Different Types of Language Contact in the Early Medieval Celtic Glosses

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Different Types of Language Contact in the Early Medieval Celtic Glosses

Bernhard Bauer

Introduction

The Early Middle Ages were a period of constant interchange and multicultural relationships. This means that the speakers of the two branches of the Insular Celtic languages, i.e. Irish and British Celtic (Breton, Cornish and Welsh), were in close cultural and linguistic contact. While these contacts on the two islands have received considerable attention in historical studies, linguistic evidence has not been brought to bear on the question to the same degree, or with the same authority. It is the main aim of my research project *Languages in Exchange: Ireland and her Neighbours* (*LEXIN*), to add to a better understanding of the linguistic contacts between Irish and British Celtic in the early medieval period (AD 600–900). The focal point of the investigation is the corpora of glosses in the Insular Celtic languages. The multilingual character of the scriptoria in which these texts were studied can be seen in the bulk of Old Irish and British Celtic glosses in which not only many instances of intra-Celtic loanwords are found, but also glosses transmitted in parallel in the two languages, and glosses which were translated from one Celtic language into the other. The main approach of the project is the comparative historical linguistic method, i.e. phonological, morphological and semantic comparison and analysis and diachronically and synchronically contrastive linguistics.

In this paper, the different types of language contact will be discussed and for each of them an example from the corpus (see the sources below) will be presented. The main part of the article is divided into two sections: the first one concentrates on Intra-Celtic contact; the second one deals with language contact between the Insular Celtic vernaculars and Latin.

The sources

This article uses glosses from the following manuscripts:

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- Angers, Bibliothèque municipale 477 (= Ang.), is dated to 897[1] on account of a computistic calculation found on folio 21a. It was composed in Brittany and features, inter alia, Bede's *De Temporibus*, *De Temporum Ratione*, and *De Natura Rerum* with glosses in Latin and the British Celtic languages. The latter sometimes show Irish influence, and have been edited and/or discussed, e.g., by Fleuriot,[2] Fleuriot and Evans,[3] Lambert,[4] and Bauer.[5] High-resolution images of the manuscript are available at the *Bibliothèque virtuelle des manuscrits médiévaux*.[6]

- Languages in Exchange: Ireland and her Neighbours Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Augiensis pergamentum 167 (olim Codex Augiensis CLXVII) (= BCr.), is roughly dated to the latter part of the first half of the ninth century.[7] The manuscript was probably composed in Ireland and it must have been in North-East

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[1] For the following see Pierre-Yves Lambert, "Les gloses en vieux-breton aux écrits scientifiques de Bède, dans le manuscrit Angers 477," in *Bède le vénérable entre tradition et postérité*, eds. Stéphane Lebecq, Michel Perrin, and Olivier Szerwiniack (Villeneuve d'Ascq: IRHiS-Institut de Recherches Historiques du Septentrion, 2005), 309-19 at 309.

[2] Léon Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire des gloses en vieux-breton* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1964).

[3] Léon Fleuriot and Claude Evans, *A dictionary of Old Breton - Dictionnaire du vieux Breton: Historical and Comparative Part II* (Toronto: Prepcorp, 1985).

[4] Pierre-Yves Lambert, "Les commentaires celtiques a Bède le Vénérable," *Études Celtiques* 20 (1983): 121-39; Pierre-Yves Lambert, "'Thirty' and 'sixty' in Brittonic," *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 8 (Winter 1984): 29-43; Pierre-Yves Lambert, "Les commentaires celtiques a Bède le Vénérable (suite)," *Études Celtiques* 21 (1984): 185-206; Pierre-Yves Lambert, "Les gloses en vieux-breton."

[5] Bernhard Bauer, "Studien zu den Altbretonischen Glossen," (unpublished Magister-thesis, Universität Wien), online at: http://othes.univie.ac.at/685/.

[6] http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=9322.

[7] For an overview of the proposed dates see Dagmar Bronner, *Verzeichnis altirischer Quellen* (Marburg, 2013), 19.

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France before its arrival at Reichenau (Germany).[8] It contains various computistical works including the Venerable Bede's *De Temporibus*, *De Temporum Ratione* and *De Natura Rerum*. Photographs of the manuscript are online at the website of the Badische Landesbibliothek.[9]

- Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS C 301 inf. (= Ml.), formerly belonged to the monastery of Bobbio (Italy). It dates to the first half of the ninth century and was composed in Ireland.[10] It contains Latin and Old Irish glosses on a commentary on the psalter. The latter have been edited in the *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*.[11] A database of the Old Irish glosses was compiled by Griffith and Stifter.[12]

- Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 221 (old 193) (= Orl.), contains a *Collatio Canonum* with glosses in Latin and Old Breton. It dates to the middle of the ninth century, although the glosses seem to be copies and must therefore be somewhat older.[13] The Old Breton glosses have been edited and translated by

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[8] Cf. Bernhard Bischoff, "Irische Schreiber im Karolingerreich," in *Mittelalterliche Studien. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, Bd. III (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1981): 39–54 at 48.

[9] https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/blbhs/content/pageview/13329.

[10] Martin McNamara and Maurice Sheehy, "Psalter Text and Psalter Study in the Early Irish Church (A.D. 600-1200)," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy: Archaeology, Culture, History, Literature* 73 (1973): 201-98 at 221-5.

[11] Whitley Stokes and John Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* Vol. I (Cambridge: University Press, 1901), 7–483.

[12] Aaron Griffith and David Stifter, *A dictionary of the Old-Irish glosses in the Milan Codex Ambrosianus C 301 inf* (2011). http://www.univie.ac.at/indogermanistik/milan_glosses.htm.

[13] Cf. Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire des gloses*, 4.

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Feuriot,[14] and Fleuriot and Evans.[15] A translation into German is offered by Bauer.[16]

- St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 904 (= Sg.) was written in Ireland in the year AD 850-1.[17] It contains Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* with Latin and Old Irish glosses. They can be accessed at an online database by Bauer, Hofman, and Moran.[18] A digital reproduction of the manuscript was made by the project "e-codices Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland".[19]

- Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 15298 (olim Suppl. 2698) (= BVi.) is a fragmentary manuscript containing the Venerable Bede's *De Temporum Ratione* with Latin and Old Irish glosses.[20] Like BCr., it can be dated to the first half of the ninth century. The glosses were edited by Stokes and Strachan.[21] Their readings were updated by Dillon,[22] and most recently by Bauer.[23]

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[14] Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire des gloses*.

[15] Fleuriot and Evans, *A dictionary of Old Breton*.

[16] Bauer, "Studien," 150-2.

[17] Pádraig Ó Néill, "Three lents and the date of the St Gall Priscian," *Ériu* 51 (2000): 159-180.

[18] Bernhard Bauer, Rijcklof Hofman, and Pádraic Moran, *St Gall Priscian Glosses, v2.0* (2017). www.beta.stgallpriscian.ie/.

[19] http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0904.

[20] Cf. Myles Dillon, "The Vienna glosses on Bede," *Celtica* 3 (1956): 340-5 at 340-1.

[21] Whitley Stokes and John Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* Vol. II (Cambridge: University Press, 1903), 31-7.

[22] Dillon, "The Vienna glosses on Bede".

[23] Bernhard Bauer, "New and corrected ms. readings of the Old Irish glosses in the Vienna Bede," *Ériu* (forthcoming).

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Intra-Celtic contact

Misreadings of the sources

The first type of language contact discussed here is misreading or misinterpretation of the sources. [24] While most of the cases are monolingual, some instances also show traces of language contact.[25] For this reason, I compared all the glosses in parallel transmission in my corpus. These are glosses onto the same lemma transmitted in different manuscripts. They are either glosses in one language, or glosses in two (or more) languages. Sometimes they seem to have influenced each other, and for some cases a common source can be reconstructed. The example discussed here is Ang. 11ª22c, a gloss found over Lat. *multiplici motu* 'complex motion.' The beginning of this gloss was puzzling for Fleuriot[26] and he tentatively suggested to read: *pe enim est multiplex motus* [...]. He further states that "[d]evant *pe* un signe, un *h*?, annonce le glose." Fleuriot interprets the second lexeme as "forme évoluée de *pi*" 'what,' hence his translation 'quel est en effet le mouvement multiple.' After consulting the high-resolution photographs of the manuscript this interpretation cannot be maintained, because the first letter of the gloss definitely represents an *i*. A palaeographic and linguistic comparison with the parallel gloss found in BCr. 18ᵈ41, helps to solve the puzzle. It reads: *isé multiplex motus* [...] 'this is the *multiplex motus*.' It seems very likely that the two glosses go back to a common source of Irish origin, and that the Angers manuscript contains a misreading. Most likely, the continental scribe of Angers found insular *is e*, which is exactly what is found in the parallel gloss in his original. He misinterpreted the insular *s* as a *p*.[27] Hence, he wrote *i pe*, which should be read as *is e* 'this is.'

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[24] Issues arising from copying manuscripts were discussed by (1) Jürgen Uhlich, "'Faithful but unintelligent': Early Old Irish documents copied and miscopied," Osborn Bergin Memorial Lecture, September 21, 2017, Trinity College, Dublin, and (2) Paul Russell, "'Mistakes of all Kinds': The Glossography of Medieval Irish Literary Texts," fifteenth John V. Kelleher Memorial Lecture, October 5, 2017, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA. *PHCC*: 37: 1-32

[25] See also the discussion of OBret. *uschuidou* below.

[26] Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire des gloses*, 282.

[27] A parallel to this misinterpretation of insular *s* as *p* is found, e.g., in the Irish charms found in an Old English collection of medical texts called *Læceboc* (cf.

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Ad-hoc borrowings

The next category is what I have termed "*ad-hoc* borrowings." These are nonce loans that only occur in a single manuscript. Before listing all the instances that I have found so far in the Irish and the British Celtic glosses, a detailed discussion of one of them is necessary: Ang. 15ᵇ30c *i. uschuidou* is a gloss on Lat. *uapores aquarum* 'vapours of the waters.' Fleuriot[28] explains the form as a native formation: *us-* "fragment léger" 'light fragment' plus *-chuid* "peut être une graphie pour **huith* «souffle»" 'breath.' The first element *us-*, however, does not occur elsewhere in the British Celtic languages. Also, his tentative translation "fragments légers soufflés" is not convincing. In contrast to this, Lambert[29] mentions the possibility of a borrowing from Irish. He bases his arguments on the fact that the word suggested by Fleuriot does not occur anywhere else in the British Celtic languages. For Lambert, OBret. *uschuidou* is a borrowing of OIr. *uiscide* 'like water, watery, aqueous,' an adjective derived from OIr. *uisce* 'water.' The British Celtic plural suffix *-ou* was added to the borrowed form. Lambert[30] mentions as a further possibility that the gloss could be a miscopied Irish gloss altogether. However, since it shows the British Celtic plural suffix and since there are also other examples of *ad-hoc* borrowings in the present corpus, I am in favour of adding *uschuidou* to them as well. *Ad-hoc* borrowings occur in both directions, i.e. from Irish to the British Celtic languages and vice versa. The other examples in my corpus are, in alphabetical order:

> - OBret. *brothrac*[31] gl. *taxam* 'garment,' which is presumably borrowed from Ir. *brothrach* 'bed-covering, coverlet, blanket; garment.' It is attested a single time in the Old Breton glosses found in Orl. 221 (fol. 139, gl. 235). Although its etymology is

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David Stifter, "*gono míl* und *gweint mil mawrem*," in *Iranistische und indogermanistische Beiträge in memoriam Jochem Schindler (1944–1994)*, eds. Velizar Sadovski and David Stifter (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2012), 377-402 at 380).

[28] Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire des gloses*, 328.

[29] Lambert, "Les commentaires," (1983), 120 and 132.

[30] Lambert, "Les commentaires," (1983), 132 fn. 18.

[31] Cf. Bernhard Bauer, "Intra-Celtic loanwords" (2015, unpublished PhD-thesis: University of Vienna), 131-133.

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not completely clear, a borrowing from Irish seems most likely on account of the /θ/ in both forms and also the /a/ in the final syllable of OBret. *brothrac*.

- OIr. *dim*[32] 'something, anything' is only found in the Milan glosses: Ml. 27^{d}9, 70^{c}14b, 75^{b}20. It is very likely an *ad-hoc* borrowing from the preform of MW *dim* 'thing, something, anything, any matter, aught; any part of quantity, least thing or particle; any, any sort of, etc.' Unfortunately, the etymology of the latter is unclear.

- OBret. *gablrínn* 'pair of compasses.' This form only occurs once in Ang. 12^{b}10c, which has a parallel gloss in Old Irish in BCr. 18^{d}3 *.i. gabalrínd l- diathre* gl. *circini*. These two forms could also be explained as being native in both languages. Since, however, the second element *rinn* does not occur anywhere else in Breton, an *ad-hoc* borrowing from Irish into Breton has to be favoured.[33]

- OIr. *muirmóru*[34] 'siren, mermaid' is only attested in the Priscian glosses in St Gall (Sg. 96^{b}5). Its Welsh donor form is MW *morforwyn*, compound of *mor* 'sea' and *morwyn* 'girl, young (unmarried) woman.' This compound was morphologically transparent for Irish speakers and it was therefore possible to substitute the first member with the Irish lexeme for 'sea.'

- OIr. *tremdid*[35] 'the day after tomorrow' is also only found in the St Gall glosses (Sg. 66^{a}18), it is presumably borrowed from OW *trennid* 'id.' Itself a compound of a form of the preposition *tra* 'over, beyond' and the word for 'day' *dydd* < *diiem*. The second element in OIr. *tremdid* shows that it cannot be a native form.

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[32] Cf. Bauer, "Intra-Celtic," 133-134.
[33] Cf. Bernhard Bauer, "The Celtic Parallel Glosses on Bede's *De Natura Rerum*," (forthcoming).
[34] Cf. Bauer, "Intra-Celtic," 134-136.
[35] Cf. Bauer, "Intra-Celtic," 136-137.

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Fully integrated loanwords

In addition to these *ad-hoc* loans, the glosses also feature fully integrated loanwords. An example of a borrowing from British Celtic into Irish will illustrate this. On account of their phonology, OIr. *coínid* 'laments, weeps at,' W *cwyno, cwynaf* 'to complain, lament, bemoan; mourn, condole with, pity; complain of illness, be ailing,' and MBret. *queinyff* 'to cry, lament' cannot go back to the same preform.[36] The possibility of a borrowing was first proposed by Pedersen[37] and it is also mentioned by Vendryes.[38] Falileyev[39] on the other hand states that "the interrelationship between [the] Brittonic and Goidelic forms is not clear." The etymologies proposed so far are: Zimmer[40] suggests a borrowing from Germanic, e.g., Goth. *qainōn* 'to moan, groan, sough' for OIr. *coínid*; Stokes[41] proposes PC *koi-n-* as a basis for British Celtic and Irish. Just like Zimmer's etymology, the second one also has to be dismissed, because the diphthong *-oi-* would have yielded /y/ in Breton and /ʉ/ in Welsh.[42] Schumacher[43] showed that the proposed derivation of the forms from *kei-n-*, as suggested by Vendryes[44] and Falileyev,[45] is not possible for Breton *queinyff*. This form presupposes a diphthong which must go back to the vocalisation of *ɣ* or *ð*. He refines Pedersen's[46] etymology,

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[36] The following discussion was first put forward in Bauer, *Intra-Celtic*, 24–25.

[37] Holger Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, vol. I, 1909), 125.

[38] Joseph Vendryes, *Lexique étymologique de l'Irlandais ancien* (Paris: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1987).

[39] Alexander Falileyev, *Etymological glossary of Old Welsh* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2000), 38.

[40] Heinrich Zimmer, "Keltische Beiträge I," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 20 (= 32) (1888): 196-334 at 273.

[41] Whitley Stokes and Adalbert Bezzenberger, *Wortschatz der keltischen Spracheinheit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1894), 75.

[42] Cf. Vendryes, *Lexique étymologique*, C-18.

[43] Stefan Schumacher, *The historical morphology of the Welsh verbal noun* (Maynooth: Department of Old Irish, National University of Ireland, Maynooth, 2000), 127.

[44] Vendryes, *Lexique étymologique*, C-18.

[45] Falileyev, *Etymological glossary*, 38.

[46] Pedersen, *Grammatik*, 125.

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which suggests a connection of the British Celtic forms with "urspr. präsensbildendem *n*" with Gr. κωκύω 'lament.' This is impossible because *kōkn*- would yield PBrit. *kāyn*-, from which the Welsh and Breton forms cannot be derived. Instead, Schumacher suggests "to derive the Welsh and Breton words from the preform of the noun *cwyn* [...] *kuynī*-, *kuynị*-, *koynī*- or *koynị*-, and to assume that in both languages final affection was extended to the derivatives of this word." An addition to his suggested preforms, the forms can also go back to *kuðnī*-, *kuðnị*-, *koðnī*- or *koðnị*-.[47] Since the Irish form also shows a diphthong, it cannot be derived from such a preform. It is rather a loanword from British Celtic, where *ðn* and *γn* changed to *ịn*. This change also offers the *terminus post quem* for the borrowing, i.e. the second half of the sixth century.[48]

Contact with Latin

Latin borrowings

So far, this paper has concentrated on intra-Celtic language contact. In what follows, the focus will be shifted to language contact with Latin. The early loanwords from Latin into the early medieval Celtic languages have been the subject of major studies (e.g., McManus[49] for Irish and Lewis[50] and Haarmann[51] for the British Celtic languages), as well as numerous articles since the first comprehensive work on the Latin

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[47] Cf. Bauer, *Intra-Celtic*, 24.

[48] See Kenneth Jackson, *Language and history in Early Britain. A chronological survey of the Brittonic languages, 1st to 12th century A.D.* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1953), 466, and Patrick Sims-Williams, *The Celtic inscriptions of Britain: Phonology and chronology, c. 400–1200* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 284–5.

[49] Damian McManus, "A chronology of the Latin loanwords in Early Irish," *Ériu* 34 (1983), 21-71 and Damian McManus, "On final syllables in the Latin loanwords in Early Irish," *Ériu* 35 (1984), 137-162.

[50] Henry Lewis, *Yr elfen Ladin yn yr iaith Gymraeg* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1943).

[51] Harald Haarmann, *Der lateinische Lehnwortschatz im Kymrischen* (Bonn: Romanisches Seminar der Universität Bonn, 1970) and Harald Haarmann, *Der lateinische Lehnwortschatz im Bretonischen* (Hamburg: Buske, 1973).

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loanwords in Irish by Vendryes [52] in 1902. Since they have been thoroughly discussed on many occasions there is no need for duplicating the effort and it shall suffice to only mention them in the context of language contact within the early medieval Insular Celtic glosses.

Bilingual glosses

In recent years, Celtic linguistics has been experiencing a growing interest in the study of bilingualism and code-switching, since the first studies of Irish/Latin code-switching were published by Müller,[53] Bock,[54] and Bisagni.[55] And it has since been the topic of several articles and theses.[56] Nonetheless, the research on medieval bilingualism in the (Insular) Celtic context is still in its infancy, and the sources await systematic approach. Since this article is an overview of the material, it only scratches the surface of bilingualism in the Insular Celtic/Latin glosses. And it only concentrates on the "Celtic" manuscripts of the Venerable Bede's *De Temporum Ratione* because these contain extensive glosses in the vernaculars and Latin. Generally speaking the manuscripts of the present corpus contain about twice as many Latin glosses as vernacular ones. The following table shows that 27 percent of the latter on *De Temporum Ratione* also contain Latin. The highest percentage of

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[52] Joseph Vendryes, *De Hibernicis Vocabulis: Quae A Latina Lingua Originem Duxerunt* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1902).

[53] Nicole Müller, "Kodewechsel in der irischen Übersetzungsliteratur: Exempla et Desiderata," in *Übersetzung, Adaptation und Akkulturation im insularen Mittelalter,* eds. Hildegard Tristram and Erich Poppe (Münster: Nodus, 1999), 73-86.

[54] Albert Bock, "Der polyglotte Artus. Zum Codeswitching im mittelkornischen Drama Bewnans Ke," in *Kelten-Einfälle an der Donau. Akten des Vierten Symposiums deutschsprachiger Keltologinnen und Keltologen*, ed. Helmut Birkhan (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2007), 39-50.

[55] Jacopo Bisagni, "Prolegomena to the Study of Code-Switching in the Old Irish Glosses," *Peritia* 24-25 (2013-2014): 1-58.

[56] Of special interest are the two PhD-theses that arose from the project "Medieval Irish Bilingualism" at the University of Utrecht, i.e. Nike Stam, *A Typology of Code-switching in the Commentary to the Félire Óengusso* (Utrecht: LOT 457, 2017), and Tom ter Horst, *Codeswitching in the Irish-Latin Leabhar Breac: Mediæval homiletic culture* (Utrecht: LOT 452, 2017).

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bilingualism is found in Ang. 477, with more than three times the percentage in BCr.

Manuscript	Vernacular	Bilingual	Total
Ang. 477	262 (62%)	161 (38%)	428
BCr.	221 (88%)	30 (12%)	251
BVi.	59 (85.5%)	10 (14.5%)	69
Total	542 (73%)	201 (27%)	748

Table 1: Vernacular vs. bilingual glosses

In general, three different types can be distinguished:
(1) intra-sentential switches
(2) inter-sentential switches
(3) lone other elements

An intra-sentential switch is found in Ang. 80ᵃ5:[57] ***ir dou blidan a int*** *ante lunam incarnationis* 'the two years, which are before the moon of incarnation' glossing Latin *et subtrahe semper duo* ('and always subtract two'). The gloss starts in Old Breton, but after the verb that introduces the relative clause the glossator switches to Latin. The reason for this seems to be that *luna incarnationis* serves as a kind of technical term and is therefore not translated into the vernacular. A parallel for this strategy is, e.g., found in the already mentioned gloss BCr. 18ᵈ41 (see above). In that gloss, Latin *multiplex motus* is not translated into Irish either. The difference, however, is that the phrase *luna incarnationis* does not appear in the underlying Latin text. In fact, it never appears as such in Bede's *De Temporum Ratione* at all. Perhaps the gloss was copied and (partly) translated from a Latin original. The glossator in Angers 477 may have considered it a specific term and therefore left it untranslated, hence creating a code-switch.

An example for an inter-sentential switch is Ang. 14ᵃ1b ***.i. in pemp guar dou uceant.*** *s*ed *remanser*ant *.iu.* 'i.e. the five on two twenty [i.e. 45], but four remained.' This gloss consists of an Old Breton and a Latin part divided by a full stop. It is one of the few cases in the corpus in which

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[57] The Old Breton part is indicated in bold.

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the inter-sentential switch is not divided by *.i.* 'i.e..' According to Bisagni, glosses of the type "x .i. y" do not necessarily count as instances of code-switching, because "there is no way of establishing with certainty whether the Irish and the Latin section were composed at the same time, and by the same person."[58]

The final category are lone other-language incorporations,[59] which are single words in a different language occurring within one communicative event (written or spoken). Different scholars either label them code-switches or borrowings.[60] The present corpus features several instances, e.g., Ang. 14ᵃ33b[61] *cet is un nos ł dies* 'although it is the same night or day.' In this otherwise Old Breton gloss the final lexeme is Latin. This is most conspicuous, because the language switch happens within the very common phrase 'night or day.'

Celtic influence on Latin

In his recent publication on reading Ovid in Medieval Wales, Russell[62] gives examples for Insular Celtic influence on the Latin in the glosses in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F. 4. 32. The question now is, are there also indications of Insular Celtic influence on the Latin within the glosses? The short answer is: yes. Firstly, lone other elements also occur in Latin context, e.g., *XVII fit luna* **guar** *XI kalendis aprilis* (Ang. 71ᵇ1b) 'the moon becomes eighteen over the eleven calends of April [i.e. March 22].' In this example the Old Breton preposition *guar* 'over' appears in a Latin sentence. This is noteworthy, since lone other elements

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[58] Bisagni, "Prolegomena", 26.

[59] Different scholars use different terms for this, i.e. one also finds, e.g., "lone other-language item", or "lone other element".

[60] See, e.g., Carol Myers-Scotton, *Multiple voices: An introduction to bilingualism* (Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2006) for the former, and, e.g., Shana Poplack and Nathalie Dion, "Myths and facts about loanword development," *Language Variation and Change* 24 (2012): 279-315 for the latter.

[61] The lone other element is indicated by the bold typeface.

[62] Paul Russell, *Reading Ovid in Medieval Wales* (Columbus: Ohio State Press, 2017), 76-8.

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are usually major-class content words, i.e. mainly nouns.[63] It is therefore worth mentioning that out of the twenty-five examples for lone other elements in Latin sentences within the Celtic glossed corpora on Bede's computistical works, nine are prepositions. In five instances we find the Old British preposition *guar* 'over, upon.' A possible explanation for the use of *guar* in this context is that the glossators felt uneasy writing a date without a preposition.[64] On folio 10r, one finds the gloss *satharn casc innocht for .x. kl. april anno domini .m.lxxviiii. mariani miseri domine miserére* 'Tonight is Saturday of Easter (Easter Eve), on the tenth day before the Kalends of April (= 23rd of March) in the year of the Lord 1079. Have pity, Lord, on wretched Marianus.' These parallels show that Celtic speaking scribes felt the need to add a preposition to dates, even in Latin contexts.

Another area in which Insular Celtic influence is traceable in Latin is syntax, more precisely in relative clauses that lack relative pronouns. The following example is taken from Ang. 75^{b}15c: *.is ret i degurmehim pan bo a dichreu argumenti incipiat* 'its adding is necessary, when it is from the beginning of the formula that he may begin.' In this example the Latin third singular present tense subjunctive of the Latin verb *incipere* 'to begin, to start' is used like an Insular Celtic relative verb, i.e. without a Latin relative pronoun.

Conclusions

The foregoing overview has shown the different types of language contact found in a subset of the medieval Insular Celtic glosses. Unsurprisingly, the most frequent one is between the vernaculars and Latin. In the case of borrowings, this contact is either direct or – as shown by many of the Latin loanwords in Irish – via an intermediate stage. A well-known example for the contact of British Celtic, Latin, and Irish is

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[63] Cf, e.g., Shana Poplack and Marjory Meechan, "How languages fit together in codemixing," *International Journal of Bilingualism* 2/2 (1998): 127-38 at 127.

[64] David Stifter has informed me that he has found a similar construction with the Old Irish preposition *for* 'over, upon' (the cognate of OBret. *guar*) in two Middle Irish glosses of Marianus Scottus alias Muiredach mac Robartaig in Vienna Cod. 1247, which he is editing for a forthcoming article in *Peritia*. David Stifter, personal communication, October 1, 2017.

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the so-called *Juvencus* manuscript (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff.4.42).[65] Within the corpus of *LEXIN*, Angers 477 and Orléans 221 show interactions between all three languages as well. As argued, e.g., by Falileyev,[66] the presence of both of the vernaculars in one manuscript can be explained by the physical presence of speakers of both languages in the scriptoria. For the less frequently attested cases of misreading/miscopying of the sources, however, this is not necessary. This kind of language contact, similar to the *ad-hoc* borrowings, can also arise from the work of a single scribe who had (at least a little) knowledge of both languages. As shown above, besides identifying possible misinterpretations, the comparison of parallel glosses can also help to clarify so far obscure (parts of) glosses. As shown in Table 1 above, biblical glosses are frequently attested phenomena. It is noteworthy that the British Celtic corpora show a higher percent of them than the Irish corpora. One reason for that might be that in contrast to British Celtic, Irish was already well established in its written form by the time the glosses were composed, translated, and/or copied. More work on the linguistic relations between the different corpora of glosses will shed further light onto linguistic contact in the Insular Celtic speaking areas in the early medieval period.

Acknowledgements

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[65] For a description of this manuscript and its contents see, e.g., Patrick Sims-Williams, *Irish influence on Medieval Welsh Literature* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 30-1.

[66] Alexander Falileyev, "Beyond historical linguistics: a case for multilingualism in early Wales," in *Ireland and Europe in the early Middle Ages: texts and transmission. Irland und Europa im früheren Mittelalter: Texte und Überlieferung,* eds. Próinséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002): 6-13 at 12.