

THE LANGUAGE OF THE CLEOPATRA MS. OF THE ANCREN RIWLE.

§ 1. The Cleopatra Ms. (Cleopatra C. VI) is included, with the Ms. (Nero A. XIV) from which Morton's text is taken, in the Cottonian Collection of the British Museum. My first intention was to collate Morton's text with the original but, finding a pupil of Prof. Napier already far advanced in that work, I turned my attention to the language of Cleopatra. Since my time was limited, it was a choice between a thorough investigation of part of the Ms., or a hasty examination of the whole. I have chosen the former alternative.

The following examples are intended to show that the Cleopatra Ms. differs in dialect from Nero, and that where it differs it coincides in a marked degree with the language of the Katherine Group.

§ 2. OE. *ǣ* (Merc. Kent. *e*). The normal representative of this sound in the Katherine Group (K. G.) is *e*, with occasional *ea* spellings (cp. Stodte, Katherine-Gruppe, Gött. 1896 § 3); after *w*, *e* or *ea* preserved (cp. Morsbach me. Gr. §§ 100, 101).

Cleopatra and Nero have alike normally *e*: *efter*¹⁾ 62, 26; 56, 12; 14, 1 etc.; *hefde* 66, 4; 8, 21; *hefdest* 38, 20; *þet* 28, 6; *ed* 18, 23; 18, 27; 18, 26 (Nero *et* in each case); *etfleo* 50, 19; *feste* 34, 12 (Nero *ueste*); *ifestned* 62, 24 (N. *ivestned*); *hweðer* 70, 12 (cp. Morsbach as above § 100).

In their treatment of the sound after *w* Cleopatra and Nero differ, and Cleop. agrees with K. G. Thus Cleop. has generally *e* after *w*: *wes* 58, 3 and always; *hwet* 12, 9 and in the great majority of instances; but *hwat* 72. 26 and in a few instances. *Water* occurs in my material once P. 72, 18 also *warre* 66, 23 (OE. *wær*) but both of these are found also in K. G. (cp. Stodte P. 14, 3).

Nero has *a* in all these instances.

¹⁾ All references are to Morton's text, the Cleo. examples are those found at the corresponding place in that Ms.

§ 3. OE. *ā*. The normal symbol in K. G. is *a*, occasional *o* and *oa* spellings (cp. Stodte § 9).

Cleop. has *a* in nearly every case, *o* rarely. Ex.: *gað* 44, 14; *forgan* 8, 1; *gan* 12, 20; *stan* 56, 7; *grindstones* 70, 15; *fa* 62, 5; *wacnesse* 66, 6; *wac* 12, 19; *swa* 56, 15; 26, 21; *gast* 28, 3; *mare* 54, 7; 54, 10; *ma* 42, 16; 62, 5; 30, 7; *hali* 22, 8; 26, 17; 26, 10; 12, 16 etc.: *are* 32, 8; 26, 18; *bihatēn* 8, 20; 28, 8; *ihatēn* 62, 19; *wat* 62, 25; 54, 7; *brade* 54, 15; *ladluket* 66, 22; *saule* 14, 5; 26, 20; 38, 10; 50, 19; *lauerd* 28, 19; 30, 18; 28, 8; 32, 7; 30, 2; 44, 22; 56, 18; 58, 18; 62, 21; 62, 15; 66, 26; *clades* 12, 6; 14, 22; *hwase* 60, 25; 42, 19; 42, 25; 46, 12 etc.; *twa* 70, 15; *hal* 38, 14; *gastliche* 38, 28; 40, 9; 14, 12; *ba* 18, 21; 54, 10; *baðe* 46, 9; *lare* 28, 23; *naut* 6, 26; 12, 12; 12, 3; 46, 11 etc.; *an* 56, 6; 22, 19; 16, 7; *aman* 22, 7; 42, 20; *ane* 12, 11; *annesse* 12, 7; 12, 6; 12, 6; *anlicnesse* 18, 15; *nane* 70, 20; *nan* 26, 8; 70, 22; 68, 16; 68, 4.

Nero has *o* in all these instances except in 54, 15 where the spelling is *broid*.

In a few cases Cleo. has *o*: *louerd* 12, 20; *forhoten* 8, 5.

§ 4. OE. *æ* (*ē*). a) W. S. Angl. *æ* (Gmc. *ai-i*). K. G. has *e* and *ea* spellings, both frequent (cp. Stodte § 10, a).

Cleo. has also *e* and *ea*, the latter predominating (once *eo*), while Nero has *e* in the majority of instances, *ea* rarely.

Examples (I) Cleo. *e* or *ee*: *eni* 8, 15; *euer* 52, 12; 12, 9; *lees* 30, 7; 42, 16; *lesse* 56, 21; *þunwreste* 68, 9; *imene* 12, 8; *techen* 50, 15; *hwete* 70, 13; 70, 14; *hestes* 28, 17; 8, 9; *flesliche* 38, 10; *flesch* 38, 5; 6, 9; *flech* 38, 8; *flesc* 8, 1; *clense* 38, 9; *mest* 30, 6; 34, 14; *fleschliche* 58, 22; *heste* 58, 20; 6, 21; 6, 1; 6, 25.

Nero has *e* in all corresponding instances: *eni*, *euer*, *les* etc.

(II) Cleo. *ea*: *neauer* 6, 22; 60, 8; 70, 17; 56, 21; 44, 7; 38, 8; 38, 1; *cauer* 6, 2; 6, 3; 4, 16; 2, 13; 16, 10; 20, 4 etc.; *caue* 68, 18; *leafde* 70, 13; *leaue* 38, 2; *ear* 10, 15; 12, 2; 72, 4; 36, 11; 36, 10; 20, 10; 20, 18; *earest* 10, 20; 60, 19; 14, 3; 64, 15; 14, 26 etc.; *eareste* 22, 21; 8, 19; 18, 11; *areared* 72, 5; *learen* 14, 25; *leasted* 20, 25; *leasten* 20, 20; *lead* 40, 1; *heale* 38, 14; *heal* (imp.) 38, 15; *dealen* 38, 24; *ich deale* 28, 4; *canes* 70, 1; *teache* 66, 20; *cleane* 38, 13; *todeale* 12, 26; *ileared* 64, 23; *learen* 64, 25; *leareð* 64, 25.

Nero *e*: *neuer*, *euer*, *lefde* etc., *e* in all above instances.

(III) Cleo. *e*, Nero *ea*: C. *hele* sb., N. *heale* 70, 18; C. *lesse*, N. *lasse* 6, 14; C. *clene*. N. *cleane* 4, 21; 10, 2.

(IV) Cleo. *eo*, N. *e*: C. *leoste*, N. *leste* 50, 19.

b) WS. *æ*, Angl. Kt. *ɛ* (WGmc. *ā* and *ai*). K. G. *e* usual spelling, *ea* rare, *eo* twice (cp. Stodte § 10, b).

Nero and Cleo. employ *e* generally, each has *ea* in a few rare instances, Nero uses *eo* occasionally.

Here Nero and Cleo. agree with each other and with K. G. There is no evidence to show that WS. *æ* was the original sound; in Cleo. at least where WS., Angl. *æ* is so frequently written *ea*, we should expect frequent *ea* spellings here also, if the original sound had been 'wide'.

The examples are as follows: Cleo. *leten* 8, 4; *offered* 8, 16; *þer* 12, 20; 12, 21; 12, 20; 14, 22; 14, 23; 18, 22; 26, 8; 30, 7; 32, 3; 44, 15; 60, 20; *dede* 38, 16; *ich drede* 38, 15; *euensong* 22, 7; 70, 8 etc.; *slepe ich* 28, 5; *unimete* 40, 13; *leteð* 42, 30; *redunge* 44, 4; *mel* 44, 15; 20, 26; *sumdel* 20, 8; 18, 20; *seli* 60, 25; 68, 14; 68, 10; *neddre* 66, 4; *to lede* 72, 11; *letunge* 14, 23; *greize* 12, 4; *anrednesse* 12, 5; *slepen* 46, 11; *dede* 62, 26; *dred* (Imp.) 58, 23; *zer* 70, 5; 54, 10; *weren* 72, 12 etc.; *were* 70, 12; 38, 9; 14, 10; *ired* 66, 5; *red* 66, 20; *reden* 44, 8; *wepnes* 60, 15; *wepmones* 58, 6; *wepnen* 60, 16; *dred* sb. 12, 19; 54, 13.

Nero has *e* in all corresponding examples. As regards the spelling *ea*, Cleo. has *þear* 34, 17; 78, 2, Nero *þer*, both have *ea* in *read* 6, 20, Nero has *read* 6, 16 where Cleo. has *e*. Cleo. has no instance of the *eo* spelling but Nero has *weopmen* 56, 24; 10, 22; 70, 24.

§ 5. WS. *ea* + *h*, *h* + cons. K. G. generally *a* (cp. Stodte § 20).

Cleo. shows the Mercian development in: *achtuðe* 14, 19 (Nero *ehtuðe*); *achte* 12, 26 (Nero *eihte*); *machte* subs. 58, 10 (Nero *muhte*); *machten* 62, 16 (Nero *muhten*); *machte* pret. 70, 12 (Nero *muhte*); *monslacht* 56, 17 (Nero *monsleiht*); *machte* subs. 76, 20 (Nero *mihte*).

In one example the *i*-mutated Saxon form occurs, *nichte* 76, 27, but this is found also in K. G. (cp. Stodte § 21).

§ 6. Angl., Kt. *a*-umlaut of *ɛ*. K. G. has frequent *eo* forms, *e* also occurs.

Cleo. agrees here with K. G. and differs considerably from Nero.

Cleo. *to eoten* 54, 3 (Nero *to ctene*); C. *ge eoted* 20, 26 (N. *ge eted*); C. *beored* Imp. 68, 17 (N. *bered*); C. *ha beored* 104, 24 (N. *bered*); C. *geouen* Inf. 92, 17 (N. *to giuen*); C. *to geoue* 106, 20

(N. *ziuen*); C. *beore*¹) opt. 90, 7 (N. *bere*); C. *walde steoke* 62, 15 (N. *steken*); C. *bisteoken* 62, 16 (N. *bisteken*); C. *speoken* inf. 48, 9; 2, 10 (N. *speken*); C. *speoked*¹) 3rd sg. 96, 24 (N. *speked*); C. *to spekene* 74, 23; 98, 7 (N. *to spekene*); C. *to speoke* 74, 23 (N. *speken*); C. *speoken* 80, 17 (N. *speken*); C. *forzeouennesse* 44, 23 (N. *forgiuennesse*); C. *eoten* Inf. 4, 7 (N. *eten*); C. *beoren* Inf. 4, 7 (N. *beren*); C. *speoken* Inf. 48, 9; 2, 10 (N. *speken*); C. *forzeoted* Imp. 34, 9 (N. *worzited*). — The instances in which Cleo. has *e* are: *speked* 3rd pl. pres. 14, 7; *speken* inf. 20, 22; *bered* 2nd pl. 30, 7; *to zeuen* 68, 13 (N. *ziuen*); *speken* 98, 14.

§ 7. OE. *u/o*-umlaut of *e*. This is found in all OE. dialects before liquids and labials; the spelling *eo* is therefore usual both in Nero and Cleopatra. Ex. *seouene* 62, 6; *heouene* 38, 16 etc.

§ 8. OE. *u-* and *a^o*-umlaut of *i*. Cleo. has *eo* spellings generally, *i* in some words, Nero *i* more frequently than *eo*.

Ex. C. *neome* 32, 7 (N. *nime*); C. *neomed* 46, 23 (N. *nime*); C. *neomed* 46, 27 (N. *nimed*); C. *misneomed* 46, 27 (N. *misnimed*); C. *misneominge* 46, 28 (N. *misnimunge*); C. *neomed* Imp. 100, 27 (N. *nimed*); C. *unweote* 8, 22 (N. *unweote*); C. *ze cleoped* 12, 27 (N. *ze cleped*); C. *cleoped* 58, 11 (N. *cleoped*); C. *icleoped* 8, 25 (N. *cleopede*); C. *wited* Imp. (N. *wited*); C. N. *witene* 72, 1; C. N. *wike* 70, 7; 70, 6.

§ 9. Palatal + *e*. K. G. has *e* throughout (cp. Stodte § 29).

Cleo. has always *e*, Nero shows traces of the WS. treatment. Examples: C. *zeue* 30, 18 (N. *ziue*); C. *zef me* 38, 16; 26, 4 (N. *zif*); C. *zeue me* 28, 7 (N. *zif*); C. *marhezeuen* 30, 18 (N. *morziuen*); C. *to zeuen* 68, 13 (N. *ziuen*); C. *zeued* 3rd sg. 60, 22; 52, 4 (N. *ziued*).

For the conj. 'if' Cleo. has always *zef*, which is also the invariable form in the Katherine Group; Nero has always *zif*. In the spelling of *zelden*, *forget*, *zet* Nero resembles Cleo. and has always *e*.

§ 10. Palatal + *o*, *u*. K. G. has *eo*, *o* spellings but *u* remains unchanged (cp. Stodte § 28).

In this respect Cleo. differs from K. G. Ex. Cleo. *zeung* 56, 19; 6, 14 (N. *zunge*); C. *zeunge* 70, 27; 56, 7; 52, 3 (N. *zunge*); C. *ingzong* 52, 16 (N. *ingzong*).

¹) The *eo* spelling in ME. is often analogically introduced, cp. the frequent instances of *eo* before *k*.

§ 11. *e* + palatal *g*. As regards the treatment of *e* in *seggen* (OE. *seggan*) Cleo. agrees with K. G. and differs from Nero.

Ex. C. *seggeð* 18, 19; 44, 1; *segeð* 22, 12; *segge* 66, 3; *seggeð* 44, 24; 32, 9; 22, 7; *seggen* 24, 8; 8, 2; 70, 21; 20, 22 and frequent instances. — N. *siggeð*, *sigge*, *siggen* etc. always *i*. — K. G. *seggen*, *segen*, *segge*, *seggeð* (cp. Stodte § 4 a and Anm. 1).

§ 12. Syncope. K. G. § 38 Anm. "Sehr beliebt ist die Syncopierung des Vokals in *þēr-* (ae. *þær*) als erstes Glied von Kompositionen (cf. Morsb. me. Gr. § 69). *þrin* (= *þerin*), *þron* (= *þeron*), *þrefter*, *þrof*."

Such and similar instances are common in Cleo. Ex. *þeorðe* 46, 37 (*ter eorðe* N.); *þrefter* 8, 15 (N. *þerefter*); *þuttre* 4, 17 (N. *þe uttre*); *þinre* 4, 15 (N. *þe inre*; *þoðer* 96, 1 (N. *þe oðer*); *þrin* 96, 7 (N. *þerinne*); *þruppe* 100, 2 (N. *þeruppe*); *þeorðe* 20, 8 (N. *þer eorðe*).

§ 13. Certain Verbal Forms. (I) Infinitive in *-in* is used frequently in K. G. for verbs of various origin (cp. Stodte § 38, P. 58). So also Cleopatra: *changin* 6, 18; 10, 22; *lokin* 56, 7; *lastin* 64, 22; *preisin* 64, 22; *totin* 52, 102; *helpin* 10, 13; *cnawin* 92, 17; *frofrin* 94, 2; *riwlin* 4, 12. — Nero has *en*.

(II) OE. *mæg*, *meahte* etc. St. Katherine: opt. sg. *mahe* frequently, *mahen* pres. plur., *mahte* usual pret. rarely *mihte* (cf. St. Katherine ed. Einenkel, E. E. T. S.); St. Juliana: *mahen*, *mahte*, *tu maht*, *ne mahe ze* etc. (cp. St. Juliana ed. Cockayne, E. E. T. S.); see also Stodte §§ 20, 21. — Cleo.: *ne mazen* 68, 12; *he maze* 44, 13; *ze maze* 70, 8; 26, 6; 44, 24; 44, 9; 44, 12; 44, 5; 16, 8; 62, 8; 14, 21; *machte* 96, 7; 70, 12; *machten* 62, 16; 52, 2. Further one example of *i*: *michte* 76, 27 and a few with *u*: *mugen* 62, 18; *muge* 84, 24; 98, 10; *ze muhten* 8, 17. — Nero has *u* in the present tense and *i* or *u* in the past: *muwen* 68, 12; *muwe* 44, 13; *ze muwen* 70, 8; 26, 6 etc.; *muhten* 8, 17; *muhte* 96, 7; *ne muwe ze* 98, 10; *mugen* 62, 18.

§ 14. Pronouns. Cleo. differs from Nero in having *ha* very frequently for *heo*. Nero has *heo* always. K. G. has the two forms (cp. Stodte § 39 b "Neben *hēō* erscheint *hǣ*").

C. *ha*, N. *heo* 6, 25; 66, 1; 64, 27; 54, 19; 54, 25; 54, 21; 56, 1; 56, 4; 56, 3; 58, 9; 58, 8; 48, 3; 48, 16 etc.

LIVERPOOL, 13. Febr. 1905.

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