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Æfter/ra in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*: On the Plethora of Its Meanings and Uses in the English Gloss

Abstract

The present study aims at discussing the use of the Old English *ÆFTER* in the glosses to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, in order to establish patterns of equivalence between the OE gloss and an array of Latin source terms it renders. We are particularly interested in examining the consistency of such glossing, which would allow us to demonstrate the basic and peripheral senses of *ÆFTER* as well as its synonyms used in the collection. In an attempt to provide ground for a wider discussion of possible patterns in Old English gloss translation, the study compares the Aldredian employment of *æfter* and its forms with their use in the *Rushworth Gospels*, reportedly based on the *Lindisfarne* collection.

The data for the present study come from the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (henceforth DOEC), analyzed with AntConc, a corpus analysis toolkit developed by Laurence Anthony. The findings are further supplemented with a close analysis of the editions by Skeat (1970), as well as the digitalized manuscript of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* available at Turning The Pages™, British Library.

1. Preliminaries

The relationship between Latin and vernacular languages in the territories where the Bible was gradually being introduced is probably best seen in what we nowadays call interlinear glosses, or gloss translation. Its basic function in early Medieval England was not so much to transfer the meaning of an unknown source language, but rather to help interpret the meaning of the holy Gospels written down in Latin. The target audience of the Old English glosses is generally assumed to have been either well-versed in Latin, the holy language of teachings and science, or soon to become such. Glosses of separate words, phrases, or whole clauses served an interpretive function, a type of a guide to the wealth of the original text, understood by the target reader (cf. Stanton 2002, 9, 50).

Undoubtedly, the learned of those times considered Latin the superior language through which other languages could better be understood (cf. e.g. O'Brien 2011,

25, 196). Glosses, however, also constitute an irrefutable proof and a good pictorial illustration of the growing authority of English. Placed in revered Latin books, first in a much smaller cursive, later growing in size to take an equal place with Latin, glosses would help scribes constitute what they knew of the English language itself (cf. e.g. Stanton 2002, 53) in that crucial period which saw the codification of the written vernacular for the first time.

This interplay of Latin and English equivalent meanings is probably best visible where the scribe, in search for a better rendition of the glossed term, provided a string of OE variants to a Latin term, linked with the symbol † for *vel* ‘or’ (cf. Clemens and Graham 2007, 39). Such multiple glosses do not necessarily accompany difficult terms but rather simple words, offering synonymous meanings, spelling or morphological variants, etc. (cf. Ross and Squires 1980) perhaps constituting, as Stanton (2002, 52) suggests, a conscious stylistic exercise “to expand (...) the semantic range of existing vocabulary”.

Given such linguistic landscape, it is particularly interesting to study the semantic interplay of Latin and OE equivalents seen through the eyes of the medieval scribe.

2. Data

The text selected for the analysis is the *Lindisfarne Gospels* (LiG), extant in MS Cotton Nero D.4. This early 8th century manuscript, written in one Latin hand (to believe the colophon), was also glossed single-handedly, which provides us with a uniform idiolect of one scribe and his understanding of the Latin-OE equivalence. The Latin text itself is a copy of yet another translation, i.e. Jerome’s Vulgate from the acclaimed *Codex Amiatinus*, while the OE text is one of the oldest surviving attempts at translating the Gospels into English. This all makes the collection a historical source of immense value, providing a rare insight into the meaning of OE glosses when coupled with their Latin counterparts.

The OE gloss in LiG is a later addition by Aldred the Provost, future Bishop of Chester-le-Street, who, in mid-10th century, interpreted Latin in the Northumbrian dialect. His glosses take the interlinear form, with occasional marginalia, where he places his English commentary, and the colophon, commenting mainly on the manuscript’s provenance. The fact that Aldred glossed a beautiful, elaborate, and highly valuable manuscript, clearly not intended for everyday use (cf. Backhouse 1981, 22),¹ testifies to the role of English as a vernacular on equal rights with Latin, capable of producing full-fledged equivalents. While the scribe is believed to have glossed LiG on his own, some suggest Aldred may have had access to an unknown simpler exemplar, thus elaborating on the previous scribe’s rendition (Brown 2003, 95, 100). This might explain his use of multiple glosses, offering a number of interpretations to the Latin source text.

In order to augment our linguistic search, we compare the LiG data with those from the *Rushworth Gospels* (RuG), extant in MS Actuarium D.2.19. This collection originated in the early 9th century (Tamoto 2013, xlv) and was further glossed into English in the second half of the 10th century by two scribes, Farman and Owun (Tamoto 2013, xxiii). What makes it especially valuable in our analysis is the fact that the two glossators assumed different strategies in rendering the meaning of Latin. Owun “was merely deputed [by Farman] to take the Lindisfarne MS. as his guide and to follow it rather closely” (Skeat 1878, xii). Given that, one would expect identical or very similar equivalents to those used by Aldred, especially that both wrote in the Northumbrian dialect. Farman, on the other hand, translated into “a dialect which (...) may probably be Mercian or, at least, West Saxon written by a Midland man” (Murray in Skeat 1878: xiii), inevitably departing from the Aldredian gloss. The *Rushworth* material is typically divided into two parts: Ru1 (in Mercian) including Matthew, Mark 2.–2.15 and John 18.1–3, all glossed by Farman, and Ru2 (in Northumbrian) containing the remaining parts of Mark and John, and the gospel of Luke, glossed by Owun. It should be noted here, though, that the *Rushworth* data are discussed only when its scribes diverge from Aldred and offer their own translation of a term in question.

3. The OE word *æfter*

The analysis oscillates around the OE term *æfter*. It is a formation with a comparative suffix related to Lat. *-ter* (as in *alter*), in English usually represented as *-ther* (compare *other*), meaning ‘more off, further away’ (Skeat 1888, *aft*, *after*). In Old English, it functions as an adverb and preposition. As an adverb, *æfter* refers to place (‘behind’) or time (‘afterwards, subsequently’), denoting ‘further on’, ‘left over’, with a special meaning found in glosses of ‘again’ (LiG and RuG) and ‘therefore’ (RuG). As a preposition, it indicates place (‘behind, after, through, among’), purpose (‘in order to find, after’), time (‘following, subsequent’), order (‘next in importance’), and manner (‘according to, after the manner of’) (*Dictionary of Old English*, hence DOE, *æfter*).

In both functions and each of the senses which *æfter* carries in Old English, it is accompanied by a number of synonyms, thus forming quite a complex semantic domain, cf. Figure 1:

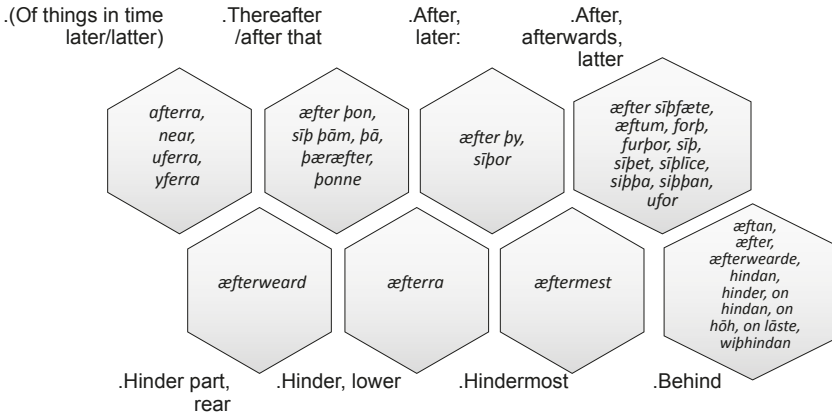


Fig. 1. OE synonyms of *æfter* (*Thesaurus of Old English*, 05.11.07.04.02, 05.10.05.04.09.02)

Next to *æfter*, an abbreviated form *aft* also emerges (Skeat 1888, *aft*, *after*), used in the sense of ‘a second time, again; back’ (OED). This form, however, often merges with a different lemma *eft* ‘again’ (Bosworth and Toller 1898, hence BT). Since in LiG the spellings *aft* or *æft* are not attested, while the spelling *eft* is ambiguous, the form was not included in the primary corpus search, even though it does show among synonyms in the analysis.

Additionally, the attachment of suffixes gives rise to the adjectives *æfterra*, formed with the comparative suffix *-ra*, denoting ‘second, next, following, later’, and *æftermest*, with the superlative *-most*, meaning ‘last, final’ (DOE, *æfterra*, *æftermest*, *æfterest*). The word is also frequently encountered in compounds forming verbs, e.g. *æfter-fylgan* ‘to follow’; nouns, as in *æfter-ylde* ‘old age’; adjectives, e.g. *æfter-boren* ‘born after the father’s death’; and adverbs, e.g. *æfter-sóna* ‘again’.

It needs to be stated here that, albeit tempting from the point of view of historical semantics, a discussion of the whole complex and intricate domain of ÆFTER, with all its uses and meanings, compounds, collocations, cognates and synonyms, would necessitate much more time and space than the authors are allowed in an article. Thus the present study is, out of necessity, limited to two forms, exclusively, i.e. *æfter* (adv. and prep.), and *æfterra* (adj.). If they are accompanied or replaced by other *æfter*-forms, such as e.g. *æfter-sóna*, the synonyms are discussed accordingly.

4. *Æfter* in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*

According to the glossary by Cook (1969), *æfter* and *æfterra* are used in the Gospels as a gloss to eight different Latin items with which they agree in word classes:

Table 1. *Æfter*-forms glossing Latin terms in LiG; compilation based on Cook (1969) with Latin meanings from the *Harper's Latin Dictionary* (Lewis and Short 1879)

Form	Class	Latin equivalent(s)	
	adv.	<i>iterum</i>	adv. 'again, a second time, once more, anew'
		<i>rursum</i>	adv. transf. 'back again, again, anew'
<i>æfter</i>	prep.	<i>post</i>	adv./prep. (of place) 'behind, back, backwards', (of time) 'afterwards, after', 'since'
		<i>secundum</i>	adv./prep. 'after, behind', 'afterwards, in the next place, secondly', 'following after', 'immediately after', 'agreeably to, in accordance with, according to'
<i>æfterra</i>	adj.	<i>reliquus</i>	adj. 'that is left, or remains', (of time) 'future, subsequent'
		<i>secundus</i>	adj. 'following', 'the next to the first, second'
		<i>sequens</i>	adj. 'next, following in order'
		<i>vicinus</i>	adj. 'near, neighbouring'

The glossary prepared by Cook (1969) does not quote all the frequency of forms used therein. Thus, the present study aims not only at the verification of the list of items provided but also at its completion with statistical data. Further, the study examines the consistency of glossing, and discusses potential factors that might have determined a different choice of an equivalent item. The LiG glosses are further compared with those in the *Rushworth Gospels*, in order to establish whether the observed Latin-OE correspondence is scribe-specific or if it indicates a more generalized pattern for gloss translation in the case of *ÆFTER*. Lastly, the study yields a list of OE items which gloss the same Latin words as *æfter*, thus functioning as its synonyms, and verifies it with synonyms provided by the *Thesaurus of Old English* (TOE).

4.1 *Æfter* as an adverb

According to Cook (1969), Aldred uses *æfter* as an adverb to render two Latin forms, *iterum* and *rursum* 'again, anew' (*Harper's Latin Dictionary*, henceforth HLD), which seems to be a unique decision since, according to DOE, *æfter* is employed in that sense in LiG and RuG, exclusively.

Lat. *iterum* 'again, a second time, once more, anew' (HLD) in LiG is typically glossed with its literal equivalent *eftersona* 'soon after, again, a second time' (BT). In 71 such glosses the compound takes a variety of spellings and forms with such phrases as *æfter sona* or *sona æfter*. Other glosses to *iterum* include five instances of another synonym, *eft* 'again, second time, then, afterwards' (BT), and only a

single instance of *æfter*. Interestingly, in the same passage, the *Rushworth* scribe uses *eftersona*, cf.:

- (1) Lat. et **iterum** se inclinans scribebat in terra.
 LiG & æfter hine gebeg aurat vel on eorðu miððy.
 Lat et **iterum** se inclinans scribebat in terram.
 Ru2 & **eftersona** hine gibeg awrat on eorðo.
 ModE [And again he stooped down, and wrote on the ground. (Jn 8:8²)]

As the quotation shows, the term in question clearly stands in the sense of ‘next, second time’. In the preceding verse we read, “But Jesus stooped down, and with his finger wrote on the ground, as though he heard them not” (Jn 8:6), which suggests that the adverbial in item (1) is an anaphoric reference to what is stated previously.

It is difficult to suggest why, in this particular passage, the scribe decided to use *æfter* rather than the regular *eftersona*. One might speculate that he simply did not write the form in full, although this does not seem likely, as there is plenty of space in the manuscript for the longer *eftersona* (cf. Figure 2):

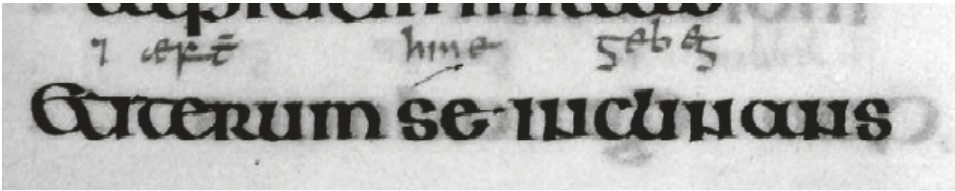


Fig. 2. The *Lindisfarne Gospels*, John 8:8 (British Library, London, f.229r <http://www.bl.uk>)

Still, it is possible that he tried to render Latin as ‘after [that] he stooped down’ rather than ‘again he stooped down’, hence the use of adverbial of time and not frequency.

The *Rushworth* scribes seem to have assumed a slightly different approach to *iterum*. In Luke, John and Mark, *Owun* typically follows the *Lindisfarne* scribe, further limiting the choice of his equivalents to almost exclusive one-to-one correspondence of *iterum* – *eft(er)sona*, with spelling variations. In Matthew, however, *Farman* resorts to glossing *iterum* with *eft/æft* (7 tokens), and once with *æfter*, abandoning the compound word altogether, cf.:

- (2) Lat. Et respondens iesus dixit **iterum** in parabolis eis dicens
 LiG & gewondworde ðe hælaneld cueð **eftsona** in bispellum him cueð
 Lat Et respondens iesus dixit **iterum** in parabolis eis

- Ru1 & ondsvarade se hælend cwæþ **æfter** bispellum heora.
ModE [And Jesus answered and spake unto them again by parables, and said, (...) (Mt 22:1)]

The other Latin item supposedly glossed by *æfter* in the adverbial position is *rursum*. It is synonymous with *iterum* ‘again, a second time, once more, anew’ (HLD), and yet, a close analysis of LiG reveals neither *rursum* ‘back again, again, anew’ nor its variant *rursus* glossed as *æfter*, provided by Cook. As was the case with *iterum*, also *rursum* and *rursus* tend to be glossed with *æ/eftersona*, instead³. In one context only is the form *æfter* found, and it is in the RuG material, where LiG has *eft*, lemmatized as a different, albeit synonymous, item (OED, *eft*):

- (3) Lat. uenit philippus et dicit andreae andreas **rursum** et philippus dicunt iesu
LiG cuom philippus & cuoæð to andree andreas **eft** & philippus cuoedon l ðæm hælende.
Lat. uenit phylippus et dicit andreae andreas **rursum** et philippus dixerunt iesu
Ru2 com & cwæð to andrea **æfter** & cwedun to ðæm hælende.
ModE [Philip cometh and telleth Andrew: and again Andrew and Philip tell Jesus. (Jn 12:22)]

In this particular context, *æfter* does not encode the sense of doing something again, as in (2), but rather the repetition of the action by different agents.

It must be emphasized here that the three instances of *æfter* glossing the adverb, one in LiG (item 1) and two in RuG (items 2–3), are, according to DOE, the only records of *æfter* denoting ‘again’ in the Old English literature.

In addition to the equivalents provided by Cook, the analysis reveals one more Latin element glossed with the adverb *æfter*, namely the phrase *a modo* ‘from this time forward, henceforth’ (HLD), defined by DOE as *æfter ðisse*. The phrase is rendered four times in the gospels, twice as *heona* ‘hence, from here’ (BT), once as *from ðissa*, and once in a multiple gloss as *æfter* next to *heona*, immediately followed by *ðisse*, as the dictionary suggested, cf.:

- (4) Lat. (...) dico uobis **a modo** uidebitis filium hominis (...)
LiG (...) ic cueðo iuh **heona** vel **æfter ðisse** gie geseað sunu monnes (...)
Lat. (...) dico uobis **a modo** uidebitis filium hominis (...)
Ru1 (...) ic sæcge eow **æfter þisse** geseoþ sunu (...)
ModE [(...) I say unto you, Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man (...)
(Mt 26:64)]

It seems that in this particular case, Aldred explicates the meaning of OE *heona* as much as he does the meaning of Lat. *a modo*, providing an interlingual and in-tralingual structural calque (*a modo* – *heona* ‘from here’ – *æfter ðisse* ‘after this’).

Even though Farman, who glossed Matthew, is said to have diverged from Aldred’s glosses, in the passage above he chooses to follow his predecessor, again transferring Lat. *a modo* to OE with *æfter þisse*.

Thus, the corpus study yields the following distribution of the items in question:

Table 2. *Æfter* as an adverbial gloss and its Latin equivalents

Latin form	OE form	Tokens
<i>iterum</i>	<i>æfter</i>	1
	<i>eftersona</i>	52
	<i>eftsona</i>	8
	<i>eftsona</i>	3
	<i>æftersona</i>	4
	<i>efterson</i>	2
	<i>sona efters</i>	1
	<i>eft</i>	4
	<i>rursum</i>	<i>æfter</i>
<i>eftersona</i>		4
<i>æftersona</i>		1
<i>eft</i>		1
<i>eftersona</i>		5
<i>rursus</i>	<i>eft</i>	1
	<i>eftersona</i>	1
<i>a modo</i>	<i>heona vel æfter ðisse</i>	1
	<i>heona</i>	2
	<i>from ðissa</i>	1

Clearly, *æfter* functions as an adverb only incidentally; the LiG data reveal only two such instances in the collection, one of which is a part of a multiple gloss.

4.2 *Æfter* as a preposition

Cook reports that *æfter* as a preposition glosses two Latin items, i.e. the adverb/preposition *post* and the preposition *secundum*. Both may refer to place (‘behind’) or time (‘after’), with *secundum* also carrying the sense of ‘in accordance with, according to’ (HLD). Lat. *post*-OE *æfter* is a typical relation in LiG (55 of 58 tokens of *post* are glossed with *æfter*, cf. Table 3 below), but the preposition is also found in three multiple glosses:

- (5)(a) Lat. (...) et **post** pussillum rursus qui adstabant dicebant (...)
LiG (...) & **æfter** lytle huile vel ymb lytle eftersona ðaðe tostodon hia (...)
Lat. (...) et **post** pussillum rursus qui adstabant dicebant (...)
Ru2 (...) & **æfter** lytle hwyle eftersona ðaðe stodun hia cwedun (...)
ModE[And a little after, they that stood by said again (...)] (Mk 14:70)]
- (b) Lat. Et **post** pussillum alius uidens eum (...)
LiG & **æfter** lytlum *l* ymb lytle huile oðer gesæh hine (...)
Lat. Et **post** pussillum alius uidens eum (...)
Ru2 & **æfter** lytlum hwile oðer gisæh hine (...)
ModE[And after a little while another saw him, (...)] (Lk 22:58)]
- (c) Lat. et **post** pusillum accesserunt qui stabant et dixerunt (...)
LiG & **æfter** *l* ymb lytle huile geneolecdon ða ðe stodon & cuoedon (...)
Lat. et **post** pussillum qui stabant accesserunt et dixerunt (...)
Ru1 & **ymb** lytle hwile þa þe stodun eodun forð & cwædu (...)
ModE[And after a while they came unto him they that stood by, and said (...)] (Mt 26:73)]

Although from three different gospels, all three quotations bear a close resemblance. In LiG, Aldred consistently renders *post pusillum* ‘after a very little’ (HLD) with multiple glosses, thus offering two synonymous OE translations of the preposition, i.e. *æfter* or *ymb* ‘about, by, at, preceding, following’ (BT, *ymb*). In all instances, he complements the OE translation with the word *huile*, which he places in different positions. In item (5a), the scribe glosses *post* with *æfter*, and *pusillum* with *lytle huile*, only then offering a variant prepositional phrase *ymb lytle*, without the nominal head, as if it were an afterthought, cf.:

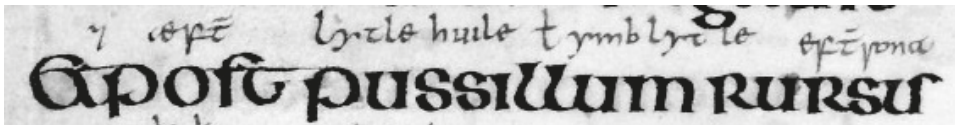


Fig. 3. *The Lindisfarne Gospels*, Mark 14:70 (British Library, London, f.126v <http://www.bl.uk>)

In (5b), he starts with one-to-one *post* – *æfter* gloss, as was the case in (5a), and then he moves to gloss *pussillum* with *lytlum*, at which point he decides to offer another variant of the prepositional phrase, i.e. *ymb lytle*, before he finishes the whole nominal phrase with *huile*, cf.:

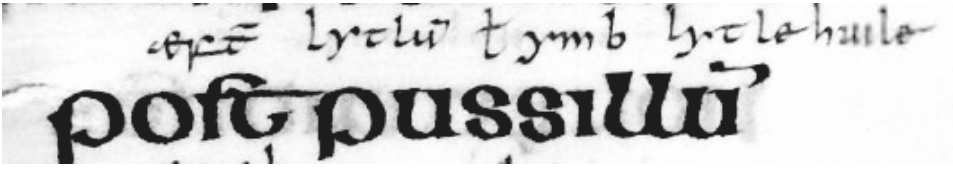


Fig. 4. *The Lindisfarne Gospels*, Luke 22:58 (British Library, London, f.196v, <http://www.bl.uk>)

Only in (5c) is *æfter* followed by the variant *ymb* immediately, with a literal translation of *pussillum* – *lytle huile* afterwards, cf.:

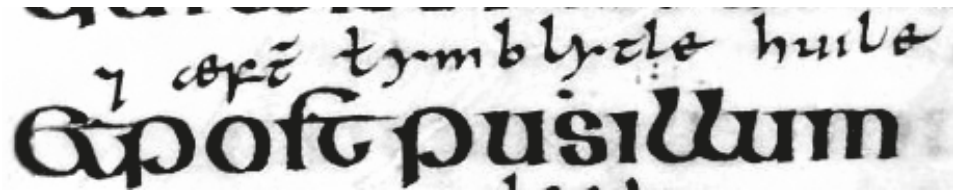


Fig. 5. *The Lindisfarne Gospels*, Matthew 26:73 (British Library, London, f.84r, <http://www.bl.uk>)

Thus, it seems that in the three cases discussed above, Aldred consistently glossed Lat. *post* with OE *æfter*, following the general strategy observed throughout the text. In items (5ab), he provided variant glosses at the phrase level, and only in (5c) we see one-to-one correspondence at the word level.

Interestingly, *æfter* opens the multiple gloss, while *ymb* always follows, sometimes directly, sometimes in a form of explication. Given this regularity, one cannot but quote Hines (1991, 410–411, in Pons-Sanz 2000, 117), who claims that “glosses placed in second place are unlikely to be words that should be less familiar to the reader (...) if anything, they should be more familiar, ensuring that the meaning is not missed or mistaken.” In this light, we should assume that the relation of Lat. *post* and OE *ymb* may have been better known to the reader than that of Lat. *post* and OE *æfter* in this context. And yet, such interpretation of only three findings cannot be conclusive, given that 55 other glosses yield *post* rendered with *æfter*. Should we assume the position of a word in the multiple gloss testifies to its pragmatic use in the target language, rather than the Lat.-OE transfer, perhaps out of the two prepositions it was *ymb* that collocated better with *lytle huile*, and hence Aldred’s decision to expand the gloss. This tentative assumption does not find ground in the latter, RuG, glossing, however. As seen in (5), the *Rushworth* scribes provided one gloss only in all contexts. Owun, who followed Aldred closely, would go with the first equivalent, *æfter* (5ab), while Farman chose to use *ymb* (5c).

The other item offered by Cook to be glossed by the preposition *æfter*, i.e. Lat. *secundum*, takes that equivalent consistently throughout the text. And in this case, both RuG scribes typically agree with Aldred. There is only one instance where Farman's translation diverges from that of the LiG scribe, where he seems to have translated Lat. *secundum* with the phrase *æftere þonne* rather than the single word *æfter*, cf.:

- (6) Lat. (...) et facite **secundum** opera uero eorum nolite facere dicunt enim et ipse non faciunt.
LiG (...) & doas **æfter** werc hueðre hiora nallas ge gedoa coeðas forðon & ne doas.
Lat. (...) et seruare **secundum** uero opera eorum nolite facere dicunt enim et ipse non faciunt.
Ru1 & haldeþ **æfter** þonne wærcum heora ne doð ge sægcaþ þanne & hi sylfe ne doð.
ModE [(...) but do not ye after their works: for they say, and do not. (Mt 23:3)]

This discrepancy, however, is likely to follow from the difference in the word order of the Latin text in the two collections, since the passage in Ru1 reads *secundum uero opera* rather than *secundum opera uero*, as in LiG. Thus, as shown in Tamoto's edition (2013, 74), the word *þonne* glosses the item *uero* 'but, yet, notwithstanding, however' (HLD, *verum*), rendered in the *Lindisfarne* text as *hueðre* 'however, but', rather than forming a phrase with *æfter* to gloss *secundum*.

The analysis revealed yet another Latin item glossed with *æfter*, which is absent from Cook's list, namely the adverb *iuxta* 'near to, nigh, in like manner, according to' (HLD, *juxta*). In LiG, *iuxta* is glossed as either *neh* 'nigh, near' (5 out of 11 tokens) or *æt* (1 token), and four times by multiple glosses with *æt vel neh*, used interchangeably. It also happens to be glossed as *æfter*, once:

- (7) Lat. Et interrogant eum pharisaei et scribae quare discipuli tui non ambulant **iuxta** traditionem seniorum (...)
LiG & gefrugnum hine & uðuuto forhuon ðegnas ðine ne geongas **æfter** gesettnisse vel geselenisse ældra (...)
Lat. Et interrogabant eum farissei et scribae dicentes quare discipuli tui non ambulant **iuxta** traditionem seniorum (...)
Ru2 & gifrægn hine aldormen & uðwutu cweðende forhwon ðegnas ðine ne gongas **æfter** gisettnisse ældra (...)
ModE [Then the Pharisees and scribes asked him, Why walk not thy disciples according to the tradition of the elders, (...) (Mk 7:5)]

Having examined all the other instances of *iuxta* in LiG, one finds out that the unique glossing in (7) is fully justified. That sentence is the only one in the

Gospels in which Lat. *iuxta* is employed in the sense ‘according to’, and so the best equivalent is OE *æfter*, whereas in all the other instances it denotes ‘near, nigh, by’, e.g. *near Jerusalem* (Jn 11 :18), *nigh at hand* (Jn 19:42) or *by the sea* (Mt 4:18). This yet again proves that glossing was not a mechanical procedure and the scribes consciously chose equivalents depending not only on the original word but also on its meaning in particular contexts.

As usual, Owun follows his *Lindisfarne* predecessor closely. The other RuG scribe, Farman, seems to be willing to expand the meaning of *iuxta*, offering variant glosses for the Latin form, with *æfter* in the second position, cf. another passage:

- (8) Lat. (...) et tunc reddet unicuique **secundum** opus eius.
 LiG (...) & ðonne forgeldes eghwelcum anum **æfter**⁴ werc his.
 Lat. (...) tunc reddet unicuique **iuxta** opera sua.
 Ru1 (...) & þonne agæfeþ vel geldeþ anra gehwæm **neh þon** vel **æfter** weorcæ his.
 ModE [(...) and then he shall reward every man according to his works. (Mt 16:27)]

RuG uses *iuxta* in the meaning ‘according to’. Thus, Farman glosses the item with OE *neh*. Perhaps realizing that the sense of ‘according to’ is marginal for that adverb, though, he adds *æfter* for explication, especially that he might have seen Aldred’s choice in this verse.

All in all, the distribution of OE *æfter* as the prepositional gloss is as follows, cf.:

Table 3. *Æfter* as a prepositional gloss and its Latin equivalents

Latin form	OE form	Tokens
<i>post</i>	<i>æfter</i>	55
	<i>æfter vel ymb</i>	3
<i>secundum</i> (adv.)	<i>æfter</i>	39
<i>iuxta</i>	<i>æfter</i>	1
	<i>neh</i>	5
	<i>æt vel neh</i>	3
	<i>ætt</i>	1
	<i>neh vel æt</i>	1

Clearly, as a preposition, *æfter* does not leave space for too much interpretation. The OE scribes render Latin prepositions quite consistently, only occasionally yielding to other forms, especially in multiple glosses, where they repeat or slightly extend the meaning.

4.3 Latin forms glossed by *æfterra*

The adjectival OE form listed by Cook is *æfterra* ‘latter’, ‘hinder, lower’, ‘next, following’, ‘second’ (the last item as an adv., cf. BT). As Table 1 above shows, it functions as the equivalent for four Latin adjectives, namely *reliquus* ‘that is left or remains’, *secundus* ‘following, the next to the first, second’, *sequens* ‘next, next following’, and *vicinus* ‘near, neighbouring’. Since each Latin adjective has a different basic sense, it would seem that the range of meanings covered by the adjective *æfterra* in the Gospels is quite wide.

The analysis of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* yields no instances of *vicinus* glossed with *æfterra*. All the eight instances of the string *uicin** identified with the use of AntConc in LiG are forms of the noun and as such as are translated with OE *nehebur* ‘neighbour’. Similarly, there is no *vicinus* – *æfterra* pair in the *Rushworth* collection.

As regards Lat. *reliquus*, this masculine form is not attested in the material. The feminine form, *reliqua*, is encountered only once, rendered by a multiple gloss, cf.:

- (9) Lat. (...) et circa **reliqua** concupiscentiae introeuntes suffocant uerbum et sine fructu efficitur.
LiG (...) & ymb **æfterra** vel **oðero** vel **hlaf** lustgiornisses ineoden underdelfad word & buta wæstm bið gemoetat.
Lat. (...) et circa **reliqua** concupiscentiae introeuntes suffocant uerbum et sine fructu efficiuntur.
Ru2 (...) & ymb **æfter** † **oðero** lust † giornisse ineodun underdelfas word & buta wæstme gimoetid bið.
ModE [(...) and the lusts of other things entering in, choke the word, and it becometh unfruitful. (Mk 4:19)]

In item (9), Aldred renders the adjective in the phrase *reliqua concupiscentiae* by means of three OE items, the first two of which, *æfterra* and *oðero*, are synonymous. An interesting addition is the third item, *hlaf*, which, presumably, is the noun *lāf* ‘what is left, remnant, remains’ (BT) with the epenthetic <h>. Note the distance between this variant and the other two, which might suggest that it was not a natural addition but rather a result of reconsideration:

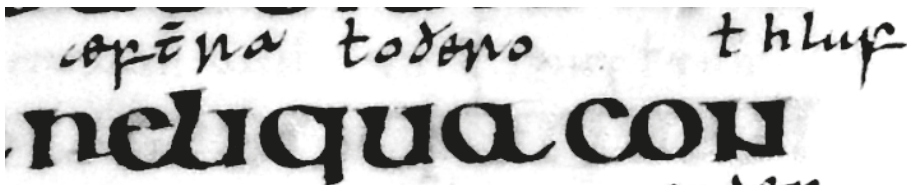


Fig. 6. The *Lindisfarne Gospels*, Mark 4:19 (British Library, London, f.102r, <http://www.bl.uk>)

TOE lists the word next to other synonyms, including *oþer* ‘other, the rest, remainder’, but not *æfterra*, which is absent from this their semantic nest. It seems that Aldred considers all three of a common vein, even though formal dictionaries do not account for *lāf* and *æfterra* as synonyms.

Unfortunately, this is the only instance of such use in LiG, and the *Rushworth* scribe, although he also opts for the multiple gloss, omits the third equivalent, so that no other context can shed a light on the nature of this correspondence. Note also that in Ru2, the passage contains the form *æfter* rather than *æfterra*, which is quite surprising as it does not perform the function of an adjective. Thus, the only logical solution is that it is simply a scribal error.

The data contain one more instance of a Latin adjective, in the plural form *reliqui*:

- (10) Lat. **reliqui** uero tenuerunt seruos eius et contumelia adfectos occiderunt.
 LiG **ða oðero** uutedlice gehealdon † gefengon ðegnas his & mið fræceðo geyfled † geteled ofslogun.
 Lat. **reliqui** uero tenuerunt seruos eius et contumilia adfectos occiderunt.
 Ru1 **elle** genoman ešnas his & geonrettæ ofslogun.
 ModE [And the remnant took his servants, and entreated them spitefully, and slew them. (Mt 22:6)]

Aldred renders the form as *ða oðero*, yet again proving close synonymy between that item and *æfterra*. Much more interesting, however, is the RuG variant, namely the adjective *elle*, i.e. the plural form of *ell* ‘other’ (BT), yet again identified in TOE as synonymous with *oþer*, but not *æfterra*. According to DOE, this is one of only two uses of that word in the whole OE literature, the other coming from *Beowulf*, which contains the form *elran*. The LiG passage comes from the Gospel of Matthew, which in the *Rushworth* collection is glossed in Mercian, and not Northumbrian. And, although there is an ongoing dispute about the origin of *Beowulf*, according to Fulk (1992, 390) “what evidence there is suggests that it is Mercian”. Hence, since both texts are likely to include the same dialect, the adjective *elle* might have been a dialectal word.

Since the *reliquus* – *æfterra* correspondence in LiG is limited to two instances only, cf.:

Table 4. The glosses for Lat. *reliqua/reliqui*

Latin form	OE form	Tokens
<i>reliqua</i>	<i>æfterra vel oðero vel hlaf</i>	1
<i>reliqui</i>	<i>ða oðero</i>	1

it does not leave much room for interpretation.

Æfterra is also used as the gloss to the adjective *secundus*, with eight attestations in four inflected forms, i.e. *secundus*, *secundo*, *secunda*, and *secundum*. The masculine form *secundus* is identified in the gospels twice. In Mark (12:21), it functions as the noun ‘the second’, denoting one of seven brothers, and as such it is directly transferred with the nominalized form *ðe æfterra*, in both LiG and RuG, cf.:

- (11) Lat. et **secundus** accipit eam et mortuus est (...)
LiG & **ðe æfterra** onfeng ða ilca & dead wæs (...)
Lat. et **secundus** accipit eam et mortuus est (...)
Ru2 & **ðe æfterra** onfeng ða ilca & deod (...)
ModE [And the second took her, and died, (...)] (Mk 12:21)

Considering the context, however, we assume that *ðe æfterra* in (11) not only encodes the numeral meaning of ‘the second in a sequence of brothers’ but also ‘the next/ following in a sequence of events’.

The other attestation of *secundus* – *æfterra* is found in a multiple gloss in Matthew, where the form univocally functions as a numeral, cf.:

- (12) Lat. similiter **secundus** et tertius usque ad septimum
LiG gelic **ðe æftera** vel **ðe oðer** & ðe ðirda wið to ðæm seofunda.
Lat. similiter et **secundus** et tertius usque ad septimum
Ru1 swa & gelice & **se oþer** & se þridde oþ to þæm siofund.
ModE [Likewise the second also, and the third, unto the seventh. (Mt 22:26)]

Should we assume that the above-mentioned hypothesis by Hines on multiples glosses is reflected in all our data, we might state that *oþer* may have been a more natural equivalent of Lat. *secundus* in enumerations, which is why Aldred positioned it in the second place, as if an afterthought, to define the meaning of *æftera* in this particular sequence. This, again, might further be confirmed by Farman not using the adjective in question and, instead, providing *oþer* as a gloss. Still, a tendency to use the two OE numerals interchangeably is also observed in other mediaeval English texts, and the prevalence of one OE form over the other is not definitive (cf. Janecka and Wojtyś 2010).

The next form, the feminine *secunda*, is limited to one instance only, in the phrase *secunda uigilia* (Lk 12:38), where the Latin form is also glossed with *æfterra*, rendering the Latin phrase as *æfterra waccan* (LiG) or *æfterra wacone* (Ru2).

The third inflected Latin form, the neuter *secundum*, overlaps with the previously mentioned preposition *secundum* in the meaning ‘according to’. Still, the scribe has no problem recognizing the context and glosses it with the adjective *æfterra* in all the three instances, one each in Mark, Matthew and John, cf., e.g.:

- (13) Lat. hoc iterum **secundum** signum fecit iesus cum uenisset a iudaea in galilaeam.
 LiG ðis æftersona **ðe æfterra** becon dyde se hælend miððy gecuome from iudea in ðær megð.
 Lat hoc iterum **secundum** signum fecit iesus cum uenisset a iudea in galileam.
 Ru2 ðis eftersona **æftersona** becon dyde ðe hælend miððy gicome from iudeum in galileam.
 ModE [This is again the second miracle that Jesus did, when he was come out of Judaea into Galilee. (Jn 4:54)]

Yet again, Ru2 glosses are identical to those from LiG in all but one instance quoted in item (13). Here, Owun decides to use *æftersona* for the neuter form *secundum*. Note that the gloss renders the Latin phrase *iterum secundum signum*, where *secundum* ‘second’ follows *iterum* ‘next’. It is difficult to state with any certainty why the RuG scribe would choose to provide the same OE word, i.e. *e/æftersona*, for two different Latin items, i.e. *iterum* and *secundum*, especially that OE *e/æftersona* does not function as an adjective but as an adverb (DOE). The only explanation one might offer is that due to the close proximity of the two forms the scribe looked at the first item, *iterum*, twice, which resulted in the simple repetition of the gloss.

The last inflected form is the dative *secundo*, found twice in the material. In Luke (6:1), the phrase *sabbato secundo* is translated into OE as *æfterra daeg*. As this line is missing from RuG, it is impossible to compare the passage. For the second occurrence of *secundo* used in the Gospel of Matthew, both Aldred and Farman decided to employ another item, i.e. *oðer*, cf.:

- (14) Lat. Iterum **secundo** abiit et orauit (...)
 LiG eftersona **oðre** siðe eode & gebeaed (...)
 Lat. Iterum **secundo** abiit et orauit (...)
 Ru1 eft **opre** siðe eode & gebæd (...)
 ModE [He went away again the second time, and prayed, (...)] (Mt 26:42)]

This supports the hypothesis formulated above that the word *oðer* was considered an equally successful, although less frequent, functional gloss of Lat. *secundus*, cf. also the overall statistics:

Table 5. The glosses for Lat. *secundus* involving *æfter* and *oðer*

Latin form	OE form	tokens
<i>secundus</i>	<i>ðe æfterra</i>	1
	<i>ðe æftera vel ðe oðer</i>	1
<i>secunda</i>	<i>æfterra</i>	1
<i>secundum</i> (adj.)	<i>æfterra</i>	3
<i>secundo</i>	<i>æfterra</i>	1
	<i>oðre</i>	1

The data clearly show that *secundus*, be it adjective or numeral, tends to be glossed by *æfterra* (6 out of 8 attestations). The contexts discussed above, however, suggest that both LiG and RuG scribes understand *oðer* as a near synonym of the word in question, especially when glossing ordinal numerals.

The last item to be discussed is Lat. *sequens* ‘next, next following’ (HLD, *sequor*), attested twice in Luke in the dative/ablative form *sequenti*. Each time, Aldred decides to gloss it differently; compare the first attestation:

- (15) Lat. Factum est autem in **sequenti** die descendentibus illis de monte occurrit illi turba multa.
 LiG geworden wæs ðonne on ðæm **æfterra** doege ofdune astigendum ðæm of ðæm more arn togaegnes him here micel.
 Lat. Factum est autem in **sequenti** die discentibus illis de monte et occurrit et turba multa.
 Ru2 giworden wæs ðonne on ðæm **æfterra** dæge ofdune astigende ðæm of more & arn togægnes & ðe ðreott micel.
 ModE [And it came to pass, that on the next day, when they were come down from the hill, much people met him. (Lk 9:37)]

As the quotations show, in both collections the phrase *sequenti die* is rendered as *ðæm æfterra doege*, with only a slight difference in the spelling of the head noun. Interestingly, the same Latin item used in a different passage is translated with the OE noun *æfterfylgende*, an inflected participial form of the verb *æfterfyl(i)gan* ‘to follow’ (BT), cf.:

- (16) Lat. uerumtamen oportet me hodie et cras et **sequenti** ambulare (...)
 LiG soð hueðre gehriseð vel gedæfneð me todæg & tomerne & ðæm **æfterfylgende** geonga (...)
 Lat. uerumtamen oportet hodie et cras et **sequenti** ambulare (...)
 Ru2 hweðre giriseð to dæge & on merne & ðæm **æfterfylgende** (...)
 ModE [Nevertheless I must walk to day, and tomorrow, and the day following: (...) (Lk 13:33)]

Comparing items (15) and (16), one cannot but notice that in the former case *sequenti* clearly functions as the nominal modifier of *die*, and thus the phrase *in sequenti die*, translated from Gr. τῆ ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾱ (lit. ‘the next day’), is glossed from Latin to OE as *on ðæm æfterra doege*. In (16), however, the Greek version contains the phrase τῆ ἐχομένη (lit. ‘the following’), usually identified as either the present participle form of the verb *Echomenōs*, i.e. ‘holding of, following, subsequent, next’, or as an adverb ‘immediately after’ (Briggs 1888, 120). Yet, in this particular passage from the Gospel of Luke, the form is traditionally decoded by translators from Greek as a nominal form meaning ‘the immediately following day’ (Reiling and Swellengrebel 1971, 518) in a sequence of coordinated adverbials of time, thus:

(17)	Gr	σήμερον	καὶ	αὔριον	καὶ	τῆ ἐχομένη
	ModE	today	and	tomorrow	and	the next

As shown in (16) above, the Latin version translates Greek into *hodie et cras et sequenti*, where *sequenti* does not modify the following noun but stands alone. This leads the OE scribe to gloss *literatim* the item referring to time, hence using *æfterfylgende* as a noun denoting ‘the following’. The use of *æfterra* in the nominal function might have been misleading, since the phrase *ðe æftera* was already used in the Gospels as referring to ‘the second’ while here the word refers to the day after today and tomorrow, thus the third in order.

Those are the only two instances of the form *sequenti* in LiG.

Table 6. The glosses for Lat. *sequenti*

Latin form	OE form	Tokens
<i>sequenti</i>	<i>æfterra</i>	1
	<i>æfterfylgende</i>	1

The Gospels also contain other forms derived from the verb *sequor*, even the one mentioned by Cook, i.e. *sequens*. All of them, however, are translated with various forms of the OE verb *fylgan* (*fylgde*, *fylgendi*, *fylgendum*, etc.).

5. Conclusions

A thorough analysis of both the annotated editions and the original manuscript of the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, complemented with references to the *Rushworth Gospels*, and supported by an exhaustive dictionary query in available lexical resources, allows for a number of tentative conclusions.

1. LiG data vs. Cook’s list:

Table 7. Latin equivalents of English *æfter* in LiG; compilation amended

Form	Class	Latin equivalent(s)
<i>æfter</i>	adv.	<i>iterum, rursum, a modo</i>
	prep.	<i>post, secundum, iuxta</i>
<i>æfterra</i>	adj.	<i>vicinus, reliquus</i> (> <i>reliqua, reliqui</i>),
		<i>secundus</i> (also <i>secunda, secundum, secundo</i>), <i>sequens</i> (> <i>sequenti</i>)

The verification of Cook’s list of OE-Latin equivalents provides the following findings:

- the corpus study yields no attestations of *vicinus* glossed with *æfterra*;
 - Cook provides only basic forms of words, which are not always present in the data (e.g. *reliquus* is only attested as *reliqua* and *reliqui*, while *sequens* as *sequenti*) or are accompanied by other inflected forms (cf. *secundus*);
 - the analysis offers two more Latin phrases glossed with the OE *æfter*, i.e. *a modo* and *iuxta*. Both cases prove that the scribes did not gloss mechanically, word for word, but rather included the whole semantic context into consideration. *Æfter* glossing the adverbial *a modo* (mainly translated as *heona*) seems to be used as explicature, the preposition *iuxta* is glossed with *æfter* only in the sense of ‘according to’.
2. As a preposition, *æfter* regularly glosses two Latin synonyms, *post* and *secundus*, which is a well-established one-to-one correspondence. In the case of adverbs, the correspondence between the Latin *iterum/rursum* and OE *æfter* is highly marginal. The adjective *æfterra* rarely glosses *sequens* and *reliquus*, but shows a strong predilection towards *secundus*.
 3. The strength of synonymy is probably best visible in multiple glosses. The scribes would consider positing *æfter* with *heona* and *ymb*, and *æfterra* with *oper* and *hlaf*, usually with *æfter* in the initial position as the most immediate equivalent of the Latin form, and a synonym following by way of explication.
 4. As an adverb, *æfter* seems to be marginally synonymous with *eftersona* and *eft*, while in adjectival contexts it is highly synonymous with *oper*.
 5. Many choices seem to be scribe-dependent. We may hypothesize as to individual decisions, but conclusions are possible only when the data are abundant. It must be emphasized that in the majority of cases we discuss cases that are characteristic of one particular text only, or one particular scribe only, and which are not attested anywhere else in the whole extant bulk of Old English stock.
 6. The four gospels under consideration are quite uniform as regards their glossing

patterns of *æfter*-forms. Matthew in RuG indeed shows some divergence from other Gospels, as it is glossed in a different dialect. The differences include the use of *efter* for *iterum*, multiple gloss for *iuxta* and the employment of *elle* for *reliqui*, as well as the numeral *oper* for *secundus*. Yet, other Gospels also occasionally include glosses that are unique, suffice it to mention *æftersona* for Lat. *secundum* found in John.

7. The *Lindisfarne* material suggests that original Latin forms yield more specialized meanings, while *æfter*-forms have quite a wide semantic scope, with a lower degree of specialization, often functioning as adverbials of time, and only occasionally as adverbials of purpose.

Notes

- 1 Which he did, most probably, to pave his way into the community (Brown 2003, 96).
- 2 All Modern English quotations come from *The Holy Bible King James Version*, first Ballantine Books Edition, September 1991.
- 3 LiG statistics yields *rursum* – *eftersona* (4), *æftersona* (1), *eft* (1); and *rursus* – *eftersona* (5), *eft* (1).
- 4 The *Lindisfarne* passage contains *æfter* but, since the Latin version of the same verse differs in the two collections, in LiG the adverb in question glosses *secundum* and not *iuxta*.

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