

Describing the Process of Lexical Borrowing: *Intend* and Other Related Words in Late Middle English^{*1)}

Yoko IYEIRI^{**}

Mitsumi UCHIDA^{***}

1. Loanwords in English: a macro view

Discussions on loanwords in English are either macro-viewed or micro-viewed. Macro-views state that English vocabulary encompasses an enormous number of loanwords, particularly those borrowed from French during the Middle English period, many of which ultimately go back to Latin.²⁾ Townend (2006: 73) estimates that “while as much as 70 per cent of the modern English lexicon is comprised of loanwords, the comparable figure for the Old English lexicon is probably less than 5 per cent”. See also Schendl (2012: 511), whose comment runs as follows: “While the attested OE [Old English] vocabulary amounts to about 25,000 to 30,000 lexemes, with only about 3% of mostly Latin borrowings, the *Middle English Dictionary* (Kurath et al. 1952-2001) lists about 60,000 lexemes, 25% to 30% of which are loans”.³⁾

Macro-views also state that the borrowing of French words into English was particularly noticeable in the late, rather than early, Middle English period, peaking in the fourteenth century. This was demonstrated by Jespersen (1905) and Baugh (1935) on the basis of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) and more recently confirmed by Dekeyser (1986), whose investigation was based upon the *Middle English Dictionary* (*MED*).⁴⁾ This view is now widely accepted in the literature. See, for example, Schendl (2012: 512), who remarks: “From about 1250 onwards, borrowing steadily increased, reaching its climax in the 14th century; i.e. most French loans entered English during the language shift from French to English”. The result is the alteration of English to the type of language that readily relies upon loanwords instead of word-formation in the enlargement of its vocabulary. See Barber’s (1993: 149) oft-cited comment: “one of the results of the influx of French loans was to make English

***Key Words: loanwords, translation, William Caxton**

****Professor, Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University**

*****Professor, School of Sociology, Kwansai Gakuin University**

- 1) This study was in part supported by JSPS Kakenhi (Grant Number 19K00696).
- 2) For the relationship between French and Latin words, see Durkin (2009: 151), who remarks: “The influences of Latin and French on the lexis of English work largely in tandem: a large proportion of the borrowed French words are not only ultimately of Latin origin, but show a transparent correspondence in word form with their Latin etymons”. Durkin argues that this is in part due to the borrowing from Latin into French in earlier days.
- 3) The motivations for the borrowing are mainly twofold, namely *need* and *prestige*. In other words, lexical items can be borrowed to fulfill the need to compensate for the lexical gap or to obtain stylistic elevation by borrowing the prestige of the donor language (see Durkin 2009: 142-143).
- 4) Critically noting the defect of using absolute frequencies in Jespersen (1905) and Baugh (1935), Dekeyser (1986) adopts a modified methodology. Still, the result he obtained is largely in keeping with their view.

more hospitable to foreign words and less prone to use its own resources for word-creation” (cf. Lutz 2008: 144-145).

2. Lexical borrowing and micro-analyses

The above line of arguments is well established and shared by historians of the English language in general. As is often the case with commonly accepted views, however, they are rather schematic. Referring to this abstract nature in the discussion of lexical borrowing, Machan (2012) emphasizes that it is human beings that are involved in language contact instead of languages themselves. This is where micro-views or micro-analyses of the lexical borrowing are called for. Illustrating the contact between English and Latin, he says:

... but, of course, it is people, and not languages, that enter into contact with one another. They do so as individuals in specific situations, so that rather than Latin coming into contact with English, it is in fact a particular speaker, using Latin in a particular domain for particular purposes, who comes into contact with Anglophones using their own language to achieve their own goals. (p. 518)

As for individual words, individual language users, and individual aspects of the contact mechanism, there are still a number of avenues that await to be further explored, though of course much research has been conducted to date. One of the fairly recent trends in language contact studies is to account for the mechanism of lexical borrowing by use of texts with code-switching. Ingham (2009), for example, cites from medieval documents a number of examples where the mixing of Latin, French, and English takes place and shows that language contact has to be understood within these bilingual and/or trilingual contexts.⁵⁾ See also Schendl (2000: 86), who maintains: “Bilingualism and CS [code-switching] must have played a major role in the process of lexical borrowing and mixed-language texts can thus provide interesting information on the process of widespread relexification of English in the ME [Middle English] period”.

Another alleged, and perhaps more traditionally discussed, gateway to lexical borrowing is the process of translation, which was a very common way of the production of texts during the medieval period. This field has yielded numerous studies including Koivisto-Alanko (1999) and Horobin (2012: 584), to name a few. It has also been pointed out that the influence of the original language upon the target language in translation is not limited to lexis, as Görlach (2002: 1) remarks: “The impact that translations from other European languages has had on the development of English has been immense, and it has affected all linguistic levels from spelling to text types (but has probably been most notable in lexis and syntax)”.

As for specific previous studies based on the medieval translation, William Caxton (c1422-c1491, cf. The National Archives), whose language we will discuss in the present study, is one of the most popular authors analyzed, probably for a number of reasons: he produced numerous translations; their

5) Ingham’s (2009: 86) definition of language mixing or code-switching states: “Language mixing, technically known as code switching in the linguistic literature, is where material from one language is not integrated into the linguistic context of another language”.

details such as the date of publication and the original language are usually clear; he translated texts from multiple languages; and his lifetime coincided with the period when a mass of loanwords entered into English, particularly from French. Fuster-Márquez (1991), for example, investigates Caxton's *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troy*, showing that he introduced a large number of loanwords from French, some of which are not recorded in the *OED* or *MED*, recorded in them but with later citations, recorded in them but with different meanings, etc. Meier (1979) also notes the existence of some loanwords in Caxton that are not recorded in the *MED*, but argues that they illustrate simple "transfers" (p. 25) and do not necessarily form the English vocabulary at the time. He studies Caxton's *Reynard the Fox* (hereafter *Reynard*) as well as *Everyman* and Dutch vocabulary in them. Editors of Caxton's texts also tend to present a lengthy discussion on his language, which includes some comments on his words. Blake (1970: xxi-xxlvii), for example, conducts an extensive analysis of Dutch loanwords in *Reynard*.

3. Theoretical framework and the texts

Our interests are also in Caxton, as he is an excellent figure for the exploration of the process of lexical borrowing. While the tendency of previous studies to this day has been to concentrate on a particular text and see which loanwords are available in it, lexical borrowing is a dynamic "process" in our view. Loanwords can be part of the vocabulary when they appear in the target language in an integrated way.⁶ For particular individuals, however, they may still be in the passive area of the vocabulary, the lexical items of which they do not necessarily use on their own. For a rather simple description of the process of the establishment of loanwords, see the following:

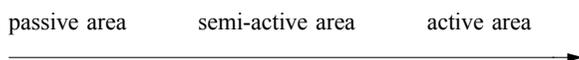


Figure 1 The process of lexical borrowing for individuals

For individuals like Caxton, the "semi-active area" or the intermediate stage between the passive and active areas is of particular significance. Loanwords of this area tend to be evidenced when some factors in favour of their use are present. In his case, those used particularly often in translation from their donor language are a case in point. As mentioned above, Meier (1979), though he does not use the concept of the vocabulary of the "semi-active area", rightly comments that some Dutch words in *Reynard* are not recorded in the *OED*, which is appropriate. This implies that the vocabulary in this area may not necessarily be established in the target language in the long run. Similarly, Blake's (1970: xxi-xxlvii) list of Dutch words found in Caxton's translation of *Reynard* includes *ende* 'and', which was of course an occasional use.

Despite the existence of a number of previous studies on Caxton's loanwords, many of them tend to deal with a single area of Figure 1 at a time. This is a pity indeed, since Caxton produced numerous documents of various types, which, when used in combination, will reveal more dynamic aspects of his lexical borrowing. As a case study to illustrate this, we would like to investigate *intend* and its related words in his three texts of different types: *Paris and Vienne* (hereafter *Paris*) translated from

6) Cf. Note 5.

French, *Reynard* translated from Dutch, and his own prose texts attached to his publications. To apply the framework of Figure 1 to these texts, *Paris*, which is likely to display French influence, can be located in the semi-active area: *intend* words are essentially loans from French (see below for details). By contrast, *Reynard* is in the fully active area, as its use of *intend* words in translation is unlikely to be under the influence of the original text. Caxton's own prose should be in the active area, too, but may not necessarily be more active than *Reynard*, since they include some prologues and epilogues attached to his French translations. His consciousness may have been directed to French vocabulary while he was drafting them. *Intend* words, which are attested in the three text types, will perhaps display different behaviours and distributions in them.

Turning to some additional details of the texts, *Paris* was printed by Caxton in 1485. In its colophon, Caxton states that he translated the story from French into English. In what follows, we will use the edition by Leach (1957) for the English text,⁷⁾ in addition to the French text transcribed from the book printed by Le Roy in Lyon in c1480. Hellinga (2010: 74) refers to this specific edition as the source of Caxton's translation and therefore, textual parallelism can be reasonably expected between the two versions.⁸⁾

Like *Paris*, the second text, *Reynard* is Caxton's own translation as mentioned in its colophon. It was apparently published in 1481 or 1482 (Hellinga 2010: 17, 107). We will use Blake's (1970) edition in the analysis together with the Gouda version (1479) in Dutch edited by Hellinga (1952), which is considered to be among the closest to Caxton's text (Blake 1970: xlvi-lx).

The third is a collection of Caxton's own prose texts, comprising mainly the prologues and epilogues which he attached to his publications. We will use Blake's (1973) edition in the following exploration. Although the entire volume is fairly substantial, each text included in this collection tends to be a short passage and includes some patterned expressions, typical of prologues and epilogues. This makes this collection rather unique in comparison to the two translations mentioned above. We will, therefore, make a comparative analysis between *Paris* and *Reynard* first in Section 4, and against the results of this section, discuss the tendency of Caxton's own prose texts in Section 5. This will be followed by some discussion on Caxton's use of *intend* words in general in the same section. Finally, Section 6 will conclude the entire discussion.

4. Caxton's use of the *intend* words in *Paris* and *Reynard*

Intend words are essentially loans from French. Patridge's (1966: 703) inventory of this word group in Present-day English includes *intend*, *intendment*, *intense*, *intensify*, *intensification*, *intensity*, *intensive*, *intent*, *intention*, *intentional*, and *intensive*. Some of them are, however, attested only from the Modern English period and not relevant to this study: the first citation of *intensify* in the *OED* is 1817, *intensification* 1864, *intensity* 1665, *intensive* 1526, and *intentional* 1530. The rest are attested from the Middle English period onwards according to the *OED*, and hence were at least possibly in

7) We owe a debt of gratitude to Professor Tadamasu Nishimura, who kindly let us use his aligned digital text of Leach (1957).

8) For further details about the complexity in textual relationship among different versions, especially Caxton's translation and several possible French sources that are considered to be close to it, see Uchida & Iyeyri (2017: 64-65). Also, in his discussion on the printed transmission of medieval romances from Caxton to de Worde and their contemporary printers on the continent, Sánchez-Martí (2018) refers to multilingual versions of *Paris*.

the passive area of Caxton's vocabulary. However, the forms encountered in *Paris* and *Reynard* are restricted to *entende* 'intend', *entente* 'intent', *entencyon* 'intention', and *entendement* 'intendment'. Some illustrative examples are:⁹⁾

- (1) Honourable fader & lord I wote wel that thys that ye *entende* is for my wele & prouffyt (*Paris*, 51/7-8)
- (2) al his entent and desyre is to gadre good and to be gretter. (*Reynard*, 85/29-30)
- (3) And yet I haue good hope / that myn *entencyon* shal come vnto a good ende (*Paris*, 39/22-23)
- (4) Alas where is your *entendement* (*Paris*, 31/15-16)

Although orthographic forms of these words in Caxton are fairly stable, they are still variable in minor ways, e.g. *entencyon* vs. *entencion*. To avoid confusion, we will use the small-capital forms INTEND, INTENT, INTENTION, and INTENDMENT as cover forms. They subsume all possible variant forms including inflected ones. This convention will be followed throughout this paper.

The respective entries of these words in the *OED* indicate that they had been borrowed by the time Caxton translated *Paris* and *Reynard*. The first dates given to them in the *OED* are: INTENT (? c1225), INTEND (a1300), INTENTION (1340), and INTENDMENT (c1374) (s.v. *OED*, *intent*, *intend*, *intention*, and *intendment*). The *MED*'s dates differ slightly, but the order of the four words stays the same: INTENT (c1230)¹⁰⁾, INTEND (c1300), INTENTION (a1387), and INTENDMENT (a1393) (s.v. *MED*, *entente(n)*, *entenden* (-ien), *entencioun*, and *entendement*). For their occurrences in Caxton's English, see the table below, which shows the frequencies of the INTEND words in *Paris* and *Reynard*:

Table 1 The occurrences of the INTEND words in *Paris* and *Reynard*

Words (<i>OED</i> / <i>MED</i>)	INTENT (?1225-/c1230-)	INTEND (a1300-/c1300-)	INTENTION (1340-/a1387-)	INTENDMENT (c1374-/a1393-)	Totals
<i>Paris</i>	1	3	6	5	15
<i>Reynard</i>	3	0	0	0	3

Relevant examples count only eighteen in all, yet the tendency is transparent. Table 1 demonstrates that Caxton uses INTEND words much more commonly in *Paris* than in *Reynard*. *Paris* provides all four words, whereas *Reynard* gives INTENT only. The limited occurrence of INTEND words in *Reynard* is not ascribable to the text length, since *Reynard* is longer than *Paris*, though both are fairly substantial.

It is possible of course that the difference between *Paris* and *Reynard* is simply accidental, for it

9) Unless otherwise stated, all English examples in the present paper are cited from Leach (1957) (*Paris*), Blake (1970) (*Reynard*), and Blake (1973) (Caxton's prose) with their page and line references. French examples are based on our direct transcription from the early printing. We are grateful to Dr Hisao Osaki (†) for his transcription of Leeu's French version of *Paris*, which is close to Le Roy's.

10) This is the earliest quotation in terms of the manuscript date (*Ancrene Riwe*, Cambridge, MS Corpus Christi College, 402). The *MED* gives the original date "?a1200" to this text.

is a general assumption that occurrences of content words are for the most part dependent upon the content matter of the text. At the same time, however, there are a number of reasons why one can assume that the skewness in the distribution of INTEND words in the two texts can be meaningful. First of all, it is quite simply most reasonable that loanwords are more readily used in the semi-active area—in this case, French loans in Caxton's *Paris*—than in the fully active area—in this case, *Reynard*. Indeed, the occurrence of INTEND word is restricted both in types and tokens in *Reynard*. The word INTENT, the sole item used in it is the oldest loanword among the four as far as the *OED* citations are concerned. It is not a matter of surprise that it was already in the active area of Caxton's vocabulary, which can easily be used without the influence of the French source text. This does not necessarily imply that the other three words were not yet in the active area of the vocabulary, though. The discussion continues in the next section.

Secondly, the correspondence between Caxton's text and its source is quite suggestive. Needless to say, there is no correspondence of INTEND words between Caxton's *Reynard* and its Dutch counterpart. For example, the phrase *not to thentente that men shold vse them* (*Reynard*, 6/10) corresponds to *niet om datmense gebruyken sal* (Hellings 1952: 5). By contrast, the parallelism in terms of INTEND words between Caxton's *Paris* and the French text is remarkable. Of the fifteen English examples of the INTEND words in *Paris*, as many as eleven find their French counterparts expressed with ENTENDRE words. This includes all the six instances of INTENTION and five of INTENDMENT. Some typical examples are shown in (5)-(8).

- (5) e. myn *entencyon* shal come vnto a good ende (39/22-23) (= 3)
 f. mon *intencion* viendra a bonne fin
- (6) e. the bysshop whyche aduysed hym noo thyng of *thentencyon* (27/13-14)
 f. leuesque qui ne se aduisoit point de *lintencion*
- (7) e. after *thentendement* of somme men (77/25)
 f. en tant quil est *lentendement* daucuns
- (8) e. Alas where is your *entendement* (31/15-16) (= 4)
 f. las ou est le voustre *entendement*

In two of the three English examples of INTEND, the French text uses the verb ATENDRE, the Middle French form of *attendre*.¹¹⁾

- (9) e. we for the loue and reuerence of god *entende* for to goo thyder (61/9-10)
 f. nous pour lamour et reuerence de dieu y *actendons* a aller
- (10) e. she neuer *entended* to here tydynges of hyr loue Parys (58/31-32)
 f. quelle... *nactendoit* iamais a ouir nouuelles de son amy paris

11) Incidentally, no examples of English ATTEND are attested in *Paris*.

This may look strange at first sight, when one simply considers the current principal meanings of the two verbs—*entendre* ‘hear, understand’ and *attendre* ‘wait for, expect’—in Present-day French. The two verbs in Middle French were, in fact, used often interchangeably to the extent that Orr (1962) describes the situation as “in OF [Old French] we occasionally find *atendre* where *entendre* is normal, and vice-versa” (Orr 1962: 10), and English authors and translators were well aware of the confusion or cross-usage of the two French verbs. It was an established convention that the English verb INTEND was used not only in the sense of ‘have the intention to’ (‘avoir l’intention de’, *Trésor de la langue française informatisé*, s.v. *entendre*, III. B, Étymol. et Hist. 1. C; *Le dictionnaire de l’ancien français*, s.v. *entendre*, v. 5; ‘to expect, intend’, *Anglo-Norman Dictionary (AND)*, s.v. *attendre*, v.a. 3) but also in the sense of ‘pay attention to’ (‘porter son attention vers’, *Le dictionnaire de l’ancien français*, s.v. *attendre*; ‘pay attention to’, *AND*, s.v. *entendre*, v.a. 5) as illustrated by Chaucer’s example (11) cited by Orr, and Caxton’s (12) that follows it in the *OED*.

(11) Eche to his owene nede gan *entende* (Orr 1962: 10, *OED*, s.v. *intend*, v. †8, c1374)

(12) Iason..*entended* gladly vnto the dubbyng and making of his shippe. (*OED*, s.v. *intend*, v. †8, 1477)

The discussion above leads to the conclusion that in most of the cases (thirteen out of fifteen) where Caxton chose INTEND words, he had before him the French originals carrying ENTENDRE or its “variant” ATENDRE words. It is highly probable that the translator, under the pressure of his commercial pursuit, and with his semi-active area of lexical borrowing fully working in his mind, selected the most activated and readily available vocabulary items. Still, there are two cases where Caxton used INTEND words independent of the French original. In one case, Caxton uses the noun INTENT in the coordinated phrase *wylle and entente* to match the French noun *vouloir*.¹² In the other, where INTEND as a verb appears, the context is altered significantly so that we cannot identify any corresponding words in the French text. It is also worth mentioning here that the two words—INTENT and INTEND—were earlier introduction than the other INTEND words (see Table 1), and could have had acquired a more established status in his lexicon and this, one could speculate, could have been the reason he decided on them even when he saw no prompt in the original.

So far we have examined all the fifteen instances of INTEND words in Caxton’s *Paris* and found that he was in most cases prompted by the existence of transparently corresponding words—ENTENDRE or ATENDRE—in the French original. Based on the observation, the next study should be in the opposite direction, that is, starting from the French text, where ENTENDRE or ATENDRE forms are used, we will examine what the translator chose to match the expressions. The French text provides sixteen instances of ENTENDRE and seven instances of ATENDRE. As stated above, the two verbs were often used interchangeably at the time, or their semantic fields overlapped, and therefore there are 23 chances where Caxton might have been induced to choose INTEND words. Subtracting the thirteen cases discussed above (where the translator uses INTEND words), what Caxton did in the remaining ten is of due interest. Five of them are related with the verb ENTENDRE, five with ATENDRE.

12) The expressions in question are *without dyscoueryng his wylle and entente* (English) and *sans descourir son vouloir* (French).

In three of the five ENTENDRE cases, Caxton uses the verb UNDERSTAND, which covers another part of the semantic fields of ENTENDRE that cannot be represented by INTEND words in English. In the two remaining cases, which are both located in the early part of the story, Caxton either skipped the whole passage (13), or uses a “native” English noun, namely WILL (14). One could speculate that at the beginning, when his mind was not quite immersed in the French vocabulary, he tried to replace the French word with one from the native English lexicon.

(13) f. lesquelz auoient *entencion* de faire vaillances (6/29)

(14) f. iay mis tout mon cuer et *entendement* mon amour et voulente

e. I haue putte the rote of myn entyere herte my *wylle* and al my loue (9/36-37)

Of the five instances of ATENDRE, four are in the context of waiting. Caxton, not surprisingly, chose *abiden*, *awaiten*, and *tarien* in translation, with one exceptional case, where he altered the structure of the sentence altogether. The remaining example is shown in (15).

(15) f. car nous nauons filz ne fille que vous Ne *actendons* iamais dauoir

e. For we haue neyther sone ne daughter but onely you ne *suppose* neuer to haue (50/30-31)

The meaning of ATENDRE here is ‘to have intention of’ and therefore this could be another chance for the translator to opt for INTEND. When one considers the content of the utterance in which this expression appears, however, one realizes that the option could have sounded slightly out of place—intending or not intending to have another child, or even paying or not paying much attention to having one, after all could not be an appropriate expression for a noble and honourable couple to utter in front of their fair daughter, especially when trying to persuade her to get married to someone she does not fancy. Another comparatively new French borrowing *suppose* (c1384-, OED, s.v. *suppose*, v. †2), with more abstract sense, is chosen instead.

To sum up, Caxton chose in his translation INTEND words for ENTENDRE or ATENDRE words in the French original, except when the instances clearly belonged to other semantic fields (‘understand’ for ENTENDRE, ‘wait for’ for ATENDRE). In only a few cases, he probably hesitated to follow this habit and opted for other choices, as observed in cases (14) and (15) above. Thus, the tendencies we find in *Paris* display a sharp contrast with what we saw in his translation of *Reynard*.

5. An additional analysis based on Caxton’s own prose and discussion

The above section has explicated that there is a marked difference in terms of the occurrence of INTEND words between the semi-active area of Caxton’s vocabulary as illustrated by *Paris* and the fully active area as illustrated by *Reynard*. The inventory of relevant words in the former is much longer, whereas in *Reynard* the occurrences are restricted only to INTENT. This does not prove, however, that other INTEND words were not existent in the active area of Caxton’s lexicon. As a matter of fact, some additional INTEND words are attested in Caxton’s own prose writings, which also represent the active area of his vocabulary. The present section provides an additional account based this time on his own prose.

One of the reasons why we separate this section from the above is that the frequency of relevant words in Caxton’s own prose is so high as to blur the contrast between *Paris* and *Reynard* when all types of data are mixed in tabulation. This is due to the difference in the text type: Caxton often talks about “intentions” in his prologues; and he repeats the fixed form *to th’entente that ...* often in his own writings. See Table 2, for further details:¹³⁾

Table 2 The occurrences of the INTEND words in Caxton’s own prose

Words (<i>OED/MED</i>)	INTENT (?1225-/c1230-)	INTEND (a1300-/c1300-)	INTENTION (1340-/a1387-)	INTENDMENT (c1374-/a1393-)	Total
Caxton’s prose	12	12	1	2	27

Some illustrative examples are:

- (16) *to th’entente that noble, vertuous and wel-disposed men myght have it to loke on and to understonde it. (Of Old Age, of Friendship and Declaration of Noblesse, “Prologue to Of Old Age”, 121/65-67)*
- (17) *whiche entended the same and made a book of the chesse moralysed, ... (Game of Chess, 2nd edition, “Prologue”, 88/14-15)*
- (18) *wherfore we have entencion to saye and wryte somme good examples in this matere ... (Doctorinal of Sapience, “Prologue”, 78/35-37)*
- (19) *therefore at his request after the capacyte of my lytel entendement and after th’ystoryes and mater that I have founden, ... (Charles the Great, “Prologue”, 67/27-29)*

As stated above, the size of Caxton’s own prose is not the reason for the common occurrence of INTEND words in it. The text size of Caxton’s own prose is just between the sizes of *Paris* and *Reynard*. Despite the peculiarity of this particular text type, it is possible to state from these statistics that INTENT and INTEND are well in the active area of Caxton’s vocabulary. Indeed, ten of the twelve examples of INTENT illustrate *to the entente that ...* (or its variants such as *to that entente that ...*) as shown in (16), but the fact that it is repeatedly used should be meaningful. The same applies to the common attestation of INTEND, though this is again in part due to Caxton’s inclination to state “intentions” in his prologues.

On the other hand, INTENTION and INTENDMENT are probably less established in his vocabulary. Again, the occurrence of content words is dependent upon the content matter of the text, and therefore it may not be wise to contrast the frequencies of the four items in mechanical ways. Instead, one can more carefully deal with each single lexical item in different texts. With INTENDMENT, for example, there is a clear tendency for it to be attested in texts like *Paris* as mentioned above, which is a trans-

13) Caxton’s own prose yields a unique example of *intently*. As we like to restrict our discussion to those in Patridge’s list, it is not included in this table. This form is recorded in the *OED* and *MED*, though only with a small number of examples, the earliest being from around 1290-1300. Considering this early date, it is unsurprising that it appears in his writings or the active area of his vocabulary.

lation from French (see Table 1 above), but not so much in Caxton's own writings. It is also unavailable in *Reynard*, which is a translation from Dutch. The same applies to *INTENTION*. It is fairly commonly observed in *Paris*, whereas it is infrequent in Caxton's own prose and unavailable in *Reynard*.

Thus, the relationship of the four lexical items under consideration can be depicted in the following manner:

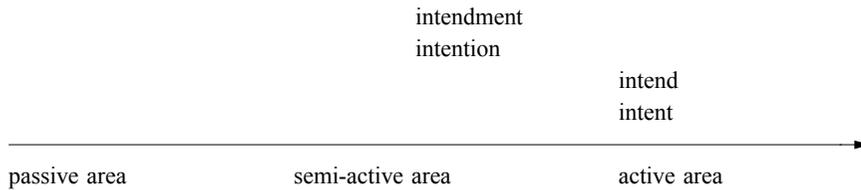


Figure 2 The relationship of the four *INTEND* words in Caxton's vocabulary

This coincides well with the relationship of the four relevant words in terms of their first attestations in English.¹⁴⁾ It is on occasion mentioned that Caxon's own writings tend to show a fairly limited use of French loans (cf. Donner 1966, Blake 1968), but the two *INTEND* words borrowed into English possibly in the thirteenth century, i.e. *INTENT* and *INTEND*, seem to have been well established in Caxton's English. It is most likely that they were part of his fully active vocabulary.

6. Conclusion

We have hitherto discussed the relationship of *INTENT*, *INTEND*, *INTENTION*, and *INTENDMENT* in Caxton's vocabulary by exploring their occurrences in *Paris*, *Reynard*, and his own prose texts. It is feasible that the first two lexical items were well established by the time of Caxton and fully incorporated into the active area of his vocabulary, while the remaining two were more likely to be used when he was in the process of translating texts from French sources, as in *Paris*. In this sense, they were less active, at least in comparison to *INTENT* and *INTEND*.

Considering the fact that the number of relevant examples is fairly limited in the three selected texts, the above research is admittedly preliminary. Additional research is necessary to clarify the relationship of *INTEND* words in further detail.¹⁵⁾ The principal contribution of this study is, therefore, methodological. We still hope we have shown above that the contrastive analysis of different text types can explicitly show the "process" of lexical borrowing or its dynamic history. It is unfortunate that the simple listing of loanwords has been conventional in lexical studies. One can go beyond this, especially when considering such dynamic authors as Caxton, who translated a large number of texts from multiple languages and who also produced his own prose texts.

References

Anglo-Norman Dictionary. <<http://www.anglo-norman.net/gate/index.shtml>> 21 June 2020.

-
- 14) We do not intend to assert that this is the sole mechanism of the borrowing of group words. It has been known that the derivational processes can also take place in the target language instead of the donor language successively providing group words. Ciszek (2004) argues that some French affixes were productive already in the early Middle English period.
- 15) We have conducted a preliminary study of Caxton's *Winifrede* (using the text in the Caxton Project), which is a translation from Latin, and found that it also presents *INTENT* and *INTEND*, but not other *INTEND* words.

- Barber, Charles. 1993. *The English Language: A Historical Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Baugh, Albert C. 1935. "The Chronology of French Loan-words in English". *Modern Language Review* 50: 90-93.
- Blake, Norman F. 1968. "Word Borrowings in Caxton's Original Writings". *English Language Notes* 6: 87-90.
- Blake, Norman F. (ed.) 1970. *The History of Reynard the Fox: Translated from the Dutch Original by William Caxton*. Early English Text Society, OS 263. London: Oxford University Press.
- Blake, Norman F. (ed.) 1973. *Caxton's Own Prose*. London: André Deutsch.
- Caxton Project, St. Winifred. <<http://sootypaws.net/oldsootypaws/caxton/winifred/wini.2.html>> 21 June 2020.
- Ciszek, Ewa. 2004. "On Some French Elements in Early Middle English Word Derivation". *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 40: 111-119.
- Dekeyser, Xavier. 1986. "Romance Loans in Middle English: A Re-assessment", in *Linguistics across Historical and Geographical Boundaries: In Honour of Jacek Fisiak on the Occasion of his Fiftieth Birthday, vol. 1: Linguistic Theory and Historical Linguistics*, ed. Dieter Kastovsky and Aleksander Szwedek with the assistant Barbara Płocińska, pp. 253-265. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Le dictionnaire de l'ancien français*. Paris: Larousse. 2012.
- Donner, Morton. 1966. "The Infrequency of Word Borrowings in Caxton's Original Writings". *English Language Notes* 4(2): 86-89.
- Durkin, Philip. 2009. *The Oxford Guide to Etymology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fuster-Márquez, Miguel 1991. "Aspects of Vocabulary Building in Caxton's *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troy*". *English Studies* 72: 328-349.
- Görlach, Manfred. 2002. *Explorations in English Historical Linguistics*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- Hellinga, Lotte. 2010. *William Caxton and Early Printing in England*. London: British Library.
- Hellinga, W. Gerbens (ed.). 1952 *Van den Vos Reynaerde, I Teksten: Diplomatisch Uitgegeven naar de Bronnen vóór het Jaar 1500*. Zwolle: W. E. J. Tjeenk Willink.
- Horobin, Simon. 2012. "Middle English: The Language of Chaucer", in *English Historical Linguistics: An International Handbook*, vol. 1, ed. Alexander Bergs and Laurel J. Brinton, pp. 576-587. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Ingham, Richard. 2009. "Mixing Language on the Manor". *Medium Ævum* 78: 80-97.
- Jespersen, Otto. 1905. *Growth and Structure of the English Language*. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner.
- Koivisto-Alanko, Päivi. 1999. "Cognitive Loanwords in Chaucer: Is Suprastandard Nonstandard?", in *Writing in Nonstandard English*, ed. Irma Taavitsainen, Gunnel Melchers, and Päivi Pahta, pp. 205-223. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kurath, Hans, Sherman M. Kuhn, and Robert E. Lewis (eds.). 1952-2001. See *Middle English Dictionary*.
- Leach, MacEdward (ed.). 1957. *Paris and Vienne: Translated from the French and Printed by William Caxton*. Early English Text Society, OS 234. London: Oxford University Press.
- Lutz, Angelika. 2008. "Types and Degrees of Mixing: A Comparative Assessment of Latin and French Influences on English and German Word Formation". *Interdisciplinary Journal for Germanic Linguistics and Semiotic Analysis* 13: 131-165.
- Machan, Tim William. 2012. "Language Contact and Linguistic Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages", in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of English*, ed. Terttu Nevalainen and Elizabeth Closs Traugott, pp. 518-527. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Meier, Hans H. 1979. "Middle English Styles in Translation: A Note on *Everyman* and Caxton's *Reynard*", in *From Caxton to Beckett: Essays Presented to W. H. Toppen on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Jacques B. H. Alblas and Richard Todd, pp. 13-30. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Middle English Dictionary*. <<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary>> 21 June 2020.
- The National Archives. <<https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/>> 2 July 2020.
- Orr, John. 1962. *Old French and Modern English Idiom*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Oxford English Dictionary*. <<https://www.oed.com/>> 21 June 2020.
- Partridge, Eric. 1966. *Origins: An Etymological Dictionary of Modern English*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Sánchez-Martí, Jordi. 2018. "The Printed Transmission of Medieval Romance from William Caxton to Wynkyn de Worde, 1473-1535", in *The Transmission of Medieval Romance: Meters, Manuscripts and Early Prints*, ed. Ad Putter and Judith A. Jeff-

- erson, pp. 170-190. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer.
- Schendl, Herbert. 2000. “Linguistic Aspects of Code-Switching in Medieval English Texts”, in *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain*, ed. David Trotter, pp. 77-92. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.
- Schendl, Herbert. 2012. “Middle English: Language Contact”, in *English Historical Linguistics: An International Handbook*, vol.1, ed. Alexander Bergs and Laurel J. Brinton, pp. 505-519. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Townend, Matthew. 2006. “Contacts and Conflicts: Latin, Norse, and French”, in *The Oxford History of English*, ed. Lynda Mugglestone, pp. 60-85. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Trésor de la langue française informatisé*. <<http://atilf.atilf.fr/tlf.htm>> 21 June 2020.

Describing the Process of Lexical Borrowing: *Intend* and Other Related Words in Late Middle English

ABSTRACT

This paper proposes that more light should be thrown to the “process” of lexical borrowing and discusses, as an illustrative case, the use of four *INTEND* words, namely *INTENT*, *INTEND*, *INTENTION*, and *INTENDMENT*, in William Caxton’s writings. The *Oxford English Dictionary* states that they are all loans from French and came to be attested in the above order in the history of English. The present study shows that this order was retained in Caxton’s vocabulary, in that *INTENT* and probably *INTEND* were well established, while *INTENTION* and *INTENDMENT*, which were late-comers in English, were less established. This contrast is particularly transparent between *Paris and Vienne*, which Caxton translated from French and which yields all four lexical items, and *Reynard the Fox*, which he translated from Dutch and which includes *INTENT* only. It has been concluded that *INTENTION* and *INTENDMENT* were less active than *INTENT* in his vocabulary, and were employed particularly when he faced their prompts in the French original. This has largely been corroborated in the analysis of Caxton’s own prose, which again shows a common use of *INTENT* and *INTEND* but gives *INTENTION* and *INTENDMENT* only sparingly.

Key Words: loanwords, translation, William Caxton