

MULTILINGUAL ANNOTATIONS IN ÆLFRIC'S GLOSSARY IN LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, MS COTTON FAUSTINA A X: A COMMENTED EDITION

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THIS EDITION PRESENTS the multilingual annotations added to Ælfric's *Glossary* (henceforth *ÆGl*¹) in London, British Library MS Cotton Faustina A X. The material consists of interlinear and marginal glosses in Latin, Anglo-Norman, Old English, and early Middle English added by various hands in the course of the twelfth century. Thus, this manuscript provides very valuable evidence for multilingualism and language contact in post-Conquest England, in particular, as little trilingual material is extant from this early period, and most surviving English texts are copies of pre-Conquest texts (cf. Short 2013, 33; Laing and Lass 2006, 419). In addition, the glosses in Cotton Faustina A X shed light on the relationship between the different languages used in England during the twelfth century and on the subsequent development of Middle English and Anglo-Norman resulting from the long period of contact between them.

ÆGl was edited by Julius Zupitza together with Ælfric's *Grammar* (*ÆGram*) in 1880. The edition was reprinted with an introduction by Helmut Gneuss in 1966 and, again, with a new introduction by Gneuss in 2001 and 2003.² Zupitza's text is based on Oxford, St. John's College MS 154; variant readings from the other manuscripts are provided in the critical apparatus (see Gneuss in Zupitza [1880] 2003, xiii).³ Most of the English-language additions from the Faustina manuscript are included in Zupitza's edition, and he also notes the presence of French glosses ([1880] 2003, 307n9). Some material from Zupitza's apparatus, consisting of forty-seven citations, has been included in the *Dictionary of Old English* (*ÆGl* 3, Cameron no. D10.3). Two more transcripts were made by the *Dictionary of Old English* in 2004, including nineteen marginal glosses from fol. 93r (*ÆGl* 1, D10.1) and twenty marginal glosses from fol. 101r (*ÆGl* 2, D10.2), which were not printed by Zupitza (cf. Ker [1957] 1990, 194). The extract from Zupitza does not distinguish between interlinear and marginal glosses, while the *DOE* transcripts include only marginal

1 Abbreviations for this and other Old English texts are taken from the short title list of the *Dictionary of Old English*.

2 *ÆGl* is also printed in Wright and Wülcker's collection of "vocabularies" (1884) as item X "Anglo-Saxon Vocabulary" (1:304–37) based on London, British Library, MS Cotton Julius A II. The glossary which they print as item IV "Abbot Aelfric's Vocabulary" (and supplement item V) is not the glossary under discussion here, but the so-called Antwerp–London glossary (cf. Porter 2011, ix).

3 In addition to Faustina, Zupitza includes readings from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 449; London, British Library, MS Harley 107 (incomplete); London, British Library, MS Cotton Julius A II; Cambridge University Library, MS Hh. I. 10 (incomplete); Worcester Cathedral Library, MS F 174; see Zupitza ([1880] 2003, xiii and 297n).

material from the two folios in question.⁴ Most of the Anglo-Norman material, as well as some English additions, has been edited by Hunt (1991, 1:24–26) though this edition does not include all the glosses, nor does it distinguish clearly between marginal and interlinear glosses. Notwithstanding, Hunt's edition has been cited extensively by the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*, though the challenging presentation of the edition has led to much confusion between the Middle English and Anglo-Norman glosses. In contrast, only a single item (#179 *bacstan*) from the Faustina manuscript is listed in the *Middle English Dictionary*,⁵ despite the evident early Middle English features of some of the material involved (see below).

The focus of the present edition is the linguistic material transmitted in the additions to the Faustina glossary. As several scribes contribute material in more than one language, the edition includes all annotations to the glossary in Latin, Anglo-Norman, and Middle English, omitting only two batches of glosses that are unconnected to ÆGL. Some of the glosses are straightforward and can easily be identified with headwords in the relevant dictionaries. Many, however, are in need of explanation on various levels: some words are difficult to read, others cannot be identified as either Latin, Anglo-Norman, or English words unambiguously. Therefore, a language commentary is provided to identify forms and flag potential difficulties.

Notes on the Manuscript

London, British Library MS Cotton Faustina A X is a composite manuscript consisting of two originally separate parts:⁶ Part A on fols. 3r–101v contains Ælfric's *Grammar* (3r–92v/5), Ælfric's *Glossary* (92v/5–100v/21), three short Latin–Old English maxims or proverbs (100v/22–28; ed. Zupitza 1878), and a Latin grammatical dialogue beginning *Prima declinatio quot litteras terminales habet?* “How many final sounds has the first declension class?” (101r–v; see Bayless 1993, 73). Part B on fols. 102–151 contains the Old English *Benedictine Rule* (102r–148r), a series of recipes and charms (115v–116r), and the Old English text “King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries” by Æthelwold of Winchester (148–51v; see Pratt 2012). Both parts were heavily annotated in Latin, Anglo-Norman, and English in

⁴ The next issue of the DOE Corpus will include the English material omitted by Zupitza but printed by Hunt, amounting to a total of fifty-nine citations (Stephen Pelle, pers. comm., November 15, 2018).

⁵ The MED entry for *bāk(e-stōn* n. lists the following quotation: 1200 Aelfric Grammar Gloss. (Fst A.10) 316/8 : Frixorium: hyrsting [gloss.:] iserne bacstan (cf. DOE s.v. *bæc-stān* referring to the same citation). Cotton Faustina A X has two separate entries in the MED bibliography, “Material from Aelfric's Grammar” (1100) and “Glosses in Aelfric's Grammar” (1200). A search for the stencil Fst A.10 yields only two more citations: *puna* (s.v. *pōunen* ‘pulverize’) from one of the recipes added to Faustina and *hehe* (s.v. *tē hē interj.*) from ÆGram (279.15), though this particular passage is missing from the Faustina MS (cf. Ker [1957] 1990, 194).

⁶ The manuscript has been described in detail by Ker ([1957] 1990, no. 154), Doane (2007, no. 198) and Da Rold, et al. (2010); see also Gameson (1999, nos 383, 384), Gneuss and Lapidge (2014, no. 331, Part A), Careri et al. (2011, no. A9).

the course of the twelfth century and possibly beyond.⁷ The principal text of Part A is dated to the second half or, according to Gameson (1999, no. 383), to the third quarter of the eleventh century; the maxims and proverbs are younger additions (s. xi^{ex} / s. xii²; see Swan 2012, 226). The main text of Part B is dated to the first half of the twelfth century. Parts A and B have a “common provenance in s. xii, which is conceivably Worcester” (Gameson 1999, 99). There, the two parts were presumably combined. Part A was probably brought to the West Midlands from the south-east, possibly Rochester (Swan 2007a, 39; Treharne 1998, 233). In Part A, there are corrections, which Ker assigns to s. xi/xii, and extensive annotations in Latin, French, and English generally dated to the second half of the twelfth century. The most densely annotated parts of Part A are fols. 44–66v on verbs and fols. 92v–101v with the *Glossary* and minor texts.⁸

The annotations to ÆGL were written by several scribes. Doane (2007, 2) labels one of them the “AB”-hand as this hand is present in both parts of the manuscript (which implies that the two parts were bound together at this stage, cf. Ker [1957] 1990, 196). The AB-hand added extensive all-Latin glosses to fols. 92v, 102rv, 103r. According to Doane, this scribe is also responsible for some of the additions to the section on bird and fish names on fol. 96r in a faint, red ink (5). Another very distinctive hand is responsible for two batches of marginal glosses on fols. 93r (cf. Plate 2) and 101r.⁹ This hand, which we have labelled hand C, uses a dark brown ink and is characterized by strong diagonal lines on the serifs (especially of the letter <l>) and generally “sharp” angles. Doane (2007, 5) dates this hand to the eleventh century, though Swan (2012, 226) and Zupitza ([1880] 2003, 300n18) assign it to the twelfth. Treharne (pers. comm., November 15, 2018) has suggested ca. 1140 as a probable date for this hand. Irrespective of the absolute date, hand C was certainly working before some of the other glossators as they fit some of their glosses around the material of this scribe (e.g. #53, 67 and 68). Apart from the two large marginal batches, the C-hand also wrote a number of interlinear entries, many of which derive from ÆGram (cf. below).¹⁰ Apart from this scribe, there is at least one hand adding mostly interlinear Anglo-Norman glosses, but probably also some in Latin. This material has been dated to the second half of the twelfth century. A slightly larger hand contributed interlinear Latin glosses. Another distinct hand entered trilingual material to fol. 98v (cf. Plate 3). At least four different hands were at work on

7 On the annotations in Part B see Swan (2012), Álvarez López (2012), Burnett and Luscombe (2005). Digital images of Cotton Faustina A X are available in the Digitised Manuscripts section of the British Library: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Faustina_A_X (accessed September 23, 2018).

8 On the Anglo-Norman glosses in ÆGram see Menzer (2004, 109–19), Hunt (1991, 1:101–11).

9 Doane (5) also assigns Latin–Latin glossary items in the margin of fol. 100v to this scribe.

10 The following glosses are probably by hand C: #7–25, 34, 35, 38, 39, 42, 45, 47–9, 66, 71, ?72, 127, 140, 149–51, 175, 176, 184, 189, 193, 221–40. Zupitza also counts part of the batch on bird names from fol. 96r as the work of this scribe ([1880] 2003, 307n9).

fol. 96r, the interlinear Anglo-Norman hand, the C-hand, as well as two more hands in the margin (cf. Plate 1).

Nature of the Glosses

The material presented in this edition consists of interlinear and marginal glosses, which—as a result of the specific nature of the base text—are all lexical additions to *ÆGL*. The glossary is essentially a small onomasiological dictionary consisting of ca. 1,271 Latin–Old English word pairs (i.e., Latin lemmata and Old English interpretamenta),¹¹ which are grouped into different semantic categories. The glossary is split by sub-headings into eight sections of very unequal length.¹² Their titles fail to convey the large range of topics covered. The following overview based on Hüllen (1999, 64) lists the content of the different sections:¹³

1. [NOMINA] God, heaven, earth, mankind
2. [NOMINA MEMBRORUM]
 - 2.1 Parts of the human body
 - 2.2 Church offices
 - 2.3 Family relationships
 - 2.4 State offices including crafts and instruments as well as tools
 - 2.5 Negative features of human character
 - 2.6 Intellectual work
 - 2.7 Diseases, afflictions, merits
 - 2.8 Weather, universe
3. Birds [NOMINA AVIUM]
4. Fish [NOMINA PISCIMUM]
5. Wild animals [NOMINA FERARUM]
6. Herbs [NOMINA HERBARUM]
7. Trees [NOMINA ARBORUM]
8. [NOMINA DOMORUM]
 - 8.1 Buildings (churches, monasteries), materials and objects used there
 - 8.2 War, castles, arms, valuable materials
 - 8.3 Various
 - 8.4 Human vices

¹¹ The glossary, as available in the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, contains 1,280 entries; eight of them are Latin section headings and one entry consists of Ælfric's Old English conclusion *We ne magan swa þeah ealle naman awritan ne furþon gepencan* "Anyway, we cannot write down all the words, nor even imagine all of them" (Zupitza [1880] 2003, 322.3).

¹² The sub-headings are listed in the overview below; the first two, as well as the principal heading *Incipiunt nomina multarum rerum anglie* are missing in Faustina (fol. 92v). However, the beginnings of sections are generally highlighted by large initials and rustic capitals for the first headword of each section.

¹³ For a more detailed synopsis see Gillingham (1981, 6–10 [Table 1], 11–33).

Within the sections, individual items are connected to each other through various kinds of sense relations, such as synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy, or meronymy, but also via morphological derivation.¹⁴ ÆGI consists mostly of nouns and adjectives but it also includes various Old English noun phrases or complete sentences as interpretamenta. Furthermore, both lemmata and interpretamenta sometimes include more than one synonym.

The annotations in Cotton Faustina A X are, on the one hand, interlinear additions to specific glossary entries from ÆGI—most of them are in Anglo-Norman, some in Latin and a handful in early Middle English. More than two thirds of interlinear glosses are positioned above the Old English word of the base text.¹⁵ The majority of glosses consist of single nouns, some are accompanied by adjectives, for example, #97 *poun salvacha* 'wild peacock' or 98 *hpit gos* 'white goose'. When the glossators provide two alternative translations, they often represent different languages, as in #31 PRIMAS : HEAFODMANN : .i. *vice dominus, uiz dama* or #88 FALCO UEL CAPUM : PEALHHAFC : *uel herodius, faucun*, both entries with a Latin and an Anglo-Norman gloss. In some cases double glosses illustrate the semantic range of a polysemous Latin word, as in #155 MORUS : MORBEAM, which is rendered in AN as *murer* 'mulberry-tree' and in ME as *blaca-beria-brer* 'blackberry-bush'. There are two instances of Anglo-Norman words connected by the English conjunction *oððe* 'or': #121 *pleiz oððe flundra* and #195 *caz oðð creie*, which implies that the matrix-language here is English despite the Anglo-Norman lexical items. Some interpretamenta consist of noun phrases with different types of modification (adjectives, prepositional phrases), for example: *pulmeau de la jamba* (#5), *cusin germain* (#28), *iserne bacstan* (#179). Gloss #196 *morter qui tend la pere en senbe* even uses a relative clause to define Lat. CIMENTUM. The definite and indefinite article, respectively, are used in *la culur* 'the colour' (#56) and *an fetles* 'a vessel' (#187). While later glossaries regularly employ the indefinite article for English interpretamenta (cf. Stein 1985, 54ff.), the use of *an* here is exceptional; it may well represent one of the earliest instances of this syntactic feature within this particular genre. The template was provided by Ælfric himself, who uses *an* and *ma* to identify singular and plural (as in [297.13] *Membrum : an lim, membra : ma lima*). In Ælfric's case, however, the function of *an* is that of the numeral 'one', while the use of *an fetles* 'a vessel' without corresponding plural form hints at the emergent generic function of *an*.¹⁶

¹⁴ See also Seiler (forthcoming, 287), Gillingham (1981, 2–5).

¹⁵ For some examples see interlinear glosses on fol. 96r in Plate 1. The placement of glosses in ÆGI contrasts with the glosses added to ÆGram, where two scribes with different glossing preferences are at work (Menzer 2004, 112; see also Seiler forthcoming, 290–91).

¹⁶ The indefinite article developed from the numeral *an* in a "gradual shift in discourse functions," which already started in the late Old English period (Hopper and Martin 1987, 297). In line with the generally earlier grammaticalization of the definite article, *se/pe* is more frequently used in medieval lexicography; it already occurs in Old English glossaries in cases in which the interpretamentum is a noun phrase rather than a bare noun, e.g. ÆGI [310.14] *seo læsse bisceopwyr* 'the lesser bishop's wort, betony', but also [305.6] *seo untrummys* 'the illness'. The glossary in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 730 (s. xiii in.?) also attests examples of bare nouns accompanied by *pe*, e.g. *genu : pe neu*

A second group of glosses consists of entire word pairs, which constitute additions to specific semantic fields from *ÆGI*. Most of these word pairs combine a Latin headword with an English and/or Anglo-Norman translation. They are usually placed in the outside margin of the folio (i.e., the right-hand margin on the recto side and the left-hand margin on the verso). Some are added between the lines; a comma-shaped mark indicates the exact position of the insertion. Extensive batches of marginal glosses are found on fols. 93r (Plate 2), 96r (Plate 1) and 101r. The first batch consists of nine Latin–English and ten Latin–Anglo-Norman glosses on quite diverse terminology (tools, textiles and furnishings, building materials, etc.). This group of glosses is placed next to items from sections 2.1 and 2.2, though it is semantically more closely connected to sections 8.1 and 8.2. The scribe who added this group of glosses also copied the last marginal batch on fol. 101r as well as a number of word pairs distributed throughout the glossary. Those last items all derive from *ÆGram* (see below) while the last marginal batch represents copies of some of his or her earlier entries. The batch on fol. 96r consists of seventeen additions to the section on birds (3.) and five to the section on fish (4.). Overall, the bird and fish sections are the most heavily annotated semantic fields, in particular, since there is also a large number of interlinear glosses (see Seiler [forthcoming], 291). The marginal batch is especially interesting since nine of the entries are trilingual and three of the bilingual ones combine Anglo-Norman with English. Several scribes contributed to this group of glosses (cf. above). Trilingual glosses are also found on fol. 98v (Plate 3); there are seven items of weaving terminology, four of which combine Latin, English, and Anglo-Norman (#168, #171–173). This group of glosses is clearly in one hand. The Latin–English pairs resemble items from a similar, though longer, list in a glossary in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 730 probably dating from the early thirteenth century (Ker [1957] 1990, no. 317; ed. Hunt 1981).¹⁷

A noteworthy visual feature of most trilingual glosses in Cotton Faustina A X is that the Anglo-Norman word is regularly placed above the Latin–English gloss. This layout is used for marginal annotations to the names of birds and fish on fol. 96r as well as for the weaving terminology on fol. 98v. It appears to be modelled on the placement of Anglo-Norman interlinear glosses in the main text of *ÆGI*, which consists of Latin–Old English word pairs as the base text with Anglo-Norman translations added above. This visual template, which assigns distinct places to each of the three languages involved, facilitates their identification and clarifies the reading direction, which is from bottom left (Latin) to bottom right (English) to top right

‘the knee’, *coniunx* : *þe meca* ‘the consort’ etc. (Hunt 1981, nos 424, 492) as well as two instances of the entry [*m*]enbrun : *an lim(e)*, which clearly derives from *Ælfric’s Glossary*; however, with the important distinction that both entries in Bodley 730 are not accompanied by their corresponding plural forms as in *Ælfric*.

17 This list, in turn, is related to a section from the Cleopatra glossary (i.e., London, British Library, MS Cotton Cleopatra A III; see Wright and Wülcker 1884, 1:262). Yet, the order as well as the linguistic forms of the Faustina additions correspond more closely to Bodley 730 (items 219–31 on p. 204 of Hunt’s edition).

(Anglo-Norman). In some cases, an understanding of this visual arrangement is necessary to read the gloss, as for example in #168, the first of the weaving additions (cf. Plate 3):

telere 7 tes
licitoriū. pebba. seranda
TELA ꝛ PEPLŪ. ꝥEB. LINŪ.

The gloss starts close to the edge of the text block—the comma-shaped insertion mark is placed after the entry *TELA UEL PEPLUM* : ꝥEB 'woven cloth or fabric : woven stuff', the second-last item on the line—and extends into the margin. The first word represents Lat. *liciatorium* 'weaver's beam', the second is an incongruous English translation *pebba* 'weaver'. AN *telere* 'weaver' is added above the English word, followed by the synonym AN *tesseranda* '(female?) weaver'. The second Anglo-Norman equivalent is connected to the first by the Tironian note 7, a typically Insular abbreviation sign for 'and'; half-way through the word, the scribe switches to the next line and completes the gloss to the right of *pebba*. Two more items from the same batch squeeze the Anglo-Norman word between the Latin-English gloss and the base text of ÆGL (#171, 173), one item uses empty marginal space (#172).

Concerning the sources of the bulk of the glosses, not much can be said. One particular type of addition derives from Ælfric's *Grammar*; however, for the majority of the material, no sources can be identified. Some of the glosses coincide with earlier glossary material (for example, the Leiden family of glossaries or glossaries related to ÆGL, such as the Antwerp-London glossary), or reoccur in later lexicographic works (such as Adam of Petit Pont's *De utensilibus* or *Catholicon Anglicum*), but the parallels are too isolated to be more than fortuitous. It is possible that the scribes made use of a glossary that has not survived. On the other hand, it seems more likely that the glossators drew on their own language competence. This is particularly plausible for the Anglo-Norman interlinear glosses. Competence in Anglo-Norman is well demonstrated in twelfth-century insular manuscripts, with Anglo-Norman demonstrating a relative precocity in comparison to the use of French in continental manuscripts, despite transitioning, during this period, from a mother tongue to a learned language (Short 1992). However, as scholarly interest, until recently, has mainly focused on literary works of the period, less is known about the use of Anglo-Norman outside the literary sphere (Short 2013, 33).

As has been mentioned, one of the scribes (hand C) added words from ÆGram to appropriate sections in the glossary. This work, entitled *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglie* in the manuscripts, was composed by Ælfric of Eynsham when he was in Cerne between 992 and 1002 (Hall 2009, 194). The *Grammar* is a beginners' grammar of Latin written in Old English. By presenting Latin paradigms or examples side-by-side with their Old English translations, Ælfric employs a contrastive approach to grammar, though the exact role of Old English in ÆGram has been a matter of debate (cf. Hall 2009, 200–203). Ælfric's principal sources for the *Grammar* are the *Excerptiones de Prisciano*, a shortened version of Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae*, combined with parts of Donatus' *Ars maior* and some passages from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* (Porter 2002, 24–27). The *Etymologies* are also an

important source for a large amount of the material in *ÆGL*, though the exact relationship and transmission of the material is complex. *ÆGram* and *ÆGL* are closely connected, not only through a shared didactic stance, but also because many of the words presented in the *Glossary* as vocabulary items also occur in the *Grammar*, for instance, as examples of a specific declension class. Since *Ælfric* always includes both the Latin word and its Old English equivalent in the *Grammar*, such passages are similar in character to a glossary. This relationship was recognized by at least one of the glossators at work in the *Faustina* manuscript. One layer of annotation in the *Faustina Glossary* consists of Latin–Old English word pairs drawn from *ÆGram* and which this scribe added to the relevant sections in the *Glossary*. Based on the difference in structure of the two works, it seems more likely that the glossator worked from memory, rather than going back and forth between the *Grammar* and *Glossary* in the *Faustina* manuscript.¹⁸ In a majority of instances, the spelling of this scribe's entries is more modern than the forms in *ÆGram*, e.g. *beardleas* > *berdles* (#35), *hnot* > *nut* (#71), *pyle* > *pula* (#229), though he retained OE spelling in *gealla* (#127), *-hyrde/æ* (#38, 39), etc. (see also below). We can imagine that the C-scribe worked his way through the *Grammar* carefully and recalled some of the examples when he or she came across a certain semantic field in the *Glossary*. Several additions of this type derive from the same passages in *ÆGram*; the headwords *mulio*, *agaso*, *histrío*, *glabrio*, *gurgulio*, and *lena*, for example, all come from a section on Latin nouns of the third declension (Zupitza 34.14–37.10).¹⁹ The last batch of hand C on fol. 101r represents some sort of a summary as it contains some glosses which this, or another, scribe had added earlier in the manuscript. Here, hand C seems to have been going through the text systematically and collecting additional glosses—as we can see from the fact that, with one exception, glosses #233–40 all derive from successive passages from *ÆGram* (39.16 through to 46.16). The one exception is #237 *metus*: *o3a*, which occurs at 78.14 in the *Grammar*, but was added above *horror*: *o3a* from *ÆGram* 47.3. The glossator probably made this addition when he or she came across another synonym for *horror* later in *ÆGram*. The use of Insular <3> in <o3a> (2x) and <o3run3>, as well as a “semi-Insular” <ɾ> with long shaft but short loop, suggests that, here, the scribe was directly copying from the text of the *Grammar*.

Linguistic Description

The glossators at work in the *Faustina* version of *ÆGL* were most likely Middle English/Anglo-Norman bilinguals, who were trained to write in England as the two principal scribes use Anglo-Norman, Middle English and Latin. Their translations appear in most cases to be highly appropriate interlingual synonyms. Where misun-

¹⁸ On the role of memory in the adaptation of Old English texts see Swan (1998) and Swan (2007b). Sisam notes that a scribe might, “memorize phrases or sentences” from the source manuscript and “write them down in the forms he was accustomed to” (1951: 112).

¹⁹ The noun *lena*, -ae “bawd” is cited by *Ælfric* as an example of feminine derivatives of class 3 masculine nouns (in this case of *leno*, -onis ‘pimp’; 36.11–2).

derstandings occur, these seem to be the result of unfamiliar or obsolete Old English words, rather than any difficulty using Middle English or Anglo-Norman. The linguistic features discussed below support earlier conclusions about the manuscript, demonstrating a language characteristic of the twelfth century in the West Midlands.²⁰

While the spatial arrangement of headwords and glosses points to a conscious differentiation of Latin and the two vernaculars, there is no clear distinction made between Anglo-Norman and Middle English. The language used by the glossators appears in some instances to be a mixed language, one not clearly identifiable as Middle English or Anglo-Norman, but with glosses that can belong to both vernaculars. The two languages shared a significant portion of their lexis due to common borrowing from, and contact with, Latin, Germanic, and Scandinavian languages; the glosses in Cotton Faustina A X provide a snapshot of the lexis at an early stage of contact, before prolonged contact between Anglo-Norman and Middle English. As a result, the glosses are an essential resource for historical linguists; many of the words are *hapax legomena*, or represent earlier attestations of words than those provided in *OED*, *MED*, or *AND*.²¹

Middle English Glosses

The annotations from Cotton Faustina A X include close to one hundred and twenty English words, written by at least three different scribes. The material mainly provides evidence for graphemics and phonology and reveals only few details about the morphology or syntax.

The spelling of the English language glosses is typical of early Middle English in so far as the Old English characters *thorn*, *eth*, *wynn*, and *ash* are still used, but the orthographic conventions of the late Old English “standard” are disappearing. The scribes use both Insular and Caroline letter forms of <g> and <r>. Some of the new spellings imply phonetic or phonological changes, while others are purely orthographic.

The dental fricative /p, ð/ is represented by either *thorn* <p> or *eth* <ð> in the Faustina material. The scribe or scribes who wrote most of the interlinear material use <ð> (*oðða*, 2x, #120 *muðle*, #165 *feðerbed*). Scribe C employs <ð> in the conjunction *oðð(a)* (5x) but favours <p> elsewhere (e.g. #7 *sipa*, #9 *poua*). There is one further instance of <p> in *eluerþin3pirt* (#141), one of the three herb names added to fol. 97r. The bilabial approximant /w/ is represented by *wynn* <p> by all scribes throughout.

²⁰ On the transition from Old English to Middle English and the early Middle English dialects of the West Midlands see Kitson (1992, 1997a), Smith (2000) and references cited there.

²¹ Wright (2011, 191) looking at administrative texts of the later medieval period, refers to this type of language as a “mixed language” in reference to “unmarked code-switching” and suggests that “the text type was more widespread than might be apparent, and appeared in all walks of life. The mixing of Medieval Latin, Middle English and Anglo-Norman was not random, but followed an orderly set of principles according to parts of speech, which changed and developed somewhat over time.”

OE /g/ is mostly represented by <3> or <g>. Insular, five-shaped <3> is attested seven times (#3 *e3ælid*, #110 *hi3era*, #141 *eluerþin3pirt*, #171 *3arnpinda*, #237, #238 *o3a*, #240 *ofrun3*); Caroline <g> occurs nine times (#78, #86, #98, #99 *gos*, #99 *grei*, #127 *gealla*, #182 *grutta*, #223 *gritta*, #235 *gret*). The distribution suggests that <3> is the spelling for the palatal and velar glides, which split off from OE /g/ into ME /j/ and /w/, respectively; <3> occurs also in the cluster with /ng/. Caroline <g>, on the other hand, represents the stop /g/, except for #126 *gealla*. This differentiation is common in early ME (cf. Mossé 1952, §8).²² The graph <i> indicates complete vocalization of OE palatalized /g/ in final position in #99 *grei*, #189 *drori-lic*, #224 *peni*, #96 *wæri-hung[el]*, #219 *uncusti*; <i> is also used once in medial position in #155 *blaca-beria-brer*. The velar fricative ME /χ/ < OE /g/ is represented by <h> in *boh* (3x, #148–50). Interestingly, one of those instances is a gloss on OE *bog*, which implies that the OE spelling appeared dated to the scribe.

The representation of OE /k/ is less diverse; <c> is almost universal, not only for the stop ME /k/, but also for the affricate /tʃ/ (#189 *drorilic*, #232 *dic*). The digraph <ch> occurs once in #104 *cheo* ‘chough’ for the affricate, possibly influenced by the spelling of the Anglo-Norman equivalent *chao*. The use of <c> in #108 *screc*, written by the same scribe as *cheo*, is ambiguous: the word is not attested in ME, but ModE dial. †*shreitch* and ModE *shrike* illustrate that there are both palatalized and non-palatalized variants. The fricative /ʃ/ is represented by <sc> throughout (#8 *sceta*, #14 *scingal*, #108 *screc*); this digraph survives as a minority spelling until the late ME period (Dietz 2006, 201ff.).

The use of <u> for OE /f/ medially attests voicing of OE /f/ > /v/ in many instances: #101 *hæuerbleta*, #105 *sperhauac*, #106 *mushauac*, #123 *beuer*, #157 *pudauina*, #141 *eluerþin3pirt*, and presumably #9 *poua*. The spelling <f> is preserved in #170 *pefel*, #42 *onfilt*. There is no evidence for initial voicing. Consonant clusters OE /hr/, /hl/, /hn/ are simplified to /r/, /l/, /n/ in #169 *risle*, #173 *reol*, #100 *lapapinca*, #3 *e3ælid*, #71 *nut*. The cluster /hw/ is preserved in #98 *hpit*, #214 *hposta*, #235 *hpete*.

OE /ā/ is preserved in #34 *cnihtad*, #162 *lihtstan*, #179 *bacstan*, #187 *an(fetles)*, and probably #20 *bordclap*. While the change from OE /ā/ to ME /ǣ/ very likely started in late Old English, <a> remains common in the South-West Midlands until the thirteenth century—in particular in the northern parts of Worcestershire and neighbouring areas in Shropshire and Herefordshire.²³ OE /ǣ/ before nasals is rounded to /ǫ/ in #42 *onfilt*, #97 *pudahona*, #219 *mon* but is retained in

22 The use of <3> may also be triggered by scribal factors: in *hi3era*, for example, flat-topped <3> coincides with Insular long <ŋ>, the only clear instance of this letter form, which suggests a switch to Insular minuscule for the entire word. Similarly, in *ofrun3*, <3> is combined with a kind of mixed <ŋ> with long descender and short loop. The same, mixed letter form <ŋ> also occurs in #225 *abroþen* in the same batch on fol. 101r. Some of the glosses in this group were taken directly from ÆGram; therefore, it is likely that the scribe was influenced by the letter forms of the base text.

23 For a detailed analysis of the spatial and temporal distribution of <a> and <o> in early Middle English based on data from the *Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English*, see Studer-Joho (2014, 46–49, 116–9, 223, Map 5.2).

#102 *porhana*. This sound change is a well-known West Midland dialect feature (Mossé 1952, §25). In the feature maps of the *Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English* (LAEME), 'mon' type forms cluster around the Worcestershire/Herefordshire border and the south of Shropshire (Map 00010002). Both features are clearly in accordance with a potential Worcester origin of the Faustina annotations.

OE /y/ is mostly spelled with <u>: #10 *pulawer*, #66 *punsum*, #138, #142 *-purt*, #182 *grutta*, #219 *uncusti*, #229 *pula*. Other spellings are <i> in #141 *-pirt*, #223 *gritta*, <e> in #8 *sceta* and <y> in #38, #39 *hyrde/æ*. The last spelling occurs in a double entry taken over from ÆGram and should probably be considered as Old English. The diatopic distribution of the continuants of OE /y/ again supports a Worcester origin: <u> is common in the West-Midland and the South-West, <i> in the East Midland and North, and <e> in the South-East (Mossé §29). LAEME attests 'hull' type spellings mainly for Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, and beyond (Map 02344806).

The attestations of OE short and long /æ/ as well as short and long /ea/ display a similar range of graphs: <e> is the most common representation, <æ, ae> and <a> are minority variants (OE /ǣ/: #92 *pespa*, #101 *hæuerbleta*, #141 *eluerpin3pirt*; OE /æ/: #15 *refter*, #99 *grei gos*, #101 *hæuerbleta*, #187 *fetles*, #215 *marmel*, #235 *hpete*, OE /ēa/: #91, 234 *sperm*, #96 *pærihung[el]*, #109 *stern*, #138 *paluupapurt*, #172 *perp*; OE /ēa/: #3 *e3ælid*, #100 *lapapinca*, #231 *bætera*). Diphthong spellings are attested only in #127 *gealla* and #193 *boldpeard*, both instances in glosses copied from ÆGram. The use of <e> for OE /ǣ/ is typical of the ME dialects of the West-Midlands (until the thirteenth century) and Kent (until the fourteenth century; cf. Mossé 1952, §24). The diphthong OE /eo/ is attested in #104 *cheo*, #122 *sæl*, #173 *reol*, #189 *drorilic*. The spelling <o> in *drorilic* is a South and West Midlands feature, though unrounding in other dialects happens "in the course of the twelfth century" (Mossé 1952, §30).

Unusually, vowels in unstressed syllables are represented by <a> in *oðða* (4x), #7 *sipa*, #8 *sceta*, #9 *boua*, #10 *pulaper*, #66 *softa*, #97 *pudahona*, #100 *lapapinca*, #105 *sperhauac*, #106 *mushauac*, #120 *muðla*, #155 *blaca-beria-brer*, #229 *pula* etc. Sundby (1965, 6) reports this spelling for fourteenth-century Devon and adjacent parts of Dorset and Somerset (cf. Kristensson 2002, 239ff.). He argues that different graphs for unstressed vowels may "reflect different conventions resulting from scribal attempts to render a centralized vowel"; on the other hand, he also considers the possibility that the spellings have phonological implications and that <a> was "conceivably intended for a low variety of /ə/" (192). In addition, the digraph <æ, ae>²⁴ is used as a spelling for unstressed vowels in #3 *e3ælid*, #39 *horshyrdæ*, #213 *spenæstra* and <e> occurs predominantly in the ending *-er*, e.g. #11 *bolster*,

24 According to Kitson, a two-vowel contrast in unstressed syllables is preserved in Bodley 343 (s. xii², West Midlands, possibly from Hereford). This manuscript employs <æ> for the back-vowel reflex < OE /a, o, u/ while <e> represents OE /e/ (1997a: 23–29; cf. also Kitson 1992). This distinction is not apparent in the material from Cotton Faustina A X; all instances of <æ> represent OE /e/ (cf. also on the use of <æ> in Anglo-Norman words below).

#13 *timber*, #101 *hæuerbleta*, #123 *beuer*, etc. Finally, some words, such as #71 *calu*, #66 *punsum*, etc., preserve the Old English vowel. Again, these are instances in which hand C introduces forms from ÆGram.

To conclude, the English-language additions to ÆGI in Cotton Faustina A X display features that support a twelfth-century dating and a localization to the Worcester area surprisingly well. In particular, the split of the OE phoneme /g/, voicing of /f/ medially and the merger of vowels in unstressed syllables highlight the (early) Middle English character of the forms. On the other hand, the preservation of OE /ā/ as well as the consistent use of the character <p> imply the twelfth rather than the thirteenth century. Concerning the localization of the language, <o> for OE /ǣ/ before nasals, <y> for OE /y/ and <e> for OE /æ/ point towards the West Midlands. Only the use of <a> for /ə/ in unstressed syllables does not conform to this picture; the feature occurs in the South-West, though not in contemporary sources.

Anglo-Norman Glosses

The Anglo-Norman glosses can be found throughout the text, both as interlinear or marginal glosses, with the first gloss appearing on fol. 92v. As interlinear glosses, the Anglo-Norman is normally positioned above the Old English gloss, suggesting that the French term is to be understood as an alternative interpretamentum to the Latin lemma.

The Anglo-Norman of the glosses presents several orthographical particularities or archaisms in comparison to other texts of the period. As was noted with the Middle English glosses, final <a> is used to indicate /ə/: e.g. #4 *hancha*, #5 *jamba*, #6 *cheuilla*, #62 *endeblba*, #70 *despensas*, #97 *salauacha*, #117 *raia*, #118 *alosa*, #119 *sereina*, #121 *flundra*, #124 *martra*, #132 *damesca*, #135 *lesarda*, #166 *bursa*, #168 *tesseranda*, #177 *uianda*, #183 *pailla*, #194 *marbra*. Pope (1956, §697, §1207) and Short (2013, §19.15) note the use of final untonic *a* to represent /ə/ was restricted to *Alexis* (1130–1150), and was normally found after consonant clusters (cf. *pedra*, *medra*, *estra*). Similarly, in the present text, this final <a> occurs mainly after consonant clusters (e.g. *bl*, *mb*, *ns*, *tr*, etc.), though this is not the case for words such as #117 *raia*, #118 *alosa*, #119 *sereina*.

There is evidence of the instability of prosthetic *e*, with the aphetic forms #44 *spe*, #74 *sturbeillun*, #85 *spec*, #93 *scarbot*, #138 *sparge*, #158 *stanc*, #172 *stæim* used in place of *espee*, *esturbeillun*, *espec*, *escharbot*, *esparge*, *estanc*, *esteim* (Pope 1956, §§603, 1106, 1137; Short 2013, §19.10).

The spelling of *chauz* ('lime') as #195 <caz> suggests a lack of palatalization of initial /k/+a/ though, as Short notes (2013, §26.1), "ca- graphies are widespread in the twelfth century."

There is some evidence of reduction of consonant clusters, as in #196 *ensemble* for *ensemble*. There are other examples of similar uses during the period. Short notes that, "Gaimar also takes prosodic liberties with the word *ensemble*, which, according to the requirements of the moment, can, in addition to modifying its nasal consonant, drop its /bl/" (2013, §29.3).

F/v substitution is uncommon in French, though occasionally can be found with intervocalic *vr* represented as <fr> (Short 2013, §29.4–5). It is more frequently to be found in Old English where [f] and [v] were allophones with [f] found word initial and [v] in intervocalic position. Post Conquest, with the influx of a large number of French words with word-initial /v/, the distinction between *v* and *f* became phonemic in English. The use of initial <f-> in #12 *folus* (as opposed to *velus*) may reflect the Englishness of the scribe, not yet accustomed to distinguishing between the two sounds orthographically. As noted by Goblirsch (2003, 114), during this period, “the voicing of initial fricatives [...] is posited for the entire south, including Kent and the southwest Midlands.” The lack of voicing here may suggest that the phenomenon had not yet reached Worcester.

Two additional unusual graphs in the text are the use of Old English ash and wynn when writing Anglo-Norman. The use of these is quite exceptional in Anglo-Norman texts; however, it is difficult to quantify their rate of use, as this is frequently obscured by modern editorial conventions. No variants using either of the letters are to be found in the *AND*, which does include yogh and thorn, reinforcing the notion that they are otherwise unknown in Anglo-Norman orthography. The graph ash can be found in #60 *bleseerræ*, #90 *reibæitre*, #94 *sincerelæ*, #108 *griuæ*, #112 *balæinæ*, #161 *ære*, and #172 *stæim*. The use of final -æ in Anglo-Norman is an archaism to represent schwa, while ash + *i* may be used in *reibæitre*, *balæinæ*, and *stæim* to represent the /ai/ diphthong. Both of these uses are only attested in Anglo-Norman manuscripts of the twelfth century (Short 2013, §11.3 and §19.15). Wynn is used in twelfth-century manuscripts of Gaimar, though the later scribes demonstrate confusion about use of the letter (Short 2009, 372n1338). It is used once in the present manuscript in #92 *pespa*, which may be interpreted as Anglo-Norman.

Notes on the Text and Apparatus

The edition includes all interlinear and marginal annotations to fols. 92v–100v of London, British Library, MS Cotton Faustina A X, apart from a small number of corrections to the base text, a series of grammatical glosses (i.e., *hic/hec/hoc* glosses) on fol. 92v, several instances of the mark TT (presumably for *titulus* to indicate missing sub-section headings) in the margins of fols. 93r, 93v, 94r, 94v (5x), 95r, and two extensive batches of Greek–Latin or Latin–Latin glosses in the left-hand margins of fols. 92v and 100v, which are apparently unconnected to the vocabulary presented in *ÆGl*.²⁵ On the other hand, a batch of glosses in the right-hand margin of the grammatical dialogue on fol. 101r is included as those annotations duplicate some of the marginal material added to *ÆGl*.

²⁵ The hand on fol. 92v, “a distinctive 12c hand,” has also added glosses to the second part, most notably to fols. 102r–111v (Doane 2007, 2ff.). Doane describes the additions to 92v as “[a]pparently a Greek–Latin glossary (only isolated words can be read)” (5).

The material is treated in the following way: Interlinear glosses are printed next to the entry from *ÆGL* which they explain. Punctuation is normalized;²⁶ Latin lemma, Old English interpretamentum and interlinear (or marginal) gloss are separated by a colon. The base text of *ÆGL* is set in small capitals, while roman typeface is used for glosses. Abbreviations are expanded, and the supplied letters italicized.²⁷ Emendations are placed between square brackets [...], obliterations are indicated by angle brackets with the number of dots indicating the number of missing letters <...>; uncertain readings are subpuncted. The spelling of the manuscript is reproduced. Insular letter forms in the base text (<ƿ>, <3> etc.) are silently replaced by their Roman counterpart; Insular letter forms in the annotations, however, are printed as such since they contrast with the use of Caroline letter forms (cf. above). For each entry, a cross-reference to page and line number of Zupitza's edition is provided in square brackets, e.g. [299.02] *PULPA* : *LIRA* : pulmeau de la iamba. Marginal glosses, or interlinear glosses without direct connection to one specific entry from *ÆGL*, are printed without cross-reference; semantic connections to a particular group of entries from *ÆGL* are discussed in the language notes.

The edition is accompanied by two sets of notes: textual notes (pp. 59–63) and language notes (footnotes). Textual notes indicate corrections and suchlike, and details concerning the placement of glosses. Unless otherwise stated, interlinear glosses are understood to be placed above the Old English part of the entry from *ÆGL*, while lemma and interpretamentum of marginal glosses are normally side-by-side. The language notes focus on a linguistic identification of the material. This is done by indicating the headwords in the respective dictionaries, i.e., *DMLBS* for Latin words, *AND* for Anglo-Norman words, *DOE* (for words from A–I) or *BT* (for the rest of the alphabet) for Old English words, *MED* for Middle English, *OED* for English more generally and for discussion points. As we have discussed above, it is often difficult—if not impossible—to unequivocally identify a word as belonging to one of the languages used in post-Conquest England. In such cases, references to all relevant dictionaries are provided. The earliest attestation listed in the dictionary is also provided, to highlight the crucial role such glossaries play as lexicographical sources and witnesses to the earliest stages of Middle English and Anglo-Norman. For the more complex cases, a short discussion is provided.

²⁶ The glossators use mainly a *punctus* before (and often also after) interpretamenta. Occasionally, a *punctus elevatus* with a cup-shaped upper mark (cf. Ker 1960: 46) is used instead. In the edition, a colon has been inserted between lemma and interpretation; multiple interpretations are separated by a comma.

²⁷ Generally, the glossators use few abbreviations; apart from the nasal suspension mark, they employ a 9-shaped sign for *-us*, an S-shaped sign for *-er*, superscript vowels for *ri*, *ru*, *re*, and the standard abbreviations *p* for *per* and *p* for *pro*. Latin *uel* is always abbreviated as *ȝ*, English *oðða* is written out. *Id est* is abbreviated as *.i*. Both *ȝ* and *.i* are usually used to introduce a Latin rather than a vernacular synonym. Finally, *þ* is used as abbreviation for *þat* or *þæt* once (cf. DOE transcript). As in *ÆGL*, a low point is used as a punctuation mark to separate lemma and interpretation.

Abbreviations

ÆGl Ælfric's Glossary

ÆGram Ælfric's Grammar

PN Person name

PIN Place name

OE Old English

ME Middle English

ModE Modern English

AN Anglo-Norman

CF Continental French

Lat. Latin

Grk. Greek

AND *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*

BT Bosworth & Toller's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*

DEAF *Dictionnaire Etymologique de l'Ancien Français*

DMF *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français*

DMLBS *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*

DOE *Dictionary of Old English*

FEW *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*

Gdf *Dictionnaire de l'Ancienne Langue Française, et de ses Dialectes du IXe au XVe siècle*

HT *Historical Thesaurus of English*

MED *Middle English Dictionary*

OED *Oxford English Dictionary*

TOE *A Thesaurus of Old English*

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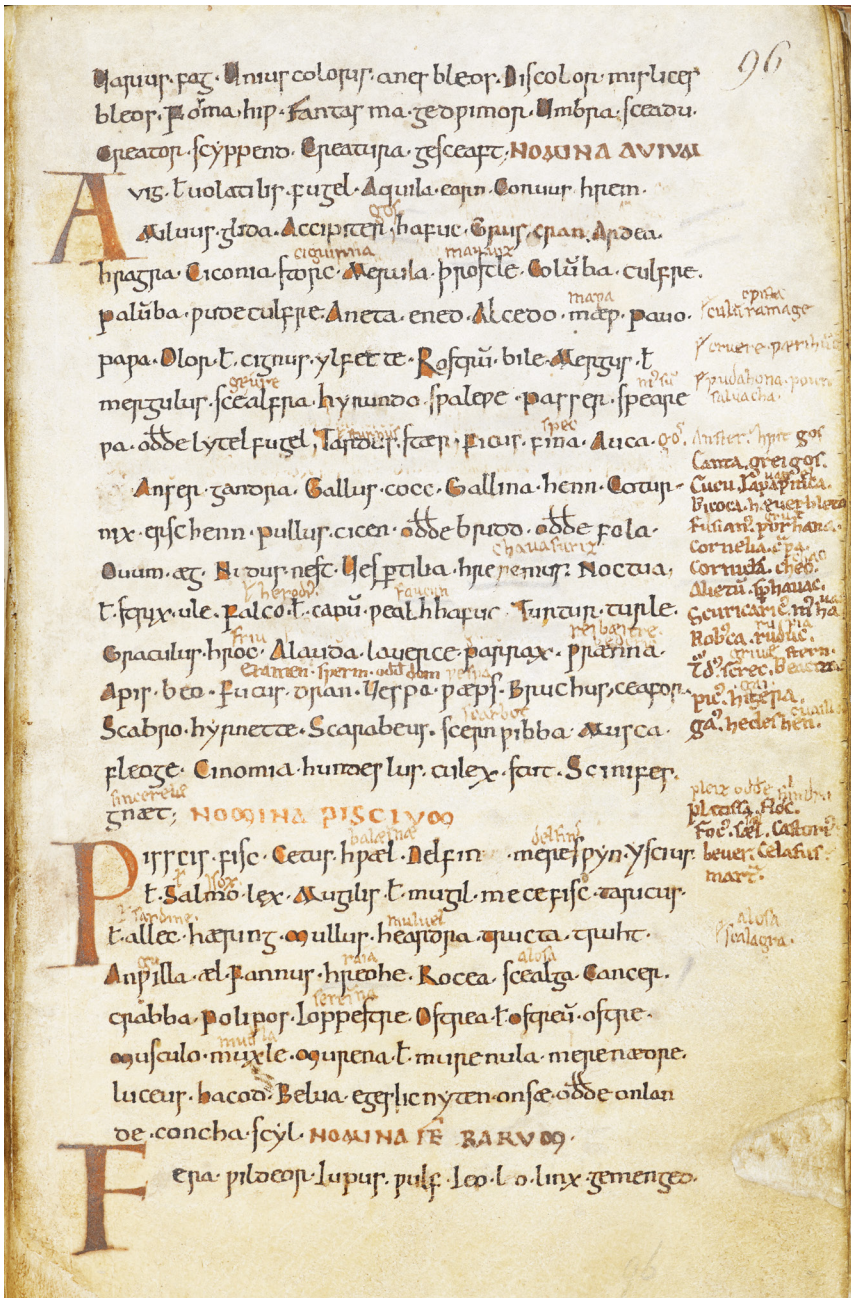


Plate 1: Interlinear and marginal additions to names of birds and fish.
 © British Library Board, Cotton Faustina A X, fol. 96.

EDITION

[fol. 92v] [NOMINA, NOMINA MEMBRORUM]

Interlinear glosses

¹ [297.09] OCEANUM : GARSECG : mer betee

² [297.14] UERTEX : HNOLL : <ver>tizⁱ

³ [298.03] PALPEBRE : BRÆPAS : e3ælidⁱⁱ

[fol. 93r]

Interlinear glosses

⁴ [299.01] CLUNIS : HYPE : hanchaⁱⁱⁱ

⁵ [299.02] PULPA : LIRA : pulmeau de la iamba^{iv}

⁶ [299.03] TALUS : ANCLEOP : cheuilla

Marginal glosses: right-hand margin

⁷ falex : síþa

⁸ lintheolus : sceta

⁹ cúlcitra^v : þoua

1 AND s.v. betee 1 (s.xii^{1/3}) 'to congeal, coagulate'. The locution *la mer betee* is attested in CF from the second half of the twelfth century. In AN, it is first attested in a lapidary attributed to Philippe de Thaon, where the expression is used to translate *in mari rubro*. The earliest attestations in CF refer to a frozen or fixed body of water (DEAF s.v. betee) though the DMF (s.v. béter²) notes that the expression is later confined in use to epic literature and is used to designate the edge of the known world. See *bete* is attested once in ME 1500 (MED s.v. se n.1). On *mer betee* as a translation equivalent to OE *garsecg* see Seiler (forthcoming, 290).

2 AND s.v. vertiz (s.xii¹) 'crown of the head, vertex'.

3 MED s.v. eie-lid 'the eyelid', cf. DOE ēag-hlid.

4 AND s.v. hanche (s.xii^{ex}) 'hip'.

5 The word is otherwise unattested in AN and CF. The expected gloss to Lat. *pulpa* would be 'muscle, meat, brawn' (see DMBLS s.v. *pulpa* for examples from other glossaries). The sense of the gloss seems to be 'thigh, flesh of the leg', in which case one would expect to have *char* or *cuisse*.

6 AND s.v. cheville (ca. 1150) 'ankle'.

7 DMLBS s.v. *falx* 'agricultural tool with curved blade, scythe, sickle, [...]'; MED s.v. *sīthe* 'an agricultural implement used for mowing or pruning, a scythe' (< OE *sīþe*).

8 DMLBS s.v. *linteolum* 'piece or strip of linen cloth'; MED s.v. *shēte* n.(2) 'any length of cloth, esp. linen' (ca. 1225; < OE *scīte*). The earliest attestation of the ME word is in the gloss *sindo : scete* in the Worcester version of ÆGL.

9 DMLBS s.v. *culcita*, *culcita* 'a sack filled with feathers [...], a bed, cushion, mattress, pillow'. The interpretamentum, though perfectly legible, is presumably English, but it cannot be identified with any known word in a straightforward way. Under the assumption that <o> represents [u] as in later ME and that <a> stands for final [ə] (cf. Introduction), the form <þoua> might represent one of the

- ¹⁰ *ceruigal* : pulaper
¹¹ *puluinar* : bolster
¹² *lodex* : folus^{vi}
¹³ *materies*^{vii} : timber
¹⁴ *scindula* : scingal^{viii}
¹⁵ *tingnum* : refter
¹⁶ *vallum* : paliz
¹⁷ *agger* : ruil

following words: the adjective OE *þūfe* 'tufted, bushy', ME *thūfe* '?bushy, ?tufted' (MED s.v.), the OE noun *þūf* m. 'a tuft', or perhaps an otherwise unattested borrowing from the Old Norse noun *þúfa* f. 'hill, elevation'.

10 DMLBS s.v. cervical 'pillow, bolster, cushion'. AND s.v. pilewer 'cushion, pillow'. The word is attested twice in the AND, once from the present glossary and a second time as a gloss in Alexander Nequam's *De Nominibus Utensilium* (ed. Hunt 1991, 2:111.64; s.xiii). Both examples may in fact represent an English gloss. The English etymon (BT [Campbell 1972] s.v. pilewer, MED s.v. pil-wer 'pillow, cushion, ?pillowcase') is a compound of OE *pyle* 'pillow' (< Lat. *pulvinus*) and ON *ver* sb. n. 'case'. The same pairing of lemma and interpretamentum occurs in glosses added to Oxford, St. John's College, MS 154 of Ælfric Bata's *Colloquies* (ed. Napier 1900, 222.16, with "wer [...] added by a diff. but contemporary hand"). The same manuscript also transmits the gloss *puluinar* : *bolster* (222.17; cf. #11 below) and *mappellam* : *bor(d)clað* (corrected from *bor(d)wæt*; 222.22; cf. #20 below). In ME, the word is only attested from the fourteenth century. In the glossaries of the fifteenth century, the *Medulla Grammaticae*, the *Hortus Vocabulorum* and the *Mayer Nominale*, we again find the same combination of lemma and interpretamentum. Cf. also #229 *ceruical*.

11 DMLBS s.v. pulvinar 'cushion, pillow'. MED s.v. bolster 'bolster, cushion; padding' (< OE *bolster*). AND s.v. bolster 'bolster'. The word is attested in AN from the first quarter of the fifteenth century, likely a borrowing from ME. See also #10.

12 DMBLS s.v. lodix 'sheet, blanket, rug'. AND s.v. veluse (s.xii^{ex}) 'blanket' (on <f> for /v/ cf. Introduction), p. 25.

13 DMLBS s.v. materia, -ies 'wood; building material, timber'. MED s.v. timber (< OE). AND s.v. timbre 3, which is an early fifteenth-century borrowing from ME.

14 DMLBS s.v. scindula 'thin piece of wood used as a roofing tile, shingle'. MED s.v. shingle 'a wooden tile for roofing'. The word ultimately derives from *scindula*, a Gallo-Roman variant of classical Lat. *scandula* (FEW *scandula* s.v. 11:283b), but its later development seems unclear: according to OED2 the ME word may have entered the English language "? through an Anglo-Norman modification" (s.v. shingle, n.1). The MED (s.v. shingle n.1), on the other hand, refers to a late OE form *scingul*, apparently a variant of OE *scindel* (BT s.v.), and offers Anglo-Latin *shingula*, *shingilla* etc. as a comparison. Yet, <scingul> is not attested in the DOE Corpus (if variant spellings are included, the only form that comes up is the one under consideration here from ÆGI 1(8)). Yet, the DMLBS lists a headword *shingula* (attested only from 1323 onwards) as a borrowing from ME *shingle*. Finally, the AN word (AND s.v. shyngel 'shingle, house-tile'), attested a single time in the late fourteenth century, is also considered a ME borrowing.

15 DMLBS s.v. tignum 'timber plank, beam; (as rafter)'. MED s.v. rafter 'a beam, pole; any of the rafters in the roof of a building' (< OE *ræfter*). AND s.v. refre 'rafter'. Attested in AN after 1350 as a borrowing from ME.

16 DMLBS s.v. vallum 'palisaded earthwork or other sim. (esp. defensive) structure [...]'. AND s.v. paleis 1 (s.xii^{ex}) 'palisade'.

17 DMLBS s.v. agger 'things brought to a place in order to form an elevation above a surface or

- ¹⁸ balista : perere
¹⁹ cadus : baril
²⁰ mapa : bord clāþ^{ix}
²¹ manotergium : tuaille
²² placenta : fuace
²³ anfora : canne
²⁴ liga : matoc
²⁵ uolēmum : parm<,>^x

[fol. 93v]

Interlinear glosses

- ²⁶ [300.04] NOUERCA : STEOP MODER : uxor patris
²⁷ [300.06] ALTRIX UEL NUTRIX : FOSTERMODER : nuricer

plain, as rubbish, stone, earth, sand, brushwood, materials for a rampart, etc.'; 'a dam, dike, mole, pier; a hillock, mound, wall, bulwark, rampart, etc.' AND s.v. ruil 2. The sole attestation of this word in AN is found in the present manuscript. The form *roil* is attested in CF from the early fourteenth century (DMF s.v. roil), though the sense 'Poutre taillée dans un tronc d'arbre' does not seem to be fitting. It may be related to AND s.v. ruileiz 'palisade', attested once in the late twelfth century. The headword may be drawn from Isidore's *Etymologiae* IX.3: *Agger est cuiuslibet rei acervatio, unde fossae aut valles possint repleri. Agger proprie dicitur terra aggesta quae vallo facto propius ponitur; sed abusive et muros et munimental monia aggerem dicimus* (ed. Lindsay 1911).

18 DMLBS s.v. ballista 'siege-catapult'. AND s.v. perriere (s.xii^{3/4}) 'petrary, catapult'.

19 DMLBS s.v. cadus (< Grk. *káδος* 'wine-jar'). AND s.v. barel. This would represent the earliest attested use in AN as it is not otherwise extant before the early thirteenth century, though it is attested in CF from ca. 1250. The AN word was eventually borrowed into ME (MED s.v. barrel); it is first attested in the *South English Legendary* (ca. 1300).

20 DMLBS s.v. mappa 'cloth, tablecloth, [...], hand-towel, napkin; altar cloth'. MED s.v. börd-clōth(e) 'a cloth for a dining table, tablecloth; an altar cloth' (< OE *bordclāþ* 'tablecloth'). Alternatively, if Hunt's reading as <bord cluþ> is correct, the second element may represent AN *clute* 'patch, piece of material', which is also attested with final <th> in the gloss *hoc pitacium: cluth* (1991, 1:424). AN *clute* may represent a borrowing from ME *clout* (MED s.v.) though the word is attested in CF (DEAF s.v. clut). The FEW (CLUT 16:336a) suggests it is a borrowing from Anglo-Saxon.

21 DMLBS s.v. manutergium 'towel, tablecloth, napkin; altar cloth'. AND s.v. tuaille (1212) 'altar cloth'.

22 DMLBS s.v. placenta 'sort of bread or cake etc.'. AND s.v. fouace (1212) 'cake'.

23 DMLBS s.v. amphora 'vessel'. MED s.v. canne 'a container for water: jar, bucket, can, pot' (1333; < OE). AND s.v. cane 1 (s.xii) 'flagon, pitcher'.

24 DMLBS s.v. ligo 'implement for cutting, digging, or weeding, mattock, hoe'. MED s.v. mattok 'a mattock etc.' (1333, as a personal name ca. 1311; < OE *mattuc*).

25 DMLBS s.v. volēmum 'kind of large pear, warden'. AND s.v. peremain (ca. 1160) 'pearmain, variety of pear'. Attested in medieval Lat. from ca. 1109 (DMBLS s.v. parmenus). Subsequently borrowed into ME and attested from the early fourteenth century. (OED s.v. permain n.; MED s.v. permein n.). The entry also occurs in later ME glossaries, for example, the *Catholicon Anglicum*.

26 Lat. 'wife of the father'.

27 The gloss given is possibly a variant of AN *nuriseur* 'foster-father', though this spelling is otherwise unattested and would also be of the wrong gender. The form is included as a deviant

- 28 [300.09] AFINIS *UEL* CONSANGUINEUS : SIBLING : cousin *germein*
 29 [300.11] NURUS : SNORU : uxor filii^{xi}
 30 [300.15] CLITO : ÆÐELING : filius regis
 31 [300.15] PRIMAS : HEAFODMANN : .i. vice *dominus*, uiz *dama*^{xii}
 32 [300.16] SATRAPA : ÐEGEN : dux comitatus *uel* agminis^{xiii}
 33 [300.18] MILES *UEL* ADTLETA : CEMPA : campion^{xiv}
 34 [300.18] pubis : cnihtad^{xv}
 35 [300.18] inpubis : berdles
 36 [300.19] EDICTUM : GEBAN : ban
 37 [301.02] CLIENS *UEL* CLIENTULUS : INCNIHT : sergand^{xvi}
 38 [301.04] mulio : mul hyrde^{xvii}
 39 [301.04] agaso : horshyrdæ
 40 [301.06] PROCUS : POGERE : *purparlaressa*

spelling of *nurice* ‘foster-mother’ in the AND, though it could represent a variant of CF *nourriciere*, unattested in AN.

28 AND s.v. *germain* (s.xii^{4/4}) ‘first cousin’.

29 Lat. ‘wife of the son’.

30 Lat. ‘son of the king’.

31 DMLBS s.v. *vicedominus* ‘deputy (to person of authority); (applied to sheriff); (spec. eccl., to bishop, esp. in temporal matters) *vidame*’, attested from 751. It is first attested in an AN text from the third quarter of the twelfth century (Adgar XXVI,23; not in AND). CF attests to the term from ca. 1209 (DEAF s.v. *visdame*).

32 Lat. ‘leader of the company or army’.

33 AND s.v. *champiun* (s.xii^{im}) ‘warrior’.

34 DMLBS s.v. *pubes* ‘physically mature, young’. DOE s.v. *cniht-hād* ‘boyhood, adolescence, youth’. This and the following gloss derive from ÆGram [55.13] *pubis : cniht oððe cnihtad, puberis; inpubis : beardleas*.

35 DMLBS s.v. *impubes* ‘not yet adult, before the age of puberty’. DOE s.v. *beard-lēas* ‘beardless, youthful; a youth’. Cf. above.

36 AND s.v. *ban* 1 (ca. 1135) ‘proclamation, edict’. MED s.v. *ban* ‘proclamation, edict’ (ca. 1300; < OE *geban*(n) & OF *ban*).

37 AND s.v. *sergant* (ca. 1150), ‘servant’.

38 DMLBS s.v. *mulio* ‘one who tends mules’. BT s.v. *mül-hirde* ‘mule-keeper’. This and the next entry derive from ÆGram [34.14] *mulio: mulhyrde, agaso: horshyrde*.

39 DMLBS s.v. *agaso* ‘groom’. DOE s.v. *hors-hyrde* ‘one who tends horses’. Cf. above.

40 AND s.v. *purparlaressa*. This is the sole attested use of this term. It appears to be a derivative of the AN verb *purparler* in the sense of ‘to discuss’. A masculine agent noun *purparlour* is attested from the end of the eleventh century in CF (DEAF s.v. *porparleor*) and in AN from the end of the thirteenth century, in the sense of ‘one who speaks’ or ‘negotiator’. CF does attest to the unprefixed feminine form *parleresse* from ca. 1227 in the sense of ‘woman who speaks excessively’. The use of a feminine noun to gloss a masculine one is unusual and without clear explanation though a similar use of a feminine noun is found at #168 *tesseranda*.

[fol. 94r]

Interlinear glosses

- ⁴¹ [301.12] CONTIONATOR : GEMOTMANN : .i. multitudinis alloquutor^{xviii}
⁴² [301.14] incus : onfilt^{xix}
⁴³ [301.15] ARGENTARIUS : SEOLFORSMIÐ : orfeure^{xx}
⁴⁴ [301.19] UENABULUM : BARSPERE : spe^{xxi}
⁴⁵ [302.10] histrio : tumbere^{xxii}

Marginal gloss: right-hand margin

- ⁴⁶ latun : mest<.,.>^{xxiii}

[fol. 94v]

Interlinear glosses

- ⁴⁷ [303.8] Nugás : abroþen^{xxiv}
⁴⁸ [303.8] Deses : asolcan
⁴⁹ [303.8] reses : aspundan
⁵⁰ [303.11] THEOLENARIUS : TOLLERE : tunnuer^{xxv}

41 Lat. 'someone who speaks to a crowd'.

42 DMLBS s.v. incus 'anvil'. MED s.v. anvelt 'anvil' (< OE *anfilte*, *onfilte*). The gloss derives from ÆGram [60.7, 178.9] *incus* : *anfilt* and it is clearly connected to the section on smithery to which it has been added.

43 AND s.v. orfevre (s.xii^{1/3}) 'goldsmith'.

44 AND s.v. espee (s.xii^{2/4}) 'sword'.

45 DMLBS s.v. histrio 'player, pantomime actor, jester'. BT s.v. tumbere 'a tumbler, dancer, player'. The gloss derives from ÆGram [34.14] *histrio* : *tumbere oððe gligman*.

46 AND s.v. laton (s.xii^{4/4}) 'latten, brass', eventually borrowed into ME *latoun*, n. & adj., 'an alloy of copper, tin, and other metals [...], latten; made of latten' (MED s.v.). The interpretamentum cannot unambiguously be identified but represents most likely a form of ME *maslin* 'maslin, a light-colored copper alloy similar to brass; [...] sometimes confused with latoun' (< OE *mæstling* 'a kind of brass'). The gloss may well have been triggered by [301.15] AERARIUS : MÆSTLINGSMIÐ as it is placed in the margin next to the first element of the OE compound (-SMIÐ occurs on the next line).

47 DMLBS s.v. nugas 'trifling or frivolous person'. DOE s.v. ā-brēoþan, past participle used as adjective 'unprincipled, degenerate'. This and the following two glosses are clearly connected to a group of adjectives around [303.07] PIGER: SLEAC 'lazy' denoting mostly negative qualities. The source of these entries are two passages from ÆGram [51.4] *hic et haec et hoc nugas, þæt is abroðen on englisc and ungebigendlic on declinunge* and [52.2] *hic et haec deses þes and ðeos asolcena, huius desidis; ealswa reses aswunden oððe bæftansittende*.

48 DMLBS s.v. deses 'lazy, indolent'. DOE s.v. ā-seolcan, past participle used as adjective, '(grown) sluggish, indolent, slothful'.

49 DMLBS s.v. reses 'that remains inactive, sluggish, etc.'. DOE s.v. ā-swindan 'to languish (in spirit), become sluggish etc.', past participle used as adjective.

50 Unattested in the AND. The AND includes the form *tonutour* (s.xiv¹) in the sense of 'tax-collector'.

⁵¹ [303.14] ARMILLA : BEAH : bol^{xxvi}

⁵² [304.01] ACERUUS : HREAC OÐÐE HYPE : amuncele^{xxvii}

Marginal glosses: left-hand margin

⁵³ [303.08] HEBES : DPÆS : hebes : rebuc^{xxviii}

[fol. 95r]

Interlinear glosses

⁵⁴ [304.06] QUATERNIO : CINE : quaer

⁵⁵ [304.7] ENULA : PÆRL : Agnices^{xxix}

CF attests to the forms *tonloier* and *tonnowier* (FEW TELONEUM 13/i:165b) in the same sense, with the former first attested in an AN text from ca. 1155.

51 AND s.v. bou 1 (s.xii¹) ‘bracelet, arm-ring’.

52 AND s.v. amunçaile ‘heap, pile’. This is the earlier of two attestations of this term, with the second occurring in a series of glosses found in Lincoln Cathedral, Chapter Library MS 132, fol. 9v, where it glosses *excessus* (Hunt 1991, 1:44).

53 DMLBS s.v. hebes ‘blunt’. AND s.v. rebuc ‘blunt’. This is the earliest attested use of the term, though it is also found glossing *obtusa* in thirteenth-century copies of Adam of Petit Pont’s *De Utensilibus* (Hunt 1991, 2:42). The etymology of the term is unclear, with the FEW suggesting a derivation from BUCCA (FEW 1:583b) while the DMF suggests that the form, like the similar *rebourser*, may derive from REBURRUS (FEW 10:138a).

54 AND s.v. quaier (ca. 1150) ‘quire’. MED s.v. quaier (< OF); in the sense ‘short book’ it is attested ca. 1230 in *Ancrene Wisse*.

55 AND s.v. agnice (s.xiii) ‘tag for appending a seal’; ‘schedule’. Hunt notes (1991, 2:53n143), “Agnice, agnyz etc. often gloss *cedula* or *appendix* in MSS of Nequam’s *De nominibus utensilium*. In MS C p.76 (Adam Nutzarde’s *Neutrale*) agnyz glosses *hec indula* and *agnicer* renders *indulat*.” The entry ENULA : PÆRL is one of the most puzzling word pairs of ÆGL: The headword appears to be a spelling variant of Lat. *inula*, the plant name ‘elecampane’ (DMLBS s.v.). OE *pærl* is unclear (BT s.v. pearl) as it is only attested in this gloss, which also occurs in two closely related glossary entries (Antwerp–London 2052, ed. Porter 2011, and BL MS Cotton Otho E I, ed. Voss 1996, no. 46). In addition, the form *pearle* is attested as a gloss on *longe* in Aldhelm’s prose *De laude virginitatis* (ed. Napier 1900, no. 475); however, this is probably a spelling mistake for *pearle* ‘exceedingly’. Holthausen (1934, s.v.) identifies OE *pærl* with ModE ‘pearl’; yet, according to the OED3 (s.v. pearl), this word was borrowed from French *perle* and post-classical Lat. *perula* only in the fourteenth century. In any case, both a plant name or a gem are unlikely meanings as the entry is part of a batch on writing materials. Therefore, scholars have always assumed that the gloss involves some sort of mistake (cf. Wright and Wülcker 1884: 314n3, Garrett 1909: 50, Meritt 1968: 29–30; we are indebted to Concetta Giliberto for commenting on this puzzle and for pointing out some of the scholarship on the debate [pers. comm., September 7, 2018]). While the AN gloss in Faustina does not necessarily solve the problem of the original gloss, it tells us what the twelfth-century glossator made of it: Most likely, the scribe identified *enula* with DMLBS s.v. *indula* ‘band, thong, strip (in quots., used for tying quires together), or ? as bookmark’. AN *agnices* is an appropriate rendering of this word and also fits the context of ÆGL very well: The preceding item is DIPLOMA : BOGA ‘single sheet of parchment or vellum folded once’; a tag for appending a seal would have been attached to such a sheet.

- 56 [304.10] MINIUM : TEAFOR : la culur
 57 [304.10] GLUTEN : LIM : Glu^{xxx}
 58 [304.10] SCULPTOR : GRAFERE : entaillere
 59 [304.11] SCALPRUM UEL SCALPELLUM : GRÆFSEX : cisel
 60 [304.16] BALBUS : STAMUR : baubeere^{xxxix}
 61 [304.16] BLESSUS : PLIPS : blesseerræ^{xxxix}
 62 [304.16] DEBILIS : LAMA : endebbla^{xxxix}
 63 [304.17] STRABO : SCYLEGEDE : luis
 64 [304.18] LYPPUS : SUREGEDE : chacius
 65 [305.03] MORB[US] : ADL : enfermete
 66 [305.10] Svaui : punsum oðða softa^{xxxix}
 67 [305.10] FAMOSUS : HLISFUL : renomez^{xxxv}
 68 [305.10] FAMA : HLISA : renomee^{xxxvi}

Marginal glosses: right-hand margin

- 69 stipendaria .i. dans stipendia uel censum^{xxxvii}

56 AND s.v. color 1 (s.xii^{2/4}) 'colour'. This is the sole attestation of the word in this meaning and the expected gloss to the Latin *minium* 'vermillion, cinnabar' would be AN *vermeilloun*. It may reflect an extension of the sense of 'redness' found in the sense of 'complexion, colour of cheeks'. Other references to the word used in the sense of 'colouring material, dye' do not imply any reference to redness. Perhaps the gloss should be understood as a specification, i.e., a material used for colouring.

57 AND s.v. glu (s.xii²) 'glue'. This represents the earliest attestation of the term.

58 AND s.v. entaillur (s.xii²) 'stone-carver, sculptor'. This represents the earliest attestation of the term.

59 AND s.v. chisel (ca. 1170). Though attested earlier in the sense of 'chisel', this would represent the earliest attestation of the word in the sense of 'scalpel, surgical knife', a sense otherwise unattested until ca. 1240. The word is borrowed into ME in the fourteenth century (MED s.v. chisēl).

60 AND s.v. baubeer (ca. 1250) 'to stammer'. This represents the earliest attested use of the term.

61 AND s.v. blesseerræ 'lispings'. The present text is the only attested use of this word included in the AND and the entry is roundbracketed, which means the reading is considered suspect. The word is likely related to AN *bleser* 1 'to lisp'.

62 AND s.v. endeble (ca. 1150) 'weak, feeble'.

63 AND s.v. luche 3 (s.xiii²) 'squinting'. The term is only otherwise attested in AN as a gloss in John of Garland's *Commentarius luscii*: *luches* (Hunt 1991, 1:231), though the form *lois* is well attested in CF (DEAF s.v. lois).

64 AND s.v. chacius (s.xii^{1/3}) 'rheumy, bleary'.

65 AND s.v. enfermeté 1 (s.xii¹) 'illness'.

66 DMLBS s.v. suavis 'sweet, pleasant, agreeable etc.' MED s.v. winsōm 'pleasing to the senses etc.' (< OE *wynsum*). MED s.v. soft(e) 'yielding to touch or pressure etc.' (< OE *sōfte*). The entry derives from ÆGram (54.4) *suauis : softe oððe wynsum*.

67 AND s.v. renomer (s.xii^{1/3}) 'renowned'.

68 AND s.v. renomee (1121–35) 'renown, fame'.

69 DMLBS s.v. stipendiarius 'that pays tribute'. *Dans*, present active participle of *dare* 'to give,

⁷⁰ stipendia : despensas

⁷¹ glabrio : calu oðða nút^{xxxviii}

[fol. 95v]

Interlinear glosses

⁷² [305.15] SOTTUS : SOTT : *uel* fuligo^{xxxix}

⁷³ [306.03] GRANDO : HAGOL : gresil

⁷⁴ [306.05] PROCELLA : STORM : sturbeillun^{xl}

⁷⁵ [306.14] FRIGUS: CYLE : *uel* algor^{xli}

⁷⁶ [306.15] CAUMA : SPOLOÐ : tuf

⁷⁷ [305.16] STERILITAS : UNPÆSTMBÆRNYS : baraha[nete]^{xlii}

[fol. 96r] NOMINA AVIUM

Interlinear glosses

⁷⁸ [307.03] ACCIPITER : <gos>HAFUC^{xliii}

⁷⁹ [307.03] CICONIA : STORC : cigunnia

⁸⁰ [307.04] MERULA : ÞROSTLE : mauuiz

pay'. DMLBS s.v. stipendium 'payment made in exchange for work done or service rendered, wage, stipend'. DMLBS s.v. census 'revenue, tribute, tax'; i.e., 'that pays wages or tax'.

70 Cf. above. AND s.v. despense (s.xiii) 'expenses'.

71 DMLBS s.v. glabrio 'hairless, smooth'. MED s.v. calwe 'bald' (< OE *calu*). MED s.v. not 'short-haired; ?bald' (< OE *hnōt* 'bald, shaven'). The gloss derives from ÆGram [34.14] *glabrio: calu oððe hnōt*. The entry is placed next to a group of adjectives denoting different types of disabilities, i.e., 'blind', 'lame', 'mute', 'dumb', 'stammering', 'lisping', 'deaf', 'lame', etc.

72 DMLBS s.v. fuligo 'soot'.

73 AND s.v. gresil (s.xii^{2/4}) 'hail(-storm)'.

74 AND s.v. esturbeillun (s.xii¹) 'whirlwind'.

75 DMLBS s.v. algor 'cold'.

76 AND s.v. estuve (s.xii^{2/4}) 'vapour bath' with the sense perhaps closer to the Latin etymon *stupha* 'stove, furnace'. The form is unattested in AN and may relate to OE *stofa* (BT 'a room for a warm bath', attested only once, as a gloss on *balneum*, cf. MED s.v. stūphe 'a heated room for a hot-air or steam bath'). ME forms *stew* or *stove* are only attested in the late fifteenth century and likely derive from AN *estuve*. *Cauma* is glossed in a s.xiii² manuscript of the *Distigium* (Hunt 1991, 1:341) with AN *embrasement* 'heat'.

77 AND s.v. baraineté (s.xii¹) 'barrenness'.

78 The annotator has changed Ælfric's 'hawk' into 'goshawk' (MED s.v. gōs-hauk, DOE s.v. gōs-hafoc), the regular rendering of Lat. *accipiter* in both OE and ME glossaries.

79 AND s.v. cigoine (s.xii²) 'stork'. MED s.v. cicōnie (1382; < Lat. *siconia*).

80 AND s.v. mauviz (s.xi^{ex}) 'mavis'. MED s.v. māvīs 'the song thrush (*Turdus musicus*)' (1425; < OF). Both *mauviz* and *mauve* (see below) share a common Germanic etymon (FEW MAEW 16:495b) though the terms refer to distinct birds. Their shared etymology has led to confusion between the two forms in AN; for further details see Trotter (2011, 2013).

- ⁸¹ [307.05] *ALCEDO* : *MÆP* : *mapa*
⁸² [307.06] *MERGUS UEL MERGULUS* : *SCEALFRA* : *geure*
⁸³ [307.07] *PASSER* : *SPEAREPA OÐÐE LYTEL FUGEL* : *mussum*^{xliiv}
⁸⁴ [307.07] *TARDUS* : *STÆR* : *uel sturnus*^{xlv}
⁸⁵ [307.07] *FICUS* : *FINA* : *spec*
⁸⁶ [307.07] *AUCA* : *gos*^{xlvi}
⁸⁷ [307.09] *UESPERTILIA* : *HRE<RE>MUS*^{xlvii} : *chauasuriz*
⁸⁸ [307.11] *FALCO UEL CAPUM* : *PEALHHAFUC* : *uel herodius*^{xlviii}, *faucun*^{xlix}
⁸⁹ [307.11] *GRACULUS* : *HROC* : *friu*
⁹⁰ [307.12] *PARRAX* : *PRÆNNA* : *reibæitre, bederne*¹
⁹¹ [307.13] *examen* : *sperm oðð dom*^{li}
⁹² [308.01] *UESPA* : *PÆPS* : *pespa*

81 AND s.v. *mauve* 1 (ca. 1165) 'gull, sea-mew'. MED s.v. *meue* 2 (ca. 1225). Deriving from a common Germanic etymon (see #80 *mauviz*), it is difficult to determine the language of the gloss, though the orthography in <ma-> is more commonly attested in AN. The use of <p>, on the other hand, points to an English form.

82 AND s.v. *gevre* 'diving bird, sheldrake?'. Attested solely in this text, though variant forms are attested in some Norman dialects; see DEAF s.v. *gievre* G718.

83 AND s.v. *musson* (1136–7) 'sparrow'.

84 The base text has *TARDUS* for *turdus* 'kind of thrush; (understood as) woodpecker' (DMLBS s.v.). On Ælfric's rendering of Lat. *turdus* as OE *stær* 'starling' see Kitson (1997b, 486). The glossator has added the correct Lat. equivalent *sturnus* 'starling' (DMLBS s.v.). The Latin gloss may also bring to mind the AN derivative *esturnel*.

85 AND s.v. *espec* (s.xiiiⁱⁿ) 'woodpecker'. MED s.v. *spek* (< OF, ultimately of Germanic origin). The sole AN attestation of the term is a gloss to *picus* though the term is attested in CF (DEAF s.v. *espec*). While the term is attested in ME from the twelfth century, this is primarily as a surname, and it is only attested ca. 1500 in reference to a bird.

86 MED s.v. *gōs* 'a goose of any kind' (< OE).

87 AND s.v. *chaufisoris* (s.xii^{4/4}) 'bat'.

88 DMLBS s.v. *erodius* 'egret or heron; bird of prey'. AND s.v. *faucun* (s.xii^{2/4}) 'falcon'. MED s.v. *faucoun* 'peregrine falcon, various other hawks' (ca. 1275; < OF).

89 AND s.v. *fru* (ca. 1250) 'rook'. This would represent the earliest attested AN use of the word, attested in CF from ca. 1220.

90 AND s.v. *reibæitre* 'wren, any species of the genus *Troglodites*'. AND s.v. *bederne* 'bittern'. This is the sole attested use of *reibæitre* in AN. Hunt (1991, 1:25n57) notes that the FEW (BITRISCUS 1:38b) gives only modern examples. The DMF s.v. *rebestre*, Gdf s.v. *rebetre*, and Tobler and Lommatzsch s.v. *rebestre*, attest to the use of the word in CF from 1350. This is equally the sole attested use of *bederne* in AN. It appears to be unrelated to Latin *bederna* 'bedern, common residence or refectory of canons or vicars choral'. Though similar in form to AN *butor* and ME *bitour*, which gave ModE *bittern*, the birds are quite dissimilar, and the forms in *-rn* are only attested from the sixteenth century.

91 DMLBS s.v. *examen* 'swarm', 'examination; judgement'. MED s.v. *swarm* 'a colony of bees, swarm' (< OE *swearm*). MED s.v. *dōm* 'judgement' (< OE). Cf. ÆG Gram [40.13] *examen* : *swearm oððe dom*. The addition to a group of words denoting 'bee', 'drone', 'wasp' is clearly triggered by the primary sense of *examen*.

92 AND s.v. *vespe* (ca. 1180) 'wasp'. MED s.v. *wasp* (1199; < OE *wæps*, *wæsp*); first attested as a surname in ME, it is used in reference to the insect from ca. 1390.

⁹³ [308.01] SCARABEUS : SCERN PIBBA : scarbot

⁹⁴ [308.02] SCINIFER : GNÆT : sincerelæ

Marginal glosses: right-hand margin

⁹⁵ ¶ culun ramage : cpiste^{liii}

⁹⁶ ¶ cruere : pærihung^{liv}

⁹⁷ ¶ pudahona : poun saluacha^{lv}

⁹⁸ Anster : hpit gos^{lvi}

⁹⁹ Canta : grei gos^{lvii}

¹⁰⁰ Cucu : lapapinca : uanel^{lviii}

93 AND s.v. escharbot, scarabeu (s.xii^{1/3}) 'beetle'. MED s.v. scarbot(e) (< OF). The ME term is first attested as a surname in 1212, with the earliest appellative use 1425.

94 AND s.v. cincerele (s.xiii²) 'gnat'. AN also attests the form *tincerele* and CF also *scinterele*. This would represent the earliest attested use of the word, which is otherwise unattested prior to the thirteenth century in AN or CF.

95 AND s.v. ramage (colum ramage) (s.xiii^m) 'wood pigeon'. This is the earliest attested use of the phrase in AN. MED s.v. quiste n.(2) (?1440) 'wood-pigeon' (< OE *cusceote*).

96 AND s.v. cruere (s.xiv^{1/3}) 'crow, rook'. This would be the earliest use of a word which is otherwise attested in a single citation from the fourteenth century. Another possibility is DMLBS s.v. †croeria 'butcher-bird, great shrike', attested only in Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topographia Hibernica*, 1:23 (ca. 1187). MED s.v. wariangle 'a bird of the genus Lanius, a shrike or butcherbird' (ca. 1395); cf. OED2 s.v. † wariangle, n. The gloss is paralleled by a Latin–Old High German word pair *cruricula: warchengil* in the *Summarium Heinrici* (ed. Hildebrandt 1974–95, 1:166). Cf. Suolahti's discussion, who connects the etymology of both the Latin and OHG word to the violent feeding habit of the shrike, which involves impaling small animals on thorns (1909, 146–53). The OE form ***weargincel* cited by Suolahti and tentatively in OED2 is spurious, as has been shown by Schlutter (1923). Kitson etymologizes *wariangle* as a compound of OE *wearg* 'criminal' and *angle* 'hook' (1997b, 485); the MED suggests a derivative with the suffix *-incel*, which is common in OE, though it does not accord well with the attested spellings in <-ungle> or <-angle>. An ablaut variant *-ung* of the suffix is only common in ON (Krahe and Meid 1969, §155, 150). The spellings with <h> may also point towards *hangian* 'hang' or a related noun, for example, the weak feminine noun *hangelle* 'act of hanging, hanging object' (DOE s.v.). Reanalysis may have played a role in the development of the word; the OHG forms are most likely the result of a folk etymology on the basis of OHG *engil* 'angel'. This has also been proposed for the variants with <a> in English (cf. MED). Cf. also Seiler (forthcoming, 294).

97 BT s.v. wudu-hana 'a woodcock'. This bird name is not attested in ME; the bird is otherwise referred to as *wōde-cok* (MED s.v.). AND s.v. poun 1 (poun salvage) 'wild peacock?'. MED poun(e) (ca. 1400) 'peacock'. The phrasal formation is otherwise unattested in AN or CF. This is the earliest attestation of *poun* in AN.

98 DMLBS s.v. anser 'goose, gander'. MED s.v. whīt adj. 'white' and gōs n. 'goose'.

99 DMLBS s.v. ganta 'grey goose'. MED s.v. grei adj. & n. 'grey' and gōs n. 'goose'.

100 DMLBS s.v. †cucuzata 'lapwing (or other bird)'. MED s.v. lap-wink(e) n. 'the hoopoe (Upupa epops); the lapwing (Vanellus vanellus)' (< OE *hlæpe-wince*). The Latin–English word pair is attested in various Anglo-Saxon glossaries. AND s.v. vanele (s.xiv¹) 'lapwing'. This is the earliest attested use of the word in AN and CF.

- 101 Bicoca : hæuerbleta
 102 Fusianus : porhana : gruz^{lx}
 103 Cornelia : crapa
 104 Cornicula : cheo : chao^{lx}
 105 Alietum : Sperhauac
 106 Scuricaricus: mushauac^{lxi}
 107 Robusca : ruduc : rupia^{lxii}
 108 Turdus : screc : griuæ^{lxiii}
 109 Beacita : stern^{lxiv}

101 DMLBS s.v. bicoca 'snipe (bird)'. DOE s.v. hæfer-blæte 'a kind of bird, probably 'snipe' (lit. 'goat-bleater' from the sound it makes in flight [...]). This name for the snipe is otherwise not attested in ME but resurfaces with reanalysed first element as *heather-bleat* (OED s.v.; cf. also heather-bleater, n.) in Northern English, Scottish, and Irish dialects.

102 DMLBS s.v. phasianus 'pheasant'. BT s.v. wōr-hana 'a pheasant'. The entry (with variant spellings) occurs in many Anglo-Saxon glossaries. The English bird name is not attested in ME; there is only *wer-cok* 'a bird, prob. the pheasant or wood grouse' (MED s.v.), which presumably shares its first element with *wōr-hana*. AND s.v. grue 1 (s.xii) 'pheasant'. MED s.v. grue 2 (1398) The word normally is found in reference to a crane in both AN and ME—this is the sole attestation of the word as a gloss to pheasant.

103 DMLBS s.v. cornaila 'crow or rook', a re-borrowing from AN *cornaie*, OF *corneille* < Lat. *cornicula* (cf. below). MED s.v. croue 'the carrion crow (Corvus corone); also, the rook (Corvus frugilegus); the raven (Corvus corax)' (ca. 1275; < OE *crāwa*).

104 DMLBS s.v. cornicula 'crow, chough, or rook'. AND s.v. choue (ca.1165) '(jack)daw, chough'. MED s.v. chough(e (ca. 1230) 'one of several birds of the crow family: chough, jackdaw, jay' (< OF).

105 DMLBS s.v. haliaetus (< Grk. ἁλιετός) 'kind of eagle, (?) osprey; kind of hawk'. MED s.v. sparhawk n. 'the European sparrow hawk (Accipiter nisus), a falcon or similar bird of prey'. BT s.v. spear-hafoc 'a sparrow-hawk'. The entry occurs in various Anglo-Saxon glossaries. In ME, the bird name is first attested in personal names (ca. 1153).

106 DMLBS s.v. soricarius 'mouse hawk (perh. a buzzard, *Buteo buteo*, or kestrel, *Falco tinnunculus*'. MED s.v. mōus n. 'a mouse' and hawk n.(1) 'a hawk or falcon'. BT s.v. mūs-hafoc, OED s.v. mouse hawk, n. The Latin-English word pair occurs in various Anglo-Saxon glossaries.

107 DMLBS s.v. rubisca 'name of bird; robin, titmouse'. MED s.v. ruddok(e 'The European robin redbreast (Erithacus rubecula)' (?ca. 1200; < OE rudduc). AND s.v. ruwia 'robin?'. This is the sole attestation of the term, which is otherwise unknown in AN and CF. It is likely in reference to a robin or similarly red-breasted bird and is probably related, semantically and in form, to the family of words which derived from Latin *rubeus* and *rubescere*, but no equivalent has yet been located. Normally derivatives from this family have a root in *rug-* or *ruv-*.

108 DMLBS s.v. turdus 'kind of thrush; woodpecker'. The English name is not attested in ME but cf. BT s.v. scrīc 'kind of thrush', which is possibly continued in ModE *shreitch*, an obsolete name for the missel-thrush (OED s.v. shrike, n.2, shreitch n., shrite n.). ModE shrike, n.2 'any of the birds of the numerous species of the family Laniidæ' probably derives from the same OE bird name but with final [k] rather than [tʃ]. AND s.v. grive 1 (ca. 1250) 'fieldfare or thrush'. This is the earliest attestation of the word in AN or CF.

109 DMLBS s.v. †beacita 'starling'. BT s.v. stearn 'some kind of bird'. The gloss occurs in various Anglo-Saxon glossaries. *Stern* is not attested in ME, but cf. OED s.v. stern, n.1 'a sea-bird'.

¹¹⁰ *Picus* : *higera* : *gai*^{lxv}

¹¹¹ *Gaus* : *hedeshen* : *cuail*<.>^{lxvi}

NOMINA PISCIIUM

Interlinear glosses

¹¹² [308.04] *CETUS* : *HPÆL* : *balæinæ*

¹¹³ [308.04] *DELFIN*^{lxvii} : *MERESPIN* : *delfinus*

¹¹⁴ [308.04] *YSCIUS UEL SALMO* : *LEX* : *uel isox*^{lxviii}

¹¹⁵ [308.05] *TARICUS UEL ALLEC* : *HÆRING* : *uel sardine*^{lxix}

¹¹⁶ [308.06] *MULLUS* : *HEARDRA* : *muluel*

¹¹⁷ [308.06] *FANNUS* : *HREOHE* : *raia*

¹¹⁸ [308.07] *ROCEA* : *SCEALGA* : *alosa*

110 DMLBS s.v. *picus* ‘woodpecker’. DOE s.v. *higera* ‘a type of bird, a jay (*Garrulus glandarius*) or magpie (*Pica pica*)’. According to the DOE, the rendering of *picus* ‘woodpecker’ with OE *higera* is “probably in error for or out of confusion with *pica* ‘jay, magpie.’” In ME, the bird name is only attested in the first element of the compound *hegh-wal* ‘one of the varieties of English woodpeckers’ (MED s.v.; cf. OED2 s.v. *hickwall*, n.). AND s.v. *gai* 2 (ca. 1180) ‘jay’. MED s.v. *jai* (1195). Attested in ME first as a surname and used in reference to the bird from ca. 1325.

111 DMLBS s.v. *†ciaus* ‘quail’. DOE s.v. *edisc-henn* ‘quail’. MED s.v. *edish-henne* ‘a quail’. There are only two attestations of the word in ME: one in the Worcester version of *ÆGL* (ca. 1225) and one in the Northern Verse Psalter (1400). In OE, the combination of lemma and interpretation occurs in the Cleopatras glossaries and the Bodley 730 glossary. In *ÆGL*, *ediscine* (spelled *erschenn* in the Faustina manuscript) is paired with Lat. *coturnix* ‘quail’. AND s.v. *quaile* (s.xii¹) ‘quail’. MED s.v. *quail(e)* (1327). Attested in ME first as a surname and used in reference to the bird from 1381.

112 AND s.v. *baleine* (s.xii^{2/4}) ‘whale, porpoise’.

113 AND s.v. *daufin* (s.xii^{3/4}) ‘dolphin’. The gloss terminates with an abbreviation mark, suggesting a reading of ‘delfinus’. It may be that in this case the Latin headword, *DELFIN*, was misunderstood as AN, or the abbreviation mark may be in error (Cf. Hunt 1991, 1:25n58, and textual note).

114 DMLBS s.v. *esox* ‘salmon or sim[ilar]’.

115 AND s.v. *sardein* (ca. 1300) ‘sardine’. The word is poorly attested in AN and CF, though extant by 1275 in a Picard text (DEAF s.v. *sarde* 1 (sardine); DMF *sardine* 1). It is attested in British Latin (as a lemma in various Anglo-Saxon glossaries, DMLBS s.v. *sardina*, cf. DOE Corpus). It is unattested in ME before 1430 (OED s.v. *sardine* n.2).

116 AND s.v. *muluel* (ca. 1136) ‘milwell, cod’.

117 AND s.v. *rai* 3 (1155) ‘rai, skate’.

118 AND s.v. *alose* (ca. 1250) ‘alosa, shad’. The word is attested in two other glossaries (ca. 1250; see Hunt 1991, 1:416, 424) as a gloss on Latin *alosa*. As a gloss of *rocea*, the term should perhaps be interpreted as ‘roach’ (DMLBS s.v. *rocha* ‘freshwater fish of the carp family, roach’). Both are small, freshwater fish, so this may be the source of the confusion. In the right margin, we find the term repeated, as a gloss on <scalagra> (#125), probably a misspelling of OE *scealga* from the main text. The English fish name (BT s.v. *scealga* ‘the name of a fish’; MED s.v. *scilga* ‘the European roach (*Rutilus rutilus*) or a similar fish’) is attested two more times: in the Antwerp–London glossary and in an early ME glossary in BL, Stowe 57 (ca. 1200)—in both instances as a gloss to Lat. *rocea*.

¹¹⁹ [308.07] POLIPOS : LOPPESTRE : sereīna^{box}

¹²⁰ [308.08] MUSCULO : MUXLE : muðla

Marginal glosses: right-hand margin

¹²¹ Platissa : floc : pleiz oððe flundra^{boxi}

¹²² Focus : sæl : sæl^{boxii}

¹²³ Castorius : beuer

¹²⁴ Celasus : martra

¹²⁵ ¶scalagra : alosa^{boxiii}

NOMINA FERARUM

[fol. 96v]

Interlinear glosses

¹²⁶ [309.06] TAXO UEL MELUS : BROCC : teissun

¹²⁷ [309.07] Bilis : gealla^{boxiv}

119 AND s.v. seraine (s.xii^{ex}) 'siren'. The use of this word as a gloss to *polypus* (DMLBS s.v. *polypus* 'cuttlefish; lobster') is inexplicable. There is considerable variation in the glosses found with *polipus*, with Hunt 1991, 3:127–8 also listing *crabbe*, *morue*, *moruele*, and *lobostert*, though all seem to be in the same semantic fields as 'cuttlefish' or 'lobster'.

120 The form <muðla> cannot be identified unequivocally with a ME or AN headword. The candidates are ME *muscle* 'an edible bivalve mollusc, mussel' (MED s.v. n.(1)) and AN *muskele* 'mussel' (AND s.v.)—both words ultimately derive from Lat. *musculus* 'mussel'. While the consonant cluster is variable, there are no forms with a dental fricative. The AND, though, reports a variant spelling <modle> with dental stop.

121 DMLBS s.v. *platessa*, ~issa 'flat fish; plaice or loach; flounder, fluke, or sole'. MED *flōk* n.(3) 'a flatfish; a fluke or flounder; a plaice etc.' (attested from ca. 1440 as a common noun, from 1296 as a personal name; < OE *floc*). AND s.v. *plais* (1119) 'plaice'. AND s.v. *floundre* (s.xiv^m) 'flounder'. Attested earlier (ca. 1226) in the *History of William Marshal* (1:17344). FEW (FLUNDRA 3:643b) notes that, "[i]m gallorom. ist das wort von jeher auf die Normandie und das agn. beschränkt." The word is attested in ME from 1450 though it occurs as a vernacular word in Latin texts from 1305 (MED s.v. *flōunder*). According to the OED, the English word is a borrowing from AN, which ultimately derives from ON (OED2 s.v. *flounder* n.1).

122 DMLBS *phoca* 'seal'. MED s.v. *sēl(e)* n.(2) 'the common seal (*Phoca vitulina*) etc.' (< OE *seolh*). The word is unknown in AN; the second instance of *sæl* is likely another ME gloss.

123 DMLBS s.v. *castorius* 'beaver'. MED s.v. *bēver* n.(1) 'the European beaver (*Castor fiber*)' (< OE *befer*). Cf. OED *beaver* n.1. AND s.v. *bevere* 1 (s.xii²) 'beaver'. The earliest attestation of the word in ME occurs in the Worcester manuscript of ÆGI. It is difficult to know if the gloss should be interpreted as AN or ME as the term was extant in both languages during this period.

124 The headword <celasus> is unattested in the consulted Latin dictionaries. AND s.v. *martre* 1 (s.xii^{2/4}) 'marten'. MED s.v. *martrin*, an early-thirteenth-century borrowing from AN. Cf. #129.

125 Cf. discussion at #118 *Rocca*. The marginal gloss is omitted from Hunt (1991, 1:25).

126 AND s.v. *tessun* (ca. 1180) 'badger'.

127 The entry derives from ÆG Gram [56.6] *bilis : gealla* 'bile, gall'. The gloss may relate to the fact that horses, asses, camels, and elephants (which are all listed in ÆGI 309.6–8) have no gallbladder and were believed not to produce bile (cf. Waters 2013: 233).

- 128 [309.09] LUTRIUS : OTER : lutra
 129 [309.09] FERUNCUS : MEARÐ : martrina^{lxxv}
 130 [309.11] HYRICIUS UEL ERINACIUS : HIL : hericun
 131 [309.11] GLIS : SISEMUS : chisemus
 132 [309.16] APER UEL UERRES : BAR : uer damesca^{lxxvi}
 133 [310.03] RUBETA : TADIE : fruit
 134 [310.03] RANA : FROGGA : raina
 135 [310.03] LACERTA : EFETTE : lesarda

Marginal glosses: left-hand margin

136 <.....> lesarda^{lxxvii}

[fol. 97r] [NOMINA HERBARUM]

Interlinear gloss

137 MAÐU. \oðða/ MOÐÐE^{lxxviii}

Marginal glosses : top margin

138 sparge : paluupapurt^{lxxix}

139 <.>ma<..>a^{lxxx}

128 AND s.v. loutre 2 (s.xii^{1/4}) ‘otter’.

129 AND s.v. martrin (ca. 1170) ‘marten’. MED s.v. martrin n. (?ca. 1250; < OF & ML). DMLBS s.v. martina (1243; < ME *martin*). The Romance word is ultimately a borrowing from Germanic (FEW *MARPR- 16:537a); in the ME period, all three words seem to influence each other.

130 AND s.v. hericun (s.xii^{4/4}) ‘hedgehog’. MED s.v. irchōun (ca. 1300; < AN).

131 AND s.v. cisemus (s.xii^{ex}) ‘ground-squirrel, pouched marmot’. BT s.v. sise-mūs ‘a dormouse’. The English word has not survived beyond the OE period.

132 AND s.v. ver 2 (s.xii^{1/3}) ‘boar’; AND s.v. domesche (s.xii^{ex}) ‘domesticated, tame’. The locution is otherwise unknown in AN or CF.

133 It is possible that <fruit> represents OF *froit* (Gdf s.v. ‘toad’; FEW *FROSK 15/i:181b), which is otherwise unattested in AN. Alternatively, it might represent MED s.v. froude ‘frog or toad’ (1200; < Old Icelandic *frauð-r*).

134 AND s.v. raine 1 (s.xii¹) ‘frog’.

135 AND s.v. lesarde (1185) ‘lizard’. MED s.v. lēsarde n. (1382; < OF).

136 This gloss is placed in the margin next to the interlinear entry #135 LACERTA, which it repeats.

137 MED s.v. oth-the conj. ‘or’ (< OE *oþþe*).

138 AND s.v. esperge (s.xiii^{2/3}); sparge (s.xiv²) ‘asparagus’. Cf. Hunt 1989, s.v. Herba Tinctorum. This would represent the earliest attested use of the term in AN. The word was eventually borrowed into ME, cf. MED s.v. sparāge ‘asparagus *Asparagus officinalis* etc.; a plant of the genus *Geranium* or the columbine *Aquilegia vulgaris*’ (var. form <sparge>). MED s.v. wal-wort ‘a plant, usu. danewort or dwarf elder *Sambucus ebulus*; the name also applied to other plants: dropwort *Filipendula vulgaris*, chicory or endive, elecampene, hellebore, etc.’ (< OE *wealh-wyrt*). It is unclear if the two words are meant as translation equivalents or if they refer to different plants.

139 Unclear.

Marginal glosses: right-hand margin

- 140 Gvrgulio : emel^{lxxx}
 141 oriol : eluerþin3pirt^{lxxx}
 142 reina : medepurt
 143 [311.02] SAXIFRIGA : SUND CORN : grumil^{lxxxiii}

[fol. 97v] NOMINA ARBORUM

Interlinear glosses

- 144 [312.03] TAXUS : ip : ulma
 145 [312.03] CORILUS : HÆSEL : coldre
 146 [312.04] FAGUS : BOC TREOP : fou^{lxxxiv}
 147 [312.06] UIRGULTUM : TELGRA : uerger .i. cardin^{lxxxv}

140 *Gurgulio* should be understood as a variant of *curculio* 'corn-worm, weevil' (DMLBS s.v.). A similar pair is attested in various early Anglo-Saxon glossaries, e.g. Epinal *gurgulio* : *aemil*, suggesting the OE gloss meaning 'canker-worm' (DOE s.v. emel 'caterpillar, weevil'). The gloss was misinterpreted as an AN translation of Lat. *gurgulio* 'throat or windpipe' (DMLBS s.v.), which resulted in the inclusion of the word in the AND (s.v. emel 'gullet, windpipe'), which has now been deleted. In Faustina, the gloss is added in the margin next to words for 'louse', 'flea', 'bug', and clearly represents an addition to this group. The passage *gurgulio* : *ymel oððe ðrotbolla*, i.e., 'weevil or windpipe' in ÆGram [35.7], from which this item presumably derives, disambiguates the apparent polysemy of the Latin headword.

141 A plant name *oriol* is not attested in AN or ME. The word could represent AN *oriol*1 (AND s.v.), an adjective meaning 'golden, gold-coloured' and which was also converted into an animal name for both a gold-coloured bird and a fish. *Agrimonia* 'agrimony', one of Latin equivalents of the OE plant name, has bright yellow flowers (though the English gloss probably refers to chickweed or stitchwort). This fact might have provided a semantic motivation; cf. the similar extension of AN *orin* from an adjective meaning 'golden, gold-coloured' to a plant name 'orpine, stonecrop (a wide variety of herbs with bright yellow flowers)'. DOE s.v. æþel-feorþing-wyrt 'name of a plant, probably to be identified with a species of the genus *stellaria* such as chickweed or stitchwort'. MED s.v. wōrt n.(1), sense 3, 'in names or designations of plants', cf. *æðelferthing-wyrt*.

142 AND s.v. *reine* 1 'meadowsweet'. Cf. Hunt 1989 s.v. *Regina*. This represents the earliest attested use of the term in AN in this sense. MED s.v. mēd(e)-wort 'an herb of some kind; ?the common balm *Melissa officinalis* or some similar herb' (< OE *medu-wyrt*). The same combination of the AN and Engl. plant names also occurs in the trilingual Harley Vocabulary (1300), which groups *Regina*, i. *reine*, i. *meduwurt*.

143 AND s.v. *grumel* (s.xiii^m) 'gromwell'. MED s.v. *gromil* n. (1300). Cf. Hunt 1989, s.v. *Lithospermum*; *Saxifraga*. *Grumel* is normally attested in reference to the plant *Lithospermum officinale*, i.e., common gromwell. *Saxifraga* was used in medicinal treatments to cure lithiasis while gromwell is known by its stony seeds. In OE, the plant name *sundcorn*, *sunncorn* is paired with both Lat. *saxifraga* and *lithospermum* (cf. *Dictionary of Old English Plant Names*, s.v.).

144 AND s.v. *ulm* 'elm, deciduous tree of the genus *Ulmus*'. Cf. Hunt 1989, s.v. *Ulmus*.

145 AND s.v. *coudre* (ca. 1165) 'hazel-tree'.

146 AND s.v. *fou* 1 (s.xiii^{2/4}) 'beech (tree)'. Cf. Hunt 1989, s.v. *Fagus*.

147 AND s.v. *verger* 1 (s.xii^{2/4}) 'kitchen garden, orchard'. AN s.v. *gardin* 1 (ca. 1250) 'garden etc.'. Both words were eventually borrowed into ME, cf. MED s.v. *verger* n.(1) (ca. 1330) 'a garden or an

- 148 [312.06] RAMUS : BOG : boh
 149 [312.07] Frons : boh^{lxxxvi}
 150 [312.07] Stipes : boh
 151 [312.07] Fomes : tender
 152 [312.08] FICUS : FICTREOP : fier
 153 [312.08] POPULUS : BYRC : bu^{lxxxvii}
 154 [312.12] ABIES : ÆPS : tremmle^{lxxxviii}
 155 [312.12] MORUS : MORBEAM : murer : blacaberiabrer^{lxxxix}
 156 [312.13] URTIS : PINTREOP : uiz^{xc}
 157 Strues : pudauina .i. leinner^{xci}
 158 [313.08] LACUS : SEAD : stanc
 159 [313.08] LATEX : BURNA OÐÐE BROC : egue^{xcii}

orchard'. MED s.v. *gardin* (1325[ca. 1280], in place names from 1171–83) 'a cultivated piece of land'.

148 MED s.v. *bough* 'a branch of a tree or bush' (ca. 1175), DOE s.v. *boh* (2.a) 'branch of a tree or bush, bough'.

149 DMLBS s.v. *frons* 'leafy branch; greenery'. Cf. above. The gloss derives from ÆGram [63.9] *frons, frondis* : *bið boh on treow*. This and the following two entries are additions to a group of words concerned with the different parts of trees.

150 DMLBS s.v. *stipes* 'trunk or bole (of a tree)'. Cf. above. The gloss derives from ÆGram [52.10] *stipes* : *boh*.

151 DMLBS s.v. *fomes* 'kindling, tinder'. BT s.v. *tynder* 'tinder, fuel'. The gloss derives from ÆGram [52.11] *fomes* : *tender*.

152 AND s.v. *fier* 1 (s.xii¹) 'fig-tree'. MED s.v. *figēr* 'a fig tree' (ca. 1230 [?1200]; < OF). Cf. Hunt 1989, s.v. *Ficus*.

153 AND s.v. *boule* 1 (ca. 1250) 'birch'. Cf. Hunt 1989, s.v. *Populus*.

154 AND s.v. *tremble* 1 (ca. 1230) 'aspen'. Cf. Hunt 1989, s.v. *Abies*.

155 AND s.v. *murer* 'mulberry tree'. Cf. Hunt 1989, s.v. *Morus*. The second gloss *blaka-beria-brer* 'blackberry bush' is a trithematic compound; MED s.v. *blāk* adj., (4.d) *blak berie* 'a black berry; esp., the fruit of the common English blackberry or bramble (*Rubus fruticosus*)' (cf. DOE s.v. *blac* (1.b) (*blacu*) *berie* 'blackberry, mulberry or blueberry'; OED s.v. *blackberry*) and MED s.v. *brēr* (< OE) 'any plant that bears prickles or thorns; a prickly plant or bush; a bramble or brier'. It seems likely that the scribe is trying to disambiguate the different senses of Lat. *morus*, which denotes the 'mulberry-tree (*Morus nigra*)' as well as the 'blackberry-bush (*Rubus fruticosus*)' (DMLBS s.v.); the gloss *Morus uel rubus* : *morbeam* from the Antwerp–London glossary (4, 283) attests the same two meanings for the OE equivalent.

156 AND s.v. *viz* 1 (s.xii²) '(wild) vine'. Cf. Hunt 1989, s.v. *Vitis Agrestis*.

157 DMLBS s.v. *strues* 'heap, pile'. BT s.v. *wudufin(e)*, f. 'a heap of wood'. The entry is copied from ÆGram [53.4] *strues* : *wudufin*. The English word has not survived beyond the OE period. AND s.v. *leignier* ca. 1330–40 'wood pile'.

158 AND s.v. *estank* (ca. 1139) 'pool, pond'.

159 AND s.v. *ewe* 1 (s.xii^{1/4}) 'water'.

Marginal glosses: left-hand margin

¹⁶⁰ <in.t.e> chosa ðs unacofa <...> enuiz^{xciii}

NOMINA DOMORUM

[fol. 98r]

Interlinear glosses

¹⁶¹ [313.17] PAUIMENTUM UEL SOLUM : FLOR : ære

¹⁶² [314.07] LICHINUS : BLACERN : liht stan

¹⁶³ [314.12] SUPERHUMERALE : SCULDOR HRÆGEL : emit

¹⁶⁴ [314.18] SINDO : SCYTE : uel lintheolus^{xciv}

¹⁶⁵ [315.01] FULCRA : EALL BEDREAF : feðerbed^{xcv}

Marginal glosses: right-hand margin

¹⁶⁶ marsupium : bursa : locususque crumena^{xcvi}

160 Unclear; the last word is possibly AND s.v. *eneveis* (s.xii^{1/4}) 'very soon' or AND s.v. *enviz* (ca. 1150) 'unwillingly'.

161 AND s.v. *aire* 1 (ca. 1160) 'level place, open space, area'. The gloss is repeated in two different spelling variants in the margin (#167 aer).

162 Probably a compound of ME *light* 'light' and *stōn* 'stone' denoting a 'lamp', an analogous formation to *light fat* 'lamp, light, lantern' (BT s.v. *leohtfæt*, MED s.v. *light* n., sense 10). *Light-stone* is not attested in BT, MED or OED; only the TOE (and hence the HT) includes an entry *lēohtstān* 'a lamp (vessel)' (17.05.03|04.01). This entry, however, is marked as **o g**, which indicates that the word "is very probably found once only, in g[losses or glossary] texts" ('Distribution Flags'); the entry presumably derives from the DOE transcript of the Faustina gloss.

163 AND s.v. *amit* (1184) 'amice'.

164 DMLBS s.v. *linteolum* 'piece or strip of linen cloth'.

165 MED s.v. *fether* 3 (a), *fether bed* 'a mattress, cushion, or bed cover filled with down' (ca. 1300); DOE s.v. *feþer-bedd*; OED2 s.v. *feather-bed*. The word was borrowed from ME into AN in the late fourteenth century, cf. AND s.v. *fetherbed* (1399) 'mattress, cushion, or bedcover filled with down'.

166 DMLBS s.v. *marsupium* 'pouch, purse, money-bag'. DMLBS s.v. *bursa* 'purse, money-bag'. AND s.v. *burse* (s.xii^{1/4}) 'pouch, pocket, bag'. DMLBS s.v. *loculus* (2d) 'bag, pouch'. The last item is not clearly identifiable (see textual note); however, the entire gloss corresponds partially to a hexameter from John of Garland's *Synonyma*, which runs *Marsupium, bursa, forulus, locususque, tumetra* (*Patrologia Latina* 150, 1583, B)—with *tumetra* apparently being a mistake for *crumena* (DMLBS s.v. † *tumetra*). We are indebted to an anonymous reviewer of this article for drawing our attention to this verse, which suggests that the form in Cotton Faustina A X represents DMLBS s.v. *crumena* 'money-bag, purse'. Garland's verse circulated widely in later grammatical and lexicographic works (see Hunt [1991, 1:284] for an example from an anonymous thirteenth-century English grammatical treatise or Kirchert and Klein (1995, 2:878, Ma 194) for a fourteenth-century German one). Yet, these examples do not explain how the verse ended up as an annotation in Cotton Faustina A X, which antedates Garland's work; the *Synonyma* were probably written in the second quarter of the thirteenth century when Garland taught Latin in France (Schram 1951, 25). The immediate connection to ÆGI is the entry [313.14] *LOCULUS : CYST OÐÐE MYDERCE* 'chest'; the gloss explains another sense of the Latin headword.

¹⁶⁷ aer er

[fol. 98v]

Interlinear glosses

¹⁶⁸ [315.05] TELA UEL PEPLUM : pEB : licitorium : pebba : telere *et* tesseranda^{xvii}

¹⁶⁹ radium: risle

¹⁷⁰ cladica : pefel

¹⁷¹ conducta : zarnpinda : desuuidur^{xviii}

¹⁷² stamen : perp : stæim^{xcix}

¹⁷³ alibium : reol : traul^c

¹⁷⁴ apidiscus : pebhoc

¹⁷⁵ [316.03] IGNIS UEL FOCUS: FYR : lár uel^{ci}

167 This gloss repeats the interlinear gloss from #161 PAUIMENTUM. It is unclear if both spellings are supposed to represent the AN word or if one of them might have been intended as its Latin or possibly English equivalent, both of which are borrowings from AN; cf. DMLBS s.v. aer 2 (?) 'threshing floor; floor' (1282), MED s.v. eire 'a court held by [an itinerant judge]'. The first use of the word in English dates to the early fourteenth century and is only used in a very specific sense, which makes it the less likely candidate.

168 DMLBS s.v. *liciatorium* 'weaver's beam'. MED s.v. webbe 'a weaver' (ca. 1100–30; < OE *webba*). AND s.v. teler (s.xii^{ex}) 'weaver'. AND s.v. tesserant 'weaver'. This represents the earliest use of the word in AN which is otherwise unattested until 1298; however, the term is attested in CF from ca. 1200. It is unclear whether the final <a> should be interpreted as representing the feminine form *tesserande*, otherwise unattested in AN though found in CF from ca. 1268. The entire batch of glosses adds weaving terminology to a group of words on textiles and textile making in ÆGL. The Latin–English word pairs closely resemble items from a list of weaving terms in Bodley 730 (see Introduction, p. 18).

169 DMLBS radium (sense 3) 'shuttle'. DOE s.v. hrīsel, hrīsl 'a shuttle; radius'. The word is common in Anglo-Saxon glossaries, but not attested in ME. On the possible relationship to ModE *risel* 'stick, twig' cf. *The Lexis of Cloth and Clothing* (Owen-Crocker et al. 2018), s.v. hrisel.

170 DMLBS s.v. cladica 'woof, weft'. BT s.v. wefl 'weft'. The word is not attested in ME.

171 DMLBS s.v. conducere (6 p. ppl. as sb. n.) 'yarn-winder, reel'. DOE s.v. gearn-winde 'yarn-winder, reel'. AND s.v. devoidere (s.xiii¹) 'reel, yarn-windle'.

172 DMLBS s.v. stamen 'vertical threads in a loom, warp; woof, weft'. MED s.v. warp 'warp etc.' (1346; < OE *wearp*). AND s.v. estaim (s.xii^{ex}) 'warp, thread'.

173 DMLBS s.v. alabrum 'reel (for spinning)'. MED s.v. rēl(e n.(1) 'a reel on which yarn was wound after being spun' (1325; < OE *hreo*l). AND s.v. trauil (s.xii^{ex}) 'winding-reel'. DMLBS incorrectly cites Ælfric as a source for a gloss *alibrum* : *hreo*l, which, however, occurs in the Antwerp–London glossary (cf. Introduction, p. 13, note 2). The same trilingual group is attested in a gloss to Adam of Petit Pont's *De utensilibus*: *alabrum* : *traul*, *anglice rel* (Hunt 1991, 2:57, 89).

174 DMLBS s.v. aspidiscus 'hook of weaver's beam'. BT s.v. web-hoc 'some implement used in weaving, a tenter-hook(?)'. The word is not attested in ME though other compounds with *web* (e.g. *web bem*, *garn*, *lome* 'weaving beam, yarn, loom') and *hōk* (e.g. *wed hok* 'weeding hook') occur. The pairing of lemma and interpretamentum is also attested in related Anglo-Saxon glossaries (Antwerp–London, Brussels, Cleopatra).

175 This gloss introduces an additional Latin headword, DMLBS s.v. lar 4a 'fire, flame'. Its source

- 176 [316.04] fax : blasa
 177 [316.07] DAPS : SAND : uianda^{cii}
 178 [316.07] FERULUM : BÆRDISC .i. mes^{ciii}
 179 [316.08] FRIXORIUM : HYRSTIN : iserne bacstan^{civ}
 180 [316.09] OFA : SNÆD : supa^{cv}

[fol. 99r]

Interlinear glosses

- 181 [316.13] NUMUS : PENING : uel as^{cvi}
 182 [316.03] FARINA : MELU : furfur: grutta^{cvi}
 183 [316.15] ACUS : SIFEÐA : pailla
 184 [316.16] pollis : smedema^{cvi}
 185 [316.16] FURFURES : GRYTТА : suun

may well be ÆGram [42.14] *hic lar : ðis fyr* as it is written by hand C, who added other items from ÆGram (cf. Introduction, pp. 19–20).

176 DMLBS s.v. fax ‘torch, light’. DOE s.v. blæse ‘blaze, flame, torch, lamp’. The gloss is added after [316.04] TICIO [for *titio* ‘firebrand’] : BRAND ‘fire, flame’, which also triggered the word semantically. It derives from ÆGram [68.11, 210.8].

177 AND s.v. viande (s.xii^{1/4}) ‘food, victuals’. MED s.v. vĩaund (e n. ‘prepared food; a dish etc.’ (?1425 [ca. 1400]; < OF). Glosses #177–80 are not included in Hunt (1991, 1:25).

178 AND s.v. mes 2 (ca. 1136) ‘portion of (cooked) food, dish, course’. MED s.v. mēsn.(2) ‘a course or a dish of prepared food ...’ (ca. 1300; < OF, from Lat. *missus*).

179 MED s.v. bāk(e-stōn) ‘a flat stone used as a griddle’; MED s.v. īren adj. ‘iron’. The noun is attested from ca. 1170 onwards as a place name element; apart from that, MED lists only two citations, one is this particular instance from the Faustina manuscript, the other derives from a fifteenth-century customs account (1420–1; ed. Gras 1918, 503). The Faustina form is the only attestation cited in the DOE (s.v. bæc-stān); cf. OED2 s.v. bakestone. The adjective ‘iron’ is common throughout the history of the English language. Cf. DOE s.v. īsen, isern, īren adj. The inflectional ending -e suggests that the form is accusative singular. In the MED, it is first attested in names (mostly personal names); the first appellative use is from the Worcester version of ÆGL; the instance from Faustina is not listed (cf. Introduction).

180 AND s.v. supe (s.xii²) ‘sop’. MED s.v. sop(pe n.(1) ‘a piece of bread dipped or soaked in wine, water, milk, or some other liquid’ (1340; < OE *sopp* & OF *sope, sopp*).

181 DMLBS s.v. as ‘unit of weight, coin’.

182 DMLBS s.v. furfur ‘bran’. MED s.v. grutta ‘bran’ (< OE *grytta*).

183 AND s.v. paille 1 (ca. 1121–35) ‘chaff’.

184 DMLBS s.v. pollen, pollis ‘(finely ground) flour’. BT s.v. smedema ‘fine flour, meal’. MED s.v. smedma ‘fine powder or flour’ (< OE). There are only two attestations in the MED both from an early ME copy of the Herbarium Apuleii (?1200). The entry derives from ÆGL (55.13) *pollis: smedma of melwe*.

185 This form is obscure; it might represent a spelling variant, or misspelling, of ME sand (MED s.v. sānd ‘sand, grain of sand’). Attested spelling variants include <saun>, which could be the form intended by the scribe. This word would have been triggered by an identification of *grutta* with ME grēt n.(3) ‘sand, gravel, small stones’ (< OE *grēot* ‘gravel’; the form <grutte> is attested as a variant in the MED). According to the OED, the forms of the two related nouns have influenced each other

- 186 [316.17] DOLIUM : CYF : tunneas^{cix}
 187 [316.17] UTENSILIA : ANDLOMAN^{cx} : an fetles^{cx}
 188 [317.01] SUPPELLEX : YDDYSCE : streite maisun
 189 [317.04] lugubris : drorilic^{cxii}
 190 [317.15] ANTELA : FORÐGYRD : peitrel
 191 [317.16] FALERE : GERÆDU : engaret

Marginal glosses: right-hand margin

192 curailles .i. uanures

[fol. 99v]

Interlinear glosses

193 [318.12] edilis : bold peard^{cxiii}

(cf. OED s.v. grit, n.1 'sand, gravel, small stones'; grit n.2 'bran, chaff, mill-dust').

186 MED s.v. *tönne* 'a large barrel [...], a cask' (1121; OE/OF). BT s.v. *tunne*, nom./acc. pl. *tunnan*. AND s.v. *tone* (pl. -es). DMLBS s.v. *tunna* 'barrel, cask, tun'; acc. pl. *tunnas*. The English noun is an n-stem; therefore, a plural in -*an/-en* would be the expected form if the word is considered eME. The corresponding words from the base text are both singular.

187 MED s.v. *fêtes* 'a container or receptacle, esp. for liquids or food' (ca. 1175; < OE *fætels*). This gloss provides the only instance of *an*, which is probably best translated as an indefinite article, i.e., 'a container' rather than as the numeral *an* 'one' (cf. Introduction, pp. 17–18).

188 AND s.v. *estruit* 2 (ca. 1160) 'necessaries'. This is likely a variant form deriving ultimately from Latin *instruere* (DMLBS s.v.; FEW *instruere* 4:725a) in the sense of 'to equip, furnish, fit out'. The use of the graph <ei> for /ui/ is unlikely. The sense is supported by the Latin and OE glosses which have the sense of 'property, household stuff'. The Douce glossary (s.xiii^m) (Hunt 1991, 1:422) has *hec suppellex [...] ustilement de meison*. It has been suggested that this may be a variant form of AND s.v. *estat* (1316) 'possessions; estate(s), land(s)' or possibly s.v. *estre* 1 (1325) 'possessions'. This would represent an extremely early use of either word in this sense, which are otherwise attested in fourteenth-century administrative texts.

189 DMLBS s.v. *lugubris* 'mournful, doleful'. MED s.v. *drēriġi* 'sadly, sorrowfully, etc.' (< OE). The source of this entry is ÆGram [55.2] *lugubris: dreoriglic*. The entry is added after the synonyms [317.04] *tristis : unrot, mestus : dreorig*.

190 AND s.v. *peitral* (ca. 1139) 'poitral, breast-piece of a horse's harness'.

191 AND s.v. *esgarer*. The gloss is currently included (in error) in the AND as the sole attestation of the verb *esgarer* 'to deceive, lead astray' in a transitive sense. This is clearly in error as both the Latin and OE glosses refer to 'trappings, harness' (DMLBS s.v. *phalarae*). The DEAF identifies the word as a substantive but mistranslates as 'tribune?'. Lat. *phalere* is frequently found glossed with AN *harneis* 'equipment; harness' (AND s.v.; Hunt 1991, 3:123). The word is possibly a derivation of **warnjan* (FEW s.v. **WARNJAN* 17:531a) which produced, among others, AN *garnement* 'defensive equipment, armour' (AND s.v.) though the lack of internal -*n*- makes such an association problematic.

192 AND s.v. *curaille* (s.xii^{cx}) 'husk, chaff'. *Vannure* 'husk' is otherwise unattested in AN. The term is attested poorly in CF—a single time in OF and MF (FEW s.v. *VANNUS* 14:160a).

193 DMLBS s.v. *aedilis* 'overseer of buildings'. DOE s.v. *botl-weard*, *bold-weard* 'house-steward, overseer of buildings'. The gloss derives from ÆGram [53.14]: *aedilis ys masculini generis, þæt is botlwerd*

- 194 [319.05] MARMOR[: MARM]STAN^{cxiv}: marbra
 195 [319.07] CALCX : CEALCSTAN : caz oðð creie
 196 [319.07] CIMENTUM : ANDPEORC TO PEALLE : morter qui tend la pere ensembe
 197 [319.09] PROPHANUS : MANFUL : escumine

[fol. 100r]

Interlinear glosses

- 198 [319.15] CICATRIX : DOLHSPAÐU : sur sanaure^{cxv}
 199 [320.08] SARCOFAGUM : ÞURH : sarcu^{cxvi}
 200 [320.09] UTER : BYTT : butcel
 201 [320.10] CORBIS UEL COFINUS : PYLIGE OÐÐE MEOXBEARUPE : oiure^{cxvii}
 202 [320.11] CARTALLUM : PINDEL : bussel
 203 [320.14] SAGENA : SÆNETT : sauena
 204 [320.15] FOLLIS : BYLIG : fous
 205 [320.15] MALLEUS : SLEGA : mail
 206 [320.15] LIMA : FEOLE : lime

Marginal glosses: right-hand margin

- 207 ḥp<...> of þ<...>| c<.....>^{cxviii}

oððe byrigman. It represents an addition to [318:12] UILLICUS : TUNGEREFA 'steward, reeve, bailiff'.

194 AND s.v. marbre (s.xii^{2/4}) 'marble'.

195 AND s.v. chaux 1 (s.xii^{1/3}) 'lime'. AND s.v. creie (s.xii^{ex}) 'chalk'.

196 AND s.v. mortier 2 (ca. 1180) 'builder's mortar'.

197 AND s.v. excumenger; past particle as adjective 'impious'. This is the sole attested use of the past particle in this sense though it is also attested in the related sense of 'accursed, damnable'.

198 AND s.v. sursanure (s.xii¹) 'scar'.

199 AND s.v. sarcu 1 (s.xii^{2/4}) 'coffin'.

200 AND s.v. bocel (s.xii¹) 'container for liquids'.

201 This gloss is possibly a corrupted reading of AND s.v. ordure 1 (s.xii¹) 'filth, dirt'—translating only the first element of OE *meoxbearupe* 'dung-basket'.

202 AND s.v. bocel (s.xii¹) 'basket'. This is the same word as #200 *butcel*. This gloss is also attested in the twelfth-century glossary found in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.3.27 as *cartallum: buisel* (Hunt 1991, 1:21). These represent the only attestations of the word in this sense.

203 AND s.v. seein 1 (s.xiii²) 'seine, fishing-net'. This would represent the earliest use of the word in AN, also attested as a gloss in a manuscript of John of Garland's *Commentarius* from the second half of the thirteenth century (Hunt 1991, 1:230).

204 AND s.v. fou 2 (s.xii^{1/4}) 'bellows'.

205 AND s.v. mail (s.xii^{2/4}) 'maul, (heavy) hammer'.

206 AND s.v. lime (1190–93) 'file'.

207 Unclear.

[fol. 100v]

Interlinear glosses

- ²⁰⁸ [321.01] COMPES : UEL CIPPUS : FOTCOPS : bveittes^{cxix} : cep .i. stoccas^{cx}
²⁰⁹ [321.07] GAZAFILACIUM : MAÐMHUS : thesaurus publicus^{cxxi}
²¹⁰ [321.12] PUDICUS : SIDEFUL : castus^{cxxi}
²¹¹ [321.12] INTERPRES : PEALHSTOD : entrepretur
²¹² [322.01] GYBBUS UEL STRUMA : HOFER : boze^{cxiii}
²¹³ [322.01] MERETRIX [UEL] SCORTA : MYLTESTRE : lena : spenæstra^{cxiv}
²¹⁴ [322.03] Catarrus : hposta^{cxv}

Marginal glosses: upper and left-hand margin^{cxvi}

- ²¹⁵ Gentaculum : marmel^{cxvii}
²¹⁶ gæntor, [-]taris .i. commedere^{cxviii}

208 AND s.v. buiettes ‘fettters’. This is the sole attested use of the word though it is likely a diminutive derived from *bou* ‘fetter’ (AND s.v. bou 1). This entry conflates *bou* deriving from *BAUG ‘ring’ [FEW 15/i:85a] with *bou* deriving from BOJA ‘fetter’ [FEW 1:426b]. The latter would be the etymon for *buiettes*. AND s.v. cep (s.xiii^m) ‘stocks’. The sense of ‘stocks’ is otherwise only attested in the plural. MED s.v. stok n.(1), sense 4 ‘an instrument of punishment consisting of a wooden frame designed to confine the ankles and sometimes the hands of a seated prisoner, the stocks’, usually pl. (1325; < OE *stoc*).

209 DMLBS s.v. thesaurus ‘place where valuables are stored, treasure chamber, etc.’ DMLBS s.v. publicus ‘public, official etc.’.

210 DMLBS s.v. castus ‘chaste’.

211 AND s.v. interpretour (s.xii¹) ‘translator’.

212 AND s.v. boçu (ca. 1170) ‘hunchbacked’.

213 DMLBS lena 3 ‘bawd’. DOE s.v. for-spenneestre ‘procuress, bawd’. The agent noun is not attested in ME, but cf. MED s.v. forspannen v. ‘incite, seduce’ (IOE), spannen v.(2) ‘to seduce (someone’s wife)’ (ca. 1275). The gloss derives from ÆGram [36.09] *lena* : *forspennystre*.

214 DMLBS s.v. catarrhus ‘catarrh’. DOE s.v. hpōsta ‘a cough’. Cf. ÆGram [75.6]: *haec tussis: ðes hwoſta*, which, however, does not provide a source for the Latin headword. There is no clear connection between this addition and the base text at this point.

215 DMLBS s.v. jentaculum ‘light early morning collation, breakfast; mid-day meal; etc.’ MED s.v. *mōrwe* ‘morning’ and *mēl* n.(2), sense 3, ‘a meal, feast’. The compound *mar-mel* (or *morwe-mel*) is not attested in ME, but cf. *morwe mete* ‘a small morning meal, breakfast’ (MED s.v. *morwe*, sense 2c). It is unclear if this (and the following) gloss is connected to the base text. The placement in the margin next to [321.05] HOROLOGIUM : DÆGMÆL, GOOMAN [for GNOMON]: *dægmæles PIL*, HOSPES : CUMA, HOSPITIUM : GÆSTHUS, etc. suggests that the scribe may have confused *dægmæl* ‘sundial, day-marker’ with the second part of ME *mid dai mel* ‘lunch’.

216 1st and 2nd person singular, indicative present tense of the deponent verb *jentari* ‘to breakfast’ (DMLBS s.v. *jentare*, *jentari*). DMLBS s.v. *comesse*, *comedere* ‘to eat’.

²¹⁷ [321:07] THESAURUS : HORD, GAZAFILACIUM: MAÐMHUS : <frā> gazaine : hofshuua^{ccix}

²¹⁸ <latī> gaza: tesor^{ccxx}

[fol. 101r]

Marginal glosses: upper and right-hand margin

²¹⁹ frugi homo : uncusti mon^{ccxxi}

²²⁰ fimus : limus

²²¹ trux uel atrox .i. crudelis^{ccxxii}

²²² penu : hedd[ern]^{ccxxiii}

²²³ furfur uel pollis^{ccxxiv} : gritta

²²⁴ as, assis : peni^{ccxxv}

²²⁵ nugas indecli[nabile]^{ccxxvi} : abroþen

²²⁶ Deses^{ccxxvii} : asolcan

²²⁷ reses : aspundan

²²⁸ pollis : smedma

²²⁹ ceruical : pula

217 This entire entry is highly problematic since none of the three words can be clearly identified with an existing lemma: *gazaine* is most likely an AN derivative of ultimately Grk. γάζα 'treasure'; triggered by the entries [321.07] THESAURUS : HORD 'treasure', GAZAFILACIUM: MAÐMHUS 'treasury'. The gloss <hofshuua> is unclear. The gloss <frā>, if connected to this entry, might represent a number of words. One way of making sense of this gloss is to expand <frā> as Lat. *francice* 'in French' and the corresponding <latī> in the subsequent gloss #218 as *latine* 'Latin' (DMLBS s.vv.), though *gaza* is strictly speaking a Greek word.

218 DMLBS s.v. *gaza* 'treasure, wealth'. AND s.v. *tesor*, (ca. 1136–37) sense 6, 'treasure'. On <latī> cf. #217 above.

219 MED s.v. *uncistī* adj. 'niggardly, stingy' (< OE *uncystig*). In ME the adjective is only attested in the Worcester version of ÆGI. The source of the entry is ÆGram [74.11] *frugi homo : uncystig man*.

220 DMLBS s.vv. *fimum* (sense 3) 'clay', *limus* 'mud, mire; (as building material)'. The entry combines the Latin words from ÆGram [83.10] *fimus : scern, limus : lam*.

221 DMLBS s.v. *trux* 'fierce, savage etc.', *atrox* 'atrocious, savage', *crudelis* 'cruel'. The glossator here combines three Latin synonyms provided by Ælfric in the *Grammar* and which he all translated with the same OE word; cf. ÆGram [72.4] *hic et haec et hoc trux : wælhreow oððe reþe, huius trucus, [71.18] hic et haec et hoc atrox : wælhreow, huius atrocis, [54.4] crudelis : wælhreow*.

222 DMLBS s.v. *penus* 'storeroom, cellar'; DOE s.v. *hëddern* 'storehouse, sotreroom'. Cf. ÆGram [80.9] *penu : heddern*.

223 Cf. #182 *farina*, #184 *pollis*, #185 *furfures*.

224 The source is ÆGram [50.5] *hic as : þes peningc oððe anfeald getel, huius assis*.

225 Cf. #47 *nugas*. The information that *nugas* is indeclinable also derives from ÆGram [51.4].

226 Cf. #48 *deses*.

227 Cf. #49 *reses*.

228 Cf. #184 *pollis*.

229 MED s.v. *pilwe* (MED s.v.; < OE *pyle*). Cf. ÆGram [38.03] *ceruical : pyle* and #10 *ceruigal : pulaper*. On the form cf. the entry *puluinar : pule* in the Worcester version of ÆGI (547/19).

- 230 calibs : isen
 231 pugil : bætera^{cxviii}
 232 scrobs : put uel dic
 233 pean : lof
 234 examen : sperm uel dom^{cxix}
 235 hoc far, faris : þat is gret hpete^{cl}
 236 tuber : spam
 237 metus : o3a^{cli}
 238 horror : o3a
 239 algor : cýle
 240 ador : meolu oðða ofrun3, indeclinabile^{clii}

230 DMLBS s.v. chalybs (calibs) ‘iron, steel’. BT s.v. isen ‘iron, steel’. Cf. ÆGram [66.11] *hic calybs : ðis isen, huius calybis*.

231 DMLBS s.v. pugil ‘boxer, wrestler’. DOE s.v. bætere ‘boxer’. Cf. ÆGram [38.18] *hic pugil : ðes beater*.

232 DMLBS s.v. scrobs ‘ditch, dike, trench’. MED s.v. pit ‘hole, pit, ditch’ (< OE *pyt*). MED s.v. dīch(e) ‘trench, ditch’ (< OE *dic*). Cf. ÆGram [66.10] *scrobs ys pytt oððe dic*.

233 DMLBS s.v. pæan ‘metrical foot’, here in the sense of ‘hymn’. MED s.v. lōf ‘praise’ (< OE *lof*). Cf. ÆGram [39.16] *hic pæan : þis lof, huius pæanis*.

234 Cf. #91 Examen.

235 A misspelling for DOE s.v. *græg hwæte* ‘spelt or emmer wheat’. Cf. Gram [43.4] *hoc far, huius farris : græg hwæte*.

236 DMLBS s.v. tuber (sense 3) ‘fungus, mushroom’. MED s.v. swam ‘mushroom, fungus’ (< OE *swamm*). There are only late OE attestations in MED. Cf. ÆGram [44.1] *hoc tuber : ðes swam*.

237 BT s.v. oga ‘terror, dread, horror, great fear’; MED s.v. oue ‘fear, dread’. Cf. ÆGram [78.14] *metus: oga*.

238 Cf. ÆGram [46.16] *horror : oga*.

239 MED s.v. chēle ‘coldness’ (< Anglian *cele*, WS *ciele*, *cyle*). Cf. ÆGram [46.16] *algor : cyle*.

240 The whole item, including grammatical information derives from ÆGram [47.9] *ador : melu oððe ofrun3 INDECLINABILE*. In the DOE transcript, *indeclinabile* is given as a separate entry (ÆGl 2, 20).

Textual Notes

- i. Above Latin word. First three letters are erased (cf. Hunt 1991, 1:24n51).
- ii. According to Zupitza ([1880] 2003: 298n4) by a twelfth-century hand.
- iii. Gloss centred above Latin–Old English entry.
- iv. Gloss centred above Latin–Old English entry.
- v. <r> added above the line.
- vi. Hunt (1991, 1:24) expands the abbreviation tentatively as *fol(er?)*; however, the abbreviation sign consists of the common 9-shaped symbol for *-us*; cf. DOE transcript (ÆGl 1,6).
- vii. <s> added above the line.
- viii. Or possibly <scingul>.
- ix. The shape of the vowel in <clap> is ambiguous. The minims, though not parallel, are also not connected at the top, so <clup> is also possible (cf. Hunt 1991, 1:24). A subpunctus (or just an ink blot?) under the vowel may indicate a scribal error. DOE, ÆGl 1(14) reads *bordclap*.
- x. <parm.> is very close to the margin of the page; there may have been a vowel with nasal suspension mark at the end. Cf. Hunt (1991, 1:24) *volemum: parmen* and DOE (ÆGl 1,19) *volemum* <parm>.
- xi. Above Latin lemma.
- xii. The Lat. gloss is placed above PRIMAS, the AN equivalent above HEAFODMANN. Both glosses are probably by the same hand.
- xiii. Above Latin–Old English entry.
- xiv. Above ADTLETA.
- xv. This and the following gloss are added above [300.18] EXERCITUS : HERE, POPULUS : [...]. In the DOE transcript (ÆGl 3) *pubis : cnihtad* is mistakenly printed as part of [11.6].
- xvi. Above CLIENS.
- xvii. This and the following gloss are added above [301.04] PUER : CNAPA, PUELLA : MÆDEN OÐÐE [...].
- xviii. Above Latin lemma; <tu> added above the line.
- xix. Above [301.14] FERRARIUS.
- xx. Above Latin lemma.
- xxi. Above Latin lemma.
- xxii. Above [302.10] SALTATRIX : HLEAPESTRE; <o> of *histrío* added above a cancelled letter.
- xxiii. The end of the gloss touches the margin of the page and is difficult to decipher; it probably includes a vowel and a suspension mark.
- xxiv. This and the following two items are added above [303.8] INPIGER : UNGLEAP. HEBES : DWÆS. PARASITUS [...].
- xxv. Above Latin lemma.
- xxvi. Above Latin lemma.
- xxvii. Above Latin lemma.
- xxviii. The gloss is placed next to HEBES : DPÆS in the margin as the interlinear space is already taken up by #48–49.
- xxix. Above Latin lemma.
- xxx. Above Latin lemma.
- xxxi. Above Latin lemma.
- xxxii. Above Latin lemma; first <r> added above the line.

xxxiii. Above Latin lemma.

xxxiv. Above [305.1] FAMOSUS : HLISFUL.

xxxv. This and the following item are added below the Latin lemma in the bottom margin as the interlinear space is taken up by #66.

xxxvi. Below Latin lemma in bottom margin.

xxxvii. Gloss runs across two lines. Characters close to the margin of the page are faded. The last word is <cense\u/m> with <u> added above the line and second <e> expuncted.

xxxviii. <oðða nút> added by a different hand?

xxxix. Above Latin lemma.

xl. Above Latin lemma.

xli. Above Latin lemma.

xl. The actual form in the manuscript is <baraha> plus an abbreviation sign. Hunt (1991, 1:24) expands to *baraha[neté]*.

xl. <gos> added above the line by a later hand.

xliv. Above SPEARE.

xl. Above Latin lemma.

xlvi. <gos> (with superscript <s>) is added after AUCA at the end of the line. The original interpretamentum *gos* was apparently located on the next line but has been erased. There are various erasures of interlinear material in this passage; the original *gos* may have been removed in this process.

xlvi. <re> added over erasure.

xlvi. Above FALCO.

xl. Above WEALHHAFUC.

l. <reibæitre> was probably entered first; <bederne> is squeezed between this gloss and PRÆNNA.

li. Above [307.13] FUCUS: DRAN, UESPA [...].

lii. Entries #95–97 and 125 are preceded by a pilcrow and all in one hand.

liii. <cpiste> is placed above *ramage*.

liv. The end of the gloss touches the margin of the page; the last two characters are difficult to decipher.

lv. <saluacha> is placed below *pudahona* on the next line.

lvi. <gos> has been retraced by the scribe who wrote glosses #99–111, 121–24.

lvii. This and all subsequent marginal additions to the bird name section are written by a different hand; cf. Zupitza ([1880] 2003: 307nn8–9).

lviii. <uanel> is added above *Lapapinca*.

lix. <gruz> is added above *porhana*.

lx. <chao> is added above *cheo*.

lxi. <uac> added above the line.

lxii. <rupia> is placed above *ruduc*.

lxiii. <griuæ> is placed above *screc*.

lxiv. <stern> is placed above *Beacita*.

lxv. <gai> is placed above *hizera*.

lxvi. Last letter illegible; <cuaiil.> placed above *hen*.

lxvii. Ending erased from DELFINUS.

lxviii. Above SALMO.

lxix. Above UEL ALLEC.

lxx. The nasal suspension mark duplicates the following <n>.

lxxi. <pleiz oððe flundra> added above by a different hand; <l> of *flundra* added above the line.

lxxii. <sæl> added above first instance of *sæl* in a different hand.

lxxiii. <alosa> above lemma.

lxxiv. This gloss is added above [309.07] ASINUS UEL AQUA [for ASINA, <QU> partially erased] : ASSA.

lxxv. The <i> is written superscript, which Hunt (1991, 1:25) expands as *martrina*.

lxxvi. Above UERRES : BAR.

lxxvii. The gloss starts close to the left-hand margin of the page; the first word is illegible.

lxxviii. The conjunction is added above the line between MAÐU and MOÐÐE.

lxxix. Initial <p> corrected from . There is some kind of mark above the first <a> of *paluupawurt*.

lxxx. Faint gloss close to the top margin of the page.

lxxxi. First <e> of *emel* expuncted but added again above the line. The scribe of this gloss presumably also added the conjunction *oðða* between MAÐU and MOÐÐE on the same line of the base text.

lxxxii. <pirt> added above the line.

lxxxiii. <r> added above <g>. The gloss is placed in the margin next to SAXIFRIGA.

lxxxiv. <fou> entered twice, once above BOC, once above TREOW; the first instance has been erased.

lxxxv. AN gloss placed above both words.

lxxxvi. This and the following two entries are added between the lines above [312.07] PYRTRUMA. PIRUS : PYRIGE. A comma-shaped mark indicates that the group should be inserted after PYRTRUMA.

lxxxvii. Above Latin lemma.

lxxxviii. is expuncted and a second <m> added above the line.

lxxxix. <blacaberiabrer> added by a different hand.

xc. Above Latin lemma.

xc. Entries added between the lines above [312.16] UIA : PEG. SEMITA : PÆÐ. The AN gloss is by a different hand.

xcii. Above BURNA.

xciii. The gloss runs across two lines; characters close to the margin of the page are illegible. In the last word <e> is expuncted and <u> added above the line.

xciv. Above Latin lemma.

xcv. Above Latin lemma.

xcvi. The gloss is placed close to the margin of the page and runs across three lines. In the last item <u> is added above the line, presumably an abbreviation for *ru*, followed by <m> (or <n> plus a one-minim letter), then an abbreviation which normally stands for *er*, but here probably represents *en*, and finally <a>.

xcvii. Glosses #168–174, written by the same scribe (cf. Zupitza [1880] 2003, 315n7), are added between the lines after TELA UEL PEPLUM : PEB. Four of them are trilingual. AN forms are usually written above the Lat.-Engl. entries (see Introduction, pp. 18–19, and Plate 3). The double AN interpretamentum *telere et tesseranda* starts above *pebba* and continues to the right of the same word.

xcviii. AN gloss added above Lat.-ME entry.

xcix. The nasal suspension mark in *stæim* duplicates the final <m>.

c. AN gloss added above ME word.

- ci. The item is added next to *IGNIS UEL* in the right-hand margin.
- cii. Gloss centred above Lat.-OE entry.
- ciii. Above Latin lemma.
- civ. Gloss starts above the last two letters of *FRIXORIUM*.
- cv. Dot (possibly an ink blot) placed under <u> of *supa*.
- cvi. Above Latin lemma.
- cvi. Gloss has been erased, probably because the entry already occurs on the next line [316.16].
- cvi. Gloss added above [316.16] *FURFURES* : *GRYTТА*. By the same hand that erased #182 *furfur*: *grutta*?
- cix. A correcting hand has added a nasal suspension mark above <u> and expuncted the second <n>.
- cx. <D> added by a later hand.
- cxi. According to Zupitza ([1880] 2003: 316n17) by a twelfth-century hand.
- cxi. Gloss is placed above [317.04] *FAMIS* : *HUNGER*; a correction mark indicates that it represents an addition to the preceding entries.
- cxi. Gloss added between the lines above *ORTUS* : *ORCERD*.
- cxi. Spelling error in base text of *ÆGL*; cf. Zupitza ([1880] 2003: 319n5).
- cxi. Gloss placed above *DOLH* and extending into right-hand margin.
- cxi. Above *SARCOFAGUM*.
- cxi. Above *MEOX*[-*BEARUPE*].
- cxi. Faint gloss, occupying two lines in the margin, set off by a semi-circular mark.
- cxi. Above *COMPES*.
- cxi. Glosses placed above *CIPPUS* : *FOT*[-*COPS*].
- cxi. Above *GAZAFILACIUM* : *MAÐ*[*MHUS*].
- cxi. Above *PUDICUS*.
- cxi. Above *STRUMA*.
- cxi. Above Latin lemmata.
- cxi. Gloss added above [322.03] *PE NE MAGON* [...] of Ælfric's concluding statement. *Catarrus* has Insular <ŋ>.
- cxi. The left-hand margin of fol. 100v is filled with mostly Latin-Latin and Greek-Latin glosses. In the middle of this batch, occupying the space alongside ll. 7–12 of the main text, two other hands added glosses including ME and AN material. Only those glosses have been edited here, as the rest of the material is unconnected to *ÆGL*.
- cxi. <r> corrected from <e>? <marmel> added above lemma.
- cxi. <-medere> added on next line.
- cxi. <frā> added above *gazaine*.
- cxi. <la.i> added above *gaza*; <z> in *gaza* corrected from <c>; <e> of *tesor* added above line. Hunt (1991, 1:26) expands as *gaza*: *tesor*.
- cxi. This and the next gloss are placed below *trux uel atrox* etc. in the top margin of fol. 101r. They are in a different hand, which might be the same as the one who has written a small number of interlinear Latin glosses on fol. 93v.
- cxi. This batch of glosses starts in the middle of the top margin of fol. 101r, extends to the right of the page and continues down the right-hand margin.
- cxi. There is no clear abbreviation sign for the second element of the compound *hedd-ern*.
- cxi. <uel pollis> added above *furfur*.

cxv. A faint stroke above the <i> of *peni* may be a nasal suspension mark; therefore, the form is possibly *penin*. Both spellings are attested in the MED (s.v. *peni*).

cxvi. <idecli> added above *nugas*.

cxvii. Initial <D> or <d> is blotched, probably because the scribe copied the gloss from his or her own insertion on fol. 94v, where s/he uses capitals for the headwords *Nugas* and *Deses*.

cxviii. The final vowel is unclear. Cf. DOE transcript ÆGl 2(11) *bætere*.

cxix. <ſ dom> added above *sperm*.

cl. Gloss runs across two lines.

cli. Added above *horror* (cf. Introduction, p. 20).

clii. Gloss runs across three lines.

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Abstract: The present article contains a commented edition of the additions and annotations to *Ælfric's Glossary* in London, British Library, MS Cotton Faustina A X (fols. 92v–100v, 101r). The introduction includes a description of the manuscript, a discussion of the nature of the glosses as well as a description of the language of the glosses. This is followed by an edition of the interlinear and marginal glosses in Latin, Anglo-Norman, Old English, and Middle English added by various hands in the course of the twelfth century, including a detailed commentary on the individual glosses.

Keywords: Aelfric, glossary, gloss, Latin, Anglo-Norman, Old English, Middle English, manuscript