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FRENCH LESSONS IN LATE-MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

THE *LIBER DONATI* AND *COMMUNE PARLANCE*

Edited and translated from French by

RORY G. CRITTEN

ARC HUMANITIES PRESS

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SERIES EDITORS' PREFACE

IN OUR WORK with the French of England we and our students, like many before us, have been fascinated by the materials for the teaching of French in medieval England. We have long hoped to produce a volume for the French of England Translation Series that might introduce England's pioneering French-language pedagogy to a wider audience, and we are therefore especially pleased to see the present volume come to fruition. England produced the earliest known manuals for teaching medieval French (they are also referred to in scholarship as *manières de langage* after the titles in some of their manuscripts), which flourished in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and were consumed by a wide class range of clients. The manuals' lively sample dialogues and grammatical information, in addition to having much in common with good language teaching today, provide intriguing evidence for England and continental Europe's social and linguistic history. The lexical sophistication of the manuals, moreover, testifies to the high level of French already achieved by their users and thus to the continuing vitality of French in England.

In addition to his work on late-medieval English and French literary texts and on the late-medieval household, Dr Rory Critten has published extensively on these language-teaching manuals and their late-medieval career. His fresh and lively translations, presented facing the original texts, are the first translations of whole manuals into modern English. His detailed research and stimulating discussions make clear these works' interest as texts, as documents of late-medieval linguistic and socio-linguistic history, and as an important moment in the history of language teaching in general.

We are grateful to Anna Henderson as commissioning editor and to Arc Humanities Press for the opportunity to publish the volume.

Thelma Fenster
Jocelyn Wogan-Browne

For
Pat Hutchinson,
my first French teacher

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

MY THANKS IN first place go to Prof. Daron Burrows, who in his role as Hon. Secretary and Treasurer of the Anglo-Norman Text Society granted permission to reproduce in an adapted form the French texts of two of the Society's publications: *Liber donati: A Fifteenth-Century Manual of French*, ed. Brian Merrilees and Beata Sitarz-Fitzpatrick, Plain Texts Series 9 (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1993); and *Manières de langage (1396, 1399, 1415)*, ed. Andres M. Kristol, Anglo-Norman Texts 53 (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1995), 1–36. I am grateful to FRETS editors Jocelyn Wogan-Browne and Thelma Fenster for inviting me to contribute this volume to their series and for offering much helpful commentary on my typescript. I would also like to express my thanks to this volume's anonymous reviewer, whose feedback has prompted me to clarify my thinking at some key junctures.

For answering various questions and for discussing my work on French teaching with me, it is a pleasure to thank Raphael Berthele, Ardis Butterfield, Ruth Clarke, Elisabeth Dutton, Ralf Oberndorfer, Julie Orlemanski, Sebastian Sobecki, Marion Uhlig, and Juliette Vuille.

This book is dedicated to my first French teacher, Pat Hutchinson, with gratitude for an inspirational introduction to language learning whose benefits I feel every day.

ABBREVIATIONS

AND	*Anglo-Norman Dictionary* <https://anglo-norman.net/>
BL	British Library
CP	*Commune parlance*
CUL	Cambridge, University Library
DMF	*Dictionnaire du Moyen Français* < http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/>
DMLBS	*Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* < http://clt.brepolis.net/dmlbs/>
FEW	*Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* < https://apps.atilf.fr/lecteurFEW/index.php/>
FRETS	French of England Translation Series
LD	*Liber donati*
MED	*Middle English Dictionary* <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/>
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary* < http://www.oed.com>
s.v. or s.vv.	*sub verbo/verbis* (under the heading(s))
STC	*A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475–1640*, 2nd ed., W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson, and K. F. Panzer (1976–91).

INTRODUCTION

IF HISTORIES OF modern languages education in Europe typically begin in the early modern period, this is because the primary materials on which their accounts are based only start to become plentiful around 1500. The situation of French education in England is different. From the mid thirteenth century there survive materials designed to teach French vocabulary to the English; by the turn of the fifteenth century, these have been supplemented by grammatical and conversation manuals as well as various specialist treatises. These materials build on a long tradition of Latin instruction in England and throughout medieval Europe; at the same time, they reflect the special status of French in late-medieval England. From the Norman Conquest of 1066 up to the fifteenth century, French was deployed in England alongside Latin and English to perform a broad range of written and spoken functions in the fields of the law, diplomacy and trade, entertainment and hospitality, and governmental, urban, manorial, and monastic administration. By 1400, few English men and women are thought to have spoken French from birth, but many of them will have wanted to become more proficient in the language. The materials produced to meet this desire make French the first modern European language for which records of teaching survive; the English learners who used them were the first modern linguists.

This volume presents parallel texts of two fifteenth-century manuals written to teach French to the English: the *Liber donati*, which combines commentary in Latin and French on grammar, spelling, and pronunciation with a lively series of model dialogues; and *Le Commune parlance*, an extended collection of dialogues. Together, these manuals provide valuable information about who among the medieval English learned French, what kinds of French they wanted, and how they acquired it. The manuals' interest in spoken French is especially telling. The model dialogues compiled in the *Liber donati* and *Commune parlance* show that, well into the fifteenth century, English learners might imagine using French not only to ask the way and the time, or to make a toast, but also to perform a range of more complex and specialized functions, both at home and abroad. These might include directing or welcoming travellers to a hostel, singing a French song, or comforting a crying child. While in later periods French would be pursued as a social accomplishment, or by those whose work required them to cultivate links beyond England, the *Liber donati* and *Commune parlance* show us that medieval French education also included learners of a humbler sort whose ambitions will sometimes have been more local, such as servants, artisans, and innkeepers. The model dialogues show us, furthermore, that late-medieval English women as well as men within these categories might be envisaged speaking French.

The *Liber donati* and *Commune parlance* are transmitted together in one mid-fifteenth-century manuscript, now Cambridge, University Library MS Dd. 12. 23, from which they were edited for the Anglo-Norman Text Society by Brian Merrilees and Beata Sitarz-Fitzpatrick and Andres M. Kristol.[1] The French texts in this volume are adapted

1 See *Liber donati: A Fifteenth-Century Manual of French*, ed. Brian Merrilees and Beata Sitarz-

from these editions. Merrilees and Sitarz-Fitzpatrick's and Kristol's apparatus have been checked against the manuscript and rejected readings have been restored where they are not obviously faulty and where MS Dd. 12. 23 is undamaged. This approach is consonant with recent attempts to destigmatize the forms of French used in England that are described below. Deviations from the manuscript and from the base editions are listed in the Textual Notes. The translations, which are new, seek to remain as close to their originals as possible without sacrificing the rules of English grammar. They have been done to foster access to the manuals' medieval French and Latin amongst readers less familiar with these languages.

This Introduction surveys the body of French teaching and reference materials to which the *Liber donati* and *Commune parlance* belong; at the same time, it outlines how the reception of these works in scholarship has been bound up with understandings of the currency of French in England. It considers the identities, aims, and locations of the medieval English teachers and learners of French as well as the methods that they pursued and their possible outcomes. Finally, it introduces the *Liber donati* and *Commune parlance*; discusses what their compilation in MS Dd. 12. 23 can tell us about some of their users; and sketches the development of French instruction in early modern England. Many of the issues broached here are further developed in the Commentary and Notes.

The Teaching and Reference Materials and the Currency of French

As an instructed language, French achieved near parity with Latin in England far earlier than it did on the continent.[2] The earliest surviving text witnessing to the concerted study of French in England, Walter de Bibbesworth's *Tretiz de langage* (1240–1250), presents itself as an aid for an aristocratic mother who wished to instruct her children in the French vocabulary required to manage a country estate: French was the language in which business of this kind was conducted and discussed well into the later Middle Ages.[3] The poem was frequently copied, receiving a new incarnation in the fifteenth century in the *Femina nova*. That work furnishes the *Tretiz* with a running translation and presents it with extracts from two French conduct texts and a French-English glos-

Fitzpatrick, Plain Texts Series 9 (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1993); and *Manières de langage (1396, 1399, 1415)*, ed. Andres M. Kristol, Anglo-Norman Texts 53 (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1995), 1–36. Kristol takes the *Commune parlance* in MS Dd. 12. 23 as the base text for his *Manière de 1396*.

2 On this point, see Serge Lusignan, *Parler vulgairement: les intellectuels et la langue française au XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Paris: Vrin, 1986), 91–127. On the relationship between Latin and French teaching in medieval England, see too Christel Nissille, *"Grammaire floue" et enseignement du français en Angleterre au XVe siècle: les leçons du manuscrit Oxford Magdalen 188* (Tübingen: Francke, 2014), 15–95.

3 See Walter de Bibbesworth, *Le Tretiz*, ed. William Rothwell (Aberystwyth: Anglo-Norman Online Hub, 2009): <http://www.anglo-norman.net>; *The Treatise of Walter of Bibbesworth*, trans. Andrew Dalby (Totnes: Prospect, 2012); and *Walter of Henley and Other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting*, ed. Dorothea Oschinsky (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971). An AHRC-funded project led by Thomas Hinton is preparing a new digital edition of the *Tretiz*. See <https://tretiz.exeter.ac.uk>.

sary.[4] Alongside these and other vocabularies, there survive from the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries three treatises on the spelling and pronunciation of French, the *Orthographia gallica*, *Tractatus orthographiae*, and *Tractatus ortographie gallicane*;[5] dictaminal treatises and model letters;[6] conversation manuals, or *manières de langage*;[7] verb tables and verb lists;[8] and two grammars: the *Donait françois* and *Donait soloum douce franceis de Paris*.[9] The *Liber donati* collects elements belonging to several of these text types and the *Commune parlance* is one of the larger extant collections of model dialogues. In both works, the far-reaching influence of the orthographic treatises and of Bibbesworth's *Tretiz* can be detected.

The medieval French teaching and reference materials are well known to scholarship.[10] Their interpretation has proven controversial. For William Rothwell, the advent of the *Tretiz* in the middle of the thirteenth century signalled the decay of French as a native language in England. After this point, Rothwell argued, French was acquired through formal study in order to serve the burgeoning requirements of the late-medieval English governmental and legal bureaucracies.[11] More recently, Richard Ingham has post-dated the decline of French in England by a century. Analysis of the French written in late-medieval England by Ingham and others demonstrates that, while the phonology of the language soon diverged from that of continental French varieties, its morphology and syntax continued to develop in step with or even in advance of continental

4 See *Femina*, ed. William Rothwell (Aberystwyth: Anglo-Norman Online Hub, 2005): <http://www.anglo-norman.net>.

5 See *Orthographia gallica*, ed. R. C. Johnston, Pain Texts Series 5 (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1987); Mildred K. Pope, "The *Tractatus Orthographiae* of T. H., Parisii Studentis," *Modern Language Review* 5 (1910): 185–93; and E. Stengel, "Die ältesten Anleitungsschriften zur Erlernung der französischen Sprache," *Zeitschrift für neufranzösische Sprache und Literatur* 1 (1879): 1–40 (*Tractatus ortographie gallicane* at 16–24).

6 See James W. Hassell, "Thomas Sampson's Dictaminal Treatises and the Teaching of French in Medieval England: An Edition and Study" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1991). For a sample of the letters, see too *Anglo-Norman Letters and Petitions from All Souls MS. 182*, ed. Dominica Legge, Anglo-Norman Texts 3 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1941).

7 See *Manières*, ed. Kristol.

8 For an example, see Stengel, "Die ältesten Anleitungsschriften," 33–40.

9 See *Johan Barton: Donait françois*, ed. Bernard Colombat (Paris: Garnier, 2014); and Brian Merrilees, "Donatus and the Teaching of French in Medieval England," in *Anglo-Norman Anniversary Essays*, ed. Ian Short (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1993), 273–91 (*Donait soloum douce franceis de Paris* at 285–91).

10 The most recent repertories are in Andres Max Kristol, "L'Enseignement du français en Angleterre (XIIIe–XVe siècles): les sources manuscrites," *Romania* 111 (1990): 289–300; and Ruth J. Dean with Maureen B. M. Boulton, *Anglo-Norman Literature: A Guide to Texts and Manuscripts* (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1999), items 281–324.

11 See William Rothwell, "The Teaching of French in Medieval England," *Modern Language Review* 63 (1968): 37–46; "The Role of French in Thirteenth-Century England," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Society* 58 (1975–76): 445–66; "Language and Government in Medieval England," *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 93 (1983): 258–70; and "The Teaching and Learning of French in Later Medieval England," *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 111 (2001): 1–18.

Frenches until ca. 1350.[12] In consequence, Ingham argues, formal instruction in French was unnecessary before the second half of the fourteenth century; prior to this time, he suggests, French was learned by induction in early childhood in the preparatory Latin classes attended by boys destined for grammar school.[13]

Evidence that Latin was taught to the English through French survives in the form of explicit statements from authors such as Ranulph Higden and John Trevisa as well as in the English manuscripts containing Latin teaching texts that have been edited with their glosses by Tony Hunt.[14] Hard evidence for the existence of the preparatory schools posited by Ingham is more difficult to find, but Serge Lusignan's work on the *petites écoles* that taught French reading and writing in Picardy may provide a parallel, and literary evidence for the instruction of young boys via French in a church school context exists in the fourteenth-century Middle English poem, *The Chorister's Lament*.[15] Ingham's thesis that formal French instruction begins later also finds support in recent work demonstrating the literary—as opposed to purely pedagogic—purposes of Bibbesworth's *Tretiz*, which is rich in puns and other wordplay.[16]

It will be apparent that critical assessments of the French teaching and reference materials are bound up with understandings of the currency of French in late-medieval England: where and how is French used, by whom, and until when? The tendency among some earlier scholars to denigrate Anglo-French also continues to hold limited sway: were the English any good at French?

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12 See, for example, Richard Ingham, "The Persistence of Anglo-Norman 1230–1362: A Linguistic Perspective;" and Pierre Kunstmann, "Syntaxe anglo-normande: étude de certaines caractéristiques du XIIe au XIVe siècle," both in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England c.1100–c.1500*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne et al. (York: York Medieval Press, 2009), 44–54 and 55–67.

13 See Richard Ingham, *The Transmission of Anglo-Norman: Language History and Language Acquisition* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2012), 27–37; and "The Maintenance of French in Later Medieval England," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 115 (2014): 425–48. Where Ingham dates the advent of formal French instruction to the mid-fourteenth century, he resuscitates an aspect of the argument developed in Douglas A. Kibbee, *For to Speke Frenche Trewely: The French Language in England, 1000–1600* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1991).

14 See Tony Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-Century England*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Brewer, 1991). For the relevant passages from Higden and Trevisa, see Albert C. Baugh and Thomas Cable, *A History of the English Language*, 6th ed. (London: Routledge, 2013), 144–45.

15 See Serge Lusignan, *Essai d'histoire sociolinguistique: le français picard au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Garnier, 2012), 129–38. For a normalized text and translation of *The Chorister's Lament*, see *The Oxford Book of Medieval English Verse*, ed. Celia Sisam and Kenneth Sisam (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 184–85. On this poem, see too Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, Maidie Hilmo, and Linda Olson, *Opening Up Medieval English Manuscripts: Literary and Visual Approaches* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 44–45.

16 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.

The question of competence has been all but settled.[17] For some time now, researchers have been elucidating what Claude Buridant has called the "grammaire floue," or fuzzy grammar of medieval French.[18] Against the backdrop of this work, Anglo-French no longer seems as odd as it once did: in the Middle Ages, there was no standard French against which any regional form might be judged more or less aberrant.[19] The orthographic treatises listed above describe how the English could adjust their French for rhetorical purposes in order to match that of their continental addressees, but insular spellings might sometimes be retained and letters having distinctly insular forms were still sent abroad.[20] Moreover, while the spelling manuals recognise the occasional benefits of matching one's written French to that of one's foreign addressees, their insistence on the maintenance of local forms in speech is marked.[21] The insecurities suggested by Chaucer's joke about his prioress's French "of Stratford atte Bowe" (*Canterbury Tales*, I: 125) were certainly not ubiquitous.[22] Indeed, where the teaching and reference materials present as "French" a form of the language that bears the marks of English influence, they frustrate any attempt to define clearly where French ends and English begins.[23]

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17 For the terms of the question, see William Rothwell, "Playing 'Follow My Leader' in Anglo-Norman Studies," *French Language Studies* 6 (1996): 177–210.

18 See Claude Buridant, "Varietas delectat: prolégomènes à une grammaire de l'ancien français," *Vox Romanica* 55 (1996): 88–125, at 111; and *Grammaire du français médiéval (XIe–XIVe siècles*) (Strasbourg: Éditions de linguistique et de philologie, 2019). See too Christine Marchello-Nizia, *La Langue française aux XIVe et XVe siècles*, rev. ed. (Paris: Colin, 2005).

19 See 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.

20 See David Trotter, "L'Anglo-normand en France: les traces documentaires," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 152 (2008): 893–905; Andres M. Kristol, "L'Intellectuel 'anglo-normand' face à la pluralité des langues: le témoignage implicite du MS Oxford Magdalen Lat. 188," in *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain*, ed. David Trotter (Cambridge: Brewer, 2000), 37–52; and Serge Lusignan, "À chacun son français: la communication entre l'Angleterre et les régions picardes et flamandes (XIIIe–XIVe siècle)," in *IIe Journée d'études anglo-normandes: approches techniques, littéraires et historiques*, ed. André Crépin and Jean Leclant (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2012), 117–33.

21 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.

22 Cited from *The Riverside Chaucer*, gen. ed. Larry D. Benson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); line numbering here and elsewhere is from this edition. On the Chaucerian phrase, see further William Rothwell, "Stratford Atte Bowe and Paris," *Modern Language Review* 80 (1985): 39–54; and "Stratford Atte Bowe Re-Visited," *Chaucer Review* 36 (2001): 184–207.

23 See further David Trotter, "'Deinz certeins boundes': Where does Anglo-Norman Begin and End?" *Romance Philology* 67 (2013): 139–77. On the influence of English on French, see too Richard

Understandings of the extent to which French was used expand as more and different kinds of materials are taken into consideration. Evidence has long been available for the extensive and prolonged use of written French in legal, manorial, mercantile, monastic, and urban contexts.[24] Spoken French has now also been shown to have endured in England longer than was once thought. In particular, Ingham's research into the use of French in legal and manorial contexts suggests that the language was spoken as well as written in these milieux well into the fourteenth century.[25] Consideration of the dialogues presented in this volume can push the timeframe for the use of spoken French within England further forward still. The model conversations in the *Liber donati* are set in England, suggesting that, well into the fifteenth century, English learners might expect to deploy spoken French at home as well as in their travels beyond the Channel.[26]

Teachers and Learners: Identities, Aims, Locations

The dialogues in the *Liber donati* also hold important information about the identities of the teachers and learners of French in late-medieval England. In its ninth dialogue, a man on his way to London is asked by a woman to take her twelve-year-old son with him and to secure an apprenticeship for him there. Calling the boy before him, the traveller begins a round of questioning:

– Mon fitz, avez vous esté a l'escole?
– Oy, sir, pur vostre congé.
– A quele lieu?
– Sir, a l'ostelle de Guilliam Scrivener.
– Beal fitz, qu'avez vous apris la en ycelle terme?
– Sir, mon maistre m'a enseigné pur escrier, enditer, counter et fraunceis parler.

– My son, have you been to school?
– Yes, sir, by your leave.
– In what place?
– Sir, at the house of Guilliam Scrivener.

Ingham, "Later Anglo-Norman as a Contact Variety of French?" and Eric Haeberli, "Investigating Anglo-Norman Influence on Late Middle English Syntax," both in *The Anglo-Norman Language and its Contexts*, ed. Richard Ingham (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010), 8–25 and 143–63.

24 See Helen Suggett, "The Use of French in England in the Later Middle Ages," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 28 (1946): 61–83. More recently, see too William Rothwell, "English and French in England after 1362," *English Studies* 82 (2001): 539–59; and Richard Britnell, "Uses of French Language in Medieval English Towns," and Rebecca June, "The Languages of Memory: The Crabhouse Nunnery Manuscript," both in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain*, ed. Wogan-Browne et al., 81–89 and 347–58.

25 See Richard Ingham, "Mixing Languages on the Manor," *Medium Ævum* 78 (2009): 80–97; and "Investigating Language Change Using Anglo-Norman Spoken and Written Register Data," *Linguistics* 54 (2016): 381–410. On the use of spoken French by English sailors, see too Maryanne Kowaleski, "The French of England: A Maritime *lingua franca*?" in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain*, ed. Wogan-Browne et al., 103–17.

26 See Rory G. Critten, "The *Manières de langage* as Evidence for the Use of Spoken French Within Fifteenth-Century England," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 55 (2019): 121–37.

– Good son, what have you learned there in that time?
– Sir, my master has taught me to write, compose, calculate, and speak French.

"Guilliam Scrivener" has been identified as William Kingsmill (fl. 1420–1450), one of the Oxford *dictatores*.[27] Working on the fringes of the late-medieval university, these men taught the subjects that the young boy claims to have mastered, namely *dictamen*, or letter-writing, and the forms required for basic business transactions; from the late fourteenth century, their instruction included spoken and written French as well as Latin.[28] The *dictatores*' training also included a paralegal element. This too might be alluded to in the boy's announcement of Kingsmill's curriculum. One of the key verbs in the passage just cited is *counter*, which AND s.v. *conter* defines as "to (make a) count (set out plaintiff's case at beginning of pleading)" as well as "calculate." Although it may appear unlikely that a twelve-year-old boy should possess this skill, the promotion here of the instruction that he has received perhaps contained deliberate hyperbole.

The conversation in the *Liber* between the London-bound traveller and the boy suggests that Kingsmill's instruction was designed for younger men on their way into practical careers beyond the university town. This assessment finds support in other representations of the *dictatores*' students among the materials composed or collected by Kingsmill and his predecessor, Thomas Sampson (fl. 1370–1409). Thus a model letter contained in one of Sampson's formularies shows a father writing to his son at Oxford, instructing him to give up his studies at the arts faculty and to commit himself to Sampson's teaching: the father has managed to secure his son a job in aristocratic service to begin the following year, and the son should now prepare himself for his new position by learning to "escrire et diter" and "bien et visement acompter, escrire et rendre come appent" (write and compose, and do accounts well and prudently, and write and make a fitting payment). Another model letter describes the plight of a man who has been given a clerical position above his abilities. He writes to his brother asking him to put himself to learning writing, accounting, and composition, presumably also under the *dictatores*, so that together they can make a success of the appointment.[29] Chaucer may have fictionalized the type of young man taking the *dictatores*' classes in the Miller's Tale, where Absolon is described as someone who could "maken a chartre of lond acquitaunce [...] after the scole of Oxenforde tho" (I: 3326–29).

In T. A. R. Evans's assessment, the *dictatores* "prepared their pupils for work as clerks at a very modest level," the mixture of accounting, letter-writing, and basic legal skills taught suggesting "a training suitable for a local jobbing clerk who might combine

27 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.

28 See H. G. Richardson, "An Oxford Teacher of the Fifteenth Century," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 23 (1939): 436–57; "Business Training in Medieval Oxford," *American Historical Review* 46 (1941): 259–80; and "Letters of the Oxford *Dictatores*," in *Formularies which Bear on the History of Oxford c. 1204–1420*, ed. H. E. Salter, W. A. Pantin. and H. G. Richardson, Oxford Historical Society, n.s., 5 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1942), 329–450.

29 These letters are cited from Richardson, "Letters of the Oxford *Dictatores*," 407 and 371–72.

work for manorial officers with miscellaneous tasks for other local clients, conceivably in conjunction with some non-clerical occupation."[30] As is shown below, this observation can be refined through consideration of the texts that accompany the *Liber donati* and *Commune parlance* in MS Dd. 12. 13, a book that transmits the manuals together. It also bears emphasising that the language skills taught in particular in the model dialogues might have prepared learners to take up opportunities further from home, for example in the northern French territories opened up by English military campaigning.[31] Certainly, the *manières* model a very different kind of French to that exemplified in the materials assembled by the *dictatores* to teach written forms of the language. They have been found especially rich in the discourse markers typically used in speech and they show spoken French being used effectively in a wide variety of social situations.[32]

The popularity of the Oxford *dictatores*' teaching is indicated by the university's decision to regulate it. In 1432, a statute was issued requiring students who had been "competently instructed only in grammar" and who were primarily engaged in learning "the art of writing, composing and speaking French, the drafting of charters and similar documents, the holding of lay courts, or how to plead in the English fashion" should henceforth be required to attend the university's paying lectures in grammar and rhetoric. It seems there was some concern about the *dictatores* poaching the university's students because the 1432 statute went on to declare that the teachers' classes should not clash with the ordinary lectures in the arts faculty.[33] The publication of these rules makes Oxford the only medieval university known to have made official arrangements for the teaching of French. Nevertheless, the probability is high that instruction in business skills, including instruction in French, will also have been available elsewhere in medieval England at locations whose records have not yet been so thoroughly sifted.

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30 T. A. R. Evans, "The Number, Origins and Careers of Scholars," in *Late Medieval Oxford*, ed. J. I. Catto and Ralph Evans (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 485–538, at 526, vol. 2 of *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. T. H. Aston, 8 vols. (1984–2000).

31 See Rory G. Critten, "Practising French Conversation in Fifteenth-Century England," *Modern Language Review* 110 (2015): 927–45; and Anne Curry, Adrian Bell, Adam Chapman, Andy King, and David Simpkin, "Languages in the Military Profession in Later Medieval England," in *The Anglo-Norman Language and its Contexts*, ed. Ingham, 74–93.

32 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; and "Stratégies discursives dans le dialogue médiéval," in *Philologia ancilla litteraturae: mélanges de philologie et de littérature françaises du Moyen Âge offerts au Professeur Gilles Eckard*, ed. Alain Corbelari, Yan Greub, and Marion Uhlig (Geneva: Droz, 2013), 127–47. The most recent work on the model dialogues attends to their sophisticated handling of oral registers. See Ashley Powers, "Pejorative Pedagogy: Structuring Social Hierarchies through Profane Language in the *Manière de langage* of 1396," *Medium Aevum* 89 (2020): 78–92.

33 Adapted from the translation and paraphrase in Evans, "The Number, Origins and Careers," 240–41. On the relationship between the university and the *dictatores*, see Martin Camargo, "If You Can't Join Them, Beat Them; or, When Grammar Met Business Writing (in Fifteenth-Century Oxford)," in *Letter-Writing Manuals and Instruction from Antiquity to the Present: Historical and Bibliographic Studies*, ed. Carol Poster and Linda C. Mitchell (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007), 67–87.

As recently as 1990 a new manuscript containing material associated with the Oxford *dictatores* was discovered in the city archives at Lincoln.[34]

Teachers and Learners: Methods and Outcomes

The surviving teaching and reference materials give little explicit commentary on the methods of the teachers and learners of French who turned to them. Some aspects of their use can be inferred from their presentation in manuscript.[35] Rubrication and glossing highlight which parts of a manual might attract a reader's attention, for example. But even this evidence is not unequivocal: the significance of the glosses in the *Liber donati* and *Commune parlance* is difficult to discern (for details, see the headnote to LD.B.5). Other forms of manuscript evidence are variously suggestive. Some of the grammatical and lexicographic information in the *Liber* is presented schematically in MS Dd. 12. 23 and this layout helps us to see at a glance what language is being targeted. But the dialogues in both the *Liber* and *Commune parlance* are written out in continuous prose with no consistent system marking changes in speaker. Some words with which speeches begin, such as *ore* (now), *sir*, *hostiler* (innkeeper), and *dame* are sometimes rubricated, but then so are roman numerals and the capital letters that belong to the names of people, places, and titles.

Comparison with contemporary Latin instruction suggests that translation played an important part in medieval French teaching. Some of the surviving pedagogic materials are quite extensively glossed. The *Femina nova* has already been mentioned; to that text we might add a copy of the French *Somme le roi* in Oxford, Magdalen College MS 188 that is partly glossed in Latin and English. The Magdalen manuscript asks to be considered an instrument of French pedagogy because it opens with an anthology of teaching and reference texts, including the *Othographia gallica*. It may be that medieval French teachers used sample texts such as the trilingual *Somme* to point out to pupils the differences between, for example, the syntax of negation in French, English, and Latin. Such instruction may have been especially useful to learners since French syntax is otherwise the one area in the language curriculum not explicitly touched upon by the extant materials.[36]

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34 See Andres Max Kristol, "Un Nouveau fragment de manière de langage: Lincoln, Linc. Arch. Off. Formulary 23," *Vox romanica* 49–50 (1990–91): 311–41.

35 The manuscript presentation of the *Liber donati* and *Commune parlance* is addressed in greater detail in the Commentary and Notes. The significance of their compilation together in MS Dd. 12. 23 is discussed below.

36 See Christel Nissille, "*Grammaire floue*," which has an edition of the trilingual *Somme*. See too Andres Max Kristol, "Comment on apprenait le français au Moyen Âge: ce qu'il nous reste à apprendre," *Acta Romanica Basiliensia* 8 (1998): 177–97; and "Le Ms. 188 de Magdalen College Oxford: une 'pierre de Rosette' de l'enseignement médiéval du français en Angleterre?" *Vox Romanica* 60 (2001): 149–67. Compare the trilingual text of *De Quatuordecim partibus beatitudinis* in Lichfield Cathedral MS 16, ed. Avril Henry and D. A. Trotter (Oxford: Society for the Study of Mediaeval Languages and Literature, 1994).

It is worth pointing out, however, that, as a group, the teaching and reference works also support more monolingual modes of instruction that will have been of special assistance to learners wishing to acquire spoken French.[37] For example, Johan Barton's *Donait françois* takes the form of a conversation or, perhaps, a drill. The text opens with the following repartee:

> – Quantez letters est il?
> – Vint.
> – Quellez?
> – Cinq voielx et quinse consonantez.
> – Quelx sont les voielx et ou seront ils sonnés?
> – Le premier vouyel est *a* et serra sonné en la poetrine, le seconde est *e* et serra sonné en la gorge, le tiers est *i* et serra sonné entre les joues, le quart est *o* et serra sonné au palat de la bouche, le quint est *u* et serra sonné entre les levres.
>
> – How many letters are there?
> – Twenty.
> – Which?
> – Five vowels and fifteen consonants.
> – Which are the vowels and where are they to be sounded?
> – The first vowel is *a*, which is to be sounded in the chest, the second is *e*, which is to be sounded in the throat, the third is *i*, which is to be sounded between the cheeks, the fourth is *o*, which is to be sounded on the palate of the mouth, the fifth is *u*, which is to be sounded between the lips.[38]

Later in the text, the roles switch, and the students become the questioners.

Some sort of oral performance must also be anticipated where the sounds of French are at issue. The following lines from Bibbesworth's *Tretiz* seem designed to appeal to the children envisaged as the primary audience of the text, which promises to teach "le dreit ordre en parler e en respundre" (the correct manner of speaking and responding):

> Vostre regarde est graciose
> Mes vostre eel est chaciouse.
> Des eus oustés la chacie
> E de nes le rupie.
> Meuz vaut la rubie par .b.
> Ki ne fet le rupie par .p.,
> Car ci bource eut tant des rubies
> Cum le nes ad des rupies,
> Mult serreit riches de pirie
> Qui taunt eut de la rubie.

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37 See Brian Merrilees, "Le Dialogue dans la méthodologie du français langue seconde au Moyen Âge," in *Le Dialogue*, ed. Pierre R. Léon and Paul Perron (Ottawa: Didier, 1985), 105–15; and Rory G. Critten, "French Didactics in Late Medieval and Early Modern England: Thinking Historically About Method," in *16th–18th Century Europe* (Oxford: Legenda, 2018), 32–51, vol. 1 of *The History of Language Learning and Teaching*, ed. Nicola McLelland and Richard Smith. Possible differences in learning patterns according to whether the target language is to be written or spoken would be a fruitful topic for further research.

38 Cited from *Donnait françois*, ed. Colombat, 112. Translation mine.

Your gaze is gracious
but your eye is bleary.
You remove the rheum from your eyes
and bogy [*le rupie*] from the nose.
Rubies [*la rubie*] with a 'b' are worth more
than is bogy [*le rupie*] with a 'p',
For he who had a purse as full with rubies [*des rubies*]
as the nose is with bogies [*des rupies*]
would be most rich in precious stones
having so many rubies [*la rubie*].[39]

While the *Tretiz* might not originally have been written with the instruction of pragmatic French in mind, its integration into the *dictatores*' teaching materials suggests its adaptation for rote learning in that context. The boy whose questioning by a knight was cited above from the *Liber* goes on to demonstrate his knowledge of French by reciting a vocabulary list that is drawn in part from Bibbesworth's text (for details, see the notes to LD.B.10). This last citation should also alert us to a quality shared by many of the extant teaching and reference materials: they were meant to entertain as well as instruct. This is especially true of the model dialogues, in which comic French is deployed at once as a means of facilitating learning and as a type of the language that might itself be a target of instruction (as in e.g., CP.4.7 and CP.20).[40]

The presentation of the model dialogues in unmarked, continuous prose in MS Dd. 12. 23 and elsewhere does not mean that they could not be acted out; our modern concept of what constitutes a "performance script" does not apply in the Middle Ages, where dramatic renditions will have been more reliant on memory and improvisation.[41] The safest and most reasonable conclusion is that, like all good pedagogic materials, the medieval French teaching and reference works lent themselves to a variety of uses. Sometimes they might have been set as reading practice, with or without a translation component to the task; at others they might have been chanted or drilled, performed, or set as prompts for freer practice ("you've seen this; now produce something similar!"). In one of the few explicit statements offered by the manuals themselves on the topic of their use, the opening prayer in the *Commune parlance* addresses its readership as "toutz qui cesti livre regarderont ou enrememorunt" (all who will look in this book or commit it to memory). In the Middle Ages, memorization was conceptualized as a thoroughly dynamic process that included the redeployment of matter so learned in new contexts.[42]

Other methods of teaching and learning will also have been pursued. Given the practical difficulties and expenses attending the provision of books, dictation must have been a pragmatic as well as a pedagogic measure. It seems likely that this practice added

39 See *Tretiz*, ed. Rothwell, 1 and 3, ll. 43–52. Translation mine.

40 See Emily Reed, "Incongruent Humour and Pragmatic Competence in the Late-Medieval *Manières de langage*," *Multilingua* 39 (2020): 239–67.

41 See Carol Symes, "The Medieval Archive and the History of Theatre: Assessing the Written and Unwritten Evidence for Premodern Performance," *Theatre Survey* 52 (2011): 29–58.

42 See *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*, ed. Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).

an extra impetus to the composition and copying of the French spelling treatises referenced above. Some instruction must have been entirely oral and have left little mark on the written record. This is especially likely in situations such as that imagined in Bibbesworth's *Tretiz*, or in the ninth dialogue of the *Liber*, where mothers take charge of their children's education— maternal intervention is one means by which girls as well as boys might have received the fundamentals of literacy in French as well as in Latin and English.[43] Finally, some learning will have taken place out of the direct purview of any teacher. In this last connection, it is salutary to recall the general observation of two historians of English language teaching that, before the nineteenth century, most learners of modern languages probably studied on their own.[44]

Relying on the common-sensical given that good teachers are unlikely to set models that are far beyond the emulation of their students, we can deduce that medieval learners of French achieved impressive outcomes. The teaching and reference materials show French being used fluently and idiomatically in a wide range of spoken and written contexts. The realization that some non-noble English people possessed very good written and spoken French as late as the fifteenth century disrupts traditional language histories, which try to map the development of French and English onto the fortunes of France and England on the battlefields of the Hundred Years War. For when France is at its lowest ebb in the first half of the fifteenth century, desire for French amongst the English is not extinguished; instead, it reaches new heights. As Ardis Butterfield has pointed out, this development is thematized for users of the *Liber donati*, whose second dialogue contains a report of the Battle of Agincourt in 1415 that celebrates the English victory in French.[45]

The challenging nature of the French teaching texts also speaks more broadly to the currency of French in late-medieval England. If there is not more extensive evidence for the instruction of syntax, it may be because the entry level of English learners of French was already quite high. It is certainly difficult to see much evidence of graded curricula amongst the surviving materials, which give the impression of being designed to polish existing skills rather than to introduce and practise new matter. Some rudimentary topics are treated; there are lists of the days of the week and numbers in LD.A.6 and LD.A.7, for example. But—as is outlined below—these lists are compiled alongside more challenging material with little to bridge the gap. While the basic lists may have responded

43 See Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, "'Invisible Archives?' Later Medieval French in England," *Speculum* 90 (2015): 653–73. On mothers' roles in the transmission Latin and English literacy, see too Michael Clanchy, *Looking Back from the Invention of Printing: Mothers and the Teaching of Reading in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018). Although the clientele of the *dictatores* is usually assumed to be made up of younger boys, Johan Barton addresses his *Donait françois* to "chiers enfantz et tres doulcez puselles, que avez fain d'apprendre" (dear boys and most sweet girls, who hunger to learn). See *Donait françois*, ed. Colombat, 110.

44 See A. P. R. Howatt with H. G. Widdowson, *A History of English Language Teaching*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 2.

45 See Ardis Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language, and Nation in the Hundred Years War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 308–49.

to the needs of some learners, it seems that, for the majority, their existence met a desire for reference materials that might be consulted selectively in order to fill particular lacunae or as a jog to the memory.

The *Liber donati* and *Commune parlance*: Topics and Texts

The *Liber donati* falls into two broad sections. Part A, giving information on grammar, pronunciation, and lexis, breaks down into seven subsections:

A.1. Personal and demonstrative pronouns and adjectives

A.2. Pronunciation, spelling, and morphological notes

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

A.4. French infinitives with Latin equivalents

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

A.6. Days of the week and feast days

A.7. Cardinal and ordinal numbers

Part A of the *Liber* gives a richly detailed account of the kind of French that learners in fifteenth-century England might have wanted to acquire.[46] Where it models possible forms of the personal and demonstrative pronouns and adjectives, it shows the continuing validity of older French forms amongst the English even as it speaks to the variance characteristic of Middle French morphology in general (A.1). Its notes on the relationship between spelling and pronunciation suggest that guidance on this tricky topic was felt to be necessary among the English but the instructions offered stop short of excluding particular Anglo-French forms (A.2 and A.3). The model conjugations add to the picture developing in recent scholarship of the variety characterizing the morphology and syntax of the Middle French verb; the French frame in which the conjugations are couched is also valuable because it shows the development in England of a suite of grammatical terms in French that continental Frenches lacked (A.3). Finally, the word lists in Part A show a desire to collect and understand the specialized Anglo-French lexis of the law and finance (A.4) and to produce syntactically complex and nuanced phrases (A.5). For the reasons mentioned above and outlined below, the lists of the days of the week and feast days (A.6) and cardinal and ordinal numbers (A.7) are best viewed as memory aides.

Part B of the *Liber* gives a series of interconnected dialogues, which Merrilees and Sitarz-Fitzpatrick edit as one long text. In order to highlight elements of interest, the French text prepared for this volume presents the conversation in ten subsections:

B.1. Salutations

B.2. News from France

B.3. En route to London

46 The information and arguments summarized in this paragraph are more fully developed in Commentary and Notes, below, 118-29.

B.4. Securing lodging at an inn; provisions for horses
B.5. A conversation with the lady of the house
B.6. Further provisions for horses
B.7. Paying the bill
B.8. The market at Winchester
B.9. A mother's request for help
B.10. A would-be apprentice's French

These exchanges model the French needed to greet others, to take one's leave politely, and to extend invitations to food and drink (B.1); to share news from abroad (B.2); to ask the way (B.3); and to organize lodging for men and horses at an inn (B.4 to B.7). The final dialogues describe a market scene (B.8) and give the conversation cited above in which a mother attempts to secure a sponsor for her son (B.9). When the son must demonstrate his fitness for this support, he recites a series of vocabulary lists giving the French names for parts of the body, items of clothing, the social ranks of men and women, household objects, and weapons and armour (B.10).

Many of the basic language functions modelled in Part B of the *Liber* will be familiar to twenty-first-century language learners. The dialogues do not appear to be intended for beginners, however. Some of them are more complex by design. For example, the Agincourt report in B.2, mentioned above, mobilizes all the narrative tenses as well as the specialized language of warfare. But even the shorter dialogues in the *Liber* are often longer than they would need to be if their aims were limited to the functions listed above. For example, the conversation in B.3 in which two travellers agree to journey together has a comic digression on the woes of one speaker's long-suffering horse. The conversation in B.4 in which lodgings are secured is also extensive. Before that transaction is settled, one of the travellers recounts their pursuit by thieves on their way.

Another feature of the dialogues suggesting that they served learners who already had some French is the vocabulary that they model. This is often quite specialized, notwithstanding the differences between what might be considered everyday French now and in the Middle Ages. The focus on the vocabulary of horse husbandry is noteworthy (see *Liber*, B.4 and B.6); there are also long lists of specific words for cloth (B.8) and the parts of the body (B.10). These lists echo the glossaries of words compiled for the purposes of Latin instruction, which are often accompanied by French translations.[47] At the same time, they provide useful information about the kinds of situations in which individual users of the *Liber* might have expected to use their French. It is also apparent

47 For a survey, see Dean with Boulton, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, items 301–16. For an edited sample, see Tony Hunt, "The Anglo-Norman Vocabularies in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 88," *Medium Aevum* 49 (1980): 5–24. One of the most popular Latin glossaries was Alexander Neckam's *De nominibus utensilium* of ca. 1180, on which see Rita Copeland, "Naming, Knowing, and the Object of Language in Alexander Neckam's Grammar Curriculum," *Journal of Medieval Latin* 20 (2010): 38–57.

that users of the manual were expected to want the *mot juste*. The *Liber* gives the sense that it will not be enough to get by with a few well-chosen words and phrases.

Parts A and B of the *Liber* circulated independently.[48] Part A is transmitted without Part B in a manuscript dating to the end of the fourteenth century: CUL MS Gg. 6. 44.[49] Subsections of Part A were also copied without the dialogues in CUL MS Ee. 2. 20; London, BL MS Harley 4971; and Oxford, Magdalen College MS 188.[50] Part B survives without Part A in one fifteenth-century manuscript: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS lat. misc. e. 93.[51] Some subsections of Part A and Part B appear together in two fifteenth-century manuscripts: London, BL MS Additional 17716; and Cambridge, Trinity College MS B. 14. 40.[52] But MS Dd. 12. 23 gives the fullest text of this collocation, as is shown in the table below:

Manuscripts Containing Parts Combined in *Liber donati*

	***Liber donati*, Part A**							***Liber donati*, Part B**
Manuscript	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	*dialogues 1–10*
MS Gg. 6. 44	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	
MS Ee. 2. 20					×	×	×	
MS Harley 4971						×	×	
Magdalen College MS 188						×	×	
MS lat. misc. e. 93								×
MS Additional 17716	×		×			×	×	×
Trinity College MS B. 14. 40	×					×	×	×
MS Dd. 12. 23	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×

When the scribe of the *Liber donati* in MS Dd. 12. 23 entitles the work retrospectively in an explicit (fol. 13r), he indicates that he conceives of his collocation of materials as a single work and provides evidence of one way in which the disparate teaching and reference materials might be used in combination. While the title *Donatus* had initially been reserved for the introductory Latin textbook attributed to the fourth-century grammar-

48 This paragraph draws on *Liber donati*, ed. Merrilees and Sitarz-Fitzpatrick, 3–4.

49 Described in J. H. Baker with J. S. Ringrose, *Catalogue of English Legal Manuscripts in Cambridge University Library* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1996).

50 MS Ee. 2. 20 is described in Baker with Ringrose, *Catalogue*; MS Harley 4971 is described at <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/>; Magdalen College MS 188 is described in Nissille, *Grammaire floue*, 96–133.

51 Described at < https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>.

52 MS Additional 17716 is described at <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/>. Trinity College MS B. 14. 40 is described at <https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk> (a digital facsimile of the Trinity manuscript can be viewed at this address).

ian Aelius Donatus, in the later Middle Ages, the name was applied to a wider range of language manuals.[53]

The *Liber donati* enriches our sense of the abilities of the learners to whom Parts A and B of the work might be directed. It is helpful to be able to observe, for example, that the sometimes quite rudimentary materials presented in Part A of the *Liber* could be meant for the same learners to whom the complex and idiomatic dialogues in Part B were directed. Only the foolhardiest teacher or scribe would present an audience entirely incognizant of the linguistic information transmitted in Part A of the *Liber* with the conversations developed in its Part B. This suggests that the declensions, conjugations, and vocabulary lists in Part A of the *Liber* have been collected not for learning from scratch but to serve as references for generally competent users of French. The Latin apparatus of Part A can also be best understood by this reasoning. The *Liber* shows French recorded according to the prevailing academic conventions for language description. It does not prove that the *dictatores* taught French via the medium of Latin, as has been argued.[54] If the *Liber* were being used in a classroom situation, it would be quite possible for the teacher to translate the explanatory Latin *ex tempore* either into English or French. The Latin that provides the matrix for Part A maps easily onto the syntax of both modern languages.[55]

The dialogues in the *Commune parlance* practise some of the functions modelled in Part B of the *Liber* and introduce new topics. The emphasis on the forms of salutation found in the *Liber* is also a feature of the conversations compiled in the *Commune parlance* (CP.10, CP.19). Other basic tasks are also practised, such as asking the way and the time (CP.4.3, CP.15, CP.18) and securing lodgings (CP.16). The inclusion of embedded word lists again indicates a desire for specialized vocabulary; here learners can find catalogues of French terms for the parts of the body (CP.2), household furnishings (CP.3), meat and poultry (CP.4.2), fish (CP.4.6), and livestock (CP.20: this list also includes some more fantastic animals). Professional occupations that medieval English learners of French might hope to take up are profiled. One conversation has learners visit a scrivener (CP.17); others feature apprentices or servants in situations that are often quite specific. One servant must excuse himself from work on the grounds of an injury (CP.6); an apprentice must defend himself against the accusation that he has risen late because he spent the night whoring (CP.7); another speaker who seems to be an apprentice finds a new master and negotiates his pay (CP.22). The language of the marketplace also features repeatedly (CP.4.6, CP.7, CP.14).

As in the *Liber*, the conversations in the *Commune parlance* model much more than the French needed simply to get by in the transactional situations that they treat. The most obvious examples of this tendency are the song and tale included as part of the long dialogue giving road-trip French (CP.4.4, CP.4.7) but even the briefest conversa-

53 See AND s.v. *donait* and DMF s.v. *donatus*.

54 See Christopher Cannon, "Vernacular Latin," *Speculum* 90 (2015): 641–53.

55 See further Rothwell, "The Teaching and Learning of French in Later Medieval England." On the languages of instruction deployed in medieval French teaching, see too the headnotes to LD.A.1 and LD.A.5 in the Commentary and Notes, below.

tions do more than just teach useful phrases. Decorum is frequently a matter of implied concern. For example, a trip to the workshop of a dubber, or renovator of old clothes, reminds learners of the importance of looking the part (CP.8). Elsewhere, as in the dialogue giving rise to the Agincourt report in LD.B.2, curiosity, rather than necessity, is a motivation for two conversations asking after matters on the continent (CP.10, CP.21). Several other dialogues are likewise only tangentially related to the professional and commercial purposes that more clearly dominate the conversations in the *Liber*. Some of these exchanges in the *Commune parlance* deal with potentially awkward situations, giving the French needed to comfort a crying child (CP.11) or turn away a beggar (CP.12), for example. Others put men of equal rank in more or less comfortable conversation with each other: a ditch-digger and a gardener compare their wages (CP.5); two stable hands abscond from work (CP.9); and two companions bicker about their bedtime arrangements at an inn (CP.13, CP.23).

As a group, the dialogues in the *Liber* and *Commune parlance* offer fresh insights into late-medieval social history, showing, for example, how arrangements were made to feed guests at an inn and how, and when, payments for lodgings might be collected (LD.B.5 and LD.B.7). They are especially interesting for the international connections that they trace, not only to France but also to Italy. The song and the tale told in the *Commune parlance* have Italian connections, as does the Parisian with whom a speaker falls into conversation (CP.21). A little Italian even makes its way into the model dialogues themselves (CP.10). The dialogic form of the model conversations means that learners might imagine the rich, connected world that they describe belonging to them. Consideration of the alternative phrases offered in the manuals confirms that their users were expected to practise both parts of the exchanges, which gave them the French to be lords and masters as well as servants and apprentices (see, e.g., CP.7 and CP.18).

The model dialogues are also a rich source for language history. They illuminate the pragmatics of medieval French where they demonstrate the alternating use of the two forms of the second person pronoun, *tu* and *vous*, in moments of tension or intimacy (see Commentary and Notes, n. 167, for details). They also demonstrate the pride that the medieval English could take in their French: the scribe of the *Commune parlance* ends his copying with the assertion that there is "nulle meliour en tout le France" (none, i.e., no language better in all of France) (discussed in n. 133). At the same time, the model conversations show French undergoing English influence (for discussion of examples, see, e.g., n. 87 and n. 137) and they show influence working in the other direction, where apparent anglicisms can be demonstrated to have French roots (see, e.g., n. 159). Especially interesting are moments where the ostensibly French lexis of the model conversations straddles the historical dictionaries (see, e.g., n. 89 and n. 102). That a twenty-first-century translator of these dialogues must look across the *Middle English Dictionary*, the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*, and the *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français* demonstrates the more porous nature of the boundaries between medieval English and French as well as the continuing vitality of French in England, where the language kept on acquiring new words well into the fifteenth century.

The dialogues collected in the *Commune parlance* circulate in five manuscripts falling into two groups.[56] The version contained in MS Dd. 12. 23 is one of three copies belonging to Kristol's group B; the other two are in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS Nouv. acq. lat. 699 and London, BL MS Additional 17716.[57] Texts in this group share additions, substitutions, or omissions from the version of the dialogues preserved in Kristol's group A, which survives in Oxford, All Souls College MS 182 and London, BL MS Harley 3988.[58] Most significantly, the two A group copies conclude with a letter addressed to a patron from the author of the work, who signs his name Kirvyngton.[59] Kristol argues that the A texts represent an earlier version of the manual destined for a particular user, whereas the B texts adapt the work for a broader public.[60] As was the case with the *Liber donati*, the name that the scribe of the *Commune parlance* gives to his work in MS Dd. 12. 23 is significant insofar as it indicates the broad applicability of the French modelled (see AND s.vv. *commun* and *parlance*). The title may have had special currency amongst teachers and learners of French. In LD.B.10, the young boy who must display his language skills refers to his French both as a *commun langage* and a *maner de parlance*.

One final point might be made about the locations given for the model dialogues in the *Liber donati* and *Commune parlance*. The *Commune parlance* places its conversations in a Parisian orbit: this is the destination of a lord who sets out for the city with his valet (CP.4), of an apprentice sent to market with his master's wares (CP.7), and of a pilgrimage suggested to an ill man (CP.20). It is also the hometown of a traveller met on the road (CP.21). Not all the manuscript copies of these dialogues share this continental focus (for details, see the Commentary and Notes). But in the *Commune parlance*, where speakers are securely located, they are situated on the continent.

By contrast, the dialogues in the *Liber donati* are set in England: here French is being imagined in use at home. It may be that the English setting of this dialogue reflects its author's unfamiliarity with the continent. Another possibility is that the conversations in Part B of the *Liber* modelled the sort of exchanges that English learners imagined having with French-speaking visitors to their own country. The dialogue form allows users to practice both sides of the conversations modelled, not only asking for but also giving directions (LD.B.3), renting out a room as well as trying to secure one (LD.B.4), offering dinner as well as ordering it (LD.B.5), and so forth. This last example, showing the ordering of food, is especially tantalizing because it features a conversation between an

56 This paragraph draws on *Manières*, ed. Kristol, xx–xxv (see esp. the table on xxiii).

57 For a digital facsimile of MS Nouv. acq. lat. 699, see <www.gallica.bnf.fr>. On MS Additional 17716, which also contains a partial copy of the *Liber donati*, see n. 52, above.

58 MS All Souls 182 is described in Andrew G. Watson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of All Souls College Oxford* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); the fullest published description of MS Harley 3988 is in G. Eyre and A. Strahan, *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: 1808–12).

59 See *La Manière de langage qui enseigne à bien parler et écrire le français*, ed. Jean Gessler (Paris: Droz, 1934), 87–88. MS Harley 3988 provides the base text for Gessler's edition. For extracts from this manuscript, see too *Manières*, ed. Kristol, 37–45.

60 See *Manières*, ed. Kristol, xxi–xxii.

innkeeper's wife and a traveller. While most of the protagonists in the model dialogues are men, the implication in this instance is that English women also needed to be able to speak French with incomers.

The textual history of the dialogues in Part B of the *Liber* is suggestive of an interest in their English location. Of the four manuscripts transmitting these conversations, two situate their action in and around Oxford and two are situated in the vicinity of London; a geographical inconsistency in the London group, to which Part B of the *Liber* belongs, suggests that these conversations adapt a copy of the Oxonian version (for details, see the notes to LD.B.3, LD.B.4, and LD.B.8). An interest in London is also in evidence elsewhere amongst the materials compiled in MS Dd. 12. 23. The next section of this Introduction considers what the other contents of the book can tell us about the profiles of the users of the *Liber* and *Commune parlance* and their particular interest in the medieval capital.

The *Liber donati* and *Commune parlance*: Manuscript Context

The most recent description of MS Dd. 12. 23 by James Freeman and the online facsimile of the book allow for the itemization of its contents as follows:

1. *Liber donati* (fols. 1r–13r)
2. Miscellaneous legal notes (fols. 13v–14v)
3. *Old Tenures* (fols. 15r–24v)
4. *Curia baronis* (fols. 25r–48v)
5. Miscellaneous calculations and astrological notes (fols. 49r–53r)
6. Treatise on law and procedure at the London Guildhall (fols. 53v–65v)
7. Account of miracles prompting the Magi to travel to Bethlehem (fol. 65v)
8. Statute of apprentices (fols. 66r–67r)
9. Wordplay on 'count' (fol. 67r)
10. *Commune parlance* (fols. 67v–87r)
11. A form of a bond by Guy Wikam of Wicheford (fols. 87v–88r)[61]

There are frequent changes in hand throughout the manuscript, which falls into four codicological units giving items 1–2, 3, 4, and 5–11. These units appear to have been compiled deliberately because the main texts that they contain have in common a connection to the Oxford school of William Kingsmill. Kingsmill's name is given in the *Liber donati*, as we saw above; a character by the name "Guilliam" (a French form of "William") also features in the conversations compiled in the *Commune parlance* (for details, see the headnote to LD.B.7). To these instances of self-citation, we can add moments where a "W. K." is brought in as one of the parties in the model legal forms compiled in *Curia baronis*. The inclusion of *Curia baronis* in MS Dd. 12. 23 further strengthens this manu-

61 For the facsimile and for Freeman's description, which updates the entry in Baker with Ringrose, *Catalogue*, see <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-DD-00012-00023>.

script's connection to Kingsmill because it is also included in another manuscript associated with the *dictator*, CUL MS Gg. 6. 44, which transmits the grammatical portion of the *Liber donati*. MS Dd. 12. 23 might reflect the desire of a learner to have a record of Kingsmill's teaching, perhaps because he had visited Kingsmill's classes. Alternatively, the book might have been put together by Kingsmill himself for use with his students. Although some of its texts were probably composed earlier, MS Dd. 12. 23 can be dated to the mid-fifteenth century because the year 1447 is given at the end of the list of cardinal and ordinal numbers with which Part A of the *Liber donati* concludes (fol. 7r).

The location of the *Liber*'s dialogues in and around London indicates that this is one of the destinations that learners using Kingsmill's materials in Oxford or elsewhere might have had in mind. The treatise on law and procedure at the London Guildhall included in MS Dd. 12. 23 (fols. 54v–65v) confirms the London orientation of the book and the other texts that it compiles give a sense of what learners of French hoped to do there.

The inclusion of a copy of the Statute of Apprentices of 1405 in MS Dd. 12. 23 (fols. 66r–67r) is a further indication that the book was designed to serve learners who, like the twelve-year-old boy in the *Liber*'s ninth dialogue, hoped to enter an apprenticeship in the capital. The 1405 statute attempts to limit the number of children apprenticed: the countryside is said to be emptying of labourers, leading to complaints from the gentry. It is stated that only parents having land or rents to the value of twelve shillings a year might apprentice their children, but the potential effectiveness of the legislation is open to doubt because the statute begins with an expression of frustration that similar legislation promulgated by Edward III and Richard II has failed to secure the desired outcome. The text also includes the key concession "que chescun homme ou femme de quel estat ou condicioun qu'il soit soit fraunk de mettre son fitz ou file d'aprendre lecture a quelconqz escole que lour pleist" (fol. 66v: that every man and woman of whatever estate they may be is free to put their son or daughter to learn *lecture*, i.e., basic literacy, in whatever school they wish).[62] The text of the Statute of Apprentices in MS Dd. 12. 23 makes clear the official stance on training and employing apprentices. At the same time, it suggests the popularity of this career choice and the attractiveness of schools like those of the *dictatores* that showed learners how to find masters to train with.

As was noted above, where the *Commune parlance* locates its conversations, it situates them abroad; CP.7 giving a conversation between a master draper and his apprentice is clearly situated on the outskirts of Paris. Some users of the manual may have hoped to be apprenticed on the continent. The idea that a fifteenth-century apprentice might require French in London is not so far-fetched, however. The city was constantly inundated with foreign visitors who came to England for the purposes of diplomacy and business; its merchants cultivated links with the Low Countries, France, Italy, and, further afield, with Bavaria, the Baltic ports, and Constantinople.[63] Some of the traders

62 In citations from MS Dd. 12. 23, abbreviations are silently expanded. For a printed transcription of the Statute taken from the Statute Roll, see *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 2, *1377 to 1509*, ed. T. E. Tomlins and W. E. Taunton (London, 1816).

63 See Caroline M. Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People, 1200–1500*

coming from these regions will have spoken French at home; for others, French will have been a useful intermediary language.[64]

Like the innkeeper and his wife, whom we meet in Part B of the *Liber donati*, English apprentices might also have found themselves needing French to interact with incoming travellers. CP.6 is suggestive of this eventuality where it situates its interaction between a master baker and his servant in a more vaguely identified international milieu. It is also worth pointing out that the versions of CP.7 compiled in London, BL MS Harley 3998 and Oxford, All Souls College MS 182 are less specific about where this exchange takes place, locating its apprentice *a l'overdure*, i.e., "in the shop," or in the "open space (where the market was held)" (discussed in Commentary and Notes, n. 195). The interest in cloth and clothing that unites the *Liber donati* and the *Commune parlance* suggests that users of the book may have had a special eye on these trades (see LD.B.8, LD.B.10, and CP.3).

Another route that Kingsmill's students might have taken is indicated by the legal texts compiled alongside the French teaching and reference works in MS Dd. 12. 23. This collocation of materials confirms the Oxford University statute of 1432 cited above according to which the syllabi of the *dictatores* included the holding of lay courts and instructions for pleading in the English fashion. The *Old Tenures* (fols. 15r–24v) cover elementary property law, listing the commitments and complications that come with holding land according to various contracts, for example *par service de chiualer*, *par graunt seriantie*, or *en burgage* (fol. 15r–v: by knight-service; by grand serjanty, i.e., by rendering personal service to the king; or by burgage, i.e., in towns, by paying rent for the use of land held by the Crown).[65] The *Curia baronis* (fols. 25r–48v) broadens the scope of this basic legal education, giving the French and Latin forms used in *courtz de barons*, that is, in small claims courts where "plees pouront estre moenez cestassauoir de petitz trespassez quels ne sont mye encountre la pees nostre seignur le Roy dont les dimagez n'ateignent mye a xl shillings" (fol. 25r: pleas can be brought, that is to say regarding small trespasses that do not break the peace of our lord the king and for which the damages do not exceed forty shillings).[66]

One possibility is that Kingsmill's Oxford school prepared some of its learners for the more rigorous study of law at London's Inns of Court.[67] The man who signs himself "Mershfeld" at the end of the copy of the *Curia baronis* in MS Dd. 12. 23 (fol. 48v) may

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 84–117; and David Nicholas, *The Later Medieval City, 1300–1500* (London: Longman, 1997), 92–101.

64 See William Rothwell, "Sugar and Spice and All Things Nice: From Oriental Bazar to English Cloister in Anglo-French," *Modern Language Review* 94 (1999): 647–59.

65 See AND s.vv. *sergantie*, *burgage*.

66 See Maureen Mulholland, "Trials in Manorial Courts in Late Medieval England," in *Judicial tribunals in England and Europe, 1200–1700*, ed. Maureen Mulholland and Brian Pullan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 81–101. The version of *Curia baronis* in MS Dd. 12. 23 differs from that given in *The Court Baron*, ed. Frederic William Maitland and William Paley Baildon (London: Quaritch, 1891), 18–67.

67 See John H. Baker, "Oral Instruction in Land Law and Conveyancing, 1250–1500," in *Learning the Law: Teaching and the Transmission of Law in England, 1150–1900*, ed. Jonathan A. Bush and Alain Wijffels (London: Hambledon, 1999), 157–73.

have pursued this trajectory. Later additions to the book demonstrate its continuing use in a legal milieu. These include notes on the use of common land (fols. 13v, 14v) and a form of a bond (fols. 184v–185r). That prospective students of the law should have needed French is not surprising insofar as French had been the traditional language of oral pleading in court at least since the turn of the fourteenth century; well into the fifteenth century, French was also used to write legal complaints, record trials, and draft and record legislation.[68] Even after a government statute of 1362 required the use of English in oral court proceedings, trials would still be recorded in French or Latin (that the 1362 statute was itself recorded in French neatly demonstrates the tenacity of the written language in legal and governmental contexts). While more of the debating might have taken place in English, it seems that the initial statement of a case—the "count"—continued to be delivered orally in French: so integral had French terms of law become to English courtroom procedure.[69]

If they did not go on to train at the Inns, the students of the *dictatores* could still have pursued employment in the capital as specialized legal clerks. Kingsmill himself seems to have had experience of this kind of work. A. B. Emden assembles references to documents showing that, before coming to Oxford ca. 1420, the *dictator* had lived and worked as a scrivener in London.[70] Nigel Ramsey adds the information that Kingsmill was under-marshal of the King's Bench there, until dismissed. Ramsey also gives a useful account of the overlap between the careers of men called scriveners, notaries, and attorneys in the late-medieval capital. The rapidly expanding market for legal documents in London left room for copyists to participate more actively in the making as well as the reproduction of royal petitions in particular.[71] Since these petitions mirrored the formal oral proceedings of English courtrooms, they continued to be framed in French until the middle of the fifteenth century.[72]

For historians of the law, the statute of 1362 marks the moment when legal French begins to become a more restricted code: when French is no longer used in extra-procedural speech, it starts to be reduced to the set of keywords and formulae now known as Law French.[73] An interest in this specialist language is indicated by the list of verbs compiled in LD.A.4, which matches Anglo-French legal and financial terms with their Latin

68 See J. H. Baker, "The Three Languages of the Common Law," *McGill Law Journal* 43 (1998): 5–24; and Paul Brand, "The Languages of the Law in Later Medieval England," in *Multilingualism in Later Medieval England*, ed. Trotter, 63–76.

69 See W. M. Ormrod, "The Use of English: Language, Law, and Political Culture in Fourteenth-Century England," *Speculum* 78 (2003): 750–87.

70 See the entry for "Kyngesmyll, William" in A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A. D. 1500*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957–74).

71 See Nigel Ramsey, "Scriveners and Notaries as Legal Intermediaries in Later Medieval England," in *Enterprise and Individuals in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. Jennifer Kermode (Stroud: Sutton, 1991), 118–31.

72 See W. Mark Ormrod, "The Language of Complaint: Multilingualism and Petitioning in Later Medieval England," in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain*, ed. Wogan-Browne et al., 31–43.

73 See J. H. Baker, *Manual of Law French*, 2nd ed. (Aldershot: Scolar, 1990).

equivalents. Sebastian Sobecki has shown that lexis of this sort will sometimes have been viewed by its English wielders less as French than as an expert register belonging within a more capaciously conceived Middle English.[74] The inclusion of this vocabulary amongst the French teaching and reference materials suggests that on other occasions the French connections of these words might be more starkly felt. For the users of MS Dd. 12. 23, who were instructed at once in basic legal forms and in the living, spoken French of the model dialogues, legal French can have been neither an entirely dead nor an entirely naturalized language.[75]

Early Modern Developments

MS Dd. 12. 23 is one of the latest witnesses to the teaching of the Oxford *dictatores*. Their popularity wanes in parallel with the uptake of English in legal writing and the increasing complexity of the aspects of the law in which they offered instruction.[76] The earliest printed French teaching and reference materials were narrower in their scope. The dialogues printed by William Caxton at Westminster in 1480 (STC 24865), for example, are directed primarily to those whose interests lie in trade, who desire to "entreprise or take on honde / marchandises fro one land to anothir" (fol. 2r).[77]

England remained vibrantly multilingual, and the availability of teaching in modern languages increased in the early modern period, when Dutch, Italian, and Spanish began to be instructed alongside French.[78] By the time that fuller manuals of French started to be produced again in the sixteenth century, however, many of the pragmatic reasons that had motivated medieval people to learn French no longer pertained. John Palsgrave's monumental *Esclarcissement de la langue francoyse* (London, 1530; STC 19166) maintained the English lead on continental French attempts to describe French scientifically but its focus fell more narrowly on written French. In his *Introductorie for to lerne to rede to pronounce and to speke Frenche trewly* (London, 1533; STC 7377), Giles du Wes preferred to match a much shorter exposition of French grammar with model dialogues. But these exchanges modelled discussion of such highfaluting topics as the nature of the soul and the mysteries of the mass. Du Wes's conversations are a world away from the more practically minded medieval dialogues in the *Liber donati* and *Commune parlance*.

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74 See Sebastian Sobecki, *Unwritten Verities: The Making of England's Vernacular Legal Culture, 1463–1549* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2015), 43–69.

75 Recent research stresses the supraregional appeal of French in written legal contexts. See Ada Kuskowski, "Lingua Franca Legalis? A French Vernacular Legal Culture from England to the Levant," *Reading Medieval Studies* 40 (2014): 140–58.

76 Various explanations for the cessation in the *dictatores*' activities have been offered. Compare Baker, "Oral Instruction in Land Law," 172–73; Camargo, "If You Can't Join Them," 76–79; and Richardson, "Letters of the Oxford *Dictatores*," 342–43.

77 Cited from *Vocabulary in French and English: A Facsimile Edition of Caxton's Edition c.1480*, intro. J. C. T. Oates and L. C. Harmer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964).

78 See John Gallagher, *Learning Languages in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

The cultivation of French in England probably always entailed a degree of social aspiration; already in the 1320s, Ranulph Higden had complained of "vplondisshe men," i.e., rustics, who busied themselves trying to speak French in emulation of gentlemen "for to be more i-tolde of."[79] In the sixteenth century, this motivation began to predominate. In their prologues, Palsgrave and du Wes advertised their employment as tutors to the highest nobility and royalty: both men were employed by Henry VIII to teach his daughter, Mary.[80] With these developments in prospect, the *Liber donati* and *Commune parlance* remind us of a time when access to French instruction was less an attribute of class than an expected component of a foundational education.

79 Cited from the later fourteenth-century translation by John Trevisa reproduced in Baugh and Cable, *A History of the English Language*, 144.

80 On the teachers' differing approaches to this task, see Deanne Williams, "Mary Tudor's French Tutors: Renaissance Dictionaries and the Language of Love," *Dictionaries* 21 (2000): 37–50.

FURTHER READING

ONE OF THE goals of the foregoing Introduction is to index the increasingly large body of material in French and English treating the status and instruction of French in late-medieval England. The following leads are intended for readers who are approaching these topics for the first time.

Useful chapter-length overviews of the status of French in late-medieval England include Marianne Ailes and Ad Putter, "The French of Medieval England," in *European Francophonie: The Social, Political and Cultural History of an International Prestige Language*, ed. Vladislav Rjéoutski, Gesine Argent, and Derek Offord (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2014), 51–79; and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Thelma Fenster, and Delbert Russell, "England and French," in *Vernacular Literary Theory from the French of Medieval England: Texts and Translations, c. 1120–c. 1450* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2016), 401–13 (this book also has a useful selection of translated extracts from French teaching and reference materials besides the *Liber donati* and *Commune parlance*, 52–75). These general accounts can be supplemented by individual chapters in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England c. 1100–c. 1500*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne et al. (Cambridge: Brewer, 2009).

On the intertwining histories of French, English, and Latin, see David Trotter, "'Deinz certeins boundes': Where Does Anglo-Norman Begin and End?" *Romance Philology* 67 (2013): 139–77. Some of the political and cultural implications of the linguistic situation described by Trotter and his predecessors are developed in Ardis Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language, and Nation in the Hundred Years War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), which has insightful commentary on French teaching and reference materials at 328–35. For an indication of how work on Anglo-French is re-shaping histories of English, see too W. Mark Ormrod, "The Use of English: Language, Law, and Political Culture in Fourteenth-Century England," *Speculum* 78 (2003): 750–87.

The best introduction to the educational landscape of late-medieval England, including French instruction, is Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Schools from Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006). On the role of mothers in teaching 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 the Oxford *dictatores*, most recently, see Martin Camargo, "If You Can't Join Them, Beat Them; or, When Grammar Met Business Writing (in Fifteenth-Century Oxford)," in *Letter-Writing Manuals and Instruction from Antiquity to the Present: Historical and Bibliographic Studies*, ed. Carol Poster and Linda C. Mitchell (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007), 67–87.

For a helpful overview of the extant French teaching and reference materials, see Andres Max Kristol, "L'Enseignement du français en Angleterre (XIIIe–XVe siècles): les sources manuscrites," *Romania* 111 (1990): 289–300. See too the groundbreaking reassessment of this evidence by Richard Ingham, "The Maintenance of French in Later Medieval England," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 115 (2014): 425–48. On the methods pursued by the teachers and learners using these materials, see Rory G. Critten,

"French Didactics in Late Medieval and Early Modern England: Thinking Historically About Method," in *16th–18th Century Europe* (Oxford: Legenda, 2018), 32–51, vol. 1 of *The History of Language Learning and Teaching*, ed. Nicola McLelland and Richard Smith. Douglas A. Kibbee's *For to Speke Frenche Trewely: The French Language in England, 1000–1600* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1991) has been surpassed in some of its conclusions but reproduces a selection of prefaces to language teaching manuals that remains convenient and interesting.

For a recent study that views French teaching in medieval England in a longer historical perspective, see Nicola McLelland, *Teaching and Learning Foreign Languages: A History of Language Education, Assessment and Policy in Britain* (London: Routledge, 2017).

USING THIS VOLUME

Throughout this book, roman numerals in the French and Latin texts of the *Liber donati* and *Commune parlance* refer to the Textual Notes at the back of the volume; Arabic numerals in the translations refer to the Commentary and Notes. Roman and Arabic numerals coincide in Part A of *Liber donati*, the only section of the volume not presented in parallel translation: there superscript alphabetical letters link to on-page translations in the footnotes.

LIBER DONATI

PART A: GRAMMAR, PRONUNCIATION AND LEXIS

[1. Personal and demonstrative pronouns and adjectives]

[**CUL MS Gg. 6. 44, fol. 19r**][i] Ego: *je/moy* in nominativo singulari, in ceteris casibus singularibus *moy* vel *me*, in quolibet casu plurali *nous*. *tu* in nominativo, in ceteris casibus singularibus *toy* vel *te*, in quolibet casu plurali *vous*. Ille: *il* et *cil* in nominativo, in ceteris casibus singularibus, *luy*, *cellui*, *se* et *soy*; *ils* in nominativo plurali, *eux*, *ceux*, *les* et *celles* et *loure* in ceteris casibus pluralibus. Illa: *ille*,[ii] *cele* et *la* in singulari; *eux*, *ceux*, *les* et *celles* in quolibet casu plurali.[A]

Iste, Ista, Istud } *cesti* et *ceste* in quolibet casu [singulari];[iii] *cez*, *cestez* in quolibet casu plurali.

Meus, Tuus, Suus } *mon*, *ma*, *ton*, *ta*, *son*, *sa* in singulari, *mes*, *tes*, *ses* in plurali;[iv] *mien*, *toen*, *soen* in singulari, *mens*, *toens*, *soens* in plurali in neutro genere substantivale.

Noster et vester: *nostre*, *vestre* in singulari; *nostres*, *vostres* in plurali, *noos*, *vous*.[B]

[2. Pronunciation, spelling, and morphological notes]

Et nota quod quando due consonantes eveniant in una sillaba in gallico vel in diversis diccionibus, prima consonans non sonabitur communiter ut: *est*, *cest*, *prest*, et similia in una sillaba; in diversis sillabis et diccionibus ut: *il est prest pur alere ove nous*. *Qu'est la? Estez vous la?* et similia. Licet aliquando consonantes sonentur [**CUL MS Gg. 6. 44, fol. 19v**] in quibusdam diccionibus ut: *moun maystre fait ben*, ubi *a* littera sonatur ut *e* littera, et in ceteris aliis diccionibus ut: *faire*, *traire*, *raire*, et similia ut: *Savés vous faire ainsy? Savés vous traire de l'ark? Sevés vous raire le barbe?*[C]

A I: *je/moy* in the nominative singular, in the other singular cases *moy* or *me*, in any plural case *nous*. [You] *tu* in the nominative, in the other singular cases *toy* or *te*, in any plural case *vous*. He/that: *il* and *cil* in the nominative, in the other singular cases, *luy*, *cellui*, *se* and *soy*; *ils* in the nominative plural, *eux*, *ceux*, *les* and *celles* and *loure* in the other plural cases. She/that: *ille*, *cele* and *la* in the singular; *eux*, *ceux*, *les* and *celles* in any plural case.

B This (m. f. nt.): *cesti* and *ceste* in any singular case; *cez*, *cestez* in any plural case. My, your, his/hers/its: *mon*, *ma*, *ton*, *ta*, *son*, *sa* in the singular, *mes*, *tes*, *ses* in the plural; *mien*, *toen*, *soen* in the singular, *mens*, *toens*, *soens* in the plural in the neutral gender as nouns. Our and your: *nostre*, *vestre* in the singular; *nostres*, *vostres* in the plural, *noos*, *vous*.

C And note that when in French two consonants occur in one syllable or in different words, the

Et nota quod quando diccio monasillaba desinit in *a*, *e*, vel *o* et sequens diccio incipit ab *a*, *e*, vel *o*, tunc prima vocalis debet de[s]ini[v] in scriptura et in sono et ille due dicciones debent ad invicem conjungi et ut una diccio pronunciari: *j'ayme*, *j'ay*, *j'enseigne*, *j'escrie*, *j'oy*, *j'ottroy*, et sic de similibus.[D]

[**CUL MS Dd. 12. 23, fol. 2v**][vi] Et quia in lingua gallicana *habeo, -es* est radix omnium verborum, ideo ab illo incipiendum est, et eciam an hoc verbo, *sum*, *es*, *fui*, quia ista due verba coincidunt in omnibus aliis verbis in lingua gallicana, nec talia verba gallicana sunt diverse conjugacionis sicut verba latina.[E]

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

Habeo, -es [I have, you have]:

En l'endicati[v]e moed:[F] *J'ay*, *tu as*, *il a*; pluralment: *nous avons*, *vous avez*, *ils ont*.

En le pretert n[ient] parfit: *J'avoie*, *tu avoiez*, *il avoit*; pluraliter: *nous avoions*, *vous avoiez*, *ils avoient*.

En le pretert parfit: *J'eu*, *tu eus*, *il eut*; pluraliter: *nous eumez*, *vous eustez*, *ils eurent*, vel sic: *J'ay eu*, *tu as eu*, *il a eu*; pluraliter: *nous avons eu*, *vous avez eu*, *ils ont eu*.

En le pretert plus que parfit: *J'avoy eu*, *tu [a]voiez eu*, *il avoit eu*; pluraliter: *nous avoions eu*, *vous avoiez eu*, *ils a[v]oient eu*.

En le tens avienire: *J'aray*, *tu aras*, *il ara*; pluraliter: *nous arons*, *vous arez*, *ils aront*.

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first consonant is not usually sounded as in: *est*, *cest*, *prest* [is, this, ready] and similar cases in one syllable; and in different syllables and words as in: *il est prest pur alere ove nous. Qu'est la? Estez vous la?* [he is ready to go with us. Who's there? Are you there?], and similar cases. Although sometimes consonants are sounded in certain words as in: *moun maystre fait ben* [my master fares well],[1] where the letter *a* is sounded like the letter *e*, and in several other words as in: *faire*, *traire*, *raire* [do, draw, shave], and similar cases as in: *Savés vous faire ainsy? Savés vous traire de l'ark? Sevés vous raire le barbe?* [Can you do thus? Can you draw a bow (i.e. shoot a bow and arrow)? Can you shave a beard?].

D And note that when a monosyllabic word ends in *a*, *e*, or *o* and the following word begins with *a*, *e*, or *o*, then the first vowel must be left off in writing and in speech and those two words must be joined together and be pronounced as one word: *j'ayme*, *j'ay*, *j'enseigne*, *j'escrie*, *j'oy*, *j'ottroy* [I love, I have, I teach, I cry out, I hear, I grant] and so of the like.

E And because in the French language *habeo*, *-es* is the root of all verbs, for that reason it is a necessary starting point, as is the verb *sum*, *es*, *fui*, because these two verbs occur in all other verbs in the French language, and such French verbs are not in different conjugations as are Latin verbs.

F The French and Latin terms in the verb list below are discussed and glossed in the Commentary and Notes, pp. 120–22.

En le comaundant manere ou moed: *eiez tu! eit il!* pluraliter: *eions nous! eiez vous! eient ils!* ou *ceux!*

En le desirant moed: *plust a Dieu* ou *a ma volunté que j'ar[o]i*, *tu aroiez*, *il aroit*; pluraliter; *nous aroions*, *vous aroiez*, *ils aroient*.

En le pretert et plus que parfit: *plust a Dieu que j'eusse*, *tu eussez*, *il eust*, pluraliter: *nous eussons*, *vous eussez*, *ils eussent*.

En le tens avenier: *plust a Dieu que j'eie*, *tu eiez*, *il eit*; pluraliter: *nous eions*, *vous eiez*, *ils eient*.

En le joynant moede: *come* ou *quant j'eie* si come desus.

En le pretert [nie]nt parfit: *come j'avoy* ou [**fol. 2r**] *aroie*, *tu avoiez* ou *aroiez*, *il avoit* ou *aroit*; pluraliter: *nous avoions* ou *aroions*, *vous avoiez* ou *aroiez*, *ils avoient* ou *aroient*.

En le pretert parfit: *come j'eie eu*, *tu eiez eu*, *il eit eu*; pluraliter: *nous eions eu*, *vous eiez eu*, *ils eient eu*.

En le pretert parfit et plus que parfit: *come j'eusse eu*, *tu eussez eu*, *il eust eu*; pluraliter: *nous eussons eu*, *vous eussez eu*, *ils eussent eu*.

En le tens avenier: *come j'arai eu*, *tu aras eu*, *il ara eu*; pluraliter: *nous arons eu*, *vous arez eu*, *ils aront eu*.

En le maner sauns fyne: *avoir*.[vii]
En le pretert parfit et plus que parfit: *avoire eu*.
En le tens avenier: *aler avoir* ou *estre*.

En le participil del present tens: *eient* ou *aiant*;
le participil del pretert tens: *eu*.

Et nota quod in omni verbo in prima persona pluralis numeri, ut *avons*, *n* debet scribi sed *m* ibi sonatur. Eciam ista littera *l* habebit sonum ut *u*, quando consonans sequitur, ut *pluralment* et similia, et *z* habebit exiliorem sonum quam *s*. Ideo maxime usitatur in gallico.[G]

G And note that in every verb in the first person in the plural number, as in *avons* [we have], *n* must be written but *m* is sounded there. Also the letter *l* will have a sound like *u*, when a consonant follows, as in *pluralment* [plurally, in the plural] and similar cases, and *z* will have a fainter sound than *s*. For that purpose it is much used in French.

Sum, es [I am, you are]:

En l'endicative moed: *je su*, *tu es*, *[i]l est*; pluraliter: *nous sumes*, *vous estez*, *ils sont*.

En le pretert nient parfit: *j'estoie*, *tu estoiez*, *il estoit*; pluraliter, *nous estoions*, *vous estoiez*, *ils estoient*.

En le pretert parfit: *je fu* ou *j'ay esté*, *tu fuis* ou *as esté*, *il fuist* ou *a esté*; pluraliter: *nous fuismes* ou *avons esté*, *vous fuistez* ou *avez esté*, *ils furent* ou *ount esté*.

En le pretert plus que parfit: *j'avoi esté*, *tu avoiez esté*, *il avoi[t] esté*; pluraliter: *nous avoions esté*, *vous avoiez esté*, *ils avoient esté*.

En le tens avenier: *je serray*, *tu serras, il serra*; pluraliter: *nous* [**fol. 2v**] *serrons*, *vous serrez*, *ils serront*.

En le comaundant manere: *soiez tu! soit il!* pluraliter: *soions nous! soiez vous! soient ils* ou *ceux!*

En le desirant moed: *plust a Dieu que je fuisse* ou *serroie*, *tu fuissez* ou *serroiez*, *il fuist* ou *serroit*; pluraliter: *nous fuismes* ou *serroions*, *vous fuistez* ou *serroiez*, *ils fuissent* ou *serroi[e]nt*. En le pretert parfit et plus que parfit: en mesme le manere.

Et sachez que toutz lez autrez tens sont si come l'endicative moed except le pretert parfit et le pretert plus que parfit en le joynant moed lezquelez sont ainsi come *j'eusse esté*, *tu eussez esté*, *il eust esté*;[viii] pluraliter: *nous eussons esté*, *vous eussez esté*, *ils eussent esté*.[H]

En le maner saunz fyne: *estre*.

Le participil del presentens:[ix] *estant*, et le participil del pretert: *esté*.

Et nota quod *t* littera habebit sonum *s* vel *z* in plurali numero in gallico ut: *toutz*, *gentz*, *purpointz* et similia.[I]

H And know that all the other tenses are like the indicative mood except the preterite perfect and the preterite pluperfect in the conjunctive mood, which are thus: *j'eusse esté*, *tu eussez esté*, *il eust esté* [I had been, you had been, he had been]; in the plural: *nous eussons esté*, *vous eussez esté*, *ils eussent esté* [we had been, you had been, they had been].

I And note that the letter *t* will have the sound *s* or *z* in the plural number in French, as in: *toutz*, *gentz*, *purpointz* [all, people, pourpoints][2] and similar cases.

Amo, -as [I love, you love]:

En l'endicative moed et en le tens present: *j'ayme*, *tu aymez*, *il ayme*; pluraliter: *nous aymons*, *vous aymez*, *ils ayment*.

En le pretert nient parfit: *j'amoy* ou *amay*, tu *amoiez* ou *amas*, il *amoit* ou *ama*; pluraliter: *nous amoions* ou *amasmez*, *vous amoiez* ou *amastez*, *ils amoient* ou *ameront*.

En le pretert parfit: *j'ay amé*, *tu as amé*, *il a amé*; pluraliter: *nous avons amé*, *vous avez amé*, *ils ont amé*.

En le pretert plus que parfit: *j'avoi amé*, *tu avoiez amé*, *il avoit amé*; pluraliter: *nous avoions amé*, *vous avoiez amé*, *ils avoient amé*.

En le tens avenier: *j'ameray*, *tu ameras, il amera*; pluraliter: *nous amerons, vous amerez*, *ils ameront*.

En le comaundant manere: *aymez tu! aymet il!* pluraliter [**fol. 3r**]: *aymons nous! aymez vous! ayment ils* ou *ceux!*

En le desirant moed: *plust a Dieu que j'ameroy*, *tu ameroiez*, *il ameroit*; pluraliter: *nous ameroions*, *vous ameroiez*, *ils ameroient*.

En le pretert parfit et plus que parfit: *plust a Dieu que j'amasse* ou *eusse amé, tu amasses* ou *eussez amé*, *il amasset* ou *eust amé*; pluraliter: *nous amassons* ou *eussons amé*, *vous amassez* ou *eussez amé*, *il amassent* ou *eussent amé*.

En le tens avenier: *plust a Dieu que j'ayme*, *tu aymez* et cetera si come en l'endicative moed.

En le joynant moed: *come* ou *quant j'ayme*, *tu aymez* et cetera si come auxi en l'endicative moed.

En le pretert nient parfit: *come j'amoy* ou *ameroy*, *tu amoyez* ou *ameroyez*, *il amoit* ou *ameroit*; pluraliter: *nous amoyons* ou *ameroyons*, *vous amoiez* ou *ameroiez*, *ils amoient* ou *ameroient*.

En le pretert parfit: *come j'eie amé*, *tu eiez amé*, *il eit amé*; pluraliter: *nous eions amé*, *vous eiez amé*, *ils eient amé*.

En le pretert parfit et plus que parfit: *come j'amasse* ou *eusse amé* et cetera si come desus en le pretert parfit et plus que parfit en le desirant moed.

En le tens avenier: *come j'araie amé*, *tu aras amé*, *il ara amé*; pluraliter: *nous arons amé*, *vous arez amé*, *ils aront amé*.

En le maner saunz fyne: *amer*; en le pretert parfit et plus que parfit: *avoir amé*; en le tens aveniere: *aler amer* ou *estre amé*.

Le participil del present tens: *aymant*, et del pretert tens: *amé*.

Et nota quod participia presentis temporis terminant in *ant*, ut *aymant*, *parlant*, sed participiorum preteriti temporis quedam terminant in *e*, ut *il* [**fol. 3v**] *est bien amé*, *il a bien parlé*, *il est bien enseigné* et similia; quedam in *t*, ut *cest chose est bien fait*, *ceste liver est bien escript*, *il a trop dit*; quedam in *u*, ut *il est bien respondu*, *j'ay veu*, *j'ai sceu*, *j'ay beu*; quedam in *i*, ut *il a trop dormy*; quedam in *-is*, ut *il a bien apris*, *il a a moy promys*, *il est sis* et similia.[J]

Impersonalia: *l'en ayme*, *l'en amoit* ou *l'en amast*, *l'en amé*,[x] *l'en avoit amé*, *l'en amera*, et cetera.

Amor, -aris [I am loved, you are loved]:

Je su amé, *tu es amé*, *il est amé*; pluraliter: *nous sumes amez*, *vous estez amez*, *ils sont amez*. *J'estoie amé*, *tu estoiez amé*, *il estoit amé*; pluraliter: *nous estoions amez*, *vous estoiez amez*, *ils estoient amez*. *J'ay esté amé*, *tu as esté amé*, *il a esté amé*; pluraliter: *nous avons esté amez*, *vous avez esté amez*, *ils ont esté amez*. *J'avoy esté amé*, et cetera. *Je serray amé*, et cetera. *Soiez tu amé!* et cetera. *Je serroie amé*, et cetera.

Et sic omnia verba passiva debent formari per participium sui passivi observando *amé* in singulari et *amez* in plurali.[K]

Deceo, -es [I teach, you teach]:

J'enseigne, *enseignez*, *enseigne*, *enseignons*, *enseignez*, *enseignen*t. *J'enseignoie* ou *j'enseignay*, *enseignoiez* ou *enseignas*, *enseignoit* ou *enseigna*, *enseignoions* ou *enseignasmez*, *enseignoiez* ou *enseignastez*, *enseignoient* ou *enseigneront*. *J'ay enseigné*, *tu as enseigné*, *il a enseigné*, *nous avons enseigné*, *vous avez enseigné*, *ils ont enseigné*. *J'avoy ensei-*

J And note that participles of present time end in *-ant* as in *aymant*, *parlant* [loving, speaking], but in the case of participles of preterite time, some end in *-e*, as in *il est bien amé*, *il a bien parlé*, *il est bien enseigné* [he is well liked, he spoke well, he is well taught] and similar cases; some in *-t*, as in *cest chose est bien fait*, *ceste liver est bien escript*, *il a trop dit* [this thing is well done, this book is well written, he has said too much]; some in *-u*, as in *il est bien respondu*, *j'ay veu*, *j'ai sceu*, *j'ay beu* [he answered well, I saw, I knew, I drank]; some in *-i*, as in *il a trop dormy* [he has slept too much]; some in *-is*, as in *il a bien apris*, *il a a moy promys*, *il est sis* [he has learned well, he promised to me, he is seated] and similar cases.

K And thus all passive verbs must be formed by their passive participle, taking *amé* in the singular and *amez* in the plural.

gné, tu avoiez enseigné, il avoit enseigné, nous avoions enseigné, vous avoiez enseigné, ils avoient enseigné. J'enseigneray, enseigneras, enseignera, enseignerons, enseignerez, enseigneront. Enseignez tu! enseignet il! enseignons nous! enseignez vous! enseignent ceux! J'enseigneroy, enseigneroiez, [**fol. 4r**] *enseigneroit, enseigneroient. J'enseignasse* ou *eusse enseigné, enseignassez* ou *eussez enseigné, enseignasset* ou *eust enseigné*, et cetera; *enseigner, enseignant, enseigné*.

Doceor [I am taught]:

Je su ensigné, tu es enseigné, et cetera.

Lego [I read]:

Je lise, tu lis, il lit, lisons, lisiez, lisent. Je lisoi ou *lisay, tu lisoiez* ou *lisas, lisoit* ou *lisa, lisoions* ou *lisasmez, lisoiez* ou *lisastez, lisoient* ou *liseront. Je lieu* ou *j'ay leu*, et cetera. *J'avoi leu*, et cetera. *Je lirray, tu -as*, et cetera. *Lise!* ou *lisas tu!* et cetera. *Je liroie. Je lise* ou *eusse leu. Lire, lisant, leu*.

Audio, -is [I hear, you hear]:

J'oie, tu oiez, il oie, oions, oiez, oient. J'oioy ou *j'oiay*, et cetera. *J'ay oie, tu as oie*, et cetera. *J'avoye oye*, et cetera. *J'orray*, et cetera. *Oiez tu*, et cetera. *J'orroy*, et cetera. *J'oisse* ou *eusse oie*, et cetera. *Oier, oiant, oie*, et cetera.

Facio, -cis [I do, you do]:

Je fay ou *fas, tu fes, il fait, nous faisons, vous faitez, ils font. Je faisoye* ou *faysaye, tu faysoiez* ou *faisas, il faisoit* ou *faisa, faisions* ou *faisiasmez, faisiez* ou *faisiastez, faisoient* ou *faisient*.[xi] *Je fis* ou *j'ay fait, tu fis* ou *as fait, il fist* ou *a fait, fimez* ou *avons fait, fistez* ou *avez fait, firent* ou *ont fait. J'avoy fait*, et cetera. *Je fray, fras, fra, frons, frés, front. Fais tu!* et cetera. *Je froie, froiez*, et cetera. *Je fiste* ou *eusse fait, fistez* ou *eussez fait, fistent* ou *eussent fait. Faire, faiseant, fait.*

Vado, -dis [I go, you go]:

Je vois, vas, va, alons, alez, vont. J'oloie[xii] ou *alay, aloiez* ou *alas, aloit* ou *ala, aloions* ou *alasmez, aloiez,* [**fol. 4v**] ou *alastez, aloient* ou *alerent. J'ay alé*, et cetera. *J'avoy alé*, et cetera. *J'irray, irras*, et cetera. *Va* ou *alez tu!* et cetera. *J'irroie, irroiez*, et cetera. *J'alasse* ou *eusse alé*, et cetera. *Aler, alant, alé*.

Volo [I want]:

Je voile, veus, veut, voilons, voilez, voilent. Je voloy ou *volay, voloiez* ou *volas, voloit* ou *vola, voloions* ou *volumez, voloiez* ou *volustez, voloient* ou *voluerent.* J*'ay volu. Je vorray. Je vorroye* ou *vodroye. Je vosiste* ou *eusse volu. Voiler, voilant, volu*.

Bibo [I drink]:

Je boie, *bois*, *boit*, *buvons*, *buvez*, *boyvent*. *Je buvoye* ou *bu*, *buvoiez* ou *buvez*, *buvoit* ou *but*, *buvions* ou *bumez*, *buviez* ou *bustez*, *buvoient* ou *burent*. *J'ay bu*, et cetera. *J'avoi bu*, et cetera. *Je buveray*, et cetera. *Bevez tu! bevoit il! Je buveroy*, et cetera. *Je buste* ou *eusse bu*. *Boire*, *bevant*, *beu*.

Video [I see]:

Je veie, *veiez*, *veil*.[xiii] *Je veioie* ou *veu*. *J'ay veu*. *j'ayoy*[xiv] *veu*. *Je verray*. *Veiez tu! Je verroie*. *Je veisse* ou *eusse veu*. *Veier*, *veiant*, *veu*.

Venio [I come]:

Je vieng, *tu viens*, *il vient*, *venons*, *venez*, *vienent*. *Je venoy* ou *viou*, *tu venoiez* ou *viouns*, *il venoit* ou *viount*, *venions* ou *venismez*, *veniez* ou *venistez*, *veneient* ou *vionerent*. *Je veiray*.[xv] *Venroy*. *Vinste*. *Viner*, *vinant*, *viou*.

Possum [I can]:

Je puisse, *tu puis*, *il poet*, *poemaz*,[xvi] *poez*, *poent*. *Je puisoie*. *J'ay peu*. *J'avoy peu*. *Je purray*. *Je purroye*. *Je puisse* ou *eusse peu*.

Loquor [I speak]:

Je parle, *-lez*, *-le*, *parlons*,[xvii] *parlez*, *parlent*. *Je parloi* ou *parlay*. *J'ay parlé*. *J'avoi parlé*. *Je parleray*. *Parlez tu! Je parleroy*. *Je parlasse* ou *eusse parlé*. *Parler*, *parlant*, *parlé*.

Dico [I say, tell]:

Je die, *tu dis*, *il dit*, *dions*, *ditez*, *diont*. *Je disoie*. *J'ay dit*. *J'avoy dit*. *Je dirray*. *Dis tu! Je dirroie*. *Je disse* ou *eusse dit*. *Dire*, *disant*, *dit*.

Capio [I take]:

Je preigne. *Je preignoie*. *J'ay pris*. *J'avoy pris*. *Je prendray*. *Pernez tu! Je prendroy*. *Je prendisse* ou *eusse* [**fol. 5r**] *pris*. *Prendre*, *prendant*, *pris*.

Disco [I learn]:

J'appreigne. *J'appreignoie*. *J'ay appris*. *J'avoy appris*. *J'apprendray*. *Appreignez tu! J'apprendroi*. *J'apprendisse* ou *eusse appris*. *Apprendre*, *apprendant*, *appris*.

Promitto [I promise]:

Je promitte. *Je promittoi*. *J'ay promys*. *J'avoy promys*. *Je promittray*. *Je promittroye*. *Je promisse* ou *eusse promys*. *Promittre*, *promittant*, *promys*.

Sedeo [I sit]:

Je seie, seiez. Je seioie. J'ay sis. J'avoy sis. Je serray. Je seieroie. Je seisse ou *eusse sis. Seier, seiant, sis.*

Frango [break]:

J'enfreigne. J'enfreignoie. J'ay enfrint. J'ayvoy enfrint. J'enfrendray. Enfreignez tu! J'enfrendroie. Enfrendre, enfreignant, enfrint.

Teneo [I hold]:

Je teigne, tu tenez, il teigne. Je tenoie. J'ay tenu. J'avoy tenu. Je tendray. Tenez tu! Je tendroie. Je tenusse ou *eusse tenu. Tenir, tenant, tenu.*

Cogito [I think]:

Je pense, -sez, -se. Je pensoy. J'ay pen[*sé*]. *J'avoy pen*[*sé*]. *Je penseray. Pensez tu! Je penseroy. Je pense* ou *eusse* [*pensé*]. *Pensier, pensant, pen*[*sé*].[xviii]

Dono et do [I give]:

Je doigne, donez. J'ay doné. J'avoy doné. Je doneray
et *dorray. Donez tu! Je doneroye* et *dorroie. Je doinsse* ou *eusse doné. Doner, donant, doné.*

Credo [I believe]:

Je croie. Je croioie. J'ay creu. J'avoy creu. Je creray. Croez tu! Je creoroie. Croer, croiant, crue.

[4. French infinitives with Latin equivalents]

amer	amare	[love]L
amasser	cumulare	[accumulate]
amener	ducere	[lead, or: bring to court][3]
aporter	portare	[bring, or: misappropriate, or: export][4]
apprendre	addiscere	[learn]
appaisier	ponderare	[weigh, or: reach agreement][5]
acustumer	solere	[be used to, or: pay customs duty on][6]
avenir	evenire	[happen, or: inherit][7]
avouer	vovere	[vow]
avoir	habere	[have, or: possess, own][8]
[**fol. 5v**] ambler	ambulare	[walk]
abbatre	prosternere	[cut down, or: abate][9]
appromptre	mutuare	[borrow, lend][10]
apprestre	accomodare	[make ready, equip][11]
affier	confidere	[swear, trust][12]
avisier	providere	[see, or: advise][13]
affiert	pertinet	[pertains to][14]
app[ar]ier	apparere	[appear, or: appear in court][15]
alumer	luminare	[light]
areschier	eredicare	[tear out][16]
aler	ire	[go, or: proceed, or: concern][17]
ali[en]er	alienare	[make strange, or: alienate][18]
aschevier	vigere	[complete, or: transfer (a tenant or service), or: attorn (one's services to)][19]
attendre	expectare	[await, or: raise a sum of money][20]
attayndre	curare	[reach, or: jeopardize, or: accuse][21]
basier	osculare	[kiss]
armer	armare	[arm]
accuser	accusare	[accuse, or: prosecute][22]

L The translations from the *Liber* give first the general sense of the French term, then, where applicable, its potential specialist legal and/or financial senses as listed in AND. The relationships between selected French words and their Latin translations are discussed in the Commentary and Notes.

acquerer	adquirere	[acquire, or: ascertain (by inquest)][23]
achater	emere	[buy]
alegier	leviare	[make lighter, or: reduce (sentence, tax), or: aledge][24]
asconter	ascultare	[do sums?][25]
ascouter	venari	[listen to, or: give an official hearing to][26]
abascier	inferiorari	[lower][27]
adherdre	adherere	[seize, or: be attached][28]
appeller	vocare	[call, or: summon to court][29]
app[er]ceivoir	concipere	[perceive]
aidier	ajuvare	[help]
ardoir	ardere	[burn, incl. as a method of legal destruction][30]
apparlier	parare	[prepare][31]
approschier	approximare	[approach, or: enter into (inheritance)][32]
acompler	implere	[accomplish][33]
avancer	pompare	[boast about, or: provide for in advance of testamentary provision][34]
ballier	portare	[deliver, or: deliver seisin of][35]
bautisier	baptizare	[baptize]
boire	bibere	[drink]
batre	verberare	[beat, or: be abated][36]
boulir	coquere	[boil][37]
benir	benedicere	[bless][38]
bleschier	ledere	[injure]
bousoignier	indigere	[be in need of]
brisier	frangere	[break, or: break (an arrest)][39]

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

[fol. 6r] Adverbia et preposiciones mixtim cum aliis partibus[M]

utinam	a ma volunté *ou* plust a Dieu	[o that...! would that...!][N] [40]
quatinus	que	[in what measure? to the extent to which][41]
nullatenus	nullement	[by no means]
ubi	ou	[where]
vel	ou	[or]
cum	ove, avesque, ovesque	[with]
simul	ensemble	[together]
una, pariter	ovesque	[together][42]
isto modo	ainsi, ensi	[in this fashion]
sic	si, issint	[thus]
si	se	[if]
similiter	auxi	[likewise]
ita	oy, oildea	[thus; yes][43]
de cetero	en avant	[furthermore; henceforward]
qualiter	coment	[how]
aliquantulum	ascune partie	[somewhat][44]
ante	avant *et* devant	[before]
aliter	autrement	[otherwise]
alibi	ailours	[elsewhere]
certe	certez, adecertes	[certainly]
memoriter	amentinablement	[with good recollection][45]
annuatim	annuelment	[yearly]
imperpetuum	a toutz jours	[forever]
deorsum *vel* ad terram	aval	[downwards, earthwards]
tantum	soulement	[so much; only][46]

M Adverbs and prepositions together with other parts of speech.

N The translations from the *Liber* give first the general sense of the Latin or English term, then, where the correspondence is not otherwise clear, its shared sense with the French as listed in DMLBS and AND. The relationships between selected Latin and English words and their French translations are discussed in the Commentary and Notes.

quantum	combien	[how much]
modicum, parum	poy	[little, too little]
parvus	petite	[small]
cito, statim, illico	tantost, maintenant	[soon, immediately, at once]
implicite	deinzment	[implicitly][47]
interius	deins *et* dedeinz	[on the inside]
explicite *vel* extrincece	forement	[explicitly, externally][48]
extra	dehors	[outside]
ubique	chescune lieu	[everywhere]
undique	chescune partie	[from everywhere][49]
quam procul, quam diu	come loige	[how far? for how long?]
sepe	sovent	[often]
valde sepe *vel* persepe	tresovent	[very often]
secrete	privément	[privately]
aperte *vel* patenter	overtiment	[openly, clearly]
propre	prés	[close]
post	après	[after]
postquam *vel* ex quo	depuis	[after, from the time]
penes	pardevers	[in the possession of; in the company of]
voluntarie	volunters	[willingly]
propter, pro, pre, ob	pur	[for][50]
per	par	[through, by]
preter	forsque	[except]
nisi	sinon	[unless]
sed	meas que	[but; except][51]
sine	saunz	[without]
usque	desquez et jesquez	[continuously; as far as]
secundum	solonc	[according to]
secus	delez	[differently; alongside]
inter	entre	[between]
integer	entiere	[whole]
adversus	vers *vel* devers	[towards, against]
circa	entoure, environ	[around, about]

circumcirca	tout entoure	[round about]
contra	encountre	[against]
juxta	joust	[beside]
ultra	dela	[beyond]
citra	decea	[on this side]
ibi	i *et* la	[there]
preterea	enoultre	[besides]
super	sur *et* sus	[above, on]
supra	desus	[above, over]
sub	soubz, desoubz	[beneath]
recte	endroit	[vertically; correctly][52]
usque huc	jesquez, [**fol. 6v**] encea	[until]
insuper	sur ceo	[above; moreover]
igitur	pur ceo	[therefore]
iterim	derechief	[again]
festinanter	hastiment	[quickly]
audaciter	hardiment	[bravely]
leviter	legierment	[lightly, easily]
pigre	lantement	[slowly][53]
velociter	ingelement	[quickly]
diu	gairez *et* n'ad gairez	[for a long time][54]
dudum, nuper	jadis	[some time ago, not long ago][55]
tum *et* nichilominus	nepurquant, nequedent *et* nientmainez	[then, nevertheless][56]
nunquam	ja, jammez	[never]
unquam	unquez	[ever, at any time]
tunc	donquez	[at that time]
quod tunc	qu'adonques	[that at that time]
nunc	ore	[now]
semper	toutdis	[always]
scilicet *et* videlicet	cestassavoire	[evidently, namely]
hoc est dicere	c'est a dire	[that is to say]
sicut	si come	[in the same way as]
quando	quaunt	[when]

subito	sodeignement	[suddenly]
falce	falcement	[falsely]
fideliter	loialment	[faithfully]
injuste	tortosement	[wrongly, unlawfully]
raro	relement	[rarely]
unde	dont	[whence]
nimis	trop	[too much]
minus	meins	[less]
alte	haut	[on high]
valde	trez	[very]
basse	bas	[low]
infideliter	disloialment	[unfaifully]
adullacione	amentesement	[with flattery?][57]
omnino	outrement	[utterly]
de procul	de loins	[from afar]
ab hinc in antea	de cy en avant *et* desormez	[henceforth]
adhuc	unquore	[still]
licet	mes que	[it is permitted; although][58]
nimus tarde	trop tarde	[too late]
cur, quare	care, quare *vel,* quoy	[why? because][59]
voharthorough	paront	[through which][60]
conjunctim	jointement	[jointly]
divism	severalment	[separately]
pluriez	sovent fois	[frequently]
ultime	darrainment	[finally]
satis	assez	[enough]
a litil while	un poy de temps	[a little while]
anoþ tyme	autre fois	[another time][61]
to day more	uymays	[two more days][62]

et cetera.

[6. Days of the week and feast days]

Lunedy, marsdy, meskerdy, joefdy, vendredy, samady, dysmeinge.

Hiere, hui, demayne, lendemayne, l'autre jours, l'autriere.

Semaigne, quinsizme, trois semaignez, mois, quarte an, demi an, annuelment, del an en an.**O**

Novel, Circumcisione,[xix] le fest de Chaundeler, le Meskerdy dez Cyndrez, Dysmeinge des Palmez *ou* [**fol. 7r**] Pasqueflore, Pasque, la nativité de seint Johan Baptistre, la nativité de Nostre Dame, l'enhaucement de seint Crois, seint Michel, le fest de Toutz Seintz, le fest dez Almez, et cetera.**P**

[7. Cardinal and ordinal numbers]

Un, deux, trois, quatre, cinque, sis, sept, oet, noef, dis, unsze, dousze, tresze, quatours, quinsze, sesze, disept, disoet, disnoef, vint, vint et un, vint e deux, et cetera, trent et un, trente e deux et cetera, quarant et un, quarant e deux et cetera, cinquant et un et cetera, sessant et un et cetera, septant et un et cetera, octant et un, noefant et un et cetera, cent, cent et un et cetera, deux centz, trois centz et cetera, mile *ou* milers, un mile, trois mile, et cetera.**Q**

Le primer, le secunde, le tierce, le quarte, le quinte, le sisme, le septisme, le oetisme, le noefisme, le disme, le unsisme, le dousisme, le tresisme, le quatresisme, le quinsisme, le seisisme, le diseptisme, le disoetisme, le disnoefisme, le vintisme, le vintisme primer et cetera, le trentisme primer et cetera, [le] quarantisme primer et cetera,[xx] le cinquantisme et cetera, le sessantisme et cetera, le oetantisme et cetera, le noefantisme et cetera, le centisme et cetera, le milisme, l'an de grace milisme quatrecentisme quarantisme et septisme et cetera.**R**

O Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday. Yesterday, today, tomorrow, the day after tomorrow, the other day, the other day. Week, fortnight, three weeks, month, quarter year, half year, annually, from year to year.

P Christmas Day (25 December), Circumcision (1 January), Candlemas (2 February), Ash Wednesday (first day of Lent), Palm Sunday (Sunday before Easter),[63] Easter, the Nativity of John the Baptist (June 24), the Nativity of Our Lady (8 September), Elevation of the Holy Cross (September 14), Michaelmas (29 September), the Feast of All Saints (November 1), the Feast of [All] Souls (November 2), etc.

Q One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, nineteen, twenty, twenty-one, twenty-two, etc. thirty-one, thirty-two, etc. forty-one, forty-two etc. fifty-one etc. sixty-one etc. seventy-one, etc. eighty-one, ninety-one, etc. a hundred, one hundred and one, etc. two hundred, three hundred, etc. a thousand, one thousand, three thousand, etc.

R The first, the second, the third, the fourth, the fifth, the sixth, the seventh, the eighth, the ninth, the tenth, the eleventh, the twelfth, the thirteenth, the fourteenth, the fifteenth, the sixteenth, the seventeenth, the eighteenth, the nineteenth, the twentieth, the twenty-first, etc. the thirty-first, etc. the forty-first, etc. the fiftieth, etc. the sixtieth, etc. the eightieth, etc. the ninetieth, etc. the hundredth, etc. the thousandth, the year of grace the one thousandth, four hundredth and forty-seventh [1447], etc.[64]

PART B: DIALOGUES

[1. Salutations]

– [**fol. 7v**] Sir, bon jour.
– Sir, bon jour a vous, ou: Bon jour a vous doigne Dieu.
– Sir, bon matyne.
– Sir, bon matyne a vous.
– Sir, Dieu vous save.
– Et vous auxi.
– Sir, Dieu vous benoie.
– Sir, a Dieu soiez.
– Sir, Dieu vous doigne bon vie et leoigne.
– Sir, Dieu vous doigne bon sainté et bon joie.
– Sir, Dieu vous garde.
– Sir, et vous auxi.

Et aprés manger, vous dirrez ainsi:
– Sir, bonez veprez, ou: Bon seore.
– Sir, bon seore a vous.
– Sir, bon noet.
– Sir, bon noet a vous doigne[xxi] et bon repos.
– Sir, reposez bien.
– Sir, vous estez bien venu.
– Sir, Dieu vous avance.
– Sir, vostre mercie.
– Sir, Dieu vous esploit.
– Sir, Dieu soit ove vous.

– Sir, voilez vous manger ove nous?
– Nony, sir, certez j'ay mangé.
– Sir, bevez.
– Sir, commencez.
– Sir, pernez le hanap.
– Sir, nonpas devant vous, se vous plest.
– Par Dieu, si frez.
– Sir, grand mercye.
– Sir, proue vous face, ou: Si graunde proue le vous face.

PART B: DIALOGUES

1. Salutations

– Sir, good day.
– Sir, good day to you, or: May God give you good day.[65]
– Sir, good morning.
– Sir, good morning to you.
– Sir, may God save you.
– And you too.
– Sir, may God bless you.
– Sir, be with God.
– Sir, may God give you a good life and a long one.
– Sir, may God give you good health and much joy.
– Sir, may God keep you.
– Sir, and you too.

And after eating, you will say thus:[66]

– Sir, good vespers, or: Good evening.
– Sir, good evening to you.
– Sir, good night.
– Sir, may He give you good night and good rest.
– Sir, rest well.
– Sir, you are welcome.
– Sir, may God speed you.
– Sir, thank you.
– Sir, may God help you.
– Sir, God be with you.

– Sir, will you eat with us?
– No, sir, really, I've already eaten.
– Sir, drink.
– Sir, begin.
– Sir, raise your cup.
– Sir, not before you, please.
– By God, you shall.
– Sir, many thanks.
– Sir, cheers! Or: Here's to your health![67]

[2. News from France]

– Ore, sir, dez queux partiez venez vous?

– Sir, je veigne dez partiez de Fraunce.

– Sir, quelez novelx de par dela?

– Sir, nostre seignour le Roy [est] en bon point,[xxii] loié soit Dieu, ovesque tout sa company es lez partiez dez Normandye. Et il est en bon point lui mesme, meas plusours dez sez gentz sont maladez et bealcope d'eaux sont mortz. Et enoultre, le Roy arriva illeoques pres la ville de Harflu et avoit mys un grande seige sur ladit ville ovesque le nombre de .xl. mile persons, et ore parmy la grace de Dieu il a conquys ladit ville et il est remené de ladit ville et seige et soy purpose pur aler vers Calis parmy la terre de Fraunce, et adonquez [**fol. 8r**] de illeoquez de retorner an Angletere par la grace de Dieu.

Et puis j'ay oie dire qu'ore tarde que lez seignours de Fraunce ovesque le nombre de .l. ou .lx. mile persons armés ont encountrez le roy par la haut chymyne et le Roy ove le nombre de .x. mile persons a combatu ovesque eux a un lieu appellé Agincourt a quy bataille y sont prisez et tuez. .xi. mile persons dez Frauncez. Et sont tuez des Engloiez forsque .xvi. persons dont le duk de Werwic estoit un et le count de Suffolke un autre, et le Roy avoit le champe et la victorie, loié soit Dieu, et myst toutz lez autres Fraunceis a ffuere.

Et issint le Roy tient son chymyne vers Calis et soy purpose de returner en Engletere par la grace de Dieu. Et enoultre, sir, je vous dye pur certeyn que lez seignours quy furent prisez a ladit bataille, c'estassavoir le duk d'Orlians, le duk de Burbayn et plusours autres countez, chivalers et esquiers vaalantz, si bien d'autres estraunges terrez come de Fraunce, serrent amenez le joefdy procheyn aprés le fest de seint Martyne envers Loundres. Et ils sont arrivez a Dovere et toutz lez gentz de Kent et d'Essex serront sufficiant moustrez en loure meiloure araie par la haute chymyne entre Canturbery et Londrez. Et auxi lez gentz de Londrez bien armez et araiez eux moustrent[xxiii] sur le Blachethe pur encountrer lezditz Fraunceis afyn q'ils purront veier quele peple [**fol. 8v**] sont lessez derere le Roy en Engletere pur la savegarde de mesme la royalme.

[3. En route to London]

– Sir, ou pensez vous chivachere a nut?

– Sir, a la procheyne ville, se Dieu plest.

– Sir, qu'est appellé la procheyne ville?

– Sir, ele est appellé Loundrez.

– Verayment, d'ycelle ville j'ay oye parler graund bien et de mult gent. Sir, combien loigne de cy est ycelle ville, je vous prie?

– Sir, nous avons bien .x. leucez illeoquez unquore.

– Ore, sir, lessons chivacher ensemble, je vous prie, quar je pense chivacher ou aler a mesme la ville ove l'eide de Dieu, mez je ne cony pas le chymyne et se me voilez l'enseigner, j'estoie graundment tenus a vous.

2. News from France

– Now, sir, from what parts do you come?

– Sir, I come from French parts.

– Sir, what news from there?[68]

– Sir, our lord the king is in good health—God be praised!—as are all his company in Norman parts. And he is in good health himself, but several of his people are ill and many of them have died. And what's more, the king arrived there near the town of Harfleur and had laid a great siege on the said town with the number of forty thousand people, and presently with the grace of God he conquered the said town and he turned back from the said town and siege, purposing to go towards Calais through the territory of France, and then from there to return to England by the grace of God.

And then I've heard say that before long the lords of France together with armed men to the number of fifty or sixty thousand met the king on the high road and the king together with men to the number of ten thousand fought with them at a place called Agincourt at which battle there were taken and killed eleven thousand men on the French side. And just sixteen men on the English side were killed,[69] of whom the duke of Warwick was one and the count of Suffolk another,[70] and the king won the field and the victory—God be praised!—and put all the other Frenchmen to flight.

And so the king is making his way towards Calais, purposing to return to England by the grace of God. And what's more, sir, I tell you certainly that the lords who were taken at the said battle, that is to say the duke of Orleans, the duke of Bourbon, and several other counts, knights, and worthy squires,[71] from other foreign lands as well as from France, will be led next Thursday after the feast of saint Martin towards London. And they have already arrived at Dover and all the people of Kent and Essex will be worthily on show in their best array along the high road between Canterbury and London. And also the people of London, well armed and arrayed, will muster on Blackheath to meet the said Frenchmen so that they can see what people are likewise left behind the king of England for the safekeeping of the kingdom.

3. En route to London

– Sir, where are you planning on riding to tonight?

– Sir, to the next town, God willing.

– Sir, what's the next town called?

– Sir, it is called London.[72]

– Indeed, I've heard many people speak much good of that town. Sir, how far from here is that town, I beg you?

– Sir, we still have a good ten leagues[73] until we're there.

– Now then, sir, let's ride together, I beg you, for I intend to ride or to walk to the same town with God's help, but I don't know the route and if you'll show it to me, I would be most indebted to you.

– Sir, par ma fay, volentrez, et je su tres lez de vostre company, mez je me doubte que je ne puisse mye vous suer, quar je su en partie maladie[xxiv] et non pas tout garrie unquore, et mon chyval est laas et cloié devant et derere; son dos auxi de la selle est blessé et l'un oile este ousté, mez unquore il n'est pas avoigle, et quant il vient a un fosse profunde, donque moy covient lui portere,[xxv] quar il ne poet mye sez jambez hors de la tay lever.

– Donque, sir, alons ensemble en noun de Dieu et nous y viendrons a ladit ville en bon tens par le haut soloile, se Dieu plest.

– Ore, sir, ou serrons loggez quant nous veignons la?

– Sir, a la Molyn sur le Hope en le haut rieu[xxvi] est le meilour hostelle d'icelle ville, come je suppose, quar nous y arons bon chere et vitaile assez pur hommez et chivalx et de bon merché.

[4. Securing lodging; provisions for horses]

– Hostiler, hostiler.

– Sir, sir, je su cy.

– Purrons nous bien estre loggez ciens?

– Oy, certez, mez maistrez, [**fol. 9r**] vous estez tres bien venuz trestoutz. Combien estez vous en nombre?

– Mon amy, nous ne sumes yci a present forsque sis companons et trois garcions ovesque noef chivalx, mez y sont plousours de nous companons derere.

– Sir, vous serrez loggez ciens bien assez toutz se vous eussez centz chivalx.

– Sir, ont vous chivalx beu?

– Non pas unquor, quar ils sont trop chaudez pur boire pur ce que nous avons chivaché fort de Rouchestre tanque en cea et auxi nous estoions pursuez ove larons yci sur le Blachethe et se nous chivalx n'eussent esté meilours[xxvii] et la grace de Dieu nous eust eidé, nous n'eussons mye eschapez saunz robber. Mez loié soit Dieu que nous ore sumes yci en saveté, quar nous y avoions graund pauore.

Et pur ce lessez nous garcions amener nous chivalx sus et jus en le rieu entanque ils soient enfroidez et puis lez ewar et laver bien profunde issint que lez estruez et lez senglez soient nettéz, savant[xxviii] lez sellez ove lez harneys seccez. Et puis regardez que nous eions un bon estable chaude et bien littré, tanque a le ventre de le chival, quare le tens[xxix] froide et auxi mettez voaddez de paile seccez desoubz lour senglez et frottez bien lour jambez issint q'ils ne soient mye drachez. Et puis lour donez provendre assez a chescun chival, deux botelx de fyne et un darrayn de payne.

– Hostiler!

– Sir!

– Coment vendez vous de l'aveyn?

– Sir, pur quater [**fol. 9v**] deners le busshelle.

– Verayment, c'est bon merché.

– Sir, by my faith, with pleasure, I am very glad of your company, but I'm not sure I can keep up with you, for I've been a bit unwell and haven't quite recovered yet, and my horse is tired and cloyed[74] at the front and the back; also his back has been injured by the saddle and he's missing an eye—but he's not blind yet—and when he comes to a deep ditch, then I'm forced to carry him, for he can't get his legs out of the mud.[75]

– In that case, sir, let's walk together, in the name of God, and we'll come to the said town in good time while the sun's up high, God willing.

– Now, sir, where will we be lodged when we come there?

– Sir, the best inn in that town is at the Molyn sur le Hope[76] in the high street, by my reckoning, for we'll get a good meal there and food enough for the men and the horses, and at a good price.

4. Securing lodging; provisions for horses

– Innkeeper! Innkeeper!

– Sir, sir, I'm here!

– May we take lodging here?

– Yes, certainly, my masters, you are very welcome all of you. How many are you in number?

– My friend, we are presently just six companions and three boys, with nine horses, but several of our companions are coming up behind.

– Sir, all of you'd be well enough lodged in this house if you had a hundred horses.

– Sir, have your horses drunk?

– No, not yet, for they're too hot to drink because we've ridden hard from Rochester to here and also we were pursued here by thieves on Blackheath[77] and if our horses hadn't been of the better sort and the grace of God hadn't helped us, we wouldn't have escaped without being robbed. But—God be praised!—we're here now in safety, for we were very afraid back there.

And so let our boys lead our horses up and down in the street until they've cooled down and then water and wash them thoroughly so that the stirrups and the straps are cleaned, keeping the saddles with the harnesses dry on one side.[78] And then see that we have a good, warm stable with a good litter of straw up to the horses' bellies, for the weather is growing cold, and also put wads of dry straw under their harnesses and rub their legs well so that they don't become scaly.[79] And then give provender enough to each horse, two small bales of hay, and a crust of bread.

– Innkeeper!

– Sir!

– How much do you sell wheat for?

– Sir, four pennies a bushel.[80]

– Really, that's good value.

[5. A conversation with the lady of the house]

– Ore, ou est la dame de ciens?

– Sir, ele viendra tantost. Ele est ovesque [une] commere[xxx] et ne demurra gueirez.

– Dame, bon seor.

– Sir, vous estez tresbien venuz. Sir, coment a vous est, et coment avez vous valu depuis que vous fuistez darraiment ycy?

– Dame, bien! Et coment valoit vostre marite et tout vostre mesnage?

– Sir, bien, loiez soit Dieu, et le meulx pur vous, graund mercye. Sir, vuillez vous approcher a la sale ou vuillez mounter a la chambur?

– Nonil, dame, nous voilons prendre nostre chambyr par tens. Et voilez vous nous faire avoir un bon feu en le chymney pur nous rechaufer. Et bailez a nous de vostre payne et un hanape de servoise pur nous rehaiter, quar nous sumes moilez et laas et nous avons chivachez a jour de hui .xl. leucez et plus.

– Par ma fay, sir, c'est graund travaile pur vous qu'estez veilez et maladez, mez je vous promitte que vous arez la meilour servoise cyens qu'est en cest ville, et vous beverez de mesme la pot que nostre sir beveroit s'il fuist a l'ostel, quar je luy mettray a broche pur l'amour de vous. Et se vous vuillez boire de vyne, j'envoieray a un taverne joust le quatrefaukez[xxxi] lou est un pipe debon vyne vermaile novelment au broche, et a Corne sur le Hope vous arés de bon malvesey, romeney, osey, tyre, vyne ecreett,[xxxii] vernage, ypocras, et vyne blanc.

– Ore, beal dame, qu'arons a soper?

– Sir, vous arés a soper viaunde assez. Mez ditez a moy se vous voilez aver vostre viaunde apparaillé ciens ou a la cuez?

– Nony, dame, en vostre cusyn de mesme[xxxiii] ou autrement en le chymeney devant nous. [**f.10r**][xxxiv]

– Sir, quele manere de viaunde aymez vous meulx?

– Dame, faitez nous avoir dez meillours vitaillez que vous avez ou que vous purrez [t]rover a vendre.

– Sir, j'ay ciens bons pulcyns, chapons, gelyns [gloss: *hennys*], pigions, ovez [gloss: *gers*], porcellez joesnez et graas, perdris, plovers et [au]tres oiseux petitz et grantz, heirons, feisantz et cokkis de bois, vel: becoye, allouez [gloss: *larks*] et esturneaux, dez gruez auxi et dez grivez [gloss: *fyldfarys*] et d'autre volatile savage. Je ne failiray rienz: signez, malardez, colombez, dez pirez et pomez j'ay plenté, formage [gloss: *chese*] et noez vous ne failerez point et puis dez ovys, un bon candelle et a vostre lit un beal damyselle.

– Dame, graund mercie de vostre soper, mez de nostre lit lessons parler et de nostre dyner demayn a matyne, e puis nous irrons nostre chymyne.

– Sir, vostre lit serra fait bien tost et bealment pur vous coucher et dormer en ycelle saunz soungez et [to]rment. Dez pilouez ou orilers, dez plumez et lynceux blancz, materassez, covrelitez et blankettez; curteynez, testers et cilours vous y arez tout entour.

– Ore, dame, graund mercie de vostre beal chier. Pernez le hanape [et b]evez le vyne clere, quar ove vostre congé nous vaillons[xxxv] dormer. Appellez le hostiler pur ov nous counter[xxxvi] combien nous paierons pur nous chivalx et nostre soper.

5. A conversation with the lady of the house

– Now, where is the lady of the house?

– Sir, she'll come right away. She is with a girlfriend and won't be a moment.

– Madam, good evening.

– Sir, you are most welcome. Sir, how are you, and how have you fared since you were last here?

– Madam, well! And how has your husband been, and all your household?

– Sir, well, God be praised! And the better for seeing you, thanks be! Sir, would you like to come to the hall or would you like to go up to your room?

– No, madam. We'd like to go up to our room shortly. And please provide us with a good fire in the hearth to warm us up. And give us some of your bread and a cup of ale to cheer us up, for we're wet through and tired and we've ridden sixty leagues today and more.

– By my faith, sir, that's a long journey[81] for you who are old and ill, but I promise that you will have the town's best ale in this house, and you'll drink from the same jug that our lord would drink from if he were at the inn, because I'll tap it just because I like you. And if you want to drink wine, I'll send to a tavern next to the crossroads where there is a pipe[82] of good red wine just broached, and from the Corne sur le Hope[83] you'll have good malmsey, romeny, osey, tyr, Cretian wine, vernage, hypocras, and white wine.[84]

– Now, good woman, what will we have for supper?

– Sir, you will have enough food. But tell me if you will have your food prepared here or in the public kitchens?[85]

– No, madam, in your own kitchen or otherwise in the hearth in front of us.

– Sir, what manner of food do you like best?

– Madam, give us the best victuals that you have or that you can find for sale.

– Sir, I have in house good chickens, capons, hens, pigeons, geese,[86] young and fat pigs, partridges, plovers and other birds little and large, herons, pheasants and cocks of the wood or woodcocks,[87] larks and starlings, cranes too and thrushes and other wild birds. I won't be lacking in anything: swans, mallards, doves, I have plenty of pears and apples, you won't lack cheese and nuts and then eggs, a good candle, and a beautiful young girl in your bed!

– Madam, many thanks for your supper. But let's talk about our bed and our breakfast for tomorrow morning,[88] and then we'll be on our way.

– Sir, your bed will be made speedily and beautifully for you to lie down and sleep in it without cares and trouble. Pillows and cushions, feathers and white sheets, mattresses, coverlets and blankets; [89] you'll have curtains, hangings at the bedhead, and canopies all around.[90]

– Now, madam, many thanks for your fair welcome. Raise your cup and drink this clear wine, for with your leave we'll go to sleep. Call the innkeeper to reckon up with us how much we'll pay for our horses and our supper.

[6. Further provisions for horses]

– Hostiler!

– Sir?

– Sont nous chivalx apparailez pur tout la nut?

– Sir, non pas unquore. Mez lessez vostre garcion venir et dire que provendre ils aront.

– Johan!

– Maistre, que vuillez vous?

– As tu sopé?

– Oy, sir!

– Tien le hanape et bevez un fois, mez ne bevez my[e] trop haut [**fol.10v**] pur doubt que tu soiez iver, et puis va a la stable et oustez lez sellez de lez chivalx et eux corriez et frottez bien lour jambez. Auxi cerchez lour peez et lez stoppez de coyn, et pernez de grece et bon servoise et lez boillez ensemble et lavez ove ycelle toutz lour jambez, et auxi pernez de ceef et lyne et lez friez en un payle veile de fere ou d'erasme et stoppez lez peez de[xxxvii] chival gris qu'estoit cloié. Et puis lour donez de provendre assez, cestassavoir a chescun chival un peek d'aveyn et plus de payne se vous veiez que boisoigne soit. Et demayn levez bien matyne et appellez un ferrour, le meilour que purra estre trové a la ville, et lessez lui ferrer le chival blanc, le chival noir, le chival sore et lez autres hakeneis environ. Et, Johan, je toy promitte verayment, se ceste chose ne soit mye fait come je toy ay dit, ou se je trove ascune defaute en ta persone, je toy ffray coruscere issint que tu comparrez grevoisment!

[7. Paying the bill]

– Hostiler!

– Sir!

– Bailez cea dez gettours et lessons counter combien nous avons a la chambre et combien a la stable.

– Sir, j'ay counté ovesque vostre vadlet, Guilliam, en la presence de Sir Huge, vostre chapeloyn.

– Bien, de cella je su content. Tien ta mayne et pernez l'argent. Combien amount trestout a compte?

– Sir, il este amounté [a] 5s et 1d meins.[xxxviii]

– Ore appelez la dame et emplez le hanape et bailez nous a boire. Et faitez nous avoir lez pomez rostez et mestez de payn tosté a le feu, que fra le beverache plus freske. Dame, [**fol. 11r**] bevez!

– Sir.

– Commencez, dame, pernez vostre hanape, par Dieu.

– Sir, non pas devant vous, se vous plest.

6. Further provisions for horses

– Innkeeper!

– Sir?

– Are our horses ready to see the night through?

– Sir, not yet. But let your boy come and say that they should have provender.

– Johan!

– What do you want, master?

– Have you eaten supper?

– Yes, sir!

– Take a cup and drink a draft but don't drink too deeply in case you get drunk, and then go to the stable and take the saddles off the horses and curry them and rub their legs well. Check their feet too and plug them with straw,[91] and take grease and good beer and boil them up together and wash their legs from top to bottom with the mixture, and also take suet and flax and rub them together in an old pot of iron or brass and plug the feet of the gray horse who was cloyed. And then give them enough provender, that is to say to each horse a peck[92] of wheat and some bread too if you see that need be. And tomorrow get up early in the morning and call a blacksmith, the best that can be found in the town, and have him shoe the white horse, the black horse, the sorrel horse, and the other hackneys with them. And, Johan, I promise you truly, if this thing isn't done as I've told you, or if there's any fault to be found in you, I'll have you punished[93] so hard that you'll pay it dearly!

7. Paying the bill

– Innkeeper!

– Sir!

– Give some counters here[94] and let's reckon up how much we owe for the room and the stable.

– Sir, I've reckoned up with your valet, Guilliam,[95] in the presence of Sir Huge, your chaplain.

– Well, that's good enough for me. Hold out your hand and take the money. How much does the bill come to in total?

– It comes to five shillings less one penny.[96]

– Now, call the lady of the house and fill the cups and give us something to drink. And let us have roasted apples and serve bread toasted at the fire, which will make the beverage all the fresher. Madam, drink!

– Sir.

– Start, madam. Raise your cup, by God.

– Sir, no. Not before you, please.[97]

– Qu'arons demayn a nostre dyner?

– Sir, vous arez viaunde assez, coistez, rostez et pestez. Mez ditez a moy vostre volunté, que vous ameroiez meulx.

– Dame, faitez nous aver braun de sengler ove le musterde, et bonez joutez ovesque boef, moton et porke boilez, et ceo sufficera pur homez travailantz.

[8. The market at Winchester]

– Dame, ou est vostre marit?

– Par Dieu, sir, il est alé a la feire d'un ville qu'est .x. leucez de cy appellé Wynchestre.

– Dame, quelez marchaundez voet il vendre ou acheter illeoquez?

– Sir, il a la pur vendre boefs, vaccez, bovettiez, velez, tourez eisnez et jousnez, porkz, senglers, troiez, chivalx, jumentz, pullaynz, berbez, motons et mereberbez, toupez, agnelx, kedeaux, cheverelx, asneis, mules et autrez bestez ou averez.

Et a auxi la pur vendre .xx. sakkez, .iii. toddez, .iiii. perez et .v. clovez de layne; .ii. centz peaux lanitz,[xxxix] .xiiii. drapez longes et largez, .x. douszeins de melleiez d'Oxonford, .xx. kerseyez d'Abyndon, .x. blanketez de Whiteney, .vi. rougez de Chastelcombe, .iiii. russetez de Colchestre, scarletez, bloiez ou perz salestenz, plunketez sanguynz et violettez en greynez raiez, motleiez de Salusbyry, et autres divers colours de plusours sortez pur faire lyvereis si bien as seignours, abbees et priours com as autres gentils du pais.

Il a auxi la de lyne, toille, canabas ou cambre, cordez, savon, oele, fer, pevre, zingebre [**fol.11v**] et autres espiceryre et mercerye a taunt comne lui costa .c. liverez.

[9. A mother's request for help]

– Sir, je vous prie, ou pensez vous chivacher ore de cy?

– Dame, droit a Loundrez se Dieu plest.

– Sir, d'un chose je vous prioray, se j'osasse, ou fuisse si hardy.

– Dame, pur l'amour de vostre maistre et vous auxi je fray ce que je purray, savant mon estate, a vostre plesier.

– Sir, graund mercy et j'ay icy un fitz de l'age de .xii. ans et solonc vostre avise c'est la volunté de mon maistre et moy auxi pur lui estover a un bon homme de mester en Loundrez lou il purroit bien estre enseigné et governé en le manere d'apprentise illeoques.

– Dame, appellez l'enfant et lessez me lui veier.

– Mon fitz, avez vous esté a l'escole?

– Oy, sir, pur vostre congé.

– A quele lieu?

– Sir, a l'ostelle de Guilliam Scrivener.

– Beal fitz, qu'avez vous apris la en ycelle terme?

– What will we have tomorrow for our dinner?

– Sir, you will have enough meat, cooked, roasted, and ground. But tell me what you want, what you would prefer.

– Madam, let us have a cut of wild boar with mustard, and a good vegetable soup with beef, mutton, and boiled pork, and that will be enough for travelling men.[98]

8. The market at Winchester

– Madam, where is your husband?

– By God, sir, he has gone to the fair at a town that is ten leagues from here called Winchester.[99]

– Madam, what merchandise does he want to sell or buy there?

– Sir, he has for sale oxen, cows, bullocks,[100] calves, old and young bulls, pigs, wild boars, sows, horses, mares, foals, sheep, male sheep and mother sheep, rams, lambs,[101] goats, roe-bucks, asses, mules, and other livestock and goods.

And he also has for sale twenty sacks, three toddes, four stones, and five cloves of wool;[102] two hundred fleeces, fourteen bolts of long and large woollen cloth, ten kerseys of Oxford mix, twenty Abingdon kerseys, ten Witney blankets,[103] six bolts of Castlecombe red cloth, four bolts of fine Colchester russet cloth, scarlet, blue, or sky-blue cloth,[104] blood-red and fast-dyed and striped violet plunkets,[105] variegated Salisbury cloth, and cloths in various other colours of many sorts to make livery as well for lords, abbots, and priors as for other nobles in the land.

He also has flax, linen, canvas or cambric, ropes, soap, oil, iron, pepper, ginger, and other spices and wares—so many that they cost him one hundred pounds.

9. A mother's request for help

– Sir, I beg you, where do you intend to ride now from here?

– Madam, straight to London,[106] god willing.

– Sir, there's something that I would ask of you, if I dared or if I was so bold.[107]

– Madam, for the love of both you and your master I will try to do what I can to please you, as far as my standing permits.

– Sir, many thanks. I have here a twelve-year-old son and if you agree it's both my master's and my own wish to find him a good professional man in London with whom he could be well taught and directed as an apprentice there.

– Madam, call the child and let me see him.

– My son, have you been to school?

– Yes, sir, by your leave.

– In what place?

– Sir, at the house of Guilliam Scrivener.[108]

– Good son, what have you learned in that time?[109]

– Sir, mon maistre m'a enseigné pur escrier, enditer, counter et fraunceis parler.

– Et que savez vous en fraunceis dire?

– Sir, je sçai mon non et mon corps bien descrier.

– Donque, ditz a moy qu'avez a noun?

– Sir, j'ay a noun Johan, bon enfant, beal et sage et bien parlant englois, fraunceis et bon normandie.[xl]

[10. A would-be apprentice's French]

– Benoit soit la virge que chast[xli] l'enfant et le bon maistre que moy prist tant. Je prie a Dieu tout puissant nous graunt le joy tout dis durant.

Auxi, sir, j'estoie hier a le fest ovesque: mon chief, ou: mon teste, mes chiveux resersilez, le front devant, le colle derere, lez orelez, les oilez, le veu clere, lez paperez, lez sursilez, le noez, [**fol. 12r**] lez narez et le tiendroun, le bouche ove le pallet amont lez dentz, la lange, lez gyngyvez, lez faux qu'enclosent lez dentz enviroun et lez jouez et mentoun, lez liverez desus et desoubz, le hanapele ove lez templez et le cervelle, le fosslet, le gorge devant, le gargelet lou mon aleyne est passant. En my le teste est le grive, le kakenel derere, la visage devant de tout le teste. Je n'ay cure de remanent.

J'ay auxi le pis ove le pestryn, lez espaulez, blaseon et le chyne, ventre, os, doos, mamels, costez, coustez, umbil et le penyle et la peal dehors que covere le vit, lez coillons, le cul, le char et tout le corps est en my lieu dencre mez braas,[xlii] et j'ay lez coubtez sur queux je declyne quaunt je su laas; et parentre le coubte et la coue de ma mayn j'appelle un cubit en longure certeyn. Sur mez mayns j'ay diez, ove lez unglez d'eaux cresçantz, et la poyn que clost la mayn quant j'ay scié un poynon de blee dedeins la paum.

Et auxi dedeins le ventre j'ay le coer ove qy je pense de mon sen d'apprendre et faire bien, bouels, entrels, foy,[xliii] esplen et renon, estomac, veinz et pulmon, reynez et punel dehors, feel dedeins et vescie. J'ay auxi lez jambez ov la ssure, quisseux et lez genulez, nagez et la forcheure, lez peez ov lez kevelez, lez urtils, la plant et le talon dont le [**fol .12v**] fraunceis est comun.

Auxi, sir, j'ay drapez qu'appartinent a mon corps, dez linez et laynez, senglez, furrez et doublez dedeins et dehors, chausez, solers, botez ou hoseux et boteaux, chausemblez, espirons, chemise, brais et brael, cote, purpoint et kyrtil, surcote et mantel, tabarde, cloke, hopelond, chaperon, pilion, chapelet et autre garment ove manches longez, largez et bien tailez. Et, se mestre y soit, j'ay un coiffe, peigne et covrechief de soy, de file et de coton.

Mez je ne vuille mye obluier ma burse, mon aguler – et quant un femme serra enseintez, ele serra seygntee de bon seigntour; et s'il ne soit de soi, il serra de couyre – mon dage et mon cutel bien trenchant, la gayne, beal espeie et bokelere d'acer fyn ov beal forure et l'aniel novel, mez je voile my traire mon espeie hors de la forure saunz graund eie ove cause resonabil, quar l'em dit e[xliv] seint escripture: Cil quy coveite a fereire ovesque le espeie, par le espeie il serra feru.

– Sir, my master has taught me to write, compose, calculate, and speak French.[110]

– And what can you say in French?

– Sir, I can say my name and describe my body properly.

– So then, tell me: what is your name?

– Sir my name is Johan. I'm a good child, handsome and well behaved, and I can speak English and French well, and good Norman.[111]

10. A would-be apprentice's French

– Blessed be the rod that chastises the child and the good master who prizes me so highly. I pray that God almighty grant us everlasting joy.

Also, sir, I was at the festival yesterday with: my head or: my crown[112] my curly hair, my forehead at the front, my neck behind, the ears, the eyes, clear vision, the eyelids, the eyebrows, the nose, the nostrils and the septum, the mouth with the pallet above the teeth, the tongue, the gums, the throat[113] that the teeth enclose round about and the cheeks and chin, the upper and lower lips, the skull with the temples and the brain, the hollow hole in the neck,[114] the throat in front, the windpipe where my breath passes through. The parting is in the middle of my head, the back of the skull behind, the face in the front of the whole head. I don't care about the rest.

I also have the chest with the breast, the shoulders, shoulder-blade and the spinal column,[115] stomach, bones, back, breasts, sides, flanks, navel and the penis and the foreskin that covers the prick, the balls, the arsehole, the flesh and the whole body is in the middle, behind my arms, and I have the elbows that I lean on when I am tired; and I call the space between the elbow and the tip of my hand a full cubit in length. On my hands I have ten fingers, with the nails that grow out of them, and the fist that closes the hand when I've reaped a handful of grain in my palm.

And also inside my body I have the heart with which I think using my capacity to learn and to do good, bowels, entrails, liver, spleen and kidney,[116] stomach, veins and lung, kidneys, pubes[117] on the outside, gall-bladder inside and bladder. I also have the legs with the calf, thighs and the knees, buttocks and the crotch, the feet with the ankles, the toes, the sole and the heel, for which everyone knows the French.[118]

Also, sir, I have the clothes that belong to my body, linens and wools, unlined, furred and lined inside and outside, slippers, shoes, boots or hose and boots, footwear, spurs, shirt, breaches and belly-band, coat, pourpoint and kirtle, surcoat and mantle, tabard, cloak, houppelande, chaperon, felt cap, cap, and other garments with sleeves long, wide, and well tailored.[119] And, if necessary, I have a hairnet, comb, and kerchiefs of silk, yarn, and cotton.

But I don't want to forget my purse, my needle-case—and when a woman is pregnant, she will be girded with a good girdle; [120] and if it is not of silk it will be of leather—my dagger and my sharp knife, the sheath, good sword and shield of fine steel with a good scabbard and new ring, but I don't want to draw my sword out of its scabbard without great help, and with reasonable cause, for it is said in holy scripture: he who desires to strike with the sword shall be struck down by the sword.[121]

Auxi, sir, je toy enseigne de comune language et d'autre maner de parlance et dez diverse chosez, de bestez et de gaynerye issint que de parler droit. Vous ne failerez mye se traiez vous a bon company et guerpez le maveisez et lour folie, mez d'un homme ne d'un femme ne de lour enfant n'est boisoigne pur parler taunt de lour fitz, file ou filette, [**fol. 13r**] garçon, pusele ou garsette, vadlettez, lour servantz ne lour apprentis, veiciens, maistres, soveraynez, seignours, subgettez, lour amys et bien vuillantz, auxi dez emperours, rois, dukez, countez, barons, chivalers, bachillers et esquiers.

Lessons parler del pape auxi et archevesquez, evesques, archideknys, denez, officials, prestez et clerkez, abbez, moignez et priours, frerees et chanons, noignez et d'autres damez; de la Reigne et de la duchesse et de countesse, de la soer et sorceresse et dez veilez veves, virgynes, des ribaudez ou pailardez, putaynez, putiveils et vilayns, larons, felons et traitours.

Autres fraunceis j'ay apris: un chate, un rate et un sorez, un liver, livere, livre, levere, leverere. Tablez pur la sale, docers, bankers ov quarreux, chaers, aundirez, furchez de fer pur le feu, basyns, ewars et chaufours, pot et pailez d'aresme, coupez d'or, picez ou tassez d'argent endorrez, hanapz de fraxinez ov lez coverclez peintez, launcez de verre, hachez de guerre, coynez pur couper bastons de keyne et cuynez pur lez busshez fyndre, et l'argent coigné prendre et autre armure, cestassaver basynet ou lumbrere et la ventaile, pisseins, platez, haburgion, vmbras,[xlv] rerebras, quisseux et gauntez de plate, arcez, settez et cordez pur arcez, vesselez d'argent auxi et d'esteyn, cestassaver .ii. douszeins de cuillers d'argent merchez ov le teste de libarde, .iii. douszeins plateaux, .i. douszein esquilez, .iii. douszeins saucers et cetera.

Explicit *Liber Donati*.

Also, sir, I can teach you everyday language and other manners of speaking[122] and about diverse things in order to speak correctly about animals and husbandry. You won't falter if you draw to good company and give up the wicked and their folly, but for a man, a woman, and for their child there is no more necessary topic of conversation than their son, daughter or little girl, boy, maiden or maidservant, manservants, their servants or their apprentices, neighbours, masters, sovereigns, lords, subjects, their friends and well-wishers; and also about emperors, kings, dukes, counts, barons, knights, knights bachelor and squires.

Let's talk about the pope also and about archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, deans, officials, priests and clerks, abbots, monks and priors, friars and canons, nuns and other women; about the queen and about the duchess and the countess, about the sister and sorceress and about the chaste matrons,[123] virgins, about the fuckers, or scumbags,[124] the whores, cheap sluts[125] and bad guys, crooks, felons, and traitors.

Here's some more French that I've learned: a cat, a rat and a mouse, a book, lip, pound, hare, hound for hunting.[126] Tables for the hall, curtains, bench-covers with squares on them, chairs, andirons, iron forks for the fire, basins, ewers and warming-pans, brass pots and pans, golden cups, objects or cups of gilded silver, ash-wood cups with painted covers, shimmering lances, war axes, axes to cut oak sticks and wedges to split logs, and take stamped silver[127] and other armour, that is to say, a light helmet or visor and the ventail, mail collar, breast plates, habergeon, vambrace, rearbrace,[128] plate cuisses and gauntlets, bows, arrows and cords for the bow, silver and tin vessels, that is to say, two dozen spoons of silver hallmarked with a leopard's head,[129] three dozen platters, one dozen bowls, three dozen saucers et cetera.

Here ends the *Liber Donati*.[130]

COMMUNE PARLANCE

[1. Opening prayer]

[**fol. 67v**] Ici a nostre comencement de cesti tretis nous dirrons ainsi: en noun de Pier et Filz et Seint Espirit, amen.

En noun de la glorius Trinité, trois persons et un soul Dieu omnipotent, creour de monde, qu'est et a esté, et sanz fin regnera, de qui vient toute grace, sapience, et virtu, faiceons priere a luy devotement que luy plese de sa graunde mercy et grace toutz qui cesti livre regarderont ou enrememorunt ensy abuverer [gloss: *to be fulfillid*] et enluminere de le rosee de sa haute sapience qu'ils purront avoire soveraigne grace et sen naturel d'apprendre a parlere, bien sonere, et parfitement escriere douce francés, qu'est la plus beale et la plus gracious langage et la plus noble parlere aprés latyn de scole que soit en monde et de toutz gentz melx preysé et amee que nulle autre. Quare Dieux le fist si douce et amyable princypalment au l'onore et louaege[xlvi] de lui mesmez.

[2. The human body]

Et pur ce que homme est le plus noble et le plus digne creature que soit en sicle, et que Dieux a ordigné d'estre soveraigne et maister dez toutz autrez creaturs et choses que sont desoubz luy, je commencerai a declarere et pleinement determinere de lui et dez lez membres de son corps et des autrez choses que lui apperteignent ou aveignent.

Et sachés que sicom dit le sage que homme est divisé en douzse partiez au manere et guise dez .xii. signes de ciel que lez governent, et lez signez ont grante seigneurie et dominacione dez lez membrez suisditz, [**fol. 68r**] quant la lune serra en ascun d'eaux acordé a son membre.

Et voilés savoire que homme est arbre bestorné, c'est a dire l'estok, ou: le trunc, et lez racinez quelez sount versere[xlvii] contremount, et la summitee ovesque lez branchez en avale. Ainsi est la test d'omme qu'est la plus haute et principale partie de lui qu'est rasemblé a l'estok d'une arbre, et lez chiveux au lez racines.

Et fait a remembre qu'il en a beu cope [gloss: *money*][xlviii] dez membres come le front avant, lez orailez, lez oiles, lez palperes, lez surcillez, le veu clere, lez chiveux, les chiveux resursilez; auxi en la test est la kakenel et le colle derere, la visaige devant ou est le nees, lez narez, le tiendrone [gloss: *grystyll of þe no*],[xlix] lez faucez, lez jouez, les liverez desus et desoubz qu'enclosent lez dentz environe, le bouche ov le palet amont la lange, lez gingivez et la hanapele ov lez templez, le cervel, le fosselet, le gorge, la gargalet l'ou moun alyne est passant, ausi enmy la teste amont le grive [gloss: *þe shede*]. Est auxi le pis ou le pectrin, le vendone, lez espaulez, le blasone, lez asselez, lez bras, lez coubtes [gloss: *elbowys*],[l] lez mainez, lez diez, la palme, lez unglez, lez joyntes, le pectrin, les mamels, lez coustes [gloss: *þe syde*], lez costés [gloss: *þe rybys*], le dos [gloss: *bak*], lez ossez, le ventre, le chyne, l'umbil [gloss: *the nauyl*],[li] le penyl [gloss: *share*], le vit, lez cuilons [gloss: *ballat*], le cul [gloss: *ars*], le hanche, lez nagez [gloss: *buttockes*], lez esquissez [gloss: *thyys*], lez genulez, lez jambes, la garete, l'assure [gloss: *calfe*], lez peez, lez kevylez, lez artilez, la plante de pee, le talone [gloss: *þe hele*],[lii] le cervele [gloss: *þe brayne*], le gargate, le corps, le coer, le foy [gloss: *lyuer*], le pulmone [gloss: *longge*], lez splene [gloss: *mylte*], lez boelx et le stomac, [**fol. 68v**] lez veyns, lez nerfes [gloss: *sennes*], la rate [gloss: *þe mytryf*], le feel, lez reignouns, lez reynez, la vescie, et la peel.

COMMUNE PARLANCE

1. Opening prayer

Here at our beginning of this treatise we will say thus: in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, amen.

In the name of the glorious Trinity, three persons in one omnipotent God alone, creator of the world, who is and has been, and will reign without end, from whom comes all grace, wisdom, and virtue, let us pray to Him devotedly that it might please Him in His great mercy and grace so to fill[131] and illumine with the dew of His high wisdom all who will look in this book or commit it to memory,[132] so that they may have the sovereign grace and natural disposition to learn to speak, pronounce well, and perfectly write sweet French,[133] which is the most beautiful and the most gracious language and the most noble speech in the world, after school Latin,[134] and better praised and loved by all people than any other. For God made it so sweet and pleasing principally to the honour and praise of Himself.

2. The human body

And because man is the most noble and the worthiest creature in the world, and God ordained him to be sovereign and master over all the other creatures and things that are beneath him, I will start by declaring and fully specifying his features and the members of his body and the other things that appertain or fall to him.

And you should know that, just as the wise man says, man is divided into twelve parts in the manner and guise of the twelve signs of the heavens, which signs govern those parts, and the signs have great mastery and domination over the aforementioned members. When the moon is in any of them, that sign affects the member that it governs.[135]

And please be aware that man is an inverted tree,[136] that is to say the stock, or: the trunk,[137] and the roots are turned upwards, and the crown with the branches downwards. So man's head, which is the highest and principal part of him, resembles the trunk of a tree and his hair the roots.

And recall that he has many members such as the forehead at the front, the ears, the eyes, the eyelids, the eyebrows, clear sight, the hair, the curly hair; and also in the head there is the back of the skull and the neck behind, the face at the front where the nose is, the nostrils, the septum, the throat, the cheeks, the upper and lower lips that surround the teeth, the mouth with the palate above the tongue, the gums and the skull with the temples, the brain, the little hollow of the neck, the lower neck, the windpipe that my breath passes through, also in the middle of the head, at the top, the parting. There is also the breast or the chest, the neck muscle, the shoulders, the shoulder blade, the armpits, the arms, the elbows, the hands, the fingers, the palm, the nails, the joints, the chest, the breasts, the sides, the ribs, the back, the bones, the belly, the spine, the navel, the pubes, the cock, the balls,[138] the arse, the hip, the buttocks, the thighs, the knees, the legs, the ham, the calf, the feet, the ankles, the toes, the sole of the foot, the heel, the brain, the gullet, the body, the heart, the liver, the lung, the spleen, the bowels and the stomach, the veins, the nerves, the midriff, the gall-bladder, the kidneys, the loins, the bladder, and the skin.

[3. Furnishing a house]

Ore je vous divisaray lez chocez necessaries a homme et la manere de parlere. Fait le seignour del hostel a un dez cez esquiers ou vadletez tout ainsy:

– Me faitez venire devant moy mon garderobre. Ditez luy qu'il veigne tantost.

– Voluntrez, moun seignour, a vostre comandement.

Et puis le vadlet s'en irra a garderobre et luy dirra courteisment tout ainsy:

– Sir, Dieu vous esploit. Ou: Dieu vous avance.

– Vous estez bien venu, beu sir. Voilez vous rien que je puisse faire?

– Oil dea, mon seignour vous comanda d'a luy venire tantost, quar je sçay bien, se vous demurrez gairez, il serra bien marry de vous. Et pur ce vous n'arestez mye, mez avancez vous sur vostre chymyn.

– Savez vous rien qe luy plest?

– Nonyle, veraiment, mez je pense que vous en irrez ja adez [gloss: *now sone*][liii] devant myday pur achatere dez darreez [gloss: *peniworþes*] a l'overes [gloss: *worke*] de moun seignour.

Donqes viendra le garderobre a son seignour en quanque il se poet hastiere, et quant il serra venu, il luy dirra tout ainsy:

– Mon seignour, que vous plest il?

– Guilliam, pur tant que je ne su my bien purveu de mesnage et d'autres chosez bosoignablez qu'apparteignent a mon estat quant a present, a cause que je su novelment venu a cest hostel, primerment je voil que vous faites venir ciens le quarreour, ou: le joinour, pur apparailler, joindre, ou faire lez aes de mon lit, et puis aprés de boter lez peceaux et paille de furment dedeins lez aes; et puis aprés que vous en alés a le tapecer et que vous achatez de lui pur la sale un grant doser ovesque lez tapetez, bankers [**fol. 69r**] et quarreaux.

Auxi que vous m'achatez de chaiers, fourmez, sciellez, tables, aes, un table pur hanaps, brichets, basyns, chaufours, un euar pendaunt.

Et pur le pantrie et botrie que vous achatés du payn non pas chaufenous, mes de bon payne levee, et payn leger auxi beal et blanc com l'en poet trovere en tout le monde, et quatre tonelx de bon vyn vermaile, trois tonelx de malvesyve, cinque tonelx de blanc et deux tonelx de romney, et ce de meillour que poet estre trové ent tout ce pays ici.

Auxi que vous achatez poz de peautur[liv] et d'argent, cuillers d'argent, goblés, piecez d'argent, madrez, terrens, veirres, cuteulx bien trenchantz, chargeours, platez, escuilez, saucers, salers pur seil, et chaundlers de fin argent.

Auxi que vous en alez a mercer et achatez de lui costiers de sengle wostede pur ma chambre, un lit entier de soy parce et un autre de drape d'or, c'est assavoir testre, cillour, curtyns et coverlit ovesque lez autres appurtenancez com blanketz, lincheux, quiltez longes, coissons, orillers, un sarge, et un large canvas de chemvre.

3. Furnishing a house

Now I will describe for you the things that a man needs and how to speak about them. The lord of a household says to one of his squires or valets thus:

– Have my wardrober[139] come before me. Tell him to come immediately.

– Gladly, my lord, at your service.

And then the valet will go to the wardrober and will courteously say to him thus:

– Sir, God speed you. Or: God help you.

– You are welcome, good sir. Do you want anything that I might be able to do?

– Yes indeed, my lord has commanded you to come to him immediately, and I know well that if you tarry at all, he will be angry with you. And so do not delay, but get on your way.

– Do you know what he wants?

– No, truly, but I think you'll be gone again sharpish from there before midday to buy supplies for my lord's projects.

Then the wardrober will come to his lord, hurrying as best he can, and, once he has arrived, he will say to him thus:

– My lord, what do you wish?

– Guilliam,[140] because I am presently not well provided with household effects and other necessities belonging to my estate, since I have recently come to this house, firstly, I desire that you have the plankmaker, or: the joiner,[141] come here in order to construct, join, or make my bed boards; and then after that to stuff pea stalks and straws of wheat between the boards; and then afterwards go to the tapestry-maker and buy a great curtain from him for the hall as well as carpets, bench-covers, and cushions.

Also, buy me chairs, benches, stools, tables, planks, a cup-board,[142] trestles, basins, saucepans, a hanging bucket.

And for the pantry and buttery, buy bread—not mouldy but good, risen bread, and light bread as good and as white as can be found in all the world—and four casks of good red wine, three casks of malmsey, five casks of white and two casks of romeny, and that of the best that can be found here in all this country.[143]

Also, buy pewter and silver pots, silver spoons, goblets, silverware, wooden cups, earthenware pots, glasses, sharp knives, plates, bowls, dishes, saucers, salt cellars for salt, and fine silver candlesticks.

Also, go to the mercer's and buy from him hangings of single worsted[144] for my chamber, a complete set of blue silken bedding and another of golden cloth, that is to say the backing, the canopy, curtains and coverlet with other trappings such as blankets, linen cloths, long quilts, cushions, pillows, a hanging, and a large hempen canvas.[145]

Auxi je voil que vous achatez dressours, poz d'aresme, paillez, chaudrons, troipiés, aundirez, greiles, hasties, lechefris de fere, crokes, sufflers, tenels, barels, cackez ou tables, cuves, cuvels, tynes, tynels, gates, et bolenges de stamyne.

Auxi que vous m'achatez une bone seel bien apparaillé ovesque toutz lez appurtenance, c'est assavoir freyne, mors de freyne, chevestre, peutrelle, [**fol. 69v**] culere, seigle,[lv] estruez, et auxi un paire dez hoseux et un pair d'esporons.

Auxi je vuil que vous en alés [a] un drapere[lvi] et achatez vous de lui dousze vergez de blanket, dys vergez de drape noire et atant de vert, .xxiiii. vergez de sanguyne et atant de tanney, violet et buret, .viii. vergez de mustre de villers et de melley et atant de rouge et parce et .vi. vergez de bon scarlet.

Auxi que vous m'achatez du mercere un drape entir de fin soy rouge et un autre de bon wostede parce, .xxx. aulnes de drap de Raynes et atant de tresbone teel [gloss: *raw*]. Et quant vous en arrez trestout ainsy faite, vous lez porterez a la garderobe et la lez taillerez trestout en manteulx, taberdes longez, purpointz, surcotez, cotes, hopelondez, chaperons ové longez cornettez, et corsetez, et ce en le meilour maner et façone [gloss: *shap*] que vous savez ou purrez deviser, savant ce que je vuil que lez avantditez draps de Raynez et de teel soient gardez et estorez pur en faire lincheux, chemesez et brayez, et que vous en ordeignés grande cope dez cousterers ou taillandres que savent bien oevrer et ignelment coustre. Et que lez coustures soient bien et fort couseez, si que nulle defaute ou faucetee ne purra ja estre trové en lour bosoigne, quar il lour serra grande hontee se lez coustures fuissent tost aprés decouseez pur defaute de bon overage.

Auxi je vuil que vous en alez a cordewaner [**fol. 70r**] et vous achaterés de luy .vi. pair de salers escolettez, quatre paire de solers eschorchez et partusez, et cinque pairs solers ové deux noeux pur mez charetters.

Auxi je vuil que vous m'achatez un tonel de vernage pur ma propre bouche contre le fest de Pasches floris prochein que vendra, quar lors je frai un graunt mangerie.

[4. Going on a journey]

Meintenant je vous dirrai coment un homme chivachant ou chymynant se doit contenere et parler sur son chymyne, qui voet aler bien loignez hors de soun pais.

[4.1. Preparations]

Et primerment le seignour parlera a son vadlet devant son aler ainsi:

– Janyn, venez ça.

– Mon seignour, je veigne a vous en tout quanque je me puisse hastier. Ou: avancer.

Donque dit le sir:

– Va, mesnez mez chivalx a forges pur ferr,[lvii] s'il en est meistre, et qu'ils en eient de bons ferres et fortz et bien forgez.

– Moun seignour, il serra fait a vostre commaundement.

Also, I want you to buy dressers, brass pots, pails, cauldrons, tripods, andirons, griddles, roasting spikes, iron dripping pans, hooks, bellows, tongs, barrels, tubs or tables,[146] vats, small vats, casks, small casks, bowls, and sieves of warp thread.

Also, buy a good saddle that is well kitted out with all the trappings, that is to say, the rein, the bit, the halter, the poitrel, the crupper, the belt, the stirrups, and also a pair of hose and a pair of spurs.[147]

Also, I want you to go to a draper and buy from him twelve yards of white cloth, ten yards of black cloth and the same again of green, twenty-four yards of blood-red cloth and the same again of light brown, violet, and dark brown, eight yards of cloth for show embroidered with gillyflowers and also of variegated cloth, and the same again of red and blue, and six yards of good scarlet.[148]

Also, buy me from the mercer a full bolt of fine red silk and another of good blue worsted, thirty ells of Rennes cloth and as much of very good linen.[149] And when you have done all this, take everything to the wardrobe and there cut it all up into mantles, long tabards, pourpoints, surcoats, coats, houppelandes, chaperons with long ribbons, and jerkins,[150] and this in the best manner and shape that you know or are able to devise, except I want the aforesaid Rennes cloths and linen cloths to be kept and stored to make winding cloths, shirts, and breeches, and for you to order a good many of these things from seamsters and tailors who can work well and sew speedily. And let the stitching be good and securely sewn, so that no lack or fault may ever be found when they are used, for it will be much to their shame if the stitching should come undone soon after for a lack of good handiwork.[151]

Also, I want you to go to a cordwainer and buy from him six pairs of open shoes, four pairs of scored and perforated shoes, and five pairs of shoes with two buttons for my garters.

Also, I want you to buy me a cask of vernage[152] for my own consumption at the upcoming festival of Palm Sunday, for then I will lay on a great feast.

4. Going on a journey

Now I will tell you how a man riding or travelling should behave and speak on his way when he desires to go far out of his country.

4.1. Preparations

And first the lord will speak to his valet before his departure thus:

– Janyn, come here.

– My lord, I'm coming as fast as I can hasten. Or: come.

Then the lord says:

– Go, take my horses to the forge to get them shod,[153] if they need it, and let them have good shoes, both strong and well forged.

– My lord, it will be done according to your command.

Et puis le vadlet s'en va a forge ovesque lez chivalx et fait le comandement de son seignour. Et quant il serra revenu de forge, le seignour luy parlera tout ainsy:

– Janyn, as tu fait?

– Oil, vraiment, mon seignour. Ou si: Oil, mon seignour, tresbien a point. Ou si: Oil, sir, a vostre congé, certez je l'ay fait.

– Ore va tost et lez dones de feyn, d'aveyn, et du payn, quar si tost que j'ay desjunee, je me chivacherai devers Parys, et par aventure je ne revendray pas en grant piece a cause que j'ay beaucope a fayre la.

[4.2. The good-bye meal]

– Guilliam, ou estez vous?

– Mon seignour, je sui ci.

– Alez vous tost a la cusyne et demandez de le cusyner, ou: de le keu, se la viande soit unquor prest.

Et puis il s'en va a cusyne pur surveir et esgarder que tout soit [**fol.70v**] prest. Et en le meen temps, le seignour s'en irra seier aprés qu'il avra lavee sez mains. Donques lui serviront sez escuiers et vadletz de mut bone viaunde, mes primerment lez salers du seiel, cuillers et longez culteux trenchantz et lez trenchours serront apportez a table, et puis aprés le pain et le vin et auxi la servoice s'il en i a point.

Donques ils lui serviront al primer cours dez soupez graas dez bons herbes ov de gruel enforcé s'il soit en estre,[lviii] et s'il soit en iver, dez choulx, de porré ou d'autre bons herbez ové la larde ou autrement la venosone.

Et aprés lui serviront de grande chare come de boef, motone, porc, et veel, et puis de gelyns, poullez et pullettz, poucyns, musserons, estornelx, roitelx, pestiez en graunde pastez.

Et a la second cours ils lui serviront dez chapons rostez et dez ouez graas, oyselons[lix] et auxi dez ans, anattz, madlardez de river, cignes, heirons, coverlons, grues, bitors, plovers, perdris, grivez, quailez, colombez, pugions, mavis, alloues, rassinolez, chardons, feusantz, videcok, chalaundres, verders, mosengez, musengez, begasez, blaretz, chardurolez, arundeez, oues rosers, cicoignez, pouns, et de toutz autrez oseux savage et domastez que l'en poet avoir, forspris lez oseux ravenous que ne sont pas tresbons a mangere com agas, kaves, cornails, corbels, frus, salamandrez, hulotz, vel: huetz, soris chaux, escoufles, sprevers, cercelers, faucons et esgles.

Et puis aprés ils lui serviront de furmage, poires, pomez, cerices, et noes.

And then the valet goes to the forge with the horses and does his lord's bidding. And when he returns from the forge, the lord will say to him thus:

– Janyn, have you done it?

– Yes, truly, my lord. Or thus:[154] Yes, my lord, exactly as you said. Or thus: Yes, sir, by your leave, certainly I have done it.

– Now go immediately and give them hay, oats, and bread, because as soon as I've eaten, I'll ride out to Paris,[155] and it may be that I will not return for a considerable time since I have a lot to do there.[156]

4.2. The good-bye meal

– Guilliam,[157] where are you?

– My lord, I am here.

– Go immediately to the kitchen and ask the chef, or: the cook,[158] if the food is ready yet.

Then he goes to the kitchen to look and ensure that everything is ready. And in the meantime,[159] the lord will take his seat after washing his hands. Then his squires and valets will serve him much good food, but first of all the salt cellars, spoons and long, sharp knives and the trenchers will be brought to the table,[160] and afterwards the bread and the wine and also the ale, if there is any.

Then for the first course they will serve him with rich soups made with good herbs and with spiced gruel if it is summer, and if it is winter, with cabbages, leeks, or other good greens with bacon or alternatively, game.

And then they will serve him red meat such as beef, mutton, pork, and veal, and then hens, chickens and pullets, chicks, sparrows, starlings, and wrens baked into great pasties.

And for the second course they will serve him roast capons and fat geese, game birds, and also drakes, ducks, river mallards, swans, herons, curlews, cranes, bitterns, plovers, partridges, thrushes, quails, doves, pigeons, song-thrushes, larks, nightingales, linnets, pheasants, woodcock, calanders, robins, tits, snipes, coots, goldfinches, swallows, wild geese, storks, peacocks, and all the other wild and domestic birds that can be had, except the birds of prey, which are not good to eat, such as magpies, choughs, crows, ravens, rooks, lizards, owls, bats, kites, sparrowhawks, teals, hawks, and eagles.[161]

And afterwards they will serve him cheese, pears, apples, cherries, and nuts.

[4.3. On the road; asking the way and the time]

Fait le seignour [**fol.71r**] aprés qu'il avra assés mangé:

– Oustez la table tost et alons a chival. Et Janyn, va seller Morel, mon chival, mez gardez vous bien de lui q'il ne vous morde point. Et aprés l'amesnez devant le huis de la sale, qar le[lx] je monterai a chival.

Aprés vient le seignour et se monte a chival et, quant il este montee, il s'en chivache sur son chymyn et dit:

– Vraiment, mez amys, je ne fu meulx montez et arraiez cez trois anz passés que je ne su a present, Dieu merci!

Et quant il vendra al but de la ville, il demandra le chymyne a une putevile tout ainsi:

– Ma commere, q'est le droit chymyn vers Parys?

– Mon seignour, je vous dirrai. Vous chivacherés tout droit par cest chymyn tanque vous venez a la crois du pere que n'est mye la quarter d'une leuge deci. Et un petit d'illeoques vous troverés une voillet que s'en va tout droit vers l'orient; si larrez la voillet et tenerés toudis le haut chymyn tanque vous venez a un valey. Et donques vous troverés au valey une crois de fust; si larrez la crois [a] la maine droit,[lxi] ou: dextre, et avrez le chymyn a la maine sinestre. Et puis vous troverrés bien une leuge de la un grant bois ou il i a grant cope deux[lxii] larons, sicom l'en dit. Et pur ce, mon seignour, gaitez vous bien d'eux, quar ils font beaucope de maulx, a ce que l'em dit. Et aprés que vous serrez passé le bois, vous en avrez vostre haut chymyn devers Parys tout droit devant vous, si que vous ne purrez ja forvoir sinon que vous vuiliez.

– Ore, beale dame, me ditez vous quantbien a il sonee de l' [**fol.71v**] [oriloge] com vous pensez? Vel sic: Qu'est ce qu'a sonee del oriloge?[lxiii]

– Vraiment, mon seignour, je pense bien q'il a sonee unze, quar il i a bien une heure passé depuis q'il sona dis.

Donques dit le seignour ainsi:

– Ore, ma commere, me ditez vous, quantbien i a deci a Parys?

– Vrayment, mon seignour, il n'y a que dys leugez bien petitz.

– Purrai je y estre unquore anoet?

– Oil verament, mon seignour, bien a ease.

Donques dit le seignour:

– Ma commere, a Dieu vous comande. Vel sic: Alez a Dieu. Vel sic: A Dieu soiez. Vel sic: Dieu soit garde de vous.

– Mon seignour, je pri a Dieu q'il vous donoit[lxiv] bon encontre et vous garde benurément dez toutz adversiteez.

4.3. On the road; asking the way and the time

The lord says, after he has had enough to eat:

– Take away the table immediately and let us go to our horses. And Janyn, saddle Morel, my horse, but be careful that he does not bite you. And afterwards, bring him before the hall door, for there I'll mount my horse.

Afterwards the lord comes and mounts his horse and, when he's mounted, he rides out on his way and says:

– Truly, my friends, I haven't been better mounted and kitted out in these three years past than I am now, thank God!

And when he comes to the end of the town, he'll ask the way from a cheap slut[162] thus:

– My good woman, which is the right way to Paris?[163]

– My lord, I'll tell you. You'll ride straight down this road until you come to the stone cross which isn't a quarter of a league from here. And a little way from there you'll find a path that goes directly eastward; then you'll leave the path and stay on the high way until you come to a valley. And there in the valley you'll find a wooden cross; then you'll leave the cross on your right hand,[164] keeping the route on your left. And then you'll find a league from there a great wood where there are many thieves, so people say. And for that reason, my lord, look out for them, because they do much harm, judging from what people say. And after passing through the wood, you'll have the high way to Paris right in front of you, so you won't be able to go off track unless you wish to.

– Now, good woman, tell me: how many times has the clock struck, do you think? Or thus: What time did the clock strike?

– Truly, my lord, I think that it struck eleven, for it's a good hour past since it struck ten.

Then the lord says thus:

– Now, good woman, tell me, how far is it from here to Paris?

– Truly, my lord, it's just a short ten leagues.

– Will I make it there by nightfall?

– Yes, truly, my lord, most easily.

Then the lord says:

– My good woman, I commend you to God. Or thus: Adieu. Or thus: Be with God. Or thus: May God keep you.

– My lord, I pray to God that he send good your way and keeps you blessedly from all adversities.

[4.4. A love song]

Lors le seignour chivache sur son chymyne et comence a chanter la plus graciouce et la plus amerous chaunçon que poet estre en tout le monde tout ainsi:

Tresdoulx regarde amerousement trait
Tant de douçour fra mon coer entrer,
Quant lez miens oilx te poent y acountrer,
Que tout mon sank me fuit et vers toy trait.
Et tant me plest ton gracious attrait
Que te veoir je ne me puisse sasuler.
Je t'ai purtant en mon coer portrait
Qu'autre pensee ne t'en purroit ouster,
Et tiel pleisir fait dedeins moi entier[lxv]
Que jammés jour tu n'en serras retraits.

[4.5. Janyn at the inn]

Donques dit le seignour:

– Quele heure est il maintenant?

– Deux heurez aprés mydy.

– Donques il serra bien pres noet avant que nous serrons arrivez a Parys.

– Mon seignour, vous y vendrés bien par temps, s'il Dieu plest.

– Janyn!

– Mon seignour, que vous plest il?

– Va devant et preignez [**fol.72r**] nostre hostel par temps.

– Si frai je, moun seignour.

Donques Janyn s'en chivache si fort galopant que c'est mervaille, tanque il serra a Parys. Puis il vient a un hostel et dist ainsi:

– Hostiler, hostiler!

Et l'autre lui respount a darrains tout dedeignousement ainsi:

– Qu'est la?

– Amys!

Donques vient l'ostiler et overt la port, et dist:

– Hé, Janyn, estez vous la?

– Oil dea, ne me poes tu veier? Quoi ne m'as tu, paillart, respondu a la primer parole que je t'appelloi? Vel sic: Quoi ne me respondez vous a primer foiz que je hurtai a port? Je pri a Dieu que il te poet mescheoir de cors, quar tu m'as fait longtens ici attendre et targer, et tu sais bien q'il ne fuit si grant froid cest anee com il fait a present, quar il negee, gresille, et gelee si fort qe l'eue est si fort et espesse gelee com la laeure de mon pee, pur quoi je sai bien que la glaas du gelee ne se degelera en grant piece. Et pur ce overes la port tost et lesse moi entrer ciens, ou autrement je depesserai trestout, par la foi que je doi a Dieu, me croiez se tu vuis.

4.4. A love song

Then the lord rides on his way and starts to sing the most gracious and amorous song that might be in all the world thus:

> Sweet look, lovingly drawn,[165]
> You will make so much sweetness enter my heart
> When my eyes can meet you there,
> That all my blood flees me and draws towards you.
> And your gracious allure pleases me so much
> That I cannot tire of seeing you.
> Therefore I have portrayed you in my heart
> So that no other thought might remove you thence,
> And it causes such pleasure within my entire being
> That the day will never come when you'll be withdrawn from it.

4.5. Janyn at the inn

Then says the lord:

– What hour is it now?

– Two hours after midday.

– Then it will be almost night before we arrive at Paris.[166]

– My lord, you'll get there in good time, God willing.

– Janyn!

– My lord, what is your desire?

– Go ahead and take our lodging in good time.

– I shall, my lord.

Then Janyn goes off on his horse galloping so fast that it's a marvel, until he reaches Paris. Then he arrives at an inn and says thus:

– Innkeeper, innkeeper!

And the other at last replies scornfully thus:

– Who's there?

– A friend!

Then the innkeeper comes and opens the door, and says:

– Hey, Janyn, is that you?

– Yes, indeed, can't you see me? Why didn't you reply the first time I called you, you scumbag? Or thus: Why didn't you answer the first time that I knocked at the door?[167] I pray to God that some misfortune befall your body, for you've made me wait and tarry here so long, and you know well that there's not been such a terrible chill this year as there is now, for it's snowing, hailing, and freezing so hard that the water's frozen hard and thick a foot deep, by which I can tell that the ice of this freeze won't thaw for ages. And so open the door immediately and let me in there, or otherwise I'll smash it to pieces, by the faith that I owe to God, believe you me.

– Hé, beau sir, ne vous coruscé point, quar vraiment se j'eusse scieu que vous eussez esté ci, je vous eusse venu a primer foiz que vous hurtastez a port. Et pur ce ne vous displese, mon tresdoulx amy, quar je l'amendray bien a point, ainsi que vous agreerez, se Dieu plest.

– Ore me ditez vous, hostiler, avez vous de bon hostilerie ciens?

– Oil vraiment, beau sir, et bon et honest assez pur le roy, se luy plest estre loggez ciens. Ore venez en, mon amy, et je vous moustray tantost la plus honest chambre que vous veistez unqes jour de vostre vie.

Puis prent l'ostiler la clief de huis [**fol. 72v**] de la chambre et overt le huis et dit ainsi:

– Ore gardés et esgardés tout entour a l'apparaille de ce chambre. Coment vous est avys?

– Vrament, sir, il m'est avys q'il est tresbien apparaillé et bien a mon guyse. Et auxi un autre chose me plest bien: que la chambre est si bien et honestment curraié dez balaiez et nettoié dez pouciez et dez purettez et ordures. Quar je pense bien qu'il n'y a point dez pouciez ne dez poillez.

– Nonil, vraiment, beau sir, quar je me face fort que vous serrez bien et esément loggez ciens, savant ce q'il i a beaucope dez soryz et dez ras. Mes de cela ne vous chaille, quar j'en ay tresbien ordeigné a point de lez prendre dez laz, reyz, et lienz que je fiz pieça de mon sutil engyn, combien que je ne le die pas pur nulle bobance. Janyn, vendra mon seignour unqore anoet pur se logger ciens? Vel sic: Serra mon seignour ce noet ci a gist?

– Oil vrament, beau sir, mes je su bien esbais pur tant que demurt si longement, quar al tens que m'en parti de luy, il n'estoit plus loignes que quatre legus[lxvi] deci.

– Et savez vous bien donques qu'il vendra anut sanz fail?

– Oil, si Dieu m'eide.

– De par Deux donques, il serra tresbien venuz.

[4.6. At the market; fish]

– Ore, hostiler, il me faut aler au marché pur achater pesçone fresk et saley s'il en i a point, pur le soper de mon seignour.

– Hé, mon amy, je su certein que vous ne veistez unques jour de vostre vie si grant plentee de pesçon fresk si bien de maer com de le river com il en a present, qar verrament vous y troverez de tout maner de pesçon a vendre auxi bien de l'un com de l'autre, [**fol.73r**] c'est assavoir harank sor et blanc, leyng, codlyng, troit, grelet, samone, carpes, bremes, whytyng, makerels, luces, brochelers, pikerels, anguilles, lamprons, lampreis, merlynge, esperlyng et menus, roches, perches, gernons, plays, barbels, pesçon salei, estorgeon, rayes, espineis, turbiller, espelankes, carboletz, platone, mulet, muleuel, breem de maer, gojone, tendale, geleis, tauntpse,[lxvii] oistrees, mules, crivys et crabbes, cokkez, le broch – id est: le chien de maer –, le pourpeys, dolfyn et la baleyne et beaucope dez autrez pesçonz que fort serront trestout maner.[lxviii]

– Et hostiler, je te pri cherment que tu vuis couper du bois et me faitez un bon feu encountre ma revenue, quar il fait grant froid a huy. Et que tu fendes toutz cez busshes que gissent ici, et quant ils serront fenduz, que vous lez bouttés au feu ovesque cez tisons estaintz ici.

– Well, good sir, don't get angry, for truly if I'd known that you were here, I would have come the first time that you knocked on the door. And so don't be displeased, my sweet friend, for I'll make it all good, so that you're satisfied, God willing.

– Now tell me, innkeeper, do you have good facilities in here?

– Yes, truly, good sir, both good and fine enough for the king, should he wish to be lodged here. Now come along, my friend, and I'll show you immediately the finest room that you ever saw any day of your life.

Then the innkeeper takes the key to the door of the room and opens the door, and says thus:

– Now take a good look around the fittings in this room. What do you think?

– Truly, sir, I think it's very well appointed and thoroughly to my liking. And there's also another thing that I like: that the room is so well and finely swept and cleaned of dust, grime, and dirt. Indeed, I think there's not a speck of dusk or a hair in here.

– No indeed, truly, good sir! I guarantee that you'll be handsomely and comfortably lodged here, except that there are lots of mice and rats. But don't worry about that, because I've organized an excellent means of trapping them in snares, nets, and lines that I made some time ago using my own subtle contrivance, and I'm not just saying that to boast.[168] Janyn, will my lord come to take his lodging here before nightfall? Or thus: Will my lord stay here tonight?

– Yes, indeed, good sir, but I'm surprised that he's taking so long, for when I left him he wasn't further than four leagues from here.

– And are you sure that he'll be here by nightfall without fail?

– Yes, God help me.

– By God then, he'll be most welcome.

4.6. At the market; fish

– Now, innkeeper, I have to go to market to buy fresh- and saltwater fish, if there are any, for my lord's supper.

– Well, my friend, I am certain that you have never seen on any day in your life such great plenty of fresh fish, both of the sea and of the river, as there are there, for truly you will find there all kinds of fish for sale both of one kind and of the other, that is to say smoked and unsmoked herring, ling, codling, trout, grayling, salmon, carp, bream, whiting, mackerels, luces, pikes, young pikes, eels, lamperns, lampreys, merlan, sparling and flatfish, roaches, perches, tenches, plaices, barbels, salted fish, sturgeon, rays, sticklebacks, turbot, smelts, coal-fish, sole, mullet, milwell, sea bream, gudgeon, tendal, jellyfish, prawns, oysters, mussels, whelks and crabs, cockles, seal – that is, the seadog – the porpoise, dolphin and the whale and many other fish, so that it will be hard to manage them all.[169]

– And innkeeper, I beg you kindly to cut wood and make me a good fire for my return, for it is very cold today. And let all these logs lying here be split, and once they're split, let them be thrown in the fire with these old fire-brands.

Adonques Janyn s'en va a marchee, et quant il serra venu la, il demande d'un pesçoner ainsi:

– Mon amy, avez vous de bon samon et dez lucez a vendre?

– Oil verament, auxi bons et beaux come vous troverés en tout la marchee.

– Ore moustrés lé moi donques.

Lors dit Janyn:

– Verament, cez sont bons et beaux. Mon amy, que me costra cez deux lucez et le samon? Vel sic: Que paierai pur cez deux lucez? Vel sic: Que vous durrai je pur ceci?

– Verament, sir, vous me durrez pur cez deux lucez et le samon deux marcz.

– Nonil da, mon amy, il est trope chere.[lxix]

– Je vous dirrai un mot: pur tout [**fol. 73v**] vous me durrez .xx. sols, ou autrement vous ne lez avrez mye.

– Baillez ça donques et veiez ci vostre argent, et a Dieu vous comande.

– Beau sir, Dieu vous doint bone sanité et paix.

Adonques Janyn s'en va a l'ostel ov le pesçon et l'a baillé al cusyner pur l'aparailler et cuyer encontre la venu du seignour.

[4.7. Evening at the inn; a story]

Et tost aprés est le seignour venu a soun hostelle. Donques il descent de son chival et entre sa chambre et puis dit il a son botiller:

– Aportez a nous un foitz a boire du vin claret, quar si Dieu m'eide, j'en ay grant soyff et auxi grant faym ovesques. Et Janyn, metté la table tost, quar il est haut temps d'aler soper. Et puis aprés alés a la dame de ciens et ditez lui que je lui pri pur venir souper ovesque nous.

Donques le seignour soi regarde tout environ et dit ainsi:

– Que da! Enquors est la table a mettre! Male semaigne soit vous mys, quar vous ne faitez que songer et muser! Mettés la table tost, quar il est oet de l'oriloge, et va pur la dame de ciens!

Puis Janyn s'en va pur la dame et lui dit:

– Madame, mon seignour vous pria pur venir souper oveque lui.

– Voluntrés, beau sir, a son tresgentele commandement.

Et puis va la dame de l'hostel oveques le vadlet devers la chambre du seignour, et quant ele serra entré la chambre, ele dirra au seignour tout ainsi:

– Mon seignour, Dieu vous benoit et la compaignie.

– Si Dieu m'eide, ma tresdouce [**fol. 74r**] amye, vous estez tresbien venuz ciens. Verament, m'amye, il y a grant piece passé puis que je ne vous vei.

Then Janyn goes to the market, and once he's arrived there, he asks a fishmonger thus:

– My friend, do you have any good salmon and pike to sell?

– Yes indeed, as good and fine as you'll find in all the market.

– So show them to me, then.

Then Janyn says:

– Truly they are good and fine. My friend, what will these two pikes and the salmon cost me? Or thus: What will I pay for these two pikes? Or thus: What will I owe you for this?

– Truly, sir, for these two pikes and the salmon you'll owe me two marks.[170]

– Indeed I won't, my friend, for that's too dear.

– I'll tell you what: for the lot you'll owe me twenty sols or otherwise you'll not have them at all.

– Give it here then and here's your money, and I commend you to God.

– Good sir, may God give you good health and peace.

Then Janyn goes to the inn with the fish and gives it to the cook to prepare and cook for the arrival of the lord.

4.7. Evening at the inn; a story

And immediately afterwards the lord has arrived at his inn. Then he gets off his horse and enters his room and says to his butler:

– Bring us some claret wine to drink straight away, for, God help me, I'm very thirsty for it, and hungry with it too. And Janyn, set the table immediately, because it is high time to go to supper. And then afterwards go to the lady of the house and tell her that I beg her to come to supper with us.

Then the lord looks around and says thus:

– What's this? The table is still to be set! A curse on you,[171] for you only stare and dream! Set the table immediately, for it's eight o'clock, and go for the lady of the house!

Then Janyn goes for the lady and says to her:

– Madam, my lord has begged you to come to supper with him.

– Gladly, good sir, at his kind command.

And then the lady of the inn goes with the valet to the lord's room and once she's entered the room she will say to the lord thus:

– My lord, God bless you and this company.

– God help me, my sweet friend, you are very welcome here. Truly, my friend, I haven't seen you for a long time.

– Mays par m'anme, mon seignour, vous ditez veire.

– Par vostre foy, coment vous est il a jour de hui?

– Tresbien, mon seignour, Dieu mercy et melx pur vous.

– Si Dieu m'eide, m'amye, j'en ay grant joie. Ore, m'amye, venez vous en, quar vous serrez ici devant moy en un chaier.[lxx] Par Dieu, si frés.

– Vostre merci, mon seignour.

Donques ils serront serviez a souper de mult bon viande. Et le seignour dit a la dame ainsi:

– Que chiere faitez vous?

– Mon seignour, tresbon chiere, Dieu merci. Et la vostre?

– Quoi ne mangés vous donques?

– Si fais je, mon seignour, vostre merci.

– Ore il parra.

Et tost aprés souper le seignour et la dame de l'hostel s'en irront pres de feu. Donques dit le seignour:

– Je vous empri, m'amye, q'il ne vous desplest point de la counte que je vous counterai meintenant, quar verament je ne vous dirrai point de mensonge. Verament, m'amye, il est le plus meilour counte que j'oy unques mais jour de ma vie.

– Ore, mon seignour, je l'orray tresvoluntrés a vostre comaundement, de par Dieux.

– Donques je le vous dirrai. Jadys i avoit en Burgoyne une dame bone, gentele, et sage que passoit toutz lez autres dames de cel pays la auxi bien de bealté com de bontee. Et cele dame avoit un baron que fuist mult bon chivaler et vaillant. Auxi il avoit un escuier demurrant en lour hostel que fuist bien joliet au coer et estoit auxi homme de mult bon façon et beaux et si bien et gentilment entaillé de corps que ce fuist mervailles.

Et si avient un jour que cil escuier, sicom il regardoit sur la dame de l'hostel, que le corps et le coer luy furent trestout enravoiez pur la [**fol. 74v**] grant bracier d'amour q'il en out devers la dame. En tant ne savoit que dire ne que faire, si endura de jour en autre tresgrandez paines et dolours. Puis il pensa bien que son amour ne poet estre aperceu, et suffrist tant de tristicie et dolour au cuer que nut ne jour ne pouoit mye dormer. Si fuist il naufrés trop pitousement de la lance d'amour bien aprés a la mort.

Si avient a darrainz que l'escuier s'en ala parler a la dame tout en secret, ainsi lui disant: "Ma tresgentele, tresamyable et tressoveraine dame," fist il, "je vous empri tresentierment de cuer q'il ne vous desplese de ce que je vous dirrai meintenant." "De par Dieu," fist ele, "me ditez vous tout quanque vous vuillez, et je n'en parlerai ja jour de ma vie, ne vous sourciez."

"Ore, dame," fist il, "mes que vous ne displese, je su si dolourosement naufré au coer de l'ardant amour que pieça j'ay eu et enqore ay devers vous que je ne puisse pas longement endurer ne vivre sanz consolacion de vostre tresgraciouce persone. Pur quoi, ma tresdouce dame," fist il, "eiez pitee de ma dolour ou autrement vous serrez cause de ma mort."

– But by my soul, my lord, you speak truly.

– By your faith, how are you today?

– Very well, my lord, thank God, and better for seeing you.

– God help me, my friend, that gives me great joy. Now, my friend, come closer: sit here before me in a chair. By God, you shall.[172]

– Thank you, my lord.

Then they will be served supper with much good food. And the lord says to the lady thus:

– How are you?

– My lord, very well, thank God. And you?

– Why aren't you eating then?

– But I am, my lord, thank you.

– Well, we'll see about that.

And immediately after supper, the lord and the lady of the inn will go to the fireside. Then the lord says:

– I beg you, my friend, not to be displeased by the story that I will tell you now, for truly I won't tell you a lie. Truly, my friend, it is the very best story that I ever heard any day of my life.

– Now, my lord, I'll gladly listen as you bid, by God.

– Then I'll tell it you.[173] Once there was in Burgundy[174] a good, noble, and wise lady who surpassed all the other women of that country both in beauty and in goodness. And that woman had a lord who was a very good and valiant knight. Also there was a squire living in their household who was merry-hearted and was also a very good-looking and handsome man, and he cut such a fine and noble figure that it was a marvel.

And it happened one day that this squire, when he was looking at the lady of the house, was totally ravished[175] body and heart by the great ardour of the love that he had for the lady—so much so that he didn't know what to say or do and so endured great hardships and pains from one day to the next. Then he thought that his love might not be noticed, and he suffered so from sadness and heartache that night and day he couldn't sleep a wink. Thus he was wounded too pitifully by love's lance and almost approaching his death.

Then it came to pass finally that the squire went to speak to the lady in private, saying to her thus:[176] "My most gentle, most pleasant, and most sovereign lady," he said, "I beg you with my whole heart not to be displeased by what I will tell you now." "By God," she said, "tell me all that you wish, and I will not ever speak of it as long as I live, don't you worry."

"Now, lady," he said, "although it might displease you, I am so painfully wounded in my heart by the burning love that long ago I had and still have for you, so that I may not last long or live without the consolation of your gracious person. Therefore, my most sweet lady," he said, "have pity on my pain or otherwise you will be the cause of my death."

Donques dit la dame: "Est ce voire que vous en avez tant d'amour envers moy com vous ditez?" "Par mon surment," fist il, "beale, tresdouce dame, si est." "Ore," fist ele, "je vous ottroie m'amour. Mais pur acompler vostre desire plus privément, je vous dirrai coment vous frez. Vous savez bien que mon seignour se purpose de chivacher hors de la ville demain aprés manger. Et pur ce alés et demandés meintenant congé de luy pur aler a vous amys que demurrant[lxxi] en ce pais yci pur certeinz bosoignez que vous en avez a faire. Et quant vous l'avrez fait, pur lui deceiver plus sutilment, je vous conseile que vous en alez sur vostre chymyn. [**fol.75r**] Mais demain a nut, quant il serra grant oscurtee, retornez si privément com vous purrez, et venez a ma chambre par le huis du chardyn un poi devant mynut pur coucher ovesque moi."

Lors dist l'escuier: "Ma tresgentele dame, je vous remercie soveraigment de cuer de vostre amour et curtaise."[lxxii]

Et puis aprés, quant l'escuier avoit congee de son seignour pur aler a sez amis, si s'en ala bien matyn a l'ajournant. Et aprés manger, le seignour comanda sez vadletz de seller les chivalx pur chivacher hors de la ville. Donques vient la dame de l'hostel a son seignour et lui dit ainsi: "Mon seignour," fist ele, "vous ne civacherez hors de ciens maishuy, se vous plest, qar il [est] de[j]a bien pres de noet,[lxxiii] et pur ce je vous consele d'arester ceste journee et alez vous demain."

"Dame," il fist, "je le vuil bien."

Si avenoit, aprés qe le seignour et la dame avoient soupez, ils s'en aleront coucher ensemble. Lors vient l'escuier a mynut tout privément a lour chambre, sicom la dame lui avoit enseigné, et ne quidoit mye que le seignour estoit couché ovesques la dame. Et quant il fuist venu a coustee du lit l'ou la dame coucha, la dame lui prist par la mayne, ainsi lui disant en son orail: "Ne sonez vous mot," fist ele, "pur nulle chose de monde, mais escottez vous bien a ce que je vous dirrai."

Donqs la dame se turna vers son seignour pur lui eveiller, et quant il fuist eveillé, la dame lui dit ainsi: "Mon seignour," fist ele, "il i a un escuier demurrant en vostre court, cil qui demanda congé de vous heir soir, qi m'a parlé et requys d'amour pur coucher ovesque moi. Et se vous ne croiez mye, levez sus tost et vestez vous en ma robe, et appareillez vous en manere et guyse de moi et alez vous a verger et l'attendez un poi, et vous veiez meintenant coment il vendra de m'enravoir."

Donques le seignour ce comenci[lxxiv] pur estre [**fol. 75v**] marri et dit: "Que da, est ce voire que tu dis?" "Verament, mon seignour," fist ele, "si est."

Lors le seignour se leva tost bien vigorousment come un homme forsennez et soi vestoit com la dame lui avoit apris. Et puis s'en leva[lxxv] tresfort currant vers le verger, de prover ce que la dame lui avoit dit.

Donques dit la dame a l'escuier tout ainsi: "Mon amy," fist ele, "n'avez vous point talent pur vous esbatre ovesque moi?" "Par mon surement, ma tresdouce dame," fist il, "je su si disconfiz et pauereux au coer que n'ay je plus d'appetit ne voluntee pur esbatre ovesque vous que un petit enfaunt que n'entent point de male."

Then said the lady: "Is it true that you have so much love for me as you say?" "On my oath," he said, "beautiful, most sweet lady, it's true." "Then," she said, "I grant you my love.[177] But to fulfil your desire more discreetly, I will tell you what you shall do. You know that my lord purposes to ride out of town tomorrow after dining. So go now and ask him leave to go to your friends who reside nearby in the country on account of certain affairs that you have to see to. And when you've done that, to deceive him more subtly, I recommend that you go on your way. But tomorrow at night, when it's completely dark, return as discreetly as you can, and come to my room by the garden gate a little before midnight to lie with me.

Then the squire said: "My most noble lady, I thank you supremely from my heart for your love and courtesy."

And then afterwards, when the squire had obtained leave from his lord to go to his friends, he left early in the morning at dawn. And after eating, the lord ordered his valets to saddle the horses to ride out of town. Then the lady of the house comes to her lord and says thus:[178] "My lord," she said, "don't ride out of here right now, please, for it is already almost night, and so I advise you to stay today and go tomorrow."

"Lady," he said, "I will."

So it happened. After the lord and the lady had supped, they went to bed together. Then the squire comes at midnight very discreetly to their chamber, just as the lady had instructed him to, and he had no idea that the lord was lying with the lady. And when he arrived at the edge of the bed where the lady was lying, the lady took him by the hand, saying thus to him in his ear: "Don't say a word," she said, "for anything in the world, but listen well to what I am about to tell you."

Then the lady turned to the lord to wake him, and when he was awake, the lady said to him thus: "My lord," she said, "there is a squire residing in your court—the one who asked your leave yesterday evening—who has spoken to me and requested on account of his love to sleep with me. And if you don't believe me, get up right now, put on my dress, and deck yourself as me, and go to the orchard and wait there a little, and you will see immediately how he will come to ravish me.[179]

Then the lord began to grow angry and said: "What indeed! Is it true what you say?" "Truly, my lord," she said, "it is."

Then the lord started up energetically like a man gone mad and got dressed as the lady had instructed him. And then he took off running to the orchard to test what the lady had told him.

Then the lady said to the squire thus: "My friend," she said, "do you have any wish to play with me?" "On my oath, my sweet lady," he said, "I am so distressed and scared at heart that I have no more appetite or desire to play with you than a little child who knows no malice."[180]

"Ore," fist ele, "faitez vous un chose que je vous dirrai, et vous en avrez m'amour as toutz jours mais, devant toutz autrez de monde sanz faire changement." "Par Nostre Dame de Bologne," fist il, "je le frai tresvoluntrés, se je purrai." "Maintenant," fist ele, "prennés un bon bastone et alez au verger et la, vous troverez mon seignour arraié en manere et guyse de moy, et batez lui bien et donez lui dez bons horrions sur le dos, ainsi lui disant: 'Va t'en a ton lit, maveise putaigne que tu es, va t'en de par deable et de par sa mere ové tout, ou autrement je toi rumperai le colle devant que tu bougeras deci.' Quar verament," fist ele, "se vous faitez ainsi, il n'avra unques mais aprés male suspeccione de nous, et en tiele manere nous purrons faire tout nostre desir en tens a venir et privément sanz escient de lui ou d'ascun autre." "Si Dieu m'eide, ma tresgraciouse dame," fist il, "je m'en irrai voluntrés pur vostre comandement acompler."

Et quant il fuist venu a verger, il regardoit le seignour com le grant deable, lui donant dez horions tresbien asiz, sicome la dame lui avoit comandé, ainsi lui parlant com il fuist apris par [**fol.76r**] devant. Et tost aprés, le seignour se courra bien ignelment a sa chambre.

Et puis dit le seignour a la dame ainsi: "Dame," fist il, "cil escuier de quoi vous m'en parlastez m'a tresmal batu, quar il quidoit que vous y fustez. Pur quoi je sçai bien q'il est bien loialx a vous. Et pur ce je vous fray tresbien acorder, quar ce q'il a fait, il ne fist que soulement pur vous attempter."

"Ore, mon seignour, je le fray a vostre comandement." Et puis aprés la dame et l'escuier avoient toutdis lour voluntees d'esbatement et desduyt, sans escient de nully. Et en tiel manere le seignour fust deceu par coyntise d'une femme, qar pur la greynour partye toutz lez femmez de monde sont plains de maveistee et tresone.

Et pur ce le sage Salemone dit en Livre de Sapience q'il n'y a malice en tout le monde que surmonte la malice de maveise feme. Dont je pri a Dieu que vous vuilez bien garder d'eaux. Amen.

– Ore, ma tresdouce amye, coment vous est avys de ceste tresnoble counte que je vous ay countee maintenant?

– Verament, mon tresdouce seignour, mais q'il ne vous displese, il est le pesyne[lxxvi] counte que j'oy unques mez dez femmez. Je pense bien q'il n'avenoit point ainsy com vous avez dit.

– Par seint Jakes, m'amye, si fist il.

– Toutezvoiez, vraiment, ne vous displese, je ne puisse le croier que ascune femme vorroit faire tiel tresone a son seignour.

– De par Dieu donqes, ne parlons de la matere. Janyn, que faitez vous?

– Mon seignour, se vous plest, je songe.

– Reveille toy, de par de deable[lxxvii] et de par sa miere ové tout, ou autrement je toy dorray un tiel sufflet que tu penseras de moy deci as quatre jours, me croies se tu vuis.

– Hé, mon seignour, pur Dieu, ne vous displese, je su tout prest a vostre comandement.

– Ore [**fol. 76v**] va nous traire a boire du meillour vin ciens. Si tost que j'ay bu, je m'en irray coucher.

"Now," she said, "do one thing that I tell you and you'll have my love for ever more, before all others without wavering." "By Our Lady of Boulogne," he said, "I'll do it most willingly, if I can." "Right now," she said, "take a good stick and go to the orchard and there you'll find my lord decked out like me, and beat him well and give him some good blows on his back, saying to him thus: 'Go back to your bed, evil whore that you are! Get out of here, by the devil and his mother and all the rest! Or otherwise I'll break your neck before you budge from here!' For truly," she said, "if you do thus, he won't ever again suspect us, and in this way we'll be able to do whatever we want in the future privately without him or anyone else knowing." "God help me, my most gracious lady," he said, "I'll gladly go to carry out your command."

And when he came to the orchard, he looked at the lord like the devil himself and gave him some well-placed blows, just as the lady had ordered him, speaking to him as he had been instructed to beforehand. And soon after, the lord ran back to his bedroom in haste.

And then the lord said to his lady thus: "Lady," he said, "that squire you spoke to me about has beaten me terribly because he thought that you were there. So I know that he's loyal to you. And so I'll be certain to make peace between the two of you, because what he did he did only to tempt you.

"Now, my lord, I'll do as you command." And then afterwards the lady and the squire always had their amusement and pleasure as they wished without anyone finding out. And in such a fashion the lord was deceived by the trickery of a lady, for all the women of the world are for the greater part full of malice and treason.

And that's why the wise Solomon says in the Book of Wisdom that there is no evil in all the world that surpasses the evil of an evil woman. So I pray to God that you might be kept from them. Amen.[181]

– Now, my sweet friend, what do you make of this noble tale that I have just told you?

– Truly, my sweet lord, I hope that this will not displease you, but it's the worst tale I've ever heard of women. I think it didn't fall out as you said.

– By saint James, my friend, it did, he said.

– Nevertheless, truly, saving your displeasure, I cannot believe that any woman would commit such treason against her lord.

– By God then, let's not talk of the matter. Janyn, what are you doing?

– My lord, if it pleases you, I'm dozing.

– Wake up, by the devil and his mother and all the rest![182] Or otherwise I'll give you such a blow that you'll be thinking of me four days from now, believe you me.

– Well, my lord, by God, don't get angry, I'm ready at your command.

– Now, go to draw us some of the best wine of the house to drink. As soon as I have drunk, I'll go to bed.

Et puis Janyn aporte de tresbon vyn a son seignour, et le seignour dit a la dame de l'hostel:

– Dame, prennez vostre hanap et comencés.

– Mon seignour, s'il vous pleast, non fray devant vous.

– Par Dieu, si frez.

– Vostre merci, mon seignour.

Et puis aprés la dame prent congé du seignour pur tout la noet ainsi:

– Mon seignour, je me recomande a vous et epri[lxxviii] a Dieu qu'il vous doint bone nut et bon repos.

– M'amye, bone noet vous doint Dieux.

Et se vous vuilez [tr]umper[lxxix] ascun, vous dirrez ainsi:

> Dieu vous doint bone nut et bon repos
> Et beau lit et vous dehors.

Vel sic:

> Dieu vous doint bone noet et auxi bon repos,
> Que vous n'aiez maishuy le cuil clos.

[5. The digger and the gardener]

Une manere du parler dez labourers et overurs des mestiers. Dit le closier d'un gardin a un fosseour qi foue lez terres ou les fosses in ceste manere:

– Mon amye, par ta foy, qu'as tu gaigné ceste sepmaigne?

– Par mon serement, j'en ay gaigné toute ceste sepmaigne pur fouir les terres et faire des fosses bien parfons que .xii. deniers et mes despenses.

– Par la mort du Dieu, c'est bien petit.

– Ore me dites, beau sir, qu'avés vous gaigné?

– Volentiers, mon gentil compaignone. J'ay enté toutz les arbres de mon gardeyn des les plus beals entes que j'ay vieu pieça et ore ils comencencent[lxxx] a reverdir, et auxi j'ay foué un autre gardein et je l'ay tresbien a point planté des cheux, porré, perselé, et sauge, et dez autres vertouse herbes. Et plus unquore je l'ay esraché et essarté toutz lez ortites putes et les mavaisses herbes, et tresbien semé de beaucope [**fol. 77r**] des bons semailles ou grains. Et j'en ay la auxi beaucope dez beals arbres portauns des divers fruis come des pomes, poirs, prunes, et cherises et noes, et je les ay tresbien apparailés et unquore j'en ay gaigné ceste sepmaigne que troys deniers et mes despenses. Mais ne gaignay le darrayne sepmayne que fuit derechief atant, et j'en estoy adonques bien hetiés.

– Hé, mon amy, ne vous chaille, quar il faut gaigner ce que ne poet[lxxxi] avoir a jour de huy.

– Hé, escoultés coment toutz les cloches sonent en le clocher!

– Hé, mon amy, c'est a cause de la solempneté que serra demayne. Il est temps de nous aler a pranger.

– Cen fait mon! Ou si: Ce fait mon!

And then Janyn brings some good wine to his lord, and the lord says to the lady of the house:

– Lady, raise your cup and drink.

– My lord, please, I shan't before you.

– By God, you shall.

– Thank you, my lord.[183]

And then afterwards the lady takes leave of the lord for the night thus:

– My lord, I recommend myself to you and I pray to God that he may give you a good night and good rest.

– My friend, may God give you good night.

And if you want to play a joke on someone you will say thus:

> May God give you good night and good rest
> And a good bed with you out of it.

Or thus:

> May God give you good night and good rest with it
> And may you drown in your own shit.[184]

5. The digger and the gardener

A way of speaking[185] belonging to peasants and craftsmen. A garden-keeper says to a ditch-digger who digs the earth or ditches in this manner:

– My friend, by your faith, what have you earned this week?

– On my oath, for digging the earth and making good, deep ditches all this week I've only earned twelve pence[186] and my expenses.

– By God's death, that's not much.

– Now, tell me, good sir, what have you earned?

– Gladly, my noble companion. I've grafted all the trees in my garden with the most beautiful grafts that I've seen for ages and now they're beginning to sprout, and also I've dug out another garden and I've planted it very neatly with cabbages, leeks, parsley, and sage, and other virtuous herbs. And what's more I've torn up and cleared away all the rotten nettles and the weeds, and skilfully sewn lots of good seeds or grains. And I also have lots of beautiful trees bearing different fruits such as apples, pears, plums, and cherries and nuts, and I have fixed them up neatly, and still this week I've only earned three pence and my expenses. But last week I earned the same again, and I was glad for it then.

– Well, my friend, don't worry about it, for you have to earn what you can get these days.

– Hey, listen how all the bells are ringing in the bell tower!

– Well, my friend, it's because of tomorrow's festival. It's time we went to have lunch.

– Yes, indeed! or thus: It is indeed!

Donques ils s'en vont a l'ostel pur diner emsemble. Et quant ils serront venus, ils serront servies des choux lardé bien graas et buré ensemble, et auxi du lait et des le ouys[lxxxii] ovesques les comques, l'aubeaux, et les moealx. Et ces deaux mescheanx serront si friandes de lour viande q'ils se transglouteont[lxxxiii] sanz maschier, a cause d'estancher plus tost lour grande fayme. Et quant ils en aiont[lxxxiv] trestout mangés, ils rueront les os a lour mastins. Donques ils rongeront[lxxxv] si fort que le diable, et primerment ils s'esbateront atant ensemble q'ils combateront droitement ainsi que le plus fort esbatara le plus feble a la terre.

Donqes dit l'un villaine a l'autre:

– Mon mastine est le plus cravant que n'est la vostre, et pur ce nous les departirons ou autrement nous lessons que l'un serra batu a la terre.

[6. The baker and his apprentice]

Un autre manere de parler. Fait le bolongier a un de ses vadletz tout ainsi:

– Pier, pernés la siel et va traiere de l'eaue tost, et puis le boutés en la grande paille et le mettés sur le feu, [**fol. 77v**] car il me faut pestier unquore anut et cuier .ix. bussels de farine de furment pour les despenses de mon seignour de Leyer, car l'endemayn de Seint Michael serra l'entierement de ma tresnoble dame madame de Geynys que fuit sa compaigne et que trespassa au fest de la Exaltacione Saint Croix darraine passé.

– Maister, je vous empri, ne vous displease, car vraiment je ne puisse pas espuiser l'eaue a cause que je su blessé en lez mainz.

– Et coment fus tu ainsy blessé, meschiant paillart que tu es?

– Vraiment, sir, sicome je me juay au l'espeie des deux mains ovesque un des mes compaignons, il me done un tiel horion sur la mayne droit qu'el la fendist tout parmy la palme jusques au os. Ore veiez vous le pref: il n'est pas mençoige[lxxxvi] ce que je vous die.

– Par la mort de Dieu, tu fus que foel ainsi juer de t'en blesser en ceste manere. Maintenant j'en ay grant bosoigne de toy, et tu ne me puisse riens profitier.

– Hé, mon tresdoulx maister, ne vous chaille, car je vous fray avoir un autre en noun de moy desques a heure que j'en serray tout garry.

– Et savés vous bien que vous frés?[lxxxvii]

– Oil dea, ne vous surciés de cela.

– Or il parra donques, mais toutzvois je suy bien marry que tu es ainsy naufré, car la plaie est bien parfont et pereilouse. Mais nepurquant te recomfort bien, car s'il Dieu plaist, tu en serras tresbien garry.

Then they go to the inn to eat together. And once they've arrived, they'll be served with cabbages and good, fatty bacon, covered in butter, and also with milk and eggs in their shells, egg whites, and egg yolks. And these two scoundrels will be so greedy for their food that they'll swallow it without chewing, so as to satisfy more quickly their great hunger. And when they've eaten everything up, they will throw the bones to their mastiffs. Then the dogs will chew on them as hard as the devil, but first they'll play together, attacking skilfully, so that the stronger will fight the weaker to the ground.

Then one peasant says to the other:

– My mastiff is more cowardly than yours, so let's split them up, or otherwise we'll be leaving one to beat the other to the ground.

6. The baker and his servant

Another way of speaking. The baker says to one of his servants thus:

– Pier, get the salt and go and draw water immediately, and then throw it in the big pot and put it on the fire, because I still have to bake tonight and cook nine bushels of wheat flour for the storehouses of my lord of Layer, because the day after the feast of Saint Michael will be the burial of my noble lady Madame de Geynys[187] who was his companion and who died back at the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross.

– Master, I beg you, don't be displeased, but truly, I cannot draw water from the well because I've hurt my hands.

– How did you get injured like this, you evil scumbag?[188]

– Truly, sir, when I was playing at fencing two handed with one of my companions, he gives me such a blow[189] on my right hand that he split it right through the palm down to the bone. Now, see here the proof: it's no lie that I'm telling you.

– By God's death, you were nothing but a fool to play like that and injure yourself in such a way. Right now I really need you, and you're good for nothing to me.

– Oh, my dear master, don't worry, for I'll make sure you have someone to replace me until the time I'm fully healed.

– And are you sure you'll be able to?

– Yes, indeed. Don't you worry about that.

– Hmm, we'll see about that. But in any case I'm angry that you've hurt yourself like this, because the wound is very deep and dangerous. Still, take comfort, because, God willing, you'll be fully healed.

[7. The draper and his apprentice]

Autre manere de parler des marchantz. Dit un marchant a un de ses apprentiz tout ainsy:

– Guilliam, ou es tu?

– Mon seignour, je su cy.

– Venez a moy. Ou si: Vien avant donqs.

– Maister, je vien a vous ore.

– Ou as tu eté depuis que [**fol. 78r**] tu levas? J'eusse esté au marché pieça se tu ne feus. Et tu sais bien que j'en fuy bien matyne levé pur aler au marché a viendre mes denrés. Male sepmaigne soit toy mys, car j'en ay perdu huy mon marché a cause de ta folie!

– Qu'en puisse je? Vous savez bien que j'ay esté ocupié entour vous bosignes, sicom moi comandastez hier soir.

– Hé, tu mens fausement. Tu as esté ovec tes filletz putaignes, et pur ce je pri a Dieu que tu puisse avoir le vit coupé, car je sçai bien que tu en aras male estraine a darrains se tu ne vis lesse[lxxxviii] ta folie, par Dieu!

– Mon seignour, je ne fus pas.

– Tu mens fausement parmy la gorge. Je sçai bien que tu y fus.

– Save vostre grace, non fas.

– Teis toy, de par le deable! Ou si: Finés vous! Ou si: Tien te coy ou te je doneray un ytiel sufflet que tu penseras de moy decy as quatre jours, me croyez se tu vis, car je teneray covenant! Ou si: Tenés vous coy! Ou si: Finés vous! Ou si: Ne me parlas[lxxxix] ja plus a ceste foitz sur peril qu'en purra avenir, quar se vous le frés, vous en arés dez horions si bien assés que par aventure vous penseras de moy decy as troys sepmaignes, me croiés se vous voillés, quar vraiment je vous tiendray la covenant!

– Hé, mon tresdoulx maister, je vous cri mercy et vous en supplie humblement de vostre grace que vous me voillés pardonere vostre maletalent, quar s'il Dieu pleist, je ne mesponderay[xc] ja plus envers vous.

– Ore va t'en, quar je te pardone.

– Grant mercy, mon seignour.

Donques l'epprentice s'en vait a Parys pur vendre lez [**fol. 78v**] danrés de son maister, et la veignont grant cope des gentz dez diverses pays de les achater. Et l'apprentis lour dit tout courtaisment en ceste manere:

– Mes amys, venez vous ciens, et je vous moustray d'auxi bon drape come vous troverés en tote ceste ville, et vous en arez d'aussy bon marché come nulle autre. Ore regardés, beau sir, coment vous est avys? Ou si: Coment vous pleast il? Vieicy de bon escarlet violet, sanguin et de toutz autres colours que n'en poet nomer. Ore esliez de tiel que vous pleast.

Donques dit un marchant:

– Que me costra tout ce renc de scarlet?

7. The draper and his apprentice

Another way of speaking belonging to merchants. A merchant says to one of his apprentices thus:

– Guilliam,[190] where are you?

– Master, I am here.[191]

– Come to me. Or thus: Come forward now.[192]

– Master, I'm on my way now.

– Where have you been since you got up? I could have been at the market long ago if it weren't for you. And you know that I got up early in the morning to go to market and sell my wares. A curse on you,[193] for I've lost business today on account of your foolishness!

– How is that my fault? You know that I've been busy on your errands, as you ordered me yesterday evening.

– Ha, you lie falsely. You've been with your whore girls, and for that I pray to God that someone cuts your prick off, because I know that it'll bring you bad luck in the end if you won't leave off your madness, by God!

– Master, I wasn't.

– You're lying falsely through your teeth. I know well that you were there.

– Saving your grace, I was not.

– Shut up, by the devil! Or thus: Stop it![194] Or thus: Keep quiet or I'll give you such a punch that you'll be thinking of me four days from now, believe you me, because I'll keep my word! Or thus: Keep silent! Or thus: Stop it! Or thus: Don't say another word to me now for fear of what might happen, because if you do, you'll get such well-placed blows that you may well be thinking of me three weeks from now, believe you me, because truly I'll keep my word to you!

– Oh, my sweet master, I cry out to you for mercy and humbly beg you by your grace that you'll spare me your anger, because, God willing, I'll never offend you again.

– Now go along, for I pardon you.

– Many thanks, master.

Then the apprentice goes to Paris[195] to sell his master's wares, and a great many people from different lands come there in order to buy them. And the apprentice says to them courteously in this fashion:

– My friends, come here, and I'll show you cloth as good as any you'll find in all this town, and you'll get it at a bargain like none other. Now look, good sir, what do you think? Or thus: How do you like it?[196] Here is good, fine cloth in violet, blood red, and all the colours you can name. Now pick out the one you'd like.

Then a merchant says:

– How much will this whole roll of cloth cost me?

Et l'autre dit ainsi:

– Beau sir, vous me donrrés dux millez franks.

– Nonil dea, mon amy, mais savés vous que je vous en donrray? Vous en arés de moy pur tout ce renc .xii.c. franks.

– A, mon tresdoulx sir, il m'est avys que vous estes prudres et vaillantz. Je vous die un mot: pur tout vraiment vous me donrrés .xv.c. frankes.

– Non feray je, car si Dieu m'aid, je ne vous doneray plus, et uncore il m'est avys qu'il est bien chier.

– Par Dieu, non est, beau sir, mes vous estes trop tenant. Mais pur ce que j'ay esperaunce que vous achaterés de moy plus des danrés en temps a venir, vous l'arés de la price que me costa, c'est assavoire .xii.c. francs, mais que vous me paiés bien.

– Maintenant, mon amy, ne vous surciés, je vous paieray tresbien, s'il Dieu pleast, si que vous me donés jour de paiement jusques a la goule d'aougost.

– Vraiment, sir, il ne vous displese, je ne le puisse faire sil noun[xci] q'il m'en serroit grant areresment et empiremient de mon est[at],[xcii] laquele chose je pence bien que ne vouldrez my desirer que j'en fuisse [**fol. 79r**] auximent arereissé ou enpiré a cause de vous, car je doi as gentz de pais grantz sommes d'argent que j'ay enprompté d'eux jusques a Noel proschein a venir, et sur ce j'en suy obligé et tenu par une forte obligacione fait de double de paier a mesme le fest. Et se je faudray donques de mesme le paiement en partie ou en tout, je me fas fort que je serra enprisoné, et j'en su certayne que je ne m'isseray my d'illeoques avant que j'en aray trestout fait gré. Et pur ce, beau sir, je vous en pri tant chierment com je puisse que me voillés paier mon argent tout ensemble ore a ma grant necessitee sanz plus loigne dilay. Et vraiment, sir, je vous appresteray un autre foitz voluntiers derechief atant.

– Hé, mon amy, ne vous corucés point, car vous arés ore la moité de l'argent, et de l'autre moité je me obligeray a vous par une obligacione de vous paier bien et loialment a fest de Saint Petre la Vincle prochein qui viendra. En vous bien agrerés donques?

– J'en su bien agree, meis toutzvois j'ameroi meulx de l'avoire maintenant a ma grant busoigne que plus en delay. Mais depuis que il ne poet estre autrement, il me covient atteindre le jour de paiement.

Et quant l'apprentiz en ara trestout achevé et accordé ovec luy, il luy dirra tout ainsi:

– Mon tresdoulx amy, maintenant ces danrés sont vostres. Vraiment, vous avez de mesme la price que je les achata. Ou si: Si Dieu m'aid, vous les avés d'auxi bon marché come [**fol. 79v**] ils me costirent. Ore prennez vous biens, et je pry a Dieu q'il vous en done atant de profit et encrescement come vouldroy en avoire s'ils fuissent les miens.

– Sir, grant mercy de vostre curteisie. Et se je vieurai[xciii] as deux ans, vous ne perdrés ja riens de vostre bienfait, car s'il Dieu pleist, je le vous rendray bien.

– Beau sir, a Dieu vous comande.

– Mon tresdoulx amy, Dieu vous ait en sa garde.

And the other says thus:

– Good sir, you'll give me two thousand francs.[197]

– No indeed, my friend, but do you know what I will give you? For the whole roll you'll have twelve hundred francs off me.

– O, my sweet sir, I can tell that you're worthy and brave. I tell you what: for the lot, truly, you'll give me fifteen hundred francs.

– I shall not, for, God help me, I won't give you any more, and still that seems to me to be expensive enough.

– By God, it is not, good sir, you're being too tough on me. But because I hope you'll buy more wares from me in the future, you'll have it at the price it cost me, that is to say twelve hundred francs, but be sure to pay me properly.

– Now, my friend, don't worry, I'll pay you very properly, God willing, if you give me until the first of August to pay.

– Truly, sir, don't be displeased, I cannot do that without causing great harm and damage to my good health, which I think you would not wish for me—that I should be so harmed or damaged on your account—for I owe great sums of money to people of this country that I borrowed from them until next Christmas coming, and on this point I'm obliged and held by a powerful contract twice sworn to pay by that date. And if I lack that payment then in part or in whole, I guarantee that I'll be put in prison, and I'm certain that I won't get out of there before I've given complete satisfaction for it. So, good sir, I beg you as kindly as I can that you'll pay me my money all together now seeing my great need without any longer delay. And truly, sir, another time, I'll gladly lend you the same amount again.[198]

– Well, my friend, don't get angry, for you'll have half the money, and I'll pledge the other half to you in a contract to pay you fully and loyally at the Feast of Saint Peter ad Vincula[199] next. Are you satisfied with that, then?

– I'm very pleased, but still I would much prefer to have the money right now than with a delay seeing my great need. But since it can't be otherwise, I'll have to wait for the payment day.

And when the apprentice has finally finished and reached an agreement with him, he will say thus:

– My sweet friend, now the wares are yours. Truly, you have them at the same price that I bought them at. Or thus: So help me God, you have them as cheaply as they cost me. Now take your goods, and I pray to God that he give you as much profit and increase as I would wish to have of them if they were mine.

– Sir, many thanks for your courtesy. And if I'm living two years from now, you won't lose anything of your good deed, for, God willing, I'll pay you back for it handsomely.

– Good sir, I commend you to God.

– My sweet friend, may God keep you in his guard.

[8. At the dubber's]

Un autre manere de parler. Dit un vaidlet a un dubbeour des veillez drapes en ce manere:

– J'en ay icy un purpoint qu'est rumpus en beaucope des lieus et auxi pur le greindre partie les cousters sount decousés. Et pur ce je vous pri chierment que vous le vuillés adubber bien et honestement pur mon argent. Et dites moy, que vuillés vous en avoir?

– Par Dieu, mon amy, vous me donerez .vi. deniers a un mot, car vraiment l'overaige du tiel bien vault atant entre deux frers. Je le feray tresbien a point.

– Beu sir, ainsi que je l'ay dymenge prochiene que vient au darrains, car j'en ay grant mestier.

– De par Dieu, il ne vous faudra ja de m'en parler plus, car s'il Dieu pleist, il serra donques tout prest tresbien a vostre plesir, ne vous surciés.

[9. Two stable boys]

Une autre manere du parler. Dit un garcion a son compaignon ainsi:

– Leisse ta folie maishui et va t'en a esgarder a tes chivalx, car se ton maister te troveroit icy esbatant, il te torcheroit tresbien sur la teste.

– Hé, mon amy, ne te chaille.

– Avysés vous donques, car je ne puisse gueirs arester.

– Ore alons.

Et s'en vont ensemble a les chivalx. Et quant ils viendront la, l'un dit a l'autre ainsi:

– Mon compaignon, gardés vous bien de Sorerel[xciv] quant luy vous monstrés, car il vous frapera voluntiers. Et pur ce ne montés vous lantement, mais si ignelment come vous purrés.

Et ces deux compaignons se montent as chivalx. Et puis l'un dit [**fol. 80r**] a l'autre ainsi:

– Vous estez en grant meulx monté et araiés que je ne su.

– Save vostre grace, beal sir, non su je.

Et s'ent chivachent ensemble vers l'estaunc, et sitost com les chivalx ont assés bu, ils les jettont en l'eaue. Donques ils ne poent surdre se a paine non, a cause que lours garnementz sont trestoutz moilliés. Et puis se courront fort pur atteinere les chivalx, et quant ils les ont atteintz, ils les frottont tresbiene de lour bastons des les faire plus privés, et s'en chivachont a l'ostel, et puis les seient[xcv] encontre le feu et s'en chaufont bien.

Donques dit l'un compaignone a l'autre:

– Quoy me ne disoiés vous quant vous estiez a l'estaunc la manere et l'usage de vous chivalx? Vraiment, vous estez bien meschaunt et malveis.

– Si Dieu m'aid, je ne le cogny my, quar vraiment ils n'ont pur acustume de faire, au moyns que je le vei unques.

– Donques ne poent challair.

8. At the dubber's

Another way of speaking. A servant says to a dubber of old clothes in this fashion:

– I have here a pourpoint[200] that is torn in many places and the better part of the seams have come undone too. And so I beg you kindly that you will dub it well and honestly for my money. And tell me, how much do you want for the work?

– By God, my friend, you'll give me six pence[201] at a word, for truly such work is well worth as much between two brothers. I'll do it very exactly.

– Good sir, see that I have it next Sunday at the latest, for I have great need of it.

– By God, you needn't mention it again to me, for, God willing, it'll all be ready very much to your liking by then, don't worry.

9. Two stable boys

Another way of speaking. A boy says to his companion thus:

– Stop messing around right now and go to check on the horses,[202] for if your master found you here playing, he'd give you a good knock on the head.

– Hey, my friend, don't worry about it.

– Watch out, then, because I can't hang around here forever.

– Well, let's go then.

And they go to the horses together. And when they come there, one says to the other thus:

– My companion, watch out for Sorel when you mount him, for he'll gladly kick you. And so don't mount him slowly, but as quickly as you can.

And these two companions mount the horses. And then one says to the other thus:

– You're much better mounted and kitted out than me.

– Saving your grace, good sir, I'm not.[203]

And they ride off together towards the pond, and as soon as the horses have drunk enough, they throw the boys in the water. Then they can only get out with great difficulty, because their clothes are completely drenched. And then they run hard to reach the horses, and when they've got them, they beat them all over with their sticks in order to make them more obedient, and they ride off to the inn, and then they sit themselves against the fire and warm themselves up nicely.

Then one companion says to the other:

– Why didn't you tell me when you were at the pond about the way and habit of your horses? Truly, you're mean and bad.

– God help me, I didn't know, for truly, they don't usually do that, at least that I have ever seen.

– Then let's drop it.

– Ore buons un foiz et reheitons nous bien, car il nous ne profitera ja plus en plaindere.

– Ore regardés, moun amy et compaignon, coment mes soliers sont tout depeciés. J'en su bien esbayse, car il n'y a encore que sis jours passés que je les avoy tout de novel. Ore me faut aler a sovetour de les adoubber et quarrir des bons quarraux et fortz et de bon cuier de boef et bien espissez q'ils me purront longement durer.

– Ousteons nous ces busses et tisonnis, q'il ne purra ja estre aperceu que nous avoions de si grant feu, et sarrez vous bien le feu et alons nous esbater un poy de temps. Delivre toy donques et vien nen[xcvi] se tu vuis, car je m'en vais.

[10. Different greetings; news from Orleans]

Autre manere de parler. Quant un homme encountra ascune a matyne, il luy dirra [**fol. 80v**] tout ainsi:

– Dieu vous doigne bon matyne et bon aventure. Ou si: Sir, Dieu vous doigne bon jour et bon encountre.

– Mon amy, Dieu vous doigne bon matyne et bon estrayne.

Et a mydday vous parlerés en ceste manere:

– Mon seignour, Dieu vous done bon jour et bon houres. Ou si: Sir, Dieu vous benoit et la compaigne.[xcvii]

Ou vous dirrés ainsi:

– Dieu vous garde. Ou si: Sta bien. Ou si: Reposez bien.

Et as overes[xcviii] et labourers, vous dirrés ainsi:

– Dieu vous aid, mon amy. Ou si: Dieu vous avance, compaignone.

– Bien soiés venu, beau sir.

– Dont venés vous? Ou si: De quele partie venez vous?

– Mon sir, je veigne a Aurliance.

– Que noveles la?

– Mon sir, y a grant debat entre les escolers, car vraiment ils ne cessent de jour en autre de combatre ensemble.

– Et des queles parties sont ils?

– Ils sont de Picardie et de Champanie, et les Picardes vont a mynut tout parmy la ville acustément[xcix] bien armés et araiez a guys des gens d'armes portans des gelyns, espeies, et haches, et serchont les Champanoys de rue en rue de les racontrer a cause de la grant hayne et annemyté q'ils ont envers eux. Et sitoust q'ils ont trovés,[c] ils se guerront ensemble si fort que c'est mervail. Et le roy les a maundé par ses letres patens de lesser sa folie sur payne de forfair envers luy tout quanque ils ont en sa roialme, et encore ils ne vuillent cesser ne prendre plus de garde a maundement de roy que je ne feroy de la plus petite paille desoubz mes pees.

– Now, let's drink a draft and cheer ourselves up, for there is no use carrying on complaining about it.

– Now look, my friend and companion, how my shoes have fallen apart. I'm distraught, for its only six days ago that I had them brand new. Now I'll have to go to the cobbler to get them fixed and patched with good strong patches of good, thick cowhide, so that they last me a long time.[204]

– Let's put these logs and branches to one side so that no one can see that we've had such a big fire, and beat down the fire and let's go and have some fun for a bit. Move yourself then and come on, if you want, because I'm off.

10. Different greetings; news from Orleans

Another way of speaking. When a man meets someone in the morning, he'll say to the person thus:

– May God give you good day and good luck. Or thus: Sir, may God give you good day and good fortune.

– My friend, may God Give you good morning and good chance.

And at midday you will speak in this manner:

– My lord, may God give you good day and much success. Or thus: Sir, God bless you and this company.

Or you will say thus:

– May God keep you. Or thus: Keep well.[205] Or thus: Rest well.

And to handworkers and peasants, you will say thus:[206]

– God help you, my friend. Or thus: God speed you, companion.[207]

– You are welcome, good sir.

– Where do you come from? Or thus: from what part do you come?

– My lord, I come from Orleans.

– What news there?

– My lord, there is a great dispute between the students, for truly they do not stop fighting each other from one day to the next.[208]

– And from what parts are they?

– They are from Picardy and Champagne, and at midnight the Picards usually go about the town well armed and kitted out like men at arms bearing blades, swords, and axes, and they look for the Champenois from road to road trying to meet with them on account of the great hatred and enmity that they have towards them. And as soon as they find them, they battle together so hard that it's a marvel. And the king has commanded them by his letters patent to leave off their madness on pain of forfeiting to him everything that they possess in his kingdom, and still they won't stop or pay further heed to the king's command than I would to the least bit of straw beneath my feet.

– Par Nostre Dame, c'est grant despit.

– Par Dieu, se je fu que le roy, je bateroye tresbien lour orguil.

– Hé, mon amy, [**fol. 81r**] j'ay oblié de vous demandre un chose. Dont estes vous? Ou: De quele pays esties vous? Ou fuistes vous nee?

– Mon sire, je su de Henoude.

– Que dea, vous esties un Englois donques!

– Nonil dea, mais nous aymons bien les Engloys a cause que les plus vaillantz seignours de ceste pais la sont de nostre linage.

– Hé, mon amy, je vous en croy bien.

[11. Consoling a child]

Ore je vous moustray la manere de parler a un enfant. Quant vous orrés ou verrés un enfant plorer ou gemyr, vous dirrés ainsi:

– Qu'as tu, mon enfant? Ou si: Qu'avés vous, mon amy? Ou si: Qui te meffait, beau fils? Ou si: Qui t'a fait plorer, beau doulx enfant?

– Mon seignour, vostre petit garcion m'a ainsi froté, acraché, bufaté et batu q'il me fist sangnier la noise.

– Hé, beau fils, ne vous chaille, car je l'amendray bien a point, et il serra tresbien batu sur le cuil pur l'amour de vous. Et puis il ne serra plus si hardif de vous meffair decy en avant.

– Grant mercy, mon seignour.

[12. Turning away a beggar]

Et quant un homme povre viendra a ta maisone a demander pur Dieu de t'ailmoigne, et se ne vous vuillés lui faire ascune bien pur Dieu, vous dirrez ainsi:

– Mon amy, Dieu vous face bien. Ou si: Dieu vous vuille aider, car vraiment, mon amy, se je purroy, je vous aidaisse tresvoluntiers, car il me semble que vous n'eisties pur bien heités. Dieu le vuille amendre.

– Vraiment, beau sir, vous dites voir, car j'ay esté longe temps malade.

[13. Two companions at an inn]

La manere de parler entre compaignons que demuront ensemble en un hostel quant ils se devoint aler a coucher.

– Guilliam, avez vous fait nostre lit?

– Nonil, vraiment.

– Hé, vraiment vous esties bien meschant, [**fol. 81v**] que nostre lit est unquore a faire. Surdés vous le cuil et alés vous faire nostre lit, je vous en pri, car je vouldray estre endormy. Ou si: Car je dormisse tresvoluntiers se je fuisse couché.

– Hé, beau sir, me lessés vous chaufer bien les pees primerment, car en ay[ci] grant froid.

– By Our Lady, that's a great shame.

– By God, if I were the king, I'd beat their pride right out of them.

– Well, my friend, I forgot to ask you something. Where are you from? Or: From what country are you? Where were you born?

– My lord, I am from Hainaut.

– So indeed! Then you're English![209]

– No indeed, but we like the English because the bravest lords of that country are of our lineage.

– Well, my friend, if you say so.

11. Consoling a child

Now I will show the way to speak to a child. When you hear or see a child crying or whimpering, you will say thus:

– What's wrong, my child? Or thus: What's wrong, my friend? Or thus: Who's upsetting you, good son? Or thus: Who's made you cry, good sweet child?[210]

– My lord, your little boy has so roughed me up and scratched, punched, and beaten me that he's made my nose bleed.

– Oh, good son, don't worry, for I'll make it all right, and he'll be thoroughly beaten on the arse on your account. And then he won't be so bold as to mistreat you in future.

– Many thanks, my lord.

12. Turning away a beggar

And when a poor man comes to your house asking alms in God's name, and if you don't want to give him anything for God's sake, you'll say thus:

– My friend, may God do you good. Or thus: May God help you, for truly, my friend, if I could, I'd willingly help you, for it seems to me that you are not in a good way. May God amend it.

– Truly, good sir, you speak the truth, for I've been ill for a long time.

13. Two companions at an inn

The manner of speaking between companions staying together at an inn, when they have to go to bed.

– Guilliam,[211] have you made our bed?

– No indeed, truly.

– Well, you really are wicked. Our bed is still to be made! Get off your arse[212] and go and make our bed, I beg you, for I would like to be able to go to sleep. Or thus: For I'd most gladly sleep if I could get into bed.

– Well, good sir, let me warm your feet first,[213] because they're giving me a chill.

– Et coment le purrés vous dire pur honte, quant il fait si grant chaut? Anlumés la chaundelle et va traire du vin.

– Alés vous mesmes se vous vuillés, car je ne bougerai ja.

– Il le meschie que vous en dorira a boire, car je m'en irrai querre du vin pur moi mesmes et pur Janyn, et, par Dieu, se je puisse, vous ne beverés maishuy a cause de vostre malveis volunté.

– Vraiment, vous esties bien malvois. Je pri a Dieu que il vous meschie.

– Tois toi, senglant merdous garcion, villain mastin, meschiant paillard que tu es, ou tu en aras des horrions que les sentiras decy as quatre jours!

Donques il luy done un bon boffe sur la jouue, ainsi disant:

– Dieu met toi mal an. Quoi me respondez vous ainsi?

Et l'autre se comce[cii] a plorer et dit:

– Je pri a Dieu que tu puis rumper le col avant que tu en irras hors de ciens!

– Par Dieu, il fuit te meulx taiser si que tu n'as plus de damage.

– Vraiment, sir, je ne suffrai ja plus estre batu de vous. J'aimasse mieulx encore demourer la ou nul homme me cognoisça qu'a reister plus loigement[ciii] icy.

– Hé, Guilliam, vous ne chaille, je ne vous ferai ja plus de mal. Ore bions[civ] nous tost et alons coucher. Guilliam, ou alés vous?

– Je m'en vais amont.

– Beau sir, je vous en pri que vous coverés le feu primerment et oustés ces busses et tisons tost et buttés les carbons et les breis ensemble et mettez desoubz les cindres, et puis nous irrons coucher.

Et puis aprés ils vont a lour [**fol. 82r**] chambur amont. Et quant ils serront la, l'un demandra a l'autre ainsi:

– Ou est Briket, le petit chien, et Floret, le petit chien?

– Je ne sçai mie ou Briket est devenu, mais toutzvois Floret s'en est couché aval ov les autres chiens qui gisont en le gardein.

[14. Dialogues between traders]

Autre manere de parler entre les vitailers.

– Et coment tenés vous cecy?

– Sir, il vault bien oet deners.

– Non pas, mais je vous donray tant, et si est il chiere achaté. Pregnés l'argent se vous vuillés. Certes je ne vous doneray plus.

– Sir, preignés a vous donques, et baillez moy bon estrayne. Veraiment il vault bien vostre argent. Ore vous l'avés bon marché, et pur ce autre foiz venez a moy.

– Dites, vuillez vous vendre cella?

– And how can you say that, for shame, when it is so hot. Light the candle and go to draw some wine.

– Go yourself if you want to, for I'm not budging from here any time soon.

– May ill luck befall whoever gives you to drink, for I'm going to look for some wine for myself and for Janyn, and, by God, if I have any say in it, you won't drink anything from now on in because of your ill will.

– Truly, you really are bad. I pray to God that you fall unlucky.

– Shut up, you bloody, shitty boy, mean dog, evil scumbag that you are, or you'll get blows for it that you'll feel four days from now![214]

Then he gives him a good knock on the cheek, saying thus:

– May God send you bad luck for a year. Why do you talk back to me like this?

And the other starts to cry and says:

– I pray to God that you break your neck before you leave here!

– By God, you'd do better to shut up so you don't get hurt any worse.

– Truly, sir, I won't put up with being beaten by you any longer. I'd rather be where no one knows me than to stay any longer here.

– Well, Guilliam, don't worry about it, I won't hurt you anymore. Now let's have a quick drink and go to bed. Guilliam, where are you going?

– I'm going upstairs.

– Good sir, I beg you to cover the fire first and to take out those logs and branches right away and to throw the coals and the embers together and put them under the ashes, and then we'll go to bed.[215]

And then afterwards they go up to their room. And when they're there, one will ask the other thus:

– Where is Briket, the little dog, and Floret, the little dog?[216]

– I have no idea what's become of Briket, but Floret is in any case sleeping downstairs with the other dogs who are lying in the garden.

14. Dialogues between traders

Another manner of speaking between victuallers.

– And what price do you give this?

– Sir, it's worth eight pence.[217]

– No it isn't, but I'll give you so much,[218] and so it's bought dearly. Take the money if you wish. I certainly won't give you any more.

– Sir, take it then, and wish me good fortune. Truly it's worth your money. Now you've got it at a good price, so come back to me another time.

– Say, do you want to sell that?

– Oy, sir, il est bon pur vous.

– Dites coment le vuillez doner.

– Sir, vous me donerez tant pur ce.

– Non frai. Il ne vault atant. Dites a un mot coment l'aray.

– Sir, vous me donerez tant.

– Non fray, car il est trope. Dites que est le darrain mot de ce?

– Sir, a un mot, vous ne l'arés pas miens.

Donques il regarde a un autre chose.

– Ore, de quel prise est cecy?

– Sir, veraiment il vault sis deniers.

– Non pas a moy, mais je vous doneray cinque deniers. Tenés, un denier en erres, et a Dieu vous comande.

– Sir, je ne prendray pas congé de vous.

[15. Asking the time and the way]

Autre manere de parler et pur demander le droit chymyne par la pays.

– Beau sir, Dieu vous esploit. Dites moy se vous plaist, que heure del joure est il?

– Sir, je pense que est dis.

– Que dea, mettés le chapron, paillarde, com tu parles a prodome! Et dites, coment est anommé ceste ville, et ou demurt Guilliam Rorane?

– Sir, il ne demourt pas icy maintenant.

– Ore ou luy troveray je donques?

– Sir, vous luy troverés demourant en le haut rieu a l'autre cousté del moustre.

[16. Asking for lodging; giving a message]

Autre manere pur demandere hostel.

– Dieu garde, beale dame.

– Bien soiés venu, beau sir.

– [**fol. 82v**] Dame, purroy je estre loggé ciens et avoir fein et avens et autres choses que a moy appent?

– Oy, sir, je vous troveray assés ov l'aide de Dieu.

– Dame, ou est le sir de ciens?

– Avés vous ascune coignoissance de lui?

– Oyl dea, je lui coignois tresbien.

– Sir, il viendra tost, come je quide. Dites a moy, que est vostre volunté?

– Dame, je vouldray parler a lui.

– Yes, sir, it's good for you.
– Tell me for how much you'll give it.
– Sir, you'll give me so much for it.
– I shall not. It's not worth as much. Tell me without haggling for how much I'll have it.
– Sir, you'll give me so much.
– I shall not, for it's too much. Say, is this your last word on the matter?
– Sir, in a word, you won't have it for less.

Then he looks at something else.

– Now, what's the price of this?
– Sir, truly, it's worth six pence.
– Not to me! But I'll give you five pence. Here's a one penny deposit, and I commend you to God.
– Sir, I won't take my leave of you.[219]

15. Asking the time and the way

Another way of speaking for asking the right way through the country.

– Good sir, God speed you. Tell me please: what hour of the day is it?
– Sir, I think it is ten.
– Well, really! Put up your hood, scumbag, when you're talking to a man of quality![220] And say, what is this town called? And where does Guilliam Rorane live?
– Sir, he is not living here currently.
– Well, where will I find him, then?
– Sir, you will find him living in the high street on the other side of the minster.

16. Asking for lodging; giving a message

Another way of asking for lodging.

– May God keep you, good woman.
– Welcome, good sir.
– Madam, might I be lodged here and have hay and oats and other things I'll need?
– Yes, sir, I'll find you enough with God's help.
– Madam, where is the master of the house?[221]
– Do you know him at all?
– Yes indeed. I know him well.
– Sir, he'll be here presently, I think. Tell me, what is your bidding?
– Madam, I would like to speak with him.

– Vraiment, sir, il n'est pas ciens ore.
– Dame, viendra il tost?
– Par ma foy, sir, je ne sçai. Vous purrés a moy dire vostre volunté.
– Nonil, je lui vouldroy dire moy mesmes.
– Sir, amontés et vous beverés, se vous pleast.
– Non fray a ceste fois, par vostre congé.
– Sir, je dirray vostre message.
– Dame, Dieu le vous rende.
– Sir, dites a moy vostre nom.
– Dame, j'ay a nom Guilliam.
– Sir, en bon aventure.
– Dame, vous please dire mon mesage a vostre maister?
– Sir, je le fray tresvoluntiers.

Et donques quant il est alé, autre vient al port et dit a un des servantz:
– Ou est la dame de ciens?
– Sir, je croy que ele est en la sale.
– Alés vous et faitez mon message a ele.
– Sir, coment le dirray?
– Dites a ele que je su cy.

– Dame, il y a un homme a port que vous vouldroit en parler.
– Dites a luy que je viendray tost.

Donques viene la dame a la port et dite:
– Sir, vous estez bien venu.
– Vostre merci, beale dame, et avés vous point d'ostel pur moy?
– Sir, quantbien vuillez vous demourere?
– Dame, je ne sçay mye vous dire.
– Et combien vuillez vous donere pur vostre viaunde et la chambre?
– Dame, que vuillez vous prendre?
– Sir, nient miens que sis deniers le jour.
– Dame, je le doneray tresvoluntiers. Dame, je manderay mes choses cy.
– Sir, vous serrés bien venuz.

– Truly, sir, he's not here now.
– Madam, will he come soon?
– By my faith, sir, I don't know. You can tell me your bidding.
– No, I would like to tell him myself.
– Sir, go up and have a drink, if you please.
– I shall not at this time, by your leave.
– Sir, I'll pass on your message.
– Madam, may God repay you for it.
– Sir, tell me your name.
– Madam, my name is Guilliam.[222]
– Sir, that's very well.
– Madam, will you give my message to your master?
– Sir, I will do so willingly.

And then when he has gone, another comes to the door and says to one of the servants:
– Where is the lady of the house?
– Sir, I think that she is in the hall.
– Go and deliver my message to her.
– Sir, what shall I tell her?
– Tell her that I am here.

– Madam, there is a man at the door who would like to talk to you.
– Tell him that I'll come immediately.

Then the lady comes to the door and says:
– Sir, you are welcome.
– Thank you, good woman, and do you have any lodgings for me?
– Sir, how long would you like to stay?
– Madam, I can't say.
– And how much will you give for your food and board?
– Madam, how much will you take?
– Sir, not less than six pence per day.
– Madam, I'll give that willingly. Madam, I'll have my things brought here.
– Sir, you will be welcome.

Et quant ses choses sont venuz et aportez a la maison, il dit ainsi:

– Dame, faites [**fol. 83r**] metter mes choses sus.

– Sir, eles serront my en savegarde, et vous beverés devant vostre departir. Preignés le hanape.

– Vous comencerés.

– Non fray devant vous.

– Si frés vraiment.

– Par Nostre Dame, cy est bon boivre.

– Sir, grant proue le vous face.

[17. At the scrivener's]

Autre manere de parler.

– Esties vous un clerc?

– Oy sir, purquoy demandés vous?

– Pur ce que je vouldroy avoir une comissione de vous fait.

– Sir, vous arés voluntiers.

Donques il seira et escriera un comissione en ceste manere:

"A toutz yceux qui cestes letres verront ou orront, Johan d'Orlians de Parys, salutz. Sachent toutz gentz … Ou: Conu soit a toutz gentz que je, Johan…" et cætera.

[18. Asking the way; delivering a present]

La manere pur demander le chymyn vers la maisone d'un chivaler en ville ou en cité tout ainsi:

– Beau sir, me ditez vous se vous pleast, ou demurt mon seignour Guilliam Montendre?

– Mon amy, je vous dirray voluntrés. Purquoy alez vous dela? Vous avez forvoié beaucope. Venez vous deça et je vous enseigneray le droit chymyn et sa meisone. Veiez vous bien ou il y a un grant moustier cy aval au but de ce reue?

– Oil, sir, je le vei bien.

– De par Dieu, donques, quant vous y serrez, vous troverés de l'autre costee de moustier une petit ruet que s'en va tout droit vers bys, et cele ruet vous mesneray tanque vous serrez droit en le haut rue, et donques vous verrez devant vous en mylieu de le haut rue deux cordelx pendantz as fenestres a travars le rue et la desur deux cynges currantz et esbatantz ensemble et auxi un grosse pere gisant a l'huis de la meison.

Et quant il serra pres de son hostel, enquore est il si soit[cv] q'il ne sciet mye bien droit [**fol. 83v**] aler avant, qu'il en a un autre foiz demandé la voie. Donque dit il ainsi a primer homme qu'il encontre:

– Beau sir, demurt ici mon seignour Guilliam Montendre?

– Oil, vraiment.

And when his things have come and have been brought to the house, he says thus:

– Madam, have my things carried up.

– Sir, they'll be put in a safe place, and you'll drink before you go. Take a cup.

– Please begin.

– I shan't do so before you.

– Please do.

– By Our Lady, this is a good draft.

– Sir, here's to your health![223]

17. At the scrivener's

Another way of speaking.

– Are you a clerk?

– Yes, sir, why do you ask?

– Because I would like you to do a commission for me.[224]

– Sir, you shall have it willingly.

Then he will sit and write a commission in this manner:[225]

"To all those who will see or hear these letters, Johan d'Orlians de Parys sends greetings. Let all people know... Or: Let it be known to all people that I, Johan," and so forth.

18. Asking the way; delivering a present

The way to ask the route to the house of a knight in a town or city thus:

– Good sir, tell me please, where does my lord Guilliam Montendre live?[226]

– My friend, I will tell you gladly. Why are you going off in that direction? You've gone far out of your way. Come here and I'll show you the right way and his house. Do you see where there is a big minster down from here at the end of this street?[227]

– Yes, sir, I see it.

– By God, then, when you're there, you'll find a little road on the other side of the minster that goes straight northwards, and that road will lead you right up into the high street, and there you'll see before you in the middle of the high street two cords hanging from the windows across the street and on them two swans running and fighting together[228] and also a great stone lying at the door of the house.

And when he is near the house, he's still so foolish that he doesn't know the right way to proceed, and so he asks the way another time from someone else. Then he says thus to the first man that he meets:

– Good sir, does my lord Guilliam Montendre live here?

– Yes, truly.

Puis s'entre leins et dit ainsi:

– Ore soit Dieu. Vel sic: Dieu soit ciens. Mon seignour, Dieu vous benoit et la compaigne.

– Bien soiez venu, compaignon.

– Mon seignour, vostre cosyn soy recomande a vous, et il vous a envoié trois blans leverers si voluz com un ourse, bien currantz et de bon entaille, et auxi trois greus si privees qu'il[cvi] si vuillent pestre a main.

– Hé, vraiment, c'este un tresnoble chose et bien a mon gree. Et ditez lui, quant vous serrez venu a l'ostel, que je lui esmerci grandement de son tresnoble doneson et de sez grandez despensez qu'ore m'a envoié.

– Moun seignour, il serra fait a vostre comandement.

– Ore alez diner avant que vous passez.

– Grant merci, mon seignour.

Et aprés diner, il prent congé du seignour ainsi:

– Mon seignour, je me recomande a vous et je pri a Dieu que vous doint bone vie et loigne.

– Mon amy, a Dieu vous comande. Vel sic: Dieu soit garde de vous. Vel sic: Alés a Dieu. Vel sic: A Dieu soiez. Vel sic: Dieu vous eit en sa garde.

[19. Different greetings according to the time of day]

Quant vous encontrez ascuny a l'ajournant, vous dirrez ainsi:

– Mon amy, Dieu vous donne bon matyn et bon estrayne.

– Bon matyn vous doigne Dieu, beau sir. Vel sic: Dieu vous donne bon matyn et bon encontre.

A mydy, vous parlerez ainsi:

– Dieu vous donne bon jour et bons heurez.

– Bon jour vous doigne Dieu et bon detinee [gloss: *hap*].

Aprés manger, vous dirrez ainsi:

– Dieu vous done bones vespres, sir.

– Dieu vous done bon encontre.

Et anut vous dirrez ainsi:

– Sir, Dieu vous done bon soer.

– Bon soer vous doint Dieux.

Et quant vous prendrez congé de nully pur tout la nut, vous dirrez ainsi:

– [**fol. 84r**] Sir, Dieu vous doint bon nut et bon repos, quar je m'en irray coucher.

Then he goes in there and says thus:

– Now, greetings in God's name. Or thus: May God be in this house. My lord, God bless you and this company.

– Welcome, companion.

– My lord, your cousin recommends himself to you, and has sent you three white hares as hairy as a bear, speedy and shapely, and also three cranes so tame that they'll eat out of your hand.

– Well, truly, it's a very noble thing and much to my liking. And tell him, when you're back at his house, that I thank him profoundly for his noble gift and for the generous provisions that he has sent me now.

– My lord, it shall be done according to your command.

– Now, go to eat before you are on your way.

– Many thanks, my lord.

And after eating, he takes his leave of the lord thus:

– My lord, I recommend myself to you and pray to God that he give you a good and long life.

– My friend, I commend you to God. Or thus: May God be your keeper. Or thus: Go with God. Or thus: Be with God. Or thus: May God have you in his keeping.[229]

19. Different greetings according to the time of day

When you meet someone at dawn, you'll say thus:

– My friend, may God give you good morning and good fortune.

– May God give you good morning, good sir. Or thus: May God give you good morning and good luck.

At midday, you'll say thus:

– May God give you good day and good luck.

– May God give you good day and good fortune.

After eating, you'll say thus:

– May God give you good evening, sir.

– May God give you good luck.

And at night you'll say thus:

– Sir, may God give you good evening.

– A good evening to you, by God.

And when you take your leave of anyone for the night, you'll say thus:

– Sir, may God give you good night and good rest, for I'm off to bed.[230]

[20. Dialogue with an ill man]

Une autre manere du parler.

– Dieu vous garde, mon amy.

– Vous bien estez encountré, beau sir.

– Qu'avez vous, mon amy?

– Vraiment, sir, je sui maladez.

– Hé, mon amy, se vuillez vous aler en pilrynage oveque moy pur cercher seint Denyse de Parys, vous en serrez tout guarry, s'il Dieu plest.

– Hé, plust a Dieu et a la virgyn Marie, mon tresdoulx sir, que je purroi aler ovesque vous, quar je m'en allisse donques tresvoluntrés. Mes vous me faut avoir pur excusee quant a present, quar mon chival me ferist devant hier si dispitousement sur la jambe destre q'il en est tout enfleez et auxi le peel rumpuz, si que je ne puisse mye aler se a peyne noun. Pur quoy j'en ay grant paour q'il deviendra un marmol; vraiment il puit plus vilainement qu'un fimers purriz tout plain de caroyne et de merde et de toutz autres ordurez et chosez puantz. Et pur ce je pense bien que je ne vivray gairs sinon que j'en ay le plust tost[cvii] remedie.

– Hé, mon amy, ne savez vous point q'il y a un chaunçon que dit ainsi:

J'endure et endure[cviii] me faut.
Mal endurant ne poet durer.
A bien enduré rien ne faut.
Qi voult vivre il faut endurer.

Et ainsi vous covient suffrer et passer le temps et en tout tribulacione de loier et regracier nostre Seignour Dieu omnipotent, sicom le droiturel homme Job fist en sa vie, qui a tout tens fuist si prudres et humbles envers Dieu que sa bouche nunquis pechat. Et ce fuist par la soverain vertu et grace que Dieu lui avoit doné, dont l'enmy en avoit si grant despit que il ne cessa de jour en autre devant q'il avoit congee et l'ottroye de Dieu de lui tempter.

Et puis aprés par fouldre, tonoir, et autres [**fol. 84v**] tempestez il occist toutz ces pestez[cix] si bien priveez com savagez, c'est assavoir chivalx, jumentz, muletz, mulez, asnes, torez, boefs, bovetz, boterelx,[cx] vaches, velez, juvencz, senglers, troyes, pors, porcels, porceletz, berbys, toups – id est taillardz[cxi] –, chastrys, berbys miere – id est oaillez –, agnelx, agnelletz, chevres, chevretz, mastins, chiens, leverez, bracees, levres, conyns, martirs, fuuyns, mustels, herizons, regnardez, loups, cerfs, bouches,[cxii] brocartz, dames roos, loires, ficheux, escurelx, ours, cinges, marmesetz, unicornes, olifantz, dromodairs, lipars, lions, et lionesses.

Et quant lez messagers viendront de lui annuncier toutz ces aventures, il leva sus sez mains vers Dieu et lui en loia et regracia ainsi lui disant humblement: "Dieu l'a doné et Dieux l'a pris. Je lui regracie de toutz cez dones, quar quant il lui plerra, si lez purra bien restorer." Unquore ne voloit my l'anemy cesser de sa malice, mais tost aprés, a temps que toutz sez parentz de sa lynage seient a manger ensemble en bon paix et tranquillitee, il fist par tempest horrible la meisone tresboucher a terre, et ainsi ils furent trestoutz mortz.

20. Dialogue with an ill man

Another way of speaking.

– May God keep you, my friend.

– You are well met, good sir.

– What is wrong, my friend?

– Truly, sir, I am ill.

– Well, my friend, if you'll go on a pilgrimage with me to seek Saint Denis of Paris,[231] you'll be completely healed, God willing.

– Oh, would that it might please God and the Virgin Mary, my sweet lord, that I might go with you, for then I'd go most willingly. But you must hold me excused for now, because the day before yesterday my horse kicked me so spitefully on my right leg that it's all swollen and the skin's broken too, so that I can scarcely walk without pain. So I'm terrified that it will fester; truly, it stinks more foully than a rotten dung heap stuffed with carrion and shit and all other kinds of filth and stinking things.[232] That's why I think that I'll not live long unless I find a remedy for it quickly.

– Well, my friend, don't you know that there's a song that goes thus:

> I endure and endure I must.[233]
> Who endures poorly cannot last.
> To he who has endured well nothing lacks.
> Who wants to live must endure.

And so it behooves you to suffer and drive the time away and in all tribulation to praise and thank our Lord God omnipotent, like the just man Job did in his life, who was at all times so honourable and humble towards God that his mouth never sinned. And it was by the sovereign virtue and grace that God had given him, at which the enemy had such great spite that he did not cease from one day to the next until he had leave and God's permission to tempt him.

And then afterwards by lightening, thunder, and other storms he killed all his animals, both tame and wild, that is to say his horses, mares, mules, she-mules, donkeys, bulls, oxen, bullocks, little toads, cows, calves, heifers, wild boars, sows, pigs, piglets, little piglets, sheep, rams – that is uncastrated animals – wethers, mother sheep – that is wool sheep – lambs, little lambs, goats, little goats, mastiffs, dogs, hunting hounds, hunting dogs, hares, rabbits, martens, stone martens, weasels, hedgehogs, foxes, wolves, stags, hinds, young stags, female roedeer, otters, polecats, squirrels, bears, monkeys, marmosets, unicorns, elephants, dromedaries, leopards, lions, and lionesses.[234]

And when the messengers came[235] to announce all these misfortunes to him, he lifted up his hands to God and praised and thanked Him for them saying thus to Him humbly: "God gave it and God took it away. I thank Him for all these gifts, for when it pleases Him, then He will be able to restore them." But the enemy didn't want to cease his malice, and soon afterwards, when all Job's relations in his lineage were sitting to eat together in peace and tranquility, he had the house thrown down to the ground by a horrible storm, and thus they all died.

Et quant lez messagers viendront de lui signifier l'aventure que fuist avenuz, il en regracia Dieu devotement en disant: "Beau sir Dieux, benurés soiez tu en tes overes et faiz, quar sicom il te plust, si est il fait."

– Hé, moun tresdoulx amy, purquoy ne fustez vous mye fait un frere mendivant ou un curee d'une esglise ou autrement un chapelein parochiel? Veraiment, il est grant damage que vous n'estez mye fait un clerk, quar vous eussez donques esté un soverain [**fol. 85r**] prechour.

– Hé, mon amy, vous savez tresbien flatere, quar je sçay bien ore que vous mokkez de moy.

– Par Nostre Dame, save vostre grace, non fais. Ore alez a Dieu, sir.

– Mon tresdoulx amy, je pri a Dieu q'il vous done bone vie et longe.

[21. Dialogue with a foreigner]

La manere du parler a un estrange homme qui vient de loigne pais.

– Mon tresgentil sir, Dieu vous benoit.

– Mon tresdoulx amy, je pri a Dieu qu'il vous done bon encontre. Vel sic: Sir, Dieu vous benoit et la compaigne.

– Beau sir, dont venez vous, se vous plest? Vel sic: De quel part venez vous, mon tresdoulx amy, mes q'il vous ne displese?

– Vraiment, sir, je vien tout droit de Venys.

– Hé, mon amy, c'est un ville de Lumbardie!

– Oil vraiment, beau sir, si est.

– Par mon serment, mon tresgentil sir, j'en ay grant joy de vous que vous estez si bien travaillé, depuis que vous estes si joefnes, quar je pense bien que vous n'avez unquore .xxx. ans.

– Si ay je vraiement[cxiii] et plus, mais pur ce que je su bien sains et joliet au cuer, la mercy Dieu, l'en me dit que je su plus joefnes que je ne su.

– Ore sir, est Venyse une beale citee?

– Oil dea, et le plus noble porte que est en tout le monde, sicom l'en m'a dit en cele pais qu'ont travaillé partout.

– Et de que pais estes vous, beau sir, mes q'il ne vous displese?

– Veraiment, sir, je su de France.

– Et de quele ville, se vous plest?

– De Parys, sir.

Vel sic:

– En que pais fustez vous nee, beau sir, se vous pleast?

– Veraiment, en le roialme de France.

And when messengers came to describe to him the misfortune that had occurred, he thanked God for it devotedly, saying: "Good Lord, God, blessed be you in your works and deeds, for just as it pleased you, so it is done."

– Hey, my sweet friend, why didn't you become a mendicant friar or the curate of a church or otherwise a parochial chaplain? Truly, it's a great shame that you never became a clerk because you could have made an excellent preacher.

– Ha, my friend, you know well how to flatter, for I know well now that you're mocking me.[236]

– By Our Lady, saving your grace, I am not. Now, go with God, sir.

– My sweet friend, I pray to God that he give you a good and long life.

21. Dialogue with a foreigner

The way of speaking to a foreign[237] man who comes from a faraway country.

– My noble sir, God bless you.

– My sweet friend, I pray to God that he give you good fortune. Or thus: Sir, God bless you and this company.

– Good sir, where do you come from, if it please you? Or thus: What part do you come from, my sweet friend, if you don't mind my asking?

– Truly, sir, I've come straight from Venice.

– Oh, my friend, that's a city in Lombardy!

– Yes, truly, good sir, it is.

– By my oath, my noble lord, I am so happy for you that you are so well travelled, seeing that you are so young, for I think that you are not yet thirty.

– But yes sir, truly, I am, and some, but since I'm healthy and jolly at heart, thank God, people tell me that I am younger than I am.

– Now, sir, is Venice a beautiful city?

– Yes indeed, and the most noble port there is in all the world, as I was told in that country by people who have travelled everywhere.

– And from what country are you, good sir, if you don't mind my asking?

– Truly, sir, I am from France.

– And from what city, please?

– From Paris, sir.

Or thus:

– In what country were you born, good sir, please?

– Truly, in the kingdom of France.

– Je vous en croi bien. Vous parlez bien et graciousement doulx franceys, et pur ce il me fait grant bien et esbatement au coer de parler ovesque vous de vostre beal langage, quar est le plus gracious parler que soit en monde et de toutz gentz melux[cxiv] preisés et amee que nulle [**fol. 85v**] autre. Et coment vous est avys, beau sir, de la tresbeale citee de Parys?

– Veraiment, il m'est avys que je ne vie unques mais jour de ma vie si beal citee com est, toutz chosez acomptez, quar il en y atant de si beaux chasteulx, si grantz forteressez, et si hautez meisons et fortez et que sount si honestment apparaillez que, se vous lez eussez veu, vous en serroiez trestout esbaiez.

– Veraiment, sir, il puit bien estre veritable ce que vous ditez. Hé, plust a Dieu et a la virgyne Marie, mon tresdoulx amy, que je sceusse si bien et graciousement parler franceys com vous savez, quar veraiment j'en fuisse donques bien aisee au coer.

– Par Nostre Dame de Clery, je voudroy que vous sceussez, mais toutzvois vous parlez bien assez, ce m'est avys, qar je pense bien que vous avez demurré grant piece la, depuis que vous parlez si bien et plainement la langage.

– Par seint Paul, sir, n'y fu[cxv] unques mais.

– Et coment savez vous parler si bien donques?

– Veraiment, sir, sicom je m'ay coustumé a parler entre lez gentz de ce pays icy.

– Seinte Marie, j'en su bien esbaiez. Coment vous lez purrez apprendre en ce pais? Qar vous parlez bien a droit, hardement.

– Save vostre grace, non fais.

– Par Dieu, si faitez bien et gentilment come se vous eussiez demurré a Parys ces .xx. ans, qar veraiment je n'oy unques mais Engloys parler franceys si bien a point ne si doucement com vous faitez. Ce m'est avys toutezvoiez.

– Hé, sir, je vous remerci de ce que vous me preisez plus que je ne su pas digne toutesvoies. Et pur ce je su toutzjours a vostre gentil comandement en quanque je purray faire pur l'amour de vous. Et veraiment, beau sir, vous estez tresbien venuz en ce pais. Vel sic: Par m'anme, sir, vous estez tresbien venuz ciens.

– Grant merci, mon sir, de vostre grant gentrise et courteiseie.

– Beau sir, fustez vous unques mes a Rouan en Normandie?

– Nonil, veraiment, je ne fui unques la jour de ma vie, mais [**fol. 86r**][cxvi] j'ay esté autre part en beaucope dez lieuz autrez: en Touren j'ay esté, a Bloyez et a Chantres et a Orlions auxi bien.

– A Orlions? Seint M[a]rie, c'est bien pres a but de le monde, sicom l'en dit en cest pais icy.

– Veraiment, sir, ils sont bien folez que le quident, quar c'est en mylieu du roialme de France.

– Est Orliance une beale ville?

– Oil, sir, si Dieu m'eide, la plus beale que soit en roialme de France aprés Parys. Et auxi il y a un grant estudie dez lois, qar lez plus vailla[nz] et lez plus gentils clercz que sont en cristiantee y repairent pur estudier en civil et canon.

– I can well believe you. You speak sweet French well and graciously, and so it does me much good and joy to my heart to speak with you in your beautiful language, for it is the most gracious language in the world[238] and more highly praised and loved by all people than any other. And what is your opinion, good sir, of the beautiful city of Paris?

– Truly, I reckon that I never saw such a beautiful city as it is on any day of my life, taking all things into consideration, for there are so many handsome castles, such great fortresses, and such tall and strong houses that are so finely arrayed, that, if you had seen them, you'd be totally amazed.

– Certainly, sir, it may be true what you say. Oh, that it might please God and the virgin Mary, my sweet friend, that I might be able to speak French so well and graciously as you do, for truly, that would make me happy at heart.

– By Our Lady of Cléry,[239] I wish that you might, but in any case you speak well enough, in my opinion, for I think you have spent a long time there, since you speak the language so well and clearly.

– By saint Paul, sir, I was never there.

– And how do you know how to speak so well, then?

– Truly, sir, just by my habit of speaking with people in this country here.[240]

– Saint Mary, I'm astonished. How can you learn it in this country?[241] For you speak very correctly, certainly.

– Saving your grace, I don't.

– By God, you do, well and nobly, as if you had spent these last twenty years at Paris, for truly I never heard an Englishman speak French so correctly and so sweetly as you do. At least that's my opinion.[242]

– Well, sir, I thank you for praising me above my worth in any case. And so I'm always at your noble bidding in whatever I might be able to do for love of you. And truly, good sir, you are very welcome in this country. Or thus: By my soul, sir, you are very welcome here.

– Many thanks, my lord, for your great gentility and courtesy.

– Good sir, were you ever at Rouen in Normandy?[243]

– No, indeed, I've never been there even once, but I've been elsewhere, in many other places: I've been to Touraine, to Blois, and to Chartres and to Orleans as well.

– To Orleans? Saint Mary, that's almost at the end of the world, as they say in this country here.

– Truly, sir, they are very foolish who think that, for it's in the middle of the kingdom of France.

– Is Orleans a beautiful city?

– Yes, sir, so help me God, the most beautiful in the kingdom after Paris. And also there is there a great law college, for the bravest and the most noble clerks in Christendom go to study both civil and canon law there.[244]

– Mon tresdoulx amy, je vous en croy bien, mais toutzvoies j'oy dire que l'anemy y aprent sez dissiples de nigromancie en un teste d'aresme.

– Save vostre grace, beau sir, quar veraiment ce n'est pas voire.

– Ore alons boire, sir, se vous plest.

– Grant mercy, beau sir.

– Bevez a moy, je vous en pri.

– Vous comencez, se vous plest.

– Par Dieu, non fray.

Et puis dit l'autre, quant il a beu:

– Sir, grant mercy de vous grandez biens et dispensez. Vel sic: Grant mercy de vous biens.

– Il n'y a de quoy, beau sir.

– Si est, veraiment, qar se je [vous] purroy jamés veoir[cxvii] en mon pais, je vous rendray bien la grant gentryse qu'ore m'avez fait par la grace de Dieu. Ore je me recomande a vous et je pri a Dieu q'il vous doint sanité et paix.

– Mon tresgentil sir, a Dieu vous comande, qi vous doint bone vie et longe.

[22. A tailor and his new master]

La manere de parler entre deux cousturers.

– Moun tresdoulx sir, Dieu vous avance.

– Bien soiez venuz, beau sir.

– Ou demure le meillour cousturer de ceste ville?

– Purquoy demandez vous, mon amy?

– Pur ce que je voeroy avoir un bon maistere pur overer ovesque lui.

– Estez vous cousturer donques?

– Oil, veraiment, sir.

– Vuillez vous overer ovesque moy?

– Oil, sir, tresvoluntrés, se vous me vuillez doner atant com nulle autre.

– Que[cxviii] vous donorai je la semaigne?

– Sir, vous me donrrez set souldz de- [**fol. 86v**] [ux dene]rs et mes despensez.

– Quantbien de tens pensez vous d'arester en ce ville?

– Dymy ans, s'il Dieu plest.

– Que manere d'overage savez vous meulx faire?

– Veraiment, il ne me chaut quele manere d'overage q'il soit, s'il soit dez hopelondez ou purpointz ou cotez.

– Hardiz, entrez ciens donques et vous en avrez de moy atant com vous avez demandé.

– My sweet friend, I well believe you, but nevertheless I hear say that the enemy teaches his disciples necromancy there in a brass head.[245]

– Saving your grace, good sir, that really is not true.

– Now let's go to drink, sir, if you like.

– Many thanks, good sir.

– Drink with me, I beg you.

– You start, please.

– By God I shall not.[246]

And then the other says, once he has drunk:

– Sir many thanks for your wonderful welcome and generosity. Or thus: Many thanks for your welcome.

– It's nothing, good sir.

– But it is, truly, and if I ever see you in my country, I'll repay you the great gentility that you've just shown me by the grace of God. Now I recommend myself to you and pray to God that he give you health and peace.

– My sweet sir, I commend you to God. May He give you a good and long life.

22. A tailor and his new master

The way of speaking between two tailors.

– My sweet sir, God speed you.

– Welcome, good sir.

– Where does the best tailor in this town live?

– Why do you ask, my friend?

– Because I would like to have a good master and work with him.

– Are you a tailor, then?

– Yes, truly, sir.

– Would you like to work with me?

– Yes, sir, gladly, if you'll pay me as much as the next man.

– What shall I give you per week?

– Sir, you'll give me seven sous, two pence, and my expenses.[247]

– How long do you plan to stop in this city?[248]

– A half year, God willing.

– What kind of work can you do best?

– Truly, I don't mind what kind of work it is, whether it's houppelandes or pourpoints or coats.[249]

– You're a bold one! Come in here then and you'll get from me as much as you've asked for.

– Sir, je le vuil bien.

– Mon amy, estez vous jun unquore?

– Nonil, veraiment, sir, j'en ay dyné tresbien, Dieu merci.

– Va donques a la dame de ciens [et] bevez ovesque ele, et puis aprés venez a vostre bosoigne.

– Maister, si frai je.

[23. Two companions at an inn again]

Une autre manere du parler entre deux compaignons qui demurrent ensamble en un hostel quant ils se deyvent aler coucher.

– Guilliam, mon amy, il est haut tens pur nous aler coucher maishui.

– Perot, ce fait mon, toutzvoiez.

– Guilliam, va traier du vin.

– Perot, alez vous mesmez se vous voillez, quar je ne bougeray mye.

– Hé, Guilliam, que vous estez bien meschеant et mavois. Malourés soit il que vous en donrra a boire, quar je irray quere du vin pur Johan et pur moy mesmez, et par Dieu, se je puisse, vous ne bevrés maishui.

Et donques dit il:

– Je pri a Dieu q'il vous meschie.

Et l'autre respoint et dit:

– Dieu mette toy mal an, meschiant paillarde qui tu es, qar tu ne cheveras ja.

– Guilliam, je vous en pri que vous serrez, ou: couvrez, bien le feu, et apportez sus en vostre chambre un chopyn de vin vermaile que nous purrons boire devant que nous en irrons coucher.

Et puis aprés il vient ové le vin et dit:

– Prennez le hanape et versez le pot et bevez a moy un bon trait hardiment.

– Par Dieu, mon amy, si frai je.

– Que da, vous m'avez malement deceu, quar vous en avez bu tout qanque il avoit. Perot, de male estraine soiez vous estraygné.

– Mais Guilliam, ne [**fol. 87r**] vous chaille, quar je m'en irray quere du vi[n pour vous.

Et quant ils ont] bu tout deux, donq dit l'une a l'autre:

– Guill[iam, pour Dieu, deschausez] vous et devestez vous tost, si que nous fuissons coc[heez.

– Sir, with pleasure.

– My friend, are you still waiting for breakfast?

– No, truly, sir, I've eaten very well, thank God.[250]

– Then go to the lady of the house and have a drink with her, and then afterwards come to your work.

– Master, I shall.

23. Two companions at an inn again

Another way of speaking between two companions who are staying together at an inn, when they have to go to bed.

– Guilliam,[251] my friend, it's high time for us to go to bed now.

– Perot, that it is, indeed.

– Guilliam, go to draw some wine.

– Perot, go yourself if you want, for I won't budge an inch.

– Ha, Guilliam, how mean and bad you are. A curse on whoever gives you a drink, for I shall go to look for some wine for Johan and for myself, and by God, if I have any say in it, you'll never drink again.

And then he says:

– I pray to God that you come to grief.[252]

And the other responds and says:

– May God send you bad luck for a year, evil scumbag that you are, for you'll never give up.[253]

– Guilliam, I beg you to smother, or: cover, the fire well, and bring a cup of red wine up to your room so that we can drink before we go to bed.

And then after he comes with the wine and says:

– Take the cup and pour the pot and boldly drink with me a good draft.

– By God, my friend, I shall.[254]

– What's this? You've evilly tricked me, for you've drunk all there was. Perot, may you be rewarded with ill favour.

– But Guilliam, don't worry, for I'll go to find some wine for you.

And when they've both drunk, then one says to the other:

– Guilliam, for God's sake, take your shoes and clothes off immediately, so we can get into bed.

Et puis aprés, quant ils] serront cochez ensemble, l'une dit a l'autre ai[nsi:

– Trahez vous la, beau sir,] quar vous suez si fort que je ne puisse pas [endurer que vous me touchez] point, et estanchez le chandele tost.

– Si Dieu m'[ait, compaignon, il] ne me sovenoit point.

– Hé, lez poucez me mo[rdent fort, et me font] grant male, quar vraiment, je m'ay graté le [dos si fort que le sanc] curt avalle, et pur ce je comence pur estre rey[gnous. La cher me] mange tresmalement, si me faut estre [estufee demain au] darraiens pur Dieu.

– Guilliam, tesez vous et dor[meons myshuy,] mez primerment nous dirrons *De profundis* en l'onoure de Dieux et de [Nostre] Dame et pur lez anmes dez trespassez qui la mercy de Dieu attend[ent] en paynes de purgatorie, q'ils purront le plus tost estre relevez de lour payns a cause de nous priers et venire a la joye pardurable, laquele joie Dieux, qui maint en haut paradyse et nous rechata de son precious sanc, pur sa grant mercy et pitéous[cxix] ottroit en le fine, s'il lui pleast. Amen.

Ici fine le commune parlance, nulle meliour en tout le France.

Je vie une reyne seiere en vn reyne ou vn renn en my le rioalme de royne.[cxx]

And then afterwards, when they are in bed together, one says to the other thus:

– Move yourself further over, good sir, because you're sweating so hard that I can't stand you touching me, and snuff out the candle immediately.

– May God keep me, companion, I didn't realize.

– Ouch! The fleas are biting hard and hurting me terribly, for truly, I've scratched my back so hard that blood's running down it, and so I'm starting to get scabby. My skin's itching something awful, so I'll have to take a steam bath tomorrow at the latest, by God.

– Guilliam, shut up and let's go to sleep now. But first we will say *De profundis* in honour of God and of Our Lady and for the souls of the dead who are awaiting God's mercy in the pains of purgatory, that they might the sooner be relieved of their pains because of our prayers and come to eternal joy, which joy may God—who dwells in paradise above, and bought us with his precious blood—grant on account of His great and compassionate mercy, at the end, if it pleases Him. Amen.[255]

Here ends the *Commune parlance*,[256] there's none better in all of France.[257]

I saw a frog sitting in a bridle or a net in the middle of the queen's kingdom.[258]

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.

TEXTUAL NOTES

THE FRENCH TEXTS in this volume are taken from *Liber donati: A Fifteenth-Century Manual of French*, ed. Brian Merrilees and Beata Sitarz-Fitzpatrick, Plain Texts Series 9 (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1993); and *Manières de langage (1396, 1399, 1415)*, ed. Andres M. Kristol, Anglo-Norman Texts 53 (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1995), 1–36. No attempt has been made to bring these editors into agreement regarding, for example, word division or the provision of modern French accents. The texts of the *Liber donati* and *Commune parlance* presented here differ from the Anglo-Norman Text Society editions only in their occasional tolerance of manuscript readings where Merrilees and Sitarz-Fitzpatrick and Kristol prefer to emend. The decision to privilege manuscript readings over emendation reflects recent developments in scholarly attitudes towards medieval French that are outlined in the Introduction (4–6). Scribes do miscopy, of course, and in restoring manuscript readings these updated texts may reintroduce copyists' blunders. But the line between variance and error is rarely crystal clear. The aim has been to repurpose Merrilees and Sitarz-Fitzpatrick's and Kristol's editorial work for a twenty-first-century readership. The result should be a readable French text that affords a clearer sense of the kinds of French that medieval English readers met in manuscript and that they were expected to emulate.

These Textual Notes record divergences from Merrilees and Sitarz-Fitzpatrick's and Kristol's texts and from the manuscript on which their editions are based, CUL MS. Dd. 12. 23.

Supplementary Abbreviations

M/SF *Liber donati: A Fifteenth-Century Manual of French*, ed. Brian Merrilees and Beata Sitarz-Fitzpatrick, Plain Texts Series 9 (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1993).

K *Manières de langage (1396, 1399, 1415)*, ed. Andres M. Kristol, Anglo-Norman Texts 53 (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1995).

MS CUL MS Dd. 12. 23.

LIBER DONATI

Part A: Grammar, Pronunciation, and Lexis

1. Personal and demonstrative pronouns and adjectives

n. i Fol. 1r of MS is damaged. The texts of LD.A.1 and LD. A.2 are given from CUL MS Gg. 6. 44, following M/SF.

n. ii *ille*. M/SF: *elle*.

n. iii *[singulari]*. MS Gg. 6. 44: *plurali*.

n. iv *plurali*. M/SF: *purali*.

2. Pronunciation, spelling, and morphological notes

n. v *de[s]ini*. MS Gg. 6. 44: *deini*.

n. vi From here the text of the *Liber* is given from MS Dd. 12. 23. Fols 1v–2r are damaged. Substitutions from M/SF are given in brackets.

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

n. vii *avoir*. Added at end of MS line: *eu*.

n. viii *eust esté*. MS: *eust eust*.

n. ix *presentens*. M/SF: *present tens*.

n. x *l'en amé*. M/SF: *l'en a amé*.

n. xi *faisient*. M/SF: *faisierent*.

n. xii *j'oloie*. M/SF: *j'aloie*.

n. xiii *veil*. M/SF: *veit*.

n. xiv *j'ayoy*. M/SF: *j'avoy*.

n. xv *veiray*. M/SF: *veinray*.

n. xvi *poemaz*. M/SF: *poemez*.

n. xvii *parlons*. MS: *parlons parlons*.

n. xviii *j'ay pen[sé]* etc. The scribe abbreviates. Expansions from M/SF are given in brackets.

6. Days of the week

n. xix *Novel, Circumcisione*. M/SF: *Novel Circumcisione*.

7. Cardinal and ordinal numbers

n. xx *[le] quarantisme primer et cetera*. MS: *quarantisme primer et cetera*.

Part B: Dialogues

1. Salutations

n. xxi *doigne*. M/SF *[Dieu] doigne*.

2. News from France

n. xxii *le Roy [est] en bon point*. MS: *le Roy en bon point*.

n. xxiii *moustrent*. M/SF: *moustront.*

3. En route to London

n. xxiv *maladie*. M/SF: *malade*.

n. xxv *portere*. M/SF: *porter*.

n. xxvi *rieu est le meilour*. M/SF: *rieu [que] est le meilour*.

4. Securing lodging; provisions for horses

n. xxvii *esté meilours*. M/SF: *esté [lez] meilours.*

n. xxviii *savant*. M/SF: *s'avant*.

n. xxix *le tens froide*. M/SF: *le tens [est] froide*.

5. A conversation with the lady of the house

n. xxx *ovesque [une] commere*. MS: *ovesque commere*.

n. xxxi quatrefaukez. M/SF: *Quatrefaukez*.

n. xxxii *ecreett*. M/SF: *creett*. The initial *e-* is added in superscript.

n. xxxiii *vostre cusyn de mesme*. M/SF: *vostre cusyn demesne*.

n. xxxiv Fol. 10r is rendered illegible in parts by ink splashes. Substitutions from M/SF are given in brackets.

n. xxxv *vaillons*. M/SF: *voillons*.

n. xxxvi *pour ov nous counter*. M/SF: *pour nous counter*.

6. Further provisions for horses

n. xxxvii *de*. M/SF: *del*.

7. Paying the bill

n. xxxviii *il este amounté [a] 5s et 1d meins*. MS: *il est amounté 5s et 1d meins*.

8. The market at Winchester

n. xxxix *lanitz*. M/SF: *lanuz*.

9. A mother's request for help

n. xl *normandie*. M/SF: *normand*.

10. A would-be apprentice's French

n. xli *chast*. M/SF: *chastie*.

n. xlii *et tout le corps est en my lieu dencre mez braas*. M/SF: *et tout le corps. En my lieu, derere mez braas*.

n. xliii *entrels, foy*. M/SF: *entr'els foy*.

n. xliv *e*. M/SF: *en*.

n. xlv *vmbras*. M/SF: *vambras*.

COMMUNE PARLANCE

1. Opening prayer

n. xlvi *louaege*. K: *louange*.

2. The human body

n. xlvii *versere*. K: *versé*.

n. xlviii gloss: *money*. K: *monay*.

n. xlix gloss: *grystyll of þe no*. K: *grystyll of pe no*. K gives for *p* for *þ* throughout. The text is silently corrected below.

n. l gloss: *elbowys*. K: *elbowye*.

n. li gloss: *the nauyl*. K: *the navyl*.

n. lii gloss: *þe hele*. K: *pe bake*.

3. Furnishing a house

n. liii gloss: *now sone*. K: *nowsone*.

n. liv *poz de peautur*. MS: *poz de de peautur*.

n. lv *seigle*. K: *seingle*.

n. lvi *alés [a] un drapere*. MS: *alés un drapere*.

4. Going on a journey

4.1. Preparations

n. lvii *ferr*. K: *ferrer*.

4.2. The good-bye meal

n. lviii *estre*. K : *esté*.

n. lix *ouez graas, oyselons*. K: *ouez, gaars, oyselons* (geese, gander, game birds).

4.3. On the road; asking the way and the time

n. lx *qar le*. K: *qar la*.

n. lxi *[a] la maine droit*. MS: *la maine droit*.

n. lxii *deux*. K: *dez*.

n. lxiii *sonee del [oriloge]*. MS: *sonee del*. The word *oriloge* is missed at the end of an MS line.

n. lxiv *donoit*. K: *doint*.

4.4. A love song

n. lxv *entier*. K: *entrer*.

4.5. Janyn at the inn

n. lxvi *legus*. K: *leuges*.

4.6. At the market; fish

n. lxvii *tauntpse*. K: *tauntpee*.

n. lxviii *maner*. K: *numer*.

n. lxix *il est trope chere*. K adds lines from another redaction: *je vous donnarai voilentiers .xiii. s. .iiii. deniers / Si Dieux m'ait, beau sire* (I would willingly give you thirteen shillings and four deniers / As God is my witness, good sir).

4.7. Evening at the inn; a story

n. lxx *en un chaier*. K adds a line from another redaction: *par Dieu, mon seignur, s'il vous plaist, non ferai* (By God, my lord, if it pleases you, I shall not).

n. lxxi *demurrant*. K: *demurrent*.

n. lxxii *curstaise*. K: *curtaisie*.

n. lxxiii *qar il [est] de[j]a bien pres de noet*. MS: *qar il dea bien pres de noet*.

n. lxxiv *comenci*. K: *commencia*.

n. lxxv *s'en leva*. K: *s'en ala*.

n. lxxvi *pesyne*. K: *pesme*.

n. lxxvii *de par de deable*. K: *de par le deable*.

n. lxxviii *epri*. K: *je pri*.

n. lxxix *[tr]umper:* MS: *umper*. The first two letters of the word are missing in MS but there is a gap where they would fit.

5. The digger and the gardener

n. lxxx *comencencent*. K: *comencent*.

n. lxxxi *ne poet*. K: *n'en poet*.

n. lxxxii *des le ouys*. K: *des ouys*.

n. lxxxiii *qu'ils se transglouteont*. K : *qu'ils le transglouteront*.

n. lxxxiv *aiont*. K: *aront*.

n. lxxxv *ils rongerount*. K: *ils [les] rongerount*.

6. The baker and his servant

n. lxxxvi *mençoige*. K: *mençoinge*.

n. lxxxvii *que vous frés?* K: *que vous [le] fres*.

7. The draper and his apprentice

n. lxxxviii *lesse*: K: *lesser*.

n. lxxxix *parlas*. K: *parlés*.

n. xc *mesponderay*. K: *mesprenderay*.

n. xci *sil noun*. K: *sinon*.

n. xcii *est[at]*. MS: *est.* The last two letters of the word are missing in MS but there is a gap where they would fit.

n. xciii *vieurai*. K: *viverai*.

9. Two stable boys

n. xciv *Sorerel*. K: *Sorel*.

n. xcv *seient*. K: *sechent*.

n. xcvi *vien nen*. K: *vien t'en*.

10. Different greetings; news from Orleans

n. xcvii *compaigne*. K: *compaignie*.

n. xcviii *overes*. K: *overers*.

n. xcix *acustément*. K: *acustumément*.

n. c *q'ils ont trovés*. K: *q'ils [les] ont trovés*.

13. Two companions at an inn

n. ci *en ay*. K: *[j']*en *ay*.

n. cii *comce*. K: *comence*.

n. ciii *loigement*. K: *loignement*.

n. civ *bions*. K: *buvons*.

18. Asking the way; delivering a present

n. cv *soit*. K: *sot*.

n. cvi *qu'il*. K: *qu'ils*.

20. Dialogue with an ill man

n. cvii *plust tost*. K: *plus tost*.

n. cviii *endure*. K: *endurer*.

n. cix *pestez*. K: *bestez*.

n. cx *boterelx*. K: *bocerelx* (young he-goats).

n. cxi *id est taillardz*. K: *cuillardz* (he-goats).

n. cxii *bouches*. K: *biches*.

21. Dialogue with a foreigner

n. cxiii *vraiement*. K: *vraiment*.

n. cxiv *melux*. K: *meulx*.

n. cxv *n'y fu*. K: *[je] n'y fu*.

n. cxvi Fols 86 and 87 of MS Dd. 12. 23 are damaged. K completes the text with readings from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS Nouv. acq. lat. 699. These readings are given in brackets.

n. cxvii *se je [vous] purroy jamés veoir*. MS: *se je purroy jamés veoir*.

22. A tailor and his new master

n. cxviii *que*. MS : *que que*.

23. Two companions at an inn

n. cxix *pitéous*. K: *pité nous*.

n. cxx not in K. The *-ne* ending on the second *reyne* is added in superscript.

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