COMMENTARY AND NOTES

LIBER DONATI

Part A: Grammar, Pronunciation, and Lexis

1. Personal and demonstrative pronouns and adjectives

The *Liber donati* begins with a catalogue of personal and demonstrative pronouns and adjectives. First the Latin forms of the personal pronoun are given in the nominative singular (e.g., *ego*) followed by the possible forms of the personal pronoun in French in the nominative singular (*je/moy*), the objective singular (*moy* or *me*), and the plural (*nous*); the Latin pronouns *ille* and *illa* were also used as demonstratives and French demonstratives (e.g., *cil*) are included alongside personal forms in the translations of these words. There follow French forms corresponding to the Latin demonstrative pronoun *iste, -a, -ud* and the Latin possessives *meus*, *tuus*, *suus*, *noster*, and *vester*. The first folio of MS Dd. 12. 23 is damaged but the schematic layout of these materials is just discernible there. These materials are also laid out schematically in MS Gg. 6. 44 (fol. 19r), from where the text of LD. A.1 and LD.A.2 is given, following *Liber donati*, ed. Merrilees and Sitarz-Fitzpatrick, 7.

Viewed from the perspective of the continent, the forms listed in LD.A.1 are sometimes conservative. The personal pronouns *moy*, *toi*, *luy*, *soy*, and *eux* might be used as objective pronouns in older forms of the language; their use in subject position was newer and only *moy* is given as being deployed in that role in the *Liber*. The demonstrative *cil* is commoner in older forms of French. On the continent, *celui* gains ground on *cil* in this function over the course of the fourteenth century as the case distinction between nominative and objective forms of the pronoun breaks down. The possessive forms *toen*, *soen*, *toens*, and *soens* are also rarer in later Middle French, which prefers forms closer to the modern French *tien* and *sien*. If the pronoun lists in the *Liber* do not always match the paradigms in modern grammars of medieval French, it is worth recalling that the system of demonstratives is in flux in Middle French and that the system of personal pronouns admits more variety during this period than at other points in the history of the language. Even forms that might appear to be given in error can be attested elsewhere (e.g., *ille*, for *elle*). See Christiane Marchello-Nizia, *La Langue française aux XIVe et XVe siècles*, rev. ed. (Paris: Colin, 2005), 151–71, 173–79, 221–52 (discussing *ille* at 222); and Claude Buridant, *Grammaire du français médiéval* (Strasbourg: Éditions de linguistique et de philologie, 2019), 223.

The use of Latin in this and the following subsections of the *Liber* reflects a convention in textbook presentation that will endure into the early modern period. It does not indicate that the users of the manual knew Latin but no French, nor does it prove that the language of any in-person instruction deploying these materials will inevitably have been Latin. Both these arguments have nevertheless been advanced by Christopher

Cannon in his article "Vernacular Latin," *Speculum* 90 (2015): 641–53. There is a Latin model for the *Liber*'s language schemes and the French forms are being grafted onto that model in order to underline their association with established pedagogic tradition. An instructor using the manual in a classroom context might easily have translated its Latin *ex tempore* into either French or English. On the languages of medieval French instruction, see the comments in the Introduction (10–11, 16) and William Rothwell, "The Teaching and Learning of French in Later Medieval England," *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 111 (2001): 1–18. See too the headnote to LD.A.5, below. On the entry level of medieval English learners of French, which was probably quite high, see the comments in the Introduction (12–13).

2. Pronunciation, spelling, and morphological notes

The first two of the *Liber*'s notes on pronunciation, spelling, and morphology treat the relationship between written and spoken French. The first note dictates that the first of two consonants in one-syllable words is not normally sounded (e.g., the *s* in *est*); a qualification promises to provide further information on this topic but actually details the pronunciation of the digraph <ai> as /ɛ/ in words like *faire*, *traire*, and *raire*. The second note dictates that when a word ending in a vowel precedes a word beginning with a vowel, the first vowel is elided (e.g., *je ayme* becomes *j'ayme*). In both these notes, users of the *Liber* are shown example words individually and in the context of short phrases. The examples for the second note showing the elision of *je* before a verb beginning with a vowel prepare the way for the verb list that comes in LD.A.3, as does the third note, which announces the importance of *avoir* and *estre* in French conjugation.

The text of these notes is just discernible in MS Dd. 12. 23, where they are laid out in one block with minimal rubrication (fol. 1r–v). The final note is presented as beginning LD.A.3 in *Liber donati*, ed. Merrilees and Sitarz-Fitzpatrick, 8. But in both MS Dd. 12. 23 (fol. 1r–v) and MS Gg. 6. 44 (fol. 19r–v) this passage is clearly attached to the preceding notes. A change of topic is signalled by a wavy red line in MS Dd. 12. 23 that fills up the last line having the end of the third note (fol. 1v).

The *Liber*'s pronunciation notes offer clarity on points of difficulty for speakers of French in England. For example, the diphthong /ai/ had levelled to /ɛ/ in Anglo-French long before the inscription of the *Liber* but, on the continent, other realizations of words like *faire*, *traire*, and *raire* were still possible, and Middle English favoured /ai/ pronunciations. See Ian Short, *Manual of Anglo-Norman*, 2nd. ed. (Oxford: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 2013), 77; Marchello-Nizia, *La Langue française*, 75–80; and Richard Jordan, *Handbook of Middle English Grammar: Phonology*, trans. and rev. Eugene J. Crook (The Hague: Mouton, 1974), 117.

Further comments on the relationship between written and spoken French are interspersed subsequently in the *Liber*'s list of verbs. As a group, these notes reflect the influence of the late fourteenth-century treatises on the spelling and pronunciation of French written for an English audience. For details and discussion of these, see the Introduction (3, 5). In particular, the notes and examples in the *Liber* relate closely to those given in the *Tractatus orthographiae*, for which see Mildred K. Pope, "The 'Tractatus Ortho-

graphiae' of T. H., Parisii Studentis," *Modern Language Review* 5 (1910): 185–93. Two of the examples used to demonstrate the *Liber*'s first pronunciation note are also found in this treatise (*Savés vous traire de l'ark? Sevés vous raire le barbe?*) and the *Liber's* second note is paralleled in the *Tractatus* and illustrated there with examples combining *je* and a verb form beginning with a vowel. See *Tractatus* paragraphs 2, 5, and 22. The pronunciation notes given in the next section of the *Liber* likewise have antecedents in the *Tractatus orthographiae*.

n. 1 *my master fares well.* According DMF, Middle French *faire* does not regularly have the sense "get along" on the continent. This usage here and elsewhere in England may rely on an echo of the English verb recorded in the MED s.v. *faren* (compare the intransitive uses listed in AND s.v. *faire*). The phrase exemplifies the adaptation of French in England to match Middle English patterns. For discussion of a parallel example (*cokkis de bois*), see n. 87, below. Influence can also work in the opposite direction. For discussion of an example (*in the meantime*), see n. 159.

3. Conjugated verbs with pronunciation, spelling, and morphological notes

At the opening of these lists, *avoir* and *estre* are conjugated fully, the names of moods and tenses being given in French. The verb *amer* is then also conjugated fully and instructions are given for the production of its passive forms. There then follows a list of less fully conjugated common verbs, several of which have to do with teaching and learning (e.g., *enseigner*, *lire*, *parler*, *apprendre*). In and amongst these paradigms, the *Liber* adds further instructions for pronunciation, spelling, and morphology. The conjugations are laid out in two columns in MS Dd. 12. 23. The Latin headings are written in a larger, more formal script, and are rubricated: they serve as finding aids for the reader. The notes that punctuate the verb lists are distinguished by small red marks where they begin. See for example fol. 2r (double virgule in text) and fol. 2v (marginal *nota* marks, now faded).

The space devoted to conjugation indicates that, then as now, English learners must devote considerable energies to perfecting their French verbs: LD.A.3 is the longest subsection in Part A of the *Liber* (fols. 1v–5r). The verb conjugations also show the development in Anglo-French of a vocabulary of grammatical description aimed at explicating the French verb. Contemporaneous French-language grammars of Latin from the continent tend to deploy terminology that is only thinly gallicized, referring for example to *le futur* or *li infinitis*. By contrast, in parallel with other Anglo-French grammars, the *Liber donati* prefers paraphrases such as *le tens avienire* and *le maner sauns fine*. A full list of the French grammatical terms used LD.A.3 is given below, together with modern English glosses (122). This terminology manifests an early attempt to rationalize the French verb; the categories arrived at do not always match those now obtaining. See further Brian Merrilees, "An Aspect of Grammatical Terminology in Insular French," *Cahiers de lexicologie* 51 (1987): 193–201; and "Les Débuts de la terminologie grammaticale en français: à propos de quelques travaux récents," *Romania* 109 (1988): 397–411.

The terminology used in the verb list is not the only aspect of LD.A.3 that may surprise modern readers. For example, in the conjugations of *avoir* and *estre*, no distinction is made between the simple past and the perfect tenses and, from *amer* onwards,

simple past and imperfect forms are said to be equivalent. There are also many striking forms, including *j'ay alé* as a perfect form of *aller* and *je buveray* as a future form of *boire*. Twenty-first-century learners of French having memorized their lists of "verbs with *être*" and "irregular futures" (which do not now include *boire*) will expect forms closer to modern French *je suis allé* and *je boirai*. An earlier generation of scholars saw in conjugations such as *j'ay alé* and *je buveray* evidence of the imperfect learning of French by the medieval English. More recently, research has focused on variation within medieval French morphology and syntax on the continent as well as in England. Anglo-French suffers in teleological perspectives because its particular forms are not often selected in the processes of standardization that produced modern French. See further David Trotter, "Not as Eccentric As It Looks: Anglo-French and French French," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 39 (2003): 427–38; and "L'Anglo-normand: variété insulaire, ou variété isolée?" *Médiévales* 45 (2003): 1–13.

The *Liber*'s conjugation tables seem less strange when viewed in light of the variation now known to characterize the morphology and syntax of the medieval French verb. In some instances, the simple past and perfect tenses were interchangeable, in continental as well as insular forms of the language, and if the use of the imperfect to narrate past events in sequence was especially common in French texts written in England, it was not unknown elsewhere. See Buridant, *Grammaire*, 533–34, 558–61, 539–42. The verb *aler* used with an animate subject might be conjugated either with *avoir* or *estre* depending on whether the focus was to fall on the completion of the action described (using *estre*) or its duration (using *avoir*). See Buridant, *Grammaire*, 548–49. Finally, forms now aberrant such as *buveray* were used alongside the forms that subsequently became standard. The verb *boire* looks to have had a particularly high number of possible future forms. See Marchello-Nizia, *La Langue française*, 280. DMF s.v. *boire* and AND s.v. *beivre* record a panoply of possible future forms for *boire*, including forms built on the roots *beuver-*, *boyr-*, *boyr-*, *bur-*, *buver-*, *bever-*, and *bevr-*. For a useful overview of the fluidity of verbal morphology in medieval French, see the verb tables in Buridant, *Grammaire*, 390–407. For more medieval verb tables, see Tony Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-Century England*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Brewer, 1991), 1:429.

The pronunciation notes that accompany the verb conjugations in the *Liber* are paralleled more or less closely in the *Tractatus orthographiae*. See Pope, "The 'Tractatus Orthographiae,'" paragraphs 10, 15a-b, 16, 21. The first pronunciation note in LD.A.3 offers an important insight into the perception of regional differences in French amongst the English. Users of the manual are told to spell the first-person plural verb ending *-ons* but to pronounce it *-oms*. The *-om* ending in the first-person plural has traditionally been identified as a characteristic of Anglo-French; alternatively, the preference for *-oms* pronunciations voiced here may reflect Picard influence. See Short, *Manual,* 107; and Buridant, *Grammaire*, 356. Either way, it is clear that the Central French form *-ons*, which eventually becomes standard, was not an inevitable target in Anglo-French speech.

Kristol has worked extensively on the witness afforded to the longevity of distinct Anglo-French pronunciations by the medieval French teaching and reference materials. See Andres Max Kristol, "Le Début du rayonnement parisien et l'unité du français au Moyen Âge: le témoignage des manuels d'enseignement du français écrits en Angleterre

entre le XIIIe et le début du XVe siècle," *Revue de linguistique romane* 53 (1989): 335–67; "La Prononciation du français en Angleterre au XVe siècle," in *Mélanges de philologie et de littérature médiévales offerts à Michel Burger*, ed. Jacqueline Cerquiglini and Olivier Collet (Geneva: Droz, 1994), 67–87; and "Les 'transcriptions phonétiques' du *Femina* (Trinity College Cambridge, MS. B. 14. 40, vers 1415) et le français parlé en Angleterre à la fin du Moyen Âge: une tentative de réhabilitation," in *Repenser l'histoire du français*, ed. Dominique Lagorgette (Chambéry: Université de Savoie, 2014), 107–38.

Key to the grammatical terms used in the conjugation lists

l'endicati[v]e moed	the indicative mood
pluralment, pluraliter	in the plural
le pretert n[ient] parfit	the preterite not perfect (i.e., imperfect)
le pretert parfit	the preterite perfect (i.e., perfect, also used to designate forms now categorized as belonging to the simple past)
vel sic	or thus
le pretert plus que parfit	the preterite pluperfect (i.e., pluperfect)
le tens avienire	the future tense (i.e., simple future)
le comaundant manere ou moed	the ordering manner or mood (i.e., imperative)
le desirant moed	the desiring mood (i.e., optative, used to designate forms now categorized as conditional or subjunctive)
plust a Dieu ou a ma volunté que	may it please God, or how I wish that (a phrase used to introduce verb forms now categorized as conditional or subjunctive)
le joynant moede	the joining mood (i.e., conjunctive, used to designate a range of forms, including forms now categorized as conditional and subjunctive)
come ou quant	when
(et cetera) si come desus	(and other similar things) as above
(si) come (auxi)	as (also)
le maner sauns fine	the manner without ending (i.e., infinitive)
le participil del present tens	the participle of the present tense (i.e., present participle)
le participil del pretert tens	the participle of the preterite tense (i.e., past participle)
en mesme le manere	in the same fashion
le tens present	the present tense
impersonalia	impersonal forms

n. 2 *pourpoints*. A pourpoint was a quilted doublet. The vocabulary of clothing is more extensively practised in LD.B.10 and CP.3.

4. French verbs with Latin equivalents

The *Liber*'s list of verbs and the lists of adverbs and prepositions that follow it manifest a desire to classify French vocabulary by part of speech and, in the case of the verbs, to organize it alphabetically. Only French verbs beginning with the letters *a* and *b* are included; the catalogue would presumably have been sizeable if it was ever completed. Unlike the common verbs listed in the previous section, several of the items collected here belong to the specialist legal and financial registers of French. Some of the terms have a clear legal or financial valence (e.g., *appromptre*, *aliener*, *accuser*, *acquerer*); many of the others have specialist legal or financial meanings among their possible translations. J. H. Baker, *Manual of Law French*, 2nd. ed. (Ashgate: Scolar, 1990), has entries for around 80% of the verbs listed in LD.A.4. In the manuscript, the French verbs *amer* to *approschier* are presented in one column with their Latin translations opposite in another; the verbs *acompler* to *brisier* are presented in a final column, the French taking up the top half of the list with the Latin written beneath (fol. 5r–v).

The specialist legal and financial meanings inhering in the French words do not attach equally to the Latin verbs that translate them; they accrue to French in English contexts thanks to their use by English lawyers and notaries over the course of the Middle Ages. See J. H. Baker, "The Three Languages of the Common Law," *McGill Law Journal* 43 (1998): 5–24; and Paul Brand, "The Language of the English Legal Profession: The Emergence of a Distinctive Legal Lexicon in Insular French," in *The Anglo-Norman Language and its Contexts*, ed. Richard Ingham (Cambridge: Brewer, 2010), 94–101. The compilation of the *Liber*'s verb list may have been motivated in part by a desire to produce a handy list of legal and financial French terms that sought to make sense of this increasingly specialized vocabulary by recording its primary Latin translations. The presentation of the list alongside legal texts in French in MS Dd. 12. 23 supports this hypothesis. See further the discussion of the manual's manuscript context in the Introduction (19–23).

A desire to collect legal and financial language cannot completely explain the contents of this glossary, however. The list has definitions for several common verbs that bear no immediate connection to the legal and financial worlds (e.g., *boire*, *boulir*, *benir*). Their inclusion probably reflects the influence of earlier medieval verb lists. This list in Dd. 12. 23 has several items in common with a thirteenth-century verb list edited by Tony Hunt, for which see "The Anglo-Norman Vocabularies in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 88," *Medium Aevum* 49 (1980): 5–24.

The notes below give the headwords under which the words having legal and financial meanings are recorded in AND and comment on the extent to which these specialized meanings are present in the Latin terms chosen to translate them according to DMLBS. In some instances, both the French and Latin verbs are accorded similar specialist valences (e.g., *amener: ducere*, *abbatre: prosternere*, *appeller: vocare*); in others, DMLBS lacks specialist legal and financial senses given in AND (e.g., *aporter: portare*, *attendre: expectare*, *approschier: approximare*) or gives only a specialized or a general translation for a word where AND is more generous in its definitions (e.g., *appaiser: ponderare*, *acquerer: adquirere*, *avancer: pompare*). Sometimes, conversely, DMLBS includes specialist legal and financial meanings amongst a broader selection of possible

definitions than is given in AND (e.g., *appromptre: mutare*, *aliener: alienare*). Elsewhere, the matching of Latin to French words in the list appears to be in error (e.g., *aschevier: vigere*, *attayndre: curare*), perhaps due to a fault in copying (e.g., *asconter: ascultare*, *ascouter: venari*). In other instances, the pairings testify to usages lacking in the medieval dictionaries (e.g., *apprestre: accommodare*) and record forms that AND and DMLBS do not list (e.g., *abascier: inferiorari*, *apparlier: parare*, *benir: benedicere*).

Looking beyond the interest that these lists hold for histories of the legal and financial registers in England's medieval languages, these lists of "equivalents" challenge us to recognize the greater semantic breadth that many items of medieval vocabulary will have had in the era before printed dictionaries. They also teach us to rethink the boundaries of individual medieval words and languages. In particular, where OED and DMF have senses required for the list or forms of the French verbs that are not yet recorded in AND, we are reminded of the extensive internal and external connections of Anglo-French, on which see David Trotter, "Deinz certeins boundes: Where Does Anglo-Norman Begin and End?" *Romance Philology* 67 (2013): 139–77.

n. 3 *amener: ducere*. See AND s.v. *amener*. DMLBS s.v. *ducere* has overlapping legal meanings.

n. 4 *aporter: portare*. See AND s.v. *aporter*. DMLBS s.v. *exportare* lists some of the specialist meanings given for the French but does not have them s.v. *portare*.

n. 5 *appaisier: ponderare*. The Latin construes the French as a form of the verb given in AND s.v. *peiser*. AND s.v. *apeser* gives the specialist legal sense "reach agreement."

n. 6 *acustumer: solere*. See AND s.v. *acustumer*. DMLBS s.v. *solere* lacks the specialized meaning of the French.

n. 7 *avenir: evenire.* See AND s.v. *avenir*. DMLBS s.v. *evenire* has some overlapping legal meanings.

n. 8 *avoir*: *habere*. The sense of these verbs is legal insofar as they both connote ownership. See AND s.v. *aver* and DMLBS s.v. *habere*.

n. 9 *abbatre: prosternere*. See AND s.v. *abatre*. DMLBS s.v. *prosternere* has some overlapping legal meanings.

n. 10 *appromptre: mutuare*. AND s.v. *emprompter* accompanies all of its definitions with the note that they have a specialist financial valence. DMLBS s.v. *mutare* includes "give and receive, exchange (esp. in trade)" amongst a bigger range of definitions.

n. 11 *apprestre: accomodare*. AND s.v. *aprester* gives the meanings "make ready, prepare" and "equip, furnish". These are not matched in DMLBS s.v. *accommodare* but OED s.v. *accommodate* gives a now obsolete definition of the verb "equip, prepare, make provision for, allow," which is first attested in the sixteenth century.

n. 12 *affier: confidere*. The French can mean "swear, pledge" or "confide in, trust" but the Latin only has the second of these senses. See AND s.v. *affier* and DMLBS s.v. *confidere*.

n. 13 *avisier: providere*. See AND s.v. *aviser*. Neither the primary nor the specialized meanings of the French word given is matched in DMLBS, s.v. *providere*, where the primary definition is "see in advance."

n. 14 *affiert: pertinent*. Neither verb is listed under its infinitive form. See AND s.v. *afferir* and DMLBS s.v. *pertinere*.

n. 15 *app[ar]ier: apparere*. The brackets indicate an editorial expansion of the French word. See AND s.v. *apareir*. DMLBS s.v. *apparere* has an overlapping legal meaning.

n. 16 *areschier: eredicare*. DMLBS s.v. *eradicare* gives a legal sense "quash (a statute)." AND s.v. *aracer* lacks this meaning.

n. 17 *aler: ire*. See AND s.v. *aler*. DMLBS s.v. *ire* lacks the specialized meanings of the French.

n. 18 *ali[en]er: alienare*. The brackets indicate an editorial expansion of the French word. See AND s.v. *aliener*. DMLBS s.v. *alienare* includes "alienate (possessions)" amongst a bigger range of definitions.

n. 19 *aschevier: vigere*. See AND s.v. *achever*. DMLBS s.v. *vigere* lacks the specialized meanings of the French, giving the primary translation "have vigour."

n. 20 *attendre: expectare*. See AND s.v. *atendre*. DMLBS s.v. *expectare* lacks the specialized meaning of the French.

n. 21 *attayndre: curare*. See AND s.v. *atteindre*. DMLBS s.v. *curare* lacks the specialized meanings of the French, giving the primary translation "care for."

n. 22 *accuser: accusare*. See AND s.v. *accuser*. DMLBS s.v. *accusare* has overlapping legal meanings.

n. 23 *acquerer*: *adquirere*. The Latin construes the French as a form of the verb given in AND s.v. *aquerre*. AND s.v. *enquerre* gives the specialist legal meaning "inquire, ascertain (by inquest)."

n. 24 *alegier: leviare*. The Latin construes the French as a form of the verb given in AND s.v. *aleger*. DMLBS s.v. *leviare* lacks the specialized meanings of the French. The verb *alegier* might also be construed as a form of the verb given in AND s.v. *allegger*, whose legal meanings survive in modern English *allege*.

n. 25 *asconter: ascultare*. AND gives *asconter* as a form s.v. *acunter*, whose meanings include "count, do sums." DMLBS gives *ascultare* as a form s.v. *auscultare*, "listen to." The intended pairing might have been *ascuter: auscultare*. See the note on the next pairing (n. 26). AND s.v. *escuter* gives the specialist legal sense "give an official hearing to." Alternatively, for *asconter*, read *ascouter*.

n. 26 *ascouter: venari.* These words do not match; the primary meaning of *venari* is "hunt." The French verb *ascouter* looks to have been copied out of order. See previous note on *asconter: ascultare* (n. 25).

n. 27 *abascier: inferiorari*. DMLBS s.v. *inferiorare* does not list a deponent form.

n. 28 *adherdre: adherere*. See AND s.v. *aerdre.* DMLBS s.v. *adhaerere* lacks the specialized meaning of the French.

n. 29 *appeller: vocare*. See AND s.v. *apeler*. DMLBS s.v. *vocare* has overlapping legal meanings.

n. 30 *ardoir: ardere*. See AND s.v. *arder*. DMLBS s.v. *ardere* lacks the specialized meaning of the French.

n. 31 *apparlier: parare*. The French verb is not listed in AND; it is probably either an unrecorded form or miscopying of the verb given in AND s.v. *apparailler*.

n. 32 *approschier: approximare*. See AND s.v. *aprocher*. DMLBS s.v. *approximare* lacks the specialized meaning of the French.

n. 33 *acomper: implere*. DMLBS s.v. *implere* shows the greater semantic breadth of the Latin word, whose primary meaning, lacking in AND s.v. *accomplir*, is "fill up."

n. 34 *avancer: pompare*. The Latin construes the French as a form of the verb given in AND s.v. *avanter*. AND s.v. *avancer* gives the specialist legal sense "advance, provide for in advance of testamentary provision."

n. 35 *ballier: portare*. See AND s.v. *bailler*. The specialized legal meaning is lacking in DMLBS s.v. *portare*, where the primary meaning given is "carry."

n. 36 *batre: verberare*. See AND s.v. *batre.* DMLBS s.v. *verberare* lacks the specialized meaning of the French.

n. 37 *boulir: coquere*. AND s.v. *buillir* gives the primary sense "boil." DMLBS s.v. *coquere* shows the broader semantic valence of the Latin word, whose first meaning is "cook" (cf. modern German *kochen*).

n. 38 *benir: benedicere.* AND s.v. *beneistre* does not give this spelling but DMF does, s.v. *benir*.

n. 39 *brisier: frangere*. See AND s.v. *briser*. DMLBS s.v. *frangere* has overlapping legal meanings.

5. Adverbs, prepositions, and other parts of speech with French equivalents

The list of adverbs and prepositions in the *Liber* indicates that its users aimed to wield quite sophisticated French. The terms included envisage the production of syntactically complex and carefully nuanced utterances. Here, exceptionally, the language of access is Latin: in the manuscript, the Latin words precede their translations into French and are rubricated (fol. 6r–v). At the end of the catalogue, a few English words and phrases are also selected for translation.

The list was probably designed for a user thinking in Latin where multipurpose French words are given as translations for Latin terms whose usage might be more narrowly circumscribed. The French word *pur* would probably work better as a translation for *propter*, *pro*, *pre*, or *ob* than would any one of those words as a rendering of the French, for example. This is not to say that the list is designed to teach learners much more familiar with Latin than they are with French. As elsewhere in the *Liber*, there is an

interest in piling up French alternatives: individual Latin words and phrases frequently receive multiple French glosses (e.g., *certe*, *nichilominus*, *ab hinc in antea*). There also seems to be a desire to clear up the kinds of difficulties more likely to be suffered by users already familiar with French than by outright beginners. For example, subsequent entries under *ubi* and *vel* point out that both words are translated by French *ou*; the entry under *cum* collects three possible French spellings of *avec*; and subsequent entries under *isto modo*, *sic*, and *si* categorize the similar-sounding French words *ainsi*, *einsi*, *si*, *issint*, and *se*. Like the list of verbs in LD.A.4, this list is thus best viewed as a finding aid for users familiar with both French and Latin.

The notes below highlight tensions between the meaning of the Latin terms and the French translations offered, drawing on the information available in the standard dictionaries. Of special interest are words that are unattested in DMF and AND (e.g., *forement*, *amentesement*); words cited in AND only from a copy of Part A of the *Liber* (e.g., *amentinablement*, *deinzment*); and words used here in a rarer meaning (e.g., *endroit*). These items demonstrate the vitality of late Anglo-French, whose lexis and semantics continued to develop over the course of the fifteenth century. For further examples and discussion, see William Rothwell, "The 'faus franceis d'Angleterre': Later Anglo-Norman," in *Anglo-Norman Anniversary Essays*, ed. Ian Short (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1993), 309–26.

n. 40 *a ma volunté ou plust a Dieu*. The French adds the sense "would to God (that)"

n. 41 *quatinus: que*. The Latin word is clearly more specific in its meanings and uses than the French.

n. 42 *una, pariter: ovesque*.The Latin words are adverbs but the French word is a preposition (with).

n. 43 *ita*: *oy*, *oildea*. The French adds the sense "yes, God."

n .44 *aliquantulum: ascune partie*. The French interprets the Latin as a form of understatement, translating "(in) no part."

n. 45 *amentinablement*. Not in DMF. AND s.v. *amentivablement* only cites the version of Part A of the *Liber* in CUL Gg. 6. 44, giving the definition "memorably, which can be remembered."

n. 46 *tantum: soulement*. The French translates the use of *tantum* in the phrase *non tantum...sed etiam* (not only...but also).

n. 47 *deinzment*. AND s.v. *deinzment* cites only this example.

n. 48 *forement*. The word apparently derives from *fors* (out, outside of) + adverbial ending *-ment* but is unattested as an adverb in DMF. AND lists *forement* as a variant spelling s.v. *forment*, translating "very, vigorously," "firmly." See AND s.vv. *fors* and *forment*.

n. 49 *undique: chescune partie*. The French translations do not distinguish between *ubique* (in every place) and *unique* (from every place).

n. 50 *propter, pro, pre, ob: pur.* The French word is more likely to succeed as a translation of the Latin than vice-versa because the Latin terms have individual meanings that are collapsed by the French word. On their uses, see DMLBS.

n. 51 *sed: meas que*. *Liber*, ed. Merrilees and Sitarz-Fitzpatrick, 16 presents *que* as if it were an alternative translation of *sed*: "sed: meas, que." The text edited here gives *meas que* as one rendering of the Latin. See AND s.v. *mes*.

n. 52 *recte: endroit*. AND s.v. *endreit* gives the sense "correctly" for a unique citation from this text. Most meanings of *endreit* cited in AND have to do with space and trajectory.

n. 53 *pigre: lantement*. The Latin word is an adjective that AND s.v. *pigre* also identifies as a French word.

n. 54 *gairez et n'ad gairez*. The French terms are opposites. See AND s.v. *gueres*. They seem to have been copied out of order. See note for next pairing (n. 55).

n. 55 *dudum*, *nuper*. The Latin terms have the opposing meanings "sometime ago, formerly (*dudum*) and "recently" (*nuper*). The French word *jadis* translates the first of the Latin adverbs.

n. 56 *tum et nichillominus*. One way of interpreting this apparent mismatch is to read *tum* as narrating the list: "*and then* nichillominus: nepurquant..."

n. 57 *adullacione: amentesement*. The French word is not attested in AND or DMF.

n. 58 *licet: mes que*.The French translates the Latin used as a conjunction (although, albeit), not a verb (it is lawful).

n. 59 *cur, quare: care, etc*. The Latin words can be translated as both "why?" and "because" but French *care* and *quare* are not interrogatives. See AND s.v. *kar*.

n. 60 *voharthorough: paront*. See MED s.v. *wher-thurgh* and OED s.v. *wherethrough*. The word *voharthorough* is not rubricated. *Liber,* ed. Merrilees and Sitarz-Fitzpatrick, 17 counts it as a possible rendering of the preceding Latin forms *cur* and *quare*. Here it is treated as a new word and the manuscript reading *paront* is given where *Liber*, ed. Merrilees and Sitarz-Fitzpatrick has *par ont*. See AND s.v. *parunt*.

n. 61 *anoþ tyme*. The manuscript gives no expansion sign over the first word in the English phrase, which should probably read *anoþer*.

n. 62 *to day more: uymays*. The English apparently means "two more days" but AND s.v. *uimés* gives meanings "for the rest of today" and "henceforth."

6. Days of the week and feast days

Lists giving the days of the week and related phrases precede a list of feast days arranged in the order of the year, beginning with Christmas; the translation adds their dates. There is a change of ink at the beginning of this subsection in the manuscript, which may indicate a pause in the copying of the book after the writing of LD.A.5. LD.A.7 is separated from LD.A.6 by a wavy red line (fols. 6v–7r).

n. 63 *Palm Sunday (Sunday before Easter)*. Two expressions are given in the French as designating this festival: *Dysmeinge des Palmez* and *Pasqueflore*. The second expression evokes the flowers and branches traditionally carried by worshippers on Palm Sunday.

7. Cardinal and ordinal numbers

Cardinal and ordinal numbers are written out in full. In the manuscript, above the cardinal numbers, the corresponding roman numerals have been added in red ink. A wavy red line separates the cardinals from the ordinals that follow. The ordinals are likewise concluded with a wavy red line. Writing stops approximately 20 mm before the bottom of the space ruled for inscription on fol. 7r of MS Dd. 12. 23. This blank space indicates that the following dialogues are understood to constitute a new part of the *Liber*.

The two forms of *thousand* are modelled: *milier* and *mile*. The forms *septant et un*, *octant et un* and *oetantisme* (*setantisime* is skipped) existed in medieval French alongside the forms that would become *soixante-onze*, *quatre-vingt-un*, and *quatre-vingtième*. AND s.vv. *noefant* and *noefantisme* suggests that these forms, which are only found in the copy of the *Liber* in MS Dd. 12. 23, represent confusions of *noef* and *nonante* and *noefant* and *nonantisme*. The forms *septante* and *nonante* are preserved in some regional forms of modern French; the medieval system of ordinal numbers admitted further variety. Both cardinal and ordinal numbers could be used to give the date. See further Marchello-Nizia, *La Langue française*, 199–201.

n. 64 *the year of grace the one thousandth, four hundredth and forty-seventh*. 1447 may be the year of the *Liber*'s inscription in MS Dd. 12. 23.

Part B: Dialogues

1. Salutations

The *Liber*'s collection of model conversations opens with a series of alternative forms of greeting, leave-taking, and offering and responding to invitations to food and drink. These phrases will return throughout the dialogues. Their isolation for practice and reference here underlines the special importance of salutations as a means of securing good will in interactions where at least one party may not have mastered French perfectly. Salutations are also grouped for reference and practice in CP.10 and CP.19.

n. 65 *or: May God Give you good day*. Here and throughout the dialogues compiled in the *Liber* and *Commune parlance*, the desire to collect alternative expressions is made explicit. The implication is that success in French will include an ability to vary one's language.

n. 66 *you will say thus*. The *Liber* or the teacher using it addresses learners directly. The form *vous dirrez* is an indirect command that frames an address by a speaker either to an individual considered a peer or superior (polite *vous*), or to a group comprising individuals of lower, higher, or equal status (plural *vous*). On the modelling of second person address in the dialogues, see further n. 167, below.

n. 67 *cheers! or: Here's to your health!* Since modern English *Cheers!* has no common intensified form, the second toast is translated with an alternative English formula. The language of toasting is repeatedly practised in the model dialogues. See LD.B.7 CP.4.7, CP.16, and CP.21. The toasting ritual is subverted in CP.23.

2. News from France

This dialogue demonstrates one of the reasons for which English learners of French might want to use the language: to share news on the road, apparently within England (see LD.B.3). The conversation models a curiosity vis-à-vis foreign affairs that likewise characterizes CP.10 and CP.21. The French used in this exchange is noticeably more developed than the set phrases shown in LD.B.1. All the narrative tenses are mobilized (present, perfect, imperfect, pluperfect, past simple, future simple) and the specialized language of warfare is marshalled, including nouns (e.g., *seige*), parts of verbs (e.g., *a conquys*, *a combatu*, *ffuere*), and set phrases (e.g., *le Roy avoit le champe*). The frequent use of the adjective *ledit* (the said) indicates the influence of written forms of French on the report. All of this demonstrates that the *Liber* was not written with beginner learners of French in mind.

The Agincourt report has interesting implications for understandings of the possible medieval connections between language and nation. For discussion, see Ardis Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language, and Nation in the Hundred Years War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 308–49.

n. 68 *Sir, what news from there?* The first speaker extracts from his interlocutor a report of the Battle of Agincourt in 1415. The account includes the Siege of Harfleur, during which the English forces under Henry V were depleted by dysen-

tery (19 August–18 September); the march of the English forces towards Calais, en route to England (beginning 8 October); and the routing at Agincourt of the French troops, which far outnumbered the English (25 October). The speaker then goes on to look forward to Henry's return to England (crossed from Calais 16 November) and his triumphant march through Canterbury, Dover, and Rochester towards London (arrived 23 November). For a succinct account of the Battle at Agincourt, see E. F. Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century: 1399–1485* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), 149–59. More recently, see too Jonathan Sumption, *Cursed Kings* (London: Faber and Faber, 2015), 431–67, vol. 4 of *The Hundred Years War*, 4 vols. (1990–2015).

n. 69 *and just sixteen men on the English side were killed.* Medieval English reports of the extent of the victory at Agincourt match those of this speaker. In particular, the claim that only sixteen Englishmen were killed was not unusual. For a summary of the relevant chronicle accounts that remains useful, see J. H. Wylie, *The Reign of Henry the Fifth*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914–29), 2:183–86. More recently, Anne Curry points out that the Agincourt dialogue may be the earliest known English text to give the location of the famous battle and the first to hazard the relative sizes of the French and English armies. See Anne Curry, *Agincourt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 46.

n. 70 *the duke of Warwick was one and the count of Suffolk another*. There is some confusion in the report regarding the identity of the English noblemen who fell. Michael de la Pole, third earl (not count) of Suffolk (1394–1415), is known to have died at Agincourt; the only other nobleman commonly listed amongst the English war dead was Edward, second duke of York (c. 1373–1415). The phrase "le duk de Werwic" in the MS Dd. 12. 23 is probably a miscopying. The version of the dialogues transmitted in Cambridge, Trinity College MS B. 14. 40 has "le duc d'Everwyk (i.e., York)." See *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 70. This mistake strengthens Kristol's argument that the *Liber*'s version of the model dialogues adapts an earlier version of the text. See further the headnote to LD.B.3.

n. 71 *the duke of Orleans, the duke of Bourbon, and several other counts, knights, and worthy squires*. The Agincourt report concludes with mention of the most brilliant prisoners captured on the battlefield: Jean de Bourbon (1381–1434) and the poet and Valois prince, Charles d'Orléans (1394–1465), who would add English verse to his accomplishments during his long insular captivity.

3. En route to London

The English setting of this and the following conversations in the *Liber* suggests a series of contexts in which the medieval English might have envisaged using French not only abroad but also at home, when speaking with visitors from the continent. Part B of the *Liber* shows speakers interacting as travellers on the road (LD.B.3); accepting guests at a hostel (LD.B.4); providing for travellers' horses (LD.B.4 and LD.B.6); soliciting orders for food and drink (LD.B.5); and organizing payment for lodging (LD.B.7). An English interest in using French for these purposes is indicated by the relocation of the *Liber*'s

dialogues in and around London: earlier redactions of these model conversations set their action at Oxford. For further details, see the notes below and for LD.B.4 and LD.B.8. See too *Manières*, ed. Kristol, xli. The implications of the dialogues' English setting are addressed in Rory G. Critten, "The *Manières de language* as Evidence For the Use of Spoken French Within Fifteenth-Century England," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 55 (2019): 121–37.

n. 72 *Sir*, *it is called London*. Like the dialogues preserved as Part B of the *Liber donati* in MS Dd. 12. 23, the copy of the model conversations preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Lat. misc. e. 93 situates their action around London. In contrast, the versions of the dialogues in Cambridge, Trinity College MS B. 14. 40 and London, BL MS Additional 17716 situate their action around Oxford. The dialogues are edited from Cambridge, Trinity College MS B. 14. 40 in *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 67–80.

n. 73 *a good ten leagues*. The OED s.v. *league* notes that one league is estimated to have measured around three miles. MED s.v. *lege* and AND s.v. *liue* are vaguer, allowing for the possibility of walking this far in one day, as per the first speaker's subsequent suggestion.

n. 74 *cloyed*. A cloyed horse is a horse made lame inadvertently during shoeing, the nail intended for the hoof being driven instead into the animal's foot. See OED s.v. *cloy*.

n. 75 *for he can't get his legs out of the mud*. This hyperbolic description of the horse's woes allows for the vocabulary of horse husbandry to be practised, a topic that returns in LD.B.4 and LD.B.6. At the same time, this passage is comic, in part for the contrast that it offers to the otherwise restrained and polite language of the two interlocutors. Throughout, the model dialogues demonstrate a desire to delight as well as to instruct their learners.

n. 76 *at the Molyn sur le Hope*. MED s.v. *hop* describes "a circular band used to support the sign outside a house or inn." The inn may be distinguished as that having a sign showing a *molyn*, a mill.

4. Securing lodging; provisions for horses

These interlinked dialogues model the French needed to ask for and offer lodgings as well as the French of horse husbandry. The travellers' train, and, by extension, the innkeeper's business, are imagined to be significant: six men and three boys will need to be put up, and more men are due to follow. As noted in the Introduction (14–15), the vocabulary for horses practised in the *Liber* is quite specialized; it presents a challenge to the standard dictionaries. Throughout the model conversations, the French shown exceeds the language required simply to get by in the situations described. Here the narrative of the travellers' encounter with thieves en route from Rochester and Blackheath (other manuscripts have Tetsworth and Shotover) takes learners far beyond the French needed to find a place for one's men and horses.

n. 77 *from Rochester...on Blackheath.* The versions of this dialogue in Cambridge, Trinity College MS B. 14. 40 and London, BL MS Additional 17716 have Tetsworth and Shotover here, in keeping with their Oxonian orientation. Like the text in MS Dd. 12. 23, the text in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Lat. misc. e. 93 has Rochester and Blackheath, which are closer to London. See *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 94nn72.8 and 72.9.

n. 78 *keeping the saddles with the harnesses dry on one side*. The translation takes *savant* as the present participle of the verb recorded in AND s.v. *salver*.

n. 79 *scaly*. The French reads *drachez*. AND has no translation for its brief entry s.v. *draché*, which cites only this example. The version of the dialogue in Cambridge, Trinity College MS B. 14. 40 has *crachez*. See *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 72. AND s.v. *craché* gives the sense "scurfy, scaly." The translation assumes that *drachez* has this meaning too.

n. 80 *four pennies a bushel*. AND s.v. *bussel*, describes "a measure for liquids or grain." As the price for an amount of wheat "four pennies a bushel" will be deemed good value by the last speaker in the dialogue, but this statement is not beyond doubt. If one of the purposes of the dialogues in the *Liber* is to demonstrate the usefulness of French to those interacting with francophone travellers, these travellers might be presented as unusually free with their currency. Attempts to determine the modern value of medieval money are notoriously fraught. For an instructive effort, see Peter G. Beidler, "The Price of Sex in Chaucer's *Shipman's Tale*," *Chaucer Review* 31 (1996): 5–17. On the units of currency mentioned in the model dialogues, see too n. 96, below.

5. A conversation with the lady of the house

This dialogue shows the wife of the innkeeper in discussion with her guests about the particulars of their food and lodging. Again, there is an interest in specific vocabulary. Whoever composed the exchange capitalized on the opportunity that it afforded to list the names of various wines, birds, and items of bedding. The fact that these topics recur amongst the French teaching and reference materials suggests that learners might expect to encounter them. Bibbesworth's *Tretiz* gives a longer list of bird names under the manuscript title "le fraunceis des oyseaus dé bois" (the French of the birds of the wood). See *Walter de Bibbesworth: Le Tretiz*, ed. William Rothwell (Aberystwyth: Anglo-Norman Hub, 2009), 32–36, ll. 711–802. The vocabulary lists in this section of the *Liber* overlap with those in CP.3 (wine, bedding) and CP.4.2 (birds). There is also overlap throughout the model dialogues with the tradition of Latin instruction via themed wordlists, on which see the brief comments in the Introduction (14).

An engaged reception of the *Liber*'s vocabulary lists is indicated by the five English glosses that the catalogues in this passage have attracted in MS Dd. 12. 23 (these glosses are included in square brackets as part of the French text of the dialogue). The glosses are puzzling from a modern perspective insofar as they do not always translate the words that seem the most recondite: *formage* (cheese) is glossed, for example, but *esturneaux* (starlings) is not. They also include one odd form, *ovez*, which is discussed below (n. 86). All of the glosses have Old English roots (compare Chaucer's glossing of *leos* "in

Englisshe" with *peple*, a French-derived word, in the Prologue to the Second Nun's Tale, VIII: 106). Other words in the passage prove more troublesome to traditional understandings of the categories of French and English where their definitions straddle the dictionaries of medieval English and French.

Assessment of the glosses in the French teaching and reference materials varies. Richard Ingham suggests that the glosses in manuscripts of Bibbesworth's *Tretiz* reflect "unsystematic private study by possibly self-taught learners." I am inclined to judge the glosses to the French-teaching materials in MS Dd. 12. 23 similarly. See Richard Ingham, "The Maintenance of French in Later Medieval England," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 115 (2014): 425–48, at 438. It may be that the glossators' French was less advanced than that of the book's first audiences. For an alternative view considering the range of purposes that might motivate a glossator, see Philip Knox, "The English Glosses in Walter of Bibbesworth's *Tretiz*," *Notes and Queries* 60 (2013): 349–59. A cluster of English glosses also accompanies the list of body parts in CP.2.

Finally, the gender dynamics of this conversation are of interest. Whereas most of the conversations in the model dialogues feature men, here we see a woman speaking French. If this conversation were used in a classroom context by young men and boys—the clientele usually posited for the Oxford *dictatores*—there might have been scope for a comic, drag rendition of her part. The moment when the wife mentions that one of the characters is old and ill in the context of an ostensibly sympathizing utterance is especially suitable for such a performance. In this connection, see too the appearance of the *putevile* in CP.4.3 and the prose fabliau told in CP.4.7. But enactments of femininity were commonplace in Latin education and will not always have been funny. See further Marjorie Curry Woods, *Weeping for Dido: The Classics in the Medieval Classroom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019). On the possibility that some girls may have been taught French, see the comments in the Introduction (12, 18–19) and Rory G. Critten, "French Lessons in Late-Medieval England: The Role of Women," in *Women in the History of Language Learning and Teaching*, ed. Sabine Doff, Giovanni Lamartino, and Rachel Mairs (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press), forthcoming.

The *Liber*'s fifth dialogue indicates that some late-medieval English women wanted to use French at home. The innkeeper's wife returns in LD.B.7 and LD.B.8. A woman innkeeper also speaks French in CP.16. In LD.B.9, a mother superintends her child's education, which has included French.

n. 81 *that's a long journey*. The French might also be translated as "great hardship." See AND s.v. *travail*. This is an excellent example of a medieval word that straddles the border between French and English. In modern French, *travail* would develop the meaning "work." In modern English, it comes to mean "travel." Here in one Anglo-French word we catch both these senses before they part ways. For comparative etymologies, see OED s.v. *travail*.

n. 82 *pipe*. AND s.v. *pipe* gives the sense "pipe, cask, large vessel for storing liquids (mainly wine)."

n. 83 *Corne sur le Hope*. "The tavern having a sign bearing an image of a horn." On this translation of *sur le Hope*, see n. 76, above.

n. 84 *...and white wine*. For these wines, see AND s.vv. *malvesey* (wine of Monemvasia), *romeny* (red? wine), *osey* (sweet wine, originally from Portugal), *tyr* (wine from Tyre), *vernage* (strong, sweet Italian wine), and *ipocras* (spiced wine). Compare the list of wines in CP.3.

n. 85 *here or in the public kitchens?* AND s.v. *cuez* gives the meaning "kitchen," citing only this instance. The translation calls the kitchen "public" because it is put in opposition to *ciens*, "in this house." It could be cheaper to buy food prepared in a public oven than to have a meal prepared in a hostel. See Martha Carlin, "Fast Food and Urban Living Standards in Medieval England," in *Food and Eating in Medieval Europe*, ed. Martha Carlin and Joel T. Rosenthal (London: Hambledon, 1998), 27–51.

n. 86 The word *ovez* is taken to mean geese, following AND s.v. *owe*. But MED s.v. *gos* does not list *gers* as a possible spelling.

n. 87 *cocks of the wood or woodcocks*. The French offers two different expressions for "woodcock." The first, *cokkis de bois*, is probably a calque on the Middle English name for the bird, which the MED gives s.v. *wode-cok*.

n. 88 *our breakfast tomorrow morning*. The medieval French word *dyner* here refers to the first big meal of the day. See AND s.v. *disner*.

n. 89 *pillows and cushions...coverlets and blankets*. The hostess's itemizing of the vocabulary of the bedchamber offers another example of how vague the boundaries between English and French could be. Of the two words given for bed cushions—*pilouez* and *orilers*—we would now confidently class the first as English and the second as French. DMF has no entry for *pilouez*; AND has an entry s.v. *pilew* but, aside from this occurrence of the word in the *Liber*, cites only inventories, a text type in which code-switching is common. MED s.v. *pilwe* identifies the word as having Old English roots. But both *pilouez* and *orilers* are presented as French vocabulary in LD.B.5. The pair *covrelitez* and *blankettez* also appears to contain one French and one English element, but here the dictionaries register an overlap. DMF s.v. *blanchet* lists "drap blanc léger" (light white cloth) as one possible meaning of the term. Compare the list of items of bedding in CP.3.

On code-switching, see further Herbert Schendl and Laura Wright, "Code-Switching in Early English: Historical Background and Methodological Issues," in *Code-Switching in Early English*, ed. Herbert Schendel and Laura Wright (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 15–46. The *Bilingual Thesaurus of Everyday Life in Medieval England* shows that French and English words could persist alongside each other in a complex and shifting network of associations and displacements. See <https://thesaurus.ac.uk/bth/about/>.

n. 90 *...and canopies all around*. The words *testers* and *cilours* belong to the specialist language of the medieval bed: *tester* refers to cloth hung at the head of the bed; the *cilour* was the canopy hung over it. See the diagram in Penelope Eames, *Furniture in England, France and the Netherlands from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (London: Furniture History Society, 1977), 74. On the accoutrements of the aristocratic bed, which the model descriptions in the *Liber* and *Commune*

parlance itemize, see too C. M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 78–79.

6. Further provisions for horses

This dialogue completes the list of provisions to be made for the travellers' horses that was begun in LD.B.4. The first named character in the conversations is introduced: Johan, the *garcion*, or boy, in service to one of the travellers. This is a role that some medieval learners of French might have expected one day to fill, either on the French-speaking continent or in England, serving a French-speaking visitor. The model dialogues feature several characters engaged in comparable work, especially work pertaining to the care of horses. See, for example, CP.9. Here Johan must treat the horse's hooves, rub the horses down, feed them, and make arrangements for them to visit a blacksmith. The orders conclude with a threat that suggests difficult working conditions for the boy, but it is worth remembering that, in a classroom context, learners might practice both parts of the dialogue. These conversations teach the French required to enact dominant as well as subservient roles, and there is ample scope for comic performance.

n. 91 *plug them with straw*. DMF s.v. *coine* translates "bouchon (de paille)" (wisp of straw) citing the version of part B of the *Liber* that is preserved in Cambridge, Trinity College MS B. 14. 40, for which see *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 75. An alternative translation might make something of the wedge-shaped pad mentioned amongst definitions in AND s.v. *coigné*. On this difficult word, see further n. 127, below.

n. 92 *peck*. AND s.v. *pek* describes "dry measure of capacity (usually of grain), equal to a quarter of a bushel."

n. 93 *I'll have you punished*. AND s.v. *corucer* has only meanings of the sort "make angry" but DMF s.v. *courroucer* adds "maltraiter qqn, lui infliger une correction" (mistreat someone or inflict a reprimand on the person). This is the sense chosen for the translation.

7. Paying the bill

This conversation gives us the first appearance in the model dialogues of Guilliam, who here plays the role of the traveller's *vadlet*: this was probably a slightly more senior position to that occupied by Johan in LD.B.6. Compare AND s.vv. *garçun* and *vadlet*. The name "Guilliam" (a French form of English "William") will have been significant for users of the *Liber* who knew William Kingsmill, the teacher usually credited with introducing the dialogues compiled in the *Liber* to French teaching at Oxford. See M. Dominica Legge, "William of Kingsmill: A Fifteenth-Century Teacher of French in Oxford," in *Studies in French Language and Mediæval Literature Presented to Professor Mildred K. Pope* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1939), 241–46. When Kingsmill takes on the role of *vadlet*, he models one of the roles for which he was preparing his learners: service in either a noble household or a master craftsman's employ, perhaps as an apprentice (see, e.g., the *vadlet* in CP.6). The teacher's self-insertion into the dialogue

helps learners who know him to imagine themselves in the situations described. At the same time, this procedure offers learners familiar with Kingsmill the pleasant surprise of seeing their teacher in a subordinate position.

"Guilliam" reappears as himself ("Guilliam Scrivener") in LD.B.9. In the *Commune parlance*, "Guilliam" appears in the guise of a lord's wardrober (CP.3); a servant sent to oversee matters in the kitchen (CP.4.2); a wayward apprentice accused of visiting prostitutes (CP.7); a boy bullied by one of his peers (CP.13 and CP.23); and a man seeking lodging at an inn (CP.16).

n. 94 *give some counters here*. The term *gettours* refers to the tokens used to calculate sums on specially designed counting boards. See AND s.v. *geteur* and F. P. Barnard, *The Casting-Counter and the Counting Board: A Chapter in the History of Numismatics and Early Arithmetic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916).

n. 95 *your valet, Guilliam*. The first appearance in the *Liber* of Guilliam, an avatar of William Kingsmill. On the teacher's self-insertion into these dialogues, see the discussion in the headnote, above.

n. 96 *five shillings less one penny*. The abbreviations make possible readings of the sum in English, as per this translation, or French: *cinq sous, moins un denier*. See MED s.vv. *shilling* and *peni* and AND s.vv. *sou* and *denier*. The relationship of French to English currencies is explicitly thematized in a French conversation manual not presented in this volume that survives in Oxford, All Souls College MS 182 (fols. 321v–326v). These equivalences are included with a translation below as a guide to the units of currency used in the *Liber* and *Commune parlance*. The passage is cited from *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 50.

> Et sçachez que deux poetevines font un maille, et deux mailles font un denier, et quatre deniers font un gros blanc, et trois blans font un soulde, et trois souldes englois font un franc, et un franc et un gros blanc font un escu, et deux escus font un noble, et deux nobles font une marc, et une marc et demy font un livre d'Angliterre, et ainsy serront rebatuz.

This translation gives the French words in the form in which they are recorded in AND as well as a translation or paraphrase in English. For *soude*, see MED s.v. *soude*.

> And know that two *peitevins* [quarter pennies] make a *maille* [halfpenny], and two *mailles* make a *denier* [penny], and four *deniers* make a *gros blanc* [groat], and three *blancs* make a *soude* [shilling], and three English *soudes* make a *franc* [French gold coin], and a *franc* and *gros blanc* make an *escu* [French ecu], and two *escus* make a *noble* [English gold coin], and two *nobles* make a *marc* [a monetary unit—not actually a coin—equivalent to two thirds of a pound sterling], and one and a half marcs make an English *livre* [pound], and that's how they will be paid back.

n. 97 *Sir, no. Not before you, please*. On the attention afforded to the language of toasting in the model dialogues, see n. 67, above.

n. 98 *travelling men*. On the possible translations of the French *travailantz* here, see n. 81, above.

8. The market at Winchester

An error of geography in this conversation reveals that the version of the dialogues set in London was most likely adapted from that set in Oxford. Winchester, said here to be "ten leagues from" London, is much further afield. The distance has been copied from the Oxonian texts, where Woodstock is given as the place of the market: only the name of the town has been changed. In all versions of the dialogue, the description of the market affords an opportunity for lists to be compiled of words for livestock and cloth, the latter achieving particularly intense attention. Trade in wool and cloth was fundamental to the economies of England and the Low Countries, which were French-speaking; the vocabulary of the industry, like its materials, moved back and forth across the Channel. For studies of some individual words caught up in this traffic, see William Rothwell, "Anglo-French and English Society in Chaucer's *The Reeve's Tale*," *English Studies* 87 (2006): 511–38, at 524–31 (discussing *chaloun* and *blanchet*). On the possible connections between the wool trade and users of MS Dd. 12. 23, see too the comments in the Introduction (21).

The innkeeper's wife has the biggest speaking part in this conversation. On women speakers in the model dialogues, see the headnote to LD.B.5. The language of cloth is also practised in CP.3 and cloth trading features again in CP.7. There are further market scenes in CP.4.6 and CP.14. The language of livestock is treated again in CP.20.

n. 99 *Winchester*. The versions of this dialogue in Cambridge, Trinity College MS B. 14. 40 and London, BL MS Additional 17716 have Woodstock, which is about ten miles from Oxford. Like MS Dd. 12. 23, the text in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Lat. misc. e. 93 has Winchester, which is considerably farther removed from London than Woodstock is from Oxford. Kristol argues that the version of the dialogues mentioning Oxford, Tetsworth, Shotover, and Woodstock precedes that mentioning London, Blackheath, Rochester, and Winchester. See *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 95n75.30. An error in the Agincourt report not present in the Oxonian redaction further strengthens Kristol's hypothesis. See n. 70, above.

n. 100 *bullocks*. The word *bovettiez* in the French is not found in AND or DMF. The version of the dialogue in Cambridge, Trinity College MS B. 14. 40 has *bovetz.* See *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 76. AND s.v. *bovet* gives the sense "bullock, heifer." The English translation assumes that *bovettiez* also has this meaning.

n. 101 *sheep, male sheep and mother sheep, rams, lambs*. In the vocabulary lists amongst the French teaching and reference materials, it is not always clear whether each word is meant to have a different referent. Here the aim appears to be to collect words with overlapping senses having to do with sheep. See AND s.vv. *berbiz*, *mutun*, and *toup*.

n. 102 *...and five cloves of wool*. All the words for cloth and its measurement are implicitly presented as French but their definitions are shared out across AND and MED. MED s.vv. *sak* and *todde* describes weight measurements of 364 lb and 28 lb; AND s.vv. *pere* and *clou* describes smaller measures of 12 lb and 7–8 lb. The remainder of the English translation of this passage relies on the definitions in AND s.vv. *drap lange*, *drap medlé*, *blanchet*, *russaz*, *escarlet*, *bleu*, *pers celetien*,

plunket, and *motlé*, and in MED s.vv. *kersei* and *violet*. Some of these types of cloth are further described and listed in the glossarial index compiled in *Medieval Dress and Textiles in Britain: A Multilingual Sourcebook*, ed. Louise M. Sylvester, Mark C. Chambers, and Gale R. Owen-Crocker (Cambridge: Brewer, 2014). See too <http://lexisproject.arts.manchester.ac.uk/index.html>.

n. 103 *Abingdon kerseys, ten Witney blankets*. Like Woodstock, Abingdon and Witney are close to Oxford. The original Woodstock market sold local products.

n. 104 *scarlet, blue, or sky-blue cloth*. The translation presents these items as independent additions to the catalogue of cloth types but they might equally be more types of fine Colchester cloth. The syntax of the list is unclear.

n. 105 *plunkets*. AND s.v. *plunket* describes a type of woollen cloth, normally of a grey or light-blue colour.

9. A mother's request for help

When the boy presented for an apprenticeship in this dialogue announces that he has studied at the school of Guilliam Scrivener, the exchange effectively becomes an advertisement for Kingsmill's school. The conversation shows the *dictator* apparently as he wanted to be seen: as a teacher providing instruction in writing, composition, accounting, pleading, and French to bright young boys hoping to secure apprenticeships in the city. The notion that Kingsmill's curriculum was designed at least in part to support learners hoping to pursue this trajectory is confirmed by the texts with which the *Liber* is compiled in MS Dd. 12. 23, on which see the Introduction (19–23).

This dialogue also shows another woman speaking French, in this case a mother superintending her son's education: it is under her gaze as well as that of the traveller that the son will recite his lists of vocabulary in LD.B.10. On the role played by women in French education, see Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, "'Invisible Archives?' Later Medieval French in England," *Speculum* 90 (2015): 653–73, and Critten "French Lessons in Late Medieval England: The Role of Women." On mothers' roles in transmitting English and Latin literacy, see Michael Clanchy, *Looking Back from the Invention of Printing: Mothers and the Teaching of Reading in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018). On women speakers in the model dialogues and women learning French in late-medieval England, see further the headnote to LD.B.5 and the comments in the Introduction (12, 18–19).

n. 106 *straight to London*. All four extant versions of this dialogue put their speaker on the road to London at this juncture.

n. 107 *if I dared or if I was bold*. The pedagogic gesture whereby users of the manual are taught two expressions in the place of one is also dramatically appropriate here. The woman speaker lays out her case tentatively and respectfully.

n. 108 *Guilliam Scrivener*. William Kingsmill again inserts himself into the action described in the dialogues; in the copy of these dialogues preserved in Cambridge, Trinity College MS B. 14. 40, the identification of the *dictator* is made more clearly as "Will. Kyngesmille Escriven." See *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 76. On this procedure, see the headnote to LD.B.7. Here Kingsmill presents himself not

as a valet but as a scrivener, i.e., as a professional scribe or notary. See AND s.v. *escrivein* and MED s.v. *scrivener*. On Kingsmill's work as a scrivener, see the Introduction (22).

n. 109 *what have you learned in that time?* The version of this dialogue in MS Dd. 12. 23 lacks lines transmitted in the version surviving in Cambridge, Trinity College MS B. 14. 40 in which the boy reveals that he has only been studying with Kingsmill for a quarter of a year. See *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 76. If the omission of these lines was not an accident, it may indicate a reluctance on Kingsmill's part always to restrict himself to teaching such short courses.

n. 110 *my master has taught me to write, compose, calculate, and speak French*. AND s.v. *conter* gives the translations "to (make a) count (set out plaintiff's case at beginning of pleading)" as well as "calculate." Writing, composing, accounting, legal pleading, and speaking French were the subjects taught by the Oxford *dictatores*. They are also all topics treated in the text compiled in MS Dd. 12. 23 alongside the *Liber donati* and *Commune parlance*, on which see the Introduction (6–9, 19–23).

n. 111 *English, French, and good Norman.* These lines provide further evidence that the English were aware of the different varieties of French that existed beyond their own. It is possible that *normandie* here refers to Anglo-French. AND s.v. *norman* notes that "to a certain extent, the word must also have referred to the Normans in England rather than on the Continent, and historically may sometimes have to be interpreted as 'Anglo-Norman.'" In this case, the would-be apprentice might be seen to advertise his ability to switch between his Anglo-French (*normandie*) and a continental variety (*fraunceis*). On the medieval French and Latin names used to describe the different varieties of French, see further Serge Lusignan, *La langue des rois au Moyen Âge: le français en France et en Angleterre* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2005), 220–25.

10. A would-be apprentice's French

When the boy from the previous dialogue is asked to demonstrate the French that he has learned while studying with Guilliam Scrivener, he responds with a series of vocabulary lists. He begins with the parts of the body, starting with the head and moving downwards, taking in some internal organs *en route*. There then follow lists of the names for clothes, the social ranks of men and women (including some insults), household objects, and weapons and armour. Proverbs and scriptural citations punctuate the mix. The catalogues in LD.B.10 stake out many areas of lexis that are also repertoried in CP.2 (parts of the body) and CP.3 (clothing, household objects). The boy's performance here in the *Liber* is suggestive of the emphasis that language teachers like Kingsmill continued to place on the acquisition of specialist lexis. At the same time, it adumbrates a part of their method, which seems to have included rote learning and oral rehearsal.

The boy's vocabularies also speak to the longer history of French instruction in England. At several moments, his lists draw on Walter de Bibbesworth's *Tretiz*, a versified vocabulary of French originally composed in the thirteenth century that was subse-

quently adapted to suit the requirements of later medieval French pedagogy. The longest parallel passage runs over the second to the fourth of the paragraphs of the dialogue giving parts of the body which corresponds to *Tretiz*, ed. Rothwell, 2–8, ll. 29–182. There is also overlap with word lists compiled for the purposes of Latin instruction. See Introduction (14).

Recent work on Bibbesworth has emphasized the literary dimension of his text, which is rich in punning. See Thomas Hinton, "Anglo-French in the Thirteenth Century: A Reappraisal of Walter of Bibbesworth's *Tretiz*," *Modern Language Review* 112 (2017): 855–81; and "Language, Morality, and Wordplay in Thirteenth-Century Anglo-French: The Poetry of Walter de Bibbesworth," *New Medieval Literatures* 19 (2019): 89–120. Shorter borrowings from Bibbesworth's text in LD.B.10 show that Bibbesworth's fascination with wordplay endured and indicate that, even in the fifteenth century, quite sophisticated, riddling French might be accounted both a means of broadening learners' vocabularies and an accessible form of entertainment (see n. 120, n. 126, n. 127, below).

n. 112 *my head or my crown*. The French has two words meaning *head*—*chef* and *teste*—but modern English has only one. The rendering of *teste* as *crown* is offered *faute de mieux*. Compare OED s.v. *crown* and AND s.v. *teste*.

n. 113 *throat*. See AND s.v. *faucez*.

n. 114 *hollow hole in the neck*. See AND s.v. *fosselette*, describing the nuchal fossa.

n. 115 *spinal column*. See MED s.v. *chine* and AND s.v. *eschine*.

n. 116 *kidney*. Doubt is cast upon the translation offered by the appearance of *reynez* (kidneys) later in the list but the embedded vocabulary lists do sometimes contain doubles.

n. 117 *pubes*. AND s.v. *penil* gives "pubes, lower part of the abdomen above the genitals."

n. 118 *...for which everyone knows the French*. Bibbesworth also uses a version of this phrase to indicate that readers of his manual will know the French names of the body parts that he lists. See *Tretiz*, ed. Rothwell, 4, l. 74.

n. 119 *...with sleeves long, wide, and well tailored*. These terms for clothing begin with items of footwear and move upwards towards the head. Several of the items listed were either grand or fashionable; some of them (e.g., words for shoes) were also treated in the standard Latin wordlists. The *purpoint*, a quilted doublet, was originally a padded item of military clothing but had become a part of modish dress by the fifteenth century; the *surcote* was a long overgarment, originally worn over armour or other overgarments, but part of official court costuming by the fifteenth century; the *mantel* was an overgarment which, by the fourteenth century, was reserved for ceremonial wear; the *hopeland* was a full garment, fitted at the shoulders, fashionable from the late fourteenth century into the fifteenth century; the *chaperon*, a hood with a cape, was popular from the 1420s. See *Encyclopedia of Medieval Dress and Textiles of the British Isles c. 450–1450*, ed. Gale Owen-Crocker, Elizabeth Coatsworth, and Maria Heyward (Leiden: Brill, 2012), s.vv. *pourpoint*, *surcote*, *mantle*, *houppelande*, and *chaperon* (the translation follows this encyclopaedia's spellings). Some of these items of

clothing are also described and listed in the glossarial index compiled in *Medieval Dress and Textiles in Britain*, ed. Sylvester, Chambers, and Owen-Crocker and <http://lexisproject.arts.manchester.ac.uk/index.html>.

n. 120 *when a woman is pregnant, she will be girded with a good girdle*. This punning on the words *enseintez* (pregnant), *seygntee* (girdled), and *seigntour* (girdle) is paralleled in *Tretiz*, ed. Rothwell, 8, ll. 187–90.

n. 121 *he who desires to strike with the sword shall be struck down by the sword*. The phrase echoes Matthew 26:52 ("all that take the sword shall perish with the sword").

n. 122 *everyday language and other manners of speaking*. The boy promises to teach *commun language* and *autre maner de parlance*, taking in the key terms making up the title given to the second set of dialogues in MS Dd. 12. 23, which their scribe calls the *commune parlance* (fol. 87r). Here we can note the association between *commun language*, *parlance*, and sociable speech or gossip. The lesson proposed treats the things that men and women like to say about other people, from their dependents to their rulers.

n. 123 *chaste matrons*. The translation reads *veilez* as a form of the verb given in AND s.v. *veler*, to veil. This makes sense of the pairing of these women with the virgins who follow. The word *veilez* might also be construed as a form of the adjective given in AND s.v. *viel* (old).

n. 124 *fuckers, or scumbags*. The translations given in AND s.vv. *ribaud* (low, worthless fellow) and *paillart* (rascal, or rogue) are too stuffy. The word *ribaud* apparently derives from the Old High German verb *rîban*, "rub," and quickly assumes a sexual valence in French. See FEW s.v. *rîban*. "Fucker" seems an appropriate modern English translation for this term, which insults those to whom it is applied with reference to their supposed involvement in illicit sexual behaviour. The case of *pailard* is trickier. DMF s.v. *paillard* notes that the word was used to designate stable-workers and those who slept on straw; by extension it could function as an insult directed at the materially less fortunate. Like *ribaud*, moreover, *pailard* was also an insult applied to those thought to be engaged in unsanctioned sexual behaviours. The translation "scumbag" attempts to match the snobbery and concern for sexual morality that the term *pailard* apparently communicated.

The deployment of French as a language of insult is a further indication of its vitality in later medieval England. See William Rothwell, "Adding Insult to Injury: The English Who Curse in Borrowed French," in *The Origins and Development of Emigrant Languages*, ed. Hans F. Nielsen and Lene Schøsler (Odense: Odense University Press, 1996), 41–54. For a revisionist approach to the treatment of obscene language in the French of England, see Daron Burrows, "*Ele boute son doi en son con*: The Question of Anglo-Norman Obscenity," *Reinardus* 27 (2015): 33–57. More recently, with a special focus on the social implications of swearing, see too Ashley Powers, "Pejorative Pedagogy: Structuring Social Hierarchies through Profane Language in the *Manière de langage* of 1396," *Medium Aevum* 89

(2020): 78–92. Longer lists of insults are also included amongst the model dialogues compiled in Oxford, All Souls College MS 182. For an edition, see *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 54–55.

n. 125 *cheap sluts*. AND s.v. *putevile* gives "whore, prostitute, lascivious woman (?)" citing lists of insults and male and female villains found among the surviving French teaching and reference works. Given this context, AND's suggestions seem unnecessarily specific or inappropriately stuffy. The translation offered updates AND's suggestions and treats *putiveils* as a compound. Compare AND s.vv. *pute* and *vil*. A *putevile* is given a speaking part in CP.4.3. The misogyny of that manual is also evident in the prose fabliau narrated CP.4.7 (but see there too the careful resistance of the woman for whose entertainment the tale is supposedly told).

n. 126 *a book, lip, pound, hare, hound for hunting*. The corresponding French terms are near homonyms (*un liver*, *livere*, *livre*, *levere*, *leverere*). In the absence of further context, translation is difficult and the ordering of the English equivalents in the translation is a guess. Bibbesworth also teaches these words as a group. See *Tretiz,* ed. Rothwell, 3, ll. 61–66.

n. 127 *axes to cut oak sticks and wedges to split logs, and take stamped silver*. The French puns on the forms *coynez* (axes), *cuynez* (wedges), *coigné* (stamped), a set of homonyms that Bibbesworth also treats. See *Tretiz*, ed. Rothwell, 31, ll. 693–96.

n. 128 *rearbrace*. See AND s.v. *rerebras* and MED s.v. *rere-brace*.

n. 129 *spoons of silver hallmarked with a leopard's head*. AND s.v. *lepart* points out that the leopard's head was a hallmark of the Goldsmith's Company.

n. 130 *Here ends the* Liber donati. The phrase is written in a larger, more formal script, with rubrication. This retrospective titling of the work establishes that the whole text—that is, the grammar and the dialogues together—are assumed to constitute one language manual. As noted in the introduction (15–16), the decision to entitle the *Liber* thus places it in the tradition of the authoritative fourth-century Latin grammar by Aelius Donatus, which was used throughout the Middle Ages.

COMMUNE PARLANCE

1. Opening prayer

The *Commune parlance* opens with an elaborate prayer listing God's gifts of grace, wisdom, and virtue, and asking Him to assist all those who will use the book that it prefaces in their attempts to learn French. The prayer taps into a vital English tradition of devotional writing in French that stretches back to the thirteenth century. For examples, see *"Cher alme": Texts of Anglo-Norman Piety*, ed. Tony Hunt, trans. Jane Bliss, intro. Henrietta Leyser, FRETS Occasional Series 1 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2010). The opening prayer also provides useful information regarding the anticipated uses of the *Commune parlance* and its users' concept of French.

n. 131 *so to fill*. At first glance, the manuscript gloss of *abuverer* as "to be fulfillid" appears incorrect. AND s.v. *enbeverer* has the primary sense "to give drink to." But both AND s.v. *enbeverer* and MED s.v. *ful-fillen* also have the sense "to fill up," hence the translation offered. The glossator's construal of *abuverer* as a passive rather than an active infinitive is one way of making sense of the expansive syntax of the opening prayer. The modern English translation offered remains closer to the French.

n. 132 *all who will look in this book or commit it to memory*. It is imagined that users of the *Commune parlance* will look at it, i.e., read it, perhaps silently: *regarderont* (will look at) avoids the potential meaning of "reading aloud" that inevitably attaches to forms of *lire*. See AND s.v. *lire*. Alternatively, users might commit the *Commune parlance* to memory, an altogether more dynamic procedure in medieval than in modern cultures. See further the discussion of teachers' and learners' methods in the Introduction (9–13). Also of note is the mode of address adopted, which is broad and unspecific. By contrast, the redaction of these dialogues in London, BL MS Harley 3988 and Oxford, All Souls College 182 directs the text more narrowly, concluding with a letter addressed from their author to his patron. For the text of the dialogues in MS Harley 3988, see *La Manière de langage qui enseigne à bien parler et écrire le français*, ed. Jean Gessler (Paris: Droz, 1934).

n. 133 *to speak, pronounce well, and perfectly write sweet French*. The *Commune parlance* will teach pronunciation and writing as well as speaking. Any instruction in the first of these skills would presumably require the intervention of a teacher because this manual does not include rules on the relationship between written and spoken French of the kind found in LD.A.2 and LD.A.3. That the dialogues might also be used to teach writing suggests that they were used to exemplify French syntax, perhaps via translation exercises. On this eventuality, see Christel Nissille, *Grammaire floue et enseignement du français en Angleterre au XVe siècle : les leçons du manuscrit Oxford Magdalen 188* (Tübingen: Francke, 2014), esp. 86–91.

The description of the target language as *douce francés* (sweet French) is of interest, in part for what it does not say. The redactions of these dialogues in London, BL MS Harley 3988, Oxford, All Souls College MS 182, and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS Nouv. acq. lat 699 qualify *douce francés* as the French of Paris or Orleans. See *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 81n3.1–2. In the opening prayer, no attempt is made to distinguish the French of the *Commune parlance* from the French current in England. At the end of the text, the validity of the French taught in the manual will be asserted unequivocally. There we read of the *Commune parlance* that there is "nulle meliour en tout le France" (none, i.e., no language better in all of France).

n. 134 *after school Latin.* On the elevated status of French in relation to Latin in medieval England, see Serge Lusignan, *Parler vulgairement: les intellectuels et la langue française aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Paris: Vrin, 1987), 91–127. Lusignan argues that this passage presents French as an intermediary between the languages of men and God (106). The redactions of the opening prayer in London, BL MS Harley 3988, Oxford, All Souls College MS 182, and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS Nouv. acq. lat 699 make this connection explicit, adding that French can be compared to the speech of angels on account of its great sweetness and beauty. See *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 81n3.12–13.

2. The human body

As well as being a language of prayer, French was also used in late-medieval England to discuss human anatomy and medicine. For a list of relevant texts, see Ruth J. Dean with Maureen B. M. Boulton, *Anglo-Norman Literature: A Guide to Texts and Manuscripts* (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1999), items 406–41; a sample is edited two books by Tony Hunt, *Popular Medicine in 13th-Century England* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1990) and *Anglo-Norman Medicine*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Brewer, 1995–97). The depth to which the medical register of French penetrated in English culture is perceptible in Henry of Grosmont's Anglo-French *Livre de seyntz medicines* (1354), whose central metaphor imagines Christ as a physician ministering to the wounds caused by sin to the soul of a penitent man. See *The Book of Holy Medicines*, trans. Catherine Batt, FRETS 8 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2014).

The discussion of the human body in CP.2 begins with a declaration of the dignity of man before going on to describe the traditional connection between the signs of the zodiac and man's members and to recount a comparison of man's body with the form of an upturned tree. The bulk of the passage is then given over to a long list of parts of the male body that begins with the face and head, descends to the feet, and concludes with some internal organs. The inclusion of a similar list amongst the words that the twelve-year-old boy claims to have learned in LD.B.10 confirms the impression given there that learning to describe men's bodies in French was one of the topics that learners of the language expected to master. Lists of body parts are also given in Bibbesworth's *Tretiz*, ed. Rothwell, 2–8, ll. 29–182 and in the Latin word lists mentioned in the Introduction (14).

An interest in CP.2 on the part of a reader of the *Commune parlance* is shown by the addition of twenty-one English glosses to the French text. The motives behind the selection of words for translation are difficult to find, however. More specialist words are glossed, e.g., *le tiendrone* [gloss: *grystyll of þe no*], alongside more everyday words, e.g., *lez coubtes* [gloss: *elbowys*]. The translation of *bea cope* [*gloss*: *money*, i. e. "many"] is especially difficult to fathom because one assumes that readers of the manuscript were familiar with this basic item of vocabulary. Perhaps later users of the manuscript did not enjoy the French proficiency of the book's earliest audiences. All the glosses in the passage can be traced back to Old English except *calfe*, for which MED s.v. *calf* gives an Old Norse connection. The inclusion of *calfe* here as an "English" gloss on a French word demonstrates the word's thorough naturalization by the fifteenth century. On glossing in the French teaching and reference texts, see further the headnote to LD.B.5.

n. 135 *that sign affects the member that it governs*. The translation expands slightly on the French, whose syntax is tricky. The idea that the signs of the zodiac influenced particular parts of the body was commonplace in the Middle Ages; its currency is most readily seen in the images of Zodiac Man that illustrate medieval medical texts. For recent discussion, see John Z. Wee, "Discovery of the Zodiac Man in Cuneiform," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 67 (2015): 217–33.

n. 136 *man is an inverted tree*. This idea is traced back to Isidore of Seville by the editors of William of Conches's *Dialogue on Natural Philosophy*, which contains a similar description: "For a human being is like an inverted tree. That is why he is called antropos by the Greeks, that is, 'turned upside down.' For real trees thrust their roots, as it were the head, downward into the earth, from which they draw their nutriment, but they expand their branches upward. On the contrary, humans stretch up their heads, as it were the roots, into the air, from which they breathe." See *William of Conches: A Dialogue on Natural Philosophy*, ed. and trans. Italo Ronca and Matthew Curr (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), 204.

n. 137 *the stock, or: the trunk.* Alternative terms are provided, ostensibly to help learners expand their vocabulary: both *estok* and *trunc* translate modern English *tree-trunk*. From a modern perspective, *trunc* (from Old French *tronc* and Latin *truncus*) is more straightforwardly "French," whereas *estok* seems to parallel Old English *stocc*. See MED s.vv. *trunke* and *stok*. The presentation of both these words as French illustrates the porosity of the boundaries that distinguished England's languages on the level of the word.

n. 138 *the balls* [gloss: *ballat*]. The manuscript gloss for *cuilons* is unattested in both AND and MED. Some form of the word given in MED s.v. *ballok* may be intended. But elsewhere the glosses respect the distinction between singulars and plurals found in the French text.

3. Furnishing a house

Histories of furniture traditionally describe the later Middle Ages as a watershed moment when the combined interests of a more settled nobility and a more prosperous urban bourgeoisie led to elaborations upon the basic form of domestic dwellings. Where the hall with its central fire had been the single, multipurpose space in which medieval men and women ate, slept, received guests, and otherwise spent their days, from the middle of the fourteenth century, additional rooms with more specialized functions became popular. With these new rooms came more specialized forms of furniture. See, for example, Eric Mercer, *Furniture 700–1700* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969), 67–99. More recently, see too Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England*, 46–82.

CP.3 allows us to trace the lexical expression of late-medieval developments in interior design and furnishings. As was the case with the lists of body parts given in CP.2, it appears that the lexis of the household was one of the topics on which medieval language learners expected instruction. One of the subsections of Bibbesworth's *Tretiz* carries the manuscript title "pur attirer bel la mesoun" (ed. Rothwell, 46–48, ll. 1021–52: to decorate the house beautifully) and the topic is treated more briefly in LD.B.10. The vocabulary lists given in CP.3 also overlap with those given in LD.B.4 and LD.B.6 (horse husbandry), LD.B.5 (wine and bedding), LD.B.8 (cloth), and LD.B.10 (clothing, household objects). Similar topics are treated in medieval Latin glossaries, on which see the Introduction (14).

The material culture to which CP.3 bears witness can be traced with the help of a series of volumes cataloguing medieval finds from excavations in London. See John Clark, *The Medieval Horse and Its Equipment, c. 1150–c. 1450*, rev. ed. (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011); Geoff Egan, *The Medieval Household: Daily Living c. 1150–c. 1450*, rev. ed. (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010), and Francis Grew and Margrethe de Neergaard, *Shoes and Pattens*, rev. ed. (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2013). See too Eames, *Furniture in England, France and the Netherlands*; Margaret Wood, *The English Mediaeval House* (London: Ferndale, 1981); and *Encyclopedia of Medieval Dress and Textiles*, ed. Owen-Crocker, Coatsworth, and Heyward.

All of the items in the lord's long shopping list are said to be *chocez necessaries a homme* (things that a man needs). At the same time as users of the manual learn the French for these objects, they also learn how to demand them for themselves. On the class dynamics that might attend the performance of this exchange, see Rory G. Critten, "Practising French Conversation in Fifteenth-Century England," *Modern Language Review* 110 (2015): 927–45, at 940–45.

n. 139 *my wardrober*. The *garderobre* was the officer in charge of supplying the clothing and furnishings of an important medieval household; he was often also concerned with the household's finances. See AND s.v. *garderober* and OED s.v. *wardrober*.

n. 140 *Guilliam*. William Kingsmill casts himself in the dialogue. On this procedure, see the headnote to LD.B.7. Here Kingsmill shows himself in a more senior service role.

n. 141 *the plankmaker, or: the joiner*. Medieval furniture had traditionally been made by carpenters; in the fifteenth-century, more elaborately constructed pieces produced by joiners were becoming popular. See Mercer, *Furniture 700–1700*, 84–87. When the lord in this dialogue requests the services of *le quarreour* or *le joinour*, he shows himself to be thoroughly up-to-date with this trend, which saw techniques known from masonry applied to wooden objects. AND s.v. *quarreour* lists "quarryman, stonecutter" as the primary meaning of the term.

n. 142 *a cup-board*. AND s.v. *table* gives the sense "board, plank" so the meaning here is consonant with the earliest gloss given in OED s.v. *cupboard*, "a 'board' or table to place cups and other vessels, etc. on." See too MED s.v. *cuppe-bord*. The French expression *un table pur hanaps* might calque the English *cupboard*, where *hanap* translates "cup" and *table* translates "board." A further possible French calque on English is discussed at n. 87, above.

n. 143 *of the best that can be found in all this country here*. On these wines, see n. 84, above.

n. 144 *hangings of single worsted*. The term *wostede* describes a fine woollen fabric that was smooth to the touch. See OED s.v. *worsted*. Hangings were often used in medieval houses for decoration, warmth, and to create private spaces within larger rooms; they might be painted or embroidered. For members of the nobility whose households were peripatetic, they had the added benefit of being easy to transport. See Wood, *The English Mediaeval House*, 402–6.

n. 145 *...and a large hempen canvas.* For a parallel description of a well-equipped bedchamber, see LD.B.5; on the renderings of *testre* and *cillour*, see n. 90 there. The translation of *lit* as "bedding" in this dialogue recalls that, late into the Middle Ages, the decking of the bed was often more impressive than its frame. See Mercer, *Furniture 1100–1700*, 27–29.

n. 146 *tubs or tables*. The terms *cackez* and *tables* are not synonymous. AND s.v. *cacke* gives the meaning "tub." The version of the dialogue in London, BL MS Additional 17716 has *cackez ou tubbez*. See *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 82n5.27. Miscopying in MS Dd. 12. 23 is the most probable cause of this discrepancy.

n. 147 *...and a pair of spurs*. An interest in the vocabulary of horses also characterizes LD.B.4 and LD.B.6. The French word *poitrel* refers to the breast-piece of a horse's harness. See AND s.v. *peitral*.

n. 148 *...and six yards of good scarlet.* The translation "eight yards of cloth for show embroidered with gillyflowers" takes over the rendering of *villers* in *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 115, as "broderie représentant des giroflées" (embroidery showing gillyflowers) but for *mustre* prefers "cloth for show" to Kristol's solution "échantillon de tissue" (sample of cloth) because eight yards seems too long for a sample. See *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 109 and AND s.v. *mustre*. The last item in the list might be translated "six yards of good scarlet" (as here) or as "six yards of fine cloth" with no specification as to the colour of the material. See AND s.vv. *scarlet* and *escarlet*. The vocabulary of cloth is also practised in LD.B.8.

n. 149 *very good linen*. The French word for linen, *teel,* is glossed with the English word *raw*, but this seems to complete the description of the cloth sought rather than to translate the French word. In this context, *raw* might mean "unfinished." See MED s.v. *rau*. The phrase intended by the glossator might have been "very good, unfinished linen."

n. 150 ...*chaperons with long ribbons, and jerkins*. The pieces ordered are of the grander sort and fashionable in the fifteenth century. For details, see n. 119, above, and *Encyclopedia*, ed. Owen-Crocker, Coatsworth, and Heyward, s.vv. *mantle*, *pourpoint*, *surcote*, *houppelande*, *chaperon*, and *cornette*.

n. 151 *for a lack of good handiwork*. An interest in the making and repair of clothing permeates the *Commune parlance*. For example, CP.7 features a draper and his apprentice; CP.8 features a dubber, or repairer of clothes, and his customer; and CP.22 features a tailor who secures himself work with a new master.

n. 152 *vernage*. A strong, sweet Italian wine. See AND s.v. *vernage*.

4. Going on a journey

These interconnected dialogues trace a lord's journey, giving his orders for the preparation of his horses (CP.4.1); the menu for the liberal meal served to him on the night before his departure (CP.4.2); his mounting, setting out, and asking the way and the time on the road (CP.4.3); a love song that he sings whilst riding (CP.4.4); the procurement of his lodgings by his valet (CP.4.5), who also makes a trip to the fish market to buy the lord's supper (CP.4.6); and the arrival of the lord at his lodgings, whereupon the lord invites the lady of the house to dine with him and regales the assembled company with a prose fabliau (CP.4.7). This intercalated text is evidence of an interest in shorter, racy prose narratives in French that sees the compilation of collections such as the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* (1464–1467) a little later than the *Commune parlance* is being inscribed in CUL Dd. 12. 23.

Like the model conversations compiled elsewhere in the *Commune parlance*, these exchanges provide an opportunity for lists of vocabulary to be drawn up. Special attention is afforded to the names of edible and inedible birds (CP.4.2) and types of fish (CP.4.6). The dialogues themselves are more developed than the rather one-sided conversation modelled in CP.3. For example, the lord's valet, Janyn, emerges as a character in his own right in the dialogue where he must arrange his master's lodgings (CP.4.5). This conversation between two men of equal rank allows for a frank exchange: when Janyn is left waiting outside in the cold, he is given some rather blue language with which to upbraid his tardy interlocutor. More literary registers of French are also sampled. The notes below discuss the Italian connections of the song and the prose fabliau that the lord performs, as well as the significance of their inclusion in the *Commune parlance*.

Finally, although the *Commune parlance* sets these dialogues on the road to Paris, it is worth pointing out that other redactions of the manual are less clear about the continental locus of the exchanges or situate them in Britain. In the version of the dialogues preserved in London, BL MS Additional 17716, the lord sets out for and asks directions to London; in the versions of the text preserved in Oxford, All Souls College MS 182 and

London, BL MS Harley 3988, the terminus of the journey is not specified, although in the All Souls text it turns out that the lord is destined for Wales; and in the text preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS Nouv. acq. lat. 699, the lord sets out for Montpellier. Some of these redactions leave open the possibility that an English context might be imagined for the model conversations. Variance among the locations given for the dialogues is recorded in the notes below. Other points of variance between the manuscript texts of these dialogues are visible at a glance thanks to a useful table in *Manières*, ed. Kristol, xxiii: different manuscripts have different lists of vocabulary and not all contain the tale transmitted here in dialogue CP.4.7.

4.1. Preparations

n. 153 *Go, take my horses to the forge to get them shod*. The lord begins this dialogue by addressing Janyn using the polite form of the second person, *vous* (*venez ça*); here he mixes imperative forms belonging to the more informal *tu* form with another *vous* form (*va, mesnez*); subsequently he will address Janyn as *tu* (*as tu fait*). Elsewhere in the dialogues, switches between the two modes of second person address are employed to dramatic effect. For details, see n. 167, below.

n. 154 *or thus*. When alternative words and phrases are prefaced with *vel sic* or *ou si* (or thus) in the French, these words are often rubricated in MS Dd. 12. 23. Thus readers' attention is drawn to an aspect of the manual's pedagogic design by its presentation on the page.

n. 155 *to Paris*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS Nouv. acq. lat. 699 gives Montpellier; London, BL MS Additional 17716 gives London; and Oxford, All Souls College MS 182 and London, BL MS Harley 3988 do not give a destination. See *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 82n7.4.

n. 156 *a lot to do there*. London, BL MS Harley 3988 announces a journey into the provinces; Oxford, All Souls College MS 182 here sends the lord into Wales. See *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 82n7.5.

4.2. The good-bye meal

n. 157 *Guilliam*. William Kingsmill casts himself in the dialogue. On this procedure, see the headnote to LD.B.7. Here Kingsmill performs the role of *vadlet*.

n. 158 *the chef, or: the cook*. The first of the French words, *le cusyner*, is taken over in modern French where the second, *le keu*, is not. Like modern English *cook*, *keu* derives from Latin *coquus*; it survives late in Middle English contexts, especially in names. See OED s.v. *cook*, AND s.v. *cu*, and MED s.v. *keu*.

n. 159 *in the meantime*. The relationship between the modern English phrase and the French (*en le meen temps*) is clearly close but this is an example of French influencing English syntax, not of English reforming Anglo-French. See OED s.v. *meantime*.

n. 160 ...*and the trenchers will be brought to the table*. This list reprises items introduced in CP.3. Trenchers were the dishes on which food was served; often in the Middle Ages they consisted of a slice of bread that would soak up the juices of the meal and could be eaten at its conclusion. See MED s.v. *trenchour*; AND s.v. *trenchour* lacks this sense.

n. 161 ...*teals, hawks, and eagles*. Like the parts of the body and items of household furniture listed in CP.2 and CP.3, lists of birds seem also to have belonged to the matter that medieval language learners expected to master. Compare the list of birds given in LD.B.5. Bibbesworth's *Tretiz* gives a list of bird names under the manuscript title "le fraunceis des oyseaus dé bois," (ed. Rothwell, 32–36, ll. 711–802: the French of the birds of the wood). The catalogue in CP.4.2 has several puzzles and points of interest. On occasion, the cataloguer has conscientiously collected possible variants (*mosengez* and *musengez* for "tit," and *hulotz* and *huetz* for "owl"). Elsewhere, it is harder to determine whether the referents for the names listed are thought to overlap: AND s.vv. *corbel* and *corneille* has the identical definition "crow, raven." Nor is it clear what the *salamandrez* (lizards) and *soris chaux* (bats) are doing in this catalogue amongst the birds of prey.

4.3 On the road; asking the way and the time

n. 162 *cheap slut*. On the translation of *putevile*, see n. 125, above. It is odd how well-spoken and courteous the woman is in light of this designation. The misogyny of the *Commune parlance* is also evident in the prose fabliau told in CP.4.7. On women speakers in the *Liber donati* and *Commune parlance*, see further the headnote to LD.B.5.

n. 163 *which is the right way to Paris?* The lord asks the way to Orleans in the redactions of the dialogue in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS Nouv. acq. lat. 699, London, BL MS Harley 3988, and Oxford, All Souls College MS 182. He asks for London in London, BL MS Additional 17716. See *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 83n8.11.

n. 164 *on your right hand*. The French gives two possibilities (*la maine droit* or *dextre*) where modern English has only one possible translation.

4.4 A love song

n. 165 *Sweet look, lovingly drawn*. This ten-line song plays on the sound /trɛ/ and some of the meanings listed in AND s.v. *traire*. Its speaker apostrophizes a look lovingly drawn in his memory. This conceit allows for an unusually intimate approach to the beloved: the *regarde amerousement trait* is addressed throughout in the more informal form of the second person, *tu*. By contrast, the speakers in the prose fabliau in CP.4.7 speak to each other using the more formal *vous*. The inclusion of this song in the *Commune parlance* partakes of the continuing popularity of French lyric in late-medieval England, on which see Ad Putter, "The Organisation of Multilingual Miscellanies: The Contrasting Fortunes of Middle English

Lyrics and Romances," in *Insular Books: Vernacular Manuscript Miscellanies in Late Medieval Britain*, ed. Margaret Connolly and Raluca Radulescu (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 81–100. The appeal and enjoyment of such song seems not to have been limited to the nobility if the students of the *dictatores* can be imagined amongst its performers and consumers.

Tresdoulx regarde amerousement trait is included in all of the manuscript copies of the *Commune parlance*. It is also transmitted, with musical notation, in the early fifteenth-century Italian manuscript that is now Modena, Biblioteca Estense MS α. M. 5. 24. This coincidence testifies to the mobility of French song in the later Middle Ages. The song might have been written in France, or perhaps in England, before finding its way to Italy: the use of *entrer* with a bare direct object (*mon coer*) in the poem's second line is characteristic of Anglo-French syntax. Continental Frenches preferred the use of a preceding preposition with *entrer*, as in modern French *entrer dans*. See *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 83n9.7. Alternatively, an Italian French-language song might have found its way from Italy (via France?) into England. On these and other possible scenarios for the transmission of the lyric, see Elizabeth Eva Leach, "Learning French by Singing in 14th-Century England," *Early Music* 33 (2005): 253–70. Italian connections are also adumbrated in CP.4.7, CP. 6, CP.10, and CP.21.

4.5. Janyn at the inn

n. 166 *at Paris*. Kristol does not list variants given for the two occurrences of "Paris" in this dialogue. London, BL MS Harley 3988 does not specify the destination of the journey; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS Nouv. acq. lat. 699 sends Janyn to Orleans. For these readings, see *La Manière de langage*, ed. Gessler, 54–55.

n. 167 *or thus: why didn't you answer the first time that I knocked at the door?* This exchange affords learners an opportunity to imagine how two men of equal rank might speak to each other in a moment of tension. Janyn is given two phrases to express his frustration. The first, decidedly direct, is couched in the informal second person form *tu* (on the translation of *paillart* as *scumbag* see n. 124, above). The second phrase is more cautious: there the innkeeper is addressed in the politer second person form, *vous*. In the remainder of the speech, the innkeeper is addressed as *tu*. While the changing between modes of address here may have been intended to model two different ways of approaching this situation, alternation between *tu* and *vous* modes of address could be incorporated into a single locution in medieval French, where *tu* forms might lend emotional immediacy to a speaker's individual points. See further Buridant, *Grammaire*, 628–31.

Switching between forms of the second person singular occurs in moments of frustration again in CP.4.7, CP.6, CP.13, CP.15, and CP.23. CP.7 offers further examples of insults framed in both forms of the second person. In CP.9 two stable boys switch between *tu* and *vous* forms: there the use of *vous* between the boys evokes

comic grandeur. In CP.11 an adult addresses a child as *tu*. Alternation between *tu* and *vous* is not always so dramatically meaningful: see, e.g., the example discussed in n. 153, above.

n. 168 *and I'm not just saying that to boast*. Here the comedy in the *Commune parlance* takes on an absurd edge. Janyn still accepts the lodgings offered to him although he is openly told both about the rats and mice that inhabit them and the obscure (and ineffective) traps that the innkeeper has made to catch them.

4.6. At the market; fish

n. 169 *...it would be hard to manage them all*. The list of fish presents several lexicographical challenges. Some words are presented here as French that appear to have been borrowed from English or another Germanic language. See MED s.vv. *codling* and *whiting*. Other words are listed as belonging to both English and French. See MED s.v. *trout* and AND s.v. *truite*. It is not always clear whether the French words all have different referents. AND s.vv. *luz* and *brocheler* gives the overlapping definitions "luce, pike," and "pike." MED s.v. *merling* gives "European whiting" (compare AND s.v. *merlin*). It is also not clear whether the scribe miswrites *tauntpse* for *tauntpee* (Kristol's emendation) meaning "prawn," or whether he considers *tauntpse* an acceptable spelling. In one instance, all the dictionaries come up short. AND s.v. *tendale* simply gives "a fish." The names of fish was another pedagogic commonplace. Bibbesworth addresses this topic in his *Tretiz* under the manuscript title "pur peschour en vivere ou en estauncke le fraunceis" (ed. Rothwell, 23–25, ll. 513–70: the French for a fisher in fishponds or pools).

n. 170 *two marks*. On the terms for currency deployed in the model dialogues, see n. 80 and n. 96, above.

4.7. Evening at the inn; a story

n. 171 *a curse on you*. The phrase *male semaigne soit vous mys* literally translates "may you be given a bad week."

n. 172 *by God you shall*. The lady of the house apparently resists the lord's company even before the lord has told his misogynist tale. Here she takes some persuading to sit down next to him; a little later she picks at her food.

n. 173 *then I'll tell it you*. What follows is a version of the story also told as the seventh tale on the seventh day of Boccaccio's *Decameron*. Boccaccio provides a more detailed backstory for the novella's male lead. We are told that his father was a Florentine nobleman living in Paris, whom bad luck had forced into trade, but who had nevertheless secured for his son a position at the French court. It is there that Boccaccio's protagonist learns his lover's manners; there too he hears of the famously beautiful Bolognese wife whom he seeks out and successfully woos in the course of the story, during which he masquerades as a manservant in

her husband's household. See *Giovanni Boccaccio: The Decameron*, trans. Guido Waldman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 445–50. The more briefly described background of the protagonist in the tale told in the *Commune parlance* clearly positions the lover within the social world of the *vadlets* who people the model conversations. In CP.4.7 the protagonist is described simply as an *escuier*, a squire or groom.

The presence of this novella both in Boccaccio's story collection and in the *Commune parlance* allows for another literary connection to be drawn between England and Italy via French. Roy J. Pearcy argues that both Boccaccio's version of the tale and the version in the language manual descend from a French fabliau written in England, *Un Chivalier et sa dame et un clerk*. His argument is a reminder of the broad continental transmission that might be achieved by English texts written in French; prominent examples of Anglo-Norman works so transmitted include the anonymous *Boeve de Haumtone* and *Le Livre des merveilles du monde* attributed to John Mandeville. See Roy J. Pearcy, "An Anglo-Norman Prose Tale and the Source of the Seventh Novel of the Seventh Day in the *Decameron*," *Comparative Literature Studies* 37 (2000): 384–401. See too the headnote to CP.4.4, discussing the song transmitted in that section of the manual.

The presence of the novella in the *Commune parlance* demonstrates that medieval English learners of French could imagine wanting to tell a story in the language. At the same time, it corroborates evidence of book ownership that suggests an enduring desire among the English for entertaining reading matter in French. See Julia Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards, "Literary Texts," in *1400–1557*, ed. Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 555–75, vol. 3 of *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*. The reactions to the tale that are modelled are also of interest: the lady of the house's reaction to this misogynist tale shows French being used with tact in a socially awkward situation.

n. 174 *in Burgundy*. The version of the tale transmitted in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS Nouv. acq. lat. 699 sets its action in Kent. See *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 84n13.6.

n. 175 *was totally ravished*. AND s.v. *enravoier* only gives the senses "to cheer up, make happy again," citing this line. Similarly, DMF s.v. *enravoyer* has "remettre dans la bonne voie, réconforter" (put back on track, comfort). Later in the text, however, the sense of the verb must be "ravish" (see n. 179, below). This sense is preferred here too.

n. 176 *saying to her thus*. As well as exemplifying the syntax and lexis of longer reports, the prose fabliau also has some useful embedded conversations. Here the user of the *Commune parlance* can learn the French of courtly wooing.

n. 177 *I grant you my love*. In London, BL MS Additional 17716, the prose fabliau ends here. See *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 84n14.3.

n. 178 *comes to her lord and says thus*. Here and once more below the narrative switches briefly into the historical present. This use of the present is more common in

French than in English, where it might nevertheless feature in spoken language. It confers a sense of immediacy on the matter so narrated. See Buridant, *Grammaire*, 528–30. A further use of the historical present is highlighted in n. 189, below.

n. 179 *he will come to ravish me*. Here *enravoir* must mean "ravish," not "cheer up," as per AND s.v. *enravoier*. On this word, see n. 175, above.

n. 180 *a little child who knows no malice*. In Boccaccio's version of the story, this is when the lovers consummate their relationship.

n. 181 *So I pray to God that you might be kept from them. Amen*. The moral would seem to suit the male clientele of the *dictatores* better than the woman for whom the tale has ostensibly been told in this dialogue.

n. 182 *Wake up, by the devil and his mother and all the rest*. The lord has been addressing Janyn in the polite form of the second person, *vous*, throughout this dialogue. Here he switches to *tu* (*reveille toy*). On the dramatic implications of this switch, see n. 167, above.

n. 183 *Thank you, my lord*. On the attention afforded to the language of toasting in the model dialogues, see n. 67, above.

n. 184 *and may you drown in your own shit*. The two parting jokes with which this series of dialogues closes are suggestive of the informal contexts in which English speakers of French might anticipate using the language. The second subverts a formula given a few lines earlier in the lady of the house's parting words; a further "straight" appearance of the formula is highlighted in n. 230, below. The French phrase *que vous n'aiez maishuy le cuil clos* literally expresses a wish that one's interlocutor might henceforth have diarrhoea. See AND s.v. *cul*. The translation sacrifices the literal sense to allow the English to echo the French rhyming couplet.

5. The digger and the gardener

One of the assumptions underlying the arguments put forth in this volume is that the situations in which speakers are depicted in the model dialogues reflect real situations in which medieval English learners might expect to use spoken French, either at home or abroad. At first glance, CP.5 sits less easily with this thesis. English travellers to France might have little reason for interacting with the peasantry and the peasantry in England is not traditionally thought ever to have used much French.

One possibility is that the digger and the gardener are included here for contrastive purposes. Their lot is not especially attractive; perhaps they have been included to confirm the users of the *Commune parlance* in their own, different career choices. Another way of reading the dialogue is suggested by work on the emigration of French speakers to England, which runs throughout the later Middle Ages. Working on the records associated with the so-called Alien Subsidy of 1440, a tax levied on first-generation immigrants, Sylvia Thrupp demonstrates the broad geographical distribution in the mid-fifteenth century of the men and women who came to England from French-speak-

ing parts; she also points out that many of these people were engaged in agricultural work: as well as herding livestock, they worked the land as general labourers. See Sylvia L. Thrupp, "A Survey of the Alien Population of England in 1440," *Speculum* 32 (1957): 262–73.

More recent research has confirmed Thrupp's findings, demonstrating the tendency of French-speaking incomers to cluster in coastal and farming communities. See Maryanne Kowaleski, "French Immigrants and the French Language in Late-Medieval England," in *The French of Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Jocelyn Wogan-Browne*, ed. Thelma Fenster and Carolyn P. Colette (Cambridge: Brewer, 2017), 206–24. Kowaleski draws on the database of aliens resident in medieval England developed by researchers at the universities of York and Sheffield and at the National Archives: <https://www.englandsimmigrants.com>. Other illuminating work on French immigrants in England includes W. Mark Ormrod, "French Residents in England at the Start of the Hundred Years War: Learning English, Speaking English and Becoming English in 1346," also in the Wogan-Browne Festschrift (*The French of Medieval England*), 190–205; and Bart Lambert and W. Mark Ormrod, "A Matter of Trust: The Royal Regulation of England's French Residents During Wartime, 1294–1377," *Historical Research* 89 (2016): 208–26. For the argument that French penetrated more deeply in English rural contexts than has often been assumed, see too Richard Ingham, "Mixing Languages on the Manor," *Medium Ævum* 78 (2009): 80–97; and David Trotter, "L'Anglo-normand à la campagne." *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 156 (2012): 1113–31.

In the light of this research, CP.5 might be viewed as a rehearsal of the language that an Englishman would need in order to discuss the conduct of agriculture with French-speaking labourers who worked his land or the land for which he was responsible. The inclusion of a list of salutations to be used when speaking to "handworkers and peasants" in CP.10 corroborates this argument insofar as it is clear such men were amongst the interlocutors imagined for the users of the manual. If the point is accepted, then CP.5 might be accounted a late addition to the important tradition of Anglo-French writing on estates management that included Bibbesworth's *Tretiz*, on which see William Rothwell, "*Husbonderie* and *Manaungerie* in Later Medieval England: A Tale of Two Walters," in *The Anglo-Norman Language and its Contexts*, ed. Ingham, 44–52.

It is apparent that the digger and the gardener are presented from a master's point of view: they are downcast about their prospects but hardworking and grateful for whatever they receive in wages. It is not too difficult to imagine the speech of these men being turned against their real-life counterparts. Other medieval English texts suggest that French-speaking laborers were not always viewed in such a rosy light. See further Critten, "The *Manières de Langage* as Evidence for the Use of Spoken French," 121–37.

n. 185 *a way of speaking.* Most of the exchanges following CP.4 are introduced with some version of the phrase *une manere du parler*, which literally translates as "a way of speaking." This would seem to be the medieval French phrase used to designate the model conversations in MS Dd. 12. 23. Modern French scholarship most frequently refers to the dialogues as *manières de langage*, taking over a designation used elsewhere in the teaching and reference materials. The description

of the exchanges in the *Commune parlance* specifically as ways of speaking (*du parler*) underlines the manual's targeting of oral French.

n. 186 *twelve pence*. On the units of currency mentioned in the model dialogues, see n. 80 and n. 96, above.

6. The baker and his servant

This dialogue and the next focus on relationships between masters and their servants. They are remarkable as much for the servants' daring as for their masters' forbearance. The servants' portraits develop the type of the unruly apprentice fictionalized by Chaucer in his Cook's Tale of Perkyn Revelour; like Perkyn, we might imagine, the young men in CP.6 and CP.7 most probably "loved bet (i.e., better) the taverne than the shoppe" (I: 4376). The same figure is addressed in instructions and indentures written to regulate apprentices in the later Middle Ages. For examples see John Scattergood, "The Cook's Tale," in *Sources and Analogues of the Canterbury Tales*, ed. Robert M. Correale and Mary Hamel, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Brewer, 2002–5), 1:75–86, at 84.

That the young men in CP.6 and CP.7 are able to talk their way out of punishment enhances the comic appeal of these vignettes at the same time as it reinforces the lesson that it is worth learning to express oneself persuasively. Relationships between apprentices and their masters were not inevitably adversarial, however. As these conversations show, a degree of license was sometimes afforded to these young men. See further Barbara A. Hanawalt, *Growing Up in Medieval England: The Experience of Childhood in History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 129–71.

An interest in apprenticeships amongst the users of MS Dd. 12. 23 is also indicated by the manuscript's inclusion of a copy of the Statute of Apprentices of 1405 (fols. 66r–67r). On that text, see further the comments in the Introduction (20). For another possible apprentice, see the tailor who secures a new position in CP.22.

n. 187 *My lord of Leyer...my noble lady of Geynys*. The locations in these titles vary across the manuscripts, suggesting that they were a source of confusion for the manual's scribes. For *Leyer* (Leicester?) and *Geynys* (Genoa? cf. modern French *Gênes*) in MS Dd. 12. 23, Oxford, All Souls College MS 182 has *Beyr* and *Guneys* and London, BL MS Harley 3988 has *Bealvois* (Beauvais?) and *Guerney* (Guernsey?). See *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 84n18.11–12. It is difficult to tell where these people are from and where the baker and his apprentice are fulfilling their contract. Are the lord and lady international nobility residing beyond their territories in England? or in France? Or does the conversation take place further afield, in Italy? or elsewhere? Are these imaginary places? The conundrum speaks to the ubiquity of French in late-medieval Europe.

n. 188 *How did you get injured like this, you evil scumbag?* The master baker begins this dialogue addressing his apprentice in the polite form of the second person, *vous* (*pernés la siel*). Here he switches to the less polite *tu* form (*comment fus tu ainsy blessé*). On the dramatic implications of this switch, see n. 167, above. On the translation of *paillart* as *scumbag*, see n. 124.

n. 189 *he gives me such a blow*. To enhance the dramatic appeal of this account of his injury, here the apprentice switches into the present tense. Compare the discussion of the use of the historical present in n. 178, above.

7. The draper and his apprentice

In this longer conversation, a master draper upbraids his apprentice for getting up late and accuses him of spending the night with prostitutes. The language of the marketplace is modelled in the second part of the dialogue. The particular interest in the cloth trade manifested here is mirrored in LD.B.8 and in the wordlists compiled in CP.3.

n. 190 *Guilliam*. William Kingsmill again casts himself in one of the model dialogues. On this procedure, see the headnote to LD.B.7. Here the *dictator* appears in the guise of an unruly apprentice about to be chastized by his master.

n. 191 *master, I am here*. The French word *sir* can usually be rendered "sir," but translation can be trickier when the word is not in the vocative or, as here, when it is accompanied by a possessive adjective. AND s.v. *sire* lists the earlier use of the word to mean "lord," "feudal superior," or "owner," which do not seem appropriate in this dialogue. DMF s.v. *sire* registers a devaluing of the appellation. This information informs the translation given.

n. 192 *come to me. Or thus: come forward now*. The addition of alternative expressions for the master indicates that his language as well as the language of the apprentice was targeted by users of the *Commune parlance*.

n. 193 *a curse on you*. On this translation of the imprecation *male sepmaigne soit toy mys*, see n. 171, above.

n. 194 *Shut up, by the devil! Or thus: Stop it!* The threats and commands modelled here are couched alternatively in the more and less polite forms of the second person, *vous* and *tu*. On the significance of this switching, see n. 167, above. This passage has a clear comic potential: the quantity of the commands delivered suggests at once the master's irascibility and his impotence. The joke is sweetened if we imagine these phrases being practised in a classroom context where the teacher plays the unruly apprentice so chastized.

n. 195 *to Paris*. The versions of this dialogue in London, BL MS Harley 3988 and Oxford, All Souls College 182 are vaguer about the location of the market, sending the apprentice *a l'overdure*, which AND s.v. *overdure* translates as "shop?" or "open space (where the market was held)" citing only these texts. See *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 84n19.28.

n. 196 *or thus: how do you like it?* Here the language targeted shifts to that of the apprentice engaged in selling his master's wares.

n. 197 *two thousand francs*. On the units of currency mentioned in the model dialogues, see n. 80 and n. 96, above.

n. 198 *...I'll gladly lend you the same amount again*. The apprentice's explanation for requiring payment early is thick with the specialist vocabulary of money-lend-

ing and legal agreement. See AND s.vv. *arerisement*, *estat*, *areriser*, *emprompter*, *obligacion*, *gré*. The lexis of legal and financial French is presented for reference in LD.A.4.

n. 199 *at the Feast of Saint Peter ad Vincula*. The feast is celebrated on 1 August, the date on which the speaker initially promised to pay the apprentice draper the full sum owed.

8. At the dubber's

This brief dialogue shows a valet getting his clothes repaired at a dubber's, that is, at the shop of someone who repairs old clothes. See OED s.v. *dubber*. As well as practising the language of shopping, the conversation gives the French needed to describe clothing and its manufacture, topics that are also treated in LD.B.10 and CP.3. By implication, the dialogue also teaches the necessity of looking good. This valet is pained by the state of his clothing and wants it repaired speedily.

n. 200 *pourpoint*. A quilted doublet. See further n. 119, above, and *Encyclopedia*, ed. Owen-Crocker, Coatsworth, and Hayward, s.v. *pourpoint*.

n. 201 *six pence*. On the units of currency mentioned in the model dialogues, see n. 80 and n. 96, above.

9. Two stable boys

This conversation is of interest because it shows two younger speakers using French without an obvious commercial purpose and outside the contexts provided elsewhere by exchanges taking place between lords and their valets or master craftsmen and their servants. It shares these features with CP.13 and CP.23. It may be that CP.9 functioned as an entertaining opportunity to practise again the vocabulary of horse husbandry and clothing. These topics are also treated in LD.B.4, LD.B.6, LD.B.10, and CP.3. It also bears considering whether learning enough French to get along with francophone boys might have been one of the goals of the *dictatores*' teaching.

n. 202 *stop messing around right now and go to check on the horses*. At the opening of this dialogue, in a moment of tension, the boys address each other using the more informal form of the second person, *tu* (*leisse ta folie*, *ne te chaille*). They subsequently address each other using the more formal form, *vous* (*gardés vous bien de Sorerel*, *vous estez en grant meulx monté et araiés que je ne su*). On the significance shifts of this sort, see n. 167, above.

n. 203 *saving your grace, good sir, I'm not*. This repartee echoes the words of the traveller in CP.4.3. Are the boys playing the lord?

n. 204 *so that they last me a long time*. The preoccupation with mending clothes and being appropriately attired here is carried over from CP.8.

10. Different greetings; news from Orleans

This dialogue begins with a rehearsal of greetings to be used at different times of the day, reaffirming the interest running through both the *Liber* and *Commune parlance* in this aspect of conversation. Where Italian forms creep into the language modelled, the international connections suggested by the inclusion of the song and the prose fabliau in CP.4.4 and CP.4.7 are again brought to the fore. The greetings open out into a conversation in which one speaker asks another for news. The curiosity manifested into matters on the continent parallels that in LD.B.2 and CP.21. Here the report has to do with a dispute between students belonging to different university nations at Orleans. The closing comments on Hainaulter identity offer a tantalizing glimpse into the different ways in which regional, linguistic, and national identities might overlap in fifteenth-century Europe.

n. 205 *keep well*. The text of the dialogue gives *sta bien*, which looks more like Italian (*sta bene*) than French. Coming after this phrase, the spelling *compaignone* (see n. 207, below) also suggests a blurring of the distinction between romance vernaculars. The *Book of Margery Kempe* provides further evidence of this phenomenon where its protagonist is shown speaking a mixture of French and Italian during her travels abroad. See further Jonathan Hsy, "Lingua Franca: Overseas Travel and Language Contact in *The Book of Margery Kempe*," in *The Sea and Englishness in the Middle Ages: Maritime Narratives, Identity and Culture*, ed. Sebastian I. Sobecki (Cambridge: Brewer, 2011), 159–78.

n. 206 *to handworkers and peasants, you will say thus*. The anticipation that users of the manual will address speakers of this sort corroborates the hypothesis outlined in the headnote to CP.5 that that exchange is designed to teach the French of agriculture and gardening to prospective estates managers.

n. 207 *God speed you, companion*. The spelling *compaignone* looks more Italian than French. Neither AND s.v. *compaignon* nor DMF s.v. *compagnon* list this as a possible form of the word, but *compaignone* does occur with this spelling elsewhere in the *Commune parlance*.

n. 208 *they do not stop fighting each other from one day to the next*. What follows is an account of street fighting in Orleans between students belonging to the university nations of Picardy and Champagne. Orleans became the preeminent university for the study of law after pope Honorius III published a bull in 1219 forbidding instruction in Roman law at the university of Paris. See Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, rev. ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1938), 2:139–51. Violent quarrels between students belonging to different university nations were not infrequent. On the situation at Orleans, see Pearl Kibre, *The Nations in the Mediaeval Universities* (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1948), 132–47.

n. 209 *Then you're English!* Like the identities of the vernacular languages, national identities had yet to take the sharper contours that they now possess. Hainaut

(now in south-eastern Belgium) was a traditional ally of the English; the subsequent comment that the bravest lords of England are of Hainauter lineage refers to the children issuing from the marriage of Edward III and Philippa of Hainaut in 1328. The tone of the comment is difficult to gauge. The whole of the Low Countries relied on a steady supply of English wool to serve their cloth industry, so this may be a joke at the Hainauter's expense, suggesting that the Hainauters are under the thumb of the English. Alternatively, it may be a friendly cry of recognition on the part of the (English?) interlocutor who interrogates the man. See further the discussion in Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy*, 333–34.

11. Consoling a child

This dialogue and the next show French being deployed outside the commercial and professional contexts featured in so many of the model dialogues. Their pragmatic rationale seems to entail keeping up good relations with everyone one meets. Here learners practise the French that a lord might use to comfort a child who has been beaten by one of his own servants. As well as modelling alternative modes of second person address, the list of alternative questions that the lord is given at the opening of the exchange would facilitate a comic classroom performance. The boy appears to take some time to calm down before he can speak intelligibly.

n. 210 *Or thus: Who's made you cry, good sweet child?* These enquiries shift between the more and less formal modes of second person address available in French (*qu'as tu mon enfant? qu'avez vous, mon amy?*). The different phrases take account of the differing social situations in which the scene depicted might take place, offering more and less familiar approaches to the crying child. On other instances of alternation between *tu* and *vous* in the model dialogues, see n. 167, above.

12. Turning away a beggar

Like the previous dialogue, this conversation lacks the professional and commercial frames found elsewhere in the *Liber* and the *Commune parlance*. The emphasis on saving face in a potentially awkward situation is marked: not even to beggars should one leave a poor impression of oneself. The conversation is short but might easily be extended in improvised classroom performance to include, for example, an account of the beggar's woes.

13. Two companions at an inn

Like CP.9, this conversation features two apparently young men of equal rank; one attempts to boss his companion around and, when the companion resists, they come to blows. The passage offers further examples of insults, threats, and otherwise coarse language. It also lacks a clear transactional purpose: neither character is buying something from the other and neither is in the other's employ. As in CP.9 and in the previous two conversations, the purpose of this model dialogue appears to be to show how French could be used simply to get along with other people. Here we see an argument and, at the end, a resolution of tensions before bed.

n. 211 *Guilliam*. William Kingsmill again casts himself in one of the model dialogues. On this procedure, see the headnote to LD.B.7. Here the *dictator* is presented as a comically sensitive character who cries when punched and who worries about his dog before bedtime.

n. 212 *get off your arse*. The translation of *se sourdre le cul* given in AND s.v. *cul*, "to bestir oneself" misses the more colloquial tone that must surely be aimed for here.

n. 213 *Well, good sir, let me warm your feet first*. It appears that Guilliam responds ironically to his companion's attempts to order him around.

n. 214 *Shup up...blows for it that you'll feel four days from now*. Guilliam's relatively mild oath releases a torrent of abuse and threats from his companion. The mode of second person address shifts from *vous* to *tu*. On shifts of this kind, which might indicate a speaker's frustration, see n. 167, above. On the translation of *paillard* as scumbag, see n. 124.

n. 215 *and then we'll go to bed.* Guillam's companion cannot resist a final joke at Guilliam's expense, calling him *beau sir* with mock politeness and giving him new instructions for the fire.

n. 216 *Where is Briket, the little dog, and Floret, the little dog?* This question paves the way for a more neutral exchange before bedtime.

14. Dialogues between traders

These exchanges show deals being struck or failing between merchants. In the first instance, a buyer determines the price of trade; in the second, a deal falls through when a price cannot be agreed upon; and in the third, a buyer makes a purchase on deposit. As well as teaching useful phrases for haggling, the passage shows learners how flattery, charm, and understatement can be used to help a bargain. The language of the marketplace is also modelled in LD.B.8, CP.4.6, and CP.7.

n. 217 *eight pence*. On the units of currency mentioned in the model dialogues, see n. 80 and n. 96, above.

n. 218 *I'll give you so much*. Rather than give the figures in the text, these dialogues repeatedly have the place-holder *tant* (so much), inviting learners to fill the gap themselves with a sum. The conversation could thus be used to practise numbers and currencies as well as the language of trading.

n. 219 *Sir, I won't take my leave of you*. The translation gives the literal sense of the French phrase *je ne prendray pas congé de vous*. *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 86n26.17 suggests the gloss "à bientôt" (see you soon). The seller deliberately deploys understatement: he is anxious to receive the money that his interlocutor owes him.

15. Asking the time and the way

This dialogue imagines a speaker arriving in an unknown town asking for directions to the home of a man who he thinks lives there but who turns out to be residing elsewhere. The passage offers an engaging insight into the vagaries of medieval travel. Where it shows one of the speakers succumbing to a fit of pique, it goes beyond the modelling of everyday transactional French. Speakers also ask for the time and the way in LD.B.3 and CP.4.3 and CP.18.

n. 220 *Well, really! Put up your hood, scumbag, when you're talking to a man of quality!* The speaker begins by addressing his interlocutor using the more formal form of the second person (*Dieu vous esploit*) but here switches to the less formal form (*tu parles a prodome*). On switches of this sort, which might indicate a speaker's frustration, see n. 167, above. On the translation of *paillard* as *scumbag*, see n. 124. This phrase has been taken to exemplify the dialogues' modelling of current, spoken French. See Andres Max Kristol, "'Que dea! Mettes le chapron, paillard, com tu parles a prodome!': la répresentation de l'oralité dans les *Manières de langage* du XIVe/XVe siècle," *Romanistisches Jahrbuch* 43 (1992): 35–64.

16. Asking for lodging; giving a message

This dialogue shows a speaker asking for lodging on his own behalf, supplementing the longer conversation between Janyn and the innkeeper in CP.4.5, where the valet secures a room at an inn for his lord. The conversation is at its most advanced where it models the pragmatics of giving messages: first one must make sure, politely, that the person to whom one wishes to speak is not available. The main part in the dialogue is given to a woman innkeeper. On women speakers in the model dialogues, see the headnote to LD.B.5.

n. 221 *where is the master of the house?* On the translation of *sir* here, see n. 191, above.

n. 222 *my name is Guilliam*. William Kingsmill again casts himself in one of the model dialogues. On this procedure, see the headnote to LD.B.7. Here Kingsmill takes the role of a man securing his lodgings and getting a message to his host.

n. 223 *Sir, here's to your health!* On the attention afforded to the language of toasting in the model dialogues, see n. 67, above.

17. At the scrivener's

In this dialogue, learners of French are shown how business is done in one of the professional environments in which they might hope one day to work: the scrivener's shop. William Kingsmill may have begun his career as a scrivener in London. See the comments in the Introduction (22). Kingsmill also advertises his connections to scrivening in LD.B.9.

n. 224 *do a commission for me*. The clerk is instructed to write an official document. The meanings of *comissione* were various. AND s.v. *commission* has simply "commission, written authority." MED s.v. *commissioun* is more specific, giving "a docu-

ment delegating authority or power (for a specific purpose); a warrant; an official document instructing or ordering (sb. to do sth.); a warrant; an order or mandate."

n. 225 *a commission in this manner*. The alternative formal openings to the commission reflect the formulae modelled in the letter collections that circulated with the *dictatores*' French teaching materials. For a sample, see *Anglo-Norman Letters and Petitions from All Souls MS. 182*, ed. Dominica Legge, Anglo-Norman Texts 3 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1941).

18. Asking the way; delivering a present

This conversation again models asking for directions and demonstrates the kind of language that such enquiries are likely to produce. The first speaker is imagined to be a messenger between two noblemen, a role for which learners of French may have been prepared at Oxford and at other locations. His comic slowness affords a pretext for expanding examples of the target language. The conversation displays some of the trappings of nobility viewed "from below," such as the heraldic shields marking the house of Guilliam Montendre and the fanciful gifts bestowed upon him. But at the close of the conversation, attention is afforded to the various ways in which lords, as well as servants, might use French.

n. 226 *where does my lord Guilliam Montendre live?* The use of a surname may be intended to differentiate this Guilliam from the *dictator* William Kingsmill. Alternatively, it might enhance the comedy of the situation: *montendre* can be construed as a nickname and translated as "my sweetie." See AND s.v. *tendre*.

n. 227 *a big minster down from here at the end of this street*. Mention of the minster suggests that this dialogue leads on from CP.15.

n. 228 *and on them two swans running and fighting together*. This image is best imagined painted or embroidered on a flag hanging between the two cords that are mentioned. See *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 86n29.1–2.

n. 229 *or thus: May God have you in his keeping*. The alternatives suggest that users of this dialogue were expected to emulate the speech of the lord as well as the messenger.

19. Different greetings according to the time of day

This list of salutations provides alternative expressions to those given elsewhere in the model dialogues. In its form, which matches greetings to the passage of the day, it replicates the opening of CP.10. On the attention afforded to formulae of this kind, see the headnote to LD.B.1.

n. 230 *for I'm off to bed*. This is a less offensive conclusion to the leave-taking formula that is subverted in the rhyme concluding CP.4.7 (discussed in n. 184, above).

20. Dialogue with an ill man

This conversation activates several kinds of French seen elsewhere in the model dialogues, including the French of horse husbandry and the human body. A man's attempt to comfort his sick friend allows for the inclusion of a second song in the *Commune parlance* as well as a piece of biblical paraphrase: the comforter recalls the example of Job and his narrative affords him the opportunity to assemble another vocabulary list giving the names of the beasts lost by the Old Testament hero along with a few more fantastical animals. The scene tips into black humour when the ill man describes the surprisingly extensive (and disgusting) effects of an injury preventing him from taking up the comforter's offer to accompany him on a pilgrimage. His final reaction to the comforter's speech is also comic. Where he suggests that his friend would have made an excellent preacher, he introducers learners to the thorny issue of ironic language: how can one know whether one's interlocutors mean what they say?

n. 231 *Saint Denis of Paris*. The redactions of the dialogue in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS Nouv. acq. lat. 699, Oxford, All Souls College MS 182, and London, BL MS Harley 3988 have the comforting friend suggest a pilgrimage to Saint Thomas at Canterbury. See *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 86n30.16.

n. 232 *and all other kinds of filth and stinking things*. The sick man's description of his wound is rather extreme for an injury sustained only two days previously. He fears that it will become a *marmol*, or ulcerous sore. The word has not survived into modern English, hence its translation via paraphrase, but see MED s.v. *mormal* and AND s.v. *mormal*.

n. 233 *I endure and endure I must*. This song is transmitted in the versions of the dialogue preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS Nouv. acq. lat. 699, Oxford, All Souls College MS 182, and London, BL MS Harley 3988. It is possible that a love poem has been adapted to the purposes of consolation, which may go some way to explaining the ill man's scepticism.

n. 234 *...leopards, lions, and lionesses*. The list of Job's destroyed beasts catalogues some of the animals also mentioned in LD.B.8; it presents several challenges akin to those attending the other vocabulary catalogues in the model dialogues. What are the little toads doing alongside the bullocks and cows? What is the correct translation of *taillardz*, which is not in AND (the translation follows the suggestion in *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 86n31.9–10)? Is *bouches* an acceptable spelling or a miscopying of the word recorded in AND s.v. *biche*? Does *unicornes* mean "unicorns" or "rhinoceroses"? See AND s.v. *unicorn*. For solutions to some of these issues by emendation, see *Manières* ed. Kristol, 86–87n31.13 and the Textual Notes.

n. 235 *and when the messengers came.* The French verb is given in the future simple (*viendront*) here and once more below. The shift out of the past tenses in the French enlivens the account of Job's misfortunes by bringing it into the time of the teller and his audience. Compare the use of the historical present discussed in n. 178 and n. 189, above.

n. 236 *I know well now that you're mocking me*. The ironic intentions behind the ill man's previous comment are signalled here but denied (ironically again?) by the ill man in the next line of the dialogue. On the pedagogic significance of this phrase, see the discussion in Emily Reed, "Incongruent Humour and Pragmatic Competence in the Late-Medieval *Manières de langage*," *Multilingua* 39 (2020): 239–67.

21. Dialogue with a foreigner

This dialogue stages a conversation between a Parisian just come from Venice and another person, ostensibly an Englishman, although this is never clarified. The conversation apparently takes place in England, but this is not made explicit either. The first speaker interrogates the traveller on his impressions of Venice and Paris and the traveller praises the first speaker's French. The conversation then moves on to consider other places that the traveller has visited, in particular Orleans, where, the traveller assures his questioner, the devil does not teach necromancy to his disciples. The two men toast to each other's health and the Parisian promises to repay the first speaker's kindness should he ever meet him in his country.

The broad geographical distribution of French across late-medieval Europe is personified in the figure of the travelling Parisian, who makes his way from Venice into the other land beyond France where this model conversation takes place. It may be safe to assume that the location of the conversation is England, in which case, like the final dialogues in the *Liber*, this section of the *Commune parlance* can be accounted a further instance of the use of French being modelled among the English as well as an advertisement for the teaching of the instructors using this manual. The Parisian traveller lavishes praises on the first speaker's French, which the first speaker claims to have picked up at home without the benefit of foreign travel.

Another reading of the conversation is also possible. Perhaps the two men meet somewhere else, neither in England nor France. In that case, the first speaker might not be English at all, but someone from somewhere else who was engaged in learning French on account of the international access that the language afforded—rather like the English learners to whom the *Commune parlance* is directed. The "foreign man from a faraway country" mentioned in the title line to the dialogue might be the first speaker in the exchange. Perhaps some English learners expected to emulate the travelling Parisian rather than the speaker having French as a second language.

Curiosity about foreign affairs is also modelled in LD.B.2 and CP.10. This dialogue shares an Italian connection with CP4.4, CP.4.7, CP.6, and CP.10.

n. 237 *foreign*. The possible translations given in AND s.v. *estrange* are varied, ranging from "outside the family" to "outside one's experience" designating something "wondrous," "dreadful," "hostile," or "cruel."

n. 238 *the most gracious language in the world.* This hyperbolic praise of French mirrors that given in the prayer with which the *Commune parlance* opens.

n. 239 *By Our Lady of Cléry*. The reference appears to be to a church in Cléry-Saint-André. The church was destroyed by the English in 1428 in the course of the Hundred Years War.

n. 240 *my habit of speaking to people in this country here*. If the location of the dialogue is England, then the exchange might be taken to advertise the conversation classes of the *dictatores* and teachers like them. At the same time, the assertion adumbrates another place where French conversation might be available between non-native and native speakers of the language.

n. 241 *How can you learn it in this country?* The plural direct object in the French (*lez*) is difficult to translate; this rendering assumes that *lez* refers to French but the speaker might be referring to the teaching rather than the learning of the language (*how can you teach them in this country?*). Modern French would require an indirect object pronoun in that instance, but, as headnote to LD.A.1, above, clarifies, the pronominal system was still very much in flux in Middle French.

n. 242 *at least that's my opinion*. The attitudes towards French in this passage are complex and multiple. The first speaker is keen to downplay the quality of his French in front of the Parisian traveller, notwithstanding the elaborate formulae that he deploys, apparently with ease. At the same time, the Parisian traveller suggests that the differences between Parisian French and Anglo-French are not so great as he thought. See further Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy*, 333.

n. 243 *Rouen in Normandy*. The speaker's interest in this place may derive from its status as an English-occupied town. On the Norman occupation as a context for the study of the model dialogues, see Critten, "Practising French Conversation," 937–40.

n. 244 *the most noble clerks...study both civil and canon laws there*. On the university at Orleans, see n. 208, above.

n. 245 *necromancy...in a brass head*. The necromantic arts imagined use a brass head in place of a real, decapitated head. For this gloss, see *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 87n34.2. The association of Orleans with magic is also in evidence in Chaucer's Franklin's tale, where Aurelius and his brother visit the town in the hopes of finding a *tregetour* (illusionist) to help Aurelius's case (V: 1143).

n. 246 *by God I shall not*. On the attention afforded to the language of toasting in the model dialogues, see n. 67, above.

22. A tailor and his new master

This conversation can be viewed alongside CP.6 and CP.7 as another vignette from a career in craftsmanship of the sort that medieval English learners of French might have aspired to follow. The job-seeking tailor is bold in his approach and one way of reading the conversation is as an advertisement for the easy availability of work to men who have mastered the materials taught by teachers like William Kingsmill. The dialogue practises a situation that learners of French might have imagined playing out in

English or French in England. Another possibility is that the conversation invited learners to imagine the benefits attending emigration to northern France, much of which was under English control for the first half of the fifteenth century. On the Norman occupation as a context for the study of the model dialogues, see Critten, "Practising French Conversation," 937–40.

n. 247 *seven sous, two deniers, and my expenses.* On the units of currency mentioned in the model dialogues, see n. 80 and n. 96, above.

n. 248 *How long do you plan to stop in this city?* The question is a useful reminder of the anticipated mobility of medieval English learners of French and speaks in favour of the hypothesis that some users of the *Commune parlance* envisaged taking up employment abroad.

n. 249 *houppelandes or pourpoints or coats*. On these items of clothing, see n. 119, above, and *Encyclopedia*, ed. Owen-Crocker, Coatsworth, and Heyward, s.vv. *houppelande* and *pourpoint*.

n. 250 *I've eaten very well, thank God*. The use of the verb *dyner* here and the mention of fasting (*jun*) in the previous line suggest that the conversation takes place at breakfast time. On *dyner*, see too n. 88, above.

23. Two companions at an inn again

This dialogue reprises CP.13. In CP.23, both companions are named: Perot bullies Guilliam, who here makes a final appearance in the *Commune parlance*. Guilliam avoids the punch he receives in CP.13 and Perot is less determinedly malevolent. The conversation expands upon the language modelled in CP.13 where it adds some comically unpleasant details about the realities of shared beds in the Middle Ages.

n. 251 *Guilliam*. William Kingsmill casts himself for the last time in the *Commune parlance*. On this procedure, see the headnote to LD.B.7. Here as in CP.13, Kingsmill plays a boy who is bullied by his companion. This flea-bitten incarnation of the *dictator* is especially likely to have entertained those who were taught by him in person or otherwise knew him.

n. 252 *I pray to God that you come to grief*. Guilliam avoids the blow that he receives in CP.13 at this juncture.

n. 253 *may God curse you, evil scumbag that you are, for you'll never give up*. Throughout most of the dialogue, Guilliam and Perot address each other as *vous*. Here Guilliam loses his composure and switches to *tu*. On switches of this sort, which might indicate a speaker's frustration, see n. 167, above. On the translation of *paillarde* as *scumbag*, see n. 124. The translation "you'll never give up" construes *cheveras* as a future form of the verb given in AND s.v. *eschivre*.

n. 254 *By God, my friend, I shall*. Perot's immediate agreement to Guilliam's invitation to drink ignores the polite toasting ritual modelled throughout the *Liber* and *Commune parlance*, hence Guilliam's surprise.

n. 255 *Amen.* The *Commune parlance* ends as it began in the register of prayer. Here mention of Psalm 129 (*De profundis clamavi ad te, Domine*) suggests one way in which Latin and the vernaculars might have mingled in the lay devotions of the late-medieval English.

n. 256 *Commune parlance*. MS Dd. 12. 23 is alone in giving the conversation manual this title, on which see the comments in the Introduction (18). As a name for a language manual, *commune parlance* may have enjoyed some currency. See n. 122, above.

n. 257 *none better in all of France*. The final line of the manual presents its French as the equal of the French of France without claiming to replicate that model. See further the comments in n. 133, above.

n. 258 *in the middle of the queen's kingdom*. The final punning flourish that concludes the *Commune parlance* plays on the phonetic closeness of the words recorded in AND s.vv. *raine* (frog), *reine* (queen), *reisne* (rein, strap on bridle), and *rei* (net). Other equally nonsensical translations of the phrase might be offered. Bibbesworth puns on a similar set of words. See *Tretiz*, ed. Rothwell, 14, ll. 318–21.