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Cognate noun constructions in Early Modern English:

The case of Tyndale's New Testament*

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Abstract

This paper examines cognate noun constructions (CNCs) (e.g. *smile a disarming smile*) in Early Modern English, particularly in the first complete English translation of the Bible from the original Greek and Hebrew by William Tyndale. Tyndale's translation is produced during a period of significant expansion of CNCs in English. It is argued that CNCs in Tyndale are a marker of a particular English biblical register which involves archaic (early) English properties (cognate nouns in PPs) rather than a new tendency for cognate direct objects or the result of a translation effect alone. In other words, it is shown that Tyndale's translation follows archaic/early English rules, thus deviating both from the new tendency for cognate direct objects and from the source text. This archaic characteristic of CNCs with cognate

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nouns in PPs instantiates a general tendency in Tyndale's translation to use archaisms – as evidenced, for instance, in his dispreference for auxiliaries.

Key words: Early Modern English, transitivity, cognate nouns, biblical English, translation effects, "sacral stamp"

1. Introduction

Cognate noun constructions (CNCs) are constructions in which a transitive or even an intransitive verb combines with a direct object ("accusative NP")[1] which is a nominalized form of the verb without overt affix marking, or which has the same morphological stem as the verb (Jones 1988: 89). An example is (1):

(1) *He **laughed** a loud **laugh**.*

In an earlier study (Lavidas 2013a), I showed – in line with Visser (1963–73 [2002]: 415) – that the range of CNCs extended from Late Middle English to Early Modern English to include aspectual CNCs; that is, an increasing number of intransitive verbs with activity/event nouns (see below) were allowed in the construction. In this study, the development of these new CNCs

[1] The cognate complement can also appear in the dative case (when the dative is available; Old English) or in a PP; see the discussion of the data below.

in Early Modern English is examined, and particularly their status in the first complete English translation of the Bible from Greek and Hebrew by William Tyndale.[2]

There is a common consensus that the source languages for Tyndale's translation, Biblical Greek and Hebrew, show a high frequency of CNCs (see, among others, Gianollo & Lavidas 2013, 2014; see also Blass, Debrunner & Funk 1961). The equivalents of examples (2a–c) in the Greek New Testament (NT) show a CNC too, and in that respect, these examples demonstrate a direct translation effect. Note that not every CNC in the Greek source text has a CNC-correlate in Tyndale's NT, as can be seen from (3a) and (3b). With regard to Old English translations of Latin texts, Taylor (2008) has argued that biblical translations are different from other translations in that they may also show an indirect translation effect, whereby they follow particular characteristics of the source language even in contexts where there is no source for these characteristics. It will be seen that while Tyndale's translation demonstrates many examples of direct translation effects, CNCs behave according to the principles of "sacral stamp" (Psaltes 1913; Drinka 2011) – that is, as a biblical feature based on archaic/early English elements, which functions as a marker for the particular register. CNCs can thus be considered a biblical stylistic choice or an English biblical register marker/"sacral stamp"

[2] Previous studies on earlier English translations have analyzed Old English with regard to the accusativus-cum-infinitivo (among others, Fischer 1994), head initial/final PPs (Taylor 2008) or the dative absolute (Timofeeva 2012). For the study of translations in historical research, see, among others, Luraghi & Cuzzolin (2007).

(see Section 3.2 on the nature of the sacral stamp and how it differs from the indirect effects of translation).[3]

(2) a. ...*but* ***iudge*** *rightewes* ***iudgement****.*

'lit.: but judge a right judgment.'

(Tyndale, John 7:24)

b. ...*the* ***love*** *wher wt thou hast* ***loved*** *me.*

'lit.: the love with which you have loved me.'

(Tyndale, John 17:26)

c. …***synne*** *a* ***synne*** *that is not vnto deeth.*

'lit.: sins a sin that does not lead to death.'

(Tyndale, 1 John 5:16)

(3) a. ...*they were* ***marvelously glad****.*

(Tyndale, Matthew 2:10)

b. ...***ekhárēsan*** ***kharàn*** *megálēn* *sphódra.*

[3] A contrast between natural language characteristics and change, on the one hand, and conscious linguistic selection, on the other, has already been shown for grammatical phenomena too (besides lexical ones). For instance, the retention and the reintroduction of affirmative *do* in 17th-century documents (and mainly in the language of liturgy) have been analyzed as a conscious selection; see, among many others, Nevalainen (1991) and Hundt (2015).

> [...] given this general decline, why did *do* nevertheless sometimes survive, or even reappear, in affirmative declaratives in certain contexts after the mid-sixteen hundreds? Why did the archaic usage prevail in the language of liturgy, for instance? [...] This process of more or less conscious linguistic selection is commonly contrasted with natural language change that originates from below the level of social awareness. Whether the decline of *do* in 17th-century written documents resulted from a natural change is a matter of some dispute (cf. Rissanen 1985). All we can say is that affirmative *do* was not codified as an obligatory tense and mood carrier in declaratives in standard English. Hence its retention in, or introduction into, certain contexts must have been to some extent a matter of conscious selection. (Nevalainen 1991: 303)

rejoiced.3PL joy.ACC great.ACC exceedingly

'lit.: rejoiced exceedingly with great joy.'

(Greek NT, Matthew 2:10)

This paper is structured as follows. Section 2 provides the theoretical and historical background to CNCs and cognate nouns, with Section 2.1 discussing the types of cognate nouns and CNCs and Section 2.2 presenting the development of CNCs in English. Section 3 presents the analysis of the data from Tyndale's translation. The corpus study in Section 3.1 of CNCs in Tyndale and other biblical translations shows that Tyndale does not imitate the CNCs of the source language; instead, Tyndale's translation shows a preference for the archaic syntax of cognate nouns, i.e. in a PP, over the cognate direct object. In Section 3.2, I embed this archaic characteristic in Tyndale's general tendency towards archaisms in his translation (as evidenced, for instance, by his dispreference for auxiliaries). The CNCs in Tyndale's NT do not provide evidence for biblical indirect translation effects. While they are restricted to contexts where the source text has a CNC as well, they function in a way that supports their establishment as a marker of the English biblical register. Finally, Section 4 summarizes the main conclusions of the study.

2. Theoretical and historical background

2.1. Theoretical background: Cognate nouns and CNCs

On the assumption that thematic roles can only be assigned by transitive verbs, Jones (1988) advocated the view that cognate nouns with intransitive verbs are equivalent to adverbials. Yet Massam (1990), among others, argued in favor of an argument-analysis of cognate nouns with intransitives: for instance, in some cases, passivization is available (e.g. *A song was sung by the students*), whereas some cognate nouns are sensitive to the number of arguments a verb may take – a property that cannot be linked to adjunct behavior. Indeed, if cognate nouns (like *fight* in (4a)) behaved like adverbials, they could co-occur with other arguments; as (4b) shows, this is not possible.

(4) a. *They **fought** a heroic **fight**.*

b. *They **fought** the enemy heroically/ *a heroic **fight**.*

Pereltsvaig (1999, 2002) and Nakajima (2006: 677) have shown that argument-like as well as adverbial cognate nouns exist: argument-like cognate nouns can be passivized, whereas adverbial cognate nouns cannot. Accordingly, they hold that cognate nouns with intransitives may appear in two possible structural positions: in an object/argumental or in an adverbial/adjunct position. This means that two alternative readings are

available with cognate nouns: an adverbial/manner reading (*slept a very sound sleep* → 'slept deeply') and a non-adverbial reading (*slept a very sound sleep* → 'had a deep and sound sleep').[4]

Following up on this discussion on the different types of cognate nouns (argument-like and adverbial cognate nouns), Horrocks & Stavrou (2010) distinguished three main types of cognate nouns: (i) cognate nouns with transitives that express referential objects and have an argumental status: these cognate nouns have concrete meanings (they can be singular or plural) and can freely be passivized (see (5)); (ii) cognate nouns with intransitive (unergative) verbs, as in (6): these are also referential and have an argumental status: the passivization of cognate objects with intransitive (unergative) verbs is possible even though not common; (iii) aspectual (or activity/event-noun) cognate nouns that are non-referential; they occur with intransitive verbs and disallow passivization.[5] The examples in (7a–b) clearly distinguish between cognate nouns of the second and the third type: while transitivizing cognate nouns (*sing a song*) can be replaced by a similar (for instance, a synonymous or hyponymous) noun (*sing the anthem* or *an aria*), aspectual

[4] On the question of the type of intransitive verbs, i.e. unergatives or unaccusatives, that can appear with a cognate noun, we follow Lavidas' (2013b) analysis: we claim that only unergatives can take cognate nouns of an argumental (or adverbial) character; unaccusatives only take cognate nouns of an adverbial character. In this respect, our discussion mainly concerns unergatives – but similar tendencies for expansion of CNCs hold for unaccusatives, as well.

[5] The presentation of the characteristics of the cognate nouns is brief because of space restrictions; see, among others, Jones (1988), Massam (1990), Mittwoch (1998), Pereltsvaig (1999). For a detailed analysis of the characteristics of aspectual cognate objects, see Horrocks & Stavrou (2010: 303-307).

cognate nouns cannot be replaced by similar nouns; their main function is the expression of a limited event with beginning and end. This function is similar to the function of light-verb constructions (for instance, *give us a grin* – instead of *grin*).

(5) *She ended the class by asking us to **write a writing** within a given time.*

(6) *They **sang** a **song** I didn't recognize.*

(7) a. *She **smiled** a (winning) **smile** (*a grin).*

vs.: b. *sang the **song/ the anthem/ an aria***

Modern English has cognate nouns of the three types: cognate nouns of the first type with transitives (*write a writing/ paint a painting*), as well as cognate nouns that appear in transitivizing CNCs (2nd type) and aspectual activity/event-CNCs (3rd type). See (8a–b) from Horrocks & Stavrou (2010: 293), with examples of CNCs of the 2nd and 3rd type. The aspectual CNCs in Modern English of the type *smiled a winning smile*, *coughed a sinister cough* are not available in all languages. As will be seen in Section 2.2, aspectual CNCs with a cognate direct object were not available either before the Late Middle English period.

(8) a. Transitivizing CNCs

i. *She dreamed the most wonderful dream.*

ii. *They danced all sorts of dances at that party.*

iii. *Mary sang her favourite song on Peter's birthday.*

b. Aspectual CNCs

i. *He smiled an enigmatic smile.*

ii. *She slept a dreamless sleep.*

iii. *John coughed a sinister cough.*

(Horrocks & Stavrou 2010: 293)

The transitivizing CNCs comprise intransitive verbs that can behave as transitives and appear with objects that are cognate nouns or hyponyms and nouns with related meanings. In this sense, the transitivizing CNCs do not differ from constructions with transitive verbs: their cognate nouns are referential objects with a typical argumental status. In contrast, CNCs with aspectual (activity/event) cognate nouns are not similar to constructions with transitive verbs. Modern English aspectual cognate nouns are not referential nouns and they are fully selected by the verb in that they cannot be replaced by any other noun (hyponym or of related meaning). Consider (9a) vs. (9b) from Horrocks & Stavrou (2010: 294), which illustrates the difference between transitivizing and aspectual CNCs. According to Horrocks & Stavrou's (2010) analysis, the non-referential nature of the aspectual cognate nouns gives rise to the type of syntactic behavior that can be illustrated in (9b): on Horrocks & Stavrou's view, aspectual CNCs (e.g. *grin a grin*) are similar to light verb constructions such as *give a grin*, with the only difference

that aspectual CNCs provide additional information on the means by which the event takes place; the similarity resides in the fact that both light verb constructions and aspectual CNCs "effect a shift of aspectual character" with respect to the corresponding intransitive verb used on its own. In particular, in adding an object to a verb, these event–noun periphrases (light verb constructions or constructions with aspectual cognate nouns) in Modern English turn a VP that expresses an atelic event into a telic event (in a similar fashion, non-terminative transitives (e.g. *read*) may assume a terminative interpretation when combined with a direct object (e.g. *read the book*)).[6] Horrocks & Stavrou (2010) view these periphrastic constructions that shift telicity in languages such as Modern English as a correlate of outer (viewpoint/grammatical) aspect: the telicity-shift-constructions express aspectual information in the case of absence of an outer aspect marking in the verbal stem. The aim of the present study is not to provide a further account of the correlation between aspect and telicitity-shift-constructions. We may only add that outer aspect can also be expressed by means of a prefix (as in the case of Old English *ge-*; see McFadden 2015, among others), with the prefix functioning in a way similar to the verbal stem that encodes the aspectual information.

[6] Terminative is not synonymous to telic for Horrocks & Stavrou: verbs that are lexically terminative in aspectual character denote a process that has a built-in end-point (e.g. terminative *melt* vs. the non-terminative *wash*). In case of a non-terminative verb, the activity may continue indefinitely (Horrocks & Stavrou 2003, 2007).

(9) a. Transitivizing CNCs

i. *A song was sung by the revellers.*

[+ Passivization]

ii. *A patriotic song, everyone wanted to sing.*

[+ Topicalization]

iii. *What did everyone sing?*

[+ Questioning]

iv. *They sang (all the, some, many...) songs.*

[+ Plural (and quantification)]

v. *They sang a (patriotic) song.*

Optional qualification (indefinite)

vi. *They sang the/this/that (famous) song.*

Optional qualification (definite)

vii. *They sang a song, an anthem, an aria,...*

Not restricted to cognates only

b. Aspectual CNCs

i. *??A (winning) smile was smiled by the winner.*

[– Passivization]

ii. **A (winning) smile, no one smiled.*

[– Topicalization]

iii. **What did she smile?*

[– Questioning]

iv. *?She smiled (all the, some, many...) smiles.*

[– Plural (and quantification)]

v. *?She smiled a smile (cf. a winning smile).*

Qualification preferred (indefinite)

vi. *?She smiled the smile (cf. the she was famous for).*

Qualification preferred (definite)

vii. *She smiled a (winning) smile (*a grin, *a laugh,…).*

Restricted to cognates only

(Horrocks & Stavrou 2010: 294)

To summarize, aspectual cognate nouns in Modern English are non-referring nouns which occur in CNCs expressing terminative events (in the default cases), as the terminative correlate of non-terminative intransitive verbs. On this approach, Modern English bare roots (which, for instance, do not encode the grammaticalized opposition of perfective vs. imperfective aspect in the verbal stem) may employ aspectual cognate nouns to express the preferred aspectual (terminative) character for the VP. In the following section, in which the development of CNCs in English is discussed, it will be seen that CNCs are expanded with aspectual cognate nouns, mainly from Middle to Early Modern English.

2.2. Historical background: Cognate nouns and their diachrony in English

In his historical grammar, Visser (1963–73 [2002]) discusses the development of cognate nouns with transitive and intransitive verbs. Modern English examples of such combinations of cognate nouns with transitive verbs are in (10a) and with intransitive verbs in (10b):

(10) a. *tell a tale – do a deed*

b. *live a life – laugh a laugh*

Visser's data (1963–73 [2002]: 415) show that in Old English, transitives are usually found with dative cognate nouns, as in (11). This early stage also saw the occurrence of CNCs including an intransitive verb and a cognate noun, but the cognate nouns took the dative case or were included in a PP.

(11) *se* *Cynewulf* *oft* *miclum*
3SG.NOM Cynewulf often great.DAT
gefeohtum ***feaht*** *uuiþ* *Bretwalum.*
fights.DAT fought.3SG against Britons
(Chron. an. 755 [Ms. A])
'Cynewulf fought many great battles against Britons.'

It is in the later stages of English, then, that Visser observed a clear tendency for an increase in the use of cognate direct objects with intransitives (instead of CNCs with cognate nouns in PPs):

> Cognate objects of the type dealt with here [with intransitives] are somewhat rare in Old English; they are met with increasing frequency in Middle English, and become quite numerous in the Modern period, where the usage, however remains confined to literary diction. (Visser 1963–73 [2002]: 415)

The emergence of CNCs that include an intransitive verb and a cognate object (12; *live + Preposition + life > live life*) is, for Visser, the result of analogy with transitive verbs with cognate nouns or of the loss of the dative case.

(12) Middle English

I mai ***liue*** *a wel god* ***lif***

(Seven Sages, 1657)

In sum, then, cognate nouns with intransitive verbs (in contrast to cognate nouns with regular transitives) were shown by Visser (1963–73 [2002]) to be a relatively recent development in English: they were rare in Old English but were used with increasing frequency in Middle and Early Modern English,

and are frequent in Modern English (see also the results from a corpus study below).

In order to test Visser's hypotheses, I carried out a limited study of the diachrony of CNCs in English (see Lavidas 2013a). To that effect, I collected 59 verbs that can combine with a cognate noun; verbs were taken from the various periods of the English language and for each verb, there was a clear description (or example) of its first appearance in a CNC in the online version of the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) (see Table 1).[7] The results of the corpus study are largely in line with Visser's observations: they reveal a tendency for a more productive use of CNCs from the M2 stage (1250–1350) onwards (see the examples in (13), taken from Lavidas 2013a).[8] This development is shown in Table 2, which presents a clear contrast between Old and Modern English that derives from the expansion of CNCs in later stages of English.[9]

[7] All quantitative data is based exclusively on information in the OED; this means that even in a case where Visser provides an example from a period for which the OED has no example that first appeared, this period would contain no evidence of the emergence of a new CNC in the table.

[8] I follow the York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose, the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpora of Middle English, the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English (PPCEME), the Penn Parsed Corpus of Modern British English, with regard to chronological periods in all figures and tables: O2 (Old English; 850–950); O3 (Old English; 950–1050); O4 (Old English; 1050–1150); M1 (Middle English; 1150–1250); M2 (Middle English; 1250–1350); M3 (Middle English; 1350–1420); M4 (Middle English; 1420–1500); E1 (Early Modern English; 1500–1569); E2 (Early Modern English; 1570–1639); E3 (Early Modern English; 1640–1710); MBE (Modern British English; 1700–1914).

[9] The aspectual cognate nouns belong to the newer types of cognate nouns, which expanded the use of CNCs. A hypothesis could be that this expansion through the new aspectual cognate nouns is related to a change in aspect (grammaticalization of the progressive) in the same stage of the history of English. This hypothesis (namely that the grammaticalization of the progressive may play a significant role in the emergence of the new aspectual cognate nouns) finds support in the chronology of the development of the progressive in English. The English progressive is a Late Middle English innovation, and its use increased especially

(13) a. *The ladye **lough** a loud **laughter**, As shee sate by the king.*

‘lit.: The lady laughed a loud laughter, as she sat by the king.’

(King Estmere, l. 235 in D. Laing Early Sc. Metrical Tales (1889), 245, c1470)

b. *The gaunt hobbledehoy **grinning** a very unlovely **grin**.*

(G. A. Sala, Journey due South (1887), i. xxvi. 356, 1884)

c. *Mr. Weller junior **smiled** a filial **smile**.*

(Dickens, Pickwick Papers (1837), xxiii 238, 1836)

during the 19th and 20th centuries (van Gelderen 2004: 203–213). Van Gelderen argues that by the time of Jane Austen’s early 19th-century novels, the use of the progressive is modern-like (the progressive can be used for intervals, as in (1)). On her view, the first shift (from inner to outer aspect, with emergence of the progressive) occurs at the end of the Middle English period, whereas the shift to the fixed pattern of obligatory *-ing* occurs in the 19th century.

(1) *At this moment … Mr Elton **is shewing** your picture…* (Jane Austen, *Emma I*, ch. 7; example taken from van Gelderen 2004)

In Lavidas (2013a), I presented a corpus study with regard to the presence of forms in *-end(e/an)* and *-ing(-yng(e))*, coded as markers for the progressive. The corpus study confirms the development of the progressive as described in the relevant studies. Moreover, it appears that the aspectual cognate nouns progress in parallel with the changes in the progressive. The stages M2 (1250–1350) and M3 (1350–1420) are the most significant stages for the development of both aspectual cognate nouns and the progressive: the new aspectual cognate nouns are productively used after stages M2 and M3, and the progressive is a Middle English innovation.

Table 1. Number of CNCs that first appeared in each period (according to etymological information included in the online OED); from Lavidas (2013a)

					21/59			16/59			
Periods	**O2 (OE; 850 – 950)**	**O3 (OE; 950 –1050)**	**O4 (OE; 1050–1150)**	**M1 (ME; 1150–1250)**	**M2 (ME; 1250–1350)**	**M3 (ME; 1350–1420)**	**M4 (ME; 1420–1500)**	**E1 (EME; 1500–1569)**	**E2 (EME; 1570–1639)**	**E3 (EME; 1640–1710)**	**MBE (1700–1914)**
New CNCs	**0**	**0**	**3/59 (5.08 %)**	**0**	**7/59 (11.86 %)**	**8/59 (13.56 %)**	**6/59 (10.17 %)**	**1/59 (1.69%)**	**7/59 (11.86%)**	**8/59 (13.56%)**	**19/59 (32.20 %)**

Table 2. CNCs in Old and Modern English

	Cognate nouns with transitives – "write a writing"	***Transitivizing CNC – "sing a song"***	***Aspectual CNC – "grin a grin"***
Old English	√	√	*
Modern English	√	√	√

In Section 2.2, I have discussed aspects of the development of the CNCs. It has been seen that Early Modern English is a significant period for the expansion of the CNCs through the aspectual cognate nouns. It is in this period (16th century) that the first English translation of the Greek and Hebrew text of the Bible, Tyndale's translation, appeared. As there is a common consensus that the CNC is a characteristic construction marking the register of Biblical Greek and Hebrew, and that it is used very frequently in the Greek and Hebrew Bible texts, it will be revealing to examine CNCs in Tyndale's translation; this will be done in comparison with earlier translations (from Latin) and with later translations. While it might be expected that the

CNCs in Tyndale reflect the new tendency for cognate direct objects (aspectual cognate nouns) or are only a translation effect, it will be shown that the CNCs should be analyzed as a register/biblical marker linked to archaic characteristics of English.

3. The data from Tyndale

3.1. CNCs in Tyndale vs. other biblical translations

Tyndale's NT is the first complete English translation of the Greek NT (probably influenced by Luther's translation as well – see, among others, Light & Wallenberg 2015). The Greek NT is considered a text which is typical for the presence of CNCs, under the influence of Biblical Hebrew[10] or of biblical language in general. The Greek NT was translated by Tyndale in the first stage of the Early Modern period (1500–1569; stage E1), and Tyndale's translation was published in 1525. This means that the translation coincides with the stage of the rise of aspectual CNCs[11] (see Visser 1963–73

[10] This influence is most clear in the Greek Old Testament / Septuagint translation from Hebrew.

[11] Tyndale's Bible includes instances of the new progressive as well (see fn. 8 for the hypothetical relationship between aspectual cognate nouns and aspect); examples from Tyndale are in (1a–f). A corpus study with regard to the presence of the new progressive (*-ing* vs. the early *-ende*) demonstrates exactly the same results for Tyndale, on the one hand, and other texts of his period (E1 stage), on the other; see (2)

(1) a. *And he **was buyldinge** a cyte* (Tyndale, OT, Genesis 4:17)[11]

[2002] and the results from Lavidas' 2013a corpus study above). Tyndale's text influenced later English biblical translations, mainly the King James Bible. It should also be noted that Tyndale's aim was to prepare a translation that could be accessed by ordinary people; not all translators of the period shared this ambition with Tyndale.

Drawing on the source text (the Greek NT) and examples of CNCs in grammars of Biblical Greek (mainly, Conybeare & Stock 1905 [1995]; Moulton 1908; Robertson 1919; Blass, Debrunner & Funk 1961), I compiled a list of CNCs (for some examples, see Table 3) and then searched for all their occurrences in the electronic text of the Greek NT (GNT) (1st cent. AD – Koine Greek; PROIEL Corpus). All examples thus collected were compared with their translations in Tyndale's NT (T). For comparative purposes, the following translations were examined as well: (i) the late 4th-century Latin Vulgate (LV), used for a long period in England; (ii) the Wessex/West-Saxon Gospels (WS) (circa 990 AD), that is, the earlier Old English partial translation; (iii) the Wycliffite Bible (W) (1395), that is, the earlier, Middle

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b. *and ther **were stondynge** theare, six waterpottes of stone after the maner of the purifyinge of the Iewes, **contaynynge** two or thre fyrkins a pece.* (Tyndale, John 2:6)
c. *Martha assone as she hearde that Iesus **was comynge**, went* (Tyndale, John 11:20)
d. *and no man **be dwellinge** therin* (Tyndale, Acts 1:20)
e. *And ther **were dwellinge** at Ierusalem Jewes, devoute men, which were of all nacions vnder heaven.* (Tyndale, Acts 2:5)
f. *And ther **were** in the same region shepherdes **abydinge** in the felde and **watching** their flocke by nyght.* (Tyndale, Luke 2:8)

(2) *Tyndale's NT*: 100% -ing vs. 0% -ende; but with a low frequency (0.28% of all clauses).
Other E1 Texts: 100% -*ing* vs. 0% -*ende*; but with a low frequency (0.30% of all clauses)

English, translation from the Latin text; and (iv) Luther's translation (Lu) (1522; *Septembertestament*), which constitutes the other possible source for Tyndale's NT. CNCs were also searched in the later English biblical translations, which were produced after Tyndale's translation: (v) the King James Version (KJV), 1611; (vi) the Young's Literal Translation (YLT), 1887; (vii) the American Standard Version (ASV), 1901; and (viii) the English Standard Version (ESV), 1971.

Table 3. Examples of CNCs in the Greek NT for the comparative corpus study

Cognate NP-acc
a. *ephobḗthēsan phóbon mégan* **feared**.3PL **fear**.ACC great.ACC
b. *ekhárēsan kharàn megálēn sphódra* **rejoiced**.3PL **joy**.ACC great.ACC exceedingly
c. *aúksei tḕn aúksēsin toû theoû* **grow**.3SG ART.ACC **growth**.ACC ART.GEN God.GEN
d. *ekaumatísthēsan hoi ánthrōpoi kaûma méga* **burnt**.3PL ART.NOM men.NOM **burn**.ACC great.ACC
e. *hamartánonta hamartían* **sin**.PTCP **sin**.ACC
f. *tò báptisma hò egṑ baptízomai* ART.ACC **baptism**.ACC REL.ACC 1SG.NOM **baptize**.MP.1SG
g. *hē agápē hḕn ēgápēsás me* ART.NOM **love**.NOM REL.ACC **loved**.2sg 1SG.ACC
h. *oikodomoûnti oikían* **build**.PTCP.DAT **building**.ACC
i. *euangélion aiṓnion euangelísai* **gospel**.ACC eternal.ACC **evangelize**/preach.INF
j. *tò hórama hò eîden* ART.ACC **vision**.ACC REL.ACC **saw**.3SG
k. *tḕn dikaían krísin krínete* ART.ACC right.ACC **judgment**.ACC **judge**.2PL
l. *tês klḗseōs hês eklḗthēte* ART.GEN **calling**.GEN REL.GEN **call**.MP.2PL
m. *speîrai tòn spóron autoû* **sow**.INF ART.ACC **seed**.ACC 3SG.GEN

Cognate NP-dat

a. *epithumíai epethúmēsa*
desire.DAT **desired**.1SG

b. *apeilēi apeilēsómetha*
warning.DAT **warn**.1PL

c. *parangelíai parēngeílamen*
order.DAT **ordered**.1PL

d. *anathémati anethematísamen*
curse.DAT **cursed**.1PL

e. *proseukhêi prosēúksato*
prayer.DAT **prayed**.3SG

f. *têi eleutheríai hēmâs Khristòs ēleuthérōsen*
ART.DAT **freedom**.DAT 1PL.ACC Christ.NOM **set-free**.3SG

The basis for the corpus study consists of 74 CNCs in the Greek NT. Forty appear in the accusative in the Greek source text (e.g. *ephobḗthēsan phóbon* 'feared fear.DAT'), 16 in the dative (e.g. *epithumíai epethúmēsa* 'desire.DAT desired'), and only two instances of cognate nouns occur in PPs (preposition + cognate noun in the accusative); 16 cognate nouns are attested in a relative clause (e.g. *agápēn hḕn ēgápēsen* 'love.ACC REL.ACC loved.3SG'). The majority of the Greek NT cognate nouns are modified: 62 modified vs. 12 non-modified (on the non-modified dative cognate nouns, see Gianollo & Lavidas 2014).

Tyndale's translation appears not to be slavish with regard to CNCs. It follows the Greek text only in 37.84% of the cases,[12] with *a substantial*

[12] See, for instance, (1).

(1) John 7:24
T: *but **iudge** rightewes **iudgement***

GNT: *allà tḕn dikaían krísin krínete*
but ART.ACC right.ACC judgment.ACC judge.2PL
LV: *sed justum judicium judicate*
but right.ACC judgment.ACC judge.2PL

number of the cognate nouns (16/28) attested in PPs and not as cognate direct objects. This mainly demonstrates an archaic (early English) feature of CNCs, rather than a translation effect: indeed, as pointed out above, Visser (1963-73 [2002]) has shown that in earlier stages of English, cognate nouns in CNCs with intransitive verbs were included in a PP (or marked with the dative case). Tyndale makes use of this archaic feature (cognate nouns included in a PP) instead of the Early Modern English tendency for cognate direct objects. As with all biblical translators, Tyndale is constrained by his respect of the religious text and applies an archaic register that is close to earlier features of English (see (14)). This leads to a specific register of English – which will be followed up subsequently by other authors – and not to a strict imitation of the Greek text. Moreover, all cognate nouns in Tyndale's NT are modified (even in case that the Greek source text has a non-modified cognate noun).

(14) James 5:17

T: *and he prayed **in his prayer***

Lu: *sondern richtet eyn recht gericht.*
but judge a right judgment

WS: *ac demað rihtne dom.*
W: *but deme ye a riytful doom.*
KJV: *but judge righteous judgment.*
YLT: *but the righteous judgment judge*
ASV: *but judge righteous judgment.*
ESV: *but judge with right judgment.*

GNT: *...kaì proseukhêi prosēúksato*

and prayer.DAT prayed.3SG

LV: *et oratione oravit*

and speech.ABL speak.PRF.3SG

Lu: *vnd er betet eyn gepet*

and 3SG.NOM pray.3SG a prayer

WS: -

W: *and **in** preier he preiede*

KJV: *and he prayed earnestly*

YLT: *and **with** prayer he did pray*

ASV: *and he prayed fervently*

ESV: *and he prayed fervently*

CNCs in the Greek NT with non-modified cognate nouns in the dative are also translated by adverbs in Tyndale's NT (as well as in the Luther's NT).[13] See (15). The adverbs can probably express focus on the verbal predicate, similar to the cognate datives (*verum focus*; see among others, Gutzmann & Castroviejo Miró 2011 and Gianollo & Lavidas 2013).

[13] This may be a correlation here between Tyndale's and Luther's NT. I leave the issue open for future research.

(15) Luke 22:15

T: *I have **inwardly** desyred to eate this ester lambe with you*

GNT: *epithumíai epethúmēsa toûto tò páskha*
desire.DAT desired.1SG this.ACC ART.ACC easter.ACC
phageîn meth' humôn
eat.INF with 2PL.GEN

LV: *Desiderio desideravi hoc pascha*
desire.DAT desire.PRF.1SG this easter
manducare vobiscum.
eat.INF 2PL.DAT-with

Lu: *Mich hatt **hertzlich** verlanget dis osterlamb*
1SG.ACC have.3SG eagerly desire.PTCP this easter-lamb
mit euch zu essen
with 2PL.DAT to eat.INF

WS: *Of gewilnunge ic gewilnude etan mid eow þas Eastron*

W: *With desier Y haue desirid to ete with you this pask*

KJV: *With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you*

YLT: *With desire I did desire to eat this passover with you*

ASV: *With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you*

ESV: *I have earnestly desired to eat this Passover with you*

CNCs comprising cognate nouns with an indefinite article (16) and relative clause CNCs (17) are also attested frequently in Tyndale's translation.

(16) 1 John 5:16

T: *Yf eny man se his brother* ***synne a synne*** *that is not vnto deeth*

GNT: *eán tis ídēi tòn adelphòn autoû*
if someone.NOM see.3SG ART.ACC brother.ACC 3SG.GEN
hamartánonta hamartían mè pròs thánaton
sin.PTCP.ACC sin.ACC NEG to death

LV: *Qui scit fratrem suum peccare*
somebody know.3SG brother.ACC 3SG.ACC sin.INF
peccatum non ad mortem petet
sin.ACC NEG to death aim.FUT.3SG

Lu: *So yemand sihet seynen bruder sundigen*
when somebody see.3SG his brother sin
eyne sunde, nicht zum todt
a sin NEG to death

WS: -

W: *that his brother synneth a synne not to deth*

KJV: *If any man see his brother sin a sin which is not unto death*

YLT: *If any one may see his brother sinning a sin not unto death*

ASV: *If any man see his brother sinning a sin not unto death*

ESV: *If anyone sees his brother committing a sin not leading to death*

(17) Ephesians 2:4

T: *[But God which is rich in mercy] thorow his greate* ***love wherwith he loved*** *vs*

GNT: *...dià* *tèn* *pollèn* *agápēn* *autoû*
through ART.ACC great.ACC love.ACC 3SG.GEN
hèn *ēgápēsen* *hēmâs*
REL.ACC loved.3SG 1PL.ACC

LV: *propter* *nimiam* *caritatem* *suam,*
near excessive.ACC love.ACC 3SG.ACC
qua *dilexit* *nos*
REL.NOM love.PRF.3SG 1PL.ACC

Lu: *durch* *seyne* *grosse* *liebe,* *da mit*
through his great love there with
er *vnns* *geliebt* *hatt*
3SG.NOM 1PL.ACC love.PTCP have.3SG

WS: -

W: *for his ful myche charite in which he louyde vs*

KJV: *for his great love wherewith he loved us*

YLT: *because of His great love with which He loved us*

ASV: *for his great love wherewith he loved us*

ESV: *because of the great love with which he loved us*

Table 4 presents the results of the corpus study on biblical translations. We should notice that biblical translations can provide a natural parallel corpus with homogeneous pragmatic contexts and syntactic faithfulness; however, the faithfulness, observed in biblical translations, can reach an extreme degree and probably override native characteristics of the target language (Gianollo 2011). Table 4 demonstrates that the Latin Vulgate is the closest translation to the Greek source text with regard to CNCs: 70.27% of the CNCs in the Greek text have a CNC in the Latin translation as well. It also includes a large number of (non-modified) datives.

Table 4. CNCs in the Greek NT and its translations

Text *Type of CNC*	*Greek NT*	*Tyndale's NT*	*Latin Vulgate*	*Luther's September Testament*	*West-Saxon Gospels*	*Wycliffe*	*KJV*	*YLT*	*ASV*	*ESV*
Total number of CNCs	**74**	**28/74 [37.84 %]**	**52/74 [70.27 %]**	**32/74 [43.24 %]**	**16/34[14] [47.06 %]**	**38/74 [51.35 %]**	**32/74 [43.24 %]**	**44/74 [59.46 %]**	**38/74 [51.35 %]**	**28/74 [37.84%]**
Accusative/ Objective (Cognate direct object)	**40 [54.05 %]**	**6 [21.43 %]**	**10 [19.23 %]**	**8 [25%]**	**4 [25%]**	**8 [21.05 %]**	**6 [18.75 %]**	**10 [22.73 %]**	**8 [21.05 %]**	**2 [7.14 %]**
Dative	**16 [21.62 %]**	**-**	**28 [53.85 %]**	**0 [0%]**	**0 [0%]**	**0 [0%]**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**-**
PP	**2 [2.70 %]**	**16 [57.14 %]**	**0 [0%]**	**12 [37.5%]**	**6 [37.5%]**	**22 [57.89 %]**	**14 [43.75 %]**	**16 [36.36 %]**	**18 [47.37 %]**	**18 [64.29%]**
Relative clause	**16 [21.62 %]**	**6 [21.43 %]**	**14 [26.92 %]**	**12 [37.5%]**	**6 [37.5%]**	**8 [21.05 %]**	**12 [37.5%]**	**18 [40.91 %]**	**12 [31.58 %]**	**8 [28.57%]**
Modified	**62**	**28**	**40**	**32**	**12**	**30**	**30**	**36**	**36**	**26**
Non-modified	**12**	**0**	**12**	**0**	**4**	**8**	**2**	**8**	**2**	**2**

Luther's translation shows results similar to Tyndale's NT (similar percentages of CNCs; Lu: 32/74 – T: 28/74). However, it is not the case that CNCs in Tyndale's NT always correspond to the CNCs in Luther's NT; see, for instance (18), where a translation involving a cognate noun in a PP in Tyndale's translation has no cognate noun correlate in Luther's translation.

(18) T: PP with cognate noun

[14] It contains only the Gospels.

and encreaseth ***with the increasynge*** *that commeth of god*

Lu: No cognate noun

vnd also wechst zur grosse

and so grow.3SG to growth

All English biblical translations that appeared before Tyndale's translation were produced based on Jerome's Latin Vulgate. The West-Saxon Gospels constitute a partial, Old English translation of the Latin NT: this text includes more CNCs comprising cognate nouns in a PP than cognate direct objects. PPs with cognate nouns are also typical of the earlier Wycliffite translation (from Latin).[15] On the other hand, even though the Latin source mainly includes cognate accusatives and datives, many cognate nouns in the Wycliffite translation are also attested in PPs. With regard to the translations of the 19th and 20th century, YLT includes the largest number of CNCs in the English translations examined (44 out of the 74 CNCs of the Greek NT); here as well, most of the cognate nouns occur in PPs. In addition, the ESV follows Tyndale's strategy of avoiding cognate direct objects: the translators prefer cognate nouns in PPs to cognate direct objects.

On the whole, the English biblical translations, with the exception of ESV, show a fairly stable proportion of CNCs comprising cognate direct

[15] I thank the anonymous reviewer for bringing the issue of the earlier vs. later version of the Wycliffite Bible. I would like to point out that the results are based on a detailed corpus study in the earlier version. However, it appears that, in most of the cases, the later version does not modify the earlier version with regard to the CNCs.

objects. Importantly, the expansion of CNCs with cognate direct objects that can be observed in the language in general is not seen in the English biblical translations (see Table 5). On the contrary, cognate nouns in PPs are preferred both before and after the loss of the dative case.

Table 5. Cognate direct objects in English biblical translations

Text *Type of CNC*	*Greek NT*	*Tyndale's NT*	*Latin Vulgate*	*Luther's September Testament*	*West-Saxon Gospels*	*Wycliffe*	*KJV*	*YLT*	*ASV*	*ESV*
Accusative/ Objective (Cognate direct object)	**40 [54.05 %]**	**6 [21.43 %]**	**10 [19.23 %]**	**8 [25%]**	**4 [25%]**	**8 [21.05 %]**	**6 [18.75 %]**	**10 [22.73 %]**	**8 [21.05 %]**	**2 [7.14%]**

It is my claim that the tendency for a preference of CNCs with cognate nouns in PPs reflects a type of a "sacral stamp", a continuation of an archaic tradition (in the sense of a preference in early English for cognate nouns in PPs over cognate direct objects). The translator, instead of preferring the source text option (a cognate direct object / cognate accusative), which is also an available and productive option for the native language of the period, follows an option that was common in earlier English, namely a cognate noun in a PP. This preference is furthermore in contrast to the fact that cognate direct objects (cognate nouns in the accusative) are a typical biblical feature of Greek. In this respect, English also follows, in a way, the Gothic tradition; see, for instance, Wolfe 2006, who argues in favor of a tendency in Gothic to avoid cognate direct objects (accusative cognate nouns), as in (19).

(19) GNT *kaì* ***ekséstēsan*** ***ekstásei*** *megálēi*

and astonished.3PL astonishment.DAT great.DAT

Gothic *jah usgeisnodedun faurhtein mikilai*

and astonished.3PL fear.DAT great.DAT

'and they were astonished with great astonishment'

(Mark 5:42)

The characteristics of CNCs, as they appeared in Tyndale's and other translations, can be subsumed under the notion of "sacral stamp": according to Psaltes (1913), "sacral stamp" covers the linguistic characteristics that reflect membership in the Christian community ("a linguistic emblem of membership in the Christian community" (Doron 2011: 41)). These characteristics imitate Koine Greek characteristics of the Bible and create a text that attempts to distance itself from the language of its period. In this paper, a broader definition will be used, as proposed by Drinka (2011: 67):

> Translators have shaped their style and syntax according to these patterns [the ones attested in the earlier biblical texts], as they endowed their own words with the archaic sounds of the past that connoted reverence and membership in the Christian community.[16]

[16] The following remark by Drinka (2011: 47, fn.9 – my emphasis) on the role of archaic elements as aspects of a "sacral stamp" is significant for our discussion:

Drinka has shown the role of the "sacral stamp" even in the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles (written in Greek): Luke, for instance, adopted the archaic style of the Septuagint (Greek translation of the Old Testament) and provided his text with what Wifstrand (2005: 42) describes as: "an aura of sacred history, making it appear as the sequel and fulfillment of the Old Testament". Another structure that has been considered an example of the "sacral stamp" is the periphrastic progressive; this structure is very frequently used in the Greek New Testament, following the Septuagint model, and then in the Latin Vulgate and the Latin Christian texts. In Amenta (2003), for instance, it is argued that the periphrastic progressive has been a structure which functions as a marker of membership in the Christian community.

On the basis of the data from Tyndale's translation and other translations of the Bible, I argue that the "sacral stamp," as a marker of adherence to the register of Christian texts, can deviate from the Greek source text to follow English rules of an earlier period (cognate nouns in PPs). The use of CNCs with cognate nouns in PPs – in contrast to the preference of the period for cognate direct objects and the choice in the source text of cognate accusatives (or datives) – constitutes the primary reason for considering these to be archaic patterns (in opposition, for instance, to the tendency in Latin to use

"Note that English, too, partakes of the "sacral stamp", in elevating these familiar lines by means of *archaic language*, such as that found in the King James version: 'My soul doth magnify the Lord/And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour.'"

cognate direct objects). Recall that cognate direct objects were not productive in Old English, and, in contrast, the only option in Old English was the use of a cognate noun in a PP (on in the dative case).

Section 3.2 presents additional manifestations of Tyndale's preference for archaisms. It is argued that CNCs, in combination with these other manifestations, establish an English biblical register rather than reflect a translation effect.

3.2. Archaic "sacral stamp" vs. indirect effects of translation in Tyndale

Besides direct effects of translation, i.e. the repetition/imitation of a pattern of the source text in the target text within the same context, previous studies have recognized indirect effects of translation. According to Taylor (2008), a translator may prefer to use syntactic structures of the source text in the target text (in a higher frequency than other authors of the same period) even in contexts where there is no matching structure in the source text. This indirect effect of translation is a kind of priming, in that the higher frequency of particular structures may be attributed to structures that have been used in the previous discourse. Taylor has related the different types of translation effect to the type of the translation: translations of non-biblical texts show only direct translation effects; translations of biblical texts show *both* direct and indirect effects. In her analysis, this means that different translation strategies are put into practice in biblical (seen by the translator as containing the

language of God) vs. non-biblical texts. As Taylor (2008: 355–356) points out, "OE writers generally felt free to paraphrase rather than give a literal translation of texts, except when it came to the Bible." For instance, following the head-initial order rule of Latin (the source language), Old English biblical translations show a higher rate of head-initial orders in PPs in general (and not only in the contexts where the source text has a PP); see Figure 1.

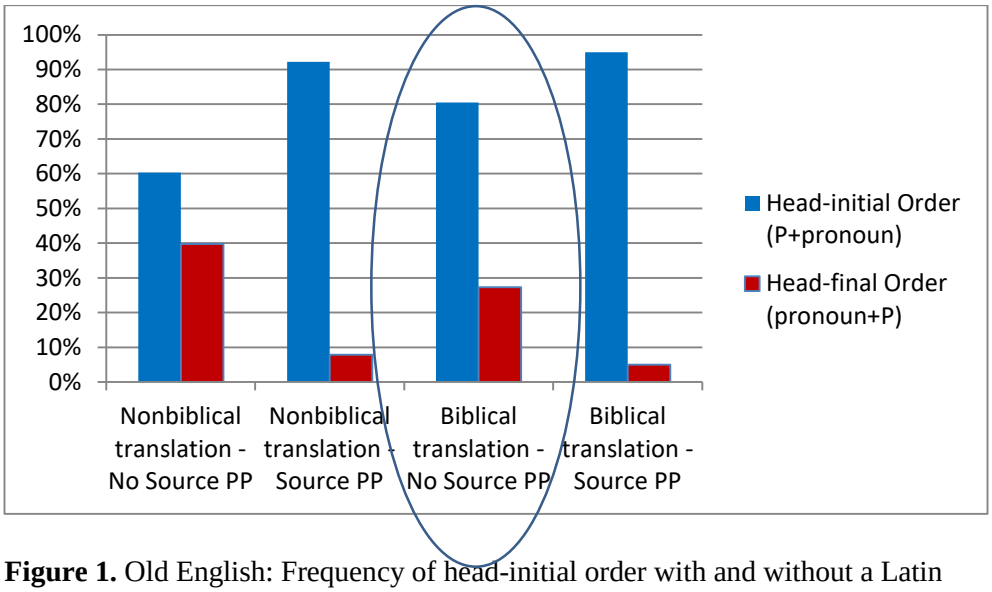

Figure 1. Old English: Frequency of head-initial order with and without a Latin source PP (Taylor 2008)

Importantly, Tyndale's NT does not constitute a typical example of a biblical translation with indirect translation effects: there are only very few cases of use of a CNC in a context where the source text does not include a CNC (see, for instance, (20)). A corpus search for CNCs in Tyndale's translation in contexts other than those of the source text yielded only very

few instances and, therefore, cannot support an indirect effect with regard to CNCs.

(20) 1 Tim. 2:2

a. Tyndale: CNC

*that we maye **live** a quyet and a peasable **life** in all godlines and honestie.*

b. Greek NT: No CNC

*hína ḗremon kaì hēsúkhion **bíon** **diágōmen***

COMP calm.ACC and quiet.ACC life.ACC pass.SUBJ.1PL

en pásēi eusebeíai kaì semnótēti.

in all.DAT reverence.DAT and dignity.DAT

It appears that the frequent use of CNCs (with cognate nouns in the accusative) in the Greek source text does not force Tyndale to use CNCs productively in the target text, and especially in the case of their absence from the source text. In other words, Tyndale's NT does not show indirect translation effects (in a similar way to the biblical translations as presented, for instance, in Taylor's study) and follows non-biblical translations in this respect. CNCs in Tyndale's translations appear to function as a "sacral stamp" based on an archaic (early English) characteristic (cognate nouns in PPs and not cognate direct objects). For this reason, *they do not follow the new tendency of CNCs with (aspectual) cognate direct objects in all cases*, they

do not demonstrate an indirect effect of translation and neither are they translated in a slavish manner.

This type of "sacral stamp" to CNCs can be embed in Tyndale's general tendency towards archaisms in his translation: in addition to the use of CNCs, a contrast between features of the natural development of English and Tyndale's NT can be observed with regard to other grammatical phenomena as well. In Early Modern English (16th century), periphrastic modal auxiliaries (e.g. *he* ***should hear*** *them…*) replace the early inflected subjunctive. However, as can be seen from Figure 2, from Canon (2010) based on Harsh (1968), Tyndale still frequently uses the inflected subjunctive in his works, thus retaining an archaic feature of the language. Another archaic characteristic of the language in Tyndale's texts is Tyndale's preference for the modal preterite over the new modal auxiliary.[17]

[17] Cf. Canon (2010: 75–76):

> "There is a profound difference between the two texts [Tyndale vs. KJV] in the categories of modal preterite and modal auxiliary, with Tyndale showing a heavier usage of the former and the KJV the latter. Percentages of unmarked tokens were the same in both, and inflected subjunctive forms were slightly more prevalent in the KJV than in Tyndale. Since the KJV closely follows the Tyndale Bible chronologically, and is largely built upon it, the shift from modal preterite usage to modal auxiliary usage is significant."

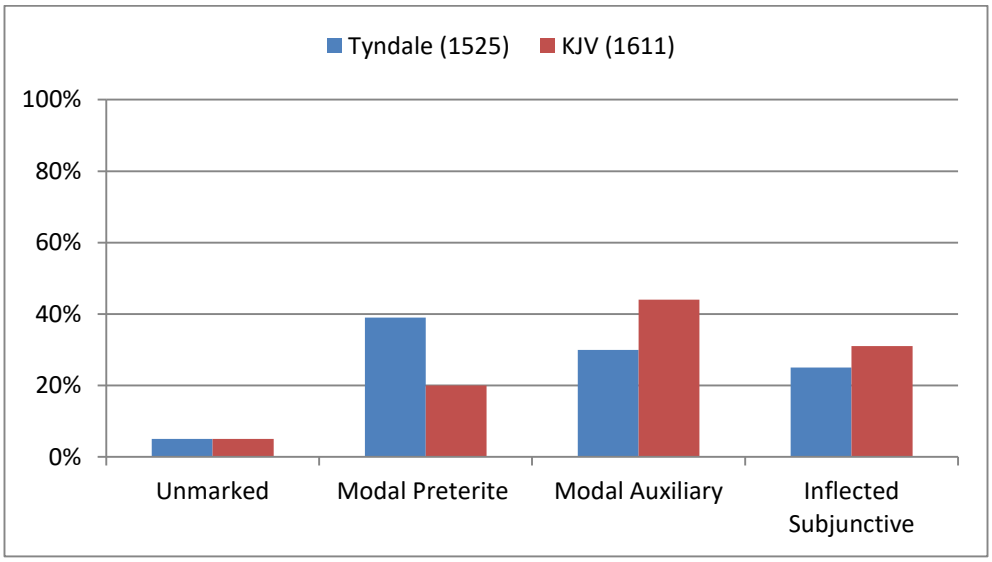

Figure 2. Modal Use by Type; Canon (2010: 75), based on Harsh (1968)

Harsh's (1968) account of the differences between Tyndale's Bible and the other translations under examination shows that Tyndale's preference for the modal preterite over the new modal auxiliary demonstrates an archaic element that is chosen in the language of Tyndale:[18] Tyndale demonstrates a higher percentage of modal preterites than any of the biblical translations, even the ones of the earlier stages.[19]

Summing up, it appears that cognate nouns in PPs are part of a general tendency for Tyndale to use archaisms in his translation, as evidenced, for

[18] Harsh (1968) examined the Gospel translations from the Rushworth Latin, Rushworth Gloss, Wycliffe, Tyndale, King James, and Goodspeed Bibles.

[19] Tyndale's translations have not yet been the focus of many linguistic studies. Therefore, there are only very few studies that refer to the archaic elements in Tyndale's text. One is, for instance, the study by Yamakawa (1970), who examines the presence of the type *anhungred/anhongred/anhoungered/an hungred* 'hungered' in Tyndale's and other biblical translations. These forms with the archaic prefix (*an-*) appear first (with regard to English Bibles) in Tyndale's translation and reappear in subsequent English translations of the Bible (of the 16th, 17th and 19th century). Further examination of the archaic constructions in Tyndale's translation remains open for future research.

instance, in his dispreference of modal auxiliaries. CNCs function together with other archaic elements to establish an English biblical register rather than reflect a translation effect.

4. Conclusions

Tyndale's translation is produced during a period of expansion of CNCs through the type of aspectual cognate direct objects in English. Furthermore, the source texts of Tyndale's translation (Greek and Hebrew Bible) contain a significant number of CNCs. Accordingly, a study of Tyndale's text – in comparison with the other English biblical translations – can provide evidence as to the status of CNCs in Early Modern English as well as to their role in the first English biblical translation from Greek.

It has been argued that Tyndale's NT is a biblical translation that does not show indirect translation effects: a frequent use of CNCs in the translation is not observed when they are absent in the source text. Rather, CNCs in Tyndale's translation display an archaic (early English) characteristic; they appear with cognate nouns in PPs rather than with cognate direct objects. In this manner, the CNCs constitute markers of the English biblical register, a type of a "sacral stamp", which is a tendency to adhere to Christian and mainly Koine Greek linguistic features. It appears, however, that the "sacral stamp" can deviate from the source (Greek) text in following earlier English

rules. It has also been pointed out that the archaic characteristic of cognate nouns in PPs is part of a general tendency for Tyndale to use archaisms in his translation, as evidenced, for instance, in his dispreference of modal auxiliaries. As such, the CNCs in Tyndale's NT function together with other archaic elements to produce an English biblical register.

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