THE ORTHOGRAPHICAL REPRESENTATION
OF {-NESS}, {-SHIP}, {-DOM} AND {-HOOD}
IN THE FIRST PRINTED EDITIONS OF ENGLISH PSALMS

Abstract. The paper analyses the spelling conventions of common derivational suffixes {-NESS}, {-SHIP}, {-DOM}, and {-HOOD} employed by the printers of the first three editions of English Psalms translated from Latin by George Joye. The analysis of the differences between the three editions of Joye’s Psalms points to the Antwerp 1534 edition printed by Martin Emperor as the most innovative in introducing certain spelling variants usually associated with much later texts. This, in turn, testifies to the important role of popular Biblical texts in the process of spelling standardisation.

Key words: Early Modern English; standardisation of spelling; Psalm translations; George Joye.

1. INTRODUCTION

The paper looks at the spelling conventions of common derivational suffixes employed by the printers of the first three printed editions of English Psalms translated from Latin by George Joye: the 1530 Antwerp edition of Martin Emperor, published again in London by a different printer, Thomas Godfray, probably in 1534, and a new translation from 1534 printed in Antwerp, again by Martin Emperor. All the examined editions, being the work of early printers, are characterised by a certain degree of inconsistency in the forms of spelling they employ. This is an expected outcome since, as pointed out by Scragg (1974, 67–68) and Nevalainen (2012, 151), the universally accepted stable spelling system used by printers only emerged between 1550 and 1650. At the same time, it is interesting to examine early signs of increasing consistency in the graphical representation of particular morphemes.

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which can be observed in the Early Modern English period. The orthographic systems of the printers in Early Modern English were researched in detail in Rutkowska’s (2013) seminal monograph, which investigated thirteen editions of the *Kalender of Sheperdes*—a comprehensive compendium of prose and verse texts published between 1506 and 1656. Quite naturally, one of the aims of this paper is to find out if the results obtained by Rutkowska’s (2013) research agree with the tendencies displayed by the three editions of the Book of Psalms analysed here. The paper is organised as follows: Section 2 introduces the figure of George Joye, the author of the English translation analysed here and one of the most prominent and neglected figures of the English Reformation. Section 3 presents the publication history of the earliest printed editions of English Psalms. This is followed in Section 4 by a detailed analysis of the orthographical representation of {-NESS}, {-SHIP}, {-DOM} and {-HOOD} in the analysed texts. Finally, Section 5 offers some conclusions.

2. GEORGE JOYE—A FORGOTTEN PROTESTANT

It is quite possible that George Joye is one of the most misrepresented figures in the history of English biblical translation. Today his name is virtually unknown and if he is ever mentioned, he is usually presented in a negative light. Perhaps the best way of illustrating this attitude towards Joye is to quote the opening passage from Joye’s only book-length biography (Butterworth and Chester 1962).

The biographer of George Joye is constrained to acknowledge at the outset that his subject is not cast in the heroic mould. It is only honest to report that Joye was not a very great man, neither was he of preeminent importance.

Butterworth and Chester (1962, 15)

From the details of Joye’s biography only the major points have been recovered. He was born c. 1495 and died in 1553. He was a Cambridge scholar and a priest, who had to flee to the Continent in 1527, having been accused of heresy, to settle in Antwerp by 1529 in what was a growing community of English Protestants seeking refuge there (Duffield 1971a, 12). At the same time, there is no doubt that Joye’s legacy has an important, although almost entirely neglected, place in the history of English biblical translation. It is enough to mention that he translated and put into print for the first time in
English more than a quarter of the Old Testament, namely, the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations (Butterworth and Chester 1962, 15). What is more, although his influence on various later versions of the Bible in English is not as important as Tyndale’s, some of the wordings and expressions which were first used by Joye were retained in later versions, for example, in Coverdale’s Bible, Matthew’s Bible, the Geneva Bible, and even the King James Bible (Butterworth and Chester 1962, 159–60; Hobbs 1994, 169–70). But George Joye left his mark not only in the history of the Bible in English but, as observed by Juhász (2014, 27), more than any other author influenced “private Protestant devotion of the early Reformation period” (Juhász 2014, 27). This was primarily associated with the influence of his Psalters and Primers,¹ which were printed and reissued more than once and, as indicated by Juhász (2014, 27), were used by Thomas Cranmer in his compilation of the Book of Common Prayer, which was the first prayer book to include the complete forms of service for daily and Sunday worship in English.

In view of the important role of George Joye in the formation of the English Bible in the early days of the English Reformation, the fact that his name is hardly ever mentioned—being almost completely overshadowed by William Tyndale—is even more intriguing. In the words of Butterworth and Chester (1962, 10), “the way in which Joye’s achievements in the field have been neglected and obscured is a subject of some interest in itself.” Joyes’s biographers suggest that the main reason for this neglect is the fact that Joye’s work was considered heretical. They cite, for example, Brewer, Brodie, and Gairdner (1862–1932), who in the index to the publication refer to Joye as “George Joye, heretic.” Yet another work by Pratt (1853–1870) mentions Joye as “George Joye, Printer,” although he was never involved in the printing business. Butterworth and Chester (1962, 11) conclude that this type of personal bias and misinformation resulted in the complete neglect for the historical importance of George Joye. More recently, Juhász (2014) offered the most comprehensive discussion of the role of Joye in the creation of the English Bible and provided the most insightful analysis of the reasons why Joye’s memory has been obscured. He maintains that the major reason why George Joye’s figure has been generally ignored by the scholarly world was his debate or conflict with William Tyndale. Juhász (2014, 33) claims that there exists what he calls “the conservative consensus,” i.e. the tendency

¹ In fact, the Primer was the first of Joye’s publications and it was also the first English Primer to be printed. Unfortunately, no copies of this publication have survived. According to Butterworth and Chester (1962, 52), it probably contained the text of more than thirty Psalms.
to mention Joye exclusively in the context of his debate with Tyndale and always in a negative light. What is more, the importance of Tyndale both for the development of English Protestantism and the development of the English Bible meant that, for some authors, “Tyndale’s translation attains the status of the sacrosanct” (Juhász 2014, 39). As examples of an attitude to Tyndale’s text which puts it on a par with revelation, Juhász (2014, 39) cites Anderson (1862, 395) and Daniell (1994, 92–93). Both consider Tyndale’s translation as sacred text: the former calls it “the Sacred Text,” the latter “God’s word itself.” It seems, then, that Joye’s fate was sealed when he entered into dispute with Tyndale.

The source of the debate lies in the emendations that Joye introduced into Tyndale’s translation of the New Testament. Tyndale’s New Testament translation from 1526 enjoyed much popularity and was reprinted repeatedly, for example, by the printing house of the van Ruremund family in Antwerp (Juhász 2014, 24; Christman 2015, 83). These editions, having been published a number of times without any oversight of an English-speaking corrector contained a number of typographical errors. Joye was convinced by the publisher in 1534 to proofread Tyndale’s New Testament but apart from correcting the typographical mistakes he decided to introduce some changes into Tyndale’s translation, apparently to improve the text’s comprehension. The most important of these changes, and at the same time the source of the ensuing theological controversy, was his substitution of the word resurrection from Tyndale’s text with the phrase the lyfe after this in some places (Butterworth and Chester 1962, 9). This sparked a heated theological debate between the two men and resulted in Tyndale’s passionate reaction in which he accused Joye of “instigating the heresy of the denial of the bodily resurrection and causing schisms” and described him as “presumptuous, greedy, light-hearted, second-rate imitator” (Juhász 2014, 24). Consequently, the later treatment of Joye seems to have been based solely on the prejudiced perception of his quarrel with Tyndale. As Juhász (2014, 37) observes,

Joye’s name is mentioned almost exclusively in connection with his debate with Tyndale and, as a rule of thumb, in a negative light. […] Joye’s intellectual, linguistic, and scholarly capacities are generally derided. His style as a writer and his erudition are oftentimes the target of criticism.

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2 According to Juhász (2014, 16), there is no denomination within English Protestantism that would not claim its origin in one way or another in Tyndale’s efforts.

3 Tyndale is the author of the first printed translation of the New Testament in English (Worms 1526) as well as the five books of Moses and Jonah.
Juhász (2014, 37) quotes just a few statements concerning Joye appearing in the literature, which provide a vivid illustration of this point. For Duffield (1964), Joye is “small-minded, mean and rather hypocritical.” Anderson (1862) calls Joye “a man of very inferior calibre,” while Eadie (1876) refers to him as “a careless and unscholarly editor.” Even recent works dealing with the history of English Reformation treat Joye with contempt, alleging that “he was a quarrelsome person, […] who irritated everyone and was the cause of schisms in the early Protestant community” (Daniell 1994, 326).

It should be observed, however, that the evaluation of Joye has undergone a major change in the second half of the twentieth century. In the last few decades, there has been a renewed interest in studying Joye’s achievements independently of his quarrel with Tyndale (Juhász 2014, 56). For example, works like Butterworth and Chester (1962), Clebsch (1964), or more recently O’Sullivan (1997, 2000) or Westbrook (2001) are attempts at an objective assessment of Joye’s place in history. As a result, he started to be seen as a true pioneer whose work paved the way for later translations of the Bible into English, while his debate with Tyndale started to be analysed more objectively as originating primarily from theological differences between the two men. Most importantly, modern authors signal an end to the long tradition of diminishing Joye’s role only by virtue of his decision to stand up to Tyndale. Having introduced the author of the first printed version of English Psalms let me now move on to the discussion of the three editions of Joye’s Psalms which will be analysed in a later part of this paper.

3. THE EDITIONS OF JOYE’S PSALMS ANALYSED HERE

The first edition of Joye’s Psalms to be discussed here is a 1530 version, which happens to occupy an important place in the history of English Bible translation as the first Psalter ever printed in English. Nevertheless, this Psalter is relatively unknown because it has not been reprinted since the sixteenth century (Duffield 1971a). Additionally, the censorship and persecution, which the first printed English Psalter was subject to, resulted in only two copies surviving: one in the British Library and another one in the Huntington Library in California (Duffield 1971b). It was printed in a modified

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4 Duffield (1971a) maintains that yet another copy mentioned by Darlow and Moule (1903) as being apparently present in the Bodleian Library in Oxford does not in fact exist.
black-letter type classified as bastard by Isaac (1936). As indicated in the
colophon, the book appeared on January 16, 1530 ostensibly under the name
of Johan Aleph as the author of the translation and published by the printing
house of Francis Foxe at Argentine. In accordance with the practices of the
turbulent times in which the Psalter was published, it appeared under false
names so neither the true name of the translator nor that of the printer was
disclosed. The same applies to the name of the author of the Latin text which
served as the source of the English translation. As explained in Hobbs (1994,
166) and Charzyńska-Wójcik (2013, 98), the English text of this Psalter is a
rendering of Martin Bucer’s Latin translation from Hebrew issued in 1529
and published under the pseudonym of Aretius Felinus in order to disassociate
the translation from its author, who was deeply engaged in religious
controversy. Charzyńska-Wójcik (2014) offers a comprehensive discussion
of the issues connected with the pseudonymity of the author of the Latin
original, the translator and the printer of the 1530 Psalter.

As far as the author of the English translation is concerned, Johan Aleph
is considered to be a pseudonym identified with George Joye (Butterworth
1941, 64–67; Butterworth 1953, 19; Duffield 1971b, 12–13; Charzyńska-
Wójcik 2013, 99; Juhász 2014, 19). Duffield (1979b, 12–13) provides
a summary of arguments in favour of Joye’s authorship of the Psalter. First
of all, Joye is named as the author of the Psalter by Thomas More, who in
1532 referring to the Psalter said that it was “translated by George Jay, the
preste, that is wedded now.” What is more, Joye himself in his correspon-
dence cites the Argument to Psalm 89 and adds “as I noted in the argu-
ment of the 89 Psalm.” Additionally, Butterworth (1941) and Hopf (1946)
provide stylistic evidence pointing to Joye’s authorship of the translation.
What I would like to add at this point is that in the course of preparing the
searchable electronic edition of Joye’s Psalms for the purposes of this study
I came across an additional argument pointing to Joye’s authorship of the
Psalter. There is an intriguing possibility that Joye himself provided an
indirect hint as to his authorship of the translation. It appears in Psalm 16 line
9, which reads: “Wherfore my harte shall Ioye & my tonge shall rejoys: ye
my bode shall haue suer reste.” The word Ioye, which appears in this line, is
one of the twelve occurrences of this item in the first 50 Psalms and the only
one which is capitalised. What is more, its appearance in 16.9 happens to be
the first instance of this word in the text of the Psalms. It seems possible, then,
that the translator in fact disclosed his true identity by capitalising the first
occurrence of the word which happened to be homophonous with his name.
This becomes especially significant in view of the fact that capitalisation is reserved in this edition for verse initials and proper nouns, and is not used with any consistency even for words like Lord, which more often than not are not capitalised. In effect, the capitalisation of Joye in 16.9 cannot be a coincidence.

Finally, the name of the publisher presented in the colophon to this edition (together with the place of publication), i.e. “Francis Foxe at Argentine,” has been demonstrated, on the basis of typographical evidence, to be the pseudonym of Martin Emperor, one of the several Reformation printers operating from Antwerp (Duffield 1971b, 10; Juhász 2002, 109).

The second text analysed here is another English translation of the Psalter printed by Martin Emperor in Antwerp in 1534. Charzyńska-Wójcik (2013, 100) reviews the relevant literature and dispels some of the confusion and misunderstanding associated with this translation. She concludes that the 1534 edition was a new translation prepared by George Joye on the basis of the Latin text of the Psalms by Ulrich Zwingli. This time Joye’s name as the author of the translation is provided as well as the genuine information concerning the printer—the colophon bears the name of Martyne Emperowr— and the date of the publication, namely 1534.

The third text is a London reprint of the first 1530 version of Joye’s Psalter, which makes it the first version of English Psalms to be printed in England. It was published in London by Thomas Godfray. As stated in Duffield (1971b, 14), “probably about 1534 […] events in England made it safe enough for an English printer to risk such an undertaking.” Having introduced the three editions of Joye’s Psalms analysed here, let me now present the results of the investigation into the spelling practices employed in the representation of {-NESS}, {-SHIP}, {-DOM} and {-HOOD} in the texts in question.

4. THE SPELLING OF {-NESS}, {-SHIP}, {-DOM} AND {-HOOD}

In this section let me focus on the graphemic realisations of four native derivational suffixes: {-NESS}, {-SHIP}, {-DOM}, and {-HOOD}. The data obtained from the analysis of George Joye’s Psalters will be compared with the findings of Rutkowska (2013) in order to find out potential differences in the orthographic realisation of the analysed morphemes in the early sixteenth century.

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5 The printer’s name appears differently as Martin de Keyser in Dutch, Martinus Caesar in Latin and Martyne Emperowr in English (Charzyńska-Wójcik 2013, 99 fn.50).

The first morpheme analysed is the nominal suffix {-NESS}. According to the OED, in Old English -nes was a suffix usually attached to adjectives and past participles to form nouns expressing a state or condition, as in biternes, deorcones, heardnes. The distribution of its variants in George Joye’s Psalms is presented in Table 1 and Diagram 1 below. The data in all the tables in this section show the occurrences of the relevant items in each of the three editions. In each case the table provides both the number of occurrences per 10,000 words (the row labeled as No) and the percentage value of the relevant variants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>{-NESS} variants</th>
<th>1530 Antwerp Emperor</th>
<th>1534 Antwerp Emperor</th>
<th>1534? London Godfray</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-nes</td>
<td>No 50.6</td>
<td>42.8</td>
<td>36.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% 100%</td>
<td>95.5%</td>
<td>66.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nesse</td>
<td>No 0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% –</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>33.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ness</td>
<td>No 0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% –</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Spelling variants of the nominal suffix {-NESS}

Diagram 1. Percentage distribution of the variants of {-NESS}

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The corpus used in the present analysis has the form of an electronically searchable database which has been prepared by the present author by transcribing the facsimiles available at Early English Books Online (http://wwwlib.uni.com/eebo/) — a database with facsimiles of over 125,000 English books published between 1475 and 1700.
What clearly transpires from the analysis of the distribution of the variants of \{NESS\} is an obvious difference between the two texts printed in Antwerp by Martin Emperor and a London text by Thomas Godfray. The two Antwerp editions almost exclusively contain the variant <nes>. In the text from 1530 <nes> is in fact the only attested realisation of the morpheme, while the 1534 text, apart from the dominant <nes>, contains a marginal number (4.5%) of the <ness> realisations. It is the presence of the <ness> forms which seems to be the most interesting fact especially in the context of the data obtained by Rutkowski (2013). What she reports is that in her corpus the <ness> realisations, which are the Modern English norm, are first recorded in 1611. The Modern English norm with <ness> was apparently the form recommended by seventeenth-century grammarians like Wharton (1654) or Hodges (1653) (Rutkowski 2013, 192). It has to be admitted that the forms with <ness> in the texts analysed here are only found in the case of one text, i.e. the 1534 Antwerp edition. What is more, all the forms which were classified as containing <ness> are found in combination with the plural <es> ending\(^7\)—<heuinesses> in 42.5 and <witnesses> in 27.12 and 35.11. Additionally, the two occurrences of <witnesses> are both found in the context in which the double <ss> of the <ness> ending is split between two lines as there was not enough space to fit the word at the end of a line. Nevertheless, it has to be pointed out that although infrequent and limited to the context of the combination with the plural <es>, the form of the suffix with the <ness> realisation seems marginally possible in the 1534 Antwerp edition. In fact, it seems that the foreign printer and the foreign place of publication may be partly responsible for this early occurrence of <ness>. Rutkowska’s (2013) corpus contains exclusively the texts printed in England, so it seems possible that the unexpected presence of <ness> in the 1534 Antwerp edition was caused by a foreign printer introducing his own idiosyncrasies.

When it comes to the London text printed by Thomas Godfray, it has to be observed that it is the only edition in my corpus which broadly agrees with Rutkowska’s analysis, who maintains that in 1528 <nes> and <nesse> were equally popular and it was only after 1556 that <nesse> became more frequent and started to increase in popularity. Although the 1534 London text, unlike the two Antwerp editions, contains occurrences of <nesse>, the <nes> variant

\(^7\) Of course it could be argued that a form like <heuinesses> is potentially ambiguous as it could represent the combination of the suffix <nesse> plus a plural ending. However, since the text in question contains no occurrences of <nesse> and numerous cases of plural <es> it seems plausible to assume that a form like <heuinesses> attests to the presence of <ness> in the text.
is still more frequent, accounting for 66.2% of the forms of {-NESS} so, clearly, the date 1528 as the moment of equal popularity of <nes> and <nesse> variants is not supported by the analysis of the texts from my corpus.

The next suffix analysed here is the nominal ending {-SHIP}, which, according to the OED, was in Old English added to nouns, adjectives or past participles to denote the state or condition, as in feondscipe ‘hostility,’ weorðscipe ‘worship,’ druncenscipe ‘drunkenship.’ The distribution of the variants of {-SHIP} and their percentage distribution in George Joye’s Psalms are presented in Table 2 and Diagram 2 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>{-SHIP} variants</th>
<th>No / %</th>
<th>1530 Antwerp Emperor</th>
<th>1534 Antwerp Emperor</th>
<th>1534? London Godfray</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ship</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-shipe</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-shippe</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-shyp</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-shype</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-shyppe</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Spelling variants of the nominal suffix {-SHIP}

Diagram 2. Percentage distribution of the variants of {-SHIP}
The first thing to note is that the three texts analysed show clear differences in the orthographic realisation of {-SHIP}. The available variation ranges from the presence of three variants <ship>, <shipe>, and <shype> in the 1530 Antwerp text to a consistent use of only <shippe> in the 1534 Antwerp edition. The 1534 edition printed by Thomas Godfray in London is placed in the middle displaying two variants <shippe> and <shyp>. Once again, the analysis of the spelling variation in the editions of Joyce’s Psalms reveals interesting differences between the texts analysed here and the situation reported in Rutkowska (2013). In her corpus the most important feature is the predominance of forms with <y>, i.e. <shyp> and <shypppe> before 1556. She also finds out that the modern standard form <ship> begins to take over around 1570. In this context the three texts analysed here clearly reveal quite different tendencies. First of all, the variants with <y> are not dominant. In all three texts it is the forms with <i> that predominate, and the variants with <y>, if present at all, never account for more than 25% of the occurrences of {-SHIP}—25% incidence of <shype> in the 1530 Antwerp edition and 24% of <shyp> in Godfray’s London text. What is more, the modern form <ship>, although attested only in the earliest of the analysed texts, i.e. the 1530 Antwerp version, does account for a significant proportion (25%) of the attested variants. All in all, the three texts in my corpus suggest a much earlier date of the spread of {-SHIP} variants with <i> in sixteenth-century English.

Moving on to the next nominal suffix, i.e. {-DOM}. According to the OED, {-DOM} is the suffix going back to the Old English abstract suffix of state, which has grown out of an independent noun, related to OHG. tuom, ‘position, condition’ and Old English dom ‘statute, judgement, jurisdiction.’ In Old English the suffix could be added to nouns and adjectives, as in bisco-pdom ‘the dignity of a bishop,’ cyningdom ‘kingdom’ or freedom, haligdom, wisdom ‘the condition or fact of being free, holy, or wise.’ Consider the data in Table 3 and Diagram 3, which provide the distribution of the {-DOM} variants in the three editions of George Joye’s Psalms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>{-DOM} variants</th>
<th>1530 Antwerp Emperor</th>
<th>1534 Antwerp Emperor</th>
<th>1534? London Godfray</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-dom</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>42.5%</td>
<td>27.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8 Plural forms, e.g. <kyngdomes> are excluded from the count since they are ambiguous as far as the presence of <dom> or <dome> variants is concerned.
Table 3. Spelling variants of the nominal suffix {-DOM}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No</th>
<th>4.4</th>
<th>2.7</th>
<th>3.1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>57.5%</td>
<td>72.1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diagram 3. Percentage distribution of the variants of {-DOM}

The situation in the case of the different realisations of the {-DOM} suffix is relatively straightforward, which is likely connected with the fact that the range of possible realisations of the suffix is limited to just two variants: <dom> and <dome>. As revealed by the data presented above, the variant <dome> is a preferred realisation of the morpheme in all three texts. This tallies nicely with the tendencies reported by Rutkowska (2013), who observes that the form <dome> prevailed in all texts analysed which she analysed. In this context it is of some interest to note that in my corpus there is one text, i.e. the 1530 Antwerp edition, which displays complete consistency in the realisation of {-DOM} by always employing the <dome> variant as a realisation of the suffix.

The final suffix which was the subject of my analysis was {-HOOD}. It appears, though, that the entire corpus of the 50 Psalms analysed here contained no examples of words formed by means of appending the suffix {-HOOD}. The corpus was searched for the occurrences of both Middle English forms of the suffix, i.e. {-HOOD} going back to Old English had ‘person, quality, rank’ and {-HEAD}—a parallel suffix, from the same root and used in the same sense. The search for all possible orthographic variants of both {-HOOD} and {-HEAD} brought no results. Of course the fact that the analysed corpus does not contain any occurrences of the {-HOOD} suffix should not be taken to mean that the suffix was not attested in early sixteenth-century English. Quite clearly, the complete absence of words with the suffix {-HOOD} in my corpus must be viewed as an accidental data gap.
because the suffix continued to function as a fully productive morpheme throughout the history of English and “being a living suffix, -hood can be affixed at will to almost any word denoting a person or concrete thing, and to many adjectives, to express condition or state, so that the number of these derivatives is indefinite” (OED).

Comparative data from other English translations of the Psalms offer support for this conclusion. Charzyńska-Wójcik’s (2013)\(^9\) corpus, containing six English translations of Psalms 1-50 spanning the period from Old English to 1610, shows only four relevant instances of the suffix {-HOOD}, all of which are attached to the same noun, which, however, does not take this suffix beyond the fourteenth century. The complete lack of words with the {-HOOD} suffix in my corpus should thus be seen as quite natural. In effect, the loss of the suffix {-HOOD} in a word deriving from Old English *iugōdhade* has to be viewed as an idiosyncratic property of this particular noun since, as noted above, the general productivity of the {-HOOD} suffix has not undergone any substantial changes throughout the history of the language.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The paper presented an analysis of graphemic realisations of four native derivational suffixes: {-NESS}, {-SHIP}, {-DOM}, and {-HOOD} in the first three printed editions of English Psalms translated from Latin by George Joye. As can be expected in the case of texts printed in the first half of the sixteenth century, the examined editions are characterised by a high degree of orthographical variation. The following are the most important characteristics which have been identified in the course of the analysis.

In the case of the suffix {-NESS}, the 1534 Antwerp text printed by Emperor displays instances of the variant <ness> at a much earlier date than is attested in Rutkowska’s (2013) corpus. The orthographic realisations of the suffix {-SHIP} were also found to diverge from the expected pattern in

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\(^9\) The texts comprising the corpus analysed by Charzyńska-Wójcik (2013) are English translations of Jerome’s version of the Psalms. Recall that the texts in my corpus are George Joys’s translations from different Latin source texts (Bucer’s Latin in the case of the Antwerp 1530 and London 1534 editions and Zwingli’s Latin translation in the case of the Antwerp 1534 version). Nevertheless, from the point of view of my analysis the differences in the Latin source texts are not vital since it is the incidence of a particular suffix in the English version which is of primary importance.
showing a clear preference for a variant with <i>, i.e. <shippe> in Emperor’s 1534 edition as well as in the London version by Godfray. When it comes to {-DOME}, the results of my investigation were fully convergent with Rutkowska’s (2013) findings, with the variant <dome> being a dominant realisation in all three texts. Finally, the {-HOOD} suffix was found to be absent from all three texts so, quite naturally, nothing could be said about its orthographic realisations. Although a complete absence of such a productive suffix in a relatively large body of data is surprising, it was shown in the paper to represent a data gap.

The analysis of the differences between the three editions of Joyce’s Psalms points to the Antwerp 1534 edition printed by Martin Emperor as the most innovative text, which shows the greatest degree of orthographical realisations, i.e. <ness> and <shippe>, found at a much earlier date than expected. In view of the suggestions found in the literature (cf. Nevalainen 2012, 157) that the English Bibles, because of their wide distribution, may have influenced the choice of particular spelling variants, the innovative spellings found in Martin Emperor’s 1534 text may be regarded as early examples of forms which started to spread on account of the popularity of the text.

Finally, and somewhat unexpectedly, my analysis also demonstrates that the study of spelling variation of early printed texts may sometimes lead to the conclusions and discoveries that reach far beyond the context of orthography. The most important finding of this paper is connected with an unexpected spelling of the word Ioye with capital <I> in Psalm 16 in the 1530 text. This, as I argued above, may be taken as yet another argument for George Joyce’s authorship of this translation, a kind of signature left by George Joyce, which has so far gone unnoticed.

PRIMARY SOURCES


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ORTOGRAFICZNE REPREZENTACJE SUFIKSÓW \{-NESS\}, \{-SHIP\}, \{-DOM\} I \{-HOOD\} W PIERWSZYCH DRUKOWANYCH ANGIELSKICH EDYCJACH PSALMÓW

**Streszczenie**

Artykuł podejmuje problematykę zapisu ortograficznego czterech sufiksów derywacyjnych \{-NESS\}, \{-SHIP\}, \{-DOM\} i \{-HOOD\} w trzech pierwszych angielskich edycjach Księgi Psalmów w tłumaczeniu George Joye’a, jakie ukazały się drukiem. Analiza różnic, jakie występują w zapisie analizowanych sufiksów wskazuje na tekst wydrukowany w Antwerpii w 1534 przez Martina Emperara jako na najbardziej innowacyjny w kwestii wprowadzania wariantów ortograficznych charakterystycznych dla tekstów późniejszych. Wyniki przeprowadzonej analizy wskazują na wagę popularnych tekstów biblijnych w procesie standaryzacji pisowni w okresie wczesno- nowoangielskim.

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**Słowa kluczowe:** wczesnonowoangielski; standaryzacja pisowni; tłumaczenia Psalmów; George Joye.