestral past, but they also challenged the Nynorsk translator to recreate a spoken and literary poetical form that many held in high esteem. Thus, translating Old Norse poetry offered acclaim for the translator and added prestige to the language used. In the case of Nynorsk, managing to adequately recreate these old poetical and literary forms in Nynorsk allowed the Nynorsk language to gain status as a national language. This can be seen in the way translators and advertisers talked about accomplishing a fitting translation of Old Norse poetry, i.e. a translation that retained the forms of the original poem:

> Dei andre kvædi hev eg sett um sjølv; kjenningarne hev eg ikkje freista faa med, men eg hev for det meste bruka bokstavrim, heil- og halvhendingar, og enderim som i den gamle skaldskapen.
>
> – Leiv Heggstad's foreword to *Egils-soga* (Heggstad, 1914: iv).[113]
>
> Ein vil der og læra den islendske skaldediktingi godt aa kjenna; for umsetjaren har umsett versi med kjenningar og bokstavrim som dei var i det gamle maalet.
>
> – From an advert for Jacob Sverdrup's translation of *Eyrbyggja saga* ('Soga um Øyrbyggjerne', 22.01.1913).[114]

The challenge of translating Old Norse poetry still attracts Nynorsk translators and authors today, as can be seen in (Nobel Prize in Literature award-winning) Jon Fosse's translations of *Friðjófs saga hins Frækna* in 2013 and *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* in 2015 and Lars Vikør's translation of of *Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings* in 2014. More will be said of Fosse's Nynorsk saga translations in the following chapter. However, Vikør's foreword to his translation is important to note here as it demonstrates the same rhetoric used in the examples above about how important it is to retain the skaldic forms when translating into Nynorsk:

> Skaldedikta i omsetjinga her er bygde på Skards versjon, men dei er moderniserte i språkforma og samtidig omarbeidde i samsvar med dei metriske reglane som originalane følgde. (Vikør: 2014: 269)[115]

[113] I have translated the other poems myself; I have not attempted to retain the kennings, but, for the most part, I have retained the alliteration, assonance, and rhyme like in the old skaldic style.
[114] One will also get to know the Icelandic skaldic poetry well, for the translator has translated the verses with the kennings and alliteration found in the old language.
[115] The skaldic poems in the translation here are built upon Skard's version, but the language form is modernised and simultaneously reworked in concordance with the metric rules that the originals followed.

This foreword can be compared to Skard's own foreword to his translation of *Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings* in 1907, where he delves deeper into the importance of poetry within the Old Norse saga literature:

> Naar det vart gjort eit storverk, var det gjerne ein eller annan skalden som bar det fram i kvæde; so vart det kvede til gaman naar folk sat saman; og folk lærde det. Soleis kom kvædet til aa liva. Men tidi leid, og det kom ei ny ætt, som ikkje kjende so vel dei hende som kvædet berre stutt minte um. So trongst det ein fortelnad attaat, um folk skulde skyna det. Soleis voks daa soga upp umkring kvædet, og dei kom til aa liva baae; versi vart liksom hjarta i soga. (M. Skard, 1907:5)[116]

This view of Old Norse poetry being the heart of the sagas made the retaining of their form and meaning all the more important when translating and whilst many of the translators mention how difficult the poetry is to translate or how inadequate modern languages are for utilising such complex poetical styles, these challenges also led a great number of prominent *målmenn* to attempt translating the sagas.

Whilst Skard refers specifically to the history of the dissemination of Old Norse poetry, a more metaphorical layer may be added to the importance of the skald and Nynorsk translator. As Skard states, the skald who recited these poems held an important position in the guarding and maintaining of not only the Norse language but also the traditions and history of the Norwegian people. Margaret Clunies Ross emphasises the dual nature of skalds and their skaldic poetry during the Viking Age. On the one hand, they were craftsmen whose linguistic skill and historical knowledge provided them with status in medieval Scandinavian society; on the other hand, the skald was regarded as a more mythical figure since their work "involved knowledge and specialist skills that were not available to everyone in the community" (Clunies Ross, 2005: 91). Clunies Ross goes on to explain: "These special resources could therefore be thought of as arcane skills and privileged kinds of knowledge. In the case of poets, their special powers were represented as coming

[116] When a great work was made, it was usually one poet or another who presented it in verse; then it was recited for fun when people sat together; and people learned it. Thus, the poem came to life. But time passed and a new generation arrived who did not know the events, that the poems briefly recalled, so well. So a story attached to them [the poems] was needed in order for people to understand them. Thus, the saga grew around the poetry and they both came alive. In a way, the poetry is the heart of the saga.

from outside human society as a gift from the gods, something inherently otherworldly" (ibid.: 91). The skalds, with their arcane skills and knowledge, were also in a position to educate their listeners and disseminate knowledge of a historical and linguistic nature within society. In much the same way the *målmenn* and Nynorsk saga translators held a similar role and may be considered the skalds of their day, i.e. they maintained the history and language of the Norwegian people and disseminated this knowledge through their translations of Old Norse literature and writings in Nynorsk. Although they may have no longer sat around a fire reciting the poems in person, through their publications they were able to recite and maintain their ancestral history whilst simultaneously promoting and spreading the modern form of their language to the people.

However, accomplishing this task of maintaining the history and language of Norway through the translating of Old Norse poetry was not simple as Schjøtt discusses in his foreword. Schjøtt singles out the *dróttkvætt*, i.e. "the most stylized and prestigious meter of skaldic poetry" (Gade, 1995: 3), as the most difficult form of verse to translate:

> Dette versemaale var so vanskelegt, at dei fekk de til paa den maaten, at dei kasta ordi um kvarandre og bruka fullt upp med umskrivningar, so dei er ikkje gode aa skyna og tidt reint umogelege aa faa til paa vaart maal, naar de skal vera lesande… Sume av visune paa Drottkvæde vilde eg gjerne hava umsett paa de gamle versemaale, men eg kunde ikkje faa de til. (Schjøtt, 1900: v)[117]

It is of note that both translators found their contemporary spoken and written languages ill-equipped to translate such challenging poetry, since whilst they highlight the challenges of translating these complex poetical forms, they dare not place the blame on the source material; rather it must be some sort of failure of their modern language. This reverence for their ancestral Old Norse material is not unsurprising, but in the case of Nynorsk , which drew so much from the Old Norse language and utilised vocabulary from the Old Norse source material, it seems surprising that Schjøtt would find the verses as difficult as Storm.

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[117] This poetical language was so difficult, that they [the skaldic poets] managed it in such a way, that they threw words around each other and used a lot of rephrasing, so they are not easy to understand and often downright impossible to translate into our language, if they are to be readable… I would have liked to have translated some of the *Dróttkvætt* poems into the language of the old verses, but I could not manage it.

Indeed, some of this may be explained by the extremely humble nature of Schjøtt as can be seen elsewhere in his foreword when thanking Rasmus Flo for help with some of the verses:

> Er de nokon, som finn, at sume av visune aat Flo er noko tunge, fær han tenkja paa, at eg tok dei lettaste, og han hev fengi for sin part dei tyngste. Knuts-draapa og den visa, Jøkul kved er smaa meister-verk. (Ibid.: vi)[118]
>
> Er det noko no i landsmaals-umskrifti som ikkje er rett, kan ein leggja skuldi paa meg. (Ibid.: vi)[119]

This humble nature seems at odds with Schjøtt's own abilities too, since after describing the great difficulty of translating *dróttkvætt*, he then offers a solution to how one such verse could be translated into Nynorsk (italics placed by Schjøtt):

> Hild bad meg allstødt halda
>
> rakt *hov*ud i pile-*gove*
>
> inkje evast, naar syngja
>
> um *øyro* eg sverd fekk *høyra.* (Ibid.: v, 637)

One could argue that despite the many rules regarding assonance, alliteration, stress, rhyme etc. (see Gade, 1995), Schjøtt´s translation is appropriate and adequately follows many of the limiting rules of the *dróttkvætt*, i.e. assonance, alliteration and rhyme. Indeed, looking at another verse translation in the *runhent*[120] style from Schjøtt's and Storm's translations of *Haralds saga Sigurðarsonar*, a great deal of the stylistic rules are followed in both translations:

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[118] If there are those that find Flo's poems too heavy, they may consider that I took the easiest/lightest ones and he [Flo] had to take on the most difficult/heaviest ones for his part. *Knuts-draapa* and the poem that Jøkul recites are small masterpieces.

[119] If there is anything in the Landsmål translation that is wrong, the fault is mine.

[120] "*runhent* ("end-rhyme"), in which lines are of four syllables (not six, as in *dróttkvætt*), alliteration follows the same patterns as in *fornyrðislag*, and the lines have end rhyme rather than internal rhyme, a change possibly influenced by Norse poets' acquaintance with Latin hymns in England or Ireland" (Clunies Ross, 2005: 22)

Table 2a: Comparison of Schjøtt's and Storm's translations of *runhent* found in *Haralds saga Sigurðarsonar* (with the Old Norse original, and an English translation by Finlay and Faulkes for reference)

Landsmål translation (Schjøtt, 1900: 567)	Riksmål translation (Storm, 1900: 567)	Old Norse original (in Unger, 1868: 547)	English translation (Finlay and Faulkes, 2015: 42)
I hopelag dro dei hovdingar tvo med kvasse sverd og svinfylkt her. Aust-vindar rømde, i roi seg gøymde, og Læse-lande laag i vande.	Ens bar sig ad, hvor Eiliv sad, to høvdinger i hamfylkinger. Øst-Vender de jog i saa snæver krog. For Læserne var ei let lidsmændenes ret.	Eitt höfðusk at, Eilífr þar er sat, höfðingjar tveir, hamalt fylktu þeir. Austrvindum ók í öngvan krók, vara Læsum léttr liðsmanna réttr.	Where Eilífr held sway in a single fray two chiefs did group their wedge-formed troop. East-Vinðr were caught in a tight spot. For the Læsir not light was the liegemen's right.

This table interestingly shows that it is Storm's translation that sticks closer to the original's vocabulary: *lidsmændenes* for *liðsmanna*, *krog* for *krók*, *hamfylkinger* for *hamalt fylktu*, *let* for *léttr*, *ret* for *réttr*. As the following chapter will explore, such a translational approach, such as the one Storm employs here and that Aasen employs in his translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, would lead to criticism concerning the archaic nature of such a translation. Indeed, Aasen's translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* in 1858 contained the word choices of *lid* and *lidsinne* which were both footnoted with more common synonyms: "*fylge, folkahjelp, folk* and *hjelpsemd*" (Aasen, 1858: 12). Evidently, Storm also found this word choice appropriate, i.e. *lidsmændenes*, and was perhaps directly influenced by Aasen's translation. This would demonstrate how Bokmål translators of Old Norse literature could also become closely bound to the source material and utilise Old Norse influenced words that were not necessarily common in everyday speech and perhaps how Bokmål translators were influenced by previous Nynorsk saga translations.

Schjøtt's translation evidently stood the test of time better than Storm's as the table below shows. Clearly, Schjøtt's translation needed no improving, modernising or retranslating in terms of vocabulary in the eyes of Hallvard Magerøy, who was responsible for retranslating the verses for the jubilee edition of Schjøtt's translation, since he did not feel the need to change the word choices in this verse 79 years later. Holtsmark and Seip, on the other hand, felt the need to update the language choices to a much higher degree, even adopting the word *svinfylking* (a battle formation) used in the Nynorsk versions as a more appropriate word than *hamfylking*.

Table 2b: Comparison of Hodnebø and Magerøy's and Holtsmark and Seip's translations of *runhent* found in *Haralds saga Sigurðarsonar*

Nynorsk retranslation (Hødnebø and Magerøy, 1979b: 151)	Bokmål retranslation (Holtsmark and Seip, 1979b: 151)	Old Norse original (in Unger, 1868: 547)
I hopelag drog dei hovdingar tvo med kvasse sverd og svinfylkt her. Austvender rømde, i roa seg gøymde, og Læselandet låg i vande.	Hvor Eiliv var, høvdingpar i svinfylking god sammen stod. De østvender tvang i krok så trang; for læser ei lett falt hærmannsrett.	Eitt höfðusk at, Eilífr þar er sat, höfðingjar tveir, hamalt fylktu þeir. Austrvindum ók í öngvan krók, vara Læsum léttr liðsmanna réttr.

This is not to say that Magerøy never updated or changed Schjøtt's verse translations. Although it is important to note that there are several instances of Magerøy keeping Schjøtt's translation the same, the Bokmål retranslation by Holtsmark and Seip invariably updates Storm's translation, as demonstrated in the table below:

Table 2c: Comparison of the translations of a verse from *Haralds saga Sigurðarsonar* by Schjøtt, Magerøy, Storm and Holtsmark and Seip

Landsmål translation (Schjøtt, 1900: 589)	Nynorsk retranslation (Hødnebø and Magerøy, 1979b: 171)	Riksmål translation (Storm, 1900: 591)	Bokmål retranslation (Holtsmark and Seip, 1979b: 171)
Lenger sør-paa, de spaar eg, sumaren næste me fester anker i kav, so med kloi kald de skal furuskip halda	Lenger sørpå, det spår eg, sommaren neste vi fester anker i kav, så med kloa kald det skal furuskip halde	Næste sommer sydligere (spaadom jeg kvæder) ankeret holde skal skibet med kloen; vi kaster ankeret dybere.	Neste sommer, det spår jeg sønnafor fester vi anker. Ofte kommer vi til å kaste kroken i dypet

Indeed, as Olav Midttun, editor of *Syn og Segn* from 1908 to 1960, argues: "Umsetjingi hans av Heimskringla er soleis mykje betre enn Gustav Storm si, endå han hadde både Jacob Aall og P. A. Munch å byggja på og var ein større filolog og sogemann. Men Schjøtt hadde finare stilevne, og han hadde attåt lært og levt seg inn i nynorsk forteljestil og folkemål" (Midttun, 1953: 173).[121] Such praise should be taken with a pinch of salt considering Midttun's leanings towards Nynorsk. Yet, to find a direct comparison of the two translations is rare in itself, since they were published by the same publisher and *Heimskringla* was seen as a national work regardless of which written standard it appeared in. Indeed, the publisher neither wanted nor needed these two editions to compete with one another, since it was the restoration of a piece of the Norwegians' national heritage that took precedence above all else. The national edition seemed to have the power and prestige to

[121] His [Schjøtt's] translation was, therefore, much better than Gustav Storm's, even though he had both Jacob Aall and P. A. Munch to build upon and was a greater philologist and historian. But Schjøtt had a finer stylistic ability, and, moreover, he had taught and immersed himself in the Nynorsk storytelling style and language of the people.

transcend most language debates, at least from a marketing and distribution perspective, if not also a critical perspective in general.

Furthermore, Schjøtt describes in his foreword how Gustav Storm had helped him with his Nynorsk translation and regarded his input as extremely valuable when it came to certain word choices: “Professor Storm hev set umskrifti og sagt fraa, naar han hev set noko, som ikkje var rett... Storm skal hava stor takk for de han hev gjort. Nokre gongir hev han gjevi raad um ordleggjingi i landsmaals-umskrifti og; de kom svært godt med” (Schjøtt, 1900: vi).[122] It is of note that this relationship seems to have only gone one way, since Storm makes no mention of Schjøtt looking through Storm’s translation and offering any suggestions or corrections, despite Schjøtt being quite an authority on translating *Heimskringla* decades before Storm began with his own Riksmål translation. Whilst it is not this study’s aim, it would be illuminating to discover what vocabulary Storm introduced from his Riksmål translation into Schjøtt’s Nynorsk translation and whether this vocabulary remained in later Nynorsk editions, in addition to the “Nynorsk” words replaced by Storm with his suggestions. Unfortunately, it is also doubtful that such drafts and correspondences between Storm and Schjøtt still exist. Nonetheless, this highlights again the relationship between lexical choices and saga translations and how translators could influence the written culture through translational activities. Moreover, it emphasises the interplay between the Bokmål and Nynorsk lexicon, which is often overlooked in studies trying to differentiate and distance these two languages from one another.

Like Skard in his letter to Det Norske Samlaget, Schjøtt also stresses the importance of paratextual information in the Nynorsk edition. It is evident he places more emphasis on educating the Nynorsk reader and solidifying the Nynorsk vocabulary found within his translation than he does the source material. As he explains in his foreword regarding the sizes of each edition: “De synte seg, daa dei tok paa og sette boki, at ho var drjugare enn riksmaals-umskrifti. De kom seg av notane, som var noko drjugare i landsmaals-umskrifti. Daa baae utgaavune skulde vera like store, kunde me ikkje taka visune aat Flo med lenger enn ut Olav den

[122] Professor Storm has looked through the translation and spoken out when he has seen something that was not right… Storm should receive great thanks for what he has done. Several times, he has given advice on the wording in the Landsmål translation; which has been very suitable.

heilage" (ibid.: vi).[123] Evidently, it was more important to keep the footnotes than it was for the translation to contain the entire source text, emphasising the importance of the information found in these footnotes. As will be shown in the next chapter focusing on Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858), the use of footnotes was paramount within these saga translations in order to educate the nascent Nynorsk readers about the Nynorsk vocabulary.

The importance of Schjøtt's translation of *Heimskringla* for the implementation and elaboration of the Nynorsk language cannot be overstated. Its availability, affordability and prestige at the turn of the nineteenth century meant that thousands more Norwegians could read a text, a saga text no less, in the Nynorsk language. As Olav Midttun astutely points out:

> Det hadde difor i seg sjølv stort verd å få dette verket ut på nynorsk. For målreisingi hadde det eit serleg verd. Det kunde meir enn noko anna bokverk syna samanhengen millom gamalnorsk og nynorsk i ordtilfang, bilete og skildring av lag og lynde. Det kunde syna kor det gamle målet enno var levande i landet, og kva evne det hadde til å gjeva att det gamle tankeinnhaldet og vera fullt kulturførande i den leid. Det måtte soleis i røyndi vera mykje betre og høvelegare enn norskdansken til å gjeva att sogetidi. Det var då sers viktig at det var ein fullkunnig målmeister som Schjøtt som gjorde arbeidet. Han fekk til ei verkeleg nynorsk umsetjing, med levande, naturleg mål og målføring. Det var ikkje halvt gamalnorsk som hjå andre målstrevarar som hadde freista seg med umsetjingar frå gamalnorsk. (Midttun, 1953: 172)[124]

Again, Midttun's preference for Nynorsk translations rather than "Dano-Norwegian" translations and the romantic linking between the old and the new is apparent. Midttun's comment on the previous translators writing in "half Old Norse" is surely

[123] It appeared that when they got to printing the book, that it [the Nynorsk edition] was larger than the Riksmål translation. This was due to the footnotes, which were somewhat more vast in the Landsmål translation. Since both editions were to be the same size, we could not include the poems that Flo had translated past *Ólafs saga Helga*.

[124] Therefore, it was in and of itself of great worth to have this work published in Nynorsk. For the Nynorsk language movement, it was of particular value. More than any other book, it could show the connection between Old Norse and Nynorsk in terms of vocabulary, imagery and depiction of events and temperaments. It could show how the old language was still alive in the country, and the ability it had to reproduce the old ways of thinking and completely drive the culture forward in that way. Thus, it had to be, in reality, much better and more suitable than Dano-Norwegian to portray the age of the sagas. Therefore, it was especially important that a fully competent language master like Schjøtt did the work. He achieved a real Nynorsk translation, with living, natural language and clear influence of spoken dialects. It was not half Old Norse as it had been with previous language activists who had attempted translations from Old Norse.

directed at Aasen's translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* that was considered by many, including Aasen himself, as too archaic. However, as the next chapter will explore, with regard to vocabulary, Aasen's translation was not as archaic as first thought and a great deal of his word choices can be traced to later Nynorsk publications, including Schjøtt's *Kongesogur* (1900). Whilst the twentieth century would bring a plethora of new Nynorsk saga translations, Schjøtt's translation would remain as the golden standard of saga translations and remain unchanged for decades as Venås pointed out in 1968: "Det har ikkje vore turvande å gjera store inngrep i den snart hundre år gamle målforma åt Schjøtt" (Venås, 1968: 148).[125]

4.3 Ivar Mortensson's *Edda-kvæde*

Following the wide-spread publication and national importance of Schjøtt's *Heimskringla* translation, another canonical Old Norse text would be translated in 1905 by the poet, teacher and pastor Ivar Mortensson(-Egnund), that would coincide with Norway's independence from Sweden. The text was the *Sæmundar Edda* or the *Poetic Edda* in English, a collection of mythological poems and Germanic heroic lays found primarily in the *Codex Regius* that shed light on Norse mythology and pagan beliefs in pre-Christian Scandinavia. The complex and poetic language within the *Poetic Edda* in addition to its hoard of knowledge concerning pre-Christian Scandinavia meant that the *Poetic Edda* was of great cultural significance in Norway, a significance that can be readily seen in the correspondence between Mortensson and his close friend Arne Garborg. Writing to Mortensson in 1905, Garborg does not hold back in his praise for Mortensson's translation of the *Poetic Edda* prior to its publication in 1905 under the title *Edda-kvæde: norrøne fornsongar. 1: Gudekvæde*[126]:

> Deg og oss alle ynskjer eg til Lukke med, at Gamle-Edda paa Nynorskt endeleg kjem. Og kjem ho seint so kjem ho godt; det er ei god Trøyst. Det er nok meir Merknader enn eg hadde tenkt; men dei er so forvitnelege, at ein gløymer alle sine Motlegg. Og dei vil hjelpe svært mykje til aa gjera dei gamle Kvadi livande att, og det

[125] It has not been necessary to make any major interventions in the soon-to-be one-hundred-year-old language form of Schjøtt.
[126] The second volume containing mostly the heroic lays would not be published until 1908 under the title *Edda-kvæde: norrøne fornsongar. II: Kjempekvæde*.

> Aandslive dei er runni av. Det er ein sterk Traad ny-knytt att millom det gamle og det nye Norig. Eit storverk er dette, som fleire og fleire vil koma til aa takke Deg for. (Garborg, 1924: 6-7)[127]

Clearly, Garborg saw how culturally important this translation would be for the Norwegian people and, again, the links between the old and the new Norway are made visible through the translation of an Old Norse text. Not just a Norwegian translation but a Nynorsk translation. After all, sections of the *Poetic Edda* had been translated into Nynorsk in 1885 by Ingjald Kjennrud according to Mortensson's foreword[128] and in 1902 by Marius Hægstad in a reading book for schools called *Læseverk for Ungdomsskolen. 1: Af litteraturen før 1814: med et tillæg*. A Riksmål translation was also published in 1899 *Den ældre Edda: norrøne oldkvad fra vikingetiden 9-11 aarh. E. Chr*, translated by Gustav Gjessing.

It is also noteworthy that the significance of paratextual information within a Nynorsk translation is again commented on, and again, despite the general objection to many dense footnotes accompanying a text, Garborg, like Aasen, Skard and Schjøtt before him, considered the paratextual information too important to be omitted. This demonstrates not only the educational value of these pieces of information but also the need for Nynorsk translations to provide more linguistic information in the fledgling years of the language. For example, the very first line of Mortensson's translation of *Völuspá*, found within *Edda-kvæde* (1905), begins: "Um ljod bed eg alle Helga lydar" (Mortensson, 1905: 139). This is followed by copious endnotes detailing the meaning of *ljod*: "(hljóð) tyder stille, lyttende taushed" and *Helga lydar*: "alle som var samla paa ein fredhelga tingstad" (ibid.: 147).[129]

The significance of Mortensson's translation and the regard towards the *Poetic Edda* is further highlighted in letters and diary entries from Garborg. Lamenting the reluctance or perhaps the procrastination and slow progress made by

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[127] I wish you and all of us the best of luck that the *Poetic Edda* may finally appear in Nynorsk. And if it arrives late, then at least it arrives well/to a good standard. There are more reference notes than I would have expected, but they are so interesting that one forgets any objection to them. And it will help a great deal in bringing the old poems back to life, as well as the spiritual life they spring from. There is a strong, newly connected link between the old and the new Norway. This is a momentous work that more and more people will thank you for over time.

[128] "Den som gjorde den fyrste freistnaden med aa umskrive edda-kvæde paa nynorsk var Ingjald Kjennerud" (Mortensson, 1905: v) – (Ingjald Kjennrud made the first attempt to translate the *Poetic Edda* into Nynorsk).

[129] "(hljóð) means quiet, silence whilst listening"; *Helga lydar* means "all those gathered at a peaceful assembly."

book publishers to publish Mortensson's translation, Garborg repeatedly compares the *Poetic Edda* to the Bible and describes its national importance:

> Glede av Edda-Verke sitt, som han hev arbeidt med so lengi, og no fær fraa seg so vel. Men for det fyrste var det i Norig ingin Bokreidar aa faa til denne norske Bibelen… Og for det andre bryr Nordmennane seg um alt anna enn eit nationalt Grunn-Verk som Edda. Med Tid og Stundir vert vel Arbeide nemnt. (Garborg, 1924: 18)[130]

> Ein slik Nyfund kunde òg bøte noko paa den Skaden som er valda ved at Edda kjem i tvo Lestir med so lang tid imillom: kveikje upp att Hugen for denne vaar Folkebibel. (ibid.: 221)[131]

Again, the equal footing placed on Old Norse translations and the Bible is evident and is indicative of the reverence towards works such as *Heimskringla* and the *Poetic Edda* in Norway. However, Garborg is perhaps a little unfair to say that Norwegians did not care much about a national foundational work such as the *Poetic Edda*, especially since an equally national and foundational work: *Heimskringla* had a great number of copies published and sold out quickly a mere five years earlier as a national edition. Yet, this sentiment from Garborg could be explained as simple encouragement from a friend to make Mortensson feel better about struggling to publish his work.

Mortensson himself implies the importance of his Edda in an article in *Den 17de mai* in 1917 concerning the need for a "real" Norwegian translation of the Bible, particularly the New Testament:

> Ei verkeleg umsetjing! Kva vil dette segja? Um dette kan dei tala som hev freista med slikt. Og daa vil eg minna um at det er fleire alt her i Norig som veit kva det hev paa seg. Eg skal berre nemna umsetjaren til Heimskringla, umsetjaren til Edda, umsetjaren til Faust, umsetjaren til Homer, umsetjaren til Mosebøkerne. Eg tenkjer

[130] Enjoyment from his *Edda*-work, which he has worked on for so long, and now manages it so well. Yet firstly, there was no publisher in Norway to produce this Norwegian bible… And secondly, the Norwegians care about everything other than a national foundation stone such as the *Edda*. With time, the work will be mentioned favourably.

[131] Such a discovery could also make up for some of the damage caused by the *Edda* appearing in two volumes with such a long time between them: enflaming the desire for this, our people's Bible.

> alle desse vil sanna at naar det gjeld bibelumsetjing paa folkemaalet fann Luther den rette maaten. (Mortensson, 'Bibelumsetjingarne', 18.12.1917)[132]

Evidently, according to Mortensson, Norway already had the great works of literature such as *Heimskringla, Faust*, the *Poetic Edda* and the works of Homer translated into Nynorsk but was lacking a "real" translation of the Bible apart from Alexander Seippel's recent Nynorsk translation of the Torah/Pentateuch (1905-1912). However, since 1889, Norway did have a Nynorsk Bible, although only the Old Testament. Yet, this translation was already seeming outdated and not suitable for Norwegians by 1917. It is of note that Mortensson does not mention the translators of these works by name, perhaps to remain humble since he was the translator of the *Poetic Edda*, or perhaps to highlight that these translators managed to produce "real" Nynorsk translations of canonical texts so, therefore, there was no reason for the Bible to not receive the same treatment. This reinforces the idea that translations of Old Norse literature were considered by many *målmenn* to be as important as biblical translations and translations of other canonical and highly prestigious European texts such as Goethe's *Faust* and Homer's *Odýsseia*.

It is also of note that Garborg uses a great deal of the same rhetoric describing Mortensson's translation as he does describing Norway's new independence following the dissolution of the union between Norway and Sweden in 1905. In a diary entry dated 8 June, 1905, Garborg reveals his feelings upon hearing the news of Norway's independence: "Hurra. Der er kje anna te segja. Kann no dette laga seg, og det paa fredeleg Maate, so vil der vera Von til, at me kann taka til aa byggja Lande att" (Garborg, 1924: 46).[133] The idea of rebuilding, i.e. bringing something back to its original form, mirrors the National Romanticism found in Norway in the 1830s and the discussions surrounding Old Norse literature in the nineteenth century. A day later on 9 June, Garborg's emotions are still running high, as the idea of a politically united people resonates with his own linguistic ideals: "endeleg fører Nordmennane seg som eit vaksi Folk. Og alle er med: Høgre, Vinstre,

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[132] A real translation! What does this mean? Those who have attempted such a thing can speak about this. And then I would like to remind you that there are many in Norway who know what it is all about. I shall merely mention the translator of *Heimskringla*, the translator of the *Edda*, the translator of *Faust*, the translator of Homer, the translator of the *Torah/Pentateuch*. I think all of these would admit the truth of that when it comes to the translating the Bible, Luther found the right way.

[133] Hooray! There's nothing more to say. If this can be developed, and in a peaceful manner, then there will be hope that we can begin to rebuild the country.

Byfolk, Landsfolk, Hæren; for andre Gongen er Norig samla. Eg las og las; og Taarine rann" (ibid.: 53).[134] It is not clear from his writing when Norway was assembled the first time in his opinion, perhaps the 1814 assembly at Eidsvoll, perhaps before the Kalmar Union or perhaps the time of Harald Fairhair uniting Norway in the ninth century. Whichever historical event he is referring to, the National Romanticism displayed here cannot be understated or ignored when analysing Garborg's private correspondences concerning Norway's independence and Mortensson's translation.

A note by philologist, former student of Rudolf Keyser and authority on the *Poetic Edda* Sophus Bugge precedes Mortensson's foreword to *Gudekvæde* (1905) and reiterates the importance of this work for the Norwegian people: "Jeg ønsker derfor, at Mortenssons gjengivelse af Edda-kvæderne maa finde stor udbredelse i vort folk" (Sophus Bugge, in Mortensson, 1905: iii).[135] This promotion from Bugge is significant not only due to Bugge's expertise in Eddic poetry, but also demonstrates the collaboration between experts on both sides of the language conflict (Bugge wrote in Riksmål/Bokmål). Similar to the praise and collaboration between Schjøtt and Storm regarding their translations of *Heimskringla*, the border between Nynorsk and Bokmål was not as stringent as many would believe when it came down to the practice of translating from Old Norse. As the linguistic analysis later will show, there was a great deal of overlap and borrowing from Old Norse from both sides of the Norwegian language divide.

Whilst the nation building aspect of Mortensson's translation was championed by many of those around him, as Mortensson's biographer Klaus Langen points out: "For målfolket var edda-omsetjinga ei nasjonal hovudoppgåve" (Langen, 1957: 194). Another motive for Mortensson concerned the linguistic aspect of the text and the testing of the Nynorsk language through translating such a complex and prestigious text.[136] As a 1905 article in *Hordalands folkeblad* highlights:

> Dette er eit bokverk av dei fagraste i all heimsens bokavl, og det er ein rik vinning for folkelivet vaart aa faa det ut paa nynorsk. Det kjem her i ein maalbunad som for

[134] Finally, the Norwegians are conducting themselves like a mature people. And everyone is together: the Right, the Left, city folk, country folk, the army; for the second time, Norway is united. I read and read; and the tears ran.
[135] Therefore, I wish that Mortensson's rewriting/translation of the *Poetic Edda* may find great prevalence among our people.
[136] For the champions of Nynorsk, the *Edda* translation was a major, national assignment.

> fyrste gong gjer det hugnadsamt aa lesa for ulærde folk, og umsetjaren gjev attaat so flust med tydingar og utgreidingar, so ein kjem djupt inn i gamall norsk tru og tankegang. ('Det Norske Samlaget', 21.04.1905)[137]

From this review at least, Mortensson clearly succeeded in his attempt to promote the Nynorsk language and demonstrate its ability to cope with prestigious texts in a prestigious literary style. The writer also overlooks or perhaps deliberately negates the previous translations of Kjennerud, Hægstad and Gjessing by describing Mortensson's translation as the "first time" a Norwegian translation was "pleasant to read" for "people without specialist knowledge". Around this time, there was a great deal of comparisons between the *Poetic Edda* and the writings of Homer, especially Homer's *Odýsseia*, which was incidentally translated by Arne Garborg, with help from Steinar Schjøtt, in 1918 under the title *Odyssevskvædet*. As Sigmund Skard writes of the growing need for a Nynorsk literary culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: "Han [nynorsken] hadde ingen skriven litteratur, i ei tid då det skrivne og trykte ord vart alt meir viktig… Folkemålet reiste seg nok mot skulelatinen, men ikkje mot det klassiske; norskdomen skulle ha med seg både "Fader Homer og Moder Edda"" (S. Skard, 1968: 8).[138] This need and desire for a scholarly, classical tradition in conjunction with a Nynorsk written culture was filled in many ways by these two translations, i.e. Mortensson's *Edda-kvæde* (1905-1908) and Garborg (and Schjøtt's!) *Odyssevskvædet* (1918).

Garborg's foreword to *Odyssevskvædet* (1918) further emphasises this point, echoing his earlier sentiments on Norwegian nationalism and Mortensson's *Edda-kvæde* (1905):

> Homeros, gamle meisterskalden, er ein av grunnsteinarne under den europæiske kulturen; og folki, dei minste som dei største, hev daa òg fengi verki hans, *Ilioskvædet* og *Odyssevskvædet*, yverførde kvart til sitt heimemaal. Tanken um ei

[137] This is one of the finest books on the world's bookshelf, and it is a rich victory for our people to have it in Nynorsk. It arrives here in a language form, which, for the first time, makes it pleasant to read for people without specialist knowledge, and the translator provides plenty of definitions and information, so that you are immersed in the old Norwegian faith and way of thinking.
[138] Nynorsk had no written culture in a time when the written and printed word became more important than anything… The people's language [Nynorsk] stood up against school Latin but not against the classical; Norwegian-ness should have both "Father Homer and Mother Edda."

> *norsk* Homer-umsetjing maatte daa vakne hjaa oss med, i *vaar* nasjonale nyreisingstid. (Garborg, 1918: i)[139]

Evidently, Garborg viewed Homer's works as one of the last hurdles for Nynorsk to overcome. It was of great national and linguistic importance for the Nynorsk language to demonstrate an ability to render canonical works of literature such as Homer's *Odýsseia* into an adequate language form. However, the response to Garborg's Nynorsk translation was mixed as Christine Amadou highlights: "Da *Odyssevskvædet* kom i 1918, var det nettopp landsmålet som voldte anmelderne problemer" (Amadou, 2020).[140] Amadou goes on to highlight a review from Eimund Berg in the newspaper *Stavangeren* where he writes: "Landsmaalet er det mest bustede kreatur som Fader Zeus kan ha skapt i sin vrede til en grækers fortvilelse" ('Homer paa landsmaal', 15.12.1918).[141] Yet despite such harsh reviews from certain newspapers, Garborg received a great deal more praise from his friends and contemporary *målmenn*. For example, renowned author and Nynorsk user Olav Dunn wrote to Garborg on 12 December, 1918: "Høgvyrde meister! Ein hjartans takk for Odysseen! Gildare ting kunde De ikkje gi det norske folk no" (Dunn, in Garborg, 1926: V: 173).[142] Nine days later, former Norwegian prime minister Jørgen Løvland wrote to Garborg to offer similar thanks: "Takk, hjarteleg takk til Deg og til Schjøtt for den gaava De gjev det norske folket og den norske bokheimen til jol 1918" (Løvland, in Garborg, 1926: V: 174).[143]

The shared rhetoric between Garborg's translation of Homer and Mortensson's translation of the *Poetic Edda*, as well as Schjøtt's translation of *Heimskringla*, that these translations were of intrinsic value to the Norwegian people, the Nynorsk literary culture and the Nynorsk language itself cannot be understated. This translational activity, especially Nynorsk translational activity evidently provided

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[139] Homer, the master poet, is one of the foundational stones of European culture; and folk, from the smallest to the largest nations, have therefore also received his works *Iliás* and *Odýsseia*, transferred to each of their own first languages. The idea of a *Norwegian* Homer-translation had to thus be awakened amongst us in *our* new time of national growth.
[140] When *Odyssevskvædet* came out in 1918, it was precisely the Nynorsk that caused problems for the critics.
[141] Nynorsk is the most bristled creature that Father Zeus could have created in his anger much to a Greek's despair.
[142] Esteemed Master! Heartfelt thanks for the Odyssey! You could not have given the Norwegian people a more splendid thing right now.
[143] Thank you, a heartfelt thank you to you and Schjøtt for the present you have given the Norwegian people and the Norwegian bookshelf this Christmas.

a great deal of discussion on nation building and language planning, i.e. language spread and language promotion during the early twentieth century in Norway.

Linguistically, both Mortensson's and Garborg's translational work stuck close to the language's Old Norse roots as Jørgensen and Amadou highlight respectively:

> Egnund viser dyp innsikt, språkkunnskap og poetisk skjønn i sin tolkning av diktene, men stilen er likevel utfordrende for leseren, for Egnund valgte ofte ord og uttrykksmåter som lå nærmere gammelnorsken enn dagligtalen… Vi ser at Egnund har lagt seg nært opp til det norrøne ordvalget: "Um ljod bed eg" [Old Norse = *Hljóðs biðk*]. (Jørgensen, 2018)[144]

> Et norrønt ord som "dis" er nå blitt helt inkorporert i den norske Homer-tradisjonen. Garborg nølte ikke med å legge inn ytterligere norrøningar og dialektale uttrykk som bidro til en sterk hjemliggjøring av verket. (Amadou, 2020)[145]

These observations are certainly correct in that the vocabulary used is certainly much closer to the vocabulary found in Old Norse, in addition to the Norwegian dialects, especially when compared to Danish or Bokmål translations of the same works. Jørgensen also compares Gjessing's translation to Mortensson's in his article: "Hør mig alle" (Gjessing, 1899: 1). However, when seen from the wider perspective of the archive of Nynorsk saga translations, the influence and tradition of remaining close to the Old Norse vocabulary becomes more obvious and understandable. An example of this is Marius Hægstad's translation of the opening lines of *Völuspá* begins with "Ljod, alle" (Hægstad, in Hægstad and M. Skard, 1902: 1), which utilises the same vocabulary as Mortensson does for the Old Norse *hljóð*. One could argue that this previous utilisation of *ljod* by Hægstad had already revived and solidified this word within the modern Nynorsk vocabulary through its very existence in a written text and Mortensson clearly had this previous translation to draw inspiration from, thus making his utilisation of *ljod* in 1905 not as remarkable as Jørgensen implies when compared to previous Nynorsk translations. However, looking further back we also find this word with this meaning in earlier texts such as

[144] Egnund demonstrates a deep insight, linguistic expertise and poetic finesse in his interpretation of the poems, but the style is nonetheless challenging for the reader, since Egnund often chose words and expressions that lay closer to Old Norwegian/Norse than everyday speech… We see that Egnund has closely followed the Old Norse vocabulary: "Um ljod beg eg" [Old Norse = *Hljóðs biðk*].
[145] An Old Norse word such as *dis* [Norse goddess] has now been fully incorporated into the Norwegian Homer-tradition. Garborg did not hesitate to add further Norse-isms and dialectal expressions which contributed to a strong domestication of the work.

Sommer's *Saga um Sverre Magnus Sigurdsson, Noregs Konung* (1864): "No tok Konungen til Ords, bad seg Ljod og mælte so" (Sommer, 1864: 31).[146] It is important to note that whilst the Nynorsk word *ljod* is, aesthetically speaking, very close to the Old Norse *hjlóð*, it is cognate with a pre-existing Bokmål word. The cognate Bokmål word *lyd* also comes from *hjlóð* and there are many examples of it being used to mean "ask for silence", particularly in Bokmål saga translations: "jeg ber om lyd" (Tveiten, 1943: 54). Still, it is important from a Nynorsk perspective that this word was solidified in a significant cultural text.

Indeed, Mortensson's translation and word choices remain well-loved today as can be seen in Det Norske Samlaget's 2022 republication of Mortensson's translations of *Völuspá* and *Hávamál* from the *Poetic Edda* and Moltke Moe's version of *Draumkvedet*. In her foreword to Mortensson's translation, Kristin Fridtun explains how Mortensson's translation was for a long time "einerådande" (Fridtun, in Mortensson-Egnund and Moe, 2022: 9).[147] She goes on to point out: "Sidan er det kome fleire solide omsetjingar av dikta, men mange lesarar har ein særskild godhug for versjonen til Mortensson-Egnund. Han er ikkje den av omsetjarane som er mest trufast mot originalteksta, men omsetjinga hans hav tvillaust mest sus over seg" (ibid.: 9).[148] Gjessing's Riksmål translation could very easily have begun "Om lyd ber jeg" in a similar way to Mortensson's translation. Yet, Gjessing decided not to remain too close to the Old Norse original. This phenomenon of staying close to the Old Norse root when translating sagas into Nynorsk will be explored in more detail in the following chapter.

Whilst Amadou points out one example of the influence Old Norse had on Garborg's translation, there are a great deal more to be analysed and explored. Moreover, Amadou does not consider Schjøtt's significant influence on Garborg's translation as co-translator with regard to the use of words closely related to their Old Norse roots. Having translated *Heimskringla*, it is likely that Schjøtt's familiarity with the vocabulary found in Old Norse literature would trickle into Garborg's translation. Indeed, a line can be drawn from Garborg's *Odyssevskvædet* back to Schjøtt's

[146] Now the king began to speak, he asked for silence and then said.
[147] Universally prevailing.
[148] Since then, there have been several solid translations of the poem, but many readers have a special liking for Mortensson-Egnund's version. Of all its translators, he is not the one who is most faithful to the original text, but his translation doubtless has the most appeal.

translation of *Heimskringla* (1900) and, indeed, previous Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature. The table below highlights a very brief selection of lexical choices by Garborg that are closely related to their Old Norse roots and where these same words can be found in major Old Norse works of literature previously translated into Nynorsk. The table also highlights the lexical choices made by Peter Østbye in his Riksmål translation of *Odýsseia* published in 1922 as *Odysseen* by Gyldendal Forlag, in order to trace the differences and similarities between translating into the two Norwegian written standards.

It is also important to note that these words could still be found in the daily speech in certain areas of Norway since the Old Norse roots had survived in many dialects (for example, *bufe* can be found in the dialects in Austlandet and Trøndelag according to *Norsk Ordbok*). However, for Norwegian readers not familiar with these dialects, Garborg's translation would appear to have a distinct Old Norse influence, especially if they were familiar with the Old Norse translations that preceded Garborg's translation. Indeed, even for those Norwegians who used these words in their everyday speech, they had unlikely used them in the context of Homer's epic Greek poetry. In his translation, Garborg transferred these lexical items originally found in Old Norse literature to classical antiquity and the poetry of Homer and solidified their usage within a new literary genre.

Table 3: Comparison of Old Norse influenced words in Garborg's *Odyssevskvædet* (1918)

Word in Garborg's *Odyssevskvædet* (1918)	**Old Norse root with English meaning**	**Found in Mortensson's *Eddakvædet* (1905-1908)**	**Found in Schjøtt's *Heimskringla* (1900)**	**Found in Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858)**	**Word in Peter Østbye's *Odysseen* (1922)**
Bardage – "anten det holmgang var eller bardage hèrar imillom" (p.154)	*Bardagi* – a battle, fight	Yes – "gjeng i bardage" (1908, p.58)	Yes – "daa jarlen mot honom hadde herskip kravt fraa Skaane til bardage" (p.15)	Yes – "og darmed stadnade Bardagen" (p.44)	*Feltslag* – "baade i kampen mot én og i feltslagets blodige tummel" (p.152)
Bódsvein – "Bódsvein, tak dette stykket her" (p.107)	From *boð* – message + *sveinn* – boy, young man = messenger (errand boy)	No, uses *bod* (1908, p.58) and *svein* elsewhere (p.5)	No, uses *bod* and *svein* elsewhere (p.64; 504)	No, uses *sendemenner* ("messengers") and *svein* and *tenestesvein* elsewhere (pp.11; 35-36). Uses *bod* elsewhere (p.11)	*Herold* – "Gaa til Demodokos, gjæve herold" (p.106). Uses *bud* – "meld dem da alle dit bud" (p.8). Does not use *svein* anywhere.
Bufe – "det slengføtte bufe" (p.3)	*Búfé* – livestock, cattle	No	No	No	*Okse* – "de langsomme horned okser" (p.3)
Holmgang – "anten det holmgang var eller bardage hèrar imillom" (p.154)	*Hólmganga* – a duel on an islet	Yes – "meg hovdingen hev til holmgang stemnt" (1908, p.45)	Yes – "Alvine baud Olav Trygveson holmgang um denne saki" (p.164)	No. Although, there is no mention of a *holmgang* in *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*.	*Kampen mot én* – "baade i kampen mot én og i feltslagets blodige tummel" (p.152)

Norner – "som honom ubøygjande norner spunne paa rokken sin hev" (p.90)	*Norn(ir)* – the maidens of fate in Norse mythology	Yes – "Dei tri møyane er nornir" (p.153)	Yes – "No er drottnen drepin, for dette nornir raadde" (p.79)	No	*Spindersker* – "det som de haardhændte spinderskers ten" (p.89)
Tevla – "som i skyttar-kunst med sjølve gudarne tevla" (p.101)	*Tefla* – to play a game such as chess at a table, to compete	No, uses *spela* ("to play") instead – "kring vikingar spelar" (1908, p.66)	No, uses *spela* ("to play") instead – "Daa tok dei fram eit skakk-brett og spela" (p.451)	Yes – "som han tevlde med" (p.12)	*Vaaget en kamp mot* – "som vaaget med buen en kamp mot de evige guder" (p.100)
Thing – "Gudething" (p.1); "han held thing med dei haarfagre menn fraa Akaia" (p.3); "Thing paa Itaka" (p.13)	*Þing* – assembly, meeting, parliament	Yes – "æsir er paa tinge" (1905, p.147)	Yes – "Olav Trygveson vart tekin til konge paa eit ting" (p.186)	Yes – "daa hadde Kongarne Tingstemna" (p.34)	*Forsamling, tinge, tingmøte* – "Gudernes forsamling" (p.1); "stevne alle akaiernes haarfagre mænd til tinge" (p.3); "Itakesiernes tingmøte" (p.13)

As the table shows, the majority of Garborg's lexical choices that are closely related to their Old Norse roots can be found in previous Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature. Moreover, in all examples except from *thing*, the Nynorsk translation differs significantly from Østbye's Riksmål translation. This is significant since despite many of these words having cognates or the same form in the Riksmål/Bokmål language, Østbye chose not to implement these in his Riksmål translation. However, it is important to note that the motive behind Østbye's translations of Ancient Greek was to carry on a literary tradition found in German and Danish translations of Homer as he explains in his foreword to his translation of

Homer's *Iliad*: "Gjennem Johann Heinrich Voss' oversættelse er denne digtning indlemmet i den tyske nationalliteratur, og det samme kan sies om Wilsters danske oversættelse i dens oprindelige skikkelse" (Østbye, 1920: ii).[149] Despite having cognates and equivalent forms in Bokmål, a distinguishable and separate vocabulary seems to appear in Nynorsk which limits both the Nynorsk and Bokmål translator to some extent, whilst simultaneously reinforces certain lexical items in each standard, allowing translational work to play a role in the solidification of certain lexical items. For example, Garborg as a Nynorsk translator in 1918 had a wealth of vocabulary to choose from, not only from Old Norse translations but the entire archive of Nynorsk literature. However, having chosen to form a connection between Homer's *Odýsseia* and Old Norse poetry, Garborg was able to colour Homer's work with Norse influences through his choice of vocabulary closely related to the vocabulary of Old Norse. This vocabulary was easy to find in the translations of previous Old Norse translators such as Aasen, Schjøtt and Mortensson, and in turn, this vocabulary was solidified by appearing in key, widely spread translations of Old Norse literature. Indeed, their prior solidification in Aasen's, Schjøtt's and Mortensson's Old Norse translations enabled Garborg to choose such lexical items in his own translation of *Odýsseia*.

On the other hand, a Bokmål translator such as Østbye tended not to use vocabulary that was too close to its Old Norse roots despite the vocabulary existing in the Bokmål language or in the spoken language/dialects of people around Norway. For example, Østbye could have chosen the word *bardage* instead of *feltslag* when translating *ὐσμίνῃ*, yet chose not to, and therefore, missed out on an opportunity to revive and solidify this word within the Bokmål language. Although but one example, this clearly demonstrates the differing motives of Bokmål and Nynorsk translators at this time in Norwegian history.

The table also shows instances where Schjøtt and Mortensson did not use the same Old Norse-influenced vocabulary as Garborg, i.e. *tevla* and *bufe*, indicating Garborg's differing approach to the use of Old Norse-influenced vocabulary. However, the table does highlight the links between the translation of Old Norse texts, specifically *Heimskringla* and *Sæmundar Edda*, and classical works of

[149] Through Johann Heinrich Voss' translation, this poetry is incorporated into the German national literature, and the same can be said about Wilster's Danish translation in its original form.

European literature, specifically Homer's *Odýsseia*. This linking was not a uniquely Nynorsk phenomenon, however, as Amadou highlights: "Homer-oversetterne hadde med andre ord et felles prosjekt uansett målform: De skulle gjøre Homer til norsk eiendom" (Amadou, 2020).[150] It is also of note that like Schjøtt translating both *Heimskringla* and *Odýsseia*, Kjell Arild Pollestad, who retranslated *Heimskringla* into Bokmål in 2012, followed this translation up with a retranslation of Homer's *Odýsseia* into Bokmål in 2013 under the title *Sangen om Odyssevs*. This further emphasises the deliberate linking between canonical Old Norse texts with the works of Homer. Whilst it would be of great interest to delve deeper into a comparison of Norwegian translations of classical Greek works, there is not space for it here, nor is it this study's aim. However, these examples do demonstrate a link between the Old Norse vocabulary and the modern Nynorsk vocabulary, made visible through Nynorsk translational work.

This section has examined key Nynorsk saga translators and Nynorsk saga translations that helped develop the Nynorsk vocabulary in the early stages of Nynorsk. The following section will look in more detail at the translational and lexicographical activity carried out by central proponents of the Nynorsk language, in addition to the publishing activity of Det Norske Samlaget, through the lens of the Nynorsk saga translation archive in order to shed light on the influence these saga translations had on the development of the Nynorsk language and lexicon.

4.4 *Gamalnorske bokverk* and Det Norske Samlaget

There is a well-known phrase from the correspondence of Andre Gide that states: "Every creative writer owes it to his country to translate at least one foreign work, to which his talent and his temperament are particularly suited, and thus to enrich his own literature" (Gide, 1931: 189). However, in the case of Nynorsk in the early twentieth century, it would seem that this sentence could be better amended to: "Every Nynorsk writer owes it to their country *and language* to translate at least one piece of *Old Norse literature*, to which their talent and their temperament are particularly suited, and thus to enrich their own literature *and language*". When

[150] In other words, the translators of Homer had a common project regardless of language form: They had to turn Homer into a Norwegian property.

looking at the seminal book series *Gamalnorske bokverk* (later *Norrøne bokverk*), a series of Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature begun in 1907 and ending in 2003 published by Det Norske Samlaget, almost all the foremost proponents and writers of the Nynorsk language would indeed get the opportunity to translate an Old Norse text and, thus, enrich the Nynorsk literature and language.[151]

Whilst Det Norske Samlaget had published multiple translations of Old Norse literature prior to 1905, namely Eirik Sommer's translation of *Sverris saga* and Schjøtt's original translation of *Heimskringla* in the 1870s, in addition to Olav Aasmundstad's translation of *Njáls saga* (1896-1897) and Stefan Frich's translation of *Laxdœla saga* (1899), *Gamalnorske bokverk* was not commissioned until the Norwegian government awarded financial support. The government had advertised a grant as early as 1902 "til utgjeving av gamallnorske bokverk med Nynorsk umsetjing" (Venås, 1968: 149).[152] However, Det Norske Samlaget's application failed twice before being approved in 1906: "I styremøte 30. januar 1906 vart det lagt på Hægstad og Koht å skipa med dei nynorske sogeomsetjingane som Stortinget for dette året hadde løyvt 1000 kroner til" (ibid.: 149).[153] NOK 1000 in 1906 is equivalent to NOK 89,006 in 2024 ('Inflation calculator'), roughly GBP 6000 and was considered a great deal of money for Det Norske Samlaget at the time, especially when one takes into account that this money was not granted to other potential publications or translational work. This money was not wasted either, as Venås points out: "Dette var så mykje pengar at ein kunne få gjort noko for dei, og ved 50-års-høgtida i 1918 hadde serien Gamalnorske bokverk kome opp i heile 17 nummer" (ibid.: 149).[154] Following the dissolution of the union between Norway and Sweden, this investment by the Norwegian government to provide its newly independent nation with Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature ought not be underestimated and demonstrates a willingness and large financial contribution by the Norwegian government to spread not only Old Norse literature but the Nynorsk language. It is also of note that they chose to fund Nynorsk saga translations but there is little evidence of translations of

[151] Old Norse book series.
[152] for the publication of Old Norse literature in Nynorsk translation.
[153] In a board meeting on 30 January, 1906, it was proposed that Hægstad and Koht would establish the Nynorsk saga translations to which the Norwegian parliament had granted NOK 1000 for this year.
[154] This was so much money that something could be done with it, and by the 50th anniversary [of Det Norske Samlaget] in 1918, *Gamalnorske bokverk* consisted of 17 titles.

foreign literature or original Nynorsk works being given a government grant. Indeed, the only other Samlaget texts that received state support at this time and previously were religious translations, specifically the translations of the Gospels in the 1880s and translation of the New Testament in 1889 which had printed on their title pages: "Utgjevet med Statskostnad av Det Norske Samlaget".[155] Again, the financial support from the Norwegian government which put saga translation on a level footing with canonical religious texts, can be read as one of several 'archival statements' in the Foucauldian sense. Such institutional support emphasises the value and influence of these Nynorsk translations above other texts published at the time. Furthermore, it highlights the translational silences where archival statements could not be made due to a lack of government financial support. It is also noteworthy that in return for the government grant, Det Norske Samlaget sent the first book in the series *Soga um volsungarne* (1907), translated by philologist and folklorist Torleiv Hannaas, to "alle stortingsmenn og statsrådar" (ibid.: 149).[156] Thus, this building block of the Norwegian nation was readily available to all decision-makers within the Norwegian government and reiterates the link between Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature and the nation-building processes of Norway.

The National Romantic sentiments and what this series of translations meant for the Norwegian nation, in addition to its contribution to the Nynorsk language, are evident in the responses to the book series below. Moreover, the significance of having these Old Norse works translated in order to help utilise Old Norse as a cornerstone within the Norwegian educational system is also important to mention, as Marius Hægstad points out:

> Det var på høg tid at ein av våre fremste politikarar for nokre dagar sidan ropar ut i stortinget at gamalnorsk er det ypparste daningsmidel me hev. – Ja, tingen er den, at i gamalnorsken hev me røterne til det norske mål og i den gamalnorske bokheimen hev me røterne til det norske folk si soga. I desse røter hev me grunnlaget for dei tvo store *hovudemne* for all ålmenn moderne daning: *morsmålet* og *soga*. (Hægstad, 1906: 21)[157]

[155] Published with state funds by Det Norske Samlaget.
[156] all members of parliament and cabinet ministers.
[157] It was high time that one of our foremost politicians, a few days ago, cried out in parliament that Old Norse is the best formational tool we have. – Indeed, in Old Norse we have the roots of the

The pedagogical relevance of this series was evidently as important as its significance for the Norwegian nation. Indeed, many of the translations were printed alongside the Old Norse original for purely didactic purposes, as Venås asserts: "Tanken med dette var vel at ein samstundes skulle tene vitskaplege omsyn og reint pedagogiske, nemleg å koma til dei til hjelp, i og utanfor skulen, som ville lære gammalnorsk" (Venås, 1968: 155).[158] This further emphasises the corpus planning ideas of implementation and language spread in the production of Nynorsk saga translations.

The use of this series of translations as a tool for nation building can also be seen in an article of 1931 in *Syn og Segn*, where many Norwegian academics argued for the continuation of the series and its need for more financial support:

> Det er soleis alt ei staselig bokrekkje Det norske Samlaget har fenget ut og laget hev gjort eit gjævt og eit nasjonalt arbeid med det. Arbeidet kunde ikkje for skams skuld ha vore ugjort. (Indrebø, 1931: 383)[159]
>
> Alt ifrå 1907 har Det Norske Samlaget halde på med å gi ut 'Gamalnorske bokverk i nynorsk umsetjing', og det er eit utgjevingsarbeid som har gjort utifrå stor nytte i det nasjonale live vårt. Det har gjort dei gamle sogune kjende for dei unge ættene i ei målform som enda har klangen og krafta av det gamle måle i seg, og det har såleis hjelpt å gjere samanhengen levande millom det gamle og det nye Noreg. (H. Koht, 1931: 384)[160]
>
> Disse for vår gamle historie så viktige kildeskrifter vil først gjennem nevnte Samlags fortreffelige oversettelser bli tilgjengelige for almenheten. (Johnsen, 1931: 384)[161]

Norwegian language and in the Old Norse literature we have the roots of Norwegian people's history. In these roots, we have the foundation for the two main subjects for the entire modern formation: *the mother tongue* and *history*.

[158] The idea behind this was it should simultaneously serve scholarly purposes in addition to purely educational purposes, namely, to aid those within and outside of school who wanted to learn Old Norse.

[159] It is already a magnificent book series that Det Norske Samlaget has published, and Samlaget has provided an unsurpassed and national undertaking with this. For shame's sake, the work could not have gone undone.

[160] Ever since 1907, Det Norske Samlaget has continued to publish 'Old Norse books in Nynorsk translation', and it is a work of publication that has provided an unsurpassed, great use in our national life. It has made the old sagas familiar to the young generation in a language form that still has the sound and power of the old language within it, and thus, it has helped to make a living connection between the old and new Norway.

[161] These important sources for our ancient history will only be available to the public through the excellent translations of the aforementioned publishing house.

Clearly, these translations, according to the scholars of the 1930s, were perceived as of utmost importance for the nation of Norway and the fact they were Nynorsk translations further emphasised this importance and their effect as nation-building tools.

The period following the dissolution of the union between Norway and Sweden was one of growth for the Nynorsk language and there was a significant increase in the number of books published in Nynorsk and indeed translations into Nynorsk. One of the key factors affecting this was a change to the school regulations in 1907 which made Nynorsk "a compulsory subject for all high school students (in addition to Dano-Norwegian of course)" (Vikør, 1975: 57), meaning even those students who wrote Dano-Norwegian/Bokmål had to prove their competency in Nynorsk. This naturally led to a higher demand for Nynorsk publications so that they could be used in schools in all areas of the country, not just districts where Nynorsk was the language of choice. Furthermore, Norway's independence led to increased Nynorsk activity, as Vikør stresses:

> Especially after the dissolution of the union with Sweden in 1905, wide-spread national enthusiasm assured the language [Nynorsk] a respected position in society… This was also a very active period for the New Norse movement itself. A nation-wide organization in defence of its interest (*Noregs Mållag*) was founded in 1906, with branches in most districts. A New Norse theatre was found, and throughout the country the cultural activity reached new heights in the form of amateur theatre groups, folk dancing and music with its basis in the specifically rural culture. New Norse journalism and literature had achieved a high level of quality. (Ibid.: 57)

It is important to note to what extent Old Norse literature blossomed in the period after 1905, and to what extent Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature took precedence over other publications. In order to examine one significant example of this, Sigurd Kolsrud's 1919 publication *Skrifter utgjevne av Det Norske Samlaget 1868-1918* is of great use to shed light on publishing trends post-1905 for multiple reasons. Firstly, it concerns publishing data for Det Norske Samlaget, the most predominant publisher of Nynorsk texts, from its foundation in 1868 to 1918. This end point roughly coincides with the 1917 Norwegian language reform, which as Ernst Håkon Jahr explains: "represents the conclusion of the first [Nynorsk] language

planning period, the period that focussed on creating a national written standard" (Jahr, 2014: 96). Thus, it provides a natural stopping point for this data whilst simultaneously encapsulating an important period of Nynorsk language history. As Sigmund Skard also points out, Det Norske Samlaget was the most prominent publisher of Old Norse translations in this time period too: "Når det gjeld omsetjing av den norrøne bokheimen, var Samlaget alt før 1918 det fremste forlag i landet" (S. Skard, 1968: 179).[162] Secondly, it contains not only details of the titles published by Det Norske Samlaget but also the cost and number of copies produced for each title, not to mention a plethora of supplementary information for each title. Indeed, this level of detail of publishing data either did not exist, no longer exists or is not readily available for other Nynorsk publishing houses during this period of history.

The following data is extracted from Sigurd Kolsrud's *Skrifter utgjevne av Det Norske Samlaget 1868-1918* (1919) and will be used to identify the publishing trends of four text categories: translations of Old Norse literature, translations of religious texts, translations of foreign works, i.e. in this case texts originally written in Bengali, English, French, German, Greek and Icelandic, and non-translated works, i.e. original works written in Nynorsk, both fiction and non-fiction. In the tables below there is also a column of translated works in order to compare the publication of translated literature with the publication of original works written in Nynorsk. These categories form the archive of Nynorsk literature during the period and through the analysis of each category and their relation to each other, the archive of Nynorsk saga translations and Nynorsk translation in general will be excavated and explored in order to shed light on the priorities of Det Norske Samlaget and reveal a snapshot of Nynorsk translational work at this time.

The analysis of these categories will be split into three different periods with three different levels of analysis:

1. 1868-1918: In order to show the entirety of the data set.
2. 1868-1904: In order to show trends in the early period of Nynorsk language history and prior to Norway's independence in 1905.

[162] When it comes to translating Old Norse literature, Det Norske Samlaget was the most prominent publisher in the country before 1918.

3. 1905-1918: In order to show trends following the dissolution of the union between Norway and Sweden up until the end of the data set.

a) Book titles: This represents the number of each separate book published and is of use to discover the diversity of each category's publications. Where an individual book title was split into multiple volumes, I have assigned each volume a value of one since it represents a separate text published in the Nynorsk language by Det Norske Samlaget. The same goes for subsequent editions of the same text since these represent a new text published in the Nynorsk language even if they remain similar to previous editions. Furthermore, I would argue, for example, that *Sverre-soga fyrste helvti* is indeed a slightly different title to *Sverre-soga andre helvti*.[163] The publications of *Syn og Segn* are not included here as this was a journal containing diverse articles covering multiple categories and would ultimately muddy the data more than necessary.

b) Number of copies: This represents the total number of copies produced for all book titles within a time period. This is of use to discover how widely spread Det Norske Samlaget intended their publications to be and also represents, to some extent, the depth of readership each category had. However, it is not specified for every title whether it sold out or not, so conclusions cannot be drawn 100% accurately. It is also important to mention that for a very small number of titles, the number of copies produced was unknown.

c) Average cost: This represents the average cost for each book title within a category. The cost is given both in the value of the Norwegian krone in 1919 and 2023 to adjust for inflation, and also GBP in 2023. This is of use to discover the perceived value of each category by Det Norske Samlaget and the affordability of each book title. It also helps connect to how widely spread a category was, since a cheap book would have been easier to sell than a more expensive one.

[163] *Sverris saga first part*; *Sverris saga second part*.

I will also include an extra table detailing the texts published by Det Norske Samlaget in 2022 in order to provide a point of reference and comparison for the same publisher in modern times. The data for this table (4d) is collected from Det Norske Samlaget's website ('Haustens bøker 2022'; 'Vårens bøker 2022').

Table 4a: Publications by Det Norske Samlaget 1868-1918

	Translations of Old Norse literature	**Translations of religious texts**	**Translations of foreign works**	**Translated works**	**Original works**	**Totals:**
Number of Book Titles	34	46	24	104	99	203
Percentage of Total Book Titles	16.75%	22.66%	11.82%	51.23%	48.77%	100%
Total Number of Copies	59,300	181,100	40,240	280,640	160,600	441,240
Percentage of Total Copies	13.44%	41.04%	9.12%	63.60%	36.40%	100%
Average Cost per Publication (NOK)	0.91 (1919) 23.45 (2023) £1.72 (2023)	0.66 (1919) 17.82(2023) £1.25 (2023)	1.55 (1919) 41.85 (2023) £2.93 (2023)	0.83 (1919) 22.41 (2023) £1.57 (2023)	1.5 (1919) 40.50 (2023) £2.83 (2023)	N/A

Table 4b: Publications by Det Norske Samlaget 1868-1904

	Translations of Old Norse literature	**Translations of religious texts**	**Translations of foreign works**	**Translated works**	**Original works**	**Totals:**
Number of Book Titles	14	32	4	50	56	106
Percentage of Total Book Titles	13.21%	30.19%	3.77%	47.17%	52.83%	100%
Total Number of Copies	13,500	84,400	4540	102,440	93,100	195,540
Percentage of Total Copies	6.91%	43.16%	2.32%	52.39%	47.61%	100%
Average Cost per Publication (NOK)	1.16 (1919) 31.32 (2023) £2.19 (2023)	0.29 (1919) 7.83 (2023) £0.55 (2023)	1.05 (1919) 28.35 (2023) £1.98 (2023)	0.59 (1919) 15.93 (2023) £1.11 (2023)	1.37 (1919) 36.99 (2023) £2.59 (2023)	N/A

Table 4c: Publications by Det Norske Samlaget 1905-1918

	Translations of Old Norse literature	**Translations of religious texts**	**Translations of foreign works**	**Translated works**	**Original works**	**Totals:**
Number of Book Titles	20	14	20	54	43	97
Percentage of Total Book Titles	20.62%	14.43%	20.62%	55.67%	44.33%	100%
Total Number of Copies	45,800	96,700	35,700	178,200	67,500	245,700
Percentage of Total Copies	18.64%	39.36%	14.53%	72.53%	27.47%	100%
Average Cost per Publication (NOK)	0.73 (1919) 19.71 (2023) £1.38 (2023)	0.4 (1919) 10.80 (2023) £0.76 (2023)	1.65 (1919) 44.55 (2023) £3.12 (2023)	1.05 (1919) 28.35 (2023) £1.98 (2023)	1.68 (1919) 45.36 (2023) £3.17 (2023)	N/A

Table 4d: Publications by Det Norske Samlaget 2022

	Translations of Old Norse literature	**Translations of religious texts**	**Translations of foreign works**	**Translated works**	**Original works**	**Totals:**
Number of Book Titles	1	0	9	10	69	79
Percentage of Total Book Titles	1.27%	0%	11.39%	12.66%	87.34%	100%
Total Number of Copies	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Average Cost per Publication (NOK)	349 (2022) £25.42 (2023)	N/A	359 (2022) £26.15 (2023)	358 (2022) £26.07 (2023)	356 (2022) £25.93 (2023)	N/A

One of the first things that jumps out from this data (omitting Table 4d) is the significant quantity of translated works produced by Det Norske Samlaget in each of these periods, not just in terms of the number of book titles but also in the number of copies produced for each book title. Table 4a demonstrates that over half of all book titles published by Det Norske Samlaget from 1868 to 1918 were translated works, further emphasising how Aasen's Nynorsk project can be interpreted as a translation project, for it required a great deal of translational work in its foundational years. As Bednarowicz argues: "Any decision to translate texts into minority or small languages is both the effect of the positive attitude towards them and an attempt to increase their status within multilingual society" (Bednarowicz, 2017: 18). He further notes that "the number of texts translated into lesser-used languages reflects their sociolinguistic situation. It is the status of such languages in society that determines if they are regarded as worthy of becoming the target languages for translated texts" (ibid.: 17). This is further shown when comparing the number of copies produced for translated texts with the number of copies produced for original works. Table 4a shows how 63.6% of the total amount of text copies published by Det Norske Samlaget from 1868 to 1918 was translated material. However, it is important to note that translations of religious texts make up the majority of these percentages. This is

not particularly surprising when considering the importance of Nynorsk translations of religious texts during this period, as demonstrated in Bondevik's 1992 and 2003 publications, in addition to the fact that a number of the book titles were separate publications of books of the New Testament published by Det Norske Samlaget in 1889.

It is also important to note that a major reason for the number of copies being so high for translations of religious texts is that Det Norske Samlaget was responsible for publishing the Nynorsk translation of Martin Luther's *Der Kleine Katechismus* (1529), a didactic children's book on the fundamentals of Christianity. This text was produced in high numbers with multiple editions in a small timespan. The first edition was published in 1891 and stated after the title page: "Ved kongelig resolution af 25de juli 1891 er denne af det norske samlag besørgede udgave af Luthers katekisme paa landsmaal tilladt benyttet ved den offentlige religionsundervisning" (Blix, 1891a: 2).[164] This indicated its importance as an educational and religious text for the children learning to read and write Nynorsk at that time. By 1918, there were nine editions of Elias Blix's translation, totalling 92,800 copies, which represents approximately half of the total copies of religious translations from 1868 to 1918. Regardless of the preponderance of Luther's *litle katekisma,* it is clear from Tables 4a and 4b that translations of religious texts were a high priority for Det Norske Samlaget in its foundational decades, especially in the dissemination of educational, religious material.

From 1905, there is a decline in publishing translations of religious texts in terms of number of book titles and an increase in translating Old Norse literature and literature from other languages. Indeed, even in terms of copies, the data is slightly misleading as 77,800 of the 96,700 copies in Table 4c were translations of Luther's catechism, indicating a desire to put a copy of this text in every church, school and corner of Norway. Yet, the fact that Luther's catechism was compulsory reading for children throughout Norway may also explain the high number of copies for this book title. From the data in Tables 4b and 4c, in terms of number of book titles, there is a clear increase in the number of translations of non-religious texts. Comparing the two periods in Tables 4b and 4c shows a 43% increase in the publication of translations

[164] By the royal resolution of July 25th, 1891, this supplied edition by Det Norske Samlaget of Luther's catechism in Landsmål is permitted to be used in public religious education.

of Old Norse literature and a 400% increase in the publication of translations of foreign works. Looking at these numbers in terms of the proportion they represent of the overall output of Det Norske Samlaget, i.e. the percentage of total book titles, reveals how much the priorities and preferences changed between these periods. For example, in Table 4b, translations from Old Norse and translations of foreign works represent 13.21% and 3.77% of the total output respectively. Table 4c shows how these numbers jump up to 20.62% and 20.62% respectively. This reveals a 56.09% increase in the percentage of translations from Old Norse and a 446.95% increase in the percentage of translations of foreign works. On the other hand, in terms of number of book titles, there were a 56% decrease in the publication of translations of religious texts and a 23% decrease in the publication of original works. In terms of the percentage of total book titles, these numbers change to a 52.20% decrease and a 16.09% decrease respectively. It is also important to consider that Table 4b covers a period of thirty-six years and Table 4c covers a period of a mere thirteen years, highlighting the boom in Nynorsk translations of Norse and foreign literature following Norway's independence from Sweden. At this point, it is also useful to reference Table 4d to see how Samlaget's publishing priorities have changed since the years following 1905. Naturally, the increase in the number of original works published can be explained by the fact that a great deal of canonical literature had already been translated into Nynorsk prior to 2022 and thus the same perceived need to establish and spread the Nynorsk language through translation no longer existed in 2022 to the same extent. There are also other factors such as the difference in book markets then and now, state subsidy initiatives and an increase in active Nynorsk users who are also authors to name but a few.

Focusing on the data of translations of Old Norse literature reveals further insight into Samlaget's attitude towards the importance of, desire for and dissemination of Nynorsk saga translations during these periods. In terms of number of book titles, Table 4b demonstrates how in the early stages of Det Norske Samlaget, translations of Old Norse literature were significantly preferred over translations of other non-religious, foreign texts (14 vs. 4; 13.21% vs. 3.77%). This is of note when considering the relative sizes of these literatures. According to the bibliography of saga translations assembled by the National and University Library of Iceland, there are only 416 saga titles to choose from when deciding to translate an

Old Norse text (‘Sögur’), although, in practice fewer than 50 of these are sagas in the traditional sense, the others being individual poems and short stories. Yet for 14 out of the 18 publications dedicated to translations (excluding translations of religious texts), Det Norske Samlaget chose to select material from this comparatively tiny selection of texts instead of producing translations from other languages and literatures whose number of titles vastly outnumbered the 416 titles of Old Norse literature. Here, again, the Foucauldian idea of the archive and the ability for statements to be said or unsaid comes to the fore. These early Nynorsk translators and publishers had the opportunity to assemble and plan the archive of the Nynorsk language and literature in a variety of ways. Yet, instead of focusing solely on producing original works or translating canonical works of contemporary and past European literature, Det Norske Samlaget devoted a great deal of time, energy and money to producing translations of Old Norse literature. This resulted in translational silences of other foreign literatures and the loss of potential original Nynorsk works and, thus, a greater significance and influence was handed to these Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature.

Indeed, looking at Table 4c, there is an increase in the proportion of translations of both Old Norse and foreign texts following 1905, resulting in one-fifth (20.62%) of all publications produced by Det Norske Samlaget being a translation of Old Norse literature. Whilst translations of foreign works also equalled one-fifth (20.62%) of Samlaget’s publications, it is worth nothing that the translations of Old Norse literature were produced in greater number (45,800 vs. 35,700) and at a much more affordable price (0.73 Norwegian kroner per title vs. 1.65 Norwegian kroner per title). Indeed, the average prices of each category can be interpreted in terms of what Det Norske Samlaget deemed a necessity and what they deemed a luxury, although it may also shed light on Det Norske Samlaget’s scale of production and the educational market these publications were intended for. Certainly, there is a divide between original works and translations of foreign works deemed a luxury on the one hand, and translations of religious texts and Old Norse texts deemed a necessity on the other. Furthermore, following 1905, translations of Old Norse literature was the only category to decrease in average cost. This is certainly tied to the government grant gifted to Det Norske Samlaget and highlights how the spread

of the Nynorsk language was helped through the government's support in the spread of Nynorsk publications, namely translations of Old Norse.

It is here that a comparative view is regrettably lacking, since it would be of great use to discover whether the trends of Det Norske Samlaget mirrored other Scandinavian countries in similar periods, whether Bokmål publishers had similar ethe towards producing translations of Old Norse and foreign works and, more importantly, whether other publishers and publications of Nynorsk texts mirrored what Det Norske Samlaget was doing. However, as aforementioned, the data is unfortunately lacking for a great deal of these publishers at this period of time to the best of my knowledge. It is also important to note that data for one of the most significant Nynorsk saga translations, i.e. Schjøtt's translation of *Heimskringla* in 1900, "the national edition", is not included in this data set since the national edition was not published by Samlaget. However, its inclusion would certainly reinforce and enhance the data since 30,000 copies were produced of Schjøtt's translation.

A key takeaway from this singular insight into Nynorsk publishing from 1868-1918 is that the archive of Nynorsk saga translations (albeit only those published by Det Norske Samlaget) occupied a significantly large space within the archive of Nynorsk literature at this time. However, this data reveals, perhaps more importantly, the significance and dominance of Nynorsk translational work in the foundational years of the Nynorsk language and demonstrates how the Nynorsk language project required translations more than it did original works, at least from Samlaget's perspective. This highlights how the implementation and elaboration of the Nynorsk language relied heavily on translational activity during its initial years. It also emphasises the link between Old Norse translations and their importance to the Nynorsk language movement and development. As Kjell Venås highlights, "Ein torer vel likevel tru at dei som særleg har kjøpt omsetjingane frå norrønt, er dei som på same tid har sett samanhengen mellom den litterære verdi dei byd og den historie dei står for på den eine sida, og den nynorske målreisinga på den andre" (Venås, 1968: 155).[165]

[165] One dares to believe that those who have specifically bought the translations from Old Norse are those who have simultaneously seen the connection between the literary value they offer and the history they represent on the one hand, and the Nynorsk language movement on the other.

4.5 Translators as lexicographers

This final section of the archive of Nynorsk saga translations will explore the significance of Nynorsk saga translations for the lexical development and solidification of the Nynorsk language by looking at the relationship between Nynorsk saga translators and Nynorsk lexicographers. As the thesis has argued so far, the constructing of the archive of Nynorsk saga translations involves a range of choices and selections, i.e. which texts should be translated, and which texts should remain untranslated. In much the same way, the compiling of a dictionary contains a great deal of selective work with many parallels with the construction of an archive of words and the codification, implementation and elaboration of a language. These processes of selection and their functions could be interpreted through a Foucauldian lens as it would be the goal of many Nynorsk lexicographers to select Nynorsk words that were appropriate, in the sense they were usable and established in the written history of the Nynorsk language in addition to their contemporary usage in everyday speech. By looking at the dictionaries published in the foundational years of the Nynorsk language, one is able to see which Nynorsk words had been solidified by previous users of the Nynorsk language, since a word's appearance in a dictionary provides an insight into the lexicographer's view on which words were regarded as quintessentially Nynorsk and which were not. This is particularly noticeable in dictionaries that provided Danish or Dano-Norwegian equivalents/alternatives, as in the case of Schjøtt's 1909 dictionary mentioned below. This method of using dictionaries to trace lexical solidification to translated works will be further explored in the linguistic analysis in Chapter 5.

As Calvo Rigual and Calvi explain: "Translation and lexicography are two disciplines which certainly have much in common and which can be helpful for one another. However, this relationship is not – nor has been – as smooth as one would wish" (Calvo Rigual and Calvi, 2014: 39). Calvo Rigual and Calvi go on to explain the need for a deeper look into the relationship between translation and lexicography beyond traditional research into how translators use dictionaries. The need for drawing parallels between the two disciplines is also highlighted as they discuss a key similarity:

> The concept of (translation) equivalence is essential in both translation and in bilingual or multilingual lexicography, although there is an important difference:

> whereas equivalence is basically context-dependent in translation, context is left aside in lexicography, i.e. the maximum number of contexts for a lexical unit are disregarded so that the equivalents suggested can be appropriate for the most common contexts in which that unit appears. (Ibid.: 41-42)

This search for equivalents was of importance in the early stages of the Nynorsk language as a Norwegian lexicon was needed that would be perceived to be an equivalent, in the sense of reaching the same status and meeting the same needs, to the pre-existing Danish written language if written Danish was to be replaced amongst the *bønder*. Thus, translational and lexicographical work play a key role in the development of the Nynorsk language. Reinhard Hartmann further explains the relevance of translation within the discipline of lexicography and how they relate to each other: “Translation is relevant to lexicography in two ways: as supplier of translation equivalents to be included in the bilingual dictionary and as consumer of information made available by lexicographers to professional translators” (Hartmann 2004: 11). This supplying of equivalents, however, need not originate from the lexicographer since in the case of Nynorsk lexicographers, lexical equivalents may be sourced from translations found within the pre-existing literary canon, as will be shown below.

In their article, Calvo Rigual and Calvi also question whether lexicographers may be considered translators and whether a single person can carry out both activities: “Can translation or translators be useful for lexicography or lexicographers? And another question follows: can a single individual be a translator and a lexicographer? Alternatively put, is a (bilingual) lexicographer a translator?” (Calvo Rigual and Calvi, 2014: 55). Within the Nynorsk context, the answer to these questions appears to be a resounding yes. Indeed, in the context of Nynorsk saga translators and compilers of dictionary works in the early stages of the Nynorsk language, one could claim that every Nynorsk saga translator owed it to the Nynorsk language to compile at least one piece of lexicographical work, to which their talent and temperament were particularly suited, and thus enrich the lexicon of Nynorsk, to alter Gide’s quote once more. In the early stages of the Nynorsk language, the activity of translating literary works and creating Nynorsk dictionaries, in short finding Nynorsk equivalents for Danish words, was, more often than not, carried out by the same person in each case. As the table below highlights, a vast number of Nynorsk

translators of Old Norse literature also turned their hand to producing lexicographical works, and vice versa.

Table 5: List of notable saga translators and Nynorsk lexicographers and their related works

Translator/ lexicographer	**Work(s) of saga translation**	**Work(s) of lexicography (i.e. dictionaries – *ordbok*, word lists - *ordliste*)**
Ivar Aasen	*Fridtjofs Saga* (1858)	*Ordbog over det norske Folkesprog* (1850) *Norsk Ordbog: med dansk Forklaring* (1873)
Matias Skard	*Saga um Gunnlaug Ormstunga* (1872) *Saga um Viglund og Kjellrid* (1874) *Soga um Haavard Isfjording* (1907)	*Landsmaals-ordlista med rettleiding um skrivemaaten* (1901) *Nynorsk ordbok for rettskriving og litteraturlesnad* (1912)
Steinar Schjøtt	*Heimskringla, elder Norigs Kongesogur fraa den ældste Tio til Aare 1177* (1874-1879) *Kongesogur* (1900)	*Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) *Norsk ordbok, med ordtyding paa norsk-dansk: til skule- og literært bruk* (1914)
Marius Hægstad	Sections of the *Poetic Edda* including *Völuspá* in *Læseverk for Ungdomsskolen. 1: Af litteraturen før 1814: med et tillæg* (1902)	*Gamalnorsk ordbok: med nynorsk tyding* (1909)
Severin Eskeland	*Soga om Eirik Raude* (1907) *Tristam og Isond* (1913) *Soga um Ragnar Lodbrok og sønene hans, med Kraake-kvædet* (1914)	*Framandordbok: med tyding og rettleiding um lesemaaten til 8-9 tusen av dei vanlegaste framandordi* (1919)

Leiv Heggstad	*Egils-soga* (1914)	*Fornorskingsordbok: norskdansk rettskrivingsbok med norsk ordtyding* (1917) *Gamalnorsk ordbok: med nynorsk tyding* (1930)
Albert Joleik	*Soga um Jomsvikingarne* (1910) *Soga um Halv og Halvsrekkarne* (1917) *Soga um Torgjils Errabeinstjup, eller Floamanna saga* (1925)	*Ord sum er sams i rysk, norsk og svensk: og ymse namnetolkingar* (1960)
Erik Eggen	*Tri syngjespel: (stevleikar) for ungdomslag* (1910) *Norrøne kristenkvæde* (1928) *Forsvarstale for Kong Sverre mot bispane* (1940)	*Latinsk-norsk ordliste for gymnaset* (1920)
Jakob Sverdrup	*Soga um øyrbyggjerne* (1912)	*Tysk-norsk ordbok* (1933-1936)
Olav Røkke	*Soga um Vaapnfjordingarne* (1908) *Soga um Grette Aasmundsson* (1912) *Soga um Baard Snøfjellsaas* (1915)	*Som dei gamle sa for eit ord: ordtak og talevendingar frå Stjørdalen* (1921)
Halvdan Koht	*Sverre-soga* (1912-1913)	*Norsk brevbok med mynster til alslags handels- og rettarbrev, kaupebrev og skuldbrev, paktar og avtalar og handelsbrevskifte: dertil ei ordbok med norsk umsetjing utav meir en 1800 handelsord* (1898)

This table also highlights, for the most part, that the translational work of these lexicographers primarily predated their lexicographical work indicating a) the priority given to translating sagas and b) the potential use of Nynorsk saga translations as part of the foundational material needed for the compiling of dictionaries. It also corroborates Calvo Rigual and Calvi's arguments on the comparative nature of translational and lexicographical work, particularly in the search for equivalents and whether translators can be lexicographers and vice versa. Moreover, I would argue that it is more than mere coincidence that the translator of the most prestigious Old Norse text for the Norwegian people, i.e. Steinar Schjøtt and *Heimskringla*, also compiled two of the most important dictionaries for the Nynorsk language in the foundational years of Nynorsk, i.e. *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) and *Norsk ordbok, med ordtyding paa norsk-dansk: til skule- og literært bruk* (1914). Indeed, the need for a Danish/Nynorsk bilingual dictionary in addition to a Nynorsk dictionary with definitions in Norwegian-Danish was becoming more apparent as the number of Nynorsk texts increased and as new generations began to learn Nynorsk in schools. As Lars Vikør points out:

> Vanen med å normalisere talen til nynorsk hadde sine første pionerar nettopp i åra rundt 1900. Folk som Garborg og Schjøtt skreiv meir dansk enn nynorsk privat. Ei ordbok som kunne gi folk med denne bakgrunnen solid hjelp med å uttrykkje seg på godt nynorsk var det første behovet for dei som ville auke bruken av nynorsk i samfunnet. (Vikør, 2011: 27)[166]

The need for a practical Danish/Nynorsk bilingual dictionary was important for general users of Nynorsk but would also be a great tool for Nynorsk translators in order to avoid Danish words in their translations. Vikør explains this in his discussion of Schjøtt's work on *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909): "Så ordna han dei danske orda og forsynte dei i sin tur med norske ekvivalentar og supplerte igjen frå eksisterande danske ordbøker, særleg Molbechs. Schjøtts mål var å dekkje dansken i Noreg, så han var restriktiv mot danske ord som ikkje var aktuelle her" (ibid.: 29).[167] This

[166] The custom of normalising speech into Nynorsk had its first pioneers around the year 1900. People like Garborg and Schjøtt wrote more Danish than Nynorsk privately. A dictionary that could provide people with this background solid help in expressing themselves in good Nynorsk was the first need for those who wanted to increase the use of Nynorsk in society.

[167] Thus, he arranged the Danish words and provided them in turn with Norwegian equivalents and, again, supplemented them using existing Danish dictionaries, especially Molbech's. Schjøtt's objective was to cover the Danish language in Norway, so he was restrictive about Danish words that were not relevant here (Norway).

dictionary will be of use in this study since it can be used to trace which Nynorsk words had been solidified as equivalents of Danish words at this time and whether such words can then be traced to previous Nynorsk saga translations, in addition to seeing which Nynorsk words had come in or out of use during this time. This will be explored further in Chapter 5.

Schjøtt's *Norsk ordbok, med nynorsk ordtyding paa norsk-dansk: til skule- og literært bruk* (1914) will also be of use for the linguistic analysis in Chapter 5 since it delivers a significant snapshot of the Nynorsk lexicon from the foundational stages of Nynorsk up until 1914. As Schjøtt writes in his afterword of the thinking behind his selecting of lexical items: "Eg hev lagt ordboki aat Ivar Aasen til grunn, men hev teke med mykje nytt, ord og ordlag fraa ordboki aat Hans Ross og fraa Sunnhordlands-ordboki aat Chr. Vidsteen, ord som eg sjølv hev funne, og ord som hev kome upp i den tidi nynorsken hev vore dyrka i skrift" (Schjøtt, 1914: 619).[168] It is noteworthy that Schjøtt used not just pre-existing dictionaries as a foundation but also added words he had found himself and words already found in Nynorsk literature up until then. For example, Schjøtt adds the word *dyrgjengen (-et, -ne)* (to act like an animal, to become beast-like) to his 1914 dictionary and notes it is a new addition "nyt" (ibid.: 81). This word in this written form is not found anywhere in writing prior to Schjøtt's dictionary except for in texts he himself wrote: "Folket liver som i helvete og er reint dyrgjenget" (Schjøtt, 1886: 288); "dei dyrgjengne soldatarne" (Schjøtt, 1883: 85). This shows what he means when he mentions he added words he had found himself. As Vikør points out, Schjøtt was not merely updating Aasen's and Ross' dictionaries nor creating another comparative collection of Norwegian dialect words as Aasen and Ross had done: "Schjøtt laga derimot ei ordbok over nynorsk skriftspråk" (Vikør, 2011: 34).[169] For this reason, this dictionary provides a useful insight into which words had been solidified up until this point and, by including them in his dictionary, Schjøtt further solidifies such lexical items.

As highlighted by this chapter, a great deal of the early textual material that *cultivated Nynorsk in writing* were translated texts, particularly translations from Old

[168] I have used Ivar Aasen's dictionary as a foundation but have incorporated many new words and phrases from Hans Ross' dictionary and from Chr. Vidsteen's Sunnhordland dictionary, words that I have found myself, and words that have appeared within the time that Nynorsk has been cultivated in writing.
[169] Schjøtt compiled, however, a dictionary of the Nynorsk written language.

Norse. Therefore, it stands to reason that a number of lexical items found in Schjøtt's 1914 dictionary were incorporated due to their existence in Nynorsk saga translations, since these translations formed a part of Schjøtt's foundational material for the dictionary. These translations could be used as parallel texts in the search for translation equivalents for Schjøtt's dictionary as they could be compared with pre-existing Danish saga translations and then both the Nynorsk and Danish versions could be compared to the Old Norse original. This comparative work would provide a deeper context to the translation equivalents found in the dictionary as they would have real-life examples to solidify them. As Hartmann explains:

> One solution to the problem of systematizing the discovery of translation equivalents, as suggested by the proponents of the various approaches to contrastive textology, lies in the comparison of so-called parallel texts, i.e. bits of discourse from corresponding varieties or text types in the two languages in question. If we knew, or so the argument goes, what the semantic ranges and collocational restrictions of words were in the textual contexts of one language, then we could match them in parallel texts from the other language. (Hartmann, 1994: 293)

Whether or not Schjøtt was thinking in such terms is hard to ascertain; yet, the fact that he states he incorporated words found in the pre-existing Nynorsk literature highlights a similar approach of using translated works to find equivalents for his dictionary. This approach could also be applied to his 1909 dictionary as they can both be defined as bilingual dictionaries between Nynorsk and Danish/Dano-Norwegian and both required a search and selection of translation equivalents. Again, the fact that Schjøtt was a translator himself and had translated such a large and substantial work and thus, had to find a great deal of translation equivalents in order to translate *Heimskringla*, cannot be underestimated when talking of his lexicographic work, since it is highly likely that the words he chose to use in his translation of *Heimskringla* would be readily available to him to include in his 1909 and 1914 dictionaries. Moreover, their lexical solidification within his and others' translated publications would have given them reason to be included in the dictionaries too.

It is also noteworthy that Schjøtt's 1914 dictionary was government-supported and the first edition had a print run of 6500 copies, which was a relatively significant quantity given the time period, at the low price of NOK 0.40 (Kolsrud, 1919: 27). It is

of note that Aasen's dictionary was reprinted in 1918 by Vestmannalaget also with a wide distribution of 10,000 copies (Hannaas, Clausen and Jerdal, 1978: 240), and whilst it would surely have been influential, it was not government-supported like Schjøtt's. Furthermore, as its official title suggests, Schjøtt's dictionary was meant for school and literary use, highlighting its intended dissemination amongst the Norwegian public. Indeed, as Vikør emphasises: "*Norsk ordbok* var den einaste bruksordboka med nynorsk som kjeldespråk fram til 1986" (Vikør, 2011: 36).[170] This further highlights its significance and emphasises the lexical solidification of the words included. In his description of how he compiled his dictionary, Schjøtt provides several reasons as to why certain words were omitted:

> Men mangt og mykje hev eg sett att av slikt som berre er for lærde folk, ord som er lite brukte eller lite vigtuge eller alt for vande aa skyna. Paa denne maaten hev eg spart so godt paa romet, at eg hev kunna leggja umstendeleg ut um dei ordi som det ligg mest lag paa, og likevel er ikkje denne ordboki større, enn at nokon kvar skulde kunna raa med ho. (Schjøtt, 1914: 619)[171]

Whilst it would have been impractical to list all the specific words omitted, the fact that Schjøtt acknowledges and provides reasons for not choosing certain words demonstrates how Schjøtt was aware of the gaps in his compilation and helps this study to explain why certain words may not appear to have been solidified in this dictionary despite existing in previous saga translations. Indeed, it will provide an effective insight into whether the words that Aasen chose as equivalents in his 1858 translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* were solidified in the Nynorsk lexicon or not by 1914. This will be elaborated on in Chapter 5.

As this section has indicated, there is a strong link between Nynorsk translational work and Nynorsk lexicographical work during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Indeed, a great number of the Nynorsk saga translators during this time also produced lexicographical works demonstrating not only the similar skills needed for both types of work but also how the process of selecting and

[170] *Norsk-ordbok* was the only dictionary for everyday use with Nynorsk as its source language up until 1986.
[171] However, I have left out many words such as those known only by academics, words that are little used or of little importance or far too difficult to understand. In this way, I have saved so much space that I have been able to elaborate on the words that have the most layers of meanings, and yet this dictionary is not so large that anyone would not be able to use it.

rejecting certain words may influence both practices, especially in the Nynorsk context during this time. The following chapter will take these translational and lexicographical processes into consideration when analysing Ivar Aasen's 1858 translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*. Using the archive constructed in this chapter as its foundation, a targeted case study of Aasen's saga translation will help shed light on how the translational statements within this archive interacted with and influenced aspects of Norwegian culture, particularly the Nynorsk language.

5 Ivar Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858): Context

This chapter, combined with the subsequent Chapter 6, present a case study of Aasen's 1858 translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, examining in detail both its significance within the literary history of Nynorsk and its linguistic influence on subsequent literary, translational and lexicographical works of Nynorsk. It will also explore the historical context of the saga and highlights the motives and agencies involved in Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858) and the subsequent Nynorsk retranslations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*. The paratextual analysis below will also examine discussions on the nature of translation and the difficulty of translating from an ancestral language into a descendent language that coincided with the creation of Nynorsk and Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga*.

Given the limited number of Nynorsk writings and complete lack of translations of Old Norse literature into Nynorsk prior, there is a strong rationale for the Nynorsk saga translation archive outlined in the previous chapter beginning in 1858, when Aasen translated *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* into his nascent Norwegian standard. This marked not only one of the very first attempts of Nynorsk as a literary language but also demonstrated the first utilisation of a Nynorsk saga translation to educate the Norwegian public and promote and spread the Nynorsk language. This attempt would provide subsequent translators and proponents of the Nynorsk language with a foundational and highly useful building block in their own efforts to further develop and spread the Nynorsk language, as the following chapters will explore.

5.1 *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*

Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna, known in English as *Frithiof's Saga* or *The Saga of Frithiof the Bold*, belongs to the *fornaldarsaga* or 'mythical-heroic saga' genre set primarily in Norway, detailing the exploits of the Norwegian hero Frithiof. The term *fornaldarsaga*, literally translated to "a tale of ancient times", first appeared in *Fornaldar Sögur Nordrlanda* in 1829-1830, a collection of Old Norse saga manuscripts grouped together by the Danish philologist Carl Christian Rafn which describes "tales of heroes steeped in a world of legends and myths" (Tulinius, 2005:

447). As Icelandic scholar Torfi Tulinius further explains, “what distinguishes them [*fornaldarsögur*] from other sagas is their chronological and geographical setting” (ibid.: 447) separating them from the sagas of the Icelanders, since they take place outside of Iceland, primarily in Norway and/or the Nordic region. Tulinius also separates the *fornaldarsögur* from the kings’ sagas, since “they are set in the period before the unification of Norway by Harald Finehair, a turn of events which the saga writers believed was contemporaneous with the settlement of Iceland” (ibid.: 447). This special saga genre defined by Rafn brought together “a wide variety of narrative texts of diverse origin, structure, theme and tone”, which has led to multiple arguments against such a grouping: “some of the narratives are pseudo-historical while others are purely fictional, some are genealogical in their structure while others focus on individuals, some are based on ancient heroic poetry while others seem more inspired by myth, folklore or even continental romance” (Tulinius, 2000: 243). *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* encapsulates multiple themes, i.e. ancient heroic poetry, myth in the form of sorcery, continental romance in the form of the star-crossed lovers Frithiof and his foster-sister Ingeborg, and a genealogical introduction detailing Frithiof’s and Ingeborg’s lineage, and therefore, may be considered an archetypal *fornaldarsaga* and thus a perfect representative text for translation.

The saga itself was written circa 1300 by an unknown author (Evans, 1993: 221) and survived in two main redactions, an older and shorter version (manuscripts AM 510 4to, fols 91-96 and AM 568 II 4to 83-87) and a younger and longer version (in Holm. Papp. 17 4to), which was based on the older redaction (Hermannsson, 1912: 13). These Old Norse texts were rediscovered by the Nordic countries in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries through the publication of *Nordiska kämpa dater* in 1737, edited and translated by Erik Julius Björner where each mythical-heroic saga was accompanied by a Swedish and Latin translation. It was from this work that Esaias Tegnér would be introduced to Frithiof almost a century later. However, it was Rafn’s publication of *Fornaldar Sögur Nordrlanda* in 1825 and republished in three volumes between 1829-1830 that would bring these manuscripts back to the shores of Norway and lay the foundation for Aasen’s translation decades later. Conversely, it was not only the Nordic region that had access to these Old Norse texts, as the publication of *Altnordische Sagen und Lieder* in 1814 indicates. This German edition of the Old Norse manuscripts demonstrates an awareness and perhaps the

beginnings of affection for Frithiof in Germany that would only grow throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Whilst *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* as a text of Old Norse literature has been readily found in the Nordic countries and Europe for the last 300 years, it has had to struggle against the work of Swedish poet Esaias Tegnér and its popularity in order to appear as an original text. This became a problem for the Nynorsk translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, namely Aasen, Høeg, Rue and Fosse, and as will be highlighted in the following sections, the need to differentiate between a translation of the *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* source text and Tegnér's Swedish adaptation *Frithiofs saga* (1825) was of utmost importance from a Nynorsk perspective, since there was a desire to restore the Old Norse sagas as a quintessential part of Norwegian history.

5.2 Esaias Tegnér

Any study of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* would be remiss not to mention Tegnér's well-known poem, for Frithiof and Tegnér have become synonymous ever since the publication of Tegnér's poetry cycle *Frithiofs saga* in 1820-1825. However, it is also important to clarify why Tegnér's work does not merit a linguistic analysis alongside the Norwegian translations presented later.

Inspired by Romantic Nationalism, Homer and Danish poet Oehlenschläger's Old-Norse cycle of poems *Helge* (1814), Tegnér was influenced by not only *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, but also various other Old Norse texts such as *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar* and *Hálfs saga ok Hálfsrekka*, in order to compose the Swedish cycle of poems known as *Frithiofs saga*. This poetry cycle, by contemporary accounts and subsequent references to Tegnér's work by translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* and/or Tegnér's *Frithiofs saga*, was not a translation, and to call it such would be erroneous. This notion will be explored further in the analysis of the motives behind the Nynorsk translations. Tegnér's *Frithiofs saga* is perhaps best described as an adaptation, which "may be understood as a set of translative interventions which result in a text that is not generally accepted as a translation but is nevertheless recognized as representing a source text" (Bastin, 2005: 3). Global adaptation, applied to the text as a whole as it is in Tegnér's case, "constitutes a general

strategy which aims to reconstruct the purpose, function or impact of the source text" (ibid.: 5). It is difficult to discover to what extent Tegnér aimed to reconstruct the purpose, function or impact of the source texts he used when writing *Frithiofs saga*, since they would have changed significantly between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries. Yet, Bastin does highlight modes of adaptation that are evident in Tegnér's work, i.e. omission, expansion and creation, creation being described as "a more global replacement of the original text with a text that preserves only the essential message/ideas/functions of the original" (ibid.: 5). Nevertheless, Tegnér's work undoubtedly bears the hallmarks of nineteenth-century Romanticism and his *Frithiofs saga* can certainly be seen as a product of its time. From a twenty-first century perspective of adaptation and translation, Bastin's definition would seem to describe Tegnér's work best. This is despite the fact that these modes of adaptation and discussions on translation and adaptation were not part of the literary discourse of the 1820s, nor was it discussed as a translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* throughout the nineteenth century.

Indeed, writing of Tegnér and *Frithiofs saga* in 1895, Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen, professor of Germanic languages and literatures in Columbia College, asserts: "Archaeologically the poem was not correct, and was not meant to be. Tegnér distinctly disclaimed the intention of producing a historically accurate picture of the saga age… For the historical Frithjof, as he is represented in the ancient Norse saga bearing his name, Tegnér cared but little" (Boyesen, 1895: 264). Thus, it is clear that Tegnér's *Frithiofs saga* was never fully regarded as a translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, neither by Tegnér nor the translators of his work years later. On the contrary, it was widely regarded as an original work in and of itself as can be seen in the language with which it was referred to in the many translations of *Frithiofs saga* throughout the nineteenth century. For example, most of the English and American translations of Tegnér's *Frithiofs saga* in the nineteenth century refer to it simply as a poem or original poetical work: "It is an epic poem, composed of a series of ballads" (Stephens, 1939: vii); "No poetical work of modern times stands forth so prominently and peculiarly a representative of the literature of a race and language, as the 'Frithiof's Saga' of Esaias Tegnér" (Taylor, 1867: v). Similarly, the Norwegian translators of Tegnér's *Frithiofs saga*, writing in Danish, refer to the work as a "digt"

meaning “poem”: “Angaaende den Oversættelse af Digtet” (Foss, 1826: v);[172] “… jeg har vovet at paatage mig Oversættelsen af et Digt” (Monsen, 1843: v).[173] This regard for Tegnér’s *Frithiofs saga* as an original poem, perhaps along with a lack of wide-spread knowledge of the *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* source text, led to an almost synonymous association of the Norse mythical-hero Frithiof with Tegnér’s text. As will be explored below, this association would lead to much chagrin amongst the Nynorsk translators.

However, it is also important to note the translation history associated with Tegnér’s *Frithiofs saga*. The history of English translations of Tegnér’s work is well-documented in the nineteenth century, largely due to the fact that Tegnér’s *Frithiofs saga* was one of the most frequently translated pieces of literature throughout Europe in the nineteenth century, as Boyesen illustrates:

> When the completed poem appeared in book-form, it was translated into all civilized languages, and everywhere, in spite of the translators' shortcomings, it was hailed with delight. Not only England, France, and Germany hastened to appropriate it, but even in Spain, Greece, and Russia tears were shed over “Ingeborg's Lament,” and tender bosoms palpitated with sympathy for Frithjof's sorrows. I know a dozen English translations of “Frithjof's Saga” (a friend of mine, who is a bibliophile, assures me that the exact number is at present twenty-one), and of German versions the number is not very much less. (Boyesen, 1895: 259-260)

This preponderance of translations was linked to *Frithiofs saga*’s popularity and critical acclaim and led to wide-spread discussions throughout the nineteenth century, particularly in the translators’ forewords of these translations. In recent years, Thomas Spray (2019) has researched into the history of many of these early English translations of Tegnér’s *Frithiofs saga*, partially focusing on George Stephens’ 1839 translation in his 2019 thesis: ‘Patterns of Nationalist Discourse in the Early Reception of the Icelandic Sagas in Britain’. Stephens’ translation is noteworthy for a number of reasons, primarily due to the fact that it featured an introductory letter by none other than Esaias Tegnér and equally, it contained a complete translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* that preceded the translation of Tegnér’s poem, which was also the first ever English translation of an Old Norse

[172] Regarding the translation of the poem.
[173] I have dared to undertake the translation of a poem.

saga. As Spray explains, Stephens' attitude towards his translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* in relation to his translation of Tegnér's *Frithiofs saga* highlights the contemporary (lack of) awareness of the *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* source text:

> Stephens's translation of Tegnér's poem appears to have enjoyed a wide reception, being reprinted in 1877 alongside Rasmus B. Anderson and Jón Bjarnason's saga translation. On the other hand, the original 1839 translation of the saga itself, while far more important in terms of the history of the reception of Old Norse literature in Britain, was something of a sideshow to the poem. Taking up a mere thirty-nine pages in a three-hundred-and-forty-nine-page book, the translation could be easily overlooked. The slight importance granted the Old Norse saga in comparison to the treatment of the Swedish poem suggests that Stephens viewed it less as a stand-alone work and more as a necessary piece of background reading for a sincere appreciation of Tegnér's poem (despite ranking the saga as the finest example of the genre). (Spray, 2019: 165-166)

This attitude is indicative of the synonymous relationship between Frithiof and Tegnér's poem and exemplifies the popular opinion of nineteenth-century audiences of Tegnér's work, an attitude that Aasen struggled with and tried to change when it came to his translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*.

However, it is also important to highlight Tegnér's own criticisms of his poem, as they demonstrate a significant disdain for the work, far contrary to popular opinion at that time. In a letter of 1825 to the Swedish poet Carl Gustaf af Leopold, who had praised Tegnér's poem a great deal, Tegnér resists the admiration heaped upon *Frithiofs saga*:

> My great fault in 'Frithjof' was not that I chose my theme from the old cycle of sagas, but that I treated it in a tone and with a manner which was neither ancient nor modern, neither antiquarian nor poetical, but hovered, as it were, on the boundary of both. For what does it mean to treat a subject poetically if not this, to eliminate everything which belongs to an alien and past age and now no longer appeals to any heart? The hearts to which it once did appeal are now all dust. Other modes of thought and feeling are current. It is impossible to properly translate one age into another. But to poetry nothing is really past. Poetry is the beautifying life of the moment; she wears the colours of the day; she cannot conceive of anything as dead.... But I am convinced that all poetic treatment of a theme belonging to a past age demands its modernization; and that everything antiquarian is here a mistake…

> The question, then, is as to the proper treatment. Where it tends toward the antiquarian it misses the mark; it represents, like 'Frithjof', only a restored ruin. (Tegnér, in Boyesen, 1895: 276-277)

Indeed, this struggle between the ancestral language, i.e. Old Norse and its descendant languages, i.e. the modern Scandinavian languages, was an issue for Aasen too, as will be further analysed below.

The issue of Tegnér's adaptation and the original *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, their synonymous association with one another in addition to a perceived lack of understanding for the source material, from the point of view of Aasen and subsequent Nynorsk translators, will be expanded upon below, but for now, it is necessary to highlight the absence of Tegnér's *Frithiofs saga* in my linguistic analysis of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* translations. Firstly, this chapter focuses on the effect that Nynorsk translations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* had on the Nynorsk language and how these translations influenced and/or tried to influence the vocabulary of Nynorsk. Therefore, it does not look at the relationship between the Swedish language and Swedish translations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* or Norwegian translations of Tegnér's *Frithiofs saga*, nor does it look at the influence that Tegnér's text had on the Nynorsk vocabulary. The reason for this is two-fold: to limit the scope of texts for analysis and to focus on identifiable influences on the Nynorsk language from Nynorsk translations exclusively. Secondly, as mentioned above, the linguistic analysis deals with Nynorsk translations, i.e. not Swedish adaptations of the original *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* text. Finally, on a practical level, the method of comparing the translations side by side would not be effective if Tegnér's text was utilised due to its form, structure and language. In addition, the Nynorsk translators all use the *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* source text as the textual foundation for their translations, and so lexical choices within the Nynorsk translations can, for the most part, be directly traced to the vocabulary in the source text vocabulary. As Tegnér did not utilise the *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* source text in a similar way, his work cannot be analysed in such a manner.

5.3 The Nynorsk translations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*

Since 1850, *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* has been translated into Landsmål/Nynorsk four times, leading to four major publications which are the object of this study. Published in 1858 by Selskabet for Folkeoplysningens Fremme ("The Society for the Advancement of the People's Enlightenment") and appearing in its journal *Folkevennen*, the first translation was translated by none other than Ivar Aasen himself under the title *Fridtjofs Saga: i Omskrift i det nyere Landsmaal*. This was not only one of the first texts published in Landsmål and the first piece of fictional literature in Landsmål, but it also marked the first complete translation of a text into the Landsmål written standard and signified the beginning of Nynorsk saga translating which would gain momentum in the following century and continue to this day. The second translation appeared 67 years later in 1925, published by Lunde & Co's forlag and translated by the teacher and headmaster of the private Christian college preparatory school Kristelig Gymnasium, Hans Høeg, with the title of *Soga um Fridtjov den frøkne*. The third significant publication came in 1976, when Det Norske Samlaget, as part of its *Norrøne bokverk* series, published a revised edition of Aasen's 1858 translation under the title *Soga om Fridtjov den frøkne*, with revisions made by Olav Hr. Rue. The final translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* was published by Skald forlag in 2013 and was translated by Nobel Prize in Literature winner, playwright, author and modern-day champion of the Nynorsk language Jon Fosse.

It should be mentioned that *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* has also been translated into Riksmål/Bokmål twice since 1850, first in 1901, published by Aschehoug and translated by the historian Alexander Bugge under the title *Sagaen om Fridtjov den frøkne*. The second translation did not appear until 2012 when it was published by Saga Bok Forlag and translated by the dentist-turned-translator Edvard Eikill under the title *Angrvadil: Sagaene om Torstein Vikingsson og Fridtjov den frøkne*.

5.3.1 Ivar Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858)

Ivar Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858) was commissioned by the previously mentioned Rudolf Keyser, a member of the governing board for Selskabet for

Folkeoplysningens Fremme, prominent historian and advocate for the dissemination of Old Norse literature, although it appears that Aasen was allowed to choose which saga to translate. The choice of source text was between *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* and *Hálfs saga*, but who made the final decision is unclear according to Stephen Walton: "Valet stod mellom Fridtjofs og Halvs soge, og det er uklårt om det var Keyser eller Aasen som bestemte seg for Fridtjofs soge" (Walton, 1996: 513).[174] However, considering Aasen's arguments in the foreword to his translation, discussed below, it is not unlikely that it was Aasen who made the final decision.

In order to understand what motives lay behind Keyser's commission, however, it is first necessary to understand the foundational ideologies and objectives of Selskabet for Folkeoplysningens Fremme. Selskabet for Folkeoplysningens Fremme was founded on 23 September, 1851, by a group of educators, with the philologist and teacher Hartvig Nissen serving as president, which as Sigmund Strømme claims, laid the foundation for a "planmessig og organisert folkeopplysningsarbeid i Norge" (Strømme, 1951: 7).[175] Strømme goes on to clarify that Selskabet for Folkeoplysningens Fremme was "den første landsomfattende organisasjon med folkeopplysningsarbeidet som sitt eneste formål" (ibid.: 7).[176] How Selskabet chose to achieve this objective was first and foremost through the journal *Folkevennen*, edited by the teacher and poet Ole Vig. As Strømme highlights, the purpose of the people's enlightenment was "etter Vigs mening å utvikle folkets selvbevissthet og vekke nasjonalfølelsen, og derfor legger han stor vekt på det historiske stoffet" (ibid.: 10).[177] Another method of enlightening the people utilised by Selskabet was the use of public libraries "ved at sprede forædlende og nyttig læsning ud blandt Folket" (Kildal, 1951: 16),[178] and "Av bøker som passer for dette formålet pekes det på kongesagaene, historiske sanger… Å spre gode folkeskrifter ble et av de viktigste formålene for det nye laget" (ibid.: 16).[179]

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[174] The choice stood between *Frithiof's Saga* and *Hálf's Saga*, and it is unclear whether it was Keyser or Aasen who decided on *Frithiof's Saga*.
[175] planned and organised effort for the people's enlightenment in Norway.
[176] the first nationwide organisation whose sole objective was to work towards the enlightenment of the people.
[177] according to Vig, to develop the people's self-awareness and awake the feeling of nationalism, and therefore, he strongly emphasised the historic material.
[178] by spreading beneficial and useful reading out amongst the people.
[179] Concerning books that suit this objective, one is pointed towards the sagas of the Norwegian kings, historical ballads… Spreading good writings of the people [*folkeskrifter*: writings that could interest and be understood by people with no high school education] was one of the most important goals for the new society.

Thus, for Selskabet, there is a distinct link between the promotion of the "people's enlightenment" and the utilisation of Norwegian, historical sources, such as the sagas for example. Interestingly, however, the form of the Norwegian language did not play a significant role in the motives and objectives of the works published by Selskabet, especially not in Selskabet's foundational ideals, despite sharing similar ideologies attributed to the Nynorsk language such as National Romanticism. This is likely due to the majority of members of the society being urban intellectuals from the upper and middle classes rather than rural *bønder*. However, this awareness and conscious understanding of the possibility of awakening feelings of nationalism in the Norwegian people through the use of Norwegian historical sources may explain why Selskabet asked Aasen for more saga translations into Nynorsk following the publication of *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858), as Aasen explains in his report to the Royal Ministry of Church Affairs and Education in 1858: "Selskabet [for Folkeoplysningens Fremme] har rigtignok yttret Ønske om at faae flere Sagastykker oversatte i dette Sprog" (Aasen, in Djupedal, 1957: 355).[180]

Aasen's choice of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* as his source text can be seen, first and foremost, as a reaction to the extremely popular work of Tegnér. As aforementioned, the synonymous association between *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* and Tegnér's poem was wide-spread throughout Europe in Aasen's time, which was a problem Aasen hoped to solve with his own translation, for Norwegians at least. In the foreword to his translation, Aasen finds it necessary to differentiate the two texts, as he clearly did not wish for his translation to be regarded as a translation of Tegnér's poem: "Dan svenske Skalden Tegnér (daaen 1846) heve teket denne Saga til Grunnlag til eit Dikt, som er vordet myket vidkunnigt og er umskrivet baade paa Dansk og paa andre Maal. Dat er eit fagert Skaldaverk, som kunnigt er, men dat er leidt, at dat skulde heita 'Frithjofs Saga'; for dat er daa inkje dan gamle Saga, kor som er" (Aasen, 1858: iv).[181] This need to differentiate between previous translations and new translations is common when a new translation is created (see Pym (1998) and Venuti (2004)), yet in this case, this separation of Aasen's and Tegnér's work

[180] The Society [for the Advancement of the People's Enlightenment] has, admittedly, expressed the desire to have more sagas translated into this language.
[181] The Swedish poet Tegnér (died 1846) has used this saga as a basis for a poem, which has become greatly well-known and rewritten into Danish and other languages. It is a beautiful and skilful work of poetry, but it is unfortunate that it should be called "Frithiofs saga"; since it is not actually the old saga anyway.

goes far deeper. After all, there were very few, if any, explicit references to Tegnér's work as a translation of the Old Norse text during Aasen's time; yet, Aasen clearly felt that even bearing the name *Frithiofs saga* had caused, and could continue to cause, Norwegians to misinterpret Tegnér's work as a direct translation of the Old Norse source text. Similarly, 67 years later, Høeg too felt it necessary to highlight in the foreword to his translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, that when it came to translations of the Old Norse text, Tegnér's poem should not be considered one of them: "Det namngjetne diktet av den svenske diktaren E. Tegnér er ingi umsetjing av Fridtjovs soga" (Høeg, 1925: 6).[182] In the foreword to the 1976 translation *Soga om Fridtjov den frøkne*, Bjarne Fidjestøl also stresses the popularity of Tegnér's poem but merely quotes Aasen's sentiments towards Tegnér's poem rather than offering his own perspective on the differences and similarities between Tegnér's work and a Nynorsk translation of the Old Norse text.

Jon Fosse, on the other hand, when asked whether he felt a need to differentiate his 2013 translation from Tegnér's poem simply replied:

> Nei. Men Tegnérs dikt er jo noko heilt anna. Det er jo helst i namnet at det har noko med den gamle, ekte sagaen å gjera. Men det står jo fast at det er gjennom det diktet at Fridtjov har vorte kjent vidt og breitt, til dels har nok folk ikkje eingong visst om at det fanst ein saga som førelegg. (Jon Fosse, email to author, December 18, 2020)[183]

It would seem that, either consciously, or unconsciously, Fosse was echoing Aasen's sentiments about a century and a half later, almost with identical wording, noting that it was simply the name of Frithiof that stood as a unifying feature and that Tegnér's poem was not the "real" saga. It is also important to observe the lack of any mention of Tegnér's work within the paratextual material of Fosse's 2013 translation, perhaps due primarily to the significant amount of time passed since Tegnér's 1825 poem and a decrease in its popularity. It would appear that, by 2013, the need to differentiate between a Nynorsk translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* and Tegnér's poem was simply unnecessary for the Nynorsk translator and publisher. Furthermore, the status of Nynorsk as a national language is more firmly established

[182] The well-known poem by the Swedish poet E. Tegnér is no translation of Frithiof's Saga.
[183] No. But Tegnér's poem is something completely different. It is mainly just in name that it has something to do with the old, real saga. Yet it is clear that it is through that poem that Frithiof has become known far and wide. There are some people that have not even been aware of the saga as a base for it.

in 2013 than it was in 1858. It is also arguable, however, that not mentioning Tegnér's poem in the foreword at all is, in fact, the greatest way to distance a Nynorsk translation from the Swedish adaptation.

Aasen and Høeg's opposition to Tegnér's work being interpreted as a translation or being confused with a historically accurate picture of the original Old Norse text is partially semantic, and demonstrates a clear idea, that Aasen and Høeg shared, of what a translation ought to be. Their opposition is also deeply rooted in Norwegian National Romanticism and highlights the idea of reclaiming Frithiof the Bold as a prototypical Norwegian figure and taking Norwegian ownership of the Old Norse source text. It is reasonable for Aasen and Høeg to argue the semantic significance of the word *translation* with regard to Tegnér's poem, since, as I have argued above, Tegnér's work should be considered an adaptation rather than a translation. It is also difficult to separate the National Romantic ideologies that form the backbone of Aasen and Høeg's opposition towards Tegnér's poem being mistaken for the original saga and this perhaps clouds their judgement when trying to define what is and what is not a translation. The blurring of National Romantic ideologies with other motives is made more difficult when one considers that Tegnér was a Romanticist looking back to a glorious Nordic past as well.

The emphasis on a source text is paramount to Aasen and Høeg's (and Fosse's to some extent) idea of what a translation is, and even today, definitions of translation predominantly refer to a source text being an essential feature of translational work. For example, Gideon Toury's inclusive definition:

> Regarding a text as a translation entails the obvious assumption that **there is another text, in another culture/language, which has both chronological and logical priority over it:** not only has such an assumed text presumably *preceded* the one taken to be its translation, but it is also assumed to have served as a *point of departure* and a *basis* for the latter. (Toury, 2012: 29, his emphasis)

This definition does not particularly exclude Tegnér's *Frithiofs saga* from being assumed to be a translation, although Toury does offer another definition of assumed translations that helps Aasen's and Høeg's case:

> … ‘assumed translations’: that is, all utterances in a (target) culture which are presented or regarded as translations, on any grounds whatever, as well as all phenomena within them and the processes that gave rise to them. (Ibid.: 27)

Tegnér’s poem was not presented or regarded as a translation by Tegnér or his publisher, and it would appear not by subsequent translators of his work either. In Stephens’ translation of Tegnér’s poem, Tegnér himself states in his introductory letter:

> It was never my meaning, however, in this Poem, – though such seems to have been the opinion of many – simply to versify the Saga. The most transient comparison ought to have shown, not only that the whole dénouement is different in the Poem and the Saga, but also that several of its parts, such as Cantos II, III, V, XV, XXI, XXIII, and XXIV, have either little, if any, or at least a very distant ground in the Legend… My object was, to represent a poetical image of the old Northern Hero-Age. It was not Frithiof, as an individual, whom I would paint; it was the epoch of which he was chosen as the Representative. (Tegnér, in Stephens, 1839: 44)

Thus, although Tegnér cites popular opinion on his poem as versifying the saga, it is clear from Tegnér’s point of view that his poem should not be presented or regarded as a ‘translation’ of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*. However, at this time, the status of the translator was much lower than the status of the poet or creator of original art, and so Tegnér may have preferred to be considered a poet rather than a translator in any case. Regardless of what Tegnér called his work, it would seem that the public’s potential interpretation of *Frithiofs saga* as an “assumed translation” was misconstrued, from Tegnér’s perspective.

It is also important to note that Tegnér was a member of Götiska Förbundet (“the Geatish Society” or “the Gothic Society”), who published *Frithiofs saga* in its journal *Iduna*, a society that was marked by National Romanticism and a desire to reintroduce Old Norse texts to the upper echelons of Swedish culture, as Eirikur Bergmann explains: “Similarly to efforts in the other Nordics, the Gothic Society and other such associations promoted a romantic national reawakening by, for example, collecting folklore, publishing translations of the Icelandic sagas and printing old Swedish poetry” (Bergmann, 2016: 163). Indeed, Aasen and subsequent Nynorsk translators/publishers of saga translations may have drawn more inspiration from this society and societies like these such as Selskabet for Folkeoplysningens Fremme,

not to mention the work of Rudolf Keyser, than they did Tegnér's poem. However, due to the nascent nature of Nynorsk and Norwegian nationalism at the time of Aasen's translation, any translational work of the sagas needed to first overcome the public opinion of Tegnér's Swedish poem. It is the popular misconception of the many that both Aasen and Tegnér were trying to correct, Aasen with his translation and Tegnér in his introductory letter to Stephens' translation. Perhaps if the Norwegian population could have read Tegnér's introductory letter in Aasen's time, Aasen may have indeed translated *Hálfs saga* instead.

Such discussions on what is and what is not a translation were perhaps the beginning of translation theory in Norway or at least the beginning of discussions and hypotheses surrounding the nature of translational activity, or perhaps this new form of language created by Aasen and the need to publish translations written in this form ignited an awareness for translational work in nineteenth-century Norway. Indeed, as has been previously argued in this thesis, Aasen's creation of the Nynorsk language may be considered the start of a translation project that required a growing awareness of the uses and capabilities of translational work.

Aasen's reluctance towards Tegnér's work being considered a translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* is also partially due to the popularity of Tegnér's poem in Norway, for one holding Norwegian National Romantic sentiments could ask: why should a Swedish poem parading under the guise of a Norwegian hero be so popular in Norway? Should this quintessentially Norwegian saga not be written in the language of the Norwegian people? As Stephen Walton states: "Det var det første store svenske diktverket som vart populært i Noreg... Det vart vidt kjent under romantikken, og særleg i Noreg. Det vart eit stykke norsk nasjonalromantikk i svensk språkdrakt" (Walton, 1996: 622).[184] In his foreword, Høeg also highlights the national significance of Tegnér's work, not only in Norway, but in Scandinavia in general: "For eit par mannsaldrar sidan var det knapt noko dikt som var meir umtykt her i Norderlandi enn det" (Høeg, 1925: 6).[185] Therefore, it is easy to understand that a work of such popularity could be utilised in the nation building process, since a

[184] It was the first major work of poetry in Swedish that became popular in Norway… It became widely known during the Romantic period, especially in Norway. It became a work of Norwegian National Romanticism dressed in the Swedish language.
[185] A couple of generations ago, there was hardly any poem more popular here in Scandinavia than it [*Frithiofs saga*].

translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* would garner a great deal of attention from the Norwegian people who were already familiar with Tegnér's work and aware of the character of Frithiof. Indeed, it is the National Romantic sentiments that Tegnér himself was trying to echo in his poem. George Stephens explains in the foreword to his translation how Tegnér was invited to become a member of "Göther (the Goths). Their object was the knowledge and employment of the Ancient Northern Myth and Saga in the Fine Arts" (Stephens, 1839: xxv-xxvi) and from these roots, as Spray argues: "it is perhaps unsurprising that Tegnér's approach to Northern literature was to highlight its underlying potential as nationalist material" (Spray, 2017: 34). It is in this respect that Tegnér and the Nynorsk translators of Old Norse literature, particularly Aasen, can be regarded as kindred spirits.

The popularity of the legend of Frithiof was another decisive motive behind the Nynorsk translations. Indeed, one of the reasons Høeg produced a new translation of Frithiof's Saga was due to the success of Aasen's translation, as well as a translation into Riksmål by Alexander Bugge in 1901: "To gonger før har denne soga vore umsett til norsk... Båe utgovone har vore utselde i mange år" (Høeg, 1925: 6).[186] Thus, Høeg's translation may be seen as filling a gap in the market for a Norwegian readership hungry for translations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* in their native tongue. Furthermore, being 100 years removed from Tegnér's *Frithiof's saga*, and 67 years removed from Aasen's first Landsmål translation, Høeg's translation may also be seen as an opportunity to rebrand Frithiof for a more modern Nynorsk reader. A more cynical view may be that Lunde & Co's Forlag, who published Høeg's translation, were merely piggybacking on the success and popularity of Frithiof in order to sell books. This may indeed be the case since it was unlikely that Lunde & Co's forlag would have been able to gain the rights to republish Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* considering it had already been republished in 1912 in a collection of Aasen's works *Skrifter i samling: trykt og utrykt. 3*. Høeg's translation can also be seen as successful by its addition into the catalogue of Statens vandreboksamling in Oslo, a collection of books that the state sent out to libraries, companies and municipalities so that they could be loaned out to the general public. Indeed, it was Høeg's translation of Frithiof's Saga, and not Aasen's, which could be found in *Katalog over*

[186] This saga has been translated into Norwegian twice before. Both publications have been sold out for many years.

bøker til lån fra statens vandreboksamling i Oslo in both 1932 and 1949. However, *Skrifter i samling* (1912) also appeared in the catalogues, albeit obscuring Aasen's translation from view due to its title. In any case, the popularity and national significance of Frithiof's Saga cannot be underestimated when discussing the effect of its translations. Indeed, the popularity of the Norwegian hero was evidently significant in Germany too, as shown when Kaiser Wilhelm II gifted the people of Sogn og Fjordane in 1913 with a 26.5m high statue of Frithiof sculpted by Max Unger which still overlooks the Sognefjord in Vangsnes to this day.

However, a translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* was not Aasen's first choice when it came to producing a translation or "et lidet Forsøg med Landsmaalet" (Aasen, in Djupedal, 1957: 329)[187] for Selskabet for Folkeoplysningens Fremme's journal *Folkevennen*, as he wrote in a letter to the historian Ludvig Daa:

> Jeg for min Deel synes, at en Oversættelse fra det gamle Sprog ikke tager sig saa godt ud som andre Oversættelser, da man her anseer sig altfor meget bunden til Originalen og helst vil beholde det gamle Udtryk, om det end ofte kunde gjengives bedre med andre Ord. (Ibid.: 329)[188]

Clearly, Aasen initially believed that translations from Old Norse were less attractive than translations from other languages since the translator would find themselves using archaic forms of the Norwegian language, which is also highlighted in his foreword: "Ordalaget heve her vordet nokot gamaldagslegt, av di dat er lagat etter Fornskrifti" (Aasen, 1858: vi).[189] It is of note that Aasen, from his reference to "det gamle Sprog" ("the old language") in his letter to Daa, clearly does not view Old Norse as an entirely separate language to Landsmål; rather he regards it merely as the ancestor to Landsmål and therefore translations from Old Norse into Landsmål should be distinguished from translations from other languages into Landsmål. It is also noteworthy that Aasen highlights archaising Landsmål as inevitable due to his translation being based on the ancient manuscript, even though it is not the age of the source text that is creating this problem. The age of the original text may or may

[187] A little attempt of Landsmål.
[188] I personally think that a translation from the old language does not appear as good as other translations, since you are bound far too much to the original, and would prefer to maintain the old expression, even though it could be better reproduced with other words.
[189] The vocabulary here has become somewhat archaic, since it [the translation] was made using the ancient script.

not cause problems if translating from other languages, but what makes the problem of archaisation inconvenient when translating from Old Norse to Landsmål, from Aasen's point of view, is the close historical relationship between these two languages. Whilst this appears to be a challenge for subsequent translators, they have less trouble than Aasen with moving away from the source text in terms of archaic vocabulary. Here, we see a challenge to the Retranslation Hypothesis where Aasen, with the first Nynorsk translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, tends to be closer to the source text than later translations. Again, this could be seen as the beginnings of discussions on translation approaches in Norway, specifically a discussion concerning translating between ancestral and descendent languages and demonstrates Aasen's awareness of translational problems for his newly created language.

A tried-and-tested translation hypothesis concerning what happens when one translates from ancestral languages to their descendent languages is still lacking in any great detail within translation studies. Yet, Aasen's key hypothesis, that when translating from an ancestral language, in this case Old Norse, into its descendant language, in this case Nynorsk, the translator is bound to the vocabulary of the ancestral language far too closely is a significant starting point. However, as will be shown in the comparative analysis, the extent to which a translator is bound to the ancestral language is hard to quantify. Moreover, in the case of the Nynorsk translations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, there is a chicken-and-egg predicament as to whether certain vocabulary appears too archaic due to the ancestral language, Aasen's original translation, the fact that some ancestral words have remained in certain Norwegian dialects, or the genre style itself. This also becomes apparent in subsequent Nynorsk saga translations such as in Albert Joleik's 1910 Nynorsk translation of *Jómsvíkinga saga*, where Joleik states that: "I den nynorske teksti er mest alltid nytta same ordi som i grunnskrifti – naar folk brukar deim enno med same meining" (Joleik, 1910: 2).[190] It is also important to note the phenomenon of translating from an ancestral language into a descendant language, since it primarily only occurs in one direction. This is due to ancestral languages being predominantly dead languages, i.e. "one that is no longer the native language of any community"

[190] In the Nynorsk text, the same words are almost always used as in the original text – when people still use them with the same meaning.

(Matthews, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics*, 2014). Therefore, there is very rarely any occurrence of translation from a descendant language into an ancestral language. The case of Modern Icelandic being extremely close to the Old Norse language could prove fruitful for a study of Icelandic translations of Nynorsk texts, in order to discover what challenges and phenomena arise when translating from a descendant language into an ancestral language which is still alive. This is not the aim of this study, however.

Aasen explains his lack of support for Landsmål translations of Old Norse literature in his foreword: "Naar rett skulde vera, skulde mid her i Landet inkje turva nokra Umskrifter av dei gamle Sagorna; helder skulde mid lesa deim i dat gamle Maalet" (Aasen, 1858: v).[191] This is central to Aasen's philosophy on translating from ancestral languages into descendent languages and highlights the relationship he envisioned between Old Norse and Nynorsk. From Aasen's perspective, he had codified a language with such deep roots in not only the Old Norse language but also the contemporary living language of the Norwegian people and, therefore, translations from the ancestral language should not be necessary. Perhaps this demonstrates a naivety on Aasen's part that the Norwegian population, specifically the rural Norwegian farmer, had the same knowledge of the Old Norse language as Aasen had. After all, it is easy for someone with Aasen's knowledge of Old Norse to say that one should be able to read the Old Norse text with ease, as Finn-Erik Vinje rightly points out: "*Fridtjofs Saga* markerer høydepunktet i etymologiserende retning… For å kunne lese den boka med utbytte, måtte en ha studert gammelnorsk grundig" (F. Vinje, 1973:108).[192]

Having created and codified the "New Norse" language himself, Aasen was also in a privileged position to dictate which source texts were suitable for translation into this new descendent language. However, Aasen does at the same time acknowledge in his foreword that the majority of the Norwegian people may not be able to read the original Old Norse text: "Men sidan Folk ero no so litet vane til aa lesa dei gamle Skrifterna, so vilde dat verda myket tungført fyre dei fleste aa lesa

[191] In a perfect world, we in this country should not have a need for any translations of the old sagas; rather we should read them in the old language.
[192] *Fridtjofs Saga* marks the high point of [Aasen's] etymologising… In order to read the book with success, one had to have studied Old Norse thoroughly.

deim utan nokot Avbrøyte" (Aasen, 1858: v).[193] This is an uneasy acknowledgment for Aasen since by highlighting the gap between the Norwegian people's knowledge of the Old Norse language and what Aasen believes ought to be the case, i.e. an organic relationship between language and its people, he demonstrates how the need to translate from Old Norse into Nynorsk emphasises the disconnection between the Norwegian people and their own ancestral language. This can also be seen, as it most likely was by Aasen, as a disjunction between the people and their country's history. Ultimately, translations from Old Norse into Nynorsk did then offer some hope in bridging this disconnect, more so than translations from non-ancestral languages could.

Aasen's preference for translations from languages other than Old Norse did not stop following the publication of his translation, as he commented upon in his report to the Royal Ministry of Church Affairs and Education in 1858:

> ... jeg synes alligevel, at saadanne Oversættelser fra det gamle Sprog ikke just ere de heldigste til at begynde med, da man nemlig her, ved en ganske naturlig Tilbøielighed til at beholde Orignalens egne Udtryk, lettelig vil blive noget uforstaaelig for Mængden. Derimod troer jeg, at Oversættelser fra nyere Sprog (som Tydsk og Engelsk) vilde snarere vinde Bifald; og egentlig vilde orignale Skrifter være det allerbedste. (Aasen, in Djupedal, 1957: 355)[194]

This opinion could be deemed surprising when one considers how Aasen's work on the Nynorsk language and Norwegian dialects focused a great deal on Old Norse and drew from the "old language" to create a new written standard. Yet, in Aasen's dual role as a linguist and a translator, this ideology is both contradictory and unavoidable for Aasen. His contrasting ideologies face two problems: one as a purist and language creator and one as a translator, i.e. to maintain the influence of the Old Norse language as much as possible within Nynorsk whilst simultaneously avoiding archaic Old Norse forms and vocabulary in his translation. Indeed, it was not only the capabilities of the Norwegian people and their possible familiarity with the Old Norse

[193] Yet since people these days are not used to reading the old texts, the majority would find it extremely difficult to read them without some sort of disconnect.
[194] I still believe that such translations from the old language are not exactly the best works to start with, since here, one has a natural inclination to maintain the expression of the original which may easily become somewhat incomprehensible to the majority of people. However, I think that translations from newer languages (such as German and English) would rather gain more acclaim; and actually, original writings would be the very best.

source texts that would lead to the nonnecessity of Norwegian translations of Old Norse texts, as he goes on to clarify: “Og sidan mid endaa i største Viddi av Landet hava eit gjengelegt Maal, som er myket likt dat gamle, naar dat verd skrivet paa ein rettskapad og samhøveleg Maate, so vil ei Saga inkje tapa so ovlega myket endaa, naar ho verd umskrivi i dat nyare Maalet” (ibid.: v-vi).[195] Aasen’s struggle with this translational problem and the intrinsic similarities between Old Norse and Nynorsk may also explain why none of his translations in *Prøver af Landsmaalet i Norge* (1853) were of Old Norse texts.

This issue of translating from ancestral languages into descendent languages continued to vex Aasen, and his opinion that such translations became too archaic or old-fashioned did not change as time went on. In a letter of 1877 to the philologist and translator Matias Skard, concerning Skard’s draft of a Landsmål translation of *Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings* (‘The Saga of Hávardur Í.’), before providing his valued corrections and suggestions, Aasen takes the opportunity to tell Skard how pointless it is to translate from the old language:

> Um Yversetningi torer eg ikkje segja nokot stort; eg kann vel synast at eit og annat Ordlag er for myket dansk, og at det islandske Ordet stundom er burtbytt mot eit Ord, som hev mindre Grunn; men nokot slikt vil no henda mest med alle Yversetningar av gamle Sagor. Skal ein halda seg nokot nær til det gamle Maalet, so vil Folk laata um, at dei ikkje skyna det; skal ein derimot giva ei friare Yversetning, so kjem ein so lett inn paa desse Fuskar-Talemaatarne, som er mest i Moden i Kristiania og der ikring, so det verd ikkje stort betre en ei dansk Umskrivning. Difyre tykkjer eg ofta so, at det er litet verdt aa faast med nokor Yversetning av Sagor i Landsmaal. Men so er det ymse andre, som hava ein annan Meining um det. (Aasen, in Djupedal, 1958: 355)[196]

[195] And since in the majority of the country, we still have a common language, which is extremely similar to the old one, when it is written in a correct and consistent manner, a saga would not lose so much at all when it was translated into the new language.

[196] I dare not say too much about the translation; I may well think that one wording or another is too Danish, and that the Icelandic word has sometimes been replaced with another word that has less justification, but such things occur in almost all translations of the old sagas. If you stay too close to the old language, then people will complain that they do not understand it; if, on the other hand, you give a looser translation, then you easily end up with these phoney ways of talking, that are most fashionable in Kristiania [Oslo] and the surrounding areas, so that it becomes not much better than a Danish rewriting. That is why I often think that there is little value to be gained from Landsmål translation of the sagas. But then there are various others who have a different opinion about it.

Whilst this may not have been the response Skard was looking for, it does provide a great deal of insight into Aasen's philosophising on translational work, not to mention his clear disdain for those Kristiania-dwellers.

Whilst Aasen initially states that being too bound to the old language is inevitable when translating from Old Norse to Landsmål, he also acknowledges the possibility of creating a "looser" or "freer" translation. This term is not defined by Aasen, but it would seem to mean the contrasting strategy of using words that were not too bound to the Old Norse and/or etymologised with copious footnotes. However, he warns that the negative consequences of a "looser" translation are just as great if not greater than the archaising and etymologising translation approaches. He also goes so far as to deem a Landsmål translation as not significantly better than a Danish translation if one uses that particular vocabulary, whilst simultaneously criticising the urban, metropolitan fashions of Oslo and its surrounding areas. Whilst this is not particularly surprising for Aasen, as a champion of the Norwegian *bonde*, to find fault with the metropolitan, "phoney" ways of speaking, it does further emphasise how he uses discourse on translation to highlight national romantic sentiments.

In his response to Skard, Aasen also uses two different words, "yversetning" and "umskrivning", to mean translation. Whilst the former, and its variants "omsetjing", "oversettelse" etc., is the more conventional Norwegian word for the English word "translation", the latter, being somewhat closer to "rewriting", is sometimes used when referring to translations from Danish. In this context, both "yversetning" and "umskrivning" are synonymous with the word translation, while the related word "omskrift" is indeed, what Aasen called his translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, i.e. *Fridtjofs Saga: i Omskrift i det nyere Landsmaal*. This demonstrates how Aasen's creation and codification of the Nynorsk language simultaneously created a discourse on translational issues and perhaps marks a starting point for the field of translation studies in the Nynorsk context, since the creation of a new language, and how it could deal with other languages, raised a multitude of translational questions and issues that needed answering by Aasen and subsequent Nynorsk translators. Aasen's quote above also highlights a somewhat frustrated attitude towards the Norwegian people and their inability to understand the Old Norse roots found in Nynorsk, warning Skard that the people will just complain that

they cannot understand his translation if it remains too close to the Old Norse text. Fortunately, for Skard in any case, Aasen offers some comfort in that other people do exist with differing opinions on the matter. Yet, Aasen's expertise in the similarity between Old Norse and Nynorsk does not offer a great deal of hope for Nynorsk translators of the sagas such as Skard, which may give one reason to as why Skard's translation of *Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings,* under the title *Soga um Haavard Isfjording,* did not appear until thirty years after having received this feedback in 1907.

Aasen's slight resentment towards the public in the above quote was no doubt partially a result of the negative reception Aasen's translation received in 1858. Stephen Walton summarises the negative responses to Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* thus: "Åtaka mot *Fridtjofs Saga* vart særskilt bloddryppande" (Walton, 1996: 623).[197] Indeed, reflecting on the close-mindedness of certain Norwegians who appeared so affronted by this new radical written language, Aasen wrote in an article of 1858:

> Et nyt Exempel herpaa har viist sig i Bedømmelsen af den nylig udkomne Oversættelse af Fridtjofs Saga 'i det nyere Landsmaal.' Vore store Aviser have her med en usædvanlig Enighed udtalt sig imod et saadant Paafund, som at skrive Bøger i et saadant Landsmaal; og det har da ikke skortet paa klingende Ord og smukke Taler til Oppbyggelse for dem, som holde fast ved den bestaaende Tingenes Orden. (Aasen, 1912: 108-109)[198]

Clearly, Aasen's translation, coinciding with the establishment of A. O. Vinje's newspaper *Dølen*, ruffled feathers amongst the *embetsmenn* in Oslo in 1858, much to Aasen's chagrin. However, the backlash against Aasen's translation could simply be put down to the differing understanding of Old Norse and Norwegian dialects on both Aasen's and the reviewers' parts. Whilst the critics in Oslo may not have understood much of the archaic vocabulary in Aasen's translation, the educated *bonde* who retained such vocabulary in his living dialect certainly would. Yet, the educated *bonde*, for the most part, was not writing for the major newspapers in Oslo at this time, highlighting again, how statements can be supressed and how the

[197] The attacks against *Fridtjofs Saga* became particularly bloody.
[198] A new example of this has appeared in the judgement of the recently published translation of Fridtjofs Saga 'in the newer language of the country.' With unusual unity, our major newspapers have expressed themselves against such an idea, that is to write books in such a language. Then, there has been no shortage of attractive words and beautiful speeches for the edification of those who hold fast to the existing order of things.

articulation of statements relies on many political and cultural factors. As will be explored in the linguistic analysis in the following chapter, whilst certain words in Aasen's translation appear archaic for many Norwegians, it is important to remember that for those Norwegians with dialects where these words appear, Aasen's translation is neither archaic nor difficult to understand.

Concerning the similarity between Old Norse and Aasen's new language, it is clearly both a gift and a curse for Aasen when it comes to translating from Old Norse into Nynorsk. On the one hand, the similarity between Old Norse and Nynorsk leads inevitably, according to Aasen anyway, to an archaic form of Norwegian and translations that are ultimately unnecessary or would be, if only the Norwegian readers would familiarise themselves with the Old Norse language and texts to begin with. It should be noted that Aasen did indeed publish a small pamphlet called *En liden Læsebog i Gammel Norsk* in 1854 to this end.[199] On the other hand, the similarity between the languages is able to aid the Norwegian readers in familiarising themselves with their language's roots and a translation from Old Norse into Nynorsk may even help revitalise certain Norwegian vocabulary and protect against foreign influences on the Norwegian language, as Aasen optimistically points out in his foreword to *Fridtjofs Saga*: "Dat er endaa Raad til aa bruka myket dei same Ordi, som i dan gamle Saga; og dat er ogso Raad til aa minna seg atter paa mange gamle Ordalag, som no ero litet kjende og paa mange Stader avlagde, men som lettelega kunde friskast uppatter, og som endaa i minsto ero større Vyrdnad verde en dei mange framande og vanskapade Ordi, som strøyma inn til oss ifraa andra Sidor" (Aasen, 1858: vi).[200] This also emphasises a conscious effort by Aasen to use his translation as a form of corpus planning, since he wishes to use the archaic Old Norse terminology to purify and reintroduce vocabulary into the Nynorsk language.

Beyond the vocabulary level, Aasen's quote may also offer an insight into the wider issues he was concerned with at this time. By asserting that the old sagas and original Norse elements were of greater value than the many foreign influences that were streaming into the Norwegian culture from other sides, his quote may be

[199] A little reader in Old Norse/Norwegian.
[200] It is still possible to use a great deal of the same words that are in the old saga; and it may also be advisable to remind one of many old phrases that are now little known and in many places forgotten, yet which could easily be brought back again, and which are at least of greater value than the many foreign and poorly adapted words that are streaming into us [our language] from other sides.

interpreted as a nationalistic sentiment towards the Norwegian people far beyond the actual language, and whilst Aasen cared a great deal for language, it cannot be denied that Norwegian nationalism influenced his work throughout his life. Moreover, his ideas of linguistic purism, i.e. the negativity of foreign influences on something essential to the Norwegian people, go hand in hand with the National Romantic thinking shared by the readers of *Folkevennen*.

As Walton highlights, with reference to Einar Haugen's *The linguistic development of Ivar Aasen's New Norse* (1932), Aasen's translation, "med nokre få unnatak (*drjug, bljug*), ikkje inneheldt former som i seg sjølve var uventa meir arkaiserande enn dei formene Aasen nytta i perioden straks før han laga omsetjinga" (Walton, 1996: 622-623).[201] It should be pointed out that Haugen, in said study, mainly focuses on the changes in linguistic forms within Aasen's writings rather than his actual word choices and how Aasen's vocabulary may or may not have changed. This issue of translating between an ancestral language and its descendent is perhaps more of a sticking point for Aasen at this time than it was for the governing board of Selskabet for Folkeoplysningens Fremme, who desired subsequent translations of the sagas, since Aasen was so well-versed in the Old Norse language and also the creator of this new descendent language. Aasen's thinking regarding translations from Old Norse into Landsmål can be perceived primarily as idealistic rather than pragmatic, and perhaps he is speaking only to his own translation methods and feeling too bound to the Old Norse language he knew so well.

As will be shown in the linguistic analysis and exploration of the paratextual information in Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858), there are two forces at work in Aasen's translation: one of purifying, etymologising, archaising and looking backwards, and a second of modernising, popularising and looking forwards, both of which combine in an effort by Aasen, above all, to educate his reader. This first force of looking backwards is clearly linked to National Romanticism, and whilst Aasen's principles of etymologising and purifying the Nynorsk language are linguistic at one level, they also demonstrate a National Romantic element. For example, by defining what the Norwegian language is not, i.e. purifying the language from foreign influences, Aasen creates what the Norwegian language definitively is. The second force, that of

[201] with few exceptions (*drjug, bljug*), does not contain forms that in themselves were unexpectedly more archaic than the forms Aasen used in the period immediately before he made the translation.

looking forwards and popularising the Norwegian language can also be linked to Norwegian nation-building, in the sense of providing a voice and language to the Norwegian *bonde*; yet this force is more pragmatic and democratic in its outlook and demonstrates a method of facilitating the implementation and elaboration of the Nynorsk language.

Additionally, the people at Selskabet for Folkeoplysningens Fremme wishing for more translations of the sagas perhaps merely viewed the function of such translations differently to Aasen. Whilst they both shared National Romantic, democratic and educational ideologies, clearly both translator and commissioner had their separate agendas regarding saga translations. However, if viewed within the corpus planning framework, Aasen should be regarded as solely responsible for the codification of the Landsmål language, since “the typical product of all codification has been a prescriptive orthography, grammar, and dictionary” (Haugen, 1983: 271). The implementation of the Nynorsk language or any language, on the other hand, which “includes the activity of a writer, an institution, a government in adopting and attempting to spread the language form that has been selected and codified” (ibid.: 272), evidently results in a loss of the codifier’s control over the language, to some extent anyway. The codifier’s prescriptive rules on the orthography, grammar and vocabulary remain authoritative, although institutions, governments and individual writers, including translators, are also entitled to take some control and/or liberties regarding the implementation of the language, which can lead to change and even a new or updated codification of the language. This can readily be seen, for example, in the publication of new dictionaries and in Norwegian, a great deal of spelling reforms. However, Aasen did not rest on his laurels and merely remain the codifier of the Nynorsk language in the early years following its creation. Aasen was a practitioner of the language, a writer, a poet and translator, not just a linguist, and it is through his work as a translator and writer, coupled with his status as the initial codifier of the Nynorsk language that he was able to implement the Nynorsk language, despite opposing some of the translational preferences held by another implementor of the language, Selskabet for Folkeoplysningens Fremme.

Despite his objections towards translations of Old Norse literature into Nynorsk, Aasen’s foreword to *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858) highlights multiple uses of a saga translation not only for the Norwegian nation but also the Nynorsk language

itself. Indeed, in the foreword to the republication of Aasen's *Fridtjovs Saga* in 1976 as part of the *Norrøne Bokverk* series, Bjarne Fidjestøl states that Aasen's *Fridtjovs saga* is "eit viktig verk ikkje berre i norrøn litteratur, men også i soga om norsk målreising" (Fidjestøl, in Aasen, 1976: 7).[202] Aasen himself in his foreword explains a primary motive behind his translation: "Denne Umskrifti av Fridtjofs Saga er soleides ein Freistnad til aa føra ei Fornskrift ifraa dat gamle til dat nyare norske Maalet" (Aasen, 1858: VI).[203] This attempt to see whether an Old Norse saga could be rendered in Aasen's new language required a strong focus on the vocabulary and syntax of this new language, of which Aasen was very aware as he goes on to explain: "Ordalaget heve her vordet nokot gamaldagslegt, av di dat er lagat etter Fornskrifti; men ymse Ord, som inkje ero allstad kunnige, ero tydde i ein liten Merknad nedst paa Bladet, og dat same er gjort med nokre Ord (som Tign, Hyrd, Grip), som inkje no ero i Bruk, men som vilde vera myket brukføre og nytlege baade i Skrift og Tale" (ibid.: vi).[204] This demonstrates Aasen's clear and conscious awareness of how his translation could affect the Nynorsk language and its vocabulary. Evidently, Aasen's translational problem concerning the similarities between Old Norse and Nynorsk, in addition to his tendency to archaise his writing when translating from Old Norse, could actively affect the Nynorsk language in a beneficial manner, at least from Aasen's point of view, through the reintroduction of Old Norse terminology.

Aasen's statement highlights again the duality in his translation ideology. On the one hand, being too bound to the Old Norse language leads to a translation that could be incomprehensible to the majority of people; on the other hand, this challenge may lead to the education of the Norwegian readers by reminding them of the Old Norse roots and reintroducing certain vocabulary that would be both reasonable and practical in Nynorsk writing. To what extent these opposing ideas actually affected the Nynorsk language/understanding of the Norwegian people is extremely difficult to quantify, yet the paratextual information found in Aasen's

[202] an important work not only within Old Norse literature, but also in the saga of the Norwegian language movement.
[203] This translation of Frithiof's Saga is therefore an attempt to transport an ancient text from the old to the new Norwegian language.
[204] The wording here has become somewhat old-fashioned, since it was made following the ancient text; yet various words that are not known everywhere are explained in a little footnote at the bottom of the page, and the same has been done for some words (such as *Tign*, *Hyrd*, *Grip*) that are no longer in use, but would be extremely practical and useful both in writing and in speech.

foreword and correspondence clearly shows his conscious attempt to affect the Nynorsk language and educate the Norwegian people through the use of an Old Norse saga translation. However, it is this study's aim to further demonstrate how the old-fashioned vocabulary that Aasen introduced in his translation has become part of modern Nynorsk and also which of his word choices have fallen out of the modern Nynorsk lexicon in order to help understand the extent to which Nynorsk saga translations had an effect on the development of the Nynorsk lexicon.

5.3.2 Hans Høeg's *Soga um Fridtjov den frøkne (*1925)

Høeg's new translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, *Soga um Fridtjov den frøkne* (1925), as previously mentioned, seems to have been published in order to piggyback on the success of the two previous, sold-out translations of Frithiof's Saga by Aasen and Bugge and the popularity of Tegnér's poem, in addition to quenching the nation's thirst for texts featuring Frithiof the Bold, although this text follows the original *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* text rather than Tegnér's poem. It is of note that Høeg calls this work a "ny umsetjing" ("new translation") despite, as will be explored in the linguistic analysis, the extremely close connection to Aasen's translation.

The history of Lunde & Co's forlag, the publisher of Høeg's translation, is little known: founded by the merchant Andreas O. Lunde in Bergen in 1905 (*Fra Norges Næringsliv*, 1915: 26), it primarily published Christian literature and published both Bokmål and Nynorsk texts. However, it also published a great deal of educational material, specifically of linguistic nature, and was responsible for producing a plethora of textbooks and exercises for schoolchildren as can be seen in the publications of *Opgaver i skriftlig norsk* (1926), *Lærebok i norsk etter arbeidsskuleprinsippet* (1932) and *ABC-bok* (1939).[205] Indeed, a significant motivation for Høeg's translation was its pedagogical applications, as can be seen in *Lesebok for norsk ungdom* (1925), also published by Lunde & Co's forlag, which contains a variety of texts that editors Høeg and Svarstad thought should appear in a reader for Norwegian schoolchildren.[206] Høeg's translation of Frithiof's Saga appears

[205] *Exercises in written Norwegian* (1926); *Textbook in Norwegian following the principle of the work school* (1932); *Learn-to-read book* (1939).
[206] *A reader for Norwegian youths*.

in its entirety within this reader, demonstrating Høeg's desire to use his translation as an educational tool for the Norwegian youth. Moreover, in the brief foreword to this reader, Høeg and Svarstad proclaim: "Etter vår mening er det tri hovudkrav ein bør setja til ei lesebok: 1. *Det etiske*, 2. *det pedagogiske*, 3. *det litterære*. I lesebøker før hev det vore teke vel lite umsyn til dei to fyrste. Difor vågar me å koma med ei ny bok" (Høeg and Svarstad, 1925: 5).[207] There was clearly an educational significance to Høeg's translation according to this foreword: its addition into this reader placed it before the schoolchildren of Norway to some degree and the inclusion of other Old Norse saga translations further emphasises the importance of, and need for, Nynorsk saga translations in the educational system of Norway in the early twentieth century. Hans Høeg himself was a teacher and headmaster of the private Christian college preparatory school Kristelig Gymnasium and thus must have had some awareness of the importance of constructing a curriculum and educational material.

How significant or widely read Høeg's translation was is difficult to fathom, especially as it had to compete with Aasen's translation, which carried the gravitas of Aasen's name. Indeed, when Det Norske Samlaget came to publishing a translation of Frithiof's Saga in 1976 as part of its *Norrøne bokverk* series, it neither chose to republish Høeg's translation nor create a new translation altogether, rather it went back to Aasen's original translation and modernised the language as Bjarne Fidjestøl explains in its foreword:

> Føremålet med denne utgåva av soga er å gje ålmenta ei lett tilgjengeleg og moderne omsetjing av soga, og vi har kome til at Aasens "Omskrift" framleis er den beste til det bruk, om ein berre fører ho over i gjeldande rettskriving og byter ut visse ord og uttrykk. (Fidjestøl, in Aasen, 1976: 9)[208]

Clearly, Aasen's translation was deemed more authoritative, i.e. "still the best", as opposed to Høeg's translation, according to Det Norske Samlaget, despite Høeg's 1925 translation fulfilling this aim in many ways, that is, being a readily available and more modern translation. After all, Høeg's translation could be seen as merely

[207] In our opinion, there are three main requirements of a reader: 1. *The ethical*, 2. *the pedagogical*, 3. *the literary*. In readers that have come before, there has been very little consideration for the first two of these. Therefore, we dare to put forward this new reader.
[208] The aim of this edition of the saga is to give the public a readily available and modern translation of the saga, and we have decided that Aasen's "rewriting" is still the best text for this, if one just updates it with the current spelling forms and switches certain words and expressions.

updating Aasen's text with contemporary spelling reforms and switching certain words and expressions to a certain extent. Why Det Norske Samlaget did not choose to republish Høeg's translation in 1976 for its *Norrøne bokverk* may seem like a contradiction for the reasons highlighted above, yet there are a variety of reasons for Aasen's translation taking precedence over Høeg's, as will be explored below.

5.3.3 Ivar Aasen's/Olav Rue's *Soga om Fridtjov den frøkne* (1976)

As previously mentioned, this new translation by Olav Rue was part of Det Norske Samlaget's *Norrøne bokverk* and was the forty-fifth text to appear in this book series of translated Old Norse literature. The book's front matter highlights not only the popularity of this series but also its availability to the Norwegian public, where it states: "Denne serien byrja i 1907 under namnet Gamalnorske Bokverk… Mange er for tida utselde. Nokre har gått inn i billigbokserien Orionbøkene. Frå 1968 kjem Norrøne Bokverk i nye utgåver som særskild billigbokserie" (Aasen, 1976: front matter).[209] The fact that many of these translations were sold out emphasises the popularity of these Nynorsk saga translations and their appearance in a cheaper, paperback form demonstrates their availability to the Norwegian public. Again, the popularity and availability of Nynorsk saga translations stresses the ability of these translations to influence and affect the Nynorsk language.

Bjarne Fidjestøl, in the foreword to *Soga om Fridtjov den frøkne* (1976), highlights the importance and authoritative nature of Aasen's 1858 translation and how this work, as I have also argued, is a crucial text within the history of the Nynorsk language:

> Når ein tenkjer på utgangspunktet, må ein lesar i dag bli slått av kor frisk og levande omsetjinga frå 1858 er, same kva Aasen meinte sjølv. Ein merkar at det er ei mesterhand som har vore på ferde, og ein kan berre undre seg over kor fullferdig nynorsken stod fram med ein gong han vart teken i litterær bruk. Vi må vel også kunne tru at nettopp møtet med det høgt oppdyrka norrøne litteraturmålet har vore til

[209] This series began in 1907 under the name *Gamalnorske Bokverk* [Old Norwegian Book series]… Many [books in the series] are presently sold out. Some have appeared in the paperback series *Orionbøkene*. From 1968, *Norrøne Bokverk* has been appearing in new editions as individual paperbacks.

> noko hjelp for Aasen då han skulle reise opp att nynorsken som skriftmål. (Fidjestøl, in Aasen, 1976: 9)[210]

Fidjestøl then goes on to clarify one of the main motives behind this publication: "Men no er omsetjinga godt over hundre år gammal, og folk flest vil venteleg stå framande for den rettskrivinga som der er nytta, og sameleis for mange ordelag som har synt seg å ikkje bli allemannseige" (ibid.: 9).[211] Although Fidjestøl is correct to pinpoint the differences in spelling forms between 1858 and 1976, the extent to which Aasen's word choices had not become commonplace is debateable and will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 6 in order to shed light on the changes Olav Rue made to Aasen's vocabulary. However, it is also debateable whether this is a new translation by Olav Rue or a new edition of Aasen's original translation. In much the same way that Frithiof's Saga is synonymous with Tegnér, a Nynorsk saga translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* is unavoidably linked to Aasen's 1858 translation, as can be shown in the references to Aasen's work in the forewords of the subsequent Nynorsk translations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* by Høeg, Fidjestøl and Fosse. This intrinsic link to Aasen's translation and the reverence for Aasen as originator of the Nynorsk language perhaps explains why Aasen's name is featured on the 1976 edition as translator rather than Olav Rue's, despite Rue being a productive translator in his own right having translated books by V. S. Naipaul, Amos Tutuola and Mahatma Gandhi in the 1960s.

Furthermore, it is not certain whether Rue translated from the original Old Norse text or via Aasen's 1858 translation, since the 1976 version merely states that this translation was "revised" by Rue but "translated" by Aasen, and Fidjestøl's introduction makes no reference to Rue or his work on this translation either. This is significant as it demonstrates an effort to hide the contributions made to this translation by Rue and perhaps demotes him unfairly from translator to revisor, although this may equally have come from Rue out of reverence for Aasen or due to

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[210] When one thinks of the starting point [of the Nynorsk language], a reader today must be struck by how fresh and lively the 1858 translation is, regardless of what Aasen thought of it himself. One notices that it is the work of a master hand, and one can only wonder how complete Nynorsk appeared as soon as it was taken into literary use. We may also be able to see how much help the highly cultivated Old Norse literary language had been for Aasen when he was to raise up Nynorsk as a written language.

[211] But now the translation is well over one hundred years old, and most people presumably will not recognise the spelling that is used there, nor will they understand many of the phrases that seem not to have become commonplace.

his own humble nature, much like Schjøtt and his contribution to Garborg's *Odyssevskvædet* (1918). On the other hand, the resemblance to Aasen's translation may have made it difficult to present Rue's translation as an independent and new translation, especially when Aasen's original was so prestigious by this point. Jon Fosse, however, is of the former opinion as he explains when asked if he utilised the 1976 translation whilst translating his own version in 2013: "Eg hadde tilgang til den omsetjinga og til 1976-omsetjinga, som jo blir sagd å vera ein revisjon av Aasen-omsetjinga, men som skil seg så mykje frå den at den med god grunn kan reknast for ei eiga omsetjing. Og det var nok mest av pietet for Aasen at omsetjarane kalla det for ein revisjon, ikkje for ei nyomsetjing" (Jon Fosse, email message to author, December 18, 2020).[212] This appears to contradict Fidjestøl's closing remarks on the matter where he affirms: "i hovudsak er denne framleis Ivar Aasens attforteljing av soga om Fridtjov" (Fidjestøl, in Aasen, 1976: 9-10).[213] This debate will be examined in the following chapter, where Aasen's and Rue's choice of words are more thoroughly investigated.

Regarding the translational issues arising with the 1976 translation, like Aasen, Fidjestøl also highlights the difficulty in translating from Old Norse into Nynorsk and largely agrees with Aasen's views on translating between ancestral and descendent languages:

> Aasen rører her ved eit dilemma som alle nynorske sogeomsetjarar vil kjenne seg att i, også i våre dagar. Mange av dei norrøne ord og seiemåtar har "overvintra" i norske målføre, og det kan vere freistande å ta dei med, jamvel om dei ikkje no er allment kjende. På den måten kan ein få synt samanhengen i målet frå norrøn til nynorsk tid, men samstundes vil omsetjinga få ein gammalvoren svip enn originalen har hatt, og då kan ein kome til å gjere urett mot soga sjølv. (Ibid.: 8)[214]

[212] I had access to the translation [Aasen's 1858 translation] and to the 1976 translation, which is said to be a revision of Aasen's translation, yet it differs so much from it that it can, with good reason, be considered a separate translation. And in most likelihood, it was called a revision and not a new translation by the translators out of reverence for Aasen.
[213] In general, this is still Ivar Aasen's retelling of the saga of Frithiof.
[214] Here, Aasen touches upon a dilemma that all Nynorsk saga translators will recognise, even today. Many of the Old Norse words and ways of speaking have been "hibernating" in Norwegian dialects, and it can be tempting to use them even if they are not currently generally known. In this way, one can see the connection between the language from Old Norse to Nynorsk times, but at the same time, the translation will appear more old-fashioned than the original did and thus do an injustice to the saga itself.

However, in reference to this dilemma with regard to a language innovator like Aasen, Fidjestøl then goes on to state:

> Utviklinga har gått slik at ein del av desse orda er vanskelege å bruke no når vi har ein fastare tradisjon for litterær nynorsk, men på den andre sida er det forvitneleg å sjå at nokre av desse orda er blitt så vanlege – i båe målformer – at ein merknad til dei av den grunn berre verkar pussig. (Ibid.: 8-9)[215]

Fidjestøl here, much like Aasen, struggles with the battle between the old and the new, and the nature of translating from Old Norse to Nynorsk, where the vocabulary chosen by the translator may be simultaneously too old-fashioned or limited to one dialect but also modern and commonplace. Fidjestøl may merely be echoing the ideas put forth by Aasen in the foreword to his 1858 translation, but it is interesting how little the ideas on translating from ancestral languages to descendent languages had changed between Aasen's and Fidjestøl's time. As Fidjestøl highlights, with the benefit of over one hundred years of a Nynorsk literary tradition, the contemporary Nynorsk saga translator is able to utilise a vocabulary that is less old-fashioned than that found in Aasen's 1858 translation. However, Fidjestøl then states how "fresh and lively" Aasen's translation still is. This contradictory rhetoric is perhaps more extreme in regard to the relationship between Old Norse and Nynorsk than Old Norse and Bokmål or Danish, for example; yet, as previously mentioned, the lack of a defined translation approach or hypothesis concerning translation from ancestral languages into descendent languages makes it difficult to know or quantify the extent to which translating from Old Norse into Nynorsk leads to certain word choices for the modern-day Nynorsk saga translator, or whether translating between different ancestral and descendent languages, or perhaps from Old Norse into Bokmål, Danish or Swedish, causes a similar dilemma.

As shown by Fidjestøl's foreword, discussions on a translation approach concerning translations from Old Norse to Nynorsk, specifically saga translations, had not changed significantly from Aasen's time to Fidjestøl's, mainly due to the authoritative nature of Aasen's 1858 translation and the influential impact Aasen's translation had had on the Nynorsk language. Furthermore, as shown by Fidjestøl's

[215] The development [of the Nynorsk language] has occurred such that some of these words are problematic to use now that we have a more established tradition of literary Nynorsk, but on the other hand, it is interesting to see that some of these words have become so common – in both language standards – that a footnote for them seems strange.

foreword, it was necessary to highlight to the contemporary reader of Nynorsk the impact that Aasen's 1858 translation had had on the lexicon of the Nynorsk language, even if the discussion may have appeared somewhat contradictory and underdeveloped due not only to the limiting nature of a foreword but also Aasen's foundational, conflicting views on Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature. However, the intrinsic connection and reference to Aasen's 1858 translation, despite Rue's independent influence on the vocabulary found in the 1976 translation, emphasises the authority and prestige of Aasen's 1858 translation over one hundred years after its publication. Indeed, Fidjestøl also makes no mention or reference to Høeg's 1925 translation, demonstrating yet again the authoritative nature of Aasen's translation.

5.3.4 Jon Fosse's *Soga om Fridtjov den frøkne* (2013)

The final, and most recent, Nynorsk translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* was published in 2013 by Skald forlag and translated by the renowned playwright, author, Nynorsk proponent and winner of the 2023 Nobel Prize in Literature for "his innovative plays and prose which give voice to the unsayable" ('Jon Fosse Facts'), Jon Fosse. As Espen Stueland, author and editor of the literary magazine *Vagant*, states within a bibliography of Fosse's works: "Jon Fosse belongs to the generation of writers that in the 1980s introduced post-modernism into Norway, in pronounced opposition to the socio-realistic tradition that was dominant in Norway in the 1970s" (Stueland, in Huseby and Nielsen, 2000: 3). He goes on to say how Fosse "has had a great breakthrough with his plays, become a favourite of the media, and been performed in theatres all over Europe" (ibid.: 5). The same publication lists Fosse's previous translational work, albeit up to the year 2000, citing a number of translations of plays, primarily, by dramatists such as Thomas Bernhard, Terrence McNally and Hermann Broch. Furthermore, it is of no small significance that a person of Fosse's ability and renown as a proponent of the Nynorsk standard should translate *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* in 2013. Indeed, there are few authors rivalling his authority on Nynorsk in both terms of popularity and critical acclaim, as shown by his Nobel Prize award, highlighting Skald's preference for Jon Fosse to translate for them above all others.

Skald forlag's publications cover a wide range of genres and as stated on their website, have a strong focus on "design, taktilitet og materialitet" (Skald forlag, "Om Skald").[216] However, the Skald website information for *Soga om Fridtjov den frøkne* (2013) reveals a more illuminating insight into the motives behind the translation, stating: "Soga om Fridtjov den frøkne er ei av det mest kjende norrøne sogene utanfor Noreg... Denne nye omsetjinga bidreg til å gjere soga kjend att i heimlandet Noreg, og den bør finnast i alle norske heimar" (Skald forlag, "Soga om Fridtjov den frøkne").[217] Of course, there is a real economic motive behind stating that this translation should be found in all Norwegian homes, since it would prove a real boost to sales if every Norwegian home were to buy a copy. It is also hard to ignore the nationalistic overtones here, as Skald chooses to emphasise the need to make Frithiof's Saga as well known within Norway as it is outside of Norway, in addition to arguing that it belongs not in all homes, but in all *Norwegian* homes, demonstrating a desire to reclaim the saga of Frithiof as one of their own, i.e. a quintessential piece of Old Norse literature belonging to Norway. Whilst this may merely be marketing talk, the way such a translation is marketed does provide an insight into the motives of the publisher. When asked directly about the motives and aims behind this publication, director and editor of Skald Simone Stibbe replied: "Viktig for oss var å få soga fram i lyset igjen som ei av få norske soger. Dei utgåvene som du skriv om [the 1858, 1925 and 1976 translations] finst berre på nokre få bibliotek, og var då svært vanskeleg tilgjengeleg. Vi tenkte at eit slikt verk må vera tilgjengeleg for ein allmenn lesar" (Simone Stibbe, email message to author, November 18, 2020).[218] Whilst Stibbe still highlights the uniquely Norwegian aspect of the saga, it seems that providing access to the popular saga to the general Norwegian reader was of utmost importance more so than any National Romantic sentiment, mirroring the arguments made in the forewords to the 1925 and 1976 translations.

[216] design, tactility and materiality.
[217] Frithiof's saga is one of the most well-known Old Norse sagas outside of Norway… This new translation helps make the saga well-known in the homeland of Norway again, and it should be found in all Norwegian homes.
[218] It was important for us to bring the saga to light again as one of the few Norwegian sagas. The publications that you wrote about [the 1858, 1925 and 1976 translations] are only found in a few libraries and were therefore very difficult to access. We thought that such a work must be available to a general reader.

Further insight into the motives behind the 2013 translation lies with Jon Fosse to a large extent and through an email correspondence with Fosse, I was able to piece together a broader picture of the thinking behind the 2013 translation. Firstly, it is important to highlight how this translation was a result of a prior work commitment between Fosse and Skald, when Skald had asked Fosse to write a story for children based on Frithiof's Saga. However, other work commitments put Fosse's efforts towards this to one side and years later, when he found time to work on the children's book, it seemed necessary to Fosse and Skald to first produce a new translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, as Fosse explained:

> Eg hadde nok gløymt heile greia om det ikkje var for at Simone spurde meg igjen fleire gonger om å skriva denne teksten. Til sist så tok eg han fram att. Men då var avstanden min til teksten (som eg hadde lese i Samlags-utgåva frå 1976) så stor at eg måtte lesa han om att. I mellomtida hadde eg òg lært meg å lesa brukande norrønt, eller "gammalnorsk", som dei sa før, så eg fekk føre meg at eg fyrst skulle omsetja sagaen på nytt. Og då Skald kunne tenkja seg å gje ut ei nyomsetjing, ja så gjekk eg i gang med det. Og så fekk den koma ut fyrst, ei barnebok eventuelt seinare. (Jon Fosse, email message to author, December 11, 2020)[219]

This need for a new translation is perhaps not unsurprising given the 37 years of development of the Nynorsk language since 1976 but it also demonstrates the aforementioned phenomenon of using a translation as supplementary material to another text. For example, Aasen's 1858 translation can be seen as a supplementary text to his 1848 grammar and 1850 dictionary, not to mention its value as a supplementary, educational tool for any future writer of Nynorsk; Høeg's 1925 translation can be seen as supplementary "ethical" and "pedagogical" material to his and Svarstad's *Lesebok for norsk ungdom* (1925); and George Stephen's 1839 English translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* can be viewed as additional material to his translation of Tegnér's poem to help contextualise Tegnér's poem for the English reader. Evidently, there is a clear history of utilising translations of

[219] I would have forgotten the entire thing were it not for Simone [Stibbe] asking me again multiple times about writing this text [the children's book]. Eventually, I started working on it again. But now my separation from the text [Frithiof's Saga] (which I had read in Det Norske Samlaget's edition from 1976) was so great that I had to read it again. In between this, I had practically learnt to read Norrønt [Old Norse/Norwegian], or "Gammalnorsk" as they used to say, so it occurred to me that I should first translate the saga anew. And once SKALD agreed to publish a new translation, I set to work on it. And thus it [the translation] would come out first and the children's book possibly later.

Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna not only for educational purposes, but also to support separate, original texts based on the saga material.

Fosse's children's book *Fridtjov og Ingebjørg* (2014) was published a year after his translation and was followed by *Soga om Torstein Vikingsson* (2015), a new translation by Fosse of *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*, which was the prequel to *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* detailing the adventures of Frithiof's father, Thorstein. Again, this translation can be seen as supplementary material that illuminates and contextualises both *Fridtjov og Ingebjørg* (2014) and *Soga om Fridtjov den frøkne* (2013), but also adds another text to sell within what one could call Skald's "Frithiof collection". Two years later, Fosse united with Skald again to produce a scenic version of the *Poetic Edda*, published under the name *Edda* (2017), further demonstrating the popularity and marketability of such Old Norse texts/translations in the twenty-first century. It is also of note that on Skald's website, Fosse's *Fridtjov og Ingebjørg* (2014) is presented as a "frodig illustrert og forenkla versjon av den kjende norrøne soga om Fridtjov den frøkne" (Skald forlag, "Fridtjov og Ingebjørg")[220] and also mentions how "dei siste ti-åra har denne delen av den norske kulturarven vore vanskeleg tilgjengeleg. I fjor vart nyomsetjinga av heile den gammalnorske teksten utgitt i ny språkdrakt av Jon Fosse" (ibid.).[221] Again, the availability of the Old Norse and Norwegian texts or lack thereof, for the Norwegian people in particular, is touted as a primary reason for publishing more modern versions of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, following on the tradition of producing Nynorsk saga translations for the Norwegian people in order to reclaim a part of their cultural heritage.

Whilst this marketing talk undoubtedly contains sentiments of National Romanticism, perhaps unavoidably due to the history of the use of saga literature as a nation building tool, when asked whether the National Romantic aspect of Old Norse literature played a part in his translation, Fosse answered:

> Nei, eg kan ikkje seia det. Nasjonalismen har, som kjent, både gode og dårlege sider. Noreg hadde ikkje funnest til som land om det ikkje var for nasjonalisme, dessutan har jo historia lært oss – og lærer oss framleis – at nasjonalisme kan vera farlege greier, for å seia det slik. Men eg snakkar no som eg eingong gjer, og eg skriv

[220] exuberantly illustrated and simplified version of the well-known Old Norse saga of Frithiof the Bold
[221] in recent decades, this part of the Norwegian cultural heritage has been difficult to access. Last year, the new translation of the complete Old Norse text was published with a more modern language style by Jon Fosse.

> ein nynorsk som i seg sjølv ligg temmeleg nær dialekten min, og også mitt språk har rett til å finnast til. Og i historia til mitt språk er også sagalitteraturen viktig. Det er den faktisk òg i historia til det området der eg har vore mykje (i hytta mi, i Ytre Sogn). (Jon Fosse, email message to author, December 18, 2020)[222]

As this quote suggests, Fosse puts forward the idea that the decision to translate *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* was much more personal and not influenced by rising National Romanticism as it was for the early Nynorsk publishers and translators of Old Norse literature in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Despite this claim, he does point out the beneficial aspect of nationalism for Nynorsk in its early days. When asked of other motives behind his translation, Fosse replied:

> Tanken på at dette var den fyrste skjønnlitterære teksten på nynorsk fascinerte meg, og det gjorde at eg fekk endå meir lyst til å omsetja sagaen. Noko heilt anna er at eg i si tid fekk bygt meg ei hytte med utsyn til Sognesjøen og til munningen av Sognefjorden, altså i det området der mykje av sagaen går føre seg. (Ibid.)[223]

This familiarity with the Sogn district and being surrounded by the area in which the saga takes place provides an explanation as to why Fosse may have become enamoured with the history and influence of Frithiof's Saga. Yet, somewhat contrary to Fosse's feelings towards National Romanticism, the image of Fosse sitting in his cabin looking out onto Sognesjøen pontificating on Old Norse literature and the history of the local area does indeed paint a rather romantic picture that evokes the National Romantic imagery found in the paintings of Johan Christian Dahl from the nineteenth century, for example. Nonetheless, the personal motivation behind this translation cannot be ignored and, in fact, it also highlights the different ideas and motives that lay behind a translation for the various agents within the translation process. For example, the variation between Skald's nationalistic and marketing language and Fosse's personal experiences and literary awareness of Old Norse

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[222] No, I can't say that it did. As is well known, nationalism has both good and bad sides. Norway would not exist as a country if it were not for nationalism, however, history has taught us – and teaches us still – that nationalism can be dangerous stuff, to put it that way. But now I talk as I sometimes do, and I write a style of Nynorsk which in itself is rather close to my dialect, and also my language is entitled to exist. And within the history of my language, the literature of the sagas is also important. Indeed, it is also within the history of the area in which I have spent a great deal of my time (in my cabin, in Ytre Sogn).

[223] The idea that this was the first text of literary fiction in Nynorsk fascinated me, and it gave me more desire to translate the saga. Something completely separate is that, in my time, I had a cabin built with a view out onto Sognesjøen and the mouth of the Sognefjord, i.e. in the area where a great deal of the saga takes place.

literature demonstrates a slight disconnect between the agents involved in the creation of this translation.

The parallels between Fosse's 2013 translation and Aasen's 1858 translation run deep and, indeed, the similarities between the motives behind all four translations and the rhetoric in which they are presented by their publishers and translators are closely linked. However, there are also significant differences between these translations, especially at word level, as the following chapter will address.

6 Ivar Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858): Comparative Linguistic Analysis

This chapter analyses the word choices found in the four Nynorsk translations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, not only comparing them with one another but also tracing their usage and appearance in other literary, translational and lexicographical works of Nynorsk in order to assess the influence Nynorsk saga translations had on the development of the Nynorsk lexicon. I will begin with an examination of the paratextual information of a linguistic nature surrounding these translations and how Aasen's translation can be seen as supplementary material to his codifying works concerning the Nynorsk language, i.e. his grammar (1848), dictionary (1850) and *Prøver af Landsmaalet i Norge* (1853). This will be followed by a comparative analysis of the word choices found in these translations in order to trace the effects, patterns, connections or lack thereof of Nynorsk saga translations and subsequent Nynorsk literature. The comparative analysis will also identify words that have fallen out of use or came into use in Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature and whether these words have done the same in other Nynorsk texts.

6.1 Analyses of paratextual information of a linguistic nature

In much the same way as I have analysed the motives behind these translations, an analysis of the lexical impact of these translations begins with their paratextual information, specifically in this context, the footnotes made by the translators that are of a linguistic nature. Linguistic nature here means footnotes that provide definitions, etymological information or alternative synonyms of the footnoted word. Much of the research into paratexts combines analysis of paratexts with analysis of translations themselves, presumably because there is an agreement with Tahir-Gürçağlar's caution that paratextual analyses reveal 'the mediational features of the paratexts and show how translations are presented but not how they *are*." (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2011: 115). However, in this case study, it has been possible to not only compare paratexts with the translation they surround but also compare paratexts with subsequent retranslations where similar words are used. Significantly, it has also been possible to compare paratexts of one translation with the paratexts of its

retranslation. This comparison of paratexts with other paratexts offers an innovative method of analysing translations and their paratexts and may prove useful for future studies.

6.1.1 Paratextual analysis of Ivar Asaen's *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858)

The first point to note on Aasen's translation is that there exists a significant disparity between the number of footnotes made by Aasen (120) and the number of footnotes made by Høeg (15), Rue (30) and Fosse (0), yet the contents of Aasen's, Høeg's and Rue's footnotes are extremely similar in what they describe or explain. In general, the footnotes either refer to words of local geographical significance, i.e. they provide the modern Norwegian word for an Old Norse place name, and descriptions of historical or cultural customs that are relevant to the plot. However, most commonly, the footnotes refer to synonyms/definitions of words/phrases that the translator deemed necessary to clarify. It is in this regard that these translations can be seen most visibly to impact the Nynorsk language, since by providing synonyms and definitions of new words, or words perhaps unfamiliar to the Norwegian reader, specifically words bound closely to the Old Norse source, the translator is able to educate the reader and not only introduce new lexical items, but also solidify existing words in the Nynorsk language. Indeed, Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga*, with its many footnotes, can be read as a supplement to his 1850 *Ordbog over det norske Folkesprog*, perhaps even bridging the gap between his 1850 and 1873 editions of the dictionary, since in his footnotes, as I will demonstrate below, he not only introduces a small number of words not found in the 1850 dictionary, but also highlights words that could already be found in his 1850 dictionary in order to popularise them or make them more familiar to the reader. After all, not every reader of Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* would necessarily have *Ordbog over det norske Folkesprog* to hand.

By comparing the words footnoted by Aasen with their existence in Aasen's 1850 dictionary or their addition into his 1873 dictionary, it is possible to see how Aasen's translation affected the Nynorsk language, since additions to the 1873 dictionary required a significance and usage among the contemporary Norwegian speakers, as Aasen explains in his foreword to the 1873 dictionary: "Det nye

Ordforraad i denne Bog er tilveiebragt paa samme Maade som det, der var samlet i den forrige Udgave. De Ordsamlinger, som jeg forefandt i trykte eller utrykte Skrifter, ere benyttede paa den Maade, at jeg ved adskillige Reiser og Ophold i Landdistrikterne har gjennemgaaet disse Samlinger med Forespørgsel om Ordenes Brug og Betydning" (Aasen, 1873: VI).[224] The words' usage was clearly of utmost importance to Aasen and thus, it follows that any addition to the 1873 dictionary had a contemporary usage. Whilst it is impossible to prove that any word added to the 1873 dictionary was directly linked to Aasen's translation, seeing as he did not provide a motive and origin for every single addition, or that the word's contemporary usage was brought about by said translation, it is significantly likely, with the popularity and availability of *Fridtjofs Saga* combined with the aforementioned motives and paratextual information, that Aasen's translation both spread and solidified certain words so that their omittance from the 1873 dictionary would be rather egregious to Aasen.

Furthermore, the fact that Aasen was the author of all of these works, makes it even more probable that certain words he used in his translation would later be added to the 1873 dictionary as he would have been acutely aware of the usage of such words. In addition, Aasen's aforementioned focus on making the Old Norse language new is shown in the foreword to his 1873 dictionary: "Det er først i vor egen Levetid, at denne Forskning er kommen i rigtig Gang ved paalidelige Udgaver af de bedste Skrifter fra Middelalderen og ved den deraf følgende lettere Adgang til at sammenligne de nye Sprog med de gamle saavelsom de beslægtede Sprog" (ibid.: v).[225] Although the expression "reliable publications of the best writings from the Middle Ages" most likely refers to new editions of the sagas written in their source language (Old Norse), it is clear that Aasen viewed the increasing availability of the sagas as a benefit to the Nynorsk language and linguistic research. It is not unlikely that Aasen also considered an increased accessibility to Nynorsk saga translations as having a beneficial effect on the Nynorsk language. This will be explored below in

[224] The new lexicon in this book has been produced in the same way as it was gathered in the previous edition. The vocabulary, that I found in published and unpublished writings, is applied in the way that I, through many travels and visits to the districts of this country, have reviewed these collections with an investigation of the words' use and meaning.

[225] It is only in our own lifetime that this research [i.e. the study of national languages] has significantly blossomed through reliable publications of the best writings from the Middle Ages, and consequently, through the easier access to compare the new language with the old one, as well as its related languages.

the increase of saga terminology, i.e. words typically used in Old Norse sagas, in the 1873 dictionary. It should be noted that Bokmål saga translations could also benefit the Nynorsk lexicon in this way, as they too utilised certain vocabulary from Old Norse, something that Aasen was likely aware of.

An exploration of modern, definitive dictionaries, i.e. *Norsk Ordbok. Ordbok over det norske folkemålet og det nynorske skriftmålet* (1936-2016), hereafter NO, and *Nynorskordboka* (1986–), hereafter NNO, will also demonstrate how the word has either changed over time, or become preserved/solidified in the Nynorsk language. Where appropriate I have indicated when the Nynorsk word does not appear in the definitive *Bokmålsordboka* (1986–), hereafter BMO, as this emphasises the significance of the word as belonging distinctly to the Nynorsk lexicon.

Of the 120 footnotes in Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga*, the following 10 words are of significance concerning additions to the Nynorsk lexicon, since they are not found in this form in his 1850 dictionary:

Table 6: Footnoted words found in Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858) but not found in *Ordbog over det norske Folkesprog* (1850)

Word used in Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga (1858)*	**Reference and footnote in Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858)**	**Appearance of word in Aasen's *Ordbog over det norske Folkesprog* (1850)**	**Appearance of word in Aasen's *Norsk Ordbog* (1873)**	**Appearance of word in NO and NNO**
(1) *frøken* ("bold", "strong")	… Fridtjov hin frøkne* *Frøken: djerv, herdig, myket fyre seg. (p.7)	Does not appear in this form. *frøkjen* (p. 116) does appear but in comparison with the word fræk.	*frøken* (p.193) appears and also indicates the old form of frøkjen. *fræk* also appears in this dictionary, as does *frek*, *frøk* and *frakk*, which all share a very similar meaning. *Frek* and *frøk* do not appear in the 1850 dictionary.	NO and NNO: *frøken*, *frøk*, *frek* and *frak(k)* all appear yet no equivalent in BMO.
(2) *Forraad* ("Supply", "Store"; means "governance" in the context of the translation)	… Torstein hadde ein Tridjung av Riket til Forraad*	Neither *Forraad* or *Fyreraad* appear.	*Forraad* (p. 181) *Fyreraad* (p. 200) appears, the definition of which is closest to the	NNO and BMO: *forråd* (from Low-German, not Old Norse) appears with the meaning of "supply/store" but *fyreråd* does not.

	*Elder Fyreraad, Styring. (p. 8)		meaning in the translation.	NO: *forråd* appears with the meaning of "governing over" similar to the translation.
(3) *ramleg* ("strong")	… og var ramlegt* som eit Havskip *Sterkt. (p. 8)	Does not appear.	*ramleg* (p. 579)	NO: *ramleg* appears. NNO: *ramleg* appears. BMO: does not appear. *Ram* appears from the same Norse root but Nynorsk differentiates between *ramleg* and *ram*. (Old Norse *ramligr* and *rammr*).
(4) *Fedgar* ("Father and son")	… Fedgarne* Torstein og Fridtjov *Fedgar er Fader og Son. (p. 9)	Does not appear.	*Fedgar* appears as a synonym under the definitions for *Feder* and *Fegge*. (p. 149)	NNO: *fegge* appears. NO: *fedgar* appears. BMO: does not appear.
(5) *Mannraun* ("Test of manhood/bravery)	… raustlega i alla Mannrauner* *Manna-Prøvor,	Does not appear.	The Old Norse root word *Mannraun* appears, as does the synonym of	NO: *mannrøyne* appears. NNO and BMO: *manndomsprøve* appears.

	Faarar som røyna Mannen. (p. 9)		*Mandsprøve*, under the definition for *Mannrøyne*. (p. 478)	
(6) *Konung* (“King”; alternate spelling of the cognate *konge*)	… Dat var ein Konung* *Konung er dan gamle Form, og “Kong” er berre ei Avstytting, lika eins som “Pengar” fyre Peningar. (p. 11)	Does not appear. *Kongje, Kungje* appear instead.	*Konung* appears as a synonym under the definition of *Kong*. Also appears as an adjective *konungleg*. (p. 379)	NO: *konung* appears. NNO and BMO: does not appear in this form.
(7) *Odling* (“Heir to property or land”; means “king” in the context of the translation)	… Odlingom* heve eg ilt aa løna *Odlingar elder Ødlingar er eit Namn paa Kongar. (p. 30)	Does not appear.	*Odling* appears with a synonym of *Odelsarving* attached. (p.974)	NO: *odling* and *odelsarving* appears. NNO and BMO: *odling* does not appear but the verb *odle* meaning to inherit/own land does appear.
(8) *Gavlok* (“Spear”, “Javelin”)	… Geirtjov, daa eg Gavlok* fløygde *Gavlok (Gaflok):	Does not appear.	Does not appear.	NO: *gavlak* and *gavlok* appear. NNO and BMO: does not appear

	Spjot, Kastespjot. (p. 37)			
(9) Gisting ("Visit", "Lodging")	… Far til ei onnor Gisting* *Same som Gjesting elder Husvære. (p. 37)	Does not appear. Neither does *Gjesting* or *Husvære*.	*Gisting* (p. 216), *Gjesting* (p.222) and *Husvære* (p. 309) all appear.	NNO: *gisting* does not appear but *gjesting* and *husvære* does.
(10) *daper* ("sorrowful", "downcast")	… dyraste Døgling i daper* Hug *Daper: sorgall, sturande. (p.42)	Does not appear.	*Daper* appears. (p.100)	NO: *daper* appears, as does *sorgal*. NNO: does not appear. *Sorgal* does appear although not in BMO.

1) Aasen's use of *frøken* here, whilst appearing in the 1850 dictionary in the form of *frøkjen*, is of note since in his footnote he uses the form *frøken* despite having written it differently a mere eight years earlier in his dictionary. The Old Norse term *frækinn*, from which *frøken* is derived, evidently has numerous contemporary forms in Nynorsk according to Aasen's dictionaries. However, it is significant that the 1873 dictionary contains two additions related to this word (*frek* and *frøk*), especially when one considers that there were already three words related to *frækinn* in the 1850 dictionary. It would seem that *frøken* and its variants, which were closely related to the Old Norse *frækinn*, had increased in usage and importance since 1850 and were used often in Aasen's translation.

2) *Forraad* and its alternative form of *fyreraad* do not appear in Aasen's 1850 dictionary, yet he uses *Forraad*, from Low German, abundantly in his foreword to the 1873 dictionary in reference to the "store" of words contained in the dictionary. However, in the context of the translation, *Forraad* refers to the governance of a piece of land, i.e. Thorstein decides what happens and takes care of a third of King Beli's kingdom, coming from the Old Norse word *forráð*. This meaning can be seen in the 1873 dictionary's entry of "*Fyreraad*, f. foreløbig Beslutning. Ogsaa: *Forraad* fra forrige Tider" (Aasen, 1873: 200).[226] Whilst Aasen's 1850 dictionary lacked an entry for *forraad*/*fyreraad*, let alone the two definitions of the word, his 1873 dictionary provided both forms, in addition to providing the definition as it would be used in the context of Old Norse texts.
3) *Ramleg* is a prime example of the link between Nynorsk saga translations and the corpus planning area of *elaboration*, i.e. "the functional development of a language" (Baldauf, 1989: 6). *Ramleg* was not deemed a relevant word in Aasen's 1850 dictionary or perhaps it was simply not heard during his fieldwork, yet following its appearance in Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* and its addition to the 1873 dictionary, it has survived and been solidified in NO and NNO, and is thus today, a word that is extremely reasonable and practical to use as Aasen would say.
4) *Fedgar,* or *fegge* in modern usage, is a word intrinsically linked to the Old Norse sagas, appearing almost exclusively within the sagas to describe a father and son as a single entity. Whilst it does not appear in the 1850 dictionary in any form, multiple entries are added to the 1873 dictionary in reference to this word such as *Feder*, *Fegge* and *Fedgar*, although *Fedgar* is only referenced as a synonym under the entries of *Feder* and *Fegge*. This addition of a word intrinsically associated with the world of the sagas is surely linked to the increased availability of Old Norse texts/translations. Indeed, Aasen's increased familiarity with such saga terminology through his translational work may also explain the addition of *fegge*'s feminine counterpart *megga* to the 1873 dictionary, meaning "mother and daughter".

[226] *Fyreraad*, f. provisional decision. Also: *Forraad* from previous ages.

5) *Mannraun*, or *mannrøyne/manndomsprøve* in modern usage, does not appear in Aasen's 1850 dictionary, nor does his footnoted synonym *Manna-Prøvor*, yet *Mannrøyne* appears in the 1873 dictionary with a synonym of *Mandeprøve* and a mention of the Old Norse root *mannraun*. This highlights again, how a word closely related to an Old Norse term and solidified in a saga translation could impact the vocabulary found in subsequent dictionaries of the Nynorsk language.
6) Why Aasen uses the words *Konung* and *Kong* interchangeably to mean "king" in his translation, despite them being cognates of one another, and does not stick to one form is difficult to assess, especially when one considers the forms he uses in his 1850 dictionary are *Kongje/Kungje*. This may support Walton's emphasis on Aasen's archaisation in this translation, as well as Aasen's own thoughts on translating from Old Norse, in that Aasen felt too bound to the source language to utilise a more modern form. Yet this is not consistently the case within Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga*, as he uses both the archaic form of *konung* and the contemporary form of *kong* interchangeably and furthermore, never uses the forms of *kongje*/*kungje*. This highlights a paradoxical and contrary nature/philosophy between the theory and practice of Aasen's 1850 dictionary and his saga translation, since there is a clear disconnect between the vocabulary presented in the 1850 dictionary and his word usage in *Fridtjofs Saga*. It is likely he used *konung* in order to educate the reader of the etymology of the modern word *kong* in much the same way he does when using *peningar* instead of *pengar*.
7) Again, the word used by Aasen in his translation does not appear in his 1850 dictionary. However, *Odling* appears in his 1873 dictionary with the synonym *Odelsarving* meaning "the inheritance of property rights". During the time of Fridtjov, a king was likely to inherit the rights to a piece of land or farmstead, or lay claim to heredity rights so it is not difficult to understand the poetic sense of *odling* in *Fridtjofs Saga*, meaning king. These metaphorical synonyms, much akin to kennings, were an intrinsic feature of the sagas, and whilst a great deal of them were convoluted or required a great deal of background information in order to understand them, the fact that such a word appears in Aasen's 1873 dictionary, demonstrates the significance of saga terminology and its influence and impact on the Nynorsk language at this

time. How saga terminology could influence and impact the Nynorsk language was surely first and foremost through saga translations, especially Aasen's own translation in this case.

8) Whilst *gavlok*, from the Old English *gafeluc* meaning "javelin" or "dart", does not appear in either the 1850 or 1873 dictionaries, Aasen's footnoted synonym of *Kastespjot* does appear in the 1873 dictionary, spelt *Kastespyd*, as a synonym for the word *Skutel*. *Skutel* also appears in the 1850 dictionary yet does not provide the synonym of *kastespyd*. Whilst this addition is somewhat indirect and does not have its very own entry in the 1873 dictionary, it nonetheless demonstrates an increased practical usage for the word from 1850 to 1873. *Gaflak* does, however, feature in Marius Hægstad and Alf Torp's Old Norse dictionary of 1909 (Hægstad, 1909: 110), demonstrating its frequency in Old Norse texts.
9) *Gisting*, or *gjesting* in modern usage, is another typical and frequent term found in the sagas, where visiting and lodging etiquette among guests and their hosts was an important aspect concerning a travelling hero. Aasen provides a synonym of *husvære,* although technically these are not synonyms as *gjesting* means "to make a visit" and *husvære* means "to get shelter for the night/to be given a bed". It is significant that none of the words/spellings Aasen provides in his translation, *Gisting, Gjesting* and *Husvære*, appear in his 1850 dictionary, since as mentioned above regarding *konung*, the disconnect between Aasen's works here is both obvious and confusing. It is even more apparent in this case since not even the equivalents in his footnote can be found in his 1850 dictionary. Perhaps here, Aasen is ignoring the published justifications for certain words in his 1850 dictionary and instead is speaking directly to the Norwegian reader who would be familiar with the vocabulary he was using. This would also explain why these three forms later appeared in his 1873 dictionary, since while translating *Fridtjofs Saga,* this translation would highlight certain lexical items that Aasen himself may have overlooked or omitted from his previous dictionary.
10) Like the adjective *ramleg*, *daper* was not deemed sufficiently reasonable or found in practical use in the countryside to use in writing for it to appear in the 1850 dictionary. However, following its appearance in *Fridtjofs Saga*, Aasen evidently deemed it a necessary addition to his 1873 dictionary.

As I have shown, there is a distinct link between certain additions to Aasen's 1873 dictionary and Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* translation, particularly since these additions are all closely related to the Old Norse language found in the sagas. This ties in with the previous discussion regarding Aasen's contrary ideologies as a language creator and a translator, and his tendency to archaise the Nynorsk language when translating from Old Norse. After all, archaic Old Norse vocabulary found in the sagas was not at the forefront of Aasen's work on the 1850 dictionary, rather it was the living language of the Norwegian people and its contemporary usage. However, as he states in his foreword to *Fridtjofs Saga,* using the same words found in the sagas could bring certain vocabulary of greater value back to the Norwegian people. Thus, his translation could reintroduce lexical items into the living language of the Norwegian people, which is further evidenced by these additions to the 1873 dictionary.

The struggle between the old and new within Aasen's translating ideology and linguistic principles leads to a paradoxical and inconsistent translation of *Fridtjofs Saga* regarding archaisation, at least in reference to Aasen's footnotes, since there is also a variety of Old Norse vocabulary that is not added to the 1873 dictionary such as *Tign* (Aasen, 1858: 9), *utigen* (ibid.: 10), *Pell* (ibid.: 13), *Disarsal* (ibid.: 15), *Langdyr* (ibid.: 19), *Hamløype* (ibid.: 24), *Disablot* (ibid.: 30), *Lovdung* (ibid.: 30), *Døgling* (ibid.: 42). Whilst these words may come across as archaic (to the urban elite in Kristiania at least), definitions and modern synonyms are provided for them in the footnotes. Indeed, these footnotes, as seen within the Foucauldian archive of Nynorsk language history, can be seen as formative and transformative statements (Foucault, 1972: 130) that affect the Nynorsk language. After all, the definitions and synonyms found in the footnotes can be seen as statements that are both stated and unsaid within the actual translation, since they allow Aasen to archaise and stay faithful to the Old Norse language, whilst simultaneously modernising and providing a more contemporary synonym, for example, "Hurd er same som Dyrr" (Aasen, 1858: 41).[227]

There are also multiple instances where Aasen highlights in the footnotes that he has deliberately modernised a term. For example, "Gods og Gitord = I Gamle-

[227] *Hurd* is the same as *Dyrr* ["door"].

Maalet “Fe og Frægd”. Fe er Gods, Eigodom; Frægd er Æra” (Aasen, 1858: 33);[228] “ gamall og galen = I Saga “gamalløra”” (ibid.: 38);[229] and “Sleden = I Saga stend “vagn” (Vogn)” (ibid.: 39).[230] These instances demonstrate a clear lexical modernisation of the Norwegian language, where Aasen is not too bound to the original language, rather he uses more contemporary phrases and explains their meaning and Old Norse root forms in a footnote in order to modernise the vocabulary of Nynorsk. This is noteworthy in these cases since Aasen clearly had the opportunity to use a modern spelling or use the Old Norse word of *gamalløra* for example, as he did for *Mannraun*, yet chooses not to. Moreover, whilst he modernises the word *Frægd* with *Gitord*, he still uses *Frægd* multiple time elsewhere in his translation, further emphasising the struggle between Aasen’s linguistic ideologies and motives and his translation approach. This can be seen in Aasen’s other footnotes where he describes certain words and provides synonyms for them, for example, “Grima: Skyle, Skygge (Maske)” (ibid.: 35), despite these words already appearing eight years earlier in *Ordbog over det norske Folkesprog.* This demonstrates a lack of archaisation on Aasen’s part, since whilst certain words may have been closely related to the Old Norse source and appeared old-fashioned to the contemporary Norwegian readers as Aasen feared, lexically speaking, and in accordance with Aasen’s 1850 dictionary, most of the footnoted words, and indeed the entire vocabulary found in the translation, are not archaic and were a part of the Norwegian living language by Aasen’s own admission: “det Sprog, som her behandles, er et Talesprog uden Skrift eller Litteratur; det er altsaa ikke en bestemt boglig Sprogform, som her skal fremstilles, men det er et levende Sprog, som paa een Gang skal overføres fra Tale til Skrift” (Aasen, 1850 VI).[231]

Contrary to Aasen’s earlier objections towards translations of Old Norse texts, translating the sagas provided a perfect opportunity to both modernise the Nynorsk language and simultaneously remain faithful to the Old Norse language, as well as (re)introduce new lexical items to the language. Especially through the use of astute

[228] *Gods og Gitord**… *In the Old language “*Fe og Frægd*”. *Fe* means *Gods*, *Eigodom*; *Frægd* means *Æra*.
[229] *gamall og galen**… *In the saga “*gamalløra*”.
[230] *Sleden**… *In the saga the word used is “*vagn*” (*Vogn*).
[231] the language that is addressed here is a spoken language without a script or literature; thus, it is not a definite literary language presented here, rather it is a living language that will be transferred from speech to writing at once.

and inventive footnotes, since it directly brings the two languages closer together, but not too close, as Aasen feared, when it comes to the actual practice of translating. Indeed, despite Aasen's preference to translate from modern languages such as English or German into Nynorsk, translations of Old Norse texts allowed new ground to be broken by reintroducing Old Norse vocabulary within a new context, where it would be read by a modern Norwegian reader. This phenomenon would not necessarily be possible when translating from modern languages such as English or German since the source text would neither contain archaic vocabulary, nor vocabulary related to the ancestral language of Nynorsk.

As has been evidenced above, Aasen's translation of *Fridtjofs Saga*, with its multitudinous footnotes, demonstrates a link between a saga translation and the introduction of new lexical items to the Nynorsk language, and how the availability and popularity of such a translation may have led to the solidification and perseverance of certain words within a language, as seen through their existence in contemporary dictionaries. Moreover, it can be argued that Aasen's translation broke new ground merely by using the Nynorsk language within the context of Old Norse literature, since the Nynorsk language was so new at this point and so few texts written in the Nynorsk variant even existed. The entire vocabulary used by Aasen to translate the Old Norse source text was new in a sense, since the very existence of Aasen's *Fridtjof's Saga* turned the Nynorsk vocabulary into a living written language and brought all these lexical items into use. How Høeg's retranslation of Aasen's work may have affected the Nynorsk language, and to what extent Aasen's translation may have affected the vocabulary within Høeg's, Rue's and Fosse's translations, will be explored below.

6.1.2 Paratextual analysis of Hans Høeg's *Soga um Fridtjov den frøkne* (1925)

As argued previously, Aasen's translation and its footnotes could be read and interpreted as a thesaurus of the Nynorsk language or perhaps as a supplement to his 1850 dictionary and 1853 *Prøver af Landsmaalet i Norge*, for they contained a great deal of synonyms and definitions for the Nynorsk vocabulary found within the translated text. This was surely of great use to Høeg when it came to his translation and it is little secret that he used both Aasen's 1858 translation and Alexander

Bugge's 1901 (Bokmål) translation in his own work, as he highlights in his foreword when referring to these translations: "Det har vore meg til stor hjelp at eg kunna havt desse for hand under arbeidet med denne nye umsetjingi" (Høeg, 1925: 6).[232] Furthermore, by comparing not only the footnotes to Aasen's and Høeg's translations but also the texts themselves, it is evident to see a distinct connection between the vocabulary chosen by Høeg and the influence of Aasen's footnotes. It is also a useful way in which to measure the influence of Aasen's translation and its lasting effect on the Nynorsk language, since one can immediately notice whether Aasen's attempts to bring back little-known or forgotten vocabulary were successful if the lexical items were similarly used by Høeg.

Whilst Aasen's translation contained 120 footnotes, Høeg's translation contains a mere 15. The reasons for this are not clear but there are a variety of possible explanations: 1) a great deal of Nynorsk vocabulary had become more commonplace and so did not need explaining, 2) Publisher's preference for adding footnotes, 3) different readers in mind who may have either not needed footnotes or would not have been agreeable to breaks in the reading experience or 4) different pedagogical motives behind each translation, i.e. Aasen's aimed to educate and Høeg's aimed to entertain. I will analyse the footnotes of a linguistic nature here, again, ignoring any footnotes that only explain geographical or historical information, or exist only to clarify the saga's narrative; this negates seven of them. Footnotes that have a direct link to Aasen's translation or equivalent footnote or reference in Aasen's translation will also be highlighted in order to demonstrate the influence of said text on Høeg's translation and word choices.

[232] It has been of great help to have these to hand whilst working on this new translation.

Table 7: Comparison of Aasen's and Høeg's footnotes

Word used in Høeg's *Soga um Fridtjov den frøkne* (1925)	**Reference and footnote in Høeg's *Soga um Fridtjov den frøkne* (1925)**	**Equivalent reference or footnote in Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858)**	**Appearance in dictionaries**
Svanebrekka ("hillside of swans": a kenning for an ocean wave)	… Møyi vil syrgja um eg skal søkka i svanebrekka* *Kjenning fra [sic] bylgja. (p. 23)	… Skal eg søkkja i Svana-Brekka* *Svanabrekka er eit Namn paa Baara. (p. 20)	It does not appear in any dictionaries, due to it being a kenning most likely. Both *Svana* and *brekka* appear in Aasen's 1850 dictionary, however.
Ran ("the name of a sea goddess")	… No skal eg røyna i Rans* seng å stiga *Ran er kona til havguden Æge. Rans seng er havbotnen. (p. 24)	… No skal eg røynlegt i Raan-Seng* stiga *Raan er Kona til Havguden Øge. Hennar Seng (Raan-Bed) er so myket som Havsbotnen. (p. 22)	Found in Hægstad and Torp's *Gamalnorsk ordbok: med nynorsk tyding* (1909)
Dis/disarblot ("goddess/tribute to goddesses")	… kongane var i Baldershage til disarblot* *dis = gudine. (p. 34)	… Kongarne vaaro i Baldershagen ved Disa-Blotet*	Found in Aasen's 1850 dictionary.

		*Disablot: Offring til Gudarne, og serlega til Gudvivi (Diserna). (p. 30)	
Varg (“wolf”)	… No visst bålet brenn midt i Balders hage, difor fær varg* eg heita *Varg i veum = ulv i heilagdom skulde den heita som vanvyrde ein heilag stad. Han var fredlaus. (p. 39)	… No teker Baal aa brenna Baldershagen i Midja; di fær eg Varg i Veom* heita *Ve er vigde Stader elder Heilagdomar. “Varg i Veom” skulde dan heita, som hadde gjort Skade paa ein heilag Stad. (p. 33)	Found in Aasen’s 1850 dictionary.
Anger (“a narrow fjord or bay”, can also mean “regret” or “pain”)	… i Anger* er eg uppfødd *Anger kan tyda: trong fjord, bukt. (p. 43)	No footnote for *Anger* in Aasen’s translation.	*Anger* appears in Aasen’s 1850 dictionary with the definition “Anger”. Aasen’s 1873 dictionary elaborates on this definition.
Grøta (“to make someone cry”)	… Hertjov [eg heitte] då eg enkjor grøtte*	… Hertjov [eg heitte] ogso, daa Enkjor eg grøtte*	Found in Aasen’s 1850 dictionary.

	*Grøta = få til å gråta. (p. 44)	*Same som: drap Menner, so at Enkjorna greto. (p. 36)	
Gaflak (“harpoon/javelin”)	… Geirtjov den gongen då gaflak* eg kasta *kastespjot. (p. 44)	… Geirtjov, daa eg Gavlok* fløygde *Gavlok (Gaflok): Spjot, Kastespjot. (p. 37)	Found in Hægstad and Torp’s *Gamalnorsk ordbok: med nynorsk tyding* (1909)
Fredsskjold (“a shield of peace” symbolising a truce)	… Då let Fridtjov halda upp fredsskjold* *Ein kvit skjold som tydde på at ein ynskte fredsemje. (p. 54)	No footnote for *Fredskjold* in Aasen’s translation.	Found in Hægstad and Torp’s *Gamalnorsk ordbok: med nynorsk tyding* (1909)

First and foremost, this table immediately shows how strikingly similar Høeg’s footnotes are to Aasen’s. Indeed, six of his total fifteen footnotes are almost exactly the same as those found in Aasen’s translation, and there are only two instances – *Anger* and *fredsskjold* – where Høeg inserts footnotes where Aasen did not, despite Aasen using both words in his translation. It seems very plausible that Høeg had copied/drawn inspiration from Aasen’s translation when adding references to his work; after all, Høeg states what a help it was when translating to have Aasen’s translation to hand. Indeed, one of Høeg’s footnotes demonstrates the true extent to which Aasen’s translation influenced his own translation, where he explains that he used the exact same translation for one of Björn’s verses as Aasen: “*Etter Ivar Aasens umsetjing” (Høeg, 1925: 23).[233] Obviously, Høeg updates the spelling but the rest of the verse is a word-for-word copy of Aasen’s translation. Perhaps Høeg

[233] After Ivar Aasen’s translation.

did not think he could do better than Aasen's translation of this difficult skaldic verse or perhaps he used it as an homage to Aasen as a sign of respect. There is also the possibility that he did not find better alternatives that retained the poetic features, as Aasen's did. Regardless of Høeg's motives, however, these similarities in footnotes and the use of Aasen's translation demonstrate the influential power of Aasen's 1858 translation on subsequent saga translations sixty-seven years on. It may also speak to the respect shown towards Aasen's translation and acceptance of his authority as the creator of Nynorsk.

Høeg's footnotes that provide the same linguistic information found in the footnotes in Aasen's translation also reveal a decision to not use the hundred or so extra footnotes found in Aasen's translation. Why was it necessary for Høeg, in 1925, to provide a definition for *grøta*, for example, but not use Aasen's footnote defining the word *berserkagang* (Aasen, 1858: 27), which is similarly used by Høeg: "Dei gjekk ofte berserkgang" (Høeg, 1925: 30) in his translation? Perhaps those of Aasen's footnotes which were not adopted by Høeg had achieved their job of educating the Norwegian people to such a degree that these words did not need explaining by 1925, and that footnoting such words with their definitions or synonyms seemed unnecessary by this point, at least according to Høeg. Indeed, this word can be found in multiple previous Nynorsk saga translations, for example: "det kallar dei berserksgang" (Schjøtt, 1900: 11); "det kom berserkgang paa Tore" (Reitan, 1909: 66); "Dei gjekk berserkgang" (Røkke, 1912: 49). It should be noted that this word appears a great deal in Bokmål saga translations as well, usually with the spelling *berserkergang*: "han gik berserkergang" (Bugge, 1901: 25); "som har anfald av berserkergang" (Undset, 1923: 106). This again, whilst not proving definitively how a saga translation has affected the Nynorsk language, does demonstrate how an older saga translation may have had an effect on a new saga translation and its footnotes, and furthermore demonstrates the influence of Aasen's translation on Høeg's language choices.

6.1.3 Paratextual analysis of Ivar Aasen's/Olav Rue's *Soga om Fridtjov den frøkne* (1976)

The influence of Aasen's translation on Rue's translation or "revision" in 1976 is certainly more obvious and direct than Høeg's, as it was presented as a "revision" of Aasen's 1858 translation and utilised a great deal of the same vocabulary. Concerning the 30 footnotes found in the 1976 version, 24 of them are taken directly from Aasen's own footnotes in 1858 as explained by Rue: "Ordforklåringane er i stor mon henta frå Ivar Aasens utgåve av soga" (Rue, in Aasen, 1976: 72).[234] These footnotes of a linguistic nature had drastically reduced in number from the 120 in Aasen's 1858 edition, demonstrating the lack of need for definitions in the 1976 version. One reason to explain this could be due to the words becoming established and well-known by 1976 thanks, in part, to Aasen's 1858 translation. Another reason could be that Rue used Aasen's footnoted suggestions and synonyms, thus updating the text and not needing further footnotes. However, this does not account for all of the footnotes not carried over to Rue's translation.

As previously argued, Aasen's translation could be read as supplementary material to his 1850 dictionary and 1853 *Prøver af Landsmaal i Norge*, and subsequent saga translators were able to use his translation and particularly its footnotes when they translated. Appendix 2 highlights the occasions where Høeg and Rue used Aasen's footnoted synonym in their translations, whether they used the same word in the main body of Aasen's text or whether they used a different word not found in Aasen's 1858 translation. This helps to demonstrate how Aasen's 1858 translation influenced further Nynorsk writing and solidified certain words in some cases, not just through the translated material but the paratextual also. A quick glance at Appendix 2 reveals how often Rue and Høeg used either the same word as Aasen or followed the alternative synonyms found in his footnotes. In terms of the words Aasen footnoted, i.e. words of significant interest and requiring extra information, the table shows how, more often than not as the quantitative analysis will show, both Rue and Høeg used the same terms as Aasen. This shows how subsequent Nynorsk saga translators might use Aasen's 1858 translation as a sort of dictionary for their own translations. The frequency with which Rue and Høeg use

[234] The definitions are to a large degree taken from Ivar Aasen's edition of the saga.

Aasen's suggested synonyms when they find Aasen's word too archaic or not appropriate for their contemporary audiences is telling. Both Rue and Høeg had a plethora of synonyms and alternatives to choose from in many of these cases, yet they chose to use Aasen's suggested synonyms in the majority of cases. This may be due to their respect for Aasen's work and not wanting to stray too far from his translation, which is certainly more true for Rue since it was still Aasen's name on the translation. It may also be due to the fact that when coming across a particularly challenging word, it was extremely convenient to find a synonym preapproved by Aasen to utilise in place of Aasen's translated word.

Placing a percentage on these footnoted words reveals how similar sections of these translations are and how little diversion there is from Aasen's translation and paratextual material. For example, 85.7% of the corresponding words in Rue's translation are also found in Aasen's translation (more specifically: 48.7% used the same word as Aasen's translation and 37.5% used the synonym found in Aasen's paratextual material), whilst only 14.3% of the corresponding words in Rue's translation were different from Aasen's translation and footnotes. Similarly, but to a lesser extent, 72.1% of the corresponding words in Høeg's translation are also found in Aasen's translation (more specifically: 32.4% used the same word as Aasen's translation and 39.7% used the synonym found in Aasen's paratextual material), whilst only 27.9% of Høeg's corresponding words were different from Aasen's translation and footnotes. The significant similarity between each translation demonstrates how Aasen's translation could be used as supplementary material for translations of the same text and the influence Aasen's translation had on the subsequent vocabulary of the Nynorsk language, since a significant number of Aasen's footnoted words either did not need to be footnoted as time went on or were equally appropriate to use. This is the case for 31.4% of Høeg's corresponding words and 50.0% of Rue's corresponding words, demonstrating how these words had become solidified through time due to Aasen's translation to a certain degree.

6.1.4 Paratextual analysis of Jon Fosse's *Soga om Fridtjov den frøkne* (2013)

There is little to add concerning Fosse's paratextual material concerning information of a linguistic nature due to the fact that Fosse's 2013 translation does not contain

any footnotes. The reason for a lack of footnotes is likely due to the publisher's focus on design, tactility and materiality, resulting in a minimalistic design with very little paratextual material. However, a greater knowledge among the readership of the established vocabulary of Nynorsk and Fosse's use of a more modern Nynorsk compared to Aasen's translation may also have factored into this decision.

Regarding Fosse's use of the previous translations as a dictionary and whether Fosse utilised the footnotes and vocabulary of Aasen, Høeg and Rue can be partially seen in his translator's note where he states:

> Denne omskrifta er gjord på grunnlag av teksten i *Fornaldar sögur Nordlanda eptir gömlum handritum*… og hadde ikkje, slik og slik, vore mogeleg utan Ivar Aasens *Fridtjofs saga* frå 1858… Til hjelp har òg vore Olav Hr. Rues sjølvstendige revidering av Aasens omsetjing i *Soga om Fridtjov den frøkne*, utgjeven i 1976. Takk til dykk båe, der i dykkar himmel. (Fosse, 2013: 87)[235]

Clearly, Fosse found having Aasen's and Rue's translations to hand to be of great help when translating and they likely influenced his own translational work and choices. However, it is also important to note that through my correspondence with Fosse I discovered that he was not aware of Høeg's translation and thus could not have been influenced by this work. When asked if he had had the previous translations to hand when translating, Fosse noted: "Det einaste som må seiast er at eg ikkje kjende til Hans Høegs omsetjing" (Jon Fosse, email message to author, December 11, 2020).[236] When asked if he had heard of Høeg's translation at all, Fosse replied: "Nei, den kjende eg faktisk ikkje til før du no fortel om den!" (Jon Fosse, email message to author, December 11, 2020).[237] This lack of awareness may highlight the prestige of Aasen's and Rue's translations and/or the lack of lasting influence of Høeg's translation. However, it may equally merely indicate an oversight by Fosse as one reader of the Norwegian newspaper *Dag og Tid* demonstrates when he corrects this same oversight following an interview with Fosse printed in *Dag og Tid* in 2014:

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[235] This rewriting [translation] was made with the text in *Fornaldar sögur Nordlanda eptir gömlum handritum* as its source text… and would not have been possible, in such a way, without Ivar Aasen's *Fridtjofs saga* from 1858… Olav Hr. Rue's independent revision of Aasen's translation in *Soga om Fridtjov den frøkne*, published in 1976, has also been of help. Thank you both, there in your heaven.
[236] The one thing I must say is that I was not aware of Hans Høeg's translation.
[237] No, I was actually not aware of it before you told me of it!

> Eg vil her koma med ein merknad til intervjuet med Jon Fosse og Oddvar Torsheim, "Kameratar på vikingferd", som stod på prent i Dag og Tid 12. september. I artikkelen blir det vist til ulike omsetjingar av den islandske fornaldersoga *Fridtjov den frøkne*. Ivar Aasen omsette henne til nynorsk i 1858 og Jon Fosse i 2013. Men det som ikkje kom fram i artikkelen, er at *Soga om Fridtjov den frøkne* òg vart omsett til nynorsk i 1925. Mannen bak omsetjinga var skulemannen Hans Høeg, og boka vart utgjeven på Lunde forlag i Bergen. Omsetjinga er no digitalisert av Nasjonalbiblioteket. (Harildstad, 'Soga om Fridtjov den frøkne', 19.09.2014: 33)[238]

Evidently, Høeg's translation was still remembered by at least one person in 2014 and Gudmund Harildstad's awareness of the details of Høeg's publication shows that the publication's details and text were readily available for any Norwegian looking for them. Fosse's lack of awareness of Høeg's translation will also be of interest in the following section when comparing Fosse's and Høeg's word choices.

6.2 Vocabulary comparison and analysis

This section will look at these translations at the word level, comparing similarities and differences in the word choices of the four Nynorsk translators. The comparison of these words will highlight how the Nynorsk vocabulary has been maintained, solidified and developed to varying degrees since 1853. The comparison will also highlight the degree to which Aasen's vocabulary choices have survived and whether the words he promoted in his translation became "myket brukføre og nytlege baade i Skrift og Tale" (Aasen, 1858: vi).[239]

Before comparing Høeg's, Rue's and Fosse's vocabulary choices to Aasen's in these translations, however, it is important to note that whilst this study focuses on vocabulary usage, there are also significant differences in the Nynorsk syntax used by Aasen, Høeg, Rue and Fosse, raising the question of whether saga translations

[238] I would like to make a comment here on the interview with Jon Fosse and Oddvar Torsheim, 'Kameratar på vikingferd', printed in *Dag og Tid* on the 12th of September. In the article, various translations of the Icelandic *fornaldarsaga* 'Frithiof the bold's saga' were referred to. Ivar Aasen translated it in 1858 and Jon Fosse in 2013. But what did not appear in the article is that 'Frithiof's saga' was also translated into Nynorsk in 1925. The man behind the translation was the educator Hans Høeg, and the book was published by Lunde forlag in Bergen. The translation has now been digitised by the National Library of Norway.

[239] extremely practical and useful both in writing and in speech.

had an effect on the syntax of Nynorsk or not, which perhaps merits a study of its own.

To name but one example:

Table 8: Syntax comparison of the four Nynorsk translations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*

	Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga i Omskrift i det nyere Landsmaal,* 1858, p. 9	**Høeg's *Soga um Fridtjov den frøkne*, 1925, p. 10**	**Rue's *Soga om Fridtjov den frøkne*, 1976, p.27**	**Fosse's *Soga om Fridtjov den frøkne*, 2013, p.8**	**Old Norse source text: *Fornaldar Sögur Nordrlanda*, Volume 2, 1829, p.65**
Original text	Fridtjov hadde tvo Fostbrøder, som heitte Bjørn og Asmund; og dei vaaro ogso store Menner og sterke.	Bjørn og Åsmund heitte fosterbrørne til Fridtjov. Dei var store og sterke menn.	Fridtjov hadde to fosterbrør, Bjørn og Åsmund, dei var òg store og sterke menn.	Bjørn og Åsmund heitte fosterbrørne til Fridtjov, dei var mykje til menn og sterke.	Björn ok Ásmundr hètu fóstbræðr Friðþjófs; þeir voru miklir menn ok sterkir.
Literal translation	Fridtjov had two foster brothers, who were called Bjørn and Åsmund; and they were also large men and strong.	Bjørn and Åsmund were called the foster brothers of Fridtjov. They were large and strong men.	Fridtjov had two foster brothers, Bjørn and Åsmund, they were also large and strong men.	Bjørn og Åsmund were called the foster brothers of Fridtjov, they were great men and strong.	Bjørn og Åsmund were called the foster brothers of Fridtjov, they were large men and strong.

As the table shows, the syntax differs in each of these Nynorsk translations with Fosse's translation following the original Old Norse syntax closer than the others. Yet there are some similarities and differences among all four of the translations. This brief example demonstrates a need for a more in-depth study of

how Old Norse translations may or may not have affected the syntax of Nynorsk, although they all follow a very formulaic construction quite typical of saga writing.

The data for the analysis found below can be found in Appendix 3 in the form of a table listing the vast majority of word choices found in the four Nynorsk translations along with the Old Norse original. The starting points for this data are the words translated by Aasen in 1858, which are then compared with the words in the subsequent three translations. In order to understand the selection process for this data, it is best to discuss the omissions from my analysis. Firstly, I do not highlight differences in the morphology of Aasen's and Høeg's Nynorsk, since this study focuses on individual vocabulary choices and not changes in the morphology of such lexical items. Secondly, and linked to morphology, I do not focus on the differences in spellings for a certain word for the same reason as above, and furthermore, many of these spelling changes were a result of spelling reforms or perhaps as the result of differences in the dialects and/or preferences of Nynorsk norms of the translator. I omit proper nouns and place names since these are not significantly altered from one translation to the next nor are there significantly different ways to translate such words. They are also not found as individual lexical items within a dictionary. I do not omit kennings as although they are not often found as an individual lexical items within a dictionary, they do offer the translator an opportunity to choose a variety of terms to fit the Old Norse original. Finally, I omit pronouns, articles and prepositions as these too are not significantly altered from one translation to the next nor are there significantly different ways to translate such words. This leaves the analysis with a focus on the similarities and differences between nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs found in these translations, since these are where the translator has the most visible opportunity to decide on vocabulary and choose to translate a word differently to the previous translations.

It is also necessary to state the obvious fact that there is no one single way to speak, write or translate and thus, certain differences in word choices may appear arbitrarily, or due to a translator's preferred literary style, or even perhaps because a translator may simply enjoy using certain words above others. Nonetheless, it is the differences *and* similarities in these translations, viewed together, that reveal the influence translations may have on a language, in addition to the influence that Aasen's translation had on the Nynorsk language.

6.2.1 Overview of Appendix 3

At first glance, Appendix 3 clearly reveals how similar the three retranslations remained in terms of lexical choices to Aasen's 1858 translation. To quantify this, each word choice can be given a value of 1 (or 0.5 where a word choice is half carried over to the next translation, e.g. 358: ill**hug** > *vond***hug**) and then given a percentage of the total word choices where they differ to previous translations. It is important to note that due to omissions of certain words the total word choices for each translation differs slightly. Aasen's translation contains 912 word choices, Høeg's 819, Rue's 905 and Fosse's 887. The table below shows the number of word choices for each of the three retranslations and how they correspond to one another in addition to Aasen's 1858 translation.

Table 9: Similarities and differences in word choices between the four Nynorsk translations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*

Høeg 1925 word choices		**Rue 1976 word choices**				**Fosse 2013 word choices**				
Different to Aasen	Same as Aasen	Different to Aasen	Different to Høeg and Aasen	Same as Aasen	Same as Høeg	Different to Aasen	Different to Aasen, Høeg and Rue	Same as Aasen	Same as Høeg	Same as Rue
331.5 40.48%	487.5 59.52%	177 19.56%	118.5 13.09%	728 80.44%	58.5 6.46%	423 47.69%	281.5 31.74%	464 52.31%	100 11.27%	41.5 4.68%
Total: 819		Total: 905				Total: 887				

Concerning Høeg's translation, the table shows that he was the translator who chose the most original lexical items after Aasen with 40.48% of his word choices being original/new terms in 1925. However, over half of his word choices (59.52%) remained the same as Aasen's highlighting how "practical and useful" Aasen's word choices continued to be. On the other hand, only 13.09% of Rue's word choices were original compared to the previous two translations whilst 80.44% of his word choices remained the same as Aasen's. Whilst this may not seem surprising when

considering Rue's translation was labelled a revision by Det Norske Samlaget and still named Aasen as the translator, it is noteworthy that a translation that was deemed archaic by many critics, and "gamaldagslegt" by Aasen himself, had remained 80% the same in terms of vocabulary over a century later.[240] Indeed, even decades later, 52.31% of Aasen's word choices remained the same in Fosse's translation and whilst Fosse's translation deviated most from Aasen's with 47.69% of the word choices being different, the percentage of word choices that were original contributions by Fosse was only 31.74%. Whilst this may be natural for the most contemporary retranslation of a text considering the scope for originality must surely diminish with each retranslation as alternative words are used up, it is noteworthy that the Nynorsk vocabulary used in a twenty-first-century translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* remains over two thirds the same as the previous three Nynorsk translations. This further highlights how certain vocabulary had become solidified and established within the Nynorsk vocabulary after Aasen's landmark 1858 translation.

It is also of note how often Fosse and Høeg use the same vocabulary despite Fosse not having been aware of Høeg's translation when he translated his own version. Indeed, 11.27% of Fosse's word choices are the same as Høeg's. This may be due to some overlap in dialects, literary style or knowledge of Old Norse, or they could simply be arbitrary coincidences. However, it does further emphasise how original and modern Høeg's translation was, especially when compared to Rue's translation that had to remain closer to Aasen's original.

Whilst Fosse's translation may not seem too original or modern in terms of a great deal of his lexical choices, it is an original and modern translation when compared as a whole to Aasen's 1858 translation. Indeed, stylistically speaking, Fosse's translation is extremely different to the previous three translations, and his translations of the verses deviate a great deal from Aasen's original, as shown below:

[240] Old-fashioned.

Inkje turva Drengir	*De tarv ikkje, drenger,*	*Ikkje tarv no karar*	*Ikkje skal menn*
fyre Dauden kvida.	*ottast for dauden!*	*for dauden ha kvide.*	*ottast dauden,*
Vere no glade,	*Ver no gladværug,*	*Berre ver glade*	*ver no muntre*
Gluntarne mine.	*gilde karar!*	*gutane mine.*	*mennene mine.*
Dat muno visa	*I fyresviv mine*	*Det kan vel vise*	*Det vil skje,*
vaare Draumar,	*vert det fortalt meg*	*våre draumar,*	*som draumar veit,*
at eg mun endaa	*at eiga eg skal*	*at eg mun enno*	*at endå eg kan med*
Ingebjørg eiga.	*fagre Ingebjørg.*	*Ingebjørg eige.*	*Ingebjørg giftast.*
(Aasen, 1858)	(Høeg, 1925)	(Aasen [Rue], 1976)	(Fosse, 2013)

Nevertheless, the focus of this thesis is on lexical choices only, and, thus, it can be seen that Aasen's 1858 translation has stood the test of time to a great extent as Appendix 3 shows. However, the next section will highlight where some of his word choices have fallen out of use and where certain words of significance have become both practical and useful in written Nynorsk.

6.2.2 Analysis of words of significance

This section delves deeper into words of significance within the four Nynorsk saga translations. The majority of the words for analysis will again begin with Aasen's translated word as it is found in his 1858 translation since they occur first in the chronology within the framework of this project. The words of significance are split into three categories. The first category is "words promoted by Aasen": words that follow Aasen's translation approach detailed in his foreword to *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858):

> Dat er endaa Raad til aa bruka myket dei same Ordi, som i dan gamle Saga; og dat er ogso Raad til aa minna seg atter paa mange gamle Ordalag, som no ero litet kjende og paa mange Stader avlagde, men som lettelega kunde friskast uppatter, og som endaa i minsto ero større Vyrdnad verde en dei mange framande og vanskapade Ordi, som strøyma inn til oss ifraa andra Sidor. (Aasen, 1858: vi)[241]

[241] It is still possible to use a great deal of the same words that are in the old saga; and it may also be advisable to remind oneself of many old phrases that are now little known and in many places forgotten, yet which could easily be brought back again, and which are at least of greater value than the many foreign and poorly adapted words that are streaming into us [our language] from other sides.

Thus, this category covers Nynorsk words that have remained close to the Old Norse original that Aasen intended to reintroduce to the Nynorsk vocabulary. The second category is “Saga-specific terminology and skaldic/poetic words”: words found almost exclusively within the saga genre and words used specifically within Norse verse. The final category is “Quintessential Nynorsk words”: words that do not have a corresponding Bokmål word, or if there exists a corresponding word or cognate within the Bokmål lexicon, it is often used solely in translations of Old Norse literature and/or used in a dialectal manner within other Bokmål literature, for example, where certain characters in a novel speak in their natural dialect.

It is important to mention here the appearance of compound words in this analysis too. The Norwegian language allows an almost infinite number of words to be created through compounding and, therefore, no dictionary will be able to include every compounded word even if it is found in writing or in everyday speech. Aasen highlights this issue in the foreword to his 1850 dictionary: “Af de sammensatte Ord er derimod en stor Deel forbigaaet, nemlig de Ord, som ikke nødvendigt trænge til Forklaring, fordi de ere sammenføiede af saadanne Ord, hvis Betydning er vel bekjendt, og hvis Forbindelse er saa simpel, at de kunne betragtes som adskilte Ord” (Aasen, 1850: v).[242] Indeed, the vast majority of words that make up the compound words below can readily be found in the Nynorsk dictionaries, yet they do not necessarily appear in their compounded form within the dictionaries (for example, *bøn* and *ord* can be found in *Nynorskordboka* but *bønord* cannot). Since for the non-Norwegian reader of this thesis the connection and understanding of each compound word may not be as simple as they are for Aasen, these have been included. Furthermore, this analysis includes a number of compound words that often appear in the Nynorsk dictionaries or are compound words in the Old Norse ST meaning that the Nynorsk translation of the compounded word is of interest.

My analysis of these words begins with whether such words remain in noteworthy dictionaries. These dictionaries are the previously mentioned *Nynorskordboka* (online version 2024 https://ordbokene.no/nob/nn), *Norsk Ordbok: Ordbok over det norske folkemålet og det nynorske skriftmålet* (online version

[242] However, a large part of the compound words has been omitted, namely those words that do not necessarily need explanation, since they are connected by words whose meaning is well known, and whose connection is so simple that they could be considered separated words.

oda.uib.no), Steinar Schjøtt's *Norsk ordbok, med ordtyding paa norsk-dansk* (1914) and Marius Hægstad and Alf Torp's *Gamalnorsk ordbok: med nynorsk tyding* (1909). The latter is of note since it provides the contemporary definitive Nynorsk translation of the Old Norse word and will thus show whether Aasen's words were solidified in the early stages of the Nynorsk language. Using these dictionaries from different historical points will show which words were initially solidified and whether they remain in use today or they fell out of use. This will be followed by whether these words were utilised again in subsequent saga translations, including the other three Nynorsk translations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, with further emphasis on whether they were found in Schjøtt's translation of *Heimskringla* (1900) and Mortensson's translation of *Edda* (1905, 1908). This will be followed by whether these words can be found in other contemporaneous Nynorsk texts (i.e. the early development of the Nynorsk vocabulary 1853-1917), specifically major wide-spread works such as Garborg's *Odyssevskvædet* (1918). Indeed, finding certain words in subsequent translations of canonical works such as the Bible, *Heimskringla* or *Odýsseia* transformed these words in many cases from spoken dialectal forms to literary Nynorsk words.

Locating such words will be achieved by searching for the word on the National Library of Norway's *nettbiblioteket* ("the online library" – www.nb.no/search), since this contains material dating from the Middle Ages up to the current day. Moreover, the Norwegian Legal Deposit Act: "requires that all published content, in all media, be deposited with the National Library of Norway" ('Digitizing at the National Library'). For context, as of 2024, there are 652,342 books ('Bøker søk'), 4,601,331 newspapers ('Aviser søk'), and 387,382 journals ('Tidsskrift søk') available on *nettbiblioteket*. This provides an excellent overview of whether these words can be found in subsequent Norwegian writing, as well as when and where they exist if so. The words will also be compared to their Bokmål equivalent in Alexander Bugge's 1901 translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* to highlight the differences and similarities between the Nynorsk and Bokmål saga translations. They will also be checked to see if they exist in the Bokmål dictionaries *Bokmålsordboka* (online version 2024 https://ordbokene.no/bm) and *Det Norske Akademis ordbok* (online version 2018 https://naob.no). It should be noted, however, that *Det Norske Akademi*, who is responsible for the latter dictionary, includes dialectal words that

are found in Bokmål writing. Therefore, many dialectal and/or Nynorsk words find themselves in *Det Norske Akademis ordbok* also. The analysis will conclude with any miscellaneous information of note.

My analysis shows the varying success of Aasen's translation approach, highlighting both the solidification and lack of establishment of various Nynorsk words through different time periods (1853-1917; 1917-present day). It is not my argument that these words were solely solidified, spread and/or maintained due to Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858) and subsequent Nynorsk saga translations, since a range of other factors impact/impacted the Nynorsk vocabulary to greater and lesser degrees. For example, the usage of such words within the Norwegian dialects surely played a major role as to whether certain words were established in writing or not. Furthermore, the usage of these words in Bokmål translations would have aided the solidification of such words within the Nynorsk vocabulary, and there were also multiple other genres across various text types, newspapers and journals where such words had the ability to be established within the Nynorsk vocabulary. However, the fact these words exist in Nynorsk saga translations and other Nynorsk text types after appearing in Aasen's landmark translation, and that they were chosen by Nynorsk translators and writers in lieu of other Norwegian synonyms, combined with the significance of the Nynorsk saga archive outlined in Chapter 4, demonstrates how influential Aasen's text was for the Nynorsk vocabulary and how certain words were solidified in the Nynorsk vocabulary through the aid of Nynorsk saga translations. This is especially true in the early days of Nynorsk where contemporaries of Aasen who sought his advice as a language consultant, such as Sommer, Skard and Frich, can be seen to use the words heavily influenced by Old Norse (*grip*, *overevle, namnabot*) in their works. In my opinion, the connections and analyses detailed below should not be ignored when discussing the development of the Nynorsk language.

Words of significance:

Each entry will begin with the word as it is found in Aasen's 1858 translation, followed by the modern spelling of the word as it is found in *Norsk Ordbok*. The

bracketed word is the Old Norse word as it is found in the ST and the following word/phrase in quotation marks is the English definition of the Nynorsk word.

Key: NNO – *Nynorskordboka*

NO – *Norsk Ordbok: ordbok over det norske folkemålet og det nynorske skriftmålet*

BMO – *Bokmålsordboka*

NAOB – *Det Norske Akademis ordbok*

1914 – Steinar Schjøtt's *Norsk ordbok, med ordtyding paa norsk-dansk*

1909 – Marius Hægstad and Alf Torp's *Gamalnorsk ordbok: med nynorsk tyding*

1901 – Alexander Bugge's *Sagaen om Fridtjov den frøkne*

A summary of the appearance of the words of significance within the dictionaries above, in addition to the three subsequent Nynorsk translations of ***Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*** can be found in Appendix 4.

Words promoted by Aasen:

These words fit into Aasen's ideology of using the same words, with modernised spellings, that were found in the ST, which may have been little known at the time but could still be used in the Nynorsk language. These words were deemed by Aasen as being of "større Vyrdnad verde en dei mange framande og vanskapade Ordi, som strøyma inn til oss ifraa andra Sidor" (Aasen, 1858: vi) as he lays out in his foreword to *Fridtjofs Saga*.[243] A great many of these words do not have widespread usage within the dialects of Norway, or they no longer exist in the spoken language at all, as can be seen by the lack of *heimfesting* in their entries in *Norsk Ordbok*, but they were deemed valuable and useful words for the Nynorsk vocabulary by Aasen in 1858.[244] This attempt to remind the Norwegian audience of these words and

[243] greater value than the many foreign and poorly adapted words that are streaming into us [our language] from other sides.
[244] *Heimfesting* = "localisation", i.e. points to the location where a word can be found in the local dialect.

educate the reader on their meanings can be seen as partially successful in the sense that these words, with their meanings, could be found in written form in *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858) and often also in significant dictionaries of the early twentieth century. However, a great number of these words fell out of use when compared to their usage following Aasen's translation.

The analysis below shows whether these words appear in the aforementioned dictionaries and publications or not. For the 1909 *Gamalnorsk orbok*, the Nynorsk definition for the Old Norse word will be stated. If a word is found in NO, I will state if the word has no *heimfesting* listed in order to contrast with the words that appeared in everyday speech around Norway. If "no *heimfesting*" is not stated, it should be assumed that the entry contains *heimfesting* and can still be found in certain dialects today.

1. *Bønordet/bønord* (*bónorð*) – "a message (of courtship)/proposal"
   NNO – no, NO –yes; no *heimfesting*, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – no, 1909 – *bønord*, 1901 – *bøn*.
   Compound word. Whilst this word does not exist in NNO or 1914, nor was it used by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, it can be found in a great deal of texts and has been established in a variety of canonical Nynorsk translations. For example, Henrik Rytter's translation of Shakespeare's plays: "Gud fær dei tome bønordi" (H. Rytter, 1933a: 242) and Rytter and Sigmund Skard's translation of Dante's *Divina Commedia*: "og vende seg med bønord til Lucia" (H. Rytter and S. Skard, 1965: 93).

2. *Daper* (*döprum*) – "downcast/sad"
   NNO – no, NO –yes, BMO – no, NAOB –no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *daper*, 1901 – *stur*.
   This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, with both Bugge and Rue using *stur/sturen* instead. Despite it appearing in 1914 and 1909, very few subsequent Nynorsk writers chose this word. It can, however, be found in Rasmus Flo's translation of Old Skaldic poems: "men av fylgje, dapert, fraaskilt, som dvaldest" (Flo, 1902:

149) albeit with a footnote explaining the definition of *daper*, and in Johannes Skar's *Gamalt or Sætesdal*: "var so dap" (Skar, 1903: 171).

3. *Enne* (*enni*) – "forehead"

NNO – no, NO – yes, BMO - no NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *enne*, 1901 – *pande*.

This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* although it was used by Christopher Janson, a contemporary of Aasen, in *Fraa Bygdom*: "Ho havde laagt Enne" (Janson, 1866: 65). It can also be found in Schjøtt's *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *forhoved* and *pande*.

4. *Grima/grime* (*grímu*) – "mask/cowl"

NNO – not with same meaning, NO – yes; no *heimfesting*, BMO – not with same meaning, NAOB – yes, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *grima*, 1901 – *kappe*.

This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* and is mostly used with the meaning of a horse's "bridle" in the modern dictionaries and texts. However, it does appear in Mortensson's *Edda-kvæde*: "Grimne (han som gjeng med grime, maske)" (Mortensson, 1905: 80).

5. *Grimdarfulle/grimdarfull* (*grimdarfulla*) – "savage/evil"

NNO – no, NO – yes; no *heimfesting*, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – no, 1909 – *illskefull*, 1901 – omitted.

Compound word. This word is of note as it can only be found in Aasen's translation and was evidently not solidified in any subsequent texts or dictionaries. Even 1909 does not list *grimdarfull* as a suitable Nynorsk translation for *grimdarfullr* preferring *illskefull* or *vond* instead.

6. *Grip* (*grip*) – "costly thing/ valuable treasure"

NNO – yes; NO – yes; no *heimfesting*, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *grip*, *eignalut*, 1901 – *kostelig ting*.

This word is tied closely to Old Norse literature and is rarely found outside of the saga genre. *Gripr* is often translated in Nynorsk as *eignelut* (see below);

however a great deal of saga translators chose to use *grip* instead. For example, it can be found in saga translations of Aasen's contemporaries and correspondents such as Eirik Sommer and Matias Skard: "mangslags dyrgriper" (Sommer, 1864: 30); "ein fælt stor grip" (Skard: 1972a: 39). In addition to later saga translations: "gull og gripar gjeng me aa henta" (A. Joleik, 1917: 35); "dyrgripar fagre fram du sanke" (Mortensson, 1908: 81). It can also be found in non-saga literature such as Tarjei Vesaas' poems: "Han seier eit namn som ein dyrgrip ned mot den gråe stein" (Vesaas, 1946: 38). It is also found in Schjøtt's *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *klenodie*. This word has evidently become solidified as shown by its existence in NNO and other Nynorsk publications. Furthermore, this solidification must be attributed to the work of Nynorsk saga translations, specifically Aasen's 1858 translation, due to *gripr* being found solely in Old Norse texts.

7. *Hemingen/heming* (*hamingja*) – "luck/good fortune"

NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *heming*, 1901 – *lykke*.

This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* but can be found in NNO. It can also be found in Schjøtt's *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *lykke*. It is not found in subsequent Nynorsk saga translations either yet remains a part of the Nynorsk vocabulary in NNO.

8. *Høgleg* (*hægt*) – "easy"

NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *høgleg*, 1901 – *vel*.

This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* but has remained in the Nynorsk vocabulary in a variety of texts. For example, in Nynorsk saga translations: "han fór høgleg fram" (Tonna, 1943: 7), Rytter's translation of Shakespeare's *Othello*: "som høgleg vedkjem Dykk" (H. Rytter, 1923: 26), and other Nynorsk texts: "So hovet der etter, dulramt og høgleg" (Sletto, 1920: 13). It can also be found in Schjøtt's *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *let* and *magelig*.

9. *Komomannen/komemann* (*komumanninum*) – “guest/person who has arrived”
   NNO – no, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *komemann*, 1901 – *mand*.
   Compound word. This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* yet can be found in other canonical Nynorsk translations such as Mortensson’s *Edda-kvæde*: “Komoemannen: Vindkald eg heiter” (Mortensson, 1908: 1) and Garborg’s *Odyssevskædet*: “komemann er som ein bror” (Garborg, 1918: 109). It can also be found in Schjøtt’s *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *besøgende*, *fremmedfolk* and *gjæst*.

10. *Lidsinne* (*liðsinni*) – “help/assistance”
    NNO – no, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *lidsinne*, 1901 –*gjøre dem følge*.
    This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* yet can be found in other Nynorsk saga translations: “beda deg um lidsinne” (Aasmundstad, 1896: 217) and Nynorsk poetry: “i lidsinne og i godvise” (Uppdal, 1947: 280). It can also be found in Schjøtt’s *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *hjælpsomhed* and *tjenestagtighed*.

11. *Matreidsla/matreisle* (*matreiðum*) – “food preparation”
    NNO – no, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *matreidsla*, 1901 – *bære mad*.
    Compound word. This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* yet can be found in other Nynorsk saga translations: “aa leggja seg frami matreidsla” (Aasmundstad, 1896: 89) and other Nynorsk texts: “Det var oljeklæde, sjøstyvlar og matreidsla” (Røen, 1937: 18).

12. *Megn* (*hafsmegn*) – “power/strength”
    NNO – no, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – no, 1909 – *magt*, *styrke*, 1901 – *magt*.
    This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* but can be found in works of Nynorsk poetry: “med mått og

megn" (Auklend, 1930: 18); "syg seg si megn av den milde jord" (Molaug, 1936: 60). Aasen provides many words meaning "strength/power" throughout his translation such as *styrke, magt*, *megn* and *avl*, yet it is *styrke* which is used consistently in the other Nynorsk translations.

13. *Overevle/ovevle* (*ofrefli*) – "overwhelming force/beyond one's strength"
NNO – no, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *overevle*, 1901 – *styrke i sammenligning med hans*.
Compound word. This is translated as *overmakt* in the other three Nynorsk translations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* but was used by other Nynorsk saga translators, namely Eirik Sommer: "med so liten Mannstyrke imot slikt Overevle" (Sommer, 1864: 16), and Gustav Indrebø: "Ikkje synest det meg ovevle aa gaa imot dei baae" (Indrebø, 1920: 41). It was also used by Rytter in his translation of Shakespeare's *King Lear*: "dei som gjer seg hei'r av manns ovevle" (H. Rytter, 1933c: 194).

14. *Ramlegt/ramleg* (*ramligt*) – "strong/solid"
NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *ramleg*, 1901 – *sterkt*.
This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, all of them using *sterkt* instead. However, it remains in NNO and can be found in other Nynorsk saga translations: "gramen verja ramleg" (Schjøtt, 1900: 502); "ramleg aast meg fanga" (Lehmann, 1984: 17); "ramlegt flote-ting halde" (Flo, 1902:128), and translations of Ancient Greek literature: "ramlege galten" (Vandvik, 1951: 303); "ramlege Løva" (Nielsen, 1907: 32). It can also be found in Schjøtt's *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *kraftfuld*, *solid* and *stærk*.

15. *Raavet/råv* (*ræfrit*) – "roof"
NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *raav*, 1901 – *taget*.
This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, all of them using *taket/taget* instead. It can be found in NNO and certain Nynorsk works concerning the dialects of Trøndelag and

Namdalen: “under raavet” (Hægstad and Aavatsmark, 1886: 22); “når den andre sida var opptekt og råvet ferdig” (Bjerken, 1950: 254). It can also be found in Schjøtt’s *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *tag*.

16. *Seggirne/segg* (*seggjum*) – “man”

NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *segg*, 1901 – *svende*.

This word was used in Rue’s 1976 translation but was not used in the other Norwegian translations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*. It can be found in NNO and many Nynorsk texts and saga translations: “kongen åt seggane (mennene)” (Audne, 1928: 251); “ein drambsleg segg” (Holm, 1968: 63). It can also be found in Schjøtt’s *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *karl*.

17. *Sætt* (*sættir*) – “agreement/settlement”

NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *sætt*, 1901 – *forlig*.

This word was not used by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* and it is noteworthy that Høeg uses *forlik* despite Aasen warning that this is a foreign word in his footnotes. *Forlik* and *forlikast* was used by other subsequent Nynorsk saga translators such as Jørgen Reitan: “skal me forlikast” (Reitan, 1908: 71), demonstrating that *forlik*, despite its impurity from Aasen’s perspective, had been established in the Nynorsk vocabulary. Other Nynorsk saga translators did use *sætt/sættast*, however: “han vil sættast” (Indrebø, 1920: 27). It can also be found in Schjøtt’s *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *forlig*.

18. *Tigni/tign* (*tignar*) – “honour/state of being high-born”

NNO – no, NO – yes; no *heimfesting*, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – no, 1909 – *heider*, *æra*, *rang*, *vyrdnad*, 1901 – *værdighed*.

This word was not used by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* and is noteworthy for not being a suitable translation in the 1909 dictionary. However, Aasen’s influence on his correspondents can be seen yet again as both Eirik Sommer and Matias Skard use *tign* in their saga

translations: “fenget seg nokon Tign” (Sommer, 1864: 6); “ein Mann med kongeleg Tign” (M. Skard, 1874b: 5). It was also used by Peter Andreas Munch, another correspondent and friend of Aasen’s, in his 1859 Riksmål translation of *Heimskringla*: “en Mand uden Tignarnavn” (Munch, 1859: 120).

19. *Utigen* (*útignum*) – “without high-born status/low-born”
    NNO – no, NO – yes; no *heimfesting*, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – no; 1909 – *ugjæv*, 1901 – *uden fyrstelig* værdighed.
    Similar to *tign*, this word was not used by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* and is noteworthy for not being a suitable translation in the 1909 dictionary. However, again this word can be found in the works of Sommer and Munch: “som inkje vaaro utignare i Namn en Harald” (Sommer, 1862: 19); “nogen utigen Mand” (Munch, 1859: 396). It can also be found in multiple subsequent Nynorsk saga translations: “tigne og utigne” (Heggstad, 1914: 136); “var det ingen utigen mann som gjekk yver Aake Tokason” (Joleik, 1910: 23).

20. *Vigi/vig* (*vígin*) – “bulwarks of a ship” (*vig* can also mean “power” or “battle”)
    NNO – no, NO – no, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – no, 1909 – *eit slag skanseklædning paa skip til vern mot stor sjø*, 1901 – *skanseklædningen*.
    This word was not used by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*. This is likely due to the technical nature of this nautical term and would not have been a word that the majority of people knew in 1858. This is further emphasised by the lack of its existence in NO and having a different translation in the 1909 dictionary. It is of note that it does not exist in NO, however, as its existence in Aasen’s translation should presumably invite its entry into NO.

21. *Vitmuner/vitsmon* (*vitsmunni*) – “cleverness/stores of wit”
    NNO – no, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – no, 1909 – *vitsmun*, 1901 – *forstand*.
    Compound word. This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, all of them using *vit* instead. However, it appears in subsequent Nynorsk translations: “her gjeld det aa

hava vitsmun" (Aasmundstad, 1896: 91); "so liga seg alt vitsmun, rikdom, magt for deg" (Arctander, 1921: 212); and other works: "den som vitsmon mun hava" (Mortensson, 1895: 129).

As can be seen from the analysis of the examples above, the degree to which these words became established within the Nynorsk vocabulary is varied and changeable within different periods of this history. In the early days of the Nynorsk language, these words were deemed more suitable as can be seen from their appearances in works of that time, albeit mostly in other translations of Old Norse literature (*grip*, *komemann*, *ovevle*, *sætt*). From a modern standpoint, however, the majority of these words are not strongly established within the Nynorsk vocabulary, since 14 out of the 21 are not found in *Nynorskordboka* and in the majority of cases, the subsequent Nynorsk translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, especially Fosse, opted for a different synonym of the word.

Only three of these words (*grimdarfull*, *megn* and *vig*) were not the given Nynorsk translation of the Old Norse source word in Hægstad and Torp's 1909 Old Norse dictionary. The other eighteen words evidently became solidified in this dictionary as any subsequent Nynorsk translator of Old Norse who used this dictionary when translating would see these words as being "myket brukføre og nytlege" in Nynorsk writing.[245] Similarly, Schjøtt's 1914 dictionary lists all these words except seven: *bønordet*, *grimdarfull*, *megn*, *tign*, *utigen*, *vig* and *vitsmon*. As previously mentioned, this dictionary was compiled by Schjøtt using examples from pre-existing Nynorsk literature alongside other dictionaries. It is, therefore, not unlikely that words such as *grip* were added due to their appearance in Nynorsk saga translations such as Aasen's, Sommer's and Skard's.

However, it is also noteworthy that Aasen's attempts to introduce the word *grimdarfull* failed completely in that this word was not reproduced in Nynorsk texts at all. The reason for this, as mentioned before, is likely due to its lack of *heimfesting*, although it is interesting that no subsequent Nynorsk saga translator used this word even if this word was not found in a living dialect, when other words with no

[245] extremely practical and useful.

heimfesting such as *grip* and *utigen* were still used occasionally by subsequent Nynorsk saga translators. None of these words can be found in Bokmål dictionaries and with the exception of *tign* and *utigen* cannot be found, to my knowledge, in the Bokmål texts found in the National Library of Norway.

Again, we see here the challenge to the Retranslation Hypothesis made most apparent, as nearly all these old-fashioned words, extremely closely related to the source words, were not found in the three subsequent retranslations. The retranslations opted for more modernised forms in almost every single case. Thus, the claim of the Retranslation Hypothesis that "later translations tend to be closer to the source text" (Chesterman, 2004: 8), in this context, can be seen to be incorrect.

Whilst Aasen may not have been very successful with reminding the Nynorsk readership of all these words, many of them did go on to become established, and were firmly established in the early twentieth century, within the Nynorsk vocabulary as can be seen from their appearance in these dictionaries and works. Whilst this was not solely due to their appearance in Aasen's 1858 translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, the fact that a great deal of these words appeared in written form for the first time in this work contributed to their establishment within the Nynorsk vocabulary. This contribution becomes more significant when one considers the importance of the archive of Nynorsk saga translations outlined in Chapter 4.

Saga-specific terminology and skaldic/poetic words

The words in this category are, more often than not, tied to the saga genre and only found within Old Norse literature, or texts concerning the medieval/Viking Age past. They also contain poetic words and terms that are used solely within Old Norse poetry. The words highlighted below are words where the Bokmål versions are less used or do not exist. An important feature of these words is that they are not necessarily exclusive to Nynorsk texts. Often these words can be found in both written standards, since they are linked more closely to Old Norse terminology than they are the linguistic ideologies of Nynorsk and Bokmål. Furthermore, they predominantly have no *heimfesting* as these words no longer exist within the Norwegian dialects. This is most likely due to, as one would hope, the reduced relevance in post-nineteenth-century Norway for words for Viking Age weapons

(*gavlok*, *or*) and female servitude (*ambaatte*, *festarkona*) etc. However, these words, for the most part, have been preserved within the saga genre in both written standards as the analysis below highlights.

22. *Ambaatter/ambått/ambetta* (*ambáttir*) – “concubine/servant girl”
    NNO – no, NO – yes; no *heimfesting*, BMO – no, NAOB – yes, 1914 – no, 1909 – *ambaatt*, 1901 – *ungmøer*.
    This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* but can be found in subsequent Nynorsk saga translations: “so er du ambaatt” (S. Eskeland, 1913: 145); “skal ambaatt vera” (Hægstad and Skard, 1902: 11). However, this can also be found in Fredrik Bie’s Bokmål translation of *Laxdœla saga*: “han vilde kjøpe en ambaatt” (Bie, 1924: 20), highlighting the commonality of these saga-specific words within both written standards. The usage of this word is limited to Old Norse literature and texts concerning the Viking Age for the most part.

23. *Bardagen/bardage* (*bardaginn*) – “battle”
    NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – yes, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *bardage*, 1901 – *kampen*.
    This word was used in Rue’s 1976 translation but was not used in the other Norwegian translations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*. This word is used almost exclusively in Nynorsk texts, specifically translations of Old Norse literature but is also used in a variety of other genres: “denne Bardagen var ovlega hard” (Sommer, 1864: 36); “til bardage” (Schjøtt, 1900: 225); “gjeng i bardage” (Mortensson, 1908: 58); “det holmgang var eller bardage hèrar imillom” (Garborg, 1918: 154); “dei som fraa bardagen hev berga seg” (Seippel, 1911: 98). It can also be found in Schjøtt’s *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *slag*. However, there are a few instances of the word being used in Bokmål saga translations: “til bardagen var slut” (Undset, 1923: 70).

24. *Baugar/baug* (*bauga*) – “ring/armlet”

NNO – no, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – yes, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *baug*, 1901 – *bauge*.

This word was used in Rue’s 1976 translation and Bugge’s 1901 translations but was not used in the other Norwegian translations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*. This word can be found in subsequent Nynorsk translations of Old Norse texts: “bøta ein baug til kongen” (Robberstad, 1937: 53); “med baugar prydde” (Mortensson, 1905: 25). It can also be found in Schjøtt’s *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *ring*. However, this can also be found in Riksmål texts prior to Aasen’s translation, for example, Munch’s work on old Scandinavian gods and heroes: “en dertil helliget Ring (Baug)” (Munch, 1840: 201).

25. *Blotmann* (*blótmaðr*) – “a heathen worshipper”

NNO – no, NO – yes; no *heimfesting*, BMO – no, NAOB – yes, 1914 – no, 1909 – *blotmann*, 1901 – omitted.

Compound word. This word was used by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* and prevails as a suitable Nynorsk and Bokmål translation of *blótmaðr*. It can also be found in Schjøtt’s *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *blotmand*.

26. *Døgling* (*döglingr*) – “a king, descendent of King Dag”

NNO – no, NO – yes; no *heimfesting*, BMO – no, NAOB – yes, 1914 – no, 1909 – *konge*, 1901 – *høvdinger*, 1900 – no.

This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*. It is exclusively used in poetry, specifically Old Norse poetry and folksongs from Scandinavia’s past, and can be found in Riksmål/Bokmål and Danish texts pre-dating Aasen’s translation: “det store Døgling-Møde” (Grundtvig, 1838: 179); “Men da den Døgling døde” (Heyerdahl, 1848: 33). Interestingly, it can also be found in a nineteenth-century Swedish translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* by Frans Gudmund Nyström in 1867: “dyre dögling” (Nyström, 1867: 53). Nyström was evidently inspired by and impressed with Aasen’s translation as can be seen in his foreword detailing the previous Frithiof translations:

> Denna den enda norska öfversättningen öfver den gamla berättelsen om den norske Friðþjófr är fri från misstagen i många af de andra samt synes oss bäst af alla träffa och åter- gifva andan och stilen i den fornnordiska sagan. Äfven visorna äro, i det gamla versslaget, förträffligt öfversatta. Många ord hafva blifvit använda ur den gamla sagan, oaktadt de dels alls icke dels blott på få ställen nu äro i bruk; vid sådana har betydelsen angifvits nederst på bladet. (Ibid.: 11)[246]

Clearly, Nyström also saw no reason not to bring back certain words that were lost or not used in many places, especially if a footnote was provided. It would be interesting to see how both Aasen's and Nyström's translations compare and whether Nyström's vocabulary helped influence the Swedish saga vocabulary too. However, there is not enough space to delve into that here. Nonetheless, it is important to note the influence and prestige of Aasen's translation beyond Norway.

27. *Fedgarne/fegge* (*feðga*) – "a father and son"

NNO – *fegge etter fegge* but no individual entry, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – yes, 1914 – *fegge etter fegge*, 1909 – *feggar*, 1901 – *Torstein og Fridtjov*. This word was used in Rue's 1976 translation but was not used in the other Norwegian translations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*. It can be found in other Norwegian saga translations: "feggarne fræge" (M. Skard, 1907: 65); "de to feggene" (Holtsmark, 1927: 38). It can also be found in other Nynorsk literary works such as Hans Henrik Holm's epic poem *Jonsoknatt*: "narrar alle feggar til fri" (Holm, 1933: 46). *Fegge etter fegge* can also be found in Schjøtt's *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *søn efter fader*.

[246] This [Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga, 1858*], the only Norwegian translation of Friðþjófr, is free from the mistakes found in many of the others [translations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*] and seems to us to best hit the mark and reproduce the spirit and style of the Old Norse saga. Even the verses are, in the Old Norse style, excellently translated. Many words have been used from the old saga, despite the fact that they are either completely not used or used partly in a few places; in such cases, the meaning has been indicated at the foot of the page.

28. *Festarkona/festarkone* (*festarkonu*) – “betrothed woman”
NNO – no, NO – yes; no *heimfesting*, BMO – no, NAOB – yes, 1914 – no, 1909 – *festarmøy*, 1901 – omitted.
Compound word. This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* with *festarmøy* being far more common in subsequent Nynorsk texts. However, it can be found in other Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature: “taka vare på festarkona si” (Robberstad, 1937: 71); “ho er festarkona hans” (Hagland, 2004: 30). It can also be found in Schjøtt’s *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *fæstekone*.

29. *Fredskjold* (*friðskildi*) – “a peace shield/white flag” (in the sagas, a white shield was raised to signal a truce or surrender)
NNO – no, NO – yes; no *heimfesting*, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – no, 1909 – *fredskjold*, 1901 – *fredsskjold*.
Compound word. This word was used by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* and prevails as a suitable Nynorsk and Bokmål translation of *friðskjöldr*.

30. *Gavlok/gavlak* (*gaflokum*) – “javelin/throwing spear”
NNO – no, NO – yes; no *heimfesting*, BMO – no, NAOB – yes, 1914 – no, 1909 – *eit slag lett kastespjot*, 1901 – *gavlaker*.
This word was adopted by all the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* except Fosse. It is noteworthy that the 1909 dictionary does not deem *gavlok* a suitable Nynorsk translation, however. This word can be found in various other Nynorsk and Bokmål saga translations although it is most often footnoted to explain the meaning: “Gavlak var eit lett kastespjot” (Audne, 1913: 137); “Tryggve skød Gavlaker” (Munch, 1859: 353). It is of note that Gustav Storm uses *gavlak* in his translation of *Heimskringla* whereas Schjøtt uses *kastespjot*: “skjød med snarespyd eller gavlaker” (Storm, 1900: 558); “skaut med snøre-spjot eller lette kastesjpot” (Schjøtt, 1900: 560), indicating how this word was not uniquely Nynorsk and how a Bokmål saga translator may prefer this word to its synonyms.

31. *Hoggskifte* (*höggvaviðskipti*) – “exchange of blows/battle with axes”
NNO – no, NO – yes; no *heimfesting*, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *hoggskifte*, 1901 – *skifted hogg*.
Compound word. This word was used in Rue’s 1976 translation but was switched to a verbal phrase (*skifta hogg*) in Høeg’s and Fosse’s translations. Bugge does the same. However, as a noun, it can be found in many subsequent Nynorsk saga translations: “kongen sjølv gjekk hardt fram i hoggskifte” (Schjøtt, 1900: 517); “langt hoggskifte mellom dei” (Eggen, 1962a: 60); “det vart eit kvast hoggskifte mellom dei” (Ommedal: 1977:185), translations of canonical literature: “det høvet til hoggskifte” (N. Stang and E. Vandvik, 1936: 36); “to riddarar i hoggskifte” (Sletten, 1947: 13), and other Nynorsk texts: “du går i hoggskifte med det” (Haganæs, 1978: 18); “i kritisk hoggskifte med kvarandre” (S. Skard, 1985: 174). It can also be found in Schjøtt’s *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *engagement*, *haandgemæng*, *hugskifte*, *nærkamp* and *sværdkamp*.

32. *Lidet/lid* (*liði*) – “host/people/troops”
NNO – no, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – yes, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *lid*, 1901 – *folk/følge*.
This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* but can be found in subsequent Nynorsk saga translations: “fylgja Njaalssønerne med lidet sit” (Aasmundstad, 1896: 212); “lét lide sitt or Nid” (Schjøtt, 1900: 444); “lidet tok på kongen” (Rindal, 1977: 142). It can also be found in Schjøtt’s *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *følge*.

33. *Lovdungar/lovdung* (*lofða*) – “prince/king”
NNO – no, NO – yes; no *heimfesting*, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – no, 1909 – *hovding*, 1901 – *lovdungens*.
This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* but can be found in subsequent Nynorsk and Bokmål translations of Old Norse poetry: “med sverd ver lovdungen landet” (Indrebø, 1929: 222); “livstab fik den lovsæle Lovdung” (Storm, 1900: 643).

34. *Namnabot/namnebot* (*nafnbót*) – “title/rank”

NNO – no, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – yes, 1914 – no, 1909 – *namn*, *tittel*, *rang*, 1901 – *værdighed*.

Compound word. This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* but can be found in subsequent Nynorsk saga translations, especially those translated by correspondents of Aasen: “han ikkje hadde større Namnbot” (Sommer, 1864: 16); “som hadde høgre Namnbot” (M. Skard, 1874b: 7); “eg vil gjeva deg same namneboti” (Frich, 1899: 187); “hava den namnbot som han fyrr hadde” (Schjøtt, 1900: 775.

35. *Odlingom/odling* (*öðlingum*) – “king”

NNO – no, NO – yes; no *heimfesting*, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – no, 1909 – *fyrste*, 1901 – *høvdinger*.

This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*. Similar to *døgling* and *lovdung*, this word is exclusively used in translations of Norse poetry and can be found in subsequent Nynorsk translations, usually with a footnote: “med tilnemnet Odling… Odling: fyrste” (Indrebø, 1929: 75); “odlingen husi øydde… Odling: fyrste” (Audne, 1928: 61).

36. *Or* (*ör*) – “arrow”

NNO – no, NO – yes; no *heimfesting*, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – no, 1909 – *pil*, 1901 – *pil*, 1900 – no.

This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* and was not adopted by any subsequent Nynorsk saga translators. The one exception being Aaasen’s correspondent Eirik Sommer who used it in his text concerning the history of Norway: “daa flaug Spjot og Ørvar” (Sommer, 1862: 37). Whilst this word was not successfully reintroduced by Aasen as a synonym for *pil*, its meaning can still be traced in the modern Nynorsk and Bokmål word *agnor* meaning the “barb” of a fishhook (*agn* = “bait” + *or* = “arrow”).

As can be seen from the analysis above, these words were often not established in the Nynorsk vocabulary as shown by their lack of appearance in both modern dictionaries (NNO) and early twentieth century dictionaries (1909, 1914). Indeed, seven out of these fifteen words were not provided as suitable translations in Hægstad and Torp's Old Norse dictionary (*døgling*, *festarkona*, *gavlok*, *lovdung*, *namnabot*, *odling*, *or*), ten out of the fifteen words (*ambaatte*, *blotmann*, *døgling*, *festarkona*, *fredskjold*, *gavlok*, *lovdung*, *namnabot*, *odling*, *or*) did not appear in Schjøtt's 1914 dictionary, and only two of these words appear in NNO (*bardage*, *fegge*). It is noteworthy that the majority of these words were not used by the other Nynorsk translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, especially Fosse who only used *blotmann* and *fredskjold*, highlighting the modernisation of the Nynorsk vocabulary through these retranslations. However, these words did still appear in subsequent saga translations although predominantly with a footnote explaining their meanings. It is also important to note that these words do not exclusively belong to the Nynorsk vocabulary as the majority of them can also be found in Bokmål saga translations, most likely due to the technical nature of this vocabulary.

Quintessential Nynorsk words

The words in this category are labelled "quintessentially Nynorsk" since they cannot be found in the Bokmål lexicon, or if there exists a corresponding word or cognate within the Bokmål lexicon, it is often used solely in translations of Old Norse literature. These words are dialectal for the most part, only three of which have no *heimfesting* (*hævskap*, *truleik*, *våstrøytt*) and are found predominantly in Nynorsk works. The majority of these words have also not fallen out of use within the Nynorsk lexicon, since they can still be found in NNO and modern works of literature.

37. *Andadest/andast* (*andaðist*) – "to die"
    NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – yes, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *andast*, 1901 – *døde*.
    This word, the reflexive form of *anda*, was used in Rue's 1976 translation but was not used in the other Norwegian translations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*. However, it is used in many subsequent Nynorsk saga translations:

"anten me daa ero i Live elder hava andast" (Sommer, 1864: 130); "kong Harald, far hans, hadde andast" (Schjøtt, 1900: 92); "Lite seinare andast Mjøll" (Røkke, 1915: 7), in addition to other Nynorsk texts and translations: "ein time etter andast han" (J. Horvei, 1930: 14); "So andast visaste kongen" (Molaug, 1936: 39); "sa fedrane våre at det hadde andast" (Myklebust, 1980: 31). It can also be found in Schjøtt's *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *afgaa ved døden* and *opgive aanden*. It is of note that in Jarle Bondevik's thesis tracking the development of the Nynorsk vocabulary found in Nynorsk bible translations, Bondevik also highlights this word. When comparing Georg Grieg's translation of the Gospel of Mark with other bible translations, correspondences with Aasen and Aasen's 1850 dictionary in order to find the preceding example for such vocabulary, Bondevik summarises that the source for this word is Aasen: "Truleg er Aasen kjelda her. Ingen av bibeltekstane kan ha vore føredøme for Griegs ordval" (Bondevik, 1992: 369).[247] This reinforces the influence Aasen was having on his correspondents' choice of words in their works and translations and the appearance of this word not only in Aasen's 1850 dictionary but also his 1858 translation further strengthens Bondevik's assertion that Aasen laid the foundation for this word.

38. *Attergjeld* (*í móti*) – "retribution/recompense"

NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *attergjeld*, 1901 – *ha igjen for dette*.

Compound word. This word was not used by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*. However, it can be found in subsequent Nynorsk translations of other Old Norse literature: "gjorde attergjeld og drap bror hans" (Schjøtt, 1900: xiii); "fær full attergjeld for det" (Røkke, 1912: 77); "han fører til attergjeld" (Magerøy, 1950: 92), and other Nynorsk translations of canonical literature: "giva Attergjeld" (Blix, 1891b: 7); "skal eg gjera attergjeld" (Madshus, 1905: 54); "Gjorde gjerningi som ei attergjeld fyr det vonde han sjølv hadde lide" (Handagard, 1933: 70). It can also be found in

[247] Aasen is likely the source here. None of the bible texts could have been the example for Grieg's choice of words.

Schjøtt's *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *gjengjæld*. It is often found in translations of religious texts and, as Bondevik highlights, appears to have replaced the synonym *heimgjeld* which fell out of use in Nynorsk: "Det er tydeleg at *heimgjeld* ikkje har fått særleg rom i nyno[rsk], og at synonyma *attgjeld* og *attergjeld* har vore vanlegast" (Bondevik, 1992: 451).[248] Again, the appearance of *attergjeld* in Aasen's 1858 translation, years before the first Nynorsk Bible translations were being carried out, highlights the benefits of including Aasen's translation in a comparative analysis of the early Nynorsk Bible translations.

39. *Augnakvarmar/augnekvarm* (*hvarma*) – "(the edges of) the eyelids"
NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *augnekvarm*, 1901 – *øienkvarmer*.
Compound word. This word was used by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, except Fosse. It is of note that Bugge also used this word in his Riksmål translation, despite this word being used only once in subsequent Bokmål texts: "under de lukte øienkvarmene" (Dahl, 1933: 33). Conversely, this word can be found in a variety of other Nynorsk texts, such as saga translations: "fekk han slik klaae i augnekvarmane" (Schjøtt, 1900: 525); "eg lyt sprette opp augnekvarmane" (Horgen, 1989: 38), translations of canonical literature such as Goethe's *Faust* and Shakespeare's sonnets: "med blodig laurbærkrans om augnekvarmar" (Å. Nesse, 1993: 73); "vidopne tunge augnekvarmar" (Skrede, 1972: 27), and other Nynorsk works: "dei trøytte augnekvarmar" (Sveen, 1932: 66); "ei taara i augnekvarmen" (Hoprekstad, 1915: 47). It is also of note that this word remained in NNO whereas *øienkvarm* cannot be found in BMO.

[248] It is clear that *heimgjeld* has not particularly found space within Nynorsk, and that the synonyms *attgjeld* and *attergjeld* have been most common.

40. *Batna* (*batna*) – “to get better”

NNO – yes, NO –yes, BMO – no, NAOB – yes, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *batna*, 1901 – *at bedrest*.

This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* yet can be found in many subsequent Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature: “batna de med Egil” (Schjøtt, 1900: 454); “Men augnaverken batna straks” (Aasmundstad, 1902: 49); “Illt mun batne, Balder han kjem” (Mortensson, 1905: 145); “Det batna straks med vêret” (S. Eskeland, 1907: 19). It can also be found in Sigrid Undset’s Bokmål translation of three Icelandic sagas: “hans vennesælhet batnet ikke av det” (Undset, 1923: 50). Furthermore, it can be found in other Nynorsk texts: “jamen begynte kyra å batna” (Skutlaberg and Markhus, 1997: 50); “såri har batna i dag” (Nomeland, 2002: 65) and is found in Schjøtt’s *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *bedre*. Like *andast*, this word is also singled out by Bondevik in his analysis of Grieg’s choice of words in his 1870 translation of the Gospel of Mark. Bondevik summarises that Grieg followed Aasen’s corrections from a letter in 1870: “I teksten som Aasen har sendt attende til Grieg, har ordet truleg vore retta til *batna*” (Bondevik, 1992: 371), demonstrating Aasen’s influential work as a language consultant for translators again.[249]

41. *Beitt/beita* (*beittr*) – “harnessed/to harness”

NNO – no, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *beita*, 1901 - *spændt*.

This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, using *spent/spend* instead, which appears to have replaced *beitt* in modern Nynorsk. However, it can be found in a number of Nynorsk translations: “giggen som var beitt fyre” (K. G. Koht, 1913: 66); “vogni var fyre beitt” (Garborg, 1918: 79); “Dei beitte fyre vogni hans” (Seippel, 1921: 391); “hasten er beitt for” (J. Horvei, 1923: 181); “dei blir beitt fyre ei heilag vogn” (H. Koht, 1928: 21). It can also be found in other Nynorsk texts from the early twentieth century: “stod Øyken hennar beitt fyre Kjerra” (Janson, 1868: 97);

[249] In the text that Aasen has sent back to Grieg, the word [*besnat*] has likely been corrected to *batna*.

"med merra beitt for ute i tunet" (Tu, 1943: 20). It is also found in Schjøtt's *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *forspænding*. Again, it is of note that this word is mostly used within translational works rather than original Nynorsk texts.

42. *Berjast/berja* (*berjast*) – "to fight with/against"
NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – yes, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *berja*, 1901 – *kjæmpe med*.
This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* but can be found in subsequent Nynorsk saga translations: "daa mennane byrja aa berjast" (Schjøtt, 1900: 470); "Fare Ulvs søner ut aa berjast aatte karar mot eine meg" (A. Joleik, 1917: 51). It can also be found in other Nynorsk texts: "Konungen vilde og helder berjast med den Mannstyrken" (Sommer, 1862: 35); "Dei valde å berjast med never på bein" (Sivle, 1909: 200), in addition to NNO. However, as can be seen from the early translations in Det Norske Samlaget's *Norrøne bokverk*, where the source text was published alongside the Nynorsk translation, *slå/slåst* appears to have replaced *berja* in most instances: "gaman at berjast = gaman aa slaast" (Hannaas, 1907: 34-35); "í annat sinn ok berjast = aa slaast andre gongen" (Reitan, 1908: 56-57); "nú þegar skulu vit berjast = no straks skal me slaast" (Joleik, 1910: 34-35); "ok er trautt sem berjast skuli við menn at eins = Det ser helst ut til at ein ikkje hev berre folk aa slaast med der" (S. Eskeland, 1914: 70-71).

43. *Bisn* (*firn* in ST; *býsn*) – "a wonder/spectacle"
NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – yes, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *bisn*, 1901 - *frækhed*.
This word was used in Rue's 1976 translation but was not used in the other Norwegian translations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*. However, it can be found in many subsequent Nynorsk saga translations: "de er ei bisn" (Schjøtt, 1900: 378); "Eit bisn du verte" (Mortensson, 1905: 72); "det var eit stort bisn" (Joleik, 1910: 13), and translations of canonical literature: "med eikor bisn i vente" (Arctander, 1911: 3); "ei bisn for mange" (E. Skard, 1930: 71); "Det var til stor bisn for mange" (E. Eskeland, 1942: 6). It can also be found in other

works of Nynorsk literature: “Til skam og bisn for all bygdi” (R. Løland, 1898: 41); “ho er eit bisn, er ho” (Duun, 1933: 57). It is also found in Schjøtt’s *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *frembyde*, *kuriosa*, *mærkværdighed*, *raritet*, *seværdighed* and *vidunder*. Bondevik mentions *bisn* as a word that Johan Storm, a well-known Norwegian professor and philologist,[250] took issue with in an article in 1902 for being too Western-Norwegian or Ancient-Norwegian and believed it should be replaced with *skodespel* in biblical translations (Bondevik: 1992: 506-510). However, this word remained in Nynorsk writing as can be seen from the examples above, even if it fell out of use in biblical translations.

44. *Bjug* (*bjúgr*) – “crooked/bent”

NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – yes, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *bjug*, 1901 – *kroket*.

This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*. However, it can be found in subsequent Nynorsk saga translations: “han med dei skinande, bjuge horni” (Mortensson, 1905: 96); “Inkje mun no Ormen bjuge agnsveljande pá krok seg fagna” (Næss, 1928: 77), in addition to other Nynorsk texts: “kor bjugt i sorg ho kvite armann’ tøygde” (S. Skard, 1946: 130); “bivrar so bjugt” (Aukrust, 1967: 430). It can also be found in Schjøtt’s *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *krum*.

45. *Braadde paa/brå på* (*brá í*) – “to resemble/be similar to”

NNO – no, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *ein braa paa* (*likjest*), 1901 – omitted.

This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* but can be found in a small number of other Nynorsk texts: “naar det ikkje just braadde paa med setting for turrvêret skuld” (Kleiven, 1911: 220); “du brår ut or ætti” (O. Rytter, 1929: 112); “Ho braar ikkje paa faren sin i augo” (Uppdal, 1921: 38).

[250] And also brother to Gustav Storm, the Riksmål translator of *Heimskringla* (1900).

46. *Dælare/dæl* (*dælla*) – “gentle/easy to deal with”
NNO – no, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *dæl*, 1901 – *mageligere*.
This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* but can be found in a small number of other Nynorsk works: “Heime tykte dei eg var so lite dæl” (Joleik, 1910: 61); “som lett og dælt kunde tala med alle” (Marstein, 1914: 128).

47. *Dæsande/dæsa* (*dæsta*) – “exhausting/to be worn out”
NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *dæsa*, 1901 – *dødstrætte/næsten forkomne*.
This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*. However, it can be found in subsequent Nynorsk saga translations: “kongsmennerne var so dæste” (Steinsvik, 1899: 47); “Drykk han bad seg den dæste mannen” (S. Eskeland, 1928: 47), and other Nynorsk texts: “han laag enno og dæste etter det harde fallet” (Lavik, 1920: 35); “Han laut koma seg til støls fyrr han dæste” (K. Horvei, 1945: 217); “Dæsande, du… eg har vunne likevel!” (Birkeland, 1955:23). *Dæse-vêr* can also be found in Schjøtt’s *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *uveir* (“storm”).

48. *Eignalut/eignelut* (*grip* in ST; *eignarhluti*) – “property/expensive possession”
NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *eignalut*, 1901 – *kostelig ting*.
Compound word. This word was used by all the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* and remains a popular Nynorsk translation for the Old Norse *grip* and *eignarhlutr* within saga translations: “ei gullslegi øks som var ein kosteleg eignelut” (Frich, 1899: 66); “dei heldt for aa vera ein stor eignalut” (Schjøtt, 1900: 194); “Hrafnkell átti þann grip = Ramnkjell hadde ein eignelut” (Hannaas, 1907: 10-11); “ein svært verdfull eignelut” (Dyrhaug, 1981: 67). It can be found in many other Nynorsk texts and translations of canonical literature: “Min Jesus, gjævast Givnad, Eignalut og Skatt!” (Blix, 1891b: 191); “kom sveinen att med ein eignalut gjæv” (Garborg, 1918: 254); “den kjæraste eignalut” (Vesaas, 1924: 149); “tatt frå han personlege eignelutar” (Fløgstad, 1996: 120). It also features in Schjøtt’s *Dansk-norsk*

ordbog (1909) as a translation for *eiendel*, *klenodie* and *kostbarhed*. It is of note that whilst Aasen used both *grip* and *eignalut* in his 1858 translation, it was *eignalut* that became more common in subsequent Nynorsk saga translations. Furthermore, whilst *grip* did not completely fall out of use, the use of *eignalut* within Norwegian dialects, as opposed to *grip*'s lack of use in the dialects, surely helped establish *eignalut* within the Nynorsk vocabulary to a greater extent than it did *grip*.

49. *Fredgjerd* (*friðgerðar*) – "peace agreement"
NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *fredgjerd*, 1901 – *vi holder fred*.
Compound word. This noun was switched to a verbal phrase by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* (*held fred med*, *det som talar for fred*, *føra til fred*) but can be found in subsequent Nynorsk saga translations: "Medan denne fredgjerd stend ved lag" (Møller, 1900: 26); "semjing og sein fredgjerd" (Flo, 1902: 152), and other Nynorsk texts and translations: "Strakst etter Fredgjerdi i Kiel" (Sommer, 1862: 223); "Men ved fredgjerdi (Brømsebro) maatte me betala med land" (Angell, 1908: 9); "ikkje nemnt i fredgjerdi" (Blekastad, 1955: 17). It can also be found in Schjøtt's *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *fredsslutning*.

50. *Frægaste/fræg* (*frægasti*) – "famous/renowned"
NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *fræg*, 1901 – *navngjeten*.
This word was used in Rue's 1976 translation but was not used in the other Norwegian translations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*. However, it can be found in many subsequent Nynorsk saga translations: "fræge føraren" (Schjøtt, 1900: 150); "den frægaste av alle Volsungar" (Hannaas, 1907: iii); "du fester Heimes fosterdotter, frægaste møy" (Mortensson, 1908: 84), Nynorsk translations of canonical literature: "kong Agamemnon, han den frægaste no av alle" (Garborg, 1918: 118); "ein av dei frægaste sofistane" (E. Skard, 1927: 20); "den frægaste av frendar" (Kiran, 1962: 36), and other Nynorsk texts: "frægt folke hadde ho ikkje sjøl heller å lite på" (Duun, 1927: 11); "Gunnlaug var den frægaste gjenta som var skapt" (K. Horvei, 1959: 35).

It can also be found in Schjøtt's *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *berømt*.

51. *Frægd* (*frægð*) – "fame/renown"

NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *frægd*, 1901 - *ære*, 1900 – yes p. 161. 1905/08 – yes II. p. 84, 1918 - yes p. 7

This word was used in Rue's 1976 translation but was not used in the other Norwegian translations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*. However, it can be found in subsequent Nynorsk saga translations: "frægdar-fus" (Schjøtt, 1900: 161); "spyrjast med frægd" (Mortensson, 1908: 84); "vunne mykje frægd" (Røkke, 1912: 56); "vunne seg fe og frægd" (Tonna, 1920: 23), Nynorsk translations of canonical literature: "for sonen din med stor frægd du daa hadde vunne" (Garborg, 1918: 324); "Frægd og Æra steig høgt" (Alme, 1920: 13), and other Nynorsk texts: "siglde til fe og frægd" (Skrede, 1961: 92); "rister frægd over skip og menn" (J. Stang, 1970: 16). It can also be found in Schjøtt's *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *bekjendthed*, *berømthed* and *navnkundighed*. It is also of note that this word is found predominantly in works of translation rather than original Nynorsk texts.

52. *Frøkne/frøken* (*frækni*) – "bold/courageous"

NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – yes, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *frøken*, 1901 – omitted except in title. 1905/08 – yes p. 113,

Summary – 1901 – omitted except in title.

This word was used by all the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* and is closely related to the character of Fridtjov and other saga heroes/kings. It can be found in subsequent Nynorsk saga translations: "Aale den frøkne" (Schjøtt, 1900: 27); "Alrek den frøkne" (Mortensson, 179); "Eg vil gjeva gyltan hjelm til frøkne drengjer" (A. Joleik, 1917: 35), and translations of canonical literature: "fyrr dei frøkne kjemper" (H. Rytter, 1921: 79); "Fredrik den Frøkne" (Brekke, 1985: 47). It remains a suitable Nynorsk word for "bold/courageous".

53. *Gaman-ferdom/gamanferd* (*gamanferðum*) – “a pleasure-trip”
NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *gamanferd*, 1901 – *glade færder*.
Compound word. This word was used by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, except for Fosse who uses *gledesferder*, like Bugge. It can be found in one other Nynorsk saga translation: “de kan segle langs med landet på gamanferd” (Eggen, 1962a: 55) but can be found in many other Nynorsk texts: “og heldt vaar Veg fram, me paa vaar Gamanferd” (Krohn, 1868: 17); “Dei einaste gamanferder du fekk var dei på Sleipne” (Aursland, 1947: 184).

54. *Gladvoren/gladvær* (*glaðr við*) – “cheerful/merry”
NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *gladvær*, 1901 – *glad*.
Compound word. This word was used by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, except for Fosse who simply used *glad*, like Bugge. It can be found in many subsequent Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature: “Kjartan var og so gladvær i lage” (Frich, 1899: 118); “gladvære Olav” (Schjøtt, 1900: 502); Gladvær og fjaag kvar gut skal svive til sin døyande dag” (Mortensson, 1905: 122); “ho var ung og gladvær” (Røkke, 1912: 167), Nynorsk translations of canonical literature: “han hadde fagert kvitt hår og var gladvær og fjåg å sjå til” (S. Skard, 1929: 62); “Ho var gladvær” (Dale, 1931: 65), and other Nynorsk texts: “Men i hugen det lo ein gladvoren tanke um henne og fjellet” (L. Eskeland, 1916: 51); “hundungen som gladvoren kjæter seg rundt føtene hans Rolv” (J. Vikør, 1948: 24). It can also be found in Schjøtt’s *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *jovial*, *livsglad* and *munter*.

55. *Grøtte/grøta* (*grætta*) – “to make cry/bring someone to tears”
NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *grøta*, 1901 – *graad*.
This word was used by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, except Fosse and Bugge. Furthermore, it can be found in many other Nynorsk saga translations: “Gunnar ikkje er god aa grøta” (Aasmundstad,

1896: 98); “Gunnlod saart han grøtte” (Mortensson, 1905: 126); “Han bad ’kje oss grøta bunden fiend” (A. Joleik, 1917: 59), and other Nynorsk translations of canonical literature, such as the Psalms and Homer’s *Odýsseia*: “So det ein Stein maa grøta” (Blix, 1883: 30); “alle vart grøtte” (Garborg, 1918: 44). It can also be found in other works of Nynorsk literature, especially by contemporaries of Aasen such as A. O. Vinje and Ingvar Bøhn: “som kan grøta ein Mann” (A. O. Vinje, 1873: 180); “det kann meg grøta” (Bøhn, 1871: 35). It is also found in Schjøtt’s *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *bringe at græde*.

56. *Huglyndet/huglynde* (*skaplyndi*) – “mind/temper/disposition”
NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *huglynd*, 1901 – omitted. 1905/08 – yes p. 81,
Compound word. This word was used in Rue’s 1976 translation but was not used in the other Norwegian translations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*. However, it can be found in subsequent Nynorsk saga translations, especially those translated by correspondents of Aasen: “Fedgarne Sigurd Konung og Sverre Konung vaaro ulike i Huglynde” (Sommer, 1864: 268); “eg kjenner huglynde aat frendom og venom mine” (Frich, 1899: 4); “han hadde far sins huglynde” (Schjøtt, 1900: 35). It also features in other Nynorsk texts and translations: “rein av Huglynde” (Nielsen, 1870: 86); “det forskjellige Huglynde hjaa deires Folk” (A. O. Vinje, 1873: 12); “Villt hev hans Huglynde vortet” (Alme, 1903: 49). It is also found in Schjøtt’s *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *karakter*. Bondevik summarises that this word was replaced with *hug* in most Nynorsk translations of religious texts, stating: “det er ingen sakleg grunn til å velja *huglynde* i staden for *hug* desse stadene” (Bondevik, 1992: 460).[251] However, outside of religious translations, from the examples above, *huglynde* evidently did not fall out of use and remained a viable option for other Nynorsk writers. A major reason for this is likely due to its wide use within the dialects of Norway as Bondevik concurs: “det var tydeleg vanleg i målføre” (ibid.: 460).[252] It is also one of the two words here that was used in

[251] There are no reasonable grounds for choosing *huglynde* instead of *hug* in these places.
[252] it (*huglynde*) was clearly common in the dialects.

Nynorsk prior to Aasens 1858 translations, since it also appears in Aasen's *Prøver af Landsmaalet i Norge* (1853) in his translation of a German text by Karl von Rotteck: "Huglyndet rørest ved di paa ein godgjerande Maate" (Aasen, 1853: 112).

57. *Hurdi/hurd* (*hurðunni*) – "door"

NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – yes, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *hurd*, 1901 - *døren*.

This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*. However, it can be found in subsequent Nynorsk saga translations: "hurdi var stengd" (Mortensson, 1905: 1); "Og inkje fell hurdi paa hælarne hans" (Hannaas. 1907: 135); "Hurder alle i helvete skolvo" (Næss, 1928: 77), Nynorsk translations of canonical literature: "kvar paa si side av hurdi gild" (Garborg, 1918: 76); "med høge mura rog ein tvi-hurda port av ibenholt" (Seippel, 1929: 37), and other Nynorsk texts: "Eg skygde i Skuld si hurd" (Gullvaag, 1930: 10); "Hurdene elles har derimot vara i meir enn 600 år" (Berg, 1995: 108). It can also be found in Schjøtt's *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *dør*.

58. *Hævskapar/hævskap* (*atgervi*) – "accomplishment/ability"

NNO – yes, NO – yes; no *heimfesting*, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *hævleik*, 1901 – *navnkundigste*.

This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* and cannot be found in subsequent Nynorsk saga translations. Subsequent Nynorsk translators preferred to use the closely related *hævleik* instead (*hævleik* also has no *heimfesting* in NO): "vaksne i styrke og hævleike" (Schjøtt, 1900: 99); "i styrke og mod og allslag hævleik" (Mortensson, 1905: 82). However, *hævskap* can be found in a number of Nynorsk translations of canonical literature: "du minnest hævskapen vaar og dei itrottar gjæve" (Garborg, 1918: 101); "ein fager tvikløyvd hævskap" (H. Rytter, 1932: 66); "hævskapen deira vart kjend" (Støylen, 1932: 219), and other Nynorsk texts: "yver all den Pryda og Hævskapen" (Sommer, 1862: 178); "yver hans hævskap vert lovordi aust" (Holm, 1933: 74). It also features as a suitable Nynorsk word in Schjøtt's Danish-Norwegian dictionary and Ola

Raknes' English-Norwegian and French-Norwegian dictionaries: "duelighed: dug, dugleik, hævskap" (Schjøtt, 1909: 147); "excellence: hævskap, gildskap, framifrå eigenskap" (Raknes, 1927: 263); "excellence: hævskap, gildskap, framifrå dugleik" (Raknes, 1939: 429). It is of note that, again, this word appears mostly in translational and lexicographical works rather than original Nynorsk texts. For example, Garborg uses this word in his translation of *Odýsseia* but it cannot be found in any other works written by him, highlighting how some of these Nynorsk words were only deemed suitable when translating into Nynorsk.

59. *Mannrauner/mannrøyne* (*mannraunum*) – "trial/adversity"
NNO – no, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *mannrøyne*, 1901 – *hvor faren var størst*.
Compound word. This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* but can be found in many subsequent Nynorsk saga translations: "djerv i all slags mannrøyne" (Hannaas, 1907: 7); "dei fremste i alle mannrøyne" (Heggstad, 1914: 18); "trygg i alle mannrøyne som løva" (Røkke, 1933: 21). It can also be found in Schjøtt's *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *dyst*. It is of note that this word is predominantly found in saga translations but can also be found in Garborg's translation of Homer's *Odýsseia* and Rytter's translation of Beowulf: "Mange og gjæve karar det fram seg til mannrøynet stelte" (Garborg, 1918: 98); "i mannrøynet døme" (H. Rytter, 1921: 39).

60. *Marde upp/mara* (*marði*) – "to be waterlogged/float low in the water"
NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *mara*, 1901 – *næsten synkefærdigt*.
This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* and is not found in any subsequent Nynorsk saga translations. Despite its lack of use, it could be found in Schjøtt's 1909 Danish-Norwegian dictionary as a suitable Nynorsk translation: "det er kun saavidt, at det ikke synker: det er so mykje det marar uppe" (Schjøtt, 1909: 821).

61. *Meidde/meia* (*meidd*) – “to maim/destroy”

NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *skada*, 1901 – *læk*.

This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* but can be found in subsequent Nynorsk saga translations: “Torleiv den Spake som Hallfred meidde” (Indrebø, 1929: 84); “bein, sundhogne og meidde” (Eggen, 1962b: 148); “før hel-striden ned oss meidde” (Orgland, 1977: 159). It can also be found in Nynorsk translations of canonical literature and other Nynorsk texts: “Av og til tok Harald ljaaen og meidde ei skaar” (K. Løland, 1912: 10); “eg er meidd for ollo” (H. Rytter, 1933b: 257).

62. *Raknade ved/rakna ved/rakna med seg* (*raknar við*) – “to come to one’s senses/recover”

NNO – no, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *rakna med seg*, 1901 – *kom til sig selv igjen*.

This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*. However, it can be found in subsequent Nynorsk saga translations: “daa ho raknade ved atter” (M. Skard, 1874b: 24); “umsider rakna eg or, og vart førd til soveromet mitt” (E. Skard, 1930: 61), Nynorsk translations of canonical literature: “Daa eg raknade med meg att” (Hølaas, 1878: 82); “Takk Gud for at eg no har rakna med meg” (Hoem, 1997: 19), and other Nynorsk texts: “Einar liksom rakna ved seg atter” (Uri, 1907: 195); “kua rakna ved seg att” (Sæbø, 1964: 60). It also features in Schjøtt’s *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *komme sig efter en afmagt/besvime*.

63. *Skjott/skjot* (*skjótt*) – “speedily/swiftly”

NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *skjot*, 1901 - *straks*.

This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* but can be found in many subsequent Nynorsk saga translations: “sprang skjott inn paa golve” (Schjøtt, 1900: 810); “Skjott me siglde sunde yvir” (Mortensson, 1908: 155); “Skuta hans Egil siglde skjott framum” (Heggstad, 1914: 136). It can also be found in other Nynorsk texts: “han skjott til sprang seg bøygde” (Rysstad, 1953: 15); “Eg bed deg: kom no

skjott av stad!" (Slapgard, 1979: 48), and Nynorsk translations of canonical literature: "inkje tårn og inkje skip, um skjott det sigler, kann oss berga" (M. Skard, 1923: 59); "køyrde so skjott på heimveg" (Fliflet, 1967: 62). It also appears in Schjøtt's *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *skyndsom*.

64. *Stjorni/stjorn* (*stjórn*) – "rule/government"

NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – yes, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *stjorn*, 1901 - *myndighed*.

This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* but can be found in subsequent Nynorsk saga translations: "Paalnatoke gjev Vagn frenden sin halve Bretland til eign og stjorn" (Joleik, 1910: 67); "landsens sed misfell noko naar stjorni forferst" (Audne, 1913: 121). It can also be found in Nynorsk translations of canonical literature: "So lenge som ho heve Stjorni" (Alme, 1903: 67); "i Dekons hendar yvi-gjev eg huse og stjorni her" (Madshus, 1905: 93), and other Nynorsk texts: "han vardt Jarl og fekk Lands-Stjorni etter Fader sin" (Sommer, 1862: 69); "du måtte røkta stjorni" (Hovden, 1937: 13). It is also one of the two words here that was used in Nynorsk prior to Aasens 1858 translations, since it can also be found in Aasen's *Prøver af Landsmaalet i Norge* (1853) in his translation of a German text by Schiller: "so visleg i Lyden ho fører Stjorni" (Aasen, 1853: 116). It can also be found in Schjøtt's *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *administration*.

65. *Studning/stydning* (*stuðningi*) – "support"

NNO – no, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *studning*, *studnad*, 1901 – *hjælp*.

This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* but can be found in many subsequent Nynorsk saga translations, particularly those translated by correspondents of Aasen: "Sverre Konung munde faa myki Studning av Trønderne" (Sommer, 1864: 98); "hadde stor studning av Hallstein gode" (Frich, 1899: 83); "hjelp og stydning" (Schjøtt, 1900: 275); "eg trong til nokor stydning" (M. Skard, 1907: 61). It can also be found in many Nynorsk translations of canonical literature: "Dareios sende

Studning" (Nielsen, 1870: 59); "Og broderleg kvarandre vil All hjelp og Stydning bjoda til" (Blix, 1891b: 186); "som ventade studning av meg" (Grieg, 1892: 178); "Ho syrgjer yver deg kvar dag, og treng so vel til di studning" (S. Eskeland, 1908: 101). It can also be found in Schjøtt's *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *bistand*, *hjælp* and *støtte*.

66. *Traud* (*trauðr*) – "unwilling/reluctant"

NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – yes, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *traud*, 1901 – *let at vælge*.

This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* but can be found in many subsequent Nynorsk saga translations: "Sverre Konung munde vera traud til aa ganga ut or Treborgi" (Sommer, 1864: 66); "var traud for aa fara" (Schjøtt, 1900: 218); "Gripe var traud lenge" (Hannaas, 1907: 61); "Han gjekk daa, men var traud til det" (M. Skard, 1907: 39); "Sigvalde er just ikkje traud til dette" (Joleik, 1910: 65); "Biskopen var traud i svari sine" (Indrebø, 1929: 107). It can also be found in Nynorsk translations of canonical literature: "aa slaa ihel Telémakos traudt gjeng eg med paa" (Garborg, 1918: 226); "han var traud til aa sleppa meg" (Seippel, 1929: 98), and other Nynorsk texts: "sa han og høyrdest liksom so traud paa det" (Duun, 1908: 43); "Det plar då ikkje vera traudt å få vera med Anne" (Vesaas, 1934: 49). It is also found in Schjøtt's *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *modstræbende* and *uvillig*.

67. *Truleik* (*trúleik*) – "faithfulness/fidelity"

NNO – no, NO – yes; no *heimfesting*, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – no, 1909 – *truskap*, 1901 – *tro*.

This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, as they preferred to use *truskap* instead. It cannot be found in subsequent Nynorsk saga translations and only appears in a small number of other Nynorsk texs: "grunnboka hadde absolutt negativ og positive truleik" (Normann and Haugen, 1969: 49); "Og truleik vert naudsynt" (Skorgen, 1996: 120). This spelling can be seen as having an opposite effect as *hævskap/hævleik*. Whereas *-leik* became the more common suffix for *hæv*, *-skap* evidently became the more common suffix for *tru*. This can further be

seen by the use of *truskap* rather than *truleik* in the 1909 Old Norse dictionary.

68. *Understemnet/understemne* (*bard*) – “stem of a ship/the bow between the stem and keel of a ship”
NNO – no, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *understemne*, *bard*, 1901 – *kjøl*.
Compound word. This word was used in Rue’s 1976 translation but was not used in the other Norwegian translations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*. It cannot be found in subsequent Nynorsk saga translations and only appears in Nynorsk texts of a boating and nautical nature: “Framstemnet og bakstemnet er sette saman av tre luter, understemne, mellomstykke og stamn” (Færøyvik, 1987: 131); “Dei ulike uformingane av understamn og kjølspord kan representere ulike stadier innafor ei utvikling av båttypen” (Sognnes, 1990: 68). It is of note that this word can be found in Aasen’s Sunnmøre dialect, which likely explains why Aasen would translate *barð* in this way. Høeg, on the other hand, remains much closer to the Old Norse ST using *bard*, a word that can still be found in NNO and NO. The technical nature of this word, its appearance in only a small number of Western-Norwegian dialects, in addition to being a compound noun, most likely explains its lack of appearance in subsequent Nynorsk texts and dictionaries.

69. *Vedraatta/verâtte* (*veðrátta*) – “weather conditions”
NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *vêraatta*, 1901 – *veiret*.
Compound word. This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*. However, it can be found in subsequent Nynorsk saga translations: “Dei fekk lang utevist og ill veraatta” (Aasmundstad, 1896: 322); “Ho hev so godt vit paa vêraatta og regn” (Røkke, 1912: 31); “Morgonen etter hadde verâtta snutt snelda si” (Førsund, 1924: 112), and other Nynorsk texts: “Verste verâtta denne hausten fekk dei” (Moren, 1926: 161); “dei fekk ei heskjeleg veraatte” (Norstog, 1928: 122).

70. *Vaarkunna/vårkunna* (*várkynduð*) – “to pity”

NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – yes, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *vaarkunna*, 1901 – *syntes synd paa os*.

This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* and cannot be found in any subsequent Nynorsk saga translations. However, it can be found in some translations of religious and canonical literature: “vaarkunna ein hjelpelaus arming” (Grieg, 1892: 137); “ikkje kann vaarkunna desse jagade, naudsette Stak’rar” (Alme, 1903: 29); “han skal ikkje miskunna deim og ikkje vaarkunna og ikkje tykkja synd i deim” (Seippel, 1921: 731). Bondevik highlights this word and asserts that it possibly fell out of use in biblical translations due to it not finding a place in other Nynorsk writings: “Verbet har likevel ikkje fått nokon plass i nyno[rsk] skriftmål, og det er truleg årsaka til at det gjekk ut or bibelmålet òg” (Bondevik, 1992: 501).[253] However, even if words were found in other Nynorsk writings and translations, it did not necessary mean they remained in the biblical language. For example, *huglynde* fell out of use in Nynorsk Bible translations but still prevailed in saga translations and translations of canonical literature. This proves that just because a word was not found in the Nynorsk biblical language, it did not mean that it was not suitable for other Nynorsk writings. It is also of note that whilst this word was not found in writing a great deal, it appeared in many Nynorsk bilingual dictionaries as a perfectly suitable Nynorsk word to use. For example, in Ola Raknes’ English-Norwegian dictionary: “lament: vårkunna” (Raknes, 1927: 416) and French-Norwegian dictionary: “plaindre: tykkja synd i, syta, vårkunna” (Raknes, 1939: 764), and in Eigil Lehmann’s Faroese-Norwegian dictionary: “várkunna: vårkunna, hava medynk med” (Lehmann, 1987: 368). It also included in Schjøtt’s *Dansk-norsk ordbog* (1909) as a translation for *beklage* and *have medlidenhed med*.

[253] Nevertheless, the verb has not found a place in Nynorsk writing, and due to this, it has fallen out of the biblical language as well.

71. *Vaastrøytte/våstrøytt* (*dasaðir*)- “exhausted from labouring and getting wet”, often in connection with the sea i.e. swimming or rowing.
    NNO – no, NO – yes; no *heimfesting*, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *vaastrøytt*, 1901 – *forkomne*.
    Compound word. This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* and perhaps due to the nature of compound words such as this, fell out of use within the Nynorsk vocabulary. It was only used once following Aasen’s translation and, again, it was in a Nynorsk saga translation (Røkke’s *Soga um Grette Aasmundsson*, 1912), demonstrating the influence of Aasen’s translation on subsequent saga translators: “Daa dei kom nord mot Staden, fekk dei fælt illvêr med fok og frost, og tok med naudi land ein kveld, alle mykje vaastrøytte” (Røkke, 1912: 105). Despite its lack of use in other Nynorsk texts, it is of note that it was deemed a suitable Nynorsk translation for *væstr* in Hægstad and Torp’s 1909 Old Norse dictionary.

72. *Aafall/åfall* (*áföll*) – “the streaming of water over a ship/overflow”
    NNO – yes, NO – yes, BMO – no, NAOB – no, 1914 – yes, 1909 – *aafall*, 1901 – *vandet skylled nu over skibet*.
    This word was not adopted by the other Norwegian translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* and can only be found in one subsequent Nynorsk saga translation: “Dei snudde skipe upp i vinden, og fekk store aafall” (Aasmundstad, 1902: 14). It can also be found in a limited number of other Nynorsk texts: “Det vart ofte søkt med mjølka. Det hende ho møs-laup og stod som ein stabbe i skålene, som dei sae, utan åfall” (Svare, 1950: 57).

As can be seen from the analysis above, these 36 words have been established within the Nynorsk lexicon to a great extent and with the exception of *huglynde* and *stjorn*, which can be found previously in Aasen’s *Prøver af Landsmaalet i Norge* (1853), can all trace their origins in written form to Aasen’s 1858 translation. The influence Aasen’s translation had on the Nynorsk vocabulary is particularly evident in the early period of Nynorsk (1850-1917) as can be seen by the appearance of these words in Nynorsk texts in this period in addition to their

appearance in the significant dictionaries of the time. All but three of these words (*hævskap*, *meia*, *truleik*) were deemed suitable Nynorsk translations for their Old Norse counterparts in Hægstad and Torp's 1909 Old Norse dictionary and all but one (*truleik*) can be found in Schjøtt's 1914 dictionary. It is of note that Schjøtt considered *hævskap* and *meia* suitable Nynorsk words for his dictionary yet Hægstad and Torp did not. Again, this is likely due to Schjøtt utilising of pre-existing vocabulary found in Nynorsk literature, such as Aasen's translation presumably, to construct the contents of his dictionary. The fact that the vast majority of these words can be found in both these dictionaries demonstrates the extent to which they had been solidified in the Nynorsk lexicon by the early twentieth century. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that all but eight of these words (*beita*, *brå på*, *dæl*, *mannrøyne*, *rakna ved*, *truleik*, *understemne*, *våstrøytt*) can still be found in NNO, further emphasising the extent to which these words have been maintained within the Nynorsk vocabulary, no doubt aided by their existence in Norwegian dialects. Unlike the previous two categories where only 9 out of the 36 words were maintained in NNO, 28 out of 36 of these quintessential Nynorsk words remain in NNO to this day.

Six of these words (*andast*, *attergjeld*, *batna*, *bisn*, *huglynde*, *vårkunna*) are also highlighted by Bondevik (1992) as falling out of use within the "Nynorsk Bible language". However, as this analysis shows, for the most part, these words did not fall fully out of use within the wider Nynorsk literature and were particularly used within the saga genre. This would suggest that many of these words had a higher chance of becoming established in the Nynorsk vocabulary if they were to be found in a Nynorsk saga translation than if they were found in a Nynorsk biblical translation. This again highlights the dynamic relationship between Nynorsk translations of religious material and Old Norse material. These words, whilst falling out of use in Nynorsk Bible translations, remained a suitable choice in subsequent Nynorsk saga translations and dictionaries, demonstrating the lasting influence saga translations had on the Nynorsk vocabulary. As mentioned above, incorporating Aasen's 1858 translation into Bondevik's analysis would add an extra layer of nuance to the work since Aasen's translation predated the Nynorsk biblical translations explored by Bondevik and would provide another link within the archive of Nynorsk Bible translations.

Summary of the three categories:

The analysis of these words of significance uncovers a great deal concerning the development of the Nynorsk vocabulary. Firstly, the influence Aasen's 1858 translation had on subsequent Nynorsk texts in the early period of Nynorsk (1850-1917) is clear, particularly on works written by those who corresponded with Aasen. Even words that Aasen tried to reintroduce with little success, such as *ovevle*, *tign*, *fegge*, *namnebot*, and *or*, can be found in the saga translations and works of Sommer, Skard and Frich in the late nineteenth century. There is also a clear link between Aasen's 1858-word choices and the word choices of the Nynorsk saga translators who contributed to *gamalnorske/norrøne bokverk* in the early twentieth century. Translators such as Severin Eskeland, Torleiv Hannaas, Leiv Heggstad, Albert Joleik, Ivar Mortensson, Jørgen Reitan and Olav Røkke, for the most part, followed Aasen's example from the previous century, as can be seen in their use of words such as *ambått*, *andast*, *attergjeld*, *batna*, *berja*, *bisn*, *dæl*, *dæsa*, *fræg*, *frægd*, *frøken*, *gladvær*, *grime*, *grøta*, *hurd*, *komemann*, *mannrøyne*, *skjot*, *stjorn*, *sætt*, *traud*, *utigen*, *veråtte*, *våstrøytt*. Whilst Aasen's 1858 word choices may not have consistently been solidified and firmly established within the wider Nynorsk-writing community, they can be seen to have been established in subsequent Nynorsk saga translations to a great extent.

However, looking at Appendix 4, it is of note that the vast majority of these words of significance were not found in the subsequent Nynorsk translations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*. Less than a third of these words (30.55%) were carried over to Rue's 1976 translation, only 12.50% of these words were adopted by Høeg in his 1925 translation, and a mere 5.55% of these words were used by Fosse in his 2013 translation. This helps to demonstrate how far the Nynorsk vocabulary has developed since Aasen's first attempt at a saga translation in 1858. Furthermore, whilst the overall similarities between these four translations were outlined in Section 6.2.1, a thorough look at these words of significance highlights how different these translations were compared to Aasen's when focusing on the more significant word choices. Fosse's use of only four of these words further highlights the development of the vocabulary in modern times. Indeed, many of these words are not found in Nynorsk works from the latter half of the twentieth century onwards, as the examples show.

Appendix 4 also shows this finding when comparing the appearance of these words in the early-twentieth-century dictionaries (1909, 1914) with their appearance in NNO. Whilst just over half of these words (51.38%) can still be found to this day in NNO (a significant number nonetheless), this number was much higher in the early twentieth century where over three quarters of these words were solidified in Schjøtt's Nynorsk dictionary and found as appropriate Nynorsk translations in Hægstad and Torp's Old Norse dictionary (77.77% and 79.16% respectively). The appearance of these words in Hægstad and Torp's dictionary also helps to explain why these words can also be found in the saga translations in *norrøne bokverk* (1907-2003) as from 1909, these Nynorsk saga translators would have had access to this Nynorsk-Old Norse dictionary to help them whilst translating. This would provide them with access to Aasen's word choices even if they did not have Aasen's 1858 translation to hand half a century later.

It is also of note that many of the examples above are from authors/translators with a more archaic, conservative and/or purist style and vocabulary than the general Nynorsk reader was used to, such as Henrik Rytter and Hans Henrik Holm. However, the fact that these words (*brå på*, *bønord*, *fegge*, *hævskap*, *høgleg*, *mannrøyne*, *meia*, *ovevle*, *segg*) were used by fringe Nynorsk authors such as Rytter, who was responsible for major Nynorsk translations of Shakespeare and Dante, reveals that whilst these words were seemingly conservative and not necessarily known by the wider Nynorsk reading and writing public, they still remained suitable word choices in Nynorsk writing. Their appearance in canonical saga translations, in addition to other canonical works like the Nynorsk Bible and appearance in certain Norwegian dialects, would certainly help to strengthen Rytter's and Holm's reasoning for using them.

This analysis also demonstrates a connection between Aasen's 1858 translation and subsequent Nynorsk translational work within the early period of the Nynorsk language. A number of these words, such as *frægd*, *huglynde*, *hurd*, *hævskap*, *vårkunna*, are found predominantly in works of translation rather than original Nynorsk texts. It would appear that these words were appropriate when translating from another language into Nynorsk but was not deemed as appropriate for original works. The reasons for such a phenomenon are wide and varied. For example, the usage of a particular word is difficult to trace as previously mentioned

and may be due to the author's personal preference, dialect or literary influences. However, from this small sample, I argue that as Aasen was codifying and implementing the Nynorsk language with his 1858 translation, another written lexicon was appearing simultaneously that is perhaps best referred to as *translational Nynorsk*. That is, a group of lexical items that are deemed to be suitable Nynorsk translations of foreign words and can thus be utilised in subsequent translational work. This *translational Nynorsk* is further established by the use of such vocabulary in subsequent translational work, particularly prestigious translations of canonical literature such as Shakespeare, Goethe, Homer and the Bible, since it signifies to subsequent translators which Nynorsk vocabulary could and/or should be used when translating from other languages. The appearance of *translational Nynorsk* can also be explained by the initial desire for a great deal of translational work into Nynorsk in the early decades of the Nynorsk language, leading to a great deal of Nynorsk lexical items being shared between translated texts. This is further evidenced by the appearance of many of these words appearing in bilingual dictionaries, such as Raknes' English-Nynorsk and French-Nynorsk dictionaries and Lehmann's Faroese-Nynorsk dictionary, but not found, or found extremely rarely, in original Nynorsk works (see *hævskap*, *vårkunna*). This phenomenon further emphasises the notion of Aasen's Nynorsk project being a translation project to a great degree.

As this chapter has highlighted, the influence of Aasen's 1858 translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* on the Nynorsk vocabulary can be traced through different periods of Norwegian history and his attempt to remind the Norwegian public of forgotten or sparsely used vocabulary which was closely related to their ancestral Old Norse language had varying levels of success and failure. Whilst a great deal of the words of significance fell out of use within Nynorsk writing for the most part, their appearance in subsequent Nynorsk works and Nynorsk dictionaries demonstrates that they remain a part of the established Nynorsk vocabulary. Whilst this is not solely due to their appearance in Aasen's 1858 translation, their appearance within such a foundational piece of Nynorsk literature from such a prestigious author/translator certainly helped to influence subsequent Nynorsk authors and translators alike.

7 Conclusions

This study began with Grettir the Strong's claim that "Orða sinna á hver ráð" ("Each man has command over his own words"), yet as this study has highlighted, within the context of the Nynorsk language and Norwegian language history, such a claim cannot be taken for granted. The ability to express oneself freely in Norway in the period studied here, in writing in any case, was a complicated notion both prior to and following Aasen's creation of Nynorsk. The choice of written words transformed drastically following Aasen's work as Nynorsk provided a new selection of lexical items for both Norwegian authors and translators. When discussing the establishment and development of the Nynorsk language, it has been the aim of this study to bring the translation of Old Norse literature to the fore. This conclusion will summarise the answers to the research questions addressed in this thesis and propose what these findings offer to existing debates, disciplines and further discourses on the Nynorsk language.

7.1 Summary of the research questions

7.1.1 Research question 1: What role did Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature, in particular Ivar Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858), play in the establishment and development of the Nynorsk language from 1853 to 1917, and what were the motives behind them?

The first research question sought to analyse the role of Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature in the establishment and development of the Nynorsk language. It also sought to discover the motives behind these translations and the way in which these translations were used by various agents to promote and spread the Nynorsk language, as well as assist the Norwegian nation-building project in the nineteenth century. Through a thorough exploration of key Old Norse texts in Chapter 4 and an in-depth analysis of one of the most significant translations into Nynorsk produced, this thesis has stressed that the influence these translations had on the development of the Nynorsk lexicon and the significance of producing such a high number of Nynorsk saga translations in the early years of Nynorsk are shown to be undeniable.

The thesis has argued, as the paratextual information accompanying the Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature indicates, that these translations held higher value and prestige for the Norwegian people than most other text types. The sagas, in particular *Heimskringla*, were often put on equal footing with the Bible and translations of religious material by not only the translators of the sagas but also historians, politicians and other authors on both sides of the Norwegian language conflict. The fact that it was primarily religious translations and translations of Old Norse literature that received financial support from the Norwegian government in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries highlights the primacy these texts exhibited when receiving financial support. Examples of these include the 1900 translations of *Heimskringla* in both Nynorsk and Bokmål (translated by S. Schjøtt and G. Storm respectively), the Old Norse translation series *Norrøne/Gamalnorske bokverk* and the 1889 Nynorsk translation of the New Testament.

The paratextual information of the translations studied here has also revealed a consistent discourse concerning the relationship between saga translations and the Norwegian nation-building project in the nineteenth century. Evidently, the translators, and especially the publishers of their translations, saw the benefit of having these saga texts provided to the Norwegian people in the Nynorsk language. This discourse can be seen in many of the forewords of the Nynorsk saga translations in the early period of Nynorsk as shown in Chapter 4. This paratextual discourse also demonstrates why it was deemed necessary by many Nynorsk advocates in the early period of Nynorsk that these cultural texts be translated into the standard of Norwegian, i.e. Nynorsk, which shared the National Romantic ideals associated with these source texts. A similar discourse can still be found around modern Nynorsk translations of the sagas, as can be seen in the director of Skald forlag, Simone Stibbe's, comments on the motives behind a new translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* in 2013: "Viktig for oss var å få soga fram i lyset igjen som ei av få norske soger… Vi tenkte at eit slikt verk må vera tilgjengeleg for ein allmenn lesar" (Simone Stibbe, email message to author, November 18, 2020).[254] The connection between Norwegian translations of Old Norse literature and Norwegian nationhood is hard to sever. However, this study has shown the need to

[254] It was important for us to bring the saga to light again as one of the few Norwegian sagas… We thought that such a work must be available to a general reader.

emphasise the translational aspect to these texts. Translational activity was essential for the Norwegian people to access this part of their shared history as the source texts were written in Icelandic primarily by Icelandic authors. As the evidence laid out in this study has demonstrated, Nynorsk translational activity was a crucial tool for not only the *målmenn* of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but also the nation builders of Norway, not to mention Riksmål/Bokmål users too.

Whilst the source material was of strong significance for the Nynorsk saga translators, it should also be noted that a prevalent motive behind the creation of these saga translations was to produce texts in the new Norwegian standard. As Haugen's 'implementation principle' of corpus planning details: "implementation includes the activity of a writer, an institution, a government in adopting and attempting to spread the language form that has been selected and codified… this is done by producing books, pamphlets, newspapers, and textbooks in the language" (Haugen, 1983: 272). Thus, producing Nynorsk texts became necessary for the implementation and development of the Nynorsk language. Moreover, it is significant that the majority of the early leading writers and proponents of Nynorsk in the period studied here turned their hand to translating Old Norse literature. As the Foucauldian theoretical framework of this study has emphasised, the archive is predicated on statements said and *unsaid*. Central Nynorsk saga translators such as Aasen, Schjøtt, Skard and Mortensson-Egnund could have chosen to translate any piece of literature or focused solely on creating original works, yet they all attempted to translate Old Norse literature at one point or another. This translational activity took time and effort and usually represented a significant part of their creative output.

Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature could have been left as 'unsaid statements' between 1853 and 1917, yet they were able to be articulated for a variety of reasons, such as the aforementioned cultural importance of the sagas, amongst others. Old Norse poetry evidently played an important role in the selection of source texts for translation. After all, the skill of being able to deal with the difficulty of translating the complex features of Old Norse poetry gave value not only to Nynorsk as a national language, but also to the translators as skilled wordsmiths, as highlighted in Section 4.2. The fact that the Bible was translated into Danish rather than a Norwegian orthography during the Reformation in Norway has also demonstrated the importance of considering both said and unsaid translational

statements in the development of a language. By translating the Bible and Old Norse literature in the early years of Nynorsk, the translators can be seen to aid the development of the Nynorsk language by avoiding the problem of leaving certain statements left unsaid, i.e. leaving certain texts untranslated.

These sentiments are reiterated when discussing Aasen's choice of translating *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* in 1858. Whilst it is clear that Rudolf Keyser commissioned the work and suggested a translation from Old Norse, Aasen could have chosen a different work and language to translate from, or perhaps write a completely original text, to appear as the first standalone literary publication written in Nynorsk. However, he chose to translate an Old Norse text, demonstrating the significance and foundational importance that Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature could and would have on the establishment and development of the Nynorsk language. Indeed, Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858) was a vital and foundational text for the Nynorsk language and Chapters 5 and 6 argued through an analysis of paratextual materials, and as Jan Hagland (2018) also contended, that Aasen's translation played a significant role in the codification of the Nynorsk language. My paratextual analysis has revealed how Aasen's translation could be used as supplementary material to his dictionary and grammar, as well as educational material for subsequent translators and writers of Nynorsk. Furthermore, the case study of Aasen's work in Chapters 5 and 6 has allowed the second research question of this study to be addressed, that is, what effect Nynorsk saga translations had on the Nynorsk language and how can they be seen as a tool for corpus planning.

7.1.2 Research question 2: What effect or influence, if any, did translations of Old Norse literature have on the Nynorsk lexicon?

The second research question sought to discover the effect or influence the Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature in the early period of the Nynorsk language had on the Nynorsk lexicon. Through answering this question, I have also sought to answer whether translational work can be used as a tool to affect the establishment of a lexicon. As the analysis in Chapter 6 has shown, a great deal of the lexicon used in subsequent Nynorsk texts can be traced to words in Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga*

(1858). The lexical solidification, as defined by this study, of certain words, especially those with no *heimfesting* such as *grip*, *ambått*, *hævskap*, to name a few, has a direct link to translational work from Old Norse. Although, it should be noted that whilst these particular words were solidified in that they were chosen in subsequent translations and major lexicographical works and thus became a viable option for subsequent Nynorsk users, these words are now labelled "historical" within the twenty-first dictionaries and are very rarely found outside of saga translations. When the analysis in Chapter 6 is combined with the paratextual information found in Chapters 4 and 5 and the data collated in Tables 1, 3, 4a-c, 5, 6 and 7, it is clear that the Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature affected the development of the Nynorsk lexicon from 1853 to 1917. The juxtaposition of these linguistic and cultural materials has allowed me to construct a new picture of Nynorsk cultural history in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Whilst it is difficult to quantify the effect and influence of the saga translations, it is possible to qualify their influence using the method of locating them in subsequent translational, lexicographical and literary works utilised in Chapter 6. The fact that many of the words found in Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858) have been solidified in a variety of canonical works and dictionaries shows how the existence of a word in a saga translation helped to solidify the word in the Nynorsk lexicon. Obviously, it is not only Nynorsk saga translations that influenced the development and solidification of Nynorsk vocabulary. As mentioned previously, the appearance of a word in the Norwegian dialects certainly also affected the development of the written vocabulary, in addition to translations of the Bible and other widely spread texts, including Bokmål saga translations. Nonetheless, the popularity, availability and affordable price of the Nynorsk saga translations certainly helped the language found in the translations embed itself deeper into the lexicon of the Nynorsk language.

The analysis of Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858) has revealed that translational work can indeed be used as a tool for corpus planning or affecting the solidification of a lexicon, albeit with varying degrees of success. As Section 6.2 has shown, a great deal of the archaic vocabulary did not last into the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. However, the works of Hans Henrik Holm and Henrik Rytter in the early twentieth century, despite their conservative and extreme choices of

vocabulary, demonstrate how Aasen's archaic and conservative vocabulary was still an option, if not a popular one, decades after *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858). The appearance of what I have called *translational Nynorsk*, i.e. vocabulary that is deemed suitable for translated works into Nynorsk but not used by translators or authors in their own original works, reveals a phenomenon understudied within the Nynorsk language. Yet it highlights how translational activity can influence subsequent translational work, particularly when translating the same genre.

The link between lexicographical work and translational activity discussed in Chapter 4 is also important in understanding how translations can affect the solidification of a lexicon. It is not irrelevant that a great deal of the most prominent lexicographers of Nynorsk also produced translations of Old Norse literature, frequently before their lexicographical works were published. Naturally, the language employed by the saga translators in their translations was often found in their lexicographical works, since their lexicographical work usually called for the selecting of words that were in use within the Nynorsk language and literature. This is clearly evident in the dictionaries and translations of Steinar Schjøtt, as explored in Chapter 4 and Section 6.2.

This study has explored the influence that Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858) had on the development of the Nynorsk lexicon in great detail. Whilst this is but one Nynorsk saga translation, albeit the most significant one in the history of the Nynorsk language, it has uncovered a variety of patterns and connections in the early period of the Nynorsk language. The vocabulary in Aasen's translation, not just in the main text but also the vocabulary found in his footnotes, was adopted by a great deal of subsequent Nynorsk saga translators, especially Eirik Sommer, Matias Skard and Stefan Frich, demonstrating the impact this saga translation had on contemporaries of Aasen in the late nineteenth century. Even if the influence of Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858) on the general lexicon of Nynorsk is varied and his attempt to remind the reader of words that "inkje no ero i Bruk, men som vilde vera myket brukføre og nytlege baade i Skrift og Tale" (ibid.: vi) was not always successful, the influence *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858) had on subsequent Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature

is particularly evident when one takes a comparative look at the word choices used in them, as this study has shown.[255]

7.1.3 Research question 3: Can the establishment of the Nynorsk language be interpreted, in part, as a translation project?

The third research question sought to examine the extent to which Aasen's creation of Nynorsk could be regarded, in part, as a translation project and what role translational activity played in the development of the Nynorsk language. As I have argued and demonstrated throughout this study, a part of Aasen's language-planning project can be regarded as a translation project, in that the codification, elaboration and implementation of the Nynorsk language required considerable translational work. The translational work carried out by the early proponents of Nynorsk – i.e. translations of the Bible, Old Norse literature and canonical works of European literature – were of utmost significance for the development of the Nynorsk language due not only to their prestige but also the popularity and distribution of such texts, which were imposed upon the literate public by the National Romanticists and *målmenn*, as highlighted in Chapter 4. Moreover, as Chapter 3 highlighted, the fact that Danish became the written language of Norway meant that the creation of a Norwegian language (i.e. Nynorsk) would have the task of establishing a large number of written words for a variety of spoken dialects that lacked a written form for much of its lexicon. This task can be seen as being accomplished, in part, through translational work in a literal sense, through the translations of the Bible, Old Norse literature and foreign literature in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but also in a metaphorical sense. That is, the language and voice of the *bonde* was translated onto paper in written form for the first time when first expressed through the Nynorsk written language.

As Tables 4a-c in Section 4.4 highlighted, translational activity played a major role in the publications of the most prominent publisher of Nynorsk texts, Det Norske Samlaget, in the early years of Nynorsk publications, further demonstrating the link between textual productions in Nynorsk and translational work. This idea has also

[255] are no longer in use but would be extremely practical and useful both in writing and in speech.

been examined in Chapter 5, where Aasen's translation of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* led to varied discourses on the nature of translation and the phenomenon of translating from an ancestral language into its descendent language, in addition to what a translation actually was (the Nynorsk translators of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* were all in agreement that Tegnér's *Frithiofs saga* (1825) was not a translation). As mentioned, the creation of Nynorsk by Aasen coincides with discussions between Aasen and Ludvig Daa, among others, concerning the value of translational work and the suitability of Nynorsk as a language to translate into. Indeed, in the case of Nynorsk, it appears that the codification of a language leads to discourses on translation during the elaboration and implementation stages of language planning. It is of no small importance that a large section of Aasen's foundational, codifying work *Prøver af Landsmaalet i Norge* (1853) contained a variety of translations of canonical literature ranging from Shakespeare to Schiller, in addition to a variety of original texts written by Aasen. Furthermore, Aasen's work as a language consultant for a variety of Nynorsk translators, for example, Eirik Sommer, Matias Skard, Stefan Frich and Georg Grieg, as well as his work as language consultant for the Nynorsk translation of the Bible in 1889, further emphasised the need for developing accurate and appropriate Nynorsk translations in the nascent years of the language. Considering the establishment of Nynorsk as a translation project is strengthened also by the lexicographical works published by Nynorsk proponents and translators in the early stages of Nynorsk. Schjøtt's Danish-Norwegian bilingual dictionary of 1909, in particular, demonstrated the need for solidifying translations of Danish words, while subsequent bilingual dictionaries such as Ola Raknes' English and French dictionaries (1927; 1939) and Hægstad and Torp's Old Norse dictionary (1909) emphasised the growing need for Nynorsk translations of foreign words in the early twentieth century.

7.2 Implications of findings

Through the interdisciplinary approach of this study, a wide variety of insights and methods have been intersected that may prove valuable for further studies. Primarily, this study has demonstrated the meaningful influence and importance that translational activity has had on the Nynorsk language from 1853 to the present day

and highlighted the need to consider the translations of Old Norse literature within existing discourses on the history of the Nynorsk language to a greater degree than they have been previously. Bringing to the fore the Nynorsk translational activity in the early period of Nynorsk is not only useful in discovering the language practices of the Nynorsk users of that time, but also necessary if one wishes to construct a wider and more nuanced perspective on the history of the Nynorsk language.

Whilst this study focuses on Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature, there is no reason why the methods and arguments addressed here cannot be applied to other literary genres and text types across the Nordic region, particularly in the previous Danish colonies of the Faroe Islands, Iceland and Greenland. For example, within the Norwegian context, one could compare retranslations of Magnus the Lawmender's Law of the Land with other legal translations (the Old Norse original, the 1604 Danish translation, Absalon Taranger's 1915 Riksmål translation *Magnus Lagabøters landslov*, Knut Robberstad's 1937 Nynorsk translation *Gulatingslovi*, to name a few editions), as I have done with retranslations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, in order to trace the development of legal terminology in Norway. Indeed, my comparative analysis on retranslations offers methodological approaches to language historians who wish to track linguistic changes over certain time periods. Indeed, whilst the translator's language choices can be arbitrary and chosen for a variety of reasons, the constant and unchanging nature of the source text allows the researcher to focus in on linguistic choices and notice changes within certain terminologies. These methods need not only apply to the Nynorsk language but could be applied to Bokmål saga translations, for example, which have not been studied here. The comparative linguistic analysis in Chapter 6 also provides a useful and proven model that may be replicated to suit other languages, genres and time periods, or, indeed, further Nynorsk research.

Within Scandinavian Studies and Old Norse Studies, this thesis has presented a useful methodological foundation for further research focusing on the Nordic Region. The methods used here may be readily applied to other countries within Scandinavia and across different time periods and text types. However, this thesis could also be used to bring together existing Scandinavian archives or historical works in order to uncover a deeper understanding of the Nordic Region in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries or compare and contrast different

cultures/languages across the Nordic Region. It may also add to research that focuses on the translation of Old Norse literature and poetry within a variety of contexts, cultures and languages.

Importantly, in Sections 6.1.2 and 6.1.3, the method of comparing a translation's paratext with corresponding paratextual information of subsequent retranslations offers a new way in which to analyse texts and their paratexts. Paratexts need not only be explored to discover something about their texts, by comparing corresponding paratexts, one may discover if paratexts offer us insight into attitudes towards the creation of paratextual information, the development of language practices or changes in the presentation of texts/translations. A comparative study of paratexts has also proved useful in showing how the way in which publishers frame translations and developments in language has changed over time, thus, indicating changing perceptions of how certain vocabularies and/or languages are assigned greater or lesser value in different time periods.

This study has contributed to translation studies in a variety of areas. Scholarly interest in translation history has grown significantly throughout the twenty-first century, particularly through the works of Theo Hermanns, Julia Richter and Christopher Rundle, to name a significant few. This study has added to this field through the utilisation of ideas and arguments from translation history in order to add not only to the historical context of the time period studied here, but also how the historical context affected acts of translation into Nynorsk. I have also provided a relatively unique case study within both Norwegian translation history and translation history more generally by analysing the complexities of Norway's linguistic history. This complex linguistic history also adds to existing knowledge within the field of translation and nationalism. The utilisation of translations within national movements has been studied in a wide variety of languages and cultures and the case study presented here within the Norwegian context further adds to this field. This study has also contributed to the challenging of the Retranslation Hypothesis, evidenced by a thorough analysis of three Nynorsk retranslations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna.*

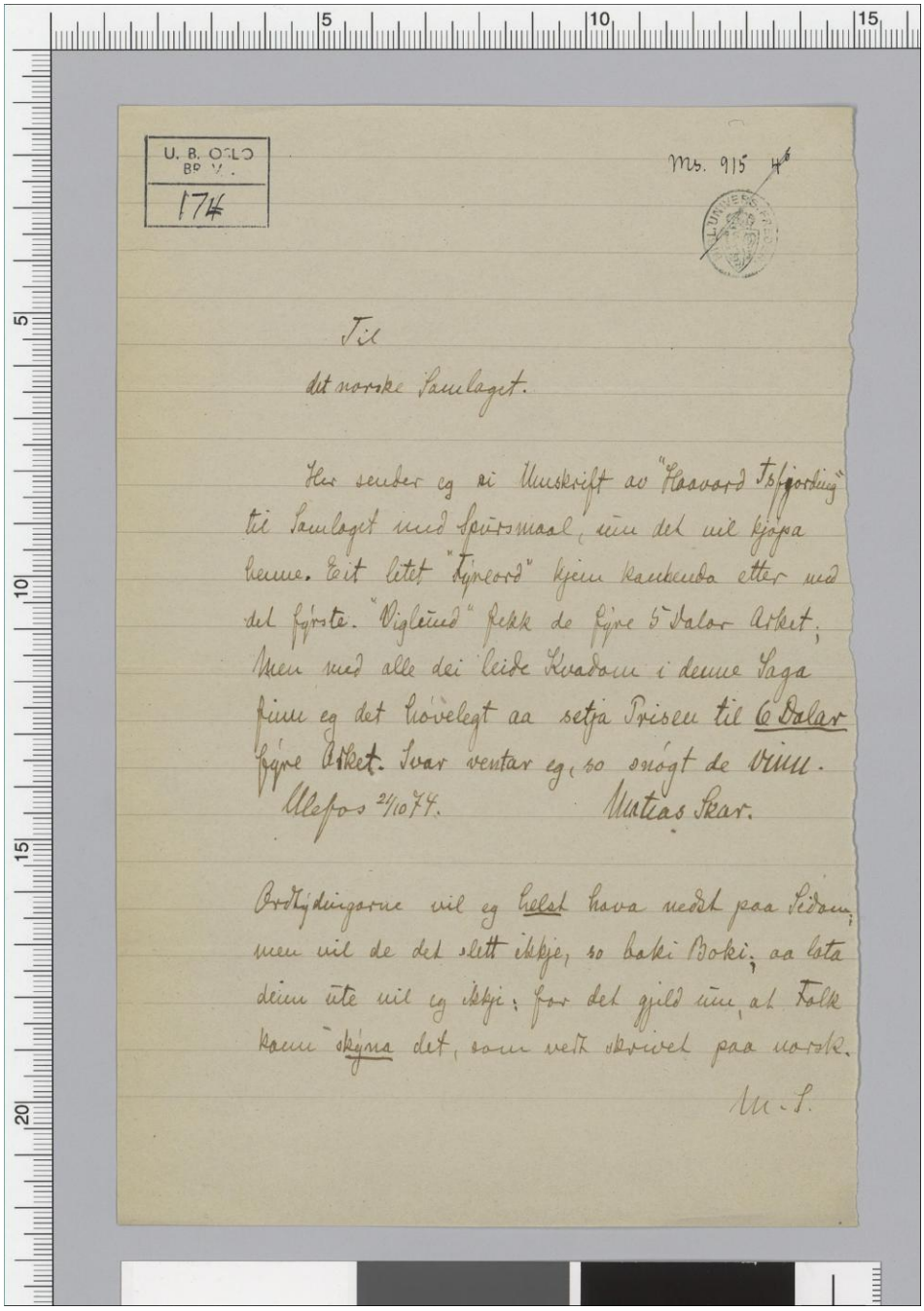
This study has further strengthened the idea of needing to incorporate a translation perspective within the fields of corpus planning and lexicography. Adding to the aforementioned works of Hartmann (2004), Calvo Rigual & Calvi (2015) and

Benarowicz (2017), my analyses have emphasised how translation is often overlooked in discussions of corpus planning and lexicography despite these fields often containing a great deal of translational activity. As this thesis concerning Nynorsk translations of Old Norse literature has demonstrated, the fields of corpus planning, lexicography and translation can be very much intertwined, and it would be of great interest to discover whether these disciplines are equally entwined in other language histories. Indeed, the multiple roles that the early innovators and writers of Nynorsk had, being translators, historians, lexicographers, authors, poets, columnists and academics all in one, invites considerable research to discover the similarities and differences between these disciplines. For example, similar pioneers of language in other countries have shared these multiple roles and professions such as Venceslaus Ulricus Hammershaimb for Faroese, Elias Lönnrot for Finnish and Hugh MacDiarmid for Scots, opening up further avenues for cross-disciplinary research.

Finally, my work has emphasised the need for more research into the building of Foucauldian “archives” of translation in the Norwegian context. Whilst the application of Foucault’s archive in the field of translation studies is relatively recent, (see Hephzibah Israel’s ‘Archival Dea(r)th’ (2022, unpublished conference presentation); Ahmed Ragab’s ‘Translation and the Making of a Medical Archive’ (2022), for example), Foucault’s notion of the archive has not, until now, been applied to Norwegian translation history. Indeed, as this study has demonstrated, analysing a Foucauldian archive of Nynorsk saga translations has helped to better understand the development of the Nynorsk language and its lexicon and the significance of Nynorsk translational activity in the early period of the Nynorsk language. There are countless other archives which could be constructed that intersect with mine very fruitfully. In providing this foundational research into an important area of Nynorsk translation history, my thesis has provided a useful stepping stone for future studies.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Letter from Matias Skard to Det Norske Samlaget concerning Skard's translation of of *Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings*. Source: *Brevs. 174 Brev fra Skard, Matias (1846-1927) til Det Norske Samlaget.* November 20, 2022. (https://www.nb.no/items/e9e5e5fefb5228c995162c4d08c094d3)



U. B. OSLO
Bp V.
174

Ms. 915 4°

Til
det norske Samlaget.

Her sender eg ei Umskrift av "Havard Isfjording" til Samlaget med Spørsmaal, um det vil kjøpa henne. Eit letet "Tyrecord" kjem kanskje etter med det fyrste. "Vigleik" fekk de fyre 5 Dalar Arket, men med alle dei leide Kvadom i denne Saga finn eg det høvelegt aa setja Prisen til 6 Dalar fyre Arket. Svar ventar eg, so snøgt de vilen.

Ulefos 2/10 74. Matias Skar.

Brotkjeingarne vil eg helst hava neokt paa Sidan; men vil de det slett ikkje, so baki Boki; aa lata deim ute vil eg ikkje; for det gjeld um, at Folk kann skyna det, som veit skrivet paa norske.

M. S.

Appendix 2: Comparison of Aasen's footnoted words in *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858) and the corresponding words in Høeg's *Soga um Fridtjov den frøkne* (1925) and Rue's *Soga om Fridtjov den frøkne* (1976).

N.B., I have omitted 8 of the 120 footnotes as they did contain information of a linguistic nature, rather they commented on historical and/or cultural information, or discrepancies in the source text. This leaves 112 words for comparison in the 1976 translation and 102 words for comparison in the 1925 translation, since ten of the footnoted words cannot be found in Høeg's translation due to him omitting certain verses and sentences from the source text.

Key:

: Use of Aasen's chosen word as found in his translation (regardless of spelling). (Solidifying)

: Use of a synonym provided by Aasen in his footnotes. (Modernising and solidifying)

: Use of a different word from Aasen's translation or his footnotes.

* : Same footnote carried over into Høeg's and/or Rue's translations (Important to note that if the same footnote was carried over, the footnoted word is not necessarily solidified or established to a great degree since it still needs a definition/additional information)

Footnoted word(s) in Aasen's *Fridtjofs Saga* (1858)	**Aasen's footnote**	**Corresponding word(s) for Aasen's footnoted word(s) in Høeg's *Soga um Fridtjov den frøkne* (1925)**	**Corresponding word(s) for Aasen's footnoted word(s) in Rue's *Soga om Fridtjov den frøkne* (1976)**	**Notes**
Bele	Leset næsta som Bæle (med same E som i Sele, Tele, Spel) inkje Beele.	Bele	Bele	
Sygna-Fylke	Sogn, i Bergens Umdøme.	Sygnafylka	Sygnefylke	

Fredstad	I Fornskrifti "gridastadr", d. e. fredheilag Stad, dar ingen hadde Løyve til aa yppa Ufred.	freda stad	fredstad	Høeg avoids using a compound noun here.
Fridtjov	Eigenlega Fridtjof, Friðþjófr, so myket som Fred-Tjov (Fredtjuv), dan som stel Freden; soleides: ein Stridsmann, "ein Ufredar-Fugl".	Fridtjov	Fridtjov	
Idtrotter	Mannsverk.	idrotter	idrettar	
frøkne	Frøken: djerv, herdig, myket fyre seg.	frøkne	frøkne*	
Forraad	Elder Fyreraad, Styring.	å råda yver	styring	Høeg translates this noun with a verb phrase instead of a noun.
Veitsla	Veitsla (ofta uttalat Vesle): Gjestabod. Av veita, d. e. giva, lata til; serlega: giva Gjestahald.	veitsle	veitsle*	
Blotmann	Blot (les Bloot) var Forner elder Offring til Gudarne. Blotmann, ein som offrade tidt.	blotmann	Blotmann	
Ellide	Leset Eellide, eller næsta Eellede; samansett av El (Vedr, Vindflaga) og Lide (Fylgjar, Gangar, som "lid" elder gjeng);	Ellide	Ellide	

	soleides dan som gjeng med Vedret, elder fylgjer Vinden.			
ramlegt	Sterkt.	sterkt	sterkt	
Fedgarne	Fedgar er Fader og Son.	Torstein og sonen Fridtjov	fedgane*	
Tigni	Tign er høg Verdleike, Heider, Storvyrde (Majestet).	høgætta	vørdnaden	
høgleg	Høgleg: lett.	lett	greitt	
frægaste	Fræg: gild, gjæv; eigenlega: vidspurd. (Av frega: spyrja). Hertil Frægd: Æra.	mest namngjetne	frægaste	
Mannrauner	Manna-Prøvor, Faarar som røyna Mannen.	høve der manndom røynest	manndomsprøver	
Grip	Grip er same som Eignalut, kosteleg Ting.	eigneluten.	eigneluten	
utigen	Utigen, som inkje heve "Tign", inkje er av Konga-Ætt elder Hovdingastand.	lågætta	utan kongeleg rang	
Konung	Konung er dan gamle Form, og “Kong” er berre ei Avstytting, lika eins som "Pengar" fyre Peningar.	konge	konge	
Koster	Kost: Val; Tilbod. (Av kjosa, dvs. velja).	vilkår	vilkår	
Lidet/Lidsinne	Lid (Le’): Fylgje, Folkahjelp, Folk. - Lidsinne: Hjelpsemd.	folk	flokken	
tevlde	Spelade.	spela	spela	
Neven	Vonlega so, at daa vil dat vera greidare aa	neven (kongen i spelet)	nevetavl*	

	sjaa Utvegen. "Neven" skal vera "Kongen" i Spelet. Ellerst er desse Ordi um Spelet nokot vande aa skyna.			
Jadren	Jadren (sunnanfyre Stavanger) er i Talen forvendt til Jæren (Jedren).	Jæren	Jæren	
reid	Reid (rei'e): harm, sinnad. (Svensk og Dansk: vred). So og: Reide (Sv. og D. Vrede).	harm	vreid	
berjast	Berjast: slaast, halda Slag.	slåst	slåst	
Pell	Pell er eit gamalt Namn paa eit dyrt og fint Vevnad-Slag, kanskje Atlask elder nokot slikt.	kostbar vevnad	pell*	*Kostbar* not used by Aasen, yet he does use the word *dyrt* in his footnote which is a synonym for *kostbar* ("expensive" in English).
skjemtade seg	I Staden fyre "skjemta" er no oftaste sagt: moroa, trøya, skjala.	moroa seg	moroa seg	
Sætt	Sætt er Fredgjerd elder Semja etter ei Trætta. "Sættast": semjast paa nytt, ("Forlik" og "forlikast" ero framande Ord).	Forlik	semje	

Bonde	Tyder her: Husbonde, Husfader.	husbonde	husbond	
Disarsalen	Disarsal: Gudahus i Heidenskapen. (Diser: Gudar av Kvendekyn, Gydjor).	gudesalen	disesalen*	Høeg combines two of Aaasen's words here *disarsalen* and *Gudahus* to make the new compound noun *gudesalen*.
fagna	Fagna: taka imot.	baud velkomne	ta imot	
Seggirne	Segg er Mann elder Karl. Her er dat sett fyre Bokstav-Rimet, som er so, at tvau nærstadde Ord skulo byrja med like Bokstavar; soleides her: segja og Segg, gjort og Gaman, skulo og Skip, Blæjor og Bleik.	sveinane	seggene*	
Avl	Avl: Styrke (til aa slaast).	styrke	styrke	
do	Do, same som døydde.	døydde	døydde	
Frendarne	Frende var brukt um alle Ættingar, soleides og um Fader og Son. "Dei fyrre Frendarne vaare" er = vaare Foreldre.	forfedrane	foreldra	
Stjorni	Stjorn: Styrnad, "Regjering".	makti	styret	

Seidkjeringar	Seid var ein Trollskap elder Galder til aa gjera Ulukkor paa Folk. Dartil "Seidhjell" um Stetti, som dei saato paa, naar dei skulde trolla.	seidkonor	seidkjerringar	
Byrvinds-Soten	D. e. Skipet. I desse Versi skal vera tri Rimbokstavar, tvo i dan eine Lina og ein i dan andre. Stundom er dat tri Ljodstavar (Vokalar), og daa skulo dei helst vera ulika; soleides her i sidste Fjordungen: oss, unna, Elliden.	skipet	børvindssoten*	
Solunder	Solund, dat same som Sulen.	Solundarøy*	Solund	
Gjelv	Sjoarburd, Tung-Alda.	verse omitted	gjelv*	
Øgen	Øge (Øgje, Øgir) er Sjoen; ogso dan Guden, som raadde fyre Sjoen.	verse omitted	Æge*	
svell-umlagda oss liva	Verja. Dat fyrre Ordet er i Fornskrifti “svellvifadar”: makade med Is (?), elder: umskapade til Is-Møyar, (Svellviv).	verse omitted	svell-omlagde oss live	
Langdyret	Skipet.	verse omitted	langdyret*	

ukyrradest (Sjoen)	Av kyrr (“kjørr”), d. e. spak, roleg.	vart vinden stridare	vart sjøen… uroleg	
Fylkes Drengir	Same som Stridsmenner. Fylke er baade ein Landsbolk og ein Mannskare, helst um Menner, som ero radade elder skarade (fylkte) til Strid. Heiter og Fylking. (Av Folk).	verse omitted	fylkings gutar	
Gjæva	Gjæva: Lukka, Lagnad.	verse omitted	lukke	
stodo alle i Austren	“Standa i Austren” kann hava tvo Tydingar, anten: standa i Sjo innanbords, elder: standa og ausa. Dan fyrste er dan, som mid ero mest vane til, men dan andre synest her vera dan rette.	stod i austren	stå i austeren	
Svana-Brekka	Svanabrekka er eit Namn paa Baara.	svanebrekka*	svanebrekka*	
vaarkunna	Orsaka, “tykja Synd um ein”; eigenlega hava Medkjensla elder Samhug (Sympathie) med ein. Heiter og vaarkynna.	de hadde medkjensle med oss	de tykte ikkje synd om oss	
braadde paa	Braa paa: likjast nokot, hava ein Snev av.	paragraph omitted	likna på	*Likna på* is a synonym of *likjast* so can

				also be seen as using a synonym provided by Aasen.
Raan-Seng	Raan er Kona til Havguden Øge. Hennar Seng (Raan-Bed) er so myket som Havsbotnen.	Rans seng*	Rån-seng*	
Ambaatter	Ambaatt: Terna, Taus. I fyrre Tider: Trælkvende.	verse omitted	terner	
Baugar	Baug: Ring. Brende Baugar: Ringar av brent Gull.	verse omitted	baugar*	
Vigi	Vige: Slagbord (?).	skansebordet	varbordet*	
Raan	Øge og Raan, Havkongen og Havdrotningi, ero fyrr umtalade.	Ran	Rån	
Hemingen	Heming (“Hæming”): Lukka, Heppna.	lukke	lukka	
aader	Aader, dat same som: fyrr, fyrr en.	før	innan	
Dygd	Dygd tyder her: Truskap, Hollskap. Av dygg: holl, god, aalitande.	kor ærlege	truskap	Høeg uses an adjective phrase instead of a noun.
Enne	Enne: Skalle.	skalle	skallar	
Hamløypa	Hamløypa: Trollkvende, som	trollkjerringi	trollkjerringa	

	skifter Hamen elder gjerer seg ein ny Skapnad.			
sette aat kavet	Han stokk undan ned i Djupet.	gjekk ned i kavet	sette i kav	
dæste	Dæsa tyder no stundom: forkomast elder døya av Uvedr og Frost; men dan gamle Tydingi er: trotast, ormegtast, vera nær ved Dauden av Vaas og Møda.	utasa	nesten utslitne	
Havs-Megni	Megn: Styrke, Magt. – høgleg: lett. Tanken er: Dat er inkje blidt aa prøva Styrke i Strid med Havet.	havstyrken	hav-makta	
Vord	Elder Vard, d. e. Vakt, Umsyn.	vakt	vakt	
Skjaaen	Skjaa er Luka paa Ljoren i Taket; no er han ofta av Glas, men fyrr var han alltid av ei Skinna (or ei Kuvomb), som er so blank, at dat lyser igjenom henne.	skjåen (luka i taket)	skjåen	
Herse	Hersar vaaro Hovdingar i eit elder annat Fylke og stodo fyre ei Avdeild av Stridsfolket. Herse er mindre en Jarl.	herse	herse	

Viking	Vikingar foro i smaa Ferdalag og herjade og rænte i ymse Rike.	viking	viking	
Berserkagang	Berserkar vaaro dei villaste Stridsmenner. Dei vordo stundom so uppøste og galne etter Draap, at dei gingo i Ørska og inkje kunde styra seg; dat heitte Berserkagang.	berserkgang	berserkgang	
Ørnerne kloast	Ordtøket lyder eigenlega so: Øndverdir skulo ernir kloask.	ørner klorast	ørnane klorast	
laut Marvaden mødast med meinsama Baaror	I Fornskrifti: «marvada møddu Raanar jod»; dat er: Borni hennar Raan (d. e. Baarorna) mødde Marvaden (d. e. Skipet). Baarorna heita ofta “Øges Døtter” og “Raanar Døtter” i gamle Kvæde. “Marvade” er dan, som skal vada i Maren (d. e. Sjoen), og dat er eit høvelegt Namn paa eit Skip.	verse omitted	laut marvaden mødast med meinsame bårer*	
Alfheim	Dette Namnet høver inkje til dat, som fyrr er sagt; for Alfheim var langt ifraa Ringarike, umkring som ved Fredrikshall.	Alvheim*	Alvheim	

Odlingom	Odlingar elder Ødlingar er eit Namn paa Kongar.	kongane	hovdingane	
Disa-Blotet	Disablot: Offring til Gudarne, og serlega til Gudvivi (Diserna).	disarblot*	diseblotet	
Lid	Fylge, Hjelp.	fylgje	folk	
Lovdungar	Lovdung: Konung.	kongen	kongane	
turkade deim med Dukar	So upptakande, at dei hadde Likneskjor elder Bilæte av Gudom, som dei smurde (med Olje elder nokot slikt) og turkade sidan yver Elden.	turka deim med dukar	tørka dei med dukar	
til Raadet	Raada til, er same som: syta til, heimta, føra til Vega.	bore det saman	heim henta	
Raavet	Raav: Tak paa eit Hus. Heiter og Ræve.	taket	taket	
raknade ved	Rakna ved: raada ved seg, koma seg etter eit Uvit. (Heiter sumstad: raknast med seg).	kom seg or uvitet	rakna til att	
livde	Livde: sparde.	spillt livet	sparte	
meidde	Meidd: skadad, hoggen.	hol i alle skipi	sundhogne	
letost	Letost: leto Livet, druknade.	bleiv	let livet	

Or	Or, elder Ør: Pil (til Bogaskot).	pil	pil	
Varg i Veom	Ve er vigde Stader elder Heilagdomar. "Varg i Veom" skulde dan heita, som hadde gjort Skade paa ein heilag Stad.	varg*	varg i veum*	
kannade	Kanna: ransaka, skoda, gjera seg kjend med.	gjorde dei seg kjende	ransaka	
Gods og Gitord	I Gamle-Maalet "Fe og Frægd". Fe er Gods, Eigodom; Frægd er Æra.	gods og ære	gods og gjetord	
Utlæg	Utlæg: utvist or Landet, fredlaus.	fredlaus	utlæg	
Grimdarfulle	Grimd er Illska, Vondlynde. Av grimm: hardhjartad, meinhard. (Svensk grym).	hjartelause	vondkyndte	
ufus	Ufus: traud, uviljug.	Lite huga	ufus	
Grima	Grima: Skyle, Skygge (Maske).	maske	maske	
Komomannen	Same som Gjesten elder dan nykomne.	han som nyss var komen	den nykomne	
Herad	Herad (Hæra): Bygdalag. Dat er merkande, at "Angr" kann og tyda Trongstig og helst ein trong Vaag elder Kil ifraa Sjoen.	bygd	herad	

daa Enkjor eg grøtte	Same som: drap Menner, so at Enkjorna greto.	då eg enkjor grøtte*	då enkjer eg grøtte	
Gavlok	Gavlok (Gaflok): Spjot, Kastespjot.	gaflak*	gavlok*	
Fylking	Fylking: Stridsskare.	fylking	fylking	
hende Smaaborni	Henda er handtaka elder gripa, men er og sagt um ein Sed, som verste Vikingarne brukade, aa taka Smaaborn paa Spjot-Odden og kasta deim.	småborn eg skamfor	handtok småborn*	
vildaste	Vildaste: beste, gildaste.	vann over	gildaste	
Gisting	Same som Gjesting elder Husvære.	gjesting	herbyrge	
gamall og galen	I Saga: “gamalløra”, d. e. faavitug elder fortullad av Aldren.	gjeng i barndomen	gammal og galen	
Sleden	I Saga stend “vagn” (Vogn), og dat kann tyda beint fram: Kjøyrebunad elder Skjotgreida. Men ein kann ogso tenkja, at dei hava kjøyrt i Kjerra paa snjolaus Mark og berre havt eit Sund elder Elvadrag til aa fara yver.	køyregreia	sleden	Høeg combines two of Aasen’s suggestions here *Kjøyrebunad* and *Skjotgreida* to make the new compound noun *køyregreia*.

tek Vedraatta til aa batna	D. e. Vedret mildast og besnar.	veret tek til å besna	tek veret til å besne	
Hyrdmennerne	Hyrd elder “Hird” er Kongsfylget elder dei Mennerne, som altid ero hjaa Kongen til aa tena og hjelpa honom. Av hyrda (hirda), d. e. gjæta, vara, verja. (Herav ogso: Hyrde elder Hyrding, dvs. Gjætar).	hirdmennene	hirdmennene	
Manna-fjølde	Fjølde: Mengd, Flokk.	manneflokken	mannefjølde	
skjott	Skjott: snart.	snart	snøgt	
svav	Elder: sov.	sov	sov	
Hurdi	Hurd er same som Dyrr.	døri	døra	
Ara-Nistar	Ara-Nistar er dan, som lagar Nista (Føda) aat Aren (Ørnen): d. e. Stridsmannen, som giv Ørnen Lik elder Kroppar til aa eta. Tanken er: Du heve gjevet meg dat beste Gjestahald, gjort myket væl imot meg.	ørne-mataren*	ørne-nistaren*	
Vetter-Visti	“Vist” er same som Være (Vering) elder Upphald. Av dat gamle “vesa”, d. e.	vintergjestingi	vinter-vista*	

	vera. (Merk: Husvist, Heimvist).			
Heimsskautet	Heimskaut, Skautet paa Heimen (d. e. Verdi, Jordi) er eit Namn paa Nordhimmelen elder Polen.	himmelkvelven	himmelen	*Himmelen* does appear in Aasen's footnote within *Nordhimmelen*.
Døgling	Døgling er eit Hovdinga-Namn (oftaste um ein Konung).	hovding	hovding	
daper	Daper: sorgall, sturande.	tung	stur	

Appendix 3: Comparison of the 4 Nynorsk translations

The colour coding in this table highlights the similarities and differences in word choices between the four Nynorsk translations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna* in addition to the original ST word in Old Norse. The colours follow the chronological appearance of a specific word. For example, Aasen's word choices (being the first translation chronologically) are highlighted in yellow and then for every instance where the same word is chosen, the colour remains yellow. If a new word appears, it will have a new colour and follow the same pattern. Høeg's colour is green, Rue's blue and Fosse's purple. Where the Old Norse word is extremely similar/the same as the Nynorsk word, the Old Norse word will also be highlighted in the corresponding colour according to who translated it in that way first. In some instances, a word or phrase will share a colour where the translator has incorporated a word or part of a word of a previous translator's word choice. In other instances, there will be no colouring due to the word(s) not having a direct connection to the translated word and thus are of little consequence for the comparison. Where the Old Norse words are not highlighted, this is due to the Nynorsk terms not being directly related to them.

: Aasen original word

: Høeg new word

: Rue new word

: Fosse new word

Furthermore, there are certain occasions, most often regarding Fosse's word choices, where it is difficult to find the corresponding translated word since the ST has been reworded to such an extent where a direct translation of the Old Norse word cannot be found. These instances are listed as "reworded" and are considered to be a new term since the translator has translated the ST in a new way.

It is also important to note that these words are listed as they are found in the texts themselves not as they would be found in a dictionary, i.e. sometimes nouns are in their definite and/or plural forms, verbs are in a variety of tenses, and adjectives are in the singular or plural etc. This is a) to compare the words more accurately, b) to help locate the words within the texts and c) to highlight spelling and

grammar differences (whilst not relevant to this thesis, these differences could potentially aid further studies). It should also be said that the Nynorsk words are directly related to the Old Norse words as they are found in the ST. This is why in some instances there are two words or a phrase listed as a single word since they correspond to a singular Old Norse word in the ST. For example, no. 46: *bljug og smaalaaten* corresponds to the translation of the singular Old Norse word *úframliga*.

	Fridtjofs Saga (1858) – Ivar Aasen	*Soga um Fridtjov den frøkne* (1925) – Hans Høeg	*Soga om Fridtjov den frøkne* (1976) – Olav Rue	*Soga om Fridtjov den frøkne* (2013) – Jon Fosse	Old Norse source text: *Fornaldar Sögur Nordrlanda*, Volume 2 (1829) – Christian Rafn (ed.)
1	aldren (n.)	alderdomen/ åri	alderdomen/opp i åra	alderdomen/ opp i åra	aldr
2	alner (n.)	alner	alner	alner	alna
3	ambaatter (n.)	verse omitted	terner	terner	ambáttir
4	andadest (v.)	døydde	andast	døydde	andaðist
5	andlitet (n.)	andletet	andletet	andlet	andliti
6	annat namn (n.)	anna namn	det kan du kalle	kan du kalle det	öðruvís
7	ara-nistar (n.)	ørne-mataren	ørne-nistaren	reworded	ara nisti
8	armar (n.)	armar	armar	reworded	arma
9	attergjeld (n.)	imot	gjengjeld	til svar	í móti
10	augnakvarmar (n.)	augnekvarmar	augekvarmar	reworded	hvarma
11	augo (n.)	augo	auga	augo	augu
12	ausa (v.)	ausa	ause	ausa	ausa
13	austren (n.)	verse omitted	austeren	auser	austri
14	avl (n.)	styrke	styrke	styrke	afla

15	avlade seg (v.)	vann seg	vann seg	vann seg	öfluðu sér
16	avskapad (v.)	skifte utsjåande	avskapa	gjekk berserk	hamaðist
17	avtalat (v.)	tilsagt	avtala	avtalt	hefi áðr ráð fyrir gert
18	bakade (v.)	baka	baka	vermde	bökuðu
19	banasaar (n.)	banesår	banesår	bane	bana
20	bane (n.)	banen	banen	bane	bana
21	bar (upp) (v.)	bar (fram)	kom (fram)	kom (fram)	flutti (fram)
22	bardagen (n.)	striden	bardagen	striden	bardaginn
23	batna (v.)	besna	besne	blidkast	batna
24	baud seg (v.)	baud seg	baud seg	baud seg	bauð
25	baugar (n.)	verse omitted	baugar	ringar	bauga
26	baukar (v.)	verse omitted	baukar	brenn	baukar
27	beinaste (adv.)	beint attende	beinast tilbake	snøgt attende	aptr skjótt
28	beitt (adj.)	spent	spent	spend	beittr
29	belgen (n.)	belgen	belgen	reworded	belgjar
30	bende (v.)	tok	bende	bende	bendi
31	bergade seg (v.)	budde seg	berga seg	reworded	bjuggu sik
32	bergast (v.)	bergast	bergast	aldri spørjast meir	þrífist
33	berjast (v.)	slåst	slåst	slåst	berjast
34	beserkagang (n.)	berserkgang	berserkgang	gjekk ofte berserk	berserksgang
35	beste (adj.)	beste	beste	beste	beztan
36	bida (v.)	venta	vente	venta	bíða
37	bidja (bjoda) (v.)	beda	be	be	biðja
38	bidlar til (v.)	belar til	belar til	no chapter title (fri til elsewhere)	at biðja
39	bil (n.)	millomrom	punkt	det er tomt	bil
40	bisn (n.)	skam	bisn	underleg	firn

41	bjarta (adj.)	bjarte	bjarte	reworded	björt
42	bjug og kroken (adj.)	krokut innover	lut og krokut	blyg	bjúgr
43	bleiki (n.)	bleiken	bleik	bleiking	blik
44	bleikte (adj.)	bleiken	bleikte	bleiking/lyst	bleiktum
45	blidare (adj.)	blidare	betre	trivelegare	blíðara
46	bljug og smaalaaten (adj.)	tuslut å sjå til	blyg og smålåten	liten	úframliga
47	blodraud (adj.)	blodraud	blodraud	raudna	dreyrrauða
48	blotmann (n.)	blotmann	blotmann	blótsmann	blótmaðr
49	blæjorna (n.)	blæjor	åkleda	lintøyet	blæjur
50	blaaset (v.)	blåse	blåse	blåse	blásit
51	bod (n.)	sendebod	bod	bod	boð
52	bogahalsarne (n.)	bogeendane	bogehalsane	bogehalsane	bogahálsarnir
53	bogen (n.)	bogen	bogen	bogen	boga
54	bogne (stamnar) (adj.)	bogne (stamnar)	bogne	bogne	bugustafnar
55	bolstret (n.)	bolsteret	bolster	sengebenken	bólstri
56	bonde (n.)	bonde	bonde	bonde	bóndi
57	bord (n.)	side	side	bord	borð
58	born (n.)	born	born	born	börn
59	botnen (n.)	botnen	botnen	botnen	botni
60	brakade (v.)	braka	braka	braka	brökuðu
61	brast (v.)	brast	brast	brast	brast
62	breida (v.)	breida	breie	breia	breiðið
63	brenna (v.)	brenna	brenne	brenna	brenna
64	bresta (v.)	bresta	breste	bresta	bresta
65	brim (n.)	verse omitted	brim	bårene	brim
66	brjot (v.)	bryt	bryt	bryt	brjóttu
67	broderen (n.)	bror	broren	brørne	bræðr

68	brotnade (v.)	knekte	brotna	brotna	brotnaði
69	brotsjoar (n.)	brotsjøar	brotsjøar	not in translation	not in ST
70	bruder (n.)	brud	bruder	møya	brúðir
71	brusto (v.)	verse ommitted	brast	brotne	brustu
72	bryllaupet (n.)	brudlaupet	bryllaupet	bryllaupet	brullaup
73	brædde (v.)	tjørebredde	bredde	lét or	bræddan
74	brøyta (v.)	skipla	det får du ikkje gjort noko med	du treng ikkje å endra på det	bregða
75	braadde paa (v.)	not in translation	likna på	likna	brá í
76	braadt (adv.)	ikkje lenge	no	straks	brátt
77	bua seg (v.)	bur oss	bur oss	har noko gull med seg	búmst
78	budde (v.)	budde	budde	budde	bjó
79	budde seg ut (v.)	budde seg til	budde seg til	førebudde seg	bjuggust
80	buen (adj.)	budd	buen	reworded	búinn
81	burtfaren (adj.)	drege av stad	bortfaren	bortfaren	brott farinn
82	burtferdi (n.)	avreisi	bortferda	fara bort (v.)	brottferðar
83	busette seg (v.)	flutte	busette seg	busette seg	settist
84	bygde (v.)	bygde	bygde	bygde	byggði
85	byr (n.)	bør	bør	bør	byr
86	byrjar (v.)	byrjar	byrjar	tek til	byrjar
87	byrvinds-soten (n.)	tjørebredde skipet	børvindssoten	skipet	byrjar sóta
88	bægja seg burt (v.)	stengja vegen	bægje oss bort	hindra oss frå	banna oss
89	bøen (n.)	garden	bøen	garden	bæ

90	bønordet (n.)	erendet (uses bøn elsewhere)	ærend	ærendet	bónorð
91	bøtte (v.)	bygde	bygde	sette i stand	bættu
92	bøygde (v.)	krumbøygd	boge ut	bøygde	dró bjúgur
93	baal (n.)	bålet	bål	bål	bál
94	baaror (n.)	båror	bårer	bårer	hrannir
95	dagverd (n.)	verse omitted	dagverd	disestova	dagverð
96	daper (adj.)	tung	stur	mørk	döprum
97	daude (n.)	død	daude	død	dauði
98	digert (adj.)	breidt	digert	digert	digrt
99	disa-blotet (n.)	disarblot	diseblotet	diseblótet	dísablóti
100	disarsalen (n.)	disarsalen	disesalen	disesalen	dísarsalinn
101	djerv (adj.)	ovdjerv	djerv	djerv	djarfr
102	djervskap (n.)	overlag djervt (adj.)	djervskap	djervskap	djörfung
103	do (v.)	døydde	døydde	døydde	dó
104	dotter (n.)	dotter	dotter	dotter	dóttir
105	dotto ned (v.)	datt ned	datt ned	datt ned	duttu ofan
106	draga (v.)	tala for	tala for	føra til	not in ST
107	drakk (v.)	drakk	drakk	drakk	drakk
108	draumar (n.)	fyresviv	draumar	draumar	draumar
109	dreiv (v.)	kom (dreiv elesehwere)	kom	samla seg	dreif
110	drengir (n.)	verse omitted	gutar	karar	drengir
111	drepa (v.)	drepa	drepe	drepa	drepa
112	drivo-vedret (n.)	uveret	gov-veret	drivvêret	drífu veðri
113	drjugt (adj.)	hæken	mykje	mykje	frekt
114	drog (v.)	henta (drog elsewhere)	drog	kalla han til seg	dró
115	drotningi (n.)	dronningi	dronninga	dronninga	dróttning
116	drotten (n.)	konge	(Sogne-)drotten	Sognefyrste	dróttinn

117	drykkir (n.)	vatn	drykker	drikke	drekkr
118	drykkjostova (n.)	drikkehuset	drikkestova	drikkestova	drykkjuskála
119	duga til (v.)	dugande til	duger til	duger til	er illa varit
120	duglege (adj.)	beste	dugande	dugande	hreysti
121	dukar (n.)	vevnad	dukar	vevnader	vefnaði
122	dulde seg (v.)	dekte	dulde seg	dulde seg	duldist
123	dunde (v.)	verse ommitted	dunde	dundra	hrundi
124	dunkat (v.)	banka	dunka	banka	var högg
125	dveljast (v.)	turvte bia lenge der	bli der	trong vera der lenger	dveljast
126	dygd (n.)	ærlege (adj.)	truskap	trufaste (adj.)	dygð
127	dyngja (n.)	verse omitted	å bere på bord	å dugurd (v.)	dyngju
128	dyrare (adj.)	dyrare	dyrare	gjævare (dyre elsewhere)	dýrri
129	dyrri/dyrrom (n.)	døri	døra/dørene	døra/dørene	dyrr/durunum
130	dyrshorn (n.)	dyrehorn	dyrehorn	dyrehorn	dýrshorni
131	dælare (adj.)	not in translation	betre	betre	dælla
132	dæsande (adj.)	maktsolne	gortrøytte	møydde	dæsta
133	dæste (adj.)	utasa	utslitne	svært forkomne	dasaðir
134	døgling (n.)	hovding	hovding	fyrste	döglingr
135	døme (n.)	fyredøme	døme	de har ikkje gjort som andre menn	dæmum
136	døydde (v.)	døydde	døydde	døydde	dó (andaðist used most commonly)
137	eid (n.)	eiden	eid	eid	eiðum
138	eignalut (n.)	eigneluten	eigneluten	eignelut	grip

139	eigner/ eigodomar (n.)	eigedomen	alt dei åtte/eigedomane	eigedomen	eigna/eignir
140	einsleg (adj.)	åleine	einsleg	åleine	einn
141	eld (n.)	eld	eld	elden	eldi
142	eldmyrja (n.)	eldmørja	eldmørja	eldmørja	eimyrju
143	eldskida (n.)	brennande vedskie	eldskie	brennande vedskie	eldskíðu
144	eldsto (n.)	eldstaden	eldstad	eldstaden	eldstóar
145	elska (n.)	kjærleik	elsk	kjærleik	elsku
146	elskug (n.)	overlag glad	elskhug	kjærleik	ást
147	endar (v.)	endar	endar	endar	endar
148	enkjor (n.)	enkjor	enkjer	kvinner	ekkjur
149	enne (n.)	skalle	skallar	skallar	enni
150	erve (n.)	erveøl	gravøl	gravøl	erfi
151	eta (v.)	eta	ete	eta	snæða
152	etlade seg (v.)	tenkte	etla seg	etla seg	ætla
153	fader (n.)	far	far	far	föður
154	fader-arven (n.)	farsarven	farsarven	farsarven	föðurarfr
155	fagert (adj.)	sømeleg	fagert	vel	vel
156	fagna (v.)	baud velkomne	ta imot	kom	fagna
157	fagnad (n.)	hadde det godt	i godt lag	hadde det godt	yfirlæti
158	fagnafolk (n.)	verse omitted	fagnafolk	kraftige karar	dugir rausnar rekkum
159	fagna-mann (n.)	so gjæv kar (fagnamann elsewhere)	fagnamann	så gjæv	rausnarmaðr
160	fagre (adj.)	fagre	fagre	fagre	fagra
161	fanst (v.)	fanst	fanst	fanst	var
162	fanta-nosi (n.)	fantenesan	fante-nosa	uslings nasen	nef kauða
163	fatade (v.)	datt	fata	fatna	fell út
164	fe (n.)	fe	fe	dyr	fé

165	fedgarne (n.)	Torstein og sonen Fridtjov	fedgane	far og son	feðga
166	fekk (v.)	fekk	fekk	reworded	fekk
167	ferdadest (v.)	drog då avstad	fór	la dei ut på ferda	ferðuðust
168	ferdalaget (n.)	fylgjet	ferdalaget	følgjet	förunauta
169	ferdi (n.)	ferdi	ferda	ferda	ferð
170	festa (v.)	festa	feste	festa	festa
171	festarkona (n.)	kona	festarmøya	henne han var trulova med	festarkonu
172	fingo (større vælgjerd) (v.)	heidra (alle meir)	fekk (større velgjerd)	vart (betre mottekne)	veitti (öllum framar)
173	fjell (n.)	fjellufser	fjell	fjell	fjöllum
174	fjorden (n.)	fjorden	fjorden	fjorden	fjörðinn
175	flodarmaalet (n.)	flodmålet	flodmålet	fjøra	flæðarmáli
176	flytja (v.)	flytja	flytte	flytte	flytja
177	fløygde (v.)	kasta	kasta	kasta	fleygða
178	fok (n.)	snøfok	fok	fok	fjúki
179	folkastyrken (n.)	folkestyrken	mannstyrken	flokken	liðsafla
180	folki (n.)	folki	folka	menneske	mönnum
181	foor (v.)	fór	fór	for	fór
182	forbroti (n.)	brotsverki	forbrota	brotsverka	brot
183	forgjorde (adj.)	not in translation	forgjorde	forgjorde	gerninga
184	forherdig (adj.)	djerv	forherdig	djerv	djarfan
185	forkomast (v.)	forkomast	omkome	forkomast	týndist (týna)
186	forraad (n.)	å råda yver (v.)	styring	rådde over (v.)	forráða
187	forvitnadest (v.)	var huga på	var forviten	var forviten	forvitnaði

188	fossom (n.)	det fossa inn	det fossa inn	det fossa inn	fossum
189	fostbrøder (n.)	fosterbrørne	fosterbrør	fosterbrørne	fóstbræðr
190	fostersystkyn (n.)	fostersyskin	fostersysken	fostersysken	fóstrsystkin
191	fostring (n.)	uppfostring	fostring	fostra	fóstr
192	fot (n.)	fot	fot	fot	fót
193	framande-mannen (n.)	kuftemannen	framandmanne n	kuftemannen	kuflmanns
194	framferder (n.)	ferdene	framferder	kva Fridtjov hadde gjort	háttu
195	framstamnen (n.)	framskuten	framstamnen	framstamnen	framstafninn
196	fred (n.)	fred	fred	fred	friði
197	fredgjerd (n.)	held fred med	det som talar for fred	føra til fred	friðgerðar
198	fredskjold (n.)	fredsskjold	fredsskjold	fredsskjold	friðskildi
199	fredstad (n.)	freda stad	fredstad	fredheilag stad	griðastaðr
200	frelst (adj.)	frelst	fri	not in translation	forðat
201	fremste (adj.)	fremste	fremste	fremste	fremst
202	frende (n.)	not in translation	frende	frende	frænda
203	fretta (v.)	spurde no	høyre	høyra	fréttu
204	frost (n.)	frost	frost	frost	frosti
205	frægaste (adj.)	mest namngjetne	frægaste	frøknaste	frægasti (also ágæstastr)
206	frægd (n.)	heider	frægd	glede	frægð
207	frægdar-mann (n.)	namngjeten mann	frægdemann	framifrå mann	ágætismaðr
208	frøkne (adj.)	frøkne	frøkne	frøkne	frækni
209	fullføre (adj.)	vaksne	fullføre	vaksne	þroskaðir
210	fullføre (v.)	not in translation	fullføre	not in translation	not in ST
211	fus (adj.)	not in translation	fus	ferdig	not in ST

212	fylge (n.)	fylgjet	følgje	følgjet	liðsemð
213	fylgesmenner (n.)	folkehjelp	følgjesmenn	følgjesmennene	liðsmenn
214	fylkes (n.)	verse omitted	fylkings	fyrstens	fylkis
215	fylkeskonung (n.)	fylkeskonge	fylkeskonge	fylkeskonge	fylkiskonungr
216	fylking (n.)	fylking	fylking	fylking	fylki
217	fyllest (v.)	søkkja	fyllest	fyllest	fylli
218	fyregjerdi (n.)	heldt denne staden so heilag	hadde vore mykje vyrke for denne staden	heldt så mykje av denne staden	fyrirgera
219	(heve fulla) fyregjort (sitt liv) (adj.)	(har) spillt (livet sitt)	(har då) forbrote (sitt liv)	(har) forgjort (livet sitt)	hefir sá fyrirgert
220	fyremunen (n.)	framfor alle andre menn	føremoner	fremst av alle menn	fyrir öllum mönnum
221	fyresegn (n.)	han hadde bede um	føresegn	ynske	beiðni
222	fyrkjom (n.)	fyrkjone	førkjene	førkjer	flagði
223	fyrre frendarne (adj. phr.)	forfedrane	foreldra	dei farne foreldra	fyrri
224	fæleleg kulde (adj. phr.)	drepande kjøld	fælsleg kulde	fykande kulde	feiknarkulda
225	fælt (adj.)	fælt	fælt	svært	mjök
226	fører (v.)	ber svaret	fører	du har skjøna godt	skilst
227	ført (adj.)	gode	ført	vel føre	fært
228	(var) faament (adj.)	(var) få menn	(var) fåment	få (var i stova)	fátt manna (var)
229	faamælt (adj.)	tala lite	fåmælt	talte berre lite	mælti fátt
230	faaren (n.)	kampen	faren	strid, der det stod om liv	mannhættu
231	galder/galdrar (n.)	galder	galder/galdrar	galder	göldrum
232	gamall (adj.)	gamal	gammal	gammal	gamall

233	gamall og galen (adj.)	gamal	gammal og galen	gammal	gamalæra
234	gaman-ferdom (n.)	gamanferdene	gaman-ferdene	gledesferder	gamanferðum
235	gamle dagar (adj. phr.)	gamle dagar	gamle dagar	gamle dagar	gamalsaldri
236	gangfagre (adj.)	gangfagre	gangfagre	gangfagre	gangfögr
237	gard (n.)	gard	gard	gard	bær
238	garta (v.)	garte	garte	reworded	biði
239	gavlok (n.)	gaflak	gavlok	spyd	gaflokum
240	gifta (n.)	not in translation	giftet	valdet	ráðs
241	gifta (v.)	gifta	gifte	gifta	giptum
242	gild (adj.)	mykje djerv	gild	vel omtykt	not in ST
243	gingo (ganga) (v.)	ganga	gjekk	reworded	ganga
244	gisting (n.)	verse omitted	gjesting (herbyrge elsewhere)	reworded	gistingar
245	gitord (n.)	ære	gjetord	gjetord	frægðar
246	giva (v.)	byda	by	gje	bjóða
247	gjekk (v.)	gjekk	låg (gjekk elsewhere)	låg (gjekk elsewhere)	gekk
248	gjelda (v.)	gjeva	gje	løna	gjalda
249	gjelv (n.)	verse omitted	gjelv	havet veldig går	gjálfr
250	gjentor (n.)	gjentor	jenter	møyar	meyjum
251	gjerningar (n.)	trollskap	gjerningar	forgjering	gerningum
252	gjesta-stova (n.)	gjestestova	gjestestova	gjestestova	gestaskála
253	gjestom (n.)	verse omitted	gjester	gjester	gestum
254	gjorde seg laus til (v.)	bur seg til ferdi si	gjorde seg ferdig	førebur	býr ferð sína

255	gjort (gjera) (v.)	gjera	gjere	gjera	gert
256	gjæta (v.)	vakta	gjete	þass godt på	gætið
257	gjætarsveinar (n.)	gjætarar	gjetargutar	gjetarsveinar	hjarðarsveina
258	gjæva (n.)	verse omitted	lukke	lukke	gæfu
259	gjævelege (adj.)	not in translation	så gjæve	not in translation	not in ST
260	gladvoren (adj.)	gladværug	gladvoren	glad	gleði
261	gladvær (adj.)	venleg mot	gladvær	venleg mot	glaðr við
262	gluntarne (n.)	karar	gutane	mennene	þegnar
263	gnikade (v.)	gnika	gnika	gnika	Vér rifum í augun
264	god (adj.)	god	god	god	góðr
265	godset (n.)	godset	godset	alt som der var	fé
266	golvet (n.)	golvet	golvet	golvet	gólfi
267	gongen (n.)	no	gongen	gongen	(at) sinni
268	grannare (adj.)	du veit ikkje du betre enn eg	ikkje veit du det meir enn eg	Det veit ikkje du meir om enn eg	Ei veiztu gerr en ek
269	graset (n.)	graset	graset	graset	grös
270	greida (v.)	greia	greie	ville få	greiða
271	grein (n.)	not in translation	greie	greie	grein
272	greip (v.)	tok (greip elsewhere)	greip	greip	greip
273	grima (n.)	maske	maske	tildekt andlet	grímu
274	grimdarfulle (adj.)	hjartelause	vondkyndte	vondlyndte	grimdarfulla
275	grip (n.)	gullring	verdfull ting	eignelut	grip
276	gror (v.)	gror	gror	gror	gróa
277	gruva (n.)	not in translation	grua på golvet	golvet	gólfinu

278	grøtte (v.)	grøtte	grøtte	for gråtande kvinner	grætta
279	gudahus (n.)	gudehov	hov	hov	hof
280	gudar (n.)	gudar	gudar	gudar	goð
281	gull (n.)	gull	gull	gull	gull
282	gullring (n.)	gullring	gullring	gullring	gullhring
283	gusta (v.)	det kom ein vind	guste	kom vind utetter	rann vindr á innan
284	gaava (hennar Ingebjørg) (n.)	gåva (frå Ingebjørg)	gåva	ringen (Ingebjørg hadde gjeve)	Ingibjargarnaut
285	hadde (hava) (v.)	hadde	hadde	hadde	átti (also hafði)
286	halda (v.)	styra (halda elsewhere)	styre	kvar skal vi no	halda
287	halli (n.)	halli	halla	hallen	höllina
288	halsar (n.)	halsane	halsar	halsane	hálsar
289	halsbordi (n.)	halsane	halsborda	halsane	hálsana
290	halsromet (n.)	halsen	framrommmet	framstamnen	hálsi
291	hamløypa (n.)	trollkjerringi	trollkjerringa	hamskapnaden	hamhleypunni
292	hamnar (v.)	setja	hamnar	dela	not in ST
293	hamni (n.)	hamn	hamna	hamn	höfn
294	handfeste (n.)	handslag	handfeste	handslag	handfesti
295	handgull (n.)	ringar	handgull	reworded	hnoss
296	hardbalne (adj.)	hardtoluge	hardbalne	hardbarka	harðir
297	harde (koster) (adj.)	hard	harde	hard	afarkostum
298	hardkoster (n.)	hard medferd	harde vilkår	hard medferd	afarkostum
299	haug (n.)	haug	haug	haug	haug
300	hauglagd (adj.)	hauglagd	hauglagd	lagd i haug (hauglagd elsewhere)	var heygðr

301	hausten (n.)	hasuten	hausten	hausten	haust
302	havet (n.)	havet	havet	havet	hafi
303	havskip (n.)	havskip	havskip	havskip	hafskip
304	havs-megni (n.)	havstyrken	hav-makta	sjøskrømt	hafsmegn
305	heidersklædi (n.)	stasklædi	høgtidskleda	tingkleda	tignarklæði
306	heidne (adj.)	heidne	heidne	heidne	heiðnum
307	heilag (stad) (adj.)	heilage (stad)	heilag (stad)	fredheilag (stad)	griðastöðum
308	heimatter (adv.)	heim att	heim att	heim	heim aptr
309	heimboli (n.)	bustaden	heimgarden	bustaden	hýbýli
310	heimsskautet (n.)	himmelkvelven	himmelen	himmelen	heims skauti
311	heimstaden (n.)	heimen	heimstaden	heime	heimili
312	heimtar (v.)	hentar	hentar	hentar	heimtir
313	heitte (v.)	heitte	heitte	heitte	hét
314	helsade (v.)	helsa	helsa	helste	kvaddi
315	helsing (n.)	helsing	helsing	helsar (v.)	kveðju
316	hemingen (n.)	lukke	lukka	lukka	hamingja
317	hemn (n.)	noko att	noko straff	hemnde (v.)	gjöld
318	hendest (v.)	hende	hende	skjedde	gerðist
319	her (n.)	her	hær	hær	herr
320	herad (n.)	bygd	herad	herad	herað
321	herdast (v.)	vert stridare	hardne	reworded	herða
322	herferdi (n.)	herferdi	hærferda	hærferda	herför
323	herja (v.)	herja	herje	hærta	herja
324	hermanna-sed (n.)	hermanssed	hærmanns sed	krigarskikkar	hermanna
325	herre (n.)	herre	herre	herre	herra
326	herses-son (n.)	herseson	herse-son	son til ein herse	hersisson

327	hestabaket (n.)	hesterygg	hesteryggen	hesten	no noun, kæmist á bak
328	hesten (n.)	hesten	hesten	hesten	hestinum
329	hetta (n.)	huva	hetta	hetta	kuflhöttinum
330	hildo ut (v.)	heldt utetter	styrte ut	styrde utetter	heldu út
331	hittade (v.)	trefte	råka	trefte	hitti
332	hjellen (n.)	hjellen	hjellen	hjellen	hjallinn
333	hjelp (n.)	hjelp	hjelp	hjelpa	lið
334	hjelper (v.)	not in translation	hjelper	finna seg i	hjálpa
335	hogde (i sunder) (v.)	hogg (han sund)	hogg (i stykke)	hogg (i stykke)	hjó (í sundr)
336	hoggskifte (n.)	skifte hogg (v.)	hoggskifte	skifta hogg (v.)	höggviðskipti
337	hondom (n.)	not in translation	hendene	hendene	höndum
338	hornet (n.)	hornet	hornet	hornet	horn
339	hov (n.)	gudehov	hov	hov	hof
340	hovding (n.)	verse omitted	not in translation	not in translation	höfðingi
341	hovudet (n.)	huva	hovudet	hovudet	höfði
342	huglyndet (n.)	spaklynd	huglyndet	skarplynnet	skaplyndi
343	hurdi (n.)	døri	døra	døra	hurðunni
344	hyllesta (n.)	kjærleik	hollskap	kjærleik	hylli
345	hyrdi (n.)	hirdi	hirda	hirda	hirðinni
346	hyrdmennerne (n.)	hirdmennene	hirdmennene	hirdmennene	hirðmenn
347	hævskapar (n.)	dugleiken	måtar	dugleikar	atgervi
348	høgleg (adj.)	lett	greitt	lett	alhægt/hægt
349	høgsætet (n.)	høgsætet	høgsetet	høgsetet	hásætinu
350	høvdest (v.)	høvde	høvdest	passa	hraut sjóðr
351	høveleg (adj.)	god	høveleg	god	hæfiligan
352	høver til (v.)	høver seg um	høver for	sømer seg om	not in ST

353	høyrer til (v.)	not in translation	høyrer dei til	dei tilkjem	not in ST
354	haatt (n.)	not in translation	(underleg) gjerd	vane	hátt
355	idtrotter (n.)	idrotter	idrettar	idrettar	íþróttum
356	ilagde (v.)	vart lagt ned i	ilagde	ilagt	í lagt
357	ille (adj.)	ille/ilske	ille/vondlyndte	dårleg/vonde	þungt/onde
358	illhug (n.)	vondhug	illhug	avvisande	fæði
359	illmenne (n.)	illmenn	illmenne	illgjerningsmenn	illmenni
360	isen (n.)	isen	isen	isen	íssinn
361	(var) iteket (adj.)	(var godt) gjort	tok du no i	(var godt) teke i	(er) upp tekit
362	jarlen (n.)	jarlen	jarlen	jarlen	jarl
363	jarn (n.)	jarnslege (adj.)	jarn	jarn	járni
364	kallad (v.)	kalla	kalla	kalla	kallaðr
365	kannade (v.)	gjorde dei seg kjende	ransaka	gjorde dei seg kjende	kanna
366	karlmenner (n.)	karar	karar	menn	karlar
367	kasta upp (v.)	kasta over	kaste opp	leggja opp	láta heygja
368	kastade seg imot (v.)	not in translation	kasta seg mot	kasta seg imot	kastaði á móti
369	kaupmenner (n.)	kaupmenn	kjøpmenn	kjøpmenn	kaupmenn
370	kavet (n.)	kavet	kav	dukka (v.)	kaf
371	kinner (n.)	kinn	kinn	kinn	kinnr
372	kipte aat seg (v.)	rykte til seg	kippa til seg	rykte	kippti at sér
373	kjakar (n.)	kjake	kjakar	kjakar	kjálka
374	kjende (v.)	kjende	kjende	kjende	kenda
375	kjeringar (n.)	kvende	kjerringar	kvinnfolk	konur
376	kjole (n.)	trøye	kjortel	kjortel	kyrtli
377	kjærleike (n.)	kjærleik	venskap	venskap	kærleikum
378	kjøva (v.)	verse omitted	kjøver	reworded	er drepit

379	klen og kuren (adj.)	overlag trøytt	klen og kuren	særs samankrøkt og svak	allhrumliga
380	kloast (v.)	klorast	klorast	kloast	klóast
381	klok (adj.)	klok	klok	vitug	vitr
382	klædom (n.)	klædi	kleda	klede	klæða
383	kløkkjast (v.)	syrgja	kløkkjast	verse omitted	klökkva
384	klaarnade (v.)	ljosna	klårna	vart vêret betre	birti
385	kom (v.)	kom	kom	kjem	koma
386	komna (v.)	komne	er no lagde	heng (komne elsewhere)	komnar
387	komomannen (n.)	han som nyss var komen	den nykomne	kuftemannen	komumanninum
388	kona (n.)	kona	kona	kona	konu
389	kong/konung (n.)	kong	kong	kong	konungr
390	kongsdotteri (n.)	kongsdotteri	kongsdottera	kongsdottera	konungs dóttur
391	kongsfylget (n.)	not in translation	hans folk	følgjet hans	not in ST
392	kongsgarden (n.)	kongsgarden	kongsgarden	kongsgarden	konungs atsetr
393	kongs-hyrdi (n.)	kongshirdi	kongshirda	kongshirda	hirð konungsins
394	kongssønerne (n.)	kongssønene	kongssønene	kongssønene	konungs synir
395	konunga-seder (n.)	kongsskikkar	kongsseder	kongsseder	konungasiðu
396	konungs-namn (n.)	kongsnamn	kongsnamn	kongsnamn	konungsnafn
397	konungs-tigni (n.)	kongedømet	kongsrangen	kongsvrydnaden	konungstign
398	konungs-vald (n.)	kongsvelde	kongsmakt	kongsveldet	konungs vald

399	kostasame (adj.)	mykje gods	kostesame	mykje gods	mikit fé
400	koster (n.)	vilkår	bod/vilkår	val	kosti
401	kostnad (n.)	kostnad	kostnad	storslege gjestebod	kostnaði
402	kov (n.)	not in translation	kov	not in translation	not in ST
403	krever (v.)	krev	krev	reworded	beiðir
404	kufta (n.)	kufte	kufte	kufte	kufl
405	kuftemannen (n.)	kuftemannen	kuftemannen	kuftemannen	kuflmaðr
406	kuga (v.)	kua	kue	kua	kúga
407	kunde (v.)	kunde	kunne	reworded	váru
408	kunnig (adj.)	fekk ein nyss	fekk vite	fekk vita	varr
409	kvad (kveda) (v.)	kvad	kvad	kvad	kvað
410	kvast (adj.)	hardt	kvast	kvast	hvast
411	kveikje (v.)	kasta inn	kveikje	lat då elden loga	verpið
412	kvelden (n.)	kveld	kveldinga	kveld	kveldi
413	kvelva (v.)	kastar	kvelver	kvelvar	hrynja
414	kvelvande (adj.)	kvelvande	kvelvande	kvelvde	holfande
415	kvende (n.)	kvende	kvinner	kvinner	konur
416	kvessa paa (v.)	vart stridare	kvesse på	kvessast	snerpa
417	kvida (n.)	kvide	otte	kvide	kvíðr
418	kvida (v.)	ottast	kvide	ottast	kvíða
419	kyss (n.)	kyss	kyss	kyss	koss
420	kyssa (v.)	verse omitted	kysse	kyssa	kyssim
421	kaapa (n.)	kappe	kappe	kappe	skikkju
422	kaat/kaatleg (adj.)	glad og venleg/blid	livleg og blid	blid	allkátr
423	lagde hugen saman (v.)	huglagde kvarandre	la hugen saman	hadde funne saman	lögðu hugi saman

424	lagde under seg (v.)	la under seg	la under seg	la under seg	lögðu undir sik
425	lagdest (v.)	vart (leggja elsewhere)	liggjande	vart	not in ST
426	land (n.)	land	land	land	land
427	landslaget (n.)	landslaget	landskapet	landskapet	landsleg
428	langdrag (n.)	langdrag	not in translation	not in translation	not in ST
429	langdyret (n.)	verse omitted	langdyret	langdyret	lögdýr
430	lata fraa seg (v.)	gjeva ifrå	late frå deg	gje frå	lóga
431	laugo (n.)	laugo	lauga	reworded	laugu
432	laupa (v.)	verse omitted	laupe	spring	hlaupa
433	lauspening (n.)	lausøyre	lausøyre	lausøyre	lausafé
434	lausøyren (n.)	lausøyre	lausøyren	lausøyre	lausafé
435	lauvgast (v.)	grønast	lauvast	lauvast	blómgast
436	leida (v.)	verta	bli (leid elsewhere)	kjem til	leiða
437	leikade (v.)	leika	leika	leika	lék
438	leita (v.)	ganga	gjere dykk noko	gjera dykk noko	leita
439	lengd (n.)	lenge	lenge	lenger	lengðar
440	lereft (n.)	lereft	lerret	lintøy	léreptum
441	leto dat rugga (v.)	let det berre driva	let det drive	hadde lagt frå	létu vakka við
442	leto dei Ordi ut (v.)	sa	sa	sa	töluðu
443	lettgjengt (adj.)	lettsiglande	lettgjengt	lettsiglt	örskreitt
444	lider (v.)	leid	lir	lid	líður
445	lidet (n.)	folkehjelp	flokken	følgjet	liði
446	lidsinne (n.)	mannehjelp	hjelp	følgjet	liðsinni
447	liggja laust fyre (v.)	ikkje vera vandt å taka	vere lett å ta	er dei ikkje mykje verde	laust fyrir liggja

448	likade (v.)	lika	lika	likte	líkaði
449	litom (n.)	not in translation	leter	raudne	not in ST
450	liv (n.)	liv	liv	liv	líf
451	liva (v.)	verse omitted	live	reworded	hlífa
452	livde (v.)	øyder	ikkje sparte	ikkje aktar	hlífði
453	ljop (v.)	sprang	laupte	sprang	hljóp
454	ljoren (n.)	ljoren	ljoren	ljoren	ljóra
455	loden (adj.)	loden	loden	not in translation	loðinn
456	logade (v.)	stod i loge	loga	stod i loge	logaði
457	logen (n.)	loge	logen	loge	logaði
458	lovad (adj.)	rosa	rosa	rosa	lofaðr
459	lovar (v.)	lova	lovar	lovar	heitr
460	lovdungar (n.)	kongen	kongane	fyrstar	lofða
461	lovnaden (n.)	det lovar eg (v.)	lovnaden	lovnad	heitstrengja
462	ludr (n.)	blåse til samling	lur	lur	not in ST (the verb blásit in the ST implies that a lur or horn was used to rally the troops)
463	lukka (n.)	lukke	lukke	reworded	heill
464	lurken (n.)	lurken (båtshake elsewhere)	lurken	stokken	lurkum
465	lydest til (v.)	vitjar	lydest til	no chapter title	no chapter title
466	lyster (v.)	er so hæken etter	lystar	har lyst til	girnist
467	lyt (v.)	lyt	lyt	er du som avgjer	not in ST
468	læra (v.)	læra	lære	læra	læra
469	løna (v.)	løna	løne	løna	launa

470	(utan) løyve (n.)	utan løyve	løyve	løyve	úleyfi
471	laagmælt (adj.)	lågmælt	lågmælt	med låg røyst	lágri raust
472	laago (v.)	let liggja	var lagde	verse omitted	lá
473	makaløysa (n.)	reint framum	makeløyse	skilde seg ut	afbragð
474	mann (n.)	mann	mann	mann	maðr
475	manna-fjølde (n.)	mannefloklen	mannefjølde	mengd menneske	fjöldi manna
476	manna-muge (n.)	mykje folk	ein heil muge av menn	mange menn	múgr manns
477	manndom (n.)	djervleik (manndom elsewhere)	manndom	manndom	harðfengi
478	mannelega (adj.)	vel	mannsleg	vore som menn	drengiliga (also vaskliga elsewhere)
479	mannrauner (n.)	der manndom røynest (v.)	manndomsprøver	alt ein mann skal kunna (v.)	mannraunum
480	manns maal (n.)	mannemål	manns mål	menneskeleg tale	mál
481	mannstyrke (n.)	mannemakt	mannstyrke	nok menn	liðsafla
482	marde uppe (v.)	heldt seg uppe	halde seg oppe	heldt på å søkka	marði
483	marvaden (n.)	not in translation	marvaden	not in translation	not in ST
484	mastri (n.)	mastri	masta	masta	tré
485	mat (n.)	mat	mat	mat	snæða
486	matreidsla (n.)	not in translation	matlaging	laga mat (v.)	matreiðum

487	medkvædi (n.)	det utsegnet	tilseiingane	den eigenskap	atkvæði (i.e. Those who were just poeticised/that had a poem said about them)
488	meidde (v.)	hol i alle skipi	sundhogne	skadde	meidd
489	mein (n.)	mein	mein	skader	grandi
490	meinsama (adj.)	not in translation	meinsame	not in translation	not in ST
491	merkade (v.)	la merke til	merka	merka	fundu
492	merke (n.)	not in translation	merke	reworded	not in ST
493	midja (n.)	not in translation	midten	midten	miðju
494	mild (adj.)	gjevmild	gjevmild	gjevmild	mildr
495	minnast (v.)	minnast	minnast	minnast	man
496	misjamt (adj.)	not in translation	ymist	røyner mangt	misjöfnu
497	mjød (n.)	mjød	mjød	mjøden	mjaðar
498	mode (adj.)	not in translation	trøytte	møydde	móðr
499	moder (n.)	mor	mor	mor	móðir
500	modløysa (n.)	modlaus	motløyse	redsle	æðra
501	morgonen (n.)	morgenen	morgon	morgonen	morgun
502	(vera) mottekne (adj.)	tok vel imot deim	vart vèl mottekne	vart vel mottekne	tók vel við
503	mun (n.)	verse omitted	not in translation	lagnaden	goldit
504	munde (v.)	tenkte	tenkte	tenkte	mundi
505	myrkblaa (adj.)	blå	mørkblå	mørkeblå	myrkblám
506	myrkr (n.)	myrket	mørker	mørker	myrkr

507	mælte (v.)	sa	tala (mælte elsewhere)	sa	mælti
508	mødast (v.)	not in translation	mødast	not in translation	not in ST
509	møtte (v.)	møtte	møtte	møta	fundu
510	møyarna (n.)	møyar	møyane	kvinna (møya elsewhere)	snótir
511	maalemne (n.)	not in translation	saker	det du har sett deg føre	mál (málefni elsewhere)
512	maatte (v.)	meinte (måtte elsewhere)	kunne	kunne	mundu
513	namnabot (n.)	mindre høgætt (høgare titel elsewhere)	kongeleg rang (høgare rang elsewhere)	av høg byrd (jarlsnamn elsewhere)	nafnbót
514	naserna (n.)	nasen	nasen	nasen	nasir
515	nedatter (adv.)	ned	ned att	nedatt	ofan
516	(var) nedsett (adj.)	haugen til far sin	var nedsett	var nedlagd	not in ST
517	nennast (v.)	var ikkje huga på	hadde ikkje hug til	ikkje kunne	nenna
518	nevatavl (n.)	brettspelet	nevetavl	brettspelet	hnefatafli
519	neven (n.)	neven	neven	kongen	hnefanum
520	(store) nipor (n.)	bratthamrar	niper	tindar	stórgnípum
521	njote (v.)	not in translation	nyte	vakta (nyte elsewhere)	gættu
522	nordlondom (n.)	norderlandi	Norderlanda	Norden	norðrlöndum
523	nærmundom (n.)	nær ved	nærleiken	nærleiken	í nánd
524	nærsøkne (adj.)	åsøkne	nærsøkne	nærsøkne	ágjarnir

525	næterna (n.)	not in translation	nettene	nettene	nætr
526	nøgde (adj.)	overlag ille	nøgde	misnøgde	Undu við it versta
527	nøytte (v.)	drakk	nøytte	leskar	neyttu
528	naadde (v.)	tok	nådde	reworded	náða
529	odalstufter (n.)	odelsgarden	odelstuftene	odelen	óðali
530	odlingom (n.)	kongane	hovdingane	fyrstar	öðlingum
531	ofsalega (adj.)	not in translation	ofseleg	uroleg	ákafliga
532	ofsa-vedret (n.)	uveret	ofse-veret	mykje uvêr	meginveðri
533	ofse (n.)	valdsverk	ofse	ofse	ofsa
534	or (n.)	pil	pil	pil	ör
535	ordrukket (adj.)	ordrukke	ordrukke	tømt	öðru var drukkit
536	ordtøket (n.)	not in translation	not in translation	not in translation	not in ST
537	orka (v.)	drive på	gjort noko anna	hadde noko anna å gjera	not in ST
538	orventes (v.)	not in translation	er det uventande	heilt uventande er det	er örvænt
539	ottafulle (adj.)	stakarslege	ottefulle	ottefulle	æðrufullir
540	over-evle (n.)	overmakt	overmakt	overmakta	ofrefli
541	ovstygg (adj.)	not in translation	ovstygg	digre	örðugri
542	ovundadast (v.)	misunnelege (adj.)	avundsjuke (adj.)	avundsjuke	öfundu
543	ovundi (n.)	ovundskapen	avunda	avundsjuke	öfund

544	ovvedr (n.)	overhendig ver	ov-ver/hardver	harde stormen/uvêr	ofviðri/ofveðri
545	pell (n.)	klæde	pell	atlask	pellum
546	peningen (n.)	pengane	pengar	pengane	fjárins
547	posen (n.)	pungen	posen	pungen	sjóðr
548	pungen (n.)	pungen	pungen	pungen	sjóðinn
549	paa nytt lag (adv.)	på nytt lag	på nytt	for andre gong	í annat sinn
550	radlega (adj.)	ratt	snøgt	snøgt	hratt
551	raknade ved (v.)	kom seg or uvitet	rakna til att	kom til seg sjølv	raknar við
552	ramlegt (adj.)	sterkt	sterkt	sterkt	ramligt
553	ramma (v.)	verse omitted	ramme	valdar	hrannir
554	raude (adj.)	raude	raude	raude	rauðu
555	rauste/ raustlega (adj.)	djerve/greidde seg godt	rauste	skikkelege/ klarte seg særs godt	hraustir/ hraustliga
556	raut (v.)	snarka	raut	snorka	hraut
557	reid (adj.)	mykje harm (vreid elsewhere)	vreid	vreid	reiðst
558	reidde upp (v.)	riv upp	tok opp	tek opp	reiðir upp
559	reide (n.)	vreide	vreide	vreide	reiði
560	reiste seg upp (v.)	resite seg upp	reiste seg opp	reiste seg opp	stóð upp
561	rende (v.)	kom seg ifrå	rende	symde unna	lagðist á brott
562	rik (adj.)	mektig	rik	rik	ríkr
563	riket (n.)	riket	riket	riket	ríkis
564	rimfaksa (n.)	not in translation	rimfaksa	rimfaksa	hrímfaxaðar
565	ringen (n.)	ringen	ringen	ringen	hringinn
566	ripi (n.)	sidor	ripa	ripa	borð (ríp)
567	ro (n.)	ro	ro	ro	kyrt
568	rodde (v.)	rodde	rodde	rodde	reru (róa)

569	rok (n.)	not in translation	rok	not in translation	not in ST
570	romi (n.)	toftone	romma	toftene	annarsstaðar
571	ropa (v.)	ropa	rope	ropa	kallast
572	rosade (v.)	rosar	rosa	roste	lofar
573	(er) ruggad (adj.)	(er) inne	(blir) rugga	(blir) rugga	er orpinn?
574	ryggen (n.)	ryggen	ryggen	ryggen	baki (also hryggrinn)
575	rænte (v.)	rana	røva	tok	ræntu
576	rødde (v.)	tala um	rødde	tala om	ræddi
577	røyna (v.)	røyna	røyne	røyna	reyna
578	raadagjerd (n.)	klokskap	klokskap	klokskap	ráðagerðir
579	raadde (v.)	rådde	rådde	rådde	réð (ráða)
580	raadelegt (adj.)	rådleg	tilrådeleg	sømer seg	ráð
581	raadi (n.)	er det best	råda	rådet	ráð
582	raan-seng (n.)	Rans seng	Rån-seng	Rans tunge seng	Ránbeð
583	raavet (n.)	taket	taket	taket	ræfrit
584	saga (n.)	soga	soga	soga	sögu
585	sagde (segja) (v.)	sa	sa	sa	sagt
586	sakar (v.)	skader	skader	skader	varðar
587	salen (n.)	verse omitted	salen	salen	salnum
588	saltbrenning (n.)	saltbrenning	saltbrenning	saltbrenning	saltbrennur
589	salte (adj.)	salte	salte	bløytte	sölt
590	saltkarlom (n.)	saltkarar	saltkarar	saltkarar	saltkörlum
591	samlag (n.)	samlag	samkvem	omgang	viðskipti
592	samna (v.)	samla	samle	samla	safna
593	sanden (n.)	sanden	sanden	sanden	sand

594	sed/sedvane (n.)	skikk	sed/sedvane	skikk	siðr
595	seggirne (n.)	sveinane	seggene	mennene	seggjum
596	seglet (n.)	seglet	seglet	(eg) sigla (v.)	segli
597	seid (n.)	seid	seid	seid	seið
598	seidhjellen (n.)	seidhjellen	seidhjellen	hjellen	seiðhjallinum
599	seidkjeringar (n.)	seidkonor	seidkjerringar	seidkoner	seiðkonum
600	sellarne (n.)	folket	karane	mennene	þeir (simply 'they' in ST)
601	senda (v.)	senda	sende	senda	senda
602	sendemenner (n.)	sendebod	sendemenn	sendemennene	sendimenn
603	sending (n.)	reworded	sendemenn	kvar mann	sendiligir
604	seter (v.)	set	set	set	skipar
605	setja imot (v.)	setja imot	setje opp mot	not in translation	not in ST
606	sette (v.)	sette	sette	sette	settu
607	sette aat Kavet (v.)	gjekk ned i kavet	sette i kav	dukka	tók kaf
608	sette (Elliden) paa flot (v.)	sette ut (Ellide)	sette (Ellide) på flot	sjøsette (Ellide)	settu fram (Ellið a)
609	sida (n.)	sida	sida	sida	fjarðarins
610	(er) sigen (adj.)	har lagt dimme	(er) sigen	ikkje har gjort augo mine altfor veike	sígi
611	sigla (n.)	verse omitted	segla	segla	siglu
612	sigla (v.)	verse omitted	sigle	sigla	sigla
613	sjodriv (n.)	sjødrev	sjødrev	sjødrev	sjódrifi
614	sjoen (n.)	sjøen	sjøen	sjøen	sjóinn
615	sjorok (mode) (n.)	uveret	sjørok	sjørok	hreggmóðir

616	sjoskavlarne (n.)	sjøkavlar	sjøskavlane	sjøskavlane	sjóvarskaflar
617	skade (n.)	skade	skade	skade	grand
618	skakspel (n.)	not in translation	not in translation	not in translation	not in ST
619	skam (n.)	skam	skam	skam	skömm
620	skapade seg (v.)	skapte seg	laga seg til	gjorde seg	gerði sik
621	skatt (n.)	skatt	skatt	skatt	skatt
622	skaut (v.)	gjekk ovanleg fort	skaut	gjekk snøgt fram	skriðr
623	skavlar (n.)	havbåror	skavlar	havbårer	bárur
624	skidgard (n.)	skigard	skigard	skigard	skígarðr
625	skifte (v.)	skifte	bytte	skifte	skipta
626	skildest (v.)	skildest	skildest	skildest	skilðu
627	skilordi (n.)	ha det fastsett	lovnaden	vil eg semjast	þat til skilja
628	skinnhuva (n.)	skinnhuva	skinnhuve	skinnhuve	skinnahúfu
629	skipet (n.)	skip	skipet	skipet	skip
630	skire (adj.)	stor	skire	skire	skærum
631	skjeggjutt (adj.)	loden	skjeggjut	skjeggete	loðinn
632	skjemtast med (v.)	skjemtast med	skjemtast med	skjemtast med	skjemta sér
633	skjenkte (v.)	slær/lyt vatn or	skjenkte	skjenker	not in ST
634	skjott (adv.)	snart	snøgt	snart	skjótt
635	skjaaen (n.)	skjåen	skjåen	skjåen	skjáinn
636	skogen (n.)	skogen	skogen	skogen	skógi
637	skortar (v.)	skortar	skortar	kjem mykje til kort mot	skorta
638	skrida (v.)	kan gå	skride	fara	skríða
639	skulde (v.)	skulde	skulle	skulle	skyldi
640	skundade seg (v.)	la då straks	skunda seg	skunda seg	bregða

641	skyer (n.)	verse omitted	skyer	skyene	skýjum
642	skyna (v.)	skyna	skjøne	skjøna	kunnat at skilja
643	skøyta (v.)	bry seg um	brydde seg om	brydde seg om	hirða
644	slaget (n.)	slaget	slaget	slag	not in ST
645	sleden (n.)	køyregreia	sleden	vogna	vagninum
646	slidra (n.)	slira	slira	slira	slíðrum
647	slog (v.)	slo	dreiv	dreiv	sló
648	sløkt (adj.)	sløkt	sløkt	sløkt	slökktr
649	smaaborni (n.)	småborn	småborn	småborn	smábörn
650	smaalog (v.)	smålog	smålo	smilte	brosti
651	smollo (i sunder) (v.)	small (i sund)	small (sund)	gjekk (sund)	hrukku (í sundr)
652	smurde (v.)	smurde	smurde	smurde	smurðu
653	(vardt det) smaatt (adv.)	tok det til å minka	(vart det) smått	vart gammal	tók mjök
654	snida (v.)	skjera	skjere	kløyva	sníða
655	snudde um (v.)	att	snudde	la ut frå	not in ST
656	snøgt (uses snart elsewhere) (adv.)	snart	snart	snøgt/snart	jafnskjótt
657	son (n.)	son	son	son	son
658	soping (n.)	verse omitted	soping	kav	snæfrt
659	sorg (n.)	dei syrgde mykje over han	sorg	sorg	hrygð
660	sorgall og tungt (adj.)	ikkje glad	sorgsam og tung	sorgsam	(ekki) hughægt
661	sott (n.)	sott	sjuk	sjuk	sótt
662	sova (v.)	sova	sove	sova	sofa
663	sovna (v.)	sovnar	sovnar	trøytte seg	bítr
664	sovoren (adj.)	slik	slik	den	not in ST
665	spaknade av (v.)	spakna	spakna av	spakna	fell jafnskjótt

666	spela seg (v.)	spela seg	spele seg	spela på	tefla
667	spengt (med jarn) (adj.)	jarnslege	spengde	tekte	spengt
668	spilt (v.)	brote	spilt	spilt	skilit
669	sprang (v.)	sprang	sprang	sprang	hljóp
670	spurde (v.)	spurde	spurde	spurde	spurði
671	spurningar (n.)	du spør um (v.)	spørsmål	spør (v.)	spyrr
672	staden (n.)	staden	staden	staden	þar
673	(vardt denne sætti) stadfest (adj.)	(vart) bunde med faste avtalar	(vart denne semja) stadfest	(vart semja) fastsett	(var þessi sætt) bundin fastmælum
674	stadnade (v.)	sette seg ytst ved døri	stana	stansa	staðar
675	stamna-millom (adv.)	stamnimillom	stamnemellom	eine stamnen til den andre	stafna á millum
676	stamnar (n.)	stamnar	stamnar	stamnar	bugustafnar
677	standa (v.)	stå	stå	stå	vera
678	starva (v.)	not in translation	streve	laga	starfa
679	stavar (n.)	stavar	stavar	stokk	stafi
680	stavkallar (n.)	tiggarar	stavkallar	fattige stakkarar	stafkörlum
681	steig upp (v.)	kleiv upp	steig opp	fór opp	fór upp
682	sterkaste (adj.)	sterkaste	sterkaste	sterkast	sterkastr
683	stiga (v.)	stiga	stige	sitja	troða
684	stiga paa (v.)	koma på	stige opp på	kom seg på	kæmist á
685	stiller (huglyndet) (v.)	er (spaklynd)	roar (huglyndet)	styrer	syni um skaplyndi
686	stjorni (n.)	makti	styret	styret	stjórn
687	stod (v.)	låg (stod elsewhere)	låg (stod elsewhere)	var	stóð
688	stod seg (v.)	greidde seg	stod seg	klarte seg	gafst

689	stokk (v.)	spratt ut	stokk	slengde han pungen rakt	hrutu
690	stor (adj.)	stor	stor	stor	stórr
691	stor kval (n.)	stor kval	stor kval	stor kval	stórhveli
692	storættad (adj.)	storætta	storætta	storætta	stórættaðr
693	storbaara (n.)	store båror	storbårer	store bårer	bárstórt
694	storm (n.)	storm	storm	storm	storm
695	stova (n.)	stova	stova	stova	skemmu (stofunni elsewhere)
696	strand (n.)	strand	strand	strand	strönd
697	streng (n.)	strengen	streng	streng	streng
698	strida imot (v.)	not in translation	stride mot	not in translation	not in ST
699	striden (n.)	kampen	striden	åtak	orrustu
700	stridkvate (adj.)	framdjerve	stridkvate	fremst	gunnhvötum
701	studning (n.)	hjelp	hjelp	hjelp	stuðningi
702	stunder (n.)	lenge	stunder	lenge	stund
703	stupte (v.)	stupte	stupe	fall ned	hneig (hneigja)
704	sturen (adj.)	sturen	sturen	tungsindig	not in ST
705	styggaste (adj.)	verste	styggaste	styggaste	versta
706	styrde (v.)	styrde	styrte	styrde	stýrði
707	styret (n.)	roret	styret	roret	stjörn
708	styrke (n.)	hjelp (styrke elsewhere)	styrke	støtte	styrkr
709	stødt og stendigt (adj.)	alt i eitt	støtt og stendig	heile tida	jafnan
710	største (adj.)	største	største	størst	stærstr
711	støypte (v.)	drog	drog	tok	steypti
712	sukko (v.)	verse omitted	sokk	sokne	sukku

713	sumardagen (n.)	sumardag	sommardagen	sommardagen	sumardag
714	sumaren (n.)	sumaren	sommaren	sommaren	sumarit
715	sundi (n.)	not in translation	sunda	sunda	sundanna
716	svale (vedret) (adj.)	not in translation	svale (veret)	sure	svölveðri
717	svana-brekka (n.)	svanebrekka	svanebrekka	svanelandet	svana brekku
718	svar (n.)	svar	svar	svar	órskurð/svör
719	svarade (v.)	sa (svara elsewhere)	svara	sa	svara
720	svarta (adj.)	not in translation	svarte	svarte	not in ST
721	svav (v.)	sov	sov	sov	svaf
722	sveinar (n.)	verse omitted	sveinar	sveinar	sveinar
723	svella (v.)	verse omitted	svelle	reworded	svella
724	svell-umlagda (v.)	verse omitted	svell-omlagde	reworded	svellvífaðar
725	sverd (n.)	sverd	sverd	sverd	sverði
726	svida (v.)	svider	svider	reworded	bilar
727	svivet (v.)	svive	svive	svive	sveimat
728	svortnat (v.)	svartna	svartna	svart er	sortnat
729	sylvbelte (n.)	sylvbelte	sølvbelte	sølvbelte	silfrbelti
730	sylvet (n.)	sylvet	sølvet	sølvet	silfrit
731	sylvpeningar (n.)	sylvpengar	sølvpengar	sølvpengar	silfrpenningum
732	syne (n.)	verse omitted	(or) syne	Solunds hamner	horfnar
733	synest (v.)	tykkjer eg sjå (syner elsewhere)	synest	synest	sýnist
734	syster (n.)	syster	syster	syster	systur
735	sætt (n.)	forlik	semje	semje	sættir

736	sættast (v.)	få forlik istand	få til semje	semje	sætta
737	søkja (veitsla) (v.)	taka	skulle i (veitsle)	skulle i (gjestebod)	sækja
738	søma (v.)	verse omitted	søme	søma	not in ST
739	sømelega (adj.)	sømeleg	sømeleg	sømeleg	sæmiliga
740	sømer seg (v.)	sømer seg	sømer seg	not in translation	not in ST
741	saag (v.)	såg	såg	såg	sá
742	saare (adj.)	såre	såre	trøytte	sikkuð
743	saato (v.)	sat	sat	sat	sátu
744	tak (n.)	not in translation	tak	var godt teke	not in ST
745	taka (v.)	taka	ta	ta	taka
746	takk (n.)	takk	takk	takk	þökkuð
747	takka (v.)	takka	takke	takka	þakka
748	takt med (adj.)	takt med	tekt med	tekt av	þaktr
749	talade (v.)	sa (tala elsewhere)	tala	sa til	talað
750	tanke (n.)	tenkte	trudde	tydde	Hverja þýðing hann tæki
751	tavla (n.)	brikka	ruta	brikka	töflunni
752	tenade (v.)	tente	tente	tente	þjónaði
753	tenestesveinen (n.)	tenaren	tenestguten	tenestesveinen	þjónustumannin
754	tenner (n.)	tenner	tenner	tenner	tennr
755	terningspel (n.)	not in translation	not in translation	not in translation	not in ST
756	tevlde (v.)	spela	spela	spelte	tefldi
757	tidende (n.)	nytt	tidender	nytt	tíðindum
758	tidlega (adj.)	snart	tidleg	tidleg	snemma
759	tidom (n.)	tid	tida	tid	tíma

760	tigni (n.)	so høgætta	vørdnaden som høyrer dei til	vyrdnad	tignar
761	til inkje gagn (adv.)	ikkje gagn	ikkje til noko gagn	det har ingenting for seg	til enskis
762	tilstyrknad (n.)	styrka	til styrking	Styrkja (v.)	not in ST
763	(vardt) tilsvoret (adj.)	gjorde eiden	tilsvore han med eid (v.)	(vart) stadfast med eid	var heitit
764	ting (n.)	ting	ting	ting	hlutr
765	tingast (v.)	verse omitted	tinga	møtes	þinga
766	tingstemna (n.)	ting	tingstemne	kongane ting	þing
767	(var) tjeldat (adj.)	(var) tjelda	tjelda med	(var) dekt med	(var) tjaldat
768	tok fram i talen (v.)	not in translation	tok til orde	fall in	not in ST
769	tok paa seg (v.)	tok Fridtjov stasklædi sine	tok på seg	tok på seg	tók Friðþjófr tignarklæði sín
770	tola (v.)	tola	tole	tola	þola
771	torde (v.)	not in translation	torde	not in translation	not in ST
772	torv (n.)	naudsynleg (adj.)	dei enn turvande er (adj.)	reworded	þörf
773	træla-ætti (n.)	not in translation	træleætta	træleætt	þrælaættina
774	traud (adj.)	lett	vanskeleg å velje	vil båe vala vera gode	útrauðr
775	treiv (v.)	treiv	treiv	greip	greip
776	tridjakvart (adj.)	tridjekvart	tredjekvart	kvart tredje	þriðjung
777	tridjung (n.)	tridje parten	tredjedel	tredjedel	þriðjung
778	trivast (v.)	alt godt	trivast	reworded	hafi góðan

779	trollkjeringarn a (n.)	dei	kjerringane	dei	þær
780	trollkvende (n.)	trollkjerringar	trollkvende	trollkoner	trollkonur
781	trollskapen (n.)	trollskap	trollskapen	trollskapen	trollskapr
782	trudde (v.)	kva tyding han gav (desse ordi)	trudde	tydde	Hverja þýðing hann tæki (ór þessum orðum)
783	truleike (n.)	truskap	truskap	trufaste	trúleik
784	trulovingi (n.)	trulova seg (v.)	trulovinga	trulovinga	trúlofan
785	truskap (n.)	truskap	truskap	trufaste	trú
786	tunet (n.)	kongsgarden	tunet	hallen	hallar
787	turkade (v.)	turka	tørka	turka	þerðu
788	turva (v.)	trenga	turve	trengast	þurfið
789	tvikost (n.)	eitt av to	to vilkår	det eine eller det andre	tvíkostr
790	tyda (v.)	tyda	tyde	det kom av	þýða
791	tykte (v.)	tottest	tykte	skilde seg ut	þótti (þykkja)
792	tyngde (v.)	er trøytt	var trøytt	var noko tung	segir sik höfgi
793	taaror (n.)	tåror	tårer	tårer	tárfelli
794	ufred (n.)	different chapter title: kong Ring belar til Ingebjørg	ufred	no chapter title	úfriðr
795	ufredar-stormen (n.)	ufredsstorme n	ufredsstormen	ufredsstormen	úfriðarstormi
796	ufreistat (adj.)	not in translation	ufreista	det skal eg	not in ST
797	ufus (adj.)	lite huga	ufus	ugjerne	úfúss
798	uglad (adj.)	not in translation	uglad	tungsindig	úgleði
799	ugrunne (adj.)	verse omitted	ugrunne	djupe grunn	úgrunnan

800	ukunnigt (adj.)	visste ikkje	uvitande	visste ikkje	úkunnigt
801	ukyrradest (v.)	not in translation	vart	vart	úkyrðist
802	umgyrd (adj.)	ved sida	omgyrd	på sida	girðr
803	(ero) umtalade (v.)	(verta) fortalt	not in translation	not in translation	not in ST
804	undarleg (adj.)	underleg	underleg	underleg	undarliga
805	under (n.)	under	under	det undrar meg (v.)	undr
806	(faa deim) underkugade (adj.)	underkua (deim)	(få dei) underkua	gjera ende på (dei)	fyrirkoma þeim
807	understemnet (n.)	kjølbarden	understamnen	baugen	barð
808	ungdomen (n.)	ungdomen	ungdomen	ungdomen	æsku
809	unge (adj.)	unge	unge	unge	ung
810	unna (v.)	not in translation	unne	reworded	unna
811	unte (v.)	unnte	unnte	unnte	báðu
812	uppalen (adj.)	uppfødd	oppalen	oppfostra	upp alinn
813	uppbrend (adj.)	brend	oppbrend	brend (nedbrend elsewhere)	brendr
814	(vardt) uppbygd (adj.)	(var) uppbrende	(var) oppbygd	(var) bygd opp	(varð) upp byggðr
815	uppfødd (adj.)	uppfødd	oppfødd	oppfødd (fostra opp elsewhere)	uppfædd
816	uppkastat (adj.)	kasta upp	lagt opp	lagd over	var haugr orpinn

817	(var) upplati (adj.)	let då upp	(vart) opplaten	(vart) laten opp	var lokit upp
818	urett (n.)	urett	urett	reworded	újafnaði
819	usein (adj.)	treiv (v.)	kveikje (v.)	lat då elden loga (v.)	údrjúga
820	utarlega (adv.)	ytst	ytst	ved	útarliga
821	utbyrdes (v.)	tok utanbords	slo utanbords	slo av varbordet	útbyrðis
822	utferdi (n.)	ferdi	utferda	ferda	ferð
823	utigen (adj.)	lågætta	utan kongeleg rang	av høg byrd	útignum
824	utlæg (adj.)	fredlaus	utlæg	landlyste F. frå alle sine rike	útlægan
825	utraust (adj.)	ikkje sikker	utraust	usikker	útraustr
826	utreidd (adj.)	utreidd	utreidd	kravd inn	not in ST
827	utskjer (n.)	utskjer	utskjer	utskjer	útsker
828	uvilje (n.)	vore uvenleg mot oss	uvilje	har ikkje gjort oss noko	ýfst
829	uvinskap (n.)	uvenskap	uvenskap	fiendtlege mot	fjándskap
830	uvit (n.)	uvit	uvit	uvita	úvit
831	uvætti (n.)	trollpakket	uvetta	utyska	úvætti
832	vaksa (v.)	verse omitted	veks opp	veks	vaxa
833	vaksne (v.)	vaksne	vaksne	vaksne	þroskaðir
834	vald (n.)	vald	velde	velde	vald
835	valde seg (v.)	valde ut	valde seg	valde seg	valdi sér
836	vanare (adj.)	meir van	meir van	meir van	vanari
837	vandsame (adj.)	heilag	vyrke	heldt så mykje	vandlæti
838	vanvyrding (n.)	vanæra	vanvørding	vanvyrdnad	svívirðing
839	var (vera) (v.)	var	var	var	var
840	varde (v.)	verse omitted	verjar av	verja	vörðr

841	varg i veom (n.)	varg	varg i veum	varg i veum	vargr at vísu
842	varlega (adj.)	varleg	varleg	varsamt	varliga
843	vats-is (n.)	islagt vatn	vass-is	islagt vatn	vazíss
844	vedr (n.)	ver	ver	uvêr	veðr
845	vedraatta (n.)	veret	veret	vêret	veðrátta
846	veik i Augom (adj. phr.)	utoluge for ljos	veik i augo	såg dårleg (gjort augo mine altfor veike elsewhere)	augndapr
847	veitsla (n.)	veitsle	veitsle	gjestebod	veizlu
848	vende (v.)	låg beint	vende	låg beint imot	stóðst
849	venta (v.)	venta	vente	ventande var	váru
850	verja (v.)	verse omitted	verje	verje	verja
851	vestanfyre (prep.)	på vestsida av	vestafor	mot vest i	fyri vestan
852	vetteren (n.)	vinteren	vinteren	vinteren	vetrinn
853	vetter-visti (n.)	vintergjestingi	vinter-vista	overvintringa	vetrvistin
854	vida (adv.)	vel ikring	vide	grundig	víða
855	vigi (n.)	skansebordet	varbordet	varbordet	vígin
856	viking (n.)	viking	viking	viking	víkingr
857	vikingaferd (n.)	fara i viking	vikingferd	fara i viking	fara í víking
858	vil (v.)	vil	vil	vil	vil
859	vildaste (adj.)	vann over	gildaste	gjævaste	æðri
860	vin (n.)	vin	vin	vin	vín
861	vinasending (n.)	venegåve han sender oss	venesending	venesending	vinsending
862	vinden (n.)	not in translation	vinden	vêret	not in ST
863	vinerne (n.)	venene	venene	venene	langvini

864	vinlega (adj.)	laga venskap (n.)	venleg	ikkje vil by oss mykje vel	vingjarnliga
865	vinna (v.)	verse omitted	fekk eg greie	reworded	vinna
866	vinsæl (adj.)	vensæl	vensæl	venesæl	vinsæll
867	visa (n.)	vise	not in translation	vise	vísu
868	visa (v.)	vert det fortalt	vise	skje	vita
869	vislegt (adj.)	klokt	visleg	ikkje alvorleg	allvitrliga
870	vita (v.)	vita	vite	veit	vituð
871	vitende (n.)	vita	greie	vita	vit
872	vitja (v.)	verse omitted	vitje	sessast	not in ST
873	vitjing (n.)	verse omitted	vitjing	ofte eg rodde då	vit
874	vitmuner (n.)	vit	vit	vit	vitsmuni
875	vitug (adj.)	klok	vitug	godt vit	vitr
876	viv (n.)	viv	viv	viv	vífs
877	voks (v.)	voks	voks	vart	óx
878	vonar (v.)	tenkjer	tenkjer	tenkjer	hygg
879	voner (n.)	voner	voner	tru	hugr
880	vord (n.)	vakt	vakt	vakt	vörð
881	vundo upp (v.)	vatt upp	heiste	heiste opp	undu upp
882	vyrde (v.)	vyrde	vørde	vyrde	virði
883	vyrdeleg (veitsla) (adj.)	stort (gjestbod)	vørdeleg (veitsle)	vyrdeleg	virðuliga
884	vyrdnad (n.)	vyrdnad	vørdnad	vyrdnad	virða
885	vyrdnar-mann (n.)	fagnamann	ikkje mindre vørdnad verd	ikkje var mindre heidersmann	sómamaðr
886	vyrklega (adj.)	umsut	vyrkleg	grundigt	vandliga
887	vægjest (v.)	syner deim vyrdnad	vægjer	syner den vyrdnad	syni um skaplyndi
888	vækjor (n.)	vækjor	vækjer	reworded	ekkja
889	væl (adv.)	kjærleik	vèl	godt	vel

890	vælgjerd (n.)	han heidra alle meir (velgjerning elsewhere)	velgjerd	betre mottekne enn ventande var	veitti (virðingar elsewhere)
891	væn (adj.)	ven	ven	ven	væn
892	vaaga (v.)	vågast	våge	vågar	hætta
893	vaapni (n.)	våpni	våpna	våpena	vápn
894	vaarast (v.)	vårast	vårast	vårast	várar
895	vaaren (n.)	våren	våren	våren	várit
896	vaarkunna (v.)	hadde medkjensle med	tykte ikkje synd om oss	tykte ikkje synd på oss	várkynduð
897	vaaro meidde (v.)	bleiv	let livet	lét livet	meidd váru
898	vaastrøytte (adj.)	utkøyrde	trøytte	svært forkomne	dasaðir
899	yngdi (n.)	ungdomen	ungdomen	ungdomen	unga aldri
900	æra (n.)	ære	ære	ære	virðingar
901	ærend (n.)	erendet	ærend	ærendet	erindi
902	(er) ættad ifraa (v.)	(har) ætti si (n.)	(er) ætta frå	ættar frå	er kyn
903	ætti (n.)	ætti	ætta	ættar (v.)	kyn
904	øgen (n.)	verse omitted	Ægе	havet	ægi
905	øl (n.)	øl	øl	reworded	björt
906	ørnerne (n.)	ørner	ørnane	ørnar	ernir
907	øyarna (n.)	øyi	øyane	øyane	eyjum
908	øyarskjeggjar (n.)	øya - skjeggar	øy-skjeggar	øyskjeggar	eyjarskeggjar
909	aafall (n.)	not in translation	fall	båre	áföll
910	aalmugen (n.)	ålment	allmugen	alle	alþýðu
911	aar (n.)	år	år	år	ár
912	aatte (v.)	åtte	åtte	åtte	hafði (also átti)

Appendix 4: Appearance of the words of significance in the 1925, 1976 and 2013 Nynorsk translations of *Friðþjófs saga hins frœkna*, in addition to the dictionaries outlined on Section 6.2.2.

1858	1925	1976	2013	NO	NNO	BMO	NAOB	1909	1914
Ambått	X	X	X	✓	X	X	✓	✓	X
Andast	X	✓	X	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓
Attergjeld	X	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓
Augnekvarm	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓
Bardage	X	✓	X	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓
Batna	X	X	X	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓
Baug	X	✓	X	✓	X	X	✓	✓	✓
Beita	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓	✓
Berja	X	X	X	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓
Bisn	X	✓	X	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓
Bjug	X	X	X	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓
Blotmann	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	X	✓	X	✓
Brå på	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓	✓
Bønord	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓	X
Daper	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓	✓
Dæl	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓	✓
Dæsa	X	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓
Døgling	X	X	X	✓	X	X	✓	X	X
Eignelut	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓
Enne	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓	✓
Fegge	X	✓	X	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓
Festarkone	X	X	X	✓	X	X	✓	X	X
Fredgjerd	X	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓
Fredskjold	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	X	X	✓	X
Fræg	X	✓	X	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓
Frægd	X	✓	X	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓
Frøken	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓

Gamanferd	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓
Gavlak	✓	✓	X	✓	X	X	✓	X	X
Gladvoren	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓
Grime	X	X	X	✓	X	X	✓	✓	✓
Grimdarfull	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X
Grip	X	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓
Grøta	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓
Heming	X	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓
Hoggskifte	X	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	✓	✓
Huglynde	X	✓	X	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓
Hurd	X	X	X	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓
Hævskap	X	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	✓
Høgleg	X	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓
Komemann	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓	✓
Lid	X	X	X	✓	X	X	✓	✓	✓
Lidsinne	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓	✓
Lovdung	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X
Mannrøyne	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓	✓
Mara upp	X	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓
Matreisle	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓	✓
Megn	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X
Meia	X	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	✓
Namnabot	X	X	X	✓	X	X	✓	X	X
Odling	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X
Or	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X
Ovevle	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓	✓
Rakna ved	X	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	✓	✓
Ramleg	X	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓
Råv	X	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓
Segg	X	✓	X	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓
Skjot	X	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓

Stjorn	X	X	X	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓
Stydning	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓	✓
Sætt	X	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓
Tign	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X
Traud	X	X	X	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓
Truleik	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X
Understemne	X	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	✓	✓
Utigen	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X
Veråtte	X	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓
Vig	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Vitmun	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓	X
Vårkunna	X	X	X	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓
Våstrøytt	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓	✓
Åfall	X	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓
Totals:	9/72 12.50 %	22/72 30.55 %	4/72 5.55 %	71/72 98.61 %	37/72 51.38 %	0/72 0.00 %	22/72 30.55 %	57/72 79.16 %	56/72 77.77 %

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