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PRINCIPLES OF EQUIVALENT SELECTION
IN ENGLISH PROSE TRANSLATIONS OF JEROME'S PSALTERS:
A STUDY BASED ON *EXAUDIRE* AND *VIDERE*

A b s t r a c t. The paper examines the equivalents of the Latin verbs *exaudire* and *videre* in prose translations of Jerome's Psalters executed between Old and Early Modern English. The objective of the paper is to establish the principle of equivalent selection in the analysed texts. The study revealed that *exaudire* and *videre* were translated in OE, ME and EMnE by their prototypical equivalents but the prototypes changed due to language internal factors: from prefixed *ge*-verbs (*ge-hȳran* and *ge-sēon*) to their simplex equivalents (*hēren > hear* and *sēn > see*). Next, it was established that while the equivalents of *exaudire* represented a stable pattern: *ge-hȳran > hēren > hear*, the equivalents of *videre* tended to exhibit some variation. The variation, however, was recorded in one translation only – in the Paris Psalter. These differences stem from two factors. The first of them is language internal and follows from the universally recorded property of the verb *see*, which tends to develop metaphorical meanings, as opposed to *hear*, which does not exhibit the same tendency. The second factor is language external and is a consequence of the dominant theory of biblical translation, which was based on the principle that every word of the text was sacred. As a result, biblical translations generally reflected the original very closely. The only text which exhibits dynamic correspondences is the Old English Paris Psalter, which focuses on the clarity of the message not on the closeness of the rendering. The remaining translations are characterised by extreme reverence to the sacred nature of the text in all its layers, which results in the static equivalent selection.

The objective of this paper is to examine the equivalents of Latin *exaudire* and *videre* in English prose translations of Jerome's Psalters (Psalms 1-50) carried out between Old English and Early Modern English. The selection of *exaudire* and

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videre for the analysis was prompted by the fact that both items represent verbs of the senses and belong to basic vocabulary, which is generally resistant to loss. This tendency will be tested against the analysed data. Secondly, the two verbs are used in the analysed texts with a similar frequency: thirty-six occurrences of *videre* vs. thirty occurrences of *exaudire*, so the conclusions related to each verb will have the same status. Next, the two verbs exhibit a striking similarity with respect to equivalent selection: while both are rendered in OE by complex *ge*-verbs, the post-OE translations uniformly translate them by means of the corresponding simplex verbs in spite of the continued existence of the complex variant in ME. Our paper will attempt to explain this regularity by appealing to language internal factors. Finally, it has to be observed that apart from all the similarities between the two verbs listed above, the English equivalents of *exaudire* are always the same, while those of *videre* show some variation but the variation is observed exclusively in OE. We shall offer an explanation of these facts by appealing to both language internal and language external factors.

1. THE TEXTS EXAMINED

The English translations of the Psalter covered by this study represent prose renderings of Jeromes's Psalters. There are as many as three Psalters associated with Jerome: the *Romanum*, the *Gallicanum* and the *Hebraicum*. While the *Hebraicum* was never rendered into English, the remaining two texts were translated into English: the *Romanum* into Old English and the *Gallicanum*[1] into Middle and Early Modern English. In recognition of the fact that the *Romanum* and the *Gallicanum* do not represent the same text, though they certainly exhibit more similarities than differences, in this study we carefully compared the relevant contexts and the examination of equivalents concerns only those passages where the two Psalters exhibit the same text. Moreover, to exclude the influence of factors such as rhythm and rhyme which certainly affect lexical choices of the translators, in this study we focused exclusively on prose renderings of the Psalter. The English texts examined here are: King Alfred's Old English Paris Psalter, Richard Rolle's fourteenth-century Psalter and its contemporaneous Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter, the two Wycliffite versions from the late fourteenth-century (referred to here as the Early Version and the Late Version) and the Douay

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[1] The *Gallicanum* replaced the *Romanum* after the Benedictine reform (HARGREAVES 1965: 132) and became a norm in England (BROWN 1999: 8 and HARRIS 2012: 296).

Bible Psalter published in 1610 as the second part of the Old Testament. The texts of the Psalters are presented here after CHARZYŃSKA-WÓJCIK (2013), where the OE text of the Paris Psalter is quoted as presented in the Toronto Corpus,[2] the Middle English texts are all given after the Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse,[3] while the Douay Bible Psalter is keyed in manually after the original 1610 edition. For ease of reference, throughout the paper we will be referring to the Psalms and Verse numbers by the Toronto Corpus numbering. As for the Latin texts presented here, the *Romanum* will be quoted from the original manuscript of the Paris Psalter: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Latin 8824), available at http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/ 12148/btv1b8451636f.r=psalterium+duplex.langEN. The *Gallicanum* will be given here after Richard Rolle's Latin Psalter but it has to be made clear that we have examined the (most likely) source texts of the remaining English translations and the differences (in the quoted examples) reduce to spelling conventions and as such do not influence the choice of equivalents.[4]

2. THE DATA

2.1 ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS OF *EXAUDIRE*

As noted above, *exaudire* 'to hear' appears in Psalms 1-50 as many as thirty times. The relevant contexts are: 3.3, 4.1, 4.2, 4.4, 5.2, 6.7$_{(a)}$, 6.7$_{(b)}$, 9.37, 12.3, 16.1, 16.6$_{(a)}$, 16.6$_{(b)}$, 17.6, 17.39, 19.1, 19.6, 19.9, 21.2, 21.22, 28.8$_{(a)}$, 28.8$_{(b)}$, 27.2, 27.7, 30.26, 33.4, 33.6, 33.17, 37.15, 38.14, 39.1. One occurrence has been excluded: in 9.37 the verb *exaudire* is used twice in the text of Roman Psalter, while some Gallican versions replace the second instance of *exaudire* by *audire*. While the two verbs are synonymous, we decided to exclude it from the study and focus on renderings of identical Latin verbs. An illustrative example of the survey of equivalents follows in (1) below.

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[2] The Toronto Corpus text of the Paris Psalter presents a digitised version of Bright and Ramsay's (1907) edition.

[3] The Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse presents the text of Richard Rolle's Latin and English Psalter after BRAMLEY (1998), the Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter, also known as the West Midland Psalter, after BÜLBRING (1891) and the two Wycliffite versions as edited by FORSHALL AND MADDEN (1850).

[4] For more details on the source Latin texts of the English translations discussed here, see CHARZYŃSKA-WÓJCIK (2013).

(1) 3.3

a.   the *Romanum*
      Uoce mea ad Dominum clamaui, et **exaudiuit** me de monte sancto suo.

b.   the *Gallicanum*
      Voce mea ad dominum clamaui: & **exaudiuit** me de monte sancto suo.

c.   the Paris Psalter

Mid	minre	stemne	ic	cleopode	to	Drihtne,
with	my	voice	I	called	to	Lord
and	he	me	**gehyrde**	of	his	þam halgan	munte.
and	he	me	heard	from his	the holy	mountain

d.   Richard Rolle
      With my voice .i. cried til lord: and he me **herd** fra his haly hill.

e.   Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter
      Ich cried to my Lord wyþ my uoyce, & he **herd** me fram hys holy
      heuen.*****. [hyll or heuen.]

f.   Early Version
      With my vois to the Lord I criede; and he ful out **herde** me fro his holi hil.

g.   Late Version
      With my vois Y criede to the Lord; and he **herde** me fro his hooli hil.

h.   The Douay Rheims Bible Psalter
      With my voice I haue cried to our Lord: and he hath **heard** me from his
      holie hil.

i.   Present-day English translation by Cunyus (2009)
      'I cried out to the Lord by my voice. He heard me from His holy mountain.'

The set of equivalents is the following: L *exaudire*: OE *ge-hȳran*: ME *hēren*: EMnE *hear* in twenty-nine out of thirty cases. The single case in which the set is slightly different is quoted in (2) below.

(2) 6.7

a.   the *Romanum*
      Discedite a me, omnes qui operamini iniquitatem, quoniam **exaudiuit** Domi-
      nus uocem fletus mei. **Exaudiuit** Dominus deprecationem meam. Dominus
      orationem meam adsumpsit.

b.   the *Gallicanum*
      Discedite a me omnes qui operamini iniquitatem: quoniam **exaudiuit** domi-
      nus vocem fletus mei. **Exaudiuit** dominus deprecacionem meam: dominus
      oracionem meam suscepit.

c.   the Paris Psalter

Gewitað   fram me   ealle þa
depart-IMP.PL   from me   all   those
þe   unriht   wyrcað;
who injustice perform
forðam þe   Drihten   **hyrde**   mine wependan   stefne,
because   Lord   has-heard my   weeping   voice
and God **gehyrde** mine healsunge,
and God has-heard my   entreaty
and Drihten   onfeng   min gebed.
and Lord   has-received my   prayer

d.   Richard Rolle

Departis fra me all that wirkes wickidnes; for lord has **hard** the voice of my gretynge. Lord has **hard** my beed; lord my prayere has taken vp.

e.   Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter

Departeþ fro me, ȝe alle þat wyrchen wickednesse**.** [MS. *wickenednesse*.]; for our Lord **herd** þe voice of my wepe.**.** [MS. wepeg, of which g is written on an erasure by a later hand.]**.** [wykkydnes: wepe (*distinct*).] Our Lord **herd** my praier, our Lord toke myn oreisoun.**.** [praier+&.]

f.   Early Version

Goth awei fro me, alle that werken wickidnesse; for the Lord ful out **herde** the vois of my weping. The Lord ful out **herde** my louli preȝ|ing; the Lord myn orysoun hath vnder|taken.

g.   Late Version

Alle ȝe that worchen wickidnesse, departe**.** [departeth I. departe ȝe S.] fro me; for the Lord hath**.** [hath graciously I.] **herd** the vois of my wepyng. The Lord hath **herd** my bi|sechyng; the Lord hath resseyued**.** [vptaken I.] my preier**.** [orisoun I.].

h.   the Douay Bible Psalter

Depart from me al ye that worke iniquite: because our Lord hath **heard** the voice of my weeping. Our Lord hath **heard** my petition, our Lord hath receiued my prayer.

i.   Present-day English translation by Cunyus (2009)

'Go away from me, all who work betrayal, because the Lord has heard my weeping's voice! The Lord has heard my supplication. The Lord received my prayer.'

Note that the different item, i.e. *hȳran* rather than *ge-hȳran* occurs in (2c) a context where the Latin verb is repeated, so Alfred's choice of the different verb probably represents an attempt to avoid repetition, though he does not resort to the same strategy in the remaining two contexts of the same type, namely in 16.6 and 26.8. It has to be noted, however, that the single context in which Alfred does not use *ge-hȳran* to translate *exaudire* is justified on stylistic grounds, even if he is not consistent in resorting to this technique. Apart from this single case, all other OE equivalents represent one verb and so do the ME and MnE ones. It can thus be concluded that the English equivalents of *exaudire* are stable within each period, with OE being represented by *ge-hȳran*, ME by *hēren* and EMnE by *hear*. It now remains to ask what the mutual relationship between these equivalents are.

Apart from the complex verb *ge-hȳran* OE had the simplex variant *hȳran* and according to Bosworth and Toller (1898), the verbs share the same senses: *ge-hȳran* 'to hear, give ear to, to obey'; *hȳran* 'to hear, hear of; to listen to, follow, serve, obey, be subject to, belong to'. The only difference between the two verbs recorded in the dictionary consists in the fact that the complex verb (*ge-hȳran*), and not the simplex one (*hȳran*) is recorded in the dictionary in intransitive uses. In effect, *ge-hȳran* could appear in a wider range of contexts than *hȳran*. An examination of all Latin clauses with *exaudire* in the *Romanum* shows that in 28 out of 30 clauses the Latin verb is accompanied by an object (cf. Table 1 below), while only two contexts lack the object. Note that *ge-hȳran* being attested both in transitive and in intransitive structures could appear in all of them.

Table 1. Objects accompanying *exaudire* in the *Romanum*

REFERENCE	OBJECT OF THE LATIN VERB
3.3, 4.1, 4.4,12.3, 16.6(a), 21.22, 26.8(b), 33.4,	me
4.2	orationem meam
5.2, 17.6, 26.8(a)	uocem meam
6.7(a)	uocem fletus mei
6.7(b), 39.1,	deprecationem meam
9.37	desideria cordis eorum
16.1	iustitiam meam
16.6(b)	uerba mea
17.39, 33.17	eos
19.1	te

19.6	illum
19.9	nos
21.2, 37.15	–
27.2, 27.7, 30.26	uocem deprecationis mee
33.6	eum
38.14	orationem meam et deprecationem meam

Having examined the equivalents of *exaudire* from a semantic and syntactic angles, we can conclude that *ge-hȳran* and *hȳran* had a similar range of senses but the former, in contrast to the latter, accorded with a wider range of structures, which made it the most frequently selected equivalent. In Section 3 we will try to formalise this observation. Let us now move on to the English equivalents of *videre*.

2.2 ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS OF *VIDERE*

As noted in above, *videre* appears in Psalms 1-50 thirty six times. The relevant occurrences are the following: 5.3, 8.4, 9.13, 9.31, 9.34, 10.8, 13.3, 15.10, 16.2, 21.6, 24.16, 26.5, 26.15, 30.14, 32.12, 33.8, 33.12, $34.21_{(a)}$, $34.21_{(b)}$, 35.9, 36.24, 36.33, 36.34, 36.36, 39.3, 39.13, 40.6, 44.12, 45.7, 45.9, 47.5, 47.7, $48.8_{(a)}$, $48.8_{(b)}$, 48.19, 49.19. All of them are uniformly rendered in ME and EMnE by *sēn* and *see* respectively, while in the OE Paris Psalter the situation is more complex: twenty-six are rendered in OE by *ge-sēon*, one instance by *sēon* but nine contexts need to be discussed individually. Before we go on to these individual cases, let us first present the standard set, represented by twenty-six passages.

(3) 9.13
a. the *Romanum*
    Miserere mihi, Domine, et **uide** humilitatem meam de inimicis meis, qui ex-altas me de portis mortis, Ut annuntiem omnes laudes tuas in portis filiae Sion.
b. the *Gallicanum*
    Miserere mei domine, **vide** humilitatem meam: de inimicis meis. Qui exaltas me de portis mortis: vt annunciem omnes laudaciones tuas in portis filie syon.

c.   the Paris Psalter

Gemiltsa	me,		Drihten,	and	**geseoh**	mine	eaðmetto,
have-mercy	on-me		Lord	and	see	my	humility

hu	earmne	me	habbað	gedon	mine	fynd;
how poor		me	have	made	my	enemies

for ðam	þu	eart	se	ylca	God
because	you	are	the	same	God

þe	me	uppahofe	fram	deaðes	geatum,
who	me	lifted-up	from	death's	gates

to þam þæt	ic	bodade	eall	þin	lof
so that	I	might-announce	all	your	glory

on	ðam	geatum	þære	burge	Hierusalem.
in	the	gates	of-the	city	Jerusalem

d.   Richard Rolle
Haf mercy of me lord; **see** my meknes: of my enmys. That heghis me fra the ʒates of ded: that i. shew all thi louyngis in the ʒates of the doghtire of syon.

e.   Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter
Haue mercy on me, Lord;***.** [*d* on erasure.] **se** mi***.** [*semi* MS.] lowenes of myn enemys.***.** [Lorde *before* haue: me+&: on.] Þou þat heʒest me, Lord, of ingoynge of deþ, þat ich swewe al þyn heryynges of þe goynges of þe soules of heuen.***.** [enhiest me fram þe gates or þe entre of deþ or of hell þat y may schew: h. in þe gates.]

f.   Early Version
Haue mercy of me, Lord; **see** my mecnesse fro myn enemys. That enhauncist me fro the ʒatis of deth; that I telle alle thi preis|ingus in the ʒatis of the doʒter of Sion.

g.   Late Version
Lord, haue thou merci on***.** [of I.] me; **se*.** [and se I.] thou my mekenesse of myn enemyes. Which enhaunsist me fro the ʒatis of deeth; that Y telle alle thi preisyngis in the ʒatis of the douʒter of Syon.

h.   the Douay Bible Psalter
Haue mercie on me ô Lord: **See** my humiliation by my enemies. Which exaltest me from the gates of death, that I may declare al thy prayses in the gates of the daughter of Sion.

i.   Present-day English translation by Cunyus (2009)
'Have mercy on me, Lord! See my humiliation from my enemies! You lift me up from death's gates, so I may tell all Your praises in Sion's daughter's gates.'

In one instance, as was the case with the OE equivalents of *exaudire*, instead of the complex verb, Alfred uses the simples one *sēon*, as shown below.

(4) 5.3

a. the *Romanum*

Mane adstabo tibi et **uidebo**, quoniam non uolens Deus iniquitatem tu es.

b. the *Gallicanum*

Mane astabo tibi & **videbo**: quoniam non deus volens iniquitatem tu es.

c. the Paris Psalter

Ic	stande		on	ærmergen	beforan	ðe	æt	gebede,
I	will-stand		in	early-morning	before	you	in	prayer

and	**seo**	þe;	þæt	is,
and	will-see	you	that	is

þæt	ic	ongite	þinne	willan	butan	tweon,
that	I	will-know	your	will	without	doubt

and	eac	þone	wyrce
and	also	it	will-perform

for ðam	þu	eart	se	ylca	God
because	you	are	the	same	God

þe	nan	unriht	nelt.
who	no	injustice	not-desire-2SG

d. Richard Rolle

In morn i sall stand till the and i. sall **see**; for god noght willand wyckednes thou ert.

e. Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter

Erlich shal ich stonde to þe and **sen**; for þou nert nouȝt God willand wyckednes.***.** [ert.]

f. Early Version

Erly I shal neeȝh stonde to thee, and **seen**; for thou art God not willende wickid|nesse.

g. Late Version

Eerli Y schal stonde nyȝ thee***.** [to thee I.], and Y schal **se**; for thou art God not willynge***.** [wilnynge IS.] wickidnesse.

h. the Douay Bible Psalter

In the morning I wil stand by thee and wil **see**: because thou art not a God that wilt iniquitie.

i.   Present-day English translation by Cunyus (2009)
      'I will stand before You early. And I will see that You are not a god who
      wills treachery.'

An examination of the senses and structures available for both verbs in Bosworth
and Toller (1898) shows that while the verb *sēon* is recorded there in one sense
'to see with the eyes', the number of senses attested with *ge-sēon* is much broad-
er, ranging from literal to metaphorical. Similarly, a much wider range of struc-
tures is attested for *ge-sēon* than for *sēon*, which is recorded in Bosworth and
Toller in transitive structures with an ACC object only. This resembles the situa-
tion with *ge-hȳran* and *hȳran* discussed in Section 2.1, where the complex verb is
attested in a wider range of syntactic environments. Let us now move on to the
remaining examples which do not represent the pattern: L *videre*: OE *ge-sēon*:
ME *sēn*: EMnE *see*.

   First of all, there are two occurrences of *videre*: in 15.10 and 40.6 which do
not have OE equivalents as Alfred departs too far from the sense of the Latin text,
as can be seen in (5) and (6) below.

(5) 15.10
a.   the *Romanum*
      Quoniam non derelinques animam meam in infernum, nec dabis sanctum
      tuum **uidere** corruptionem.
b.   the Paris Psalter
      For þæm þu   ne   forlætst   mine   sawle, ne min mod to helle;
      because you   not   will-abandon my   soul   nor my heart to hell
      ne   þinne gehalgodan ne   lætst forrotian, ne forweorðan.
      nor (you) your   saint   not allow to-decay   nor to-perish

(6) 40.6
a.   the *Romanum*
      Et ingrediebantur ut **uiderent** uana; locutum est cor eorum; congregauerunt
      iniquitatem sibi.
b.   the Paris Psalter
      And þeah   hy þæs lyste, þeah   hy   eodon in to   me,
      and although them this pleased nevertheless they went in to   me
      and fandodon min, and seofodon min sar.
      and tested   me and lamented my   sorrow

Secondly, there are three instances in which the OE equivalent of *videre* is *ongitan* 'to perceive, see; to know, recognise, find out'. The relevant examples are quoted in (7)-(9) below.

(7) 8.4

a. the *Romanum*

Quoniam **uidebo** celos opera digitorum tuorum, lunam et stellas quas tu fundasti.

b. the Paris Psalter

Ic	**ongite**	nu	þæt	weorc	þinra	fingra,
I	see	now	the	work	of-your	fingers

þæt synd	heofonas, and	mona,	and steorran,
that are	heavens and	moon	and stars

þa	þu	astealdest.
which	you	have-set-up

(8) 33.8

a. the *Romanum*

Gustate et **uidete**, quoniam suauis est Dominus. Beatus uir qui sperat in eum.

b. the Paris Psalter

Fandiað	nu	þonne;	**ongite**	ge
try-IMP.PL		then	should-see	you

þæt	Drihten	is	swyðe	sefte;
that	Lord	is	very	gentle

eadig	byð	se	wer,	þe	to	him	cleopað.
blessed	is	the	man	who	to	him	calls

(9) 39.13

a. the *Romanum*

Quoniam circumdederunt me mala quorum non est numerus.
Conprehenderunt me iniquitates meae, et non potui ut **uiderem**.

b. the Paris Psalter

For þam	me	ymbhringde	manig	yfel,	þæra	nis
because	me	surrounded	many-an	evil	of-which	not-is

nan rim;	me	gefengan	mine	agene	unrihtwisnessa,
no number	me	seized	my	own	iniquities

and	ic	hy	ne	meahte	**geseon**,	ne	**ongytan**.
and	I	them	not	was-able	to-see	nor	to-recognise

Note that in (9) *videre* is translated by two verbs: *ge-sēon* and *on-gitan*, which is quite frequently the case when Alfred wants to emphasise a certain point.[5]

In one context *videre* is translated by Alfred as *bēon beforan* 'to be before'. This is illustrated below.

(10) 10.8
a.   the *Romanum*
        Quoniam iustus Dominus, et iustitiam dilexit; equitatem **uidit** uultus eius.
b.   the Paris Psalter

For þam	God	ys	swyðe	rihtwis,	and	he	lufað	rihtwisnesse,
because	God	is	very	just	and	he	loves	justice

and	heo	byð	symle	swyðe	emn	**beforan**	**him**.
and	it	is	always	very	even	before	him

Note that (10) represents a contextual translation, whereby *vidit vultus eius* is rendered by 'to be before', which perfectly expresses the sense of the Latin text, though, it does not achieve it by a close rendering of the passage. Another similar instance is quoted below.

(11) 35.9
a.   the *Romanum*
        Quoniam apud te est fons uite, et in lumine tuo **uidebimus lumen**.
b.   the Paris Psalter

For þæm	mid	þe	is	lifes	wylle,
because	with	you	is	of-life	fountain

and	of	þinum	leohte	we	**beoð**	**onlihte**.
and	from	your	light	we	will-be	illuminated

Here again, Alfred focuses on the message not on the form, and *videbimus lumen* is translated metaphorically (in accordance with the Latin original) as *bēon on-lihte*. Yet another example of this contextual rendering is presented in (12) below.

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[5] For example in 1.4 *decidere* is translated by two OE verbs for emphasis: *fealwian* 'to wither' and *sēarian* 'to wither, pine away'. The same applies to the equivalents of *folium* (in the same verse): *lēaf* 'leaf' and *blæd* 'leaf, blade'.

(12) 36.36

a.   the *Romanum*

Custodi ueritatem et **uide** equitatem, quoniam sunt reliquie homini pacifico.

b.   the Paris Psalter

Heald	for ðy		rihtwisnesse,	and	efnesse;
keep	for that reason		righteousness	and	justice

for þæm	se	gesibsuma	læfð	symle	yrfeweard	æfter	him.
because	the	peaceable-one	leaves	always	heir	after	him

Note that in (12) the Latin text contains two verbs: *custodire* and *videre* and the former is complemented by *ueritatem*, while the latter is accompanied by *equitatem*. *Videre* does not carry a literal sense here but expresses the idea close to that of 'to see to'. The two verbs are rendered by Alfred by means of *healdan* 'to guard, preserve, protect' followed by a coordination of the two objects: *rihtwisnesse* (*ueritatem*) and *efnesse* (*equitatem*). This passage shows that Alfred as a translator is context-sensitive and does not resort to a verb of seeing to translate *videre* recognising its metaphorical sense here.

The final example in our set illustrates another metaphorical use of *videre*.

(13) 48.8

a.   the *Romanum*

Quoniam non **uidebit** interitum cum uiderit sapientes morientes; simul insipiens et stultus peribunt,

b.   the Paris Psalter

And	**næfð**	**nænne**	**forðanc**	be		his	deaðe,
and	not-has	no	forethought	concerning		his	death

þonne	he	gesyhð þa	welegan,	and	þa	weoruldwisan	sweltan;
when	he	sees the	wealthy	and	the	learned	die

se	unwise	and se	dysega	forweorþað	him		ætsamne.
the	unwise-one	and the	foolish-one	perish			themselves together

In conclusion, all of the thirty-six occurrences of *videre* in Psalms 1-50, twenty-six represent the same stable pattern as far as ME and EMnE translations are concerned, i.e. the *sēn*: *see* set. The OE equivalents, however, exhibit some varibility, with the most frequent equivalent being *ge-sēon* (twenty-six cases), one equivalent being *sēon*, and the remaining nine represent context-sensitive selection, which, to a large extent reflects the polysemic character of *videre*.

3. INTERPRETATION

The data adduced above allow us to tackle the questions posed in the Introduction. First of all, the two verbs *exaudire* and *videre* represent basic vocabulary, which tends to be resistant to loss. This is confirmed by the fact that all ME and MnE equivalents of the two verbs represent a continuation of the OE verbs. The verb *exaudire* is translated by all four ME texts in all 30 contexts by *sēn*, i.e. we deal with 120 identical choices. The situation repeats in EMnE, where all 30 contexts show the verb *see*. The same obtains for *videre*: all thirty-six contexts are rendered in ME by *hēren* and in EMnE by *hear*. Note, however, that what changes between Old English and Middle English is that while in OE the equivalents were the complex variants, the post-OE texts do not resort to these – not even in a single instance, though the complex items were preserved in the language in the Middle English period: *i-hēren* and *i-sēn*. This brings us to the second research question of this paper – the regular correspondence of OE complex and post-OE simplex verbs.

The reason why this happens seems to be related to the different status of the relevant verbs in the two periods. Namely, while in OE the complex variants seemed to have enjoyed the status of prototypical verbs, exhibiting a wider range of senses and appearing in a broader range of contexts, in ME due to weak syllable reduction and the loss of productivity of prefixation as a word-formation process for verbs in favour of prepositional verbs (cf. Kastovsky 1992: 375), the simplex variants acquired a new status, by extending their meaning range and the types of contexts in which they could appear, to finally oust the complex verbs from their prototypical function. In effect, what remains stable is the choice of the prototypical verb to render *videre* and *exaudire* in OE, ME and EMnE but it is the prototypes that change.

With respect to the third question posed for these data, we noted that while the equivalents of *exaudire* were (almost) always the same both for OE and for later periods, the same cannot be said with reference to the equivalents of *videre*, which exhibit more variation at the OE stage but the variation does not extend beyond that period. Note that these facts pose two questions. The first one is related to the differences between the two concepts: *hear* vs. *see* and naturally leads to the other: how the individual translators handle these discrepancies.

Starting with the first question, it is generally believed that verbs of seeing universally tend to develop metaphorical senses related to understanding. These senses are detectable in *videre* in 8.4, 10.8, 33.8, 35.9, 36.36, 39.13, 48.8[(a)]. In all of these contexts Alfred resorts to a different verb than the prototypical verb of seeing, i.e. *ge-sēon*. This is not to say that all the remaining contexts are strictly

literal: most of them are, but some exhibit certain indeterminacy as to the intended sense of the verse as between *seeing* and *understanding*. Consider for example 16.2 (quoted in 14 below), where a verb of seeing is clearly called for, due to the presence of *oculi tui/þine eagan*, as opposed to 45.9 (quoted in 15 below), where the context does not make it clear whether the literal or meta-phorical sense of *videre* is meant, or perhaps both. In contrast, all *exaudire* examples, as can be seen in Table 1 above, express the literal sense.

(14) 16.2
a.   the *Romanum*
      De uultu tuo iudicium meum prodeat; oculi tui **uideant** equitatem.
b.   the Paris Psalter

beforan	þe	sy	se	dom	betwuh	me	and	him;	
before	you	is	the	judgement	between	me	and	him/them	
geseon	þine	eagan	þone	rihtan	dom	betwuh	us.		
see	your	eyes	that	right	judgement	between	us		

(15) 45.9
a.   the *Romanum*
      Uacate et **uidete**, quoniam ego sum Deus; exaltabor in gentibus, et exaltabor in terra.
b.   the Paris Psalter

Geæmetgiað		eow	nu,	and	**gesioð**,		
keep-unoccupied-IMP.PL		yourselves	now	and	see-IMP.PL		
þæt	ic	eom	ana	God,			
that	I	am	the-only	God			
and	me	nu	up	ahebbe	ofer	þa	elðeodegan	folc,
and	myself	now	up	lift	over	the	foreign	people
and	eac	on	þysum	folce	ic	beo	nu	up	ahæfen.
and	also	among	these	nations	I	am	now	up	lifted

In sum, the semantic properties of *videre* as opposed to *exaudire* allow for a variety of metaphorical meanings, which are rendered in the Paris Psalter by means of a variety of contextually suitable verbs. Note, however, that no other translator for the next 700 years allows himself enough freedom to translate the sense of a phrase or passage rather than the verb. This seems to be due to a par-ticular cultural context in which the translations were carried out. Note that the Paris Psalter was translated into English as part of King Alfred's plan to translate

bec, ða ðe niedbeðearfosta sien eallum monnum to wiotonne 'books which are most necessary for all men to know'. "The text is influenced by Psalm Commentaries, and exhibits a lot of Alfred's own figures of speech and repetitions, intended to make the meaning clear. (…) The translator is also being a conscious educator here, sparing no effort to place the message of the text in a context that would permit a proper understanding. Clearly, the Psalter is not translated *word be worde* but *andgit of andgiete*" (CHARZYŃSKA-WÓJCIK 2013: 55). In contrast, the remaining texts adhere to "[t]he dominant theory of Biblical translation, based on Jerome's discussion of this specialized task rather than on his consideration of translation in general, [and] accepted the principle that every word of the text was sacred: even the order of the words is a mystery, and this mystery must be preserved in translation" (HARGREAVES 1965: 123). This shows two different contexts in which the texts were translated – on the one hand, there is King Alfred, who did not feel the burden of the years of tradition but whose enterprise required a visionary approach; on the other hand, there are the five translations carried out in awe of the sacred nature of the text that was being rendered. It seems then that the basic dilemma of a translator seems not to have arisen for a medieval Bible translator, as argued in HARGREAVES (1965: 123).[6] Due to the sacred nature of the text, medieval Biblical translation was based on the word-for-word principle, as it aspired to preserve in the second language "all the special significance and connotations which each word possesses in the original" (HARGREAVES 1965: 123).

These two extreme approaches find straightforward expression in the choice of equivalents of *exaudire* and *videre* in the examined texts: while Alfred's selection of equivalents is context-sensitive and dynamic, the remaining translators go for static equivalents.

4. CONCLUSION

The paper set out to establish the principle of equivalent selection in English prose translations of the Psalter carried out between Old and Early Modern English. The study focused on the equivalents of two verbs of the senses: *exaudire* and *videre*. It has been shown that two verbs appear in Psalms 1-50 thirty and thirty-six times respectively. An examination of their English equivalents illustrates the well-known tendency to preserve basic vocabulary perfectly well,

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[6] See also SCHWARTZ (1955).

showing the analysed text to be a good enough sample to carry out the relevant examination. Secondly, it was shown that the two verbs were translated in OE, ME and EMnE by their prototypical equivalents but the prototypes changed due to language internal factors: from prefixed *ge*-verbs to their simplex equivalents. Next, it was established that due to the different semantic properties of the two verbs (*videre* as opposed to *exaudire* developing metaphorical meanings), the equivalents of *exaudire* represented a stable pattern: *ge-hȳran > hēren > hear*; and the equivalents of *videre* tended to exhibit some variation. The variation, however, was recorded in one translation only – in the Paris Psalter. This fact, as has been pointed out, is a direct consequence of a particular cultural context in which the translations were carried out. As a result, while Alfred's text focuses on the clarity of the message and exhibits dynamic correspondences, the remaining translations are characterised by extreme reverence to the sacred nature of the text in all its layers, which results in the static equivalent selection.

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ZASADY WYBORU EKWIWALENTÓW
W ANGIELSKICH PROZAICZNYCH TŁUMACZENIACH
PSAŁTERZY ŚW. HIERONIMA.
STUDIUM NA PODSTAWIE CZASOWNIKÓW *EXAUDIRE* I *VIDERE*

S u m m a r y

W artykule analizowane są odpowiedniki łacińskich czasowników *exaudire* i *videre* w angielskich tłumaczeniach Psałterzy św. Hieronima dokonanych pomiędzy okresem staroangielskim a wczesnonowoangielskim w celu ustalenia zasad rządzących wyborami ekwiwalentów w analizowanych tekstach. W badaniach ustalono, że oba łacińskie czasowniki były tłumaczone na język angielski (w przeważającej większości przypadków) za pomocą czasowników prototypowych, z tym, że pod wpływem zmian zachodzących w języku prototypy te ulegają zmianom. W języku staroangielskim status prototypów miały czasowniki prefiksalne *ge-hȳran* i *ge-sēon*, podczas gdy poczynając od okresu średnioangielskiego, były to ich nieprefiksalne odpowiedniki: *hēren* > *hear* i *sēn* > *see*. Następnie stwierdzono, że o ile odpowiedniki czasownika *exaudire* były we wszystkich testach i we wszystkich kontekstach takie same, to odpowiedniki *videre* wykazywały zróżnicowanie, ale dotyczyło to wyłącznie tłumaczenia staroangielskiego. Różnice te wynikają z dwóch czynników. Pierwszy z nich jest ulokowany wewnątrz języka i wynika z uniwersalnego dla czasownika *widzieć* rozwoju znaczeń metaforycznych, które występują również w badanym tekście. Drugi jest pozajęzykowy i związany jest ze średniowieczną konwencją tłumaczeń tekstów biblijnych: jedynym tekstem, który tej konwencji się opiera i w którym te metaforyczne znaczenia tłuma-

czone są kontekstowo, tj. za pomocą różnych czasowników, jest staroangielski Psałterz Paryski. Wszystkie pozostałe teksty cechuje stały wybór ekwiwalentów, przez co wpisują się one w średnio-wieczną konwencję tłumaczeń sakralnych, które charakteryzuje niezwykła bliskość tekstowi orygi-nalnemu.

Streścili Magdalena Charzyńska-Wójcik i Jerzy Wójcik

Key words: Psalter, verbs, *exaudire*, *videre*, *hear*, *see*, equivalents, Biblical translation.

Słowa kluczowe: Psałterz, czasowniki, *exaudire*, *videre*, *hear*, *see*, ekwiwalenty, tłumaczenie Biblii.