

This is a repository copy of Multilingual glossing and translanguaging in John of Garland's Dictionarius: The case of Bruges, Public Library, MS 536.

White Rose Research Online URL for this paper: https://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/217051/

Version: Published Version

Article:

Wallis, C. orcid.org/0000-0002-8373-0134, Seiler, A. and Pagan, H. (2024) Multilingual glossing and translanguaging in John of Garland's Dictionarius: The case of Bruges, Public Library, MS 536. Lexis - Journal in English Lexicology, HS 3. 8693. ISSN 1951-6215

https://doi.org/10.4000/12izg

Reuse

This article is distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike (CC BY-SA) licence. This licence allows you to remix, tweak, and build upon the work even for commercial purposes, as long as you credit the authors and license your new creations under the identical terms. All new works based on this article must carry the same licence, so any derivatives will also allow commercial use. More information and the full terms of the licence here: https://creativecommons.org/licenses/

Takedown

If you consider content in White Rose Research Online to be in breach of UK law, please notify us by emailing eprints@whiterose.ac.uk including the URL of the record and the reason for the withdrawal request.





Lexis

Journal in English Lexicology

HS 3 | 2024 The Impact of Multilingualism on the Vocabulary and Stylistics of Medieval English

Multilingual glossing and translanguaging in John of Garland's *Dictionarius:* The case of Bruges, Public Library, MS 536

Christine Wallis, Annina Seiler and Heather Pagan



Electronic version

URL: https://journals.openedition.org/lexis/8693 DOI: 10.4000/12izg

ISSN: 1951-6215

Publisher

Université Jean Moulin - Lyon 3

Electronic reference

Christine Wallis, Annina Seiler and Heather Pagan, "Multilingual glossing and translanguaging in John of Garland's *Dictionarius*: The case of Bruges, Public Library, MS 536", *Lexis* [Online], HS 3 | 2024, Online since 17 October 2024, connection on 18 October 2024. URL: http://journals.openedition.org/lexis/8693; DOI: https://doi.org/10.4000/12izg

This text was automatically generated on October 18, 2024.



The text only may be used under licence CC BY-SA 4.0. All other elements (illustrations, imported files) are "All rights reserved", unless otherwise stated.

Multilingual glossing and translanguaging in John of Garland's *Dictionarius:* The case of Bruges,

Christine Wallis, Annina Seiler and Heather Pagan

Public Library, MS 536

We would like to thank Sara Pons-Sanz, Louise Sylvester and the anonymous reviewers for thoughtful comments on an earlier draft of this paper, Ad Putter for help with all things Dutch, and Evelien Hauwaerts and the Openbare Bibliotheek Brugge for kindly sending us images of Bruges MS 536 before they were available online.

1. Introduction

- John of Garland's *Dictionarius* is a thirteenth-century didactic text which aims to teach "everyday" Latin vocabulary to students. The author was an Englishman who studied at Oxford before becoming a Latin teacher in Paris and, for a brief stint, at the newly founded university of Toulouse. The text purports to teach words which students should use in their spoken language, and not just "store away in their bookcase". Using a communicative approach to foreign language teaching, the lessons are framed around a walk through Paris and list the objects students would encounter at different market stalls and in and around the city. To explain the words included in his text, John provided a commentary, which contains grammatical and etymological information as well as translations into Old French and, occasionally, Middle English. Moreover, many surviving manuscripts of the text contain interlinear glosses in multiple languages.²
- Glosses in medieval manuscripts often appear to have been added as an afterthought; yet, they can also be part of the apparatus provided with a text. One such case of a manuscript which seems to have planned for the presence of glosses from the outset is Bruges, Public Library, MS 536, a manuscript dating from the late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth century. This manuscript dispenses with the commentary typically found in

manuscripts of the *Dictionarius* but it adds some 800 interlinear glosses. The layout of the manuscript, as we argue, was specifically designed to include multiple layers of glossing. In addition to an edition of the glosses in Bruges 536, the present paper presents a linguistic analysis focusing on the distribution of glosses in different languages and by different hands in order to evaluate how the text was created and used by teachers, readers and language learners. We propose that John's approach – as well as that of the glossators – resembles "translanguaging": by deliberately selecting lexical items that traverse linguistic boundaries, he encourages students to draw on all their linguistic resources simultaneously.

2. Bruges, Public Library, MS 536

- Bruges, Public Library, MS 536 dates from the late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth century; it belonged, at an early stage of its history, to the Cistercian abbey of Ter Doest in Flanders (Derolez [2004]).3 In addition to John of Garland's Dictionarius it contains the Summa super priscianem by Peter Helias (ff. 1r-79r), 4 De nominibus utensilium by Alexander Neckham (ff. 80r-89v), and De utensilibus a domum regendam pertinentibus by Adam of Balsham (ff. 89v-94v). These texts are didactic ones, and the latter two often accompany the Dictionarius in other manuscripts. All three authors were grammarians teaching in Paris during the twelfth and thirteen century, and Neckham and Balsham were (like Garland) English. The Dictionarius occupies ff. 95r-101r, and is written in a single column, with generous space for interlinear glossing. The margins are certainly wide enough to take a commentary like the one which appears in the manuscript's Neckham text on ff. 80r-89v, or those in other Dictionarius manuscripts with a similar layout (for example, Cambridge, Gonville and Caius MS 136/076; or Worcester Cathedral Library, MS Q.50; cf. Pagan, Seiler & Wallis [2023]), but if such a commentary was ever intended it was never added.⁵ Although there is no commentary, there are a number of interlinear glosses in Latin, French and English, and the widely-spaced lines appear to have been created with such glossing activity in mind. It is possible, then, that the text was designed from the outset to carry only an interlinear gloss, without a commentary. The version of the Dictionarius found in Bruges 536 has not yet been edited; while some glosses appear among the "notes explicatives" in Scheler's [1865: 288-321, 370-79] edition, he is highly selective, and not all glosses appear there. Hunt [1991] does not include the manuscript in his study. Therefore, as a basis for the analysis in this paper, we present an edition of the glosses contained on ff. 95r-101r of Bruges 536 in the Appendix.
- 4 Although it is not clear whether Bruges 536 was produced at Ter Doest itself or somewhere else in Flanders, there is evidence for the acquisition and use of books by monks at Ter Doest, as well as at its parent institution, the abbey of Ten Duinen. In addition to books produced by its own scriptorium, Ter Doest's library contains a number of volumes which originally belonged to its monks, who commissioned books from Bruges and further afield. However, the scriptorium also made use of commercial workshops and other professionals in Bruges for the acquisition of books requiring skills beyond their own abilities (Vandamme [2003: 39]). Southern [1990: 267] notes that from the later thirteenth century there was an increased emphasis on learning among the Cistercians, and that colleges were established at Paris and in other universities to facilitate this. One such monk at Ter Doest who benefitted from this new desire for

learning was Jan van Hé (d.1311), whose mother had given him her house in Bruges in 1286 so that he could buy the books he needed (Pattin [2002: 426]). Van Hé became Bachelor of Theology at the Sorbonne in Paris in 1302, and taught theology there from 1303-1306. After his death he left the use of his books to Jan Sindewint, a monk of Ten Duinen who spent time at the Collège des Bernardins in Paris (Pattin [2002: 687]). Thus, there were clear links between Ter Doest, Ten Duinen and Paris, where monks could be sent for a theological education, and scholars like van Hé may explain the presence of Bruges 536 at Ter Doest.

The abbey also had strong regional and international links. Some of these links were through trade: Ter Doest was heavily involved in wool production, and also handled trade with Holland and England through its harbour (Geirnaert [2003: 45]; Acker [2021]). Other links, such as those with Scandinavia (and France) were ecclesiastical or scholarly (Myking [2018]). Ter Doest also had cultural ties with St Donatian in Bruges (Acker [2021]), itself a thriving multicultural, mercantile city which had expanded as a book production centre from the late thirteenth century. Demets [2023] documents the multilingual diversity of Bruges, whose stationers deliberately employed both Dutch-speaking and francophone copyists in their workshops, and whose output was created for an international - and especially English - market.

3. The glosses in Bruges 536

- The *Dictionarius* in Bruges 536 contains approximately 800 interlinear glosses (see the Appendix). Following Wieland's [1983: 7] definition, we have counted as glosses "any one or more words, letters, and symbols, written in the margin or between the lines of a text, i.e., anything on a page which is not text proper, but which is intended to comment on the text". The glosses represent a collective effort added by several different scribes. Some hands contribute numerous glosses, such as the one responsible for all the additions to the sections on cake and pie sellers, bakers and pastry cooks (chapters 32-34) on ff. 96v-97r. Contributions from other glossators are more limited; the writer who added the gloss *sulde[r]bon a<nglice>* (66)⁸ above the lemma *homoplata* on f.95r does not appear to have added any other glosses on that folio.
- Concerning languages, about 60% of glosses are in French, some 25% in Latin, and approximately 6% are English (see Figure 1). Yet, language identification is not always straightforward. We have identified words as French if they have a Romance etymology and / or are attested in continental French; English words, on the other hand, are those with a Germanic etymology and / or which are attested in Old English. Occasionally, glosses include morphosyntactic elements, which point to the wider linguistic system to which words belong; notably, there are frequent instances of French determiners (le, la; pl. le) or prepositions like de or od 'of'. There is also one instance of the English indefinite article a (514) and a preposition for (164). Nevertheless, some glosses defy straightforward classification, for instance, uimpel 'veil' (340) is ultimately a Germanic word (reconstructed as Proto-Germanic *wempilaz; cf. OIc vimpill, OE wimple, OHG wimpal, etc. cf. Orel [2003: s.v.]), but it was an early borrowing into Old French and is well attested in various varieties of French (quimple, wimple). As such, the word can be interpreted as English as well as French, in particular since the French glosses show retention of initial /w/ (as discussed in Section 3.2. below). The inverse case is presented by chirses 'cherries' (258); this word is ultimately Vulgar Latin ceresia (< Greek

kerasion), which was borrowed into West Germanic (cf. German Kirsche). In this instance, a convincing case can be made for reading it as an English word: the phonology of chirse clearly corresponds to the Old English form cirse and not the French one; moreover, the Latin headword cera is glossed by another form, namely, the French ceriz. As a further point, Latin and French words cannot always be distinguished, especially when it comes to plural forms of nouns; for example, naris (73) can be interpreted as the plural of both Latin naris and French narie. Glosses whose etymology cannot be unambiguously resolved constitute some sort of "international" vocabulary, which circulated in French, Latin and English. The overlap of linguistic systems in the glossators' minds is further attested by the occasional presence of phrases which combine words from different languages, e.g., Latin or French and English, for instance, de wod 'of woad' (493) (and see further examples in Section 3.3.). A number of glosses have been classified as "unclear". This label groups together items that are illegible, as well as a number of unidentified abbreviations.

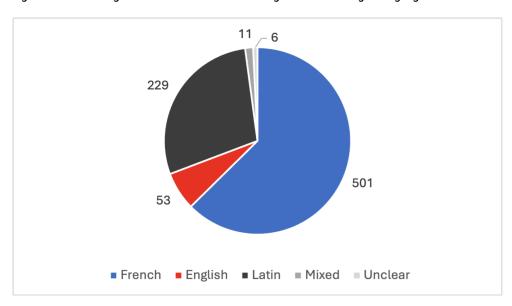


Figure 1. Number of glosses in the Dictionarius in Bruges 536 according to language

- Glosses appear throughout the text of the *Dictionarius* in Bruges 536, with the exception of the last eight chapters, covering the second half of f.100v and the whole of f.101r. However, although they appear throughout the text, the glosses are not evenly distributed in terms of their number or source language. As shown in Figure 2, chapter 49 on the siege of Toulouse contains the most glosses (69), although as it is one of the longest chapters this is perhaps not surprising. Yet, what stands out in this chapter is the comparatively low number of Latin glosses (roughly one in six) and only a single English gloss (449). Other chapters attracting large numbers of glosses include some of those dealing with the human body, and especially the head and the brain (chapters 2, 4, 5 and 6 with 28, 26, 32 and 27 glosses, respectively). Other areas popular with glossators include chapter 65, on tools associated with women's work (29 glosses); chapter 47, on ploughwrights (27 glosses); and chapter 71, on the names of birds (20 glosses).
- In addition to the raw numbers of glosses, it is instructive to examine the density of glossing in each chapter (i.e., the ratio of glosses to word count). By this measure, the most densely-glossed section is chapter 65, on tools for women's work (29 glosses out of

44 words, or 66%), while sections on shieldmakers (chapter 12), Master John's wardrobe (chapter 59), ploughwrights (chapter 47) and cobblers (chapter 57) also score highly (over 50%). Each of these chapters contains many technical terms for tools or components, perhaps accounting for their densely-glossed nature. By contrast, the sections scoring very low (with fewer than 1 in 10 words glossed) fall into two groups. Firstly, some of the low-scoring sections list items such as the instruments used by clerics (56) and priests' books (60), with only one gloss each in chapters of 31 and 29 words, respectively. It is notable that the headwords in chapter 60 include many terms for ecclesiastical books which were fairly transparent borrowings from Latin into French or English, for example *ymnarium* ('hymnal'), ¹⁰ *troparium* ('troper'), ¹¹ and *psalterium* ('psalter'), ¹² and it is possible that such terms were sufficiently recognizable (or well-known to readers using such books on a daily basis) not to require glossing.

Secondly, chapters towards the end of the *Dictionarius* tend to be much less densely glossed. As the final eight chapters contain no glosses at all, and as a variety of hands are responsible for the glosses in Bruges 536, it is possible that the evidence reflects the reading habits of the text's users: readers apparently overwhelmingly focused their attentions (and glossing activity) on the beginning of the *Dictionarius*, with fewer of these readers perhaps persevering to the end of the text. The fact that a small number of hands seem to have contributed longer runs of glosses towards the end of the *Dictionarius* perhaps lends weight to this conjecture. English glosses are most common in the sections on the human body and weaving implements.

In the following sections, we discuss the three linguistic groups of glosses, starting with Latin glosses, which display the widest range of functions, and then moving on to the vernacular glosses in French and English and their linguistic properties.

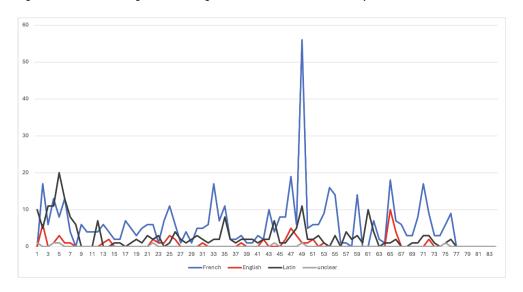


Figure 2. Distribution of glosses in Bruges 536 across the different chapters of the Dictionarius 13

3.1. Latin glosses

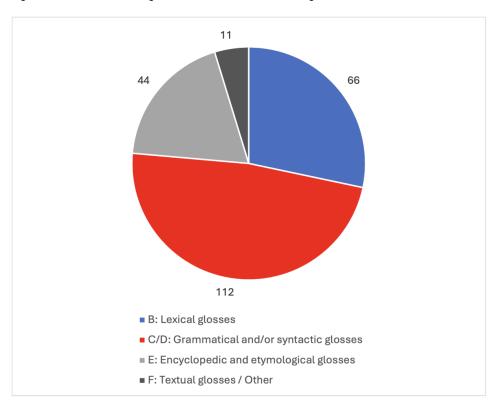
Most Latin glosses in the *Dictionarius* in Bruges 536 consist of single words or short phrases, though a handful of entries, which we have counted among the Latin glosses, consist of single letters. While vernacular glosses largely translate nouns, Latin glosses target all major word classes. As such, it is helpful to distinguish Latin glosses according

to their functions. Existing classifications of glosses include the following types of glosses:14

- A. Glosses on prosody
- B. Lexical glosses
- C. Glosses on morphology
- D. Glosses on syntax
- E. Explanatory glosses
- F. Textual glosses

Except for glosses on prosody, all categories are represented in the copy of the *Dictionarius* in Bruges 536. The proportions of the different types are visualized in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Functions of Latin glosses in the Dictionarius in Bruges 536



- 13 Lexical glosses, the most straightforward category, make up about a third of all Latin glosses. They take the form of Latin synonyms or short definitions, as in the following examples:¹⁵
 - (1) lactucas 'lettuce': leones 'dandelions' (261)
 - (2) fontinella 'fontanelle': concauitas colli 'hollow of the neck' (69)
- In the first case, the gloss *leones* is presumably used as a plant name, referring to dandelions or a similar species of plant (*DMLBS* [s.v. *leo*, sense 8]). As such, it functions as a near-synonym of 'lettuce', which appears among items sold by greengrocers (chapter 31). Synonyms usually match their headword in terms of inflection, i.e., nominative plurals are glossed by nominative plurals, infinitives by infinitives, etc. Most synonyms are regular Classical Latin vocabulary; occasionally, there are words of medieval coinage, for example, *cambiteres* 'money-changer' (314), which glosses the

Greek-derived *trapezete* 'money-changer, banker' (Lewis & Short [1879: s.v. *trapezita*]). This last example is part of a double gloss: the same hand also added a French form *le moneurs*. Definitions, as in the second example, are fairly simple and usually consist of a noun with a genitive apposition. Some definitions only reference the category to which a word belongs, for example, the plant hellebore is merely explained as *herba* (362). A more elaborate definition is provided in the following gloss:

(3) dentalia: illo in q<uo> uom<er> imp<ri>mit<ur> (386)

This definition ultimately harks back to Isidore's *Etymologies* (XX.xiv.2), where he explains that *dentale est aratri pars prima, in quo vomer inducitur quasi dens* ('The sharebeam is the foremost part of a plough, in which the ploughshare is drawn along, as if it were a tooth'; ed. Lindsay [1911]; trans. Barney *et al.* [2006]). Many lexical glosses are prefixed by the abbreviation *.i.* for *id est*, for example 102, 207, 307. We have also counted examples like the following as lexical glosses:

(4) crus [...] sive femur: idem <est> (29)

The gloss indicates that in this passage femur 'thigh' is used as a synonym to crus 'leg'.

- 15 A closely related group is explanatory glosses, which constitute just below 20% of the Latin glosses. Most explanations are short and convey either etymological and / or encyclopedic information, as in (5) and (6):
 - (5) per uenas mis[er]aicas: medias. a mesos q<uod> <est> mediu<m> (101)16
 - (6) pilosella: i. h<er>ba bona ad fluxu<m> vent<ri>s (709)¹⁷
- In (5), the mesentery veins (ch. 6) are explained by reference to Greek μέσος; in (6), we learn that the plant pilosella, or mouse-ear hawkweed, is beneficial for digestion. As the examples show, the distinction between purely lexical glosses and explanatory ones is not always clear-cut. Some etymological explanations appear to be lifted from the commentary that accompanies the *Dictionarius* in most other manuscripts (e.g. 190 on *pilea de bombace* 'silk hats'). Such glosses demonstrate that the text in Bruges 536 derives from a more typical version of the *Dictionarius* which included a commentary.¹⁸
- A group of glosses, which look like lexical glosses at first glance, but which can be distinguished clearly, are grammatical and syntactic glosses. Almost half of all Latin glosses elucidate the grammatical or syntactic structure of the main text. The following example illustrates how they work:¹⁹
 - (7) Pelliparii ditantur per sua pelicia, et per penulas, furraturas factas partim de pellibus agninis, partim <u>catinis</u> [pellib<us>], partim <u>vulpinis</u> [pellib<us>], partim <u>leporinis</u> [pellib<us>]. (232-234)²⁰
- In the passage, the adjectives *catinis*, *vulpinis* and *leporinis* are each glossed by the noun *pellibus*, which is written above each adjective. The noun 'pelts' in the ablative plural refers to *de pellibus agninis* and highlights the elliptical syntactic construction of the subsequent phrases: the glosses spell out how the ellipses need to be filled. There are many similar syntactic glosses in the *Dictionarius* in Bruges 536; they include nouns glossing adjectives, pronouns or finite verbs in the last case specifying the subject. One interesting case involves the verb *denotaui* 'I have noted down' (132), which is glossed by *ego magister de garlandia*; in this case, the gloss explains that the subject of this verb in the first person singular is the author of the text, John of Garland.

Occasionally, syntactic glosses include the expression *dico* or *hoc dico* 'I mean this' (247, 428) to highlight that they specify suppletive material.

19 Particularly frequent are glosses that specify the antecedent of relative pronouns, as in example (8):

(8) Artifices illi subtiles sunt qui fundunt campanas de here sonoro, per $\underline{\text{quas}}$ [campanas] in ecclesiis hore diei denunciantur. $(211)^{21}$

The gloss, added above *quas*, makes clear that the relative pronoun refers to *campanas* in the preceding clause. Altogether, there are more than 30 instances in which relativizers are glossed in this way. On the other hand, morphological glosses using *hic*, *hec*, *hoc* to indicate gender (a type of gloss found in other manuscripts of the *Dictionarius*) occur only infrequently, for instance, in 67, 190, perhaps 197, and 542. On the other hand, there are two instances, in which prepositions are used to explain the case of Latin words: the genitive in the phrase *motu batillorum* 'by the movement of the bellclappers' is glossed with the prepositional phrase *de batillis* 'of the bellclappers' (212), whereas the ablative of *ductione* 'with the guidance' (627) is indicated by the preposition *cum* 'with'. In both instances, the prepositions make explicit how the grammatical relationship expressed by case in Latin should be understood.

Further Latin glosses are concerned with the structure of the text: the abbreviation .s. (presumably for *scilicet* 'namely') is placed at the beginning of lists of items, and occasionally *sed* 'but' is added at the beginning of a new clause. Finally, a small number of Latin interlinear notations provide corrections of the main text of the *Dictionarius*; as such, they represent textual glosses.

3.2. French glosses

Bruges was a mercantile crossroads during the early thirteenth century, which may have supported the production of this, and other, trilingual manuscripts. Prevenier & de Hemptine [2003] outline the importance of vernacular writing in Flanders from an early period. From the mid-twelfth century, Old French is attested as a language of literature in the area around the French speaking court of Flanders. French is attested in charters slightly later, the earliest appearing in 1194 in Hainault; it was soon used as well by noble families outside of urban centres. As a centre of commerce, Flanders was the meeting place of many languages, and French and Dutch annotations can be found from the mid-twelfth century in documents surrounding the importation of goods.²²

The *Dictionarius* in Bruges 536 contains more than 500 interlinear glosses in French, added by several scribes. The glosses include nouns, a few verbs, adjectives as well as determiners, prepositions and conjunctions (usually as part of a phrase). The function of French glosses is exclusively lexical. Surprisingly, despite the likely production of the manuscript near Bruges, the dialectal features of the French glosses exhibit few of the characteristic linguistic features of Picard and Walloon. The inclusion of Middle English glosses suggests that the manuscript was intended for an Anglo-Norman audience, and some linguistic features suggest scribes who were familiar with Anglo-Norman orthography.

The realization of /k/ shows a level of variability, which is characteristic of both Anglo-Norman and Picard.²³ In initial position, we find ch-, suggesting a pronunciation of /tʃ/: e.g., cheuil de pe 'ankle' (18) (AND [s.v. cheville]); and choste de fel 'gall bladder, spleen'

(111) (AND [s.v. ceste¹]). However other glosses have initial /k/: e.g., carpenters 'carpenter' (364) (AND [s.v. charpenter¹]); caretteres 'carter' (382) (AND [s.v. charetter¹]); and cape 'cap, cover' (407) (AND [s.v. chape¹]). Final /k/ is also expressed as -ch: porche 'pig' (230) (AND [s.v. porc]); hauberches 'hauberk, coat of mail' (464) (AND [s.v. hauberc]). /k/ is represented by the digraph <qu> in both initial and internal position: e.g., quir 'leather' (151 and 182) (AND [s.v. cuir]); and esquieres 'squire' (147) (AND [s.v. esquier]). There is a single use of ke for Latin que at 276 (Short [2013: §27]). Some less common orthographical choices include arx 'bow' (194) (AND [s.v. arc¹]), where -x may represent /tʃ/; and frogs 'frock' (574) (AND [s.v. froc]), where the use of -g may reflect a confusion between /k/ and /g/. Elsewhere -g for /d3 / is used where /tʃ/ is expected (e.g., nages 'buttocks' (46), AND [s.v. nages]), a phenomenon also attested in Picard (Gossen [1970: §99]) and Anglo-Norman (Short [2013: §26.2]).

The orthography suggests a greater retention of initial w- in Germanic loanwords, a trait found in Picard (Pope [1952: §1320.iii], Gossen [1970: §51]) as well as Anglo-Norman (Pope [1952: §1193], Short [2013: §28]): wardecores 'breech-girdle' (68) (AND [s.v. gardecors]);²⁴ de waferes 'waffle' (250) (AND [s.v. gafre]);²⁵ warence 'madder' (495) (AND [s.v. garance]).²⁶ Initial v- is also found in Old Norse borrowings: vindas 'windlass' (481) (AND [s.v. gindas]); perhaps also in uimpel 'wimple, veil' (340) (AND [s.v. guimple]).²⁷ The letter w- (or <uu>) is also found internally in forms such as allutarii: cordeuuaneres 'cordwain' (219) (AND [s.v. cordewan]).²⁸ Inorganic initial h is found in number of words including hachetunes 'acton, padded jerkin' (462) (AND [s.v. aketon]); handules 'sausage' (308) (AND [s.v. andouille]); hessel 'axle' 377 (AND [s.v. essel]); hostur 'hawk' (654) (AND [s.v. ostur¹]); hungles 'nail' (15) (AND s.v. [ungle]) (see Short [2013: §60]).

The diphthong -ei- shows some reduction: e.g., furnes 'furnace' (533) (AND [s.v. forneise]); berfre 'fortified outer wall' (437) (AND [s.v. berfrai]); and laumpres 'lamprey' (673) (AND [s.v. lampreie]). This is a feature of early Anglo-Norman (Short [2013: §12.2). As Short notes [2013: §13.4], forms with post-tonic i are characteristic of Anglo-Norman and feature in multiple glosses: e.g., fermellies 'brooch' (201) (AND [s.v. fermeil]); fuellie 'fuel' (540) (AND [s.v. fuail]); scomalie 'stool, bench' (544) (AND [s.v. scamel]); scapelori 'scapular, sleeveless cloak' (565) (AND [s.v. scapelaire]); and tenalies 'tongs, pliers' (510) (AND [s.v. tenail²]). The use of the <aun> graphy for the nasal vowel is characteristic of Anglo-Norman from the late twelfth century (Short [2013: §1.6]). Examples include laundie 'clitoris' (50) (AND [s.v. landie]); iaumbeles 'hock' (224) (AND [s.v. jambel]); also launces 'spear, lance' (468) (AND [s.v. lance]). Flunz (264) appears to be an error for flaunz 'flan' (AND [s.v. flaun]). The nasal vowel graphy <oun> is also primarily attested in Anglo-Norman from the later thirteenth century (Short [2013: §6.7]) and finds limited use here: e.g., caudroun 'cooking-pot' (520) (AND [s.v. chauderun]); note, however, mussons 'sparrow' (647) (AND [s.v. musson]).

Plurality is marked through the use of -s or -z, which is common to all Northern dialects. The use of Latinate -is for plurals (e.g., entrallis 'entrails' (300) (AND [s.v. entraille]); and cremallis 'pot-hanger' (539) (DMF [s.v. crémail])) is well attested in Anglo-Norman as is the use of terminal <sz> (e.g., sufresz 'sulphur' (267) (AND [s.v. sulfre])) from the thirteenth century (Short [2013: §25.2]).²⁹ Plurals of words ending in -el show palatalization: e.g., estiueus 'long boot' (135) (AND [s.v. estival¹]); and chapeus 'cap, hat' (188) (AND [s.v. chapel¹]). However, final -l is retained in ortilz 'toe' (14) (AND [s.v. ortil¹]) (Short [2013: §21.1]). The plural determiner form is le 'the' (AND [s.v. le¹]): e.g., le ueynes (108) (Short [2013: §57]).

- Initial z- is used for words of Arabic etymology: e.g., zucre 'sugar' (351) (AND [s.v. sucre¹]; and zedouar 'setwell, zedoary' (345) (AND [s.v. cedewale]). It also appears in final position in pigaz 'point of a shoe' (133) (AND [s.v. pigace]), where <ce> would be expected.³¹⁰ Numerous glosses reflect the use of aphetic forms, having lost the intial es-, a phenomenon associated with Anglo-Norman (Short [2013: §30.1]). Examples include: chines 'spine' (47) (AND [s.v. eschine]); splendentes 'shining, gleaming' (176) (AND [s.v. esplendeier]); clices 'wooden sword' (225) (AND [s.v. esclice); and sturnel 'starling' (659) (attested as esturneus at 651) (AND [s.v. esturnel]). The unstable prefix is also attested as as- (e.g., asseles 'armpit' (65) (AND [s.v. essele¹]) and e- (e.g., emeisuraunt 'to measure' (334) (AND [s.v amesurer]). Metathesis is evident in several glosses (Short [2013: §22.4]). Metathesis of /r/ + V is visible in purnele 'sloe' (83) (AND [s.v. prunele]); and furmage 'cheese' (293) (AND [s.v. formage]; later forms show metathesis). Metathesis involving / l/ and /n/ can be seen in alnas 'short knife' (452) (AND [s.v. anlaz]).
- Double <00> and <uu> are attested for long vowels: e.g., surcooz 'surcoat' (240) (AND [s.v. surcote]); and cuus 'cook' (519) (AND [s.v. cu¹]). This is a feature of Anglo-Norman from the mid-thirteenth century (Short [2013: §3.5]). Double <uu> is normally used as a graphy for -uv- or -vu-; this may also be the case in uusz 'egg' (294) (AND [s.v. oef]), with the second -u- representing a vocalized /f/. The same graphy is used to indicate / w/internally (e.g., cordeuuaneres 'cordwain' (219) (AND [s.v. cordewan])) but is only used word initially in English (see below). Triphthongs are unattested except in aeue 'water' (525) (AND [s.v. ewe1]). Some forms are attested only in Anglo-Norman and suggest an English influence on spelling, such as the use of pudin 'sausage' (310) (AND [s.v. bodins]). Other lexical items are otherwise unattested outside of this text: e.g., gendrable (38),31 furbisures (171), and furbise (173). 32 Others reflect the earliest use of the term: e.g., ymaginable (94),33 uentilabre (97).34 The scribes use both -ure alongside -i)er(e as derivational agent suffixes: e.g., furbisures (171) [unattested elsewhere], enginures 'craftsman' (209) (AND [s.v. engineor]), pestures 'baker' (269) (also pasturus (287)) (AND [s.v. pestur]); peltere 'pelterer' (231) (AND [s.v. peletier]); and caretteres 'carter' (382) (AND [s.v. charetter¹]).
- The language of the glosses suggests that they were created by one or more scribes familiar with Anglo-Norman spelling conventions; an individual, like John of Garland, who was educated in England and learned French would fit this context.
- As French derives largely from Latin, a number of the Latin-French gloss pairs show an etymological relationship, as in the case of *malleos: mallus* 'hammer' (457), where the French form derives from the Latin. These types of pairs are the exception, however, as the glossators seem to favour French glosses that are not etymologically related to the Latin headword, using words of Germanic origin at a high frequency, as in examples (9) and (10):

```
(9) galeros: haumes 'helmets' (459) < Gmc *helm (FEW [16, 192b]) (10) ocreas: hoses 'leggings' (465) < Gmc hosa (FEW [16, 228a])
```

- The use of French glosses of Germanic origin may have appealed to an English readership of the manuscript and may have been a deliberate strategy by the glossators.
- Similarly, the French glosses used in the manuscript show a high level of early borrowing into Middle English. We have analysed the dates of earliest attestations

provided by the MED and the OED, and over 200 of the French glosses – i.e., roughly 40% – are attested in Middle English prior to 1350. This suggests that the glossators deliberately chose a lexis that was shared between the two languages, blurring the boundaries and making use of the uniquely multilingual English and French environment. The following examples include French glosses which could be interpreted as Middle English:

- (11) sinamino: canelez 'cinnamon' (347) attested in OF from c1150 and ME from ca. 1275 (cinnamon from ca. 1405)
- (12) cades: barils 'barrel' (369) attested in OF from c1150 and ME from ca. 1300
- (13) $\it celitonia: celidoniez$ 'celandine (plant)' (693) attested in OF and ME from ca. 1125
- These interlingual glosses are found throughout the text, but are more present in some semantic fields (food and weaponry, for example) than in others (anatomy, weaving), where French borrowings into English are less frequent. Nevertheless, this is not the sole motivating factor for glossing, as other French terms were not borrowed into English but do not receive an English gloss.

3.3. Middle English glosses

- With just 58 items, the English interlinear glosses in the *Dictionarius* in Bruges 536 represent a comparatively small group. However, as we have discussed above, many of the words occurring in French glosses were already borrowed into Middle English by the late thirteenth century and, as such, they may be considered English as well as French. On the other hand, 38 of the Middle English glosses occur as double glosses with words that are also glossed in French (see Section 4.); in such cases, a contrast between the two languages is established. Middle English glosses are exclusively lexical glosses and all of them are nouns or noun phrases. They include body parts (e.g., *marie* 'marrow' (22) (MED [s.v. *marwe*, n.1]); *sulderbon* 'shoulderbone' (66) (MED [s.v. *shulderbon*, n.]); *milte* 'spleen' (113) (MED [s.v. *milte*])); weaving implements (e.g., *spindeles for linen* (164) (MED [s.v. *spindel*, n.]); *rocche* 'distaff' (606) (MED [s.v. *rok*(ke, n.2]); *rel* 'reel' (608) (MED [s.v. *rēl*(e, n.]); and *yarnui*[n]del 'yarnwindle' (609) (MED [s.v. *leng*(e, n.2]); areng 'herring' (680) (MED [s.v. hering, n.]); *chirses* 'cherries' (258) (MED [s.v. *cherī*, n.]); and *surdocche* 'sorrel' (698) (MED [s.v. *sour-dokke*, n.])); and other assorted items.
- Concerning the dialectal origin of the Middle English glosses, the following phonological features can be noted: OE /ā/ is represented by <0> in -bon (24, 27, 66) (MED [s.v. bōn, n.1]); sopez 'soaps' (160) (MED [s.v. sōpe, n.2]); borspere 'a spear used in hunting boar' (449) (MED [s.v. bōr, n., sense 5]); rediling ston (618);³⁵ and wod 'woad' (493) (MED [s.v. wōd(e, n.1]). This indicates that the forms are not from a Northern dialect, where <a> would be used (Jordan [1974: §44]). OE /a/ before nasals appears as <a> in hanstaf 'hand-staff' (405) (MED [s.v. hond, sense 8]); and hamme 'back of the knee' (26) (MED [s.v. hamme, n.1]). The unrounded vowel is common in all Middle English dialects except for the West Midlands where we would expect <0> (Jordan [1974: §30]). Unfortunately, none of the words contains an equivalent of OE /y/, which might provide further insight into the dialectal origin of the text. Judging from the graph <f> in flax (613) and flod gates (414), the language of the English glossator(s) did not have

initial fricative voicing, which we might find in texts from the South or South West Midlands (Jordan [1974: §215]).

Some graphemic features of the Middle English glosses are unusual, though not unparalleled. Plural -s is occasionally spelled with <z>: holz 'cavities' (21) (MED [s.v. hol(e, n.2]); sopez 'soaps' (160); and suinglez 'flails' (610) (MED [s.v. swingel, n.]). The semi-vowel /w/ is represented by single <u> or <v> in uimpel (340) (MED [s.v. wimple, n.]); vayn 'vehicle' (374) (MED [s.v. wain, n.1]); and yarnuindel 'reel' (609), though more regular double-u is used in uueruelbon 'kneecap' (27) (MED [s.v. whirl-bon, n.]); and wod (493). The semi-vowel /j/, deriving from OE /g/, is represented by <y> in beyles 'rings' (381) (MED [s.v. beil(e, n.]); vayn 'vehicle' (374); and yarnuindel (609). In lezhe 'lye' (615) (MED [s.v. lei(e, n.1]), a z-shaped letter is used, which perhaps should be identifed as yogh (<3>). The fricative /ʃ/ is represented by the graph <s> in *cruslebon* 'cartilage, gristle' (24) (MED [s.v. crushel-bon, n.]); sulderbon 'shoulder-bone' (66); and souelles 'shovels' (393) (MED [s.v. shovel(e, n.]). Inorganic <h> appears in hot<er> 'otter' (236) (MED [s.v. oter, n.]), while <h> is missing in areng 'herring' (680). The affricate /tʃ/ is represented by the digraph <ch> in chip (385) (MED [s.v. chippe, n.]) and chirses (258), but the latter probably represents a stop /k/ in chalf 'calf' (23) and chombes 'comb' (413). Geminate / kk/ is represented by the trigraph <cch> in rocche (606) (cf. ModE rock 'distaff') and surdocche (698) (cf. dock 'a plant of the genus Rumex'). All these spellings are attested in Early Middle English;³⁷ yet, they are not common and imply a degree of French influence, as /w/ is usually represented by or <uu>, /ʃ/ by <sch> or <sh>. On the other hand, judging from the lexicon, the scribes appear to be proficient speakers of Middle English but they are perhaps more used to writing French than English.

A couple of glosses involving English are mixed-language items: *lides occuli* 'lids of the eye' (81) combines English and Latin; the phrase mirrors the Middle English collocation *lides of eyen* (MED [s.v. *lid* n.]). The gloss *bete de flax* (613), translating Latin *linipulus* 'bundle of flax', contains two English nouns but the preposition linking the two is French *de*.³⁸ The collocation *bete of flax* is not attested in Middle English; however, the *Catholicon Anglicum* (ca. 1475) has a *bete of lyne* (MED [s.v. *bēte*, n.3]). According to the OED [s.v. *beat*, n.2], ME *bete*, Modern English *beat*, derives "[p]ossibly from the verb *beat*, in sense of a 'beating,' or quantity to be beaten at once". The attestation in Bruges 536 antedates the use of this noun by at least one and a half centuries. Bruges 536 also contains a French gloss *butel de lin* (613) for the same item (in the same hand, cf. below).

The Middle English glosses provide further antedatings: the gloss *beyles* 'rings' (381) is otherwise only attested in the fifteenth century. The *MED* [s.v. *beil(e n.*] points to OE *bīgels* 'arch, vault' as an etymon; however, the *OED* [s.v. *bail*, n.2] proposes that the word is a borrowing from Old Norse (cf. OIc *beygla* 'bending, ring'), which better matches the vocalism of the Middle English form. If we accept this etymology, the gloss from Bruges 536 represents the first attestation.

The form badeldure (612), a 'beetle'³⁹ or 'bat' used in washing, is even more exciting. The lemma batildore is listed in the MED [s.v. batildore, n.] with attestations from the fifteenth century, but it is etymologically unclear. MED and OED both suggest that it represents a blend of, possibly, an Old Occitan form batedor 'beater, bat' with its Middle English synonym betel. However, "the historical connection [...] is not proved, and the date offers difficulties" (OED [s.v. battledore]). Perhaps John of Garland provides such a link – after all he wrote the commentary to the Dictionarius during his stint at the newly founded University of Toulouse. Old Occitan was the language spoken in Toulouse at

the time; as such, John might have picked up the word *batedor* there and created the blend with the English word *beetle*. It is true that Bruges 536 was copied long after John's death, and we have not found this gloss in any of the other manuscripts so far. Yet, the gloss provides at least a tentative link between Old Occitan and a known speaker of Middle English.

4. The glossators

- There are multiple scribes involved in the glossing of Bruges 536. While some hands are relatively easy to distinguish, in other cases identification is not straightforward, especially where a gloss consists of only a few letters, or where two glosses share no common graphs for comparison. Nevertheless, it is clear that no single hand is responsible for additions in a particular language for example, the Middle English glosses have been added by several different writers. This suggests that, rather than being entered into the manuscript on one occasion by a single hand (as a result, for instance, of being copied over from an exemplar), the English glosses were added by several writers, perhaps as ad hoc responses to the text. At present it is not possible to determine the extent to which the glosses in Bruges 536 (English or otherwise) might have been copied from an exemplar; however, only 24 of the 58 Middle English glosses have a counterpart in the manuscripts surveyed in Hunt [1991: II, 125-156], suggesting that at least some of the material found in Bruges 536 may be responses by the glossators themselves.
- 42 Given the challenges and opportunities of identifying individual scribes, double or bilingual glosses (where a headword is glossed by terms in two different languages) represent an interesting case; whether the glosses are written by the same scribe or not might tell us something about whether the writers are multilingual individuals, or whether the glossators are only multilingual as a group. The most prominent sections in terms of bilingual glossing are body parts (9 gloss pairs in chapters 2 and 5) and tools for women's work / weaving (12 gloss pairs in chapters 65 and 66). It is clear that bilingual glossing makes an important contribution to the density of glossing overall, as chapter 65 is the most densely glossed section, while chapters 2, 5 and 66 all fall within the top 25% by this measure.
- of the 38 double glosses in Bruges 536, 21 (56%) are in the same hand, such as ysophagus: vesende: gor[g]e[r]un ('oesophagus', 79) (see Figure 4). In terms of placement, the double glosses appear either stacked (47%) or adjacent (53%). The even split in placement masks the effect of authorship in this category, as glosses written by the same hand are more likely to be placed adjacently (14 out of 21 cases), while those written by different hands show a preference for being stacked (11 out of 17 cases). It is possible that this difference arises for practical reasons; a writer wishing to add an additional gloss to a headword may be constrained, either by the placement of the earlier gloss they wish to supplement, or by the placement of existing glosses to surrounding headwords. Thus, by stacking the pair hardiluns: tunges (156), the glossators ensured, firstly, that both words were appropriately close to their headword; and, secondly, that they did not encroach on the next gloss: mordaunz (157).⁴⁰ Authorship appears to have little effect, however, on the order of languages used; regardless of whether the gloss pairs are written by the same glossator or two different ones, there is a clear preference for

French to be placed first (16 out of 21 cases where the writer is the same, and 13 out of 17 where they are different).

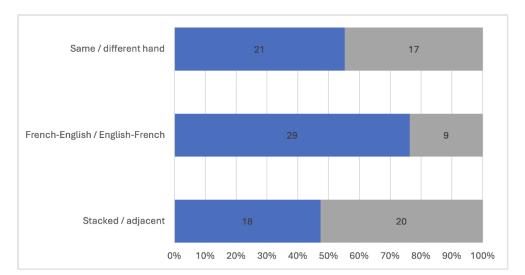


Figure 4. French / English double glosses in Bruges 536

- 44 Finally, a comparison of the double glosses with their counterparts in other manuscripts reveals something about the linguistic competence of the Bruges 536's glossators (see Table 1). For this analysis, the English glosses from each pair were compared with those listed by Hunt [1991].⁴¹ Of the 38 double glosses, 18 of the English terms have counterparts in Hunt's manuscripts. A closer look at two groups of glosses, those dealing with body parts (chapters 2-5) and women's tools and weaving (chapters 65-66), is revealing (see Table 1).
- In the body parts section, most pairs were written by the same hand. Seven of the ten pairs have an English term in common with Hunt's manuscripts, six of which were written by the same hand. This could indicate that the glossators working on these sections were themselves bilingual or, conversely, that they had copied the gloss pairs from another manuscript. The gloss pairs related to women's tools and weaving are also more likely to be added by the same hand (seven out of twelve examples); however, in contrast with the body parts glosses, they are much less likely to have counterparts in Hunt's manuscripts. This might point to the glosses in chapters 65-66 being added by bilinguals, perhaps as spontaneous reader reactions. The 'other' category, comprising all remaining chapters, is more varied, as might be expected, given the greater number of pairs added by different hands. Again, this suggests that on the whole Bruges 536's glosses are unlikely to have been copied wholesale from an exemplar.

Table 1. Bilingual glosses in Bruges 536 and their relationship with other Dictionarius manuscripts

| | Body parts (ch. 2-5) | Women's tools and weaving (ch. 65-66) | Other |
|------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------------|-------|
| Same hand, gloss in Hunt | 6 | 1 | 2 |
| Same hand, gloss not in Hunt | 3 | 6 | 3 |

| Different hand, gloss in Hunt | 1 | 4 | 4 |
|-----------------------------------|---|---|---|
| Different hand, gloss not in Hunt | | 1 | 7 |

5. Translanguaging

- The linguistic practices of this group of glossators point to a multilingual community of practice, involving scribes, teachers and students who engaged with this text. Against the backdrop of work on historical multilingualism, multilingual glossing might be interpreted as a form of codeswitching.⁴² Thus, in the model developed by Myers-Scotton [1992], the text could be considered to have been written with Latin as the matrix language, with codeswitching into French (and occasionally English) to explain grammatical concepts, a phenomenon well attested in modern studies of codeswitching in language teaching (starting from Gumperz [1972]). However, this interpretation is complicated by the high level of contact between English, French and Latin in the period and the resulting lexical borrowing across the languages, which makes it difficult to determine the boundaries of the codes.⁴³ Given the overlaps between the three languages, the text might be explored through the lense of more recent theories of translanguaging, a term initially used in modern multilingual educational settings to refer to "the planned and systematic use of two languages for teaching and learning inside the same lesson" (Conteh [2018: 445]). The notion of translanguaging has been applied to the multilingual practices of bilinguals by García & Wei [2014: 2-3, 20-22], who argue that bilinguals have a single linguistic repertoire from which they draw, rather than autonomous language systems they switch between. Yet, their interpretation has been criticized from a historical linguistic perspective by Auer [2022], who argues that the term has been misapplied in some contexts where codeswitching, or the creation of a new hybrid code, is present. Specifically, Auer argues against the view that speakers who are translanguaging are unable to distinguish between the different codes that they are using.
- We certainly do not wish to suggest that the glossators of the *Dictionarius* in Bruges 536 did not distinguish between the three languages in their repertoire; however, their preference for glosses that blur the lexical boundaries between English and French (as well as Latin at times) implies the use of a vernacular hybrid, one which meets the linguistic needs of reading communities in a range of language contexts. A similar type of language use which relies on lexical items that are undetermined in their lingustic affiliation has been highlighted in later medieval English administrative texts by Wright [2002, 2011]. Wright [2011: 195] notes the various strategies employed by scribes to utilize linguistic forms which can belong simultaneously to more than one language, for example, ambiguous bound morphemes, borrowed lexis, or abbreviations, which allowed writers to suppress inflections and readers to use their varied linguistic knowledge to construe meaning. The glossators in Bruges 536 make frequent use of the first two strategies, suggesting that this use of a mixed hybrid was more widespread than previously thought, though, in this manuscript, its function may be slightly different: in Bruges 536, translanguaging appears to be deployed as a deliberate

pedagogical strategy to facilitate language acquisition within a multilingual community of practice.

6. Conclusion

- The multilingual glosses in the *Dictionarius* in Bruges 536 raise many interesting questions about the text and its production, the functions of the glosses, the community of glossators, as well as the potential audience of the manuscript. Our detailed linguistic analysis of the glosses sheds light on some aspects of the text, but further research remains to clarify the composition and circulation of the manuscript. Firstly, the inclusion of Old French and Middle English glosses in the manuscript highlights the multilingual environment in which this copy of the *Dictionarius* was created and used. The original text and the present copy may have been composed in Paris, and the presence of English glosses supports this interpretation. It is known that English students and masters formed one of the "nations" of the faculty of arts at the University of Paris (Verger [2014: 182]). In this "expat" community, a language textbook supported with roughly 60 English glosses would have been helpful for many students. Moreover, the overlap in the lexicon of Medieval French with English (via borrowing into Early Middle English as well as the use of French words of Germanic origin) increases the accessibility of the text for an English-speaking audience.
- 49 It may be, however, that the manuscript was produced outside of Paris for the English market. Medieval Bruges was well known as a centre of multilingual book production, and many of the books were produced for export to England (cf. Demets [2023]). Equally, Ter Doest, with its links with England, and the participation of members of its community as scholars in Paris and elsewhere, would provide another feasible location for the manuscript's origin.⁴⁴
- It could also be that the manuscript travelled through all of these spaces from Paris to Bruges to Ter Doest - through various multilingual glossing communities, as an initial survey of the manuscripts' hands suggests that several glossators, a number of whom appear to add glosses in both French and English, had a hand in glossing the manuscript. In doing so, they created a unique copy of this work. This copy stands out by the absence of any commentary, which normally accompanies the text. On the other hand, it contains many more interlinear glosses than most extant copies.⁴⁵ The lack of commentary and reliance on glossing suggests a specific reading audience was initially intended for this copy; one uninterested in etymological information in favour of vernacular equivalences, and whose Latin grammatical knowledge required extensive revision of antecedents and relative clauses. The main focus of the text is the teaching of Latin vocabulary through the use of a translanguaging didactic strategy. The glosses rely on the multilingual linguistic repertoire of their readers, favouring French words loaned into English (roughly 40% of the total of French glosses) alongside French / English double glosses. The intended reader might have been an English student preparing for university and using this book in Paris, or the manuscript may have been intended to be sold to England to prepare students intending to study in Paris. Some glosses may reflect reader-responses from subsequent communities (e.g., by monks at Ter Doest Abbey, or another community) as they used the text for teaching or selfstudy purposes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Auer, Peter. 2022. 'Translanguaging' or 'doing languages'? Multilingual practices and the notion of 'codes'. In Jeff MacSwan (ed.), *Multilingual perspectives on translanguaging*, 126-153. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Barney, Stephen A., W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach & Oliver Berghof. 2006. The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Conteh, Jean. 2018. Key concepts in ELT: Translanguaging. ELT Journal 72(4). 445-447.

Demets, Lisa. 2023. Bruges as a multilingual contact zone: Book production and multilingual literary networks in fifteenth-century Bruges. *Urban History* 51(2). 313-332. doi:10.1017/S0963926822000633.

Derolez, Albert. 2004. Ten Duinen of Ter Doest? De herkomst van de handschriften in de Openbare Bibliotheek en het Grootseminarie te Brugge. *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis te Brugge* 141. 219-277.

Dickins, Bruce & R. M. Wilson. 1951. Early Middle English texts. Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes.

Dietz, Klaus. 2006. Schreibung und Lautung im mittelalterlichen Englisch: Entwicklung und Funktion der englischen Schreibungen ch, gh, sh, th, wh und ihrer kontinentalen Entsprechungen. Heidelberg: Winter.

García, Ofelia & Li Wei. 2014. *Translanguaging: Language, bilingualism and education*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Geirnaert, Noël. 2003. De cisterziënzerwereld. In Rudy Desmet, Mia Lingier & Brigitte Beernaert (eds.), Lissewege en Ter Doest Monnikenwerk: Geschiedenis van het witte dorp en zijn abdij, 44-45. Tielt: Lanoo.

Gieysztor, Aleksander. 2003. Management and resources. In Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (ed.), *Universities in the Middle Ages*, 108-143. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gossen, Charles Théodore. 1970. Grammaire de l'ancien picard. Paris: Klincksieck.

Holthausen, Ferdinand. 1934. Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Heidelberg: Winter.

Hunt, Tony. 1991. Teaching and learning Latin in thirteenth-century England. Cambridge: Brewer.

Ingham, Richard, Louise Sylvester & Imogen Marcus. 2021. Lone other-language items in later medieval texts. *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics* 7(2). 179-205.

Jordan, Richard. 1974. *Handbook of Middle English grammar: Phonology*. Eugene Joseph Crook (ed. and trans.). The Hague: Mouton.

Keller, Mareike L. 2020. Code-switching: Unifying contemporary and historical perspectives. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Landgraf, Artur Michael. 1973. *Introduction à l'histoire de la littérature théologique de la scolastique naissante*. Albert-M. Landry (ed.), Louis-B. Geiger (trans.). Montréal: Institut d'Études Médiévales.

Lindsay, W. M. 1911. Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Lusignan, Serge. 2012. Essai d'histoire sociolinguistique : Le français picard au Moyen Âge. Paris: Classiques Garnier.

Myers-Scotton, C. 1992. Comparing codeswitching and borrowing. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 13(1-2). 19-39.

Myking, Synnøve Midtbø. 2018. Ter Doest, Lund, and the Legendarium Flandrense. The Journal of Medieval Latin 28. 115-140.

Orel, Vladimir. 2003. A handbook of Germanic etymology. Leiden: Brill.

Pagan, Heather & Annina Seiler. 2019. Multilingual annotations in Ælfric's Glossary in London, British Library, MS Cotton Faustina A X: A commented edition. Early Middle English 1(2). 13-64.

Pagan, Heather, Annina Seiler & Christine Wallis. 2023. Linguistic layers in John of Garland's Dictionarius. Études Médiévales Anglaises 102. 63-108.

Pattin, Adriaan. 2002. Sindewint, Jan (ook Snidewint) magister en professor in de theologie, monnik van de abdij van Ter Duinen bij Koksijde. In *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek, vol.* 16, 687. Brussels: Paleis der Academiën.

Pattin, Adriaan. 2002. He, Jan van, monnik van Ter Doest. In *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek, vol.* 16, 426. Brussels: Paleis der Academiën.

Pope, Mildred K. 1956. From Latin to Modern French with especial consideration of Anglo-Norman. Revised edn. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Poplack, Shana. 2017. Borrowing: Loanwords in the speech community and in the grammar. New York: Oxford Academic

Poveda Balbuena, Miguel Luis & José Belda-Medina. 2022. The effects of multilingualism in medieval England: The impact of French on Middle English military terminology. In Zofia Chłopek & Przemysław E. Gębal (eds.). Bi- and multilingualism from various perspectives of applied linguistics. Göttingen: V&R unipress. 59-76.

Prevenier, Walter & Thérèse de Hemptine. 2003. La Flandre au Moyen Âge: Un pays de trilinguisme administratif. In Olivier Guyotjeannin (ed.), *La langue des actes: Actes du XIe Congrès international de diplomatique de 2003*. ELEC éditions en ligne de l'Ecole des Chartes. Avalable at https://lib.ugent.be/nl/catalog/pug01:382887 (3 August 2024).

Rothwell, William. 1993. From Latin to Anglo-French and Middle English: The role of the multilingual gloss. *The Modern Language Review* 88(3). 581-599.

Rubin, Barbara Blatt. 1981. The Dictionarius of John de Garlande and the author's commentary: Translated into English and annotated. Lawrence, KA: Coronado Press.

Scragg, D. G. 1974. A history of English spelling. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Sharpe, Richard. 1996. Latin in everyday life. In Frank A. C. Mantello & Arthur George Rigg (eds.). *Medieval Latin: An introduction and bibliographical guide*, 315-341. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press.

Scheler, Auguste. 1865. Trois traités de lexicographie latine du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle. *Jahrbuch für Romanische und Englische Literatur* 6. 43-59, 142-162, 287-321, 370-379.

Short, Ian. 2013. Manual of Anglo-Norman. 2nd edn. Oxford: Anglo-Norman Text Society.

Southern, R. W. 1990. Western society and the church in the Middle Ages. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Stork, Nancy Porter. 1990. Through a gloss darkly: Aldhelm's riddles in the British Library MS Royal 12 C.xiii. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

Tobler, Adolf, & Erhard Lommatzsch. 1925. *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.

Trotter, David. 2011. Death, taxes and property: Some code-switching evidence from Dover, Southampton, and York. In Herbert Schendl & Laura Wright (eds.), *Code-switching in early English*, 155-190. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Vandamme, Ludo. 2003. Scriptorium en bibliotheek. In Rudy Desmet, Mia Lingier & Brigitte Beernaert (eds.), Lissewege en Ter Doest Monnikenwerk: Geschiedenis van het witte dorp en zijn abdij, 38-39. Tielt: Lanoo.

Verger, Jacques. 2014. L'université de Paris au Moyen Âge (XIII^e-XIV^e siècle). In Boris Bove & Claude Gauvard (eds.), *Le Paris du Moyen Âge*, 175-193. Paris: Belin.

Wieland, Gernot. 1984. Latin lemma-Latin gloss: The stepchild of the glossologists. *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 19. 91-99.

Wright, Laura. 2002. Code-intermediate phenomena in medieval mixed-language business texts. *Language Sciences* 24. 471-489.

Wright, Laura. 2011. On variation in medieval mixed-language business writing. In Herbert Schendl & Laura Wright (eds.), *Code switching in Early English*, 191-218. Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Wright, Laura. 2018. A multilingual approach to the history of Standard English. In Päivi Pahta, Janne Skaffari & Laura Wright (eds.), *Multilingual practices in language history: English and beyond*, 339-358. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Wright, Thomas & Richard Paul Wülcker. 1884. *Anglo-Saxon and Old English vocabularies*. 2 vols. London: Trübner.

Corpora and dictionaries

Acker, Jan van. 2021. Ter Doest abbey. *Mmmonk: Medieval Monastic Manuscripts – Open – Network – Knowledge*. Available at https://www.mmmonk.be/en/discover/history-of-the-collections/history-abbeys/history-doest. (12 August 2024).

AND = Anglo-Norman Dictionary. W. Rothwell, D. Trotter *et al.* (eds.) 2000-. 2nd edn. Available at www.anglo-norman.net (27 August 2024).

BT = Bosworth-Toller's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. 2014. Joseph Bosworth & Thomas Northcote Toller (eds.). Digital edition compiled by Sean Christ and Ondřej Tichý. Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague. Available at http://bosworthtoller.com. (13 August 2024).

DEAF = Dictionnaire etymologique de l'ancien français. 1974-. Kurt Baldinger, Jean-Denis Gendron & Georges Straka (eds.). Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval. Available at http://www.deaf-page.de/fr/index.php. (13 August 2024).

DMF = Dictionnaire du moyen français. 2015. ATILF-CNRS & Université de Lorraine. Updated November 2017. Available at http://www.atilf.fr/dmf. (13 August 2024).

DMLBS = Latham, R. E., David Howlett & Richard Ashdowne (eds.). 1975-2013. *Dictionary of medieval Latin from British sources*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (for the British Academy). Available at http://clt.brepolis.net/dmlbs/. (13 August 2024).

DOE = Dictionary of Old English: A to Le. 2024. Compiled by Angus Cameron, Ashley Crandell Amos, Antonette diPaolo Healey et al. University of Toronto. http://www.doe.utoronto.ca/doe. (14 October 2024).

Dunning, Andrew. 2023. Alexander Neckam. *Les Archives de littérature du Moyen Âge (ARLIMA)*. Available at https://www.arlima.net/ad/alexander_neckam.html. (13 August 2024).

FEW = Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch: Eine Darstellung des galloromanischen Sprachschatzes. 1928-2003. 25 vols. Walther von Wartburg et al. (eds.). Bonn: Klopp.

Gdf = Godefroy, Frédéric. 1881-1895. Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française, et de ses dialectes du IX^e au XV^e siècle. Paris: F. Vieweg.

THE = The historical thesaurus of English. 2023. 2^{nd} edn., version 5.0. Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Available at https://ht.ac.uk/. (13 August 2024).

Hofman, Rijcklof, Pádraic Moran & Bernhard Bauer. 2023. *St Gall Priscian Glosses, version 2.1*. Available at http://www.stgallpriscian.ie/. (11 August 2024).

Lewis, Charlton T. & Charles Short. 1879. A Latin dictionary. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Liddell, Henry George & Robert Scott. 1940. *A Greek-English lexicon*. Revised and augmented throughout by Sir Henry Stuart Jones with the assistance of Roderick McKenzie. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

MED = Middle English dictionary. 2018. Online edn. in Middle English Compendium by Frances McSparran et al. (eds.). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Library. Available at http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/. (13 August 2024).

OED = Oxford English Dictionary Online. 2000-. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Available at https://www.oed.com. (13 August 2024).

Owen-Crocker, Gale *et al.* 2018. *The Lexis of cloth and clothing project*. The University of Manchester. Available at http://lexisproject.arts.manchester.ac.uk/index.html. (13 August 2024).

Vermeer, Mark. n.d. Bruges. Bibliothèque publique, Ms. 536 manuscript summary. *Biblissima IIIF Collections: Manuscripts and rare books*. Available at https://iiif.biblissima.fr/collections/manifest/4080a6e314b3e25378557786b3bec6501c725552. (13 August 2024).

APPENDIXES

Appendix: Edition of the glosses in John of Garland's *Dictionarius*, Bruges, Public Library, MS 536

This edition includes all glosses added to John of Garland's *Dictionarius* on ff. 95r-101r of Bruges, Public Library, MS 536. The text is divided into chapters with numbers given in Arabic numerals; these represent the chapter numbers given to the Latin text in the editions by Scheler [1865: 144-162] and Hunt [1991: I, 196-203]. The edition is accompanied by both textual endnotes and language notes. Punctuation is normalized but the spelling of the manuscript is reproduced. Expansions of abbreviations are indicated by angle brackets <>; emendations are placed between square brackets []. Illegible text and uncertain readings are indicated by a question mark. Scribal corrections and details concerning the placement of glosses are specified in the textual notes. The Latin lemma is given first, followed by the glosses; where more than one gloss is given for a lemma, they are presented in the same order as in the manuscript. 46

Before each gloss, we specify the language in square brackets (i.e., [L]= Latin, [F]= Old French, [E]= Middle English, etc.). As we discuss in Section 3., it is frequently difficult to determine which language is in use. In such cases, the language notes provide references to all relevant dictionary entries as well as a short discussion, i.e., *DMLBS* for Latin words, *AND* and *DMF* for Old French words, *MED* for Middle English, *OED* for English more generally and for discussion points.

[fol. 95r]

```
1. Dictionarius dicitur libellus iste ('this little book is called "Dictionarius"')
```

```
1. [D]ixionarius: [L] titulus <prima[e]> pa[r]t<is>
2. dicitur: [L] appelatur
3. neccessariis: [L] conpo<si>tus
4. q<ua>s: [L] dict<i>o<n>es
5. faciliorem: [L] habe<n>dam
6. enunciationem: [L] inquisic<i>o<ne>m v<er>itatis <et> f<als>itatis: hu<n>del [?]
7. i<n>q<uo>are: [L] incip<er>e
8. promtuarium: [L] celer
9. euoluendo: [L] perscrutando
```

2. Inter partes humani corporis ('among the parts of the human body')

```
10. Inter partes: [L] finito p<ro>emio in h<oc> loco incipit narrac<i>o
11. pes inferor: [L] pars
12. callosa: [L] adurata
13. talus: [F] talun
14. articuli: [F] ortilz
15. unguibus totidem: [F] hou taunt des hungles47
16. collat<er>alis: [F] veysinablez48
17. sophena: [L] i. grossa uena
18. cauille: [F] cheuil de pe: [F] cauille
19. columpna: [F] peler
20. edificium: [L] tota<m> me<n>sura<m>
21. os concauum: [F] crosse<sup>49</sup>: [E] holz<sup>50</sup>
22. medulla: [F] meule: [E] marie<sup>51</sup>
23. musculus: [E] chalf<sup>52</sup>: [F] mucel<sup>53 54</sup>
24. cratilago: [E] cruslebon55: [F] tendru<n>
25. musculum: [F] le mucel
26. poplex: [F] garet: [E] ha<m>me<sup>56</sup>
27. internodium: [E] uueruelbon<sup>57</sup>: [F] le entrenu
28. crus: [F] cuisse
29. femur: [L] idem <est>
30. pubi: [F] a penils: [F] nouele<sup>58</sup>
```

3. Si velim reserare ('if I would like to reveal')

```
31. humane: [L] no<?> ca<?> [?]<sup>59</sup>
32. causa: [L] s<ed> [?]
33. at[scribi]: .t.<sup>60</sup>
34. ascribi: [L] ap<ro>p<ri>ari
35. rusticitati: [F] uileineme<n>t
```

```
36. cuius: [L] r<ati>onis
37. eius: [L] p<er>tinet
38. genitalia: [F] gendrables<sup>61</sup>
39. uirga longa uirilis: [L] p<ri>apus
40. duo fratres penduli: [L] <quia> pendent
41. qua: [L] wlua
42. matrix: [F] matriz
43. quam: [L] mat<ri>ce
44. cuius: [L] mulieris
45. umbilico: [F] en le umbil
46. nates: [F] nages
47. spondila: [F] chines<sup>62</sup>
4. Tergum et spondilia ('the back and the spine')
48. que: [L] ea
49. derisorie: [F] en gab
50. tentigenem: [F] laundie<sup>63</sup>: [L] loc<us> uoluptatis: [L] s<cilicet><sup>64</sup>
51. podicem: [F] poystru<n>
52. illa: [L] sup<ra>dicta
53. s<u>bintelli[g]a[m]: set s<ubi>n<telling>a<m>[?]<sup>65</sup>
54. [S]ed ita: [L] ista no<m>i<n>abo
55. latera: [F] costes
56. lacertos: [F] braz
57. cubitos: [F] cutes
58. palmam: [L] a palmii q<uod> <est> manifestu<m>
59. pollicem: [F] pucer<sup>66</sup>
60. indicem: [F] demustrer
61. medium: [L] q<uia> <sunt> in medio loco
62. medicum: [F] mire<sup>67</sup>
63. auricularem: [F] oriler
64. humeros: [F] espaules
65. acellas: [F] asseles
66. Pars humori est homoplata: [L] latu<m> os hum<ori>: [E] sulde<r>bon68 a<nglice>.
67. thorax: [L] h<ic>: situ<m> [?] pectoris <et> os
68. munimen[tum] uent<ri>is: [F] wardecores<sup>69</sup>
[fol. 95v]
5. Retro in capite ('at the back of the head')
69. fontinella: [L] <con>cauitas colli: [L] s<cilicet>
70. quibus: [L] cornib<us>
71. quas: [L] aures
72. colera: [L] humor sic<sup>70</sup> calidus u<e>l sicc<us>
73. pirula naris: [L] acuitas nasis [sic]: [L] naris<sup>71</sup>
74. int<er>finum: [L] partes nasi
75. lingua: [L] .s<cilicet>
76. palatum: [L] sup<er>ior <et> inferior
77. gingiva: [L] caro q<uae> <est> int<er> dentes sup<er>ior: [F] gingiues: [E] gomes<sup>72</sup>
78. hinula<sup>73</sup>: [F] huues<sup>74</sup>
```

```
79. ysophagus: [L] stomachi gula: [L] sorbillum. 75: [E] vesende 76: [F] gor[g]e[r]un 77
80. epiglotum: [L] coop<er>toriu<m>: [F] buel
81. palpebra: [E+L] lides oc<u>li<sup>78</sup>
82. cilium: [L] pili79: [F] palbebre
83. pupilla: [L] visus oc<u>li.: [F] purnele.
84. tunica: [F+L] duresce [?] de oc<u>lo80.
85. sclirotica: [L] pellis in q<ua> uoluit<ur> oc<u>lu<m>: [L] pell<is> p<ro>pinquior<sup>81</sup>
oco
86. imminent: [L / F] apparent
87. Qui: [L] capilli
88. discrimen: [F] la greue
89. sa<nct>uariu<m>: [L] res s<anct>as u<e>l templ<u>m
6. In cerebro ('in the brain')
90. In cerebro: [F] c<er>uelez
91. sub craneo: [L] di<citur> a carne
92. [T]res sunt celule: t<re>s??ie
93. prima: [L] in fronte
94. ymaginaria, secunda est: [F] ymaginable82
95. rationalis, tertia est: [L] in medio capitis
96. memorialis: [L] in occipite
97. flabulum: [F] uentilabre83
98. quo: [L] flab<u>lo
99. refrigeratur: [L] altri n<?> co? uritur p<ro> colore
100. a quo: [L] stomacho
101. per uenas mis[er]aicas: [L] medias a. mesos q<uod> <est> mediu<m>
102. eliquatur: [L] .i. colatur
103. ad epar: [F] a la feie
104. sanguis: [L] ad mod<um> aeris.
105. colera: [L] q<uod> ignis.
106. fleuma: [L] ad similitudinem aque.84
107. melancholia: [L] q<uod> ad modu<m> t<er>re: [L] melan nigru<m>
108. uene: [F] le ueynes
109. ab epate que uene: [F] la feye vene
110. ha<br/>
ben>t<sup>85</sup>: [L] p<or>tant
111. cistis fellis recipit: [F] choste<sup>86</sup> de fel<sup>87</sup>
112. coleram: [F] colre
113. splen: [F] lesplen: [E] milte88
114. melancoliam: [F] melancholie
115. cirbum: [F] buel
116. longaco<ne>m: [L] illud intestinu<m> tendens ad anu<m>
117. feces: [F] ordures
7. Inter haec membra ('among these parts of the body')
118. haec: [L] menbra
119. que: [L] membra
120. terminant in en: [L] lit<er>a
121. splen: [F] esplen
```

```
122. ren: [F] reynu<n>
123. lien: [F] buel
124. et unum grecum: [L] nom<en>
125. diafragma: [E] midref89: [F] la fressure90: [L] a duo diuidens
126. quod: [L] diafragma91
127. diuidit: [L] de afragm<a>
128. a uitalibus: [L] a nut<ri>ciuis
8. Istis ita nominatis ('after having named these')
129. Istis: [L] m<em>bris: [L] hoc dico
130. rusticana: [L] corporis n<omin>a: [L] corporis92
131. res quas: [L] res
132. denotaui: [L] ego mag<iste>r de garl<an>d<i>a
9. Unus vicinorum nostrorum ('one of our neighbours' (shoes))
133. liripipiis: [F] le pigaz93
134. p[l]usculas: [F] bucles
135. tibialia: [F] estiueus
136. cruralia: [F] botes
137. crepitas femineas: [F] botes de femmes
138. monacales: [F] <et> botes de moine
10. Corigiarii ('girdle makers')
139. [C]origiarii: [F] cureyures94
140. menbratas: [F] me<n>bres barede
141. cupro: [F] quiu<r>ez
142. texta et stipita argento: [F] seyntes<sup>95</sup> bares
11. Sellarii ('saddlers')
143. Sellarii: [F] selers
144. Puluillos: [F] baces%
145. trusulas: [F] trussures
146. strepas: [F] estrues
12. Scutarii ('shield makers')
147. Scutarii: [F] esquieres: [L] illi q<i> faciu<n>t scuta
148. ciuitatibus: [L] .i. ciuis
[fol. 96r]
149. Scuta tecta: [L] rotunda a scuto q<uod> <est> rotu<n>du<m>
150. tela: [F] de toyle
151. corio: [F] quir
152. auricalco: [F] orpetre<sup>97</sup>: [L] .i. fere <ue>l auri.
153. liliorum: [L] depicta: [L] scuta. dico. depicta. liliare [?] beler. g.
13. Pluscularii ('buckle makers')
154. [P]luscularii: [F] bucleres
155. p[l]usculas: [F] bucles
156. lingulas: [F] hardiluns: [E] tunges98
```

```
157. mordacula: [F] mordaunz
158. per limas: [F] fils
159. loralia equina: [F] lorens u<e>l peytreles99
14. Willelmus, vicinus noster ('William, our neighbour')
160. saponem: [E] sopez100: [F] sauun
161. specula: [F] merures
162. fusillos: [F] fusiles
163. cotes: [F] agesurs
164. piricudia<sup>101</sup>: [E] spindeles for linen.<sup>102</sup>
15. Lorimarii ('lorimers')
165. lorimari: [F] lorimer
166. quam plurimum: [L] multu<m>
167. pectoralia: [F] peytrel
16. Vidi hodie institorem ('today I saw a shopkeeper')
168. institorem: [L] mercatorem
169. ante: [L] ho<m>i<n>e<m>
170. paruas et stilos: [F] greffes
17. Eruginatores ('furbishers')
171. Eruginatores: [F] furbisures<sup>103</sup>
172. cumulant: [F] muscelent
173. eruginatos: [F] furbises
174. tholos: [F] pumeles. 104
175. capulos: [F] hiltes<sup>105</sup>
176. rotulantes: [F] splendentes<sup>106</sup>
177. uagi: [F] gaynes
18. Mercatores ('merchants')
178. capistra: [F] cheuestres
179. baria: [F] braeles107
180. ligulas: [F] layneres
181. marsupia: [L] bursa: [F] brael
182. de corrio: [F] de quir
19. Cirotecarii ('glove makers')
183. Cirothecarii: [F] gaunteres
184. caniculis: [L] pellib<us>: [F] cunines
185. uulpines: [L] pallib<us>
186. mitas: [F] miteynes
20. Capellarii ('hatters')
187. capellarii: [F] chapelers
188. pellas de fultro: [F] chapeus de feutre
189. pilea: [F] huyres<sup>108</sup>: [L] <et> faciunt<sup>109</sup>
190. de bombace: [L] h<ic>: [F] de cotun: [L] ab no<m>i<n>e bombix. cis. h<ic> q<uod>
<est> u<er>mis q<ui>da<m> q<ui> eg[er]it sericu<m><sup>110</sup>
```

```
191. pilea: [F] huyres
192. camelinis: [F] chameles
21. Ad portam Sancti Lazarii ('at the gate of St. Lazarus')
193. architenentes: [F] archers
194. archus: [L] arx
195. uiborno: [F] auburn
196. de ace<re>: [F] arable
197. taxo: [F] hyu111: [L] h<ec> taxis. is112
198. tela: [F] dars: [L] faciunt
199. de fraxino: [F] freyne
22. Firmacularii ('makers of buckles')
200. Firmacularii: [F] fermeylheres<sup>113</sup>
201. firmacularia: [F] fermellies114
202. stanno: [F] estanc: [E] tin115
203. fereo: [F] de fer
204. cupro: [F] quiu<i>ere: [E] coper116
205. habent etiam: [L] an<te> se
206. monilia: [F] luches117
207. et nolas: [L] .i. campanas
208. resonantes: [L] p<er> uas sonan<te>s
23. Artifices ('craftsmen')
209. artifices: [F] les enginures
210. qui fundunt: [L] gettunt
211. per quas: [L] campanas
212. motu batillorum: [L] de batillis: [E] claper118
24. Pictaciarii ('cobblers')
213. Pictaciarii: [F] saueuteres<sup>119</sup> v[el] le buch[l]eres<sup>120</sup>: [E] cobleres<sup>121</sup>
214. consuunt: [F] cusent
215. pictacia: [F] tachuns
216. intercucia: [F] reuestz<sup>122</sup>
217. soleas: [F] semeles123
218. inpedias: [F] les enpenies: [F] Wampes<sup>124</sup>
25. Allutarii ('leatherworkers')
219. Allutarii: [F] cordeuuaneres
220. calciamenta: [F] chaucures
221. de alluta: [F] cordeuuan
[fol. 96v]
222. qui: [L] alutarii
223. formipedias: [F] furmes<sup>125</sup> de pez: [E] lastes<sup>126</sup>
224. equitibialia: [F] iaumbeles127
225. spatulas: [F] les clices128
226. ansorio: [F] trenchet129
227. attramento: [F+E] de blec130
```

```
228. subula: [E] v[el] al.<sup>131</sup>: [F] aleyne.<sup>132</sup>
229. licinio: [F] <et> de fil linol133
230. seta porcina: [F] seye de porche.
26. Pelliparii ('skinners')
231. Pelliparii: [F] pelteres<sup>134</sup>
232. catinis: [L] pellib<us>
233. uulpinis: [L] pellib<us>
234. leporinis: [L] pellib<us>
235. qui: [L] ep<er>ioli
236. lutriciorum: [F] lutres.: [E] hot<er>135
237. mustellarum: [F+E] de veseles136
238. cisinum: [F] veyer<sup>137</sup>: [F] <et> gris
239. laerone: [F] de leprun138
27. Quidam clamatores ('some hawkers')
240. epitogiorum: [F] de surcooz: [L] ab epi q<uid> <est> sup<ra>
241. eorum: [L] pallio<rum>
28. Reparatores ('repairers')
242. Reparatores: [F] le p<ar>ilun<ers>139
243. autem: [L] niger [?]
244. de muri: [F] de mac<i>ere140
245. planis et brucis: [F] de playne <et> de brus141
246. tremulo: [F] de t<re>mbler
29. Precones vini ('street-criers of wine')
247. hiante gula: [L] hoc dico
248. in cratere<m>: [L] vinu<m> dico.: [L] fusum<sup>142</sup>: [F] en le hanap
30. Precones nebularum ('street-criers of wafers')
249. nebl<u>a<rum>: [F] neules
250. guafrarum: [F] <et> de waferes143: [L] vlgare doni [?]
251. pronunciant: [L] no<m>i<n>ant
252. artocreas: [F] russeus144
253. in calathis: [F] en pan<er>es
254. uelatis: [F] couertz
255. ad fenestras clericorum: [L] calati. d<ico>. p<er>diti sen<i>o<n>e<sup>145</sup>
31. Auxionarii ('shopkeepers')
256. Auxionarii: [F] le graters146
257. quib<us>: [L] cl<er>icis
258. cera: [F] ceriz: [E] chirses147
259. pruna: [F] p<ru>nes
260. poma: [F] pomnes no<men?>
261. lactucas: [L] leones
262. nastucia: [F] cressuns<sup>148</sup>
32. Placente ('cakes')
```

```
263. Placente: [F] simeneus
264. flammicie: [F] flunz149
265. ignacie: [F] <et> fuaces
266. auxionariorum: [F] de grateres
267. sulfuraratis: [F] sufresz
268. habentes licinos: [L] candele. dico.: [F] limilliun
[fol. 97r]
33. Pistores ('bakers')
269. [P]istores: [F] pestures<sup>150</sup>
270. pinsunt: [F] pestunt
271. pastam: [F] past<sup>151</sup>
272. cum tersorio: [F] hou lecuuelliun152
273. de ac<er>e: [F] de curayl153
274. de furfure: [F] de bren
275. pistores: [F] le pestures
276. qui: [L] pistores: [F] ke
277. politruduant: [F] boletent
278. pollitrudio: [F] hou buletel
279. delicato: [F] delyez
280. et immittunt: [L] a<ut>. polunt<sup>154</sup>
281. paste fermentum: [F] leueyn
282. ut alleuet: [F] paste
283. in alueo: [F] auge
284. et radunt: [F] <et> redent155
285. archas: [F] buges
286. costa pastali: [F] vne g<ra>te de past156
34. Pastillari ('pastrycooks')
287. Pastillarii: [F] le pasturus<sup>157</sup>
288. pastillos: [F] pastez
289. pullinis: [L] carnib<us>
290. tartas: [F] tartz
291. flatones: [F] flauns
292. farcos: [L] repletos
293. caseis: [F] de furmage
294. ouis: [F] de uusz158
295. inmundis: [F] ne<n>t seyns.
35. Coquinarii ('cooks')
296. [C]oquinarii: [F] coyournz<sup>159</sup>
297. verubis: [F] espey
298. colurnus: [F] de coudre160
299. quibus: [L] coquinariis
300. inmacellis: [F] entrallis
301. bouinas: [L]: c[arnes?]
302. lepra: [L] a morbo
303. percussas: [L] porcinas dico.: [F] ferues
```

```
304. macheras: [F] haches161: [L] secures
305. mensaculas: [F] g<ra>nt cuteus
306. incucientes: [L] illi. dico
307. mactatores: [L] .i. carnifices
308. hillias: [F] handules162
309. salsucias: [F] sauciz
310. tuceta: [F] pudin
311. scruta: [F] t<re>pis
312. quae: [L] p<re>dicta
313. tunicato: [L] paup<er>i
36. Trapezete ('money-changers')
314. Trapezete: [F] le moneurs<sup>163</sup>: [L] .i. cambiteres
315. trapetam: [F] i table
316. faciunt: [L] hoc
37. Numularii ('coiners')
317. Numularii: [F] muneuurs<sup>164</sup>
318. Licet: [L]? q<ua>muis
319. cambiantur: [F] seyen[t] changez
38. Aurifabri ('goldsmiths')
[fol. 97v]
320. pateras: [F] hanaps
321. monilia: [F?] ficius165
322. spinter: [E] har pin<sup>166</sup>
323. nodulos: [F] botuns
324. eligunt: [L] aurifabri
325. granula: [F] gernetz
39. Aurifabrorum industria ('the activity of the goldsmiths')
326. includit: [L] industria
327. anchas: [F] hoseus167
328. quibus: [L] anulis
40. Artifices dicuntur cipharii ('craftsmen called cup-makers')
329. ciphari: [F] hanap
330. incrustant: [L] inp<an>arant<sup>168</sup>
331. quos: [L] crateres
41. Pannarii ('drapers)'
332. Pannarii: [F] le draperes169
333. defraudant: [L] decipiunt
334. ulnado: [F] emeisuraunt<sup>170</sup>
335. ulna: [F] hou le aune
42. Quidam homines usurpant ('Certain men usurp')
336. husurpant: [L] .i. iustue s mr<l>ie [?]171
337. lintheamina: [L] linces172
```

```
338. supera: [F] chenese<sup>173</sup>
339. telas: [F] teyles174
340. pepla: [E / F] uimpel<sup>175</sup>
341. flammeola: [F] cuuerchesz<sup>176</sup>
43. Apotecarii, causa lucri ('Apothecaries, for the sake of money')
342. Apotecarii: [F] les espiceres<sup>177</sup>
343. concumuluant: [F] semblent
344. confectiones: [L] s. h<er>baru<m>
345. zoiduarium: [F] zedouar<sup>178</sup>
346. gariofilos: [F] clou de gilofre179
347. sinamonio: [F] canelez
348. anisium: [F] anis
349. cum maratro: [L+F] hou semi<n>e feniculi
350. ceratem: [F] cire
351. zucuriam: [F] zucre
352. liquiricia: [F] hou licoriz
44. Apotecarii in apoteca ('apothecaries in their storehouses')
353. Apotecarii: [F] les espiciuns: [F] but180
354. in appoteca: [F] en lespec<er>ie
355. condituum: [F] co[n]dit181
356. q<uod>: [L] alexan<n>drum
357. diapenideon: [L] lectuariu<m> hum[i]du<m>
358. consumptis: [L] humoribus c<on>su<m>ptis
359. diaprunis: [L] u<n>gu<en>tu<m>
360. diadragantum: [L] q<uod> fit de draga<n>to: [L] q<uod> fit genus gu<m>mi
361. que: [L] duo
362. eleborum: [L] herba
363. ad egestionem: [F] adefrement182
45. Carpentarii ('carpenters')
364. Carpentarii: [F] carpent<er>s
365. quod: [L] cui<us> ni<o>oi [?] re<m>
366. in cupariis: [F] en le cuues
367. cupas: [F] cuues
368. dolea: [F] tuneus
369. cades: [F] barils
370. enophora: [F] costres183
[fol. 98r]
371. cuneis: [F] cuvellis184
372. cupariorum: [F] de cupere
46. Rotarii ('wheelwrights')
373. Rotarii: [F] le roers
374. plaustra: [F] chars.: [E] vayn185 186
375. canti: [F] gaunz<sup>187</sup>
376. timpana: [F] muels
```

```
377. axes: [F] hessel188
378. limones: [F] limons
379. temones: [F] temuns.
380. iuga: [F] ius189
381. arquilis: [L] inst<ru>me<n>ta c<ir>ca collu<m> equi.: [E] s. beyles. 190
47. Carucarii ('ploughwrights')
382. [C]arucarii: [F] caretteres
383. stiuam: [F] estiue191
384. trabem: [E] bem<sup>192</sup>
385. dentem: [F] dentail<sup>193</sup>: [E] chip<sup>194</sup>
386. dentalia: [L] illo[?] in q<uo> uom<er> imp<ri>mit<ur>
387. in quibus: [L] iugis
388. corbes: [F] corbiliun195
389. flagella: [F] flayles196
390. et uannus: [F] <et> wan
391. sarcula: [F] sarcles197
392. uncos: [F] cros
393. tribulas: [E] souelles198
394. cultros: [F] cul[t]eres199
395. uangas: [F] bcheches200
396. sarpas: [F] marleres<sup>201</sup>
397. ligones: [F] picoyses<sup>202</sup>
398. epiphia: [F] harnays<sup>203</sup>
399. equina: [F] a cheual
47. Carucarii ('ploughwrights')<sup>204</sup>
400. scobe: [F] balens<sup>205</sup>
401. rastra: [F] rastel
402. furce: [F] furche
403. flagella: [F] flayles
404. quorum: [L] partes
405. manutentum: [E] hanstaf<sup>206</sup>
406. uirga: [E] suengel<sup>207</sup>
407. cappa: [F] cape<sup>208</sup>
48. Molendinarii ('millers')
408. Molendarii: [F] mulineres
409. faricapcias: [F] tramaliezs<sup>209</sup>
410. rotas: [F] roues
411. aquaticas: [L] rotas
412. fusas: [E] spendeles<sup>210</sup> <sup>211</sup>
413. scariobella: [E] chombes<sup>212</sup>
414. sinociclotoria<sup>213</sup>: [E] flod gates<sup>214</sup>: [?] ietinala: [L] aq<ua> qu<e> no<n> molit [?]
415. molares: [L] lapides
416. in pharicapcia: [F] en le t<ra>mayl
417. batillo: [F] de batuel<sup>215</sup>
```

```
418. descesdit: [L] que
419. in alueum: [F] en le auge
```

49. In civitate Tholose ('in the citiy of Toulouse')

```
420. nondum sedate: [L] .i. pacificato
421. tumult: [L] hoc dico
422. muralia: [F] barbecon<sup>216</sup>
423. licias: [F] alures<sup>217</sup>
424. superfossa: [F] duble fosse<sup>218</sup>
425. propugnacula: [F] bretaches<sup>219</sup>
426. tabulata: [F] table
427. craticulata: [F] clee
428. erecta: [L] p<ro>pungnac<u>la .dico.
429. cestus: [F] taleuas
430. clipeos: [F] ezcues<sup>220</sup>
431. targias: [F] targes: [L] scuta magna
432. brachiola: [F] braceroes<sup>221</sup>
433. perrarias: [F] pereres
434. una: [L]? paranar<rum>
435. pessundedit: [L] .i. p<er>cussit
436. mangonalia: [F] mangeneus
437. fustibula: [F] berfres<sup>222</sup>
438. trebucheta: [F] t<re>buchet
439. arietes: [F] mutuns<sup>223</sup>: [F] engins.
440. sues: [F] troyes.<sup>224</sup>: [F] minurs.
441. vineas: [F] garites.
442. cados versatiles: [L] tornic<i>u<m>225
443. que omnia: [L] sup<ra>dicta
444. manchine bel: [F] engin de bataliez
445. secures: [F] coynes<sup>226</sup>
446. dacas: [F] besagues.227
447. gesa gallicorum: [F] gisarmes de fraunce<sup>228</sup>
448. sparos hispanorum: [F] fauchuns despayne<sup>229</sup>
449. catieas: [E] borsp<er>e<sup>230</sup>
450. pugiones: [F] mis<er>icordes<sup>231</sup>
451. in dolonibus teutonicorum: [F] en ezchauberes de tieus<sup>232</sup>
452. anelacinas: [F] alnas<sup>233</sup>
453. pila: [F] gauellot<sup>234</sup>
454. sarissas: [F] escues
455. macedonorum: [F] de macedoyn
456. palos: [F] peus<sup>235</sup>
457. malleos: [L / F] mallus
458. catapultas: [F] sete barbes
459. galeros: [F] haumes
460. conos: [F] cresteles<sup>236</sup>
461. toraces: [F] purpoinz<sup>237</sup>: [L] munim<ent>a pectoris
462. bombicina: [F] hachetunes<sup>238</sup>
```

463. galleas: [F] haumes

```
464. loricas: [F] hauberches
465. ocreas: [F] hoses239
466. et femoralia: [F] <et> quiseres<sup>240</sup>
467. genualia: [F] genul<i>er
468. la<n>ceas: [F] lau<n>ces
469. hastas: [F] hastes
470. contos: [F] perches
471. uncos: [F] croches<sup>241</sup>
472. catenas: [F] chenes
473. cippos: [F] ceps
474. barrarias: [F] barres<sup>242</sup>
475. ignem pelasgum: [F] fu de g<re>gis
476. uitrum: [F] ueyr
477. liqueffactum: [F] decurable
478. fundat: [F] lenges<sup>243</sup>
479. glandes: [F] plates de plum<sup>244</sup>
480. balistas: [F] harblast<sup>245</sup>
481. trocleatas: [F] vindas<sup>246</sup>
482. materacias: [F] materaz<sup>247</sup>
[fol. 98v]
483. illa: [L] arma p<er>dicta<sup>248</sup>
484. Arma militaria in alio: [L] h<oc> <est> p<er>cru<?>es ad milite<m>
50. Fullones ('fullers')
485. Fullones: [F] fulures<sup>249</sup>
486. Pilosos: [F] velues<sup>250</sup>
487. in alueo: [F] in le auge: [E] troffe<sup>251</sup>
488. in quo: [L] alueo
489. lotos: [F] laues
490. quos: [L] pa<n>nos
491. carduis: [F] carduns
51. Tinctores ('dyers')
492. [T]inctores: [F] tentures
493. gaudone: [F+E] de Wod: [F] de Ware<n>ce
494. rubea: [F] ruge
495. [rubea] maiore: [F] warence: [E] mad<ir>252
496. qua de causa: [L] id <est> q<uia> gaudo
497. pingues: [L] tos<sup>253</sup>
498. blodii: [F] de blus
52. Cerdones ('tanners')
499. Cerdones: [F] lez tanures<sup>254</sup>
500. frunire: [F] taner
501. taurina: [L] coria
502. in trunccis: [F] en le tuns
503. radunt illa: [L] corea
504. scalprum: [F] grate
```

```
505. vertuntur: [L] s<ed>
506. in frunio: [F] en le tan
507. crudicas: [F] cruesce<sup>255</sup>
```

53. Fabri ('smiths')

```
508. incudem: [F] enclune<sup>256</sup>
509. malleis: [F] marteus
510. forcipib<us>: [F] tenalies<sup>257</sup>
511. uentilacione: [F] sufleme<n>t
512. follium: [F] de fous
513. cultros: [L] s<cilicet><sup>258</sup>
514. ad uangam: [E] a spade<sup>259</sup>
515. ad ligones: [F] picoyses
516. ad sarcula: [F] sarcles
```

54. Coci ('cooks')

517. falcet: [F] fauchuns 518. falcillas: [F] faucills

```
519. [C]uoci: [F] cuus<sup>260</sup>
520. cacabos: [F] caudrouns
521. urceos: [F] poyz<sup>261</sup>
522. patellas: [F] paelez
523. sartagines: [F] grant paeles
524. pelues: [F] bacins
525. ydrias: [F] pot aeue<sup>262</sup>
526. rotundalia: [F] plateres
527. acetabula: [F] sauseres
528. coclearia: [F] cuileres
529. scaphas: [F] gates
530. craticulas: [F] gridillies<sup>263</sup>
531. micatoria: [F] miures
532. creagra: [F] hauet
533. clibanos: [F] furnes<sup>264</sup>
534. epicausteria: [F] chemenes
```

55. In hospitio probi hominis ('in the lodging of a worthy man')

```
535. hec: [L] seq<uen>tia
536. fimbracum: [F] frenge
537. [t]restelli fortes: [F] haut tresteles
538. torres: [F] tisuns
539. cremalia: [F] cremallis<sup>265</sup>
540. focalia: [F] fuellie<sup>266</sup>
541. stipes: [L] radices
542. uectes: [L] h<ic>
543. sedilia: [F] ses<sup>267</sup>
544. scanna: [F] scomalie<sup>268</sup>
545. sponde: [F] chaut lit<sup>269</sup>
546. et fercula: [F] fald stol<sup>270</sup>
547. leuigatis: [F] playnes<sup>271</sup>
```

```
548. haustrum: [F] buchet
549. cassarum: [F] caser
550. muscipula: [F] ratuere<sup>272</sup>
551. taratantrum: [F] sarcle<sup>273</sup>
56. Hec sunt instrumenta clericis ('these are the tools of a clerk')
552. pulpita: [F] leytruns
[fol. 99r]
57. In spera ('on the globe')
553. in spera: [L] .s. w [?] zone
554. paralelli: [L] circuli i. duo me<m>bra
555. orizon: [L] usus int<er>p<re>tat<ur>
556. lactea: [F] veyn boez
557. galaxias: [L] lactea via
58. Organicos ('organs')
558. imitata: [L] giga. dico.
559. qui eo: [L] giga d.
59. Supra perticam magistri Johannis ('on the clothes-rail of Master John')
560. ioh<an>is: [L] magistri
561. pendens: [L] ent<sup>274</sup>
562. tunice: [F] cotes<sup>275</sup>
563. supertunicalia: [L] sup<er> tunice.
564. pallia: [F] manteus
565. scapularia: [F] scapelori<sup>276</sup>
566. cape: [F] chape
567. tapete: [F] materaz
568. renones: [F] tabars
569. sarabarre: [F] slauuins<sup>277</sup>
570. stragule: [F] veste<ment> raee
571. bombicina: [F] habetunes<sup>278</sup>
572. tapete: [F] quilte
573. cuculli: [F] cuuelles<sup>279</sup>
574. collobia: [F] frogs<sup>280</sup>
575. lac<er>nis: [F] hou bifles
576. trabee: [F] reale ueste<ment> hou vestem<entes> de emprour<sup>281</sup>
60. Presbiteri ('priests')
577. quib<us>: [L] libris
61. Presbiter ('a priest')
578. catholice: [L] fidelis
579. tipice: [L] doceat
580. pragmatice: [L] .i. questionarie
581. ipotetice: [L] .i. p<er>sonali<ter>
582. subpo<n>itiue: [L] q<uod> ide<m> <est>
583. quedam: [L] <et> p<ro>ponat
```

```
584. diastorie: [L] a dia dis
585. [s]eperatorie: [L] distinctiue
586. antisiastice: [L] ab anti c<on>t<ra>
[fol. 99v]
587. uiuat: [L] presbit<er>
62. His ornatur presbyter ornamentis ('a priest is furnished with these
accoutrements')
588. alba: [F] aube
589. talari: [L] ad pedes
590. tiara: [F] hamice<sup>282</sup>
591. phanula: [F] phanun
592. infula: [F] chesuble
593. pod<er>i: [L] illo ornam<en>to.: [F] une man<er>e de aube
594. r<ati>onali: [L] illo ornam<en>to
595. qui: [L] ep<iscop>us
596. pedum: [F] sun croc
597. deauratum: [F] susorre
63. In ecclesiis ('in churches')
598. uexillum: [F] baner
599. campana: [F] sen<sup>283</sup>
64. In stabulo ('in the stable')
600. garcif<er>: [L] dic[o]
601. batis: [F] en le proue<n>deres
65. Hec sunt instrumenta mulieribus ('these are the tools for women')
602. conueniencia: [L] m<u>l<ier>ib<us>
603. techa: [F] deyl<sup>284</sup>
604. fusus: [F] fusil
605. verteborum: [F] uertoyl
606. colus: [F] cuneyl285: [E] rocche286
607. mataxa: [F] serence
608. traale: [F] traul.<sup>287</sup>: [E] rel<sup>288</sup>
609. girgillum: [F] deuudere: [E] yarnui[n]del.<sup>289</sup>
610. excudia: [E] suinglez.<sup>290</sup>: [F] excuche<sup>291</sup>
611. rupa: [F] g<ra>te.<sup>292</sup>: [E] ribe<sup>293</sup>
612. feritorium<sup>294</sup>: [F] batuere: [E] badeldure<sup>295</sup>
613. linipulus: [F] butel de lin<sup>296</sup>: [E+F] bete de flax<sup>297</sup>
614. cupatorium: [F] petite cuve<sup>298</sup>
615. lixiua: [F] hou leesiue: [E] lezhe<sup>299</sup>
616. lexiuatorio: [F] buchet
617. calot<ri>catorium: [F] reduere.300: [E] redelere301
618. lixucitorium<sup>302</sup>: [F] luchuere: [E] rediling ston.<sup>303</sup>
619. lucibruciunculum: [F] luchuere<sup>304</sup>
```

66. Textrices, que texunt serica texta ('weavers, who make silk cloth')

```
620. pectines: [E] slaybrede<sup>305</sup>
621. stami<n>a: [F] esteims306: [E] wrap307
622. trama: [F] treyme: [E] of.308
623. que: [L] trama
624. pano: [F] fusil309
625. tramam: [F] treyme
626. lama: [F] lame310: [E] slay311
627. ductione: [L] cu<m>
628. globoru<m>: [F] lusseus312
629. orditur: [F] est ordiez313
67. Textrices ducunt pectines ('weavers guide their weaver's reeds')
630. serica: [F] dez seye
631. texta: [F] seyntes
632. aurata: [F] susorrez
633. offic<i>o: [F] ofice
[fol. 100r]
634. subtegmina: [F] suz esteim
635. lignea spata: [F] hou clice de fut
68. Pextrices ('carders')
636. carpunt: [F] pennien[t]
637. uillosas: [F] plen de flocches314
638. depilant: [F] detreent
69. Devacuatrices ('clean-up women')
639. deuacuatrices: [F] deuuod<er>esses315
640. que: [L] deua[cuatrices?]
641. auricese<sup>316</sup>: [F] trencheresse de or
642. marsupia: [F] le burses.
70. In platea nova ('in the new street')
643. In platea noua: [F] rue noue
644. anseres: [L] s<cilicet>
645. anates: [F] anes
646. perdices: [F] peritr<i>z
647. passeres: [F] mussons
648. ardee: [F] heyruns
649. cingni: [F] cines<sup>317</sup>
650. turtures: [F] turtrus
651. turdi: [F] esturneus.
71. Auceps ('the fowler')
652. phenis: [L] lucida auis <est>
653. h<er>odius: [F] girfaucu<n>318
654. ancipit<er>: [F] hostur
655. falco: [F] facu<n>
656. capus: [F] muchet
```

```
657. m<er>tilus: [F] merle
658. m<er>ula: [L] idem <est>
659. sturnus: [F] sturnel
660. mauiscus: [F] mauuiz
661. scitacus: [F] papingay319 320
662. filomena: [F] russinolle321
663. lucinia: [F] carderole
664. miluum: [F] cuuelle<sup>322</sup>
665. cornicem: [F] cornellie
666. coruum: [F] corf<sup>323</sup>
667. bubonem: [F] huhaun
668. uespertilionem: [F] chaut soriz
669. nicticoracem: [F] corf de nut324
670. pellicanum: [F] pellican.
671. declignantur: [L] auceps ille
72. Piscatores ('fishermen')
672. trucas: [L] q<ui>da<m>
673. murenas: [F] laumpres
674. morium: [F] moruez.<sup>325</sup>: [E] lenge<sup>326</sup>
675. pecti<n>es: [F] plaz
676. lucii: [L] lupi aq<ua>tici327
677. rocie: [F] roche.
678. tenti: [F] tenches.328
679. ragadie: [F] raye.329
680. allecia: [E] areng330
681. mulli: [L] muluos.
682. parchas: [F] p<er>ches
683. gobiones: [F] goguns331
684. gomaros: [F] chen de mer332
73. Transitum feci hodie per campum ('today I crossed a field')
685. in quo: [L] campo
686. edos: [F] buchreus<sup>333</sup>
687. pullos: [F] pulleyns
688. dromedarios: [F] rabiz
[fol. 100v]
74. In nemore regis ('in the forest of the king')
689. tigrides: [F] tigres
690. lutricii: [F] lutres
691. pitordes: [F] putoys334
75. In horto magistri Johannis ('in Master John's garden')
692. salgia: [L] s<cilicet>335
693. celitonia: [F] celidoniez
694. piretum: [F] pere
695. saliunca: [F / E] calchetrappe.336
```

```
696. malua: [F] maleues.
697. ag<ri>monia: [F] eg<ri>monie
698. solatro: [F] morele: [E] surdocche<sup>337</sup>
699. solsequio: [F] sur sicle338
```

76. Ortolanus ('the gardener')

```
700. Ortolanus: [F] gardener
701. caulis: [L] i. olus disport<um>
702. borago: [F] borage<sup>339</sup>
703. alia sinapis: [F] haus ceneues<sup>340</sup>
704. sinapium: [F] mustard
705. ciuolli: [F] ciue
706. cepule: [F] petit hu<ni>uns<sup>341</sup>
707. hinule: [F] scaluns bee
708. pimpinella: [F] p<ri>m<er>ole
709. pilosella: [L] i. h<er>ba bona ad fluxu<m> vent<ri>s. 342
710. la<n>cea: [F] lau<n>cele.343
77-79 [no glosses]
[fol. 101r]
```

NOTES

80-85 [no glosses]

- 1. The opening line of the work explains the motivation behind the creation of the text, and its focus on teaching everyday vocabulary: Dictionarius dicitur libellus iste a dictionibus magis necessariis, quas tenetur quilibet scolaris, non tantum in scrinio de lingnis facto, sed in cordis armariolo firmiter retinere, ut ad faciliorem oracionis constructionem perveniat ('This little book is entitled "Dictionarius" [because it is a wordbook made] from the most necessary words which each and every student needs to keep, not so much in his wooden letter-case, but in the little cupboard of his mind in order to obtain an easier command of speech'). Translation by Rubin [1981: 11]. For a discussion of everyday subjects in medieval schoolbooks, like John's Dictionarius, see Sharpe [1996: 316-318].
- 2. For an overview of the manuscripts of John of Garland's Dictionarius, see Pagan, Seiler & Wallis [2023: 75-80].
- 3. See https://sharedcanvas.be/IIIF/viewer/mirador/B_OB_MS536 for the online facsimile (accessed 23 July 2024).
- 4. Folios 1-79 were originally part of a separate, earlier book (s.xiii), while ff. 80-101, containing the texts by Neckham, Balsham and Garland, form a second, later (13^{th} - 14^{th} century) unit. The manuscript's binding is medieval, demonstrating that the two units have been together from an early date (Vermeer [n.d.]).
- 5. A Dictionarius text with an unfinished or partial commentary can be found in Worcester Cathedral Library, Q.50. The fact that a commentary was never begun in Bruges 536 rather points to the interpretation that it was not envisaged as part of this version.
- 6. Scheler [1865] includes 101 glosses from Bruges 536 under the siglum Ba. However, the 15 glosses listed under the siglum Bb also seem to be from Bruges 536, and Scheler does not make it clear which manuscript he means by Bb. In addition, he does not always reproduce the full text of

- a gloss, e.g., "curail" for de curayl (270), or "grate de past" for une g<ra>te de past (283) (Scheler [1865: 301]).
- 7. Jan van Hé as a potential link between Paris and Ter Doest was originally suggested to us by Professor Ad Putter (University of Bristol). We gratefully acknowledge his contribution.
- **8.** All examples in the following analyses refer to the edition presented in the Appendix; figures in Arabic numerals refer to lemmata.
- 9. For a discussion of ambiguities in mixed-language texts, see Wright [2018: 341].
- **10.** Bosworth-Toller (BT) [s.v. ymener]; Middle English dictionary (MED) [s.v. imner(e], attested from 1421; Anglo-Norman dictionary (AND) [s.v. hymner], attested from 1113.
- 11. BT [s.v. tropere]; MED [s.v troper(e], attested before 1425; AND [s.v. troper], attested from 1113.
- **12.** BT [s.v. saltere]; MED [s.v. sauter], attested before 1275; AND [s.v. psaltier, sauter²], attested from 1113.
- 13. In this figure and the following sections, hybrid glosses, consisting, for example, of a Latin and an English noun, are counted once for each language. As a result, the overall total is somewhat higher than the total number of glosses as presented in Figure 1.
- **14.** See, for instance, Wieland [1983] or the classification used by Hofman, Moran & Bauer [2023]. Type F "Textual Glosses" is adopted from Stork [1990].
- **15.** Headwords from the main text are printed first, interlinear glosses follow after a colon. The numbers in brackets after each example refer to our edition of the glosses in the Appendix.
- **16.** 'Through the mesentery veins: "middle", from μέσος, which is "middle".
- 17. 'Pilosella: this is a herb that is good for the flow of the stomach.'
- **18.** The manuscript in question may have been Bruges, Public Library, MS 546, a thirteenth-century manuscript that also hails from Ter Doest, but further research is needed to establish a stemma of the transmission.
- **19.** In this and the next example, glosses are placed between square brackets after their corresponding headword, which we have underlined for the sake of clarity.
- 20. 'Skinnners are made rich by their leather garments and by furlined hoods, some made from lamb pelts, some from catskin, some from the pelts of wolves, some from rabbit skin' (trans. Rubin [1981: 29]).
- 21. 'There are skilled craftsmen who cast bells of sonorous bronze by which, from churches, the hours of the day are proclaimed by the movement of the bellclappers and the attached ropes' (trans. Rubin [1981: 27]).
- **22.** For an overview of the early use of the vernacular in medieval Flanders, see Prevenier & de Hemptine [2003] and the literature cited there. For a discussion on use of the vernacular in Picardy, see Lusignan [2012].
- **23.** Short [2013: §26.1] explains that "AN words deriving from initial κ +A have a dual development: in the majority of words the outcome is /t[/, as in *chief* or *change*, whilst in others the velar articulation is retained, as in *car* or *camel*". See also Short [2013: §53] on the interchange of *ch* and *c* before *a*. Gossen [1970: §41)] notes that "c + a à l'initiale et intérieur derrière consonne > pic. k [...] En picard et en normand, la gutturale latine garde sa qualité vélaire. Ce fait sépare ces deux dialectes du reste des parlers de la France septentrionale (e.g., *canter*, *cambre*)". Gossen [1970: §38] also explains that "c + e, i a l'initiale et intérieur derrière consonne, c + yod intérieur, t + yod derrière consonne > pic. c (écrit c, c). (e.g., *merchi*, *canchon*)".
- **24.** MED [s.v. wardecors, n.] < *wardôn (FEW [17, 519b]).
- **25.** MED [s.v. warfer, n.] < *wafla (FEW [17, 448b]).
- **26.** The form derives from *wratja (FEW [17, 622b]).
- **27.** MED [s.v windas, n.] < vindass (FEW [17, 431b]); Short [2013: §28.2] notes the "interchangeability of the spellings g, v and w" in Anglo-Norman.
- **28.** MED [s.v. cordewane, n.].

- **29.** The term *cremallis* is unattested in Anglo-Norman; note the levelling of the /ai/ diphthong in both *entrallis* and *cremallis*, a feature of early Anglo-Norman (Short [2013: §1.1]).
- **30.** Zucre derives from sukkar (FEW 19, 161b) while zedouar is from zadwar (FEW [19, 201b]).
- **31.** *AND* [s.v. *gendrable*] includes a single attestation from Garland, and cross-references to *MED* [s.v. *gendrable*, adj.], an adjective meaning 'capable of being generated' to which this may be related; it is otherwise unattested.
- **32.** Neither *furbisure* nor *furbise* are attested in dictionaries of French. The forms appear to be unique to this manuscript, while *eruginatores* is glossed with variants of *furbour* 'furbisher' (*AND* [s.v. *furbour*]) and *eruginatos* with variants of *furbir* 'to furbish' (*AND* [s.v. *furbir*]) in other manuscripts (see Hunt [1991: II, 128).
- 33. Unattested in AND; DMF [s.v. imaginable]; DEAF [s.v. imaginable] dates the first use to ca. 1298.
- **34.** AND [s.v. ventilabre], with a single attestation from Garland. *Gdf* [8,117b] provides later attestations.
- 35. Cf. the discussion in the edition, note to 618.
- **36.** A spelling with <0> occurs in *chombes* 'toothed implement; comb' (413); however, <0> preceding the homorganic cluster <mb> is attested in all Middle English dialects; cf. Jordan [1974: §31].
- 37. On <s(s)> for $/\int/$, see Dietz [2006: 157-205]; on <ch> for /k/ as well as $/t\int/$, see Dietz [2006: 29-53]. For an overview of the graphemic features of early Middle English, see Dickins & Wilson [1951: 136-140]; for a discussion of French influence on orthography, see Scragg [1974: 38-51].
- **38.** Wright [2011] discusses the use of articles and prepositions as markers of codeswitching in mixed language texts.
- **39.** See *OED* [s.v. *beetle*, n.1, sense 1a]: 'An implement consisting of a heavy weight or 'head,' usually of wood, with a handle or stock, used for driving wedges or pegs, ramming down paving stones, or for crushing, bruising, beating, flattening, or smoothing, in various industrial and domestic operations, and having various shapes according to the purpose for which it is used'.
- **40.** Such concerns over spacing are, of course, not confined to double glosses; the glossator who added *buel* (80) above its headword *epiglotum* had to squash the word in the small gap left underneath *vesende*: gor[g]e[r]un (79). This pair was itself was displaced to the right by the pre-existing Latin gloss *sorbillum* (79), also glossing *ysophagus*.
- **41.** Hunt [1991: II, 125-156] surveys seven of the thirty-one surviving *Dictionarius* manuscripts: Cambridge, Gonville and Caius, MS 136 / 076; Cambridge, Gonville and Caius, MS 385 / 605; two copies of the *Dictionarius* in Dublin, Trinity College MS 270; Lincoln Cathedral, MS 132; Worcester Cathedral Library, MS Q50; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, lat. fol 607.
- **42.** Following Poplack [2017], we consider words that are grammatically adapted to the recipient language as borrowings, while codeswitching applies to items that are not integrated; however, there is no generally accepted definition of codeswitching and no agreement as to whether single-word switches can actually be distinguished from borrowing. See Ingham, Marcus & Sylvester [2021]; for a general discussion, see Keller [2020: 12-14].
- **43.** Trotter [2011] argues that Middle English and Anglo-Norman should not be considered separate codes during the period.
- **44.** An in-depth study of other manuscripts of the *Dictionarius* is needed to assess their didactic and linguistic strategies, but it is clear that some other copies focus on one specific linguistic context, e.g., Lille, Médiathèque Jean Lévy, MS 338 (147) with a French interlinear translation; British Library, MS Harley 1002, with mainly English glosses; and Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 131 F 8, with Dutch interlinear glosses.
- **45.** See Pagan, Seiler & Wallis [2023] for a discussion of the various manuscripts and textual layouts.

- **46.** Multiple glosses in Bruges 536 are often stacked, i.e., the first one is placed at the top of the glossing space, the second one below. We print them one after the other and separated by a colon.
- **47.** Hou 'with' and hungle 'nail'; see AND [s.vv. od¹ and ungle].
- **48.** Gloss placed across two lines: veysin-ablez.
- 49. AND [s.v. cros1] 'hollow'.
- 50. MED [s.v. hol(e, adj.1] 'concave'.
- 51. MED [s.v. marwe, n.1] 'marrow'.
- **52.** MED [s.v. calf, n.²] 'the calf of the leg'; cf. OIc kalfi. Scheler [1865: 288] notes that chalf 'est anglais'.
- **53.** Gloss placed across two lines: mu-cel.
- 54. Scheler [1865: 288] reads mucel.
- **55.** MED [s.v. crushel-bon] 'cartilage, gristle'.
- 56. MED [s.v. hamme, n.1] 'back of the knee'.
- **57.** MED [s.v. whirl-bon] 'knee-cap'. Scheler [1865: 288] reads vervelon 'de vertebellum, dim. de vertebra'.
- **58.** The gloss *nouele* is in reference to this being a 'new' meaning of *pubes*.
- 59. This and the next two glosses are perhaps grammatical glosses.
- **60.** The gloss probably indicates that *t* should be deleted, i.e., *ascribi* rather than *atscribi*.
- **61.** The gloss is only attested in this text; see AND [s.v. gendrable].
- 62. Scheler [1865: 289] reads chines.
- 63. Scheler [1865: 289] reads laundit.
- **64.** Here and elsewhere, *s*<*cilicet*> marks the first item of a wordlist.
- **65.** This gloss is probably a correction of the main text.
- 66. Scheler [1865: 289] reads pucer.
- 67. AND [s.v. mire2] 'doctor, physician'.
- 68. MED [s.v. shulder-bon] 'shoulder bone'.
- 69. Scheler [1865: 289] reads wardecors.
- **70.** *sic* expuncted. Perhaps a mechanical error, anticipating *sicc*<*us*>.
- **71.** This gloss is perhaps a correction of *nasis* in the preceding gloss.
- 72. MED [s.v. $g\bar{o}me$, gom(m)e, n.(3)] 'gums'.
- 73. This headword is miswritten for uvula.
- **74.** *AND* [s.v. *uvet*] 'uvula'.
- 75. Scheler [1865: 289] reads sorbillum.
- 76. MED [s.v. wēsaunt(e] 'oesophagus, gullet'.
- 77. AND [s.v. gorgeron] 'throat, gullet'.
- 78. MED [s.v. lid] '(eye)lid'.
- 79. MS peili (e expuncted).
- **80.** AND [s.v. duresce] 'hardness', though this sense is unattested.
- **81.** MS *ppoiinquior* (o expuncted).
- **82.** *ymaginable* is unattested in the *AND*.
- 83. This gloss is only attested in this text; see AND [s.v. ventilabre] 'flail'.
- **84.** Gloss placed across two lines: similitudi-nem.
- **85.** This headword appears as *deveunt* in other manuscripts.
- **86.** o added above the line. Gloss placed across two lines: choste de fel.
- 87. AND [s.v. ceste1] 'gall bladder, spleen'.
- **88.** MED [s.v. milt(e] 'the spleen'.
- 89. MED [s.v. mid-rif] 'diaphragm'. Scheler [1865: 291] reads midref.
- 90. Scheler [1865: 291] reads la fressure.
- 91. Gloss placed across two lines: diafra-gma.

- **92.** Gloss is placed below rusticana.
- 93. AND [s.v. pigace] 'elongated point of a shoe'.
- 94. AND [s.v. conreour] 'currier'.
- 95. y added above the line.
- 96. AND [s.v. bas1] 'saddle pad'.
- 97. Scheler [1865: 292] reads orpetre.
- **98.** MED [s.v. tong(e n.²] 'tongue; strip or thong'.
- **99.** *AND* [s.v. *lorein*] 'strap forming part of the bridle'; *AND* [s.v. *peitral*] 'breast-piece on a horse harness'.
- **100.** *MED* [s.v. *sope* n.²] 'soap'.
- 101. DMLBS [s.v. pyricudium] 'steel for striking a fire'.
- **102.** This gloss is perhaps a translation of fusillos (162).
- 103. AND [s.v. furbour] 'furbisher, polisher of arms' though the form is unattested.
- 104. Scheler [1865: 293] reads pumels.
- 105. Scheler [1865: 293] reads hiltes.
- **106.** AND [s.v. esplendeier] 'shining, gleaming'. The form is unattested.
- 107. Scheler [1865: 294] reads braeles.
- 108. AND [s.v. hure1] 'felt cap, hat'; Scheler [1865: 294] reads huyre.
- **109.** A grammatical gloss repeating the main verb of the clause *Capellarii faciunt capella* [...] 'Hatters make hats [...]'.
- **110.** Several glosses focus on *pillea de bumbace* 'silk caps'; the encyclopedic Latin gloss corresponds to a section from the commentary found in other manuscripts (*Bombace dicitur ab hoc nomine bombix, quod est vermis qui egerit sericum.* 'Bumbace is derived from the name bombix, which is a worm that secretes silk'; Rubin [1981: 24-25]).
- **111.** AND [s.v. if] 'yew-tree'.
- **112.** Perhaps referring to Greek ἡ τάξις, -ις, 'battle-array, order, rank'? (Liddell & Scott [1940: s.v.]).
- **113.** y added above the line.
- 114. AND [s.v. fermail] 'brooch'. The form is unattested.
- 115. MED [s.v. tin, n.1] 'tin (metal)'.
- 116. MED [s.v. coper] 'copper'.
- **117.** *AND* [s.v. *nusche*] 'ornamental clasp or buckle'. Scheler [1865: 296] reads *luches*, and comments: '*Nuches* et *luches* (sans doute deux variétés du même mot)'.
- **118.** MED [s.v. claper, n.¹] 'the tongue of a bell'.
- 119. AND [s.v. saveteur] 'cobbler'.
- **120.** AND [s.v. boucler¹] 'buckle-maker'.
- **121.** MED [s.v. cobeler(e] 'cobbler'; etymology unclear.
- 122. Scheler [1865: 296] reads revest.
- **123.** Gloss is placed across two lines: se-meles.
- **124.** F enpeigne 'vamp' and vampe 'vamp'; see AND [s.vv. enpeigne and vampe]; Scheler [1865: 296] reads wampes.
- 125. Scheler [1865: 297] reads furmes.
- **126.** MED [s.v. lest(e] 'a shoemaker's last'. Scheler [1865: 297] reads lastes.
- 127. Scheler [1865: 297] reads jaumbeles.
- 128. AND [s.v. sclice] 'spatula, tool for turning'; Scheler [1865: 297] reads esclices.
- 129. Scheler [1865: 297] reads trenchet.
- 130. MED [s.v. blak, n., sense 3] 'black pigment'. Scheler [1865: 297] reads de blec 'angl. black'.
- **131.** MED [s.v. al] 'a tool or instrument with a sharp point; awl'.
- **132.** Second *e* added above the line.
- 133. Scheler [1865: 297] reads linol.

```
134. Scheler [1865: 297] reads pelteres.
```

- **135.** MED [s.v. oter] 'otter'.
- **136.** MED [s.v. wēsel(e] 'weasel'. Scheler [1865: 298] reads vesele.
- **137.** *AND* [s.v. *vair*¹] 'minever'.
- **138.** AND [s.v. loiron] 'marten'; the form is unattested.
- 139. AND [s.v. reparailleur1] 'mender, repairer'.
- **140.** Final *s* erased.
- 141. AND [s.v. plane¹] 'plane-tree'; Scheler [1865: 299] reads brus.
- **142.** A correction of the main text, which reads temptandum for temptando fusum.
- 143. AND [s.v. gafre] 'waffle, wafer'.
- 144. AND [s.v. russole] 'rissole'; Scheler [1865: 299] reads russeus.
- **145.** This gloss supplies a missing section from main text.
- 146. AND [s.v. grater³] 'regrater, reseller'.
- 147. MED [s.v. cheri] (< AN cerise); but cf. OE ciris, cirse 'cherry'.
- 148. Scheler [1865: 300] reads cressun.
- 149. AND [s.v. flaun] 'sort of pie, cake'.
- 150. Scheler [1865: 300] reads pastures.
- **151.** *AND* [s.v. paste¹] 'dough'.
- 152. AND [s.v. escoveillon] 'oven rake'.
- 153. Scheler [1865: 301, fn.1] reads curail.
- **154.** *polunt* perhaps for *polluunt* 'contaminate'?
- **155.** *AND* [s.v. rere¹] 'to scrape'.
- **156.** Scheler [1865: 301] reads grate de past.
- **157.** *AND* [s.v. pasteler] 'pastry-cook'; the form is unattested.
- **158.** AND [s.v. oef] 'egg'; the form is unattested.
- **159.** AND [s.v. cuisiner] 'cook'; the form is unattested.
- 160. AND [s.v. coudre] 'hazel-wood'.
- **161.** Scheler [1865: 301] reads haches.
- 162. AND [s.v. andouille] 'sausage'.
- **163.** AND [s.v. moneour] 'money-changer'; the form is unattested.
- **164.** AND [s.v. moneour] 'minter, moneyer'; the form is unattested.
- **165.** This gloss is perhaps a variant of *ficail* 'brooch' (*AND* [s.v. *fichail*] < L *ficale*), which occurs in the copy of the *Dictionarius* in Bruges MS 546 as a gloss on L *spintera*, the next item listed.
- **166.** MED [s.v. pin], sense 2 'ornamental pin; brooch, hairpin'; the compound is not attested, but cf. OED [s.v. hairpin] (only attested from 1818).
- 167. AND [s.v. hosel] 'hose, leggings'.
- **168.** DMLBS [s.v. impanare] 'cover with the substance of bread'.
- **169.** Gloss is placed across two lines: *le dra-peres.*
- 170. AND [s.v. amesurer] 'to measure'.
- **171.** The readings for these glosses are unclear; perhaps iniuste and muliere?
- 172. AND [s.v. lincel] 'linen cloth'; the form is unattested.
- 173. AND [s.v. cheinse] 'muslin'; the form is unattested.
- 174. AND [s.v. teile¹] 'cloth, fabric'.
- 175. MED [s.v. wimple] 'veil, wimple'; < OE wimpel and OF wimple. AND [s.v. guimple].
- 176. AND [s.v. coverchef] 'kerchief'.
- **177.** AND [s.v. $especer^1$] 'apothecary'; the form is unattested.
- 178. AND [s.v. cedewale] 'setwall, zedoary'; the form is unattested.
- 179. Scheler [1865: 304] reads clou de gilofre.
- **180.** The first gloss is unattested. AND [s.v. $bout^2$] '(wine-)butt, cask', translation of apotheca in the sense 'container for wine' (DMLBS [s.v. apotheca, sense d]).

- **181.** MS *codiit* (second *i* expuncted).
- 182. Form unknown.
- **183.** AND [s.v. costerel] 'container, flask'; the form is unattested.
- **184.** AND [s.v. cheville] 'wedge'; the form is unattested.
- **185.** Dotted <y>.
- 186. MED [s.v. wain n.1] 'vehicle'.
- 187. Scheler [1865: 305] reads gaunz.
- 188. AND [s.v. essel] 'axle'; the form is unattested.
- **189.** AND [s.v. jug¹] 'yoke'.
- 190. MED [s.v. beil(e n.] 'ring, bracelet'. Scheler [1865: 306] reads instrumenta circa collum equi, g. beyles.
- 191. Scheler [1865: 307] reads estive.
- 192. MED [s.v. bēm] 'beam'. Scheler [1865: 307] notes bem 'c'est l'angl. beam'.
- 193. Scheler [1865: 307] reads dentail.
- 194. MED [s.v. chippe] 'chip, peg, sharebeam of a plough'. Scheler [1865: 307] reads chip.
- 195. Scheler [1865: 307] reads corbiliuns.
- 196. Scheler [1865: 307] reads flayles.
- 197. AND [s.v. sarcel] 'hoe, mattock'; the form is unattested. Scheler [1865: 307] reads sarcles.
- 198. MED [s.v. shovel(e] 'shovel'. Scheler [1865: 307] reads souvelles 'de socella, dimin. de soccus ?'.
- **199.** *AND* [s.v. *coutre*¹] 'coulter, iron blade attached to a plough'.
- **200.** *AND* [s.v. beche¹] 'spade, shovel'; the unattested form is probably a mechanical error.
- **201.** Related to *AND* [s.v. marler²] 'to marl'; the form is otherwise unattested. Scheler [1865: 308] reads marlères.
- 202. AND [s.v. picois] 'pick, mattock'; Scheler [1865: 308] reads picoyses.
- 203. Scheler [1865: 308] reads harnays.
- 204. In this manuscript, chapter 47 (Carucarii) follows 48 (Molendinarii).
- 205. AND [s.v. balance] 'pair of scales'; the form is unattested.
- **206.** MED [s.v. hond, sense 8], hond-staf 'a walking stick; also, a handle'. Scheler [1865: 308] reads handal.
- **207.** *MED* [s.v. swingel, at sense 1b] 'rod or flail, swingle; clapper of a bell or mill'. Scheler [1865: 308] reads suengel.
- **208.** AND [s.v. chape¹] 'cap, cover'; Scheler [1865: 308] reads cape.
- **209.** AND [s.v. tramel¹] 'hopper, funnel'; the form is unattested. Scheler [1865: 308] reads tramaliez.
- **210.** First *e* added above the line.
- **211.** MED [s.v. spindel, at sense 2b] 'the drive shaft of a mill; also, a mill spindle'. Scheler [1865: 308] reads spendeles.
- **212.** *MED* [s.v. *cōmb*, n. at sense 2] 'various toothed implement'. Scheler [1865: 308] notes *chombes* 'mot angl. sign. peigne'.
- 213. DMLBS [s.v. †cinoglocitorium] 'sluice, flood-gate'.
- **214.** *MED* [s.v. *flod-yate*, n.] 'one of the movable barriers controlling the flow of water in a millrace'. Scheler [1865: 309] reads *flodgates*.
- **215.** AND [s.v. batel²] 'clapper of a bell'.
- **216.** Scheler [1865: 309] reads barbecon.
- 217. Scheler [1865: 309] reads alures.
- **218.** Scheler [1865: 310] reads double fosse.
- **219.** Scheler [1865: 310] reads *bretasches, breteche.* He refers to two other manuscripts alongside Bruges 536 in this note (Bruges, Public Library, MS 546; and London, British Library, MS Cotton Titus D.xx), but does not distinguish which form is found where. Neither form quoted by Scheler corresponds with that in Bruges 536.
- 220. AND [s.v. escu1] 'shield'; Scheler [1865: 310] reads croves.

```
221. For bracero[l]es. AND [s.v. bracerole<sup>3</sup>] 'small shield, bracer'.
222. Scheler [1865: 310] reads berfrès.
223. The gloss has been crossed out.
224. AND [s.v. truie] 'sow, siege engine'.
225. DMLBS [s.v. tornicius] 'mechanism that operates by means of a windlass'.
226. AND [s.v. coignet] 'axe'.
227. Scheler [1865: 311] reads besagues.
228. Scheler [1865: 311] reads gisarme.
229. Scheler [1865: 311] reads fauchuns.
230. MED [s.v. bor, n. at sense 5], bor-spere 'a spear used in hunting boar'.
231. AND [s.v. misericorde] 'dagger'; Scheler [1865: 311] reads misericordes.
232. AND [s.v. escalberc] 'scabbard'; the form is unattested. Scheler [1865: 311] reads escauberz.
233. AND [s.v. anlaz] 'short, two-edged dagger'; the form is unattested.
234. Scheler [1865: 311] reads gavelloc.
235. AND [s.v. pal<sup>1</sup>] 'staff, stake'.
236. AND [s.v cresté] 'crested'; the form is unattested.
237. Scheler [1865: 312] reads pourpoint.
238. AND [s.v. aketon] 'acton, padded jerkin'; the form is unattested.
239. Scheler [1865: 312] reads hosel.
240. AND [s.v. cuissier] 'cuisse, armour for protecting the upper legs'; the form is unattested.
241. AND [s.v. croce] 'billhook'; Scheler [1865: 312] reads crochés.
242. Scheler [1865: 312] reads barres.
243. Scheler [1865: 312] reads lenges.
244. Scheler [1865: 312] reads plates de plomb.
245. AND [s.v. arblaste] 'balista, crossbow'; the form is unattested.
246. AND [s.v. gindas] 'winch, windlass'.
247. Scheler [1865: 312] reads materaz.
248. p<er>dicta appears to be an error for perdita.
249. AND [s.v. fuller¹] 'fuller'; the form is unattested.
250. Scheler [1865: 313] reads velues.
251. MED [s.v. trough] 'tub, trough'.
252. AND [s.v. garance] 'madder'; MED [s.v. mader(e n.] 'madder (plant)'.
253. A correction of the base text, which should read pictos.
254. AND [s.v. tannur] 'tanner'; the form is unattested.
255. AND [s.v. crués] 'rawness, crudity'.
256. AND [s.v. enclume] 'anvil'.
257. AND [s.v. tenail<sup>2</sup>] 'tongs, pliers'; the form is unattested.
258. This marks the first item of a wordlist.
259. MED [s.v. spāde] 'spade, shovel'.
260. AND [s.v. cu<sup>1</sup>] 'cook'.
261. AND [s.v. pot<sup>1</sup>] 'pot, vessel'; the form is unattested.
262. AND [s.v. ewe<sup>1</sup>] 'water'; the form is unattested.
263. AND [s.v. greil] 'grill, griddle'; the form is unattested.
264. AND [s.v. forneise] 'furnace, oven'; the form is unattested.
265. AND [s.v. cremalier] 'pot hanger'; the form is unattested in Anglo-Norman; see DMF [s.v.
266. AND [s.v. fuail] 'fuel; the form is unattested.
```

267. AND [s.v. see¹] 'seat'.

269. AND [s.v. chalit] 'bedstead'.

268. AND [s.v. scamel] 'stool, bench'; the form is unattested.

```
270. AND [s.v. faudestoel] 'faldstool, folding stool'.
```

- 271. AND [s.v. planer] 'to make smooth'.
- 272. AND [s.v. ratoir] 'trap for mice'; Scheler [1865: 315] reads ratuere.
- **273.** *AND* [s.v. sace¹] 'sieve, strainer'.
- **274.** A correction of the main text, which should read *pendent*.
- 275. Scheler [1865: 317] reads cotes.
- 276. AND [s.v. scapelaire] 'scapular, sleeveless cloak'.
- **277.** AND [s.v. esclavine] 'cloak, tunic'; the form is unattested.
- 278. AND [s.v. aketon] 'acton, padded jerkin'; the form is unattested.
- **279.** *AND* [s.v. coule¹] 'cowl'; the form is unattested.
- 280. AND [s.v. froc] 'frock, coat'.
- **281.** Gloss is placed across two lines: reale uest<ment> hou vestem<entes> de emprour.
- **282.** AND [s.v. amice¹] 'amice'; the form is unattested.
- 283. AND [s.v. son1] 'church bell'.
- **284.** AND [s.v. deel] 'thimble'; the form is unattested.
- 285. Scheler [1865: 320] reads cuneyl.
- **286.** MED [s.v. rok(ke, n.2] 'distaff'. Scheler [1865: 320] notes roeche 'angl. rock'.
- 287. Scheler [1865: 320] reads traul.
- **288.** MED [s.v. rel(e, n.1] 'a reel on which yarn was wound after being spun'.
- **289.** AND [s.v. devoidere] 'reel, yarnwindle'; the form is unattested. MED [s.v. windel, n.4], yarnwindel 'yarn-winder'.
- 290. MED [s.v. swingel] 'a rod or flail for beating flax or hemp'. Scheler [1865: 321] reads svingles.
- 291. AND [s.v. escuche] 'swingle-stock'; the form is unattested. Scheler [1865: 321] reads escuche.
- **292.** Scheler [1865: 321] reads grate.
- 293. MED [s.v. ribbe, n.3] 'flax cleaning tool'. Scheler [1865: 321] reads ribe.
- **294.** DMLBS [s.v. *feritorium*] 'battledore, washing-beetle'; the word was perhaps invented by John or a fellow schoolmaster (Sharpe [1996: 317]).
- 295. MED [s.v. batildore] 'washing-beetle'.
- **296.** *AND* [s.v. *britil*] 'beetle, strike of flax'; the form is unattested. Scheler [1865: 321] reads *butel de lin.*
- 297. MED [s.v. bēte, n.3] 'bundle for beating'. Scheler [1865: 321] reads bete de flax.
- **298.** Scheler [1865: 321] reads petite cuve.
- **299.** Probably for *leyhe* (MED [s.v. *lei(e, n.1*] 'lye').
- **300.** AND [s.v. riduere] 'smoothing iron'; the form is unattested. Scheler [1865: 321] reads redurie.
- **301.** The glosses *redelere* and *rediling stone* (618) are otherwise unattested. Both appear to derive from *ridelen* 'to fold, pleat' (MED [s.v. *ridelen*, v.2]). L *calotricatorium* is a hapax legomenon; it refers perhaps to a smoothing iron (DMLBS [s.v. *calotricatorium*]) or a washboard (Rubin [1981: 69]); L *licinitorium* is a stone for smoothing. Scheler [1865: 321] reads *redelere*.
- **302.** For licinitorium (cf. above).
- 303. See above.
- **304.** *AND* [s.v. *lucher*¹] 'sleekstone, polishing stone'; the form is unattested. Scheler [1865: 321] notes *luchnere* (ou *luchuere*).
- **305.** MED [s.v. sleie] 'a weaver's reed'; MED [s.v. brēd, n.2] 'a board or plank'. Scheler [1865: 370] notes slay brede 'gl. angl.'.
- 306. Scheler [1865: 370] reads esteins.
- **307.** For warp (MED [s.v. warp] 'warp'). Scheler [1865: 370] notes wrap 'gl. angl.'.
- **308.** MED [s.v. $wooled{o}f$, also of(e, offe) 'the cross-threads, taken collectively; the weft or wooled
- **309.** Scheler [1865: 370] reads fusil.
- 310. Scheler [1865: 370] reads lame.
- **311.** See note to 620. Scheler [1865: 370] reads slay.

```
312. Scheler [1865: 370] reads lusseus.
313. AND [s.v. ordir] 'to lay the warp for'.
314. AND [s.v. flocke] 'flock, waste wool'; the form is unattested.
315. AND [s.v. devoideresse] 'spinster'; the form is unattested.
316. This headword is a mechanical error for aurisece; see DMLBS [s.v. aurusecus] 'cutting gold'.
317. AND [s.v. cigne] 'swan'.
318. Scheler [1865: 371] reads girfaucun.
319. Gloss is placed across two lines: papin-gay.
320. Scheler [1865: 371] reads papingay.
321. Scheler [1865: 371] reads rusinole.
322. AND [s.v. cufle] 'kite'; the form is unattested. Scheler [1865: 371] reads cuvelle.
323. Scheler [1865: 371] reads corf.
324. AND [s.v. corf<sup>1</sup>] 'night-raven'; Scheler [1865: 371] reads corf de nut.
325. Scheler [1865: 371] reads moruez.
326. MED [s.v. leng(e, n.2] 'ling (fish)'. Scheler [1865: 371] reads lenge.
327. Scheler [1865: 371] reads lupi aquatici.
328. Scheler [1865: 371] reads tenches.
329. Scheler [1865: 371] reads raiz.
330. MED [s.v. hering] 'herring (fish)'. Scheler [1865: 371] reads aring.
331. AND [s.v. gojoun] 'gudgeon'.
332. Scheler [1865: 371] reads chen de mer.
333. AND [s.v. bukerel] 'he-goat'; the form is unattested.
334. Scheler [1865: 372] reads putoys.
335. This marks the first item of a wordlist.
336. MED [s.v. calketrappe] 'a plant with sharp thorns or spines' < OE calcatrippe and AN
337. MED s.v. sour-dokke 'sorrel (plant)'.
338. AND [s.v. solsecle] 'marigold'; the form is unattested.
339. Scheler [1865: 372] reads borage.
340. Scheler [1865: 372] reads cenevés.
341. AND [s.v. oignon] 'onion'; the form is unattested.
342. Scheler [1865: 372] reads una herba bona ad fluxum ventris.
343. Scheler [1865: 372] reads lancele.
```

ABSTRACTS

Based on an edition of the multilingual glosses, this paper investigates a copy of John of Garland's *Dictionarius* extant in Bruges, Public Library, MS 536. This copy, written around AD 1300, perhaps in the vicinity of Bruges, includes some 800 interlinear glosses in Latin, Middle French and Middle English. The glosses target the lexicon and also basic Latin grammar. The linguistic characteristics of the glosses indicate that at least some of the glossators were competent in French as well as in English. Many of the lexemes of the French glosses are attested as loanwords in early Middle English; moreover, there are at least 30 instances of double glosses with French and English. As such, we argue that the glossators used "translanguaging" as a didactic strategy,

and that the manuscript may have been created, for instance, for English students planning to study in Paris.

L'article se base sur une édition des gloses multilingues pour examiner une copie du *Dictionarius* de Jean de Garlande conservée à Bruges, Bibliothèque publique, MS 536. Cette copie, écrite vers 1300, peut-être dans les environs de Bruges, comprend quelque 750 gloses interlinéaires en latin, en ancien français et en moyen anglais. Les gloses ciblent le lexique mais aussi la grammaire latine. Les caractéristiques linguistiques des gloses indiquent qu'au moins certains des glossateurs étaient compétents en français aussi bien qu'en anglais. De nombreux lexèmes des gloses françaises sont attestés comme des emprunts en moyen anglais ; de plus, il existe aussi au moins 30 cas de doubles gloses en français et en anglais. Ainsi, nous affirmons que les glossateurs ont utilisé le « translangage » comme stratégie didactique et que le manuscrit a peut-être été créé pour des étudiants anglais à Paris.

INDEX

Keywords: multilingualism, translanguaging, glosses, medieval manuscripts, John of Garland, Bruges Public Library MS 536

Mots-clés: multilinguisme, translangage, Bruges Bibliothèque publique MS 536, gloses, manuscrits médiévaux, Jean de Garlande

AUTHORS

CHRISTINE WALLIS

University of Sheffield, UK c.wallis@sheffield.ac.uk

ANNINA SEILER

University of Zurich, Switzerland annina.seiler@es.uzh.ch

HEATHER PAGAN

University of Westminster, UK h.pagan@westminster.ac.uk