



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, Public Library, MS 536

Christine Wallis, Annina Seiler and Heather Pagan

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

- 1 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".¹ 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
- 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

- 3 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.⁶ 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]).⁷ 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.

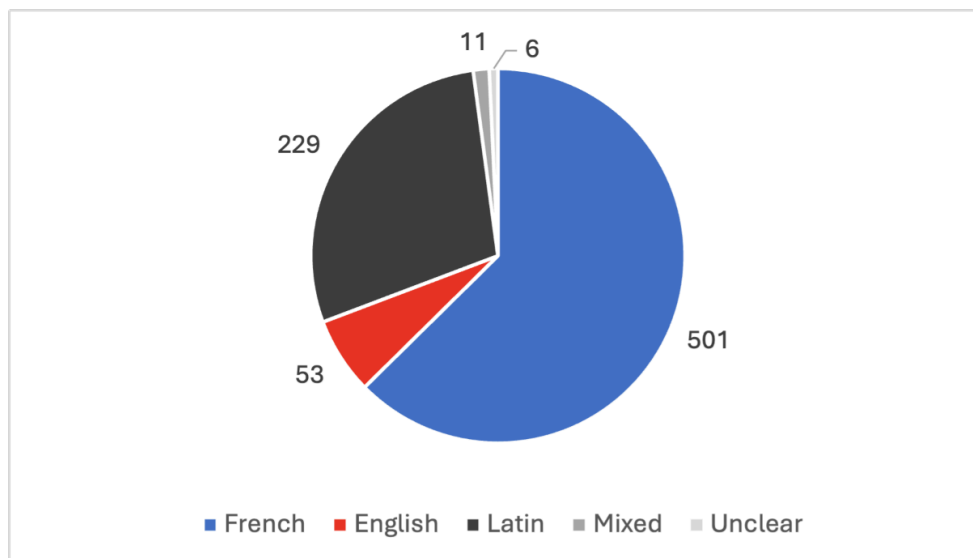
- 5 The abbey also had strong regional and international links. Some of these links were through trade: Ter Doest was heavily involved in wool production, and also handled trade with Holland and England through its harbour (Geirnaert [2003: 45]; Acker [2021]). Other links, such as those with Scandinavia (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

- 6 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.
- 7 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'.⁹ 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 (*guimple*, *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

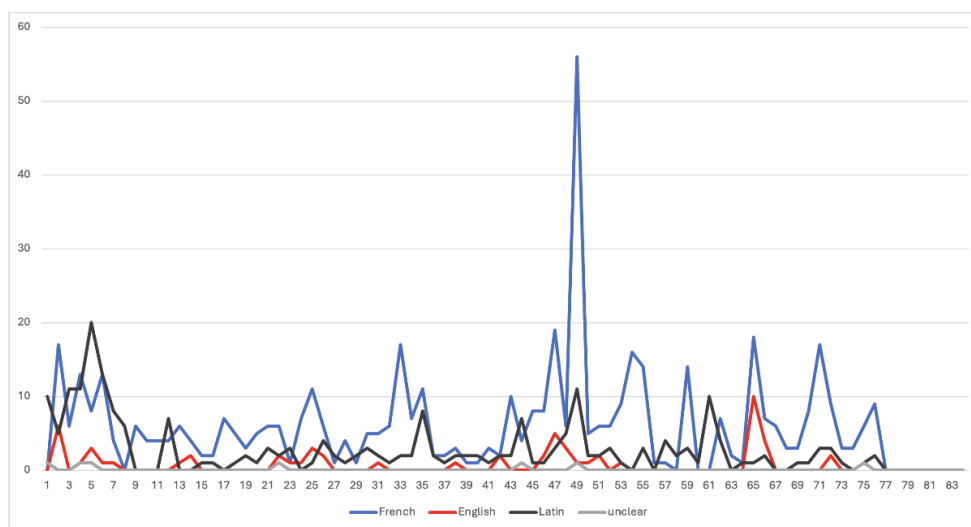


- 8 Glosses appear throughout the text of the *Dictionarius* in Bruges 536, with the exception of the last eight chapters, covering the second half of f.100v and the whole of f.101r. However, although they appear throughout the text, the glosses are not evenly distributed in terms of their number or 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).
- 9 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.

- 10 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.
- 11 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

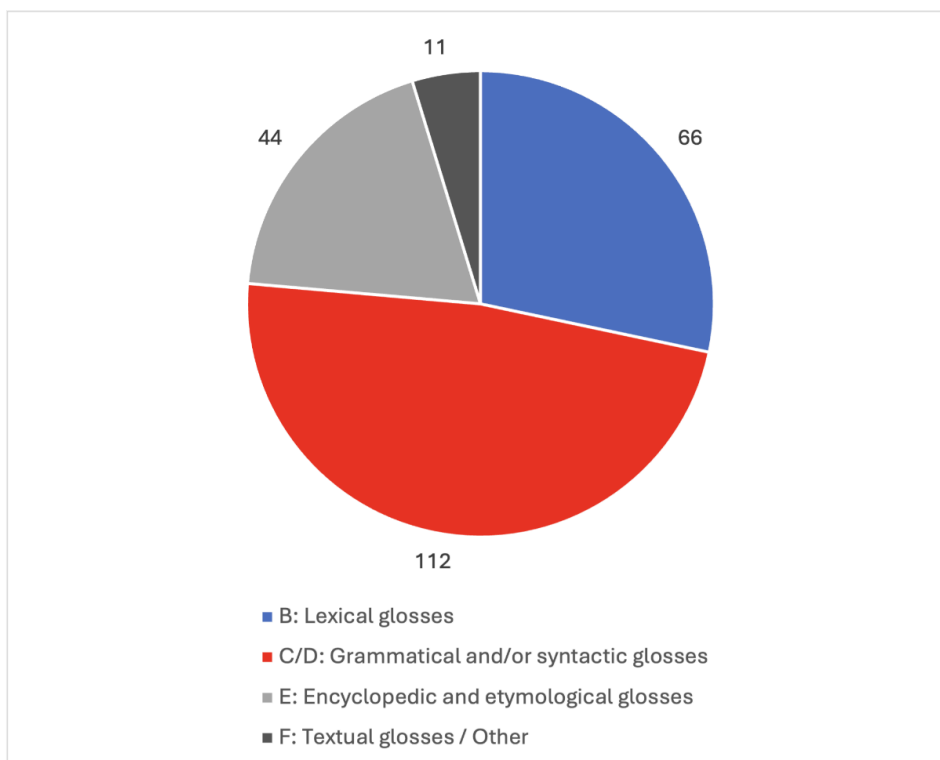
- 12 Most Latin glosses in the *Dictionarius* in Bruges 536 consist of single words or short phrases, though a handful of entries, which we have counted among the Latin glosses, consist of single letters. While vernacular glosses largely translate nouns, Latin glosses target all major word classes. As 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)

- 14 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 share-beam 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

- 16 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
- 17 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 catinis [pellib<us>], partim vulpinis [pellib<us>], partim leporinis [pellib<us>].* (232-234)²⁰

- 18 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 quas [campanas] in ecclesiis hore diei denunciantur. (211)²¹*

- 20 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.
- 21 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

- 22 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
- 23 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.
- 24 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. *ceste*¹]). However other glosses have initial /k/: e.g., *carpenters* ‘carpenter’ (364) (AND [s.v. *charpenter*¹]); *caretteres* ‘carter’ (382) (AND [s.v. *charetter*¹]); and *cape* ‘cap, cover’ (407) (AND [s.v. *chape*¹]). 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. *arc*¹]), 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 /dʒ/ 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]).
- 25 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. *ostur*¹]); *hungles* ‘nail’ (15) (AND s.v. [ungle]) (see Short [2013: §60]).
- 26 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. *tenail*²]). 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*]).
- 27 Plurality is marked through the use of *-s* or *-z*, which is common to all Northern dialects. The use of Latin *-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., *estiuus* ‘long boot’ (135) (AND [s.v. *estival*¹]); and *chapeus* ‘cap, hat’ (188) (AND [s.v. *chapel*¹]). However, final *-l* is retained in *ortilz* ‘toe’ (14) (AND [s.v. *ortil*¹]) (Short [2013: §21.1]). The plural determiner form is *le* ‘the’ (AND [s.v. *le*¹]): e.g., *le ueynes* (108) (Short [2013: §57]).

- 28 Initial *z-* is used for words of Arabic etymology: e.g., *zucres* 'sugar' (351) (AND [s.v. *sucre*¹]; 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.³⁰ Numerous glosses reflect the use of aphetic forms, having lost the initial *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. *essele*¹]) 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*]).
- 29 Double <oo> and <uu> are attested for long vowels: e.g., *surcooz* 'surcoat' (240) (AND [s.v. *surcote*]); and *cuus* 'cook' (519) (AND [s.v. *cu*¹]). 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. *ewe*¹]). 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 *-ier(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. *charetter*¹]).
- 30 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.
- 31 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])
- 32 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.
- 33 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) *caedes: barils* ‘barrel’ (369) - attested in OF from c1150 and ME from ca. 1300
- (13) *celitonia: celidoneiz* ‘celandine (plant)’ (693) - attested in OF and ME from ca. 1125

- 34 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

- 35 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. *shulderbōn*, 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. *yarn*, n.]); a few animal and plant names (e.g., *lengē* ‘ling (fish)’ (674) (*MED* [s.v. *leng(e)*, n.2]); *areng* ‘herring’ (680) (*MED* [s.v. *hering*, n.]); *chirses* ‘cherries’ (258) (*MED* [s.v. *cheri*, n.]); and *surdocche* ‘sorrel’ (698) (*MED* [s.v. *sour-dokke*, n.]); and other assorted items.
- 36 Concerning the dialectal origin of the Middle English glosses, the following phonological features can be noted: OE /ā/ is represented by <o> 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 <o> (Jordan [1974: §30]).³⁶ 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]).

- 37 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-bōn*, 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 identified as yogh (*<ȝ>*). The fricative /ʃ/ is represented by the graph *<s>* in *cruslebon* ‘cartilage, gristle’ (24) (*MED* [s.v. *crushel-bōn*, 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 *<p>* 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.
- 38 A couple of glosses involving English are mixed-language items: *lides oculi* ‘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).
- 39 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.
- 40 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. *batildōre*, 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

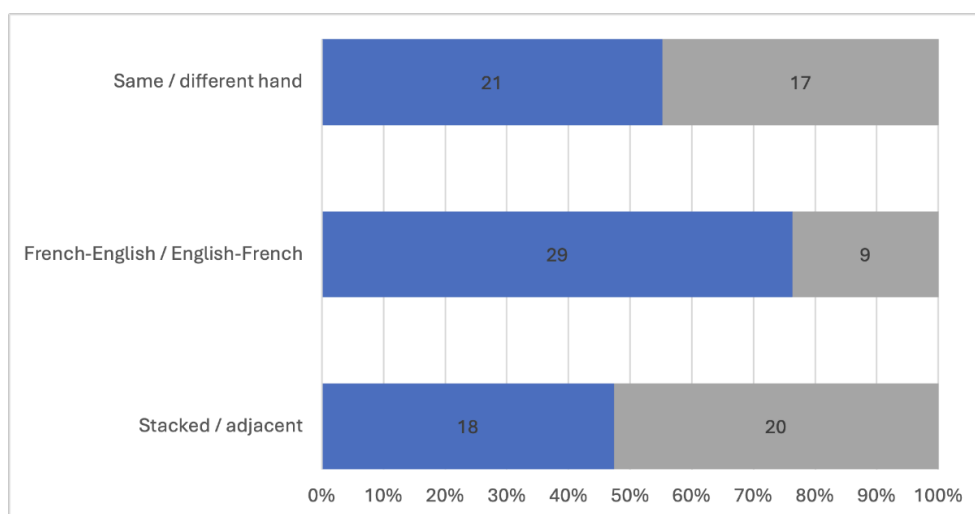
the time; as such, John might have picked up the word *batedor* there and created the blend with the English word *beetle*. It is true that Bruges 536 was copied long after John's death, and we have not found this gloss in any of the other manuscripts so far. Yet, the gloss provides at least a tentative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

4. The glossators

- 41 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.
- 43 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: tungenes* (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).
- 45 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

- 46 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.
- 47 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 linguistic 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

- 48 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
- 50 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 self-study 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. Available 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. *Mittelateinisches 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-abbey/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 étymologique 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. 2nd 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 IIF Collections: Manuscripts and rare books*. Available at <https://iif.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: 1, 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] appellatur
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. promptuarium: [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] crosse⁴⁹: [E] holz⁵⁰
22. medulla: [F] meule: [E] marie⁵¹
23. musculus: [E] chalf⁵²: [F] mucel^{53 54}
24. cratilago: [E] cruslebon⁵⁵: [F] tendru<n>
25. musculum: [F] le mucel
26. poplex: [F] garet: [E] ha<m>me⁵⁶
27. internodium: [E] uueruelbon⁵⁷: [F] le entrenu
28. crus: [F] cuisse
29. femur: [L] idem <est>
30. pubi: [F] a penils: [F] nouele⁵⁸

3. *Si velim reserare* (“if I would like to reveal”)

31. humane: [L] no<?> ca<?> [?]⁵⁹
32. causa: [L] s<ed> [?]
33. at[scribi]: .t.⁶⁰
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] gendrables⁶¹
 39. uirga longa uirilil: [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] chines⁶²

4. Tergum et spondilia ('the back and the spine')

48. que: [L] ea
 49. derisorie: [F] en gab
 50. tentigenem: [F] laundie⁶³: [L] loc<us> uoluptatis: [L] s<cilicet>⁶⁴
 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> [?]⁶⁵
 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] pucer⁶⁶
 60. indicem: [F] demustrer
 61. medium: [L] q<uia> <sunt> in medio loco
 62. medicum: [F] mire⁶⁷
 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] wardecores⁶⁹

[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 sic⁷⁰ calidus u<e>l sicc<us>
 73. pirula naris: [L] acuitas nasis [sic]: [L] naris⁷¹
 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] gomes⁷²
 78. hinula⁷³: [F] huues⁷⁴

79. ysophagus: [L] stomachi gula: [L] sorbillum.⁷⁵: [E] vesende⁷⁶: [F] gor[g]e[r]un⁷⁷
 80. epiglotum: [L] coop<er>toriu<m>: [F] buel
 81. palpebra: [E+L] lides oc<u>li⁷⁸
 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. sclerotica: [L] pellis in q<ua> uoluit<ur> oc<u>lu<m>: [L] pell<is> p<ro>pinquior⁸¹
 oc<u>lo
 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 temp<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<ben>t⁸⁵: [L] p<or>tant
 111. cistis fellis recipit: [F] choste⁸⁶ de fel⁸⁷
 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] mbris: [L] hoc dico
 130. rusticana: [L] corporis n<omin>a: [L] corporis⁹²
 131. res quas: [L] res
 132. denotau: [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] estieus
 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] seyntes⁹⁵ bares

11. Sellarii ('saddlers')

143. Sellarii: [F] selers
 144. Puluillos: [F] baces⁹⁶
 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] orpetre⁹⁷: [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 peytres⁹⁹

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. piricudia¹⁰¹: [E] spindeles for linen.¹⁰²

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] furbisures¹⁰³
 172. cumulant: [F] muscelent
 173. eruginatos: [F] furbises
 174. tholos: [F] pumeles.¹⁰⁴
 175. capulos: [F] hiltes¹⁰⁵
 176. rotulantes: [F] splendentes¹⁰⁶
 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. Cirotecarii: [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] huyres¹⁰⁸; [L] <et> faciunt¹⁰⁹
 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>¹¹⁰

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] fermeylheres¹¹³

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. Pictacarii ('cobblers')

213. Pictacarii: [F] saueuterer¹¹⁹ v[el] le buch[l]eres¹²⁰: [E] cobleres¹²¹

214. consuunt: [F] cusent

215. pictacia: [F] tachuns

216. intercucia: [F] reuestz¹²²

217. soleas: [F] semeles¹²³

218. inpedias: [F] les enpenies: [F] Wampes¹²⁴

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] furmes¹²⁵ de pez: [E] lastes¹²⁶

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.¹³¹: [F] aleyne.¹³²
 229. licinio: [F] <et> de fil linol¹³³
 230. seta porcina: [F] seye de porche.

26. Pelliparii ('skimmers')

231. Pelliparii: [F] pelteres¹³⁴
 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] veyer¹³⁷: [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>mblor

29. Precones vini ('street-criers of wine')

247. hiante gula: [L] hoc dico
 248. in cratere<m>: [L] vinu<m> dico.: [L] fusum¹⁴²: [F] en le hanap

30. Precones nebulorum ('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>e¹⁴⁵

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] cressuns¹⁴⁸

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] pestures¹⁵⁰
 270. pinsunt: [F] pestunt
 271. pastam: [F] past¹⁵¹
 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. pollitudio: [F] hou buletel
 279. delicato: [F] delyez
 280. et immittunt: [L] a<ut>. polunt¹⁵⁴
 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 pasturus¹⁵⁷
 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] coyournz¹⁵⁹
 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. incuentes: [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 moneurs¹⁶³: [L] .i. cambiteres
 315. trapetam: [F] i table
 316. faciunt: [L] hoc

37. Numularii ('coiners')

317. Numularii: [F] muneuurs¹⁶⁴
 318. Licet: [L] ? q<ua>muis
 319. cambiantur: [F] seyen[t] changez

38. Aurifabri ('goldsmiths')

[fol. 97v]

320. pateras: [F] hanaps
 321. monilia: [F?] ficus¹⁶⁵
 322. spinter: [E] har pin¹⁶⁶
 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>arant¹⁶⁸
 331. quos: [L] crateres

41. Pannarii ('drapers')

332. Pannarii: [F] le draperes¹⁶⁹
 333. defraudant: [L] decipiunt
 334. ulnado: [F] emeisuraunt¹⁷⁰
 335. ulna: [F] hou le aune

42. Quidam homines usurpant ('Certain men usurp')

336. husurpant: [L] .i. iustue s mr<|>ie [?]¹⁷¹
 337. lintheamina: [L] linces¹⁷²

338. supera: [F] chenese¹⁷³
 339. telas: [F] teyles¹⁷⁴
 340. pepla: [E / F] uimpel¹⁷⁵
 341. flammeola: [F] cuuerchesz¹⁷⁶

43. Apotecarii, causa lucri ('Apothecaries, for the sake of money')

342. Apotecarii: [F] les espiceres¹⁷⁷
 343. concumuluant: [F] semblent
 344. confectiones: [L] s. h<er>baru<m>
 345. zoiduarium: [F] zedouar¹⁷⁸
 346. gariofilos: [F] clou de gilofre¹⁷⁹
 347. sinamonio: [F] canelez
 348. anisium: [F] anis
 349. cum maratrotro: [L+F] hou semi<n>e feniculi
 350. ceraṭem: [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] gaunz¹⁸⁷
 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] bem¹⁹²
 385. dentem: [F] dentail¹⁹³; [E] chip¹⁹⁴
 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. uncus: [F] cros
 393. tribulas: [E] souelles¹⁹⁸
 394. cultros: [F] cul[t]eres¹⁹⁹
 395. uangas: [F] bcheches²⁰⁰
 396. sarpas: [F] marleres²⁰¹
 397. ligones: [F] picoyses²⁰²
 398. epiphia: [F] harnays²⁰³
 399. equina: [F] a cheual

47. Carucarii ('ploughwrights')²⁰⁴

400. scobe: [F] balens²⁰⁵
 401. rastra: [F] rastel
 402. furce: [F] furche
 403. flagella: [F] flayles
 404. quorum: [L] partes
 405. manutentum: [E] hanstaf²⁰⁶
 406. uirga: [E] suengel²⁰⁷
 407. cappa: [F] cape²⁰⁸

48. Molendinarii ('millers')

408. Molendarii: [F] mulineres
 409. faricapcias: [F] tramaliezs²⁰⁹
 410. rotas: [F] roues
 411. aquaticas: [L] rotas
 412. fusas: [E] spendeles^{210 211}
 413. scariobella: [E] chombes²¹²
 414. sinociclotoria²¹³: [E] flod gates²¹⁴; [?] ietinala: [L] aq<ua> qu<e> no<n> molit [?]
 415. molaes: [L] lapides
 416. in pharicapcia: [F] en le t<ra>mayl
 417. batillo: [F] de batuel²¹⁵

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

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

420. nondum sedate: [L] .i. pacificato
 421. tumult: [L] hoc dico
 422. muralia: [F] barbecon²¹⁶
 423. licias: [F] alures²¹⁷
 424. superfossa: [F] duple fosse²¹⁸
 425. propugnacula: [F] bretaches²¹⁹
 426. tabulata: [F] table
 427. craticulata: [F] clec
 428. erecta: [L] p<ro>pungnac<u>la .dico.
 429. cestus: [F] taleuas
 430. clipeos: [F] ezcues²²⁰
 431. targias: [F] targes: [L] scuta magna
 432. brachiola: [F] braceroes²²¹
 433. perrarias: [F] pereres
 434. una: [L] ? paranan<rum>
 435. pessundedit: [L] .i. p<er>cussit
 436. mangonalia: [F] mangeneus
 437. fustibula: [F] berfres²²²
 438. trebucheta: [F] t<re>buchet
 439. arietes: [F] mutuns²²³: [F] engins.
 440. sues: [F] troyes.²²⁴: [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] coynes²²⁶
 446. dacas: [F] besagues.²²⁷
 447. gesa gallicorum: [F] gisarmes de fraunce²²⁸
 448. sparos hispanorum: [F] fauchuns despayne²²⁹
 449. catieas: [E] borsp<er>e²³⁰
 450. pugiones: [F] mis<er>icordes²³¹
 451. in dolonibus teutonicorum: [F] en ezchauberes de tieus²³²
 452. anelacinas: [F] alnas²³³
 453. pila: [F] gauellot²³⁴
 454. sarissas: [F] escues
 455. macedonorum: [F] de macedoyn
 456. palos: [F] peus²³⁵
 457. malleos: [L / F] mallus
 458. catapultas: [F] sete barbes
 459. galeros: [F] haumes
 460. conos: [F] cresteles²³⁶
 461. toraces: [F] purpoinz²³⁷: [L] munim<ent>a pectoris
 462. bombicina: [F] hachetunes²³⁸
 463. galleas: [F] haumes

464. loricas: [F] hauberches
 465. ocreas: [F] hoses²³⁹
 466. et femoralia: [F] <et> quiseres²⁴⁰
 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] croches²⁴¹
 472. catenas: [F] chenes
 473. cippos: [F] ceps
 474. barrarias: [F] barres²⁴²
 475. ignem pelasgum: [F] fu de g<re>gis
 476. uitrum: [F] ueyr
 477. liquefactum: [F] decurable
 478. fundat: [F] lenges²⁴³
 479. glandes: [F] plates de plum²⁴⁴
 480. balistas: [F] harblast²⁴⁵
 481. trocleatas: [F] vindas²⁴⁶
 482. materacias: [F] materaz²⁴⁷

[fol. 98v]

483. illa: [L] arma p<er>dicta²⁴⁸
 484. Arma militaria in alio: [L] h<oc> <est> p<er>cru<?>es ad milite<m>

50. Fullones ('fullers')

485. Fullones: [F] fulures²⁴⁹
 486. Pilosos: [F] velues²⁵⁰
 487. in alueo: [F] in le auge: [E] troffe²⁵¹
 488. in quo: [L] alueo
 489. lotos: [F] laues
 490. quos: [L] pa<n>nos
 491. carduis: [F] carduns

51. Tinctoros ('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] tos²⁵³
 498. blodii: [F] de blus

52. Cerdones ('tanners')

499. Cerdones: [F] lez tanures²⁵⁴
 500. frunire: [F] taner
 501. taurina: [L] coria
 502. in truncis: [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] cruesce²⁵⁵

53. Fabri ('smiths')

508. incudem: [F] enclune²⁵⁶
 509. malleis: [F] marteus
 510. forcipib<us>: [F] tenalies²⁵⁷
 511. uentilacione: [F] sufleme<n>t
 512. follium: [F] de fous
 513. cultros: [L] s<cilicet>²⁵⁸
 514. ad uangam: [E] a spade²⁵⁹
 515. ad ligones: [F] picoyses
 516. ad sarcula: [F] sarcles
 517. falcet: [F] fauchuns
 518. falcillas: [F] faucills

54. Coci ('cooks')

519. [C]uoci: [F] cuus²⁶⁰
 520. cacabos: [F] caudrouns
 521. urceos: [F] poyz²⁶¹
 522. patellas: [F] paelez
 523. sartagine: [F] grant paeles
 524. pelues: [F] bacins
 525. ydrias: [F] pot aeue²⁶²
 526. rotundalia: [F] plateres
 527. acetabula: [F] sauseres
 528. coclearia: [F] cuileres
 529. scaphas: [F] gates
 530. craticulas: [F] gridillies²⁶³
 531. micatoria: [F] miures
 532. creagra: [F] hauet
 533. clibanos: [F] furnes²⁶⁴
 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] cremallis²⁶⁵
 540. focalia: [F] fuellie²⁶⁶
 541. stipes: [L] radices
 542. uectes: [L] h<ic>
 543. sedilia: [F] ses²⁶⁷
 544. scanna: [F] scomalie²⁶⁸
 545. sponde: [F] chaut lit²⁶⁹
 546. et fercula: [F] fald stol²⁷⁰
 547. leuigatis: [F] playnes²⁷¹

548. haustum: [F] buchet
 549. cassarum: [F] caser
 550. muscipula: [F] ratuere²⁷²
 551. taratantrum: [F] sarcle²⁷³

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. paralleli: [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] ent²⁷⁴
 562. tunice: [F] cotes²⁷⁵
 563. supertunicalia: [L] sup<er> tunice.
 564. pallia: [F] manteus
 565. scapularia: [F] scapolori²⁷⁶
 566. cape: [F] chape
 567. tapete: [F] materaz
 568. renones: [F] tabars
 569. sarabarre: [F] slauuins²⁷⁷
 570. stragule: [F] veste<ment> rae
 571. bombicina: [F] hâpetunes²⁷⁸
 572. tapete: [F] quilte
 573. cuculli: [F] cuuelles²⁷⁹
 574. collobia: [F] frogs²⁸⁰
 575. lac<er>nis: [F] hou bifles
 576. trabee: [F] reale ueste<ment> hou vestem<entes> de emprour²⁸¹

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. antiastice: [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] hamice²⁸²
 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] sen²⁸³

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] dey²⁸⁴
 604. fusus: [F] fusil
 605. verteborum: [F] uertoyl
 606. colus: [F] cuneyl²⁸⁵; [E] rocche²⁸⁶
 607. mataxa: [F] serence
 608. traale: [F] traul²⁸⁷; [E] rel²⁸⁸
 609. girgillum: [F] deuudere: [E] yarnui[n]del.²⁸⁹
 610. excudia: [E] suinglez.²⁹⁰; [F] excuche²⁹¹
 611. rupa: [F] g<ra>te.²⁹²; [E] ribe²⁹³
 612. feritorium²⁹⁴: [F] batuere: [E] badeldure²⁹⁵
 613. linipulus: [F] butel de lin²⁹⁶; [E+F] bete de flax²⁹⁷
 614. cupatorium: [F] petite cuve²⁹⁸
 615. lixiua: [F] hou leesiue: [E] lezhe²⁹⁹
 616. lexiuatorio: [F] buchet
 617. calot<ri>catorium: [F] reduere.³⁰⁰; [E] redelere³⁰¹
 618. lixucitorium³⁰²: [F] luchuere: [E] rediling ston.³⁰³
 619. lucibruciunculum: [F] luchuere³⁰⁴

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

620. pectines: [E] slaybrede³⁰⁵
 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 spatia: [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. auricese³¹⁶: [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. passeris: [F] mussons
 648. ardee: [F] heyruns
 649. cingni: [F] cines³¹⁷
 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] cuuelle³²²
 665. cornicem: [F] cornellie
 666. coruum: [F] corf³²³
 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.³²⁵ [E] lenge³²⁶
 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] buchreus³³³
 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] celidonie
 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] surdocche³³⁷
 699. solsequio: [F] sur sicle³³⁸

76. Ortolanus ('the gardener')

700. Ortolanus: [F] gardener
 701. caulis: [L] i. olus disport<um>
 702. borago: [F] borage³³⁹
 703. alia sinapis: [F] haus ceneues³⁴⁰
 704. sinapium: [F] mustard
 705. ciuolli: [F] ciue
 706. cepule: [F] petit hu<ni>uns³⁴¹
 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]

80-85 [no glosses]

NOTES

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 (13th-14th 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 B^a. However, the 15 glosses listed under the siglum B^b also seem to be from Bruges 536, and Scheler does not make it clear which manuscript he means by B^b. 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. *inner(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, sauter*²], 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. ‘Skinners 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 $\kappa+A$ have a dual development: in the majority of words the outcome is /tʃ/, 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* à l’initiale et intérieur derrière consonne, *c + yod* intérieur, *t + yod* derrière consonne > pic. *č* (écrit *c, ch*). (e.g., *merchi, canchon*)”.

24. *MED* [s.v. *wardecors*, n.] < **wardôn* (*FEW* [17, 519b]).

25. *MED* [s.v. *warfer*, n.] < **wafra* (*FEW* [17, 448b]).

26. The form derives from **wratja* (*FEW* [17, 622b]).

27. *MED* [s.v. *windas*, n.] < *vindáss* (*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 <o> occurs in *chombes* 'toothed implement; comb' (413); however, <o> preceding the homorganic cluster <mb> is attested in all Middle English dialects; cf. Jordan [1974: §31].
37. On <s(s)> for /ʃ/, see Dietz [2006: 157-205]; on <ch> for /k/ as well as /tʃ/, 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 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. *od*¹ and *ungle*].
48. Gloss placed across two lines: *veysin-ablez*.
49. *AND* [s.v. *cros*¹] '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 *mu cel*.
55. *MED* [s.v. *crushel-bōn*] 'cartilage, gristle'.
56. *MED* [s.v. *hamme*, n.1] 'back of the knee'.
57. *MED* [s.v. *whirl-bōn*] '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 *pu cer*.
67. *AND* [s.v. *mire*²] 'doctor, physician'.
68. *MED* [s.v. *shulder-bōn*] '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. *gōme*, *gom(m)e*, n.(3)] 'gums'.
73. This headword is miswritten for *uvula*.
74. *AND* [s.v. *u vet*] '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 *ppoīnquior* (*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. *ceste*¹] '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. *bas*¹] 'saddle pad'.
97. Scheler [1865: 292] reads *orpetre*.
98. MED [s.v. *tong(e n.?)*] 'tongue; strip or thong'.
99. AND [s.v. *lorein*] 'strap forming part of the bridle'; AND [s.v. *peitra*] 'breast-piece on a horse harness'.
100. MED [s.v. *sōpe n.?*] '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. *hure*¹] '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. *boucler*¹] '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. *wesel(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. *reparailleur*¹] 'mender, repairer'.
140. Final *s* erased.
141. AND [s.v. *plane*¹] '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. *grater*³] '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. *paste*¹] '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. *rere*¹] '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. *monneur*] 'money-changer'; the form is unattested.
164. AND [s.v. *monneur*] '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. *teile*¹] '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. *jug*¹] ‘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 *corbiliums*.
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. *beche*¹] ‘spade, shovel’; the unattested form is probably a mechanical error.
201. Related to AND [s.v. *marler*²] ‘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 (*Molendinariii*).
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. *chape*¹] ‘cap, cover’; Scheler [1865: 308] reads *cape*.
209. AND [s.v. *tramel*¹] ‘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. *batel*²] ‘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. *escu*¹] ‘shield’; Scheler [1865: 310] reads *croves*.

221. For *bracero*[*l*]es. AND [s.v. *bracerole*³] ‘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*¹] ‘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. *cuisse*] ‘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. *fuller*¹] ‘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*²] ‘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*¹] ‘cook’.
261. AND [s.v. *pot*¹] ‘pot, vessel’; the form is unattested.
262. AND [s.v. *ewe*¹] ‘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. *cremailier*] ‘pot hanger’; the form is unattested in Anglo-Norman; see DMF [s.v. *crémail*].
266. AND [s.v. *fuaïl*] ‘fuel’; the form is unattested.
267. AND [s.v. *see*¹] ‘seat’.
268. AND [s.v. *scamel*] ‘stool, bench’; the form is unattested.
269. AND [s.v. *chalit*] ‘bedstead’.

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. *sace*¹] '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. *coule*¹] '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. *amice*¹] 'amice'; the form is unattested.
283. AND [s.v. *son*¹] '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. *rēl(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*], *yarn-windel* '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. *wōf*, also *of(e, offe)*] 'the cross-threads, taken collectively; the weft or woof'.
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. *cuflē*] 'kite'; the form is unattested. Scheler [1865: 371] reads *cuvelle*.
323. Scheler [1865: 371] reads *corf*.
324. AND [s.v. *corf*] '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. *bukere*] '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 *calketrappe*.
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 « translanguage » 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, translanguage, Bruges Bibliothèque publique MS 536, glosses, 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