# STUDIES IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE ANGLO-NORMAN TRANSLATIONS OF THE PSALMS WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE OXFORD PSALTER

Thesis presented for the degree

of B. Litt.

by

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## List of plates

(between pages 181 & 182)


I MS Douce 320 f.37$^{r}$ (Bodleian Library)

II MS Arundel 230 f.7$^{r}$ (British Museum)

III MS Arundel 230 f.135$^{v}$-136$^{r}$

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful to my supervisor, Professor T.B.W. Reid, for his help and criticism during the writing of this thesis, and to Mr. C.A. Robson, who acted as my supervisor during Professor Reid's absence. My husband has also provided useful criticism and advice.

The staff of the various Oxford and Cambridge Colleges, and of all other libraries I visited, were always very helpful.

This work could not have been done without generous "study leave" from the Bodleian Library, which also paid my supervision fees.

# ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| Berger: | S. Berger, La Bible française au moyen âge, Bibliography, no. I, 3. |
| Ewert: | A. Ewert, The French language, Bibliography no. III, 12. |
| Howarth: | B.L. Howarth, A critical study of the spellings of the two oldest French psalters, Bibliography no. II, 14. |
| Plater & White: | W.E. Plater & H.J. White, A grammar of the Vulgate, Bibliography no. III, 30. |
| Pope: | M.K. Pope, From Latin to modern French, Bibliography no. III, 31. |
| QLDR: | Li Quatre Livre des Reis, Bibliography no. IV, 5. |
| Woledge & Clive: | Répertoire des plus anciens textes en prose française, Bibliography no. IV, 10. |
| ZRP: | Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie. |

# I Introduction: versions of the Psalms.

## 1 Latin versions

Three Latin versions of the Psalms were known during the Middle Ages, the Roman, the Gallican, and the Hebrew. The Roman version was in the past believed to be the version written by St. Jerome as a correction of the 4th century Latin texts, which had become very corrupt textually.[1] But Dom Donatien de Bruyne has now proved that this is not the work of Jerome, because no contemporary sources attribute it to him, no MSS have prefaces by St.Jerome, or mention him as author, and there is no trace of the type of correction which St.Jerome applied to other Biblical texts. It takes into consideration many old Greek readings, leaves faulty translations uncorrected, and contains alterations of the text for the purpose of simplification, and many Low Latin and Vulgar Latin terms.[2] De Bruyne's theory that parts of the genuine version of St. Jerome are to be found in his letters of 384 & 385 is, however, not entirely accepted.[3] The Gallican version was made by St.Jerome from Origen's corrected version of the Greek Septuagint[4], at the request of Pope Damasus in 393 A.D. The Hebrew version, the last translation of St.Jerome, was made from a 4th century Hebrew text, and the rest of the Old Testament in this translation later

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1. Leroquais Les Psautiers manuscrits latins I p.xxviii.
2. Revue Bénédictine 1930 p.103.
3. Leroquais op.cit. p.xxix.
4. Semple Bulletin of John Rylands Library 48 p.232.

became the Vulgate text.

Of these versions, the Roman was used in Italy (except in the region round Milan), in Germany and in France until the 9th century, and in England until the Conquest. It remained in use at St.Peter's alone after 1570. The Gallican version was used in France and Germany from the 9th century and in England after the Conquest. The Hebrew version never gained acceptance, probably for liturgical reasons, as the Gallican was much closer to the one previously used:

> Par une anomalie singulière, un illogisme déconcertant, causé précisément par l'usage liturgique, dans le même temps où la nouvelle traduction de Saint Jérôme devenait la version officielle de l'Eglise latine pour tous les livres de l'Ancien Testament, sa traduction des psaumes d'après l'hébreu se trouvait comme frappée d'ostracisme et tenue à l'écart.[1]

How then did the Hebrew version survive? The answer lies in the mediaeval love of textual criticism, in the production of the so-called Psalterium Triplex, with parallel texts of the three versions with glosses. Two of these MSS provide the only French translation of the Hebrew version, as will be seen below.[2]

This situation is particularly unfortunate in that the Hebrew version gives a much better text than the others. Leroquais complains of the Gallican version that

> ...il s'y rencontre meme des passages inintelligibles, triste resultat des erreurs, negligences, distractions et fautes de tout genre des copistes. [3]

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1. Leroquais op.cit.p.xxxvii.
2. Ch.2, sect. 1.
3. Leroquais op.cit. p.xxxii.

It was this unreliability of the Gallican text that made St.Jerome decide to undertake the translation from the Hebrew.[1]

In addition to the psalms we often find appended to them the Canticles, selected passages from other books of the Bible which were used in Church services. As these are taken from the main Bible text it follows that they are always in the Hebrew version, regardless of which translation of the psalms they follow. As a result one would expect all the French translations of the Canticles to be identical, regardless of the relationships between the texts of the psalms. This will be discussed below.[2]

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1. Semple Bulletin of John Rylands Library 48 p.230.

2. Ch. 2, sect. 1.

2 Differences between the Gallican and Hebrew versions.

We have already mentioned that the Gallican version of the psalms in use during the Middle Ages was a corrupt text, while the translation from the Hebrew was much better. The chief differences between the texts as established by Jerome are as follows:

1) the Gallican version contains text which does not appear in the Hebrew version, e.g. in Ps.1,5 non sic impii non sic the Hebrew text does not repeat non sic, and later in the same verse a facie terrae occurs in the Gallican but not in the Hebrew version. This type of difference was often noted by St.Jerome in the commentaries on the psalms as 'non est in Hebraico'.

2) the syntax differs, (a) in the tense of verbs e.g. Ps.1,4 Gallican faciet, Hebrew fecerit; Ps.3,4 Gallican exaudivit, Hebrew exaudiet;

(b) in the person of verbs, e.g. Ps.9,13 where the Gallican uses the 'thou' forms and the Hebrew the 3rd person : miserere mei domine vide humilitatem meam de inimicis meis compared with misertus est mei dominus vidit adflictionem meam ex inimicis meis.

3) many words are rendered by synonymous words or phrases e.g. Ps.17,1 Gallican Dominus firmamentum meum et refugium meum et liberator meus but Hebrew Domine petra mea et robur meum et salvator meus; Ps.17,8 Gallican timore and Hebrew formidine; Ps.9,34 Gallican faciem and Hebrew vultus. There are nevertheless many points where the two versions are identical.

How far then is it possible to compare the French translations made from these different versions? It follows that where the Latin texts

agree, we would expect the French texts to do so, and this is the case, apart from consistent variations in individual words such as occur between different translations of the Gallican text. Thus the Cambridge Psalter translates viri in Ps.75,5 by barun and not hume, but so do the Arundel Psalter and later MSS of the Gallican translation. Similarly where the Latin texts use synonyms so do the French texts, e.g. Oxford ira:ire and Cambridge furore:fuirur in Ps.7,6; in Ps.26,10 the Cambridge text uses the alternative form forsenerie to translate furore, the word usually used in the Arundel Psalter. The same variations in translation are found in the French versions of the Canticles, which as we have already explained are in the same version in all MSS. Thus the Oxford Psalter translates iratus es by iriez ies and the Cambridge Psalter uses curruciez, in the Canticle of Isaiah, v.1. Woledge and Clive state[1] that the version of Canticles 1-4 & 6 in MS n.a.lat. 1670 is a different unidentified version (from that of the Oxford Psalter), but as with the rest of this MS the text is almost word for word identical with that in the Douce MS. They give no authority for their statement.

If we are to believe that the Oxford and Cambridge Psalters were written within half a century of one another, a detailed study of their vocabulary can give a good idea of the scope of the vernacular language in the 12th century. It would be too lengthy a task to establish a complete list of all the synonyms used, but interesting conclusions may be drawn from the cases where the same French term is used to translate different Latin terms, and vice versa. These will be discussed in Chapter 7.

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1. Répertoire des plus anciens textes en prose française p.52.

3 Difficulties arising from the nature of the text.

From the point of view of comparing the different French translations, the nature of the original text itself poses problems. It is a religious text, in semi-poetic form, and the vocabulary contains many words and phrases which would only be used in theological circles, and Hebrew words and place-names which have remained untranslated to the present day. It follows that thereis less scope for variation in vocabulary, and little in syntex, in the translation of the psalms even compared with other books of the Bible; for example, the Books of Kings which were also translated in the 12th century.

The fact that the basic vocabulary of the French psalters shows little alteration between the 12th and 14th centuries does not therefore prove Berger's theory that all subsequent French versions derive from the Oxford Psalter.[1] Nor can it be proved whether or not all derive from an interlinear version such as the Arundel Psalter, as many phrases in the Latin text are so short as to allow of little variation except in the position and method of translation of possessive pronouns and adjectives.

In trying to establish any relationship between the French psalters it follows that we can only hope to find some differences in minute details which may provide a clue as to whether they are copies of re-written versions of an older original such as the Oxford Psalter. Details of differences in vocabulary will be discussed below.[2] The conclusion Berger came to, after looking at a large number of MSS, was as follows:

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1. La Bible francaise au moyen âge p.318.

2. Ch.7.

Ce caractère de compilation, qui est celui de presque tous les psautiers, explique l'inutilité des efforts que nous avons faits pour retrouver le texte latin sur lequels ils ont été traduits. Il est permis de croire qu'ils ont tous été plutôt arrangés que traduits à nouveau, et que le texte qui leur a servi de base n'était pas latin, mais français. [1]

Certainly the majority would appear to be based on a text such as the Oxford Psalter in French, but with recourse to a Latin text for improving the translation where it was thought necessary.

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1. La Bible française au moyen âge, p.76.

## II The French Psalters

### 1 French translations

The first complete mediaeval translations of the psalms into the vernacular in England are probably the Anglo-Saxon translations of the 9th century. These are of course translations of the Roman version then used by the Church. But it is perhaps significant that the second earliest French translation occurs in a mid 12th-century MS from Christ Church Canterbury, the Canterbury or Cambridge or Eadwin Psalter,[1] a triple psalter containing the Gallican psalter with the Latin interlinear gloss, the Roman with an interlinear Anglo-Saxon translation, and the Hebrew with an interlinear French translation. It will be remembered that by this date the Gallican psalter was used in England; since the Gallican carries the gloss it is the Hebrew version that has the French translation. One other triple psalter exists[2] with the French translation over the Hebrew text, but all other French translations are of the Gallican text.

The earliest French text is the Oxford or Montebourg Psalter,[3] which can be dated on palaeographical criteria as belonging to the first half of the 12th century. As its language (that is spelling) is earlier than that of the Cambridge Psalter,[4] this confirms the dating of the latter as

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1. Trinity Coll.Cambridge, MS R 17.1.
2. Bibl.Nat. MS lat.8846.
3. Bodleian Library, MS Douce 320.
4. Menger The Anglo-Norman Dialect p.12.

mid 12th-century.

The Oxford Psalter is remarkable in being an entirely independent French text, without even the initial words of each psalm or verse in Latin such as occurs in later MSS. It has always been assumed that such a translation must be based on an interlinear translation such as the Arundel Psalter, the next in date of the translations of the Gallican text, because of the greater freedom possible in the order of words. The editor of the Arundel Psalter stated in his introduction, however, that this idea was false.[1] He gave no reasons for his opinion as he probably intended later to suggest the opposite, that the Arundel is copied from a straight French text. The Arundel text had at the beginning a very slavish word-order according to the Latin order, ignoring the correct French position of possessive pronouns and adjectives. But it often states them twice, i.e. both in the French and Latin position, e.g. Ps.5,8 <u>en ta maisun en ta</u>, and later abandons the Latin word order. This suggests that it was copied from a straight text such as the Oxford Psalter.

The 13th century psalters are usually parallel texts, Latin and French, while the 14th century texts have French text with Latin incipits.

The French Psalters to be discussed all contain the Psalms in numerical order as in the Bible, and they are often followed by the weekly Canticles of the Roman rite:

1 Canticum Isaiae (Isaiah, 12, 1-6).

2 Canticum Hezechiae (Isaiah 38, 10-20).

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1. Beyer, ZRP IX p.514.

3 Canticum Annae matris Samuelis (I Samuel, 2, 1-16).

4 Canticum Moysis (Exodus 16, 1-19).

5 Canticum Habaccuc (Habakkuk 3, 2-31).

6 Canticum Moysis ad filios Israel (Deuteronomy 32, 1-64).

7 Benedicite omnia opera (Daniel 3,57-90).

8 Te Deum.

9 Benedictus (Luke 1, 68-79).

10 Magnificat (Luke 1, 46-55).

11 Nunc Dimittis (Luke 2, 29-32).

12 Quicunque vult.

13 Pater Noster.

14 Credo.

15 Gloria in excelsis.

All but the Oxford Psalter which is not divided, are, or were originally, divided into the eight-part Roman division at Ps.1,26,38,52,68,80, 97,109 and usually include Ps.101 from the 3-part division. This is usually shown by extra-large initials at these points, though more deluxe MSS have historiated initials or miniatures illustrating the opening words of the Psalms in question.

The Psalters did not all survive intact. In addition to the Psautier de Corbie which had much of its French text erased, there are fregments which have usually been used in bindings. The best known of these is the Psautier de l'Orne, a 12th-century double leaf now in the Archives Nationales , which has a Latin text whith interlinear French gloss. Samaran concluded[1] that as it had significant differences in vocabulary

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1. Romania LV 165.

from the Oxford and Cambridge Psalters it must represent a different translation, but as many of the other MSS also have differences in vocabulary within what is substantially the same text, I think this is a doubtful conclusion. In 1969 a number of fragments of a 14th-century parallel text were found in a binding at Clare College, Cambridge. This would also appear to be Anglo-Norman from its spelling, and also has a slightly variant text. Both these fragments will be described in more detail below.[1]

A psalter which suffered in the Cotton fire and was almost totally destroyed is Cotton Vitellius E IX which is interesting in having alternate lines of French and Latin text, with very rich illumination. Although it is beautifully preserved the fragments are so small as to be of little use in determining its connection with other MSS.

An interesting feature is that all the French Psalters have liturgical punctuation by the punctus and punctus elevatus; in the case of the Oxford Psalter this is an early example of this kind of punctuation. In the case of Psalters with Latin and French texts, both are punctuated in this way. That this may be a significant indication of the use to which these works were put is suggested by the system in the Cambridge Psalter, in which the Gallican version alone has this type of punctuation, the other texts having punctuation by distinctiones, in which the punctus is used at three different levels.[2] As the Gallican

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1. Ch.2, sect.2, no.15.

2. I am indebted to Mr.M.B.Parkes for pointing this out to me.

text was that used in the liturgy, it suggests that the other French texts with liturgical punctuation may have been used to follow the service.[1]

The Psalms are also translated in the great Commentary on the Psalter. One complete version exists in 3 volumes at Durham, while parts are found in other MSS. But this does not always give a straight text and is not Anglo-Norman.[2] For this reason, and because it is not published, I am not taking it into consideration. The same is true of the different text in the glossed Psalters.[3]

The psalms also occur as part of the 'Bible du XIII$^{e}$ siècle', a translation of the Vulgate into French which was completed by the third quarter of the 13th century,[4] and are among the books of this translation added to Guiart des Moulins' translation of Peter Comestor's Historia Scholastica to form the 'Bible Historiale Complétée'.[5] Not only is this translation in continental French as opposed to Anglo-Norman but it also incorporates a brief gloss into the text. Unlike the glosses found in some Latin Bibles at this date, however, the gloss to the French psalms is usually of an elementary explanatory nature and not theological, e.g.Ps.2,4 nostre sires les forsanera, cest a dire les nocuera (Bodleian

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1. See also ch.9, sect.3.

2. ex inf. S.Gregory, Jesus coll.

3. See Berger La Bible française au moyen age, p.64 ff.

4. ex inf. C.R.Sneddon.

5. See Berger p.187, ff.

Library MS Douce 211). Apart from this the basic vocabulary of the psalms is very close to that of the Anglo-Norman translations, though the syntax is more up to date.

Because this translation is not Anglo-Norman I am not taking it into consideration, nor, for the same reason, the later continental translations of Raoul de Presles and Jean de Rély or the liturgical works containing selections such as Missals and Books of Hours, of which a few MSS in French exist.

But the great (though imperfect) Anglo-Norman Bible, Bibl.Nat.MS f.fr.1 obviously cannot be excluded from this study, as its spelling is unmistakably Anglo-Norman. It is interesting in having a rather bad text, and more variants in vocabulary from the Oxford Psalter than occur in the continental Bibles. It would appear to have been based on an Oxford Psalter text revised with the help of a Latin text.

In addition to the prose translations, the Psalms also occur translated into verse. Bonnard[1] maintained with some justification that these works have little literary merit; certainly they cannot translate very closely and often do include mush filling-in for the sake of rhyme. A more relevant fact that he fails to mention is that the majority are continental. The only exception is MS Harley 4070 in the British Museum, dating from c.1200. This has the features mentioned of expanding the text in places for the sake of rhyme, either from pure fantasy or from available commentaries. But its language is clearly Anglo-Norman and from the point of view of vocabulary it can be compared with the prose texts.

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1. Les traductions de la Bible en vers français au moyen âge p.9.

## 2 Description of manuscripts

The following MSS are described:

1 Oxford, Bodleian Library: MS Douce 320

2 London, British Museum MS Arundel 230

3 London, British Museum MS Cotton Nero C IV

4 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS fonds lat. 768

5 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS n.a.lat.1670

6 Cambridge, Clare College MS 6

7 London, British Museum MS Add.35283

8 London, British Museum MS Harley 5102

9 London, British Museum MS Harley 273

10 London, British Museum MS Harley 1770

11 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 278

12 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod.Call.16

13 London, British Museum MS Harley 4070

14 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS fonds fr. 1

15 Paris, Archives Nationales AB xix,1734,dossier Orne

16 Cambridge, Clare College fragments from binding

17 Oxford, St.John's College fragment in binding

following one another.

b) Script and spelling

The alphabet used is the whole modern alphabet with the exception of the long j; in addition to the d with a straight ascender we have the Anglo-Saxon ð eth. In accordance with mediaeval practice u is written in all internal positions for u and v, and when these occur as initial letter, but always v for single-word u and capital u. The use of accents will be discussed below.[1] In common with other vernacular MSS the common abbreviations used in Latin are used for -er, est and sunt, but these are all used relatively seldom and are of no significance.

c) Alterations

This is not a fine manuscript, and one does not have to look far to notice many erasures and other alterations to the text. Consistent alterations and variation in spelling will be discussed in detail below,[2] but I shall describe at this point some small corrections, additions and erasures.

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1. Ch.4,sect.2.

2. Ch.4, sect.1.

1 MS Douce 320[1]

a) Contents

This volume contains two works in separate MSS bound together, the Rule of St.Benedict and the Psalter, both in French. The Rule is now regarded as Norman French, while the Psalter is Anglo-Norman. The Psalter is the better known item, known either as the Oxford Psalter from its present location, or as the Montebourg Psalter from a 14th-century ex-libris now pasted on to the front board of the binding, which states "in isto libro monasterii Montisburgi sunt et Regula sancti Benedicti in Gallico et Psalterium in Gallico". At what date these two MSS came together cannot be discovered.

As they are separate MSS by origin, the works are in different hands, and in different ink. The handwriting of the Rule would appear to belong to the first half of the 13th century on palaeographical grounds, though Professors Dean and Legge describe it as second half of the 13th century.[2] If the translation can be regarded as inspired, as they suggest,[3] by a statute of Pope Gregory IX in 1234, which directed that the Rule be explained in French to the more ignorant members of a community, it could still date from the second quarter of the century, though this is unlikely and there are no grounds for connecting the MS with the statute in question. The records for the early 13th century visitations of Montebourg do not

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1. Berger p.412; Catal. of Douce MSS; Woledge & Clive No.42,5.

2. The Rule of St.Benedict pp.x, xviii-xix.

3. Ibid. p.xii.

mention books at all.[1]

The Psalter is written in a clear 12th-century script,[2] though the editors of the Rule imply that it is 13th century. It is clearly an English hand, as the Anglo-Saxon ð (eth) is used for intervocalic d. But it is impossible to say on which side of the Channel it was written, as monks moved freely to and fro and there were even professional scribes in England at that date. Montebourg itself had a number of small dependent houses in England, of which the largest was Loders in Dorset,[3] and the Psalter could have been written for one of these and later taken to Montebourg.

The Rule occupies f.1-35/6 of the volume, and the Psalter and Canticles 1-6 f.37-75. Both are in regular quires of 8 leaves, with 3 leaves missing at the end of the Rule and 1 at the end of the Psalter, though the text of each is complete. The Psalter has approximately 40 lines to a page, with the Psalms written continuously but with each psalm beginning a new line. They have been numbered in the 17th or 18th century in the margins in ink or pencil. Each psalm has a large initial in red or green with the rest of the first word in small capital letters. Verse initials are red, green or purple. Beyond Ps.141 there are no psalm initials in red, though it is still used for verse initials. The psalm initials thereafter alternate in green and purple, with two green initials occasionally

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1. Regestum visitationum,ed.T.Bonin.

2. Its script is very close to that of the St.Alexis MS L dated before 1123. See p.136 of the facs. ed. Mr.M.B.Parkes would therefore date it c.1125.

3. B.M.MS Add.15605 & D.Matthew.

i) Corrections

Mistakes of single letters in orthography which have been corrected by erasing the wrong letter and writing the correct one over the erasure can often be seen quite clearly. Thus cuer (Ps.12,2) may have been altered from quer; els (Ps.30,26) may have been poriginally written cels; and taisir (Ps.34,25) appears to be corrected from taisis, as the head of a long s is still visible. The verb mout (Ps.14,7) may have been written esmout, as there is an erasure before the m.

ii) Additions

The extent to which words have been inserted in the text between the lines is by no means as great. Words are sometimes added at the end of one line and the beginning of the line following. This can cause alteration of the words before and after the addition, e.g. in Ps.34,28 the text originally read aimenore a nostre aneme, but was altered to read aimenore aimenore a nostre aneme, by using the preposition a at the end of a line as the first letter of the second aimenore and adding the now missing a at the beginning of the next line in the margin. The occasions on which essential nouns have been added to the text are rare; for the most part such additions are pronouns, though there are several examples of prefixes being added to nouns and verbs, and even the ends of words: redutance (Ps.34,30) has re added above the line, and adreceat (Ps.39,3) has initial a added; while naciuns (Ps.17,53) and generaciuns (Ps.23,6) appear to have the ending -uns added. There are also many cases in which the present text appears to be written over a substantial erasure, and many inexplicable gaps resulting from new material being shorter than

the text it was replacing. As these corrections are in the same hand as the rest of the text, we can only suppose that the scribe was correcting mistakes in the translation or more likely mistakes in his own transcription of his exemplar.

iii) erasures

Quite substantial gaps have sometimes been left by erasures in the text, as just mentioned above. Where small words have been erased, however, it is often possible to deduce what was originally written from the sense. Thus it would seem reasonable to conjecture that in the case of kar il fist merveiluse----la sue misericorde (Ps.30,27) the scribe had in mind merveiluses choses. Most of these erasures would seem to be conjunctions, prepositions and verbs which follow the sense of the text but were erased perhaps because they were not in the exemplar. There are also cases in which personal pronouns seem to have been erased. The following examples indicate the type of erasure found:

ne returnerai (que) desque 17,41.

ne sunt (ne) paroles ne sermuns 18,3

li sire enquert (é) le juste é le felun 10,6

le num (de) els 9,5

les miens pas (de) suz mei 17,40

deus (tu es) le miens ajuere 17,2

les jugemenz del seignur (sunt) veir 18,10

dulz e dreiturers (est) li sire 24,9

mais nostre sire (acertes) receut mei 26,16

tuit (cels) chi espeirent 5,13

desevrez (vus) de mei 6,8

ore (je) mesdrecerai 11,5.

Some of these can be picked out by the use of ultra-violet light. The erasures in Ps.17,14 and Ps.9,5 would appear to be mistaken. Another interesting source of explanation for other erasures is the Arundel Psalter. In Ps.9,28 there is an erasure after il dist and the Arundel text has il dist adecertes. The same is true of v.36 of the same psalm. It would therefore seem reasonable to assume that the exemplar used by the scribe of the Douce manuscript was similar to that of the Arundel Psalter, with an excessive number of adecertes. Whether the scribe deleted them of his own accord or checked the MS with another exemplar which did not have this feature we cannot tell, but the later MSS are all like the Douce MS.

d) Owners' notes

Attached to the fly-leaves of the volume are a number of scraps of paper containing comments, mostly by Francis Douce who owned the MS in the late 18th-early 19th century. As these do not seem to have been remarked upon elsewhere I think it is worth while quoting them in full. The earliest is a very badly-written note by a previous owner:

> This Paaltar is valuable and Rare that Mr. John Lewis Minister of Margate who wrote his history of the various Translations of the Bible[1] in 1739 -- had never seen or heard of one so Early -- since the Saxon ones were in Use -- Mr.Ames F.S.A. ... also confirmed the same to me & declared that the earlyest that he had ever seen or heard off in the Vulgar Tongue -- was that wrote by Rich$^{d}$ Rolle a hermit of Hampole in Yorkshire ab$^{t}$ 1340 -- to w$^{ch}$ Psalter he wrote likewise a gloss -- see Lewis page 12.

1. A complete history of the several translations of the Holy Bible and New Testament into English.

Considering the basic truth of these comments Douce would seem to have been a little unreasonable in commenting on the back of the sheet:

> The illiterate and useless note on the other side seems to have been written by J.White of Newgate He was a very ignorant man.

His own remarks are however certainly more scholarly:

> The very antient Psalter beginning at fo.37 very few copies exist even in France. This appears to have been made in England. Other copies in the Cotton Library ... Trin.Coll. Cambridge, Libr.Royall Socij N° .. Of the latter a specimen may be seen in dons Scot.libellorum p.180[1].
> (Get a Specimen of the Cotton copy & inject it as a companion with the present Psalter.

This last mentioned interesting intention was never carried out, but on another scrap of paper is written:

> Ancient French Psalter. Cotton Nero C.IV.2 11th or 12th century? See my extracts in MNB.vol.IV.251[2]. The Lord's prayer in it is printed in Lariviere's Rapport pour l'Acad. de Caen p.202 from M.de la Rue's communication.[3]
> Harl.273 13th century see my MNB vol.V.115.

Douce also wrote notes on the Rule on a fly-leaf, and there is also a little booklet of 18 leaves, the last blank, headed Glossary to an Ancient French Psalter compiled by F.Douce which gives Latin equivalents of French words plus reference, attached to a fly-leaf.

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1. I cannot tell which work is meant by this reference.
2. I cannot trace this work.
3. Abbé P.F.T. de Larivière.

2 MS Arundel 230[1]

a) Contents

Fo.1[r] Philippe de Thaon, Livre des creatures [imperf.]

1[v] Tabulae de computatione dierum et mensium

2 Kalendarium Jan.-Aug.

6[r] Table of unlucky days in each month, in French

6[v] Tabula de die Paschali.

6[v] Rules for masses & offerings for persons in distress, in poverty or in prison, in French

7[r] Psalterium & Canticles 1-6, in Latin & French; Canticles 7-10 in Latin only.

153[v] Litany, Orationes, in Latin.

162[r] Vigiliae Mortuorum

180[r] Laus angelica &c. & Apostles' Creed, in Latin

181[r] Names of herbs, in French

181[v] fragments of verse Romance of Alexander, in French

The Psalter consists of a Latin Gallican Psalter with French interlinear gloss, dating from the late 12th century[2]. Each psalm has a heading in red Psalmus David abbreviated in various ways, but the numbers have been put in the margin by the 17th-century owner. There are large initials to eahh psalm, and initials to each verse in red, green or blue

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1. Berger p.404-5; Catalogue of Arundel MSS p.69; Woledge & Clive No.39.

2. Mr.Parkes would date the Latin text c.1160, the French c.1190.

with filling-in in another colour. The eight-part Roman division of the Psalter is marked by extra-large initials at the relevant points and at Ps.101. The MS has been cropped, with the loss of marginal liturgical instructions on some leaves. In the Latin text each verse begins on a new line where possible, and ends of lines have been filled in in spaces at the end of short lines to make this possible, but the French text does not necessarily follow these insertions; if there is sufficient room the whole French text is written on one line regardless of the Latin words it translates.

Above the initial for Ps.1 is written in a 17th-century hand

> Quaedam hîc gallica, siue normanica, cum essent vetustate consupta, restituimus fideliter e pulcherrimo quidem et aequè antiquo manuscripto Colegij Trinitatis in Cantabridgia.

This refers to the fact that Ps.1,1-4,3 is inserted in a 17th-century hand, the original translation beginning at Ps.4,3 in the middle of the verse. This note would seem to imply that the text was copied from the Cambridge Psalter, but alternative words given in the margin for interlinear words are those that correspond to the Cambridge Psalter text, and the spelling of the added text is often different.

b) Script and spelling

The French text has the same alphabet as the Oxford Psalter but including the long j and only a rounded d. The use of u and v is as the Oxford text. An unusual feature is the presence of a point on either side of single-letter words e and u, to show that they are separate from the following word. This is normally only done in the case of Roman numerals. The accents used will be discussed below.[1]

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1. Ch.4, sect 3.

Many abbreviations are used in the Latin text; of the set abbreviations only that for deus is used in the French text with any frequency. The French text makes great use of suprascript letters, but otherwise follows the same system as the Oxford Psalter.

c) Alterations

The French text appears to have been written by a very careless scribe who noticed his mistakes as they arose and seldom bothered to expunct or erase faulty letters but wrote the correct text immediately after the mistake. One erasure occurs at the end of Ps.4,7 and in Ps. 6, 2 limen has been crossed through; similarly in Ps.6,6 mes is crossed out and is followed by mun.

## 3 MS Cotton Nero C IV[1]

### a) Contents

The first part of this volume is taken up with a famous series of Bible illustrations, the Psalter begins on f.46 (old numeration 26) and is followed by Canticles 1-8, 10,13,14,12 on f.123$^{v}$-132$^{r}$. These are followed by prayers and other similar material in Latin only, which does not therefore concern us here. The text is in Latin and French in parallel columns of about 40 lines per page; the French text unusually appearing in the left-hand columns on the rectos up to f.50. Initials are in red, blue or green, not necessarily the same in each column. There are no headings to the psalms or canticles, nor are numbers given, except on rare occasions in a modern hand. Large initials about 2 or 3 lines deep are used at the beginning of each psalm or canticle, while verse initials follow the size of the script. The psalms are divided by extra-large initials at Ps.1,26,51,101,109, which would seem to be a mixture of the 8-part division and the 3-part division at Ps.1,51 and 101. In general the principle of beginning a new verse on a new line has been followed, with consequent occasional filling-in of text at the end of short lines. But the scribe had usually been careful to allow for the cases in which the French text is shorter than the Latin by leaving gaps at the ends of lines in the vernacular text, so that they are always parallel.

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1. Berger, La Bible française au moyen âge, p.395-6; Catal.of Cotton MSS; Woledge & Clive No.42,2.

b) Script and spelling

The script is a clear late 12th-early 13th century hand. The alphabet used is the same as that of Douce 320 except for w which is always written uu. Single accents occur, on i in the Latin text but rarely in the French, which has accents on single á,é,ú and on each letter in double e, e.g.lééce. An unusual feature is the regular use of an accent on tú in both Latin and French. Common abbreviations are used, especially on the Latin text; the vernacular text does not use all the abbreviations applicable to French.

Apart from containing additional canticles to those in the Oxford Psalter, this MS has a text extraordinarily close to the earlier text, including details of spelling which will be discussed below.

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1. Ch.4,sect.3.

4 MS fonds lat. 768.[1]

a) Contents

This MS is known as the Psautier de Corbie, and dates from c.1200 on palaeographical grounds. The Calendar, which is of the same date indicates an origin in Normandy. The Psalter begins on f.10$^{r}$ with the text in 2 columns of 32 lines, the Latin in the left column and the French in the right. But the French text has been erased up to Ps.58,7 and from Ps.68, 24-Ps.71,11. More erasures occur from Ps.94,3 - 99. I do not agree with Berger that the Latin text remaining at this point is in a different hand.[2] The Psalms are followed by Canticles 1-12 but the text breaks off in the Athanasian Creed. The psalms are not numbered and the Canticles are not distinguished from them. The initials are in red or blue with green ornamentation. For some reason these have been left where the French text has been erased. Each verse is written on a new line. The Psalter was originally divided into Nocturns by large initials, most of which have been cut out.

b) Script and spelling

The script has all the palaeographical features of the turn of the century and the usual abbreviations are used. The French text has accents on a, double aa and ee and on io, en and el. The spelling is very close to that of the Oxford text and the extant text was collated by Michel and published as variants in his edition of the Douce MS with the exception of Ps.58,7-68,24 which he appears to have missed.

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1. Berger p.321-2; Woledge & Clive No.42,6.

2. loc.cit.

5 MS n.a.lat. 1670.[1]

a) Contents

This contains the Psalms beginning on f.7$^{r}$ after a Calendar which in part of the same quire of 8 leaves, and these are followed by Canticles 1-15 ending in f.183$^{v}$, followed by a Litany in Latin only. The format is the same as that of the Psautier de Corbie, with Latin and French texts in 2 columns of about 24 lines per page, with each verse beginning a new line. Initials are in blue or red, opposite colours being used in each column. Many of the Canticles also have green initials. The psalms are not numbered but are divided into the 8 Nocturns by large initials, though the initial for Ps.1 has been cut out resulting in some loss of text at the end of Ps.1 and the beginning of Ps.2 in the French.

b) Script and spelling

The Psalter is written in a hand very close to that of the Psautier de Corbie, and it may also be dated c.1200. It is unusual in having very little punctuation, but uses the standard abbreviations. It has accents sparingly on á, and on í when it is in conjunction with other minims. The French text is very close to that of the Oxford Psalter.

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1. Woledge & Clive No.42,7.

6 Clare College, Cambridge MS 6[1].

a) Contents.

This early 13th-century MS, in original boards, contains a Calendar, on the basis of which M.R.James suggested a provenance in the Peterborough area; a Psalter, with the psalms on f.7$^{r}$-128$^{r}$ followed by Canticles 1-12, though the Quicunque vult is unfinished and breaks off on f.139$^{v}$, and is fdlowed in a different hand by a Latin litany which breaks off at f.140$^{v}$. Quires are usually of 8 leaves, but f.32-40 are a quire of 10 leaves. Missing folios occur as follows: 2 between f.25 & 26 covering Ps.25,8-28,1, and 2 between f.47 & 48 covering Ps. 50,13-54,5. The Psalter was originally divided into the 8 Nocturns, but the initial at Ps.26 is missing. The text is in 2 columns, Latin and French, with about 30/31 lines per page. Initials are in green or blue and red, with opposite colours alternating in each column.

b) Script and spelling

The script is a large early-13th-century book-hand, with two kinds of d with straight or rounded ascender, which are used indescriminately. Many double-r spellings occur in the future of verbs, and ai and ei are the same sound, e.g.vein for vain. Otherwise the spelling and text are very close to that of the Oxford Psalter. Accents are marked on single-vowel words, on ĩ and on some double vowels éé and 66.

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1. M.R.James, A descriptive catalogue of the Western manuscripts in the library of Clare College, Cambridge no.6; Woledge & Clive No.42,1.

7 MS Add.35,283.[1]

a) Contents

This is an early 13th century manuscript, formerly in the Ashburnham collection, with the shelfmark Ashburnham Appendix 35. One leaf now missing between f.83 and 84 is in MS Add.35,069. The volume contains a variety of works, including a Latin-French psalter. The text is written in two columns. The Latin is always in the left-hand column except on fo.7$^{v}$. There are large initials for each psalm, and alternate red and blue small initials for each verse, the same colour being used in both languages. Each psalm has a heading in red in Latin across the whole width of the page, consisting of the number (as far as Ps.92,fo.78$^{v}$), Psalm' Dd and the rubric. The Psalter begins on fo.7 and is followed by the usual canticles on fo.113, with headings in red in Latin. The text breaks off at fo. 115 but is followed by a litany in Latin. There are 28 lines to a page.

b) Script and spelling

The vocabulary and spelling are almost identical with those of the Oxford Psalter, though the word-order occasionally differs. A number of individual spellings suggest that to the scribe an atonic o was pronounced as ə ,e.g.meüz=moüz,

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1. Catal. of additons 1894-1899, p.229.

8 MS Harley 5102[1]

A) Contents

This manuscript, dating from the first half of the 13th century, is one of the rare beautifully illuminated psalters containing a vernacular text. It has a full-page picture at the beginning of each Nocturn and much more elaborate initials than the other manusacripts. Basically it is a Latin psalter, with a French translation, written between the lines up to Ps.25. This French text does not always follow the Latin word-order, and the words are not always written above the Latin equivalent.

b) Script and spelling

The handwriting in the French text has the characteristic Anglo-Norman hooked d in the intervocalic position. The scribe does not always write the initials in the French text if they are the same as the Latin, which makes it odd to read in places. Accents are found sporadically on i in both languages.

The translation is much the same as the Oxford Psalter, though the use of the forms sire and seignur does not aleays correspond. As might be expected in a true interlinear text, the definite article is often omitted. Another differ: ce is the use of de deu where the majority of texts always use the old simple form deu for the possessive. The spelling varies enormously, especially in the use of ai/ei/oi, and the form moei (for mei) is found in Ps.4.1. There are -aun forms, and the use

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1. Berger p.402-3; Catal. of Harleian MSS III p.246; Woledge & Clive No.42,4.

of ou for o or u is common. The form iceos is common where other texts have icels, and the spelling of vacalised l seems to have puzzled the scribe, as anima is rendered as alme or aume. Strange idiosyncratic spellings are ka=kar, pa=par. There are also many examples of n being omitted, possible due to a careless scribe forgetting the abbreviations. The loss of prosthetic e is often seen, especially in the verb (e)sperer. There are clear erasures of what were probably mis-spellings or accidental repetitions. Obvious mistakes include defluet translated by durrat Ps.1,4, where the scribe has copied the previous verb, and the loss of final e frommany adjectives in the feminine, e.g. en la tu ire Ps.6,1. An erroneous e has been added, however, in rectos:droiture les Ps.7,11. In fact, in this relatively short length of text, we can find examples of all the common Anglo-Norman features of spelling, which would suggest that it dates from late in the first half of the 13th century.

9 MS Harley 273[1]

a) Contents.

This early 14th-century MS contains the Psalms on f.8-53, followed by the Canticles and Litany, and Le matins nostre dame en fraunceis and other prayers in French, ending on f.69$^{v}$. Other French works are bound in the same volume, but these are in different hands. The text of the Psalms is in 2 columns in a ruled frame with 31 lines to the page; the Psalms are not numbered but have Latin incipits in red. The Canticles follow this same pattern. Each psalm has a large initial for v.1 and then smaller initials alternating in red and blue.

b) Script and spelling

The script is an early 14th-century bokk-hand with much abbreviation. The spelling is very inconsistent, with o,u, and ou equivalent and ai, ei, and e all equivalent. The only accent is the stroke over i when it is in conjunction with other minims.

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1. Berger, p.397-8; Catalogue of Harley MSS I p.102.

10 MS Harley 1770[1]

a) Contents

This MS contains a Latin-French Psalter and a Latin Psalter with a verse English interlinear translation. There is an ex-libris of the monastery of Kirkham in Yorkshire on a fly-leaf. The Psalter which concerns us here is 14th century in date with Latin and French texts in two colums, with large initials in blue and red. The Psalter was originally divided by extra-large initials into the 8 Nocturns, but some are missing due to mutilation of the MS. The missing portions are: f.1 with the result that the text begins at the end of Ps.2,9;Ps.13,10-16, 13; Ps.37,12-38,5;Ps.49,14-52,7. The psalms are numbered by Roman numerals, and the verses have every 5 marked in Arabic numerals. Ps.118 is divided into 11 Psalms, so that the numbers end with160, but the first 4 Canticles are numbered as Ps.161-4. The manuscript breaks off in the middle of the Lord's Prayeron f.155$^{v}$.

b) Script and spelling

The Psalter is written in an angular 14th-century hand with much biting. I do not agree with Berger that the French text is in a different hand from the Latin; it begins smaller in size but rapidly becomes identical with the Latin script. The French alphabet includes *w* but not *k*. The spelling is what one would expect from the date of the MS; *ai*. *ei* and *e* are interchangeable, as are *o*,*u* and *ou*, while occasional examples of *aun* and *oun* can be found. The text has a number of variations from that of the Oxford Psalter, as can be seen from the Specimen text in AppendixI

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1. Berger p.399; *Catalogue of Harley* MSS II p.210.

## 11 Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 278.[1]

### a) Contents

The early 14th century MS is interesting because it contains the psalter in English followed by a French version which begins, in the middle of the quire in which the English text ends, on fo.91$^{r}$, and ends on f.147$^{r}$. According to M.R.James it may come from Norwich. The text is arranged within a frame and has 37 lines per page; the ruling is very clear and the pricking visible. Both texts have the Latin incipit to each psalm as a heading, with a 2-line initial, and Latin verse-incipits in the outer margin of each page. The initials are not coloured but have red or blue paragraph-signs preceding them in each language. Each verse starts on a new line where possible, with some filling-in at the ends of short lines. Catch-words are given at the end of each quire, in English and Latin or French and Latin.

### b) Script and spelling

The handwriting throughout the MS is fairly large with much biting, and punctuation is by the usual punctus and punctus elevatus. There are no accents, but a stroke is written over i especially when it is in conjunction with other minims. A number of abbreviation signs are used, in particular that for con and those formed on p.

Corrections are made by expuncting the faulty letter and writing the correct one above, e.g. esl$\overset{a}{\dot{a}}$ves Ps.9,5. The spelling is very varied with features of English origin as well as the old 12th century spelling of the

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1. M.R.James A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge no.278.

Oxford Psalter. Thus we find eals and similar spellings with glide a; jeo and other eo forms; loss of e in the future tense e.g.of faire, some variety in the use of ai/ei/oi; but quite consistent use of final consonants, and intervocalic d, which had long since disappeared from contemporary literary texts. Other features are the faulty conjugation of verbs, e.g.dormerai Ps.4,9; faulty agreement of adjectives e.g.la mei justise Ps.7,9. There is frequent use of chfor c or g e.g. menchunge Ps.4,3; beneichun Ps.3,8; synagoche and k is much in place of qu, e.g. ki;unkes;deske. An odd feature is the use of w for v, especially in wus = vus.

12 Cod.Gall.16[1]

a) Contents

This 14th century MS contains a Psalter followed by the usual canticles, followed by the Litany in Latin only and other prayers in Latin. The MS begins with a Calendar, perhaps from Nottingham, followed by the Psalter in Latin and French, the Latin text in black ink beginning on f.7$^{v}$ and the French in red on f.8$^{r}$. The text is written across the full width of the page with 28 lines per page. It was originally divided into the 8 Nocturns but has been much mutilated. The collation and full artistic description has been published by D.D.Egbert[2]. The missing text is between Ps.23,7-27,7; Ps.49,23-54,10; Ps.73,21-75,8; Ps.78, 10-87.14; Ps.97,4-101,10; Ps.104,(6)8-106,19; Ps.108,14-30.

b) Script and spelling

The psalter appears to have been written for the marriage of Isabella of France to Edward II, some time between 1303 and 1308.[3] The text is very close to that of the Oxford Psalter. There are letters attached to the end of the MS from S.Berger, S.Cockerell and Friesland on the origin of the MS. It is related artistically to the Oscott and Ormsby Psalters.

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1. Berger p.432-3.

2. NewYork Public Library Bulletin 1935.

3. This is deduced from the coats of arms in the MS.

13 MS Harley 4070[1]

a) Contents

This is a 13th-century verse psalter, though the catalogue describes it as 14th century.[2] The text is written in 2 columns of 30 lines per page. The verses are 6-line stanzas in 6-syllable lines rhyming aabccb or aabaab beginning on f.2$^{r}$. Latin incipits are given in the margins, but the text is expanded to fit the verse form by the insertion of passages from commentaries of Rufinus and St.Jerome. The psalms are not numbered but have red and green initials. The parchment is in bad condition so that much of the early part of the text had rubbed off; this may be due to 19th century 'mending' by applying chemical and gauze, which ends at f. 55 and Ps.68 onwards is much easier to read. The text ends on f.123.

b) Script and spelling

The script is a small 13th-century book-hand. The language shows influence of Middle English spelling in teon for toen and has been described in detail by Goedicke.

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1. Bonnard, Les traductions de la Bible en vers français au moyen age p.130; Goedicke:Der Schweifreimpsalter.

2. Goedicke p.5.

## 14 MS f.fr.1[1]

### a) Contents

This large MS, known as the Anglo-Norman Bible, contains an incomplete translation of the Bible which breaks off at the Epistle to the Hebrews. The text is written in two columns of 61 lines, with headings across each leaf. At some stage in the late Middle Ages the folios were numbered on the versos in large Roman capitals.

The psalms begin on the verso numbered CLXVI and are numbered Capitulum I etc. The Canticles follow as Cap.173-184. In the psalms Cap.7 was omitted but the numbering was corrected by having Cap.10 twice. There are large initials and illuminations at Ps.1,26,52,68,80,97,109.

### b) Script and spelling

This is a very careless MS in a large 14th-century book-hand; there are a number of wrong initials, and words and phrases are often omitted. There are some corrections by expuncting faulty letters. The spelling is definitely Anglo-Norman and the alphabet contains w and has the unusual feature of final k for c e.g. sank for sanc. The only 'accent' is the stroke over i.

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1. Berger p.324-5.

15 Psautier de l'Orne[1].

a) Contents

This consists of a single bifolium, probably used as end-papers for another work. It contains the text of Ps.77, 40-62; Ps.87,10-19 (the end of the psalm); Ps.88,1-14, in Latin, in the Gallican version with French interlinear translation, in all 34 lines per page in long lines. The Latin text has verse initials in red or green; the French text of course does not have coloured initials. Although of the 12th century the vocabulary differs from that of both the Oxford and Cambridge Psalters.

b) Script and spelling

The script is an English 12th-century hand, probably of the second rather than the first half of the century. The spelling is the same as that of the Oxford Psalter, and accents are used in the same cases as in the Oxford Psalter, but with double accents on i e.g. manía as well as on ch e.g. ch́anterai.

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1. Woledge & Clive No.41.

## 16 Fragments at Clare College, Cambridge[1]

### a) Contents

These fragments were found in 1969 in the binding of K 5.7, and would appear to be a single bifolium cut into strips, 8 in all. They contain parallel Latin and French text, though the ends of some lines are missing, of Ps.65,1,2,6,7,8 (mainly Latin), 13,14; Ps.66,1,2,3,4; Ps.67,2,7,8,9,14,18-22,29-34; Ps.68,4-9.

### b) Script and spelling

The fragments are in a large book-hand dating from c.1300.[2] There are no accents on the French text, and the spelling is conservative and Western. Certain details of syntax and vocabulary differ from that of the Oxford Psalter, but the vocabulary is found in later MSS.

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1. ex inf.Prof. C.R.Cheney.

2. Dated by M.B.Parkes on the basis of photographs in my possession.

17 Fragment at St.John's College, Oxford[1].

a) contents

This fragment consists of a small piece of parchment used as a paste-down in a printed book, I subt. 1.47. It contains a text in 2 parallel columns, Latin and French, and probably dates from c.1200. The text contains parts of Ps.9 beginning in the middle of v.5 and ending halfway through v.9 on one side, and similarly from v.14-v.18. on the other. This implies that the pages were not very large. The verses have alternate red and blue initials, opposite colours being used in each language.

b) Script and spelling.

The script is close to that of Clare College, Cambridge MS 6, though slightly smaller in size. It uses accents on single e (et) and double e, e.g. enfichéés (Ps.9,15). Its spelling is similar to the early 13th-century MSS, with ue in pueples, and o in the prefix con and in treestornez (Ps.9,18) while the Oxford Psalter uses u in this verb. The text is very close to the Oxford Psalter, but has a variant in common with MS Harley 273 in defaillirent for defistrent (Ps.9,6), where the latter has defaillirent, a faulty form. It is the only MS to alter the word-order in v.7, which reads la memorie dels perit ot sun ´ e li sire en parmanablete parmaint.

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1. ex inf. Mr.N.R.Ker, via Mr.C.A.Robson.

## III Printed editions

### 1 Libri Psalmorum ... ed. F.Michel.Oxon.1860.

The Oxford Psalter was published by Michel with all the editorial matter in Latin as the title suggests. The introduction is brief, but gives (i) a concise history of vernacular translations of the Psalter in Europe and England ; (ii) a discussion of the attitude of the Church, especially of Pope Innocent III whose Bulls are quoted extensively, (iii) a discussion of the relationship of the Douce MS to other MSS, in particular the Arundel Psalter, of which Ps.4,3-10 and the whole of Ps.5 is quoted. In an Appendix Michel also prints (i) a verse psalter from B.N.MS. fr.13092 (formerly Suppl.Fr.5145); (ii) Dialogus de salvatione hominis from B.M.MS.Arundel 292; (iii) Sermo de Coena Domini in Provençal from B.M.MS.Harley 2928. He also quotes extensively in the introduction from a 'Tractatu de principio creationis mundi' attributed to Robert Grosseteste and a Scottish poem on the Passion of Christ.

As far as the text of the Oxford Psalter is concerned, Michel gives a reasonably accurate transcription of the MS and gives variants from B.D. Cotton Nero C IV and from the extant parts of the Psautier de Corbie, apart from a small section which he appears to have missed. He gives the text of the additional Canticles in the Cotton MS., with variants from the Psautier de Corbie. His chief shortcoming is his total silence on the presence of accents over the text and his failure to print them, for which he was criticised by Suchier[1] when the latter reviewed

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1. ZRP I p.571.

Michel's edition of the Cambridge Psalter. In Michel's defence it may be said that it is sometimes difficult to be sure which letter was meant to carry an accent, and conclusions could be drawn from an inaccurate representation of the MS. But a Manchester University research student in 1936 only discovered the accents when seeing the MS. at the end of his research and commented bitterly on "how inadequate for our purpose the transcription of F.Michel is"[1]. I have tried to represent these accents in my Specimen text in Appendix I.

Actual mistakes in transcription made by Michel were listed as an appendix to the thesis of Meister[2] and I have found a few more. These are listed in Appendix II. In the light of these mistakes and the fact that Michel gives no linguistic apparatus, and since more MSS, of the text are now known, there is a case for a new edition , which I hope to undertake.

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1. E.L.Howarth, p.238.A critical study of the spelling of the two oldest French psalters.
2. Meister Die Flexion im Oxforder Psalter.

2 Die Londoner Psalterhandschrift Arundel 230, ed. H.Beyer.

Apart from the exceppts from this manuscript given by Michel in the introduction to the Oxford Psalter,[1] the only printed text is the two articles by H.Beyer in ZRP IX and XII, in which he gives a brief introduction and a reproduction of the manuscript text of Ps.4 - 54, showing all abbreviations, some accents, and reproducing the filling-in of lines in a way that can make his text very difficult to follow. Apart from this difficulty, the only criticism one can make of this interesting and useful attempts at manuscript reproduction is that there are numerous misprints in the Latin text relating to n and u. Fortunately these are all so obvious that they merely spoil what would otherwise be an admirable example of complicated type-setting.

The introduction to this important selection is a mere 2 1/2 pages long, but Beyer manages to criticise the remarks of Berger on this text, and to refer to Michel's editions of both the Oxford and Cambridge Psalters. He disagrees with Michel's view that the original of the Oxford Psalter must have been an interlinear text, but gives no reasons.[2] He does, however, state his intention of publishing a comparison between the two manuscripts which would have given his reasons, but this was never produced. He does, on the other hand, have to explain why his text begins at Ps.4, and states that "Der Anfang ist aus einer Cambridge Handschrift, dem von Michel herausgegebenen Cambridger Psalter, ergänzt".

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1. See above, p.

2. See above Ch.2, sect.1.

I have shown above[1] that I cannot agree that the manuscript from which this text is taken was the present Cambridge Psalter, but the assumption is quite understandable.

As in the case of the Oxford Psalter there is virtually no editorial matter, and no linguistic commentary apart from the valid comment that the Arundel text often uses an etymologically unrelated form in its French text in cases where the Oxford Psalter uses the French form derived directly from the Latin. Thus we can say that this text also, within its limitations, is very useful; it would have been even more so had the whole text been published.

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1. Ch.2, sect.2 no.2.

3 Fragment d'une traduction en prose française du psautier composée en Angleterre au xii$^{e}$ siecle [ed. by] Ch.Samaran.

The text of the Psautier de l'Orne was published by Samaran in Romania LV in 1929. He gives a lengthy introduction on the palaeographical and linguistic features of the text, which he describes as definitely Anglo-Norman but having no features to enable it to be dated more closely than 12th century. On pp.166-171 he prints the whole text of the fragment Ps.77,40-62; 87, 10-19; 88,1-14, parallel with the relevant passages from the Oxford and Cambridge Psalters, and discusses the possible relationships between the translations. On account of certain variations in vocabulary from both these texts he suggests that it must be an example of another translation already extant in the 12th century. But he does acknowledge that the text is really too short to come to any definite conclusion. I hope to be able to show by collation with other MSS that it contains a version also found in later MSS of the Oxford Psalter text.

4 Le Livre des Psaumes, ancienne traduction française publ.par F.Michel, Paris, 1876.

In his edition of the Cambridge Psalter Michel gives a brief introduction, the text from the Trinity College MS with variants from B.N.MS. Lat.8846 and a useful (though selective) Index-Glossaire. He gives the full text as a Latin-French parallel version, though the original is interlinear. This is no doubt because it would be too difficult to print the text in a form remotely reminiscent of the MS. As in his edition of the Oxford Psalter, Michel gives no linguistic commentary, apart from identifying the language as Anglo-Norman, though he discusses the relative dates of the Oxford and Cambridge Psalters. He is obviously tempted to believe that the Cambridge Psalter is the earlier, but contents himself with stating that both the Cambridge and Paris MSS are copies of an 11th-century original[1]. He also comments on the deterioration of the language from Ps.118 and the change in spelling. But as in his edition of the Oxford Psalter he does not print any accents, though he mentions the Librarian as having copied them for him.[2] This fact was criticised by Suchier in his review.[3] But in the case of the Cambridge Psalter one can always refer to the complete facsimile published by M.R.James in 1935.

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1. p.vii

2. p.xi.

3. ZRP I 571.

On the whole, therefore, the edition of the Cambridge Psalter is a useful text on which to make further study, and this was done by numerous German students in the late 19th century. As it is a later work than the Oxford Psalter in Michel's output, and as he probably had more time to devote to it, it is a more reliable text than the Oxford Psalter has been found to be.

## IV Phonology and Orthography

As there is great variety in the representation of sounds in Anglo-Norman MSS of the psalter it is most convenient to discuss the phonology and orthography in conjunction with one abother. I shall begin by discussing the Oxford Psalter, and then briefly describe the situation in other MSS of the translation from the Gallican text, and end with the Cambridge Psalter. As the accents are an integral part of the spelling system of the early MSS I shall devote a separate section to the use of accents.

### a) Phonology and spelling of the Oxford Psalter.

#### (i) Vowels

#### Intertonic vowels

Intertonic a remains as e (ə), e.g.peccatorem:pecchedur. All others are usually lost, e.g. perdere:perdre, tremulare:trembler, tribulare:tribler.(Pope §251). Where the e from intertonic a came intp contact with a following palatal it gave the diphthong ei, e.g.orationem: oreisun. (Pope §252). The e from intertonic a is lost if it comes between n and r or r and r; this is seen in the future of certain 1st conj.verbs, e.g.dunerai>dunrai,meneras>merras. (Pope §253). This development is usually regular in all MSS, but the ei diphthong may be spelt ai in later MSS, e.g.oraisun for oreisun in MS Harley 5102, and orphenin is spelt orphanin in MS Add. 35283 and orphauinin in MS CCCC 278. These spellings are probably influenced by the Latin, since orphanin is a learned derivation from orfe<orphanum.

Final vowels

All final vowels other than a are lost, e.g. regem:rei, muros:murs, fructum:fruit. (Pope §256). In certain cases a group of final consonants requires a supporting vowel, in which case it is retained as e, e.g. intr>: entre, duplum:duble, patrem:pere; a common example is the 3rd person pl. ending of verbs, e.g. dicunt:dient. (Pope §258).

The use of final e in the adverbs cum/cume and sicum/sicume will be discussed below.[1] The fate of final a will be dealt with under a below.

Latin A

1) Tonic free a>e. This Standard French development is consistently correct, e.g. alas.eles; mare:mer; 1st conjugation infinitive endings, e.g. cantare:chanter. (Pope §§231,4,495). The only exception to the rule is the group malus, malum, male:mals, mal which is also the Standard French development. This can only have arisen from the adverb in unstressed position, as unstressed a remains as a, and the noun and adj.must have retained the weak form by analogy. (Pope §599). This is, however, also a SW feature (Pope §1327(ii)).

2) Tonic free a + nasal consonant>ain. This is the regular development, e.g. vanum:vain; manus:mains; panem:pain. (Pope §§ 233,427). But already by the date of the Oxford Psalter this ain can interchange in spelling with ein (from tonic free e + nasal) e.g.fontaine:fonteine in the proportion

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1. Ch.8, sect. 6.

6:2. (Pope §476 ). A few words regularly have the etymological form to distinguish them from forms with ein, e.g. plain (planum) & plein (plenum). Fouché dates this equivalence from the first half of the 12th century[1], and so does Miss Pope in the Anglo-Norman section ( §1159). In general the etymologically correct forms are more common in the Oxford Psalter.

3) Tonic free a preceded by a palatal>ie. This is the Standard French development, e.g. canes:chiens. But in Anglo-Norman this ie was often reduced to e under the influence of English speech-habits (Pope §1155) and we find alternative spellings for some words, e.g. chief/chef (caput), the reduction of this ie in the spelling of verb infinitives whose stem ends in g also occurs more regularly than in other positions, e.g. mangier/manger (manducare). The i can here be regarded as part of the representation of the palatal, but this is unlikely. The change in pronunciation and spelling occurs earlier in Anglo-Norman than on the continent but both spellings continue to be used in Anglo-Norman.

4) Tonic free a in hiatus>o. Where a comes into contact with u after the loss of an intervocalic consonant it is rounded to o, e.g. habuit>ha(b)uit>out. In the 1st person sing. of the perfect the ending becomes oi, e.g. sapui>sa(p)iu>soi;placui>pla(c)ui>ploi.

5) Tonic Blocked a>a . This again is perfectly regular, e.g. arca:arche; barba:barbe; where there is a nasal consonant this is still the case, e.g. campi:champ; cantum:cant.

6) Tonic free or blocked a + jod>ai. This again is regular,e.g. magis:mais;

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1. Phonetique historique du français p.375.

plaga:plaie; factum:fait; where we have a nasal consonant followed by a jod the result is ain, which like the result from tonic free a + nasal can be spelt ein. This is much less common, however, in the Oxford Psalter itself. The obvious example for this ai development is sanctum:saint.

7) Unstressed initial a>a. Thid id the regular development, e.g. amatus:amez. Where the a is preceded by a palatal it may change to e, e.g. capillos: chevels, but this is not a regular feature in the Oxford Psalter; we find only chaval from caballum. This weakening of a to e also occurs when it is in hiatus with a following vowel, e.g. habutum:eu.

8) Unstressed final a>e. This is quite regular, e.g. causem:chose,amat:aimet. This final e in hiatus with another is retained; ee; it is most common in the ending -ata>-ée (often spelt -ede in the Oxford Psalter) e.g. conturbata conturbede.(Pope §1235). The use of ee to signify a long e sound is not found in the Oxford Psalter as it arose after final e became mute. The use of final a in luna (Ps.8,4) may be regarded either as an early graphy for the final vowel or more likely as an accidental Latinism on the part of the scribe.

Latin Ĕ and AE

1) Tonic free ĕ and ae>e>ie. Classical Latin ae becomes e, and the regular development in French is to ie, e.g. pedes:piez. In Anglo-Norman this ie diphthong is often reduced to e, and this reduction is seen in alternative spellings saeculum:siecle/secle and caelum:ciel/cel. An interesting feature is the use of the phrase siecle de secle, and these 2 forms are used in the Oxford Psalter in the proportion 64:41. This is comparable to the reduction of ie to e where it derives from Latin a after a palatal con-

sonant, mentioned above.[1] (Pope §510). Where the ę is followed by a nasal consonant, we also have ie, e.g. bene:bien, rem:rien, venio:vien. In these cases the diphthong is not reduced to e in the Oxford Psalter, nor is it where it is followed by a sounded final consonant, e.g. heri:hier.

2) Tonic free or blocked ę + l mouillé>ie. Since the l mouillé is usually represented by il we have what looks like a triphthing develop, e.g. vetulum:vieil.

3) Tonic blocked ę>ę. This is the regular development, e.g. septem:sept, infernum:enfern, and also occurs when the e is followed by n + consonant, e.g.venti:vent, tempus:tens.

4) Tonic blocked or free ę + palatal>iei>i. This again is the regular development, e.g. lectum:lit, medium:mi. (Pope §§410,411).

5) Unstressed initial blocked or free ę or ẹ>e (ə).This development is also regular, e.g. sedere:seeir, videre>vedere>vedeir. The ə may assimilate with a following a e.g.silvaticum:salvage.

6) Unstressed initial blocked ę or ẹ + r>e. This is seen in persona:persone. firmare>fermare>fermer, mirabilia>merebilia>merveille. In certain cases e + r had already lowered to ar in the Late Latin period; this is especially noticeable with the prefix per, e.g. perfacere:parfaire, permanere:parmaindre. This tendency became common again in the late middle ages in France, but that does not concern us here. There is an odd case of per being rendered by pur in perverso:purvers, and parfund renders profundum, but these are probably examples of Anglo-Norman confusion of prefixes, rather

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1. A 3).

than evidence of the phonological equivalence of per, par, and pur. The preposition per is always rendered by par.

7) Unstressed ę or ę + nasal + consonant >en. This regular development is seen in sentire:sentir, singularem>sengolare>senglier. This en was lowered early to an, but the only example of alternative spelling in the Oxford Psalter is senz/sanz from a supposed unstressed form sene<sine. (Pope §597).

Latin Ē, Ĭ and OE.

1) Tonic free e>ei.

Words with Classical Latin tonic free ē,i or oe have in Vulgar Latin e which diphthongises to ei. In Western French and Anglo-Norman in particular, this ei does not develop to oi as in later Francien. It occurs regularly in me:mei; plena:pleine; and in infinitives of the 2nd conjugation, e.g. videre:veeir; sitim:seif; bibere:beivre; foenum:fein. But as soon as the nasal diphthings ain and ein levelled to en the spellings ain and ein became interchangeable, as mentioned above.[1] But whereas the use of the etymologically correct form was favoured for words with the a vowel, in the case of e we find ai also predominant, e.g. renes gives reins once but rains 4 times; foenum gives fein 4 times, fain 6 times, and sīmum gives sein twice, sain 3 times.

2) Tonic free ę preceded by c>i. This is the standard French development, e,g. ceram:cire, placere:plaisir.

3) Tonic blocked ę>e. This is also the regular development e.g.feminam:feme illam:ele.

4) Unstressed ę. As this is identical with ę they have been described

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1. A 2).

above.[1]

Latin Ī.

1) Tonic free i>i. Long i remains in all tonic positions, e.g.vivum:vif, amici:ami, filius:filz and verb infinitives in -ire, e.g. venire:venir. In the case of i followed by a final nasal consonant evidence from verse texts shows that in did not nasalise, e.g. vinum:vin, finem:fin. (Pope §451)

2) Unstressed initial i>i. This is the normal development, e.g.civitatem: citet, vivens>vivantis:vivanz, but where the tonic vowel is i the initial vowel dissimilates to e, e.g. divisa:devise.

Latin I

This assimilates to e and has been dealt with under e above.

Latin O

1) Tonic free o > oe/ue. The usual development of tonic free o is to ue, and this is seen without exception in cor:cuer, boves:bues. The alternative spelling oe is found in sonus:suen/soen in the proportion 3:1 This perfectly regular development of this word appears to be found only in the psalters, apart from one example in Godefroy from the Sermons of St.Bernard. But we also find spellings with o, either indicating non-diphthongisation, or reduction of the diphthing oe to o. This is best seen in opera, which gives uevre/oevre/ovre. The form populus always gives poples, the o remaining perhaps on account of the following labial consonant (Pope §230(iii)). It is possible that in the case of uevres/ oevres the oe forms were used to avoid the possibility of the initial u

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1. E 5)-7).

being thought in as v.

2) Tonic free ǫ + nasal consonant>ue. This is quite normal, e.g.homo:huem; we also find the alternative oe as mentioned above, sonus/suen/soen. But the adjective bonus gives bons in all cases, and must have been treated as unstressed.

3) Tonic free or blocked ǫ followed by a palatal>ui. This again is the usual development, e.g.nocte:nuit. But we also find oi, e.g.hodie:hoi. This may indicate that o and u were equal in sound, or that the o did not diphthongise in this case. This is also seen in oculus:oilz.

4) Tonic blocked ǫ>o. This is the regular development, e.g.collum:col; portam: porte, fortem:fort, mortem:mort. Where the block includes a nasal consonant however, we find either on or un, e.g. montem:mont/munt; this corresponds to the use of either o or u in words with o which will be discussed in more detail below.[1]

5) Unstressed initial ǫ>o/u. The standard development of unstressed o was to o, but in Anglo-Norman we find alternative spellings with u, e.g.probasti:provas but probatum:pruvet, dolorem:dolur/dulor. If it is blocked it is always o, e.g. dormivi:dormi, portasti:portas.

Latin Ō and Ŭ

1) Tonic free or blocked ǫ>o/u. Closed o deriving from Latin ō or ŭ developed without breaking into Anglo-Norman but was written o or u, e.g. dolor/dolur, oras:ores/ures, illorum:lur. (Pope §1085).

2) Tonic free or blocked ǫ + nasal>o/u. Here again the standard development is to o but Anglo-Norman spelling uses either o or u, e.g. leonem:leon/leun, mansionem:maisun (always with u), unda:unde, umbra:umbre. The

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1. O 2).

most common examples with alternative spellings are all words with the prefix con, where the vowel is not tonic but in initial position, e.g. consilium:cunseil/conseil. These can be seen in the Index. In other cases the initial vowel is usually spelt o, e.g.ploravimus:plorames, coronasti:corunas. But we do find examples with u, e.g. coronam:curune.

3) Tonic ǫ + palatal>oi/ui. The standard develppment is to ui, e.g. longe:luinz, but in certain common words the earliest form is with oi, e.g.vocem:voiz. Both spellings are found in Anglo-Norman texts. (Pope §1226). In unstressed position it is usually oi, e.g. octoginta:oitante.

Latin Ū.

Latin ū remains in all positions as u, but whether it is phonetically [u] or [y] cannot be proved, e.g. luna:lune, unam:une, duras:dures, flumen: flum. Followed by a palatal it gives the diphthong ui, e.g. fructum: fruit, puteus:puiz. (Pope §183).

Latin Ŭ.

Latin ŭ had become ǫ in the Late Latin period and has been discussed above.

Latin AU.

The Latin diphthing au in all positions gives o,e.g. pauper:povre, aurum: or, thesaurum:tresor, auriculum:oreile, audire:oir, laudare:loer. Followed by a palatal it gives oi, guadiam:goie, micellus> aucellus: oisels. (Pope §§518 (i), 515).

(ii) Consonants.

P and B.

Initial p & b are retained, e.g. patrem:pere, bonum:bon. This is also the case whenre they are followed by l or r, e.g. plaga:plaie, principem:prince,

brachium:braz. (Pope §202).

Intervocalic p>v, e.g. ripam:rive, sapere:saveir (Pope §335); pl>bl, e.g.duplum:duble. Intervocalic b>v before a,e,i, e.g. caballum:chaval, hibernum:hiver, subinde:suvent (Pope §343), but it is lost before o,u, e.g. habutum:eu, and after tonic u,e,g. nubes>nuba:nue. (Pope §342). Intervocalic bl remains, e.g. tabulam:table,; pr and br>vr, e.g. operare:ovrer, librum: livre, liberare:livrer (Pope §372(iii)). Both pt and bt>t by assimilation, e.g. septem:set, dubitare:duter. (Pope §373). Internal p + jod>ch(tš), e.g.sapiam:sace; b + jod>g (dj), e.g.cambiare:changer.(Pope §305). Intervocalic p become final>f, e.g. *capum:chief, but if it is supported it remains, e.g. campum:champ. (Pope §§617-23). In a group of 3 consonants with p in the middle followed by r it is also retained, e.g. semper:sempre. (Pope §364).

T and D

Initial t and d are retained, e.g. terram:terre, dorsum:dos; tr and dr are also kept, e.g. tremolare:trembler, dragonem:dragon. (Pope §202). Initial d followed by jod>j (dj), e.g. diurnum:jur.

Intervocalic t and d > [ð] > zero. The most interesting feature of the Oxford Psalter is the consistent use of the Anglo-Saxon letter ð in the representation of the sound developed from intervocalic t/d and its gradual disappearance from half way through the text. Variant spellings can be seen in parts of the verb *exlaetitiare:esledecer/esleecer in the proportion 62:23, and/the related noun esledecement/esleecement 9:4. in It also occurs in feminine endings of past participles, e.g. cuneudes or coneudes/cuneues in the proportion 10:1. The most common examples come

in the oblique cases of imparisyllabic nouns, e.g.salvatorem:salvedur 13:1, peccatorem:pecchedur/peccheur 5:43. This last noun shows a high proportion of forms without intervocalic d, and we have many examples of words where this has completely disappeared already, e.g. audire:oir, *exgaudere: esjoir.

Intervocalic tr and dr both reduce to r by passing through a pre-literary stage of ðr, e.g. patrem:pere, ridere:rire, cathedra:chaere. But the group dl remains in early Anglo-Norman, e.g.idolae:idles, scandalum: escandle.

Final. Both t and d become final may be spelt either t or d. Forms with t are found in the first half of the MS and those with d in the latter part. They are most frequent in nouns of the 3rd Latin declension, e.g. salutem:salut/salud 14:9, virtutem:vertut/vertud 23:9, but are also found in the masc.ending of past participles, e.g. cognotum:cuneut/coneud. In nouns of the -atem type the ending is usually t, e.g. vanitatem:vanitet, hereditatem:hereditet. Final ts>z, e.g. amatus:amez. supported d become final>t, e.g.intendo:entent, commendo:cumant, grandem:grant.

C.

Initial c before free pretonic a usually becomes ch. But one of the most interesting features of the Oxford Psalter is the use of c̆ as an alternative spelling, e.g. caballum:chaval/c̆aval. The same forms are found with blocked tonic a, e.g. cantare:c̆anter/canter (in this verb the ch form is not used) and causa:chose/c̆ose. B.L.Howarth concluded that this double accent "is almost certainly discritical, being employed to prevent the sound [k] being given to the c".[1] This would seem obvious from its use. Initial

1. Howarth, p.238.

c + consonant also remains, e.g. clara:clere, credo:crei, but c + r

may become gr, e.g.crassum:gras.

Intervocalic c before a,o,u disappears, e.g.adlocare:aloer, amico:ami, locum:liu, but followed by e,i, it palatalised and voiced >[iz],written s, e.g.placere>plaisir, before prefixes it is treated as initial, [ts] and before jod [ts] written c, e.g. faciem>faciam:face, decipit:deceit.(Pope §291). Internal ct>final>it, e.g. fructum:fruit. The i is sometimes lost, e.g.frut is found as an alternative spelling. Intervocalic x may be discussed at this point, as it represents ks. After a it palatalises to is or iss, e.g. laxare + haunt>laiserunt, laxavit:laissa. It occurs most often in the prefix ex, which properly evolves through palatalisation to eiss, e.g. exeat:eisse; but a more learned form ess- or es- is common e.g.exgaudebit:esjorrat, exaltas:essalces, and the form ex- is left in many words, especially parts of the verb exaudire:exoir.

Final c>i, e.g. fac:fai.

The possible spellings for initial c are therefore c [k],c[t$^{\prime}$] or ch [tʃ]. The use of ch to denote a hard k will be discussed elsewhere.[1]

G

Initial g before a does not exist in the Oxford Psalter. Before o and u it remains, e.g. governeras, gustate:gustez. Before a, e, i the g palatalises to dz, written j/g, e.g. *gagantiz>gaianz, gaudium:joie/goie,

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1. Under H below.

gentem:gent. Initial g + consonant remains, e.g. gloria:glorie, gratia:grace. Intervocalic g preceded by a, e, or i/i, e.g. plaga;plaie, regem:rei, frigidum:freit; in flagellum:flael the i has already disappeared. As the middle one of three consonants it remains e.g. ungulas:ongles. In ng stem endings of verbs the g palatalises in e.g. frangentis:frainanz, Intervocalic g become final i, e.g. legem:lei, as can be seen from the examples given earlier. But an exception is the word jugum:juh, always spelt with final h in the Oxford Psalter.

QU

Initial qu (kw) is reduced to k in French. In the Oxford Psalter the result may be spelt in 3 ways:

(i) qu especially before a, ae, i, e.g. qualis:quels, quaeritis:queres, quis: qui;

(ii) ch commonly in qui:chi

(iii) k especially in quare:kar.

This means that ch is used to signify both hard and palatal c in the Oxford Psalter, and we therefore occasionally find double accents used after ch palatal, to distinguish it. The use of h as an hardening sign is also seen with g (see below). Intervocalic qu becomes u/v in Anglo-Norman, e.g. persequa:parsiue.(Pope §328). But aqua:ewe/eve. (Pope §§330,1180).

GU

Initial gu occurs in words of Germanic origin, or Latin words beginning with fricative bilabial v, e.g. *werra:guerre, *warden:guarder, vastae: guaste, vastabit:guasterat. (Pope §636). As in continental French, this gu was reduced to g in insular pronunciation, and this is seen in 1 spelling

of gardowent though all other examples of the verb guarder have the gu form. (See the Index). (Pope §192 (ii)).

Internal gu after n loses its labial element and> g e.g. lingua:langue. This is quite regular.

M and N. Initial remain as in Latin, e.g. matrem>mere navem nef. Intervocalic similarly, e.g. poma>pume; luna>lune; double m & n also, e.g. flamma>flamme; pennas>pennes. Intervocalic n & m become final also remain, e.g. fame> faim; foenum>fein; the same is true of double n, e.g. annum>an. In the group mn, the n is assimilated to the m, and the French spelling is usually with one m e.g. domina>dame,hominem>home. In the case of nm, however, we find a semi-learned form with both letters remaining with the vowel between them, anima>aneme. Where m is followed by r as a result of a lost vowel, a glide b developed, e.g. camera>chambre; in the case of n the glide consonnat is d, e.g. cineram>cendre. A glide b also develops between m and following l, e.g. tremolare>trembler. Before a labial consonant, although n is the norm, we also find m, e.g. enblancit & emblancit.

If m is the middle of a 3-consonant group it disappears, e.g. dormit dort.

Both n & m before most consonants remain, e.g. campum>camp;grandem>grant. But n before c and a following consonant is palatalised, represented by -in, e.g. sanctum>saint; n+yod gn e.g. seignur. Final m & n are produced from Latin intervocalic forms, as, mentioned above. N become final after r remains e.g. diurnum>jurn, cornu>corn, carnum>carn. (Pope §1245).

L & R

Initial l & r remain, e.g. labia>levres; ripas>rives. Intervocalic l & r also remain, e.g. ala>ele;clara>clere; so does double l, though it

was reduced to single l and may be spelt with single or double l, e.g. illam ele. Intervocalic l may become final, e.g. malum mal. If r becomes final after a plosive consonant, it acquires a final supporting e, e.g. intro entre, but in other cases it remains final, e.g. pavorem pour. In the future of verbs whose stem ends in r this r often suffers metathesis to form double r with the final r of the infinitive, e.g. enterrai for entrerai. Double r is found also in other verbs, e.g. the verb 'to sit', serrai. It is interesting that in common with Anglo-Norman practice the future of the verb 'to be' was spelt with double r right up to Ps. 47 but one r was then erased, perhaps to avoid confusion with the verb 'to sit'. Variation also occurs in the spelling of the nom.forms of bouns from Latin -ator and those formed on analogy with them, e.g. delivrerre/ delivrer in the proportion 1:3; defenderre/defendere 13; 3, though peccherre and receverre are always spelt with double r. Variation in spelling in the use of palatal l is also found, especially in parts of the verb travaillar, in the proportion 31:7 in favour of double l; the same is true of the noun oreilles/oreiles 20: 8. The forms with single letters occur only up to Ps.41. In the case of erasure of an r in double r forms, this was probably done because double r was still pronounced at this date; the use of ill is to indicate the palatal sound. It is also noteworthy that l before a consonant remains and is not vocalised to u. e.g. albam albe; altum halt; capillos chevels.

H

Initial h is either kept or lost, e.g. habitatio habitacium/abitacium, though the verb habiter always has the h. The loss of h is often caused

by the preposition de or the definite article, prefixed to the noun and elided. This gives absolute proof that the h was not pronounced, e.g. dome, Ps.79, 18.

As in modern Italian, h is used as a hardening sign after c & g, e.g.chi, is used lunghement (Pope §1209). Intervocalic h/between two vowels in hiatus, (Pope §1237), e.g. *jehan>gehir, but the compound form regehir is also found without h.

As a final letter h occurs only once, in jugum>juh.[1]

S. In almost any position Latin s is retained in spelling as s or z in the Oxford Psalter.

Initial s remains, e.g. senior>sire; septem>set.

Intervocalic s> [z] written s, e.g. causa>cose; s and ss intervocalic become final s. e.g. quaesivi>quesi>quis:bassum>bas; while intervocalic ss remains, e.g. fossam>fosse. Before jod s>[jz] written is, e.g. mansionem> maisun; but before t the s remains, e.g. festales>festels.

Final s after palatal l >[ts] written z e.g. filius>filz; but after double n it is spelt s (e.g.annos>ans. In common with the other French dialects Anglo-Norman developed a prosthetic e before initial s + consonant, e.g.scandalum escandle; spatha espede.

There is not much scope for variant spellings with the letter s but we find occasional variety in the use of s/ss, in the spelling of forms consisting of prefix + verb, e.g.asembler/assembler in the proportion

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1. cf.Howarth p.246.

4:10; desevrer/dessevrer 5:9. This may suggest that the prefix was sometimes felt as a separate entity in the case of single s spellings. It is interesting that the forms with s all occur early in the text, except desevrant, Ps.65, 12.

V and F

Initial v and f remain, e.g. vanum;vain, vinum:vin, ferrum:fer, fines:fins, fossam:fosse.

Intervocalic v remains before a,e,i, e,g, vivat:vivet, novelum: novel, but where one vowel is o or u the v is lost, e.g. ovicula:oeilles, pavore:pour. Internal v is assimilated to following n or t after the fall of an intervening vowel, e.g.civitatem:citet. Internal supported f remains, e.g. affligit:afflit. Intervocalic v become final f e.g.navem:nef, bovem: buef. Where we have the flexional s added to these words the v is effaced on coming into contact with the final s, but in the Oxford Psalter f is often left in the spelling, e.g.servos:serfs/sers, boves:buefs/bues. (Pope §1242).

b) alteration of spelling in the Oxford Psalter

Alteration of single letters in specific cases appears to have been carried out with considerable consistency up to Ps.55; as other variations in spelling mentioned above occur up to Ps. 41, 47 and 73, this may be significant. As no change in handwriting takes place, however, we can only suppose that the scribe either had a better (i.e.more consistent) model, or that he himself standardised his spelling in the course of the work. Any alterations must be viewed in conjunction with the spellings normally used, and we shall therefore give a brief description in each

case of the consistent and variable spellings connected with the alterations.

o & u. We have already seen that both o and u are used to represent Latin. o. The only example of consistent use of o to represent a tonic vowel is in pople, where the tonic vowel comes from o. Consistent use of u occurs in flur (1), jur,and pur. Many words are spelt with either, e.g. the verbs florir/flurir 1/5, tocher/tucher 1/2; and many nouns and adjectives: ores/ ures 19/4 (but also see bëow), segnor/segnur 145/114, sol/sul 6/1, and toneire/tuneire once each. A rare example of ou is fous < focus (Ps.10.7); this word is otherwise consistently spelt with u.

Cases in which u has been altered to o can be divided into two groups. The first is those with Latin origin o. These are parts of the verbs aovrir (3 examples), covrir (3), oblier (2) and esprovant; and nouns oreisun (1), ores (2), volt (1), vot(2) and the pronoun vos (1). The second is those whose Latin origin is o or u + nasal. There are mont (5), parts of the verb conuistre (3), conturbez, escommuniovent, and oinst.

Alteration of ou to u is found in tricheur Ps.5,7, ures 18,15, and in the past tense endings of the verb ester, though the form estourent remains in Ps. 2,2. The alteration of ui to u occurs in furur ( fuirur) (2 examples), but 8 examples of the ui spelling are left untouched. This is very odd, as the word derives from furor and should therefore have u and not ui as the etymological development.

'ue & 'o. Alteration of ue to o or oe occurs in words with Latin vowel o. We have mentioned above one example of spelling with o, pople. There are no examples of consistent spelling with oe, but in the case of ue we have a good example in cuers, a very common word always spelt in the same way.

Many words vary, and a good example of this is opera rendered as oeyres (3 examples), uevres (1) and ovres (51), while the related verb has the forms oevrant (2) and spellings with o (20). In this case there would seem to be an attempt at distinguishing this verb from the derivation of Latin operire, which is rendered as uvrir when the form aovrir is not used. Alteration of ue to o occurs in ovres (3 examples), oil (1) and prove (1); oelté Ps. 36,39 may have been changed from either ue or we, as the space erased would indicate a broader letter than u.

r & er. A noticeable feature of Anglo-Norman is the loss of e between a consonant and r in the future of faire and the insertion of an e in some other verbs. Examples of the loss of e from ferai &c. are not found in the Oxford Psalter, but correction of the inserted e can be seen in crendre (3 examples), descendre (2), exardrat, istras, prendrat and in the noun f frenges. This extra e occurs regularly in the verbs delivrer, entrer, remembrer, and aovrir.

r & rr. We have already seen that double r occurs in some nouns and in the future of verbs. In the case of nouns we do not find any alterations, but a certain variety in spelling. In the case of verbs, however, we have three possibilities; the use of either single or double r consistently, the use of both, and the alteration of double to single r. Verbs which always have double r in the future are *cheeir (cadere), dire, descuvrir, demener, delivrer, guerreduner and reguerreduner, murir, oir and aveir, and entrer. The verb duner has the future spelt either -nr- or -rr by assimilation. The verb 'to be' and regehir are found

in the future with single r 19 and 9 times respectively, up to Ps.41, and also with double r altered to single r 42 and 6 times respectively; beyond this point both are regularly spelt with single r.

final consonants. Two kinds of alteration are found in the case of final consonants, alteration from t to d and complete erasure. In general, this text retains all the early final consonants, including final n or m in words such as enfern and verm. In Ps.50, 1 grande is an obvious alteration from grant, as the top of the t is still visible. But most noticeable is the erasure of final t or d of feminine nouns and masculine participles in increasing numbers from Ps.21. This is not done in what one would regard as all possible cases, even when such words are sometimes written without the final consonant after about Ps.70. At this point, in fact, it is the endings of verbs in the 3rd person, past tense, which are most affected by erasures and by writing without the final consonant, though again there are still examples of final consonants left untouched.

Other erasures. There are a few cases which can best be regarded as corrections of faulty spelling. These are pr-isme (23,4); dese-vrer (34, 25); a-juerat (45,5) and esjo-rrai (30,8). The case of er-t (13,9) may be an interesting example of the early form eret<erat. There are also a number of examples of alteration of the preposition de, originally written as a separate word, to d immediately before the word it governs. The erasure is usually quite obvious in these cases and can only be explained in this way.

(c) Conspectus of phonology and spelling of other MSS

This conspectus is based in a brief study of the MSS and does not

pretend to be complete. Examples given are not to be taken as the only spelling for the word in question, or as the only example of the phonological point it illustrates.

A

1) Tonic free a. All MSS have the standard development a>e, but MS Harley 273 has mier for mer, probably a hypercorrection of the Anglo-Norman habit of reducing the ie diphthong to e.

2) Tonic free a + nasal consonant Here we find increasing confusion of ain with ein from tonic free ę + nasal consonant, and, because both to ãi and ẽi had been reduced /ẽ with plain e. Most MSS have the same amount of variation as the Oxford Psalter in conjunction with nasal consonants, but much more with jod. (See below, sect. 6).

3) Tonic free a preceded by a palatal. This usually correctly> ie, but as mentioned above the diphthong may be reduced to e where it derives from e.g. -arium,/poter for potier in MS Harley 5102 (Ps.2,9), lumere in most MSS, millers in Cod.Gall.16.

5) Tonic blocked a. Where tonic blocked a is followed by a nasal consonant there is an increasing tendency to spell the result aun. This is a recognised Anglo-Norman habit of the later 13th century, and is seen in MS Harley 1770, e.g. ardaunz, in MS Harley 5102, e.g.speraunce, chaunterai, and with great regularity in MS Fonds Fr.1, e.g.vengeaunce, demaunde. (Pope §1152). It occurs even with effaced s + consonant in MS Harley 273, e.g.chaustiez. (Pope §1153).

6) Tonic free or blocked a + jod. The normal development of ai is confused with the product of a + jod. The earlier MSS have the same variety

of spelling as the Oxford Psalter, but all Harley MSS have ai, ei and e as alternatives, especially in parts of the verb faire, which is worst affected in all the later 13th century MSS. Examples include fet as present indicative or past participle for fait, meisun for maisun, and the same variation is found with nasal consonants, e.g. eiment for aiment in MS Harley 273.Cod.Gall.16 is also affected by this variety in spelling but MS CCCC 278 returns to the more traditional system of the earlier MSS.

7) Unstressed initial a. This is regular as a in most MSS, but where the initial vowel is in hiatus it may weaken to e, e.g. in MS Harley 273 cheere for chaere and rechate for rachate. This MS also shows the weakening of e<a after a palatal to i, e.g. chival for cheval. In the future tense of faire the e is often lost, e.g. frat<ferat in MS Harley 5102 and CCCC MS 278.

8) Unstressed final a. This should develop to e in all cases. But as it was mute by the 13th century it is sometimes omitted or added to words where it does not belong. This is most obvious in the agreement of the possessive adjective meie often spelt without final e from the Arundel Psalter onwards, and most consistently at the beginning of MS Harley 1770. The Arundel Psalter has oreil for oreille, though it is usually spelt correctly, and also conversely adds e to mer (mare). As usual MS Fonds Fr. 1 is most erratic on this point. MS Harley 273 has establie as a masc. past participle (Ps.2,6).

Ĕ and AE

1) Tonic free ę. All MSS continue the practice of reduction of the ie diphthing produced by tonic free ę and by blocked or free ę + palatal. But whereas in the Oxford Psalter it is reduced to e, it may in the Arundel Psalter and MS Cotton Nero C IV be reduced to i, e.g. sicle as an alternative to siecle in the Cotton Nero text and piz for piez in the Arundel Psalter. The usual reduction to e is also found in the Arundel Psalter, e.g. creme for crieme, and occasional examples are found in all the MSS, e.g. bref for brief and cel for ciel.

2) Unstressed free ę or ę. Weak initial e between a consonant and r may be lost, e.g. gredunanz in MS Harley 5102. The e may also close to i or assimilate to a following vowel, e.g. MS Harley has lions for leons and enimis for enemis.

3)Unstressed blocked ę or ę + r. This is usually regular to er, but words with i in Latin may be spelt with i in French, e.g.virtue in the Arundel Psalter (Ps.21,15). This also shows an erroneous final e.

4) Unstressed e or e + nasal + consonant. This regularly gives en with the only spelling variant usually in senz/sanz. This spelling sanz is subject to the alteration to saunt found for tonic blocked a + nasal.

Ē, Ĭ and OE

1) Tonic free ę. The regular development of tonic ę to ei is confused early with ai in spelling, but by the later 13th century the continental ... development to oi is also known to Anglo-Norman scribes and the range of possible forms becomes ei/ai/oi. This is especially marked in the pronoun mei and fem. adj.meie, where mai and moi are found/in addition maei and

and moei in MS Harley 5102. the nouns rei (regem) and lei (legem) have the same variant spellings.

2) Tonic blocked ę. This is usually e, but may be spelt a before nasal consonant in late MSS, e.g. fame for feme. The e may close to i in hiatus, e.g.MS Add.35283 has saites for saetes but saetent for the verb.

Ī

1) Tonic free i. This regularly remains i, but the Arundel Psalter has ere for ire (ira), and formement for firmement (Ps.24,15), which may be regarded as a spelling mistake.

Ŏ

1) Tonic free ǫ. In addition to the early possibilities of spelling oe/ue, we find eo under English influence in later MSS, especially in MS Harley 273.MS n.a.lat.1670 consistently uses the letter o and MS Fonds Fr.1 uses oe. MS Harley 1770 has buifs for boefs. The word with the greatest variety of spelling is pruesme (proximum; the Arundel Psalter has proesme and prosme and the MS Cotton Nero C IV has presme, priesme and prisme.

2) Tonic free ǫ + nasal consonant. This regularly gives ue with alternative spelling oe and o, e.g. sonus:soen/suen/son in the Arundel Psalter, and soun in MS Fonds Fr. 1.

3) Tonic free or blocked ǫ followed by palatal. The usual ui/oi spellings are found, but MS Fonds Fr.1 has oels for oi'z. This probably indicates the loss of i from the spelling of palatal l.

4) Tonic blocked ǫ. As in the Oxford Psalter this usually gives o but may occasionally be spelt u.

5) Unstressed initial o. This usually gives o/u, but may be spelt ou e.g. gouverneras in MS Harley 273.

Ō and Ŭ

1) Tonic free or blocked o. This is usually spelt o/u in the earlier MSS, but later may be spelt ou, e.g. lour, jour, in MS Harley 1770, and peccheours, poudre in MS Fonds Fr.1. But MS Harley 5102 has vota:voiz, which is a clear spelling mistake. The ou spelling is the continental form.

2) Tonic free or blocked o + nasal. In common with other o- sounds this is often spelt ou in later MSS, e.g. counsail in MS Harley 273, moun and mount in MS Fonds Fr.1.

3) Tonic o + palatal gives oi/ui as in the Oxford Psalter, but not necessarily in the same words, MS n.a.lat.1670 has vocem:vuiz.

4) Unstressed initial o. This may dissimilate to e, e.g. solonc/ sulunc (sublongum) is spelt selonc in MS. n.a.lat.1670. But the negative non which usually becomes nen is spelt nun in MS Harley 273.

Ū

Latin u remains in all positions. The ui diphthong formed with a following palatal may be reduced to u, e.g. destrument, gutrun in MS Harley 5102.

AU

The Latin diphthong au gives o, which in continental French may be spelt ou, but this development is rarely found in the Psalters.

P and B

These develop as in the Oxford Psalter, except that the Arundel Psalter

has an alternative spelling debuter/deputer, and omits the final in camp in Ps.49,12.

T and D

Initial t and d are as the Oxford Psalter. Intervocalic t and d are written ð in the Arundel Psalter and in MS Harley 5102, but have disappeared in other MSS. Final t and d are used erratically by all MSS, either t/d/ zero. Clare College Cambridge, MS 6 even uses ȝ as an alternative. Final ts is written tz in the Arundel Psalter in present participles, e.g. faisantz (Ps.9,17) though the correct z is also used, and it is common in MS Fonds Fr.1 e.g.rendauntz, gentz, dentz. This MS also has final ts, e.g.compuncts. Supported d become final may be lost as other final consonants, e.g. respun in n.a.lat.1670. Internal d + jod [dʒ], or perhaps [tš] in Arundel in venchaunce. In MS Fonds Fr.1 this sound is spelt gg, e.g. in judicates:iuggez and noun iuggement. In MS Fonds Fr.1 an extra final t may be added where it does not belong, e.g. maisount and final z from ts is written th in south = suz. This latter spelling is also found in MS Harley 273 in southtrencha, but the form suzneie, is also used.

C

Initial c before a is represented by c/ch in the Arundel Psalter, MS Add. 35283, and Cod.Gall.16; others usually use ch. For hard c the spelling is c or qu, e.g. in quier (cor). There is a form khantez in MS n.a.lat.1670, but as the k is an initial, and many are faulty in this MS, it must be taken as a mistake by the illuminator.

Intervocalic c before a is spelt either c/ch as in initial position above,

but palatal c before u is spelt ch in rechout (recut) in MS Harley 5102, and ct which generally gives palatal c or t is spelt ch in beneichun (beneditionem:beneicun) in MS Harley 5102 and MS CCCC 278. The Arundel Psalter retains c middle of 3 consonants in spelling sanctet, and includes an extra c in cuncterai.

G

Initial g is treated in all MSS as in the Oxford Psalter, but intervocalic g >initial is spelt either g/j, e.g. ego:ge/jeo.

Intervocalic g before a is spelt ch in synagoche, e.g. in MS CCCC 278.

Intervocalic g become final is spelt ch in jugum:juch in all MSS except Cod. Gall. 16 which has jug.

QU

Initial qu may be spelt qu, k, or c. All 3 spellings are used in MS Add. 35283; spellings with k are favoured for ki and kar in MS CCCC 278 and car is used in MS Fonds Fr.1 and Cod.Gall. 16, but these 2 MSS use qui/qi for the pronoun.

Intervocalic qu becomes gu in aquas:eagues in MS Fonds Fr.1; this word is an exception in most dialects and the usual eaves is also used by this MS. After n, k or qu are used, e.g. unkes in MS CCCC 278 and unques in MS Add.35283 (Ps.1,4).

GU

Initial gu is reduced to g in compounds of the verb guarder, e.g. regardent in MS Fonds Fr.1, and esgardez in MS Harley 273 and MS CCCC 278, and in verbs of Germanic origin with Latin initial v e.g.gastee in MS

Fonds Fr. 1. Internal gu after n loses its labial element and is spelt g in langas in MS Harley 273 & 1770, but MS Fonds Fr 1 has langges, which is odd since this MS seems to use gg to spell [dž], as mentioned above.[1] Where gu after n becomes final it is spelt c or g, e.g. in sanguinem:sanc/sang in the Arundel Psalter; an interesting spelling is sanck (Ps.9,12) in MS Harley 1770.

M and N

Little change is seen in the use of m and n in later MSS. Both are used before labial consonants, e.g. remembrere and remembrere. Palatal n which is usually spelt gn or ign may be spelt in e.g. purluinas in MS Add. 35283.

L and R

Initial l and r are unchanged, but metathesis may occur in words with initial consonant + r, e.g. derce (drece) in MS Harley 5102, and pernez (prenez) in MSS Harley 273, Fonds Fr. 1 and Cod.Gall.16.

Preconsonantal l may vocalise to u, and this results in 3 possible spellings, l, u or ul, which are used indiscriminately by most MSS. Thus the Arundel Psalter and Clare College MS 6 use forms such as essalces and essaulcez, and MSS Harley 1770 & 5102 use both almę(<anima, with n dissimilated to l), while MS Fonds Fr.1 uses l in alme and eshalceaunt but u in sauf and eaux (els). Both MS Add.35283 and MS CCCC 278 seem to favour the spelling with l. The spelling muiz (mulz) in Clare College

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1. under D above.

MS6 is probably an error. Between e and l a glide a developed, e.g. eals (els), oyseals (oisels) in MS CCCC 278; spellings with this glide are not consistent and MS Cotton Nero C IV has eals but the possessive d'els. (Pope §388). The various spellings l, u, and ul together with the use of the glide a with both l and u probably indicate that l was in fact already vocalised even where it is used consistently in MSS, and this may even be true of the Oxford Psalter. (Pope §390). Intervocalic r may be spelt either r or rr; this is particularly frequent in the future of verbs where rr is used by MSS Harley 1770, 5102, CCCC 278, Cod.Gall.16 and the Psautier de Corbie; the Arundel Psalter uses both terre and tere (terra), and MS Cotton Nero C IV varies in its use of -erre or -ere in the nom. of nouns ending in -ator. MS Harley 1770 reduces many of these to -er, e.g. peccher, aiuer.

Final r is lost in the spelling ka (kar) in MSS Harley 5102 and Add.35283.

H

Initial h is mostly lost from later MSS, but increasing use is made of h between vowels in hiatus, e.g. iohirat (Ps.6,5) and [illegible]nut (Ps.7,15) in MS Harley 5102.

S

Prosthetic e before initial s + consonant is omitted in many MSS, especially after the article or a word with final vowel, e.g. cume spus in the Arundel Psalter and le spine in MS Cotton Nero C IV; it is often lost in the verb esperer and noun esperance, especially in MS Harley 5102.

Internal s + consonant became mute and the s may then be added erroneously

as a hypercorrection of the loss, e.g. fust for fut and receust for recut in MS Fonds Fr.1.

Final s was often omitted and this also gives rise to the faulty addition of s, e.g. la files Syon also in MS Fonds Fr.1. Final s/us is spelt x in late MSS, e.g. conex = coneus, eaux = eaus (els) in MS Fonds Fr.

1. The final s is confused in spelling with z = ts, and z may be used for s, e.g. tul visitez (Ps.8,5) and attenuiez in MS Harley 1770.

V and F

No change occurs in the use of v and f except in the unusual spelling wus = vus (Ps.2,9) in MS CCCC 278.

d) Accents

One of the most interesting features of the Douce manuscript has always been the presence of accents above the text. It is particularly relevant to remember that Curtius in his edition of the Quatre livres des Rois pointed at that in the case of translations of the Bible, accents occur only in the Anglo-Norman manuscripts,[1] and this would seem to be borne out by other Anglo-Norman works such as the Romance of Horn. But before discussing the use of accents in this text one must consider the general question of the use of accents in the mediaeval period.

Ch.Beaulieux has traced the history of accents in Latin MSS from the 9th century, and pointed out that as long as words were heavily abbreviated accents were seldom used as they would have created confusion.[2] But tonic

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1. QLDR p.xcii.

2. Histoire de l'orthographe française II p.5.

accents are occasionally marked by an acute accent.[1]

The most common type of accent in mediaeval MSS is the stroke over i in Latin and French where it is next to other minims. This aid to legibility continued as long as it was necessary and is the origin of the dot. The use of special signs to indicate pronunciation can be said to begin with the use of the hooked e in the place of the ae diphthong in Latin MSS. This is naturally of no use in French. The use of accents to show stress or pronunciation, as in modern French and Spanish, is first encountered in the Anglo-Norman psalters. Beaulieux has suggested that the reason why accents are used only by Anglo-Norman scribes, or in MSS copied from Anglo-Norman exemplars, is that French was not their native language.[2]

The first discussion of the accents in the Oxford Psalter was by A. Brachet, who pointed out that other MSS with accents, such as the QLDR, are not as regularly accented. Certainly the accents in the Oxford Psalter become more and more frequent, though not consistent, from the 3rd page of the text. For the most part they are stress accents, and occur on all 5 vowels, unlike the QLDR which has accents on a, e, and i only. Curtius does remark, however, that an accent sometimes appears to be over a consonant, which he thinks may be a mistake for the following vowel. This same problem arises in the Oxford Psalter, and I find it difficult to

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1. Histoire de l'orthographe francaise II, p.6.

2. op.cit. p.14.

agree with Brachet's remark[1] about 'renseignements précieux que nous en tirons pour la pronunciation du français au XI^e siècle' in the case of accents on diphthongs, as it is often difficult to tell which letter really carries the accent.

The weakness of some of Brachet's arguments was pointed out and criticised by K.Lincke.[2] He agrees that the majority of accents in the Oxford Psalter are stress accents, but not only tonic stress is in question. He maintains that it is syllable stress which is indicated, and thus does away with the difficulty of the exact position of the accent, as any letter within a syllable may be used. This also means that it can be no longer argued that an accent over i signifies j.

If we believe that the accent indicates any kind of syllable stress, its use on monosyllabic words can be said to indicate that they must be fully pronounced, and not treated as unaccented syllables if written with other short words as continuous prose. But are we then to believe that if this is not done regularly, the word in question was not always pronounced? Surely this can hardly be the case. For instance, accents occuþ, as in the Romance of Horn, on one-vowel words, á, é, and ú. Their use cannot be said to be at all regular, though in phrases such as a mei, a tei, the a is more likely to carry an accent if the following pronoun does. It would seem that little can really be inferred from the use of accents in such cases, and the same is true of those sometimes found on the articles li and la. Beaulieux may however be correct

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1. Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature 1870, p.254.
2. K.Lincke: Die Accente im Oxforder und im Cambridger Psalter. Erlangen, 1886.

in thinking that accents may be used to show that they are separate words.[1]

Accents are also marked on vowels in hiatus. This may be regarded either as a stress accent, or simply as a guide for pronunciation. They are usually marked on the second vowel, and are used in the same way as modern diacritics in the verbs hair and oir; A common use is in the ending -eur of nouns; even when these are spelt with intervocalic d the u is still accented. Few examples of accents on both vowels in hiatus are found in the Oxford Psalter, though this is regularly done in the Arundel Psalter and the Romance of Horn, e.g. enfermées (Ps.17,40), benéeiz (Ps.40,14), and esleécement (Ps.47,2).

Where these accents can be of great interest is in showing the current pronunciation of learned words. In general the stress accent falls on the final syllable, as in modern French. This can be illustrated from the many words ending in -iun, which are always accented on the u just as the words of the same origin are accented on the o in modern Spanish. Variance from this practice often indicates a learned word, which obviously follows the Latin accentuation. The most obvious of these are desidérie (11 examples) and pecúnie (Ps.14,6). Words from Latin nouns ending in -oria are always accented on the o, e.g. glórie, memórie, but this corresponds to the stress on the modern French forms of these words. The same can be said of the form cuncílie (Ps.39,14) and of áneme, on which the accent is not always marked.

A peculiar feature of the Oxford Psalter manuscript is the use of double accents. Their use on c to indicate palatalisation or pronunciation

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1. op.cit. p.6.

as ch [t$\acute{s}$] was discussed by Varnhagen;[1] B.L.Howarth thinks c was pronounced ts or t$\check{s}$.[2] The double accent also occurs on ch above the h, e.g. ch$\acute{}$ose. This is to indicate that the h is not an hardening sign.[3] Both c and ch are therefore used as signs for ch [t$\check{s}$] in this MS alone.

Double accents also occur in the group vr, usually on the r, but apparently to indicate that the v is a consonant, and not u. They are most common on povre and on parts of the verb delivrer, and are used 64 times. A use more difficult to explain is that of double accents on o, occassionally on pople. Beaulieux has suggested that in this case they indicate diphthongisation of the vowel,[4] but as this word is not normally spelt with a diphthong it seems questionable.

After the Arundel Psalter the use of accents becomes less common, except on i, though MS Cotton Nero C IV and MS Add. 35283 have accents on single-vowel words á,é,ú.

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1. ZRP III 161-2.
2. op.cit.p.238ff.
3. ibid.p.240.
4. op.cit.p.17.

## V Morphology

### 1 Gender

Most nouns have the gender of their Latin etymon; in the case of neuter nouns some become masculine, while others in the neuter plural, which may be regarded as collective nouns, become feminine, e.g. folia:fuille. These changes in gender were already taking place in Vulgar Latin,[1] but the text of the psalms is classical in its morphology. Neuter plural adjectives used as substantives are usually rendered by the plural of a synonymous feminine noun, e.g. excelsa:halteces, or by a plural adjective + choses, e.g. omnia: tutes choses; excelsa:haltes choses.[2]

Certain nouns of neuter origin appear to be treated as neuter in French; that is, they occur in obl. form as subject of a sentence. The nouns in question are chief (caput); ciel (caelum); cuer (cor); cunseil (consilium); fust (fustum); mal (malum); num (nomen). Meister attempted to sort out the cases in which the obl. forms are used as subjects,[3] but his conclusions were criticised by Koschwitz in his review[4] where he takes the attitude that this is just an early example of the break-down of the case-system, and preference for the obl. form.

Nouns whose gender varies in Latin are given whichever gender they have

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1. H. Sachs, Geschlechtswechsel im Französischen, p. 4.
2. This is discussed in Ch. 8, sect. 4.
3. Die Flexion im Oxforder Psalter, p. 87.
4. ZRP II, p. 485.

in the Latin text in each context. This is especially seen with jur which translates dies, usually masc. in the plural but which in the singular may have a fem. adjective. This is followed in the French, e.g. tota die:tute jur. But whether the frequency of this phrase in Old French has any connection with its frequency in the psalters is questionable, as it has been plausibly suggested that it is fem. on analogy with tote nuit.[1] Some nouns have a different gender in different psalters, e.g. cusinage is masc. in the Oxford and fem. in the Cambridge Psalter.[2]

The only forms which can be regarded as true neuters are ce and ico usually used after prepositions and referring to what has been said in the previous phrase. The impersonal use of il occurs only in il plut (pluit) in Ps. 77, 28.

2 Declension.

a) nouns

Old French had a 2-case declension system, indicated mainly by flexional -s. In the case of nouns ending in nn, t, d, and palatal l, this becomes -z. The only example of z after final r is jurz, jurn.

The masc. declension is derived from Latin 2nd and 3rd declension nouns, e.g. anz, an; an, anz. Nouns deriving from 3rd declension forms of the pater type have one form only in the singular, and decline as pere, pere; pere, peres. The few exceptions in which these nouns have -s in nom. plural are discussed by Meister, p. 92. It goes without saying that

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1. Tobler-Lommatzsch, IV, 1772.

2. G.G. Laubscher, The syntactical causes of case reduction in Old French, p. 6.

nouns whose stem ends in s or z are therefore indeclinable, e.g. passus> pas, laqueus > laz.

Nouns deriving from imparisyllabic nouns have the 2 forms preserved. The most common are sire, seignur (only found in the singular) and huem, hume; many derive from Latin nouns in -ator and those formed on analogy with these, and those of the type -o, -onis, of which the most common is fel, felun. Those found in the Oxford Psalter are aiuere, aiuedur; defenderre, defendeur; duitre, duitur; jugerre, jugedur/jugeur; peccherre, pecchedur/peccheur; salverre, salvedur/salveur. Some occur in one case only; these are cultivere; deliverere; genglere; receverre; venquere; and calengedur; creatur; cumpainuns; enfanz; faitur; habitedur; muntedur; vengedur. In general the declension of these nouns is the most correct, though a few faulty forms are listed by Meister, pp. 93-94. I have noticed one case in which a faulty final -s appears to have been added to sire and subsequently erased, in Ps. 78,5.

Feminine nouns have basically the modern forms, with flexional -s in the plural of both cases. But the case of nouns from Latin forms in -atio is more complicated, as some have an erroneous flexional -s in the nom. singular, in addition to the correct form, e.g. generaciuns as well as generaciun. A list of the faulty forms from all declensions is given by Meister, pp. 86-87. One can only suppose that either the -s was added on analogy with fem. nouns of 3rd declension which correctly had -s in nom., e.g. finis > fins, or that the analogy was with masc. nouns.

Neuter nouns usually become masculine, though a few neuter plurals which may be regarded as collective nouns become feminine singular, e.g. folia >

fuille. These then decline as feminine nouns. The declension of those regarded as masculine is problematical, as if we regard these as true masc. forms we find their declension is usually faulty. Meister states (p. 87) that these nouns decline in the same way as those from 3rd declension in -er, that is with one form without -s in the singular, and -s in acc. plural. This certainly holds good except for the examples he gives with -s in nom. plural, which he thinks may be the result of thinking of the noun as feminine. Koschwitz in his review of Meister suggested that the fact that many nouns of 2nd declension neuter origin have no distinctive nom. singular form is due to their being learned forms and that they were treated as neuter indeclinable forms by the French scribe.[1] A fact that he does not mention is that many of these nouns occur in phrases without a verb, and in cases in which it is difficult to see whether they are in the nom. or acc., as the Latin forms end in -um and are therefore no guide. An example of this kind of situation is Ps. 24,15 firmamentum est dominus timentibus eum, et testamentum ipsius ut manifestetur illis: fermement est li sire as cremanz lui, é le sun testament que il seit manifestet á els. Here testament, though presumably nom. like fermement, has no immediately obvious connection with the verb.

The situation with regard to the 3rd and 4th declension nouns is even more confused, as many occur with a nom. singular with -s, in addition to the "neuter" form without -s. These are listed by Meister, p. 90. No rational explanation can be given, and one can only assume that these were

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1. ZRP II, p. 487. Miss Pope (§ 1241) appears also to regard this as Latin influence.

felt to be true masc. forms, but sometimes have faulty "neuter" declension.

b) Adjectives

The declension of adjectives in the masc. is the same as that of nouns; the application of the cases will be discussed in the Syntax section. The declension of fem. adjectives is more complex. As in modern French, the fem. ending is -e, but this is only true of those derived from the Latin 1st declension, in which it developed regularly. Those of the 3rd declension have only one form for both masc. and fem., as in Latin, e.g. fort, grant. These fem. adjectives therefore decline as masc. in the sing., but have -z as the ending in pl. nom. and obl., e.g. Ps. 85,12 la tue misericorde granz est; Ps. 20,5 grant beltet emposeras sur lui; Ps. 91,5 cum sunt fait granz les tues ovres; Ps. 54,13 sur mei granz choses oust parlet. The Oxford Psalter does, however, show a few examples of analogical forms with final -e; in the case of grant/grande we have the uninflected form 14 times, the analogical form 6 times, though 1 of these has been altered from grant, in Ps. 50,1. In the later MSS. both forms continue to be used.

The declension of fem. adjectives affects the formation of adverbs, as these are formed as in modern French, by adding -ment to the fem. adj. Those with uninflected form therefore have the possibility of two forms, e.g. fortment is used in early MSS., but fortement is possible later. This results in the faulty alternatives ignelment and ignelement, as only the fem. form is correct in this case.

c) Definite article

Although later Anglo-Norman is renowned for confusion of different cases

and genders of the definite article, the Oxford Psalter is correct, except for the use of le for the nom. of masc. nouns deriving from a Latin neuter, a feature which will be discussed under Syntax. The forms used are:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| masc. sing. | nom. | li/le | fem. sing. | la |
| | acc. | le | | |
| pl. | nom. | li | pl. | les |
| | acc. | les | | |

The masc. nom. form does not seem to elide with the following noun, while the fem. occasionally does, e.g. lordeet Ps. 7,10; lindignaciun Ps. 29,5. The oblique forms le and les often combine with a preceding preposition, e.g. a + le al, a + les as, de + le del, de + les des, en + le el, en + les es.

On account of increasing confusion as to the case system, and the possible reduction of the ui diphthong to u or i, the use of cases in the 14th century MSS. is often faulty, and we find lui peccheur for the nom. pl. in MS. CCCC 278.

d) Personal pronoun

The declension system is best seen in personal pronouns, as is still the case in modern French. In the mediaeval language there are two forms of the oblique case, weak and strong. The following forms are used:

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| nom. | | je | tu | il | ele/el | nus | vus | il eles/els |
| obl. | weak | me | te | le | la | nus | vus | les les |
| | strong | mei/mi | tei | lui/li | li | nus | vus | els eles/els |

The so-called strong form of the 1st person, jo or jeo, is not found in the Oxford Psalter, and later manuscripts use a variety of possible spellings without attaching any significance to each form. The obl. strong form mi is used only once in the Oxford Psalter, Ps. 73,12, but it is used frequently in the Arundel Psalter, often with a horizontal stroke above it as in the Latin abbreviation mī = mihi (Pope 1249). The use of il for masc. nom. pl. was quite consistent until the late 13th century, when on analogy with the pl. of nouns a final -s was added. The modern form is therefore found in the later MSS. The reflexive pronoun occurs only in the obl. form, weak se and strong sei.

In common with the obl. forms of the article, the masc. weak obl. forms of the pronoun often combine with pronouns and conjunctions, e.g. tu + le  tul in tul durras (Ps. 20,6), tu + les  tus in tus guverneras (Ps. 2, 9), si + le  sil in e sil establis (Ps. 8,6), si + les  sis in sis fraindras (Ps. 2,9), and ne + le nel in nel deceit (Ps. 14,6), ne + les nes in pas nes oit (Ps. 17,45). The strong pl. form els combines with the preposition de, e.g. les langues dels (Ps. 54,9), but many more examples of de els are found. This type of possessive is gradually replaced by the form lur in later MSS., though it already appears in the Oxford Psalter as a 'weak' alternative to de els.

e) Possessive pronouns and adjectives

Here again in the case of singular possession we have 2 forms, strong and weak. In the Oxford Psalter the strong forms, especially in the first person, seem to be more used than the weak, which are used more in the later texts. They are as follows:

| | | strong forms: sing | | | pl. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| masc. | nom. | miens | tuens | suens | nostre | vostre | lur |
| | obl. | mien | tuen | suen | " | " | " |
| pl. | nom. | mien | tuen | suen | noz | voz | " |
| | obl. | miens | tuens | suens | noz | voz | " |
| fem. | sing. | meie | tue | sue | " | " | " |
| | pl. | meies | tues | sues | " | " | " |

| | | weak forms | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| masc. | nom. | mes/mis | tes | ses |
| | obl. | mun | tun | sun |
| pl. | nom. | mi | ti | si |
| | obl. | mes | tes | ses |
| fem. | sing. | ma | ta | sa |
| | pl. | mes | tes | ses |

The form mis, perhaps an analogical formation, occurs only once in the Oxford Psalter, Ps. 26,16 (Pope, § 1260). But it is used regularly in MS. n.a.lat.1670.

(f) Demonstrative pronouns/adjectives

There are two groups, formed from ecce + ille or iste. The forms from ille are icil or cil &c. as follows:

| sing. | masc. | fem. | neuter |
|---|---|---|---|
| nom. | icil | icele | icel |
| obl. | icel, cel | icele | icel |
| | icelui, celui | | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| pl. | | |
| nom. | icil | iceles |
| obl. | icels, cels | iceles |

Similarly there are 2 forms from iste, as follows:

| sing. | masc. | fem. | neuter |
|---|---|---|---|
| nom. | icist, cist | iceste | ice, ce |
| acc. | icest, cest | iceste, ceste | ice, ce |
| dat. | cestui | icesti | |
| pl. | | | |
| nom. | icist, cist | icestes/icez, cez | |
| acc. | icez, cez | icestes/icez, cez | |

Both icestes and icez are found for the fem. pl. in the Oxford Psalter, icestes choses and icez choses are used in the proportion 5:11.

The neuter forms from ecce hoc are co, ce. The masc. and fem. forms may be used as demonstrative adjectives; the obl. form is then icel &c. with icelui as the obl. pronoun form.

g) Relative and interrogative pronouns

(i) chi

Already in the 12th century no distinction in gender is made in the use of chi. As a relative pronoun it declines as follows: masc./fem. nom. chi, obl. que/qui/cui, neuter qued. In other MSS. chi is spelt ki or qui. The form cui occurs as obl. indirect object in Ps. 26,1 only, but the spelling qui is used after prepositions in Ps. 26,2 &c. The use of qui as

possessive is found in Ps. 9,29 la qui buche (cuius os). The neuter form qued is used as a relative nom. form in Ps. 1,3 (suggesting that fust is indeed neuter), but it is also used as an alternative to the conjunction que. As interrogative the only forms are chi and que.

(ii) quels

The pronoun quels derives from qualis, and originally had one form only for masc. and fem. But already in the Oxford Psalter we find analogical fem. forms with final e in addition to the etymological form. This analogical form occurs most often with the definite article, laquele, and occurs 15 times to one occurrence of laquel (obl.). By itself quele occurs only once, in Ps. 88,46. The feminine plural is always in the analogical form, lesqueles. It therefore declines as follows:

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| masc. | nom.sing. | quels | nom. pl. | quels | fem.sing. | nom. | quels/quele |
| | | | | | | obl. | quel/quele |
| | obl. | quel | obl. | quels | pl. | | queles |

3 Comparison of adjectives

A few traditional synthetic forms of the comparative of adjectives are found in the Oxford Psalter: graignurs (grandiores); maiurs (maiores); mieldre (melior). Many are formed by plus + the adjective, e.g. plus juvenes (junior); plus dulz (dulciora).

Synthetic forms of the superlative absolute are rare; apart from altisme (altissimus) which is a learned form, pruesme &c. translates proximum used as a noun, and pesme (pessima) occurs in Ps. 33,21. The most common method of forming the superlative absolute is with tres + the adjective, usually written in one word, e.g. tresforz (fortissimus); tresgrant (maximum). A few are formed with mult, e.g. mult clere

(praeclara) and mult preciose, which translates pretiosum multum Ps. 18,11.

4 Comparison of adverbs

As in the case of adjectives, few traditional synthetic forms of the comparative and superlative of adverbs are found in the Oxford Psalter, but mielz is used in mielz est un petit al juste (Ps. 36,17) and in the translation of praevalui: mielz valui. A superlative absolute adverb is potentissime: mult poantment.

5 Conjugation

a) Infinitives

The infinitive forms used in the Oxford Psalter are for the most part regular, so that -are > -er; -ēre > -eir; -ĕre > -re; -ire > -ir. Some verbs changed conjugation in the late Latin period and French verbs are therefore often of a different conjugation from that of the verbs from which they derive, and which they translate, e.g. arguere, arguare, arguer; sapere, sapēre, saveir. The later Anglo-Norman tendency to change the conjugation of French verbs is not much in evidence even in the later MSS., though Clare College Cambridge MS. 6 and MS. CCC 278 have dormerai (Ps. 4,9).

b) Radicals

The alteration of the vowel of the radical according to stress is well preserved in the Oxford Psalter, though some verbs only occur in one form. The usual alternations are:

ai-a:aimet, amez;

ei-e:beivre, bevanz; demeint, demenat;

i-ei depri, depreierai;

ie-e:criemet, cremez; vien, venez;

ue-u:truevet, truvai.

In the conjugation of parsivre we have radicals parsiv- and parsu-, though the simple verb has only siw-, e.g. siweie.

Syllabic alternation of the radical is seen in parler, e.g. parol, parlez.

Consonantal alternation of the radical is seldom obvious because only one form of many verbs is used, but it can be seen in the conjugation of dire where the radicals are di- and dis-, e.g. dient, diseie, disis. In saveir we see alternation between sav- and sac-, e.g. savanz, sace, sacent. The forms with sac- may be analogical on face (faire), but they are common Western French forms (Pope, § 957**).

The radical of *criembre not only has vocalic alternation of ie -e but also criem- or crien-; the future has either criendrai or crendrai. The radical of prendre often suffers metathesis from pren- to pern-, e.g. pernez.

c) Personal terminations

(i) Present indicative

1st conjugation endings are as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| sing. | 1 - ø | pl. | 1 -ums |
| | 2 -es | | 2 -ez/iez |
| | 3 -et | | 3 -ent. (Pope, § 887). |

Verbs whose stem ends in r have final -e in 1st person sing., e.g. entrer: entre. If the stem ends in a palatal consonant the 2nd person pl. ending

may be -iez, e.g. jugiez, but this is often reduced to -ez in Anglo-Norman. The final t in the 3rd person sing. is often erased in the second half of the Oxford Psalter, in common with other final consonants, but it is still retained in later MSS. in occasional cases.

Verbs with infinitives in -eir, ir and -re:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| sing. | 1 -ϕ | pl. 1 | -ums |
| | 2 -s/z | 2 | -ez |
| | 3 -t | 3 | -ent. (Pope, § 889). |

In these verbs also the 1st person sing. ending is -e if the stem ends in r, e.g. covrir:covre. Also, those verbs whose stem ends in -s and whose 1st person sing. ending is therefore s began to influence the endings of other verbs, especially venir, and analogical forms are found from the 12th century. Analogical endings in c from verbs with radical in -c are found in the Oxford Psalter, e.g. vienc. (Pope, § 900). For the most part the forms in the Oxford Psalter are the etymological forms and these include 2nd person pl. faites (faire) and dites (dire).

Inchoative verbs:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| sing. | 1 -is | pl. 1 | -issons |
| | 2 -is | 2 | -issez |
| | 3 -ist | 3 | -issent. (Pope, § 888). |

(ii) Imperfect indicative

In the 1st conjugation the Western French endings are used:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| sing. | 1 -owe | pl. 1 | -iums |
| | 2 -owes | 2 | -iez |
| | 3 -ot | 3 | -ovent |

The remaining conjugations have normal French endings in W. spelling:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| sing. | 1 | -eie | pl. 1 | -iums |
| | 2 | -eies | 2 | -iez |
| | 3 | -eiet | 3 | -eient |

(iii) Future

The future is formed by adding the endings to the infinitive, as in modern French:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| sing. | 1 | -ai | pl. 1 | -ums |
| | 2 | -as | 2 | -ez/eiz |
| | 3 | -at | 3 | -unt |

The 2nd person pl. should have the ending -eiz, as this is etymological from habetis, but the only case in which it is correct is orreiz (Ps. 94,7) but serreiz is used (Ps. 126,3). Where the stem ends in r we often find metathesis, e.g. enterrai; also where it ends in n this is often assimilated to the r of the infinitive ending, e.g. durrai, though dunras is also found. This same assimilation can take place in the future of esjofr, e.g. esjorrai (Ps. 9,2), but Michel misread one occurrence as esjorrunt (Ps. 5,13) where the MS. has esjoirunt. The future of faire is ferai &c. but in later MSS. the e is often omitted to give frat. On the other hand an extra e may be added to those verbs whose future (infinitive) stem ends in dr, e.g. crenderai, crenderat. Most of these have been erased from the Oxford Psalter, leaving a gap in the word, e.g. descend ras. Where this has occurred with verbs whose future (infinitive) stem ends in tr, however, it has been left unaltered, e.g. beneisteras (Ps. 5,14 and cunuisterunt (Ps. 13,8). The Cambridge

Psalter shows these features in the opposite form : with the e present between d & r but not between t & r.

Another feature which affects the form of the future is the Anglo-Norman habit of changing the conjugation and therefore the infinitive, of verbs, usually to the simpler 1st conjugation, and this is seen in MS 278 of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, which has dormerai (Ps.4,9) for dormírai.

As a result of the phonetic development ai=ei=e, and the continental development of ei > oi, Anglo-Norman scribes by the 14th century treat all 3 forms as alternative spellings for the sound e, and this is probably the explanation for the consistent use of -oi for the 1st person future ending in MS Fonds Fr.1, e.g. prieroi (Ps.5,3), verroi (Ps.5,4), &c. (Pope §966).

The conditional formed with the W.French imperfect endings on the future (infinitive) stem, is very occasionally used in the Psalters, e.g. the Cambridge Psalter has que il nen entrereient en mun repos (Ps.94,11) where the Oxford Psalter has the future, enterrunt.

iv) Perfect

The perfect tense is complicated in O.F.as it does not correspond exactly to the Latin forms, but we have 2 types, weak and strong, each with 4 forms.

(a) Weak perfects.

I verbs of 1st conjugation : e.g.

sing. 1 guard-ai pl. 1 guard-ames

2 guard-as 2 guard-astes

3 guard-at/d 3 guard-erent

Verbs with a palatal stem ending have 3rd person pl. -ierent, e.g. mangierent.

The 3rd person sing. ending is sometimes spelt -ad, and often has the final consonant omitted, this change is seen in the 2nd half of the Oxford Psalter. But the 14th-century MSS still retain the final consonant in many cases.

II u type, from verbs with past part. in -utus : e.g.

sing. 1 val-ui pl. 1. val-umes

2 val-us 2 val-umes

3 val-ut 3 val-urent.

Few verbs of this type are used in the Psalms, but parts of cunuistre, curir and morir are used. The 1st person sing. of curir has the -i ending of form III, but 3rd person pl.of this form, e.g.curi (Ps.58,4) and cururent (Ps.104,39).

III i-type, mainly -ir verbs: e.g.

sing. + fin-i pl. + fin-imes

2 fin-is 2 fin-istres

3 fin-it 3 fin-irent

This form was applied also to verbs in form II, as mentioned above.

IV compounds of do, and verbs with radical ending in d or t :

sing. 1 deperd-i pl. 1 deperd-imes

2 deperd-is 2 deperd-istes

3 deperd-iet 3 deperd-ierent

These are distinguished by the 3rd person forms from form III, and certain verbs may fall into either group; in the Oxford Psalter descendre

conjugates as form III, while in the Cambridge text both descendied and descendit are found. (Pope §1006), but atendit is used in Ps.68, 24.

(b) Strong perfects.

I i-perfects : e.g.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| sing. | 1 | vit | vin | voil |
| | 2 | ved-is | ven-is | vol-is |
| | 3 | vi-t | vin-t | vol-t |
| pl. | 1 | ved-imes | ven-imes | vol-imes |
| | 2 | ved-istes | ven-istes | vol-istes |
| | 3 | vir-ent | vindr-ent | voldr-ent |

The only other verb of this type is tenir.

II s-perfects with vowel radical : e.g.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| sing. | 1 | fi-s | 1 di-s |
| | 2 | fe-sis | 2 di-sis |
| | 3 | fi-st | 3 di-st |
| Pl. | 1 | fe-simes | 1[de-simes] |
| | 2 | 2[fe-sistes] | 2[de-sistes] |
| | 3 | fi-rent | 3 di-strent |

Alternative forms of the 2nd person sing. and 1st and 2nd pl. may be found without the intervocalic s, and the 3rd person pl. may have -rent or -strent as the ending. Assimilation of the weak vowel to i is seen in diais (Ps.88,3). When confusion developed as to the value of s and z, the use of z as final consonant in 1st person sing. became possible, e.g. je fiz in MS CCCC 278 (Ps.7,3).

IV u-perfects, with radicals ending in plosive or fricative consonants :

e.g.

| | | A | B | C |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| sing. | 1 | soi | 1 recui | 1 mui |
| | 2 | se-us | 2 rece-us | 2 mo-us |
| | 3 | sot | 3 recut | 3 mut |
| pl. | 1 | se-umes | 1 rece-umes | 1 mo-umes |
| | 2 | se-ustes | 2 rece-ustes | 2 mo-ustes |
| | 3 | sorent | 3 recurent | 3 murent |

Type A includes <u>aveir</u> Type C rapidly became indistinguishable from type B since the countertonic <u>o</u> weakened to <u>e</u>. A feature of the spelling of the Oxford Psalter is the presence of the letter <u>e</u> (perhaps analogical on the weak forms, possibly to indicate the pronunciation of the <u>c</u>) in the 3rd person sing. and pl. of <u>receveir</u>, e.g. receut, receurent.

<u>(c) Anomalous perfects.</u>

A few O.F. verbs have weak perfect endings on a strong Latin stem e.g. beneistre, vaincre, naistre (Pope §1038). The most noteworthy in the psalters is <u>beneistre</u>, which follows the weak form III;

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| sing. | 1 | [beneisqui] | pl. 1 | beneisquimes |
| | 2 | beneisquis | 2 | [beneisquistes] |
| | 3 | beneisquid | 3 | [beneisquirent] |

<u>(v) Present participle</u>

Already by the 12th century, all distinction between the conjugations in the formation of the present participle had been lost and all have the 1st conjugation form <u>-ant</u>. Where they function as adjectives they decline

as masc., nom.sing. -anz, obl. -ant; nom. pl. -ant, obl. -anz. (Pope §921).

(vi) Past participle.

Past participles, like the perfect tense, do not follow the conjugation-type of verbs, but may be divided into 2 basic types, weak and strong. The weak forms are -et/-iet < -atum and -it < -itum; strong forms are -t < -tum and -s<-sum. Examples of the weak form are conturbet, annunciet, and convertit; of the strong form repost and quis. (Pope §1049).

In Late Latin 2 new types developed, -ut from -utum (which became common in verbs with u-perfects and those formed on the dedi model), e.g. despandut (Ps.58,17), and -eit -ectum, e.g. benedeit (Ps.112,2). (Pope §§1050, 1051).

In common with the 3rd person sing. forms of many tenses, the final consonant of past participles is often omitted in the case of -et, -it and -ut forms. As adjectives they decline in masc. as nom.sing. -ez, -uz; obl. -et, -ut; nom.pl. -et, -ut, obl. -ez, -uz. The forms in -it are rare except in fem. as -ite/,ide, -ites. The fems. of the -et and -ut forms usually have intervocalic d; -ede and -ude, e.g. conturbede, coneude. These are already disappearing in the Oxford Psalter, however.

(vii) Present subjunctive.

The present subjunctive is fairly common in the psalms and many examples also occur that are identical with the indicative. The standard endings are as follows :

I -er verbs : sing. 1 - ,2 -s/z, 3 -t; pl. 1 -ons, 2 -ez, 3 -ent.

II -eir, -re and -ir : sing. 1 -e, 2 -es, 3 -et; pl. 1 - oms, 2 -ez, 3 -ent.

III -ir (inchoative) verbs : sing. 1-isse, 2 -isses, 3 -isset;

pl. 1 -issons, 2 -issiez, 3 -issent.

It will be seen that the type III is the most easily recognised and occurs in the Oxford Psalter, e.g. deguerpisses (Ps.70,20), deperdisse (Ps.100,10). Under the influence of verbs with e in the sing. endings, this form gained ground in the course of the middle ages. (Pope §1300).

W. French use of an infix -ge- in the subjunctive, on analogy from verbs of other conjugations (e.g. surgat sorge) whose stem ended in g is seen in alge (Ps. 38,13) for the 1st person subj. of aller, while the Anglo-Norman form sace (sapiam) is found, perhaps on analogy with face (faciam); this may indicate phonetic development of pj to ts rather than to ts. The spelling sascent is used in the Arundel Psalter.

(viii) Imperfect subjunctive

The imperfect subjunctive is formed on the weak stem of the perfect tense, and the vowel in the ending depends upon the vowel of the perfect tense. It can therefore be considered in the same divisions:

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1. See The Romance of Horn II, p.72.

(a) Weak perfects.

| | | a-type | i & dedi-type |
|---|---|---|---|
| sing. | 1 | dun-asse | rav-isse |
| | 2 | dun-asses | rav-isses |
| | 3 | dun-ast | rav-ist |
| pl. | 1 | dun-issons | tav-issons |
| | 2 | dun-issez | rav-issez/-issiez |
| | 3 | dun-assent | rav-issent |

An unusual form of the 3rd person sing. of the a-type is seen in cuntristaz and confortaz (Ps.68,25); the final z must be used here to signify final st. Imperfect subjunctives of the weak u-type do not occur in the psalters.

(b) Strong perfects.

i) i-type : identical with the weak i-type.

ii) s-type :

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| sing. | 1 | fesisse | pl. | 1 fesissons |
| | 2 | fesisses | | 2 fesissez |
| | 3 | fesist | | 3 fesissent |

The 3rd person pl. may lose the intervocalic s, e.g. feissent.

iii) u-type :

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| sing. | 1 | o-usse | pl. | 1 o-ussons |
| | 2 | o-usses | | 2 o-ussez |
| | 3 | o-ust | | 3 o-ussent |

Under the influence of the form of the 3rd person sing. an erroneous (graphical) s is sometimes added to the perfect tense, e.g. receust for receut and fust for fut in MS Fonds Fr. 1.

(ix) Imperative.

The 2nd person sing. imperative only was preserved from the 3 Latin forms, and the 2nd person pl. of the present indicative was used as the pl. form, with the 1st person pl. as an optative form, e.g.degetums (Ps. 2,3). The endings are as follows:

1st conjugation without final -s in sing. e.g.entre, pl. entrez.

2nd conjugation e.g. finis, finissez.

3rd conjugation also without -s in sing. : fai, faites.

The present subjunctive was often used as an imperative in 2nd person sing., e.g.veies. Under the influence of the s ending in these forms and in the 2nd conjugation sing. imperative, many verbs of the 1st and 3rd conjugation appear in later O.F. with final s in the sing.form. The form saceiz used in the Oxford Psalter (Ps.93,8) must either be a mis-spelling for saciez or analogical on the 1st conj. form. (Pope §1303).

(x) Irregular verbs.

(a) estre.

The verb 'to be' is irregular in O.F. as in modern French. The present indicative derives more or less directly from the Latin forms : sui, es/ies, sumes, estes, sunt. The imperfect has the old etymological 3rd person singular ert<erat, but also the more common analogical forms; esteie, [esteies], esteit, and 3rd person esteient. The future, similarly, has an etymological 3rd person sing. and pl.,iert and ierent, and also modern forms, serai, seras, serat/serad/sera, serums/serrums, serez/serrez, and serunt. The perfect is derived from the Latin forms, fui, fus, fut/fud, and 3rd person pl. furent. The present subjunctive forms

are seie, seies, seit, and 2nd person pl. seiez/seiz, 3rd person seient/ seint, and imperfect subjunctive fusse, fust and fussent. In the course of the middle ages an analogical final -s was added to the 1st person present indicative, and the etymological forms of the imperfect and future soon ceased to be used. On account of the reduction of the ui diphthong the forms sui and fui sometimes occur without final i.

(b) aler.

The forms of aler are supplied from parts of vadere and ire as well as from ambulare, as in modern French. The present tense is 1 sing. vois, 2 vas, 3rd person pl.vunt; imperfect 1 sing.alove, 3rd person pl.alovent; future irai, iras, irad/ira, irums, 3rd person irunt; perfect 1 sing.alai, 2 [alas], 3 alat, 1 pl.alames, 3rd person pl.alerent. The present participle is alant, past participle aled, and for the 1st person present subjunctive both alge and voise are used.

(xi) Faulty conjugation.

Faulty conjugation arises from the translation of deponent or preterite present verbs. The tense most affected is the perfect. This usually results from direct translation of a compound form, e.g.oblitus est deus:ubliez est deus (Ps.9,34), where the simple form ubliat is correct, and is used in Ps.9,12. The compound form would be correct if aveir were used as the auxiliary verb, as it is in Ps.118,83 justificationes tuas non sum oblitus: les tues justificaciuns n'ai pas oblié. The verb most consistently misconjugated is the verb 'to hate' in which the Latin irregular verb odi is rendered by what should be a normal ir verb, hair. But because the Latin present tense has the form of a strong perfect, the

French text almost always uses the perfect forms, translating odisti by hais, e.g. in Ps.5,6. The only correct present tense form is odit:het in Ps.10.6. Since ai and e are not alternative spellings in the Oxford Psalter, and as the i in hais usually carries an accent, it can be assumed that this is a genuine mistake in morphology.

Another verb which is affected by the problem of composite forms is the deponent verb misereri rendered by aveir merci . Here we have confusion between the French present and perfect tense in Ps. 59,1 misertus es nobis translated as as merci de nus, the Latin perfect being rendered by the French present tense, though misertus est mei is correctly translated out merci de mei in Ps.29, 13. The future of this verb is always correct.

## VI Syntax

It could be argued that it is hardly necessary to discuss the syntax of a text which is a translation from another language. There are, however, many points which only arise in the French translation, and even the extent to which such a text reproduces the syntax of its original is worth noting. In many ways, the syntax of the psalter is very simple, as verses often consist of main clauses in parataxis or joined with et, but where conjunctions are used in Latin they are translated into French. This syntactical structure is due to the form of Hebrew poetry, and all the forms were slavishly rendered into Greek and thence into Latin, from which they were translated into French.

### 1 Hebrew turns of phrase

There are many points in the psalms where the Greek Septuagint and its Latin translations have preserved Hebrew expressions which have little or no meaning in translation. The most important are the following:

#### a) qualitative genitive[1]

This translates the Hebrew 'construct state', and the noun in the gen. is equivalent to an adjective. e.g. Ps.44,8 virga directionis:verge de drecement = upright rod; Ps.88,11 brachium virtutis:braz de la tue vertud = mighty arm.

#### b) redundant Hebrew demonstrative.[2]

The relative, being indeclinable in Hebrew, is followed by a redundant

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1. Plater & White, p.19.

2. ibid. p.21.

demonstrative, and this is faithfully reproduced in the Latin and early Old French translations e.g. Ps.18,3 sermones quorum non audiantur voces eorem:sermuns de quels ne seient oies les voiz de els. In the very latest MSS this construction is abandoned.

c) infinitive absolute.[1]

This is used to emphasize the certainty of an action, and is prefixed to the finite verb; this is translated in Latin and French by the present participle e.g.Ps.39,1 expectans expectavi:atendanz atendi.

d) repeated action.[2]

This is expressed in Hebrew by the verb 'to add' which is rendered straight into Latin and French. This makes it one of the most meaningless constructions: e.g.Ps.78,20 adposuerunt adhuc peccare:aposerent uncore peccher a lui = 'sinned again and again'.

é) use of the plural.[3]

The Hebrew text often uses abstract nouns in the plural and this is usually followed in the Latin and French, e.g. Ps.94,4 altitudines montium: les halteces des monz and an example of the qualitative genitive using the plural is also followed in the French in Ps.58, 2 viris sanguinum: humes de sancs.

2 Order of words.

(a) As in Latin.

We have already seen that the French of this period still retained to

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1. Plater & White, p.23.
2. ibid.
3. ibid. p.18.

a great extent a 2-case system, and this often enables the translator to follow the Latin word-order very closely. The so-called logical order subject, verb, object, was not yet obligatory,[1] and the following variations are found:

(i) subject-verb-object : increpasti gentes:tu encrepas les genz (Ps.9,5);

(ii) verb-subject : periit impius:perit li fel (Ps.9,5);

(iii) object-verb-indirect object :legem pone mihi:lei pose a mei (Ps.26,17

(iv) indirect object verb-direct object-2nd indirect object: sanctis ... mirificavit omnes voluntates in eis: as sainz ... ad fait merveiluses tutes mes voluntes en els (Ps.15,2).

This example has no subject stated, but a personal pronoun understood in the Latin and the French. This feature of the text will be discussed below.[2]

(v) indirect object-verb-subject : in te speraverunt patres nostri: en tei espererent li nostre perre (Ps.21,4);

(vi) subject-verb-complement : ego autem sum vermis: je acertes sui verm (Ps.21,6).

(b) Different from Latin

Although the Latin word-order may be retained in French and the phrase remain comprehensible, it may never the less be altered. In these cases the practice may vary among the different MSS, e.g. inimici defecerunt framee in finem (Ps.9,6) is translated by the Oxford Psalter as les espedes del enemi defistrent en fin, but the Arundel Psalter, ing at this

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1. Ewert §485.

2. sect. 6.

point still very literal, has del enemi defistrent les espedes en fin, which can hardly be regarded as very comprehensible French. In the similar case of Ps.9,29 cuius maledictione os plenum est: la qui buche plaineest de maleicun the Arundel Psalter has del quel de malicun la buche est pleine, which is more plausible, and further on, at Ps. 13,6 it agrees with the other psalters in translating quorum os maledictione plenum est as la buche desquels de malecium pleinne est. From about this point the Arundel Psalter abandons the literal translation and alters the word order as the other MSS do.

Change of order is most frequent in the position of conjunctions and pronouns, e.g. iusti autem:mais li juste, (Ps.36,31); ego autem mendicus sum et pauper: mais je suis mendis e povre (Ps.39,23). These examples show that just as autem must always come second in a Latin clause, so the position of mais was already fixed as initial of a clause. Where acertes is used to translate autem, however, the Latin order is maintained, e.g. Ps.14,5 timentes autem dominum glorificat:les cremanz acertes le segnur glorifie; Ps.16,17 ego autem in iustitia apparebo:je acertes en justice aparistrai. The position of acertes is also fixed as second in the clause.

Another feature which gives rise to variety in word-order is verb 'to be' + complement, including the composite perfect tense. Thus ego autem mendicus sum: je acertes sui mendis has the verb before the participle, perhaps because of the following adjective, and similarly in Ps.1,3 quod plantatum est:qued est plantet, though a number of MSS revert in this case to the Latin order, as may be seen from the Specimen Text.

The translation of possessive pronouns gives rise to alteration of word order, especially eius which may be rendered by de lui which like eius follows the noun, or by the strong or weak form of the possessive adjective, which precedes the noun, e.g. Ps.1,2 voluntas eius : la voluntet de lui but lege eius:la sue lei while later MSS often use sa in both cases.

3 Construction of the complex sentence

The majority of sentences in the psalms consist of two or more clauses joined by e/et (et) or other co-ordinating conjunctions such as nedes, u (aut), mais, kar &c. The clauses so joined may be of any type; the opening of Ps.1 is a good example of this system: Beneurez li huem chi ne alat el conseil des feluns, & en la veie des peccheurs ne stout, & en la chaere de pestilence ne sist, main en la lei de nostre seignur la voluntet de lui, & en la sue lei purpenserat par jurn et par nuit. A common conjunction is kar/quar, e.g.Ps.9.10 Espeirent en tei chi cuneurent le tuen num, quar tu ne deguerpesis les queranz tei; Ps.15,6 Funels chairent a mei en mult cleres choses, kar la meie hereditet est mult clere a mei.

Temporal clauses are relatively common in the psalms, and usually come before a single main clause. Unlike other types of clause, they are not usually juxtaposed in series, but presented as a single temporal clause with its related main clause, e.g. Ps.4,1 Quant je apelowe, deus ... me oit; but they may be part of a series of clauses joined by e, e.g. Ps. 21,26 ... e cum je criowe a lui, oit mei. A common temporal conjunction is dementres que, e.g. Ps.9,23 dementres que s'enorguilist li fel, est espris li povre; ainz que is less used, and takes the verb in the subjunctive;

clauses may be joined by u with the conjunction not repeated, e.g. Ps. 89,2 ainz que li monz fussent fait, u fust formede la terre ..., de siecle en siecle tu ies deus. The significance of the mood of the verb will be discussed below.[1]

Final clauses also occur as a single unit with the main clause on which they depend, e.g. Ps.105,44-5 sals fai nus ... que nus regehissums al tuen saint num; Ps.2,12 pernez discipline que nostre sire alquune fiede ne se curuist; Ps.9,34 desturnat sa face, que il ne veiet en fin; like temporal clauses they may follow more than one main clause, e.g.Ps.9,35 esdrece tei sire deus, e seit essalcee la tue mains, que tu ne ublies les povres. In the case of Ps.104,43 the final clause follows a number of main clauses joined by e, and two final clauses follow one another, joined by e and without the conjunction being repeated : pur ce qu'il guardent les justifiemenz de lui, e la lei de lui requergent.

Relative clauses always immediately follow the noun to which they refer, or which they describe, and as a result may come at any point within a sentence, even within another clause, e.g. in Ps.15,2 as sainz chi sunt en sa terre, ad fait merveiluses tutes mes voluntez en els, though the more normal position is following the main clause, e.g. Ps. 5,6. tu hais tuz chi oevrant felunie. Usually the relative in the nom. is chi, but the neuter form qued is used in Ps.1,3 referring to le fust, though a following relative clause, referring to the same noun, is introduced by chi : le fust qued est plantet dejuste les decurs des

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1. Sect.7 (6).

ewes, chi dunrat sun frut en sun tens. Although chi may be used for the fem. as well as masc., we find many examples of the demonstrative laquelle used as a fem.relative, e.g.Ps.121,3 Jerusalem, laquele est edifiede, and there is a faulty case of lequel for masc. in Ps.132,2 li ugnemenz...lequel descendit en barbe. The usual form for the obl.relative is que, e.g. Ps. 24,13 lei establit a lui en la veie que il eslist, Ps.9,15 enfichées sunt les genz el destruiment que il firent, Ps.9,16 en icest laz que il repuntrent. Here again, however, the demonstrative may be used in the fem., e.g.Ps. 141,4 iceste veie,laquele je alowe. The verb in the relative clause follows the number of the noun to which it refers, e.g.Ps.9,4 tu siez sur throne chi juges justise follows the number of the 2nd person sing.tu; where direct speech is taking place in the 1st person, this is followed, e.g. Ps.80,9 je sui sire,chi forsmenai tei: and where the vocative is used, the 2nd person is used in the relative clause, e.g.Ps.2,10 seiez apris,vus chi jugiez la terre.

Hypotheses are much in evidence in the psalms, and in some cases several clauses introduced by si may be juxtaposed and followed by several main clauses joined by é. This is most noticeable in Ps.7, 3-5 : si je fis ice,si est felunie es meies mains,dechiede par deserte de mes enemis vains, parsevet li enemis la meie aneme e comprenget,e defult en terre la meie vie...

Interrogative clauses have the verb and subject inverted, e.g.Ps.9,22 a quei desevras tu en luinz. Clauses introduced by the same or two different conjunctions may be joined by e or u, e.g.Ps.29,12 dum ne regehirat a tei puldre, u annuncerat la tue veritet, Ps.4,3 desque a quant serez vus de

grief cuer,purquei amez vus vanitet & querez menceunge. In the famous Öpening of Ps . 2 it is interesting that inversion does not occur in the second clause, purquei fremirent les genz,& li pople purpenserent vaines choses? Usually interrogative clauses are complete in themselves, but those introduced by cument are usually longer and may have other main clauses following,e.g.Ps.136,5 cument canterums nus le cant del segnor en estrange terre is a long, but independent clause, while Ps.10,1 cument dite vus a ma aneme : trespasse el munt sicume passer has the interrogtaive clause followed by direct speech.

Interrogative clauses introduced by chi or quels are usually brief and complete in themselves, followed in a separate sentence by the answer e.g. Ps.23,8 chi est icist reis de glorie, though those introduced by quels or liquels may be joined by u, e.g. Ps.17,34 kar quels deus est, estre le segnur u quels deus est,estre le nostre deu, Ps.23,3 liquels munterat el munt de nostre segnur,u liquels esterat el saint liu de lui.

## 4 Syntax of nouns

### (a) Number and case.

The syntax of nouns as regards number is simple; in the Oxford Psalter all nouns have the same number as in the Latin text, including such cases as folium eius (Ps.1,4) rendered by sa fuille, where the French noun developed from the plural of the Latin noun, but is itself singular. The only MS which does not follow the Latin on this point is MS ABd. 35283, which consistently uses la gent where others have the pl., but retains a pl.verb, e.g.Ps.2,1 purquei fremirent la gent and Ps.9,15

enfiché sunt le gent. The Arundel Psalter only uses the wrong number where mistranslation is involved.[1] Inconsistency also occurs in all MSS in the use of the 2nd person sing. or pl. when referring to God, where a pronoun is expressed it is usually tu, but where no pronoun is given the verb may be either sing.or pl. This always depends on the usage of the Latin text.

The question of case is more difficult. If we agree that a neuter gender existed for learned words of Latin neuter origin, the case system of the Oxford Psalter is for the most part correct, as neuter nouns will have in the sing., as in Latin, only one form which corresponds to the obl. form of a masc.noun. As most psalters are interlinear or parallel texts the idea that the scribe could be influenced by the Latin neuter form, put forward by Miss Pope,[2] can be regarded at least as plausible. This may be illustrated by le fust (Ps.1,3), which is clearly the subject at this point and derives from the neuter fustum, which it also translates. It may be significant that it is followed by the neuter relative qued and neuter past part. plantet, though a second relative clause dependent on le fust is introduced by chi. The neuter form le fust is followed in all Anglo-Norman MSS, though some 14th century continental MSS use l'arbre and have the obl.(neuter) relative que followed by qui in the relative

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1. see Ch.3(b),2.

2. Pope §775.

clauses. The only MS to have an obviously nom.form is Bibl. Mazarine MS 58 (formerly 258), which uses li fuz, which could derive from the nom.Latin form fustis.

The use of the nom. and obl.forms of imparisyllabic nouns is correct in the Oxford Psalter, with the nom. used also for the vocative. In later MSS the obl. form becomes more common as in other nouns, and this is noticeable in the use of sire and seignur, especially in MS Harley 5102.

On the whole the Anglo-Norman psalters keep the case system relatively well intact, even in the 14th century MSS (except MS Fonds fr.1), since these revert to 12th century spelling. But if the neuter gender is not recognised, it follows that a considerable number of 'masc.' nouns have faulty declension.

(b) Agreement of adjectives and participles.

Adjectives and participles as attributes usually agree in case with the noun they qualify, e.g. Ps.21,13 sicume leons ravissanz e ruianz. Even if the noun is itself not in the correct case, the adjective will still agree, e.g. Ps.148,10 volucres pinnatae:oisels empennez, which should be nom. plural. But deviations from the rule may be found as well, e.g. Ps. 11,7 parlement chastes; Ps.28, 5 la voiz del segnur frainanz les cedres though in this case the participle may be influenced by the Latin form confringentis. The treatment of 3rd declension adjectives and present participles before feminine nouns seems quite inconsistent; some have flexional -s , some do not, in the nom.singular, e.g.Ps.21,15 cum cire remetanz; Ps.8,5 quels chose, but Ps.49, 4 fort tempeste; Ps.82, 13 sicume flamme brullant les monz. In the nom.plural we always find the

correct -s, e.g.Ps.103,26 rampanz coses; Ps.148,8 lesquels choses. With nouns of neuter origin the nom. singular of the adjective sometimes has -s, sometimes does not, as with feminine nouns. This does not seem to depend on whether or not the noun has itself the -s; Ps.711,7 argent par fu esmeret &c.; Ps.5,11 sepulchre aovranz, Ps.110,10 entendement bons. We also find examples of -s in the nom.plural with neuter nouns, as with the feminine nouns, e.g. Ps.143,13 sicume novels plantemenz.

Past participles and adjectives when used as predicates are found with and without -s in nom.singular. When used in impersonal constructions, which are neuter in OF, no s is found, e.g. Ps.36,35 cum sera jugiet; Ps.67,17 bien plout est; Ps.105,30 recunté est. The same is usually the case when a participle is used with a noun of neuter origin, e.g. Ps.9,39 le pechiet de lui... ne serat truvé; Ps.19,3 le tun sacrifise seit fait cras. This can occur even when the noun in question though of neuter origin, is masc. in French and has a masc.article: Ps.37,9 li miens gemissemenz nen est repost, though the 'correct' agreement may occur; e.g. Ps.88,24 sera exalcez li cors. In general a participle coming before the noun seems to agree, but not if it follows. The treatment of adjectives with the noun num(s) varies, as does the treatment of the word itself. The case with cuer(s) was found by Meister[1] to favour the -s, which might lead one to conclude that the distinction is not between nouns of neuter and other origins, but depends upon whether the noun is animate or inanimate. This corresponds to Koschwitz's theory of the treatment of neuter nouns which are learned forms as neuter, while the rest, which are for the most part animate, may be treated as masc. or

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[1] Meister p.99.

occasionally as feminine nouns.[1]

But unfortunately for this theory there appears to be considerable inconsistency in the agreement of adjectives with masc.nouns, which may be masc. or neuter in origin. As regards the agreement of past participles, it would seem that where the participle + verb 'to be' translates a Latin synthetic passive form, the participle does not agree, e.g. Ps.30,11 je sui travailet < tribulor. When, on the other hand, the participle is already found in the Latin, in the correct case, the participle in French agrees, e.g.Ps.30,11 conturbez est li miens oilz < conturbatus est oculus meus. In the nom.plural there is usually the correct form without final -s, except with certain nouns of neuter origin, as mentioned above. This does not depend in the noun also having final -s, e.g.Ps.17,33 li parlement sunt esmerez.

Past participles of verbs conjugated with aveir do not agree in number or case with the subject as in modern French. But we also find the feature, quite regular in Old French, of the agreement of the participle with the direct object, e.g. Ps.80,5 la langue que il naveit cuneude oit. This form of agreement appears to be the exception rather than the rule in the Oxford Psalter, however.

To sum up, we may conclude that simple adjectives agree with the noun more often than not, though where there is reason for the forms to vary, as in the case of those of 3rd declension origin, with a single form or with fem.final -e, the practice varies. In the case of past participles, it would seem that where we have a participle in Latin the correct form is

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1. ZRP II, p.485.

found in French; where the French translates a Latin synthetic passive verb, it does not generally agree. Similarly participles with aveir do not agree but may occasionally agree with the object.

The agreement of feminine adjectives is affected by the fact that the final -e became mute at an early date; there are several examples of la meie being spelt without final e in the Oxford Psalter, e.g. la mei preiere (Ps.6,9), and this trend continues in later MSS.

Where the obl.case is used for the nom. in later MSS, the adjective is also in the obl. But in spite of a certain confusion of the case system in later MSS, examples may be found in which a later MS is more correct then the Oxford Psalter, e.g.Clare College, MS 6 has . je sui enferns (Ps. 6,2) with flexional -s on the adjective, but the Oxford Psalter with the majority of others has enferm uninflected.

5 Use of the article.

It is a well-known fact that one of the most distinctive features of the vernacular is the use of the definite article, which did not exist in Latin. Etymologically the Romance definite article derives from ille, but F. Abel has demonstrated that there is no evidence of increasing use of ille as a quasi-article in the Latin Bible,[1] and certainly the use of the definite article in the Old French Psalters seems to have no connection with the use of ille. Already in the Oxford Psalter the use of the definite article is close to that in modern French, though as Nyrop has said 'il régnait une très grande liberté dans l'emploi de l'article défini'.[2]

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1. F.Abel L'adjectif démonstratif dans la langue de la Bible latine.

2. Nyrop tom.V p.172.

(a) generic use.

The definite article is used to indicate an individual as representative of a general type, e.g. Ps.1,1 beatus vir:beneurez li huem chi... In most cases the use of the article with huem is dependent on whether it means 'man' in general (on in modern French) or a particular man, described in some way, e.g. Ps.103,24 eistra huem a sun ovre, and Ps.40.10 kar li huem de la meie pais ... magnifiat. This also depends upon whether the phrase describes fact or hypothesis, e.g.Ps.48,12 et li huem,cum en honur esteit,ne entendiet, Ps.48,21 huem cum il en honur fust nel entendiet, where the second example is concessive with the verb in the subjunctive, and cannot refer to a particular man. This same distinction between the general and particular can be seen in Ps.77,29 le pain as angeles manja huem, where huem is general but le pain is particularised.

(b) in comparisons.

The article is not generally used after sicume and ensement cume as these are usually generalised comparisons, e.g.Ps.77,57 e tolit sicume oeilles le suen pople, e mena els ensement cume fulc el desert. But where the noun used in the comparison is particularised, the article is used, e.g.Ps.102,14 huem sicume fain li jurz de lui,ensement cume la flur del champ, issi flurira, in which fain is general, but la flur del champ is specified.

(c) after prepositions.

The use of the article after prepositions also depends largely upon whether the qualified noun is particular or general; this means that abstract nouns are less likely to have the article, e.g. Ps.44,17 en leduce

e en esjodement compared with Ps.39,4 il mist en la meie buche. For the most part nouns following de meaning 'from' are particularised and have the article, but even this is not consistent, e.g. Ps.39, 2 forsmenat mei de la fosse de miserie, e de palu de lie.

(d) complement.

A noun used as a complement does not have the article, as in modern French, e.g. Ps.104, 19 establit lui segnor de sa maisun,e prince de tute la sue possession, Ps.81,5 deu estes e fil del altisme tuit.

(e) with adjectives.

The definite article is used with certain adjectives to make them substantives, e.g. li fols,li sainz,les povres.

(f) indefinite article.

The indefinite article is very seldom used in the psalters, e.g.Ps.36, 17 mielz est un petit al juste, Ps.26,7 une chose requis del segnur. As in the case of the definite article, it does not occur in Latin, and is therefore always added in the French.

The grammatical correctness of the definite article is a problem in the Oxford Psalter. Already at this date it is the only means of telling what case an indeclinable noun is in, and in many instances the obl. masc. form le is used with nouns which should be in the nom. These are often nouns of Latin neuter origin, and this led Koschwitz to regard this as proof of the use of these nouns as neuter indeclinable forms in Old French also,[1] e.g. le testament, le firmament. But he does say that this use of the neuter form is only found in the sing., and never occurs in

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1. ZRP II p.485.

imparisyllabic nouns in the Oxford Psalter.[1]

There are of course a very large number of cases in which the article is omitted in Old French, as in Latin, e.g. Ps.54,5 crieme e tremblur vindrent sur mei, Ps.17,51 deus chi...suzmez poples suz mei.

6 Use of personal and demonstrative pronouns.

In addition to the use of the definite article, another distinguishing feature of the vernacular is the use of personal pronouns. A certain number areused in Latin in the psalms, notably tu, and slightly less often ego. Both nos and vos are occasionally used; the 3rd person personal pronouns are not used, though the demonstratives hic and iste are fould. Where personal pronouns are used in Latin, they are translated into French, e.g. Ps.3,5 ego dormivi et soporatus sum:je dormi e si sumeillai, Ps.6, 3. et tu domine usquequo:e tu, sire,desque a quant, Ps.17, 30 quoniam tu populum humilem salvum facies:kar tule humele pople salf feras, Ps.19,9. ipsi obligati sunt et ceciderunt, nos vero surreximus:il sunt enliet e chairent,mais nus levames.

In many, though not all, cases where the pronoun is used in Latin, it is for emphasis, and it is usually for this reason that it is added in French, where it was not present in Latin, e.g. Ps.2,8 postula a mei et dabo tibi gentes:requer de mei e je durrai a tei les genz, Ps.4,1 cum invocarem:quant je apelowe Ps.5,6 odisti omnes:tu hais tuz, Ps.7,12 numquid irascitur: dum ne se curuce il. The 2nd person pl. is most often used in vocative clauses, e.g. Ps.2,10 et nunc reges iltelligite:et hore vus reis entendez.

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1. ZRP II p.48. He gives examples from MS Cotton Nero C IV.

Where a whole series of verbs have the same person as subject, the pronoun may be used at the beginning of the series and then omitted, e.g. Ps.3,5 je dormi e si sumeillai e relevai, Ps.5,6 tu hais tuz chi oevrent felunie,perderas tuz cels ... In addition to these there are a large numner of cases where the personal pronoun was evidently regarded as unnecessary in French by the translator, e.g. Ps.24,1 a tei,sire,levai la meie aneme, Ps.27,7 es ovres de ses mains destruiras els, e nes edifieras.

In the 3rd person, as we have daid, the demonstrative only is used in Latin, usually in demonstrative sense, e.g. Ps.26,4 ipsi infirmati sunt: il sunt enfermet referring back to inimici mei, Ps.23,5 hic accipiet benedictionem:icist receverat beneiceun referring to innocens, Ps.23,8 quis est iste rex gloriae: chi est icist reis de glorie. But the French personal pronoun il is often added to the French translation, e.g. Ps.9,12 quar il requeranz le sanc de els recordat, Ps.9,16 en icest laz que il repunstrent.

The impersonal use of il is very rare, but is seen in il plut (Ps.77,28). Similarly the use of obl. le to stand for a whole preceding clause is not much developed, but can be seen in Ps.21,2 je criai par jurn e tu nel orras.

7 Verbs.

Uses of the infinitive.

1 translating the gerund, after á.

This very common use of the infinitive occurs after any verb, e.g. Ps.58,6 entent a visiter tutes genz (ad visitandum).

2 translating an infinitive

This is similar to the use of the infinitive to translate the gerund,

and has á added in French, e.g. Ps.61,4 le mien pris il purpenserent á debuter (repellere), Ps. 77,77 á paistre (pascere) Jacob le sun serf.

3 as a sing.negative imperative.

The use of ne + infinitive to translate a sing.negative imperative is common in the early psalters, but is often replaced by the 2nd pl. imperative in later MSS, e.g.Ps.6,1 sire ne me arguer en ta fuirur,ne en la tue ire ne me castier, Ps.73,20 ne livrer tu as bestes les anemes ... e les anemes ... ne oblier en fin. Where this construction is used in French, the imperative is usually expressed by the jussive subjunctive in Latin.

4 subject of a pl. negative imperative.

Prohibitions or negative imperatives are common in the psalters, the Latin having nolite + infinitivr and French ne voilez + infinitive, e.g. Ps. 74,4 nolite inique facere:ne voilez felunessement faire and nolite exaltare cornu:ne voilez exalcer la corne; a rare use of this verb without imperative force is Ps.77, 13 in lege eius noluerunt ambulare:en la lei de lui ne voldrent alër.

5 subject of other verbs.

In this case a Latin infinitive is translated by a French one without the addition of á, e.g. Ps.67,6 inhabitare facit: enhabiter fait d'une custume en maisun, Ps. 73, 9 quiescere faciamus:reposer faimes tuz les jurz festels, Ps.77,22 numquid poterit deus parare mensam:dum ne porra deus aprester table.

6 as a noun

The infinitive may be used as a noun, as in modern German, and trans-

lates nouns for which no direct derivative existed in French, e.g. Ps. 79,6 potum dabis nobis in lacrimis:beivre dunras a nus en lermes, Ps 101,10 poculum meum cum fletu miscebam: le mien beivre ot plurement mellowe, Ps. 104, 36 laetata est Aegyptus in profectione eorum:esledeca Egypte en l'aler dels.

(b) Use of indiciative and subjunctive

1 in main clauses.

The indicative is usually used in main clauses, as these generally represent fact rather than hypothesis. But the subjunctive may be used in the following cases:

(i) as an optative or jussive, e.g. Ps.2,3 dirumpamus vincula eorum et proiciamus a nobis jugum ipsorum:derumpums les lur liens e degetums de nus le juh de els, Ps.39, 22 magnificetur dominus:seit magnifiet li sire. Ps. 34, 29 erubescant et revereantur simul:vergundissent e redutent ensembledement. The jussive subjunctive may translate the Latin imperative, e.g. Ps.26,15 adiutor meus esto:li meins aiuere seies, Ps.30,3 esto mihi in deum protectorem:seies a mei en deu defendeur, Ps.40,4 miserere mei: aies merci de mei.

(ii) as a negative optative, translating Latin ne + subjunctive directly into French, e.g. Ps.30,20 ne confundar:ne seie confundut. These uses are close to the use of the subjunctive as an imperative in Latin.

2 in subordinate clauses.

The indicative is used after conjunctions which do not alter the basic truth of a statement. In general the temporal conjunctions quant and puisque are followed by the indiwative, and concessive or final con-

junctions by the subjunctive. In some cases change of mood takes place in translation, e.g. cum in Latin is generally concessive and followed by the subjunctive, but the distinction between concessive and temporal use may be small; in Ps.4,1 cum invocarem appears to have been regarded as temporal and is translated as quant je apelowe by all MSS except MS Fonds Fr.1 which has apellasse.

The conjunctions followed by indicative are therefore ke (ubi), quant(quando), and puisque (postquam). The subjunctive is used in (i) final clauses, e.g. Ps.8,3 ut destruas inimicum:que tu destruies le enemi, Ps.9,14 ut adnuntiem:pur ce que je annunce, Ps.77,41 donec deficiant:desque il defisent, Ps.12,4 ne unquam obdormiam in mortem:que je unques ne dorme en mort and nequando dicat inimicus meus:que alquune fiede ne diet li miens enemis.

(ii) temporal clauses, after ainz que (priusquam), e.g. Ps.57,9 priusquam intellegerent spinae vestrae rammum:ainz que entendissent vos espines groseliers.

(iii) hypotheses. After si the subjunctive is used in both protasis and spodosis if both are hypothetical, e.g. Ps.50,17 si voluisses sacrificium dedissem: si tu volsisses sacrifise dunasse, but in many cases only the apodosis is hypothetical, dependent upon the action in the si-claise having already taken place, and in these cases only the apodosis is in the subjunctive, e.g.Ps.7,4 si reddidi retribuentibus milhi mala, decidam merito ab inimicis meis inanis: si je rendi as gerredunanz a mei males choses, dechiede par desserte de mes enemis vains.

(c) treatment of passive forms.

Deponent verbs, which have passive form, are all translated by a

normal active verb in French. In some cases the Latin deponent probably became active in Late Latin, as atymologically related French verbs are used, e.g. mori:morir, nasci:naistre, menti:mentir. In other cases a French verb deriving from a synonymous Latin active verb is used in the translation, e.g. loqui translated by parler. The French verb always follows the tense and mood of the Latin deponent, but perfect tenses formed with esse + past participle have aveir correctly in French. This will be discussed below.[1] True passive verbs can only be translated by estre + past participle. The auxiliary verb then follows the tense and mood of the Latin passive verb, and the participle acts as a normal participle or complement, e.g. Ps.7, 17 convertetur dolor eius in caput ipsius:serat tresturnee sa dolur en sun chief, Ps.9,17 cognoscetur dominus:cuneuz iert li sire, Ps.9,18 convertantur peccatores:seient turnet li peccheur. Latin passive forms consisting of esse + participle are directly translated into French, e.g.Ps.93,22 factus est dominus:faiz est ... li sire.

(d) reflexive verbs

Very few reflexive verbs are used in the Latin text of the psalms, and these are usually rendered by reflexive forms in French, e.g. Ps.9,33 inclinabit se:enclinerat sei, Ps.9,42 magnificate se:magnifier sei. But a number of Latin verbs are usually rendered by French reflexive forms, the most common are exurgere:s'esdrecer, lartari:s'esleecer, exultare:s'esjoir. The reflexive pronoun may be strong or weak; se is usually used before the verb and sei following, though this is not consistent, e.g. Ps.5,13 e esledecent sei tuit ... en parmanabletet s'esjorrunt. A rare example of reciprocal

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1. Section (e).

action expressed by the reflexive is Ps.84,11 deosculatae sunt: s'entrebaiserent. The pronoun is most often 3rd person, but an example of 1st person reflexive is Ps.10,1 in domine confido:el seignur me fi.

(e) Tenses.

In most cases the tense of a verb in French is taken directly from the Latin, this is also the case where the mood is changed, e.g.Ps.4.1 cum invocarem:quant je apelowe has imperfect tense in both languages, though the Latin is subjunctive and French indicative. The future perfect is usually rendered by the future in the Oxford Psalter, e.g. Ps.4.6 cum clamavero ad eum:quant je crierai a lui. The sequence of tenses is only altered where mistranslation occurs in French, e.g. when the present tense of odi (perfect in form) is translated by the perfect tense of hair,[1] so that a perfect is followed by a present tense in Ps.5,6 odisti omnes qui operantur iniquitatem:tu hais tuz chi oevrant felunie, and a present subj. is followed by a perfect in Ps.67,1 fugiant qui oderunt eum:fuient chi hairent lui.

(f) Imperative.

The imperative may be expressed in 3 ways in old French : (i) by the true imperative, e.g.Ps.5,1 receif (percipe), Ps.4,6 sacrifiez (sacrificate) and esperez (sperate); (ii) by the subjunctive e.g. Ps.40,4 scitote:sachez; (iii) by ne + infinitive for the sing.negative imperative, e.g.Ps.6,1 domine ne... arguas me:sire ne me arguer. In later MSS this construction is changed to a negative pl.imperative, e.g. in MS Harley 273 ne arguez moi. The prohibition nolite is rendered by ne voilez.

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1. See Ch.V 5 (xi)

## VII Vocabulary

When we consider the vocabulary of the Oxford Psalter, we come up against two main problems: (i) the difficult nature of the text in question (ii) the relative scarcity of material with which to compare it. But if we take a date in the first half of the 12th century as plausible for the text we have in fact a very little material mainly of a religious nature and of Anglo-Norman origin: (i) the Vie de Saint Alexis, to which it is probably closest in date; (ii) the Quatre Livre des Reis, which probably dates from the late 12th century; (iii) the Chanson de Roland; (iv) the Job fragment, which while early is certainly continental in spelling. In all these texts we find words of the same type: (a) Hebrew and Latin learned words; (b) religious terms; (c) everyday vocabulary. The Hebrew words and names are for the most part peculiar to the Psalms and the Quatre Livre des Reis.

### 1 Hebraisms

A number of place-names and proper names occur in the Psalter, and these are probably the only class of words which are identical in all MSS. For the most part they occur in the same form in the French texts as in the Latin, and they usually have only one form in the Latin regardless of case and without any abbreviation sign to denote a supposed case-ending such as is usually found in documents. They are usually written in full, the only exception being Israel which is given as isl or spelt out as israhel in the French texts. Names which occur in the same form in both languages are listed in Appendix III. A variant spelling of David common in French

Biblical texts is Davit.

A few names are fully declined in the Latin texts,these are Christus , Christi,Christo and Moyses, Moysen,Moysi which are always given as crist and moyses in the Oxford Psalter, and Juda,Judae and Libanum,Libani which are given in their Latin cases in the French text.

The few names which are given genuine French forms are Judae:jude; Jordanis:jordain; Tharsis:Tharse; Tyri:tyre.

There are also a number of words relating to Jewish beliefs and practises, or to things of Eastern origin in the Psalms, These like the place names mentioned above occur in the same form as in French as in the Latin text. The word Cherubim occurs unaltered as it does in modern translations, and the spices, casia,myrra and gutta seem to have been untranslatable. But synagoga, which is unchanged in early manuscripts, is romanized as sybagoche in later manuscripts such as Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 278.

2 Learned words

Learned words are those which have been taken into the vernacular from Latin without going through the popular form of development. In the psalter, however, there are a number of words which would in any case have a vernacular form very close to the original Latin, and this makes the distinction between learned and semi-learned forms very difficult, In some cases accents in the Oxford Psalter indicate a pronunciation following the Latin, and these may obviously be treated as learned, e.g. concílie, dilúvie.

Many words are partly learned, having been introduced into French at a sufficiently early stage to undergo the phonetic changes taking place in certain syllables. These have been discussed at great length by H. Berger[1], and are usually those of restricted religious use. A selection of those which occur in the Oxford and Cambridge Psalters, and sometimes in the other early texts, is abominable, abominaciuns, abominer (abominare); adorer (adorare); all the words based on benedicere; congregatiun, excusatiuns, opprobre, prophete, psalme, misericordie &c. Those of less religious meaning are diluvie (though deluge is also used) habitaciun and habitacle, adinventiuns (as well as a more popular form contruvemenz ), afflictiun, &c.

## 3 Everyday words classified.

### 1) Man

#### a) Parts of the body.

Many parts of the body are mentioned in the Psalms, and some of these have special significance and meaning. Man himself is home:huem; where vir is used in Latin some later MSS use ber in French. This does not occur in the Oxford Psalter, though the adverb barnillent is used. Words which have more than their basic meaning as parts of the body are: cor:cuer, which signifies the whole person and his spiritual outlook[2] e.g. Ps.83, 2 li miens cuers e la meie car esledederent; and renes:reins which signify man's most intimate thoughts[3] e.g.Ps.7,10 escerchanz les cuers e les

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1. Die Lehnwörter in der französischen Sprache ältester Zeit.This is also discussed in J.Trenel, D'ancien testament et la langue française du moyen âge, p.32.
2. Meersbock, Le latin biblique d'après St.Jérôme. p.166.
3. ibid.p.177.

rains, while sinus:sein is used in much the same way. Other words used metaphorically or in similes are caput:chief used not only as the head of the body but also in Ps.17,47 chief des genz; dextera:destre signifies a person's strength and the right hand of God; and purnele de oil (pupillam oculi).

The other parts of the body are used descriptively: brachium:braz; os:buche, collum:col; dentes:denz; digitos:deiz; dorsum:dos; tibiis: estives; facies:face, genua:genuilz; fauces:joes; lingua:łangue; labia:levres; lumbi:lumble; manus:mains; guttur:guitrun; vultus:vult; nares:narille; ubera:mameles; oculus:oil;auris:oreille; ossa:os; palpebrae: palpebras/palpres: pedes:piez; femur:quisse; sanguis:sanc; calcanei:talun; uterus/venter:ventre. In addition barba:barbe and capillos:chevels may be mentioned at this point. Contrary to modern usage, ungulas:ungles are mentioned of animals in Ps.68,36, and humeris:escables of birds in the Canticle of Moses, 6C, 16.

b) Members of the family

Apart from the word sponsus:espus used to describe the sun in Ps.18,5 all words describing members of the family are used in purely descriptive fashion in the Psalms. The terms pater:pere; mater:mere; filius:filz; filia:fille; uxor:feme; vidua:vedve; frater:frere are used in the Vie de St.Alexis and the QLDR. In addition to the basic meaning pere can mean 'ancestors' in Ps.21,4 and frere 'brethren' in Ps.21,23. Small children and babies are mentioned in "s.8,3 infantium:enfanz and lactentium:laitanz but other words for children include parvulis in Ps.16,16, and orphenin translates opphano in Ps.9,38 with orfenin for pupillo in Ps.9,42. The

present and future generations are generatio:generaciun while radix:racine is used to indicate future descendents in Ps.51,5, and semen:semence similarly in Ps.17,54.

c) Other people and occupations.

Other people are referred to as groups as populus:poples; plebs:poples; nationes:naciuns; gentes:genz; while individuals are consortibus:cumpainuns; vicini:veisins; amici:ami; strangers are extraneus:estranges; peregrinus: peregrins; and adulteris:avoiltres. Women are mentioned as domina:dame; ancillae:ancele.

Occupations mentioned are fenerator:gablere; furem:larrun; figuli:potier; legati:messagier; medici:mirie; pastorum:pasturs; governmental occupations are rex:reis; regina:reine; principes:princes; legislator:porterre de lei; iudex: jugerre; religious occupations are sacerdotes:sacerdotes/proveires/prestres; angeli:angles; Dominus:sire; and of course sanctus:saint. Many other adjectives are used as nouns describing certain sorts of people, as has been noted above.[1]

All these terms are used in the QLDR, and many in the Vie de saint Alexis.

d) Buildings and utensils.

Few buildings are mentioned in the psalms, since the people are largely nomadic shepherds living in a tabernaculum:tabernacle (in the basic meaning of tent). But aedificare:edifier and aedificium:edifice, domus:maisun, ecclesia:eglise, and templum:temple are also mentioned. Parts of buildings are atrium:aitre, camera:chambre, portas/ianuas:portes, solarium:solier; turrum:tur, and furniture consists of lectum/stratum:lit, sedem:siet/siege,

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1. Ch.6, sect. 5(e).

thronum:throne, mensa:table, praesepibus:creces.

Most of the words also occur in the QLDR and Vie de Saint Alexis.

Utensils are interesting, as they occur in relatively few texts. The vaguest terms are vasa:vaissels, testa:test and olla:pot; other items are securi:cuignede, ascia:tille, vectes ferreos:turuilz ferrins,none of which are mentioned elsewhere. In the commercial field we have pecunia: pecunie, usuriam:usure, divitias:richeises, stateris:peises, which are also found in the QLDR and Vie de Saint Alexis.

Means of transport are quadrige:char, cuurum:curre and naves:nes.

e) Food, drink,clothing.

Food in general is described as cibum/escam:viande, without any distinction between food for man or beast. Similarly mangier translates both edere and manducare. Other common terms are panem:pain, carnes: carz and manna. The learned term refectionem:refectiun is also used. Natural foods mentioned are mel:mel, favum:rée, proorum:pomes, uva:grape, botrus:raisimet; grains are not mentioned, but sowing, semer, is. Fruit is fructum:fruit.

Drink is vinum:vin, lac:lait, aqua:ewe. People are referred to as being abrius:ivre, and drink as inebriens:enivranz, while to thirst is sitire: sezeler and the noun thirst is sitim:seid.

Clothes are referred to in general terms as vestimenta:vestemenz, vestitam: vesture, though decoration on female dress is mentioned as fimbriis auriis:frenges orines. The only item specifically mentioned is cilicio:haire, a hair-shirt.

Again most of the words for food and drink occur also in the QLDR, but

words such as botrus:raisinet and pomorum:pomes are not found.

Fasting is mentioned as a conscious act of self-denial in Ps.68,13 ieiunio:jeúnie, but the verbs esuriere:fameiler and egere:besuigner together with their related nouns and adjectives, fame:faim and egenum:besuignus, esurientem:fameilluse are used. The verb egere is also translated by the phrase aveir besuin, which still exists in modern French.

f) Human attributes and emotions.

The power of speech is vital in the psalms, and a large number of verbs and nouns are used, e.g.loqui:parler and verbum/loquela/parabola:parole, clamare:crier and clamorem:clamur, vocem:voiz, sermones:sermuns and eloquia: parlement. Other words are vocare/advocare/invocare:apeler and invocare; envucher, narrare/enarre:recunter, annuntiare:annuncier. Hearing is auditu: oance/oie, and the verbs audire:oir and exaudire:exoir are used with no apparent distinction.[1] An alternative expression 'ot tes oreiles receif' is used to avoid overworking the verbs of hearing. The verb intendere; entendre is also used in this sense, though entendre also translates intelligere in apparently the same meaning, though intellectum: entendement means 'understanding'. The deaf and dumb are mentioned in the psalms, surdus:surz and mutus:muz, and the verb to be silent taisir translates tacere and silere. All these words are common in the QLDR, apart from the phrase 'ot tes oreiles receif' and the nouns oie and oance.

Words expressing thought and thinking are also common, e.g. cogitare/ meditari:penser/purpenser, meditatio:meditatiun/purpensement, mentis:pensé,

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1. See ch.8, sect.8.

cogitare :pensed,and these also occur in the QLDR. Forgetting is oblivisci:oblier, while various terms are used for the verb to remember; remember; memorari; remembrer and recordare:recorder/remembreur estre. Knowledge is sapientia:sapience or scientia:science, and scire:saveir is used, though noscere/cognoscere:cumuistre is more common. The opposite is ignorare: ne saveir. The modern French distinction in meaning between cunuistre and saveir does not seem to exist at this early date; the French verb used depends on the Latin verb.

The power of touch is expressed by palpare:taster, taste by gustare: guster and smell by odorare:odorer. Abstract attributes are prudentia: cuintise, bonitatem:buntet, patientem:pacient, superbia:orguil, verecundia: verguine, and many more.

The power of sight is much in evidence in the psalms, with the verbs videre:veeir and many compounds of guarder, e.g.conspicere:guarder, respicere:reguarder, prospicere:esguarder/purguarder, while esguarder also translates considere and veeir also translates inspicere; The noun is always conspectus:esguardement. These are all common French verbs.

Human emotions are frequently mentioned in the Psalms, and here again we find a number of near synonyms used, e.g. laeticiam/exultationem: ledece, exultatio:esledecement, and gaudium:goie. The verbs laetari/exultare: esleecer,exultare/gaudere:esjoir/esledecer show the same interchange of roughly synonymous words. The superlative supergaudere is translated by suresjoir. The opposite emotion is tristus:tristes, or contristatus: contristez, and its manifestations lacrimis:lermes, fletus:pluroment, while the verbs are lugere/flere:plurer. Sorrow or grief in general is dolur:dulur and the learned word contrictio:contriciun is used once. Apart from this

last mentioned word these occur in the QLDR and Vie de Saint Alexis. The verb ridere:rire is rare in comparison.

To be angry is irasci, translated by iraistre/curucer. Hate is odio: haine and the verb the irregular form odi &c. translated by hair. Love is diligere/amare/amer. Fear is timor:crieme/pour, and the verb is timere: criembre. These are all terms found in the other early texts.

More abstract emotions are envy, zelus:envidie and verb emulari:envier, scorn, desisium:escharn and verb deridere:escharnir and despicere:despire, and shame verecundia:verguine, while to feel ashamed is rubere:rugir, erubescere:vergunder/aveir hunte. Here we see a very early example of a composite form which triumphed over the simple verb. Pride is superbia: orguil/superbe and to be proud is superbire:s'enorguillir, while humility is humilitatem:humilitet.

g) Everyday life.

Life and death, vita:vie and mors:mort are very common in Old French and need no comment, but the verbs nasci:naistre and the verb enfanter translating parere and parturire and concipere:conceivre are less used; though mori:morir and perir translating perire and interire with the alternative noun interirum:mort/peril are more used as is vivere:vivre. There is a definite distinction as in modern French between the verbs 'to live' and'to live in' which is habitare:habiter or inhabitare: enhabiter. Both these appear to be used transitively with no difference in meaning, e.g.Ps.48,1 chi habitez le cercle and Ps.36,3 e enhabite la terre. The verb enveillir translates both senesci and inveteresci but is only used 3 times in the psalms and is rare elsewhere.

Sleep and rest are mentioned as the reward of the just. The verb requiescere:reposer and noun requiem:repos are well known but not much used outside the psalms, while dormir translating dormire and obdormire, and sumeiller:sopratus esse show the distinction between being asleep or sleepy. The noun somnium:somne is used 3 times but the learned form dormitationem:dormitaciun is used as an alternative in Ps. 131, 4.

Washing is mentioned, usually with religious significance, with the verb lavare:laver, e.g. Ps. 25,6 je laverai entre les nunnuisanz mes mains.

Health is sanitas:santet but the verb sanare:saner is only used in a religious sense. These are also fairly rare in Old French. Illness is not mentioned apart from the chaere de pestilence (pestilentiae) in Ps.1.1.

Movement in general is expressed by the verb aller, parts of which, as in modern French, derive from many different Latin verbs. It is a common verb in early texts and needs little comment. Its use to translate a large variety of Latin verbs will be discussed below.[1] To enter is entrer which translates intrare and ingredi and is a very common word, while to go out is eissir translating exire and egredi, also quite common. The action of carrying things to someone is auferre:aporter, the opposite is deducere translated by demener and fors mener. Hurrying is festinare/ accelerare:haster and currere:curre. None of these is very common in early Old French.

The pastoral occupations of soving, reaping &c., are only mentioned figuratively, in Ps.125,6 cil chi sement en lermes, en esledecement cuillent as is the wine-harvest in Ps.79,13 vendengent li trestuit chi passent

1. Ch. 8, sect.3.

pres la véie.

Numbers are rare in the psalms, but where they occur they are written out in full. e.g. Ps.61,11 icez dous choses (duo haec), Ps.94,9 par quarante ans (quadriginta annis), Ps.89,10 par setante ans (septuaginta anni), Ps.89,11 oitante an (octogonta anni); numbers in the thousands are more common than smaller figures, e.g. Ps.89,4 mil an (mille anni), Ps. 67,18 a dis milliers multipliable (decem milibus), and milliers d'esledecans (milia laetantium).

2 Government

The people concerned withgovernment have already been mentioned: reis, reine, princes, porterre de la lei, jugerre, The kingdom is regnum:regne, or patriae:pais, over which the actions dominare:segnorer/ segnurer, regnare:regner are performed with potestatem:poance/podested, and with aequitatem:oeltet. The outward manifestations of power are the sceptris:sceptres; virga:verge; while the instruments are praecepta: cumandemenz; ordinatione:ordenement, and of course promissione:pramesse. The people are servos:sers, who exist to obey (obeir) and serve (servir), they are subditis:sugez. The seat of power is the thronum:throne.

3) Religion.

The psalter being a religious work, large sections of its vocabulary could be classed as religious. Apart from the occupation of sacerdotes: proveires/prestre;the episcopatum:evesque is mentioned; ecclesia:eglise, templum:temple, tabernaculum:tabernacle are all mentioned as places of worship, while the congregation is referred to an synagoga:synagoge or

congregatio:congregatiun. Preaching is pedicare:preecher.

The act of worship is expressed by confiteri:regehir/gehir; adorare: aorer; invocare:envucher, prayer and praying is expressed by deprecari: depreier and deprecationem; preiere/depreiere, orare:urer and orationem: ureisun, while a votive offering is votum:vot/wuz and sacrificiun/holocaustum: sacrefise. Another word is oblationem:oblatiun. An example of sacrifice given is oves occisionis:berbiz d'occisiun. Religious fear is reverentia:reductance and the act of being fearful is reveri:reduter.

The words expressing sin and redemption are peccare:peccher, peccator: peccherre, peccatum:pecchet;redimete:rachater, redmptor:rachaterre; salvare: salver, salvator:salverre; recipere:receivre, receptor:receverre; redemptio: raenceun. Words for pardon and repentance are propitiatio:pardunance, dimittere:parduner, paenitere:repentire; while punientur is translated as serunt pené. Penalties for sin are interitionibus:perdiciuns and propeccato: purpecchet; the reward is salutem:salut.

There areq of course, many words which conern religious beliefs in the psalms. Faith and the act of having faith are fidem:fei, fiduciam:fiance and fidere:fider; hope and to hope are spes:esperance and sperare:esperer, while to be faithful is fidelis:fedeilz. Lack of faith is impietatem:impietet, and irreligious behaviour is expressed by escumunier translating exsecrare and prophanare, while the oppoite, benedicere:beneistre is very common, and the noun benedictionem:beneiceun is similarly much more common than exsecratione:esgummaiement. The spiritus:espiriz of the psalmist is often mentioned as a gauge of his spiritual state,while God is referred to as deus:deus and dominus:sire (or dominum deum:dammedeu), and is terribilis:

espowantable and omnipotens:tutpuissanz. God's wrath is either ira:ire, or the learned word iracundie (iracundia), or worse, furore:fuirur; the psalmist is always in fear that God will desert him, and relinquere: guerpir, discedere:descevrer, amovere/avertere:desturner are common actions God is requested to avoid. These are all general terms which occur in other texts without religious significance, except for the actual words describing God.

The only religious furniture mentioned is altare:altel and sepulchrum: sepulchre, which is only used figuratively to describe the throat of the ungodly in Ps.5,11 and Ps.13,5. Statues and idols are simulchra:estatues and imagines:idles; the reference to imagine:imagene in Ps.38,9 would seem to be to a 'figment of the imagination'. The works of holy scripture are called scripture:escriptures in Ps.86,6, and the Book of Life is mentioned as liber viventium:livre des vivanz.

4) Music

Singing and the playing of musical instruments is mentioned in certain psalms, but without much detail being given. The verb canter covers cantare, jubilare and psallere and the noun canz similarly covers canticum: cantionem, hymnus and jubilo. Other forms of song are, of course, psalmum: psalme, and choro:carole, though choro is left untranslated in Ps.150,4. The bulk of musical instruments mentioned occur in Ps.150, e.g.tubae: buisine; psalterio:saltier; cythara:harpe; tympano:tympane; cordis:cordes (unspecified, but cf.Ps.32,2 psalterio decem cordarum; saltier de dis cordes); organi (untranslated, though organa:organes are mentioned in Ps.136, 2); cymbalis:cymbles; the only musicians mentioned are iuvencu-

larum tympanistriarum: juvenceles tympanistres in Ps.67, 27. The majority of these words occur also in the QLDR, but not in other early texts.

5) Hunting and war.

Much of the imagery of the psalms comes from hunting and war, and as much vocabulary is common to both, it is easiest to discuss both together. Weapons used are framea:espede;gladius:glaive; hasta:hanste; iacula:darz; sagittae:saietes which are kept in a pharetra:quivre; and protection is given by the scutum:escut. The verb sagittare:saieter is used. Hunters are called venantium:veneurs, who catch their praedam:preie in a lacum:lac or saccum.sac. The act of catching a man of animal is captio:pernement though the verb is rapere:ravir. Wounds are plaga:plaies, and the adjective 'to be injured' is vulneratum:naffred. The verb to injure is nocere:nuisir, but to kill is occidere:occirre, and excidere:trenchier is also used. To die is perire:perir. The adjectives vinctos:liez or compeditos;emboiez are used to express 'tied up'; ropes are mentioned, but not in this connection, as funes:funels. Flight is fuga:fuie, and the verb 'to run away' is fugere:fuir.

Terms referring particularly to a war situation are inimici:enemi, ostium:ost/us, protector:defenderre, liberator:delivrere, ultorem:vengedur, victor:venquere. Verbs used are eripere:delivrer, ulcisci:venjer, vincere: vencre; nouns are defensio:defendement, ulcio:venjance, refugium:refuges, vim:force, potentia:puissance. If an army is successful, it will gain spoils, spolia:espuilles.

6 Nature

(a) Animals, birds and fishes.

Many common animals are mentioned in the psalms- such as chaval (equus), mul (mulus), jument (iumentum); fulcs (gregibus) covering oeilles (oves), aignel (agni) and filz des multuns (filios arietum); veel (vituli), bucs (hyrcos), buef (boves), tor (tauri), vaches (vaccis) on the pastoral side, and chien (canes) on the domestic front. The French term beste translates animal, and its plural ferae, bestiis, pecora.

Wild animals are more interesting and include leons (leo) and chael (catulus), asne,salvage (onager)and fiers senglers (singularis ferus), cers (cervus), and the hedgehog, hericuns (erinaciis) and frog, raine (ranam).

Reptiles are described as rampantes coses (reptilia), only the serpent (serpentis/aspidis), together with their venim (venerum), and the worm verm (vermis) are specified.

The equipment for horses is described in Ps. 31, 12 en chevestre e en frain lur maixeles cunstrain, while a rider occurs only inthe Canticles as muntedur (ascensorem). The verb paistre, 'to pasture' is used of the sheep.

Flying animals are volatilie (volatilia), clearly a learned form, but birds in general are oisels (aves/volucres) or oisels empennez (volatilia pinnata). Several types of bird are listed in Ps. 83,3 : passere (passer), turtre (turtur) and pulcins (pullos); others mentioned elsewhere in the psalms are columbe (columbae), and birds of prey aigles (aquila), falcun (erodii), as well as pelican (pelicano), quaille (coturnix) and a host of

smaller flying creatures : es (apes). fres eia (nycticorax), musche (cynomia), feun (bruchus), salterele (locustae), and wibez (scinifes). Wings are eles (ala), though they are most common in reference to God, or pennes (pinnas), which strictly means feathers.

Fishes are only mentioned in general terms as peissuns (pisces).

(b) Natural phenomena

The earth is frequently mentioned in the psalms, terre (terra) being the common term, though the classical phrase cercle de la terre (orbs terrae) occurs occasionally. The sky is ciel (caelum), though the plural often means 'heavens'.[1] The heavenly bodies are soleil (sol), lune (luna) and esteiles (stellae); clouds are nues (nubes), containing tenebruse eve in Ps. 17,13. The verb 'to rain' occurs as well as the noun, pluies (imbres). Snow is neif (nivem) and gresille (grando), fuildres (fulgura) and charbuns de fu (carbones) are manifestations of tempeste (tempestas). Dew is mentioned once only, rosede (ros) in Ps.132, 3. Wind, venz (ventus) is common.

Sand and dust are mentioned as arunde (harundis) and puldre (pulvis) also pierre (petram) and roche (rupem); much more common are different types of water: ewe (aqua) is frequently mentioned, and fontaines (fontes), fluet (fluctus); flut, ~~flumes~~ and fluvies ~~all~~ tender flumen; estangs d'ewes (stagna) and mer (maris), and diluvie (diluvium).

Types of scenery and plants mentioned are munt (montes), tertre (cblles), champ (ager & campum), selves (silvarum). Plants are plante/plantemenz, fust (fustum), vigne (vineam) and its plancun (novella), olive (oliva), herbes (herbarum). Parts of plants are arbrissels (arbusta),

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1. Meersbock, Le latin biblique d'après St.Jerôme p.182 ff.

fuille (folia), racines (radices), and fruit (fructum) includes pomes (pomas), raisimet (botrus) and grape (uva). Paths are veie (via) or sente (semita). The former is usually used in a religious sense.

7 Use of different words in later MSS

We have already commented in passing upon the fact that differences in vocabulary occur between the Oxford Psalter and later MSS; in some cases these are only differences of prefixed or non-fixed forms, such as achaisun/caisun:establis/stablis,deguerpit/guerpit, delivrere/livrere on the one hand and gehirai/regehirai,poserai/deposerai on the other, or the difference may be in the suffix, e.g. cummudement/commuance, pallor/ pallisur, dreiturers/dreiturels, though the difference between these last two examples may be largely orthographical.

A few differences occur in the use of adverbs, conjunctions, &c., e.g. the Arundel Psalter often uses acertes where the Oxford has mais, and differences are found in this and other MSS in the use of chi/liquels, quels/liquels, and purquei/pur lequel chose, pur ce que/que. Some of these may be seen in the Specimen Text.

Differences in words describing people are rare. Several MSS use ber to translate vir, as opposed to huem, but this is not consistent. MS Harley 273 uses malades for enfern (Ps.6,2), and this MS also uses non deboneyres for felun. Although the term deboneire is not itself used, this use of the negative must indicate that it was an established expression; the only trouble is that its meaning is rather vague. But deboneire is used in the 'Bible du xiii$^{e}$ siècle', in MS 185 at Rouen for

mansuetus (Matt.21,5) propitius (Luke 18,3),mitis (Matt.11,29) and in B.N. MS Fonds fr.398 for benignum (Titus I, 8.) The adverb debonerement translates pie (Titus II,12).In a few cases words are changed because a later scribe did not know what they meant, e.g.malvees (Ps.9,26) is rendered by macualees,conchies,deordees and enordees; the meaning of this adjective and the verb malverent (and whether they should be spelt with v or u) is still not clear today, as they only occur in the Oxford Psalter.

Of the emotions which are expressed differently in different MSS the most noticeable is the consistent use of forsenerie for fuirur by the Arundel Psalter, though it is also used in the Cambridge Psalter. Both fuirur and forsenerie are used in the Cambridge version to translate furur, where the Gallican text has ira:ire. Other variations in vocabulary between the Cambridge and Oxford Psalters are simplicité for nunnuisance, netedet for purtet, and mal for felunie. The difference between saveir and cunuistre does not yet exist, as Cambridge has cunuisrez for sachez, with corresponding differences in their Latin texts. Similarly pour may be used where Oxford has crieme.

In the fields of everyday life few differences are found; Cambridge uses sentes where others have veies, MS Harley 273 has chemin for eire, and Cambridge has a more classical term ethere (aetheris) where others have air (aëris). Differences in the use of verbs hcan be seen in Arundel : demenoent for faiseient (Ps.5,11) and liverat for dunat (Ps.12,6).

In the field of religion the differences are mainly between the Cambridge Psalter and the rest, on account of differences in the Latin text, e.g.pierre for firmamenz,erreurs/pechiez for forfaiz,aprient/povre for

humeȝe. Differences in verbs are again seen in the Arundel Psalter, which has delaisse for pardune (Ps.24,19).

In the field of war, the Oxford Psalter differs from both the Arundel and Cambridge Psalters in its use of glaive/espee; in the Cambridge text this usually results from differences in the Latin text. The Cambridge text also uses escut(clypheum) where Oxford uses coverture (protectionem), and hanste (hasta) compared with escut and escuz/force for defenderre. The Arundel Psalter regularly uses aidere for aiuere (adiutor).

In the case of names of birds we find dislike of the Oxford Psalter's slavish translation of passer (Ps.6,1) in MS Clare College 6, MS CCCC 278 and MS Harley 1770, which all use muisun, though this is also used later in the Oxford Psalter. The Cambridge Psalter has oisel. Variation occurs in the use of words to translate flumen, e.g. flum/fluvie, while Cambridge has the learned effusions (effusiones) for fontaines.

In general, therefore, we can say that the Oxford Psalter text is altered for improvement or correction of the translation, while the Cambridge Psalter has, as Berger found, the same basic French vocabulary, but often used at different points in the text.

## VIII Technique of translation

### 1 Literal translation.

Any reader of the early translations of the Psalms must be struck by the fact that they are very literal, word-for-word translations, morphologically correct French but often following the Latin word order to the extent of rendering eius by de lui, following a noun, rather than using the simple possessive pronoun. This may be because the Psalms are part of the Bible. L. Forster has explained that this literal approach "was used especially with sacred texts which were held to be verbally inspired, in which the order of words in the original was dictated by God, and therefore had to be respected in the translation as far as possible".[1] In any case this is all the more likely to be the case with the Psalms because they are a liturgical text, one of the best known parts of the Bible, and may even have been chanted in the vernacular. The idea that the "text itself was a sacred mystery; the resulting translation was not required to be immediately intelligible"[2] may however explain why the French text, like the Latin it translates, does not always make sense because it is rendering exactly turns of phrase which were necessary in the original Hebrew, as has been discussed above.[3]

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1. in Aspects of translation, ed.W.Schwarz, p.11.
2. ibid.
3. Ch.6, sect.1.

The word-for-word approach to translation, coupled with an insufficient knowledge of Latin, can lead to mistranslations such as are found in the Arundel Psalter, e.g. Ps.29,4 psallite domine sancti eius: cantez al seignur del sun seint and Ps.34,30 qui volunt pacem servi eius: chi volent lepeis de suen seff. In both these cases a noun in nom..pl. has been interpreted as gen.sing.,probably because of the presence of eius; in the second example the relative positions of verb and subject may also have been a factor. In Ps.34,22 the Arundel text has adversantur: cuntredient where the Oxford text has contralient; these are roughly synonymous verbs but the Arundel text probably used the wrong one for the context. But mistakes of this kind do not occur in the Oxford Psalter.

This type of translation also explains why the chief differences between the MSS lie in details of vocabulary. This also can be seen from the Arundel Psalter, which although it was written in the same century as the Oxford Psalter has regular differences in vocabulary, e.g. O furur, A forsenerie; O aiuere, A aidere (though these are both formed from the verb aidier); O contrubler, A conturber, A.Beyer maintained[1] that the Arundel Psalter often gives a semantically more exact translation than the Oxford, though he noted the plain mistakes mentioned above. These features are all evidence of the fact that the mediaeval scribe felt free to alter his exemplar as he saw fit. This does not, however, conflict with concept of a religious text as verbally inspired, as the text can remain expressed in the same way, within the same framework, precisely if only individual words are altered. St.Jerome himself is said to have tried to keep a middle course between the strict literal method of translation as

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1. Beyer ZRP IX, p.514.

practised by the Greeks, and the more free type of rendering 'after the sense' practised by the Romans, especially when translating Biblical texts.[1]

2 Repetition and translation of synonyms

The question of the extent of the French vocabulary compared with the Latin is a very vexed one, as one can find many examples of the same French word being used to translate several Latin words, in every part of speech: bealtet:decor, pulchritudo,species; camp:agri, arua, campi; delivrer: eripere, eruere, liberare; acertes:enim, quidem, utique, vero, veruntamen; kar:enim, quia, quoniam; and many others. This may result in repetition in the French text which does not occur in the Latin: Ps.6,6 laverai par sengles nuiz mun lit, de mes lermes mun lit aruserai where lit translates both lectum and stratum.

Repetition of relatively common words may be avoided by the use of both the learned form and the more popular French translation: Ps.131 sacerdotes is translated by both proveire (v.9) and sacerdotes (v.17); similarly innocentem is translated either by innocent or by nunnuisant; this is discussed below,[2] and is also treated in great detail by Heinimann, who gives numerous examples.[3]

3 Use of word families.

Many word families, each family based on a single stem, are used in the Oxford Psalter. The Latin forms they translate may be related, but more

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1. Meerschock, Le latin biblique p.245.
2. sect.7:
3. Romanica Helvetica 73. p.25.

often they are of many different origins but are semantically similar. Thus we find alër translating parts of ambulare, perambulare, ire, abire and vadere (though parts of aler derive from parts of ire and vadere, as well as from ambulare), with alement translating gressus;canter translating bantare,psallere, and jubilare, and cant, canticum, jubilo; peccher translating both peccare and delinquare, peccherre peccator and pechet peccatum; travailer translating laborare, tribulare and affligere with travail translating labor; receivre translating suscipere and occasionally accipere, percipere and assumere, with receverre translating susceptor and recevement susceptio, to give but a few examples. Where a group includes an adjective often its members come from a single Latin word group, e.g.salver,salf, salverre from salvare, salvum, salvator, humilier, humele, humilitet from humiliare, humilem, humilitatem.

If we include compound forms as well, these groups can be extended even further, e.g. penser and purpenser both translate cogitare, and purpenser also translates meditari, with the noun meditatio:purpensement, while pensed renders mente, but cognitatio has only the learned translation cognitatiun; tresturner and turner translate convertere, while returner translates recedere and revertere as well; a complicated group is that based on guarder, which in its simple form translates conservare, custodire, observare, servare and in one case conspicere, with the noun guarde translating custodia; the compound esguarder renders prospicere and considerare with the noun esguardement rendering conspectu; purguardet translates prospicit, and resguardat translates prospexit, though resguarder usually translates respicere, In some cases the compound form of a verb seems to be identical in meaning, or nearly so, with the simple form. This is particularly true of

oir and exoir which both translate audire and exaudire, though the related noun is from the simple form, oience translating auditionem.

The existence of these word families can give the impression that the French vocabulary is more limited than the Latin, although as we have seen, the Latin also includes many similar groups. The Psalms are by their nature often repetitive, but different words are repeated in the French text compared with the Latin. Thus canter is repeated more often than cantare because it also translates psallere and jubilare, though these are not much used in Latin; while the parts of the verb aler, although they derive from a number of Latin verbs, translate so many other verbs in addition that they inevitably give the impression of greater repetition. This can be seen from the Index.

4 Translation of words which have no French development

We have seen above[1] that a small number of Hebrew words and names are left untouched in the French translation, many having indeed remained untranslated in the modern European versions. But there are also a number of Latin terms for which no obvious French equivalent existed, and these were translated by the formation of composite forms from existing words, e.g. legislator: porterre de lei and legislatorem: duneur de lei; magniloquens: granz choses parlanz; pusillanimitate: petitece de espirit, or by the use of the direct French development from a synonymous Latin word, e.g. equus: chaval (caballus); interitus:mort (mortem) to name the most common. The form caballus is never used in the Latin, though mors occurs and is naturally translated by mort.

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1. Ch.7, sect.1.

Single words may be invented in many ways. One simple method is to translate both the prefix and root of the word in question: innocentem nunnuisant (in- > num, nocentem > nuisant) and insipiens similarly > nunsavant. Another is to make use of a suffix + the nearest noun of verb root corresponding to the Latin word or its root, e.g. eissemenz translates both egressio and exitus, based on the translation of the verbs egredi and exire by eissir; the root eisse- is used with the suffix -ment. Similarly invented are entalentement translating affectum (entalenter) eslevement for elevatio (eslever); adrecement for directione (adrecer); esjoissement for exultacio (esjoir) &c.[1] The suffix -etet is used mostly with the adjective which would be used to translate the Latin related adjective, e.g. barainetet translates sterilitas (barain for sterilis); ampletet latitudo and sovrainetez superiora. Straight translation of both the Latin root and suffix is seen in maisuncele for domiculo. Infinitives may be used as nouns, e.g. beivre translates potum and aler translates profectione, but what gender is attributed to them cannot be ascertained. In later mediaeval French they are usually masc.

A large number of the words for which no obvious French equivalent existed are neuter adjectives used as nouns. These are often translated by the French adj. + chose, e.g. hoc, istud: iceste chose; mirabile: merveilluse chose; nichil: nule chose; quid: quels chose; quod: laquele chose; sancto: sainte chose; vanum: vaine chose; and abscondita:

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1. Heinimann Romanica Helvetica 73, p. 25.

repostes choses; alta, excelsa, sublimia: haltes choses; beneplacita: bien ploudes choses;[1] bona: bones choses; dura: dures choses; falsa: falses choses; gloriosa: glorioses choses; humilia: humeles choses; incerta: nuncertes choses; iniqua: felunesses choses; magnalia: granz choses; mala: males choses; novissima: deraines choses; occultis: occultes choses; omnia: tutes choses; quae: lesquels choses; sancta: saintes choses; talibus: tels choses.

Another method of translation of neuter plural adjectives used as nouns is by the noun related to the French adjective which would normally be used. This method may be an alternative to the use of adj + choses, e.g. alta and excelsa are translated not only by haltes choses but also by halteces; bona is translated by both bones choses and biens. In this latter case there can be seen a difference in meaning; bones choses is more abstract than biens, which corresponds to the English 'goods'. Other examples of nouns coined from adjectives are speciosa: bealtez (spetiosus: beals); inferiora: basseces; interiora: dedezeinetez. This last word appears to be a mis-spelling for dedenzeinetez, formed from dedenz.[2]

It will be noted that most words causing this problem of translation are abstract nouns. In the 14th century continental scribes appear to be dissatisfied with the literal translation justus > juste and use the term deboneire, meaning someone who is generally speaking a good character.

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1. The scribe distinguishes between bien plout cose and bon plait (Ps. 68, 16).

2. Tobler-Lommatzsch.

The development of this meaning from the original meaning of de bon aire has been discussed above.[1] This word has remained in modern French and English in a different meaning 'care-free' or 'good-natured'. Similarly if there is a contrast made between the good and the bad, justus and iniquus, these 14th century MSS will use nondeboneire instead of the more common fel for peccherre. The only insular MS using this word is MS Harley 273. Another modern word introduced at this time is malades instead of enferm (infirmus).

These examples show that however small the original French vocabulary may have been, there were a number of easy ways of extending it. T.D. Hemming has pointed out that much use was made of forms with different suffixes in the early texts, partly as an aid to rhyme,[2] but it was also a matter of necessity when translating words from Latin.

5 Translation of cases and prepositions

As the Old French case system had only 2 cases, subject and oblique, this means that the genitive, dative and ablative in the Latin text must usually be rendered by a French preposition.

The genitive case is usually translated by de as in modern French, e.g. eius > de lui; terra Aegypti > terre d'Egypte. But in a few cases we find the old form in which the French obl. case does duty for the genitive. This usually occurs only with proper names of Hebrew origin which are uninflected in the Latin text, and which are 'set phrases' e.g. deus Jacob> deus Jacob. It occurs once erroneously in the Douce manuscript, probably as

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1. Ch. 7, sect. 7.

2. Old French synonymy, p.29L.

the result of an incomplete correction, in Ps. 9,5: le num els where the expected de has been erased before els. Since in other cases the forms have obviously been 'corrected' by erasing de and inserting d before the noun it governs, I would imagine that the corrector forgot to insert the necessary elided d in this case. Another elliptic form of possessive occurs in Ps. 9,29 La qui buche translating cuius os. Where a Latin construction requires the use of the possessive, the French may have the de construction e.g. miserere mei > aies merci de mei. In a few cases, with esse the possessive is expressed by a, e.g. Ps. 23,1 Domini est terra > Al segnur est la terre.

The dative case is usually translated by a, e.g. michi > a mei. A construction using the dative in Latin is followed in the French, e.g. Ps. 2,11 servite domino > serves a nostre seignur.

The ablative case usually has instrumental force when it is not governed by a preposition, and is usually translated by ot, par or de, e.g. Ps. 5,1 verba mea auribus percipe > les meies paroles ot tes oreiles receif; Ps. 5,11 linguis suis dolose agebant > par lur langues tricheruse-ment faiseient; Ps. 5,15, ut scuto ... coronasti nos > sicume del escut ... corunas nus; Ps. 8,6 gloria et honore coronasti eum > de glorie e de honur le corunas.

The vocative case is equated to the nominative. Its most common occurrence is at the beginning of psalms, e.g. Ps. 8.1 Domine, domine noster > Sire, li nostre sire.

The translation of prepositions reveals some of the poverty of the French vocabulary compared with the Latin. A striking example is the use

of de in 3 meanings to render a/ab, de, e/ex, as well as its use to translate the genitive and ablative cases as mentioned above. This makes it by far the most common of all the French prepositions. Its use in these different meanings can be seen in Ps. 1,5 proicit a facie terrae > getet de la face de la terre; Ps. 2,3 proiciamus a nobis > degetums de nus; Ps. 2,12 pereatis de via iusta > vus perissez de la juste veie; Ps. 3,4 exaudivit me de monte sancto suo > il me oit de sun saint munt; Ps. 7,1 salvum me fac ex omnibus persequentibus me > salf me fai de tuz parsuanz mei; Ps. 8,3 ex ore > de la buche.

The French preposition pur also translates 3 Latin prepositions, propter, prae, pro, e.g. Ps. 5,9 propter inimicos meos > pur les miens enemis; Ps. 118,28 prae tedio > pur ennui; Ps. 34,14 retribuebant mihi mala pro bonis > reguередunovent a mei mals pur biens. But as none of these is used very often the effect of constant repetition is absent.

A French preposition which translates 2 Latin forms is pres which renders both iuxta and prope, e.g. Ps. 33,18 iuxta est dominus his > pres est li sire a cels; Ps. 84, 10 prope timentes eum > pres les cremanz lui, but these are the only occurrences of pres. The more usual translation of iuxta is dejuste, which also translates secus, e.g. Ps. 5,5 neque habitabit iuxta te malignus > e dejuste tei ne habiterat malignes; Ps. 1,3 secus decursus aquarum > dejuste les decurs des ewes. From these examples it would appear that the translator did not (or could not in French) distinguish between iuxta and prope, usually differentiated in modern English as 'beside' and 'near to', though in these examples there does not seem to be much difference between them.

The preposition in is rendered by en in its sense of 'in' or 'into', both literally and figuratively, e.g. Ps. 2,11 servite domino in timore > servez a nostre seignur en crieme; Ps. 5,8 introibo in domum tuam > je enterrai en ta maisun; but where it has the meaning 'against' encuntre is used, e.g. Ps. 26,18 insurrexerunt in me > esdrecerent encuntre mei.

The preposition cum is translated by ot, e.g. Ps. 9,7 periit memoria eorum cum sonitu > perit la memorie de els ot suen, but where it is combined with personal pronouns to form nobiscum etc. the French uses ensemble as well, giving ensembl'ot nus etc.

The use of devant to translate ante, coram and prae is interesting since both ante and prae are roughly synonymous in meaning 'in front of' but coram means 'in the presence of' or 'beside' and the resulting translation is correct only by extending this meaning to devant, e.g. Ps. 50,5 malum coram tei feci > mal devant tei fis. But it occurs 12 times in the Psalter.

The preposition apud is twice translated by ad, e.g. Ps. 38,11 substantia mea apud te est > la meie substance ad tei est; in Ps. 80,7 provai tei at ewe de contradictiun, al may derive from ad + article, rather than a (< ad) + article. Elsewhere apud is rendered by envers, e.g. Ps. 38, 17 advena sum apud te: aventiz je sui envers tei.

The translation of ad is absolutely regular, e.g. Ps. 5,3 ad te orabo > je orerai a tei. The construction ad + gerund is rendered by a + infinitive, e.g. Ps. 39,18 domine ad adiuvandum me respice > sire a ajuer mei reguarde.

The remaining prepositions are seldom used and are of little interest from the point of view of technique as they directly render the Latin:

adversum: encuntre; contra: contre; extra: estre; circum: envirun; inter: entre; insuper: ensurquetut; post: ariere; sub:suz, desuz; secundum: sulunc; super: sur.

6 Translation of adverbs and conjunctions

The translation of adverbs may be achieved in four ways: 1) by direct translation of the Latin form 2) by a single word not necessarily etymologically related 3) by an adjective etymologically or semantically related + ment 4) by an adverbial phrase. Apart from the last mentioned method, these are not of much interest from the point of view of technique.

Adverbs directly translated from the Latin are mostly those of time or place: heri > hier; tunc > dunc; or those of manner: bene > bien; melius > mielz; amplius > ampleiz; directo > dreit; others closely related to the Latin are: desursum > desuz; intra, intus: dedenz; foris: defors; subtus: desuz; retro: ariere.

Those rendered by another, etymologically unrelated, word are more interesting, as they begin to show the relative poverty of the vernacular language compared with the Latin: acertes is used to translate quidem, utique and vero (in addition to its use as a conjunction to be discussed below), empurice translates propterea and ideo; sicume translates tanquam, sicut and velut.

The most usual method of adverb construction in French is that using the feminine of an adjective + ment. This type is well attested in the Oxford Psalter: abundanter > abumdantment; benigne > benignement; gloriose > gloriosement; inique: felunessement; iniuste: torcenusement; libere: franchement; magnifice: grantment; prius: premereinement; velociter, cito,

mox, confestim:ignelement.

The adverbs translated by a short phrase are more interesting, and many have remained standard phrases in modern French. A common type is that of en + the related adjective used substantivally or with another noun ultre: en ultre; brevi: en brief tens; frustro, vanp: en vain. Other examples of common adverbial phrases are cotidie:chascun jur; forte:par aventure; aliquando: a la fiede; iniuste: a tort (in addition to torcenusement mentioned above); ita:eissi faitement; merito:par desserte; saepe:suventes fiedes; semper:tutes ores, tute veie. A few adverbial phrases occur already in the Latin; ex hoc:des ore; usque nunc:desque ore but quem ad modum is rendered by sicum. In this field again we have examples of the poverty of the French vocabulary:ensement cume/cum is used to translate quasi tanquam and sicut. Although Nyrop distinguishes between cum and cume[1] I do not think there is any evidence that the presence or absence of final e is significant in cum/cume and sicum/sicume in the Oxford Psalter.

It is however necessary to point out that while a single French adverb often translates several Latin adverbs, certain of these Latin adverbs are in fact translated by more than one French adverb. Thus quasi and tanquam are both translated by both ensement cume and sicum and tunc by both lores and idunc.

But it is nevertheless true that the overall number of French adverbs would seem to be smaller than that in Latin, so that fewer shades of meaning could be expressed in the vernacular.

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1. Nyrop vol.VI p.18.

In the case of conjunctions, this poverty of vocabulary is also marked, especially in the case of simple coordinating conjunctions. The most common of these of course is _e_ which regularly translates _et_, apart from the rare occasions when _et_ is used concessively, where the French uses _nedes_, e.g. in Ps.61,2 _Kar nedes il li miens deus< Nam et ipse deus meus_. Another two very simple translations are _sed:mais_ and _aut:u_ which are only used to link two whole phrases in the Oxford Psalter. Those which provide a sharp contrast between the extent of the Latin and French vocabulary, however, are _acertes_ and _kar_. As has already been noted, _acertes_ is used not only as an atverb, but as a co-ordinating conjunction translates _autem_ and _enim_. But _kar_ also translates _autem_ and _enim_, in addition to _nam_, _quia_ and _quoniam_. These are really all causal conjunctions, and this extensive use of _kar_ for all causal forms is copied in all the Anglo-Norman MSS even into the 14th century, by which time many continental MSS were using other more modern forms such as _por ce que_.

The most common conjunction already in the Oxford Psalter is _que_, especially as it is incorporated in many composite conjunctions. On its own it is used to translate _quia_, _quoniam_ and _ut_. The use of both _kar_ and _que_ as causal conjunctions is common in Old French and no distinction between the use of one and the other can be made.

Simple coordinating conjunctions are _mes_ translating _sed_ and _u_ translating _aut_'or' and the interrogative _ubi_ 'where?'. Negative conjunctions are _nisi:si...ne_ and _nonne:dum ne_ while _nec_ and _neque_ used as 'either...or' are translated by _ne...ne_ or _nen_ if followed by a vowel. The conditional conjunction _si_ is kept as _si_ although the usual form in

Old French is se. All these are used exactly in the same way as in the Latin they translate.

Other, subordinating, conjunctions are the concessive conjunctions cum:cum e.g. Ps.38,2 cum esteust peccherre en cuntre mei, and etsi:ja seit ce que are little used in comparison with the causal kar and final que. The form ja seit ce que is used only once in the Oxford Psalter, but is typical of the composite forms evolved in early Old French to translate conjunctions, making use of the omnipresent que as the final connection, e.g.Ps.22,4 kar ja seit ce que je irai:nam etsi ambulavero. This type is most common in temporal conjunctions:dum:dementres que; priusquam:ainz que; usque:desque; postquam:puisque. A common temporal conjunction which is a direct development from the Latin is quando:quant.

7 Translation of the possessive.

The possessive in Latin is expressed by the possessive adjectives meus &c. or, in the case of 'his' and 'theirs' by eius and eorum. French can use de + pronoun or two forms of possessive adjective, li miens &c. or mun &c. Direct translation of the Latin possessive adjectives can be seen in Ps.2,7 filius meus es tu:tu es li miens filz; Ps.3,3 tu autem domine susceptor meus es, gloria mea et exaltans caput meum:mais tu sire ies li miens receverre, e la meie glorie, e exalchanz mun chief. It is difficult to see any great distinction in use between the French 'strong' and 'weak' forms, as they are usually both used in the same sentence as above. A good example of the use of both forms is Ps.143,1 qui docet manus meas ad proelium, digitos meos ad bellum:chi enseigne les meies mains a guerre, e mes deiz a bataille. The reason for the change from the strong

to weak form in this verse may perhaps be the rhythm, as no other explanation seems likely.

The translation of eius and eorum, ipsius and ipsorum is similarly often achieved by the French possessive adjectives, e.g. Ps.1,4 folium eius non defluet:sa fuillere decurrat; Ps.2,13 cum exarserit in brevi ira eius:cume la sue ire esprenderat en brief tens; Ps.5,10 quoniam non est in ore eorum veritas:kar veritet nen est en lur buche; Ps.27,5 da illis secundum opera ipsorum:dune a els sulunc lur ovres. But frequently the expressions de lui, de els, or d'icels are used, e.g. in Ps.1,2 sed in lege domini voluntas eius et in lege eius meditabitur: mais en la lei de nostre seignur la voluntet de lui, e en la sue lei purpenserat; Ps.2,3 proiciamus a nobis iugum ipsorum: degetums de nus le jub de els; Ps.9,39 quaeretur peccatum illius:serat quis le pechiet de lui. Here again we have the problem as to whether any difference can be ascertained between the two methods of translation. It can be argued that the use of de +pronoun gives greater emphasis to the possessive aspect, but in many cases we find both methods used in one verse, as in Ps. 1,2 quoted above.

The final point of interest is the insertion of a possessive in the French, where it is implied but not stated in the Latin. This usually takes the form of translating dominus by nostre sire, e.g. in Ps.1,2 quoted above and Ps.1,7 quoniam novit dominus viam iustorum:kar nostre sire cunuist la veie des justes; Ps.2,7 dominus dixit ad me:nostre sire dist a mei; Ps.2,11 servite domino:serves a nostre seignur. A rare example of abother possessive inserted in the French text is in Ps.5,1 verba mea auribus percipe:les meies paroles et tes oreiles receif.

8 Translation of prefixes

There is considerable variety in the use of prefixes in the Psalters. This is usually regarded as one of the features in which Anglo-Norman was most erratic, and this view would seem to be borne out by the Psalters, which use every possible alternative. There are at least six possible means of translating a prefix: it may be

1) adopted without change;

2) dropped without change in meaning;

3) kept but have another prefix attached in front of it;

4) replaced by a different prefix;

5) lost as the whole Latin word is replaced;

6) rendered by a different construction.

The study of prefixes is largely concerned with verbs and their derivatives.

The majority of prefixes can be said to have a definite meaning which alters or qualifies the extension of the word to which it is attached. Those which derive from prepositions retain much the same meaning as the preposition when in combination with another word; these are a/ab; ad; con; contra; de; e/ex; in; inter; ob; per; post; prae; pro; sub; super and trans. The non-prepositional prefix is re.

But even if the prefixes can be said to have a definite meaning, it is difficult to know whether a mediaeval translator would have been aware of a prefix as a separable part of a word. Professor Rothwell, talking mainly about the 13th-century situation, maintains that "the Anglo-Norman writer, unlike the translator from Latin to Provencal, does tend to analyse the composite verbs he uses in French and to ascribe a particular

value to the prefix in a prefixed form".[1] This is because the Provencal translator is working in his native language, while "the Anglo-Norman writer - especially after about 1250 - is often translating into a French which, however well-learnt, is not his native tongue".[2] If we suppose that not only the scribe, but also the translator of the Oxford Psalter was English this argument could hold good for the previous century as well. I hope that the following study will show that it seems plausible for certain prefixes, if not for all.

Words with the prefix a/ab are not frequent, but where it occurs it has the meaning 'away' and is retained, most commonly as the French prefix de/des; Ps.21,6 abjectio:degetement; Ps.38,13 amove a me:desturne de mei; Ps.9,34 avertit faciem suam : desturnat sa face. The first of these examples show the prefix retained with a word related to the Latin root; the others show it retained with a roughly synonymous verb. But in Ps. 39,19 auferant (in which the prefix has suffered mutation to au) is translated by tolgent. Here the prefix has clearly been disregarded, and it is impossible to tell whether the translator recognised the French verb as derived from the perfect tense of the Latin. This simple form toldre is used regularly to translate the Latin auferre.

Much more common is the prefix ad with its usual meaning 'towards'. This often occurs with the assimilation of the d to the following consonant. In most cases it retains its meaning, altering the extension of the verb, and is retained in the French. There are a number of examples

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1. The French Language, Studies presented to L.C.Harmer, p.28.

2. ibid. p.29.

in which the whole word is directly rendered into French, prefix and root: Ps.5,8 adorabo > aorerai; Ps.9,11 annunciate>annunciez; Ps.9,32 attrahit > atrait. Where the Latin verb has no direct French equivalent, the prefix is retained with a roughly synonymous verb: Ps.42,3 adduxerunt>amenerent; Ps.33,5 accedite>aprismez; Ps.28,1,2 afferte>aportez. But where the sense of 'movement towards' is already present in the basic verb the prefix is dropped in French and the simple form is used: Ps.34,2 apprehende arma> pren armes; Ps.34,9 captio...apprehendat eum > le pernement...prenget lui,

The prefix con, derived from the preposition cum, is very common, and frequently occurs with the final n assimilated to following l, m, or r. Its basic meaning of an action done 'with' someone is often lost in the compound verbs, and this affects their treatment in French. A number of are directly translated: commota>commoue; comprehenderunt>cumpristrent; confirmet>confert; confortetur>confortet; confusi>confus (though the Arundel Psalter has aspandu); contricio>contriciun; convertere>seies convertit. Some are rendered by the prefix and a synonym : coarctans > constreignant; concutientis>commuant (in the Arundel, but crollant in the Oxford Psalter); consolata sunt>conforterent; consortibus>cum-painuns.

For the most part, however, words with the prefix con are conspicuous for morphologically unrelated translations: collidetur:esgenet; comburet: arderat; commodat:prestet; commorantium:demuranz; commutationibus:change-nenz; complectimini:embracez; concidisti:dessiras; concinnabat:cantot (and canter is also used to translate cantare and psallere); confitebor : gehirai or regehirai (the compound form being slightly more frequent);

congregabo:assemblerai but congregata:adune; and convertar:returnerai but also convertantur:turnet and convertendo:tresturnant. From this selection of examples it would appear that the retention of the prefix does not even depend upon it altering the basic meaning of the word to which it is attached.

The preposition contra occurs as a prefix only once, in contradictionibus:contrediz; the verb contredire in French is used to translate adversare.

The prefix de modifies the meaning of words with the sense of 'away' and is usually retained, often as de. Thus decidere>dechaír; decipere> deceivre; declinare>decliner; deficere>defire; and with a synonymous verb deducere>demener; derelinquere>deguerpir. The prefix is retained as es in delere:eslaver; deriserunt:escharnirent; derisium:escharn.

The treatment of the prefix e/ex is a good example of the importance of the prefix having some value in the compound word. In cases where the preifx has no force it is omitted, even if the root verb is directly translated: Ps.38,4 exardescet>ardrat; Ps.17,10 exarsit>arst; Ps.7,16 effodit>foit. The only exception to this rule is the translation of exaudire by either oir or exoir with no apparent preference for one or other. It may be pure chance that where the prefix has the form e in Latin it seems to have more meaning and is usually retained in French as es:elegit eslist; elevata>eslevede; elongaveris>esluigneras. In the case of emitte>met fors, the prefix is translated by the adverb, but in enutries the prefix seems to have no force and is omitted to give nurriras. Direct translation of verbs with the prefix as ex is shown in

expandimus>espandimes and exivit>eisit.

When a different verb or noun of roughly the same meaning is used in the translation, however, it is noticeable that the prefix is always retained: effusus sum>espandut sui; expugna >escumbat; exterminabuntur>serunt exillet; extollo>eslef; exultabunt>esjoirunt; exultatio>esleecement; exurge> esdrece. In all these examples the prefix has real meaning and alters the extension of the basic word.

The treatment of the prefix in is particularly complicated. Apart from the cases in which the in is in fact an integral part of a word and should not be treated as a prefix, e.g. inquinatae, it occurs in many forms with the n assimilated to following l, m, or r. There are two meanings of in as a prefix; it can either negate the basic word, or alter the extension to mean movement 'towards' or 'against', meanings derived from the preposition. The treatment of the prefix must therefore be studied on the basis of these different meanings.

The translation of in when it serves to negate the basic word is a good example of the methods open to the French translator. A number of direct translations occur, which are usually learned forms, but are often used as alternatives to the use of a simple synonym or nun or nient with a translation of the root world. This results in the following alternatives: innocens>nunnuisanz, nient nuisanz and also innocent; innocentia>nunnuisance, nient nuisance and innocence; immaculatus>nient malvez and immaculata>nette; insipiens>nunsaives (but nient sages in the Arundel Psalter) and fols;inutiles>nient profitables and inuteles; impietatem>felunie and impietet. Some words are only translated by one

method in the Oxford Psalter, these are incerta>nuncertes; iniquitatem> felunie; iniqui>torcenus; iniusti>torceunier; iniustitiam>torceunerie; infelicitas>maleurtet; inopia>sufraite; inopum>sufraitus; insanias>forsenerie; inpolluta>nient malvee. But impius is translated by both fel and torcenus. However this list gives an exaggerated idea of the scope of the French vocabulary if we bear in mind that the words felun, felunie, torcenus, torceunerie also translate other Latin words as well as those mentioned here (see the Index).

Where in modifies the sense of a word with the meaning 'into' it is usually retained as en, either in a direct translation or with a roughly synonymous word: illumina>enlumine; illuminatio>enluminent [sic] impleat> aemplisset; imponeas>emposeras; inclinabit>enclinerat; increpasti> encrepas; increpatione>encrepement; inebrians>enivranz; inhabita>enhabite (though the simple form of this verb appears with the same meaning in both Latin and French); inquire>enquer; intende>entent (though this is also the common translation for intellige); intonuit>entunat; invocaverunt> envocherent (vocherent also occurs, but the more usual translation is apelerent). Keeping the prefix but with a different root, we have illustra>enlumine; impinguasti>encraissas; inveteravi>enveliseie; irritavit>entarjat (though the Arundel Psalter has enrirat).

Where the in signifies movement 'against' however, it is retained as es:insurrexerunt:esdrecerent,irrideant;escharnissent.

In comparison with the prefix in which is so regularly retained, words with inter as a prefix are usually translated by a quite unrelated synonym: interficiat:ociet; interierit:perirat; interitum;mort.

destruiement or peril; interrogant:demandent. In intellectum:entendement and intellexerunt:entendirent we may see a trace of ente; but the en in interrogat:enquert is probably fortuitous. The only direct translation is in intrabo>enterrai.

Words with the prefix ob are similarly often translated only by an etymologically unrelated synonym, and it is very difficult to say whether it was seen as a prefix by the translator, except for the learned translation opprobrium>obprobre, which might suggest that it was. But the more usual translation for this word is reproce. Other examples are parts of obsedere and obtinere translated by pursseir and purtenir and of operire translated by cuvrir.

The preposition per when used as a prefix often has the meaning 'through' or else serves to intensify the meaning of the basic word. It is retained in direct translation in perversa>perverse; pervertéris> seras purvertit; perdes>perdras; peribunt>perirunt; permanet>parmaint; persequere>parseue (though the Arundel Psalter also has the simple form siue); but more common translations are morphologically unrelated synonyms, such as perambulant>vunt; percede:va avant; percipe:reçevez. In the case of pertransit:trespasse the per has been entirely disregarded as having little force in front of the other prefix trans. This will be discussed in its due place below.

The only words with the prefix post in the Psalters are the adverb postea:empres ice and the conjunction postquam>puisque. The latter is a straight translation of the Latin, the former has been split up into its component parts with the use of the longer form of the preposition, empres.

Since post as a preposition only occurs once in the Psalter little can be deduced from such a small number of examples.

The prefix prae either adds to the sense of the basic word the meaning 'before, in front of', or acts as a kind of superlative. It is therefore usually retained, either by a prefix or by an adverb: previdisti:purveis; preoccupaverunt:purpristrent; prevenire:devancit; praevalui:mielz valui; and praeclara:mult clere.

The prefix pro, which means 'in front' or 'forwards' or 'on behalf of' is, like prae, usually retained as pur in the French translation, e.g. prolongare>purluignier, pronuntiare>purnuncier; but procede:va avant and producit:avant meined, and all parts of the verb proiciere are translated by parts of the simple verb jeter. An interesting feature is the translation of both praevidere and providere by purveeir, though this is quite correct as the two verbs had the same meaning in late Latin due probably to early confusion of the prefixes in Latin,

The prefix sub is one which often retains its basic prepositional meaning, generally modifying the sense of verbs to imply movement 'to or from underneath'. This is another prefix which appears in many forms with the final b assimilated to the following consonant or as sus-. There seems to be little explanation for the use or non use of direct translation, except that many Latin forms have no direct French development. Some are learned forms, e.g. subsannatione>subsannatiun and subsannaverunt > subsannerent, and supplanta>supplante; the other direct translations are more genuinely French, e.g. supponit>supposet; sustinent>sustenent. The prefix is retained with a synonym in subdis:sus mez; subditis:sugez (though

this is also the direct translation for subiecisti, which is in fact translated by suzmisis). Other translations use other French prefixes or none at all, e. g. **suscepit:receut; subsequetur siverat (though the Arundel Psalter uses ensiverat); surreximus:levames.**

**An easily recognised prepositional prefix is super, meaning 'over' or 'above' in movement or quantity. It is always retained in French as sur e.g.supercecidit surchait; superextolletur suresleve; superexaltatum surexalce; supervenit survint; supergaudeant suresjoent; supersperavi suresperai.**

The final prepositional prefix which modifies the meaning of verbs of motion is trans meaning 'across'. This occurs in four verbs in the Latin text, but three are rendered by the same verb in French : transgrediar and transibo by trespasserai, transmigra by trespasse, and transferentur by serunt tresporté. The French prefix tres is also quite common in translations of words with the prefix ex, and the verb tresturner regularly translates convertere.

The non-prepositional prefix re has been much discussed[1] largely because of early confusion as to its accentuation. It is interesting also because it has probably the greatest number of meanings of all the common prefixes, signifying i) repetition: recogitabo:repurpenserai; refloruit>reflurit; remansit>remist; renovare>renover; restituere: restablir.

ii) opposition: reprobare>reprover.

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1. Barbieux, Sohrauer, and especially M.Meinicke.

iii) action 'back' :regredere:repaire; reducere:remener; respicere reguarder; revertebantur:returnowent; reponat:reponge; redargutiones:repernemenz; revertentur:repairerunt. In all these cases the prefix has a definite meaning and is therefore retained. But in some cases, we find forms with and without prefix used indiscriminately in either Latin or French: regehir and gehir both translate confiteri; and reposer translates both quiescere and requiescere; requerre translates both petere and requirere.

It would therefore seem that as long as a prefix makes a significant change in the meaning of the basic word, it is usually retained in some form in the translation. But this does not prove conclusively that a mediaeval translator regarded them as separable from the basic word in question.

# IX Conclusion

## 1 Linguistic importance of the text

The linguistic importance of the Oxford Psalter is indisputable. It gives a linguistically almost perfect example of standard Western French, of a very early date, probably the earliest that survives. The fact that it can be classed as Anglo-Norman depends upon its use of the Anglo-Saxon ð and of w in the alphabet, and on the absence of i after palatal consonants in a considerable number of cases, e.g. chef, manger. But Mr. C.A. Robson has pointed out that the importance of the use of ie/e was formerly much overrated,[1] and that

> on the present paleographic dating of manuscripts ... it would appear that all the oldest insular manuscripts avoid the digraph or make a restricted use of it ... while the tendency to insert ie regularly ... cannot be discerned before the Canterbury Psalter.[2]

He also points out that in the Oxford Psalter, among other MSS, ie is used almost wholly in words deriving from Latin ĕ, and much more rarely from those of Latin a after palatal consonants or the endings -arium, -erium.[3] Another important feature of the Anglo-Norman spelling system in the Oxford Psalter is the use of u for etymological o in pretonic syllables.[4] On the whole it can therefore be said that the Oxford Psalter is palaeographically Anglo-Norman, but differs little from Western French

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1. Transactions of the Philological Soc., 1955, p. 128.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., pp. 135-6.
4. Ibid., p. 139.

linguistically.

The later Cambridge Psalter is interesting by comparison with the Oxford Psalter. Written perhaps only a quarter of a century later, and translating a text which is textually very close to the original of the Oxford Psalter, it uses a number of alternative words where the Latin text of each agrees, and has a wealth of synonyms in the cases where the Latin texts have synonyms. A detailed comparison of the two texts would be of great value, as there are also numerous cases where they use the same French word to translate different Latin words in their respective originals.

The later MSS. of the Oxford Psalter text are interesting for the light they throw upon mediaeval French syntax and Anglo-Norman spelling. The 13th century MSS. such as B.N. n.a. lat.1670, Clare College 6 and B.M. Harley 5102 show little difference textually apart from the translation of possessive pronouns, but their spelling has far more Anglo-Norman traits. The 14th century MSS,apart from B.N. MS. Fonds fr.1, whose spelling and text are both very irregular, have an enormous variety of spellings, in a text closer to the Oxford Psalter than their immediate predecessors.

## 2 Relationship of the MSS.

When we consider the text in detail, it is surprising how close the Anglo-Norman 14th century MSS. remain to the 12th century Oxford Psalter. Berger after his study of the MSS. containing the psalter came to the arresting conclusion that 'il n'y a pas un Psautier qui ne dérive de celui de Montebourg'.[1] This may be a dangerous assumption: when a vernacular

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1. Berger, p. 200.

text is a translation of a well-known Latin text, the possibility of variant translations is limited. But it is striking that all the Anglo-Norman and Norman MSS., and those of the continental 'Bible du xiii$^{e}$ siecle' in the version found in B.N. MS. Fonds fr.899, seem to give the same text with only minor differences in vocabulary up to the 14th century. The 14th century psalter MS. CCCC 278 gives a text closer to that of the Oxford Psalter than do the 14th century Bibles. They are indeed probably all based on an Oxford Psalter text, but with revision based on a Latin text. They can therefore be regarded as all having the same basic text; any closer distinction would only be possible with a complete collation of all the MSS. involved.

Of course the Anglo-Norman MSS. have increasingly varied spelling, with more insular traits, the later the MS. But if we disregard pure spelling variants and take into consideration variations in vocabulary, we can attempt to group the MSS. Even in the first 10 psalms a remarkable agreement can be seen between MS. Clare College 6 and MS. CCCC 278 (see Specimen text). Both these MSS. are very close to the Oxford text, and where they differ from it, they almost always agree with each other. It is no doubt pure chance that both are now in Cambridge college libraries, as the Clare College MS. may come from the Peterborough area and the Corpus MS. from Norwich.[1] But it seems likely that they had a common model; there are sufficient differences to make it impossible that the later MS. should have been copied from the earlier.

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1. See Ch. II,2,6 & 11.

Other connections are difficult to obtain over this short length of text. But it seems probable that the Arundel Psalter should no longer be considered a totally different version. It is distinguished at the beginning by the retention of the Latin order of noun and possessive pronoun, but this feature dies out by about Ps. 20, after which it becomes a normal French text. The cases where the possessive occurs both before and after the noun, the correction of mistakes, and the leaf with the French text parallel to the Latin[1] all suggest that this was not (as has usually been suggested) an interlinear gloss, but that it was copied from an independent or parallel version, such as MS. Douce 320 or MS. Cotton Nero C IV. That both the Arundel and Oxford Psalters may have had a common original is further suggested by the erasures in the Douce MS. which correspond to 'extra' words in the Arundel Psalter text.[2] We may therefore regard it as the same basic text, beginning the series of revisions which continue into the 14th century.

It is therefore plausible to collate the Arundel Psalter text with the other MSS. and see what connection emerges. In fact over the first 10 psalms no clear picture can be seen, as it often has variants in common with many MSS., including the Clare College and Corpus MS8. It seems closest to MS. Harley 273.

The great Anglo-Norman Bible, Fonds Fr.1, however, has a text with variants which differ from every other MS., and it can be safely regarded

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1. See Plate III.

2. See Ch. II,1 c), (iii).

as a different redaction. Where it follows the Latin word-order slavishly, e.g. in Ps. 1,3 plantatum est: plantee est, it is in agreement with MS Harley 273 and MS Harley 5102. It has a very faulty text and appears to have been copied by a very careless scribe.

The continental version known as the Lorraine Psalter, and those of Jean de Rély and Raoul de Presles, though more modern in vocabulary and syntax, are still basically the same text, and were probably copied from an Oxford Psalter text or, more likely, from the version in the 'Bible du xiii$^{e}$ siècle'.

It would therefore seem that the Anglo-Norman Oxford Psalter text was available on the continent in the 13th century and was used for the compilation of the 'Bible du xiii$^{e}$ siecle'. The text thus produced was revised in the 14th and 15th centuries on the continent, but remained little altered in England, e.g. in MS CCCC 278. This being so, it is justifiable to use MS Douce 320 as the basis for a critical edition, as I hope to do. The Anglo-Norman Bible text requires further detailed study.

3 Purpose of the French texts

We now come to the problem of the purpose of the French translations. The Church authorities were always very suspicious of anyone who possessed, let alone read, a vernacular text of any part of the Bible. Only the most wealthy classes were exempt, and it is probably for this reason that the majority of the French Bibles surviving are beautifully illuminated: they were owned for their pictures as much as for the text. This fact is borne out by the existence of at least one 15th century manuscript which contains only an incomplete text, but divided into the correct number of

chapters for the whole.[1]

But in spite of his famous diatribe against the vernacular translations of the Bible, even Pope Innocent III was prepared to allow lay persons to possess and study vernacular texts, as long as they did not themselves preach or attempt to set up break-away sects. This is quite clear: "Licet autem desiderium intelligendi divinas scripturas, et secundum eas studium adhortendi, reprehendum non sit, sed potius commendandum."[2] This was in 1199, and the letter provides evidence of vernacular texts in existence of which none now survives.

But the psalter manuscripts with French texts are for the most part very plain, and are often known to have belonged to monasteries or convents. In this case they are most likely to have been used for teaching purposes, as the Psalter was usually used to teach people to read. As French was until the mid 14th century the language of the educated, in England, they are likely to have learnt Latin through the medium of French. This would seem a plausible explanation of the interlinear texts, and could apply to the parallel texts as well. The only manuscripts which do not fit this hypothesis are the Oxford Psalter and MS CCCC 278, but these could have been used in the same way with a separate Latin text.

The question also arises as to why these texts were pointed as if for liturgical use,[3] and some provided with accents, supposedly to aid.

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1. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge MS 10; but another late 15th century Ms, Wolfenbüttel Cod.Guelp. 76.18. Aug.2°, without illuminations, also has a text shortened in this way.(Ex.inf.C.R.Sneddon).

2. Decretalium collectiones ed.Lipsiensis 2a,1881, p.766.

3. cf. Ch.2, sect.1.

reading aloud, though this would also be a help in following the service in Latin. It is known that religious houses often had the practise of reading aloud at meals, and while no records remain as to what texts were used, it is possible that the French psalters were used for this purpose. Many houses of nuns in particular are known to have been weak at Latin, and were obliged to know such works as the Psalms and the Rule of their order at least in French. This may be the explanation of the earliest vernacular Rule, that of St. Benedict now bound with the Oxford Psalter.

If the psalters were teaching instruments, this would explain why the insular MSS do not occur beyond the mid-14th century, as it was during this century that English finally re-established itself as the common vernacular language, and French began to be learnt as a foreign language.[1] It may also explain why the MS CCC 278 contains both an English and a French Psalter, in that order, in the same MS. This could have been used to teach reading and Latin through the medium of English, in the same way as the earliest MSS were used to teach through French, and could also have served to teach French by reference to the second half of the MS.

The psalters therefore served a double purpose; to teach reading and Latin, and to follow the Latin services of the Church, and they were used in these two functions by both monasteries and upper-class families.

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1. Trevisa's translation of Higden's Polychronicon states that by 1385 'in alle the gramer scholes of Engelonde, children leve Frensche and construe and lerne an Englische' (quoted from A.F.Leach, Educational charters and documents 598 to 1909. Cambridge, 1911, p.342)

eneurez li huem chi ne alat el conseil des felunis: & en la ueie des
pecheiris ne stout: & en la chaére de pestilence ne sist. (M) ais en li
la de nie seignur lá uolunté de lui: & en la sue lei penserát par iurn
é par niut. (E) t iert enfemeit cume le fust qued é. planté de uis
les deuris des éwes. chi dunát sun fruit en sun temps: & sa fuille
ne decurrát: & tuiet les coses que il unques ferát: se ruine sai, ipsei.
ient essi li felun nient essi: mais ensement cume la puldre que li uenz getet de la
face de terre. (E) mpiié ne resurdent li felun en iuise: ne li pecheur el conseil des
diriturieis. ar nie sire cunuist la uéie des iusteis: é le erre des felunis perrat.
(D) ve quei fremírent les genz: & li pople purpenset uaines cóses? 2
Li rei de terre estourent. & li prince se asemblerent en un: en cómun nie
seignur é en cuntre sun crest. (D) erumpum les lur liens: é degetum de nus le
iuh de els. (O) hi habitet es ciels les escharnirát: & nie sire les subsannerát. Lo-
res parlerat á els en sa ire: & en sa furur les conturberát. (M) ais ié sui establi
reis de lui sur syon sun sanit munt: preechánt sun cumandement. (N) ie sire dist
á mei tu es li mens filz: ie hui tei engendrai. (D) equer de mei é ie durai a tei
les genz la tue hereditet: é la tue possessiun. les termes de terre. (T) usguuerne-
rat en uerge ferrine: e fiz treindrat ensemeit cume le uaisel del poriér. (E) t hoi
uus reis entendez: seez apris uus chi iugiez la terre. (S) eruez á nie seignur en creinte:
e si esleecez á lui ocb trembluz. (P) ernez disapline que nie sire alquune fiede ne se
curuist: e uus perissez de la iuste uéie. (Q) uant la sue ire espandrat en brief tent: be-
neuret tuit cil chi en lui sei fidence.

(M) ie á quei sunt multpliez cil chi mei tribulent: mult sedicent en comun 3
mei. (D) uit dient á la mie anme: nen é salut á lui en sun déu. (M) ais tu sire
iei li mens receiure. é la mie glóre é exalchanz mun chief. (J) e criai á nie sire par
par ma uoiz: & il me oít de sun sanit munt. (J) e dormi é si sumeillai. e resu-
sai: kar nie sire me resceit. (J) e cendrai milliers de pople asturnant me
diree tei sire. li mens ds sai me salf. (S) ar tu asferis tuz contrariianz amei
sanz acbaisun: les denz des pecheurs tu as arumpuz. (S) alz é de nostre seignur
é sur tun pople la tue benedicún.

(S) ainz ie apelowe. ds de la mie iustise me oít: en tribulatiun tu purlargi
mei. (M) ais á mei. iei merci de mei é oí la mie oreisun. (F) i fil des hummes
deskes á quant se ez uus de grief cuer: pur qui amez uus uanitet. & quer-
rez mencunge. (S) achez que nie sire ad fait mirucillus sun sanit: nie sire oirat
quant ie crierai á lui. (I) ratez uus é ne voilez pecher: les cóses que uus dites en
uos cuers & en uos luzáez cópunez-vus. (S) acrifiez sacrifise de iustise. & espe-
rez en nie seignur: multe dient chi nus demustret bones choses? (S) eignor é sur nus li
lumiere del tuen uult sire: tu dunas leece en mun cuer. (D) el fruit del ble
meisme: del uin é del sien ben sunt multeplier. (I) n pais en ice meisme:

Quedam hic gallica, siue normannica, cum essent ignota corrupta,
restituimus fidelitor e pulcherrimo quidem, et eque antiquo
manuscripto Collegij Trinitatis in Cantabrigia.

Psalm. 1.

Beneurez

BEATVS

.huem.

VIR

Libenter hom

dicentes sedibus

despecheurs ne

chaere sepestilen

Libenurez hueus

eis vsuel sedibus

despecheurs ne

ere sepestilence

Sed en lalei deus

ualenre sedie

purpenderas

ere enbenir

Laurez sedie

pes: ju sus

1561 18.

qui non abiit in consilio impiorum.

& in via peccatorum non stetit: & in

cathedra pestilentie non sedit. Sed

in lege domini uoluntas eius

& in lege eius meditabitur die ac nocte.

Et erit tanquam lignum quod plan

tatum est secus decursus aquarum.

quod fructum suum dabit in tempore

Ex dono Rev. Mauricei
Octo Falconeri

memoriale cum regeneratione & generacione.
Quia iudicabit dominus populum suum:
& in seruis suis deprecabitur.
Simulacra gentium argentum & aurum:
opera manuum hominum.
Os habent & non loquentur: oculos ha
bent & non videbunt.
Aures habent & non audient: neq; enim
est spiritus in ore ipsorum.
Similes illis fiant qui faciunt ea: & omnes
qui confidunt in eis.
Domus israhel benedicite dominum: do
mus aaron benedicite dominum:
Domus leui benedicite dominum: qui time
tis dominum benedicite dominum.
Benedictus dominus ex sion: qui habitat
in hierusalem. ꝑ DAVID.
Confitemini domino quoniam bonus: quo
niam in eternum misericordia eius.
Confitemini deo deorum:

Plate III

Confitemini domino dominorum.
Qui fecit mirabilia magna solus.
Qui fecit celos in intellectu.
Qui firmauit terram super aquas.
Qui fecit luminaria magna.
Solem in potestatem diei.
Lunam & stellas in potestatem noctis.
Qui percussit egyptum cum primogenitis eorum.
Qui eduxit israhel de medio eorum.
In manu potenti & brachio excelso.
Qui diuisit mare rubrum in diuisiones.
Et eduxit israhel per medium eius.
Et excussit pharaonem & virtutem eius in mari rubro.
Qui transduxit populum suum per desertum.
Qui percussit reges magnos.
Et occidit reges fortes. Sehon regem amorreorum. Et
reorum. Et hoc regem basan.
Et omnia regna chanaan.
Et dedit terram eorum hereditatem.

# Appendix I

## Specimen text

This specimen is provided to give a brief idea of the text found in the other MSS discussed in the thesis. The MSS used are as follows:

base MS Douce 320 (Bodleian Library Oxford)

A British Museum MS Arundel 230

B Bibl.Nationale MS n.a.lat.1670

C British Museum MS Cotton Nero C IV

D British Museum MS Add.35283

E Clare College, Cambridge MS 6

F British Museum MS Harley 5102

G Bayer.Staatsbibl.Cod.Gall.16

H British Museum MS Harley 273

I British Museum MS Harley 1770

J Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 278

The specimen contains Ps.1-10 with the following exceptions;

I have begun the collation of MS Arundel 230 at Ps.4,3 as this is where the original text begins; the collation of Cod.Gall.16 ends at Ps. 4,6 as I took the text from plates in D.D.Egbert The Tickhill Psalter and related manuscripts.

I

1 Beneurez li huem cni ne alat el conseil des feluns . & en la veie des peccheurs ne stout . & en la chaere de pestilence ne sist.

2 Mais en la lei de nostre seignur la voluntet de lui . & en la sue lei purpenserat par jurn e par nuit.

3 Et iert ensement cume le fust qued est plantet de juste les decurs des ewes.chi dunrat sun frut en sun tens.

4 Et sa fuille ne decurrat . & tutes les coses que il unques ferat . serunt fait prospres.

5 Nient eissi li felun nient eissi . mais ensement cume la puldre que li venz getet de la face de terre.

6 Empurice ne resurdent li felun en juise . ne li pecheur el conseil des dreituriers.

7 Kar nostre sire cunuist la veie des justes . e le eire des feluns perirat.

---

4 oriz. serrunt

---

1 huem] ber DEGJ; barun B 2 del seinur BFH; de seignur D de lui om. C par nuit e par jur EJ 3 ylantet est FH decouremens H qe sun fruit ẏarra F 4 fait om.H. 5 felun] non deboners H de la tere BJ; du tere H 6 resurdent] surdent C; releverent H felun] nos deboneyres H pecheur] feluns F conseil] jugement H dreituriers] justes F; dreyturels H 7 kar li sire BDH cunuist le veie om.B eire des feluns om.B eire] array F, chemin H

II

1 Pur quei fremírent les genz ? & li póple purpensérent váines cóses ?

2 Li réi de terre estóurent. & li prínce sei asemblérent en un ? en cóntre nostre seignur é en cuntre sun crist.

3 Derumpums les lur liéns ? é degetums de nus le juh de els.

4 Chi habítet es cíels les escharnirát? & nostre sire les subsannerát.

5 Lores parlerat á els en sa ire ? & en sa furur les conturberát.

6 Mais jé sui establít réis de lúi sur syon sun sáint múnt ? preechánz sun cumandement.

7 Nostre sire dist á mei tu es li miens filz ? je húi téi engendrái.

8 Requer de méi é je durrái a téi les genz la túe hereditet ? é la túe possessiun les térmes de terre.

9 Tus governeras en verge ferríne ? é sis fraindrás ensement cume vaisel del potiér.

10 Et hore vus réis entendéz ? seiéz aprís vus chi jugiez la terre.

11 Servez á nostre seignur en críeme ? e si esleeciez á lui oth tremblur.

12 Pernez disciplíne que nostre sire alquune fieds ne se curúist ? é vus perisseiz de la juste véie.

---

5 furrur i erased

11 escleec-iez 1 letter erased

---

2 en un om.G de terre om. J 3 les om.BDH 4 subsannerat] gaberat G 5 parlerat] sursanera H en sa ire] en sanc G conturberat] desturbera H 6 Mais je] Jeo acertes H 8 Requer] demandez H de mei] de om.B la gent BD hereditet] heritage H termes]fins H 9 e sicome le vessel de veir les debriseras H;e ensement cum vaisel de poter les defraindras J 10 vus] nous I seiez apris] apernez I 11 esleeciez] enjoiez H 12 vus om.I de la juste veie] de la veie de juste E; de dreiturele voye H; veie juste J.

13 Cume le súe fre esprenderat en brief tens ⁊ beneurét tůit ici chi en lůi séi fident.

III

1 Sire ǵ quei sunt multipliet cil chi méi trſblent? mult sesdrécent en contre méi.

2 Mult dſent ǵ la meie ǵneme ⁊ nen est salút ǵ lůi en sun deu.

3 Máis tu sire ſes li miens recevérre ⁊ ǵ la meie glorie ⁊ ǵ exalchanz mun chſef.

4 Jé criái ǵ nostre seignur par ma vóiz ⁊ & il me ǒit de sun saint munt.

5 Jé dormſ ǵ si sumeillái . e relevai ⁊ kar nostre sire me receůt.

6 Ne cremdrái milliérs de póple aviramerat méi ⁊ esdrece téi sire . li ꝯiens deus fái me salf.

7 Kar tu as ferůt tuz contrarianz ǵ méi senz achaisun ⁊ les denz des peccheurs tu ǵs atriblet.

8 Saluz ést de nostre seigneur ⁊ ǵ sur tun póple la tůe benedicéun.

IV

1 Quant je apelowe ⁊ deus de la meie justise me oſt ⁊ en tribulatium tu purlůignás ǵ méi.

2 A ies merci de méi ⁊ ǵ ǒies la meie ǒreisun

---

2 merci final letter erased

---

13 ardira en bref la ire de li H fident] afient H III 1 triblent] troblent I 2 nen est a li salu BDF 3 e la meie] e om. HJ receverre] recovere J nostre] mon I 5 receut mei I 6 aviruerat] aviboneraṭ H crendrai] doteroi H esdrece] redrecez H salf me fai BD; me fetes sauf H 7 denz] tenz I 8 de nostre] a nostre BD; de nostre seignur est salut EGIJ; du seignur saluz est H la tue benedicoun] la om. BD; ta bensoun H IV 1Quant] Cum EHJ si me oit deus EJ deu me oit de ma dreyturelte H purluignas] eslaisas J

3 Lí fíl des humes ⁊ desque aquant serez vús de griéf cúer ⁊ pur qúei amez vus vanitet . & querez mencéinge?

4 E sachéz que nostre sire at fáit merveillus sun séint ⁊ nostre sire ne orrát quant je crierái á lúi.

5 Iraissez vús é ne vuilez peccer ⁊ les coses que vus dítes en vos cúers . & en vos líz aiez compunctiun.

6 Sacrifiez sacrifíse de justíse . & esperez el seigneur ⁊ mult dient chi nus demústret bones chóses ?

7 Seignet est sur nus la lumiére del túen vult sire ⁊ tu dunas letíce el míen cúre.

8 Del frúit del frument ⁊ del vin é del suen ólie sunt multipliet.

9 En páis en íce meisme ⁊ dormirai¨ é reposerái.

10 Kar tu sire ⁊ senglement en esperᵃnce establís méi.

V

1 Les méies paróles ot tes oréiles recéif síre ⁊ entent la méie clamúr.

2 Entént á la vóiz de la meie oreisún ⁊ li miens réis é li miens deus.

3 Quar jé órerai á tei sire ⁊ le matín orráí la meie vóiz.

4 Le matín estefai á téi é verrái ⁊ quar tu es deus nient véilanz felunie.

5 E de júste téi ne habiterát malígnes ⁊ ne Me parmainderúnt li torceunier devant tes óilz.

---

3.serrez nous I 4 kar ad fait merveilluse nostre sire seint sun A orrat mei A 5 les coses] des coses A cours voz A liz voz A 7 vult tuem A letics cm. A. 8 oile del sun A V a receif] perceif EJ clamur la meie A 2 oreisun la meie A deus li mens A 3 a tei jo urrai A vois la meie A 4 Jeo matine E; Par matin EJ kar nent deus voillant felunie tu es A; ke deus nient vuillant felunie tu es J 5 Ne habiterat dejuste tei malignes AEJ

6 Tu haís tuz chi óevrent felunfe ; perderás tuz celz chi parólent
mencεúnge.

7 Húme de sáns é tricheúr nostre sire ferát abominable ; máis je ...
en la multitudine de la túe misericordie.

8 Jé enterrái en ta maisun ; & aórerái al tun saint temple en la túe
crieme.

9 Sire deméine méi en ta justíse pur les miens enemís ; dréce el túen
esgardement la méie véie.

10 Kar veritét nen est en lur búche ; lur cúer est váin.

11 Sépúlcfe aovfanz est li guitfun dícels . par lur léngues trícherusemeńt
faisoient ; júge icels deus.

12. Dechédent de lur cogitatiuns selunc la multitudine de lur impietez ;
debute icels kar il entariérent téi sire.

13 E esledecent séi túit ... chi espéirent en téi ; en parmanablet
sesjoirúnt é tu habiterás en els.

14 E sesglorieruńt en téi túit chi aiment le túm núm ; kar tu beneisterás
al júste.

15 Síre sicume dél escút de la túe bóńe voluntét ; córunás nús.

---

7 triche-ur letter erased; orig.je acertes en
8 enterrai written above line
9 demeine] de written above line
13 tuit ... chi 1 word erased

---

6 om.D chi oevrent] ki funt ovres de B celz om.J 7 hume] barun A abominable ferat nostre sire A 8 Je om. J en ta maisun en ta A tun...crieme] temple saint tun en creme la tue A 9 en justice en ta A les enemis mens A drece esguardement el tom voie la moie A esgardement] esguard EH 10 kar nen en buche de icels veritet A; kar nen nest lur buche veriet E lun.. vain] quor de icoels vain est A; 11 le pulchre D guitrun] guntur A; lur gorge H faiseient] demenoent A; om.F 12 cogitaciuns de lur A 13 sesjoirunt] se lecerunt A 14 E om.I

VI

1 Sire ne me arguer en tá fuirór . ne en la túe íre ne me castíer.

2 Merci áies de mei sire quar je sui enferm : saíne mei sire . quar li mien ós sunt conturbét.

3 E lá meie áneme conturbéde est mult : é tu síre deque aquant ?

4 Seies convertit síre é delívre ma aneme : salf me fái pur la tue misericordie.

5 Quar nen est en mort chi remembrere séit de tei : en enfern á certes chi gehirát a téi ?

6 Jé travailái el mien gemissement : laverái par sengles nuiz mun lít : de mes lermes mun lit aruserái.

7 Turbéz est de fuirur li miens óilz : enviezi entre tuz mes enemis.

8 Desevrez ... de mei tóit chi óvrez felunie : quar at oít li síre la vóiz del mien pluremeńt.

9 Oít li sire la meie preiere : li sire la meie oreisun receńt.

10 Vergundissent é seient conturbet fortment trestuit li mien enemi : seient convertít é vergundissent mult ignelement.

---

2 merci followed by erasure.
7 li written above line.
8 desevrez followed by erasure; at written above line

---

1 sire ne en ta forsenerie constreinnes mei A; sire en ta forcenerie ne arguez moi H; sire en ta furur ne me arguez J ne en] e en IJ en ire la tue castier mei A 2 enferm] malades H enferm jo sui A conturbet] contrublee B conturbet sunt os A; troubles sunt mes os H; conturbez sunt li miens os J 3 conturbede est mult] contrublee est mult B; est trublé mut EJ; est conturbez mut FI; est mut troublé H 4 seies convertit] converte tei I fai om.F 5 gehirat] regehirat D 6 gemissement el nen A sengles nuiz] chacune nuit H lit] cuche E liz mun A 7 turbez] drobles I fuirur] forsenerie AH oilz li mens A envieziz] enveliseie A 8 felunie] iniquitez FH plurement] plur EH, plurement del nen A 9 Oit] exoi B preiere la moie A li sire ...recent] nostre sire od mun depriement E, oreisun la moie A 10 vergundissent] enruissent E fortment] grament H enemi om. I; enemi li nen A vergundissent mult] vergoine H

## VII

1 Sire li miens deus en tei esperai ; salf me fai de tuz parsuanz mei . é delivre méi.

2 Que alquune fiede ne ravissent si cúme leúns la meie aneme ; dementres que nest chi reámet ne chi salf fácet.

3 Sire li miens deus si jé fis ice ; si est felunie és meies máins.

4 Si je rendí as guerredunanz á mei males chóses ; dechiede ... par déserte de mes enemis vains.

5 Parsévet li enemis la meie aneme é comprenget ; é defult en terre la méi vie ; é la meie glórie en púldre deméint.

6 Esdréce téi sire en la tüe ire . é seés essalcez es devises de mes enemis.

7 E esdréce téi sire li miens deus el cummandement que tu mandas ; é la synagoga des poples avirunerat tei

8 E pur icesti en halt repáire ; li sire júget les póples.

9 Júge mai sire sulunc la meie justise ; é sulunc la meie innocénce sur méi.

---

1 li...miens erasure
4 dechiede ... par erasure.

---

1 sperai F  salf me fai] salf mei D  tuz om. BD  2 ravissent] raveisse A H desravised E  aneme la moie A  dementres] tant H  nest]nen est A  3 deus li mens A  es] as C  mains meies A  4 as om.H  guerredunanz] reguerdunanz J  dechiede] decharrunt A, decherrai ieo E; ieo decherroi H; dechece ieo J  de mes enemis vains] enemis de mes vains A, vains om.J  5 Parsevet] persevent A  aneme la moie A  vie la moie A  glorie la moie A  6 essalcez] enhaussié H  es devises] en devisions H  7 E esdrece] E om.BI  mandas] comandas I  8 li sire] nostre sire J  juget] jugera B; juges J  9 la meie justise] justise la moie A; ma dreiture H  la meie innocence] la mei nunsavance E.

10 Consummède seit lórdeet des peccheurs é adreceras le juste ; escerchanz les cúers é les ráins tu deus

11 La meie dréite ajutórie del segnor ; chi salfs fáit les dreiturers de cuer.

12 Deus dréiz jugérre forz é suffranz ; dum ne se curúce il par sengles júrz ?

13 Si vus ne serrez convertít sa espéde crollerát ; sun arc tendit & apareilat lé.

14 E en lui aprestát les vaissels de mort ; ses saiétes as ardanz fist.

15 Astetei enfánte torceunerie ; conceút dulúr ; é enfentát iniquitét.

16 Lac auvrit . é si foít lúi ; é caít en la fósse que il fist.

---

16 si followed by erasure.

---

10 consumede seit] chenie seit H serat degastee I lordeet]la iniquite H; la felonie IJ adreceras] dreceras CI, tu dreceras J juste] dreiturel H tu om.J 11 dreite adiutorie li meie A; dreiturer li mien adiutorie EJ; la dreiturele aie H dreiturers] dreitureus E; droitureles F; droiz H 12 dreiz jugerre] jugieres de dreiturieres E; droiz jugerus F; droit jugeres H; jugeres dreitures J suffranz] pacient H dum ne] nent unces A; dum.om. H; dunc ne I curuce se il dunc J 13 serrez] seez D sa espede crollerat] sespede crollerat C; ilhlandira sa glaive EJ sun arc ... le] arc sun ... lui A; il a tendut sun arc e si lad aparaillet EJ; sun arc ad atendu e le ad aparile H 14 E en] e om. BE aprestat] ad aparilé HJ les om. B 15 enfante] il se paraille a enfanter EJ; il enfante H conceut] cunut B 16 lac] le lai A; la boue H si foit lui] si la fows H que] la quele A

17 Serát tresturnée sá dólur en sun chief ⁊ en la vertíz de lúi sa felunfe descendrat.

18 Jé gehirái al segnur sulunc sa justíse ⁊ é canterái al num del segnur altísme.

## VIII

1 Sire li nostre síre ⁊ cume merveilús est le tuén núm en túte térre.

2 Quar eslevéde est la túe grandéce sur les ciels.

3 Dé la búche de enfanz é de laitánz tu parfesis loénge pur tes enemís ⁊ que tu destrúies le enemí é le vengedur.

4 Quar jé verrái tés ciels les oevfes de tes déiz ⁊ la luna é les estéiles que tu fundás.

5 Quels chóse est huem que tu es remembrerre de lúi ⁊ ú le filz de húme que tu visítes lúi ?

---

17 orig. descenderat.

---

17 serat tresturnee] tresturnee sei at E; tresturnee sera HJ sa dolur] sun dolur de lui A sun chief]le chief de lui A la vertiz de lui] sun halterel H; ła...lui mesme J sa felunie descendrat] se felunie de lui descenderat A; sa iniquité d.H; decendrat la felunie J 18 Je om.A gehirai] regehirai EH; joyerai I sa justise de lui A; sa dreiture H altisme] om.F; treshautisme H VIII 1 li sire nostre A; li om.EH cume om.D est merveilus E nun le tuen A tute] universe F 2 grandece la tue A; la tue grandurance EJ 3 de enganz] desfaunce F de laitanz] de laitaunce F;aletanz H tu parfesis] parfeites H tes enemis tes A 4 que] les queles choses E; les ques FJ de deiz tes A 5 quels chose] que EJ huem que] hoem lequel A remenbre tu es A; tei remembret EJ hume que] hume kar A tu om.A visites lui] le visitez EJ; visites H

6 Tú le amenúisas petít méins de ángeles ⁊ de gloriw é de honur le corunás ⁊ é sil establís sur les úevres de tes mains.

7 Tutes chóses tu suz misís suz ses piez⁊ óeiles é tux bués ⁊ ensurquetet les béstes del champ.

8 Les oisels del ciel é les peissuns de la mer ⁊ chi vunt par les séntes de la mér.

9 Sire li nostre sire ⁊ cume merveilus est le tuen num en túte terre.

IX

1 Jé regehirái á téi sire en tut mun cuer ⁊ jé recunterái tútes les túes mervéiles.

2 Jé esleecerái & esjorrái en téi ⁊ je canterái al túen num altisme.

3 En tresturnánt le mien enemí ariere ⁊ serúnt enfermét e peribúnt de ła tue face.

4 Quar tu fesus le mien jugement é la meie achaisún ⁊ tu siez sur thfone chi juges justise.

5 Tu encrepás les genz é perit li fél ⁊ le num ... els tu eslavás en parmenabletét é en sécle de siécle.

---

3 orig. serrunt. 5. orig. le num de els.

---

6 le amenuisas ]amenueras lui A petit]cm.A; poi EJ le corunas lui A stablis A 7 suz misis] surjutas E; suzjutas F; subjetas J les peiz de lui A tuz bues] boues tux tus A; torbucs B; tutes vaches EJ ensurquetut les] ensurquetut et les AJ; e ensurquetut les H 9 li cm.H cume] kat cume A est merveilus E nun le tuen A tute] chascune A IX 1 geirai J coer mun A cunceterai AEFH tux merveilles les tues A 2 Se esleecerai I e si iecoirai EJ; e menjoeray H altisme] haltement A; seintisme B; o altisme J, treshaut noun H 3 Ene convertisant H enfermet] malades H 4 caisun A; cause EFHJ throno A chi] liquel A; que H 5 encrepas] enblasmas A; blasmas EH; enclosas I li fel] li non deboneire H li fels perid EJ le nun de couls A; le num dels CHJ eslavas] anentis D; ostas H parmanablement EJ.

6 Les espédes del enemí defístrent en fin ⁝ é les citéz tu destruisis.

7 Perít la memorie de els ot súen ⁝ é li sire en parmanablét parmáint.

8 Il apareilat en jugement sun thróne ⁝ é il júgerát le cercle de terre en oeltet ⁝ jugerát lespóples en justíes.

9 E faiz est li sire refúges ál povre ⁝ ajuére en cuvenabletéz en tribulatiun.

10 Espéirunt en téi chi cuneúrent le tuen num ⁝ quar tu ne deguerpesís les queranz tei sire.

11 Cantez al segnur chi habítet en syón ⁝ annunciez entre les genz ses estudies.

12 Quar il requeranz le sanc de els recordát ⁝ ne ubliát míe la clamur des póvres.

13 Aies merci de mei sire ⁝ véies la meie humilitét de mes enemís.

14 Chi essalces mei des portes de mort . pur ce que je annunce tuz les túens loénges es pórtes de la fílle syon.

---

6 Del enemi defistrent les espedes A espedes] espalles B; gisarmes H defistrent] defuient BD; defaileret H les citez de couls A; les citez dels FI; lur citez BH destruis E; destruises I 7 parmanablement EJ 8 Li aparillet A; il ad aparilled EJ e il meeme J cerce F la terre A e en ueltet J justise]dreiture H 9 aidere AJ 10 et esperent ADHIJ; espeirement C chi] qe H cunnerent F deguerpis EJ; degeriez pas H queraunce F Il chi] qe H nunciez H les om. J les estudies de lui A 12 il om.I requera B le sanc de els] le sanc de couls A; lur sanc EJ recordez est A; remembré est H ne est ubliez A; ne est mie ubliet F; en ubliat mie J clamur] cri H 13 merci] mem I vei FIJ; veez H la meie om.J, humitet A 14 Chi] Qe H enhaunciez H pur ce om.AEJ je om. F tuz loenges J en portes filie A; es portes la fille C; es...syon om.J.

15 Je ... mesleecerai el tuen salvable . enfichees sunt les genz el destruiment que il firent.

16 En icest laz que il repunstrent . compris est li piez de els.

17 Cuneuz iert li sire jugement faisant . es ovres de ses mains compris est li peccherre.

18 Seient turnet li peccheur en enfern . tutes genz chi ublient deu.

19 Quar en fin nen iert ubliance de povre . la patience des povres ne perirat en fin.

20 Esdrece tei sire ne seit confortet li huem . seient jugees les genz el tuen esguardement.

21 Establis sire duneur de lei sur els . sacent les genz que il humes sunt.

22 A quei sire desevras tu en luinz ? tu despis en cuvenabletez en tribulatiun.

23 Dementres que senorguilist li fel.est espris li povre . sunt compris es cunseilz es quels il pensent.

---

15 mesleecerai altered from me esleecerai; genz written above line
20 newsection: large initial.

---

v.15 follows v.16 in J 15 menesleescerai H salvable] saunté H les om. H 16 repunstrent] sepunstrent F; misserent H lur pied EJ 17 juises E est compris J 18 Seient turnet] tresturnez E; seignur couertez F en] e I tutes les genz J chi] qe HI 19 nent en fin A en la fin H ubliance ert A 20 derce F; endrecez H guardement A; esguard EJ; reguard H 21 stablis AF de lei duneur A; porteur de lei EHJ els] icouls A que] kar EH il om.A sunt humes EJ 22 Pur quei B tu luinz EH; tei luinz J cumenableteż F 23 Tant qe H li fel] li non deboneire H fel en esprise F il sunt J pensement A; purpenserent EJ; enpensent F.

24 Quar loéz est li peccherre es desidéries de sa aneme ˙ é li torcenús est beneéit.

25 Purfochát nostre seignur li pecchérre ˙ sulunc la multitudine de la súe íre nel querrát.

26 Nen est deus en le esguardement de lúi ˙ malvées sunt ses veies de lúi en tút tens.

27 Toléiz sunt tes jugemenz de sa fáce ˙ de tuz ses enemís seigneurerát.

28 Kár il dist en sun cuer ˙ ne serái esmóut de generaciun en generacium senz mal.

29 Lé chi búche plaíne est de maleiceún é de amertúme é de tricheríe ˙ de suz sa lángue travalz é dólúrs.

30 Il siét en agúáiz ot les ríches en repostáiles ˙ pur cé que fl ocíet lé innocent.

31 Li óil de lúi el povre reguárdent ˙ aguáitet en repostáile ensement cúme leun en sa fósse.

---

28 orig. serrai 31 o-il 1 letter erased.

---

24 dessiriers E; desires F; desir H; desirieres J la aneme A li torcenus] le felun H 25 purvochat cm.F; survuchat B; pronuncia H; entaritat I le peccheres enegrit nostre seignur EJ sire C multidine B; multitéde DH nent F; ne H 26 nen est] nest nie E; nest J el suen esguard EJ reguard H malvees] maculees BD; decordés E; soyles H; couchies J; encordes J les veies ABDE de lui cm. EI in tut A 27 Coleiz C la face de lui B; la face de celui EJ; ta face F il aurad seurie de tuz ses enemis EJ seignora H; seignurerant I 28 dist adecertes A 29 Del quel de malicium la buche A; la buche del quel EJ; de qui la buche F; la buche de ki H est pleine ABEFIJ tricherie] boisdie EJ e desuz I; suz EJ se langue de lui A; la langue de seluiE 30 pur ice BDI; aco E; pur ce cm.H ocient E les innocens F 31 ses oilz EJ; le oil H; si oil I regarde H; redargent I ensement cm.H.

32 Agúaitet que il ravísset le povre : ravir povre deméntres que
il le atráit.

33 Eñ sun laź le humilierat : enclineratsei é carrat quant il
segnurerat des povres.

34 Kár il dist ... en sun cuer ubliez est deus : desturnát sa face : que
il ne véiet en fín.

35 Fadréce tei sire deus é seit essalcée la túe mains : que tu ne ublíes
lés povres.

36 Purquói entariát li fel deu ? kar il dist ... en sun cuer nel requerrat

37 Tú veiz que tu labúr é dolúr esgúardes : pur ce que tus lívres én
tés máins.

38 Aíei deguerpít est lí povre : al orphenín tu seras ajuére.

---

34 orig. dist acertes...
36 orig. dist acertes
38 orig. serras

---

32 aguaitet...povre om.H e gauitet D; il aguáit : J ravisset la povere A ravir le povre J dementres que] tant cum H atrait lui A 33 le humilierat lui A; le humilierat il J cum il aurat euc segnurie EJ, quant il se fet sire H 34 dist adecertes A deus ad obliet EJ esturnat A, ad tresturnee EJ; desturneras F; desturne est H il om.E veient C 35 endrece H maine A ne om.I ne ublier pas E, ne ubliez pas J des povres A, de povres H 36 Purquei] pur lequel chose A, Kuquei E entar,iat] enrirat A, enriat F; atar ia H felun A; non debonere H dist adecertes A nel] nent A; ne H querrad E 37 Cu C kar tu esguardes labur e dolur que tu livres E tul veiz kar esgardez labur e dolur J veiz que tu] veiz kar H; veiz que I esguardes] regardez H pur ce om. J 38 guerpit A est deguerpiz J aidere A; aiders HJ.

39 Detrfble le braz del peccheur é del maligne ; serat quis le pechiet de lui e ne serát truvé.

40 Lí sire remerát en parmanabletet é en siecle de secle ; vus periréz genz de la terre de lúi.

41 Le desiderie des povfes oft li sire ; le apprestement del cuer de els oft la tue oréille.

42 Jugfer al orfenín & al humle ; que il ne apost en últre magnifier sei li huem sur terre .

X

1 El segnur me fí cument dite vus a maínneme ; trespásse el mínt sicume pásser.

2 Kar astetéi li peccheúr tendírent lur árc ; apareilérent lur saietes en quivré ; que il saietent en repóst les dreiturers de cuer.

3 Kár lesquels chóses tu parfesís fl destruistrent ; le júste acertes que fist ?

---

39 orig. serrat in both cases.

---

39 retrible BJ; e trible E; trible F; stroublies H maligne] malore H quis serra H sun pechie J 40 nostre sire E parmanablement EJ vus om.HI, voi C vus genz perirez EJ 41 desiderie] deserier BE, desir DH oit] oro B; exoit F nostre sire EJ apprestement] repera-il H els] iceals A de-lur quer J 42 & om.E apost] post C; mette H en ultre] mais J magnifíer] manifester F soi preisir H X 1 en nostre segnur EJ mafi EF; enfie H cument tes vus E passer] muisun ELJ; moschon H 2 astetei] estevos AH; es vos C estendirent B; entendirent F arc é H en les quivre H ki il J, il om. E repost] obscure AHJ dreitures AJ; dreiturels H 3 ~~les~~quels choses] ce que H; les choses J; choses om. FH que tu BD il om.J destruient BD; destrurent F: destruistrent cil E mais li justes EJ juste] dreiturel H que] quel cose A quil fist I fist] fecit B.

4 Lí sire en sun saint témple : li sire el ciel sun siét.

5 Lí ôil de lúi el povre reguardent : les pálpres de lúi demandent les fiz des húmes.

6 Lí síre enquert ... le juste é le felún : chi acértes áimet felunie hét la súe áneme.

7 Il pluverát sur les peccheurs laz : foús súlfre é espiríz de tempestez la partíe del calíz de els.

8 Kar dreiturers est lí sire é justíses amád : óeltet vít li suens vólz.

---

ó orig. enquert e le juste

---

4 nostre sire EJ saint om.C siet] sege ABFHJ 5 ses oils J reguardent el povre J guardent A poudre I les palpres] li surcil A, ses cilz E, ses ciels J del filz F nostre sire EJ just.] dreiture H felun] non deboneire H felunie] iniquite H il het EFJ 7 spiriz C, les spirit F la partie de lur beivre EJ sa partie de turment de eus H els] icouls A 8 dreiturels AH; dreituries B; justes J est li om.A justises] dreture . li suens volz] volz de lui A; le vult de li F; sun visage H

## Appendix II

### Mistakes in Michel's edition

(In addition to those mentioned by Meister)

| Michel's reading | Correct reading |
|---|---|
| 9,29 maleicum | maleiceun |
| 27,9 aviet | aiuet |
| 38,11 dum | dum |
| 58,3 embruierent | embriverent |
| 66,3 poples | pople |
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# INDEX VERBORUM

## French - Latin

This index contains all the French forms in MS Douce 320 and gives the Latin forms they translate. as found in MS Arundel 230 which differs little from the modern Vulgate text. The references are numbered as in Michel's edition with the following exceptions: Ps.25 I have numbered 1-12; Ps.142, middle of v.7 I have renumbered 8-14 so that v.8-13 of Michel's edition become 9-14. The Canticles I have numbered as 1C - 6C, as I have only indexed those in MS Douce 320. As this is an index and not a glossary, the following points of the arrangement should be noted:

1 All words are listed in one alphabetical sequence with cross-references to and from different spellings of the same word, except that parts of verbs are listed under the infinitive if more than two examples are found of the same verb, and the oblique case of imparysyllabic nouns is listed under the nom. if it occurs in the text.

2 Nouns are listed under the nom.sing. and adjectives under the masc.nom. sing. if these occur in the text.

3 Parts of verbs are listed under the infinitive if more than two examples occur. If the infinitive does not occur it is supplied in square brackets in the standard Western French form. Parts of verbs are listed in the order: indicative present, imperfect, future preterite, present part., past part., imperative, subjunctive present, imperfect.

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