J Ę Z Y K O Z N A W S T W O

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ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS OF *DICERE*
IN PROSE TRANSLATIONS OF JEROME'S PSALTERS

A b s t r a c t. An examination of English prose translations of Jerome's Psalter from OE to EMnE reveals that there are four relevant equivalents of the Latin verb *dicere*: *cweðan*, *secgan > seien > say*, *tell* and *speak*. In each period in the history of English the verb *dicere* is translated by a prototypical verb of saying but the prototypes change over time. In OE both *cweðan* and *secgan* were amply attested but it was the former that had the status of the prototype. The two verbs are continued in ME but the use of *quēthen* undergoes morphological and syntactic restrictions as a result of which *seien* takes over the status of the prototype and is used in all examined ME texts in all contexts. Similarly, in the EMnE translation *seien* is selected in thirty-four out of thirty-eight contexts, with the remaining four occurrences of *dicere* are rendered by *tell* and *speak*, which were quite frequently attested in the examined texts in the ME period but they were selected as equivalents of *loqui*, *annuntiare*, *enarrare* and *narrare*. Consistent selection of equivalents seems to characterise the traditional approach to biblical translation, which focuses on the form in the first place. This attitude results from the conviction that sacred texts convey their message not only via direct linguistic expression and is at the same time an expression of the translators' reverence and respect for the sacred nature of the text they translated.

1. INTRODUCTION

The objective of the article is to analyse equivalents of Latin *dicere* appearing in English prose translations of Jerome's Psalter. The equivalents will be analysed in translations ranging from the Old English to the Early Modern English period. As far as Old English is concerned, the period abounded in glossed texts, while there was only one translation as such i.e. the Paris Psalter. Psalms 1-50, whose author-

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ship is ascribed to Alfred the Great[1] are in prose and this is the first text which will be analysed here. In the Middle English period there were four prose translations of the Psalter: Richard Rolle's translation, the West Midland Psalter and two translations of the Wycliffite Bible. In this study the West Midland Prose Psalter will not be covered as it does not represent a direct rendering of Jerome's Latin text: it is a translation of a Latin gloss to the Psalter text. Interestingly, as suggested by Paues (1902), the Latin glossed text was translated into French and this French text is shown conclusively to have influenced its English rendering (cf. DEANESLY 1920; REUTER 1938; ST-JACQUES 1989; BLACK AND ST-JACQUES 2012). Both of these factors make the lexical choices exhibited by the West Midland Psalter unsuitable for the comparative study presented here. Therefore, as far as the Middle English prose translations of the Psalter are concerned, we will analyse three texts, i.e. that of Richard Rolle and the two Wycliffite versions, the former ascribed to Hereford, while the latter is believed to have been carried out by Purvey (cf. FORSHALL and MADDEN 1850; SLATER 1911; HARGREAVES 1955; PARTRIDGE 1973; DOVE 2007), though some scholars associate the latter text with Trevisa (cf. POLLARD 1911; FOWLER 1995; COOPER n.d.). The last text to be analysed here is the Psalter of the Douay Bible, which represents the only prose translation of Jerome's Psalter directly into English in the Early Modern English period.[2] In effect, this examination covers the span of time ranging from Alfred's ninth-century translation, through three fourteenth-century texts, to the late sixteenth-century translation published in the early seventeenth century.[3]

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[1] The first mention of Alfred as the author of this translation is due to William of Malmesbury (1095-c. 1143), who, listing the translations carried out by Alfred, mentions the fact that Alfred died while working on a translation of the Psalms (cf. SHEPHERD 1969: 370 and WAITE 2000: 13). However, it is not until BATELY'S (1982) extensive work on the lexical features of the text that Alfred's authorship was generally accepted. O'NEILL'S (2001) impressive study on the Paris Psalter carefully reviews the existing evidence and provides some fresh evidence in favour of Alfred's authorship of the translation.

[2] The Early Modern period abounded in fresh translations of the Psalter. The source text of these translations was, with the exception of Coverdale's 1540 translation, non-Jeromian Latin. In 1540 Coverdale produced a close translation of Jerome's Gallican Psalter, which, however, was his fourth translation of the Psalter and since the previous translations were based on a different underlying text, the 1540 translation is clearly influenced by the phraseology of the remaining texts: an inevitable side effect of translating the same text from different underlying originals more than once.

[3] The Old Testament of the Douay Bible had to wait about 30 years for the publication in 1609/1610.

2. METHODOLOGY

A comparative analysis of English equivalents of the Latin verbs appearing in the Psalter can only make sense if the underlying Latin texts can be shown to be similar enough. Therefore, the prerequisite for this study was an inquiry into the underlying texts of prose translations of the Psalter between the Old and the Early Modern English period (cf. CHARZYŃSKA-WÓJCIK 2013), which resulted in singling out the five texts listed above. These five texts are based on two broad families of originals: Jerome's first recension of the Psalter (made from the manuscripts of the Old Latin version corrected against the text of the Septuagint), generally referred to as *Psalterium Romanum* or the Roman Psalter and Jerome's second recension of the Psalter (made on the basis of Origen's Hexapla), known as *Psalterium Gallicanum* or the Gallican Psalter. In particular, the *Romanum* is the underlying text of the Old English translation, i.e. the Paris Psalter,[4] while the remaining four translations are all based on the *Gallicanum*. Another important aspect of the underlying Latin Psalter is related to text transmission via manuscripts, which invariably resulted in manifold corruptions. As a result, no two texts of the Psalter were identical. In effect, we have to deal with differences operating at two levels: the differences between the *Romanum* and *Gallicanum* and, secondly, the differences between the texts of the *Gallicanum* underlying the English translations in the post-Norman period in view of the fact that only Richard Rolle's Psalter comes with the Latin text it translates. In order to eliminate the danger of overlooking the differences obtaining between the underlying Latin texts affecting the results of this study, we compared several versions of each Psalter, marked all differences within the selected texts of the *Romanum* and the *Gallicanum*, Then, we compared the two Psalter texts and eliminated all contexts where the two Psalters differed to avoid the danger of comparing equivalents selected for texts which are not eligible for comparison. As a result, we established the common core of the texts which makes the comparison of equivalents reasonable. In the remainder of this paper whenever we talk of the contexts eligible for the study, we mean contexts which have been established via the procedure just mentioned.

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[4] The Latin text accompanying the OE prose in the Paris Psalter MS. does not, as is now clear, represent the original from which the OE translation was made (cf. O'NEILL 2001 and STRACKE at http://www.aug.edu/augusta/psalms/ for the details of the classification of the Paris Psalter Latin and the analysis of the features of the underlying (*Romanum*) Latin text of Alfred's translation).

3. THE DATA

The text of Psalms 1-50 abounds in occurrences of *dicere* 'say, talk; tell; call; name, designate; assert; set, appoint; plead; order.'[5] After eliminating the passages which do not meet the required criteria, we are left with 42 contexts which have proved eligible for comparison:[6] 2.7, 3.1, 4.5, 4.7, 9.26, 9.31, 9.33, 10.1, 11.4, 11.5, 12.5, 13.1, 15.1, 17.47, 26.7, 26.9, 28.7, 29.6, 30.17, 30.25, 31.6, 32.8, 34.11, 34.21, 34.23 (×2), 34.3, 34.25, 35.1, 37.16, 29.10, 39.7, 39.18, 39.19, 40.4, 40.5, 41.3, 41.10, 41.12, 44.1, 49.13, 49.17. The most frequently selected Old English equivalent of *dicere* is *cweðan* 'to say, speak, call, proclaim' with as many as thirty occurrences: 2.7, 3.1, 4.7, 9.26, 9.31, 9.33, 11.4, 11.5, 12.5, 13.1, 26.9, 29.6, 30.25, 31.6, 32.8, 34.3, 34.21, 34.11, 34.23 (×2), 34.25, 35.1, 39.7, 39.18, 39,19, 40.4, 41.3, 41.10, 41.12 and 49.17. Example (1) given below illustrates the *dicere-cweðan* equivalence, with (1a) illustrating the text of the Roman Psalter as it appears in Stracke's internet edition[7] and (1b) presenting its OE rendering.[8]

(1) 2.7
a.   Dominus **dixit** ad me: Filius meus es tu; ego hodie genui te;
b.   For þan **cwæð** Drihten to   me,
      because said Lord   to   me
      þu   eart min sunu,
      you   are   my   son
      nu   todæg ic ðe   acende.
      since today I   you brought-forth

The second most frequent equivalent of *dicere* in the Paris Psalter is *secgan* 'to say', which is used six times: 15.1, 26.7, 28.7, 30.17, 39.10 and 40.5.

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[5] All translations from OE to PdE are taken from Bosworth and TOLLER (1898) and TOLLER (1921).

[6] As Psalter editions differ with respect to verse numbering, we follow the numbering of the psalms in CHARZYŃSKA-WÓJCIK (2013), where all texts are arranged to match the verse division of the Paris Psalter as presented in the Toronto Corpus, which is the source of the OE Paris prose discussed here.

[7] The digital edition of the manuscript of the Paris Psalter is available at: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8451636f.r=psalterium+duplex.langEN. Stracke's internet edition of the Latin Psalter diverges form the manuscript as our examination of the two texts reveals, yet the passages quoted here do not exhibit the differences, hence we decided to represent the text as it appears in Stracke. Moreover, as mentioned in Section 2, the text underwent several comparisons with other editions of *Psalterium Romanum*. The results of these examinations will not be presented here (cf. CHARZYŃSKA-WÓJCIK 2013) but they have affected the choice of contexts deemed relevant for this study.

[8] The OE text of the Paris Psalter is presented here after the Toronto Corpus edition.

(2) 28.7

a. Vox Domini preparantis cervos, et revelavit condensa, et in templo eius omnes **dicent** gloriam.

b.
And	he	gedyde	þæt	þa	fynd	flugan
and	he	caused	that	the	enemies	escaped

swa	heortas,	and	he	onwreah	þa	eorþan,
as	harts	and	he	uncovered	the	earth

þe	ær	wæs oferþeaht mid	feondum;	cumon		nu
that	before	was covered with	enemies	should-come		now

forþi	ealle	to his	temple, and	**secgon**	him þæs	lof.
for-that-reason	all	to his	temple and	should-say	him the	glory

These two verbs account for 36 equivalents out of the 42 uses of *dicere*, which leaves us with six more contexts to examine. Interestingly, the remaining six contexts are rendered by six different verbs: *smēan* 'to consider, ponder, examine, inquire into, discuss, search' in 4.5, *lǣran* 'to teach, instruct, educate, to give religious teaching, to preach, to teach a particular tenet or dogma, to enjoin a rule, to exhort, admonish, advise, persuade, suggest' in 10.1, *singan* 'to sing, recite, relate musically or in verse' in 17.47, *biddan* 'to ask, pray, beseech, bid, order, require' in 37.16, *be-fæstan* 'to commend, recommend, commit, deliver, put in trust, entrust' in 44.1 and *seōfian* 'to lament, complain (of)' in 49.13. Before commenting on the lexical choices exhibited by the latter six cases, let us examine the Middle and Early Modern English equivalents of *dicere*.

As far as Middle English is concerned, all three texts exhibit the same equivalent in all 42 instances: *seien* 'to say', which is a direct descendant of OE *secgan*. Consider the set below, where the (a) example represents the text of the Gallican Psalter as represented in Richard Rolle's Psalter,[9] (b) exhibits the English translation of Richard Rolle, while the passages in (c) and (d) represent the early and late Wycliffite versions.[10] Whenever ME translations of the Psalter are quoted in this paper, they are always presented in this format.

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[9] Again, as is the case with the text of the Roman Psalter, the Gallican Psalter underwent a series of comparisons, whose results will not be presented here but which have allowed us to establish the contexts eligible for verb selection comparison. The Latin text present in Richard Rolle's Psalter is given here after BRAMLEY (1884), which is available in a digital version at: http://quod.lib. umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=cme;cc=cme;view=toc;idno=AJF7399.0001.001.

[10] The English text of Richard Rolle's Psalter is represented here after BRAMMLEY (1984), which is available in a digitalised version at: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=cme;cc=cme; view=toc;idno=AJF7399.0001.001. The two Wycliffite versions are quoted here after FORSHALL

(3)   2.7
a.   Dominus **dixit** ad me filius meus es tu: ego hodie genui te.
b.   Lord **sayd** til me my son ert thou: this day .i. gat the.
c.   The Lord **seide** to me, My sone thou art; I to day gat thee.
d.   The Lord **seide** to me, Thou art my sone; Y haue gendrid*****. [goten I.] thee to dai.

In this context in is interesting to note that the most frequently selected OE equi-valent of *dicere* i.e. *cweðen* is still well attested in the Middle English period (*quēthen*) and, as evidenced by the Middle English Dictionary, it is used through-out the ME period. Clearly, however, its complete absence in the 14th century translations of the Psalter seems to indicate a change of status of this verb. Before this fact can be properly interpreted, we need to look at the Early Modern English equivalents of *dicere*.

The Early Modern English equivalents of *dicere* as represented in the Douay Bible Psalter are: *say*, with 38 instances (an illustrative example is shown in 4), and *tell* and *speak* with two occurrences each: the former in 44.1 and 49.13 (cf. 5 below) and the latter in 39.10 and 40.5 (cf. 6 below). As was the case with examples (1)-(3), the (a) division shows the Latin text underlying the translation[11] and the text in (b) represents its English rendering.[12]

(4)   2.7
a.   Dominus **dixit** ad me filius meus es tu: ego hodie genui te.
b.   The Lord **said** to me; Thou art my Sonne, I this day haue begotten thee.

(5)
i.   44.1
a.   Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum: **dico** ego opera mea regi.
b.   My hart hath vttered a good word: I **tel** my workes to the king.
ii.   49.13
a.   Si esuriero, non **dicam** tibi: meus est enim orbis terræ, et plenitudo eius.

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b. If I shal be hungrie, I wil not **tel** thee: for the round earth is myne, and the fulnes therof.

(6)

i. 39.10

a. ... Iustitiam tuam non abscondi in corde meo: veritatem tuam et salutare tuum **dixi**.

b. ... Thy iustice I haue not hid in my hart: thy truth and thy saluation I haue **spoken**.

ii. 40.5

a. Inimici mei **dixerunt** mala mihi: Quando morietur et peribit nomen eius?

b. Mine enemies haue **spoken** euils to me: When shal he die, and his name perish?

    In sum, the 42 occurrences of *dicere* eligible for this study are rendered in OE by as many as eight items, out of which two verbs, namely *cweðan* and *secgan* account for 36 equivalents of *dicere*, which amounts to over 85% of cases, while the remaining six instances of *dicere* are rendered by six different equivalents. In ME all 42 occurrences of *dicere* are invariably rendered in all three texts by the same equivalent, i.e. *seien*, i.e. the verb is selected 126 times, while the Early Modern English Psalter found in the Douay Bible shows three equivalents of *dicere*: *say* (38 occurrences), *tell* and *speak* (with 2 occurrences each). The OE and EMnE facts are summarised in Tables 1 and 2 below, ME data requiring no further comments.

Table 1: Old English equivalents of *dicere*

	VERB	OCCURRENCES
1.	*cweðan*	2.7, 3.1, 4.7, 9.26, 9.31, 9.33, 11.4, 11.5, 12.5, 13.1, 26.9, 29.6, 30.25, 31.6, 32.8, 34.3, 34.21, 34.11, 34.23 (×2), 34.25, 35.1, 39.7, 39.18, 39,19, 40.4, 41.3, 41.10, 41.12, 49.17.
2.	*secgan*	15.1, 26.7, 28.7, 30.17, 39.10 40.5
3.	*smeān*	4.5
4.	*lǣran*	10.1
5.	*singan*	17.47
6.	*biddan*	37.16

7.	*be-fæstan*	44.1
8.	*seōfian*	49.13

Table 2: Early Modern English equivalents of *dicere*

	VERB	OCCURRENCES
1.	*say*	2.7, 3.1, 4.5, 4.7, 9.26, 9.31, 9.33, 10.1, 11.4, 11.5, 12.5, 13.1, 15.1, 17.47, 26.7, 26.9, 28.7, 29.6, 30.17, 30.25, 31.6, 32.8, 34.11, 34.21, 34.23 (×2), 34.3, 34.25, 35.1, 37.16, 29.10, 39.7, 39.18, 39.19, 40.4, 41.3, 41.10, 41.12, 49.17.
2.	*tell*	44.1, 49.13
3.	*speak*	39.10, 40.5

4. INTERPRETING THE FACTS

The OE equivalents of *dicere* pose two major questions. The first of them relates to the six verbs selected in six different contexts; the second one is more general and has to do with the status of *cweðan* vs. *secgan* as verbs of saying in OE. Let us start with the former issue.

The relevant verbs are repeated in (7) below. The OE passages containing the relevant verbs accompanied with the Latin text which corresponds to them are given in (8)-(13). To facilitate the interpretation of the examples, a close PdE rendering of the Psalter by Cunyus (2009)[13] is supplied for each verse under division (c).

(7)
a.   *smeān* 'to consider, ponder, examine, inquire into, discuss, search' (cf. 8);
b.   *lǣran* 'to teach, instruct, educate, to give religious teaching, to preach, to teach a particular tenet or dogma, to enjoin a rule, to exhort, admonish, advise, persuade, suggest' (cf. 9);

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[13] Cunyus (2009) is a PdE translation of the Gallican Psalter. However, the closeness of this translation and the fact that we restricted the number of contexts to those in which the two Psalters are substantially the same, makes Cunyus's text a valuable help in following the Latin text of the Roman Psalter.

c.   *singan* 'to sing, recite, relate musically or in verse' (cf. 10);
d.   *biddan* 'to ask, pray, beseech, bid, order, require' (cf. 11);
e.   *be-fæstan* 'to commend, recommend, commit, deliver, put in trust, entrust' (cf. 12);
f.   *seōfian* 'to lament, complain (of)' (cf. 13).

(8)   4.5
a.   Irascimini, et nolite peccare. Que **dicitis** in cordibus vestris et in cubilibus vestris, conpungimini.
b.

þeah	hit	gebyrige	þæt ge		on woh	yrsien,
even-if	it	should-happen	that you-PL		wrongly	should-become-angry
ne	scule	ge	hit	no þy hraþor	þurhteon,	
not	should	you-PL	it	none the quicker	perpetrate	
þe læs	ge		syngien,	and þæt unriht	þæt ge	**smeagað**
lest	you-PL		should-sin	and the evil	that you-PL	deliberate
on	eowerum mode forlætað,			and	hreowsiað	þæs.
in	your-PL spirit abandon-IMP.PL			and	repent-IMP.PL	of-that

c.   *Be angry but do not sin! For what you say on your beds in your hearts, be repentant!*

(9)   10.1
a.   In Domino confido. Quomodo **dicitis** anime: Transmigra in montem sicut passer?
b.

Hwy	**lære**	me	þæt ic	fleo	geond	muntas	and
why	advise	me	that I	should-fly	through	mountains	and
geond	westenu,	swa spearwa;	for þam	ic	getrywe	Drihtne?	
through	deserts	like sparrow	because	I	trust	Lord	

c.   *I trust in the Lord. How can you say to my soul, "Fly away like a sparrow to the mountains"?*

(10)   17.47
a.   Propterea confitebor tibi in populis, Domine, et in nomini tuo psalmum **dicam**.
b.

For þam	ic	ðe	andette,	Drihten,	beforan	folcum,
therefore	I	you	worship	Lord	before	nations
and on	þinum	naman	ic	**singe**	sealmas.	
and in	your	name	I	sing	psalms	

c.   *Because of this, I will confess to You among nations, Lord. I will chant a psalm to Your name*

(11) 37.16

a.   Quia **dixi**: Ne aliquando insultent in me inimici mei, et dum commoverentur pedes mei in me magna locuti sunt.

b.   Forþæm ic   symle **bæd**, þæt næfre mine fynd   ne gefægen
     because I   always prayed that never my   enemies not should-rejoice
     æfter   me; þy læs   hi   mægen   sprecan gemetlico word
     over   me lest   they could   speak   [14]   words
     ongean   me, gif hy   geseon   þæt mine fet slidrien.
     against me if   they see   that my   feet slip

c.   *because I said, "May my enemies never be too happy over me when my feet are moved." They have spoken great harms against me.*

(12) 44.1

a.   Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum; **dico** ego opera mea regi.

b.   Min heorte bealcet   good word, þæt ys good Godes bearn;
     my   heart overflows-with good word that is good God's son
     þæm cyncge ic **befæste** anweald   ofer eall min weorc.
     to-the king I   entrust   jurisdiction over all   my works

c.   *My heart has brought up a good word. I speak my works to the King.*

(13) 49.13

a.   Si esuriero, non **dicam** tibi; meus est enim orbis terre, et plenitudo eius.

b.   Gif me hingreð, ne **seofige**   ic þæt na
      if me hungers   not will-complain I   that not-at-all
     to eow;   for ðam min is   eall eorðan   ymbhwyrft,
     to you-PL because mine is   all earth's extent
     and eall hyre innuncg.
     and all   its contents

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[14] All available editions of the OE Paris Psalter, i.e. THORPE (1835), BRIGHT AND RAMSAY (1907), STRACKE'S internet edition have *gemetlico* here, i.e. 'moderate, temperate, measurable, fit', while O'NEILL (2001) has [*un*]*gemetlico*, 'immoderate, inordinate, excessive, too great'. The word translates Latin *magna*, which has a variety of meanings, ranging from 'great, powerful, bold, confident' to 'proud'. O'NEILL (2001: 240) ascribes the *un-* to SISAM (1918: 475), who "conjectures that the missing *un-* was absorbed into the final *-an* of the preceding *sprecan*". Manuscript examination (cf. folio 45r at: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8451636f/f99.image. r=psalterium%20 duplex. langEN) does not support this conclusion on purely visual grounds (the two words are clearly written separately with no sign of corrections), yet the kind of mistake suggested by Sisam (1918), which classifies as haplology (cf. WEGNER 2006: 46) or haplography (ROOKER 2011: 119), does occasionally appear in the Paris Psalter MS., alongside its opposite, i.e. dittography (cf. WEGNER 2006: 48 and ROOKER 2011: 119), in which case a sequence of letters is written twice.

c.   *If I were hungry, I would not tell you, for the land's circle and all its plenty is mine.*

Note that none of the verbs used in (8)-(13) represents a verb of saying. An analysis of the six passages presented above shows clearly that in (8), (9), (10), (11) and (13) the choice of a verb is contextually motivated, i.e. Alfred does not translate the text *word be worde* but *andgit of andgiete*. The sense of *dicere* in (8) can be equated to that of thinking or deliberating, as the verb is followed with *in cordibus vestris et in cubilibus vestris* 'in your hearts and in your beds', thus implying a solitary activity, which makes speaking to oneself effectively an equivalent of thinking. Similarly in (9), where the sense of *dicere* can be equated to that of advising, and in (10), as saying the psalm was very often the same as singing it (cf. *sealm singan* in Arg. to Psalm 2, 3, 4, 5, 7). The same choice of *singan* in 17.47 is made in the Stowe Psalter and in the Eadwine Psalter to render *psalmum dicere*, with the former not rendering *psalmum* at all, treating *singan* as the equivalent of both items. In (11) the verb of saying is followed by the content of the utterance (direct speech in the Latin text and indirect speech in its English rendering), which clearly shows that what is expressed is an entreaty, hence Alfred's choice of the verb *biddan* seems well motivated. In the same fashion, the context in which *dicere* is used in (13) makes *seofian* 'to complain' a legitimate interpretation of the sense of the Latin verb phrase. This leaves us with (12), where *dicere* is rendered by *be-fæstan onwald*, which clearly draws from outside the text and cannot be seen as a purely interpretative strategy of the translator to render the sense of the Latin text.[15] As a result, in five out of the six cases where Alfred selects a verb other than *cweðan* or *secgan*, he is relying on his strategy to translate the sense rather than individual lexical items. In one case, Alfred relies on Psalter commentaries rather than on the text itself — another strategy he often resorts to — which is why the Old English text of the Paris Psalter is classified by some researchers as a paraphrase rather than a translation. In conclusion, Alfred's equivalents of *dicere* are *cweðan* and *secgan*, with some of the passages representing cases where Alfred's translation is more of an interpretation yet it is clearly contextually justified. Having established that, we can now move on to our second question, namely the more general status of *cweðan* and *secgan* as verbs of saying in Old English. An analysis of verbal equivalents of *dicere* in a series of OE glossed Psalters will be helpful in this respect.

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[15] Cf. O'Neill (2001) for illuminating comments on the source of this interpretation.

The examination of the OE equivalents of *dicere* found in OE glossed Psalters (cf. PULSIANO 2001) reveals that *cweðan* was the most popular OE verb of saying: every single instance of *dicere* in all contexts relevant for our analysis shows the preponderance of *cweðan*, i.e. it is selected in all contexts by most Psalters. In contrast, *secgan* is selected by some Psalters in 29 contexts, and in 11 contexts some Psalters select both equivalents. Only two Psalters in one context select another equivalent, namely *singan* in 17.47, as mentioned above. The counts are as follows: the joint number of instances in which *cweðan* is selected as an equivalent of *dicere* in the 42 contexts selected for the study is 336. This contrasts with 82 instances of *secgan* selected in the 29 out of the 42 contexts and 17 instances in 11 contexts both *cweðan* and *secgan* are selected by one and the same text (*cweðan* vel *secgan*). The relevant data are given in Table 3 below, where the digits indicate the number of Psalters selecting a particular item.

Table 3: Equivalents of *dicere* in OE glossed Psalters

	CWEÐAN	SECGAN	OTHER CHOICES
2.7	9	2	
3.1	6	3	cweðan ł secgan 2
4.5	9	1	
4.7	10	1	
9.26	9	2	
9.31	9	2	
9.33	9	2	
10.1	7	4	
11.4	9		cweðan ł secgan 1
11.5	11		
12.5	10		cweðan ł secgan 1
13.1	6	1	cweðan ł secgan 2
15.1	6	5	
17.47	7	3	singan 2
26.7	4	5	cweðan ł secgan 1
26.9	4	5	cweðan ł secgan 1
28.7	11		
29.6	6	1	cweðan ł secgan 1

30.17	9	1	cweðan ł secgan 1
30.25	9	1	cweðan ł secgan 1
31.6	10	1	
32.8	10	1	
34.11	11		
34.21	11		
34.23(a)	11		
34.23(b)	11		
34.25	11		
34.3	6	6	
35.1	11		secgan ł cweðan 2
37.16	5		
39.10	5	6	
39.18	11		
39.19	11		
39.7	6	5	
40.4	10	2	
40.5	5	2	cweðan ł secgan 3 secgan ł cweðan 1
41.3	10	1	
41.10	7	4	
41.12	9	1	
44.1	6	5	
49.13	5	6	
49.17	6	3	

These findings agree with Ogura (1996: 60), who points to *cweðan* as the most common OE verb of saying and remarks that it "began to show a tendency to morphological and syntactic petrification, i.e. used in the preterit singular *cwæð* with direct quotation following in most instances, while *secgan* was ready to take the place of *cweðan* in its major syntactic features of prep. *to* + dat. of person as the indirect object (instead of the bare dative) and introducing direct discourse (in contrast with indirect discourse), and consequently *tellan* originally with multiple meanings moved into the semantic field of saying to succeed *secgan* in its sense

and syntax." This comment clearly sheds new light on our Middle English data, to which we proceed now.

The Middle English equivalents of *dicere* gathered from psalms 1-50 of the three fourteenth-century Psalters require two kinds of comments. First of all, in view of Ogura's comment, the ME data collected for this study can only be said to be all too uniform: there is not a single instance of either *quēthen* or *tellen* and while the lack of the former can justifiably be expected given the conditioning specified by Ogura, the lack of the latter is puzzling, especially in view of the fact that the Early Modern English equivalents of *dicere* do exhibit two instances of *tell*. Moreover, the Early Modern English data show two instances of *speak* < ME *spēken* < OE *specan*, an equivalent which is not attested among the Middle English equivalents of *dicere* either. The absence of these two very common ME verbs of saying in our data requires an answer.

An examination of the Middle English Psalters reveals that while *quēthen* is not used even once in the entire text of psalms 1-50, *tellen* and *spēken* are used quite frequently. They, however, seem reserved for other Latin verbs of saying. The verb *spēken* is selected as the equivalent of *loqui* 'speak, tell; talk; mention; say, utter; phrase'. *Loqui* appears 22 times in the contexts specified as legitimate for the study: 2.5, 5.5, 11.2 (×2), 14.3, 16.4, 16.9, 21.6, 27.4, 30.20, 33.13, 34.20, 34.24, 36.30, 37.12, 37.16, 39.6, 40.6, 40.7, 48.3, 49.1 and 49.8. The three ME texts select *spēken* as the equivalent of *loqui* in all contexts (cf. 14 below) with one exception only: in the early Wycliffite version in 34.24 the verb selected to translate *loqui* is *thinken* (cf. 15).

(14) 2.5
a.   Tunc **loquetur** ad eos in ira sua: & in furore suo con|turbabit eos.
b.   Than he sall **spek** till thaim in his wreth: and in his wodnes he sall druuy thaim.
c.   Thanne he shal **speke** to hem in his wrathe; and in his wodnesse disturbe*****. [distourble *A*.] them togidere.
d.   Thanne he schal **speke** to hem in his ire*****. [wraththe *I*.]; and he schal disturble hem in his stronge veniaunce.

(15) 34.24
a.   Erubescant & reuereantur simul: qui gratulantur malis meis. Induantur confusione & reuerentia: qui magna*****. {S maligna. U mala. S & U grete.} http://quod.lib.umich.edu/c/cme/AJF7399.0001.001/149 **loquuntur** super me.
b.   Shame thai, and drede to gidire: that ioyes of myn illes. Cled be thai in shame and drede: that grete **spekis** on me.

c.   Waxe thei ashamed, and shamely drede thei togidere; that thanken to myn euelis. Be thei clad***** [clothed *AEH.*] with confusioun, and shamefast drede; that deedis of malice **thenken** vp on me.

d.   Shame thei, and drede thei togidere; that thanken***.** [ioien I.] for myn yuels. Be thei clothid with schame and drede; that **speken** yuele thingis on me.

As far as *tellen* is concerned, it is the equivalent of *enarrare* 'to describe; explain/relate in detail', *narrare* 'to tell, tell about, relate, narrate, recount, describe', and *annuntiare* 'to announce/report/bring word/give warning; convey/ deliver/relate message/greeting'. The first two verbs appear seven times in the relevant text: *enarrare* in 18.1, 25.7, 47.11 and 49.17 and *narrare* in 9.1, 21.20 and 47.11. All three texts always select *tellen* as the equivalent of these two Latin items. The relevant examples are shown in (16) and (17) below.

(16) 18.1

a.   CELI **enarrant** gloriam dei: & opera manuum eius an|nunciat firmamentum.

b.   Heuens **tillis** the ioy of god; and the werkis of his hend shewis the firmament.

c.   Heuenes **tellen** out the glorie of God; and the werkis of his hondes tellith the firmament.

d.   Heuenes **tellen** out the glorie of God; and the firmament tellith the werkis of hise hondis.

(17) 9.1

a.   CONFITEBOR tibi domine in toto corde meo: **narrabo** omnia mirabilia tua.

b.   I sall schrife lord til the in all my herte; i sall **tell** all thi wondirs.

c.   I shal knoulechen to thee, Lord, in al myn herte; and **telle** alle thi merueilis.

d.   Lord, Y schal knouleche to thee in al myn herte; Y schal **telle** alle thi merueils.

As for *annunitare*, the matter is slightly more complex. There are ten occurrences in the Psalter which are relevant for our discussion here: 9.12, 9.13, 18.1, 21.29 (×2), 29.9, 39.6, 43.1, 48.7 and 50.17. However, while both the early and the late Wycliffite versions always[16] select *tellen* 'to tell, announce something, herald' as the equivalent of *annuntiare*, Richard Rolle consistently resorts to *sheuen* 'to tell, announce, signal (in nonverbal communication)' as the equivalent of *annuntiare*.

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[16] In 39.6 and 48.7 the variant manuscripts show either *tellen* or *sheuen*.

(18) 21.29

a. **Annunciabitur** domino generacio ventura: & **annunciabunt** celi iusticiam eius, populo qui nascetur quem fecit dominus.

b. **Shewid** sall be till lord getynge at cum; and heuens sall **shew** his rightwisnes til folke that sall be born, whaim lord made.

c. Ther shal be **told** to the Lord the ieneracioun to come; and heuenes shul **telle** the riȝtwisnesse of hym to the puple that shal be born, the whiche the Lord made.

d. A generacioun to comyng schal be **teld** to the Lord; and heuenes schulen **telle** his riȝtfulnesse to the puple that schal be borun, whom the Lord made.

This difference, however, only reflects the personal preferences of individual authors, with Richard Rolle selecting different equivalents for *annuntiare* (*sheuen*) on the one hand and (*e*)*narrare* (*tellen*) on the other, while the two Wycliffite versions select *tellen* as the equivalent of both *annuntiare* and (*e*)*narrare*. An examination of the Wycliffite versions' use of *sheuen* reveals that both the early and the late versions use it exclusively in the sense of 'exhibit', with the late version showing preference of *sheuen* over *opēnen* in this sense, which is preferred in the early version. This is exemplified in *ostendere* 'to show; reveal; make clear, point out, display, exhibit' being translated by *sheuen* in 4.7 and 49.24 in both versions, *revelare* 'to show, reveal' translated as *sheuen* in 17.15, 28.7, 36.5 in the late Wycliffite version and *manifestare* 'to make visible/clearer/evident/plain; reveal, make known; disclose; clarify' also translated by *sheuen* 24.12 and 50.7.

5. CONCLUSION

The examination of English prose translations of Jerome's Psalter from OE to EMnE reveals that there are four relevant equivalents of Latin *dicere*: *cweðan*, *secgan* > *seien* > *say*, *tell* and *speak*. In OE *cweðan* was the most frequently used verb of saying: it was used in 30 out of 42 contexts established as relevant for this study, with *secgan* used in another six instances, the remaining six cases being irrelevant for this discussion as they reveal equivalents which represent an interpretation of text rather than a translation of the Latin verb *dicere*. In Middle English, after Ogura (1996), the position of *cweðan* > *quēthen* as the most common verb of saying is taken over by *seien* < OE *secgan*, which is confirmed by our Middle English data invariably revealing *seien* in all examined contexts, to

the effect that even *tellen* and *spēken*, which represent high-frequency ME verbs of saying are not selected as equivalents of *dicere* at all. However, an examination of the equivalents of other Latin verbs of saying, such as *loqui*, *annuntiare*, *enarrare* and *narrare* shows that *tellen* and *spēken* are reserved as ME equivalents of Latin verbs of saying other than *dicere*. The situation changes slightly in the EMnE period as *tell* and *speak* are selected as equivalents of *dicere*, yet *say* clearly outnumbers these choices, being selected in 38 out of 42 contexts. These facts have two-fold significance. First of all, they suggest that that the most prototypical Latin verb of saying, i.e. *dicere* is rendered by the most prototypical English verb of saying, i.e. *cweðan* in OE, *seien* in ME and *say* in EMnE. Secondly, the consistent selection of different verbs of saying for the various Latin verbs indicates reverence and respect on the part of the translators to the sacred nature of the original they were rendering.

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EKWIWALENTY ŁACIŃSKIEGO *DICERE*
W PROZAICZNYCH TŁUMACZENIACH PSAŁTERZY ŚW. HIERONIMA

S t r e s z c z e n i e

Badanie ekwiwalentów łacińskiego *dicere* w angielskich tłumaczeniach Psałterzy św. Hieronima dokonanych pomiędzy okresem staroangielskim a wczesnonowoangielskim wykazuje, że mamy do czynienia z czterema relewantnymi odpowiednikami: *cweðan*, *secgan > seien > say*, *tell* i *speak*. W każdym z badanych okresów czasownik *dicere* jest tłumaczony na angielskie prototypowe czasowniki, z tym, że prototypy z upływem czasu ulegają zmianom: w języku staroangielskim występują zarówno *cweðan*, jak i *seccgan*, ale to *cweðan* ma status prototypu. W okresie średnioangielskim oba czasowniki są kontynuowane, ale użycie *quēthen* podlega ścisłym ograniczeniom zarówno morfologicznym, jak i syntaktycznym, a status prototypu uzyskuje *seien*, i to właśnie *seien* jest użyte we wszystkich badanych tekstach i we wszystkich kontekstach w okresie średnioangielskim oraz w przeważającej większości kontekstów w tłumaczeniu z okresu wczesnonowoangielskiego. W ostatnim okresie jako odpowiedniki *dicere* pojawiają się w 4 z 38 badanych kontekstów również czasowniki *tell* i *speak*, które już od okresu średnioangielskiego cechuje duża częstotliwość użycia w języku, ale w badanych tekstach są one używane jako ekwiwalenty *loqui*, *annuntiare*, *enarrare* i *narrare*. Wskazuje to na dużą stabilność wyboru ekwiwalentów (największą w okresie średnioangielskim), co z kolei jest przejawem tradycyjnego podejścia do tłumaczeń biblijnych, w których tłumaczeniu podlega w pierwszej kolejności warstwa formalna. Jest to w równym stopniu skutek przekonania, że w tekście sakralnym znaczenie niesione jest nie tylko drogą bezpośredniego przekazu językowego, co przejaw postawy szacunku dla tłumaczonego tekstu.

Streściła Magdalena Charzyńska Wójcik

Key words: Psalter, verbs, *dicere*, equivalents, Biblical translation.

Słowa kluczowe: Psałterz, czasowniki, *dicere*, ekwiwalenty, tłumaczenie Biblii.