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Joanna Esquibel
University of Social Sciences and Humanities SWPS

How Would They *Transfer* the Message Across? From *Wendan* to *Translaten*: on the Replacement of Native Forms with a Romance Borrowing

Abstract

At the dawn of Middle English, the language saw a number of different terms referring to the process of translation. The plethora of terms and meanings seems to mirror the attitude of medieval scribes and authors towards translation, understood as presenting, explaining, and interpreting, and, finally, transferring the message from one language to another. After the Norman Conquest, however, the meaning of 'transfer between languages' starts to disappear with the exception of native *WENDEN*, which is still used in this sense in mid 13th century. Finally, the language borrows the foreign term *TRANSLATEN*, which at the end of the 13th century starts to function along *WENDEN* and *TURNEN* in the meaning of 'transferring, changing, replacing', and in the 14th century acquires the literal meaning of 'translate', marginalizing or eliminating older forms. The paper focuses on the loss of the meaning 'to translate' from the semantic domains of the native verbs and the pattern of its replacement by the foreign term to indicate 'transfer of a message between two languages.'

1. Introductory statement

The present paper focuses on terms denoting the semantic domain of *TRANSLATE*, with special emphasis on the rapidly decreasing number of LOE terms leading to three items functioning at the turn of the 13th century, including the remnant of OE *wendan*, i.e. native *wend(en)*, native-enhanced *turnen* and borrowed *translaten*.

The list of synonyms under scrutiny was based on *A Thesaurus of Old English* (TOE) and *The Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (HTOED), the linguistic illustration comes from the *Dictionary of Old English* (DOE), *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* by Bosworth and Toller (BT)*, Middle English Dictionary* (MED)*,* and *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), supplemented with etymology from Skeat's *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* (SKEAT) and statistical data from prosaic and poetic texts with clear diachronic and diatopic affiliations, collected in the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (DOE), *Innsbruck Corpus of Middle English Prose* (INNS) and the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* (CMEPV).

2. 'Translate' in Old English

A Thesaurus of Old English (Kay and Roberts 1995, henceforth TOE) lists 9 lexical items in the semantic domain TRANSLATE, i.e. *areccan, awendan, gecierran, gehwierfan, oferlædan, reccan, getraht(n)ian, geþeodan, (ge)wendan*, all of which also incorporate the dynamic meaning of 'to move, be/ set in motion', 'to go, progress, travel', as well as 'to move and change direction, turn'. The *Dictionary of Old English* (DOE) provides two more items to include in the domain, i.e. *gebigan* and *gebrengan*, while *The Historical Thesaurus of OED* (HTOED) adds yet one more verb, i.e. *set*.

Thus, Old English sees a minimum of 13 verbs overlapping within the domain and used in similar – if not identical – contexts, i.e.:

Table 1: Old English synonyms expressing the meaning 'translate'

gecirran (*CIRRAN*) 'turn', 'direct', 'convert', 'to turn into another language, **translate**' (BT)	*in grecisc sprec **gecerred** ðirde had to us wið ðerhcwom* (Epistle of Jerome to Damasus, DOE)
gehwierfan (*HWIRFAN*) 'to cause to go', 'replace', 'turn (into)', 'corrupt', 'convert', 'change', 'to give a different form to the expression of thought, **to turn into prose or verse, translate from one language to another**' (BT)	*Seó bóc wæs yfele of Grécisce on Léden **gehwyrfed*** (translatam) (Sch. 485, 17., BT)
geþeodan (*ÐEODAN*) '**translate**', 'join, bring to contact' (BT)	*He hét ðisne regul of læden-gereorde on englisc **geþeódan*** (Lchdm. iii. 440, 28. v., BT)
getrahtnian (*TRAHTNIAN*) 'explain', 'expound', '**translate**' (BT)	*Emmanuhel, ðæt is **getrahtet*** (gereht, R., W. S. interpretatum*), mið ús God,* (Mt. L. 1, 23., BT)
areccan (*RECCAN*) 'to put forth, stretch out', '**translate**', 'grant', 'raise', 'astonish', 'recount, tell', 'explain, expound' (BT), 'to **translate** (a text… from one language… into another)' (DOE)	*oððe furðum an ærend gewrit of Lædene on Englisc **areccan**.* (Gregory the Great, The Pastoral Care, DOE)
gereccan (*RECCAN*) 'put forth, express, explain, **translate**' suppl.: 'extend', 'tell', 'narrate', 'explain, expound' (BT)	*Emanuhél, ðæt ys **gereht** on úre geþeóde, God mid us* (Cri. 133., BT)
oferlædan (*LÆDAN*) 'to oppress, cover', '**translate**' (BT)	*Gewrit **oferlǽded** Scriptura translata* (Mt. p. 2, 13., BT)

gebigan (*BIGAN*)[not mentioned in TOE] 'bow, bend, turn', 'to cause to move', 'to bow', 'to incline, turn', 'to adapt', 'to bend, subdue, humiliate', (BT) "to turn, **translate** into (another language or dialect)' (DOE)	ÆLS (Oswald) 68: se bisceop Aidan ne mihte ***gebigan*** his spræce to Norðhymbriscum gereorde. (BT do not consider it 'translating', DOE does)
gebrengan (*BRENGAN*) [not mentioned in TOE] 'bring', 'bring forth', suppl. '**translate**' (BT)	*Hieronimus ... þe ure bibliothecan **gebrohte** to Ledene of Greciscum bocum & of Ebreiscum, he awrat be Iohanne þam halgan godspellere. (ÆLet 4 (SigeweardZ) 1017)*
WENDAN 'to cause to move', 'to turn around', 'to change, alter, convert', 'pervert the testimony', 'to **translate**, interpret' (BT)	Ælfréd kuning wæs wealhstod ðisse béc and hié of béclédene on Englisc ***wende*** (Bt. Proem.; Fox viii, 2, BT)
awendan (*WENDAN*) 'to turn, move', 'to change, **translate** sth.' 'paraphrase'.. (DOE) 'to turn away or off, avert, remove, turn (upside down), change, **translate**, pervert', 'depart' (BT)	*þu bæde me, leof, þæt ic sceolde ðe **awendan** of Lydene on Englisc þa boc (ÆGenPref 1:, DOE)*
gewendan (*WENDAN*) 'to turn, change, **translate**, incline, bring about', 'to come, go, return' (BT + Suppl)	*Hé þás bóc hæfde of Lædene tó Engliscum spelle **gewende** (Bt. prooem.; F. viii. 9. BT)*
settan (BT – no meaning 'translate') 'Contextually: to translate' (OED)	*Hwilum he **sette** word be worde, hwilum andgit of andgite. (c888, Ælfred tr. Boethius De Consol. Philos. Proem, OED)*

A closer analysis of the meanings in TOE shows that, next to physical movement and change, mentioned before, some of the forms in question entailed the meaning of communicating the message (like *gereccan, areccan, get-rahtnian*). Some forms included the negative notions of 'destruction, loss' (*gehwierfan*), 'devastation, ending of existence' (*awendan*), or 'seducing, leading astray' (both *awendan* and *gehwierfan*). Some of them denoted positive notions of 'gladness, friendliness', 'a whole formed by joining' (*getheodan*) (TOE). All of them provide a complex illustration of the OE scribes' attitudes towards their craft.

OED points out that *settan*, a peripheral item, denoted 'translate' only when used in specific contexts, and as such, due to limitations of space, it is excluded from the analysis. Two other verbs, i.e. *gecirran* and *gehwierfan*, did not survive into ME. The next ten kept their forms, but lost the meaning 'translate', including the prefixed variants of *WENDAN* (i.e. *awēnden* and *iwēnden*), which ceased to refer to any form of the translating process. Thus, at the dawn of the Middle English period the language is left with only one lexical item stemming from Old English, i.e. *WENDAN*, which still denotes 'translate'.

2. Theoretical data: 'translate' in Middle English from *WENDEN* via *TURNEN* to *TRANSLATEN*

First attested to mean 'translate' in Old English, in c897, cf.:

(1)   Ða ongan ic..ða boc **wendan** on Englisc. [c897, K. Ælfred tr. *Gregory Pastoral Care* Prol. 7],

wendan is still used in Early Middle English in this sense, next to 29 other semantic fields listed by MED. Historical dictionaries date its last attestation within the domain to c1225, cf.:

(2)   (a)   Icc hafe **wennd** inntill Ennglissh Goddspelless hall3he lare. [c1200, *The Ormulum* (Jun 1), ded.13]
      (b)   He was bocare & þe bec **wende**: Genesis, Exodus, Vtronomius, Numerus, Leuiticus. [c1225, *Sanctus Beda* (Wor F.174), 7]

Incidentally, when the verb *wenden* carries the meaning 'translate' for the last time, it is also *approximately* the same time when another verb, *turnen*, starts to acquire the same meaning, attested for the first time also in *The Ormulum* (cf. 2.2.).

The meaning 'turn' appears in the semantic fields of verbs denoting translation as early as OE, cf. *gecirran, gehwierfan, gebigan, gewendan*, and *wendan* (cf. Table 1 above). When the OE lexical items become obsolete, the ME verb *TURNEN* itself enters the domain *TRANSLATE* (HTOED, MED), partly overtaking some of the older meanings. The verb, which comes from OE *turnian/ tyrnan* (from Latin *tornare* 'to turn in a lathe, to turn' (SKEAT)), was reinforced in ME by Old French *torner* 'to turn' (SKEAT, OED), and attested for the first time in this meaning in *The Ormulum*, in c1200, cf.:

(3)   tæfore hafe icc **turrnedd** itt Inntill Ennglisshe spæche. [c1200, *The Ormulum* (Jun 1),ded.129]

next to 29 other extended semantic fields of the verb. Its last attestation in OED is dated to 1879, cf.:

(4)   In 1648 he **turned** nine psalms, and in 1653, 'did into verse' eight more. [M. Pattison Milton vii. 90]

Towards the end of the 14th century, the verb *translaten* enters the language, and for some time it seems to overlap with *turnen* in the same meaning. *Translaten* comes from Latin *translatare*, concatenated from *trans* 'across' and *latus* 'carried, borne' via French *translater* 'to translate, reduce or remove'

(SKEAT). The lexical item, first attested in the domain by OED in *Cursor Mundi*, cf.:

(5) Þis ilk bok it es **translate** In to Inglis tong to rede. [a1400 (a1300[1]), *Cursor Mundi*, 232]

and by MED in *William of Palerne*, cf.:

(6)   He of Frensche þis fayre tale ferst dede **translate** in ese of Englysch men in Englysch speche. [a1375 WPal.(KC 13) 167]

seems to have entered the language almost at the same time with its other meanings, such as 'relocate/ transfer/ transform', 'take away the kingdom', 'take into the afterlife without death', 'replace, turn into sth else') (SKEAT).

All in all, the analysis of historical dicitonaries allows for a tentative assumption that at the beginning of Middle English the native form (*wenden*) yielded ground to another (*turnen*), which was reinforced by its Latin and French equivalents, and which, in turn, competed for the core meaning within the domain with the pure borrowing (*translaten*), cf.:
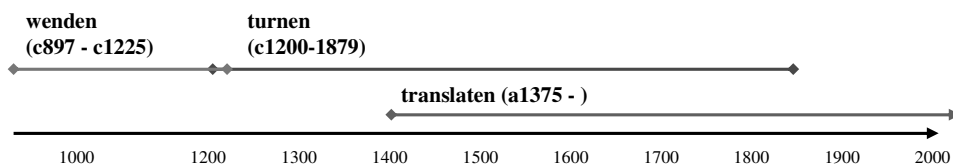
In order to verify this data and analyze the contexts in which the given words were used, the linguistic material in historical corpora was thoroughly scrutinized.

3. Corpus data

The two corpora, i.e. the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* (CMEPV) and the *Innsbruck Corpus of Middle English Prose* (INNS), have been searched for the three lexical items under scrutiny, i.e. *wenden*, *turnen* and *translaten* in the meaning of 'translate (a text) from one language to another'. Those texts which include more than one lexical item denoting that meaning were searched again for other meanings of those items, in order to compare the distribution of 'translate' vs. 'other than *translate*' uses of the three forms. The analysis yields the following texts containing the items in question:

Table 2. Texts containing *wenden, turnen* and/ or *translaten* meaning 'to translate'

Only ***WENDEN***:	Only ***TURNEN***:	Only ***TRANSLATEN***:
– *Sanctus Beda* (CMEPV) – *Early English Homilies from the Twelfth Century* (INNS)	– Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng synne* (CMEPV) – Þe Liflade of St. Juliana (CMEPV) (INNS) – Robert Mannyng's *The Story of England* (CMEPV)	30 texts dated to the 15th century, and later, most of them translations, including texts by: – Caxton, Gower, Capgrave, Hoccleve, Mandeville, etc.
Both ***WENDEN*** and ***TURNEN***:	Both ***TURNEN*** and ***TRANSLATEN***:	
The Ormulum (CMEPV)	– *Sammlung altenglischer legenden* (CMEPV) – ***Cursor Mundi*** (CMEPV) – *The Laud Troy Book* (CMEPV) – ***Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden*** (CMEPV) – The English works of Wyclif (CMEPV)	

        For the sake of discussion (and the lack of time and space) only those texts that use two synonyms interchangeably are selected for close analysis, i.e. *The Ormulum*, as the only one that uses both *wenden* and *turnen* meaning 'translate', and *Cursor Mundi* and *Polychronicon*. i.e. one poetic and one prosaic text from among those that use *turnen* and *translaten* interchangeably. As the MINOR criterion was also language purity as regards the MSS hands responsible for scribal idiolects, the analysis of *Cursor Mundi* clearly distinguishes between varied manuscripts (cf. 3.2.), and the analysis of *Polychronicon* is limited to only two MSS with clear dating (cf. 3.3.).

3.1. *The Ormulum* (c1200, Jun. 1)

The Ormulum (ed. Holt 1878) is a holographic poetic text dated to the beginning of the 13th c., extant in Junius 1, Bodleian Library, Oxford, written in the East Midland dialect of South Lincolnshire (Laing 1992, 567). Its analysis yields 185 instances of the verbs under scrutiny in the following distribution:

Table 3. *Wenden, turnen* and *translaten* in *The Ormulum*, Jun 1

	'to translate'	other meanings	TOTAL
TURNEN	6 (67%)	132	**138**
WENDEN	3 (33%)	44	**47**
TRANSLATEN	0	0	**0**
TOTAL	**9 (100%)**	**176**	**185**

The Romance borrowing *translaten* did not enter Orm's idiolect yet, which is not surprising, given the holograph's date and the circumstances of its origin. Instead, the poet uses two other verbs meaning 'to translate', hardly favoring one term over the other, with two of six uses of *turnen* attested in the identical context, cf.:

(7) (a) He shall onn ende wurrþi ben
          Þurrh Godd to wurrþenn borrȝhenn.
          & tærfore hafe icc **turrnedd**
          Inntill Ennglisshe spæche, [130]
          Forr þatt I wollde bliþeliȝ
          Þatt all Ennglisshe lede
          Wiþþ ære shollde lisstenn itt,
          Wiþþ herrte shollde itt trowwenn,
          Wiþþ tunge shollde spellenn itt, [135]
          Wiþþ dede shollde itt follȝhenn, (c1200, *Ormulum,* Jun 1, ll. 127–136)
     (b) Forrþi birrþ all Crisstene follc
          Goddspelless lare follȝhenn.
          & tærfore hafe icc **turrnedd** itt [305]
          Inntill Ennglisshe spæche,
          Forr þatt I wollde bliþeliȝ
          Þatt all Ennglisshe lede
          Wiþþ ære shollde lisstenn itt,
          Wiþþ herrte shollde itt trowwenn, [310]
          Wiþþ tunge shollde spellenn itt,
          Wiþþ dede shollde itt follȝhenn, (c1200, *Ormulum,* Jun 1, ll. 303–310)

In the first two attestations in item (7), the verb *turnen* denotes the process of translation, or: transfer, of a text as a whole from one language to another. In item (8), Orm uses the verb *turnen* to explain the meaning of a proper name, cf.:

(8) (a)   Forr ȝiff þu willt Emmanuæl
           Till Ennglissh spæche **turrnenn**,
           Itt seȝȝþ þatt <u>Godd iss her wiþþ uss</u>
           <u>Inn ure mennisscnesse</u>. (c1200, *Ormulum,* Jun 1, ll. 3106–3109)
     (b)   & ȝiff þu **turrnesst** Sabbatumm
           Inntill Ennglisshe spæche, ⁴¹⁷⁵
           Itt seȝȝþ þatt itt iss <u>Resstedaȝȝ</u>
           <u>Off all þewwlike dede</u>, (c1200, *Ormulum,* Jun 1, ll. 4174–4177)
     (c)   Forr ȝiff þu Cana Galile
           Till Ennglissh spæche **turrnesst**, ¹⁴²⁰⁵
           Þa tacneþþ itt <u>ha͞t herrtess lusst</u>,
           <u>To ferrsenn & to flittenn</u>
           <u>Fra woh till rihht, fra læs till soþ</u>,
           <u>Fra sinne till dædbote</u>. (c1200, *Ormulum,* Jun 1, ll. 14204–14208)
     (d)   Forr ȝiff þu Cana Galile ¹⁵⁶⁵⁰
           Till Ennglissh spæche **turrnesst**,
           Þa tacneþþ itt <u>ha͞t herrtess lusst</u>
           <u>To ferrsenn & to flittenn</u>.
           & þurrh ha͞t herrtess lufe & lust
           Wass Godess Sune flittedd ¹⁵⁶⁵⁵
           Inntill þiss middellærdess burrh,
           To wurrþenn mann onn erþe. (c1200, *Ormulum,* Jun 1, ll. 15650–15657)

In items (8a) and (b), the verb *turnen* provides a precise definition for *Emmanuel* 'God is with us in our humanity', and Lat. *Sabatum* 'Rest-day from all servile deeds', respectively. Nota bene, in exactly the same context in OE, translated from Greek (μεθερμηνεύω) via Latin (*interpretatum*), we read "Emmanuhel, ðæt is **getrahtet** mið ús God" (Mt. L. 1, 23, BT) and "Emanuhél, ðæt ys **gereht** on úre geþeóde, God mid us" (Cri. 133, BT), which shows a close affinity of use between OE *getrahtnian* and *gereccan* and ME *turnen*.

Item (c) seems to encode a slightly broader meaning, still within the domain *TRANSLATE*. While the information structure pattern is the same, i.e. the mention of the proper name *Cana of Galilee* in the structure "Forr ȝiff þu … Till Ennglissh spæche turrnesst", the definition itself does not constitute a faithful translation but rather Orm's interpretation of the term, i.e. "the heart's desire | to remain aloof and move/ transform (| from immorality to righteousness, from untruth to truthfulness | from sin to penance)" (trans. mine – JJE). Item (d) repeats the same interpretation, with a part of the definition ellipted.

The verb *wenden* in the meaning 'to translate' is attested three times in *The Ormulum*. When Orm explains his motives for composing the poem, he says:

(9) (a) Icc hafe don swa summ þu badd,
          & forþedd te þin wille,
          Icc hafe **wennd** inntill Ennglissh
          Goddspelless hallȝhe láre, (c1200, *Ormulum,* Jun 1, ll. 11–14)

   (b) Whi icc till Ennglissh hafe **wennd**
          Goddspelless hallȝhe lare;
          Icc hafe itt don forrþi þatt all
          Crisstene follkess berrhless
          Iss lang uppo þatt an, þatt teȝȝ
          Goddspelless hallȝhe lare (c1200, *Ormulum,* Jun 1, ll. 113–118)

   (c) & I shall hafenn forr min swinnc
          God læn att Godd onn ende,
          Ȝiff þatt I, forr þe lufe off Godd
          & forr þe mede off heffne,
          Hemm hafe itt inntill Ennglissh **wennd**
          Forr þeȝȝre sawle nede. (c1200, *Ormulum,* Jun 1, ll. 143–147)

The meaning of verbs used in all three items coincides with the same sense attested in *turnen* in items (7ab) above, i.e. 'to translate a text from one language into another'. Incidentally, in (9c) the decision to use the form *wend* might have been dictated by the end rhyme of *ende*.

It seems, thus, that *Orm* chose to use the verb *turnen* to pinpoint a definition of a word[2], and both *turnen* and *wenden*[3] to express the general meaning of rendering a text into another language. Still, the data is too scarce to allow for more than tentative conclusions.

3.2. *Cursor Mundi*, late 14th century versions

Another text chosen as a control sample is *Cursor Mundi*. It constitutes a riveting linguistic material, more varied than *The Ormulum*, with fragments extant in at least 11 manuscripts. To quote after Hahn (1999, 89):

> In its paradoxical struggle to present audiences with the 'Inglis tong to rede', *Cursor Mundi* freezes speech inside a gargantuan text;… its never-ending narrative aptly illustrates how literacy advanced the formation of a distinctively English identity in native words.

The text includes all three items under scrutiny, enumerated by Kaluza in the *Glossary* (ed. Morris1877–1892)

wend, v. to turn, change; to wend, go, inf. 1272; *wende*, 64; *wenden*, 14194; *weind*, 2363; *went*, 28681; *winde*, 6540; pr. 1. sg. *wind*, 8019; *wend*, 3808;

weind, 14946; 2. sg. *wendes*, 1154; 3. sg. *wentes*, 27748; *windes*, 3564; 1. pl. *wend*, 21842; *weind*, 2406; 3. pl. *wendes*, 14823; *weind*, 23038; pr. subj. 1. sg. *weind*, 962; 2. sg. *wend*, 6831; *wende*, 26520; *weind*, 14191; 3. sg. *wend*, 27473; *wenid*, 22454; *weind*, 3242; imp. 2. sg. *wend*, 3229; *weind*, 5220; 2. pl. *weind*, 15559; pt. 2. sg. *went*, 5268; 3. sg. *went*, 860, 980; 3. pl. *wend*, 1867; *went*, 3207; pp. pr. *wendand*, 1257; pp. pt. *went*, 1640 28000.

turn, v. to turn, return, inf. 1864, 6540, 8509; *torn*, 11526; pr. 1. sg. *turn*, 26533; 3. sg. *turnes*, 23719: *turns*, 6566; 3. pl. *turm*, 13476; imp. 2. sg. *turn*, 4311; 1. pl. *turn we*, 19747; 2. pl. *turn*, 23708; pt. 3. sg. *turned*, 180, 931; *turnd*, 1816; 3. pl. *turnd*, 8056, 19131; pp. pr. *turnand*, 15137; pp. pt. *turned*, 3560, 6214; *turnd*, 1772.

translate, v. to transfer, inf. 26327; pp. pt. *translat*, 7958; *translate*, 232, 9220; *translated*, 9162. (in Morris 1877, 1677–1820).

Variants of all three forms are found in 9 manuscripts, 3 of which are affiliated with the Northern dialect, 4 with the West Midland dialect, 1 with East Midlands, and 1 unaffiliated in LALME. Most manuscripts come from the end of the 14th century, cf.:

Table 4. Manuscripts of *Cursor Mundi* containing *wenden*, *turnen* and *translaten*

MS	Date	Location	Dialect
Vsp A.3	a1400 (a1325)[4]	London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A.3	[North, Yorkshire, West Riding]
Frf 14	a1400	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fairfax 14	[EMdl, Lincolnshire][5]
Göt Theol 107	a1400	Göttingen, University Library Theol 107	[ll. … - 11000 non-Northern; 11000 - … North, earlier section SE Lincolnshire]
Phys-E	a1400	Edinburgh, Royal College of Physicians	[Hand B. 16r-36v North: Yorks.; Hand C. 37r-50v Yorkshire, West Riding]
Trin-C R.3.8	a1400	Cambridge, Trinity College R.3.8 (383)	[ll. 1–2000, WMdl, Staffs.][6]
Arms 57	?c1400	London, College of Arms 57 (Herald's College, Arundel 57)	[WMdl. Staffs.]
Add 10036	a1425 (c1300)	London, British Library, Additional 10036	[WMdl, Warwicks.]

| Add 36983 | c1450 | London, British Library, Additional 36983 (olim Bedford) | [WMdl, Warwicks.] |
| LdMisc 416 | c1460 | Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 416 | [not accounted for in LALME] |

Two of the three forms in question, i.e. *turnen* and *translaten*, carry the meaning 'translate', while *wenden* is unaccounted for in this domain, which seems to be in line with theoretical data in historical dictionaries, never attesting *wenden* in this meaning beyond c1225 (cf. section 2.1. above), cf.:

Table 5. *Wenden, turnen* and *translaten* in various MSS of *Cursor Mundi*

		'to translate'	other meanings	TOTAL
WENDEN		0	2000+	**2000+**
TURNEN		[2] 6[7]	371	379
Vsp A.3 (a1400)	**North**	**2**	**86**	
Frf 14 (a1400)	EMdl	2	99	
Göt Theol 107 (a1400)	EMdl/ North	2	78	
Trin-C R.3.8 (a1400)	WMdl	0	76	
LdMisc 416 (c1460)	?	0	2	
Arms 57 (?c1400)	WMdl	0	1	
Phys-E (a1400)	North	0	27	
Add 10036 (a1425 | c1300)	WMdl	0	2	
TRANSLATEN		[1] 7[8]	14	**21**
Vsp A.3 (a1400)	**North**	**1**	**5**	
Frf 14 (a1400)	EMdl	1	3	
Göt Theol 107 (a1400)	EMdl/ North	1	4	
Trin-C R.3.8 (a1400)	WMdl	1	2	
LdMisc 416 (c1460)	?	1	0	
Arms 57 (?c1400)	WMdl	1	0	
Add 36983 (c1450)	WMdl	1	0	
TOTAL		**13**		

Turnen within this domain is found in three of the above-listed manuscripts, which yield the same two quotes, cf.:

(10)   He-self it wrogh[t] ic vnderstand. | In sotherin englis was it draun, | And **turnd** it haue i till our aun | Langage o northrin lede, | þat can nan oiþer englis rede. (*Cursor Mundi,* a1400, Vsp A.3, ll. 20059–20064)

him-self hit wrate I vnderstande | In souþerin engelis was hit drawen. | & **turnid** I. haue hit til our awen. | langage of þe norþerin lede þat can na noþer langage rede. (*Cursor Mundi,* a1400, Frf 14, ll. 20060–20064)

Himself it wroght i vnderstand. | In suthrin englijs was it draun, | And i haue **turned** it till vr aun | Langage of þe norþren lede, | þat can nan oþer englis rede (*Cursor Mundi*, a1400, Göt Theol 107, ll. 20060–20064)

[B]Arthelmeu borne a sulie, | He prechid in lathaonie, | And witnes o matheu we find, | Godspell he **turnd** in tung of ind. (*Cursor Mundi,* a1400, Vsp A.3, ll. 21105–21108)

Bartholomeu borne of su-lie. | he preyched in lica-onie. | a witnes of matheu we finde | gospel he **tur-nid** in tonge of inde. (*Cursor Mundi,* a1400, Frf 14, ll. 21105–21108)

[B]artholomeu was born in suli, | He preched in lichaoni, | And wittnes of matheu find we, | Godspell he **turned** in tung of inde. (*Cursor Mundi*, a1400, Göt Theol 107, ll. 21105–21108)

Incidentally, the same information structure is attested in *The Ormulum,* with Orm stating "Icc hafe **wennd** inntill Ennglissh Goddspelless hallȝhe láre" (l. 13, cf. 9a above) and further "hafe icc **turrnedd** itt Inntill Ennglisshe spæche" (l. 129, cf. 7a above).

According to historical dictionaries, *Cursor Mundi* is also the first text to use *translaten* in the modern meaning of the word. Indeed, the research yields one more quotation in the same context, cf.:

(11)   Efter haly kyrc state | þis ilk bok is **translate** | In to Inglis tong to rede | or the loue of Inglis lede, | Inglis lede of Ingland, | For the commun at un-derstand. (*Cursor Mundi,* a1400, Vsp A.3, ll. 231–236)

ofter haly kirkis state. | þis ilke boke ys **trans-late**. / vn-til Ingeles tonge to rede. for þe loue of englis lede. | englis lede of engelande | þe commune for til vnder-stande. (*Cursor Mundi,* a1400, Frf 14, ll. 231–236)

Efter hali kirkes state | þis ilke boke es **trans-late**, | vnto engliss tung to rede For þe luue of englijs lede, | Englis lede of meri ingeland | For þe comen to vnþer-stand. (*Cursor Mundi*, a1400, Göt Theol 107, ll. 231–236)

Apparently, having two synonymous forms at their disposal, the *Cursor Mundi* scribes chose the native form *turnen*, line-internally, while rhyming the new borrowing, i.e. *translaten*, with *state*, as needed.

The very same quotation is found in four more manuscripts, where it is the only synonym for the meaning 'translate', with no instances *turnen* in this meaning attested, cf.:

| (12) | Aftir holy chirches astate \| þis ilke boke is **translate** \| In to englisshe tonge to rede (*Cursor Mundi,* a1400, Trin-C R.3.8, ll. 231–233) | Aftir holy chirches astate \| þis ilke book is **translate** \| In to englis-she tonge to rede (*Cursor Mundi,* ?c1400, Arms 57, ll. 231–233) | After holy chirche state \| þis ilke is **translat** \| Into Inglissh for to rede (*Cursor Mundi,* c1450 Add 36983, ll. 231–233) | After holy chirchis estate \| This ylk boke is **translate** \| Into English tong to rede (*Cursor Mundi,* c1460, LdMisc 416, ll. 231–233) |

Unfortunately, even though the same form is attested in the idiolects of different scribes in different dialects, with only one occurrence of the verb *translaten* and two of the verb *turnen* it is not possible to verify whether the choice of the scribal hand in a different dialect and different time span may have influenced the choice of the form to use.

3.3. Translation of Higden's *Polychronicon* (ed. Babington 1869)

The English translation of Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon* by John Trevisa in Babington's edition (1869) is based on a number of manuscripts, including a printed edition by Caxton. For the sake of data purity, the present study draws only on MS Cambridge, St. John's College H.1 (204) [StJ-C H.1], dated by CME-PV to a1387, discussed against a MS a century younger, i.e. MS London, British Library, Harley 2261 [Hrl 2261], dated to ?a1475, cf.:

MSS	Date	Location
[StJ-C H.1]	(a1387)	Cambridge, St. John's College H.1 (204)
[Hrl 2261]	?a1475(?a1425)	London, British Library, Harley 2261

Both *TURNEN* and *TRANSLATEN* are attested here, in the following distribution:

Table 6. *Turnen* and *translaten* in Trevisa's translation of *Polychronicon*, StJ-C H.1

	'to translate'	other meanings	**TOTAL**
TURNEN	25 (65.8%)	313	**338**
TRANSLATEN	13 (34.2%)	41	**54**
TOTAL	**38 (100%)**	**354**	**392**

Given the content of *Polychronicon*, which includes detailed accounts of numerous translators rendering religious and secular texts in the history of translation, the absolute numbers are higher than in the previously-analysed texts. Both verbs seem to be synonymous in the eyes of the StJ-C H.1 scribe, as they are attested in very similar, or identical, contexts, most of which refer to translating from one language to another, cf., e.g.:

(13) (a) In oure tyme oon Ieronimus, a preost, a wise man, and a konnynge in þre longages, **tornede** holy writt out of þe Hebrew into Latyn. (Higden's *Polychronicon*, (a1387), StJ-C H.1, p37v4)
      (b) His book was i-write in Grewe, and Ambros **tornede** it into Latyn. (Higden's *Polychronicon*, (a1387), StJ-C H.1, p31v5)

(14) (a) at þe laste Ierom **translatede** out of Hebrewe in to Latyn, and his translacioun is i-holde nygh in every place out take in þe Psawter (Higden's *Polychronicon*, (a1387), StJ-C H.1, p39v4),
      (b) and alle þese **translated** out of Hebrewe into Grewe. (Higden's *Polychronicon*, (a1387), StJ-C H.1, p39v4).

Wherever the 14th c. StJ-C H.1 scribe uses *turnen*, the Harleian scribe [Hrl 2261] usually replaces it with *translaten*, appropriating the context for use at the end of the 15th century. Incidentally, when copied later in Hrl 2261, the text in items (13b) and (14b) includes the verb in question preceded by an auxiliary ("did translate"); a method that is said to have been a way to enhance the foreign meaning of the borrowing with the all-familiar native verb (Hock and Joseph 1996, 258).

There are a few cases, however, when the Harleian scribe simply transfers the verb used by his predecessor, cf.:

(15) (a) þis name Paradys **i-turned** out of Grew in to Latyn is to menynge an orcheȝerde. But Paradys in Hebrewe is -cleped Eden, þat is to menynge likynge; þe whiche tweyne i-putte togidres makes an orcheȝerde of likynge. (Higden's *Polychronicon*, (a1387), StJ-C H.1, p71v1)

...that this worde Paradisus **turnede** from Grewe into Latyn, is callede a yorde or a gardyn. In Hebrewe hit is callede Eden, that sowndethe delites, whiche coniuncte makethe a gardyn of delites. (Higden's *Polychronicon*, ?c1475, Hrl 2261, p71v1)

(b) He **tornede** þe beste lawes into Englissh tonge. (Higden's *Polychronicon*, (a1387), StJ-C H.1, p.355v6)

...and **turnede** noble lawes into Ynglische (Higden's *Polychronicon*, (a1387), Hrl 2261, p.355v6)

Item (15a) shows the same context as in the case of *The Ormulum* (item 8), where the verb *turnen* was used to provide a definition of a proper name. Since, in this particular case, the later scribe did not substitute the term with *translaten*, it may mean that already in the 15th century *turnen* may have incorporated – for good – the meaning 'to transfer, to change'. It is especially evident in the next example, item (15b), where the 15th century scribe kept the verb *turnen* and got rid of the word *tonge*, perhaps in this way intending to broaden the scope of *English* as in 'culture, nation, country (laws)', rather than just 'the tongue'.

This tentative conclusion is further strengthened by other instances, where the earlier scribe would use *turnen* while the Harleian scribe chose another translation technique, either explicitation or a class shift, rather than direct transfer, cf.:

(16) (a) Þe tornynge and translacioun of þe seuenty was first nouȝt ful rediliche **i-torned**, oþer itwas afterward apayred by mysbe|leued men. (Higden's *Polychronicon*, (a1387), StJ-C H.1, p247v2)

The translacion of the lxx interpretatores **was made insufficiently**, either hyt was corrupte of peple afterwarde. (Higden's *Polychronicon*, ?a1475, Hrl 2261, p247v2)

(b) he was þe secounde after þe seventy þat **tornede** holy writte out of Hebrewe into Grewe (Higden's *Polychronicon*, (a1387), StJ-C H.1, p.21v4)

Aquila, of the cuntre of Pontus, the secunde **interpretator** after the lxx, was in this tyme. (Higden's *Polychronicon*, ?a1475, Hrl 2261, p21v4)

(c) Theodocion of Ephesym was þat tyme y-holde a noble man, he was þe þridde þat **tornede** holy writt out of Hebrew into Grew. (Higden's *Polychronicon*, (a1387), StJ-C H.1, p.41v5)

Theodocion the thrydde **interpretator** was in þis tyme. (Higden's *Polychronicon*, ?a1475, Hrl 2261, p41v5)

While the last two items might be interpreted as an illustration of a mere stylistic variety, still all items under (15) and (16) seem to show that in the 15th c. the verb *turnen* had a wider semantic scope, incorporating the meaning of 'interpreting', 'restyling', or 'changing'. Still, the verb must have been considered nearly synonymous with both in the 14th century, cf. the doublet below:

| (17) | Also he made Werefredus bisshop of Wircestre **translate** and **torne** into Saxoun speche Gre|gory his bookes dialogie. (Higden's *Polychronicon*, (a1387), StJ-C H.1, p361v6) | Also he causede Wilfrithe bischop of Worchestre to **translate** the dialogges of seynte Gregory into the langage of Saxons. (Higden's *Polychronicon*, ?a1475, Hrl 2261, p361v6) |

Again, this may either be interpreted as a doublet, or – perhaps – as a slightly extended meaning of the verb *turnen*, which in the 15th century version in the same passage disappears completely.

3.4. Meanings 'other than translate' in *The Ormulum* (Jun 1, c1200), *Cursor Mundi* (a1400, Vsp A.3), and *Polychronicon* ([a1387], StJ-C H.1)

The analysis of the three texts yielded all three verbs under scrutiny also used in meanings other than 'translate'. Cf. *the Ormulum* stats:

Table 7. *Wenden* and *turnen* with 'translate' vs. 'other than translate' meanings in *The Ormulum*, Jun 1

	'to translate'	other meanings	TOTAL
WENDEN	3 (6%)	44 (94%)	47
TURNEN	6 (4%)	132 (98%)	138
TOTAL	9 (100%)	176	185

It seems that the domain TRANSLATE is slightly more readily activated in the case of *wenden* than *turnen*, with 6% of all the uses meaning 'translate' against 'other than translate' for the former, and 4% of all the uses of the verb for the latter, even though both seem peripheral rather than central to the domain.

In *Cursor Mundi*, *wenden* is never used within the domain in question, although, as indicated in the *Glossary* (Morris 1877, 1677–1820), it still retains the meaning 'turn, change', yielding the meaning 'translate' to other verbs, which may coincide with the fact that at that time it was already homonymous

with the preterite form of the verb *to go.* The verb *turnen* becomes even more peripheral than was the case in *The Ormulum* (2–3% of all the attestations refer to 'translate'), with the increased use of meanings 'other than translate'. It co-occurs with the first attestations of the new borrowing *TRANSLATEN*, which, as it appears, was much more precise, far less polysemous, and much closer to the center of its semantic domain (~23% of the forms used convey the meaning 'to translate'), cf.:

Table 8. *Turnen* and *translaten* 'with translate' vs. 'other than translate' meanings in various MSS of *Cursor Mundi*

		'to translate'	other meanings	TOTAL
TURNEN		[2] 6	371	379
Vsp A.3 (a1400)	**North**	**2 (2%)**	**86 (98%)**	
Frf 14 (a1400)	EMdl	2 (2%)	99 (98%)	
Göt Theol 107 (a1400)	EMdl/ North	2 (3%)	78 (97%)	
TRANSLATEN		[1] 7	14	**21**
Vsp A.3 (a1400)	**North**	**1 (17%)**	**5 (83%)**	
Frf 14 (a1400)	EMdl	1 (25%)	3 (75%)	
Göt Theol 107 (a1400)	EMdl/ North	1 (20%)	4 (80%)	
Trin-C R.3.8 (a1400)	WMdl	1 (33%)	2 (67%)	
LdMisc 416 (c1460)	?	1 (100%)	0	
Arms 57 (?c1400)	WMdl	1 (100%)	0	
Add 36983 (c1450)	WMdl	1 (100%)	0	
TOTAL		**13**		

Three attestations, however, do not allow for a more constructive conclusion. When compared with the distribution of forms in *Cursor Mundi*, *turnen* in *Polychronicon* is slightly more readily activated than was the case with the poetic text, although it is still in the peripheries of the semantic domain. *Translaten*, on the other hand, seems to have a very similar distribution to the one yielded by *Cursor Mundi*, cf.:

Table 9. *Turnen* and *translaten* 'with translate' vs. 'other than translate' meanings
in Trevisa's translation of *Polychronicon*, StJ-C H.1

	'to translate'	other meanings	TOTAL
TURNEN	25 (7.4%)	313 (92.6%)	**338 (100%)**
TRANSLATEN	13 (24.1%)	41 (75.9%)	**54 (100%)**
TOTAL	**38**	**354**	**392**

When it comes to meanings 'other than translate' behind the numbers in Tables 7–9, suffice it to say that while *wenden* and *turnen* overlapped, meaning 'return', 'convert', and 'shift or switch allegiance', cf. 'return':

(18) (a) & Godess Gast anndswere hem ȝaff | Him sellf & nohht þurh enngell,
| Þatt teȝȝ nesholldenn nohht onȝæn | Efft **wendenn** till Herode,
| Acc farenn ham till here land | All wiþþ summ oþerr weȝȝe. (c1200,
Ormulum, Jun 1, ll.7471–7476)

(b) & Drihhtin ȝaff hemm sware o nihht | Þær þeȝȝ o bedde slepptenn,
| & radde hemm þatt teȝȝ sholldenn ham | Wiþþ oþerr weȝȝe wendenn,
| & till Herode king onnȝænn | He þeȝȝm forrbæd to **turrnenn**. (c1200,
Ormulum, Jun 1, ll. 6494–6499)

'convert':

(19) (a) & he shall newenn cumenn forþ | To **turrnenn** & to **wendenn** | Þe suness
þurrh hiss hallȝhe spell | Till þeȝȝre faderr herrte; (c1200, *Ormulum,* Jun
1, ll.183–186)

(b) 14094: Teȝȝ sholldenn..trowwenn þatt he wass soþ Godd..& **turrnenn**
till þe Crisstenndom.

turnen has always been more polysemous, its network of semantic fields including 12 different meanings in *The Ormulum* (3 literal and 9 metaphorical), over 20 in *Cursor Mundi* (10 literal and 10 metaphorical) and 5 in *Polychronicon* (1 literal and 4 metaphorical). All of them incorporated the notion of change, or cause and effect, also included in the semantic domain 'to translate'. *Translaten*, on the other hand, was used in very precise contexts, limited to 'transfer (of a kingdom, person, or bodily parts – disinterring them from a place of burial)' and – in the religious sense – 'transfer from the earth to paradise'.

4. Conclusions

4.1. Language data

It must be *emphasized* that the present analysis is only a pilot study on the nature of replacement of native lexical items with Romance borrowings in the domain of *TRANSLATE*.

Yet, even scarce data allow for tentative conclusions, to be confirmed in further studies.

(1) As regards the diatopic distribution, no dialectal dependance has been observed;

(2) As regards the text typology, rhyming pattern may have been a factor in the choice of a verb to denote 'translate', but the number of occurrences is too scarce to conclude.

(3) As regards the rivalry between the three forms under scrutiny:

  (a) in the domain *TRANSLATE*, *wenden* became obsolete at the very beginning of the Middle English period, and its meaning was taken over by its synonymous counterpart *turnen*; its other meanings were still in use (after 1500 its pa. t. and pa. pple forms *went* yielded to the preterite form of *go*, OED);

  (b) *turnen* was a strongly polysemous word of high frequency, denoting both the core meaning of 'changing the point of orientation' and a number of extended figurative meanings, including 'translate'. Its constant use within the domain may have been strengthened by its affinity to its OE predecessors[9], as well as its foreign roots (L. *tornare* and OF *torner*);

  (c) *translaten* only enters the language towards the end of Middle English, but one of its first uses is already in the domain *TRANSLATE*, next to other narrow sophisticated meanings.

(4) As regards the mechanisms of borrowing and replacement:

  (a) basic vocabulary is resistant to replacement (Hock and Joseph), which, assuming that *turnen* belonged to the basic lexical stock, may be the reason why it remained one of the core meanings in the domain *TRANSLATE*, reinforced by Latin and French equivalents in the source texts copied into English;

  (b) verbs are less readily borrowed than nouns, but more specialized forms of discourse requiring "a good deal of mental and linguistic abstraction" (Hock and Joseph 258) are usually most easily borrowed, which may be the reason why *translaten* entered the language, even though *turnen* was still readily activated;

  (c) this is further strengthened by the fact that foreign words enjoyed higher prestige, being borrowed from a superstratum language (cf.

Sylwanowicz 2014, Hock and Joseph 271) and referring to studious matters, which might also be the case with *translaten*.

4.2. Interpretation

Not without significance seems to be the fact that both *turnen* and *translaten* are attested in texts which were either translated or paraphrased from foreign sources. While in OE, the Latin equivalents *transferre, translatare,* and *interpretari* were usually replaced by scribes with one of the dozen+ OE terms within the domain *TRANSLATE*, in ME translations from French and Anglo-Norman see far more straightforward borrowings from Fr. *translater* (even though the term was still "relatively rare in twelfth century OF texts", Durling 1989, 10) and *torner*, next to *transporter, transposer*, and *torner* (Blumenfeld-Kosinski 2001, 17, after Buridant 1983, Durling 13).

Apart from the obvious linguistic mechanisms of borrowing, the reason for eliminating numerous native synonyms and limiting the choice to few borrowings might also be a major difference in the scribes' attitude towards translation, and the nature of their linguistic ensamble. Before the Norman Conquest, out of the three *linguas sacras* of translation, i.e. Hebrew, Greek and Latin, the Anglo-Saxon scribes were most versatile in Latin and translated into the vernacular mainly "to unlock the authoritative truths available in that language – religious, historical, or scientific – and so make them available to the young or the unschooled" (Burrow 2008, 7). Important, however, is the fact that even with the widely acclaimed supremacy of Latin as the "high language", the scribes recognized the differences between the languages and when faced with a decision whether to borrow or paraphrase, at least some of them believed that:

> …whoever translates or teaches from Latin into English must ever order it so that **the English has its own way**, otherwise it is very misleading for those to read who do not know the ways of Latin. (Ælfric, transl. Jonathan Wilcox, in Weissbort and Eysteinsson 2006, 41),

At the same time, they warned against erroneous scribal interference, as "the bad copyist does much harm, if he will not correct his error" (Ælfric in Weissbort and Eysteinsson 2006, 41). It seems, thus, that the approach towards the process of translating may have been – in modern understanding of the word – an exercise in stylistics; more of a paraphrase or free translation than anything else (cf. e.g. Stanton 1997, 38), and thus when discussing the process in the vernacular, the numerous native forms had a favorable environment to thrive in.

After the Norman Conquest, in the world of literacy, Latin retained its status of the language superior over the vernacular to such an extent that the form

– mere writing in this language – legitimized the content, cf. e.g. the criticism of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britannie*:

> …by embellishing [his stories] in the Latin tongue he has cloaked them with the honorable tide of history… and in translating into Latin he has published them as though they were authentic prophecies resting on unshakeable truth. (William of Newburgh in Given-Wilson 2004, 137),

French also quickly became "a language of power and… patronage" (O'Brien 2011, 38), and now scribes worked in three languages interchangeably, often within the same manuscript, cf., e.g., MS Additional 15350, BL, London with charters in Latin and English (12th c.) or MS Arundel 292, BL, London, containing *The Bestiary* next to other texts in English, Anglo-French, and Latin (13th c.), etc. (Laing 1993).

To the fore was brought the quality of both intra- and interlingual copying. Fisher discusses at length the scribal manner(ism)s, a peculiar "doubled trope of scribal incompetence and corrective scribal emendation… spread throughout a wide range of texts in all of the vernaculars present in medieval Britain." (Fisher 2012, 29). Indeed, many a time even medieval writers themselves complained about the quality of the copied text. In such a context it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the error, scribal code-switching and unevitable borrowing. On top of that, in case of any discrepancies or doubt, the source language (usually a higher language in the hierarchy) was still considered the source of authority, cf.:

> When a thynge is founde variable and diuerse in many translaciones, that hit may stonde accordenge to the trawethe of the gestes, then hit is to ȝiffe **moste specialle credence to that lan|gage from whom the translacion is made**. (Trevisa's *Polychronicon*, p.247vol2)

With this sociolinguistic context in the background, and given the linguistic data, it is only natural that the significant change within the domain *TRANSLATE* occurred in most favourable conditions, when the Anglo-Saxon and Romance languages clashed, thus leading to the loss of the native lexical items and the incorporation, in their place, of two items stemming from the Romance tradition.

4.3. Further research to establish the history of the meaning 'to translate'

Further research shall incude:

(1)   Precise mapping of OE synonyms to establish both central and marginal meanings, especially as regards *WENDAN*;

(2) Analysis of other EME synonyms of the verb *translate*, with special
     emphasis on Romance borrowings of:
     EXPOUNEN – meaning 'to give a version in another language, to translate'
     (c1380, OED, MED[10]),
     INTERPRETEN – meaning 'to translate' as in 'in writing' (c1384, OED,
     MED[11]),
     TRANSPŌSEN – meaning 'to change into another language, to translate; to
     transfer' recorded e.g. in Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (c1393, OED, MED[12]),
     and
     RENDREN 'to reproduce or express in another language' (c1400, OED,
     MED);
(3) Analysis of LME and EModE linguistic material with respect to the distri-
     bution of the native forms of *TURNEN, DRAUEN, TAKEN* etc. vs. *TRANS-
     LATEN* and other borrowings.

Notes

1   NOTE: OED attributes the date to the original. In fact, the manuscript that
     the scribe used the verb in is a century younger.
2   Cf. the meaning 'to explain' encoded in both OE *getrahtnian* and *gereccan*
     (Table 1).
3   Cf. the meaning 'to turn around, to change, alter' in OE *wenden* (Table 1).
4   Lines 16749–16762 of the text are also found in a1500 London, British Li-
     brary, Cotton Vespasian A.3 [North, Yorkshire, West Riding]. This portion of
     the text does not include the forms under scrutiny.
5   Defined as Northern in Morris: xxi.
6   Defined as East Mdl in Morris: xxi.
7   6 attestations altogether, in 2 different contexts.
8   7 attestations altogether, in 1 context.
9   Cf. meaning the 'turn' in *gecirran, gehwierfan, gebigan, awendan* and
     gewendan on the one hand, and its ME use in the identical context as OE
     getrahtnian and *gerrecan*.
10   (a1387) 2.95: I holde hit be worthy to write here and **expowne** meny termes
     of þese lawes: Mundbreche, hertynge of honour and of worschepe. (Trev.
     Higd., MS StJ-C H.1, MED)
11   (c1384) His name shal be clepid Emanuel, that is **interpretid** or expounid,
     God with us. (WBible(1), MS Dc 369(2), Mat.1.23, MED).
12   (a1393) After that out of Hebreu Jerom, which the langage kneu, The Bible,
     in which the lawe is closed, Into Latin he hath **transposed**. (Gower CA, MS
     Frf 3, 4.2656, MED).

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