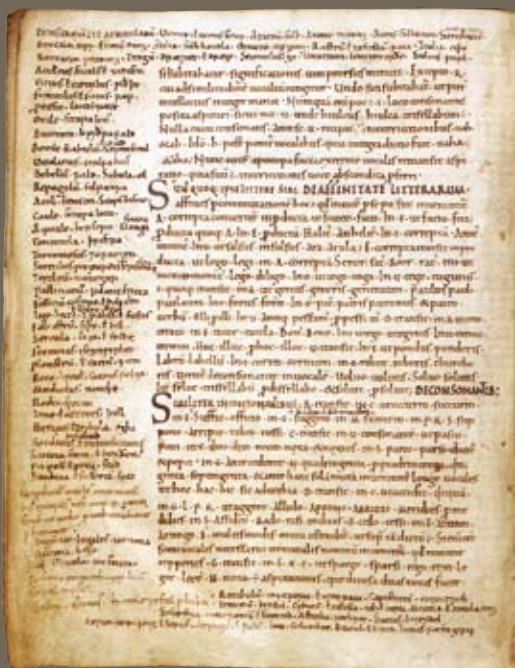


RETHINKING AND RECONTEXTUALIZING GLOSSES NEW PERSPECTIVES IN THE STUDY OF LATE ANGLO-SAXON GLOSSOGRAPHY



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**GLOSSING THE ADJECTIVES IN THE INTERLINEAR GLOSS
TO THE *REGULARIS CONCORDIA* IN
LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, COTTON TIBERIUS A.III**

Giuseppe D. De Bonis

The *Regularis Concordia* (hereafter *RC*) is the most important surviving witness of the tenth-century Benedictine Reform movement in England and a landmark in the religious history of England. It represents the only effort to construct a common rule of life to be observed in all English reformed monastic houses, both of monks and nuns¹. The *RC*, as it is preserved in London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii (hereafter *T*), is a crucial document for our understanding of contemporary liturgy, history, and also language, thanks to its Old English interlinear gloss. Indeed, *T* provides fundamental information not only about the attitudes, aims, and strategies of the tenth-century reformers, but also about the language they used in a didactic context.

After a methodological introduction, this paper will describe the interlinear glosses to the *RC* in *T* from a codicological point of view. Secondly, the multifarious features of the Old English gloss will be outlined, focusing in particular on the glossing of the adjectives. Indeed, the main aim of this study is to clarify the use and function of the two Old English adjective declensions, namely the weak and strong declension, also in relation to the presence or absence of the demonstrative *se*, *þæt*, *seo* before or after each Old English adjective. Both the Latin text and the

¹ As regards the Benedictine Reform movement, see Knowles, D., *The Monastic Order in England: A History of Its Development from the Times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940-1216*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1940, 2nd edn. 1963; repr. 2004, pp. 31-56; Kornexl, L., «The *Regularis Concordia* and its Old English Gloss», *Anglo-Saxon England* 24 (1995), pp. 95-130; Hill, J., «The *Regularis Concordia* and its Latin and Old English Reflexes», *Revue bénédictine* 101 (1991), pp. 299-315, at 299; see also Lapidge, M., «Schools, Learning and Literature in Tenth-Century England», in *Il Secolo di ferro. Mito e realtà del secolo X* (SettSpol 38), Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, Spoleto 1991, pp. 951-1005, repr. in his *Anglo-Latin Literature 600-899*, The Hambledon Press, London and Rio Grande, OH 1993, pp. 1-48, addenda p. 469; Gatch, M. McG., *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto and Buffalo 1977, pp. 4-11; and Robertson, N., «Dunstan and Monastic Reform: Tenth-Century Fact or Twelfth-Century Fiction?», in C.P. Lewis (ed.) *Anglo-Norman Studies 28: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2005*, The Boydell Press, Woodbridge 2006, pp. 153-67.

Old English gloss have been examined anew on the basis of the manuscript readings and, in particular, the lay-out of the glosses.

Recent grammatical studies of Old English prose and verse, based on a generative approach, have shown that the use of the weak and strong declension is strictly related to the position of the adjective within the sentence and to the function (defining and not-defining) played by the adjective in relation to the noun it refers to. The (in)definiteness of the adjective expressed by the distinctive use of the strong or the weak declension has been analysed also in relation to the rise of a determiner system in an historical perspective². However, the results of these studies are not wholly trustworthy, because they have analysed the Old English texts from a modern English perspective.

On the contrary, the glosses to the *RC* in *T* offer the opportunity to study the Old English adjective from an Old English contemporary perspective. Thanks to its bilingual nature, Latin-Old English, an interlinear gloss represents a metalinguistic context in which the glossator, who is generally an Old English native speaker, strives to render the foreign text, providing the modern reader with grammatical information on the Old English language.

The glossator of the *RC* was endowed with a good command of the Latin language and a good language awareness of Old English, as his glossarial choices prove. As far as the rendering of adjectives is concerned, the analysis reveals that his choice of either the strong or the weak declension depends on the context and on the adjectives themselves. Moreover, the addition of the Old English demonstrative plays a significant role in the choice of the adjectival declension and decisively contributes to the proper syntactical rendering of the Latin adjectives.

In order to describe the contrastive use of the two Old English adjectival declensions as determined by the Latin text of the *RC* in *T*, I will not analyse the text in the light of the structuralistic or generative theory, even though I will adopt a structuralistic and generative terminology by referring to groups of words that go together as to noun phrases, adjectival phrases and so on. A pure generative or, more in

² Fischer, O., «The Position of the Adjective in Old English», in R. Bermudez-Otero, D. Denison, R.M. Hogg and C.B. McCully (eds.), *Generative Theory and Corpus Studies: A Dialogue from 10 ICEHL*, de Gruyter, Berlin 2000, pp. 153-81, at 176. See also Pysz, A., *The Syntax of Prenominal and Postnominal Adjectives in Old English*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle 2009.

general, linguistic approach would not allow an appropriate analysis of the Old English gloss in relation to the Latin text it accompanies. Secondly, a generative approach would describe the gloss as an independent Old English prose text, ignoring that an interlinear gloss does not make up a text wholly independent from its Latin counterpart. Finally, a generative analysis of the gloss would not succeed in taking account of the manifold functions of the glosses in an Old English perspective, as a philological analysis of it would be able to do.

The synodal council of bishops, abbots, and abbesses held at Winchester (973)³ fixed up a series of regulations for monks and nuns throughout the country, which were collected under the title *Regularis Concordia Anglica Nationis Monachorum Sanctimonialiumque*. This was meant to make up for the divergent practices in the observance of the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* (hereafter *RB*), providing the Anglo-Saxon monasteries with the needed uniformity. The *RC* is the outcome of a collective enterprise⁴, but its content is the result of the religious and cultural activity of a single person: Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester⁵.

³ Symons suggested the year 973 as the most likely date for the Council of Winchester: see Symons, D.T., «*Regularis concordia: History and Derivation*», in D. Parsons (ed.), *Tenth Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia*, Phillimore, London 1975, pp. 37-59 and 214-7, at 40-42. For the diffusion of the *RC* in England, see *Die Regularis Concordia und ihre altenglische Interlinearversion*, ed. by L. Kornexl (TUEPh 17), Fink, Munich 1993, pp. li-lvi. On the date of the Reform movement, see Barrow, J., «The Chronology of the Benedictine 'Reform'», in D. Scragg (ed.), *Edgar, King of the English 959-975: New Interpretations* (Publications of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies 8), The Boydell Press, Woodbridge and Rochester, NY 2008, pp. 211-23. About the transitory validity of the *RC* as a document dependent on the personal bond between the monasteries and Edgar, and the nunneries and Ælfhryth, see Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, pp. 52-5. On the movement, see Cubitt, C., «The Tenth-Century Benedictine Reform in England», *Early Medieval Europe* 6.1 (1977), pp. 77-94, and Robertson, «Dunstan and Monastic Reform», pp. 153-67.

⁴ In the Prologue (§ 5), the *RC* is compared to a small book, embodying the good customs of monks from St Benedict's monastery in Fleury and from St Peter's monastery in Ghent: see *Regularis Concordia Anglica Nationis Monachorum Sanctimonialiumque. The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation*, ed. by T. Symons, Nelson, New York 1953; rev. by S. Spath and repr. in *Consuetudinum saeculi X, XI, XII Monumenta non-cluniacensia* (Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum 7.3), ed. by K. Hallinger, Schmitt, Siegburg 1984, p. 3.

⁵ For a summary of evidence, see Lapidge, M., «Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher», in B. Yorke (ed.), *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence*, Boydell, Woodbridge 1988; repr. Boydell, Ipswich 1997, pp. 89-117.

The complete Latin text of the *RC* is transmitted by two manuscripts⁶: London, British Library, Cotton Faustina B.iii, ff. 158r-198r (F), and London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, ff. 3r-27v (T)⁷. The Latin text preserved in T is more complete than that in F⁸ and is supplied by a continuous interlinear gloss in Old English⁹.

The Latin text of the *RC* in F has long been considered earlier than its counterpart in T and scholars have dated it to the late tenth century¹⁰. However, today the majority of scholars agree in dating the *RC* in F to the eleventh century¹¹, while, according to the most recent investigations, T was written about the middle of the eleventh century or somewhat later¹². The Tiberius codex mainly transmits texts related to the Benedictine Reform movement, and its content indeed reflects the contemporary

⁶ For a survey of the excerpts, partial transcriptions and translations of the *RC*, see Hill, «The *Regularis Concordia* and its Latin and Old English Reflexes», pp. 299-315, and ead., «Making Women Visible: An Adaptation of the *Regularis Concordia* in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 201», in C.E. Karkov and N. Howe (eds.), *Conversion and Colonization in Anglo-Saxon England* (Essays in Anglo-Saxon Studies 2, MRTS 318), Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Tempe, AZ 2006, pp. 153-67.

⁷ See Ker, N.R., *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1957, reissued with suppl., 1990, nos. 155 and 186; Gneuss, H., *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (MRTS 241), Arizona Center for Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies, Tempe, AZ 2001, nos. 332 and 363; for T, see also id., «Origin and Provenance of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: The Case of Cotton Tiberius A.III», in P.R. Robinson and R. Zim (eds.), *Of the Making of Books: Medieval Manuscripts, their Scribes and Readers: Essays Presented to M.B. Parkes*, Scolar Press, Aldershot 1997, pp. 13-48.

⁸ T preserves the title (lines 1-2), the index (§ 13) and the epilogue (§ 69), see *Die Regularis Concordia*, ed. by Kornexl, pp. cxliii-cxlvii.

⁹ The Latin text of both F and T was written at Christ Church, Canterbury: *Die Regularis Concordia*, ed. by Kornexl, pp. ci-cxi, cxxi-cxxix, cxxxxii-cxxxxvi.

¹⁰ F is a composite manuscript formed by three parts compiled in different periods: I: ff. 3-157, s. xiv-xv; II: ff. 158-98, s. xi med.; and III: ff. 199-279 s. xv¹; they were bound under a single cover when they became part of the Cottonian Library, before the death of Sir Robert Cotton in 1631: *Die Regularis Concordia*, ed. by Kornexl, pp. xcvi-xcviii. The *RC* is contained in part II, the oldest of the three; in particular, Bateson attributed the *RC* in F to «a late tenth-century hand»: Bateson, M., «Rules for Monks and Secular Canons after the Revival under King Edgar», *English Historical Review* 9 (1894), pp. 690-708, at 700.

¹¹ Ker and Gneuss date part II of F to s.xi²: Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 155, and Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 332; Michelle Brown dates it after s. xi^{2/4}: Brown, M., *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600*, The British Library, London 1990, p. 59.

¹² Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 186; Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 363.

spiritual and cultural milieu¹³. Besides Benedictine items specifically destined to a monastic audience, T preserves texts of more general interest (for example, Ælfric's works, homiletic pieces, and various prayers). The manuscript also reveals a didactic concern¹⁴. It is within this cultural frame that the interlinear gloss to the RC in T should be taken into exam.

1. The interlinear gloss to the *Regularis Concordia* in T

Several features of the layout of the interlinear glosses reveal that the gloss is a copy, and that the scribe of T was not a flawless copyist¹⁵: a number of glosses have been misplaced, some glosses show transcription mistakes, and the original meaning of a few glosses is lost owing to wrong word division (for example, *for me* instead of *forme* for Latin *primam* in 89.1038)¹⁶.

However, the addition of both missing Latin words¹⁷ and their corresponding Old English renderings¹⁸ seems to prove that the scribe

¹³ Bateson, «Rules for Monks and Secular Canons», pp. 690-708.

¹⁴ Clayton, in particular, has suggested that T could have been used as a teaching book, see Clayton, M., *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (CSASE 2), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1990, p. 76. However, both Clayton and Magennis now surmise that T might have been a reference book, preserving texts of interest for a monastic community, see Clayton, M. and Magennis, H., *The Old English Lives of St Margaret* (CSASE 9), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1994, pp. 85-86; in this respect, Gneuss highlights the role of the *Examinatio* in T (at ff. 93v-94v): «Origin and Provenance of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts», p. 15; about the content of T and the importance of the «Examination for an incumbent bishop» to identify T as a possible archbishop's book, see also Cooper, T.A., «The Homilies of a Pragmatic Archbishop's Handbook in Context: Cotton Tiberius A. iii», in Lewis (ed.) *Anglo-Norman Studies* 28, pp. 47-64, pp. 47 and 62.

¹⁵ *Die Regularis Concordia*, ed. by Kornexl, pp. cxci-ccxiii.

¹⁶ All references to the interlinear gloss to the RC (of T) are to Kornexl's edition: the first number refers to the page and the following number to the line of text quoted (*Die Regularis Concordia*, ed. by Kornexl). In her edition of the RC, Kornexl has chosen not to emend the Old English gloss: mistakes and other irregularities are signalled by the use of an asterisk, and discussed in the notes at the end of the edition: for the editorial procedures, see pp. cclx-cclxix.

¹⁷ For examples, see *ibid.*, pp. cxc-cxciii.

¹⁸ The colour of the ink shows that the added Latin words and their Old English renderings, both written above the main Latin text, date to the same time: *ibid.*, pp. cxci-cxcv.

was not that sloppy copyist¹⁹. On several occasions, the glossator noticed the absence of a Latin counterpart for the Old English gloss he was going to write, and decided to insert the missing Latin word alongside its Old English rendering. Thanks to his knowledge of Latin, he could even provide correct vernacular *interpretamenta* for the wrong Latin readings of his text²⁰. It is therefore likely that the scribe who copied the Old English gloss had at his disposal a correct and complete Latin text or at least a text which was more correct and complete than T. He probably had a bilingual model in which each Latin word of the text was already glossed with its correct Old English *interpretamentum*²¹.

In addition, I think that the presence of glosses which follow the Latin text syllable by syllable, even at a line or a folium break, offers further evidence that the scribe's work was not mechanical. The Latin text of the *RC* in T and its Old English interlinear gloss were written by two different hands²² and the scribe who added the gloss must have copied it following the layout of the Latin text in T rather than the layout of the Latin text in his model. Indeed it seems highly improbable that the copyist was using a bilingual model of the *RC* with the same layout as T. It is very likely, instead, that, in the bilingual model, the glosses were not accommodated on each line or page as they are now in T. For example, the sentences edited by Kornexl as:

1.7 *myslicum* bruce ðeawum 7 swa þeah gesyhþe mid godcundre
 diuersis uteretur moribus, attamen respectu diuino

and

12.137 drohtnunge fram ænigum *si gepristlæht* gif soþlice
 conuersationis, a *quoquam presu[5r]matur*. Si autem,

¹⁹ Although Kornexl calls the man at work on the gloss «Glossator» and not either scribe or copyist, in her opinion, it is highly improbable that the glossator would have been able to find out by himself a word or words missing from the Latin sentences of the *RC*, without the help of a complete Latin copy of the text: *ibid.*, p. cxcv.

²⁰ According to Kornexl, however, the glossator cannot be considered a translator, because his attitude towards both the Latin text and its Old English rendering is inconsistent: *ibid.*, pp. cxc-cxci.

²¹ Kornexl argues that the «Glossator» would have noticed the Latin words missing only in case of an empty space left in the manuscript: *ibid.*, pp. cxcii-cxcv. In my opinion, he was fully capable to understand and analyse the syntactical structure of the Latin text he was glossing.

²² Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 186.

in T are set, respectively, as follows²³:

cincg æðelboren fram onгимendre hys cyldhades ylde þeah þe swa swa seo gewunaþ yld mys
 f.3r5 rex egregius, ab ineunte suę puritię aetate, licet, uti ipsa solet aetas, di
 licum bruce ðeawum 7 swa þeah gesyhþe mid godcundre æthrinen abbude
 f.3r6 uersis uteretur moribus, attamen respectu diuino attactus, abbate

and

ænigum gemete þænne þære sylfan hi synt drohtnunge fram ænigum si geþrist
 f.4v24 Quolibet modo, dum eiusdem sunt conuersationis, a quoquam presu
 læht gif soþlice dysigdome gelettendum oþþe synnum geearnedum
 f.5r1 matur. Si autem, imperitia impediende uel peccatis promerentibus,

As can be seen, the Old English words *myslicum* and *si geþristlæht* were divided according to the respective Latin counterparts in T, *diuersis* and *presumatur*.

Nevertheless, it is very difficult to establish if and to what extent the person who copied the glosses was a mere copyist or if he was capable for himself to devise and add Old English glosses that were missing or misplaced in his model. It is only possible to conclude that the glosses to the RC in T are the immediate result of the activity of a scribe who relied in large part on the work of one or more glossators witnessed by his model. Since my main interest here is in the glossing of the adjectives, in the following pages I will deal with the gloss as the result of a glossator's work, rather than as the result of a copyist's work.

2. Glossing methods and glosses

A number of scholars such as Robinson²⁴, Korhammer²⁵, Lapidge²⁶,

²³ The first number refers to the folio, the second to the line. Here and on other occasions, I provide my own transcription of the manuscript.

²⁴ Robinson, F., «Syntactical Glosses in Latin Manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon Provenance», *Speculum* 48 (1973), pp. 443-75.

²⁵ Korhammer, M., «Mittelalterliche Konstruktionshilfen und altenglischen Wortstellung», *Speculum* 34 (1980), pp. 18-58.

²⁶ Lapidge, M., «The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England, I. The Evidence of Latin Glosses», in N. Brooks (ed.), *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain* (Studies in the Early History of Britain), Leicester University Press, Leicester 1982, pp. 99-140, repr. in his *Anglo-Latin Literature 600-899*, pp. 455-98, and *addenda* p. 516.

Page²⁷, Wieland²⁸, and De Bonis²⁹, have analysed manuscripts containing glosses that not only provide lexical interpretations for a text either in Latin or in Old English, but also supply relevant grammatical and syntactical information³⁰.

The first systematic attempt to introduce a taxonomy of Anglo-Saxon glossing methods was made by Wieland in 1983, mainly on the basis of Latin-Latin glosses³¹. Wieland recognised five categories of glosses: prosodical glosses, commentary glosses, lexical glosses, grammatical glosses, and syntactical glosses³². The *RC* gloss offers examples of only the last three kinds of glosses.

In her analysis of the interlinear gloss to the *RC*, Kornexl follows Wieland's categorization of the Old English glosses in lexical, grammatical and syntactical, but, instead of identifying specific kinds of glosses pertaining to each Latin *lemma*, she prefers to speak of glossing methods (lexical, grammatical and syntactical), to avoid a possible misleading impression of a one-to-one relationship between the gloss and its function³³. In fact, a gloss may have more than one function: for example, the rendering of Latin *torpore* with Old English *mid slæwðe* cannot exclusively be classified as either a lexical or a morphological

²⁷ Page, R.I., «The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England, II: The Evidence of English Glosses», in Brooks (ed.), *Latin and The Vernacular Languages*, pp. 141-65.

²⁸ Wieland, G.R., *The Latin Glosses on Arator and Prudentius in Cambridge University Library, MS Gg.5.35* (Studies and Texts 61), Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto 1983; id., «Latin Lemma - Latin Gloss: The Stepchild of Glossologists», *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 19 (1984), pp. 91-99; and id., «The Glossed Manuscript: Classbook or Library Book?», *Anglo-Saxon England* 14 (1985), pp. 153-73.

²⁹ De Bonis, M.C., «Learning Latin through the *Regula Sancti Benedicti*: The Interlinear Glosses in London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii», in P. Lendinara, L. Lazzari and M.A. D'Aronco (eds.), *Form and Content of Instruction in Anglo-Saxon England in the Light of Contemporary Manuscript Evidence* (Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales. Textes et Études du Moyen Âge 39), Brepols, Turnhout 2007, pp. 187-216; and ead., «La funzione delle lettere alfabetiche nella glossa interlineare alla *Regula Sancti Benedicti* del manoscritto London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.III», *Linguistica e Filologia* 22 (2006), pp. 55-98.

³⁰ It needs to be highlighted that grammatical and syntactical glosses were expressed not only by means of words, but also through complex systems based on the letters of the alphabet, full stops, commas, and strokes: see Korhammer, «Mittelalterliche Konstruktionshilfen».

³¹ Wieland, *The Latin Glosses on Arator and Prudentius*, pp. 16-25, 26-46, 47-97, 98-107, and 147-60.

³² Wieland, «Latin Lemma - Latin Gloss», pp. 96-97.

³³ Kornexl, «The *Regularis Concordia* and its Old English Gloss», p. 120.

gloss alone. Indeed, this is both a morphological and a lexical gloss, that is, *mid slæwðe* is an Old English interpretation meant to explain both the meaning and the morphological value of Latin *torpore*.

However, although Kornexl introduces the concept of “glossing” and “glossing method” in her study, she tends to assign only one function to each Old English gloss. The gloss *mid slæwðe*, for example, is classified as grammatical glossing³⁴, instead of being considered as the outcome of both lexical and grammatical glossing. The gloss *se regul*, which renders Latin *regula*, is classified as a grammatical gloss too³⁵, but the addition of the demonstrative *se* (see below, § 3) to the noun *regul* suggests that the gloss *se regul* provided not only the meaning and the gender, but also the syntactical role of the Latin word in question i.e. the case, number and definiteness. In my investigation of the glossing methods of the RC, Kornexl’s three kinds of glossing will indeed be abided by, but, instead of Kornexl’s general label “grammatical glossing”, I will rather distinguish between morphological and syntactical glossing, since they can both be classified as grammatical glossing.

A thorough analysis of the interlinear gloss to the RC in T has revealed that the gloss as a whole is the outcome of three different glossing methods, which were employed simultaneously. In particular, lexical glossing is the first and simplest step of the glossing process as a whole, and it is the only glossing method that can either exist by itself or be combined with both the morphological and syntactical glossing. Morphological glossing conveys information on both the meaning and the morphology of the Latin *lemma*, but may also be part of the syntactical glossing. Syntactical glossing provides information that can guide the reader through the structure of the Latin sentences; it also partakes of the two previous glossing methods.

The interlinear gloss to the RC in T does not produce an autonomous Old English text and it is a well known fact that an interlinear gloss cannot be considered as a translation proper. In fact, a number of sentences of the Old English interlinear gloss to the RC cannot be understood without the support of the Latin text. For example, the sentence 23.257-260:

Ideoque omni tempore nocturnis horis, cum ad opus diuinum d<e> lectulo surrexerit
frater, primum sibi signum *sanctę* crucis inprimat per *sanctę* trinitatis inuocationem.

³⁴ *Die Regularis Concordia*, ed. by Kornexl, p. ccxviii.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. ccxviii.

(Therefore at all times when a brother arises from bed in the night hours for the work of God, he shall first of all sign himself with the sign of the Holy Cross, invoking the Holy Trinity)³⁶

has been glossed as 23.257-260:

7 on eallum timan nihternum tidum þonne to weorce godcundum of bedde aris* se broþor ærest him tacn þære halgan rode onasette þurh haligre þrynnesse gecigednesse.

This sequence of Old English words provides a word by word translation of the corresponding Latin period, but does not represent an Old English sentence in its own right³⁷.

3. Glossing the adjectives in the interlinear gloss to the *RC*

In the following pages, I will try to prove that Old English adjectives in the gloss replicate both the meaning and the syntactical value of Latin adjectives by means of a contrastive use of the weak or the strong declension. That is to say that, while the syntactical role of Latin adjectives is expressed by the context alone, that of Old English adjectives is expressed through the choice of either the strong or the weak declension. This choice is dictated by the context in which their referent occurs. The glossator's choice to gloss Latin adjectives with an Old English counterpart in either the strong or the weak form helps the reader understand the defining or non-defining role of Latin adjectives. Therefore, in my opinion, the rendering of Latin adjectives can be regarded as part of the syntactical glossing³⁸. Moreover, this glossing

³⁶ *Regularis Concordia Anglicae Nationis*, ed. by Symons, p. 11.

³⁷ A word by word translation would produce (And at all time at night hours when at work divine from bed arises the brother first himself sign of the Holy Cross shall sign through the invocation to the Holy Trinity).

³⁸ Syntactical glossing supplies words or symbols that assist readers in the understanding of the syntactical organization of the Latin text. According to Wieland, the glosses that establish a relationship among the words of a sentence can be defined syntactical glosses. These may be symbols (construe marks, alphabetical letters, strokes and commas) or words, such as subject pronouns identifying the speaker or the subject of a sentence which is not explicitly mentioned in the main Latin text: see Wieland, «Latin Lemma - Latin Gloss», pp. 97-98, and id., «The Glossed Manuscript: Classbook or Library Book?», pp. 163-8. As far as adjectives are concerned, the description of their form (strong or weak) is part of the morphology, see, for example, Quirk, R. and Wrenn,

process is strictly related to the addition or vice versa the absence of the demonstrative *se*, *þæt*, *seo*³⁹, which, as remarked above, contributes to determine the syntactical role of Latin words from an Old English perspective.

A great number of Latin noun phrases (NPs) have been glossed with the corresponding Old English NPs featuring the addition of *se*, *þæt*, *seo* (inflected in the case required by the context). The demonstrative *se*, *þæt*, *seo* can be used both independently and dependently. *Se* is used independently when it is employed as a pronoun⁴⁰, and dependently when it occurs alongside a noun to define it. The dependent use of *se* corresponds to what is now called definite article. Indeed Mitchell refers to the Old English *se*, *þæt*, *seo* as «definite articles», because they can often be translated by Modern English *the*⁴¹ and because they play the same role as the modern article. According to Mitchell, «modern scholars have created for themselves the unreal problem of the Old English ‘definite article’»⁴², since the dependent *se* occurs in clauses where it is hard to distinguish its use as a definite article from that as a demonstrative⁴³. As Quirk and Wrenn pointed out,

C.L., *An Old English Grammar*, Methuen, London 1955, 2nd edn., Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, IL 1994, §§ 50-58 (ch. II under the heading «Inflections»). However, the description of their form and function in relation to the nouns and demonstratives they are used with is part of the syntax: see *ibid.*, § 116 in ch. III under the heading «Syntax». See also Mitchell, B., *Old English Syntax*, 2 vols., Oxford University Press, Oxford 1985, I, ch. I «The Parts of Speech and their Functions».

³⁹ The syntactical glossing within the interlinear gloss to the RC was carried out by lexical means. On the one hand, it entailed the change of the Latin word order in the Old English gloss: e.g. 3.29 *coniugique suę* rendered as 7 *his gemæccean*, and 50.599 *ad requiem suam* glossed with *to hyra rysta*, in both cases with the possessive adjective preceding the noun. On the other hand, syntactical glossing was achieved by adding Old English words unparalleled in the Latin text: e.g. 9.109 *canimus* ‘we sing’ rendered by *we singað* with the addition of the subject pronoun *we*, or 16.181 *regula* glossed with *se regul*, with the addition of the nominative masculine of the demonstrative *se*, *þæt*, *seo*; see *Die Regularis Concordia*, ed. by Kornexl, p. ccxix.

⁴⁰ Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, I, § 316.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, I, § 237.

⁴² *Ibid.*, I, § 328.

⁴³ Various attempts to classify the uses of the dependent *se* have been made in the past: see Hüllweck, A., *Über den Gebrauch des Artikels in den Werken Alfreds des Grossens*, Berlin Diss., Druck von L. Reiter, Dessau 1887; Philipsen, H., *Über Wesen und Gebrauch des bestimmten Artikels in der Prosa König Alfreds auf Grund des Orosius (Hs. L) und der Cura Pastoralis*, Diss., Greifswald, Abel 1887; and Wülfing, J.E., *Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen*, 2 vols., Hanstein, Bonn 1894-1901, I, pp. 277-87 and

the existence of a 'definite article' in OE is a vexed question, but it seems to be one which has been raised largely by our desire to impose upon OE a terminology familiar in and suitable for Mod.E.: where today we have three contrastive and formally distinct defining words, *the*, *that*, *this*, each with a name, in OE there were but two, *se* and *þes*, and we are left as it were with a name to spare. The problem partly disappears when we reflect that in many instances of their use today, *the* and *that* are interchangeable («Do you remember the/that man I was speaking to last night?»); in OE *se* (*þæt*, *seo*) embraced practically the whole range of functions performed today, jointly or separately, by *the* and *that*⁴⁴.

Se, *þæt*, *seo* are generally classified as demonstrative pronouns⁴⁵, but their dependent use suggests that this definition needs some adjusting. When occurring before nouns they function as modifiers⁴⁶: according to the context, *se* can be considered either a demonstrative adjective (a deictic) or an identifying word (an article). Insofar as they determine the noun they precede, *se*, *þæt*, *seo* may be called "determiners" (D)⁴⁷,

371-2; see also Closs, O.E.E., *A Grammar of Alfred's Orosius*, unpubl. Ph.diss., University of California, Berkeley 1964, p. 91.

⁴⁴ Quirk and Wrenn, *An Old English Grammar*, § 117; in the quotation, OE stands for Old English and Mod.E for Modern English.

⁴⁵ At the beginning of the section devoted to pronouns Mitchell admits that demonstratives might be called «pronoun/adjectives» (Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, I, §§ 239-40) since they may function both as pronouns and adjectives, but he then adds that it is sufficient to speak of independent and dependent use of uninflected and inflected forms: *ibid.*, §§ 311-45). See also Brunner, K., *Altenglische Grammatik: nach der angelsächsischen Grammatik von Eduard Sievers* (Sammlung kurzer Grammatiken germanischer Dialekte, A. Hauptreihe 3), 3rd edn., Niemeyer, Tübingen 1965, §§ 337-8; Campbell, A., *Old English Grammar*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1959; repr. 1977, §§ 708-15; and Quirk and Wrenn, *An Old English Grammar*, § 65 and, under the heading 'Nouns modifiers and pronouns' §§ 116-8.

⁴⁶ By "modifiers" I mean all those words used to clarify the role of a noun in a sentence. Most of them cannot occur alone, for example we can say «I saw the books in your room», «I saw new books in your room» or «I saw the new books in your room», with *books* occurring with and without articles, with and without adjective, but always producing a correct sentence. Conversely, «I saw the in your room»**, «I saw new in your room»** and «I saw the new in your room»** are incorrect sentences: the nonsense in the last three sentences demonstrates that *the* and *new* are modifiers which are dependent on the noun they modify/determine: see Graffi, G., *Sintassi*, Il Mulino, Bologna 1994, pp. 43-4, 98; Bloomfield, L., *Language*, H. Holt, New York 1933, pp. 184-206.

⁴⁷ Phrases consisting of a determiner and a noun or of a determiner, an adjective, and a noun are called «determiner phrases» (DP). The suggestion that nominal phrases should be analysed as maximal projections of a determiner in an X-bar scheme is attributed to

adopting the terminology of generative grammar⁴⁸. The determiner *se*, *þæt*, *seo* is one of the morphological resources of Old English, and its use may be classified as belonging to morphological glossing. However, in my opinion, the use of determiners in an interlinear gloss rather pertains to syntactical glossing, because their addition to the gloss modifies the syntactical structure of the sentence. Determiners can transform the function of a noun from indefinite into definite, and, as a consequence, the sentence assumes a more definite meaning⁴⁹. The glossator of the RC used *se*, *þæt*, *seo* not only to mark the gender of an Old English substantive, but also as an identifying resource.

The RC gloss features examples of Old English determiners added to different sorts of Old English NPs which render the following types of Latin phrases:

–Latin NPs formed by a noun:

3.27	oues	þa sceap
16.181	regula	se regul

–Latin adjectival phrases (APs) formed by an adjective plus noun:

1.3	Gloriosus Eadgar	se wuldorfulla [proper name not glossed]
17.197	beati BE'NE'DICTI	þæs eadigan benedictes

–Latin prepositional phrases (PPs) formed by preposition plus noun:

9.106	pro rege	for þæne cingc
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Abney, S.P., *The English Noun Phrase in its Sentential Aspect*, unpubl. diss., MIT, 1987. Similar suggestions may be found in earlier works such as Brame, M.K., «The General Theory of Binding and Fusion», *Linguistic Analysis* 7,3 (1981), pp. 277-325; id. «The Head-selector Theory of Lexical Specifications and the Nonexistence of Coarse Categories», *Linguistic Analysis* 10,4 (1982), pp. 321-5; Hudson, R.A., *Word Grammar*, Blackwell, Oxford 1984; and Szabolcsi, A., «Functional Categories in the Noun Phrase», in I. Kenesei (ed.), *Approaches to Hungarian 2: Theories and Analysis*, JATE Publishing, Szeged 1987, pp. 167-89. I will not use the category «determiner phrase» in my analysis, because the Latin text does not have any determiner phrases corresponding to Old English determiner phrases.

⁴⁸ Chomsky, N., *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, MIT, Cambridge, MA 1965; id., *Lectures on Government and Binding* (Studies in Generative Grammar 9), Foris Publications, Dordrecht 1981, 7th edn., de Gruyter, Berlin and New York 1993, p. 29.

⁴⁹ According to Kornexl, the addition of the «Demonstrativpronomina (bestimmte Artikel)» belongs to grammatical glossing only: *Die Regularis Concordia*, ed. by Kornexl, p. ccxviii.

The Old English NPs and APs may also feature additional markers of the Latin case:

103.1209	antiphonario	on þam antefne* ⁵⁰
114.1338	mediante octaua hora	on middre þære eahtoþan tide

The use of the determiner *se*, *þæt*, *seo* in all these examples proves that they do not simply function as gender indicators, but as modifiers of the noun they precede, because it is likely that the glossator deemed superfluous to provide the gender of the Old English nouns he was going to write in his own language. Even an uneducated native speaker might not have been linguistically aware that a noun with *se* was masculine and that a noun with *seo* was feminine, but he surely knew that, for example, *broþor* could be preceded by *se* and *rode* by *seo*, but not the opposite.

The glossator of the *RC* often rendered Latin adjectives, as well as Latin nouns, with Old English *interpretamenta* preceded by the determiner *se*, *þæt*, *seo*, showing that demonstratives could be added both before nouns and before adjectives. The addition of a determiner before a noun does not affect its morphology, since it simply defines it either by identifying the gender (masculine, feminine or neuter) or by clarifying the syntactical role in a sentence (defined or undefined subject or object), regardless of its declension. On the contrary, the addition of *se*, *þæt*, *seo* before adjectives determines a change in both the morphological and syntactical structure of the Old English adjectives in the gloss: if preceded by a determiner, a strong adjective changes both its morphological aspect and its syntactical role by assuming weak endings and defining the noun it precedes. These changes cannot be explained as an effect of the lexical glossing of the Latin, but should be considered a syntactical strategy meant to render both the lexical and the syntactical value of the corresponding Latin *lemma*.

Before illustrating the glossing process applied to adjectives, a few preliminary remarks about the Old English adjective would be appropriate. First of all, a distinction should be made between those adjectives which have a comparative and a superlative form (the

⁵⁰ According to Kornexl, *antefne* is a misspelling of *antefnere*: *Die Regularis Concordia*, ed. by Kornexl, p. 323.

adjectives that Mitchell calls «adjectives proper»⁵¹) and demonstratives (*se*, *þæt*, *seo*), possessives (*min*, etc.), interrogatives (*hwelc*), and indefinites (*sum*), that can all function as both adjectives and pronouns but do not have comparative and superlative forms. In this article, I will deal mainly with «adjectives proper» and, in particular, with the use of Old English *sylf* and *ilca*.

Like all Germanic languages, Old English had two kinds of inflexion of the adjective, the strong (or indefinite) and the weak (or definite) inflexion⁵², that could be applied to the majority of the adjectives. An exception is represented by *eall* ‘all’, *fea(we)* ‘few’, *genōg* ‘enough’, *manig* ‘many’, and *ōðer* ‘other’, which were always indefinite. On the other hand, *ilca* ‘same’, ordinal numerals (except *ōðer*), comparatives, and superlatives⁵³ only took the definite inflexion.

The strong declension is used when the adjective is predicative, for example in *þær sint swīðe micle meras fersce* ‘there are very large fresh-water lakes’, where no attempt is made to specify any further the item modified by the adjective⁵⁴. An adjective used predicatively gives some information about a noun without modifying it. We may say that the strong declension is used when an adjective (or an adjectival phrase) is not preceded by a demonstrative or when no other reason calls for the use of the definite declension.

The weak declension represents a specifying form of the adjective, usually pointing out that the modified item is the expected one in that specific context or the one referred to previously, for example, *se foresprecena here* ‘the above-mentioned army’. The weak form of an adjective indeed modifies a noun semantically, usually limiting its meaning, as in the case with *se foresprecena here*. The word *here* alone may denote any kind of army, but *here* preceded by *se foresprecena* indicates unambiguously the army that had been mentioned above. The weak declension gives the adjective an attributive value. This inflexion is regularly used after determiners, irrespectively of whether the adjective occurs before or after the noun or even without a noun. It is frequently found also after possessives, for example, *mid his micclan werode* ‘with

⁵¹ Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, I, § 97.

⁵² Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, §§ 638-60. See also Krahe, H., *Germanische Sprachwissenschaft*, 3 vols., de Gruyter, Berlin and New York 1969, II, §§ 49-55.

⁵³ Quirk and Wrenn, *An Old English Grammar*, § 50. The superlative can be used both attributively and predicatively: Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, I, §§ 187-8.

⁵⁴ Quirk and Wrenn, *An Old English Grammar*, § 116.

his large force', after a noun genitive (group)⁵⁵, and when adjectives are used as nouns⁵⁶, a syntactical function that limits the semantic value of the adjectives. For example, in *þa Iudeiscan þe on Crist gelyfdon* 'the Jews who believed in Christ'⁵⁷, *Iudeiscan* does not give any additional information (as predicative adjectives do), but plays the role of a defined noun: its semantic value is restricted by its syntactical function.

The Old English equivalents of Latin adjectives occur in various positions and in six different kinds of phrases throughout the interlinear gloss under examination.

3.1 Adjectives occurring in Old English phrases formed by Adj plus N whether or not preceded by determiners and translating Latin phrases formed by Adj and N⁵⁸

The analysis of the Old English renderings of Latin phrases formed by adjectives plus nouns has revealed that Old English adjectives have been inflected according to both the weak and the strong declension. The choice of the inflexion depends on the syntactical definiteness of the adjectives and nouns that constitute each phrase. However, the shift of the phrases from definiteness to indefiniteness is not only signalled by the inflexion chosen to render each Latin adjective, but also by the addition of a determiner or the absence of it.

Phrases preceded by a determiner. The interlinear gloss to the *RC* offers a long list of complex Old English glosses which render Latin APs by means of APs preceded by a determiner. The Latin adjectives occurring in these phrases have been rendered, as expected, by Old English adjectives inflected in the case corresponding to the Latin counterpart, as shown in the examples below. The only grammatical (morpho-syntactical) feature that seems to be unpredictable in the gloss is the declension according to which the Old English adjective is inflected.

In some instances, the choice of the weak declension depends on the adjectives themselves, for example, in the case of ordinal numbers and

⁵⁵ Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, I, §§ 102-41.

⁵⁶ Collinson, W.E., «Some Recent Developments of Syntactical Theory: A Critical Survey», *Transactions of the Philological Society* 40 (1941), pp. 43-133, at 70 and 125.

⁵⁷ *CH* I, vii: *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. The First Series. Text*, ed. by P. Clemoes (EETS ss 17), Oxford University Press, London and New York 1997, p. 234.66.

⁵⁸ Adj stands for adjective, N for noun and D for determiner.

comparatives, which are always inflected weak⁵⁹ and preceded by the determiner *se, þæt, seo*:

	Latin text	Old English rendering
23.275	IN PRIMA ITAQUE ORATIONE	on þam forman witud gebede
84.978	altera die	þam oþrum dæge
121.1406	Prima lectio	seo forme rædincg
105.1227	tertium percelebratur responsorium	se þridda byþ gesungen reps
8.96	alicuius altioris (97) gradus uir uel inferioris [comparative]	æniges heahran (97) hades wer oþþe neoþeran

However, the choice of the adjective declension to render Latin adjectives that are neither ordinal numbers nor comparatives depends on the semantic context in which they occur and on the addition of determiners that define the syntactical role to be attributed to the adjectives in question:

	Latin text	Old English rendering
1.3	Gloriosus Eadgar	se wuldorfulla [the proper name is not glossed]
17.197	beati BE'NE'DICTI	þæs eadigan benedictes
18.200	<i>sancte</i> regule	þæs haligan regales

Phrases not preceded by a determiner. The Old English gloss also features a series of Latin APs rendered by APs not preceded by a determiner. In these cases the adjectives are inflected according to the strong declension:

	Latin text	Old English rendering
1.5	britannice insule	brittisces iglandes
3.34	<i>sancti</i> patris Benedicti	haliges fæder --
4.47	regularia precepta	regullice bebodu
11.131	<i>sanctę</i> regule	Haliges regales
22.260	<i>Persanctę</i> trinitatis inuocationem	þurh haligre þrynnesse gecigednesse

The last two groups of examples show that the addition of the determiner *se, þæt, seo* to the AP modifies the definiteness of the components of the Old English phrase. In particular, the change in

⁵⁹ Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, §§ 656, 692-5.

definiteness determined by the addition of the determiners corresponds to a change in the adjectives inflexion: a defined AP is expressed by the weak form of the adjective, while a not-defined AP is expressed by the strong form of the adjective.

The gloss does not provide any linguistic hint as to why the glossator decided that some Latin APs had to be defined in Old English and some others had not. However, it is possible to identify some contexts in which the glossator always chose to use the definite declension:

– the definite declension is used with nouns indicating definite roles and objects and when the text refers to something or someone well known, such as the king, the author of the Benedictine Rule, the Rule itself, the Pope and the Holy Spirit:

	Latin text	Old English rendering
1.3	Gloriosus Eadgar	Se wuldorfulla [the proper name is not glossed]
17.197	beati BE'NE'DICTI	þæs eadigan benedictes
18.200	<i>sancte</i> regule	þæs haligan regules
103.1208	beati GREGORII (1209) pape	þæs eadigan gregorius (1209) papan
147.1688	<i>Sancti Spiritus</i>	þæs haligan gastes

It is also used in all the following instances:

– when the meaning of the adjectives themselves invites to limit the semantic value of the nouns they precede, because they refer to something that has already been mentioned before:

	Latin text	Old English rendering
8.94	prefati sinodalis conuentus	þæs foresædan sinoplicre gegaderunge
63.739	suprascriptus ordo	seo forewritene endebyrdnes

– when the adjectives indicate a position in space or in time:

	Latin text	Old English rendering
33.383	dexter offerat chorus	se swiþra offrige chor
118.1381	uenturi (1382) diei	þæs (1382) teowerdan dægges
124.1443	dominicalis uesperę	þæs drihtenlican æfenes

– when the nouns of the Latin APs (generally in the plural) represent an entire category, for example, ‘all the minsters, all the altars’:

	Latin text	Old English rendering
2.15	sacra coenobia	þa halgan mynstru
80.943	sacra altaria	þa halgan weofude

– when the superlative is used to underscore the extraordinary value of the noun it refers to:

	Latin text	Old English rendering
7.79	Excellentissimum sancte obedientię fructum	þæne mærustan halige* hyrsumnysse wæstm

It is also possible to identify the principle followed by the glossator concerning the use of the non-definite declension. The adjectives are inflected according to the strong declension, when they supply additional information about the nouns (without limiting the semantic value of the nouns):

	Latin text	Old English rendering
1.7	diuersis uteretur moribus	mýslicum bruce ðeawum
4.43	uerba esortatoria ac pacifica	word mynegyendlice 7 gesibsume
8.90	cum bonorum operum uigilantia	mid godra weorca wæccean

However, there are several occurrences where the glossator has resorted to adjectives inflected according to the strong rather than the weak declension although the Latin adjective has an attributive value (since it defines the semantic value of the noun):

	Latin text	Old English rendering
1.5	britannice insule	brittisces iglandes
1.9	catholicę fidei	rihtes geleafan
3.34	sancti patris Benedicti	haliges fæder --
4.42	synodale concilium	synoplice gemot
11.131	sanctę regule	haliges regules
22.260	per sanctę trinitatis inuocationem	þurh haligre þrynnesse gecigednesse

In 11.131, the rendering of *sanctę regule* with *haliges regules*, a Latin AP which is later glossed with *þæs haligan regules* (18.200), yields proof that the glossator used the two inflexions discerningly.

The frequent oscillation between strong and weak inflexion of adjectives occurring in analogous APs demonstrates that the strong declension, apart from having a predicative value, offered the glossator the possibility to provide a sort of basic translation for a Latin adjective. In other words, he relied on the strong declension whenever he wanted to offer only the Old English semantic equivalent of a Latin adjective, or when he was uncertain about the adjective form to use in the gloss, because the meaning of the Latin text was not completely clear to him. As a result, the strong inflexion, is found in both undefined and defined contexts, while the weak declension occurs only in defined contexts.

In the light of the glossator's linguistic awareness, it is possible to affirm that he used the strong inflexion whenever he wanted to be more faithful to Latin, the source language, than to Old English, the target language. In these instances, he provided a word-for-word translation focused on the meaning of the *lemma*, rather than on its morphological and syntactical value. Hence he switched from what might be called a morpho-syntactical glossing to a merely lexical glossing, because he deemed that the text was clear enough from a morpho-syntactical point of view and that a lexical translation would have been sufficient. It is quite likely, for example, that the would-be reader of the gloss to the *RC* knew that *þrynness*, the Old English rendering of Latin *trinitas*, could only refer to the holy Trinity. Therefore the glossator did not feel the need to add any determiner to the gloss to highlight that the text was about the 'Holy Trinity'.

In the Old English prose translation of the *RC*, also preserved in T⁶⁰, the phrase rendering the Latin *sanctę trinitatis* reads «þære haligan þrynnesse»⁶¹, a phrase that shows the expected weak form of the adjective (*halig*) referred to the Holy Trinity. A comparison between the above-quoted *RC* gloss to the Latin phrase *sanctę trinitatis*, namely *haligre þrynnesse*, and the corresponding prose translation, namely *þære haligan þrynnesse*, proves that, while the translator used the weak declension in a defined context, the glossator employed the strong inflexion as a device belonging to the lexical glossing, since in the phrase *haligre þrynnesse* the adjective *haligre* conveys only the meaning, not

⁶⁰ It is a fragmentary Old English translation of the *RC* contained at ff. 174-176 of T: Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 155, and Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 332.

⁶¹ Schröder, A., «De Consuetudine Monachorum», *Englische Studien* 9 (1886), pp. 290-6, at 294. About the Old English prose fragments of the *RC*, see also *Die Regularis Concordia*, ed. by Kornexl, pp. cxlix-clii.

the syntactical role of the Latin adjective. However, the same glossator used the weak declension in 18.200 *fram þam foresædon fæder benedicte* as a device of the syntactical glossing in order to define the AP in the same way in which it would have been defined in a prose text. Consequently, the glossator would have used the weak form of *halig* in 22.260, if he had wanted to gloss *sanctę trinitatis* syntactically.

The same distinction between the weak and the strong form of the adjectives depending on the addition or the absence of *se*, *þæt*, *seo* is evident also when adjectives occur in two other kinds of Old English phrases.

3.2 Adjectives occurring in Old English phrases constituted by Prep⁶², Adj, and N preceded or not by determiners and translating Latin phrases formed by Prep, Adj, and N

Phrases preceded by determiners. Adjectives have been inflected according to the weak declension in the Old English PPs showing the addition of *se*, *þæt*, *seo*:

	Latin text	Old English rendering
18.200	a predicto (201) patre Benedicto	fram þam foresædon (201) fæder benedicte
103.1206	(§ 50) IN d'ī'e sancto	on dæge þam halgum

One may consider also the following examples, because ordinal numbers are always declined weak:

	Latin text	Old English rendering
63.737	usque octauum diem	oð þæne eahtuþan dæg
91.1069	(§ 45) IN prima quidem oratione	on þam forman witudlice gebede
92.1082	IN secunda	on þam oþran

This group also includes examples of Latin phrases not completely glossed, probably because they contained well known words that were considered easily understandable:

139.1601	coram sancto altar<i>	beforan þam halgan --
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⁶² Prep stands for preposition.

Phrases not preceded by determiners. Old English PPs that are not preceded by a determiner show their adjectives inflected according to the strong declension:

	Latin text	Old English rendering
2.22	per tantam sui regni amplitudinem	geond swa mycele hys rices rymþe
2.26	a rabidis perfido rum rictibus	fram reaflum ortrywra geaglum
4.39	cum magna studuer<u>nt hilaritate	mid mycelre hygdan geblissunge
6.67	in uno alueario	on anre hyfe
12.133	in sede episcopali	on setle bisceopicum
22.259	per sanctę trinitatis	þurh haligre þrynnesse gecigednesse

In 6.67, the gloss offers an example of the numeral *ān* inflected according to the strong declension. The cardinal number *ān* is usually declined strong⁶³, because cardinal numbers provide information about quantity, but not about the definiteness of the quantified noun, while ordinal numbers describe the exact position of a defined noun in a list or in a sequence (see § 3.3 below).

3.3 Adjectives occurring in Old English PPs preceded or not by determiners, where Preps have been added to render Latin APs that are not introduced by Preps

Phrases preceded by determiners. The RC gloss offers examples of PPs formed by preposition, determiner, adjective, and noun, only when the adjective hosted by the phrase is an ordinal number; ordinal numbers belonging to these PPs are always inflected weak:

	Latin text	Old English rendering
60.705	Prima paschalis (706) sollempnitatis die	on þam forman easterlices (706) freolses dæge
61.710	Reliquis uero tribus diebus	on þam oþrum þrim dagum
66.773	quarta et (774) sexta feria	on þam feorþa n´ 7 (774) þam syxtan weorcdæge
140.1610	trigesimo uero die	on þam þrittigōþan (--) dæge

⁶³ *Ān* is declined weak when it means 'alone': Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, § 683. As far as other cardinal numbers are concerned, the gloss shows examples of Latin *tres* glossed with the strong form *ðry*, as in 104.1219 where *tres antiphonę* is rendered by *ðry antefnas*.

It is evident that the use of the weak declension is linked to the presence of the determiner *se*, *þæt*, *seo*, underlining the attributive and defining value of the ordinal numbers.

Phrases not preceded by determiners. All the remaining Old English PPs that render Latin phrases formed by adjective plus noun feature an adjective declined strong as in the following instances:

	Latin text	Old English rendering
1.7	respectu diuino (8) attactus	gesyhþe mid godcundre (8) æthrinen
2.15	diuersis [...] (16) locis	on myslicum [...] stowum
3.30	impavidi more	unearges mid gewunan
4.41	diligenti cura	Mid geornfulre care

The use of the strong instead of the weak declension in 1.7, in particular, shows that the glossator used the strong declension as the base form of the adjective to render Latin adjectives occurring in phrases without additional defining elements. As a matter of fact, *respectu diuino attactus* means ‘touched by divine regard’, not ‘touched by *a* divine regard’ or ‘touched by *the* divine regard’.

In this same group, the numeral *ān* has been inflected strong:

	Latin text	Old English rendering
3.37	una fide	mid anum geleafan
4.38	uno consuetudinis usu	mid anum þeawes gewunan

4. Adjectives occurring after nouns as in their corresponding Latin APs

The interlinear gloss to the *RC* also shows some examples of Latin APs glossed with Old English APs that imitate the syntactical structure of their Latin counterpart placing the adjectives after the nouns:

	Latin text	Old English rendering
32.378	horam tertiam	tide þa þridan
40.481	missa celebretur principalis	mæsse si sungen seo ealdorlice
65.759	orationem dominicam	gebed þæt drihtenlice
103.1209	sedis apostolicę	setles þæs apostolican

In these occurrences, the glossator recognised the attributive value of the Latin adjectives, but he decided to add a determiner to the equivalent Old English adjective in order to render its defining role in the sentence more explicit⁶⁴.

In the following examples, the glossator expressed the attributive function of the adjectives by adding a determiner at the beginning of the phrase, but leaving the adjective strong:

	Latin text	Old English rendering
13.145	abbas tenet regularis	se abbud hylt regulic
31.365	scola uni[8v]uersa	seo scola eall
106.1247	locum cruce nudatum	þa stowe rode abarude

The use of the strong inflexion in these glosses, despite the presence of determiners and the definiteness of the glossed APs, suggests that the addition of the determiner alone was not enough to determine a change in the adjective inflexion. Adjectives could be declined weak only if determiner and adjective were not separated by the noun they define. Indeed, in the previous group, *se*, *þæt*, *seo* and the respective adjectives are close to each other and preceded by their referent (32.378: *horam tertiam: tide þa þridan*); therefore, adjectives are inflected according to the weak declension.

The three examples above feature glosses where the Old English phrase is arranged according to the pattern ‘determiner + noun (or noun and verb, noun and genitive) + adjective’. This pattern has also been identified in Old English prose and poetry. According to the principles of generative grammar, the presence of the strong (undefined) inflexion near

⁶⁴ According to a generative perspective, in a prose text, the adjectives in the sequence noun + determiner + adjective would represent a case of false post-position. These adjectives should be analysed as attributive adjectives pre-posed to a non-overt nominal element (that is an unexpressed element, substituting the noun preceding the adjective), because they have an attributive value. In other words, adjectives that are post-posed to the noun on the surface, can be considered pre-posed at their deep structure: Pysz, *The Syntax of Prenominal and Postnominal Adjectives*, p. 261. If this syntactical explanation applies to Old English texts in general, it cannot be mechanically applied to a glossed text. In fact, in the gloss to the *RC*, the choice of the adjective declension is strictly related to both syntax and glossing method and it is not only dependent on the position of the adjective in relation to the noun it refers to, as the examples of strong inflected adjectives in 13.145, 31.365 and 106.1247 in this page will show.

a defined phrase is a syntactical paradox, because a defined phrase cannot be definite and indefinite at the same time. The paradox can be explained only if we consider the post-posed adjective as an adjective predicating the entities that have already been identified by the determiner at the beginning of such phrases⁶⁵. This syntactical explanation of the pattern ‘determiner + noun + strong Adj’ is based on the defining role of both the determiner and the weak (or strong) declension considered separately, but, in my opinion, the analysis of the gloss clarifies that the syntactical value of the adjective cannot be expressed by the inflexion alone. Determiner and inflexion can express the definiteness of a noun only if they are employed together in an uninterrupted sequence of determiner + adjective + noun (or noun + determiner + adjective). An adjective occurring alone, at a distance from the determiner, loses its defining potential. The rendering of the Latin defined phrase «*abbas tenet regularis*»⁶⁶ ([the rule that] the regular abbot follows) with the Old English «*se abbud hylt regulic*» seems to prove that the glossator intended to provide only a lexical gloss for *regularis*, by using the strong form *regulic*. However, the presence of *se* before *abbud* confirms that the glossator was providing a syntactical gloss of the Latin phrase, but he was obliged to use the strong inflexion of the adjective, because of the distance between the determiner and the noun, on the one hand, and the adjective, on the other.

5. Adjectives used as nouns

The interlinear gloss to the RC also includes adjectives used as nouns. Most of them are adjectives used in the positive or the comparative degree⁶⁷:

– *Positive degree:*

	Latin text	Old English rendering
29.339	<i>sancti</i>	þæs halgan

⁶⁵ Pysz, *The Syntax of Prenominal and Postnominal Adjectives*, p. 231.

⁶⁶ The adjective *regularis* means ‘according to the rule’, therefore, by *abbas regularis* is meant ‘the abbot who lives according to the rule’: Du Cange (Du Fresne), Ch., *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis*, 10 vols., Favre, Niort 1883-1887, s.v. *regulares* (3).

⁶⁷ The gloss does not feature any example of superlative adjectives used as nouns.

81.952 pauperum þæra þearfena

These adjectives do not furnish any additional information about a noun nor do they underline a definite quality of a noun; instead, they are used as nouns sharing the quality expressed by the adjective. The glossator grasped the unique and definite value of the adjectives and hence inflected these adjectives according to the weak declension. He also added a determiner in order to underline the definiteness of the noun represented by the adjective.

Conversely, the adjective is inflected according to the strong declension in phrases formed by an indefinite adjective plus a substantivised adjective, such as 29.337 and 146.1677. In these cases the indefiniteness of *eallum* and *ealre* called for the strong declension instead of the weak:

	Latin text	Old English rendering
29.337	de (338) omnibus <i>sanctis</i>	be (338) eallum halgum
146.1677	omnium <i>sanctorum</i>	ealre halgena

– *Comparative degree:*

	Latin text	Old English rendering
26.305	Superiors	þa ærran
31.366	Seniors	þa ylðran
113.1322	Priori	þam ealdre

Comparatives express a definite comparison between two objects and are usually inflected weak. As a consequence, the glossator, having recognised the syntactical role of these adjectival forms as nouns, inflected them according to the weak declension, adding a determiner to each NP, as in 29.339 and 81.952. In these instances the choice of the weak inflexion was favoured by the comparative form of the adjective.

However, when the Latin comparatives used as nouns are preceded by a preposition, the glossator translated them using the strong declension:

	Latin text	Old English rendering
32.376	a senioribus	fram ylðrum
47.561	a priore	fram ealdre

Probably, the glossator used the strong inflexion to create a lexical gloss, without giving additional syntactical information about the definite identity of these comparatives.

Other adjectival forms used as nouns are present or past participles. Like adjectives, Old English participles could be declined strong or weak⁶⁸. In glosses like 17.193 and 30.348, the glossator employed the participles as nouns representing the definite objects of the action expressed by the verb:

	Latin text	Old English rendering
17.193	Subiecti	þa underþeoddan
30.348	Sequentem	þæne æfran

Because of their definite syntactical role, the glossator rendered these Latin participles by inflecting their Old English equivalent according to the weak declension.

6. Old English adjectives rendering Latin *ipse*, *ipsa*, *ipsum* and *idem*, *eadem*, *idem*

The interlinear gloss to the RC yields interesting data about the different function that both *ipse*, *ipsa*, *ipsum* and *idem*, *eadem*, *idem* have in the Latin text of the RC when compared to classical Latin. While in classical Latin they might be used as both adjectives and pronouns⁶⁹, their Old English renderings in the interlinear gloss to RC show that they were used quite differently in the Latin text of the RC:

– *ipse*, *ipsa*, *ipsum* in the RC has always been used as a demonstrative adjective⁷⁰ defining the following noun, and has always been glossed with the Old English demonstrative *se*, *þæt*, *seo*:

⁶⁸ Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, I, §§ 101, 974-89.

⁶⁹ Vineis, E., «Latino», in A. Giacalone Ramat and P. Ramat (eds.), *Le lingue indoeuropee*, Il Mulino, Bologna 1993; repr. 1997, pp. 289-348, at. 320-3.

⁷⁰ *Ipsa* began to be used as a general demonstrative in Medieval Latin. It was used as a reflexive pronoun already in Seneca: see *Medieval Latin*, ed. by K.P. Harrington, Allyn and Bacon, Boston 1925; repr. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1962; 2nd. edn. by K.P. Harrington, revised by J. Pucci, with a grammatical introduction by A.G. Elliott, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London 1997, p. 33.

	Latin text	Old English rendering
35.407	ipsius diei	þæs dægēs
60.703	ipse abbas	se abbud
89.1042	Inter ipsam <i>et</i> altare	betwux hi 7 þam weofude

– conversely, *idem*, *eadem*, *idem* has been used with both its morpho-syntactical functions of pronoun and adjective, even if its occurrences as adjective are much more numerous than those as pronoun;

– when used as a pronoun, *idem*, *eadem*, *idem* has been translated with *sylf* or *ylc* preceded by the neuter *þæt*:

	Latin text	Old English rendering
60.704	Eadem [referred to <i>indulgentiam</i> and <i>veniam</i>]	þæt sylfe [Old English acc. sing. n. for Latin acc. pl. n. <i>eadem</i>]
85.992	Eadem [referred to the practices mentioned in the previous sentence]	þæt ylce [Old English acc. sing. n. for Latin acc. pl. n. <i>eadem</i>]

– when used as an adjective, *idem*, *eadem*, *idem* has been translated with *sylf* or *ylc* too, but preceded by *se*, *þæt*, *seo*,

	Latin text	Old English rendering
12.136	eiusdem sunt conuersationis	þære sylfan hi synt drohtnunge
12.140	in eadem congregatione	on þære sylfan geferrædene
33.387	eadem uero matutinalis missa	seo sylfe capitemæsse
53.628	[12v] [A]b eisdem kalendis	fram þam sylfum kalendum
62.731	de eadem sollempnitate	be þam ylcan freolse
78.909	eadem capitula	þa sylfan capitulas

In both groups, Latin *idem*, *eadem*, *idem* has been glossed with two different Old English pronouns and adjectives, *ilc* and *sylf*, always declined weak. If the rendering of *idem* with the adjective *ilc* inflected weak⁷¹ was felt as immediate and automatic by the glossator, since *ilc* was generally used weak, the rendering of *idem*, *eadem*, *idem* with *sylf* posed some problems, because *sylf* could be declined both strong and weak⁷². When the glossator translated *idem* by means of *sylf*, he seems to

⁷¹ *Ilca* differs from the other indefinites because it is always declined weak and always used with *se* and *þes*: Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, I, § 471.

⁷² Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, § 714.

have felt the definiteness of the identity expressed by *idem*, and glossed it with the weak inflexion of *sylf*, adding a determiner before *sylf* in order to render the Latin definiteness in the Old English phrase.

Conclusions

It is evident that the Old English gloss to the RC in T as we know it is the result of three different glossing methods which have been employed at the same time: lexical, morphological, and syntactical. The study of the combined use of the three methods allows us to glimpse the linguistic relationship between the Latin text and its Old English counterpart from an Old English perspective. In fact, the gloss does not provide only a word-for-word rendering of the Latin text, but also supplies morphological and syntactical information about the text.

As far as adjectives are concerned, the glossator did not simply provide Old English *intepretamenta* for Latin *lemmata* (lexical glossing), but also tried to offer the most appropriate renderings by adding all the necessary grammatical information (morphological and syntactical glossing). In particular, the glossator translated the Latin adjectives according to their syntactical value, employing either the weak or the strong inflexion knowingly.

Latin adjectives playing a defining/attributive role in the phrase or sentence are glossed by an Old English equivalent inflected according to the weak declension and preceded by a determiner. The addition of *se*, *þæt*, *seo* to the gloss works as both a morphological and syntactical marker, useful to clarify the defining value of the Latin adjective from an Old English point of view.

Latin adjectives playing a non-defining/predicative role in phrase or sentence are glossed with their Old English equivalent declined according to the strong inflexion⁷³. Adjectives in the strong form are never preceded by a determiner.

⁷³ Fischer has pointed out that the strong inflexion expresses the predicative value of Old English adjectives. Moreover, the indefiniteness of strong adjectives is linked to their position in relation to the noun they refer to. In particular, post-nominal adjectives are usually strong, while pre-nominal adjectives are usually weak. According to Fischer, in an historical perspective, the use of the strong inflexion also for adjectives preceding a noun is linked to the development of the determiner system: «The Position of the Adjective in Old English», p. 170 and 176. See also Fischer, O., «The Position of the Adjective in (Old) English from an Iconic Perspective», in O. Fischer and M. Nänny (eds.), *The Motivated Sign: Iconicity in Language and Literature 2*, Benjamins, Amsterdam 2001, pp.

Sometimes, however, the glossator used the Old English strong inflexion regardless of the syntactical value of the Latin adjectives, because he considered the strong declension of the Old English adjectives as the basic one. The use of an adjective declined strong, without the addition of a determiner, even when a weak form was expected, was intended as a clear signal to the reader. In other words, both glossator and reader might have been aware that a shift from the weak to the strong inflexion was a shift from syntactical to lexical glossing.

The study of the distribution of the two adjective inflexions has shown that the weak declension belonged to syntactical and morphological glossing, playing its defining role with the help of a determiner that underlines the attributive value of the adjective and limits the semantic value of the following noun. On the other hand, the strong inflexion may be used both as part of the syntactical and morphological glossing, with its predicative value, and as part of the lexical glossing, without the support of any other grammatical device. In fact, the weak inflexion occurs only in defined contexts and is always accompanied by *se*, *þæt*, *seo*. Furthermore, the fact that defining adjectives are inflected strong also when determiners are added to the gloss, but are not placed next to the adjectives (as in 13.145, 31.365 and 106.1247), yields proof that the use of the weak form of the adjectives is strictly dependent on the immediate proximity of the adjective and its determiner. The strong declension occurs in both defined and undefined contexts and is never preceded by determiners, as in the examples quoted in § 3.1.

The evidence presented thus far proves that the glossator had a good command of the Latin language and was able to grasp correctly the relationship between Latin and Old English. Moreover, he was able to find the appropriate Old English linguistic devices to explain the Latin text lexically, morphologically, and syntactically. The gloss under examination can be considered, like the other glossed texts preserved in T, as the product of a wide-ranging glossographic programme that would foster the understanding of the most important texts of the Benedictine Reform movement.

249-76, at 255. As to the development of the article in the determiner system, see Spamer, J.B., «The Development of the Definite Article in English: A Case Study of Syntactic Change», *Glossa* 13 (1971), pp. 241-50.

In particular, the *RC* in T with its interlinear gloss represented a text belonging to a library book rather than a «teaching book»⁷⁴, whose main aim was to provide the Anglo-Saxon readers with a Latin version of the *RC* accompanied by a series of information in Old English which could promote an immediate comprehension of the source text. The continuity and uniformity of the gloss confirm that the gloss was added to the Latin text to help the Anglo-Saxon contemporary readership follow the content of the *RC* both semantically and grammatically.

⁷⁴ Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary*, p. 76. A teaching book would have supplied the Latin text with a different kind of glossing, graphically recognizable, as is the case with the glosses to the *RB* in T (letters of the alphabet written above the lexical renderings of the Latin words, merographies, Latin glosses for Latin words). For the interlinear gloss to the *RB* in T, see above M.C. De Bonis's contribution to the present volume, pp. 269-97.

