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Reception of Latin vocabulary and introduction of new words in *An Alphabet of Tales*¹

Ayumi Miura

1 Introduction

Latin *Alphabetum Narrationum* (AN) is a collection of about 800 short sermon exempla arranged in alphabetical order from ‘Abbas’ to ‘Zelotipa’ and comprises romances, fables, humorous tales, anecdotes, saints’ legends and pious tales from the Middle Ages (Fittabile 1957: 7–11). These exempla provide an insight into the domestic life in medieval Europe and preach church doctrine to the lay audience in an entertaining and approachable way. Surviving in more than fifty manuscripts, AN is thought to have been originally compiled around the turn of the fourteenth century by a monk named Arnold who belonged to a Cistercian community in the Liège area (Johnson 1993: 16–23).

An English translation of AN, known as *An Alphabet of Tales* (AT), was made in the mid-fifteenth century, presumably in Salley Abbey located in the Ribblesdale area where Lancashire adjoins Yorkshire (Johnson 1993: 77–84), ‘probably to provide impetus for religious renewal in some remote spot in the English northland’ (ibid.: 4). The translator has not been identified to date. AT survives in only one manuscript (British Museum Additional MS 25,719), apparently written in one hand, and the two-part edition by Banks (1904–1905) seems to be the only complete edition available today. Despite being a valuable text to study ‘everyday fifteenth-century vocabulary and syntax’ (Johnson 1993: iv), the language of AT has attracted very limited attention. This could be partly because Part III of Banks’ edition, which had planned to comprise an introduction, glossary and index, was never published, thus failing to offer supplementary tools which are available in most texts for a linguistic and textual study.

Fortunately, a comprehensive glossary of the whole work is included in dissertations by Fittabile (1957) and Johnson (1993), and the completion of the *Middle English Dictionary* (MED), particularly its free online access, now allows a detailed study of the vocabulary in AT and any Middle English (ME) work. Nevertheless, a crucial shortcoming still remains: neither Fittabile nor Johnson attempts a comparison with the Latin source AN. The same applies to previous discussions of some syntactic features in AT, which either disregard the translation effect (Saito 1970) or note it only briefly without actually consulting the relevant part in AN (Loureiro-Porto 2009: 137–140; Miura 2015: 75, 81). Given Fittabile’s (1957: 4) observation that AT is ‘a faithful, if occasionally inaccurate rendering of the Latin’, we can expect a considerable amount of Latin influence in the vocabulary and syntax of AT. A close linguistic comparison between AT and AN may not have been conducted because the text of AN was not easily accessible. This situation, however, has recently been resolved by Brill (2015), a critical edition based on the extant manuscripts of AN.²

This paper aims to fill the gap in the previous studies on the language of AT by examining the degree in which the vocabulary in AT is influenced by the language of AN. In so doing, I will also attempt to exemplify a process of the reception of Latin vocabulary in late ME, or more precisely in mid-fifteenth-century northern England, and to reveal the lexical choices made by the translator in order to render Latin AN into English. The specific subject of investigation in this article is the group of words which are known to have been first recorded in AT as far as we can determine from the evidence in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) and the MED. It is assumed that these words were born because the translator could not think of an appropriate counterpart in the contemporary English vocabulary. If AT is indeed a ‘faithful’ translation of AN as Fittabile (1957: 4) says, these new words are hypothesised to be more Latin-based than the existing English words.

The organisation of this paper is as follows. The next section describes the methodology followed in order to establish the data under study, that is the list of newly coined words. Section 3 constitutes the core of the paper and offers a detailed quantitative and qualitative analysis of these words in terms of part of speech, semantic field, productivity in AT, transmission to other works during and after ME, word-formation patterns and correspondence with Latin words and expressions in AN. The

¹ The research for this paper was supported by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, Grant Number 19K13222 and 22K00619.

² Banks used two of these manuscripts, namely British Museum Harleian MS 268 (second half of the fourteenth century) and Arundel MS 378 (early fifteenth century), to produce her edition.

etymology of each word will also be considered with special reference to Latin equivalents. Section 4 offers the main concluding remarks.

2 Data and methodology

The first step in this study involved the compilation of a complete, accurate list of words first recorded in *AT*. For this purpose, I searched the quotations in the *OED* and the *MED* to identify citations ascribed to this work by title and then checked the date provided. As we will see, this was not straightforward given the different conventions in each dictionary and even within the same dictionary.

Citations from *AT* in the *OED* are categorised in different ways. A number of entries from ‘S’ onwards, especially ‘S’ and ‘T’, display the date c1440 before the title of the work (*Alphabet of Tales*), while the other entries display a slightly later date, c1450.³ Besides, in the c1450 entries this string of date and title of the work is regularly accompanied by ‘(1904) I.’ (i.e. Part I of Banks’ edition published in 1904) or ‘(1905) II.’ (i.e. Part II published in 1905), which is then followed by the page number for the citation (e.g. *massage*: c1450 *Alphabet of Tales* (1904) I. 58; *popeship*: c1450 *Alphabet of Tales* (1905) II. 402). The entry for *globe* exceptionally has only the page number after the date and title of work (‘c1450 *Alphabet of Tales* 323’). The label for the c1440 entries usually has the page number alone after the title of the work, but there are sporadic cases of the tale number appearing before the page number (e.g. *scantly*: c1440 *Alphabet of Tales* ix. 8).⁴ More unexpectedly, the entries for *senior* and *shine* show the page number and line number for the citation (e.g. *senior*: c1440 *Alphabet of Tales* 233/26).

Notwithstanding these variations in the date and bibliographic information, all citations of *AT* in the *OED* seem to share ‘*Alphabet of Tales*’ as the title of the work. A search for this string in the quotations by means of the tool ‘Advanced search’ yielded 840 results in 701 entries, which were manually looked up in order to extract the entries where an occurrence in *AT* was acknowledged as the earliest evidence. After eliminating phrases and idioms like *as mad as a goose*, *out of knowledge* and *to take thought*, a provisional list of ninety-one words was created, to be compared with a separate list based on the *MED* evidence.

Citations from *AT* in the *MED* have the title stencil ‘c1450 Alph.Tales (Add 25719)’, but searching this whole stencil or ‘Alph.Tales (Add 25719)’ in the option ‘Entire entry’ yielded either a vast number of irrelevant results (when this label was searched without being enclosed in quotation marks) or no match at all (when it was searched with quotation marks). When the search term was narrowed to ‘Alph.Tales’, 2,224 hits were obtained, all but one of which were entries with at least one citation from *AT*. The exception was the entry for the consonant cluster *qu-*, where ‘Alph.Tales’ appears in the passage for ‘Definitions (Senses and Subsenses)’. Another search with ‘25719’ was carried out to double-check the previous list of hits. This resulted in 2,224 hits again, but they differed from the previous outcome in a couple of respects. First, the entry for *qu-* was not included (because the passage only said ‘Alph.Tales’, not ‘Alph.Tales (Add 25719)’). Second, there was a false hit, i.e. entry for *wis(e n.(2))*, which does not actually contain ‘25719’. The exact result of 2,223 hits, with no irrelevant entry, was obtained by searching ‘Add 25719’ with quotation marks.

Each of these entries was manually checked with a view to identifying those which acknowledge *AT* as the earliest occurrence of the headword. The resulting eighty-four words and the above-mentioned ninety-one words from the *OED* were compared with each other, and those which turned out to have earlier textual evidence than *AT* in the other dictionary were removed. The breakdown of the final list of 103 words, including compounds, with their parts of speech in parentheses and meanings,⁵ is shown below (the spelling follows the *OED* headword as long as it is available):

(I) Earliest attestations in both the *OED* and the *MED*: thirty-four words

³ Different dates are used even in the same entry. One of the fifteen citations in the entry for *unto* has the date c1440, while the others are dated to c1450. The entry for *with* (prep., adv., and conj.) dates the first four citations to c1440 and the last to c1450.

⁴ Other examples which follow this pattern are *shall*, *turn* (n.), *wand* (n.), *wed* (adj.), *wherein* and *win* (v.).

⁵ The part of speech follows the one given in the *OED* and the *MED*. Two categories are provided (e.g. n./ger., adj./ppl.) when these dictionaries differ in labelling.

abbotship (n.) ‘the office of abbot’, *abusing* (n./ger.) ‘misuse, abuse’, *agateward* (adv.) ‘on the road’, *amorosity* (n.) ‘amorousness’, *angriness* (n.) ‘anger’, *globe* (n.) ‘a sphere’, *manlily* (adv.) ‘valiantly’, *massage* (n.) ‘the action of saying Mass’, *pig* (n.) ‘a container for wine’, *popeship* (n.) ‘the office of Pope’, *proceed* (n.) ‘a verdict’, *psalmody* (n.) ‘the singing of Psalms’, *publical* (adj.) ‘public’, *reknowledge* (v.) ‘acknowledge’, *revestiary* (n.) ‘the vestry of a church’, *salfay* (n.) ‘the reward paid for the recovery of lost property’,⁶ *skifting* (n./ger.) ‘division’, *sluggish* (adj.) ‘indolent’, *sluggishness* (n.) ‘indolence’, *sorance* (n.) ‘a sore’, *springald* (n.) ‘a youth’, *stout and rout* (adv.) ‘completely’,⁷ *stoutherie* (n.) ‘theft’, *striddling* (adv.) ‘astride’, *succeder* (n.) ‘a successor’, *sumption* (n.) ‘the action of receiving the sacrament of the Eucharist’, *tunsion* (n.) ‘the action of beating’, *ugsomely* (adv.) ‘in a terrifying manner’, *unbehovable* (adj.) ‘unsuitable’, *undoffed* (adj./ppl.) ‘not removed’, *unsoundable* (adj.) ‘improper’, *unto-come* (v.) ‘to arrive’, *usurary* (n.) ‘a moneylender’, *yedder* (n.) ‘the mark of a blow’

(II) Other new words from the OED: twenty-seven words

city gate (n.) ‘city gate’, *Fastingong Eve* (n.) ‘the evening of Shrove Tuesday’, *mass clothes* (n.) ‘mass vestments’, *natural fool* (n.) ‘a congenital fool’, *pale-hued* (adj.) ‘pallid’, *palm leaf* (n.) ‘a leaf of a palm tree’, *parsley-bed* (n.) ‘a plot of parsley’, *pit brae* (n.) ‘the edge of a pit’, *porch door* (n.) ‘porch door’, *prayer saying* (n.) ‘the act of praying’, *priest hermit* (n.) ‘a priest living as a hermit’, *professed* (n.) ‘a professed monk’, *purse-master* (n.) ‘a treasurer’, *sacrament-box* (n.) ‘a pyx’, *sark-skirt* (n.) ‘a shirt skirt’, *scuttleful* (n.) ‘as much as a basket can hold’, *sow-pap* (n.) ‘a sow’s teat’, *spiteful* (adv.) ‘outrageously’, *steeple-top* (n.) ‘the top of a steeple’, *swine bristle* (n.) ‘hog bristles’, *thunderbolt* (n.) ‘a lightning bolt’, *thyne-forth* (adv.) ‘thenceforth’, *vanity sight* (n.) ‘an illusion’, *vine-garth* (n.) ‘a vineyard’, *well-nurtured* (adj.) ‘well brought up’, *well-savouring* (adj.) ‘having a pleasant flavour’, *wolf den* (n.) ‘a wolf’s lair’

(III) Other new words from the MED: forty-two words

apocryphate (n.) ‘a spurious man’, *assecuten* (v.) ‘attain’, *bafen* (v.) ‘slaver’, *becovnand* (ppl.) ‘put under pledge’, *bedfellow* (n.) ‘a close friend’, *benevolous* (adj.) ‘well-wishing’, *besprinkle* (v.) ‘bespatter’, *cirographat* (n.) ‘a formal handwritten document’, *dashing* (n./ger.) ‘splashing’, *deaconship* (n.) ‘the office of deacon’, *debatous* (adj.) ‘quarrelsome’, *deceitfully* (adv.) ‘dishonestly’, *defer* (v.) ‘defer to’, *disclaundring* (ger.) ‘slandering’, *disple* (v.) ‘discipline’, *enjurement* (n.) ‘a judgement’, *falset* (n.) ‘treachery’, *familar* (adj.) ‘intimate’, *foisonable* (adj.) ‘abundant’, *Gotham* (n.) ‘Gotham (an unidentified town in England)’, *heighten* (v.) ‘exalt’, *hereat* (adv.) ‘about this’, *horn-faste* (adv.) ‘with great security’, *il-faringlie* (adv.) ‘badly’, *ill-willed* (adj.) ‘unwilling’, *infame* (n.) ‘dishonourable act’, *inlike* (adj.) ‘alike’, *innocentie* (n.) ‘innocence’, *instinction* (n.) ‘instigation’, *launderer* (n.) ‘laundress’, *lengthen* (v.) ‘lengthen’, *literature* (n.) ‘knowledge from books’, *ludification* (n.) ‘deception’, *maniple* (n.) ‘a maniple’, *o-dead* (adv.) ‘to death’, *practise* (adj.) ‘proficient’, *privalie* (adj.) ‘private’, *sparrer* (n.) ‘closer’, *throwable* (adj.) ‘believable’, *unseverable* (adj.) ‘unserviceable’, *uppermost* (adj.) ‘outermost’, *wedman* (n.) ‘a married man’

The *OED* and the *MED* agree that words in the first group are first attested in *AT*. The second group also represents words which the *OED* ascribes to *AT* as the earliest attestation, but none of them is a headword in the *MED*. Except for *professed* and *spiteful*, these words are compounds and subsumed under the entry for the first and/or second element of the compound.⁸ All of these *MED* entries cite the use in *AT* and do not provide any older evidence for the compound. *Professed* has a slightly earlier record as adjective (*OED* s.v. *professed* adj. and n.), but the first nominal use is

⁶ The *OED* has a separate and more detailed entry with *saufey* as headword, which includes all the three citations in the entry for *salfay* and offers additional information. *Salfay* is selected in the list because its entry and the corresponding *MED* entry are cross-referred to each other.

⁷ The *MED* has a separate entry for *stoute* (n.) and *route* (n.).

⁸ The *OED* is more likely than the *MED* to treat compounds as independent headwords ‘on account of their later importance in the history of English’ (Durkin 2014: 257).

attributed to *AT*, and the *MED* (s.v. *professen* v. 2. (d)) cites only the occurrence in *AT*. Similarly, *spiteful* is attested slightly earlier as adjective in both the *OED* and the *MED*, but the first adverbial record is found in *AT*.

The third group is made up of *MED* headwords, about half of which antedate the *OED* counterparts (e.g. *deaconship*, *ludification*, *unseverable*). The others have no entry in the *OED* (e.g. *bafen*, *innocentrie*, *sparrer*) or document an earlier evidence in the *OED* from another text, to which the *MED* gives a date later than *AT* (e.g. *besprinkle* from *Gesta Romanorum*, dated c1440 in the *OED* and a1500 in the *MED*; *ill-willed* from Richard Rolle's *Psalter*, dated a1340 in the *OED* and a1500(c1340) in the *MED*). For the latter words, the *MED* date was prioritised as it is more precise than the *OED* date. The two exceptions to any of the three patterns mentioned so far (*literature* and *maniple*) illustrate the rare case where the *MED* cites *AT* and another work of exactly the same date as the earliest evidence but the *OED* cites only the latter work (c1450 *De Claris Mulieribus* for *literature*; c1450 *Speculum Christiani* for *maniple*). Regardless of these different features, the forty-two words in this group can be considered as having originated in *AT*, just like the first two groups.

3 Data discussion

The 103 new words in *AT* which were finalised in Section 2 will now be closely examined according to several factors: part of speech and semantic field (Section 3.1), productivity or frequency in *AT* and transmission to other ME and post-ME works (Section 3.2), word-formation patterns (Section 3.3) and correspondence with Latin (Sections 3.4 and 3.5). Discussion of the last factor, correspondence with Latin, will involve a detailed lexical comparison between *AT* and *AN* with due attention to the etymology of the English words.

3.1 Part of speech and semantic field

The new words in *AT* are all content words. Noun is by far the most dominant part of speech (sixty-two words), followed by adjective (nineteen words), adverb (twelve words) and verb (nine words). As one might reasonably expect from a translation of sermon exempla, not a few terms are related to religion (e.g. *Fastingong Eve*, *maniple*, *popeship*, *revestiary*, *sumption*), abstract notions (e.g. *angriness*, *benevolous*, *innocentrie*, *ludification*, *sluggishness*) and professions (e.g. *launderer*, *purse-master*, *usurary*). Nevertheless, there are also everyday words (e.g. *hereat*, *il-faringlie*, *manlily*, *stout and rout*, *wedman*) as well as words denoting places and everyday products (e.g. *city gate*, *parsley-bed*, *sark-skirt*, *uppermost*, *vine-garth*). We can thus infer that the translator adopted these new words not only to express key concepts in *AN* but also to add variety to the whole vocabulary and engage readers into the translation.

3.2 Productivity in *AT* and transmission to subsequent works

In addition to identifying the first attestations, it is also relevant to know the extent to which these words were employed in *AT* itself as well as its transmission to other works in ME and afterwards up to the present day. For this purpose, I have checked the token frequency of each of the 103 items against the glossaries in Fittabile (1957) and Johnson (1993) and double-checked the outcome with a search of Banks' edition in the online Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse. It turned out that the above words generally have limited attestations in *AT* and subsequent works of ME. As Table 1 on the next page shows, the majority of them (72.8 per cent) occur only once in *AT*, and most of the others have either two or three tokens.

The combined evidence from the *OED* and the *MED* suggests that slightly more than half of the words (fifty-six; 54.4 per cent) are found exclusively in *AT* during ME; these effectively nonce words are indicated by an asterisk in Table 1. Judging from the number of illustrative quotations in the *OED* and the *MED* entries, even those which were adopted in other texts after their first use in *AT* appear to have been hardly productive during ME. This may be partly inevitable if we bear in mind that *AT* was translated only near the very end of the period. Still, most words have just one to three citations besides those in *AT*, and only *bedfellow*, *ill-willed*, *infame*, *literature*, *natural fool*, *psalmody* and *sluggish* have four or more citations in their *MED* entries. To give a few instances, the *MED* has only two citations for *Gotham*, one from *AT* and the other from *Towneley Plays* (a1500(a1460)), the latter being the sole ME citation in the *OED*. *Deceitfully* has two non-*AT* citations in the *MED*, one from *Paston Letters* (1464) and the other from *Proceedings in Chancery*

(1473–1475), but neither of these is recorded in the *OED*, and the only pre-1500 example is from Scottish *Actis & Deidis Schir William Wallace* (1488(c1478)). Lastly, *literature* has four non-*AT* citations in the *MED* (c1450 Boccaccio’s *De Claris Mulieribus*; ?a1475(?a1425) Higden’s *Polychronicon*; c1475 Chaucer’s *Canon Yeoman’s Tale*;⁹ a1500 Alain Chartier’s *Le Traite de l’Esperance*), the first two of which are quoted in the *OED* along with an instance in Skelton’s *Bowge of Courte* (?c1499).

Table 1: Tokens of new words in *AT*

Token	Word	[* exclusive to <i>AT</i> during ME]
8	1	<i>manlily</i>
5	2	<i>familarly</i> , <i>*professed</i>
4	1	<i>*stoutherie</i>
3	8	<i>abbotship</i> , <i>angriness</i> , <i>*enjurement</i> , <i>*o-dead</i> , <i>*prayer saying</i> , <i>sluggish</i> , <i>*usurary</i> , <i>*vine-garth</i>
2	16	<i>*cirographat</i> , <i>falset</i> , <i>*Fastingong Eve</i> , <i>infame</i> , <i>literature</i> , <i>*palm leaf</i> , <i>*popeship</i> , <i>psalmody</i> , <i>*salfay</i> , <i>sluggishness</i> , <i>sorance</i> , <i>thyne-forth</i> , <i>uppermost</i> , <i>wedman</i> , <i>well-savouring</i> , <i>yedder</i>
1	75	<i>*abusing</i> , <i>*agateward</i> , <i>amorosity</i> , <i>apocryphate</i> , <i>*assecuten</i> , <i>*bafen</i> , <i>*becovnand</i> , <i>bedfellow</i> , <i>benevolous</i> , <i>besprinkle</i> , <i>*city gate</i> , <i>dashing</i> , <i>*deaconship</i> , <i>debatous</i> , <i>deceitfully</i> , <i>defer</i> , <i>disclaundring</i> , <i>disple</i> , <i>*foisonable</i> , <i>*globe</i> , <i>Gotham</i> , <i>heighten</i> , <i>hereat</i> , <i>*horn-faste</i> , <i>il-faringlie</i> , <i>ill-willed</i> , <i>*inlike</i> , <i>innocentrie</i> , <i>instinction</i> , <i>launderer</i> , <i>*lengthen</i> , <i>*ludification</i> , <i>maniple</i> , <i>*mass clothes</i> , <i>*massage</i> , <i>natural fool</i> , <i>*pale-hued</i> , <i>*parsley-bed</i> , <i>pig</i> , <i>*pit brae</i> , <i>*porch door</i> , <i>*practise</i> , <i>*priest hermit</i> , <i>*privalie</i> , <i>*proceed</i> , <i>*publical</i> , <i>purse-master</i> , <i>*reknowledge</i> , <i>revestiary</i> , <i>*sacrament-box</i> , <i>*sark-skirt</i> , <i>*scuttleful</i> , <i>*skifting</i> , <i>*sow-pap</i> , <i>*sparrer</i> , <i>spiteful</i> , <i>*springald</i> , <i>steeple-top</i> , <i>stout and rout</i> , <i>*striddling</i> , <i>succeder</i> , <i>*sumption</i> , <i>*swine bristle</i> , <i>thunderbolt</i> , <i>trowable</i> , <i>*tunsion</i> , <i>*ugsomely</i> , <i>*unbehovable</i> , <i>*undoffed</i> , <i>*unseverable</i> , <i>*unsoundable</i> , <i>*unto-come</i> , <i>*vanity sight</i> , <i>well-nurtured</i> , <i>*wolf den</i>
Total	103	

If we expand the scope beyond ME, the *OED* entries show that the words in Table 1 also vary in post-ME productivity, which is in line with the low frequency reported above. The twenty-nine words listed in Table 2 (28.2 per cent of the new words) are not attested after 1500. Most of these are limited to *AT*, and as many as eighteen – words in the middle column in the table – are hapax legomena.

Table 2: New words in *AT* unattested after 1500

Attestations exclusive to <i>AT</i>		Others
Two or more tokens	Only one token	(found in later ME works)
<i>cirographat</i> , <i>enjurement</i> , <i>o-dead</i> , <i>usurary</i> , <i>vine-garth</i>	<i>assecuten</i> , <i>bafen</i> , <i>becovnand</i> , <i>horn-faste</i> , <i>inlike</i> , <i>massage</i> , <i>pig</i> , <i>practise</i> , <i>privalie</i> , <i>sacrament-box</i> , <i>sark-skirt</i> , <i>skifting</i> , <i>sow-pap</i> , <i>sparrer</i> , <i>unsoundable</i> , <i>unto-come</i> , <i>vanity sight</i> , <i>wolf den</i>	<i>disclaundring</i> , <i>familarly</i> , <i>il-faringlie</i> , <i>innocentrie</i> , <i>stout and rout</i> , <i>wedman</i>
5	18	6

⁹ This example in Chaucer, which belongs to the age before the production of *AT*, should most probably be subsumed in the entry for *lettrure* ‘book learning’, a borrowing from French first recorded in English in c1330. *Literature* is a borrowing from Latin.

This leaves us with seventy-four words (out of 103) which have any record in the *OED* after 1500. Among these, thirty-six (48.6 per cent) are marked in the dictionary as obsolete (e.g. *apocryphate*, *disple*, *reknowledge*, *throwable*, *well-savouring*), rare (e.g. *ludification*, *manlily*, *purse-master*, *springald*, *ugsomely*) or dialectal, chiefly Scottish or northern (e.g. *agateward*, *ill-willed*, *pig*, *striddling*, *yedder*). A number of words also have a very wide chronological gap between their appearance in *AT* and the second record. To give the most extreme example, *pale-hued*, *prayer saying*, *priest hermit*, *publical*, *stoutherie* and *undoffed* are not recorded again until the nineteenth century. Even from then, attestations are sparse – *publical*, *stoutherie* and *undoffed* are recorded only once – and mostly found in newspapers, magazines or journals, with no discernible relevance to *AT*. The re-emergence of these words after a gap of several centuries may safely be regarded as independent formation or borrowing rather than continuity of use from *AT* with an accidental gap in documentary record (Durkin 2009: 68–73).

All in all, based on the analysis presented in this section, new words in *AT* often have limited demand in *AT* as well as in subsequent work, and except for a few words such as *globe*, *heighten*, *lengthen* and *literature*, they had hardly any lasting effect on the vocabulary of English. They might not have been created at all if *AT* had not been translated. To put it another way, they are likely to have been introduced primarily because they were necessary to render *AN* into English.

3.3 Word-formation patterns

Turning attention now to word-formation patterns, as summarised in Table 3 on the next page, suffixation is the most common way to produce new words in *AT*. Half of the items are nouns, featuring various suffixes of Latinate and native origin, such as *-age*, *-ance*, *-ate*, *-er*, *-erie*, *-ful*, *-ing*, *-ity*, *-ness* and *-ship*. Compounding is almost as frequent as suffixation, and again nouns occupy more than two thirds of the list. Borrowing is the third most common choice, but it is much more restricted than suffixation and compounding. The other patterns such as conversion, prefixation, variant of another form and syncopation are all sporadic, but like suffixation and compounding, they are based on the existing vocabulary. It seems that, in order to create new words, the translator made active use of what was available in contemporary English (even though its elements may have originally come from other languages) and resorted to borrowing when there was no clear alternative. For instance, *abbotship* can easily be derived by adding the native suffix *-ship* to *abbot*, which was borrowed from Latin in early Old English (OE) (*OED* s.v. *abbot* n., etymology), and *bedfellow* combines the two nouns which have also been in use since OE (*OED* s.v. *bed* n., etymology; *fellow* n., etymology). In contrast, *cirographat* is not an everyday word, not even recorded in the *OED*, and an English counterpart could have been difficult to come up with. All the borrowed words occur only once or twice in *AT*, except for *usurary*, which has three tokens in two closely arranged tales (788 and 792).

3.4 Correspondence with Latin: Words with no equivalent

This and the next section will conduct a direct comparison between *AT* and *AN* for the purpose of determining to what extent the new words in *AT* were influenced by the Latin vocabulary in *AN*. Of the 103 new words, thirteen lack an exact equivalent in *AN* (*hereat*, *horn-faste*, *il-faringlie*, *proceed*, *purse-master*, *revestiary*, *scuttleful*, *sow-pap*, *sparrer*, *stout and rout*, *succeeder*, *swine bristle*, *wedman*), and other two do so in one of their occurrences (*professed* and *sorance*). These fifteen words are the focus of this section, and those which have some Latin equivalent in all of their occurrences will be discussed in the next section.

Table 3: Word-formation patterns of new words in AT

Pattern	Word	
suffixation	37	<i>abbotship, abusing, agateward, amorosity, angriness, apocryphate, besprinkle, dashing, deaconship, debatous, deceitfully, disclaundring, familiary, foisonable, heighten, il-faringlie, ill-willed, innocentie, launderer, lengthen, manlily, massage, popeship, privalie, scuttleful, skifting, sluggish, sluggishness, sorance, sparrer, spiteful, stoutherie, striddling, succeeder, throwable, ugsomely, uppermost</i>
compounding	31	<i>bedfellow, city gate, Fastingong Eve, hereat, horn-faste, mass clothes, natural fool, o-dead, pale-hued, palm leaf, parsley-bed, pit brae, porch door, prayer saying, priest hermit, purse-master, sacrament-box, sark-skirt, sow-pap, steeple-top, stout and rout, swine bristle, thunderbolt, thyne-forth, unto-come, vanity sight, vine-garth, wedman, well-nurtured, well-savouring, wolf den</i>
borrowing	18	<i>assecuten, bafen, benevolous, cirographat, defer, falset, globe, infame, instinction, literature, ludification, maniple, psalmody, publical, revestiary, sumption, tunsion, usuary</i>
conversion	4	<i>inlike, practise, proceed, professed</i>
prefix + suffix	4	<i>enjugement, undoffed, unseverable, unsoundable</i>
obscure	3	<i>Gotham, salfay, springald</i>
prefixation	3	<i>becovnand, reknowledge, unbehovable</i>
variant	2	<i>pig, yedder</i>
syncopation	1	<i>disple</i>
Total	103	

All the five tokens of *professed* in AT are found in the same tale, and four correspond to the Latin noun *prepositus* ‘prefect, chief’. The one which has no equivalent is in the middle of these four, so the translator probably needed no exact lexical match in Latin to use the word again. As a mid-fourteenth-century borrowing from French *professor* and Latin *profess-*, *profiteri* (OED s.v. *profess* v., etymology), the verb *profess* was already a part of the English vocabulary when AT was translated.

- (1) AT: We rede of a **profeste** of þe ordur of Premonstracence, [...] & þis **profeste** stoppid his hors & haylsid hur honestelie, [...] þis **profeste** þoght he wold prufe þis yong man [...] And þan þe **profest** said agayn; [...] And þan þe **profest** said vnto hym; (289.20–31)¹⁰
‘We read of a professed monk of the order of Premonstratensians [...] and this professed monk stopped his horse and greeted her fittingly, [...] this professed monk thought he would prove this young man [...] and then the professed monk said again; [...] and then the professed monk said to him;’
AN: **Prepositus** quidam Premonstratensis ordinis [...] equum suum retrahendo, officiosissime salutauit. [...] uolens **prepositus** temptare iuuenem [...] subiunxit **prepositus**: [...] Tunc **prepositus** ait: (428.2–11)¹¹
‘A certain prefect of the order of Premonstratensians [...] drawing back his horse, greeted most courteously. [...] the prefect wishing to tempt a young man [...] the prefect subdued [...] then the prefect said:’

¹⁰ Following the convention in the MED, citations from AT are referred to by their page and line number in Banks’ edition.

¹¹ Citations from AN are indicated by their tale and line number as provided in Brill’s edition.

Sorance lacks a Latin equivalent in one of its two tokens. Unlike *professed*, the examples appear in different tales (81 and 662), and the whole phrase involving the word is missing in *AN*, as in (2a). For the sake of comparison, the instance which has lexical correspondence between *AT* and *AN* is provided in (2b):

- (2) (a) *AT*: So afterward þer happend a **surans** for to fall in hys lymbe, þat his fute rotid off. (64.15–16)
 ‘So afterward a sore happened to attack his limb, and his foot rotted off.’
AN: Contingit autem ut putresceret pes eius (83.5–6)
 ‘But it happened that his foot rotted.’
 (b) *AT*: ffor þer byssshop had a grete **surans** in his fete, (442.17)
 ‘for their bishop had a great sore in his feet,’
AN: quia episcopus **dolore** pedum laborabat (678.4)
 ‘because the bishop suffered from a pain in his feet’

Surans in (2b) translates *dolore* ‘pain, grief’ semantically closely. The word is contextually appropriate in (2a) too and is made up of the elements available at the time. Thus, it may not have required significant effort for the translator to use it without any Latin counterpart.

The thirteen words which lack a precise equivalent in *AN* occur only once in *AT*, except for *wedman*, which has two tokens. Although these words have no strict lexical match in *AN*, two of them have some contextual support, as we can see in (3) with *proceed* and (4) with *sparrer*:

- (3) *AT*: for if þe law procede for me, be þe sentance of þe law I sall aw þe no thyng, for I ouercom þe. And if þe **procede** be agayns me, I sall aw nothyng be counand, for I am not ouercommen. (28.13–16)
 ‘for if the law rules in favour of me, by the sentence of the law I shall owe you nothing, for I overcome you. And if the verdict is against me, I shall owe nothing by covenant, for I am not overcome.’
AN: Nam si pro me pronuntiatum fuerit, nihil tibi ex sententia debebitur, quia ego uicero. Si autem contra me, nihil debeo ex pacto, quia ego uicero. (38.11–13)
 ‘For if the proposition is for me, nothing will be owed to you from the sentence, because I will have overwhelmed. If it is against me, I owe nothing from the covenant, because I will have overwhelmed.’
 (4) *AT*: I am a fend, & I am callid Claudens Aurem, Ere **sparrer**. And I hafe other iij felows, [...] The furst sparis a mans harte, [...] The second sparis his mouthe, [...] & þe thrid sparis his purs, [...] And I my selfe sparis a mans eris, (66.29–67.7)
 ‘I am a fiend, and I am called Claudens Aurem, ear-closer. And I have three other fellows, [...] the first closes a man’s heart, [...] the second closes his mouth, [...] and the third closes his purse, [...] and I myself close a man’s ears,’
AN: Ego sum demon et uocor Claudens Aurem, et habeo mecum tres socios, [...] Primus claudit cor [...] secundus os [...] tertius bursam [...] (87.4–7)
 ‘I am a fiend, called Ear-Closer, and have three fellows with me, [...] the first one closes a heart [...] the second a mouth [...] the third a purse [...]’

In (3) *proceed* is first used as a verb to translate *fuerit* ‘will be’ and is converted into a noun in the second sentence as the subject of the conditional clause. The subject and the verb of this conditional clause in *AN* are understood from the first sentence (*pronuntiatum fuerit* ‘the proposition will be’) and not overtly expressed, which may have led to the use of a new but contextually suitable subject in *AT*. The verb *proceed* was borrowed from French *proceder* and Latin *procedere* in the late fourteenth century – well before the translation of *AT*. *Ere sparrer* in (4) as well as the last clause *And I [...] mans eris* is added by the translator. *Sparrer* is clearly modelled on the verb *sparis*, which is recurrent in the citation and renders Latin *claudit* ‘shuts, closes’. The verb *sparren* first appeared at the end of the twelfth century, having developed from an OE verb with support of a cognate in Middle Dutch (*OED spar* and *MED sparren*, etymology). Deriving a noun from such a long-established word may have been as straightforward as converting *proceed* into a noun as in (3).

The other eleven words, on the other hand, have no apparent contextual support for their use. Some lack any equivalent even though other words in the same clause have one (e.g. *horn-faste*, *il-faringlie*, *scuttleful*, *stout and rout*, *succeder*), and sometimes the whole phrase or clause including the new word is added by the translator (e.g. *hereat*, *purse-master*, *revestiary*, *sow-pap*, *swine bristle*, *wedman*). One instance for each scenario is provided in (5) concerning *stout and rout* and (6) concerning *revestiary*:

- (5) AT: And all þe cetie burn vp **stowte & rowte**, I sall not ouerhypp nor lefe þis mes vndone. (443.8–9)
 ‘If all the city burns up completely, I shall not leave this mass undone.’
 AN: Etiam si tota ciuitas concremari deberet, hanc missam non dimittam (678.16–17)
 ‘Even if the entire city has to be burned up, I will not leave this mass’
- (6) AT: if so wer at þe sacrestan ordand hym suche a stole and a vestement as he saw in hevyn; ffor þan he wold trow at his vision wer trew. And so when he come in-to þe **revestiarie**, & saw þe stole and þe vestiment at was layd furth for þe dekyn, he knew it wele enogh; & þan he was certayn of his vision and [...] (423.23–28)
 ‘if it so happened that the sacristan ordered him such a stole and a vestment as he saw in heaven, for then he would believe that his vision was true. And so when he came into the vestry and saw the stole and the vestment that was laid forth for the deacon, he knew it well enough, and then he was certain of his vision and [...]’
 AN: si eiusdem coloris preparatur a sacrista stolam diacono qualem in celo uidisti, uera est uisio. Quod nutu Dei factum, certificatus ergo de uisione, [...] (651.6–8)
 ‘if a stole of the same colour is prepared by a sacristan for the deacon which you saw in heaven, the vision is true. This being done by God’s command, confirmed accordingly from the vision, [...]’

In (5) the conditional clause *And all þe cetie burn vp* corresponds to *si tota ciuitas concremari deberet* ‘if the entire city must be burned up’, but there is no Latin counterpart for *stowte & rowte*. In (6) the whole of *And so when [...] it wele enogh* is independently supplied by the translator, and AN simply has *Quod nutu Dei factum* ‘This being done by God’s command’. Among the eleven words which completely lack any kind of equivalent in AN, *revestiary* is the only borrowing (Latin *revestiarium* and French *revestearye*), and *stout and rout* is of obscure origin, whereas the other items are all based on the existing vocabulary. Thus, when it comes to employing new words without any counterpart in AN, the translator generally resorted to what was current at the time instead of borrowing from other languages. This tendency towards the existing vocabulary also applies to (2a) above and is even seen in (1), (2b), (3) and (4), where some kind of contextual support, if not necessarily the precise counterpart, is available for the new word.

3.5 Correspondence with Latin: Words with an equivalent

Having studied the words which lack a precise Latin equivalent in at least one of their tokens, this section will address those which correspond to a Latin word or phrase in AN in all of their occurrences. There are eighty-eight such words, which represent 85.4 per cent of the 103 new words in AT. I will classify them by translation patterns, specifically the formal and semantic correspondence between the words in AT and their counterparts in AN. Careful attention will also be paid to the correlation between these translation patterns and the word-formation patterns taken up in Section 3.3 as well as the etymology of each word.

In accordance with the degree of morphological and semantic proximity to the Latin equivalent, translation patterns of the words in question can be classified into three types, as presented in Table 4 below. In the first type, the Latin word in AN and its translation in AT share the etymologically identical stem, so the English word essentially counts as a loanword. For example, *familar* translates *familiaris* ‘familiar’ and its inflected forms in all of its five tokens (see Table 1 above); *abbotship* and *usurary* correspond respectively to (inflected forms of) *abbatia* ‘abbey’ and *usurarius* ‘usurer’ in all of their three occurrences; and *literature* is an adoption of *litterature* ‘writing’ in both of its two examples. *Priest hermit* (AN *heremite*) and *vanity sight* (AN *uanitate*) are exceptional in that only one part of the compound is an etymological translation and the other is an addition by the translator, potentially to clarify or supplement the meaning of the Latin loanword with a native word.

Table 4: Translation patterns of new words in AT with an equivalent in AN

Pattern	Word	
etymological (loanword)	27	<i>abbotship, abusing, amorosity, apocryphate, assecuten, benevolous, cirographat, defer, disple, familiary, globe, Gotham, infame, innocentie, instinction, literature, ludification, maniple, massage, popeship, priest hermit, psalmody, publical, sumption, tunsion, usuary, vanity sight</i>
loan translation	47	<i>angriness, bafen, bedfellow, besprinkle, city gate, dashing, debatous, deceitfully, disclaundring, falset, Fastingong Eve, heighten, ill-willed, inlike, launderer, lengthen, manlily, mass clothes, natural fool, palm leaf, pig, pit brae, porch door, practise, prayer saying, privalie, reknowledge, sacrament-box, skifting, sluggishness, springald, steeple-top, stoutherie, thunderbolt, thyne-forth, trowable, ugsomely, unbehovable, undoffed, unseverable, unsoundable, unto-come, vine-garth, well-nurtured, well-savouring, wolf den, yedder</i>
gap in sense or part of speech	14	<i>agateward, becovnand, deaconship, enjugement, foisonable, o-dead, pale-hued, parsley-bed, salfoy, sark-skirt, sluggish, spiteful, striddling, uppermost</i>
Total	88	

The second type of translation is purely semantic: the Latin word in AN is rendered into a word in AT which has a different stem but a close meaning and the same part of speech or grammatical function. In short, the resulting English word is a loan translation. *Professed* in (1) and *sorance* in (2b) belong to this type, as they translate a near-synonymous noun *prepositus* ‘prefect’ and *dolore* ‘pain’, respectively. Among the words in Table 3, *manlily*, the most frequent of the new words in AT (see Table 1 above), translates adverbial *de humanitate* ‘by humanity’, *fortissime* ‘most strongly’, *fortiter* ‘strongly’, *strenuissime* ‘most vigorously’, *uiriliter* ‘manfully’ or *uirtute* ‘with manliness’, which are broadly synonymous with each other. *Stoutherie*, the third most common new word (see Table 1), corresponds to three synonymous Latin nouns (*furtum*, *latrocinio*, *rapina* ‘robbery’), while *prayer saying* renders the noun *oratione(s)* ‘oration’ or the gerund *orans* ‘praying’. *Yedder* translates a phrase (*plagarum uestigia* ‘vestiges of blows’, *stigmata plagarum* ‘marks of strokes’) into a single word. *Palm leaf* is partly an etymological translation as it translates *palmarum foliis* or *foliis palme*, but *leaf* is synonymous with *folium* ‘leaf’. Parallel to *priest hermit* and *vanity sight* in etymological translation, *natural fool* and *pit brae* represent partly a loan translation of the Latin equivalent (*stultum* ‘fool’ and *puteum* ‘pit’, respectively) and partly an addition by the translator (*natural* and *brae* ‘brink’, respectively) to expand the meaning of the translation.

The third and the final type of translation involves a gap in either sense or part of speech between the Latin word in AN and its translation in AT, the two items being also etymologically distinct from each other. Semantically, *deaconship* and *parsley-bed* are not quite close respectively to *gradu lectoris* ‘rank of a lector’ and *sportella* ‘a little basket’ in AN, though they are both noun phrases. At least, they are not so synonymous as to be called a loan translation. On the other hand, the adjective *sluggish* translates a noun (*pigritiam* ‘sloth’) or a verb (*accidiarieris* ‘you would be impaired’, *accidior* ‘I am impaired’), and the adverb *agateward* corresponds to a noun (*iter* ‘journey, passage’), while the core meaning of the Latin word is retained. The past participle *becovnand* condenses a finite clause *ad promissum induxerat* ‘he had moved towards a pledge’ into one word, and the equivalent of the adverb *o-dead* ranges from a simple verb (*suffocauit* ‘choked’) to a finite clause (*eius animam excussit* ‘sent forth his life’, *uitam ibi finiuit* ‘ended life there’).

As Table 4 shows, loan translation is by far the most common pattern identified and covers a wide range of vocabulary, such as religious terms (e.g. *mass clothes*, *prayer saying*, *sacrament-box*), abstract concepts (e.g. *angriness*, *falset*, *sluggishness*), objects and places (e.g. *city gate*, *pig*, *steeple-top*, *vine-garth*, *wolf den*). In addition to these nouns, most of the adjectives illustrate loan translation (e.g. *debatous*, *inlike*, *practise*, *trowable*, *unseverable*, *well-savouring*). Translation with a semantic or functional gap does not seem to be particularly common with any specific area of

lexicon. Etymological translation often features words which may well be typical of sermon exempla, such as religious terms (e.g. *abbotship*, *massage*, *psalmody*, *sumption*), abstract notions (e.g. *amorosity*, *benevolous*, *innocentrie*, *ludification*) and professions (e.g. *priest hermit*, *usurary*). These words may not always have had an appropriate counterpart in the contemporary English vocabulary, and etymological translation may have been the most practical option for the translator.

There does not seem to be any strong correlation between word frequency and translation type. Only six words (22.2 per cent) of etymological translation occur twice or more in *AT*, while fifteen words (31.9 per cent) of loan translation and five words (35.7 per cent) with a translation gap do so. After all, as Table 1 showed, new words in *AT* are generally infrequent.

Word-formation patterns of the three translation types and the etymology of each component tell us more about how the translator created each word on the basis of its Latin equivalent. As summarised in Table 5 below, etymological translation is not always equated with simple borrowing, and the translator sometimes made use of the existing patterns and vocabulary in English. Slightly more than half of the twenty-seven words (55.5 per cent) are regarded in the *OED* and the *MED* as borrowing from Latin or French, but suffixation is not uncommon (29.6 per cent). Three words have a native suffix (*abbotship*, *abusing*, *popeship*), illustrating loan blends rather than loanwords (Durkin 2009: 137–139; 2014: 9). As mentioned above, compounds *priest hermit* and *vanity sight* were both created by etymological translation of one element (*hermit* and *vanity*) and addition of an OE word which is absent from *AN* (*priest* and *sight*).¹² The verb *disple* is a syncopation based on *disciplinavit* ‘disciplined’, and the origin of the place name *Gotham* is unknown.

Table 5: Word-formation patterns of etymologically translated new words in *AT*

Pattern	Word
borrowing	15 <i>assecuten</i> , <i>benevolous</i> , <i>cirographat</i> , <i>defer</i> , <i>globe</i> , <i>infame</i> , <i>instinction</i> , <i>literature</i> , <i>ludification</i> , <i>maniple</i> , <i>psalmody</i> , <i>publical</i> , <i>sumption</i> , <i>tunsion</i> , <i>usurary</i>
suffixation	8 <i>abbotship</i> , <i>abusing</i> , <i>amorosity</i> , <i>apocryphate</i> , <i>familarly</i> , <i>innocentrie</i> , <i>massage</i> , <i>popeship</i>
compounding	2 <i>priest hermit</i> , <i>vanity sight</i>
obscure	1 <i>Gotham</i>
syncopation	1 <i>disple</i>
Total	27

For its part, Table 6 on the next page demonstrates word-formation patterns of loan translation. In stark contrast to etymological translation, borrowing is one of the least preferred options. Both *bafen* and *falset* come from French, but the French etymons have been around respectively since the thirteenth century and the mid-twelfth century (*Anglo-Norman Dictionary* s.v. *baver* v.intrans., *fauseté* s.), so they are unlikely to have sounded completely novel in fifteenth-century England. Another remarkable distinction from etymological translation is that compounding and suffixation are equally common and together represent the majority of words of loan translation. Nearly half of the compounds correspond to a phrase in *AN* (e.g. *city gate* – *portam ciuitatis* ‘gate of a city’; *wolf den* – *antrum lupi* ‘wolf’s cave’), and the others to a simple noun (e.g. *sacrament box* – *pyxide* ‘casket’; *thunderbolt* – *fulmine* ‘lightning’). Strikingly, no word in either group consists entirely of Latin or French elements. Ten out of the eighteen compounds have an ultimately Latin or French origin in one of their two parts (e.g. *mass clothes*: Latin + OE; *well-nurtured*: OE + French), but except for *vine-garth* (French + Old Norse), every compound is made up of at least one OE word, and some are entirely native in origin (*steeple-top*, *thunderbolt*, *unto-come*, *wolf den*). Scandinavian elements are seen in the second part of *bedfellow* and *pit brae* and the first part of *Fastingong Eve* and *thyne-forth*, which may be reasonable for a work written in the northern dialect (see Section 1).

¹² *Priest* is ultimately from post-classical Latin *presbyter*, but it has been recorded since early OE (*OED* s.v. *priest* n.).

Table 6: Word-formation patterns of new loan translations in AT

Pattern	Word
compounding	18 <i>bedfellow, city gate, Fastingong Eve, mass clothes, natural fool, palm leaf, pit brae, porch door, prayer saying, sacrament-box, steeple-top, thunderbolt, thyne-forth, unto-come, vine-garth, well-nurtured, well-savouring, wolf den</i>
suffixation	17 <i>angriness, besprinkle, dashing, debatous, deceitfully, disclaundring, heighten, ill-willed, launderer, lengthen, manlily, privalie, skifting, sluggishness, stoutherie, trowable, ugsomely</i>
prefix + suffix	3 <i>undoffed, unseverable, unsoundable</i>
borrowing	2 <i>bafen, falset</i>
conversion	2 <i>inlike, practise</i>
prefixation	2 <i>reknowledge, unbehovable</i>
variant	2 <i>pig, yedder</i>
obscure	1 <i>springald</i>
Total	47

Native vocabulary prevails in suffixation too. Only *debatous* (French + Latin) and *stoutherie* (Old Norse + French) are comprised exclusively of non-native elements, and except for these two words, only five have any French stem (*deceitfully, disclaundring, launderer, privalie*) or suffix (*trowable*). *Besprinkle, heighten, lengthen* and *manlily* are purely native. Scandinavian stems stand out more than in compounds: *angriness, dashing, ill-willed, skifting, sluggishness, ugsomely*.

Examples of the other word-formation patterns are scarce, but French or Latin elements are not particularly restricted. Two of the three words which involve both prefixation and suffixation (*unseverable* and *unsoundable*) have a French stem and suffix. As we have seen above, both of the borrowed words (*bafen* and *falset*) are from Old French, the converted adjective *practise* is of Latin origin, and *reknowledge* has a Latin prefix.

As the final step in the analysis of this study, Table 7 shows word-formation patterns of translation with a semantic or functional gap. Suffixation is again predominant, patterns other than compounding are sporadic, and borrowing is not observed at all. In suffixation, only *foisonable* is exclusively of French origin, and the other words are at least partly native, though *deaconship* and *spiteful* have a French or Latin stem. Each of the four compounds also has at least partly native origin, with French elements limited to the first part of the compound *pale-hued* and *parsley-bed*. The prefixed word *becovnand* also has a French stem (*covenant*), and *enjurement* is purely French, but both are rare patterns. Old Norse vocabulary is seen in the stem of *sluggish* and the second part of *sark-skirt*.

Table 7: Word-formation patterns of new words in AT translated with a semantic/functional gap

Pattern	Word
suffixation	7 <i>agateward, deaconship, foisonable, sluggish, spiteful, striddling, uppermost</i>
compounding	4 <i>o-dead, pale-hued, parsley-bed, sark-skirt</i>
obscure	1 <i>salfay</i>
prefixation	1 <i>becovnand</i>
prefix + suffix	1 <i>enjurement</i>
Total	14

4 Concluding remarks

This paper has focused on the words which are known to have first appeared in *AT* according to their lexicographical evidence in the *OED* and the *MED* and has discussed their part of speech, semantic field, productivity, transmission to other works, word formation, correspondence with the Latin equivalents in *AN* and translation patterns. The original goal of this study was to examine how the vocabulary choice in *AT* is influenced by the language of *AN* and how the translator accepted the Latin vocabulary for the purpose of his English translation. This section will summarise the discussions in the previous sections and conclude the whole paper.

The 103 new words in *AT* are all content words, most often nouns, and cover a wide range of semantic fields. However, their use was found to be limited in a number of respects. As we saw in Section 3.2, more than 70 per cent of them occur only once in *AT*, more than half are exclusive to *AT* during ME, nearly 30 per cent failed to survive after ME, and almost half of the survivors are now obsolete, rare or dialectal, chiefly Scottish or northern. The productivity of these words is restricted in and out of *AT*, and their creation should be attributed considerably to the unique project of rendering Latin *AN* into English.

Nevertheless, the translator did not simply adopt the Latin equivalents of these words in *AN*. Almost 66 per cent of the new words in *AT* are formed by suffixation or compounding of the lexical elements which were available in contemporary English, and borrowing is much less frequent than either of these two patterns. The vast majority of words correspond to a certain word or expression in *AN*, but only about 30 per cent of them are etymological translations of the Latin counterparts, namely cases where the stem of the Latin word and that of its English translation are etymologically identical. In addition, these etymologically translated words sometimes involve a suffix different from the Latin word, and it can even be a native suffix. These words are also particularly common with topics which may be typical in sermon exempla: religious terms, abstract concepts and professions. In contrast, loan translation, which retains the core meaning of the Latin word but not its stem and which is the most common translation pattern in *AT*, is applied to various semantic fields. Furthermore, loan translation was found to make use of suffixation and compounding based on vocabulary items at the time, with hardly any recourse to borrowing. Besides, no compound of loan translation is purely French or Latin in origin, and native elements predominate in both compounding and suffixation. Suffixation is also most common with translations which have a semantic or functional gap from Latin equivalents, and almost all the words formed by suffixation or compounding have at least partial native etymology.

The degree of Latin influence may also be gauged indirectly by the words which lack a word-for-word correspondence with *AN* (Section 3.4). The translator did not refrain from introducing a new word without any counterpart or support in the context. Most of these unsupported words are composed by the existing vocabulary. The translator also felt free to expand the original (con)text in *AN* and further to introduce a colloquial expression like *stout and rout* of unknown origin.

Fittabile (1957: 4) described *AT* as ‘a faithful, if occasionally inaccurate rendering of the Latin’. It was hypothesised at the beginning of this paper that new words in *AT* are more likely to be Latin-based than the existing vocabulary because the translator must have created them for lack of appropriate English counterparts. Nevertheless, Latin influence proved to be rather limited. Indeed, the majority of these words may be labelled as ‘faithful’ translations in that they are modelled on a certain word or expression in *AN*. However, they are generally nonce, one-off words to begin with, and etymological translation and borrowing from Latin or French are secondary choices, being overwhelmed by loan translation and suffixation or compounding. Latin-based new words tend to be favoured in certain categories such as religion, where native alternatives may not have been readily available. The translator seems to have prioritised words of native origin and current vocabulary which would have sounded familiar to the lay audience. The occasional adoption of Old Norse words may also have been an attempt to this effect, given that *AT* was composed in the northern dialect. The resulting translation is generally faithful to *AN* in terms of content but only restrictively Latinate in vocabulary choice. By choosing this approach of rendering, the translator provided linguistic accessibility and variety for those who did not read Latin or had no access to the original.

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