Un autre manere de parler
The pedagogy of the *Manières de langage*

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Abstract

The *Manières de langage* are a group of dialogues composed to teach French in England at the turn of the fifteenth century. They survive in 10 different manuscripts and contain many model conversations from a diverse range of social encounters. The *Manières* have been subject to both historical treatment and linguistic editorial commentary and they are often afforded a mention in overviews of French-language pedagogy in medieval England. However, a full treatment of the *Manières* as texts that deploy a wide range of pedagogical tools has not been undertaken until now. Furthermore, the dialogues have never been examined with a sustained focus on the learners' L1: Middle English. The chapters of the present thesis consider pragmatic features of the dialogues in a broader Anglo-Norman and Middle English context, with a view to understanding how a Middle English speaker would encounter them as a learner of French. However, the major claim of my thesis is that the *Manières* may be viewed as texts that are invested in cultivating both linguistic and social competence. Not only did the *Manières* seek to aid learners to produce sophisticated utterances, they likely used many pedagogical devices to impart this knowledge. I argue that they are texts that demonstrate an interest in many types of oral exchange, but also in encouraging and maintaining certain behavioural standards.

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Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

AND	Anglo-Norman Dictionary
ANT	Anglo-Norman Textbase
CA	Cambridge University Library Additional 8870
CCSARP	Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project
CD	Cambridge University Library Dd. 12.23
CI	Cambridge University Library Ii. 6.17
CMEPV	Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse
COSP	Cross-Linguistic Overlap Scale for Phonology
CT	Cambridge Trinity College B.14.40
DMF	Dictionnaire du Moyen Français
FTA	Face-threatening act
L1	First language
L2	Second language
LA	British Library Additional 17716
LAEME	Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English
LALME	Linguistic Atlas of Late Middle English
LH	British Library Harley 3988
LL	Lincolnshire Archives Office Formulary Book 23
MED	Middle English Dictionary
OA	Oxford All Souls College 182
OB	Oxford Bodleian Lat. Misc. e. 93
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
PN	Paris Bibliothèque Nationale Nouv. Acq. Lat. 699
SSTH	Semantic Script Theory of Humour
TEAMS	Middle English Texts Series Online

Figures

Chapter One: *Ci commence la maniere de langage*: the texts and their contexts[1]

1.1 Introduction

When one sets about learning a language, how does one start? We may consult compendious lists of vocabulary arranged either by alphabet or by general themes. Additionally, we might wish to learn something of the grammar of a target language. If we are learning a language for a specific purpose, such as business communication, we may learn some conventions of specific communicative genres, such as greeting formulae for letters and emails. For a short holiday, we may equip ourselves with a few stock phrases before we depart, or alternatively, we might require a more involved understanding of communicative patterns for longer sojourns. These learning methods can be blended into a fuller language-learning experience; very rarely do we rely on just one.

The same was true for the subjects of the present thesis: late-medieval learners of French in England. Much research into the status of French in England (most widely known as Anglo-Norman[2]) and the pedagogical environment in which it was taught has taken place over the past century. We know that these learners of French could avail themselves of word lists (known as *nominalia*), treatises on grammar and pronunciation, letter-writing guides with model letters, and dialogues.[3] These materials were often bound together in manuscripts, and the range of materials available suggests a burgeoning appetite to acquire French in late medieval England. Indeed, as will be discussed in this introduction, French remained an operational language in the domains of business and law in England, alongside being useful for travel to various locations across the Channel.

This thesis is concerned with just one part of this vast pedagogical landscape: the dialogues. These dialogues, known as the *Manières de langage* (henceforth *Manières*) first appeared in 1396 and were subsequently revised in 1399 and 1415. The dialogues are preserved in various states of completion in 10 different manuscripts, and present model interactions from a diverse range of social encounters. The apparent goal of these texts was to teach students to 'parlere, bien sonere, et parfitement escriere

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[1] Parts of this introduction are published elsewhere in 'Incongruent humour and pragmatic competence in the late-medieval *Manières de langage*', *Multilingua* (ahead of print). My sincere thanks to the editor in chief, Prof. Ingrid Piller, and the anonymous reviewers for their valuable feedback.

[2] However, the term 'Anglo-Norman' is not entirely unproblematic. There are multiple terms used to designate the French spoken in Britain, such as 'Insular French', 'Anglo French' and the 'French of England' (see Wogan-Browne [2009] for discussion). Some terminological discussions posit that 'Anglo-French' should be used to designate a later period against an earlier 'Anglo-Norman' period (Ingham 2012: 3). Recognising that such a distinction reflects current knowledge about interaction between insular and continental varieties of French during the later Middle Ages (Butterfield 2009; Wogan-Browne 2009; Ingham 2006; Trotter 2003) in this thesis, I will nevertheless be making reference to 'later Anglo-Norman' when discussing specific textual examples from after the 'Anglo-Norman' period in which French was still largely an L1 (up until the mid-14th century). Elsewhere, when discussing the language without any particular reference to geographic location, the term 'French' will be used. This terminology aims to maintain a picture of insular continuation of French, while acknowledging that it was a dialect continuum of a broader *francophonie*, and also acknowledging the reality that speakers of this language did travel within the French-speaking world, bringing different varieties of French into contact. Moreover, following Ingham (2015: 4), the label 'Anglo-Norman' retains 'institutional prestige associated with the Anglo-Norman Dictionary project and the major source of published texts, the Anglo-Norman Text Society'. Indeed, Anglo-Norman remains the most widely-recognised term outside of the field.

[3] There are several detailed and important overviews of the textual evidence for French pedagogy in Britain. For a survey of known manuscripts, see Dean and Boulton (1999: 157-178) and Kristol (1990). For a monograph-length study, Kibbee (1991) has become a frequently-cited text, although some points are disputed by Rothwell (2001), in another noteworthy overview. Nissille (2014: ch2) also provides an extensive overview of French pedagogical materials. For a historically-orientated examination of medieval schools and other pedagogical institutions at this time, consult Orme (2006: ch3). My own overview of the extant material in this introduction remains necessarily briefer.

doux francés', that is, 'to speak, to pronounce well and to perfectly write in beautiful French' (CD 1396: 3).[4] This small piece of publicity explicitly states that the goal was near-fluency in French. Whether or not these English students achieved this was the subject of much mirth in continental French literature.[5]

In the *Manières*, one could expect to learn how to ask for directions, how to secure a room at an inn, how to haggle at the marketplace, and how to ask for news. One could also learn how to console a crying child, how to engage in a slanging match, how to preach to a sick person, how to refuse beggars, how to flirt, and how to solicit the services of a prostitute. Some of the exchanges are relatively simple, for example, demonstrating different types of greeting formulae:

(1)   Quant un homme encountra ascune a matyne, il luy dirra tout ainsi:
        — Dieu vous doigne bon matyne et bon aventure. *Ou si:* Sir, Dieu vous doigne bon jour et
        bon encountre.
        — Mon amy, Dieu vous doigne bon matyne et bon estrayne.
        Et a mydday vous parlerés en ceste manere:
        — Mon seignour, Dieu vous done bon jour et bon houres. *Ou si:* Sir, Dieu vous benoit et la
        compaignie.
        Ou vous dirrés ainsi:
        — Dieu vous garde. *Ou si:* Sta bien. *Ou si:* Reposez bien.
        Et as overers et labourers, vous dirrés ainsi:
        — Dieu vous aid, mon amy. *Ou si:* Dieu vous avance, compaignone.

(CD 1396: 23)

[When a man encounters somebody in the morning, he will greet him thus:
— God give you good morning and good fortune. *Or:* Sir, God give you good day and good
fortune.
— My friend, God give you good morning and good favour.
And at midday you should speak in this manner:
— My lord, God give you good day and good hours. Or: Sir, God bless you and your
family.
Or say this:
— God keep you Or. Be well. Or. Be at peace.
And to workers and laborers, say this:
— God help you, my friends. Or: God speed you, friend.]

Other conversations contain more comedic moments. For example, after having spent the previous night partying, a lord attempts to rouse his servant:

(2)   — Janyn, dors tu?
        — Non il, mon signeur.
        — Que fais tu doncques?
        — Mon signeur, s'il vous plaist, je sounge.

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[4] Citations from the *Manières* will consist of a manuscript abbreviation (as stated in the overview of manuscripts), followed by the year attributed to the *Manière* in question (1396, 1399, or 1415) and then a page reference from Kristol's (1995) edition of the dialogues. All translations are my own unless otherwise stated.
[5] On the subject of Continental mockery of Anglo-Norman, consult Burrows's comprehensive overview of 'this small but celebrated corpus of satirical Continental depictions of Anglophone speakers of French' (Burrows 2015: 34).

— Reveille toi de par le deable et de par sa mere ov tout. Quey ne m'as tu reveillé bien matin, comme je te comandoi hier soir?
— Mon signeur, par mon serement, si fesoi je.
— Hé, tu mens fausement parmy la gorge. Quelle heure est il maintenant?
— Mon signeur, il n'est que bien matin encore.

(LH: 1396, 43)

[— Janyn, are you sleeping ?
— No, my lord.
— What are you doing then?
— My lord, if you please, I'm dreaming.[6]
— Wake up, by the devil and his mother and the whole lot! Why did you not wake me at an early hour as I ordered you last night?
— My lord, by my oath, I did.
— Ah, you're lying through your throat! What time is it now?
— My lord, it is still but early in the morning.]

Critten (2015) sees this particular exchange as an example of 'perfectly serviceable expressions' alongside 'more sophisticated uses of French':

> Janyn's 's'il vous plaist, je sounge' is simple enough in itself, but the valet's deadpan humour indicates a thoughtful use of language. The gradual shift from tired acceptance to renewed irritation in the alternative lines allotted to the lord likewise suggests an interest in the comic potential of French: the flow of the dialogue can be interrupted not only in order to extend the student's vocabulary […]; the pedagogic gesture can in itself provide the matter for a joke. Indeed, the stacking up of the lord's alternative lines might be taken to indicate a delight in the collection of current expressions almost for their own sake.

(Critten 2015: 931)

This comment speaks to the aims of the present thesis. Not only am I interested in language pedagogy, but I am also interested in the behavioural and social didacticism of the *Manières*. In the above example, the French language is the apparent object of instruction, but codes of humour are also explored in this particular exchange. In example (1), not only is the learner being instructed in greeting formulae, but there are additional messages about when these are socially appropriate (either contingent on the time of day or the status of the addressee). This thesis aims to explore the interaction between linguistic and behavioural pedagogy in the *Manières* further, arguing for a sophisticated and complex educational programme that included humour, obscenity, politeness, and negotiation. Indeed, the view taken by the present work is that the *Manières* should be reconsidered as rather advanced texts that deploy a range of pedagogical techniques to teach not only a 'serviceable' French, but one that is linguistically and socially competent.

This argument positions itself against earlier estimations of the pedagogical capabilities of these dialogues. Due to their often charming and humorous exchanges, traditional opinion of the *Manières* is that they were sub-par manuals for teaching a basic French, laden with insular infelicities rather than

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[6] Critten (2015: 931) translates *sounge* as 'thinking'. While this is a perfectly acceptable choice, I translate *sounge* here as 'dreaming', which (while remaining in line with the AND definition) emphasises the comic juxtaposition between wakefulness and sleep that is being played out in the scene.

emulating the prestigious continental standard (Kristol 1995, 2001). Indeed, their place within the teaching and learning landscape has been characterised as elementary and rudimentary:

> De quelle manière – en dehors de certains séjours linguistiques sur le Continent qui ne devaient pas être à la portée de tout le monde – les intellectuels, les aristocrates et les bourgeois anglais du Moyen Âge apprenaient-ils non seulement à faire des phrases convenables en français élémentaire, à un niveau de langue enseigné par les *manières de langage*, mais à passer à un niveau de compétence supérieur?

> (Kristol 2001: 151)

> [In what way – beyond certain linguistic sojourns on the Continent that would not have been available for everybody – did the English intellectuals, aristocracy, and bourgeois of the Middle Ages learn not only to make appropriate phrases in elementary French, at the level taught by the *Manières de langage*, but to go on to a level of superior competence?]

This 'superior competence' consists of, according to Kristol, the ability to appreciate and compose literary texts in the French language. In his work on MS Magdalen College 188 and the role of translation in medieval language learning, Kristol remarks upon the lack of any insular francophone text dedicated to syntax (2001: 150).[7] Elsewhere he remarks that:

> Aucun des nombreux manuels de français rédigés en Angleterre depuis le milieu du XIIIe s. ne semble avoir été conçu pour un enseignement pratique de l'écrit à un niveau avancé. Le *Tretiz* de Bibbesworth enseigne le lexique; les *Manières de langage* sont axées sur la pratique de la communication orale; les traités d'orthographe ont une orientation surtout théorique

> (Kristol 1998: 184)

> [None of the numerous manuals for teaching French in England since the mid thirteenth century seems to have been designed for a practical pedagogy of writing at an advanced level. The *Tretiz* of Bibbesworth teaches lexis; the *Manières de langage* are focused on the practice of oral communication; the orthographical treatises have a rather theoretical orientation]

In all the materials that he has described and catalogued, Kristol sees no evidence for a sufficient instruction in French to permit a learner with no prior exposure to the language to acquire a more elevated linguistic competence. Conversely, Nissille (2014) has stated that it is much more prudent to consider the body of educational texts as a group of interdependent learning materials that speak of a period-specific need for a particular teaching method, rather than as altogether separate entities (2014: 42). It is evident that these text types were used in conjunction, and possible that supplementary information would have been supplied by a teacher in group learning situations. But this debate has

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[7] Although syntax was treated (albeit not exclusively) in other later Anglo-Norman texts, such as the *Orthographia Gallica* [French Orthography]. For instance, in MS Harley 4971 (c.1377), we may find a discussion on the difference between clitic and tonic pronouns:

> Auxint vous escriverez altrefoithe *moy* altrefoithe *me* come *si rien soit devers moy* et *me recommandetz a un tel*, issint qe par tot le pluis qant ascun datyf s'ensuyt l'acusatif de moi toy soy, ils serrant tornez en me te se. (Stürzinger 1884:20)

> [Sometimes you will write *moi* and other times *me*, as in, *if nothing be before me (moi)* and *recommend to me (me) some such…*, thus, for the most part, when any dative follows the accusative of *moi toy soy*, they will become *me te se*.]

little bearing on the fact that it is untenable to call the utterances in the *Manières* wholly 'elementary'. If we take the following utterance as an example:

(3)   Par Dieu, si faitez bien et gentilment come se vous eussiez demurré a Parys ces .xx. ans, qar veraiment je n'oy unques mais Engloys parler franceys si bien a point ne si doucement com vous faitez, ce m'est avys toutezvoiez.

(CD 1396: 33)

[By God, you do it (speak French) well and elegantly as if you had been staying in Paris these 20 years, since truly I have never heard an Englishman speak French so exactly correctly nor as fluently as you do, that is my view anyway]

In this utterance, the speaker uses several post-elementary grammatical features such as the subjunctive imperfect form of *aver* [to have; *eussiez*], followed by a past participle to form the plus-que-parfait *eussiez demurré* [you had stayed]; subject dropping (*faitez* instead of *vous faitez*); and different forms of negation (*ne..unques* [never], *ne…* [nor]). The above observation suggests both that the *Manières* should not necessarily be considered elementary (an argument that will be pursued throughout this thesis) but also that the learners likely already knew at least a little French (as will be discussed in this introduction). Alongside this linguistic content, this utterance is clearly designed to show the learner of French the warm response they should receive if they are able to produce competent utterances.

Before discussing the outline of chapters, I wish to outline a few parameters in order to contextualise the work in my thesis. I will first discuss the *Manières* manuscripts and their editorial history, passing some brief comment on the texts that accompany the dialogues, and what that means for how I view their functions. I will then make some remarks on my methodology, historical pragmatics, before describing a key concept for this thesis, pragmatic competence, which, briefly stated, represents the highest levels of L2 acquisition. To be pragmatically competent is to be able to not only produce simple utterances, but to understand how best to articulate oneself, and to appreciate and participate in complex social arrangements (such as politeness, markedness, irony, or negotiation, all of which will be discussed in the present work). Pragmatic competence is a key concept for this thesis and encompasses the standard that the learners using the *Manières* were aspiring towards. After having discussed this concept, I will attempt to describe the pedagogical landscape of the dialogues, which will contextualise the texts by describing their learners (as much as we can know about them), the teachers, and the broader knowledge of French in England at this time (i.e. who already knew how to speak French, and how much?). Answering these questions will enable me to establish what pedagogical needs the *Manières* met. I will then finish this introduction by providing an overview of chapters.

1.2 Overview of the *Manières de langage* manuscripts

The *Manières de langage* are preserved in varying degrees of completion within ten roughly contemporary manuscripts. Moreover, there are three groups of the *Manières* which correspond to presumed dates of composition and revision: the 1396 family, the 1399 family, and the 1415 family. The designation of these dates rests largely on internal evidence. For example, the 1396 family is so named due to the attestation in LH f.23r that it was 'escript a Bury Saint Esmon en la veille de Pentecost lan du grace mil trois cenz quare vinz et sesze' [written in Bury Saint Edmunds on the Eve of Pentecost in the year of grace 1396]. The traditional date given for the 1399 family 'ne tient qu'à un fil' [hangs by a thread (Kristol 1995: xxxiii)]. The basis for the 1399 date is the last episode in this collection, which Kristol argues may represent an addition (1995: xxxiii), which makes reference to the deposition

of Richard II. Similarly, the date of 1415 for the third group is given on the basis that it mentions the Battle of Agincourt. It is important to note that some manuscripts contain fragments from different groups. While the dates given to the three *Manières* families are not without issue, following Kristol and other contemporary scholarship on these texts, I will continue to use them.

Below is reproduced from Kristol (1995: xi; see also Kristol 1990 for a more extensive bibliography) with my own supplementary information regarding manuscript content and context added in parentheses. I will also use Kristol's abbreviations as a shorthand for these manuscripts throughout the thesis for clarity and brevity.

Cambridge Trinity College B.14.39/40 (CT)

> (18cm x 13.5cm. c.1415. A collection of educatioanl materials for learning French including: a copy of the *Femina* with pronunciation guide, notes on French grammar in Latin, Arabic numerals, Thomas Sampson's dictaminal treatise, a copy of the *Tractatus orthographiae* (a Latin treatise on French spelling and pronunciation by 'T. H., Parisii Studentis'), and a set of model letters [Merrilees and Sitz-Fitzpatrick 1993:2, James 1900: 438-449])
>
> ff. 149r-154v   1415 *Manières de langage*
>
> ff. 179r-180v   1396 *Manières de langage* fragment

Cambridge Univ. Lib. Add. 8870 (CA)

> (21cm x 15cm. Early 15th century. A legal notebook of four gatherings, each in different hands. The third gathering contains (alongside the *Manières*) a French vocabulary, French and Latin tracts and notes. Baker [1989: 81] notes that the French language material and the legal notes and treatises 'are written in the same hand […] presumably by some law student' although '[t]here is no evidence that French was ever taught in the inns of court or inns of chancery, and these pieces tend to confirm that it was not'.)
>
> ff. 34r-35r   1399 *Manières de langage* fragment

Cambridge Univ. Lib. Dd 12.23 (CD)

> (15.5cm x 11.5cm. Mid-15th century [f.7r 'l'an de grace milisme quatrecentisme quarantisme et septisme' (the year of grace 1447)]. As well as the *Manières* dialogues, the manuscript contains a range of materials. These include a fragment of the *Orthographia gallica* [orthographic treatise] composed by Coyrefully; the *Liber Donati* [a grammatical treatise with short dialogues that Kristol prefers to label as the 1415 *Manières* (1995:xli)]; two French legal treatises, and French extracts from a London Guildhall Customs Book. Merrilees and Sitz-Fitzpatrick [1993:1] state that this 'appears to be a later adaptation of William Kingsmill's course in business and secretarial practice' [see also Luard (1856: 485) and Kristol (1990: 307-308)]])
>
> ff. 7v-13r   1415 *Manières de langage*
>
> ff. 67v-87r   1396 *Manières de langage*

Cambridge Univ. Lib. Ii 6.17 (CI)

> (14.5cm x 10cm. 16th century. Miscellany of medical and legal treatises and documents, two French letters preceding a bilingual *Manières* fragment, and materials relating to Alexander the Great and the prophet Daniel [Luard 1858: 513-516, Kristol 1990: 309])

> ff. 100v-106v   1399 *Manières de langage* bilingual fragment

Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives Office, Formulary Book 23 (LL)

> (29.5cm x 21cm. 15th century. Manuscript of legal forms [appeals, commissions, inhibitions, sentences] in Latin, belonging to Archbishop John Kemp [Logan 1969]. Contained within the formulary book is a bilingual *Manières* fragment and a fragment of a French *ars notaria* [notarial treatise; Kristol 1990: 310])

> ff. 17r-17v   1399 *Manières de langage* bilingual fragment

London BL Addit. 17716 (LA)

> (15.5cm x 11.5cm. c.1417 [year mentioned on f. 83v]. A collection of treatises mostly on French language, including the *Tractatus orthographiae* (a Latin treatise on French spelling and pronunciation by 'T. H., Parisii Studentis'), a compilation of model letters in Latin and French adapted by William Kingsmill from Thomas Sampson's dictaminal treatise, and the *Liber Donati* (including the 1415 *Manières*). However, there are also treatises on astronomy, calculus and law. Inscribed on f. 13v: 'This is edwarde dotherols boke of Chichester preficiens in chichurgia', in a late-15th or early 16th-century hand)

> ff. 101v-106r   1415 *Manières de langage*

> ff. 106r-111v   1396 *Manières de langage*

London BL Harley 3988 (LH)

> (21cm x 13.5cm. c.1396 [Kristol 1990: 313]. Alongside the *Manières*, this manuscript contains a model slanging match, moral and proverbial dialogues and reflections, Thomas Sampson's *ars dictaminis* [art of letter writing], and model letters)

> ff. 1r-26r   1396 *Manières de langage*

Oxford All Souls 182 (OA)

> (Early 15th century. Comprised of two parts, a Latin section (ff. 1-190), and a French section (ff. 191-375). Alongside the *Manières*, the second section contains French letters and petitions, Barton's *Donait* [a French grammar], proverbs, Walter of Bibbesworth's *Tretiz* [a popular rhyming vocabulary], the *Orthographia gallica* [orthographic treatise] composed by Coyrefully, and a further treatise on conjugation [Legge 1941: ix, Kristol 1990: 317])

> ff. 305ra-316ra; 372ra-373ra   1396 *Manières de langage*

ff. 321va-326va   1399 *Manières de langage*

Oxford Bodleian Lat. Misc. e. 93 (OB)

> (20.5 × 14.0 cm. Alongside the 1415 dialogues, linked to the *Liber Donati*, this manuscript also contains a treatise on conveyancing in Latin.)

> ff. 1r-5r   1415 *Manières de langage*

Paris Nouv. Acq. Lat. 699 (PN)

> (14th century. A miscellany of treatises (including theology), includes Bibbesworth's *Tretiz*, and Thomas Sampson's *ars dictaminis*)

> ff.114-128v   1396 *Manières de langage*

The material that accompanies the *Manières* in the various manuscripts can provide some interpretive clues regarding their function. The *Manières* can often be found in manuscripts containing treatises on French grammar and orthography (CT, CD, LA, OA) which suggests that the texts were used in tandem, thereby indicating a language pedagogical function for the dialogues. The manuscripts also appear to be related to students, particularly students in law (but see also f.13v in LA). Half the manuscripts also contain either legal treatises or documents, which is not too surprising given that it was largely French that was the language of the courts (on this, see below). Although there may be scope to argue for the *Manières*' reception as pleasure-reading and performance texts, this thesis considers them in their pedagogical function.

Various fragments of the *Manières* have been edited before: the 1396 dialogues of LH have been edited twice (Meyer 1870; Gessler 1934), as well as the 1396 dialogues of OA (Fukui 1993); the 1399 dialogues of OA (Stengel 1879), CI (Södergård 1953), CA (Baker 1989), and LL (Kristol 1990) have likewise been edited, as have the 1415 dialogues of CT (Meyer 1903) and CD (Merrilees and Sitarz-Fitzpatrick 1993). In 1995, Kristol collated previous efforts in order to produce an edition of all three dialogue groups, with extensive commentary on manuscript variants and varieties between manuscripts. It is this edition that I will primarily be using, although I will also refer to editions of the bilingual *Manières* Kristol (1990) and (Södergård 1953) in the thesis as they become relevant.

Below is an outline of where portions of texts may be found in multiple manuscripts (taken and translated from Kristol 1995: xxiii-xliii)

Figure 1.1 The 1396 *Manières*

	A	B			
1. Introduction	LH OA	CD PN	LA		
2. The human body	LH OA	CD PN	LA		
3. The organisation of the house	LH OA	CD PN	LA		
4. Leaving on a journey					
4.1. The preparation for the journey	LH OA	CD PN	LA		
4.2. The farewell meal; meats, poultry;	LH OA	CD PN	LA		
Enumeration of types of bird		CD PN	LA		
4.3. *En route*; How to ask for directions	LH OA	CD PN	LA		
4.4. Love song / drinking song	LH OA	CD PN	LA		
4.5. The servant at the hostel	LH OA	CD PN	LA		
4.6. a) At the market; poultry	LH OA				
b) At the market; fish.		CD PN	LA		
4.7. a) Night at the hostel; an amorous affair	LH OA				
b) An evening at the hostel; fabliau: *Le mari battu, cocu et content*		CD PN	LA	CT	
4.8. Breakfast; fish; the departure	LH OA				
5. The gardener and the labourer	LH OA	CD			
6. The baker and his apprentice	LH OA	CD			
7. The draper and his apprentice; market scene	LH OA	CD			
8. At the clothes-mender's	LH OA	CD			
9. Two squires	LH OA	CD			
10. Different greetings; asking for news	LH OA	CD			
11. Consoling a child	LH OA	CD			
12. Turning away a beggar	LH OA	CD			
13. Two companions at the hostel (first part)		CD			
14. Dialogues between two shopkeepers		CD			
15. Asking the time and the way		CD			
16. Asking for a room at the hostel		CD			
17. Securing the services of a clerk		CD			
18. Activities of a messanger	LH OA	CD PN			
19. Different greetings according to time		CD PN			
20. Dialogue with a sick man; the example of Job	LH OA	CD PN			
21. Dialogue with a French traveller	LH OA	CD PN			
22. Hiring a clothes maker		CD			
23. Two companions at the hostel (first part)	LH OA	PN			
24. Two companions at the hostel (second part)	LH OA	CD PN			
25. Author's letter to his patron	LH OA				

Figure 1.2 The 1399 *Manières*

Chapter [Kristol takes these from OA]	Scene	Manuscript				
1. Cy comence un petit livre… [Here begins a little book]	1.1. The ecclesiastical calendar	OA				
	1.2. Numerals, money	OA				
	1.3. Humans, animals	OA				
	1.4. Clothes, etc.	OA				
	1.5. The human body	OA				
	1.6. Various objects; adjectives, pronouns, adverbs	OA				
2. Aultre manier de language pour demander le droit chemin [Another way of speaking to ask for the right way]	2.1. Greetings; the time; the way.	OA	CA			CI
	2.2. On the road to Windsor.	OA	CA			CI
	2.3. *En route* to Canterbury.	OA				
3. Autre manier de language a parler des bourdeus et de trufes et tensons. [Another way of speaking to talk about games, trifles, and fights]	3.1. Insults.	OA				
	3.2. How to speak to a young woman.	OA				
	3.3. More insults.	OA				
4. Aultre maniere de language pour parler aus dames et aus damoiselles. [Another way of speaking to talk to ladies and girls]	4.1. Speaking to a lady.	OA	CA			
	4.2. Courting.	OA	CA			
5. Or parlerons en aultre maniere. [Now let's speak in another way]	5.1. Dialogue at the hostel.	OA		LL	CD	CI
6. Aultre manier de language pour parler pour hostiel [Another way of speaking to ask for hostel]	6.1. Dialogue at the hostel.	OA	CA		CD	
	6.2. Another dialogue at the hostel.	OA				CI

7. Aultre manier de language pour saluer les bons gens. [Another way of speaking to greet gentlefolk]	7.1. Greeting formulae.	OA			CI
	7.2. Delivering a message.	OA	LL	CD	
	7.3. More greeting formulae.	OA			
	7.4. Requesting news and information.	OA CA			
8. Aultre maniere de language pour achetre et vendre. [Another way of speaking for buying and selling]	8.1. At the marketplace.	OA CA			
	8.2. Another marketplace scene.	OA CA		CD	CI
9. Encore un aultre maniere de language. [Yet another way of speaking]	9.1. Dialogue between master and servant	OA			
10. Or pour saluer les bonnes gens. [Now, to greet gentlefolk]	10.1. Greeting formuale; delivering a message.	OA			
11. Encore en aultre maniere a parler aus bonnes gens. [Yet another way to speak to gentlefolk]	11.1. Formulae of greeting and politeness	OA			
	11.2. Contemporary politics; news from Paris.	OA			

Figure 1.3 The 1415 *Manières*

Scenes		C		D	
1. Greetings; basic social behaviour.		CT	LA	CD	OB
2. That battle of Agincourt.		CT	LA	CD	OB
3. a) *En route* to Oxford.		CT	LA		
b) *En route* to London.				CD	OB
4. Dialogues at the hostel.					
4.1. Dialogue with the innkeeper.		CT	LA	CD	OB
4.2. Dialogue with the manageress.		CT	LA	CD	OB
4.3. Taking care of horses.		CT	LA	CD	OB
4.4. Asking for the bill; provisions for the next day.		CT	LA	CD	OB
4.5. a) The market at Woodstock.		CT	LA		
b) The market at Winchester.				CD	OB
5. Publicity *pro domo*; vocabulary lesson.		CT	LA	CD	OB

When one looks at the textual variations themselves, it becomes evident that in some places the versions relate very closely to one another, and in other places they do not. The below examples from the same section of OA and CD show a very close relation (with the exception of some spelling variation):

(4) — Mon tres gentil sire, Dieu vous beneit
— Mon tres doulz amy, je pri a Dieu qu'il vous donne bonne encontre. *Vel sic.* Sire, Dieux vous beneit et la compaignie !
— Beau sire, dont venez vous, s'il vous plaist ? *Vel sic.* De que part venez vous, mon tres doulz amy, mais qu'il ne vous desplaise ?
— Vraiment, sire, je vien tout droit de Venyse.
— He ! mon amy, c'est une ville de Lumbardie ?

<div align="right">(OA, ed. Fukui 1993: 151)</div>

— Mon tresgentil sir, Dieu vous benoit.
— Mon tresdoulx amy, je pri a Dieu qu'il vous done bon encontre. *Vel sic:* Sir, Dieu vous benoit et la compaigne.
— Beau sir, dont venez vous, se vous plest? *Vel sic:* De quel part venez vous, mon tresdoulx amy, mes q'il vous ne displese?
— Vraiment, sir, je vien tout droit de Venys.
— Hé, mon amy, c'est un ville de Lumbardie! (CD 1396: 32)

[— My good sir, God bless you
— My good friend, I pray to God that he gives you good fortune. *Or:* Sir, God bless you

and your family.
— Good sir, where do you come from, if it please you? *Or:* Of what region are you from, my very good friend, if it does not displease you?
— Truly sir, I have come directly from Venice.
— Ah, my friend, that's a town of Lombardy!]

However, in other places, we see a little more variation between manuscripts, as in these excerpts from the 1399 family below, developed from an episode from the 1396 dialogues in CD (points for discussion underlined):

(5)   — Dame, Dieu soit oveque vous.
        — Sire, vous soiez le bien venu.
        — Dame, ou est le seigneur de ciens?
        — Sire, il est ale hors de la ville, mais il vendra tantost, se croy je. Ditez moy, sire, vostre bousoigne.
        — Dame, je vouldroye parler a luy.
        — Vrayement, il ne y est pas.
        — Dame, vendra il point tost?
        — Par ma alme, sire, je ne scay. <u>Sire, ditez moy vostre message.</u>
        — Nemy, dame, je le luy vouldroie dire moy mesmes.

<div align="right">(OA 1399, ed. Kristol 1990: 334)</div>

        [— Lady, God be with you.
        — Sir, be you welcome.
        — Lady, where is the lord of here?
        — Sir, he has gone out of town, but he will come soon, so I believe. Tell me, sir, your need.
        — Lady, I would like to speak with him.
        — Truly, he is not in.
        — Lady, will he come at all soon?
        — By my soul, I don't know. Sir, tell me your message.
        — No, lady, I would like to tell it to him myself.]

(6)   — Dame, Dieu soit ovesque vous. Dame, ou est le seignur de cieinz?
        — Sir, il vendra tost come jeo quide. Ditez a moy, sir, que est vostre volunte?
        — Dame, jeo vottroy parler ovesque luy.
        — Verrament, sir, il n'est pas al hostiell.
        — Dame, vendra il point tost?
        — Par m'alme, sir jeo ne say, mays jeo crie q'il ne tiendra longement hors. Sir, voilles vous seier et attendre sa venue?
        — Nony, dame, qar j'ay graundement affaire endementiers.
        — <u>Sir, voillez moy dire vostre message?</u>
        — Nony, dame, je le voille dire mesmes. (LL 1399, ed. Kristol 1990: 334)

        [— Lady, God be with you. Lady, where is the lord of here?
        — Sir, he will come soon I believe. Tell me, sir, what is your will?
        — Lady, I would like to speak with him.
        — Truly, he is not at the hostel.

— Lady, will he come at all soon?

— By my soul, I don't know, but I believe he will not be delayed long. Sir, do you want to sit and await his arrival?

— No, lady, for I have much to do in the meantime.

— Sir, would you like to tell me your message?

— No, lady, I would like to say it myself.]

(7)   —Dame, ou est le sir de ciens?

—Aves vous ascune coignoissance de lui?

—Oyl dea, je lui coignois tres bien.

—Sir, il viendra tost come je quide. Dites a moy: Que est vostre volunte?

—Dame, je vouldray parler a lui.

—Vraiment, sir, il n'est pas ciens ore.

—Dame, viendra il tost?

—Par ma foy, sir, je ne scai. Vous purres a moy dire vostre volunte.

—Nonil, je lui vouldroy dire moy mesmes.

<div align="right">(CD 1396, ed. Kristol 1990: 335)</div>

[— Lady, where is the lord of here?

— Sir, do you know him?

— Yes, by God, I know him very well.

— Sir, he will come soon I believe. Tell me, what is your will?

— Lady, I would like to speak with him.

— Truly, sir, he is not in now.

— Lady, will he come soon?

— By my faith, I don't know. You could tell me your will.

— No, I would like to tell it to him myself.]

Between these three extracts, we encounter three different ways of asking the same question:

Sire, ditez moy vostre message (OA)
[Sir, tell me your message]

Sir, voillez moy dire vostre message? (LL)
[Sir, do you wish to say to me your message?]

Vous purres a moy dire vostre volunte (CD)
[You could say your will to me]

Moreover, CD adds two sentences not found in either of the two other manuscripts (*Aves vous ascune coignoissance de lui? Oyl dea, je lui coignois tres bien*). However, some elements are stable: the general structure of the conversation, some key phrases (*il vendra (tan)tost* [he will come (very) soon], *ou est le seignur de cienz* [where is the lord of here]), and (pro)nominal address terms. It would be impossible for me to discuss all the variations between manuscripts here, but for the purposes of the present study, I find Kristol's (1995) edition (also available electronically on the AND) with extensive commentary and notes on variation to be sufficient.

1.3 Method: pragmatics and pragmatic competence

The main focus of the present study is to recontextualize the *Manières* as texts that aim to impart a French that was both linguistically and socially competent. To do this, I will examine the texts in their bilingual vernacular contexts (late Anglo-Norman and Middle English). I will avail myself of several theoretical principles throughout the thesis, which I will address in the relevant chapters, but the main methodology that I use to pose this question is historical pragmatics, which (broadly defined) explores both the social contexts of language use and also what language use can tell us about social contexts.[8] A broad and largely accessible definition of pragmatics may be found in Crystal (1997: 301):

> [Pragmatics is] the study of language from the point of view of users, especially of the choices they make, the constraints they encounter in using language in social interaction and the effects their use of language has on other participants in the act of communication

It is thus the social environment for language that plays a key role in pragmatic enquiry, as Mey (2001: 6) notes, "[p]ragmatics studies the use of language in human communication as determined by the conditions of society". What this means for the present thesis is that I will be looking at linguistic features and behaviours in the *Manières* and exploring what such conversational manoeuvres tell us about late medieval English society, speakers, and specifically, language learners and teachers. I argue that the learners of French needed to acquire not just an elementary French, but a sophisticated French in order to conduct successful business and to earn a place in higher-ranking careers, and that the *Manières* model the sort of language that they would have wanted to learn, or that they would have been familiar with as members of late medieval English society. This reflects Taavitsainen's comment that historical pragmatic enquiry views language as 'an instrument of communication that responds to, and is shaped by its users in historical, ideological, social and situational contexts' (Taavitsainen 2010: 32). Jucker moreover adds that historical pragmatics 'wants to understand the patterns of intentional human interaction (as determined by the conditions of society) of earlier periods, the historical developments of these patterns, and the general principles underlying such developments' (Jucker 2008: 895). As such, historical pragmatics focuses on non-literal meaning in language use, or 'contextual semantics' (Attardo 1994: 195).

What specifically is non-literal meaning? This can be understood through broad social concepts and examined by analysing smaller and more specific units. Broad phenomena such as (im)politeness falls under the category of non-literal meaning, which is couched in notions of who is permitted say what, in what way, to whom, and to what effect. Other objects of study could be how a speaker conveys humour, how they create registers and style in their discourse to enact particular effects, and how certain manoeuvres can convey a speaker's attitude towards their addressee (thus, how they verbally construct concepts such as 'friendship' or 'animosity'). Pragmatics also involves analysing how grammatical forms are imbued with social meaning. One of the best-known examples is the agonising choice over whether to use *tu* or *vous* in French (this is something also addressed in Chapter Three). Both pronouns can convey the second person singular, however, these pronouns are additionally laden with social meanings pertaining to age, status, relationship, and even emotion. A wrong step here can cause serious offence. Throughout the thesis, I use what is referred to as a 'perlocutionary effect' as an insight into pragmatic behaviours in the *Manières*. This is the third of a three-part process as articulated by Austin (1962) as locutionary act (physically producing a statement or 'utterance'), illocutionary act (the act performed by making the locutionary act, for example *ask, rebuke, refuse*) and perlocutionary

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[8] For an overview of the field's origins and history, see Jucker and Taavitsainen (2015).

effect (the response this elicits from the addressee). It is this latter effect that may be observed in the reactions and responses of certain characters in the dialogues, for instance, in response to an oath, a poultry vendor exclaims:

(8)   Il ne vous faudra ja ainsi jurer, car je vous en croi bien a primer mot sanz plus sonner.

(LH 1396 : 37)

[You shouldn't ever swear like that, since I believed you at the first word without any more fuss]

This particular exclamation will be discussed in Chapter Two. For now, it suffices to say that such markers of perlocutionary effects can tell us how certain behaviours were evaluated within their speech communities. However, this is not to say that all participants within a given speech community necessarily hold the same opinions. Taking cues from evidence within the text follows Culpeper and Kádár's statement that our interpretations of utterances (for example, whether they are or are not 'polite'):

[…] need to be guided by evidence in the text. That is, the hearer/recipient's evaluation of certain utterances, and not by our own intuitions, because those intuitions are likely to reflect our present-day assumptions […] exploration of the hearer's evaluation of certain utterances requires the presence of a cotext, and ideally one not separated in time.

(Culpeper and Kádár 2010: 18)

The presence of perlocutionary evidence, which is comparatively rare in other written genres, renders dialogues a particularly fruitful genre for research into speech and medieval linguistic attitudes.

As a study that concerns itself with language-learning texts, the present work is also interested in the pragmatic relationship between two different languages. Did certain words retain the same implicature in both English and French? Did the uses of *tu* and *vous* map onto uses of *thou* and *ye* in Middle English? What social behaviours were shared? How did the *Manières* deal with teaching non-literal meaning, for example in jokes? These queries touch on interlanguage pragmatics: 'the study of the development and use of strategies for linguistic action by nonnative speakers' (Kasper and Schmidt 1996: 150). Interlanguage pragmatics is a key perspective taken by the present thesis, in which I argue that not only did the target language need to be linguistically serviceable, but also socially successful. In order to instruct a socially successful French, the *Manières* needed to cultivate pragmatic competence. This will be an important concept for this thesis.

One way to show what pragmatic competence is is to show an example of where it is lacking. Infamous examples of a sentence taught in a classroom environment that has negligible pragmatic value include 'la plume de ma tante' [my aunt's pen][9] and 'My postilion has been struck by lightning'. Cook (2003) describes how such sentences, 'often bizarrely remote from any conceivable use', were 'laboriously translated, in writing, into and out of the student's first language' (Cook 2003: 31-32). Crystal has the following to say about such 'postilion sentences':

A postilion sentence is one which has little or no chance of ever being useful in real life. It *could* be used, obviously, because it is grammatically well-formed; but the contexts in which it would be natural to use it are either so restricted, or so adult, that the chances of a child

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[9] As *Life* magazine remarked in 1958: 'As every student knows, the most idiotically useless phrase in a beginner's French textbook is *la plume de ma tante* (the pen of my aunt).'

encountering it, or finding it necessary to use it, are remote. In short, it is uncommunicative, it conveys a structural meaning, and a lexical content, but that is all. To use terminology introduced in the 1970s, children who learn these sentences may become linguistically competent, but they are not communicatively competent.

To properly understand and produce the pragmatics of a language is among the highest level of language use. Kasper and Roever (2005) outline the significant challenges that L2 learners face in this area:

> The challenge that learners face in acquiring the pragmatics of a second language is considerable because they have to learn (to paraphrase Austin, 1962) not only how to do things with target language words but also how communicative actions and the "words" that implement them are both responsive to and shape situations, activities, and social relationships. Following Leech (1983), these two intersecting domains of pragmatic competence are referred to as sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic competence.

(Kasper and Roever 2005: 317)

'Competence' is a particularly useful word when considering L2 pragmatics; the ability to fully appreciate and (crucially for the *Manières*) construct acceptable sociopragmatic utterances. Gallagher (2014) examines this idea in his thesis, with specific reference to language competence as formulated by Hymes (1974), who defines competence as a 'socially constituted linguistics' that emphasises 'social as well as referential meaning, and with language as part of communicative conduct and social action' (1974: 76-77). Gallagher expands this as

> a competence which is keenly aware of the non-grammatical rules governing spoken interaction in a community: who can speak to whom, and in what way; when it is correct to speak, and when to be silent; and how the many social relationships of a community and a wider society are reflected and constituted in speech.

(Gallagher 2014: 14)

This is clearly a daunting task for the L2 learner, and no doubt it was for the learners using the *Manières* as their guide. Cohnen (2017), in his comprehensive overview of the field of L2 pragmatics research, discusses these issues as belonging to the remit of 'intercultural pragmatics', which examines 'cultures in contact and the hybrid forms of pragmatics that result from this interaction' (2017: 430). 'Culture' in the case of the *Manières* is a difficult concept to discuss, since the Anglo and Francophone 'cultures' in this case are not necessarily discrete. 'French' in this period does not overlap with 'France', and indeed, French was a language used more often in some social contexts than in others. Moreover, the *Manières* have a long period of usage, spanning at least into the 16th century (if we take its inclusion in a 16th century manuscript, CI, as evidence). We must therefore disentangle the respective languages from the notion of a fixed geopolitical state with an associate 'culture'. To reflect this, I consider the label of 'interlingual pragmatics' more helpful for the current purpose of focusing on pragmatics arising from language contact.

How methodologically sound is it to use historical language-learning dialogues to uncover some of the pragmatic challenges faced by the learners using them? Most of the historical and pragmatic work in dialogues takes place in Early Modern dialogues.[10] For medieval dialogues, of which there are markedly fewer, this is relatively new territory (however, see Taavitsainen 1999 and Moore 2016,

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[10] Particularly important studies include Jucker, Fritz, and Lebsanft (1999) and Culpeper and Kytö (2010).

2017). In this thesis, I take my cues from Early Modernists who have conducted fruitful research in the area of historical dialogue research. The *Manières*, as dialogues that seek to replicate and instruct spoken French, can be defined as 'speech purposed' (i.e. texts that 'strive, at least in part, to be mimetic of spoken interaction' [Culpeper and Kytö 2010: 19]) or 'speech directed' (Gallagher 2014: 27). For the *Manières*, I follow Gallagher's reasoning that the authors behind the dialogues:

> did not aim simply to imitate speech in their phrases and dialogues: they expected that their printed materials would make the jump from text to speech, and be used in conversation and in the classroom. [...] The authors of conversation manuals, by and large, attempted to model their dialogues and phrases on language which would be socially acceptable and useful in a variety of situations, and as such the aim of the conversation manual was not just to represent effective speech, but to allow for its redeployment in conversation. It drew on social realities but also was intended to act within them.

> (Gallagher 2014: 27).

Of course, one must exercise caution in such an endeavour. Many problems in this area come down to the 'indirect' nature of written evidence. As McLelland (2018) states, '[w]e must hope [...] that their authors are reasonably successful mimics of "real" conversation, at least with regard to those features that we seek to analyse' (2018: 30). In his work on Early Modern conversation manuals, Gallagher admits that

> It cannot be argued that they [conversation manuals] represent real speech taken down verbatim: these are always idealised and often unrealistic depictions of conversations. Even where they aim at verisimilitude, the printed word commonly elides crucial elements of face-to-face conversation, like gesture, tone of voice, and accent.

> (Gallagher 2014: 77-78).

This problem of constructed language is elaborated by McLelland (2018), who states that while pedagogical dialogues aim to mimic 'real life' oral exchanges, the genre 'simplifies the nature of conversation' by omitting features such as false starts and interruptions, while exaggerating other features subject to the educational goals of a particular author (2018: 30). Likewise, in her work on Early Modern sales encounters, Bös states that:

> Of course, the sample dialogues were designed for didactic purposes and might, as Lebsanft (1999: 272) puts it, display a relatively "high degree of stereotype in the arrangement and organisation of discourse". Of course, they are not exact transcriptions of reality, lacking e.g. an annotation of pauses, repairs, back channel items, etc. [...] Summing up, one has to admit that the diversity of the sources cannot hide the fact that there is no authentic material of EME service encounters.

> (Bös 2007: 244)

However, all the aforementioned scholars proceed to conduct illuminating studies using Early Modern language manuals and dialogues. Indeed, Bös herself continues to explain that 'the aim of coursebooks is to teach spoken discourse, that texts of this genre are bound to natural speech situations, and consequently the pragmatic relevance in the dialogues is probably higher than in other texts' (2007: 244). This comment is significant: the genre of pedagogical dialogues means that they are particularly invested in replicating spoken exchanges, which perhaps makes them more amenable to pragmatic study. Indeed, the *Manières*, which contain multiple different voices from all walks of life, are

particularly fertile ground for this study, since the inclusion of a wide range of characters (children, merchants, prostitutes, beggars) reflects diligence in representing all the possible conversations a learner could realistically expect to encounter. Treated with due caution, pedagogical dialogues are therefore useful materials for pragmatic study. For Becker, pedagogical dialogues' 'purely practical purpose', their lack of 'any stylistic ambitions' and their 'intention to teach adequate language' make them useful texts with which to conduct pragmatic analysis:

> as written texts representing oral interaction, intending to teach successful communication, they contain to a high degree features of actual spoken language, e.g. discourse markers, forms of address and greeting formulae rarely to be found in other written text types.

(Becker 2002: 275)

Indeed, as McLelland (2018) points out, the caveats of research in pedagogical texts, which may represent idealised or exaggerated versions of spoken interaction, are no worse than 'the practice, in other branches of linguistics, of analysing language elicited from subjects who are asked to perform certain tasks in response to given stimuli, modelled on real-life but which are, nonetheless, constructed in an artificial context' (2018: 30).

Following this approach, I believe that while we cannot treat the *Manières* as records of actual speech, they nonetheless contain language that was deemed representative of verbal interaction, and moreover, that was judged as necessary for language learners to acquire. As Gallagher states: such manuals 'carry information about the rules and ideologies governing speech, and about what […] writers and readers believed competence in languages could do.' (2014: 78). This means that while I do not believe the *Manières* to be representative of wholly authentic speech, I do believe a historical pragmatic approach would add to our understanding of these texts and their vernacular contexts. I moreover aim to consult wider corpora throughout this thesis, thereby corroborating pragmatic evidence contained within the *Manières*, examining their relationships to their wider linguistic contexts.

Broadly speaking, my thesis is a study of pragmatic contact between Anglo-Norman and Middle English, which is evident into the post-L1 period, from the mid-fourteenth century.[11] The thesis chapters will either demonstrate enduring similarities between the two languages, or highlight key differences. This wider pragmatic landscape will be referred to throughout the thesis, since it reveals the context within which the teachers, their dialogues, and their students operated. Within this broader context, the *Manières* had the objective to teach French to non-native speakers.

More specifically, this is a thesis about the *Manières* as texts that represent speech that is intended to be replicated in real-life exchanges, and how these dialogues reflect, respond to, and inform their linguistic and social contexts. This key issue comprises several sub-questions. Do the *Manières* reflect wider pragmatic behaviours in Anglo-Norman and Middle English? How do these dialogues respond to pedagogical challenges such as 'false friends', the choice between *tu* and *vous*, and complex pragmatic behaviours such as irony? How do the *Manières* teach pragmatic competence (which is especially important for tasks such as haggling at the market, or booking a room at an inn)? Indeed, do these dialogues seek to construct (and impart) a 'better' French? The chapters of this thesis will each

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[11] While there has been much debate as to when French had ceased to be a naturally-acquired second language in Britain, Ingham (2014) convincingly argues that the L1 status of French in England ceased to be a reality after the Black Death in the 1340s. I will discuss this in more detail below.

seek to address these questions, and thus advance current understandings of the nature and purpose of the *Manières de langage.*

<u>1.4 The pedagogical landscape of the *Manières*: who knew French?</u>
Before embarking on a discussion of the late medieval pedagogical programme, it seems pertinent to first examine exactly how much French was spoken and understood at this time, and whether it had largely assumed the status of an L2 (as the abundance of materials seem to suggest). The question of precisely when French passed from L1 to L2 status in England has long been a contentious and complex issue.[12] In the first half of the 20th century, the predominant scholarly opinion was in favour of extensive English-French bilingualism in England into the thirteenth century, after which followed a decline in 'quality' under influence from English and other languages. The following comment from Rothwell shows the manner in which the quality of Anglo-Norman has been viewed:

> The abundant documents in which Anglo-French of the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries increasingly fails to mark the gender of nouns correctly, to make the correct agreement between article and noun, noun and adjective, subject pronoun and verbal flexion, their strange tense usage and even stranger verb forms have all combined with a wayward orthography to give the impression that the language as a whole was in total disarray.

> (Rothwell 2001: 547)

Likewise, in his influential and wide-ranging list of Anglo-Norman manuscripts, Vising claimed that the sources provide evidence for 'the complete dominance of the Anglo-French language during the second half of the twelfth and most of the thirteenth century in nearly all conditions of life, and of its penetration even into the lower strata of society' (Vising 1923:18). However, after this period, he paints the following picture of deterioration:

> The decline of Anglo-Norman in private and public use is due, in a certain degree, to the degeneration of the language and its loss of regularity and stability. Foreign and English influences, individual peculiarities, and the ignorance and negligence of many of those who spoke and wrote Anglo-Norman necessarily had a deteriorating effect on it. Some generations before the external decline of Anglo-Norman manifests itself there are admissions by authors which indicate its internal decay. These statements begin to appear in Anglo-Norman texts about the middle of the thirteenth century and continue for a century and a half.

> (Vising 1923: 26)

This perspective of 'degeneration' after the mid-thirteenth century was also followed by Pope (1934), who in her study of Anglo-Norman morphology and phonology described a:

> period of degeneracy, when insular French was cut off from its base and more and more restricted in use, it gradually became a 'dead' language, one that had ceased to be the mother-tongue of anybody and had always to be taught; a 'faus franceis d'Angleterre', a sort of 'Low French', characterised by a more and more indiscriminate use of words, sounds and forms, but half-known, markedly similar in its debasement to the 'Low Latin' of the Merovingian period in Gaul.

> (Pope 1934: 424)

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[12] For a more detailed overview of 19th- and 20th century views on Anglo-Norman and its relationship with Continental French (known then as *francien*), and later scholarship, see Rothwell (1996).

She accordingly argued that later Anglo-Norman 'had to be taught' as a second language after this time (Pope 1934: 424). More recently, the subsequent work of Rothwell (1968, 1976) and Berndt (1972) argued that, by the 13th and 14th centuries, French had to be taught as a second language to most people outside of a small aristocratic class. In particular, Rothwell, surveying the range of pedagogical materials, states that '[w]e have already seen ample proof of the fact that the English nobility were thinking in English rather than in French long before the end of the thirteenth century' (1968: 43). Although French was a 'widely-used language of culture', Rothwell elsewhere asserts that '[t]he true role of French in thirteenth-century England was not at all that of a vernacular, except possibly in the case of the king's immediate entourage' (1976: 455). More recent works supporting this view that 'French in later thirteenth-century England was […] an acquired language' (Rothwell 1968: 46) include Price (1984) and Kibbee (1991), who argues that by c.1258 '[i]n the older aristocracy French was most likely a learned language, as we see from the development of the first materials to teach French (1991: 26).

However, this picture has not gone unchallenged, and more recent opinion has taken the view that French continued as a naturally acquired language in some social vestiges into the fourteenth century. This position was adopted by Legge (1941; 1979) who, analysing letters and legal documents, claimed that '[o]n the surface, therefore, French seems to be more than holding its own during the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth' (1941: 167-168). Analysing a range of text types, Trotter (2003) reacts against the perspective of Anglo-Norman as a 'black sheep' of the dialect family of French, and rather, argues that the 'chaotic morphosyntax' that is often taken to be the marker of 'bad' or poorly acquired French, is often found in documentary, non-literary sources at 'sociolinguistically (and probably socially) lower levels', thereby invoking the concept of register. Moreover, he posits that similar errors can be found in Continental sources (2003: 430). Also looking at the documentary evidence, Ingham puts forward the following conundrum that challenges the previous scholarly tendency to see later Anglo-Norman, after the mid-thirteenth century, as an incomprehensible 'jargon' and a 'dead language' (Pope 1934: 424):

> Yet that 'minimising' interpretation is plainly challenged once one looks at the textual record of Anglo-Norman (henceforth A-N). Perhaps most obviously, the view that A-N was in its death throes in the 13th and 14th century comes into conflict with the fact that precisely this period saw a dramatic expansion in the range of its uses, including charters, wills, personal and business correspondence, customals, technical treatises, prose historiography, and so forth. […] Indeed, as observed by Hunt (2008), the 14th century was effectively the heyday of insular French, in terms of its use as a language of record.'

> (Ingham 2014: 425-426)

The work of Ingham (2012, 2014) has done much to provide linguistic evidence for Anglo-Norman's status as a naturally-acquired L1 into the fourteenth century, and regarding orthography, lexis, and morphosyntax, it 'continued to evolve in keeping with continental French' and thus it continued as 'no means moribund and cut off from the French mainstream after the 12th century, but rather, a viable dialectal form' (Ingham 2014: 426-427). Indeed, the fourteenth century seems to have witnessed a flourishing of francophone activity in Britain and beyond. Putter and Busby go as far as to say that '[p]erhaps French had an even better claim to being the international language of choice than did Latin' (2010: 2), invoking the Preface of Gower's *Traitié pour essampler les amantz marietz*, which he writes in French 'a tout le monde' [for all the world], and also his indignation at the promotion of clerics who could speak neither French nor Latin (2010: 3). They moreover note a tendency even into the fourteenth century to view French as an international language, although clarify that French was the

language of 'princely courts and the courts of law, of high culture (secular and religious), and of bourgeois aspiration and trade' (2010: 3). During the Hundred Years War (1337-1453), there was a potentially increased impetus to gain knowledge of French (Critten 2015) as evidenced by the following extract from Froissart's *Chroniques*, supposedly an order of Edward III to Parliament in 1337:

(9)   Tout seigneur, baron, chevalier, et honnestes hommes de bonnes villes meissent cure et diligence de estruire et aprendre leurs enfans le langhe françoise par quoy il en fuissent plus able et plus coustummier ens leurs gherres.

(cited from Lusignan 2004: 188)

[All lords, barons, knights and gentlemen of good towns should take care and diligence in instructing and teaching their children the French language so that they may be more capable and familiar with it as they go to their wars]

The above evidence suggests that French in the fourteenth century was regarded as a highly useful language, but that in some cases it had to be taught and learned. This is something that is discussed by Ranulf Higden in his *Polychronicon* (c.1320s-50s), translated by John Trevisa c.1387, in an attempt to account for regional variation in English:

(10)   oon is for children in scole aȝenst þe vsage and manere of alle oþere naciouns beeþ compelled for to leue hire owne langage, and for to construe hir lessouns and here þynges in Frensche, and so þey haueþ seþ þe Normans come first in to Engelond. Also gentil men children beeþ i-tauȝt to speke Frensche from þe tyme þat þey beeþ i-rokked in here cradel, and kunneþ speke and playe wiþ a childes broche; and vplondisshe men wil likne hym self to gentil men, and fondeþ wiþ greet besynesse for to speke Frensce, for to be i-tolde of.

[One [reason] is that children in school, against the practice and custom of all other nations are compelled to abandon their own language and to translate their lessons and their prayers in French, and so they have since the Normans came to England. Also the children of gentlemen are taught to speak French from the time that they are rocked in their cradles and can speak and play with a child's toy; and unsophisticated men aspire to be like gentlemen, and labour with great diligence to learn French in order to gain respect.]

Iglesias-Rabade (1995:187) takes this assertion to support the fact that French was the 'vehicle of instruction in schools' until the second half of the fourteenth century. Building on the pedagogical environment as a key for the transmission for French, Putter (2016) argues that children's education in the landowning classes (domestic pedagogy, sons being sent as pages to 'predominantly Francophone' aristocratic courts, and daughters being sent to board within nunneries) meant that

French continued to thrive as a second vernacular, remaining until the mid fourteenth century not only as the preferred language of literary entertainment for the upper classes but also sufficiently dominant and vigorous to take on a range of other functions previously monopolized by Latin.

(Putter 2016: 135).

The statute of 1362 is often regarded as significant in discussing the 'death date' of Anglo-Norman as an L1. Kibbee (1991: 58) writes that '[i]n 1362, Parliament passed a statute that French no longer be the language of government and of the legal system'. This act is more commonly known as the statute

of pleading, in which Edward III declares French to be 'trop desconue en dit realme' [greatly unknown in this realm] and therefore

(11)   Le Roi [...] a oodeigné et establi [...] qe toutes plées qe seront a pleer en ses [...] ou en les
         Courts et places des autres seignurs qeconques deinz le realme, soient
         pledetz,monstretz,defenduz, responduz, debatuz et juggez en la lange engleise.

<div align="right">(quoted in Kibbee 1991: 63)</div>

[The king has ordained and resolved that all pleas that will be made in his courts […] or in
the courts and places of other lords of any kind in the realm, will be pleaded, presented,
defended, responded to, debated and judged in the English language]

The statute of pleading 1362 is often invoked in the discussion of when and how Anglo-Norman ceased to be an L1, however, although widely discussed in the literature, it can be something of a red herring. Rothwell writes:

Just as 1066 is considered to mark the beginning of the massive impact of French on English, similarly the statute of 1362 is taken by most authorities as signalling the end of that process. Yet the *Rotuli Parliamentorum* in which the relevant statute is enshrined go on using their Anglo-French exactly as before, along with Latin and English, right up to and even beyond the middle of the fifteenth century.

<div align="right">(Rothwell 2001: 539)</div>

This has been remarked on in earlier scholarship. For example, Legge observes that:

The first French wills date from about 1350. At the same time it was pretended that "la lange Franceis q'est trope desconue" [The French language which is largely unknown] was no longer suitable for use in pleading, and the well-known Act of Parliament of 1362 ordered the substitution of English. The reasons for this move are obscure. It was quite untrue that French was "desconue," [unknown] and nobody seems to have taken the slightest notice of the Act.

<div align="right">(Legge 1941: 167-168)</div>

Kibbee remarks that the statute's importance can be overstated (1991: 63), and sees it as an attempt to 'curb the abuses of the legal monopoly' who used a variety of French known as Law French (a variety separate to Anglo-Norman and heavily imbued with legal terminology). Although arguing against Kibbee's reading of the statute, and instead positing that the statute related to the courts of law 'not to 'government' or 'the legal system' in general', Rothwell argues:

The reason for the prohibition is stated unequivocally: it is that the officials in the courts of law have been conducting their legal arguments in French, thus preventing English plaintifs [sic] and defendants alike from understanding the handling of their cases.

<div align="right">(Rothwell 2001: 541)</div>

Thus, it was oral pleading that was affected, not the written language of the courts. In his overview of the text and political background of the statute, Ormrod adds to this observation the following:

That the lawyers who selected and compiled the reports of legal cases preserved in the year books continued, in effect, to translate the oral proceedings of the central courts into French for written preservation and circulation provides especially striking evidence of the degree to

which the adoption of Anglo-Norman as a language of pleading in the thirteenth century had contributed to, and perpetuated, a sense of professional identity among the senior judiciary. This point is set into sharper relief when we realize that the use of French as a written language was in most other respects a comparatively brief phase in the history of English royal government […].

(Ormrod 2003: 774)

Ingham modifies this question slightly, by reminding us that local manor courts likely used English anyway during the medieval period, and so the statute of pleading referred only to courts operating on a higher level, where 'more important and financially substantial cases were heard' (2012: 37). It is therefore significant that the statute would pertain to these courts, where members of the gentry and nobility had their cases heard, since this tells us that by 1362, French was not well known by enough people who could orally plead and understand debate on their cases. 'The Anglo-Norman period' Ingham writes 'was entering now a final twilight zone where its transmission was faltering and would soon cease altogether' (2012: 37).

For the purposes of this study, I follow the recent trend of seeing Anglo-Norman as a naturally-acquired L1 until the mid-fourteenth century, while emphasising that this did not include all people, rather, a small set of literate people. Poets such as Gower and Chaucer were trilinguals, in that they wrote in (and presumably could speak) French, English and Latin; but they are hardly representative of the population at large. Also, languages at this time were not always regarded as discrete (on this see, for example Wright's work on macaronic trade documents [2013]). As will be discussed below, there were probably diverse sets of learners who needed to acquire French.

1.5 What happened in the 14th century to turn AN into an L2?

If French was largely being taught in the mid-fourteenth century, then it can be safely assumed that it was largely a learned L2 by this time. There are many social and political factors that contributed to the decline of L1 competence in Britain. Ingham (2012) identifies two main reasons why Anglo-Norman became distanced from Continental French, and then ceased to be naturally acquired L1 in England on the basis of phonology and syntax. Firstly, loss of lands on the continent by King John in the first decades of the 13th century meant that the Norman gentry, 'who in the years after 1066 must have constituted the main concentrations of French speakers' (Ingham 2012: 160), were no longer moving between lands held in Normandy and those in England. Ingham writes that subsequently, 'opportunities for continental bailiffs, stewards, cooks, ladies in waiting and the like, to work for the same master on either side of the channel would no longer have existed. Continental native speakers of French would thus have become rarer' (2012: 160). The second large event that results in the passing of Anglo-Norman into L2 status, according to Ingham's account, occurs largely due to the Black Death 'whose incidence was particularly high in towns and religious communities where A-N was used' (Ingham 2012: 162). The devastation that the Black Death wrought on the clergy was a particularly significant factor in the break of transmission of French from one generation to the next, since it was the clergy that largely maintained schools where French was the main language used for teaching Latin (Ingham 2012: 33):

It was the role of priests to look after song schools, so the admission of novices to the clergy having little knowledge of French would have spelt the end for the transmission of A-N via that route. Pupils would then have arrived at their grammar school without the basic knowledge of the language gained from spoken interaction that their predecessors would have enjoyed prior to the Black Death. On the hypothesis adopted here, clerks growing to maturity

around 1370, and writing the documents surviving from that time, would have been the first generation not to have experienced childhood naturalistic exposure to French in song schools.

(Ingham 2012: 161-162)

Such a narrative is also posited by Kibbee, who describes Plague outbreaks in 1361 devastating the upper classes and further bouts in 1375 and 1390-91 that largely affected religious houses, all the 'former strongholds of that language' (1991: 58). He adds that 'the plague depleted the educated population of the monasteries and convents, opening the door to poorer, less well-educated English monolinguals' (1991: 59). This hypothesis is furthermore corroborated with evidence from *Piers Plowman* (c.1370-90), wherein the character Anima bewails the lack of any clerks who can speak Latin or French:

(12)   Grammer, the ground of al, bigileth now children:
         For is noon of thise newe clerkes --whoso nymeth hede--
         That kan versifye faire ne formaliche enditen,
         Ne naught oon among an hundred that an auctour kan construwe,
         Ne rede a lettre in any langage but in Latyn or in Englissh.

(*Piers Plowman* B.15, ll.370-374. Ed. Schmidt 1978)

[Grammar, the foundation of all, now confuses children:
For none of these new clerks – whoever pays attention –
Can neither compose verse well nor write formally,
And there is not one in a hundred who can interpret an author,
Or who can read a letter in any language other than Latin or English]

Meanwhile, Kibbee adds that what we also witness in this period are 'the forces of a nascent nationalism, and the economic, social and political impact of the Hundred Years' War.' (1991: 58). He argues that during the decline in French engendered by multiple Plague outbreaks, the comparative prosperity caused by the Hundred Years' War 'furnished the middle classes and lower classes, again English monolinguals, with the opportunity and wealth to gain access to power' (1991: 59). While the middle classes were able to make profits from a booming trade in wine and wool, the lower classes were able to demand better conditions due to fewer workers. New colleges at Oxford and Cambridge were subsequently founded to 'replenish the number of priests, clerks, lawyers and businessmen well-educated enough to carry on the business of the day', and along with these sprang up professional training schools that included French language teaching in their pedagogy (Kibbee 1991: 60).

It is within this context that the *Manières* are most discussed and understood. Indeed, according to Britnell, the *Manières* responded to the demand in England for writers able to compose and write legal and administrative texts, such as petitions and customaries, a need which was felt especially keenly from the mid-fourteenth to the early- fifteenth centuries (2009: 89). Modifying Britnell's argument, Critten (2015) agrees that the *Manières* respond to a need for Francophone clerks, but he also observes that recent military victories in Normandy presented career opportunities for potential colonisers from England in the newly-acquired Norman territory. This analysis provides an alternative interpretation of these texts as conversation manuals designed to encourage English activity (in the form of soldiers and administrators, as well as artisans and merchants) in Normandy for the purposes of consolidating English presence. This assessment is supported by Kibbee, who makes a similar argument that colonial ambitions provided a good motivation to learn French, 'just as domestic motivations were fading' (1991: 62).

1.6 The pedagogical landscape of the *Manières*: texts available to learners

The range of pedagogical materials available to learn French during the 14th and early 15th centuries, ranging from glosses to grammatical treatises, to dialogues and *artes dictandi* [letter writing manuals], suggests a wide range of learners, both in terms of age and in terms of social profession (although education of this kind was not available to the vast numbers of peasants, villeins, and other such labourers). The textual evidence available suggests that children were a significant group of learners, and that this learning happened both domestically and in more organised institutions, such as schools. One notable text, one of many *nominalia* [word lists],[13] is Walter of Bibbesworth's *Tretiz* [Treatise], which was composed in the second half of the thirteenth century for his patroness Dionysia de Munchesny, to aid her in instructing her children in French (Dean and Boulton 1999: 160; Rothwell 1982). The *Tretiz* may be found in 16 manuscripts which contain Middle English glosses throughout (with the exception of one). The popularity of this text, with its 'particular, often facetious, attention to homonyms and paronyms' (Dean and Boulton 1999: 160), may be seen in its subsequent reworking into other Anglo-Norman *nominalia*, such as the early fifteenth century *Femina nova*. Alongside the 'abridged and grossly inaccurate copy of one of the manuscripts of Walter of Bibbesworth's *Tretiz*' (Rothwell 2005: i), the *Femina* also consists of an extract from *Urbain le Courtois* (a conduct manual for young boys) and extracts from Nicholas Bozon's *Proverbes de bon enseignement* [proverbs of good guidance], before adding a three-part explanation of the French vocabulary used in the *Tretiz*. The *Femina* is in continental French, with an Anglo-Norman pronunciation guide below (Dean and Boulton 1999: 161). The inclusion of language-learning treatises with conduct manuals for children demonstrates an interest in the relationship between linguistic and behavioural education, particularly for children. Although it survives in diverse manuscript contexts, the *Tretiz* typifies an education that took place in the aristocratic and domestic domain, where the parent (often the mother) was the main educator (Ingham 2012: 30; Orme 2006: 61).[14]

Beyond early childhood, French was also instructed outside of the home. Orme (2006) gives an overview of the different types of schools that existed during the middle ages. Free schools (i.e. not attached to a monastery) were the best-attended and most widespread type of school; these roughly divided into schools specialising in song, grammar, business, and higher education (Orme 2006: 55). Education was also attached to, and often delivered by, the clergy (Orme 2006: 62). This was a significant factor in the maintenance of French, as Ingham (2014: 443) observes:

> […] it was the clergy who, through the system of church schools, ran the pregrammar school education of England, which has been taken here to have been the key matrix in which [Anglo-Norman] was transmitted, other than in aristocratic households.
>
> (Ingham 2014: 443)

The following section from Chaucer's *Prioress's Tale* is an oft-cited example for illustrating what such an education looked like (Orme 2006: ch3; Murphy 1967):

(13)   A litel clergeon, seven yeer of age,
         That day by day to scole was his wone,

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[13] *Nominalia* represented 'the first significant teaching tools for French' (Kibbee 1991: 41).
[14] See Orme (2006: 61) for further texts wherein we see parents instructing their children, such as Chaucer's treatise on the Astrolabe c.1391, and Geoffrey IV de la Tour Landry's *The Book of the Knight of the Tower* c.1371-1372. For a broader overview of didactic children's literature, including translations and commentary, see Kline (ed. 2003).

And eek also, where as he saugh th' ymage
Of Cristes mooder, hadde he in usage,
As hym was taught, to knele adoun and seye
His *Ave Marie*, as he goth by the weye.
[…]
This litel child, his litel book lernynge,
As he sat in the scole at his prymer,
He alma redemptoris herde synge,
As children lerned hire antiphoner;
[…]
Noght wiste he what this Latyn was to seye,
For he so yong and tendre was of age.
But on a day his felawe gan he preye
T'expounden hym this song in his langage,
Or telle hym why this song was in usage;
This preyde he hym to construe and declare
Ful often tyme upon his knowes bare.
His felawe, which that elder was than he,
Answerde hym thus: this song, I have herd seye,
Was maked of our blisful lady free,
[…]
I kan namoore expounde in this mateere;
I lerne song, I kan but smal grammeere. (*Prioress's Tale* ll.503-536. Ed. Benson 2008)

[A little schoolboy, seven years of age,
Was accustomed to go to school every day,
And also, when he saw the image
Of Christ's mother, he was wont,
As was taught to him, to kneel down and say
His *ave maria*, as he goes by the way.
[…]
This little child, learning his little book,
As he sat in the school with his primer,
Heard *alma redemptoris* being sung,
As children learned their antiphonal hymns;
[…]
He did not know not what this Latin meant,
For he was so young and tender of age.
But one day he asked his fellow
To explain this song to him in his language,
Or tell him why this song was sung;
This he prayed him to translate and explain
Very often on his bare knees.
His peer, who was older than him,
Answered him thus: This song, I have heard,
Was made for our generous blissful Lady,
[…]

27

> I can explain no more of this matter.
> I am learning song; I know but little grammar.]

Describing the pedagogical process displayed in this extract, Orme observes that by making children learn to read in Latin, rather than in their first language, 'learning to read was a different process from that of today in that it involved an unfamiliar language. Beginners at school learnt to recognise words and pronounce them, but they could not understand what they read unless they were told […] such a boy was being taught to read, pronounce, and sing a text correctly at sight. He would not know what it was about until he began to study Latin' (Orme 2006: 59-60).

Moreover, Murphy finds the Prioress's picture of the school 'perfectly consistent with the general picture gained from the school records' (1967: 124). He identifies the young boy's 'prymer' as 'very probably one of the two most popular books that the Western world ever produced—the two primers of Aelius Donatus, the fourth-century Latin grammarian who was also the teacher of Saint Jerome' (1967: 124). Donatus composed two primers, the *Ars minor* [The minor work], a question-and-answer treatise on the eight parts of speech (which 'undoubtedly required a great deal of supplementary oral instruction on the part of the classroom teacher' [Murphy 1967: 124]), and the *Ars maior* [The major work], a more elaborate textbook. Luhtala conceptualises the role of the *Ars minor* as 'the model for elementary language teaching while the *Ars maior* established itself as the principal object of commentary at a more advanced level' (2008: 510). Although the later pedagogical texts invoking the name of Donatus bore little resemblance to either of these treatises, his influence was clearly significant.[15] Texts in the insular Francophone tradition include John Barton's *Donait Francois*, which was composed c.1409 (Dean and Boulton 1999: 164).[16] Barton's *Donait* adopted Donatus's question-and-answer structure to teach young people the principles of French pronunciation and grammar. On the basis of the introduction to Barton's *Donait*, Rothwell observes that French pedagogy in later Medieval England was

> […] not an exclusively male preserve, as has been imagined. The fact that employment in the royal or municipal administration was reserved for men does not affect the linguistic issue, because French was used for other purposes besides official correspondence both before and after Chaucer's day. In the Introduction to his French grammar of 1409 John Barton says that "touz les seignurs et toutes les dames en mesme roiaume dEngleterre volentiers s'entrescrivent en romance. . ." [all the lords and ladies in the realm of England like to correspond in French] and he reinforces this inclusivity by then addressing himself to "mes chiers enfantz et tresdoulcez puselles que avez fam (i.e. 'faim') dapprendre cest Donait..." [my dear boys and sweet girls who are keen to learn this Donatus].

> (Rothwell 2001: 189)

We also get an insight into institutional forms of children's education when we turn to the *Manières*, specifically the following exchange from the 1415 dialogues. In this conversation, a knight is

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[15] On the importance of Donatus to linguistic description and language pedagogy in the Early and Late Middle Ages, consult Amsler (2008 501- 541) and Kneepkens (2008: 551-583). Although the figure of Donatus is demonstrably important throughout the Middle Ages, it was his *Ars minor*, with its dialogic structure, and the third book of the *Ars maior* that were arguably the most impactful on medieval thought (Kneepkens 2008: 553). Another notable influence on medieval thought on grammar was Priscian, who composed works on orthography, morphology, syntax, and prosody (on this, consult Kneepkens [2008]: 553). For more on Donatus and Latin grammar texts, refer also to Hunt (1991: ch.4).

[16] For a fuller account of the late Anglo-Norman 'donait' tradition, consult Merrilees (1993).

questioning a twelve-year-old boy (named Jehan Boun Enfant [John Good Boy]), whose mother wants him to accompany the knight to London to secure an apprenticeship:

(14)　　— Moun fiz, avez vous esté a l'escole?
　　　　— Oy, syre, par vostre congé.
　　　　— A quel lieu?
　　　　— Syr, a l'ostelle de Will[iam] Kyngesmylle Escriven.
　　　　— Beau fyz, comben de temps avez vous demurrez ovesque luy?
　　　　— Sire, forsque un quart de l'an.
　　　　— Cella n'est que un poi temps, mes qu'avez vous apriz la en ycel terme?
　　　　— Syr, moun maystre m'ad enseigné pur escrire, enditer, acompter et frounceys parler.

(1415: CT, 76)

[— My boy, have you been to school?
— Yes sir, by your leave.
— At which place?
— Sir, at the hostel of the scrivener William Kingsmill.
— Good lad, how long have you stayed with him?
— Sir, for only a quarter of a year.
— That is only a short while, but what have you learned there in that time?
— Sir, my master has taught me how to write, compose, take accounts, and speak French.]

This little piece of publicity for the school of William Kingsmill (a known figure) demonstrates a pedagogy that combines the skills that will secure the boy employment in business administration or the legal profession, both of which required proficiency in French. Moreover, as Kristol remarks, this extract adds to our understanding of who would undertake such a course:

> Cette partie permet de voir que l'école de William Kingsmill devait être ouverte a différentes catégories d'étudiants: en dehors des classes pour étudiants adolescents ou adultes, apprentis commerçants, secrétaires ou juridiques, il devait y avoir un cours élémentaire dans lequel des enfants pouvaient acquerir leurs premières connaissances scolaires.

(Kristol 1995: xliii)

> [This section allows us to see that the school of William Kingsmill had to be open to different categories of student: aside from classes for adolescent or adult learners and business, secretarial or legal apprentices, there had to be an elementary course in which children could acquire their first scholarly understanding.]

The mention of Kingsmill and his teachings shifts the perspective onto adult learners of French, for whom learning French held financial and professional advantages. Indeed, from the 13th century, French was the main language of administrative and legal domains in England (Lusignan 2009; Rothwell 1976). As a reminder that pedagogy was multivalent at this time, Kibbee argues that many among the adult students 'knew no French', citing the remark in *Piers Plowman* that not one in a hundred of new clerks 'can construe, ne rede a lettre in any langage, but in Latyn or in Englissh' [can neither write nor read a letter in any other language than Latin or English] (1991: 60). Two Oxford-based pedagogues are particularly important in this story: Kingsmill, and his predecessor, Thomas Sampson, neither of whom were attached to the university, but who operated professional training courses with a 'full program in French' (Kibbee 1991: 60) on the fringes of the institution. The business course taught by Sampson, whose long career flourished between the 1360s and c.1409, has been

described by Arnold (1937) and Richardson (1941). This course included instruction in writing and witnessing charters, model letters and epistolary greetings, and the *Orthographia gallica* (a treatise on spelling and grammar[17]). Cornelius, who examines the link between 'careerist ambitions and the study of *ars dictaminis*' in late-medieval French pedagogy, states that:

> The aims of this curriculum are clearly stated in the teaching materials of Thomas Sampson […] In addition to conveyancing and letter-writing, the business course taught French grammar, common-law pleading, accountancy, and perhaps even heraldry. Teaching materials were in French and Latin, reflecting the use of both languages in contemporary domains of law, commerce, and estates management.
>
> (Cornelius 2010: 306)

The later course imparted by Kingsmill (fl. 1415-1430) has similarly been described by Legge (1939). It appears that he incorporated similar materials to Sampson's: he wrote the 1415 Manières, in which are included rhymes to instruct elementary French, treatises on French numerals and days of the week, compositional treatises for letters and charters, and a treatise on legal pleading in French. Legge paints a similar picture to Kristol's of pedagogical diversity within the hostel of William Kingsmill (although such accounts are often the result of speculation using the available textual evidence):

> It is legitimate to suppose that he kept a Grammar-hall or school in Cat-street, where to small boys like the twelve-year-old Jehan Boun Enfant of the Dialogues, who was just going to London as a 'prentice, he would teach elementary French; to young merchants, conversation and perhaps accountancy; to the clerks, monks, civil-servants and lawyers […] French grammar, the drafting of charters and letters, and the art of pleading.
>
> (Legge 1939: 245)

Critten (2015: 934) likewise emphasises this particular context for the *Manières*, arguing that the *Manières* 'ask to be examined in an Oxonian context' due to the manuscript evidence that sees them compiled with pedagogical materials that are associated with either Kingsmill or Sampson. Lusignan also comments of the manuscript evidence, noting in particular the number of relatively homogenous manuscripts, which suggest a uniform teaching programme:

> Lorsqu'on considère les codices contenant des traités didactiques de français, on ne peut manquer de noter un certain nombre de faits révélateurs. On constate tout d'abord que, dans les codices homogènes, ces traités apparaissent rarement isolés. Le plus souvent on trouve réunis un traité d'orthographe ou de grammaire, un nominale, parfois une *manière de langage* et le plus souvent des modèles de lettres ou de requêtes. Il arrive parfois que soient joints des traités juridiques.
>
> (Lusignan 1987: 98)

> [When one considers the codices containing didactic treatises in French, one cannot fail to notice a certain number of revealing facts. One initially observes that, in the homogenous codices, these treatises rarely appear on their own. Most often, one finds assembled together

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[17] Known orthographic treatises that may be found in manuscripts from the end of the thirteenth century include *Tractatus orthographiae*, composed by 'T.H. Parisii Studentis' c.1300 and the *orthographia gallica* M.T. Coyrefully c.1400 (Kibbee 1991: 48). The earlier *Tractatus orthographiae* contained supplementary information on dialectal variation, and was organised in alphabetical order, whereas the later *orthographia gallica* contained information on syntax, morphology, and lexis, and could be linked to a legal profession (Kibbee 1991:48). Such treatises responded to a need for accurate records in scriptoria and public records (Clanchy 1979: 101).

an orthographie or a grammaire, a *nominalia*, occasionally a *Manière de langage*, and most often model letters or summons. Sometimes these are found together with legal treatises]

Despite the strong link between the *Manières* and Oxford, there is also evidence that they were known elsewhere, and 'might have originated elsewhere' (Critten 2015: 934), although this latter proposition seems unlikely given the strength of the connection between Oxford and the *Manières*. Indeed, not only are there multiple places alluded to in the *Manières* (Dunbar, York, Essex, Winchester, and Windsor, to name only some examples), but we know that LH was written in Bury Saint Edmunds. There are moreover striking anomalies in manuscripts that contain *Manières*, suggesting a milieu away from the classrooms of the Oxford teachers Sampson and Kingsmill, such as LL (a legal formulary book) and CI (a legal notebook, perhaps belonging to a student of the Inns of Court or Inns of Chancery in London [Baker 1989: 81]).

How does this contextual overview (albeit brief) affect our understanding of how the *Manières* were used? We can conclude that the learners who encountered these texts could have been adults as well as children. We know that French may have been encountered in free schools during childhood, and that learners will likely have possessed a basic level of French before encountering the *Manières* at business schools like that of Kingsmill in Oxford. Children may have learnt alongside older students, who wished to learn French for career-orientated purposes, be they in mercantile, legal, or administrative professions.

1.7 Chapter Summary
Having given a methodological and contextual overview, I will now describe the present study in more detail. As stated above, this study seeks to re-evaluate the *Manières* as texts that impart both a linguistic and a social pedagogy. In order to achieve this, throughout the chapters I will identify and explore the different pedagogical approaches taken by the dialogues, such as softening language (such as oaths), explanatory narrative framework, mnemonic, stock phrase learning, and humour.

Each of these chapters look at how specific pragmatic features of the *Manières* speak to questions of linguistic and behavioural didacticism. As a whole, the following chapters seek to examine how the dialogues sought to cultivate both linguistic and social competence in their learners. They also examine pragmatic phenomena in Middle English, in order to gain an understanding of how the English L1 speakers encountered the texts. If similarities can be detected across both vernaculars, one can argue for relative ease in acquiring said features in L2. Indeed, in several chapters, it will be argued that extended contact with French influenced English pragmatics. However, if there are major differences between the two languages, then there might have been pragmatic difficulty in acquiring certain forms (such as when to use 'vous', or whether a word in English has the same meaning as a French cognate). I will outline the order of chapters below, illustrating how they feed into the questions of how the *Manières* respond to their contexts.

Chapter Two is dedicated to oath-swearing, specifically in the forms of swearing by God's body parts or praying to God as a malediction. These behaviours occur in the *Manières* dialogues and are behaviours common to both Anglo-Norman and Middle English. An analysis of the pragmatic context will reconceptualise certain moments in the *Manières* as moments of behavioural didactics. Firstly, after discussing God- and Christ-orientated oaths, and examining the diverse medieval commentary on such utterances, I will argue that such oaths were (to some late medieval speakers) semantically bleached, and that such oaths were undergoing a process of pragmaticalisation, which is a development from devotional/blasphemous expressions to interjections (much in the same way that the name 'Jesus Christ' is used as an expletive today). In response to this pragmatic context, I will argue that the

Manières use 'softened forms' of the oaths and metapragmatic commentary to teach attitudes towards swearing while simultaneously avoiding possible blasphemy. This indicates that the *Manières* reflect a desire to demonstrate interjectory, vocal, and perhaps emotionally-charged speech behaviours, yet that the dialogues' author(s) felt the need to alter the presentation of certain oaths. Furthermore, in demonstrating to learners the highly negative reaction they could expect to receive if they utter oaths in inappropriate contexts, the *Manières* reveal a desire to construct pragmatically appropriate French.

The third chapter of this thesis discusses second-person address in the *Manières*, paying particular attention to pronominal address terms.[18] Many present-day English-speaking learners of French will recognise the fraught choice between *tu* and *vous*, a pragmatic distinction that no longer exists in English. This would similarly have been a particular pedagogical challenge for the *Manières* to overcome, since it will be demonstrated that Anglo-Norman and Middle English had different (yet equally complex) second-person address systems. Indeed, researchers in medieval English and Frenches have traditionally struggled to account for the variation in second-person address forms in a satisfactory way. Using the perspective of indexicality (a position that views linguistic markers as 'indexing' social constructs such as class, race, gender etc.) which emphasises the importance of intersecting formal, situational, and social factors in second-person address, I will reappraise second-person address using extracts from the *Manières*, and posit that individuals likely interpreted these intersecting factors in order to select appropriate address forms. Generally, address terms can do two things: construct a speaker's desired identity or construct the nature of a relationship (as 'close' or 'distant', for example). Address strategy can change if the circumstances that affect a speaker's interpretation of their relationship with an interlocutor shift; for instance, the addressee may do something to anger or surprise the speaker, so a switch occurs. This perspective thus argues for a voluntary and creative model of second-person address in both Middle English and Anglo-Norman (rather than involuntary models of address, that reflect immutable social norms). I argue that in some examples the dialogues use metapragmatic communication to place the choice between *tu* and *vous* with learners, who could interpret the available formal, situational, and social guidelines in order to select an appropriate address form. Elsewhere, switches in address form are presented without comment, which in itself may reflect a commonplace attitude pertaining to the mutability of address. This pedagogy is a further example of the coexisting behavioural and linguistic didactics on display in the *Manières*.

Having discussed pronominal address, Chapter Four analyses nominal address terms. To be able to use appropriate terms of address would have been a key concern for the learners using the dialogues, who would have desired the ability to carry out effective exchanges in French both at home and abroad. However, as will be discussed, there are several address terms present in the texts that may have caused pragmatic difficulty for some learners using the *Manières*. This is because one may find address terms in the *Manières* that may have been recognisable to an English L1 learner, which either overlap semantically with their French counterparts, or hold additional meanings in one language that are not present in the other (commonly known as 'false friends' in modern language pedagogy). The question of 'false' (or indeed, 'true') friends allows us to revisit the question of the boundaries between 'French' and 'English'. Indeed, it may be surprising to a modern reader that an obviously French phrase *fiz a putein* [son of a whore] was used in English writings in this period in ways that appear integrated into

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[18] It is acknowledged that Anglo-Norman is a pro-drop language (i.e. it can drop pronominal subjects when the reference can be inferred by way of the verbal inflection). However, pronominal address will remain at the forefront of the analysis, with reference to verbal morphology, because pronouns are generally a more reliable indicator of person reference, and more searchable within corpora, as will be discussed in the chapter.

the language (i.e. no glossing, not being exploited for rhyme). I also wish to explore the naturalisation of loanwords and the effect differing degrees of naturalisation may have had on language learning. In this chapter, I argue that some words would have kept close semantic ties to their French counterparts (*villain, ribaud*), and therefore posed less of an issue to learn, whereas other words were naturalised in different ways (either losing or adding adjunct meanings), which would have been more challenging to the learner. This in turn may have affected the learning process. In places, the *Manières* may be seen to expound upon more difficult terms (such as *commere* [godmother]) that were likely not so easily understood, whereas I will speculate that other address terms in the dialogues had retained the same semantics in both languages may have had a mnemonic effect for a learner. Due to their consciously bilingual context as language manuals, the *Manières* serve as particularly valuable texts to test wider issues of loanword naturalisation, whether such words would have been perceived as 'English', and what effect this may have had.

Chapter Five marks a departure from the focus of Chapters Three and Four, which focus on more specific linguistic forms. While Chapter Three explores pronominal address terms, and Chapter Four questions how certain words may have been perceived in L2, Chapter Five 'zooms out' to look at structures of conversation in a particular situational setting: examining the complex conversational manoeuvres of mercantile haggling in the *Manières*. This pertains to the very practical applications of the dialogues, being 'successful' communication in mercantile and travel contexts. There are several scenes in the *Manières* wherein buyers and vendors haggle to reach a mutually-beneficial agreement. These scenes provide intriguing pragmatic challenges where both parties stand to gain from a successful interaction, but in which both parties often barter for a better deal, which necessitates both threats to face and threat mitigation, a hard task to achieve even in one's own native language. In this chapter, I aim to demonstrate that the haggling exchanges all adhere to the same general structure, but that within this structure, there is a great variety of negotiating tactics that operate within a framework of 'positioning' the process by which rights and obligations are apportioned to interlocutors according to their 'roles' within a given conversation, here, 'buyer' and 'seller'. Throughout an episode of haggling, it will be shown that interlocutors use a range of techniques to invoke their own rights and the other's responsibilities. This argument will further demonstrate the *Manières* investment in a behavioural as well as linguistic pedagogy. I will moreover argue for two different approaches to teaching language: one interested in the ongoing relational interaction between characters, and one that adopts a style of imparting shorter, less contextually bound phrases, to be rehearsed and reiterated in a learner's real-world interactions.

The sixth chapter of the present thesis examines incongruent speech behaviours, an area regarded as one of the most challenging to L2 learners. 'Incongruence' encompasses a range of discrete yet interrelated behaviours such as irony, sarcasm, banter, overstatement and understatement. These behaviours are all contingent on a contrast between explicit and implicit meaning, and thus can be described as incongruent. Such behaviours are very challenging to understand and reproduce in a non-native language. By seeking to understand how the *Manières* were designed to address this challenge, we can approach questions pertaining to how the *Manières* sought to promote pragmatic competence in L2 learners. Such instances in the texts often represent some of the more humorous moments in the dialogues. I thus argue that the authors of the *Manières* may have purposefully worked in humorous moments in order to facilitate learning the more challenging elements of pragmatic competence.

Each of the chapters in the present thesis addresses the main question of how the *Manières* respond to and seek to construct their pragmatic surroundings. The *Manières* belonged to, and operated within, an environment where some behaviours are evidenced in both Anglo-Norman and Middle English texts

(oaths sworn by Christ, some nominal address terms) and some were different (pronominal address systems). Within this context, these dialogues had a clear goal of teaching French to non-native speakers. The present thesis is concerned with how they addressed key areas of communicative difficulty and sought to construct sophisticated and appropriate conversational behaviours. This will result in a reconsideration of these texts as sophisticated pedagogical materials, that not only reflected their pragmatic contexts, but incorporated strategies to instruct challenging pragmatic material.

Another theme of this work is to consider the *Manières* as texts that are interested in behaviour, as well as language. There are many exchanges and interactions that happen in the dialogues, ranging from the mundane (asking for directions) to the obscene (slanging matches) to the bizarre (preaching to the sick, refusing beggars, consoling a child, a drinking song). These texts were either highly practical, in the sense that they wished to prepare their students for a wide variety of situational eventualities, or they were perhaps interested in showing the often-humorous peculiarities of human interaction for their own sake. Indeed, I argue that they were likely both. Moreover, as the outline of chapters demonstrates, I will frequently argue that the *Manières* have an interest in cultivating socially competent and desirable behaviour. This would have been of equal interest to the learners, who will have wanted to perfect their French for social and financial gain.

Furthermore, all of these chapters demonstrate that we need a broad awareness of the linguistic landscape in order to make sense of more localised texts. Only by understanding the bigger picture do we understand how certain pragmatic features would have been understood, evaluated, and learned. In fact, this thesis is consciously bilingual in its scope, exploring English L1 speakers who aspired to learn competent French. Arising from this broader focus, a notable by-product of the present thesis is a new consideration about the pragmatic contact between French and English. In places it will be argued that French and English shared certain behaviours, in other places, differences remained. Although an expansive study of pragmatic contact between English and French is outside the scope of this thesis, it is hoped that the work here will mark a step towards establishing such subsequent ventures, and add a hitherto under-explored pragmatic dimension to current understandings of French-English contact in the Middle Ages.

Chapter Two: Oath swearing in the *Manières de langage*[19]

2.1 Chapter outline

This chapter focuses of verbal aggression and insult in the *Manières*, seeking to contextualise certain pragmatic behaviours within a wider linguistic ecology, and in turn reconsidering certain moments from the dialogues with this context in mind. Verbal aggression has attracted much scholarly attention for the reason that swearing, oaths, maledictions and insults 'manifest language use in its most highly charged state' (Taavitsainen 1997: 815), and it is often by examining such emotive language that one can tease out culturally-specific pragmatic variation. Studies of particular relevance to late medieval England include Lindahl's *Earnest Games*, which identifies ten distinct (yet not necessarily discrete) forms of insult exchanged between the pilgrims of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (1987: 98-108).[20] This is summarised in pragmatic terms by Jucker, who furthermore discusses the varied manifestations of verbal aggression (presented as a continuum of direct to indirect aggression) and how characters' reactions to slanders and slurs act as a 'diagnostic' for insult (2000: 376-387). In a historically-grounded study, Craun (1997) examines obscene language from the perspective of scholastic ethics, examining how this was characterised in the major texts of the high medieval pastoral movement (in the wake of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215), before exploring how these rules governing 'Sins of the Tongue' were later challenged in the works of Chaucer, Gower, and Langland. Mohr similarly draws upon a range of sources (including place names, schoolbooks, glosses, vocabulary lists, and literary texts) in her vast study of medieval cultures of impoliteness (2013: 88-128). Of notable pertinence to this chapter is Lagorgette's study on the insulting appellations in the *Manières de langage*, in which she relates the act of insult to that of blasphemy by suggesting that 'le blasphème et son corollaire l'injure […] jouent avec un interdit qui vise ni plus ni moins à protéger l'essence du créateur et ses créatures' ['Blasphemy and its consequence, insult, … play with a prohibition that aims to, neither more nor less, protect the essence of the creator [God] and his creatures'] (2013: 126). Questions of blasphemy and penal codes for verbal aggression (both in court and in devotional and penitential texts) are what have traditionally interested scholars in this field. Indeed, the range of contemporary academic approaches to oaths and insult mirrors the multifaceted complexity of medieval conceptualisations of impoliteness and linguistic impropriety. Building upon this, my focus will be to conduct a pragmatic study which will simultaneously draw upon and add to previous work.

The current chapter will focus on two particular insult behaviours within the *Manières de langage* and will aim to contextualise these behaviours within a broader sociolinguistic framework. Both behaviours can be viewed as offensive due to the reactions that they produce. This is particularly evident in this first example, wherein a merchant utters an apparently inappropriate oath to which a buyer takes offence:

(1)   — *Par la mort Dieu*, biau sire, se je eusse volu, je eusse eu huy ou matinee pour mesmes les anes .x. d. Ore me croiez se vous vuillez.
          — *Il ne vous faudra ja ainsi jurer*, car je vous en croi bien a primer mot sanz plus sonner

(LH: 1396, 38. Emphasis my own.)

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[20] These categories include: deflected apology, behavioural comparison, simile, conditional insult, generalisation, feeling-out, mock-praise, ironic disclaimer, subjective qualification and appeal for consensus. For a full explanation of these categories, refer to Lindahl (1987) or Jucker (2000).

[— *By the death of God*, good sir, if I had wanted, I could have had (today or tomorrow) 10 pence for the same ducks. Believe me if you wish.
— *You shouldn't ever swear like that*, since I believed you on the first instance without any more fuss.]

It is worth highlighting the significance of these reactions (referred to as 'perlocutionary reactions' by pragmatists) in the dialogues of the *Manières*. As stated in the introduction, these reactions form the third step of producing an utterance, as outlined by Austin (1962: 98-102): physically producing speech (locution), thereby performing an act (illocution) that elicits a response (perlocution).

The verbal markers often found in the *Manières* that signal a perlocutionary effect (here, the comment that 'you shouldn't ever swear like that') are crucial for understanding the pragmatic force of an utterance. We can see from his utterance that the buyer felt affronted enough to comment on the merchant's oath, sworn by God's death. The presence of this reaction marks out *Par la mort Dieu* as an offensive phrase in this context, and it is this type of behaviour that will be discussed first. Swearing on God (or Christ), his body parts and his attributes is a widely-recognised form of insult which has been treated by contemporary scholars and medieval commentators through the lens of blasphemous behaviour. I will recapitulate some of this commentary before adding a pragmatic analysis that focuses on both Anglo-Norman and Middle English linguistic contexts, and which aims to reconsider this moment in the *Manières* as a pedagogical moment that represents but does not fully engage in swearing *per membra Christi* [by Christ's limbs].[21]

The second type of phrase discussed in this chapter has not been hitherto identified by present-day scholars, but it also elicits a negative reaction, and thus falls within the remit of offensive discourse. This is praying to God in the form of a malediction. There is one explosive incident where this happens (although it is repeated in the same manuscript, CD, with subtle changes), in an altercation that occurs between two travellers at an inn, wherein one of the companions refuses a request to bring the other wine before they go to sleep:

(2)   —Vraiment, vous esties bien malvois. *Je pri a Dieu* que il vous meschie.
—Tois toi, senglant merdous garcion, villain mastin, meschiant paillard que tu es, ou tu en arasdes horrions que les sentiras decy as quatre jours.
Donques il luy done un bon boffe sur la jouue, ainsi disant:
—Dieu met toi mal an. Quoi me respondez vous ainsi?
Et l'autre se comence a plorer et dit:
—*Je pri a Dieu* que tu puis rumper le col avant que tu en irras hors de ciens.

(CD 1396: 24-25)

[— Truly, you are very wicked. *I pray to God* that he curses you.
— Shut up, bloody filthy rogue, vile dog, wicked bastard that you are, or you will have blows that you will feel for four days.
Then he strikes him on the cheek, saying:
— God curse you. Why did you respond to me thus?

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[21] I will be using the phrase *per membra Christi* as a convenient term for this type of behaviour, which indeed encompasses a number of varieties on a common theme. This is a term used by Craun (1983).

> *And the other starts to cry, saying:*
> *— I pray to God* that you break your neck before you go out of this place.]

Like swearing oaths *per membra Christi*, this is also a form of behaviour that invokes God and that features a devotional script for provoking shock and offence.[22] There are points of evidence gesturing towards the offensive quality of this phrase. The repetition of the phrase in the form of another curse is an evident perlocutionary effect that marks this behaviour out as offensive. The second point of evidence is less certain. It is difficult to determine the speakers in this section.[23] '[I]l luy done un bon boffe… disant' [he strikes him…saying] does not give any information on whether the first or second speaker is making the utterance 'Dieu met toi mal an. Quoi me respondez vous ainsi?' [God curse you. Why did you respond to me thus?]. 'Why did you respond to me thus?' is a potentially useful perlocutionary judgement that marks out the preceding phrase as offensive or unexpected. If the speaker of the second and third utterances is the same person, then this question responds to the first utterance (containing the *prie a dieu* phrase). However, if the speakers are different, then the trigger for the question 'Why did you respond to me thus?' could be the preceding enumeration of insults.

Both swearing *per membra Christi* and praying to God as a malediction technically fall under blasphemy, a concept that will be discussed within the chapter. A review of the wider medieval commentary on oath swearing will reveal conflicting attitudes towards the importance of intention, and their blasphemous qualities. This review will reveal an important detail to remember: the function and motivation of these behaviours is to offend and shock, rather than simply 'blaspheme' for its own sake.[24] Since primary motivations for oaths that invoke God include offence and emotive expression (both positive and negative), these are to be considered as socially aberrant behaviours, alongside being devotionally deviant. I argue that oaths that utilise a devotional script originated as blasphemy before assuming secondary pragmatic meanings (being used to emphasise statements, and in other cases, to offend). This process, wherein a word or phrase gains and loses pragmatic functions over time, is referred to as pragmaticalisation. This chapter will touch on the pragmaticalisation and semantic bleaching of the oaths' theological referent, while discussing the linguistic contexts for the two swearing behaviours found in the *Manières*.

In light of the pragmatic context for the dialogues, including literary and theological discussions of oath swearing, I will furthermore argue that the *Manières* may have sought to replicate the oaths in a 'softened' form, thereby avoiding potential blasphemy. I will also argue that they deliberately sought to demonstrate the negative reaction such behaviours were likely to receive. Responding to the main focus of this thesis, it is hoped that an understanding of the broader Middle English and Anglo-Norman impoliteness cultures will lead to a more nuanced interpretation of the function of the *Manières*, as materials that were not only designed to teach language, but also to teach appropriate behaviours. But before focusing on these behaviours as pragmatic events, I will review the contemporary and medieval commentary on blasphemy, in order to provide a background for my own analysis.

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[22] Interestingly, Lagorgette relates the act of praying to that of blasphemy, as both are attempts on the part of the speaker to 're-nommer qu'il s'agit en fait' [to rename fact] (2013, 127), that is, to change the way of the world.

[23] The manuscripts themselves ofted do not make change of speaker clear.

[24] These constructions are what Taavitsainen describes as secondary interjections: parts of speech (beyond single words or vocalizations like *oh!* and *damn!*) that are used as exclamatory utterances (Taavitsainen 1997: n2).

Blasphemous oaths, such as swearing *per membra Christi* and praying to God as a malediction were very much linked with profane and taboo linguistic practice. It must be initially stated that blasphemy is different from heresy (holding false doctrine to be true); blasphemy is a category of evil or insulting utterances (Schwerhoff 2008: 401). Conceptually, blasphemy should thus be treated within the realm of profanity and taboo (both intended or otherwise). Gill (2007) provides a wide-reaching overview on swearing on the various body parts of God (and its censure), focusing on the material evidence, wall paintings, and windows. Although she states that the origin of this is not clear (2007: 139), Hebrews 6:6 provides a clue. This verse of the Bible states that those who have heard God's word and continue to sin are 'crucifying again to themselves the Son of God, and making him a mockery'. In terms of material culture, one surviving example is a fifteenth-century church wall-painting, in St Lawrence's church in Broughton. This image depicts the Pietà surrounded by figures holding different parts of Christ's body. Gill posits that parochial images of this type form one facet of an ongoing anti-swearing commentary (2007: 138). She moreover describes a stained glass window found in Heydon, Norfolk, which displays 'offending oaths' coming from the mouths of young men, shown surrounding the Pietà: 'Be the nie of God this was good ale' [by the knee of God this was good ale] (Gill 2007: 138). This example shows that oaths *per membra Christi* need not have been intended to offend (this example is emphatic), but offence was taken nonetheless, and enshrined in a window.

Figure 2: The St Lawrence 'Warning to Swearers' <http://www.paintedchurch.org/index.htm>

The offensiveness of these oaths is partially due to their origins within blasphemy, which was widely theorised and punished throughout the high and late medieval periods. The punishability of blasphemy

is evident in penitential texts and canon law, such as Burchard of Worm's *Corrector* (c.1000-1025), which prescribes seven days of bread and water for swearing by God's hair or by his head:

(3)   Si jurasti per capillum Dei, aut per caput ejus, vel aliud blasphemi contra Deum usus fueras, si semel nesciens fecisti, septem dies in pane et aqua poeniteas. Si secundo vel tertio increpatus, fecisti, XV dies in pane et aqua penit.

(Corrector, 2.416. Ed. Schmitz 1958)

[If you have sworn by the hair of God or by his head, or used any other blasphemy against God, if you have done this one time unconsciously, you will do penance for seven days with bread and water. If you have done this a second or third time after having been reprimanded, you will do fifteen days' penance with bread and water.]

This form of thinking about blasphemy, which involved a punitive as well as a penitential approach, gained traction in the thirteenth-century with reformed canon law and the compilation of Gregory's *Decretals* (Leveleux-Teixiera 2011: 593). Leveleux-Texeira posits that this interest was in part fed by a desire to conceptualise the notion of power, be it monarchic, pontifical, or imperial (2000: 2). Nash states that soon after the evolution of blasphemy in the thirteenth century as a crime separate to heresy, challenges levelled against the ultimate supremacy of God were seen to defy authority in the secular realm (2007, 7). Craun characterises this bourgeoning interest in blasphemy as arising as part of ecclesiastical reformation during the thirteenth century, which also resulted in the widespread circulation of pastoral treatises touching upon unacceptable speech acts amongst other things (1983: 137).

Craun identifies Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologica* (c.1267-74) as a common source for later medieval thought on blasphemy. In the *Summa*, Aquinas argues that blasphemy is essentially the misrepresentation of God, but in three ways: by assigning a quality to God that is not true, by denying a property of God, or by personally claiming divinity; in these ways, blasphemy was thought to fashion a 'false image' of God (Craun 1983: 141- 143). There was evidently an issue with accommodating swearing *per membra Christi* into this model, which is where the Aquinian distinction between 'common' usage and 'proper' meaning of given utterances becomes relevant. Chenu (1964) identifies this division between 'common' and 'proper' in the work of high medieval scholastics as a desire to reconcile apparently conflicting doctrinal authorities. She highlights that Aquinas himself, in his treatment of major terms in his treatises, distinguished between terms uttered 'communiter' [commonly], 'proprie' [properly] and 'propriissime' [most properly] (Chenu 1964: 140-141). Following on from this demarcation between 'common' and 'proper' usages of language, Vincent of Beauvais in his *Speculum Morale* (c.1310-1320) delineates blasphemy 'proprie loquendo' [properly uttered] (i.e. misrepresenting God and thus diminishing his nature) from 'vulgares modi' [common forms] of blasphemy (such as swearing on Christ's body parts) (*Speculum Morale*, 1180-1193). There was thus a distinction between those who 'properly' blaspheme, and those who do not. This observation highlights the issue that the people who wrote these texts expounding on the nature and definition of blasphemy were of a 'lettered' class, and that there was arguably a tension between academic and folk theories of swearing. This is highlighted in Schwerhoff's assessment of late-medieval blasphemers:

The typical Christian blasphemer was neither an intellectual dissident nor a member of a heretical sect. He was a person who spoke a coarse and ungodly language. [...] In late medieval and Early Modern everyday life, if somebody wished to corroborate a statement he

often did so calling on the suffering, the wounds or some part of the body of Christ. Hardly any part of the body was left out; people swore by the head, by the lungs or by the foot of the Lord. […] Other oaths considered blasphemous expressed the urgent wish that the devil might take someone or other or even the desire that the creator himself should get epilepsy. Apart from this stereotypical but extremely rich form of blasphemy there existed a whole number of unconventional and creative profanities. People parodied the Ten Commandments, they called the Mother of Christ a whore or insulted a saint with the "fig," an indecent gesture.

(Schwerhoff 2008: 402)

Although the body of medieval literature that attempts to qualify and quantify blasphemy is vast, from the creativity of medieval swearers, it would appear that many people were largely unaffected by the scholastics' theoretical discourse. Indeed, it is noteworthy that Aquinas's *Summa* (which appeared c.1267-1274) and the *Speculum Morale* (c.1310-20) were already drawing lines between 'common' and 'proper' blasphemy. It will be argued in this chapter that whereas the oaths semantically misrepresent God, crucially, they are used as a taboo linguistic behaviour to shock, emphasise and insult.

Contemporary literature from this period reveals how 'blasphemous oaths' were considered by the laity. Firstly, the issue of intent seems to have held some significance; however, there was no consensus on how this affected the act of swearing. I will briefly discuss two conflicting examples, starting with Chaucer's *Friar's Tale*, in which a summoner swears brotherhood to the Devil, and that they will each reap what they earn from a day's exploits. Initially the two characters pass a carter, who curses his horses for being too slow:

(4)   […] what spare ȝe for þe stoones
         Þe fend quod he ȝow fech body and bones
         As ferforthly as euer wer ȝe folid
         So moche wo as I haue with ȝow tholid
         The deuyl haue al boþe cart and hors and hay

(*Friar's Tale* ll. 1543-1547. Ed. Benson 2008)

         [[…] Why are you holding back on account of the stones?
         May the fiend, he said, fetch you, body and bones,
         as sure as you were ever born!
         Such woe as I have suffered with you!
         May the Devil take it all, horses, cart, and hay!]

The summoner believes that because the carter committed his horses to the Devil, he is thus rewarded with the horses, cart and hay, but the fiend urges the summoner to listen, because 'the carl spak oo thing, but he thoghte another' [the churl said one thing but he thought another] (l.1568). The crucial thing here, then, is that the carter lacked 'entente' [intent] when he swore his oath, which renders it invalid. Indeed, the carter begins to praise the horses when they do well. Conversely, later in the tale, the summoner slanders and harasses a woman for payment (and her new pan), who curses him with the words:

(5)   vnto þe deuel rough and blak of hiewe
         ȝiue I þy body and þe panne also

(*Friar's Tale*, ll.1622-1623. Ed. Benson 2008)

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[Unto the Devil black and rough
I give your body, and my pan also!]

The Devil asks her whether this is the true intent behind her words, to which she heartily assents:

(6)   Þe deuel quod he fecche him er he deye
           And panne and al but he wol him repente

<div align="right">(Friar's Tale ll.1628-1639. Ed. Benson 2008)</div>

[May the Devil, she said, fetch him before he die,
and pan and all, unless he will repent]

With these words, the Devil seizes the summoner and takes him to Hell. This story highlights the perceived importance of intent behind curses. However, we may wish to compare this to the tale of the cursed child in Robert Mannyng's devotional late-medieval text, *Handlyng Synne* (c.1303), a translation of the Anglo-Norman *Manuel de Pechiez*, in which a mother angrily curses her child with the words 'þe deuyl come on þe' [the devil come upon you], a curse that takes effect immediately. It is hard to imagine any actual intent behind this curse, which suggests that this tale represents a different point of view, wherein simply uttering an oath without intent is enough to bring about its effects.

Handlyng Synne also discusses the type of 'common' or 'wrong' oath swearing mentioned in the previous exposition of the high medieval scholastics. Under the subject of 'Swere nat hys name yn ydulnys' [Swear not his name in idleness] (*Handlyng Synne*, l.608), Mannyng writes:

(7)   ȝyf þou were euer so fole hardy
           To swerë grete oþys grysly,
           As we folys do alle day,
           Dysmembre Ihesu alle þat we may.
           Gentyl men, for grete gentry,
           wene þat grete oþys beyn curteysy
           Noþeles, blode, fete, & yȝen,
           Þey scorne Ihesu, and vpbreyde hys pyn.

<div align="right">(Handlyng Synne, ll. 665-680. Ed. Furnivall 1901)</div>

[If you were ever so foolish
to swear great oaths horribly,
As we fools do all day,
Dismember Jesus as much as we can.
Gentlemen, in their great nobility,
suppose that great oaths are courtesy
But blood, feet and eyes
They scorn Jesus, and mock his pain]

This passage is intriguing because it provides commentary on how non-scholastic 'gentyl men' considered such oaths. The phrase 'dysmembre Ihesu', for example, participates in a particular popular discourse within late-medieval affective piety: the idea that swearing on God's body will cause him to suffer anew in Heaven. The dismembering of Jesus through swearing was a far-reaching trope in exempla texts; *Jacob's Well* (c.1440) discusses this, stating that people who swear such oaths 'rende god iche lyme fro oþer' [rend God limb from limb] (*Jacob's Well*, p.153. Ed. Brandeis 1900). In *Ayenbite of Inwyt* (c.1340), we read that Jesus complains that those who swear on his body are 'worse

þanne þe sarasyn' [worse than Saracens], who do not swear on God, and 'more worse þanne þe gyewes' [more worse than Jews], because the Jews never broke his bones, as swearers do (*Ayenbite of Inwyt*, p.64. Ed Gradon 1965). Moreover, John Mirk's *Festial* (a collection of homilies, c.1403) contains a scene where Jesus complains to swearers that:

(8)   […] þou settyst noȝt by my passion that I suffryd for þe; but by me horrybull swerus all day, vmbraydys me sweryng by my face, by myn een, by myn armes, by myn nayles, by myn hert, by myn blod, and soo forth, by all my body. And soo þou marterys me by a foule vse and custom of sweryng [...]

<div align="right">(Festial, p.113. Ed. Erbe 1905)</div>

[[…] you regard my passion that I suffered for you as worthless; but by horrible swears you censure me, swearing by my face, by my eyes, by my arms, by my nails, by my heart, by my blood, and so forth, by all my body. And so you martyr me by your foul use and custom of swearing […]']

What is also interesting in the *Handlyng Synne* passage is the inclusion of the word 'curteysy' [courtesy], which suggests that these oaths may have been a part of a courteous register. This will become more prominent in the subsequent analysis of this chapter, where we see the 'paragon of chivalry', the knight William Marshal, swearing liberally *per membra Christi*. Indeed, in popular tales of the bloody child (wherein Mary presents swearers with the mutilated body of the Christ child) it is 'ryche' men (*Handlyng Synne*, l.689), or 'gret' men such as the Justice in Mirk's *Festial* (p.113) who are held responsible, and, in the *Festial*, lead others into doing likewise. This metapragmatic commentary is particularly significant, as it embellishes the picture of courteous behaviour, which (it would appear) included swearing. This furthermore reminds us that oath swearing was a contested and multifaceted entity, and that no sole interpretation of a given swear behaviour should be dominant.

From this body of literature, it is evident that swearing on God's body was widely condemned, and its strongly negative pragmatic force should not be underestimated. In Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, we see an example of moral outrage at these 'grete oþys' when the host swears by 'goddes bones', to which the Parson responds:

(9)   The Parson him answered, "Benedicite!
        What eyleth the man, so synfully to swere?"

<div align="right">(Man of Law's Tale, ll.1170-1171. Ed. Benson 2008)</div>

[The Parson answered them, 'Benedicte!
What is wrong with man that he so sinfully swears?]

The Parson's objection represents a much larger body of pastoral concern about swearing on the body of Jesus. However, given the multidimensional discourses surrounding oath swearing (including the notion that it was a courteous behaviour), the Parson could here be a caricature of overly offended clergymen. Indeed, the Parson's interjection is mocked by the Host, who calls him a 'Iankyn' ['Jankin', a name 'applied contemptuously to priests' (MED), l.1172] and a 'loller' ['lollard', l.1173].

What we have, then, is a multifaceted conceptualisation of *per membra Christi* oaths, which includes a range of complimentary and contending ideas, from the scholastics to the authors of *exempla* literature. However, what concerns the present chapter is the offensive nature of this phrase. Indeed, when we return to the marketplace scene of the *Manières*, the buyer's perlocutionary reaction reveals that what is objectionable about the vendor's oath is not issues such as blasphemy:

(10)   — *Par la mort Dieu*, biau sire, se je eusse volu, je eusse eu huy ou matinee pour mesmes les anes .x. d. Ore me croiez se vous vuillez.
— *Il ne vous faudra ja ainsi jurer*, car je vous en croi bien a primer mot sanz plus sonner'

<div align="right">(LH 1396: 38. Emphasis my own.)</div>

[— *By the death of God*, good sir, if I had wanted, I could have had (today or tomorrow) 10 pence for the same ducks. Believe me if you wish.
— *You shouldn't ever swear like that*, since I believed you on the first instance without any more fuss.]

What is offensive to the market patron is not that the vendor has blasphemed, rather, that the vendor has made an unnecessary fuss. The vendor swears his oath as an asseveration of the truth of his statement (that he will get 10 pence for his ducks, either from the current patron or the next, and that he will thus not lower his price). According to the patron, the vendor is swearing gratuitously on the truth of his statement. This complaint may be an instance of either the buyer retroactively justifying his offence or a sign that *mort dieu* really is too emphatic (or just inappropriate) for the situation. Either way, this fascinating moment of metapragmatic evaluation is evidence that this type of oath is offensive for more than the reason of blasphemy. Although a discussion of blasphemy is important to establish a script that these profanities engage with on semantic level, I am now going to discuss some contemporary pragmatic perspectives to suggest a process of bleaching of referent, thereby nuancing the context and function of these oaths.

Despite medieval concern about oath swearing couched in blasphemous terms, this has attracted little attention from researchers in the field of pragmatics today. The reason why a lot of present-day focus has been on coarse lexis rather than behaviours such as oath swearing is summed up by Jucker, who presents this pertinent issue when it comes to oaths: 'To modern ears […] scatological references have lost nothing of their abusive quality, while […] curses and blasphemous utterances may sound fairly weak in comparison' (2000: 384). The above discussion has elucidated that medieval commentators regarded such language as anything but unmarked or weak. In their medieval contexts, oaths invoking God were distasteful; however, as Beck (2006) discusses, since then there has been a semantic bleaching of God on both sides of the Channel:

> Les moins religieux comme les plus irréligieux n'ont que Dieu à la bouche, comme les gens chez nous qui disent « oh my gawwd » […] en français moderne quand on dit adieu à quelqu'un, ou Mon Dieu ! dans un moment d'émotion ou de surprise, la désémantisation du vocable est toute transparente.

<div align="right">(Beck 2006, 198)</div>

> [The less religious, and the more irreligious, have only God on their lips, such as people over here who say 'oh my gawwd' […] in modern French when one says adieu, or 'My God!' in a moment of emotion or surprise, the semantic bleaching of the term is completely transparent.]

In this passage, Beck demonstrates succinctly how invocations of God have lost their referential function. Indeed, Hughes (1991: 56) and Mohr (2013) both argue that religious swearing had much more impact in late medieval England than sexual jesting. In her discussions of the persecution of

Lollards in late-medieval England, Mohr illustrates how swearing was a large part of medieval culture, and how it functioned as a legal and religious 'litmus test' (2013: 118).[25]

However, this semantic bleaching may indeed have been occurring in the high and late Middle Ages. Furthermore, oaths invoking God and Christ may have assumed extra pragmatic meaning (as emphatic and emotive interjections) during this time, hence the buyer at the marketplace does not raise questions of blasphemy at all. Beck (2006) gestures towards this idea in his examination of invocations of God in the 15th-century French morality play *Bien avisé Mal avisé*. In his argument, Beck demarcates the *sens plein* (the 'full' biblical sense, referential to the Judeo-Christian God) and the *sens vide* (the 'empty' sense, which includes emotive and expressive interjections such as *dieu*! and *pardieu*!) (2006: 199-200). Regarding the *sens vide*, this can be either positive or negative. Thus, a positive wish is transformed into a greeting (*que dieu vous doinst salut* [may God give you health]) and a malediction is transformed into an insult. Indeed, Beck identifies two types of insult, one being the phrase *je prie a dieu qu'il te maudie* [I pray to God that he will curse you]. The second of these lacks the illocutionary force indicating device (IFID), which leaves *que dieu te maudie* or simply *dieu te maudie* (Beck 2006: 201-202). What Beck is referring to (although he does not name it himself) is pragmaticalisation, which is a key concept for this chapter. As will be discussed further into this chapter, we can see pragmaticalisation at work in some instances of the *dieu* phrases from the *Manières*. Pragmaticalisation is the process whereby the original meaning of a lexical unit is bleached, but it assumes another pragmatic function. For example, p*ardieu!* is an interjection or an emphatic addition to an utterance that comes from swearing 'by God'. However, this binary between *plein* and *vide* (or, pre- and post-pragmaticalised) senses describes an end point, not the process of semantic bleaching.

The conflicting extrapragmatic and perlocutionary evidence for oath swearing in late medieval England (for instance, the mutually-exclusive approaches to the question of 'entente' in *Handlyng Synne* and the *Friar's Tale*) suggests that this is a time caught in the process of pragmaticalisation. In her discussion of the evolutionary trajectory of 'Jesus' from a proper name to an interjection, Geweiler suggests a process of subjectification, wherein a 'concrete, "objective" lexical element, the proper name *Jesus*, has come to express abstract, pragmatic functions, as well as the speaker's attitudes and beliefs.' (Gehweiler 2008: 84). This process reflects Traugott and Dasher's *Invited Inferencing Theory of Semantic Change* (2002), which is a speaker-driven process in which words or phrases acquire new pragmatic meanings. Traugott and Dasher outline that the speaker 'may innovate a metaphoric use of a lexeme in an utterance-token', which constitutes an instantaneous development that most often does not spread, or the speaker 'exploits a conversational implicature that already exists'. This results in a situation of 'pragmatically polysemous meanings', where the original sense of an utterance or word is still dominant or at least as 'accessible' as the newly-acquired meaning (2002: 34-35). Geweiler adds to this that the sentence-initial syntactic position of the word *Jesus* helped its development as an invocation in oaths and asseverations (2008: 85). It is perhaps noteworthy to point out this same positioning in the *Manières* marketplace utterance 'Par la mort Dieu', as well as many like phrases in the *Canterbury Tales*. Traugott and Dasher's *Invited Inferencing Theory*, which describes semantic changes as a process, may be a partial explanation as to why medieval metapragmatic commentary on the same type of oath is multifaceted (and oftentimes mutually exclusive), because the 'God' element retains both a referent to the Judeo-Christian God, as well as holding a newer interjectory meaning.

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[25] In the case of the Lollards, a test designed to catch out the heretics was to ask them to swear on a Bible; if they refused to do so, their heretic status was confirmed (Mohr 2013: 116-119).

In light of this discussion of oath swearing, blasphemy, and pragmaticalisation, I am going to assess the medieval Francophone and Anglophone contexts of these behaviours from the *Manières de langage*. I will initially examine the *per membra Christi* oath ('Par la mort Dieu'), suggesting that it can be recontextualised as a pedagogical moment that simultaneously gestures towards this type of behaviour and demonstrates how it can be offensive. Regarding the prayers to God in the forms of maledictions, I will demonstrate that this is a construction used in both Anglo-Norman and Middle English; however, there is little evidence that it was used as a direct curse in Middle English (which adopts a 'I pray God curse *him*' structure, as opposed to 'je prie a dieu qu'il *te* maudie' [I pray to God that he will curse *you*]'. This cross-linguistic analysis of the two behaviours helps to nuance what the language is doing on a pragmatic level in the texts, and thus contributes to a fuller picture of the pedagogical approach of the *Manières*. I will argue that the dialogues arguably take a mixed approach to oath swearing reflecting the diversity of commentary in late medieval thought, and that they are interested in demonstrating the belligerent nature of such acts.

2.3 *Per membra Christi* oaths in the *Manières*

In order to seek out how many of the invocations of God in the *Manières* were oaths, I conducted a wildcard search of the *Manières* in the ANT, which contains 77 texts of varying dates and genres, for forms of *dieu*. To determine forms, I entered the search terms <de*> and <die*>, which would return the spelling variations of *dieu* attested in the AND entry. The query <de*> only returned the spelling variant *deu*, which was found in greetings 'Sire, Deu vous avaunce' [Sir, God speed you] (CT 1415: 69). It was the query <die*> (which gave the spelling variants *dieu, dieux,* and *diee*) so the results up for discussion here come from the search for <die*>.

The form *diee* returned 2 instances of an emphatic invocation of God:

(11)   — Dame, pernez vostre hanap, *par Diee.*
         […]
         — Dame, ou est vostre maistre?
         — *Par Diee*, sire, il est alé a la feire d'une ville qu'est dys lewes decy, appellé Wodestoke.

                                                                          (CT 1415: 75)

         [— Woman, take your cup, *by God.*
         […]
         — Woman, where is your master?
         — *By God*, sir, he has gone to the village market which is ten leagues from here, called Woodstock.]

While not swearing on any body parts or attributes, these results signify that swearing by God lends an emphatic element to an utterance. The second one of these exclamations can be characterised as an oath sworn 'by God' to assert a truth condition. This is a function of swearing identified by Schwerhoff in the passage quoted above (2008: 402).[26] While the formal features of the sentence do not overtly reveal that the woman here is swearing, we can categorise this as an oath because she is calling God to witness this assertion. This is a function of *par dieu* that is found in the results for *Dieux*, which was represented 26 times in the *Manières de langage*, yet with only one instance of *de par dieux*:

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[26] Taavitsainen identifies phrases such as *for sothe* and *be my faythe* that asseverate truth in Middle English literary and non-literary texts. However, she only finds the phrases *for Goddes love* and *Be God* (in Malory's *Mort Darthur*) as intensifiers outside of the function of rude swearing. She does not elucidate whether these phrases could be used to assert a truth condition. (Taavitsainen 1997)

(12)   Ore, mon seignour, je l'orray tresvoluntrés a vostre comaundement, *de par Dieux*

<div align="right">(CD   1396 : 13)</div>

[Now, my lord, I will happily listen to your wish, *by God*]

Again, this speaker is upholding something as true. This reflects the earlier discussion of swearing as an important determiner of truth. Moreover, the speaker undertakes to do something, and invokes God as guarantor that she will do it. In pragmatics, this type of act wherein a speaker makes a commitment (i.e. a promise or a threat) is known as a 'commissive' speech act. In example (12), the speaker is invoking God as witness that she will undertake a given course of action, thereby giving emphasis to her statement. It must be noted that none of these instances inspires any kind of offence, and this is likely because these swear phrases are pragmaticalised assertive expressions, which rather than refer to God, lend an assertive quality to the utterance.

To briefly make reference to the learners' L1, this is a behaviour found in Middle English; for instance, a search for <parde*> in the CMEPV returns 33 instances of *pardee* in four versions of the *Canterbury Tales*. The MED defines *pardee* as 'indeed, in truth; without a doubt, of course', which suggests that this is a loan from Anglo-Norman that carried the expressive function with it. It is likely that the 'God' meaning was still accessible in Middle English when this phrase was used (at least for some speakers). This moreover leads to the observation that the users of the *Manières* may have made the connection between the Anglo-Norman *par dieu* and the similar Middle English *pardee*. But when we look at the uses of *pardee* in Middle English, again, the oath is used as a pragmatic unit that serves as an emphatic token.

By far the most used form in the dialogues was *dieu*, which returned 246 hits, and of which 35 were of the 'par dieu' type. These also contained further emphatic invocations of God, specifically swearing oaths on things owed to God or on his possessions and parts:

(13)   Si est, veraiment, qar se je vous purroy jamés veoir en mon pais, je vous rendray bien la grant gentryse qu'ore m'avez fait *par la grace de Dieu*. Ore je me recomande a vous et je pri a Dieu q'il vous doint sanité et paix.

<div align="right">(CD 1396 : 34)</div>

[If it truly is, then if I could ever see you in my country, I would give you great courtesy that you have now given me, *by the grace of God*. Now I recommend myself to you and pray to God that he gives you health and peace.]

(14)   Et pur ce overes la port tost et lesse moi entrer ciens, ou autrement je depesserai trestout, *par la foi que je doi a Dieu*, me croiez se tu vuis.

<div align="right">(CD 1396: 10)</div>

[And for this, open the door now and let me in, or else I'll leave immediately, *by the faith that I owe to God*, believe me if you will.]

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

<div align="right">(CD 1396: 18)</div>

[*By God's death*, By God's death, you were foolish to play like that and injure yourself by it in this way. Now I have great need of you and you cannot benefit me at all.]

In the above extracts, the invocations of God are emphatic, and can be either positive or negative depending on context. Furthermore, in the first two examples the oath is used when the speaker asserts that they will do something. The first example is within the context of a promise to return an act of courtesy, whereas the second example (much like the third) is a more emotionally charged moment of anger. Indeed, the addressee of the second example implores the speaker 'Hé, beau sir, ne vous coruscé point' ['Hey, good sir, don't get angry at all'] (CD 1396: 10). However, the second example is not an oath sworn *per membra Christi* in the strict sense, because it is sworn by the speaker's own faith that is owed to God.

Example (15) stands out because not only is it a moment of heightened negative emotion, but the oath *per membra Christi* is used not as an assurance that the speaker will carry out a given action, but as an emphatic token accompanying an accusation. It is also arguably the strongest oath of the three extracts, since it swears on God's death. There are three instances of swearing by *la mort Dieu* in the *Manières*, which represent more emotive instances of swearing. Structurally these participate in the blasphemous script, which follows the syntactic formula: *by God's X* or *by the X of God*. However, they do not swear by a body part, and therefore do not risk the drastic consequences of torturing Christ in Heaven, which is the consequence of swearing outlined in texts such as *Handlyng Synne*. However, the specific oath sworn by God's death could conjure up a devotional image of the Crucifixion, wherein Christ (son of God) died. This could thus trigger an emotive or meditative response, or at least it was designed to on a semantic level (referring to the death of Christ). This is a hypothesis that would preclude the full pragmaticalisation of the referent, because the oath would rely on a mental association to Jesus. Indeed, one response to *mort dieu* (from an apprentice who is unable to work for his master on account of a broken hand) exhibits a desire to make reparations and to placate the swearer:

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

(CD 1396: 18)

[Hey, my most sweet master, do not worry, because I will arrange for you to have another until the time when I will be recovered]

However, it is impossible to say whether this is motivated by a devotional response to the image of Christ on the cross, or whether this is from a sense of remorse due to the apprentice being unable to perform his duties. Moreover, when we take into account the response of the market patron in the scene in which the vendor swears by *mort dieu*, it is clear that he is offended by the fact that an expletive has been uttered ('Il ne faudra pas ainsi jurer' [you mustn't ever swear like that] (LH 1396: 38). *Jurer* is the key word in this comment, which means both 'to swear an oath' and 'to curse'. Nevertheless, although *par la mort dieu* is likely to be representative of a pragmaticalised phrase (wherein *dieu* functions as an expletive, rather that explicitly referencing God), one cannot ignore that it syntactically mirrors phrases that are taken to be drastically more offensive ('By goddis armes' [*Pardoner's Tale* l.654]). There are thus two competing ideas at play, whether *dieu* refers to the God of the Bible, or whether *dieu* is attaining a primarily expletive function in this context. This issue is similar to the present-day practice of swearing by Jesus Christ today: although swearing by Jesus is common, it is unlikely that people who utter this phrase have their minds on the character of Christ.

In order to begin to address this issue, I will now attempt to situate these *par mort dieu* oaths in the *Manières* into a wider Anglo-Norman context, which will reveal their comparatively mild nature. The subsequent analysis will build towards a working hypothesis: the phrases *par mort dieu* in the *Manières* represent partial (or incomplete) pragmaticalisation. These oaths are being used as an expletive, however the fact that they do not risk any harm to Christ perhaps reveals a conscious effort to preserve Christ's wellbeing in Heaven, by not teaching pupils how to swear on his body. This is perhaps a medieval equivalent of 'softening' language. As outlined above, the context for thinking about oaths *per membra Christi* at this time was diverse and often contrastive, so to opt to represent it as *par mort dieu* could be the response to the different opinions about what constitutes a 'bad' oath. In other words, this may be symptomatic of a 'better safe than sorry' attitude.

To examine *per membra Christi* oaths in a wider Anglo-Norman context, I searched the ANT for more instances of oath swearing by God and his body. I initially used the semantic search 'human anatomy' as a guide for body parts to look at. I furthermore searched for *<mort>* to see if I could find any further examples of *mort dieu*. I did not find any other attestations. Turning to the DMF, which returned a varied list of swearing by God's body parts and attributes in late-medieval continental French, such as by his *foutre* [semen], *ventre* [guts] and *sange* [blood], I attempted to see if I could find any Anglo French counterparts. I conducted a proximity search using variants of a noun, for example, *sang* [senge, sang, saung, sange], within a five-word proximity of a variant of *dieu*. This did not return any results that matched the attestations in the DMF.

I then searched using a 'giveaway' preposition 'par' [by] in the same manner, hence the query *<par [5] dieu/deu>*. The majority of the results for this search (returning 765 hits) were variants on the phrase 'par la grace de dieu' [by the grace of God]. These were found in letters and administrative documents, and were mostly in the form of greetings. The form *deu* returned mostly the same but with a couple more variants on the formula, for example:

(17)   A donc le rey Estevene prist en sa curt Roger le eveske de Salesbires e Alisandre le eveske de
        Nicole e les mist en sa prison, e jura *par la fey ki Deu li dona* ke il ne avereient

                            (*Le Livere de Reis de Engleterre* : 192 [c.1307]. Ed. Glover 1865)

        [Therefore the king Stephen held court over Roger the archbishop of Salisbury and
        Alexander the archbishop of Lincoln, and put them in his prison, and swore by the faith
            that God gave him that they could not have it.]

This oath, sworn by one's faith in God, also appears in the *Manières* (example [14] on page 46), when Janyn, a servant character, swears by the faith that he owes to God. The utterance avoids the act of blasphemy because it doesn't ascribe any false attributes to God; it is thus an example of a 'softer' oath, although both contexts demonstrate that it is emotive.

Regarding texts containing *per membra Christi oaths*, the *Manières* represented the second-largest group of these swears, with the only other results being from *La Vie de Thomas Becket* and from the letters of Edward I. *La Vie de Thomas Becket*, has 11 swear phrases *per membra Christi*, more than in the *Manières*, although they are all by 'les oilz Deu' [God's eyes]. I would argue that there is a didactic element in these, since it is the antagonistic King Henry II who swears on the eyes of God in anger:

(18)   Pur les oilz Deu, fist il, pur quei me hunissiez?
        Ne fu mais par les suens nuls hum si avilliez.

(*La Vie de Thomas Becket*, ll.1501-1505. Ed. Walberg 1936)

[By God's eyes, he said, why do you shame me?
I was not, but by their useless men, so disgraced']

This oath is uttered at a point of heightened emotion, such as the examples of *mort dieu* in the *Manières* (although these are less extreme). Elsewhere, in the letters of Edward I, we see a similarly emotive swear phrase, but it is more overtly a threat.

(19)   E si vous la sueffrez plus tost travailler, *par la quisse Dé* vous le comperez

(*Private Letters of Edward I*, p.85. Ed. Chaplais 1962)

[And if you suffer her to travel earlier, *by God's hip* you will pay]

We can see in these instances that the vulgar swearing on God's body come at highly emotive points (most often, if not exclusively, rage). This is also the case for texts outside of the corpus, for example, *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* [The History of William Marshal]. This text contains multiple examples of swearing *per membra Christi* in moments of anger. For instance, while complaining about Marshal's over generosity, Sir Hugh swears on God's mouth ('Par la boche Dé' [*William Marshal*, ll.6855-6856]) to which Marshal responds 'By God, refrain from this anger' ('Por Deu, refrenez or ceste ire' [*William Marshal*, l.6862. Ed. Holden 2002]). Meanwhile, across the channel, the continental French attestations of these types of oath are much more widespread and varied. In the continental fabliaux, for example, we have a wider variety of body parts; to illustrate, in *De Barat et de Haimet* [Of Barat and Haimet] Haimet asks 'Por le cul Dieu où sont mes braies?' [For God's arse, where are my breeches; *De Barat et de Haimet*, p.96. Ed. Raynaud 1872-1890].

Although swearing by *la mort dieu* participates in this type of behaviour, the *Manières* do not engage with the dismembering of Jesus, something done in a small number of other Anglo-Norman texts and a large amount of contemporary Middle English ones. Although the *Manières de langage* initially appear to be rude texts, there is something perhaps unexpectedly cautious in their approach to this particular form of malediction. In the *Manières* we are given 'mort dieu' as an example of this kind of behaviour (without the risk of torturing Jesus in Heaven by dismembering his body) but the reaction is also an exposition of how offensive it would be if the students were to use the phrase (or like phrases). This thus represents an instance of taming language, partially because dismembering Jesus was considered by some in the Middle Ages to be a blasphemous act (with a multitude of exempla tales, which necessitates a pre-pragmaticalised Jesus), but also because for some people such oaths had been pragmaticalised to the point of being merely offensive interjections; or, as Chaucer's Pardoner describes, 'ydel' [idle] (*Pardoner's Tale*, l.638), which the MED defines as 'vain' 'false' and 'sinful'. The metapragmatic commentary of the buyer at the marketplace can thus be viewed as a social teaching aide.

To pay due attention to the wider context in its own right, the ANT does not provide the same kind of breadth as Middle English attestations. In the MED, attestations range from 'Bi goddes armes', 'By goddes bones' (*Canterbury Tales*) to 'By gottys dere nalys' (*Towneley plays*) although the selection is far from exhaustive. Mohr notes that Chaucer's pilgrims 'can barely start a sentence without prefacing it 'By God's soul', 'For Christ's passion' or 'By God's precious heart' (2013: 120). The reason that we see more of this behaviour in Middle English texts could be due to the kind of texts that survive and

make it onto the databases. The behaviour was used in both languages, but it is more widely attested in the MED, and is talked about in commentaries written in Middle English. It could be that this behaviour was used in Anglo-Norman but not as often recorded, due to the nature of the texts that were preserved in Anglo-Norman (administrative and trade documents, for example, were written in Anglo-Norman and Latin, but not in English until the fifteenth century). But texts such as *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, a rare example of an Anglo-Norman text that includes a variety of different swear phrases *per membra Christi*, show how the inclusion of one text in the database changes the whole picture. The inclusion of this text increases the attestation of this swear behaviour for Anglo-Norman by a significant amount. This behaviour was clearly shared by both languages, but the database evidence suggests that it was used and commented upon more frequently in Middle English. This is therefore either significant from a historical or from a corpus-based perspective.

2.5 *Je prie a dieu*: praying to God as a malediction

I will now turn to the second behaviour observed in the *Manières*, praying to God as a malediction. This behaviour has not hitherto been examined in present-day scholarship, either within the framework of malediction or blasphemy. I return to the dispute between two travellers wherein this construction is used as an malediction ('Je pri a Dieu que il vous meschie' [I pray to God that he curses you]) and as a rebuttal after being struck by the offended party ('Je pri a Dieu que tu puis rumper le col avant que tu en irras hors de ciens' [I pray to God that you can break your neck before you go out of this place]) (CD 1396: 24-25). The *prie a Dieu* formula is used elsewhere in the *Manières* texts nineteen times, and these uses can be grouped into separate categories:

Maledicitons:[27]

6 occurrences

(20)   Je pri a Dieu que il te poet mescheoir de cors, quar tu m'as fait longtens ici attendre

(CD 1396: 10)

[I pray to God that he may curse your body, because you made me wait here for so long]

(21)   Tu as esté ovec tes filletz putaignes, et pur ce je pri a Dieu que tu puisse avoir le vit coupé, car je sçai bien que tu en aras male estraine a darrains se tu ne vuis lesser ta folie, par Dieu!

(CD 1396: 19)

[You have been with your whore girls, and for this I pray to God that you have a cut penis, because I know well that you will end up with bad luck if you do not stop your foolishness, by God!]

(22)   Vraiment, vous esties bien malvois. Je pri a Dieu que il vous meschie.

(CD 1396: 25)

[Truly you are very wicked. I pray to God that he curses you]

(23)   Je pri a Dieu que de malle faucille roillié peus tu avoir le vit coupee

(PN 1396: 35)

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[27] I include all examples in this category because they are a more dynamic group (varying between praying to God that X happen, or that he will do X) and will also be the focus of the latter part of this chapter.

[I pray to God that your penis is cut with a rusty scythe]

(24)   Je pri a Dieu que tu puis rumper le col avant que tu en irras hors de ciens.

(CD 1396: 25)

[I pray to God that you may break your neck before you leave]

(25)   Je prie a Dieu qu'il vous puist mescheoir de corps, amen.

(LH 1396: 40)

[I pray to God that he may curse your body, amen]

These maledictions all express a wish that something bad will happen at the hands of God; they are effectively curses.[28] There are also other contexts within which *prie a dieu* is used in the *Manières*:

Blessings:

1 occurrence

(26)   Je pri a Dieu tout puissant Nous graunte le joye toutdiz durant.

(CT 1415: 77)[29]

[I pray to Almighty God to grant us joy that lasts forever]

Farewells:

8 occurrences

(27)   Mon signeur, je pri a Dieu q'il vous donne bonne encontre et vous beneit, saut et gart de tous perils.

(LH 1396: 45)

[My lord, I pray to God that he gives you good fortune and blesses you, saves and guards you from all perils]

Greetings:

2 occurrences

(28)   Ore je prie a Dieu qu'il vous donne grace de bien faire.

(LH 1396: 40)

[Now, I pray to God that he gives you the power to succeed]

Advice:

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[28] On the terminology, refer particularly to the OED definition of curse (noun) at sense 2: 'Without implication of the effect: The uttering of a malediction with invocation or adjuration of the deity; a profane oath, an imprecation.'

[29] This is recycled from the *Liber Donati*, a highly popular textbook for learning French in the late Middle Ages.

1 occurrence

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

(CD 1396: 16. End of the fabliau) [30]

[And for this the wise Solomon says in the Book of Wisdom that there is no wickedness in all the world that surpasses the wickedness of an evil woman. Therefore I pray to God that you will be well protected from them. Amen]

We see, therefore, that in the *Manières*, the *prie a Dieu* formula is used mostly within farewells, followed shortly by maledictions, although it is used within a wide range of applications. The main message from this exploration is that context lends meaning to structure. The *prie a dieu* structure remains the same, but its use in different contexts elicits different responses and performs different functions. What unites all of these instances is that they mostly express a wish or desire. This is true even in greetings and farewells. However, discussed in the case of swearing *par dieu*, one could posit that these expressions (such as those used in greetings and farewells) are pragmaticalised conventions, rather than explicitly invoking the God of the Bible in their reference.

Regarding the maledictive function, the utterances containing 'prie a dieu' do follow certain conventions. These either include variations on a curse that God himself carries out ('je prie a dieu qu'il vous meschie' [I pray to God that he will hurt you]) or a curse that God oversees but does not enact personally ('Je pri a Dieu que tu puis rumper le col' [I pray to God that you may break your neck]). This formula is embellished somewhat in the PN manuscript ('Je pri a Dieu que de malle faucille roillié peus tu avoir le vit coupee' [I pray to God that your penis may be cut off with a rusty scythe] is certainly an elaboration of sorts). Phrases of this type are what Culpeper classes in his overview of modern-day impoliteness formulae as 'negative expressives', that is, a curse or an ill wish (Culpeper 2010: 3243). The forms in the *Manières* differ from the results in his corpus of contemporary English because of the insertion of the subject 'Je', which is not present in his modern-day results ('go fuck yourself' is common in contemporary insult culture, whereas 'I pray to God that you go get fucked' is the construction common for my late-medieval findings). Other features from Culpeper's corpus are present in the *Manières*, such as challenging or unpalatable questions and/or presuppositions, such as 'Tu as esté ovec tes filletz putaignes' [You were with your whorish girls]. Also present is the addition of a personalised negative assertion, 'vous esties bien malvois' [You are truly wicked]. We could perhaps categorise 'amen' as an enforcer that accompanies the *prie a dieu* utterance. Of course, the forms here are naturally different from modern day insults, however, this is a helpful framework for thinking about these *prie a dieu* phrases as both being common within maledictions, and as having certain set conventions.

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[30] Arguably, this instance can also be a signal that the fabliau has come to an end. *Mankind*, for example finishes thus:

Therefore God grant ȝow all per suam misericordiam
þat ye may be pleyferys wyth þe angellys abowe
And hawe to ȝour porcyon vitam eternam. Amen

(*Mankind*, ed. Ashley and NeCastro 2010)
It is also worth noting that this is not a passage from Solomon's Wisdom, although it may be a gloss.

In order to see how else this phrase is used in other later Anglo-Norman sources, I searched the ANT for uses of this phrase as a performative speech act, either direct or reported. Perhaps unsurprisingly, this formula appears most frequently in administrative texts, and mostly petitions. In Legge's edition of *Anglo-Norman Letters and Petitions*, it appears over fifteen times, as petitions or as farewells:

(30)   *jeo prie a Dieu* q'il vous eit en sa garde et vous doint grace

> (Joan, Countess of Hereford to Hugh Waterton, 1405. In Legge 1941: 399)

> [I pray to God that he has you in his care and gives you favourable regard]

Furthermore, within the corpus of legal, administrative, and diplomatic texts, the War of Saint-Sardos (1323-1325) Gascon Correspondence and Diplomatic Documents has this phrase five times, and the Registrum Epistolarum Fratris Johannis Peckham, Archepiscopi has this phrase four times. These constructions function as requests. Indeed, in the ANT corpus, the Manières are second only to the Northern petitions (which use a like phrase, prie pur dieu, 20 times) and which uses the more formulaic language of petitions, and which only uses prie pur dieu as petitions or in farewell formulae. It would therefore appear that the Manières reflect different usages of this particular speech act by incorporating it in maledictions and greetings/farewells (this is based on the texts in the ANT). The Manières, being texts that imitate oral speech on the page, may have sought to represent behaviours commonplace in speech (such as praying to God as a malediction), whereas solely written genres, such as petitions, would not have had this goal in mind.

There is more ready evidence for praying to God being used as a malediction in continental French. Beck (2006), for example, find examples in *Bien avisé Mal avisé*, and the DMF contains two attestations for *prie a dieu* accompanied by the verb meschair in Middle French:

(31)   Prestreau, vous estes bien rusé, De vous ne me doubtasse empiece. *Je pry a Dieu qu'il me meschesse*, Se vous m'eschappés en ce point.

> (*Le Mystère de saint Laurent,* p. 207. 1499. Ed Söderhjelm & Wallensköld 1891)

> [Priest, you are very cunning, they doubted me about you for a long time. I pray to God that he leads me to misfortune, if you escape me at this stage]

(32)   La char bieu il me faict suer *Je prie a Dieu qu'il luy meschie*

> (*Le Mystère de la vie et hystoire de monseigneur sainct Martin*, p.373. 1500. Ed. Knutsen 1976)

> [The cart truly made me work, I pray to God that he leads it into misfortune]

The reason why *prie a dieu* in a maledictive context may have been so offensive is because it was a prayer to God himself that something bad might happen. If a prayer to God enforced him to be a guarantor for violence, then there could be very real concern that God would indeed cause harm to the person on the receiving end of the curse. The mere fact that a speaker would invite this upon another person (regardless of whether it actually happened) could be in itself gravely offensive. This re-evokes the complex issue of the intent behind oath swearing, which was explored in both *Handlyng Synne* and the *Friar's Tale*. Rütten (2012) discusses the phrase 'I pray God to…' within the context of Middle English sermons, and explains that they 'may be understood as direct addresses to God' despite the fact that they are not strictly performative because they lack a direct form of address, such as 'I pray *thee God*'. However, she posits that the omnipresence of God means that the phrase can still function

as a direct approach to him, 'and thus description and performance of the prayer may, in fact, overlap' (2012: 301).

This discussion of Middle English sources brings me to a further examination of *pray to God* phrases in English. I searched the (CMEPV) for instances of English uses of *Pray (to) God*, specifically in the form of wishes and maledictions as expressed in the *Manières*. The CMEPV yields more results for this usage than the Anglo-Norman corpus. This is to be expected since, at 146 texts, the CMEPV is a bigger corpus than the AND. Moreover, the natures of the corpora are different; the AND is weighted towards legal, administrative and diplomatic documents, while the CMEPV contains proportionately more literary texts. These differences should be borne in mind when making comparisons of frequency between the languages. Indeed, I would not wish to suggest that *pray to God* phrases were in some way more common in Middle English than in Anglo Norman.

Due to space, I will only discuss the most relevant texts here, starting with Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. The manuscript that returned the most results for the 'I pray to God' construction was Harley 7334 (c.1410), with 17 occurrences (discounting the 6 false results), 5 of which were in the context of malediction:

(33)   Right in his cherles termes wol I speke,
         I pray to God his nekke mote to-breke

                                        (*Reeve's Prologue*, ll.3917-3918. Ed. Benson 2008)

         [Right in this churl's terms will I speak
         I pray to God his neck may break]

(34)   And eek I praye jhesu shorte hir lyves
         That wol nat be governed by hir wyves

                                        (*Wife of Bath's Tale*, ll. 1261-1262. Ed. Benson 2008)

         [And also I pray that Jesus may shorten the lives
         of those who won't be governed by their wives]

(35)   I pray to god, yeve hym confusioun
         That first thee broghte unto religioun!

                                        (*Monk's Prologue*, ll.1943-1944. Ed. Benson 2008)

         [I pray to God, give him humiliation
         Who first brought you to religion]

Lindahl (1987: 87-123) has written in detail about the various different insult tactics of the pilgrims in the *Canterbury Tales*.[31] To briefly state his findings, he categorises insult types found in the *Canterbury Tales* as follows:

1. Deflected apology: The speaker apologises while blaming another for their failings.
2. Behavioural comparison: The speaker contrasts an addressee with 'an ideal or idealised picture of the opponent's profession' (Jucker 2000: 372) implying that their addressee is found wanting.
3. Simile: The speaker is able "to call a spade a spade by saying that he is *like* a spade" (Lindahl 1987: 101).

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[31] 'Insult' is the term used by Lindahl to describe these types of utterance, although this term does not always faithfully describe what is happening.

4. Conditional insult: The speaker makes a reproachful comment about a particular character trait, knowing that a particular person present possesses this trait.

5. Generalisation: The speaker makes broad statements that indirectly target the addressee. This is 'probably the largest category of indirect insult' (Lindahl 1987: 102).

6. Feeling-out: Restricted to encountering a stranger: The speaker 'should appear to praise the stranger, but [...] He shapes his language to show that the newcomer must prove worthy of the praise tentatively extended' (Lindahl 1987: 105).

7. Mock praise: The speaker ironically praises the addressee, producing a sarcastic effect.

8. Ironic disclaimer: the speaker claims that they were only joking when they uttered a previous insult, '[t]he effect is of course that the insult is exacerbated rather than reduced' (Jucker 2000: 373).

9. Subjective qualification: the speaker states an opinion, qualifying it with a phrase like 'it seems to me'.

10. Appeal for consensus: 'used to win the audience for the speaker and against the target of the insult'

(Lindahl 1987: 108).

However, what is intriguing about these results is that Lindahl's model does not entirely account for praying to God as a malediction. Whereas the phrases found in the Wife of Bath's and the Monk's prologues may fit under Lindahl's category of 'conditional insult' (in which a speaker, feigning ignorance of a character trait possessed by their antagonist, states that anybody with that trait would be a fool), the utterance found in the Reeve's prologue does not fit into any of the categories set out by Lindahl. It is an indirect statement, like the other two examples given above, but it is right in the presence of the target, the Miller. This thus potentially acts as an appeal for consensus from the other pilgrims, but it lacks the markers of engagement with the audience such as nominal address terms ('Lordynges') or phrases such as 'I pray yow all' that Lindahl uses as a diagnostic for the appeal for consensus (cited from Lindahl [1987, 108]).

The second-biggest grouping of 'I pray to God' phrases (8 occurrences) is found in the *N-Town Plays*. These are mostly prayers that God will bless an interlocutor in some way:

(36)   I pray to God thee save.

(*Marriage of Mary and Joseph*, l.391. Ed. Sugano 2007)

However, there is one insult that resembles those found in the *Canterbury Tales*:

(37)   I pray to God, gyf hym myschawns!
          Hese leggys here do folde for age!
          But with this damysel, whan he ded dawns
         The olde charle had ryght gret corage.

(*Trial of Mary and Joseph*, ll.266-269. Ed. Sugano 2007)

         [I pray to God, give him misfortune
         His legs here do fold for age!
         But with this maiden, when he danced
         The old churl had much boldness]

It is noteworthy here that it is the first Detractor (the one interrogating Mary and Joseph) who utters the phrase 'I pray to God, gyf hym myschawns', which reflects an element of negative characterisation

associated with this phrase (which is part of a plethora of undesirable linguistic behaviour). Such characterisation is supported by the presence of further aggressive acts such as calling Joseph a 'charle' [churl], and commenting abusively on his body, disfigured by age. This is a trend that is observed by Taavitsainen, who cautions that '[e]arly drama had a religious content and was instructive' (1997: 824); therefore it should not be surprising that evil characters are shown to be using taboo linguistic behaviours.

The word 'mischaunce' is striking here, since it is one seen before in the French material in oaths of this type. Indeed, if one searches the Harleian *Canterbury Tales* for the word *mischaunce* and its variants, this is also attested in the context of maledictions:

(38)   Nay quod þe Fox but god ʒiue him meschaunce
         þat is so vndiscret of gouernaunce

<div align="right">(Nun's Priest's Tale, ll. 4623-4624. Ed. Benson 2008)</div>

         [No, said the fox, but god give him misfortune
         who is so lacking in governance]

(39)   And bryngen hem biforn hem in despit
         And naked to fulfille her foule delyt
         In her fadres blood þey made hem daunce
         vpon þe pauyment god ʒeue hem meschaunce
         For which þese woful maydens ful of drede

<div align="right">(*Franklin's Tale*, ll.1371-1375. Ed. Benson 2008)</div>

         [And they had them paraded in shame
         And naked, to fulfil their sexual gratification
         In their father's blood they made them dance
         Upon the pavement – god give them misfortune!]

The MED has further entries of this type, such as one from *The English Poems of Charles of Orleans* (c.1450):

(40)   'Y shalle fynde sum maner chevishaunce To mokke this karle, god geve him a myschaunce.'

<div align="right">(*Charles of Orleans*, l.1800. Ed. Steele 1941)</div>

         [I shall find some way of deceiving this churl, God give him misfortune]

We can see that 'god geve him a myschaunce' is a formula used in later Middle English; it omits the 'I pray to God' yet still invokes God to guarantee the act of bringing somebody to misfortune by using the subjunctive mood. Lexically, these phrases are incredibly similar to 'Je pri a Dieu que il vous meschie' found in the *Manières* (CD 1396: 25) as well as the other French attestations of this common phrase. Indeed, the MED relates *mischaunce* with the Old French *meschëance*. There is no verb form of *mischaunce*, hence the need for the verb *gyf*, *whereas* Anglo and Continental Frenches had a verb form of *mescheance*: *meschair* (attested in both the AND and the DMF). What we observe here is a shared construction between Middle English and Anglo French. A key difference, however, is that all of the attestations of *god ʒiue him meschaunce* phrases (both in Middle English and Old Frenches) are of an indirect construction, except for the one in the *Manières de langage*. For example, in the *N-Town Plays* utterance, the interrogator does not address Joseph directly during the course of this insult. We saw this is also the case for the *pray to God* insults of the *Canterbury Tales* and the poems of Charles

of Orleans; however, the *Manières* had this as a direct insult: 'Je pri a Dieu que il vous meschie' (CD 1396: 25).

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has taken two forms of insult behaviour and, through a bilingual exploration into the social and linguistic contexts, has aimed to expose (in part) the different pedagogical aims of the *Manières* texts. The inclusion of such socially aberrant behaviours appears to have been for the purposes of behavioural didactics, alongside language pedagogy. It is perhaps worth mentioning that these oaths are not to be found in any of the other French language pedagogy texts at this time. This observation adds to my overall argument that the *Manières* are advanced and sophisticated educational texts, and very much focused on cultivating pragmatic ability. Having examined the broader context for thought on blasphemy and 'intent', swearing *par la mort dieu* appears to show a reluctance to fully represent the widely-criticised swear behaviour of dismembering Christ. This signifies a 'softened' representation of *per membra Christi* oaths, which were common in both Middle English and Anglo-Norman. This behaviour was conceptualised very differently throughout the high and late medieval periods, as a courteous form of behaviour, and as a blasphemous utterance that had catastrophic consequences for Christ's body in Heaven. The instances of *par mort dieu* in the *Manières* may also be an instance that demonstrates undesirable linguistic behaviour, without running that unnecessary risk. Praying to God in the form of a malediction was a pragmatic feature shared by both Anglo-Norman and Middle English. Moreover, the examples from Middle English suggest that the word *mischauce* was related to this kind of utterance, in a similar way to the French *meschair*. A difference appears to be that the Middle English sources do not phrase this directly, whereas the phrases used in the *Manières* do take the form of a direct insult (so, 'I pray God curse *you*' as opposed to 'I pray God curse *him*'). This could offer yet another insight into why this utterance caused so much offence between the travellers staying at the inn in the *Manières*, since it is a direct as opposed to an indirect insult.

Additionally, it is interesting to consider the educational implications of the fact that uttering oaths *per membra Christi* and praying to God as a malediction were behaviours shared between Middle English and later Anglo-Norman. What this means is that a learner using the dialogues to learn French may have recognised and understood these behaviours from their own linguistic/pragmatic repertoire. However, whether this was the case or not, it would appear that the authors of the *Manières* felt the need to pass some social commentary on how such oaths should (or should not) be used.

Chapter Three: Second-person address in the *Manières*: addressing variation

3.1 Chapter outline

This chapter will examine the second-person address, including the pronominal address terms *tu* and *vous* (often referred to as the T/V distinction). The T/V distinction represents a salient, lively, yet little-understood aspect of (Old) French pragmatics. Both *tu* and *vous* are used in singular address (i.e. to one addressee), yet *vous* is grammatically plural, and is often used and regarded as an 'honorific' form of singular address. Middle English likewise had two pronouns that could be used in singular address: *thou* and *ye* (the latter also grammatically plural). I will demonstrate, through a literature review and a pilot corpus study, that while both second-person reference systems appear to be complex (both evidencing recurrent switching between *tu/thou* and *vous/ye*) Anglo-Norman generally favoured a predominant use of *vous* over the less-frequent *tu*, while Middle English shows no such clear division. While scholarship has struggled to account for these address systems, which both exhibit frequent switching between *tu* and *vous* forms, this kind of variation is central to this present study. I wish to examine how second-person address forms are represented in the *Manières*, offering a reappraisal of the second-person address system of the aspired-to L2, by examining certain moments in the *Manières* through the framework of indexicality. This perspective will emphasise the role of individual decision-making, informed by a given speaker's evaluation in the context of cultural norms. To do this, I will examine dialogue that exhibits the use of the significantly less-frequent *tu* and its associated forms. I will use the term 'T-forms' throughout to designate both second-person singular pronouns and verbs inflected for the second-person singular. Uses of T-forms can often be found in episodes of 'switching' where speakers oscillate between T-forms and their 'honorific' counterparts, V-forms. For the purposes of this chapter, the term 'V-forms' refers to pronouns and verbs that grammatically inflect for the second-personal plural, but which are used to address a single subject.[32] I will argue that one can understand this oscillation between T- and V-forms as reflective of individual situational judgement. This becomes yet more apparent in consideration of moments where the *Manières* present different options within the same communicative moment (often introducing such options with the phrase *vel sic* [or thus]). This model presents an unparalleled insight into second-person address as a decision-making process, rather than reflecting static norms. The pedagogy of the *Manières* thus appear to give the learners a degree of creative agency in their choice of T- and V-forms, rather than demonstrating any prescriptive 'rules'. Given that scholarship has traditionally described use of the T/V distinction as reflecting immutable ideals such as power and solidarity, or similar binaries such as formality versus informality, this is a noteworthy finding. Instead, while the *Manières* do present situations wherein address forms reflect power dynamics or heightened emotions, there are also situations that contain no readily discernible reason behind the use of the less common T-forms.

3.2 Overview of the question

Address forms such as pronouns, associated verb morphology, and nominal address terms (the focus of the next chapter) are a very important part of any language-learning curriculum because they form the basis of constructing and articulating relationships: how to position oneself with regard to people in different social groups, and how to conduct successful interactions and avoid causing offence. As Nevala (2009: 83) states 'such terms [...] usually encode both the speaker-referent and the speaker addressee relations'. However, pronominal address terms and associate verb morphology have been relatively neglected in the study of these texts for the reason that they are regarded as 'trompeuses' [fickle/deceptive] (Lagorgette 2013: 135). Lagorgette's evaluation (and others like it) comes from the fact that these terms are constantly changing throughout the texts, often within the same conversation.

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[32] T- and V-forms will be marked out in my translations in this chapter.

It is thus often assumed that second-person address is either 'unstable' or 'arbitrary'. I am particularly interested in the dialogues' representation of address forms because they present a choice between T- and V-forms, but with very little metapragmatic comment, rendering them particularly challenging to understand from a modern perspective (and perhaps from a medieval one). There are two types of person reference oscillation that appear in the *Manières*: switching between T- and V- forms over the course of a conversation, and the presentation of different options for the same utterance. In both instances, the interlocutors remain the same, but for switching, an external stimulus triggers a change in address forms during the course of the conversation; for options, the *Manières* present the learner with a choice between pronominal address terms, based on the learner's internal values (likely shaped by their cultural contexts).

An example of the phenomenon of pronoun switching within the same conversation, which happens several times in the *Manières*, is given here. This occurs when a man is asking for directions from a stranger on the road:

(1)   — Beau sir, Dieu vous esploit. Dites moy se vous plaist, que heure del joure est il?
         — Sir, je pense que est dis.
         — Que dea, mettés le chapron, paillarde, com tu parles a prodome!

(CD 1396: 26)

[— Good sir, God advance you (V). Please tell (V) me, what time is it?
— Sir, I think that it is 10
— By God, put on your hat, bastard, since you (T) are talking (T) to a gentleman!]

In this example, we see that the same speaker switches from V-forms to T-forms in response to seeing that his addressee is not wearing his hat, which is taken as a sign of disrespect. The speaker justifies his outrage by stating that the addressee is conversing with a *prodome* [gentleman]. The nominal address term *paillarde* [bastard] emphasises the effect of switching to T-forms, in a moment of heightened emotion (which may be read as shock, offense, or outrage). This sudden switch, in response to an external stimulus, may be described as an expressive shift. In fact, it is noteworthy that switching from V address to T address is a comparatively less common phenomenon.

There are also several points in the *Manières* where a series of different phrases are introduced as possible responses to the same utterance (these are usually introduced by the phrase *vel sic*). We can see this, for instance, when the proprietor of a brothel greets the lord before introducing him to two of her young employees:

(2)   — Mon signeur, vous estez tresbien venu. *Vel sic:* Mon signeur, bien soiez venu. *Si vero tuizaveris aliquem, hoc modo responsionem tuam procul dubio reserabis:* Bial amy, bien sois venu.

(LH 1396: 39)

[— My lord, you (V) are very welcome. Or : My lord, may you be (V) welcome. *If you want to address anyone using T-forms, in this way certainly you will disclose your response:* Good friend, be (T) welcome.]

In this example it is particularly obvious that the authors of the dialogues felt the need to demonstrate that two different registers could be construed as equally appropriate. The metapragmatic comment 'Si vero tuizaveris aliquem, hoc modo responsionem tuam procul dubio reserabis' [If you want to address anyone using T-forms, in this way certainly you will disclose your response], which appears in

OA and LH, is a particularly rare form of commentary, and will be returned to in the latter section of this chapter. Indeed, this demonstration of registers is arguably a very sophisticated pedagogy. Here, the address options presented are distinguished by the pronouns *tu* and *vous* (and associated verb morphology), and nominal address terms, that construct the nature of the interlocutors' relationship. In example (2), the speaker can choose between addressing their interlocutor as 'lord' or 'friend', the former being more deferential than the latter, an interpretation that is supported by the use of *vous* that accompanies *signeur*, as opposed to *amy*, which is accompanied by *tu*.

These are the two behaviours of interest to the present chapter: switching in response to an explicit external stimulus, such as an event (example [1]), and different choices dependant on individual assessment of a given situation or relationship (example [2]). I will return to the question of the potential rationale behind including these behaviours in the *Manières* later in the chapter. Having defined the behaviours of interest where T-forms appear in the dialogues, I will provide an overview of the context for second-person address. I will firstly establish that the address system used in the *Manières* may not have been readily understood by the native speakers of Middle English. I will then turn to research in present-day French that may allow us to re-examine the issue through the framework of indexicality, which posits that certain linguistic features can point towards social concepts pertaining to (for example) class, gender, or politeness norms. Finally, I will assess some examples of switching behaviour in the *Manières*, showing that the dialogues present such behaviours in a way that both demonstrates the pragmatic force of address terms, while also assigning the learner the autonomy to select T- and V-address forms.

However, before I proceed, it is important to justify why I focus more on pronominal address terms than the morphology of verbs, which also inflect according to the mode of address, in the present study. The inflection of the verb in '*alez* hors de ma vue' [*Get out* of my sight] (OA 1399: 55) evokes the plural/honorific form of address, whereas '*va*, ribaud' [*Go away*, rogue] (OA 1399: 54) uses the singular inflection. The first and most obvious reason to forgo a full consideration of verbs is that such a study would be vast, and there would be issues surrounding how to delineate categories of verb to analyse throughout the *Manières*. Such a study would be outside the scope of the present chapter. Moreover, although the study of verbal morphology in a social context is worthwhile, it is not entirely unproblematic for two reasons. Firstly, in the case of Anglo-Norman, an L2, it is important to remember that British scribes' mastery of French and susceptibility to English influence was not homogenous. Secondly, regardless of a scribe's mastery of French, it is not always easy to tell the difference between a second person singular inflection and a plural inflection due to the spelling conventions of Anglo Norman. Consider the below examples, each showing an apparent 'misunderstanding' or 'mistranslation' of verb forms:

(3)   Tien te coy ou te je doneray un ytiel sufflet que tu penseras de moy decy as quatre jours, *me croyez se tu vis*, car je teneray covenant.

                                                            (CD 1396: 19. Emphasis my own)

        [Hold (T) your (T) peace or I will strike you (T) such a blow that you (T) will be thinking (T) of me for four days from now, *believe (V) me if you (T) wish*, because I will keep my word]

(4)   [Traveller] Ne vous durray tant d'argent.
        I ne shall yeve so moch silver.

>[Innkeeper] Certez, vous promistez trop petit
>Certain, ye bede me to litel .
>
>Ditez, qu'est le mot draine ?
>Saie, what is the last worde ?
>
>Sir, a un mot ne lez averez meyns.
>Sir, at oo worde ye it shal have noo lasse
>
>Certez, *le fetez* trop.
>Certain, *thou* boughtest to dere.

<div align="right">(ed. Södergård 1953: 214. Emphasis my own)</div>

In example (3), although the pronoun *tu* is used throughout, the imperative verb *croyez* appears to be in the plural inflection, taking an –*ez* ending. Throwing this interpretation into question, second person singular imperative verbs could also be formed both with and without an *-s* (the AND proposes *crei*; the DMF proposes forms such as *croi* and *crois*). The observation that complicates matters, particularly when we consider that Anglo Norman is characterised by a 'random addition of inorganic letters, like *s* or weak *e*' (Einhorn 141). For instance, an insertion of weak *e* into the form *crois/croys* would result in *croyes*. Moreover, according to Löfstedt (2010: 79), the difference between singular and plural in Anglo-Norman morphology was minimised due to the influence of Middle English speech, which placed emphasis on the first syllable of verbs, making the first syllable of a verb more salient and reducing the vowel quality of the final syllable. The reduced vowel quality likely resulted in the orthographic slippage between *-es* (a singular ending) and –*ez* (a plural ending). To summarise, *croyez* is not unmistakably inflected for plural, despite first appearances.

We can also note the same for *fetez* in example (4) which appears in a bilingual *Manières* fragment. It would appear initially that the scribe has mistranslated *fetez* for *thou boughtest* (instead of *ye bought*). Indeed, this particular scribe uses several English words in the French text (indicative of an imperfect copy of an earlier manuscript) and makes several constructions in French that show English influence; for example, using the adjective *petit* as an adverb in *Certez, vous promistez trop petit*, which does not normally occur in Old French (Södergård 1953: 209). One could in fact argue that in utterances with the *vous* present, the scribe sees the pronoun as an unambiguous marker of addressee and thus translates the sentences more faithfully. It is in one of the phrases without the pronoun, *Certez, le fetez trop*, that the register gets translated from V to T. In the case of the other pronoun-less utterance, *Sir, a un mot ne lez averez meyns*, a scribe with a particularly poor grasp of French may have viewed *averez* as an unambiguously plural verb, due to the *av-* stem.[33] This is not the case, as outlined below:

Singular	tu as [you have]	tu averas [you will have]
Plural	vous avez [you have]	vous averez [you will have]

The shading in the above table indicates that *vous* in both cases takes the av- stem, whereas *tu* only takes the av- stem in the future tense. A scribe may have taken the av- stem to indicate that the verb *averez* was a plural form, thus using 'incorrect' logic to reach the 'correct' conclusion. On the other hand, as we saw in the case of *croyez*, it could be the case that the scribe did believe themselves to be

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[33] As opposed to looking at the declension as a whole: the av- stem plus the -ez ending. As stated in Löfstedt (2010), this ending may have had a reduced quality in Middle English.

writing a singular inflection (-*ez* not being necessarily a marker of plural inflection). Furthermore, Middle English poets did sometimes tend to use T-forms where they used V-forms in their French:

(5)   Et mon amour doné vous ay, / And also thin owene nyght and day

(*De amico ad amicam*, ll. 11-12, c.1400. Ed. Duncan 2000)

[And I have given you (V) my love / As your (T) own, night and day]

(6)   Mayde, byseche Y the / Vostre seint socour.

(*Mayden, moder milde,* ll.13-14. Ed. Greer Fein 2015)

[Maid, I beseech you (T) / your (V) holy aid]

The practice of using T-forms in English and V-forms in Anglo Norman casts doubt onto whether this was indeed a 'mistranslation' or a convention. Nevertheless, in response to the uncertainty arising from verb morphology and orthography, Löfstedt states:

> Sans trop exagérer, on peut dire que […] seul le pronom personnel peut assurer la distinction entre le pluriel et le singulier; le verbe semble tolérer l'oscillation entre tu et vous.
>
> (Löfstedt 2010 : 79)
>
> [Without exaggerating too much, one could say that […] only the personal pronoun can guarantee the distinction between the plural and singular; the verb appears to tolerate oscillation between *tu* and *vous*]

It would thus appear that pronouns, rather than verbs, are a more conclusive diagnostic for address registers, since verb forms were susceptible to scribal corruption.

Of course, the case can be overstated. Presumably if scribes could misunderstand verbs (if indeed they did) they could also misunderstand pronouns. However, as pertains to the *Manières*, it may be useful to examine the following two examples of the same scene from different manuscripts, belonging to the two different 'families' of the 1396 dialogues:

(7)   Et s'en vait tout droit en sa voie; et quant il sera venu a l'ostel, il dira tout courtoisement en cest manier :
        —Hosteler, hosteler!
        Et l'autre luy respont au derraniers, tout dedeignousement ainsi:
        —Qu'est la, amis?
        —Quoy ne m'as tu, paillart, respondu au primier feis que je hurtai a porte? Je pri a Dieu qu'il te peut mescheoir du corps, car tu m'as fait icy longtemps muser, et tu sais bien qu'il ne fesoit si grant froit cest annee comme il fait a present, car il neige, gresillie et grelee si fort que l'yaue est aussi espes en giellee comme la eure de mon pie, pur quoy je say bien que la glas du gellee ne se degiellera en piece. Overez la porte tost et laissez me entrer ciens, ou autrement je le depecierai trestout, par la foy que je doy a Dieu, me creis se tu vuis !
        —Hé, biaux sire, ne vous corucez poynt, si ferai je doncques.
        L'osteler s'en vait bien hastiement pour overer la porte, et quant il l'a overee, il regart ainsy, luy disant « Sainte Marie ! Janyn estes vous la ? »
        —Oil dea ! Ne me peus tu veoir ?

LH (ed. Meyer 1870: 388)

[And he goes directly on his way; and when he will have arrived at the hostel, he will say very courteously in this way:
—Innkeeper, innkeeper!
And the other will respond to him, in this unfriendly way
—Who is there, friend?
—Why didn't (T) you (T), bastard, respond to me at the first time that I shouted at the door? I pray to God that he will harm your (T) body, since you (T) made (T) me waste my time out here for such a long time, and you (T) know (T) very well that it has not snowed as much this year as it does now, for it's snowing, and sleeting, and hailing so hard that the water has thickened into frost, just like the edges of my foot, by which I know that the ice of the frost will not thaw for a long time. Open (V) the door now and let (V) me inside, or else I will break it down very soon, by the faith that I owe to God, believe (T) me if you (T) wish!
—Oh, good sir, don't (V) you (V) get angry! I will do it now.
The innkeeper then goes very quickly to open the door, and when he has opened it, he looks thus, saying "Saint Mary, Janyn, is (V) that you (V) there?'
—Yes, God! Can (T) you (T) not see me?']

(8)   Donques Janyn s'en chivache si fort galopant que c'est mervaille, tanque il serra a Parys, puis il vient a un hostel et dist ainsi:
—Hostiler, hostiler!
Et l'autre lui respount a darrains tout dedeignousement ainsi:
—Qu'est la?
—Amys!
Donques vient l'ostiler et overt la port et dist:
—Hé, Janyn, estez vous la?
—Oil dea, ne me poes tu veier? Quoi ne m'as tu, paillart, respondu a la primer parole que je t'appelloi? *Vel sic:* Quoi ne me respondez vous a primer foiz que je hurtai a port?[34] Je pri a Dieu que il te poet mescheoir de cors, quar tu m'as fait longtens ici attendre et targer, et tu sais bien q'il ne fuit si grant froid cest anee com il fait a present, quar il negee, gresille et gelee si fort qe l'eue est si fort et espesse gelee com la laeure de mon pee, pur quoi je sai bien que la glaas du gelee ne se degelera en grant piece. Et pur ce overes la port tost et lesse moi entrer ciens, ou autrement je depesserai trestout, par la foi que je doi a Dieu, me croiez se tu vuis.
—Hé, beau sir, ne vous coruscé point, quar vraiment se j'eusse scieu que vous eussez esté ci, je vous eusse venu a primer foiz que vous hurtastez a port. Et pur ce ne vous displese, mon tresdoulx amy, quar je l'amendray bien a point, ainsi que vous agreerez, se Dieu plest.
—Ore me ditez vous, hostiler, avez vous de bon hostilerie ciens?

CD (ed. Kristol 1995: 9-10)

[So Janyn rides, galloping so hard that it is a marvel to behold, until he arrives in Paris, then he comes to a hostel and says thus:
— Innkeeper, innkeeper!
And the other responds to him, in this unfriendly way
—Who is there?

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[34] This section is an addition that restates the same phrase in V-forms, removing the abusive address term *paillart* [bastard]. This can be read as an attempt at demonstrating registers by altering second-person reference terms.

— Friend!

Then the innkeeper comes to open the door and says:

— Oh Janyn, is that you (V) there?

—Yes, God! Can (T) you (T) not see me? Why didn't (T) you (T), bastard, respond at the first word I called you (T)? <u>*Or:* Why didn't (V) you (T) respond to me at the first time that I shouted at the door?</u> I pray to God that he will harm your (T) body, since you (T) delayed (T) me and made me wait out here for such a long time, and you (T) know (T) very well that it has not snowed as much this year as it does now, for it's snowing, and sleeting, and hailing so hard that the water has thickened into frost, just like the sole of my foot, by which I know that the ice of the frost will not thaw for a long time. Open (T) the door now and let (T) me inside, or else I will break it down very soon, by the faith that I owe to God, believe (V) me if you (T) wish!

— Oh, good sir, don't you (V) get angry, because truly if I'd have seen that you (V) were here, I would have come at the first word you (V) shouted at the door. Because of this, do not be displeased, my very good friend, since I will make it all better, so that you (V) will be appeased, if God wills it.

— Now you (V) tell (V) me, innkeeper, have (V) you (V) good lodgings here?]

What becomes evident is that, while the two extracts occasionally differ in morphology (LH: *me* creis *se tu vuis* and CD: *me* croiez *se tu vuis*)[35], particles (LH: *laissez* me *entrer*, CD *lesse* moi *entrer*)[36], and orthography, pronouns are stable where present (LH: *Ne me peus* tu *veoir; Janyn estes* vous *la,* CD: *ne me poes* tu *veier; Janyn, estez* vous *la*).

Of interest to this chapter, and this is particularly true of example (4), the translator's use of *thou* instead of *ye* in that particular instance may have equally arisen from socially motivated factors. This translation could have been the result of the scribe's social evaluation based on their own communicative norms (i.e. they felt that *thou* was a more appropriate pronoun than *ye*). They may have understood this final utterance as more emotionally heightened than the preceding phrases (perhaps coloured by frustration that the innkeeper will not lower his prices) and felt it more appropriate to use *thou* in order to reflect this. Whatever the reason behind this discrepancy, it is yet compelling that the scribe appears to default to *thou*. This brings the discussion back to the subject of the apparent divergences between the Anglo-Norman second-person address system and that of Middle English.

3.3 The 'instability' of pronominal address

It is widely accepted that the adoption of French manners into English society introduced an honorific pronominal address system that had not existed in Old English (Wales 1983; Harré and Mühlhäusler 1990: 151). Mustanoja (1960 [repr. 2016]: 127) states that the plural in singular address becomes established in the 14th century in Middle English. However, while the V-form appears to be more prevalent in Anglo-Norman, Mustanoja argues that Middle English speakers 'of all ranks naturally employ the singular when addressing one person' (1960 [repr. 2016]: 127). It is evident that, while scholars have attested that the plural form in singular address became a convention under the influence of French, it is not a simple case of transposition of address systems from one language to another. For example, Patricia Mason, in her study of the Middle English translation of the *Roman de la Rose*, observes different rules governing the choice between *thou* and *ye*. The singular form *thou* appears to

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[35] The latter is technically incorrect as it is inflected for plural rather than singular.
[36] The former is the unstressed form; the latter is the stressed form.

be much more pervasive in the English text: with *vous* often being translated as *thou*, while *tu* never becomes *ye* (1982: 74). This demonstrates a more natural inclination towards T-forms in the English translation. Studies along this line posit that there appear to have been different pragmatic guidelines governing the application of T- and V-forms in the two languages. Thus, while the introduction of French influenced the Middle English address system, there were still differences between the languages.

Traditionally, medieval pronominal address has been understood in scholarship as either unstable and arbitrary; as reflective of power relations; or indicative of binaries such as politeness versus impoliteness. The present chapter challenges these perspectives. It is the apparent ease with which pronouns are substituted in Old French and Middle English that has provoked much debate and speculation. Frequent pronominal switching has often frustrated attempts to configure them in terms of binaries, as well as causing some scholars to label them as 'misleading' or 'wrong'. Since Foulet's assertion that T- and V- pronouns in Old Frenches are 'completely unstable' (1928: para 289), they are still considered by some to be interchangeable. For instance, Einhorn in his classic textbook states that 'singular and plural forms of address are often used *indiscriminately* in the same text, sometimes even in the same sentence' (1974 [repr.] 1999: 69, emphasis my own). Mustanoja echoes this perspective, declaring that application of the T/V distinction 'remains very inconsistent in medieval Latin and the Romance languages; in numerous cases the choice between *tu* and *vous* seems to be *arbitrary*' (1960 [repr.2016]: 126, emphasis my own). However, despite his claim of instability, Foulet did also identify that while many characters in the *Manières* mix T and V address, 'sans le moindre scrupule' [without the least hesitation], it seems to be the case that 'ce mélange des tons convient au supérieur qui s'adresse à l'inferieur' [this mixing of tones suits a superior who addresses an inferior] (1919: 502). This statement introduces another concept often invoked for discussing pronominal address forms: power.

Pronominal address terms have conventionally been couched in terms of power and solidarity. In this vein, it is Skeat who perhaps set the tone for later scholarship on pronouns:

> […] *thou* is the language of a lord to a servant, of an equal to an equal, and expresses also companionship, love, permission, defiance, scorn, threatening; whilst *ye* is the language of a servant to a lord, and of compliment, and further expresses honour, submission, entreaty […]
>
> (Skeat 1867: xlii)

This quote was subsequently taken up by later scholars, who proceeded to theorise on the 'plural of deference [*vous/ye*] and pronoun of affect [*tu/thou*]' (Finkenstaedt 1963: 74-76) and the T/V distinction as a binary between formality/informality (Nathan 1956; see Jucker 2006 for an overview of scholarship). Conceptualising pronouns in terms of power is a widespread approach, influenced also by Brown and Gilman (1960), who identify two patterns of pronominal usage: a solidarity pattern (corresponding to reciprocal address in either T or V) and a power pattern (corresponding to asymmetrical address between 'inferior' and 'superior'). Mustanoja reproduces this view, describing *vous* as a 'plural of respect', which, by the later stages of Anglo-Norman, was 'no longer used exclusively by *inferiors* as a sign of respect in addressing their *superiors*, but also between equals, as a polite gesture.' (1960 [repr. 2016]: 126. Emphasis my own.). Mustanoja writes about the T/V distinction in Chaucer's writings in similar terms:

> […] as a rule, *thou* is used in speaking to an inferior or to an equal and in emotionally-coloured addresses […] while the more formal *ye* is used in addressing superiors or in compliments; yet there are notable exceptions to these general principles […]

Since Foulet and Skeat, further studies have been undertaken on individual texts (Bianchini (1971), Kennedy (1972), Mason (1982), Hunt (2003), Honegger (2004) and Jucker (2006). The result of such studies has been the identification of more patterns in pronominal address, and a movement away from the suggestion that pronominal address necessarily reflects static and immutable conditions such as hereditary power (e.g. a king will always hold more power than a servant), or other situational conditions such as (in)formality. Such approaches have viewed pronominal switching almost as an inconvenience to the theory and have thus struggled to account for it. Conversely, recent studies have demonstrated that there are multiple factors that influence pronominal choice. These can either be for social or formal reasons.

Regarding the influence of form, Suomela-Härmä and Härmä, analysing several Old French texts, highlight the possible importance of specific speech acts in pronominal switching in Anglo-Norman, such as threats, orders, prayers, and thanks (2006: 240). It is in these speech acts that switching is more likely to be found, according to Suomela-Härmä and Härmä. In her study of the Old French prose *Lancelot*, Kennedy (1972: 137-141) argues that in Anglo-Norman, *vous* became the 'unmarked' pronominal address term (in that it appears to be by far the most prevalent form in most texts). Moreover, some passages of *Lancelot* suggest that the use of *tu* often depends not on permanent relationships, but on the character of the speaker and their feelings at a given moment (1972: 138). To use *tu* is thus to deviate into marked territory, whereas *vous* is the default pronoun. This is the opposite of Mustanoja's account of Middle English, where *thou* is the default address term (1960 [repr. 2016]: 127). Additionally, in his comprehensive overview of pronominal address terms, Burnley identifies further formal patterns. For instance, certain nominal terms and phrases are accompanied by specific pronouns in Middle English: the T- form often accompanies *leve brother* and *sone*, while the V- form is used with words like *fader*, *sire*, *dame*, and in phrases such as *for youre curteisie* (2003: 31).

There are moreover social aspects to consider, where speakers consciously use pronominal forms to generate certain effects. These often pertain to creating a positive self-image, or to convey emotion. Regarding emotion, Kennedy comments that '[w]hat does […] seem certain is that the alternation between *tu* and *vous* was a remarkably subtle and well recognized instrument for conveying shades of feeling and for increasing the dramatic tension' (1972: 149). This is supported by Bianchini's observation about switching from V- to T- pronouns in the texts of Chrétien de Troyes, a technique that is used '[...] per sottolineare un cambiamento nel rapporto tra i due interlocutori, cambiamento che puo essere dovuto a dolore, sdegno, paura o ad altri sentimenti simili, mai a tenerezza o amore' [to emphasise a change in the relationship between the two interlocutors, a change that may be due to pain, indignation, fear or other similar feelings, but never to tenderness or love] (1971: 73). On the other hand, speakers oscillate between pronouns of address in order to create a positive public image. For instance, Suomela-Härmä and Härmä (2006), building on earlier philological studies, state that pronominal variation is more prominent in Old French texts 'du «peuple»' [of the 'common people'] than in courtly literature, because the higher classes were least likely to adopt a T/V distinction, opting to use *vous* almost ubiquitously (2006: 236). For Middle English, Burnley invokes the linguistic code of courtesy, which consisted of a 'willingness to show respect where it is due' that reflected positively on the speaker. It was, he states, the desire for reverence associated with courtesy that accelerated the adoption of V- pronominal address terms throughout the 14th century (2003: 32-34). Wales (1983: 116) adds an interesting perspective to this: in rural areas in the 14th century, *thou* would have been the standard form of address. However, this would have been hypercorrected to *you* in urban areas by those aspiring to climb the social ladder. However, there were other linguistic codes at play in Middle

English (and also French) that valued the T form of address. Alongside criticisms of pride associated with the code of courtesy (from the likes of William Langland and Robert Mannyng), Burnley also identifies a clerical style used in the correspondences of Chaucer and Christine de Pizan, wherein the reciprocal use of T is 'a mark of solidarity between the learned' (2003: 38).

Burnley suggests that all of this commentary is further complicated when one considers that contextually-determined switching (governed by emotion or rhetorical strategy) cuts across 'institutionalised expectations' (Burnley 2003: 29). It is this switching that this chapter seeks to re-evaluate.

Clearly, medieval English society was multifaceted in its communicational values. This will be an important consideration to bear in mind for the remainder of the chapter, and while we can speak in general terms, address systems were dictated by a range of 'fixed' and 'spontaneous' factors. Nonetheless, according to the literature, while Anglo-Norman generally favoured a predominant use of *vous*, the picture for Middle English suggests a tendency towards *thou*, although the reality on-the-ground for both is somewhat more complex.

3.4 Broader vernacular patterns for 14th century pronominal address

Having discussed perspectives on pronominal address terms in medieval French, as well as Middle English, I will examine broader patterns of pronominal use before turning to modern theory to provide an alternative framework. I aim only to examine pronominal distribution in vernacular texts from the time of the *Manières*, which helps us to construct a wider linguistic landscape within which to situate the language of the dialogues. I posit that there is a demonstrable disparity between systems of address at this time. In light of this pilot study, I will then supply analyses from the *Manières*, but more work needs to be done in this area.

I looked at a broader range of texts from this period, which represent spoken conversation. While the apparent 'fictional' nature of the texts may be seen as a problem, the fact remains that the speech represented in text has to be recognisable as an oral exchange. For fourteenth-century Anglo-Norman texts, I selected a range of genres in order to see whether the ratio of T to V was consistent across different types of text. I selected a romance, *Fouke le Fiz Waren* (c.1335, MS BL Royal 12 C.XII), the *Contes Moralisés* of Nicholas Bozon (c.1320; MS BL Additional 46919 and MS Gray's Inn 12), and Gower's *Cinkante Ballades* (a series of love verses to a lady, c. 1391–93, MS Additional 59495). That Gower was also an accomplished writer in Middle English is particularly interesting, and I decided to select his *Confessio Amantis* (a frame narrative wherein an aging lover's confession to the chaplain of Venus contains several other tales, edited from MS Fairfax 3. Bodleian Library 3883) to see if pronouns are treated differently in texts by the same author. I also chose to look at Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, which represents speech between many diverse members of society. *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (MS BL Cotton Nero A.x) is included as a comparison to *Fouke* (both being of the romance genre).[37] The main idea of this preliminary investigation is to construct a general pragmatic landscape within which to situate the speech represented in the *Manières*, as well as that spoken by the learners using the dialogues. The aim of the following results is to provide a starting point for further research, which I will not have space to conduct in this chapter (which focuses on the *Manières* and their context). Further research would take a qualitative approach to utterances in the texts examined in order to provide social nuance to the numbers. Needless to say, this is a small-scale pilot study that is intended

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[37] Although it must be stated that *Gawain* is written in a dialect from the North West Midlands, it will be shown that it yet appears to adhere to romance conventions and ideals regarding address.

to yield indicative results, and to demonstrate the potential that lies in this kind if research into pronominal address, rather than to demonstrate conclusive results. It does not account for the complexities of pronominal address, and thus paints a very impressionistic picture; this can be remedied by qualitative analysis of the selected texts. Having said this, the results produced are compelling.

In analysing the Anglo-Norman texts, I sourced online versions of the selected texts and searched for pronominal address forms (using spelling variations supplied by the AND).[38] I looked at both nominative and oblique cases, so: the subject *tu*, the object *toi*, the reflexives *te* and *t'*, and the possessives *ton*, *ta*, and *tes*. For the V-forms, I searched for both *vous*, *vostre*, and *vos*. I then qualitatively analysed the results to determine whether the addressee was a single person or a group. For Middle English texts, I searched the selected texts in the CMEPV for instances of *thou* (singular subject), *thy* (singular possessive) and *thee* (singular object) as well as the suffixed *–tow* (present in words such as *artow* [are you] and *wiltow* [will you]). For V pronouns, I searched for *ye* (plural subject) and *you* (plural object). For both searches I used spelling variations supplied by the MED, and qualitatively analysed all the results returned. There were several borderline cases, meaning that in all my searches I disregarded sayings (proverbs and quotes from the Bible, that could be addressed to an audience), and generally ambiguous cases (such as the instances of 'as ye shall hear' in the *Canterbury Tales*). Below are tables of the raw numerical results. I converted these results to ratios to account for variable text lengths by providing an average.

Figure 3.1 T/V distribution in singular address in 14th-century Anglo-Norman texts

	Tu	Vous
Manières de langage	140	856
Fouke le Fitz Waryn	18	208
Contes moralisés	41	135
Cinkante Ballades	40	320

Figure 3.2 T/V distribution in singular address in 14th-century Middle English texts

	Thou	Ye
Canterbury Tales	1347	1429
Confessio Amantis	784	334
Sir Gawain and the Green Knight	146	221

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[38] Online editions will be cited in full in the bibliography, but I sourced the Middle English texts via online editions on the MED, and Anglo-Norman texts on the ANT, except for *Cinquant Ballades*, which is available online via TEAMS and *Les Contes Moralisés*, the edition of which is available online via <https://archive.org/details/lescontesmoralis00bozouoft> [accessed 14/11/2018].

Figure 3.3 Singular address forms in 14th-century Anglo-Norman texts
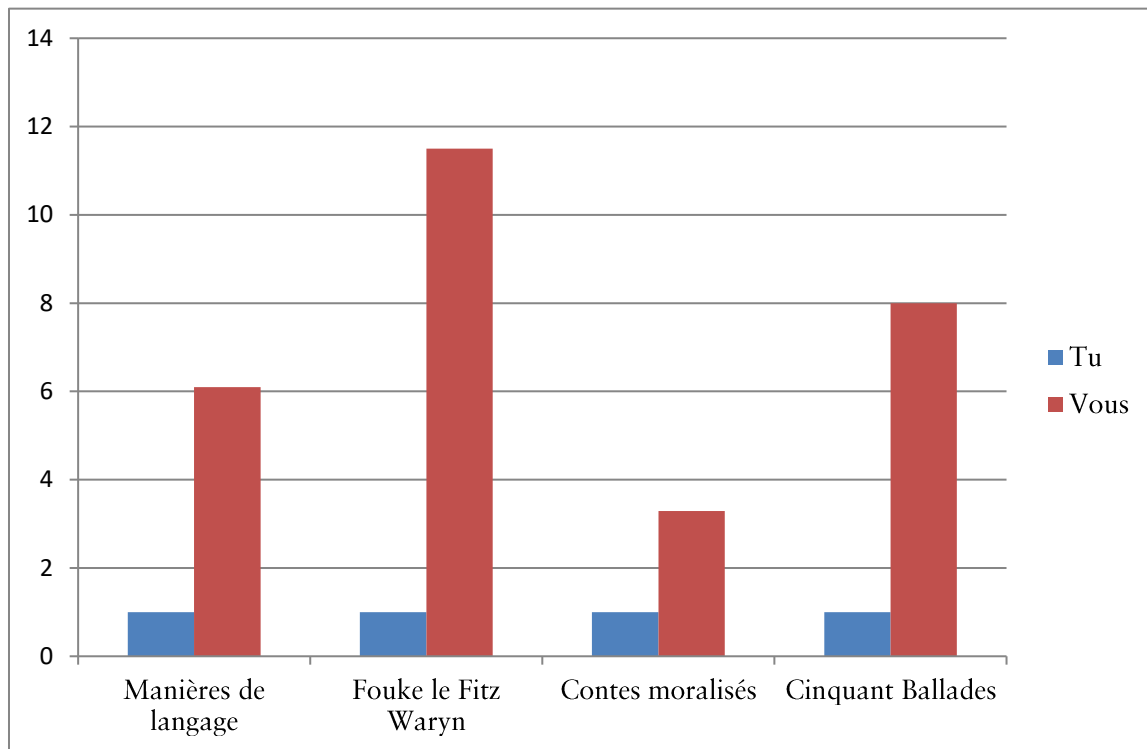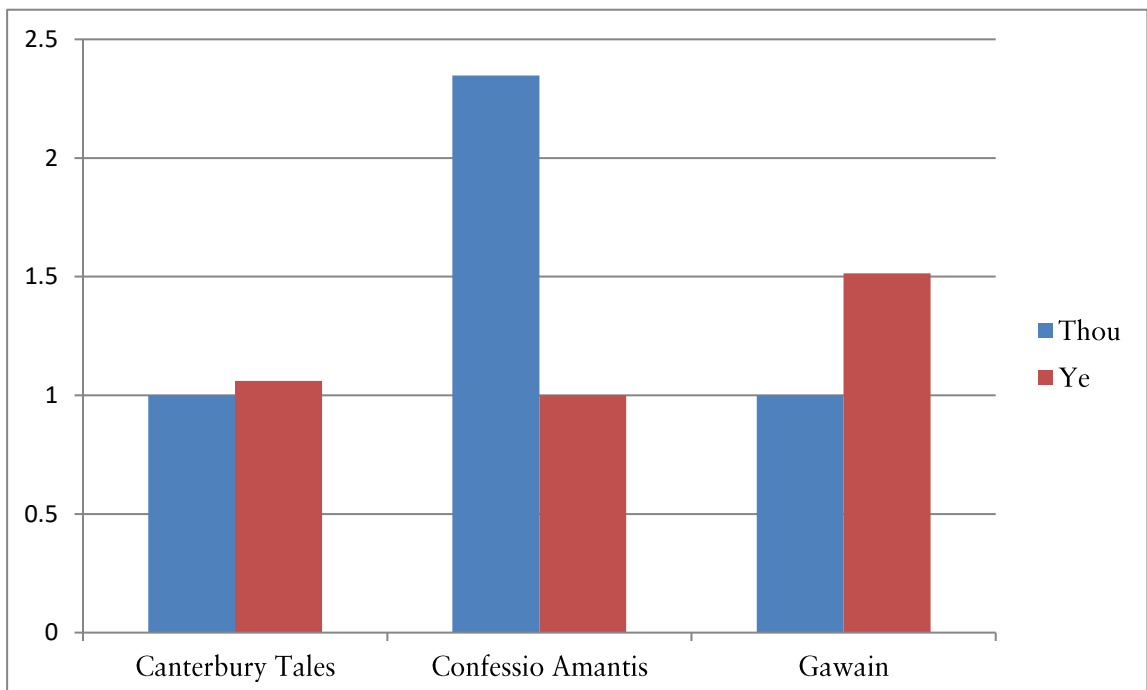

Figure 3.4 Singular address forms in 14th-century Middle English texts

As we can see, for the Anglo-Norman texts, the use of V pronouns in address to a single interlocutor is significantly favoured across genres. In the *Contes moralisés*, the text with the smallest margin between use of T- and V-forms, every time a T-form is used, a V-form is used 3.29 times. In *Fouke le*

Fitz Waryn this margin is even greater: every time a T-form is used, a V-form is used 11.5 times. This is perhaps less surprising for a romance text, with an investment in codified rules of courtly conduct; nonetheless, the ratio of 1 : 11.5 is very large indeed.[39] The *Manières* also belong to this wider trend, with a V-form being used 6 times for every T-form. This clear discrepancy is not present in the Middle English texts analysed, which present with a relatively even distribution, except for the *Confessio Amantis*, which sees a favouring of T-forms over V at a ratio of 2.3 : 1. This can be accounted for if we refer back to Burnley's (2003) research on Middle English pronouns. In *Confessio Amantis*, T-forms generally occur in dialogue between the lover and Venus or Cupid, which Burnley demonstrates to belong to the remit of religious discourse. In *Gawain*, we can see that the V-form is slightly preferred in singular address, although in a much less significant way than in the Anglo-Norman romance *Fouke*. This is also accounted for by Burnley's research, which suggests a preference towards V-forms in the courtly register.

It is noteworthy that Anglo-Norman exhibits little interference from English in this area (which saw more interference from Anglo-Norman). This is likely due to the sustained and ongoing influence of continental French into the 14th century. Noting the development of 13th and 14th century Anglo-Norman in keeping with continental French, Ingham (2015: 426-427) describes Anglo-Norman as both a 'living member of the medieval French dialect continuum' and a 'viable dialectal form of medieval French'. However, the main message suggested by this brief exploration is that in Middle English, the language of the students using the *Manières* to learn French, there is less of a clear boundary between use of T and V pronominal address terms. On the other hand, in Anglo-Norman texts of the period, there seems to be a clear preference for V-forms over T. There is, therefore, a potential site of difficulty for the language learners, who need to understand and acquire a different pronominal system to their own native address system.

This situation means that the students, for whom Middle English was a first language, would have likely had to work harder to understand that T-forms in French held a different pragmatic emphasis than in their own native language. While a native English speaker may have been more likely to default to T, this may have been noticeable as divergent from the situational norm by native speakers of the L2, French. A side effect of this situation could have been that, as Van Compernolle (2015) finds for modern-day learners of French, the L2 speakers may have been linguistically more 'conservative' (i.e. social conservativism), or less committed to their choices in pronouns. This is because nonnatives often allocate 'more formality, social distance and power to […] situations than […] native speakers' (2015: 62). This results in greater formality from speakers who wish to take a more cautious approach to this very social phenomenon. Such speculation, while interesting, is not within the scope of this present chapter. For now it suffices to say that learning difficulties with the French pronominal system would likely have resulted in pragmatic difference between a native French speaker and an L2 French speaker.

Where the difference between systems becomes particularly salient for the *Manières* is in instances of emotive speech (largely angry). Switches from V to T-forms usually occur at highly affective moments in the dialogues, often accompanied by violence and invectives (examples [1] and [3]). This is something that also seems to be the case in other Middle English texts. In the Middle English texts selected for study alongside the Anglo-Norman ones, there are various examples of angry speech that take T-forms of pronoun.[40] We may find a further example of angry speech in the *Canterbury Tales*,

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[39] For more on courtliness and courtly expectations, see Crouch (2005), Kay (2001), and Jaeger (1985).
[40] However, there are also examples of speech that take T-forms, which one would not find in the *Manières*, such as from tenant to landlord (for instance, in the *Friar's Tale*, Nicholas, a 'poure scoler' and boarder, addresses his landlord using T-forms).

which we can detect using metapragmatic terminology. In the exchange between the Miller and the Reeve in the *Canterbury Tales*, the Miller asks 'Why artow angry with my tale now?' [Why are you angry at my tale now? l. 3157] in response to this complaint from the Reeve:

9)   Stynt thy clappe!
       Lat be thy lewed dronken harlotrye.
       It is a synne and eek a greet folye
       To apeyren any man, or hym defame,
       And eek to bryngen wyves in swich fame.

<div align="right">(Miller's Prologue ll. 3145-3149. Ed. Benson 2008)</div>

       [Hold your (T) tongue!
       Leave behind your (T) lewd drunken immorality
       It is a sin, and indeed a great foolishness
       To ruin a man, or defame him
       And also to bring women into such infamy]

Angry is a useful metapragmatic term, which we can use to interpret this interjection. The Reeve here is speaking using T-forms, and it is established that he is indeed angry at the prospect of the Miller bringing carpenters (and their wives) into disrepute. We may find another example of emotive speech in *Gawain*, when Gawain is shamed by the mysterious Green Knight, who discloses his identity as Lord Bertilak and also reveals that he sent Lady Bertilak to test Gawain. In response to this, an 'agreued' [aggrieved] Gawain shudders ('gryed' [shuddered, l.2370]) and blushes ('Alle þe blode of his brest blende in his face' [all the blood in his breast blended in his face, l.2371]) for shame ('schome' l.2372). The knowledge that he is so affectively moved informs our interpretation of his subsequent utterance:

(10)   Lo! þer þe falssyng, foule mot hit falle!
       For care of þy knokke cowardyse me taȝt
       To acorde me with couetyse, my kynde to forsake,
       Þat is larges and lewte, þat longeȝ to knyȝteȝ.

<div align="right">(Gawain, ll. 2379-2382. Ed. Tolkien and Gordon 1967)</div>

       [Lo! There's the falsehood, may it fare unluckily!
       For fear of your (T) blow taught me cowardice,
       to accord with covetousness, forsake my kind,
       the largesse and loyalty that belongs to knights.]

We see here an utterance arising from shame that takes T pronouns. The cross-textual evidence suggests that T-forms were considered appropriate for affective exchanges. However, unsurprisingly, things were not that simple. The following exchange between the same interlocutors is uttered by Gawain, and occurs a few lines later, as he takes his leave of the Green Knight:

(11)   I haf soiorned sadly, sele yow bytyde,
       and he ȝelde hit yow ȝare, þat ȝarkkeȝ al menskes!
       And comaundeȝ me to þat cortays, your comlych fere,
       Boþe þat on and þat oþer, myn honoured ladyeȝ.

<div align="right">(Gawain, ll. 2408-2811. Ed. Tolkien and Gordon 1967)</div>

[I have stayed long enough, may luck you (V) betide,
and may he reward you (V), he that rewards all men!
And commend me to the courteous, your (V) comely wife,
both the one and the other, my honoured ladies]

There is no contrast in pronominal address forms in the two extracts. This reflects the fact that T-forms are not significantly outweighed by V-forms in *Gawain* (or any of the other Middle English texts). This tells us that T-forms do not carry the same emphatic weight as those used in the Anglo-Norman *Manières*. This indicates a clear difference between the two systems.

<u>3.5 Pronominal address in the *Manières*</u>
With regards to the Manières, I am particularly interested in episodes containing pronominal switching and the presentation of different options using either T- or V-forms. Such cases have presented a challenge to scholarship. Indeed, the Manières themselves provide little additional reasoning behind the alternations. I will argue that this is actually not surprising if we account for indexicality, considering individuals' situational/cultural assessments. Certainly, affect and power still play a role in pronominal choices. In conversations where no switching is present we can see that pronouns can often reflect very real power relations. This occurs most often in conversations where one speaker is higher status than the other. Consider this exchange between a master and servant:

(12)   —Mon seigneur, Dieu vous doint bon jour.
        —Tu soiez le bien venu, mon amy. Dont vien tu, mon amy?
        —Dont je vien, mon seigneur? Marie, je vien de Paris, la ou vous m'avez envoié.
        —Et quelles nouvelles, je te empri ?

(OA 1399: 63)

[—My lord, God give you (V) good day.
—You (T) are welcome, my friend. Where have you (T) come from my friend?
—Where have I come from, my lord? Mary, I come from Paris, where you (V) sent me.
—And what news, I ask you (T)?]

In this example, the master addresses his servant using T-forms, and the servant responds in V-forms. On the other hand, there are very clear examples where speakers switch pronouns for affect, such as example (1) quoted on page 59. In that example, a man switches from *vous* to *tu* when he realises that his interlocutor is not wearing a hat, which to his estimation, signals a lack of respect, which causes offence. It is thus important to remain aware of the roles of social status and heightened emotional states. However, as will become evident in the subsequent analyses of select conversations, switching between the more common V-forms and the less common T-forms is used in other instances throughout the *Manières*, and it seems to convey a multitude of pragmatic subtleties. Pronominal variation (in the form of switching and options) happens multiple times over the course of the *Manières* texts. This happens during Janyn and the innkeeper exchange (1396 : 9-10); during the *mari batu* fabliau (1396: 13-15) and afterwards between master and Janyn (1396: 16); between the butcher and his apprentice (1396 : 18); between the draper and his apprentice (1396 : 18); between two squires (1396 : 21-22); when consoling a child (1396 : 24); between two companions at the inn (1396 : 24-25; 35); with a man asking for directions (1396: 26); and in the insults (1399: 54-55). Most of these conversations (excepting the squires and the child) are highly affective situations of surprise, shock, and anger. For the sake of brevity, I will be discussing select extracts, with the purpose of showing that not only are there multiple factors governing pronominal address, but that the *Manières* implicitly recognise this and allow for it.

Perspectives from modern-day French may help us to understand this issue further. There has been some interest over the past decades in pronominal address terms in present-day French, which present the researcher (and native speakers) with the challenge of navigating heterogenous and often contradictory rules (see Peeters (2004) and Sherzer (1988) for critical overviews of past research and approaches). The use of *tu* and *vous* has been widely studied at both macro- and micro level; having been examined in respect to societal 'norms' and to understand how speakers themselves understand and use address systems. T/V usage has also been examined as part of a system that includes other features that define and refer to a person in language (such as titles and nominal address terms).

Sherzer (1988: 614-617) gives multiple testimonies from French speakers where a pronominal choice was difficult to navigate. For example, one informant was a man in his mid-forties, who, when courting his future wife, used T pronouns towards her. She asked him to revert to using *vous*, believing his use of *tu* to be too presumptuous in their early relationship. From then on, the man and the woman mutually addressed each other as *vous*, even after marriage, to the disbelief of many of their friends and acquaintances. Metacommunicative commentary and evaluation become an interesting theme throughout Sherzer's study, as in another example, wherein two saleswomen in their early 20s converse with a customer also in her early 20s. One saleswoman addresses the customer as *tu*, attracting a rebuke from the other saleswoman. The first saleswoman justifies herself by stating that because the customer was the same age as them, she felt that *tu* was appropriate. Likewise, Gardner-Chloros (1991), in her study of communicative practice of address in towns in Alsace, noted several factors that guided choice: age, gender, personal style and aesthetics, and the social situation/context of the conversation.

Peeters (2004) recounts several strategies for avoiding the use of T and V pronouns due to the attested confusion surrounding these rules of pronominal address:

> [L]'hebdomadaire suisse *Construire* signale [...] trois stratégies discursives permettant de dire « ni tu ni vous » on peut escamoter le verbe (« Encore un peu de café ? ») ou bien utiliser *ça* (« Ça va ? » au lieu de « Tu vas bien aujourd'hui ? »), ou encore faire semblant de s'adresser à plus d'une seule personne à la fois. Une quatrième stratégie, signalée par Lagane (1963 : 40), consiste à utiliser le pronom *on* (p. ex. dans des phrases interrogatives : « Alors, on se promène un peu, par ce beau temps ? »)
>
> (Peeters 2004 : 6)
>
> [The Swiss magazine *Construire* highlights [...] three discursive strategies that allow one to say 'neither tu nor vous'; one can take out the verb ('Another bit of coffee?') or also use *ça* ('How is it?' instead of 'Are you alright today?'), also, you can feign addressing more than one person at a given time. A fourth strategy, pointed out by Lagane (1963: 40) consists of using the pronoun *on* (for example, in interrogative phrases: 'So, we can walk a while, in this nice weather?').

The range of strategies that have been developed to avoid making the choice between *tu* and *vous*, alongside the existence of metacommunicative evaluation, suggest both a public interest and concern for this topic.

The observation that pronominal address can be both influenced by the immediate context, and subject to heterogenous rules and opinions within a given speech community, shifts emphasis onto individual evaluation rather than prescriptive guidelines. In this vein, T and V pronouns in French have been described as double indexicals (Morford: 1997; Silverstein: 2003), meaning that they define and reflect both the local communicative context and the speaker's desired social identity. Indexicality is the

perspective that holds that pragmatic behaviours can 'index' social markers, such as class, gender, race, cultural identity, or particular attitudes towards something. There are two types of indexicality that are directly relevant to this chapter: first-order (which indexes a particular group of people or semantic function, such as marking number) and second order ('an ethno-metapragmatically driven native interpretation' [Silverstein 2003: 212] that indexes interlocutors' attitudes, aspirations, and evaluations). Thus, a feature like pronominal address can represent numerous, interlaced meanings that can often be found to be working simultaneously. Nevala (2009) touches on the notion of indexicality regarding nominal address terms, in her discussion of the term *friends*. She states that 'the use of referential terms is deeply rooted not only in social hierarchy but also in individual social roles', making a distinction between 'macro-level of social, socio-cultural and sociological factors' and 'micro-level of personal, situational and stylistic factors' (2009: 84). Silverstein (2003) adds a third type of indexicality that refers to wider ideologies: this can be a linguistic feature that has acquired meaning within another ideological schema. I will draw on metacontextual material (largely via dictionaries and corpora) in order to support analyses of first and second indexicalities at play in the specific extracts. Van Compernolle (2011) relates this to Labov's concept of stereotypes. Examples of stereotypes would be the word *ain't*, or the use of double negatives, which are perceived as markers of lower or working class identity. The orders of indexicality are outlined below:

Figure 3.5 The orders of indexicality (adapted from van Compernolle 2011: 3269)

First-order (formal)	Age, region, socioeconomic status 'Younger speakers use T more frequently than do older speakers' (van Compernolle 2011: 3269)
Second-order (situational)	T/V choice is imbued with social meaning, based on the associations made by individual speakers. Possible associations are dependent on the individual. For example, T can indicate youthfulness and left-leaning politics. This reflects the desired social identity of the speaker
Third-order (metadiscursive/metacontextual commentary)	The 'metadiscourse surrounding second-order indexicality'; 'noticing and valuating the second-order indexical meanings according to other ideological schemata', for example, politeness conventions (van Compernolle 2011: 3269). *Older, more conservative people may perceive a loss of politeness and respect in the increased use of T among younger, more socially liberal speakers*

This notion of indexicality in reference to address will become relevant throughout the discussion of pronouns, since it may shed light on pronominal application, especially in ambiguous cases (those without obvious affective content, or where social status is not clearly stratified). In the *Manières*, switching usually happens in response to heightened emotion. The conversations between masters and apprentices, or the dialogue between the two companions at the inn, are examples of this, among many

others. It is where this does not happen that we cannot rely on affect and emotion for an explanation. One example where switching occurs without any detectable reason relating to power or emotion, is the conversation between two squires (CD 1396: 21-22). In this conversation, the two young squires are looking after a knight's horses and decide to take the horses for a ride. The episode ends when one squire is thrown into a stream, ruining his outfit. This conversation starts with a reciprocal use of T-forms. This is a less-common example of a 'switching' conversation that contains no detectable heightened emotion (which is one of the main reasons given for switching, cf. Bianchini [1971] and Burnley [2003]). I will analyse further the possible levels of indexicality in this conversation, which may account for the apparently 'unstable' pronouns[41]. I will attempt to examine some of the pronominal switching through the framework outlined above:

(13)   Dit un garcion a son compaignon ainsi:
      — Leisse ta folie maishui et va t'en a esgarder a tes chivalx, car se ton maister te troveroit icy esbatant, il te torcheroit tresbien sur la teste.
      — Hé, mon amy, ne te chaille.'

    [A boy says to his friends this:
    — Stop (T) your (T) mucking about and go (T) tend to your (T) horses, for if your (T) master found you (T) here amusing yourself (T), he would strike you (T) very hard around the head
    — Hey, my friend, don't you (T) worry (T) about it]

First order (formal):

    Two squires: both young [garcion, although this can also mean a young man] and of equal status [compaignon].

Second order (situational):

    The reciprocity of T-forms could be indexing youth. These are the only specifically young interlocutors of the *Manières*. In other conversations, such as the two companions (1396: 24-25; 35) reciprocal use of V seems to be the prevailing standard.

    Reciprocal use of T may also index social proximity or solidarity (to use Brown and Gilman's terms).

    Moreover, one could argue that the boy is chastising his friend, which may influence pronoun choice.

    Third order (metadiscursive/metacontextual):

    It can be difficult to speculate without metapragmatic commentary, but the fact that this is presented in a pedagogical dialogue (and thus, as an example to emulate) suggests that this is the expected address term to use between young men.

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[41] Where metapragmatic commentary is not available, it is necessary to 'read in' potential speaker evaluations and attitudes, bearing in mind that these can vary from speaker to speaker. Indexicality, however, can allow us to approach pronominal address beyond the binary approaches of 'power'/'solidarity', 'affection'/'aggression', or 'politeness'/'impoliteness'.

We see here the additional factor of youth that is amenable to T-forms. The first speaker then responds to his friend's assurance, switching from T to V (a very rare phenomena in modern French [Peeters 2004: 7]):

(14)   Avysés vous donques, car je ne puisse gueirs arester.[42]
         [Be advised then, since I may not stay at all]

First order
         Two squires: both young [*garcion*, although this can also mean a young man] and of equal status [*compaignon*].

Second order:
         The switch from T to V can be related to the request speech-act, which is more likely to see pronominal variation (Suomela-Härmä and Härmä 2006: 240)

         Moreover, the V-form is a noticeable departure from the established reciprocity, which may lend additional 'weight' to the request.

Third order:
         It is possible (albeit less likely) that this is a crystallised unit in Anglo-Norman. The AND provides two examples of this phrase for singular address, from *Fouke* ['Avyseez vous bien' p. 40. Ed. Hathaway, Ricketts, Robson and Wilshere 1975] and *The Yearbooks of Edward II* ['par quei avisez vous al peril qe appent' xxii 24. Ed. Maitland et al. 1903-69]. However, the DMF does contain attestations for T-forms, so if this is true, it is only the case for Anglo-Norman.

Later in conversation, the squires move to reciprocal address in V-forms (as opposed to T-forms, as earlier on the conversation):

(15)   —Vous estez en grant meulx monté et araiés que je ne su.
         — Save vostre grace, beal sir, non su je.
         [—You (V) are (V) much better mounted and equipped than I am
         — Save your (V) grace, good sir, I am not]

First order
         Two squires: both young [*garcion*, although this can also mean a young man] and of equal status [*compaignon*].

Second order:
         Reciprocal address in V-forms may be an act of positive identity construction (cf. Burnley 2003).

         Furthermore, *vous* accompanies a compliment. The speech act itself does necessitate the use of the V-form, but it adds to a positive self-construction based on giving 'respect where it is due' (Burnley 2003: 32).

Third order:
         The young men could be emulating knightly conduct by using V-forms. This interpretation is supported both by Suomela-Härmä and Härmä's remark that courtly literature sees a

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[42] This switch from T to V occurs in the same point in the conversation across manuscripts: OA f.318r and LH .16v.

much higher use of V-forms (2006: 236), and by my own pilot study. This is supported by the concurrent use of the nominal address term *beal sir*.

Later still in the conversation, the speakers switch from V-forms back to T-forms, without many clues as to why:

(16)   — Ore regardés, moun amy et compaignon, coment mes soliers sont tout depeciés. J'en su bien esbayse, car il n'y a encore que sis jours passés que je les avoy tout de novel. Ore me faut aler a sovetour de les adoubber et quarrir des bons quarraux et fortz et de bon cuier de boef et bien espissez q'ils me purront longement durer.
          — Ousteons nous ces busses et tisonnis, q'il ne purra ja estre aperceu que nous avoions de si grant feu, et sarrez vous bien le feu et alons nous esbater un poy de temps. Delivre toy donques et vien t'en se tu vuis, car je m'en vais.

          [— Now look, my friend and companion, how my shoes are all broken. I am very astonished at that, because it has only been six days that I had them new. Now I must go to the shoemaker to fix them and provide good, strong squares of leather made from cowhide, of such good quality that they will last me for a long time.
          — Let's take these logs and kindling, may it never be discovered that we had such a big fire, and smother the fire well and let's go to amuse ourselves for a while. So you (T) make (T) haste and come (T) along if you (T) wish, since I'm leaving.]

First order
          Two squires: both young [*garcion*, although this can also mean a young man] and of equal status [*compaignon*].

Second order
          The switch from V to T can be related to the request speech-act, which is more likely to see pronominal variation (Suomela-Härmä and Härmä 2006: 240)
          Moreover, the T-form is a noticeable departure from the established reciprocity, which may lend additional 'weight' to the request.

          Having said this, *se tu vuis* [if you want] is supplied as a qualifier for a directive, which perhaps softens its impact.

Third order:
          It could be the act of switching (and not necessarily the direction between T- and V-forms) that is associated with requests.

In the above conversation (as will be the case with the next) first-order indexicality does not change. This means that it is the situational factors that govern pronominal address. This above conversation introduces an intriguing proposition that, when it comes to switching that accompanies a request, it is perhaps not the 'inherent' qualities of a given pronominal form (*tu* or *vous*), but the act of switching itself that provides a more emphatic quality to the utterance. It is moreover interesting to consider that in the above conversation, we see the two young interlocutors 'trying on' different identities (particularly in example [13]). The pronominal address can thus be seen to construct the speaker's own desired identity, as much as a construction of the addressee and the relationship. As in example (11), the use of V-forms may be seen to have befitted an 'elevated' knightly register, which the speaker would have wanted to emulate in order to construct a socially-aspirational identity.

The next conversation, between an adult and child, is another example of switching between pronominal forms. What is striking about this conversation (reproduced in full below) is that the unidentified speaker addresses the child at times using V-forms, something that goes against our modern-day expectations. I will attempt to account for both forms of address by appraising each form through the lens of indexicality:

(17)   —Qu'as tu, mon enfant? *Ou si:* Qu'avés vous, mon amy? *Ou si:* Qui te meffait, beau fils?
         Ou si: Qui t'a fait plorer, beau doulx enfant?
         — Mon seignour, vostre petit garcion m'a ainsi froté, acraché, bufaté et batu q'il me fist
         sangnier la noise.
         —Hé, beau fils, ne vous chaille, car je l'amendray bien a point, et il serra tresbien batu
             sur le cuil pur l'amour de vous. Et puis il ne serra plus si hardif de vous meffair decy
         en avant.

         [—What is wrong with you (T), my child? *Or:* What is wrong with you (V), my friend? *Or:*
         Who has hurt you (T), sweet boy? *Or:* Who has made you (T) cry, good, sweet child?
         —My lord, your (V) page beat, spat on, struck, and hit me so hard that he made my nose
         bleed.
         —Hey, sweet boy, do not worry yourself (V), I will fix this completely, and he will be
         thoroughly beaten on the arse for love of you (V). And then he will not be so cheeky as to
         hurt you (V) again.]

Now I will examine this conversation with the orders of indexicality in mind:

(18) Qui te meffait, beau fils?
[Who has hurt you (T), sweet boy?]

First order:

A man speaks to child ('enfant') who is therefore a younger addressee.

Grammatically, the number marking is singular.

Second order:

T address establishes a relationship between adult and child.

But T also conveys familiarity and affection, which establishes a bond of trust (the man wants the child to trust him enough to tell him the problem).

This reflects the speaker's identity as a caring and concerned adult, while coaxing the child with a familiar/affectionate register.

Third order:

It appears that other writers at the time of the *Manières* felt it appropriate to address children in T-forms. This may be a wider convention:

Ore, beu fiz, *te* voil aprendre/ Cum *tu te* deis de mal defender
[Now, good boy, I wish to teach you/ how you may defend yourself from evil] (*Disticha Catonis*, mid-thirteenth century. Cited from Parsons 1929: 391)

Je voile tot a de primoure/ Que *tu* seez sages et pleyn de douçour
[I want more than anything else/ That you be wise and full of gentleness] (*Urbain li Cortois*, ll. 15-16, c.1300. Ed. Parsons 1929)

Lyte Lowys my sone, I aperceyve wel by certeyne evydences *thyn* abilite to lerne sciences touching nombres and proporciouns; and as wel considre I *thy* besy praier in special to lerne the tretys of the Astrelabie (Chaucer, *Treatise on the Astrolabe*. Ed. Reidy 2008: 662)

The possible logic for varying address towards *vous* may be as follows:

(19) il serra tresbien batu sur le cuil pur l'amour de vous
[he will be thoroughly beaten on the arse for love of you (V)]

First order:

A man speaks to child ('enfant') who is therefore a younger addressee.

Second order:

He speaks to a child who has been mistreated (i.e. is a victim).

Moreover, the child is a victim of an assault carried out by the speaker's page, who was the responsibility of the speaker.

The speaker may therefore be using V in response to a feeling of remorse or responsibility.

Third order:

Righting a wrong may evoke ideas of chivalric conduct. As seen in the above pilot study,

both romance texts favoured the use of V more than any other genre. Therefore, V may belong to a romantic/chivalric register.

The concept of *amour* may tend to evoke V more than T. A proximity search on the AND database reveals that <*amour* [2] *vous*> comes up in 33 passages (many including the phrase *amour de vous*) whereas no positive results could be found for *toi*). This may be because *amour de vous* was a crystallised phrasal unit, arising from third-order indexicality linking a specific type of love to V pronouns.

In this particular example, we see a complex mix of indexicalities that could inflect the pronominal address term to T- or V-forms. The speaker addresses a child, but we see that as the conversation continues, the relationship becomes increasingly complex, as it transpires that the child is a victim, that the speaker performs remorse, and promises to undertake retributive action (and thus constructing a chivalric facet to his identity). Also, by looking at wider pronominal use, we are able to detect possible, conflicting third order indexicalities for this conversation (the 'metadiscourse'). While it seems to have been a wider convention that children were addressed using T-forms[43], this appears to be subverted later in the conversation by the speaker's invocation of *amour*, as well as their potential chivalric self-construction.

This approach, taking into account multiple levels of indexicality, allows us to thoroughly tease out and examine the intersecting factors that govern pronominal choice. It is furthermore worth noting that because the first order indexicality is the same, it is the second order (and to an extent the third order) that appears to eclipse first order. What this means is that, because the social meaning of the two pronominal forms differs where all other conditions remain the same, when there is a choice of pronouns it is predominantly situational factors that govern pronoun choice.

After this exploration into the possible rationale behind pronominal choices, and the multiple intersecting factors governing choice, we now know that pronominal choice conveyed much more pragmatic subtlety that traditional scholarship has afforded it. Importantly for the present chapter, we can see that the *Manières* themselves treat this in a more explicit way by presenting multiple options for the same conversational turn, many with different pronouns as we saw in examples (2) and (17). These options, usually introduced by the phrase *vel sic*, are a striking feature of the *Manières*. They both implicitly demonstrate that there are different viable options for pronominal address for the same situation and leave it to the language learner to make their own choices on the basis of their evaluations of a given situation.

3.6 Examining the moment of choice in the *Manières*

It is worth lingering on the fact that, while much pronominal switching occurs throughout the dialogues, there is not much instruction on when to use certain forms over others; they are treated interchangeably. For example, the *Manières* do not provide any metapragmatic framework to explain why a speaker would want to use the singular address (*tutoyer*) as opposed to the plural (*vuvoyer*). The only comment passed is that in example (2), which raises the possibility of switching to T-forms but does not explain why one would wish to do so. In the *Liber Donati*, which has more extensive metalinguistic description, the only comment made on the distinction between *tu* and *vous* is purely grammatical:

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[43] Although, rules such as these are never set in stone.

(20)   *tu* in nominativo, in ceteris casibus singularibus *toy* vel *te,* in quolibet casu plurali *vous.*

(*Liber Donati*, p.7. Ed. Merrilees and B. Sitz-Fitzpatrick)

[*tu* in the nominative, in certain singular cases *toy* or *te,* in every plural case *vous*][44]

The closest thing we have to an extended comment on the social applications of T- and V- forms is example (2); a particularly striking example present in LH and OA, in the conversation between a man and a brothel owner. I reproduce it again here:

(22)   Mon signeur, vous estez tresbien venu. *Vel sic:* Mon signeur, bien soiez venu. *Si vero tuizaveris aliquem, hoc modo responsionem tuam procul dubio reserabis:* Bial amy, bien sois venu. (LH 1396: 39)
[My lord, you (V) are (V) very welcome. *Or:* My lord, may you be welcome. *If you want to address anyone using T-forms, in this way certainly you will disclose your response*: Good friend, be (T) welcome.]

The phrasing of this is particularly noteworthy, since while there are different registers of address, the metacommunicative framework does not supply any prescriptive rules. It is particularly evident in this example that the authors of the dialogues felt the need to demonstrate different address systems which are applicable to the same scenario. What makes this conversation particularly intriguing is that not only are the interlocutors the same, as in example (17), but the utterances themselves have the same meanings, and occupy the same conversational turn. Examples such as (2) thus represent a decision-making moment for the learner. In the above example, the address options presented are distinguished by the pronouns *tu* and *vous* (and associated verb morphology), and nominal address terms, that serve to simultaneously gain attention and construct the nature of the interlocutors' relationship. Here, the speaker can choose between addressing their interlocutor as 'lord' or 'friend', the former invoking the elevated status of the addressee, the latter positioning the speaker and addressee on closer terms. *Signeur* is accompanied by V-forms, which appears to be the standard in Anglo-Norman, while *amy* is accompanied by *tu,* these enjoy a less intimate relationship, *amy* being used in conjunction with V-forms several times in the dialogues. The possible logic behind using *signeur/vous* could relate to deference, to showing respect (which reflects well also on the speaker), or to the relationship between customer and seller. A different interpretation of this latter dynamic would be to use *amy/tu* and thus establish reciprocity with a view to reaching a mutually beneficial bargain. This may also be the preferred address register to use towards a returning brothel customer.

Another striking thing about example (2) is that this episode has the most extensive metacommunicative framework in the two manuscripts in which it appears (LH and OA). So why does it occur at this point, and not earlier in the dialogues? Earlier conversations do represent oscillations between T- and V-forms, but these are in heavily affective moments, for example, when the servant, Janyn, verbally abuses the hosteller for making him wait in the cold:

(23)   Oil dea, ne me poes tu veier? Quoi ne m'as tu, paillart, respondu a la primer parole que je t'appelloi? *Vel sic:* Quoi ne me respondez vous a primer foiz que je hurtai a port?

(CD 1396: 10)

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[44] In fact, Francophone grammarians are generally silent on the distinction between T- and V-pronouns until Estienne Pasquier's *Les Recherches de la France* in the 16th century. Demonstrating that pronominal address systems are never a straightforward binary, he states that it possible to use V-pronouns to address a social inferior under certain conditions (i.e. if you respect them) (Maley 1972: 1000).

[Oh God, can't (T) you (T) see me? Why didn't (T) you (T), bastard, respond at the first word that I called you (T)? *Or:* Why did (V) you (V) not respond the first time that I shouted at the door?]

This, and other such episodes are quite extreme. One option uses *tu* (alongside an insulting term *paillart* [bastard]) whereas the other option appears to simply ask a question without as much affective energy, and certainly without the insult. Perhaps the most extreme example of these decision-making moments, both in terms of the range of options and the heightened emotion, is the example of the draper and his apprentice. Here, the draper is rebuking his apprentice for having disappeared that morning, and thus holding up business:

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

(CD 1396: 19)

[Shut up (T), by the devil. *Or:* Stop it (V). *Or:* Hold your (T) peace or I will give you (T) such a slap that you (T) will be thinking of me for four days from now, believe me (T) because I will keep my word. *Or:* Hold your (V) peace. *Or:* Hold your (V) peace. *Or:* Don't speak to me any more now for what could happen next, because if you (V) do, you'll (V) be beaten so hard that if you're lucky you (V) will be thinking of me three weeks from now, believe me if you (V) wish, because I will definitely keep my promise to you (V).]

There are six potential responses that the learner could give in this conversation. Such a range could be set out because the author of the dialogues wished to convey differing degrees of anger. If *tu* is indeed a less-common form of address in Anglo-Norman, which the research suggests, expressions that contain *tu* are likely to have carried more pragmatic force than those containing *vous*. So, although *Tien te coy* and *Tenés vous coy* both mean 'hold your peace', the phrase with the T-form is likely to have carried more 'weight', due to its use of a rarer form of singular address.

The brothel conversation (example [2]), is different in this case because it does not present any obvious affective basis for its choice of pronominal address. Rather, it is the individual learner that can use their own discretion as a basis for making either option. Both options appear equally valid. This episode is likely to have the most associated framework because it is the first more socially obscure moment in the dialogues. It may have been easier for the learner to accommodate the idea that switching happened during moments of anger, but the extra comment during this moment perhaps serves as a reminder that the choice is up to the learner even in less extreme moments.

Indeed, one could reason that the extremity of many of the cases where pronominal switching happens (in the form of options and variation between the same interlocutors) is itself a pedagogical technique used to demonstrate the comparative extremity of T-forms in French to native English speakers. This could be one of the many ways in which the *Manières* address the pragmatic differences between Middle English and Anglo-Norman. To a learner for whom *thou* was a much more widespread form of address across many situations, the fact that *tu* most often arises in moments of anger in the *Manières* may have suggested that it carried extra pragmatic 'weight' that did not exist to the same extent in English. However, this is not always the case, as is demonstrated by examples (11) to (19),

wherein switching appears to occur to reflect more complex speaker strategies and changes in dynamic. In searching for an overarching theory to account for all reasons why a speaker may use T- or V-forms, there will always be exceptions to the rule. Trends may arise due to the strong influence of cultural and social values of a speech community, but it remains the case that individual evaluation will sometimes flout expectations. This is because individuals may interpret social codes in different ways. In approaching pronominal address through indexicality, while power and affect are still important factors to consider, we were able to see that pronominal address also indexes other social and situational concepts. It is therefore significant that the *Manières*, while providing plenty of options and examples of switching, provide no comment as to why one would choose to do so.

3.7 Conclusion

Why did the *Manières* represent these behaviours? I would like to argue that the dialogues consistently place the learners' capacity to make their own decisions at the heart of the presentation of pronominal variance. In the case of the simultaneous presentation of address options, the *vel sic* model is quite a sophisticated apparatus in dialogue. Indeed, this is the kind of insight we do not get in any other texts at this time. This is partly what makes the *Manières* so important in the study of Anglo-Norman pragmatics, as well as the intersection between Anglo-Norman and Middle English. In incorporating the *vel sic* apparatus, the dialogues present choices that are all seemingly valid in a given context. Such choices all occupy the same conversational turn. What unites all the cases of options is that these are presented without additional comment or rationale. There are two possible interpretations: either this is something that could have been discussed by a teacher in a classroom setting, or there is an implicit individual choice handed to the learner. The latter changes how we understand pronominal address in that it reintroduces the role of individual interlocutors' evaluations and interpretations of governing social principles (such as 'courtliness' or 'age appropriate speech'), taking into consideration how situational contexts affect such interpretations. Turning also to pronominal switching in the same conversation (often in response to external stimuli) I would argue that this potentially represents something that did happen in oral exchanges. This is supported by these dialogues' pedagogical role as speech-productive texts. The dialogues thus demonstrate that this is something that could be done in response to certain provocations (e.g. someone doing something to cause anger). Again, the emphasis seems to rest on individual choice in these dialogues. The ease with which characters switch between T- forms and V- forms, rather than a marker of 'confusion', could be a practical demonstration of the *vel sic* model. Such dialogues demonstrate that people did make individual choices (that may have varied between speakers), and the potential implications of such choices. Indeed, for the learners whose native language also featured ready switching between pronominal address terms, the patterns of switching in the dialogues would either have made sense (on the basis of creative evaluations of the speaker), or they would have had to actively engage to reason why a character would switch from T- to V- forms. The latter is somewhat likely if one remembers that Anglo-Norman appears to have operated on a different system, preferring the use of V-forms. Moreover, in this latter case, this would cultivate a social sense for pronominal address, which accords with the *Manières'* investment in behavioural as well as language didactics. Overall, in the absence of comment, perhaps the *Manières* were leaving the case open, acknowledging that there were few hard 'rules', rather, a heterogeneous landscape of pragmatic sensibilities. Therefore, rather than seeking to produce all-encompassing theories of address, we would be better served to focus on how interlocutors interpreted the guidelines available to them.

Chapter Four: Nominal Address terms: the pragmatic difficulty of false friends

4.1 Introduction
During the slanging match found in the 1399 *Manières* of OA, we are presented with this phrase:

(1)   Alez decy, senglent *filz de putaigne.*

                (OA 1399: 54)

      [Go away, bloody *son of a whore*]

To the modern English-speaking reader, there is very little about this phrase that is immediately recognisable. However, consider the following attestations from Middle English texts, found in the CMEPV:

(2)   Quen þai come be-for þe king/ He lifted vp his lathli ching / And felunlik can on þaim grene,/ "Fiz aputains," he said, "quat er yee?"

           (*Cursor Mundi* ll.11876-11879. Ed. Morris 1875-6)

      [When they came before the king, he lifted up his hostile chin, and felon-like he snarled at them 'Fiz a putains' he said, 'what are you?']

(3)   Sadok in hert wex wroþ & missayd him anon riȝt & clepd him 'fiz a putayn'.

           (*Guy of Warwick*, p.426. Ed. Zupitza 1887)

      [Sadok became truly angry and insulted him, and called him 'fiz a putain']

The first extract is taken from *Cursor Mundi* (c.1300), and it is uttered by a dying King Herod, addressing the fake 'leches' (doctors) sent to kill him. The second example comes from *Guy of Warwick*, and explicitly shows *fiz a putain* being used as an insulting address term. We find yet another example of this phrase in *Merlin* (c.1450), when the survivors of a massacre of Saxons, re-join the rest of their army, and deliver this damning utterance, using *Fitz dei putein* as a conventionalised expletive:

(4)   Fitz dei putein, what a-byde, ye treitours! se ye not how we be alle slain and deed, and ye myght alle oure enmyes haue slain and distroied, and saued youre frendes, yef ye hadde a little hasted.

      [Son of a whore, what a delay, you traitors! Do you not see how we are all slain and dead, and you might have destroyed and slain all our enemies, and saved your friends, if you had hastened a little]

Filz de putaigne is an example of a seemingly small conversational unit revealing much about the linguistic landscape of the *Manières* dialogues.[45] Although to our modern eyes, this phrase is unambiguously French, it is in fact present in Middle English sources, and even appears to have been

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[45] Calling somebody a 'son of a whore' or 'son of a bitch' is a long-standing and wide-reaching linguistic tradition. In the Middle Ages, the term *biccheson* came from Old Norse *bikkja-sonr* (Old Norse also had *púta-sonr*) and there were other terms such as *mamzer* (a child born of a forbidden union; a stigmatic term used in Jewish societies, see Weiss 2015: 260) and also the Latin terms *spurius* and *nothus* (from Greek) meaning illegitimate children. Mohr observes that in court records between 1200 and 1500, men were often insulted by the terms *cuckold*, *whoreson*, or *whoremonger*. She writes

      [the accuser] probably did not mean that [the accused] was literally the child of a loose woman or that he kept a stable of prostitutes. [He] is simply searching for the most effective way to abase the man, and in a society that valued lineage, female chastity, and (at least in theory) male sexual continence, the concept of whoredom proved a promiscuous source of abusive terms. (Mohr 2013: 101)

naturalised. It occupies a sentence-initial position, suggesting that it is not just being used for rhyme purposes, there are no metalinguistic indications it is a loanword (i.e. a gloss or translation), and it appears in different manuscripts and literary contexts over the course of around 150 years. What this means for the phrase in OA, is that an English L1 speaker reading 'Alez decy, senglent *filz de putaigne*' [Go away, bloody *son of a whore*] may have recognised *filz de putaigne* from their own lexicon, rather than regarding it as necessarily 'foreign'. This simple fact demands an examination of the naturalisation of loanwords and how this affected both the learners' experience of the language in the *Manières*, and the pedagogical challenges that the dialogues had to overcome. I will embark on such an exploration, limiting myself to nominal address terms, although this approach can be fruitfully applied to other nouns.

Nominal address terms take many forms. In the *Manières*, one may find them in the form of names (Janyn, Guilliam), titles and ranks (*sir*), occupational terms (*hostiler* [innkeeper]), and terms of affection or insult (*ma tresdouce amye* [my very good friend], *mauveise putaigne* [evil whore]).[46] Many address terms in the dialogues are modified by adjectival intensifiers; the longest example being *ma tresgentele, tresamyable et tressoveraine dame* [my very gentle, very aimiable, and very sovereign lady (CD 1396: 16)]. Their functions are manifold: they are attention-grabbing, they reinforce labels, and display certain attitudes or emotions. In contrast to pronominal address forms, whose semantics are 'strictly limited to number and gender',[47] Honegger (2004: 39-40) states that it is likely that nominal address forms 'were originally chosen with regard to their semantic content and that most nominal forms of address start out as semantically meaningful forms'. Moreover, the semantic content of nominal address terms interacts with their pragmatic applications, and speakers must negotiate the relationship between semantic content and pragmatic function 'for each individual interaction and cannot be defined once and for all' (Honegger 2004: 39-40). It is this that makes nominal address terms a particularly valuable area of study. On the subject of the greater semantic information of nouns, the bilingual fragments of the *Manières* contain illuminating examples of how L2 users of French engaged the language via their L1. Here, we can see the differing ways scribes translated certain nouns in a few lines from the *Manières*:

(5)   Ditez, porter, ou est le *dame* de deins?
        Saie, porter, where is þe *dame* of herin?
        Sir, en la *saler* ou en la chambre.
        Sir, in þe *soler* or in þe chambre.

(CI f.101v, ed. Kristol 1990)

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[46] Jucker and Taavitsainen (2003: 2) state that 'Early Modern English has a rich system of nominal forms of address with kinship terms, and a wide range of occupational terms and titles in addition to terms of endearment and terms of derogation'. The assumption of such statements, and of other works such as Breuer (1983), Nevalainen (1994) and Fischer (2002), is that present-day English has a 'much reduced system' (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2003:2). This claim, while perhaps true for a more 'standard' English, ignores much regional and cultural variation, and is challenged by studies such as Adams (2018), who analyses nominal address terms used widely within the UK grime music scene, with many terms originating in Jamaican creole (*don, mandem, blud, brudda*), and with imports from American hip-hop (*dawg, cuz*). Moreover, anecdotally speaking, markers of a South Yorkshire dialect include nominal address terms such as *duck*, *pet*, and *love*, which are not typically used in Southern dialects.

[47] Although the semantics of pronominal address terms are limited, the pragmatic application is multivalent (see Chapter 3)

(6)   Ditz, pourtour, ou est la *dame* de cieinz?
           Sey, pourtoure, where is the *ladi* of herin?
           Sir, en *saile* ou en chambre.
           Sir, in *hall* or in chambir.

(LL f.17rb, ed. Kristol 1990)

In the Cambridge fragment, the words *dame* and *saler* [upper room] are translated to the same in English, whereas in the Lincoln fragment, *dame* and *saile* [hall] are translated to their Germanic counterparts, *ladi* and *hall*. These subtle differences between manuscripts reveal that the English-speaking scribes and the learners interpreted the words in different ways. The Lincoln scribe may have wanted to highlight the difference between French and English in his translation, or perhaps they preferred *ladi* and *hall* to *dame* and *soler* in their own spoken vocabulary.

As nouns, nominal address terms contain more semantic information, and are furthermore important because, like pronominal address terms, they encode the relationship between speaker and addressee. To be able to use appropriate terms of address would have been a key concern for the learners using the dialogues, who would have desired the ability to carry out successful exchanges in French both at home and abroad. Indeed, nominal address terms are ubiquitous in the *Manières*, which perhaps reflects their relative pragmatic importance. A large proportion of these address terms occur in a sentence-initial position, which reinforces their function as attention-grabbers. Kristol (1994) sees the ubiquity of such terms as indicative of a speech-directed use for the *Manières*. However, Denoyelle (2013) argues that the heavy use of nominal address terms actually suggests a literary influence, which also uses address terms to mark changes in speaker, following Cerquiglini (1981) and Lagorgette (2004). This becomes evident in CT (represented in Figure 4.1), whose *mise en page* does not make clear the change of speakers, but where the sentence-initial address terms are marked in red ink.

Figure 4.1 CT f. 149r: different greetings
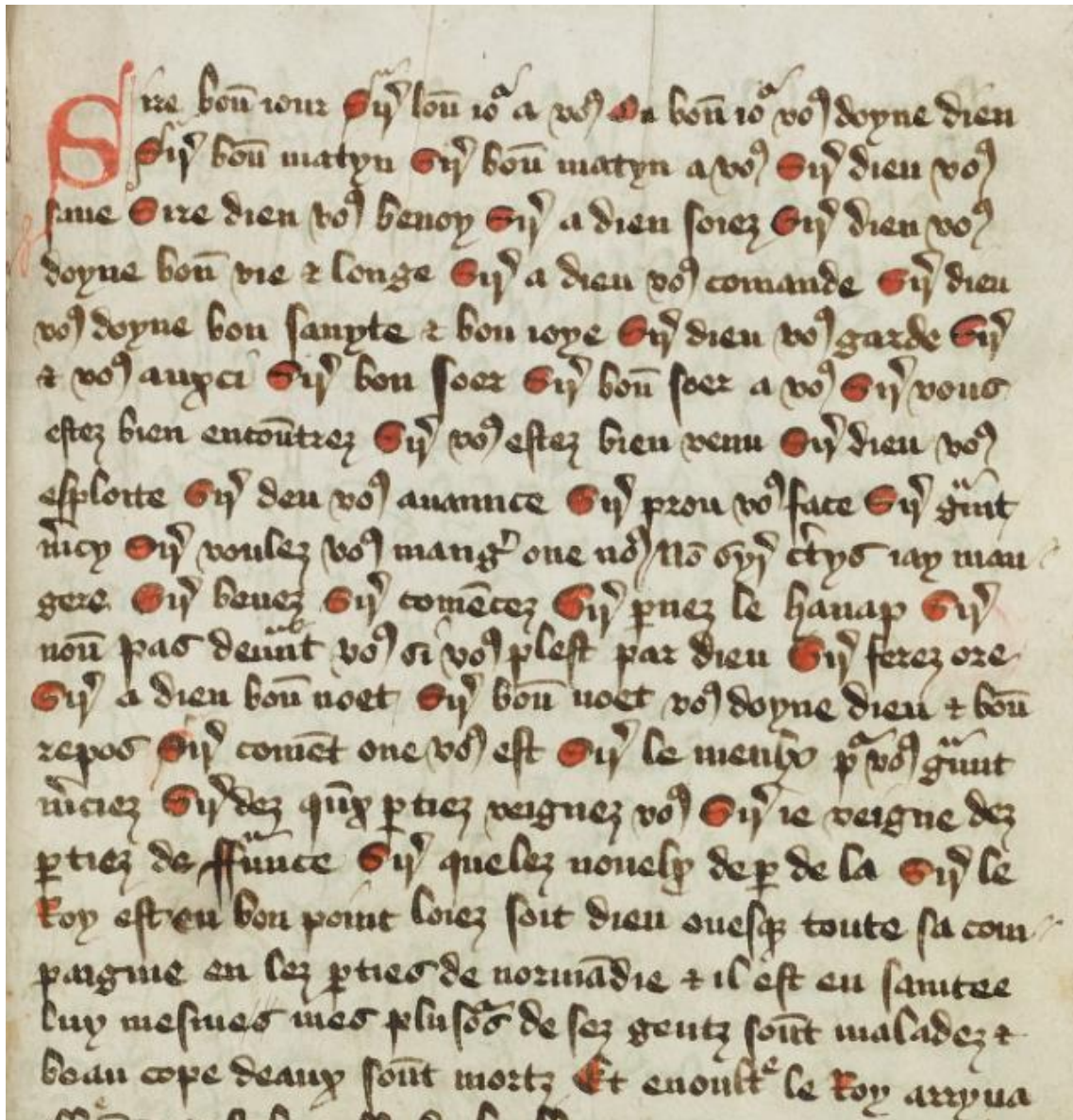
In this chapter, I will review how nominal address terms have been treated in previous research (which has been mostly in terms of politeness or politic behaviour), before situating my own study within the domain of 'false friends'. I will be looking specifically at the terms *commere*, *villein*, and *ribaud*, which may be found in both Middle English and Anglo-Norman sources.

To begin with definitions, cognates and false friends are words in L2 that trigger another word in the learner's L1. Hayward and Moulin (1983) define this in Saussurean terms:

> In the learner's mother tongue a particular *signifiant* is associated with a particular *signifié*. Once the signifiant appears, even in a foreign-language context, the above-mentioned association is so strong that the user automatically thinks of his mother-tongue *signifié* (in its totality).

> (Hayward and Moulin 1983: 190)

Cognates are essentially derived from the same etymological background, hence, English *father* and German *Vater* from Latin *pater*; cognates can also be homonyms and homographs, although not necessarily. This leads towards the subject of false friends, words that appear to derive from the same origins, but are semantically unrelated, such as Italian *cazzo* [penis] and Spanish *cazo* [ladle].

I want to look at the above-named nominal address terms in light of their status as cognates that may have undergone semantic shift. I propose to examine whether certain address terms in the *Manières* dialogues would have been recognisable to the English-speaking learners, to what extent the semantics overlapped in the L1 and L2, and speculate on the potential for inhibited pragmatic competence, or 'communicative difficulty', in this important conversational domain. In order to do this, I will examine when address terms enter into English from Anglo-Norman, whether they deviated semantically in the time between their borrowing and the writing of the dialogues, whether they differ orthographically and phonologically, and whether their semantics in English could guide the implicature for the learners using the texts to learn French as an L2.

This is an innovative and less-traditional direction for research in address terms in historical contexts, which builds upon work undertaken previously in medieval multilingualism, as well as modern-day language acquisition studies that look specifically at the phenomena of cognates and false friends. The semantic and pragmatic difficulty that arises with such words directly relates to the broader questions of this thesis: how the learners would have learned to interact successfully in French, and to what extent the *Manières* mitigated difficulties such as false friends. Specifically, this research elaborates on previous work on multilingual documents, undertaken by Trotter (2013, 2011, 2010). Trotter's concern, which is also a focus for this chapter, is 'when did notionally Anglo-French words become naturalized elements of the lexis of (Middle) English? When did Anglo-French become plain Anglo?' (2010: 44-45). In earlier work on the boundaries between Anglo-Norman and Middle English, Trotter notices that while the modern scholar may perceive 20 words of Anglo-Norman origin in the first 20 lines of Chaucer's *General Prologue*, an MED search reveals that some of these words had been in the language for much longer than others. *Licour*, for example, had been in Middle English since c.1230, but only in the sense Chaucer uses it from c.1380; while *seson*, as used in the *Prologue*, is the first attestation in Middle English. Trotter argues that while *seson* would have likely been regarded as a loanword at the time Chaucer was writing, words such as *licour* are attested for over a century before Chaucer 'with different (though closely related) senses' (2010: 44). Unsatisfied with the term 'loanword' to describe these different situations, Trotter poses the question of 'how these words had been accepted; when, by whom; and by what criteria; and how we can know, now, whether they had been so accepted, and when' (2010: 44). Not much attention has been paid to this aspect of the relationship between Middle English and Anglo-Norman, especially not in its latest stages, when it is assumed that later Anglo-Norman had become an artificially-maintained language, as opposed to a living variety of French. The present chapter is responding to these questions, using examples from the *Manières*, and proposing some methodologies to help us begin to identify and measure the naturalisation of loanwords. As in the previous chapter, I will be using examples from the *Manières* as test cases for this broader issue. Certainly, it would be particularly interesting to approach the topic of naturalisation within this particular pedagogical context, because in the naturalisation process, loanwords can acquire additional meanings; therefore, a follow-on issue would be whether this would interfere with a learner's understanding of such words in L2. This could potentially hinder a learner's pragmatic 'naturalisation' of their own, newly-acquired, spoken discourse.

I will review some perspectives on the phenomena of cognates and false friends. I will then examine some address terms and see whether these would have been recognisable on the basis of phonology

and orthography. I furthermore wish to assess the extent of the words' establishment in English texts outside of this specific context. I will subsequently look at semantic overlap and divergence. After establishing some false friends and some cognates (i.e. same spelling,[48] same meaning) I will discuss how the *Manières* deal with this, or how the words function as mnemonic or guides (for example, in the context of insult lists).

4.1.1 Historical pragmatic studies on nominal address terms

There has been some interest in nominal address terms, largely in monolingual studies. In historical pragmatics, such studies have tended to be couched in terms of politeness. For example, Kohnen (2008b) examines address terms in Old English as indicative of a cultural politeness model based on Christian principles of *caritas* and *humilitas*; Nevala (2009) diachronically analyses the application and pragmatic development of the address term *friend* in Early Modern and late modern correspondence; and, similarly, Anglemark (2018) traces patterns of use for *sire*, *dear*, *fool* and *brother*, discussing how they can signal attitudes or intimacy and distance. Relating this type of research to the *Manières*, *sir* is ubiquitous in the dialogues as a polite or politic form of address. While Dunkling (1990: 224) argues that it is the absence of *sir* that would be noticeable as 'under-polite', Kristol (1994: 45-46) observes that this term in the *Manières* appears to indicate social equality, whereas other terms indicate a speaker's inferior status (*mon seigneur*, or *ma dame*) or a speaker's superior status (*mon amy*, *compaignon*).

Nominal address terms have also been studied in the context of other features, for instance, Lagorgette (1994) has observed how address terms can convey direct insult. One single address term can include locution and illocution in one word. Hence, we can say 'arsehole!' and not, 'I am insulting you' (the latter produces very little of the desired perlocutionary effect). Similarly, while we cannot reasonably produce the latter utterance, syntactically we can say 'I was insulted'. Lagorgette also notes how nominal address terms reinforce speech acts (2014: 321). We see this happening in the *Manières* dialogues:

(7)   Que dea, mettés le chapron, *paillarde*, com tu parles a prodome!

(CD 1396: 26)

     [By God, put on your hat, scoundrel, because you're speaking to a gentleman!]

(8)   Par mon seurement, *sire*, vous ne le averez rien mains.

(OA 1399: 62)

     [By my oath, sir, you will not have it for less]

There has moreover been work on possible correlations between pronominal and nominal address terms, largely in the plays of Shakespeare (Barber 1981; Busse 2003). Busse (2003:195) found that although pronominal and nominal terms of address accord following Brown and Gilman's semantics of power and solidarity, there are a number of cases where they do not (for example, a master calling his servant *you rascal* or *you rogue*).

4.1.2 Contemporary multilingual studies on cognates

Very little has been done, to my knowledge, on nominal address terms in multilingual contexts in historical pragmatics. Such studies have largely been undertaken in modern day languages, and they shed light on the pragmatic consequences on phenomena such as false friends and cognates, which is

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[48] This can never be exact for Anglo-Norman and Middle English.

the current interest of this chapter. These studies are undertaken in the realm of language acquisition, and largely in children and young persons. The prevailing view in this area is that languages are not held as discrete units in a person's brain, rather, multiple languages are all part of an individual's semantic memory. This model is called language-nonselective access. This means that a word that looks similar in more than one language triggers those languages in a person's brain, and such words are processed quicker and with fewer errors that control words in test conditions. This is dubbed the 'cognate facilitation effect' (see Brenders et. al [2011] for overview). However, it is not a given that cognates are readily detected by learners of other languages.

This is the key challenge for learners is encapsulated by this question posed by Lubliner and Hiebert (2011):

> Two questions appear to be salient in terms of bilingual students' ability to identify and transfer cognate information from language to language: (a) Does the student know the meaning of the [L1] word that corresponds to the [L2] word? and (b) Can the student access the [L1] word meaning based on the English orthographic and phonological features?
>
> (Lubliner and Hiebert 2011: 87)

In short, do the learners know the meaning of the words in their own language, and are the cognates, presented as L2 material, recognisable to the learner (i.e. did the learners using the *Manières* recognise address terms such as *ribaud* and *villein* from their existing lexicon)? Regarding the first question, the general tendency is that young bilingual children do not learn words for the same concept in both languages. This is due to the nature of the language-learning environment; for example, if English is spoken at school or work, but French is spoken at home, then a speaker will know more domestic vocabulary in French, but not in English, and more classroom- or work-based words in English rather than French (Oller et. al. 2007). However, this is not to say that there is no overlap in vocabulary. Regarding the second question, in this instance, orthographical similarity is likely to have alerted learners to the presence of cognates. Lubliner and Hiebert call this 'orthographic transparency' (2011: 78). Moreover, similar phonology between an L2 and L1 cognate would reduce processing demands on a language learner, thus facilitating recognition (Kohnert, Windsor, & Miller, 2004). Although not necessarily a given, it is highly likely that, with verbal instruction from a teacher, these cognates will have been understood by the learner (see Nagy et al. 1993 for a study on Spanish-English bilinguals).

While language learners may be able to successfully perform both aforementioned tasks (knowledge and recognition), there are further problems in the case of false friends, or where semantics differ even slightly between cognates. Chamizo-Domínguez (2008) illustrates the communicative difficulty arising from such words, by relating a group of translations of a gazpacho recipe in English, German, and Spanish:

(9)   «Ingredients: tomato, cucumber, pepper, onion, water, olive oil, wine vinegar, salt, garlic, and *eventually* lemon»

(10)   «Zutaten: Tomaten, Gurken, Paprika, Zwiebeln, Wasser, Olivenöl, Weinessig, Salz, Knoblauch, *eventuell* Zitrone»

(11)   «Ingredientes: tomate, pepino, pimiento, cebolla, agua, aceite de oliva virgen, vinagre de vino, sal, ajo y *eventualmente* zumo de limón».

Chamizo-Domínguez (2008: 137)

In German and Spanish, *eventuell / eventualmente* mean 'possibly', whereas it means 'finally' in English. This result here is that an English speaker would understand that lemon is a requisite ingredient in the gazpacho, whereas the German and Spanish speakers would understand that lemon is an optional ingredient. It is this pragmatic misapplication that results in the 'wrong' information being supplied.

Chamizo-Domínguez elaborates on the effect of pragmatic misapplication of false friends:

> The existence of a false friend in the utterance of a foreign speaker, […] can be detected when the hearer/reader suspects that there is something strange or incongruous in them. In such cases, the hearer/reader shall start a pragmatic strategy in order to guess which has been the [intended] term. […]. By contrast, when the text in the [target language] makes sense, such a pragmatic strategy does not trigger, and what the hearer/ reader shall understand is something very different with regard to what was meant.

(Chamizo-Domínguez 2008: 164)

Such potential difficulty would be unwelcome for the learners using the *Manières,* who would have sought to produce pragmatically successful utterances. This chapter aims to assess whether this would have been an issue, and to what extent the creators of the *Manières* would have been aware of this. I argue that the *Manières* supplied extra information to guide the learners' interpretation for challenging words that belonged to the English lexicon, but had different meanings in later Anglo-Norman.

4.1.3 Chapter overview
In this chapter I will take different address terms from the *Manières* with a view to using them as case studies to test different methodologies that have the potential to measure the naturalisation of a loan in Middle English, and to see whether a word had acquired or lost different meanings in their transmission from French to Middle English. I will discuss the examples *commere* [godparent/neighbourhood woman], *fiz aputein* [son of a whore], *villein,* and *ribaud* [rogue], some of which may have proved more problematic to the language learners than others. I have chosen these address terms because they are less ubiquitous than *sire* or *dame*, which are unlikely to yield much information due to their widespread nature and semantic neutrality. Both are widely used in Middle English and Anglo-Norman to denote 'sir' or 'lady'. It is when we examine more semantically specific terms that we can begin to tease out semantic difference, from which pragmatic difficulty may arise. I will posit that *villein* and *ribaud* would have been largely understood in their semantically appropriate senses, while the terms *commere* and *fiz a putein* (to which I will briefly return) raise their own questions pertaining to register. *Commere* is a word with roots in Latin (*cum+mater*), which is found in both Middle English and Anglo-Norman, but with slightly different meanings. It is a cognate that has experienced semantic shift in English. Indeed, in English, *commere* may have been understood as a marked form next to the more widespread forms *godsyb* and *godmoder.* The *Manières*, I argue, address this issue of differing semantics by supplying extra information in the metapragmatic framework. I will return to *fiz a putein* to discuss how one can measure 'specialised' loanwords which co-exist with several already-existing terms to denote the same concept. Unlike the other terms, *ribald* and *villein* are words that appear to almost completely overlap semantically between the two languages. There is unlikely to have been much communicative difficulty here, however, their usage can tell us something about the possible pedagogical impact of 'English words' in these French-language manuals. Underlying all this is a common concern, whether (and if so, when) words are naturalised into English. To explore this, I will use a range of methodologies, including use of dictionary evidence to detect specificities ('shades') of meaning; concordance searches to establish given words' popularity in the corpora; and manuscript evidence to examine whether one can detect dialect preferences in forms. As

this is a novel direction of research, results are intended to be indicative of what may be done in the future.

4.2 The transparency of cognates: phonological and orthographic overview

It is important to establish that the words under scrutiny in this chapter are indeed 'friends' before we can determine whether such friends were 'false'. This means that they would have been found in Middle English texts as well as later Anglo-Norman sources, but also that they shared phonological and orthographic elements (at least to some degree). Indeed, as stated above, similarity in orthography and phonology is essential for an L2 word to trigger another word in a learner's L1. For older languages, a major source for phonological evidence is rhyme (Short: 2007; Pope 1934). Such studies have made the case for Middle English influence on Anglo-Norman pronunciation. For example, palatalised consonants such as /lj/ (as in *fille*) and /nj/ (as in *putaigne*), which were not present in English, were replaced by corresponding non-palatal sounds /l/ and /n/ (Pope 1934: 450). Another example of such a change was the monothongisation of the diphthong /ei/, resulting in rhymes like *creire/terre* and *crestre/estre* (Short 2007: 77). The associated caveats of such research need to be stated; this is put succinctly by Ingham (2012):

> Researching the phonology of a dead language is a hazardous enterprise: whereas the combinatorial possibilities of its morphology and syntax can to a great extent be gauged from what is visible in the textual record, its sounds can no longer be recovered. Erratic spelling practices in pre-modern texts often mean that reconstruction of sounds from graphemic evidence is difficult

> (Ingham 2012: 53).

In the domain of Middle English, Ritt (2017: 29) warns of the danger of an oversimplistic 'English phonology'; however, he concedes that some generalisations can be made, such as the reduction of vowel quality in unstressed syllables (2017: 37). With these caveats in place, such evidence becomes purely indicative rather than conclusive, and I will draw upon phonological observations in other studies in tandem with orthographic evidence.

For this short analysis, I will use the Cross-Linguistic Overlap Scale for Phonology (COSP; Kohnert et al. 2004) as a starting point, designed to analyse the accessibility of Spanish-English word pairs to bilinguals and monolinguals:

Figure 4.2 The Cross-Linguistic Overlap Scale for Phonology

Feature Overlap	Scoring	Example
Initial sound (0–3 points)	3 = *Same consonant*	león–lion
	2 = *Same vowel*	ambulancia–ambulance
	1 = *Similar sound* (e.g., same sound class or one of consonant cluster)	cuna–crib
	0 = *Complete mismatch between initial sounds*	escuela–school
Number of syllables (0–2 points)	2 = *Same number of syllables*	bebe–baby
	1 = *Different by only 1 syllable*	música–music
	0 = *Different by more than 1 syllable*	lámpara–lamp
Consonants (0–3 points)	3 = *>70% consonant overlap*	planta–plant
	2 = *50–70% consonant overlap*	papel–paper
	1 = *≤50% consonant overlap*	cuna–crib
	0 = *No consonant overlap*	jugo/hugo–juice
Vowels (0–2 points)	2 = *≥80% vowel overlap*	piano–piano
	1 = *50–80% vowel overlap*	rosa–rose
	0 = *No vowel overlap*	fuego–fire

Note: Each Spanish stimulus word was scored relative to its English translation equivalent on the four different features, for a maximum score of 10.

Kohnert et al. developed the COSP with a view to 'conceptualizing graded dimensions of crosslinguistic overlap' (2004: 547). The COSP assesses the extent of phonological overlap in initial sounds of word pairs, as well as the vowels, consonants, and number of syllables in word pairs. To each attribute is assigned a number of available points. In the above scale, the pairing *ambulancia/ambulance* would achieve a score of 8 (3 points for initial sound, 1 for number of syllables, 3 for consonants and 1 for vowel overlap), while *cuna/crib* would achieve a lower score of 3 (1 point for initial sound, 1 for syllables, 1 for consonants, 0 for vowels). Words with a score between 0 and 5 are thought to not be recognisable across languages (e.g., *dog/perro*), and words with scores of 6 to 10 were considered recognisable (e.g., *elephant/elefante*). In the above example, this would mean that *ambulancia* would be more immediately accessible to an English monolingual than *cuna*, which would be largely non accessible to English monolinguals.

When applied to medieval languages, the COSP becomes problematic because it is not possible to conclusively determine this information with the surviving evidence. Not only does non standardised spelling affect our interpretation of vowels and consonants, but even the number of syllables can be difficult to determine. By the time of the *Manières*, final -*e* is unstable in Middle English, as can be seen by MED entries such as *lond* (also *londe*) and *man* (also *mane*; see Minkova 1991). Although the loss of final -*e* in French 'appears to have been a post-mediaeval development' (Ingham 2012: 55), a search on the ANT reveals that *e* in weak syllables could be omitted both in the middle and at the end of words (e.g. *averai/avrai* [I will have]) and *com/comme* [with]). To reflect this uncertainty, I will instead calculate a possible range of overlap. The Anglo-Norman examples are spellings taken from the *Manières*, since these are the texts of interest; I have compared these against Middle English spellings supplied by the MED. I have added notes on phonology where appropriate for each case. While the results below are far from conclusive, they will be used to indicate that the words studied in this chapter are likely to have been recognisable to an L1 speaker of English reading the dialogues.

Figure 4.3 COSP analysis for *ribaude*

MED : ribaude, ribaut, rebolde

Manières **:** ribaude

ME ri/re	bau/bal/bol	de/t
AN ri	bau	de
ME: Middle English replaced the Germanic Stress Rule, which places emphasis on the initial syllable (excluding affixes), with a Romance Stress Rule, which places emphasis on the final syllable (except the schwa; Lass [1992]: 83 – 90); Ritt (2017: 30) posits that this was imported with Romance loanwords. AN: Variation between /i/ and /e/ suggests reduced vowel quality of initial syllable. Stress probably on second syllable (see Einhorn for OFr).	ME: *au* was likely pronounced /aʊ/ (as in <u>ow</u>; Smith [2005: 95]). This is supported by the presence of the open-front vowel /a/ 'aah' + /l/ (pronounced as in <u>al</u>mond). The orthography suggests /o/ in some instances, which may be a dialect preference. AN: (Short: 88) suggests that *au* subsequently reduced to close-mid back vowel /o/ Einhorn: *au* - /o/ or /ɔ/, much like present day.	ME: the final *e* was becoming unstable in ME by the 14th century. AN: The loss of the final schwa vowel is post-medieval (Ingham 2012: 55).
COSP score Initial sound +3 Syllables 1-2 Consonants 2-3 Vowels 0-2 **Range: 6-10**		

Figure 4.4 COSP analysis for *Villein*
ME: vilein, villaine, velein, velaun, vylayn
Manières: villain(e), villein(e)

ME vil/vill/vel	ein(e)/ain(e)/aun
AN vill	ain/ein
ME: Unstressed syllable reduction (suggested b *i* and *e*) due to Romance stress rule (here, *e* may sound more like a schwa). This was also present in AN.	ME: the *au* spelling is attested only once in the MED. It could be an input error or dialect variation. ME: the spellings *ai* and *ei* seem to have both represented the /aɪ/ dipthong (as in d<u>ay</u> and gr<u>ey</u>) (Smith 2005: 95). AN: /ai/ and /ei/ diphthongs had merged, as in Old French; this resulted in rhymes such as *retrait/dreit* (Ingham 2012: 57). Indeed, Ingham (2012: 60) furthermore posits that /ei/ no longer contrasted with the monopthong /ɛ/ (pronounced 'ɛtre') resulting in *creire/crere* spelling pairs. This is a change categorised as influenced by Middle English.

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2" align="center">

<u>COSP score</u>

Initial sound +3
Syllables 1-2
Consonants +3
Vowels 0-2

Range: 7-10

</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 4.5 COSP analysis for *Fiz de putaigne*
ME : fitz aputayn, fitz dei putein,
Manières: filz de putaigne

ME fiz/tz	a/dei	putain/ein/ayn
AN filz	de	putaigne
AN: Short (2007: 101-102) attests to widespread disappearance of preconsonantal /l/ by assimilation (i.e. it stops being pronounced) resulting in rhymes such as *filz* and *diz*.		ME: unstressed u, due to stress falling on the final syllable, likely /ʊ/ sound (as in h<u>oo</u>k) (Smith and Horobin 2002: 47-48). See above discussion for *ei* and *ai* graphemes. AN: Einhorn (1999 [1974]: 7) suggests that *u* in the initial position (as in *punir*) would have been a /y/ in Old French, but would have become a close central vowel /u/ (as in ch<u>oo</u>se) in Anglo Norman. The /nj/ sound represented by *-gne* is de-palatalised to /n/ by mid- 12th century (Ingham 2012: ch5). This is because ME did not have the palatalised /nj/ in its inventory. This is a change attributed to ME influence.
COSP score Syllables 1-2 Initial sound +3 Consonants 2-3 Vowels 1-2 **Range 7-10**		

Figure 4.5 COSP analysis for *Commere*
ME: *commare*
Manières: *commere*

ME com	mare
AN com	mere
ME: For the most part, o signified a open mid back vowel /ɔ/ as in *not*. Smith (2005: 94) AN: For initial syllables, *o* represented something approximating a close-mid back vowel [o], as in French *eau* (Einhorn 1974: 8).	ME: /aː/ a longer version of *hat* (Smith 2005: 94) AN: Pope (1934: 444) -*mere* would have had the sound as in French *fête*)
COSP score Syllables +2 Initial sound +3 Consonants +3 Vowel 0-1 **Range 8-9**	

On the basis of this brief orthographical and phonological survey, it can be demonstrated that the focal address terms in this chapter are cognates that would likely have been recognisable to the Middle English speaker. This conclusion is reached on the basis of research methods in contemporary bilingualism. Broadly speaking, Anglo-Norman phonology was influenced in some areas by Middle English, and we would not therefore expect there to be vast differences in pronunciation. Although such research is necessarily speculative, all of the address terms achieved COSP scores of more than 6 (the benchmark used by Kohnert et al. [2004]). This means that we can safely assert that these words would have been recognisable to the language learner (possibly with the aid of instruction), because they possess 'transparency' between languages, and thus come with fewer processing demands.

4.3 *Fiz a putein*
To return briefly to *fiz a putein*, where I began, it is notable that this phrase 'competes' with several others denoting a similar concept in both Middle English and Anglo-Norman. When there are several options that a speaker can choose, this raises issues of register. When one looks at the range of synonyms for this phrase, it becomes evident that *fiz a putein* is one of many terms. It is first found in Middle English texts c.1300 and stays in the written record for around 150 years. This means that the phrase would have been well-established in English at the time of the *Manières*. And while it does stay in the written record until 1450, it is not one of the more 'successful' terms, like *whoreson* or *bastard*, which survive into the Early Modern period.

Figure 4.7 Timeline of *fiz a putein* and other English and Norman synonyms (based on MED, CMEPV and AND sources)
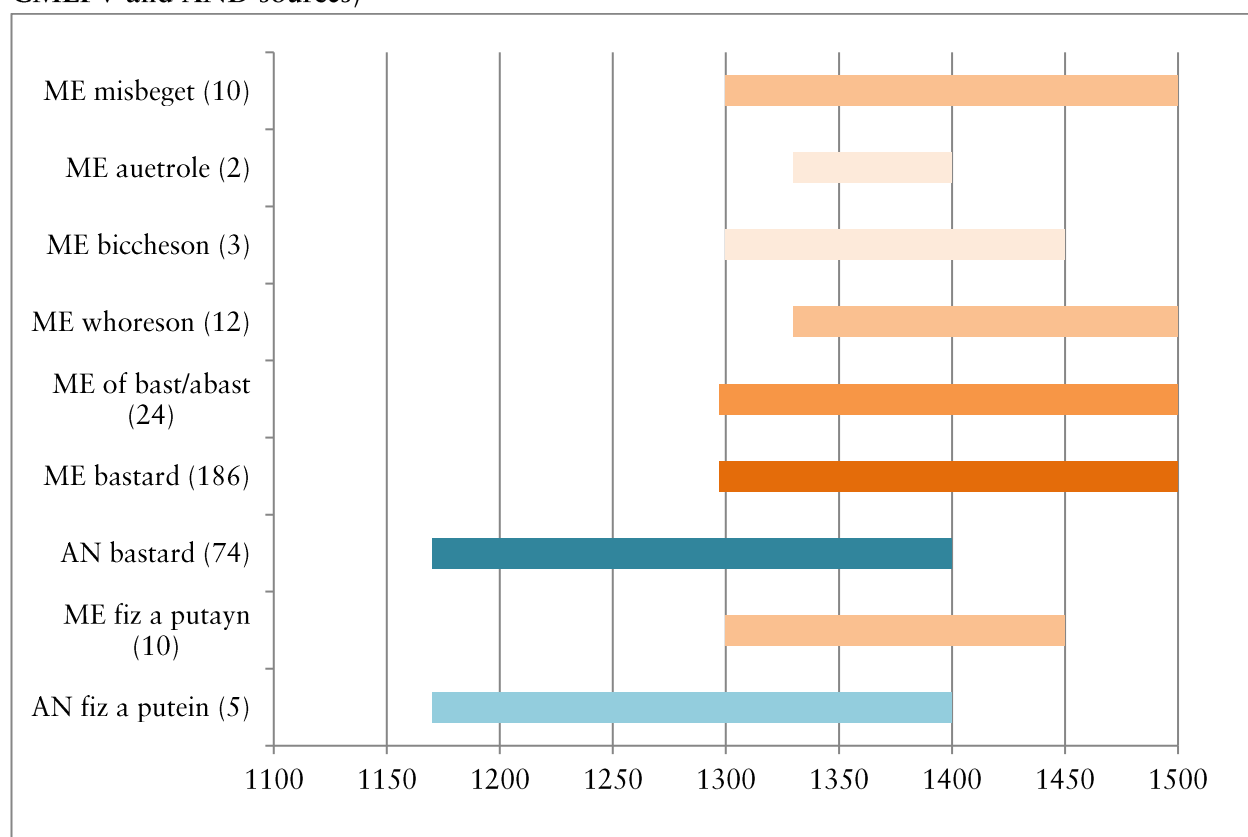
This graph constructs a particularly colourful linguistic landscape around this particular abusive behaviour in Middle English and Anglo-Norman. What is furthermore noteworthy is that there are more attestations of *fiz a putein* in Middle English than there are in Anglo-Norman. This is a striking contradiction to our modern notion of what constitutes as 'English' and 'French'. Having said this, it would appear that *fiz a putein* in English is a more specialised variant, since it is less frequent in the CMEPV than other forms that are both more numerous and last longer. This suggests that *fiz a putein* in English may have been a form more particular to certain regions or registers, and therefore that the term in the *Manières* may not have been recognised by all the learners.

One way we could begin to answer the question of whether *fiz a putein* was a dialectal preference in English is to look at the manuscripts in which it appears. *Fiz a putein* appears 10 times in Middle English texts in 6 manuscripts overall. The earliest manuscript this appears in is National Library of Scotland, Advocates 19.2.1, which contains 2 of the attestations: one in *Guy of Warwick* and one in *The Seven Sages*. Wiggins (2003) states that the manuscript was probably produced between 1331 and 1340, and that 'dialect and the apparently commercial and collaborative nature of this manuscript's production, imply that it was most likely to have been produced in London'. What is particularly noteworthy, however, is that the second earliest manuscript ('about A.D. 1340' [Wright: 1960]) that features *filz a putayn* is British Library, Cotton Vespasian A iii (in *Cursor Mundi*). The Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English (LAEME) states that the two scribes who worked on this text were from the Yorkshire, West Riding region. This means that the phrase is not limited to use in London. It is important to note that if the scriptorium was linked to York itself, it would have been linked to a big city, which would have attracted travellers from all over Britain. In *Cursor Mundi*, *fiz aputains* is

substituted for *hore sones* in another manuscript, Cambridge, Trinity College R.3.8, which is dated to the 15th century and located around Staffordshire. One could suggest that the westerly location may indicate that *filz a putayn* would not be understood in that context, but another manuscript, Lincoln's Inn MS 150 (second half of the 14th century), which contains 1 attestation of the feature in *Kyng Alisauder*, the Linguistic Atlas of Late Middle English (LALME) locates this in Shropshire. Another, earlier, manuscript containing *Kyng Alisauder*, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc 622 (c.1400) is located in Essex, which also contains *filz a putayn*. There are two further manuscripts from the early 15th century that contain the phrase: Bodleian Laud Misc. 595 (which contains 1 attestation and belonged to a 'William Skylye (?) chambyrleyn of London' [Madan 1922: 64]) and Cambridge University Library Ff.III.11 (which contains 4 attestations in the Merlin text, and is located in Kent). A summary of this information is as follows:

Figure 4.8 Manuscripts containing *Fiz a putein*

MS	Text	Location	Date	Attestations
Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates 19.2.1	*The Seven Sages of Rome*	London	1331 - 1340	1
	Guy of Warwick			1
Cotton Vespasian A iii	*Cursor Mundi*	West Yorkshire	c.1340	1
Lincoln's Inn MS 150	*Kyng Alisaunder*	Shropshire	Second half of the 14th century	1
Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc 622	*Kyng Alisaunder*	Essex	c.1400	1
Bodleian Laud Misc. 595	*The Laud Troy Book*	London	Early 15th century	1
Camb. Univ. Libr. Ff.3.11	*Merlin*	Kent	Early 15th century	4

We see that *fiz a putein* was found in Middle English sources mostly from the southeast, but that it was also found in manuscripts from Shropshire and West Yorkshire (which make up for 2 out of the 10 attestations). Having said this, it is noteworthy that the scribe of the Staffordshire manuscript containing *Cursor Mundi* substituted this phrase for *hore sones*, suggesting that this was perhaps less integrated into western dialects. However, as is often the case in historical research, the paucity of sources does preclude a definitive conclusion. It is nevertheless compelling that these geographical results roughly coincide with the likely location of the All Souls manuscript, and we can perhaps postulate that the learners using Stevenes's extract of the *Manières* would have understood *fiz a putein*

with little or no problem, whereas a speaker from the northwest would have struggled. In other words, *fiz a putein* may be a feature of certain southern and eastern varieties of Middle English.[49]

<u>4.4 *Commere*</u>
While it seems likely that *fiz a putein* would have been recognisable to the English-speaking users of the *Manières*, by not having any metapragmatic commentary and being present in other Middle English texts, the authors were likely aware of potential learner difficulty for other address terms, and provided help where needed. For example, although achieving a high COSP score, the word *commere* may have caused a problem for the learners using the *Manières*. This term appears three times over the course of the following conversation in the 1396 dialogues:

(12)   Et quant il [le seignour] vendra al but de la ville, il demandra le chymyne a une putevile tout ainsi:
Ma commere, q'est le droit chymyn vers Parys?
Mon seignour, je vous dirrai. […]
Ore, beale dame, me ditez vous quantbien a il sonee de l' oriloge com vous pensez? Vel sic: Qu'est ce qu'a sonee de l'[oriloge]?
Vraiment, mon seignour, je pense bien q'il a sonee unze, quar il i a bien une heure passé depuis q'il sona dis.
Donques dit le seignour ainsi:
Ore, ma commere, me ditez vous, quantbien i a deci a Parys?
Vrayment, mon seignour, il n'y a que dys leugez bien petitz.
Purrai je y estre unquore anoet?
Oil verament, mon seignour, bien a ease.
Donques dit le seignour:
Ma commere, a Dieu vous comande. Vel sic: Alez a Dieu.

(CD 1396: 8)

[And when he [the lord] comes to the edge of the town, he will ask the way of a prostitute like this :
My *commere*, what is the correct way to Paris?
My lord, I will tell you […]
Now, good woman, tell me what time the bell has rang, as you think? OR: What time has the bell rang?
Truly, my lord, I think that it has sounded 11, since it has been an hour since it sounded 10.
So the lord says thus:
Now, my *commere*, tell me, how far is Paris from here?
Truly, my lord, it is only 10 short leagues
Could I be there tonight?
Yes certainly, my lord, easily.

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[49] A fuller consideration of the genre of texts that contain *fiz a putain*, or the register of the utterances where it appears, would lend greater understanding to the use of *fiz a putain* in English. But such a consideration is outside the scope of the present work.

So the lord says thus,
My *commere*, I commend you to God. Or: Go to God.]

In this dialogue, the lord addresses the woman as *commere*. While it is possible that *commere* is a word that means 'prostitute', this is less likely to be the case. More likely is that the dialogues are demonstrating how to address a prostitute, using a general term denoting a female addressee. Indeed, *commere* seems to have had a general sense of 'neighbourhood woman', which we can also see in the dialogues:

(13)   Ore, ou est la dame de cyens?
         Syre, ele viendra tauntost. Ele est evesque une commere et ne demura guerres.

<div align="right">(CT 1415: 72)</div>

         [Now, where is the lady of this inn?
         Sir, she will come as soon as she can. She is with a *commere* and will not be very long]

Commere also had an ecclesiastical sense in Anglo-Norman, meaning 'godmother', and it is in this way that the word is likely to have been understood by the English-speaking learners using the *Manières*. There is only one attestation for *commare* in the MED, from *Handlyng Synne*:

(14)   Þou man or womman, be nat so wylde To holde to þe bysshope þyn owne chylde; For ȝyf
         þou do, þou art *commare* To hym þat hyt gat or bare.

<div align="right">(*Handlyng Synne*, l.9865. Ed. Furnivall 1901)</div>

         [You, man or woman, do not be so foolish as to hold your own child to the bishop; for if
         you do, you are a *godparent* to him who you begat or bore]

Handlyng Synne survives in nine manuscripts, and was intended for the use of priests to read aloud to the English-speaking laity (Garrison 2010). It is moreover worth noting that the word *commare* does not appear in Mannyng's source, the *Manual de Pecchiez*, at this point. We can thus reasonably conclude that the word *commare* was in Mannyng's own linguistic repertoire. Furthermore, he was writing for the purpose of being understood by the laity, and thus had a motivation to make his language as intelligible as possible. It is also noteworthy that Mannyng includes no framework to gloss or translate this word, which Trotter considers as evidence that a loan has been naturalised (Trotter 2010: 60). It is therefore not unreasonable to suggest that this word would have been understood by English speakers (if solely by context in example [14]). Moreover, *commere* may have been understood from the Latin *commater* [godparent]. We can then conclude that, as well as being more widely used in Anglo-Norman sources, this word seems to have had a broader sense in Anglo-Norman than in Middle English, as attested in examples (12) and (13) from the *Manières*.[50] This likely caused some difficulty for users of the *Manières*.

By far the more widely-attested term in Middle English is *godmother*. Because *commere* is a loanword that competes with a native word, this makes it a 'prestige' borrowing (i.e. not motivated by 'need'). In other words, *commere* does not fill any communicative gap in English. Onysko and Winter-Froemel (2011: 1553) somewhat diplomatically call this a 'non-catachrestic' borrowing, adopting the term from classical rhetoric. As opposed to 'need' borrowings, this type of loanword, according to Onysko and

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[50] Mannyng also uses *cummater* in the same sense. For earlier Old English sources, *cumæðran* is found in glosses in ecclesiastical contexts (https://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doe/?E05208, accessed 26/03/2019). However, the first OED attestation for a 'gossip' sense appears in Scots in the 16th century, hinting at this meaning being a later influence.

Winter-Froemel, is more likely to convey M-implicature (of manner) because they are 'characterized by the existence of a semantic near-equivalent' (2011: 1555). This process can be described in terms of Levinsonian implicature. Levinson (2000: 138) discusses lexical doublets and rival word formations that contain implicatures of informativeness (I) and manner (M):

> a. "He was reading a book"
>
> I > "He was reading an ordinary book."
>
> b. "He was reading a tome"
>
> M > "He was reading some massive, weighty volume."

In this example, *book* has no adjunct connotations, and so it bears I-implicature, whereas the word *tome* does contain extra meanings, and thus it has M-implicature. In Gricean terms, *book* adheres to the maxim of manner, tome does not (one could argue that it represents obscurity of expression, and it adheres to a principle of style). To apply this to *commere*, as a non-catachrestic loanword, *commere* is likely to have had the associated M-implicature as outlined below:

> a. godparent
>
> I > A sponsor considered in relation to their godchild.
>
> b. commare
>
> M > A dialectal variation of this concept, particular to a certain group, register, or location

From these attestations we see that *commere* has a broader use in Anglo-Norman than in Middle English. This is an example of a word that has been adopted into English but has lost the additional meanings beyond the specific sense of 'godmother'. This means that while the English-speakers of a certain group, register, or location (as per the implicature outlined above) using the *Manières* would have understood *commere* in a semantically restricted sense, in their target language, *commere* had a broader sense. To return to the *book/tome* example, the pragmatic difficulty lies in the fact that the primary interpretation of *tome* for most L1 English speakers is that of a very heavy and intellectually dense book, whereas is French, *tome* only means a volume that forms part of a larger book or series (without the weighty sense). In French this might be 'un livre indigeste' or 'un livre volumineux'. This is a potential site of pragmatic difficulty in L2. In the case of *commere*, what this means is that when speaking in French as an L2, the learner may have used the word *commere* in the ecclesiastical sense, but may not have used it in the more general sense, or not have understood its appropriateness outside the ecclesiastical sphere. Indeed, it may have struck the English-speaking user of the *Manières* as odd to describe a *putevile* [prostitute] as a *commere*.

4.5 *Villein* and *ribaud*

I turn now to two address terms, *villein* and *ribaud* that have more overlapping meaning in both languages. In having largely the same meanings in both languages, such words may have facilitated the demonstration of certain grammatical points. That is to say, because the students may have recognised these address terms, they may have been able to learn the content of their reading materials better. Thus, the address terms may have functioned as a mnemonic. This effect may have been helped by their occurrence in pragmatically lively contexts, such as verbal abuse. The place and role of humour and obscenity in the dialogues will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Six; for now it is worth stating that humour was recognised as a legitimate pedagogical tool at this time. Although (as will be discussed further) it is not a given that cognates were readily detected, learners would have been able

to detect orthographic and phonologic similarity in order to assist them. I will firstly focus on the semantic similarities of the terms *villein* and *ribaud* between both languages, with a view to establishing their semantic overlap and examining their comparative implicatures in the two languages. I will then examine what this may tell us about the language-learning experience.

I will start with *villein*, which has multiple applications across the dialogues:

(15)   ces deaux mescheanx serront si friandes de lour viande q'ils le transglouteront sanz maschier […] Donqes dit l'un *villaine* a l'autre…

(CD 1396 : 18)

[These two wretches will be so greedy for their meat that they will eat it without chewing […] then, one *villein* says to the other…]

(16)   Tu mens, faulz *villain*

(OA 1399: 55)

[You're lying, false *villain*]

(17)   De la roigne auxi et de la duchesse, d'autrez damez et de la countesse, de la soer et sorceresse, de lez veillez, vewes et virgines, de lez ribaudes ou paillardez, putaignes, putevilez et *villayns*, larouns, felouns et traitours.

(CT 1415: 79)

[Of the queen also, and the duchess, of other ladies and of the countess, of the sister and sorceress, of the old, the widows and the virgins, of ribalds or scoundrels, whores, prostitutes and *villeins*, thieves, felons and traitors].

Villein is a word that participates in a broader phenomenon that C.S. Lewis termed the 'moralisation of status words' (1960: 21). This means that *villein* both described a specific rank of common person, and also functioned as an insult. Indeed, when one looks for *villein* in the *Historical Thesaurus*, we find that it falls under 03.01.06.02.02 ('specific ranks of common people') alongside *bond(man)*, *carl*, *bounde*, and *tyke*; but also under 02.02.10.04 ('contemptible person') alongside *wretch*, *harlot*, and *whelp*, and 03.06.05.02.01.05.03 ('baseness/moral vileness') along with *caitiff*, *craton* and *filth*.[51]

We can see this ambiguity in the above examples, especially (15), which is somewhat ambiguous. Here, the dialogue is between a gardener and a ditch-digger, people presumably of *villein* rank. The word *villein* may therefore be merely descriptive of rank. However, in the context of their unsavoury characterisation, the term could also be implying a negative value judgement of their character. This example demonstrates the duality of *villein*. In the *Manières* in general, the term seems to imply negative morals and bad character, as demonstrated in examples (16) and (17), in which *villein* is placed in close proximity to other abusive terms.

The first attestation of the insult-use of *villein* in English comes from *Handlyng Synne* (c.1303), in which Robert Mannying condemns people who make light of their sins:

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[51] The fact that *villein* fits into both descriptive and insulting categories relates to Jucker (2000: 375), who, in his discussion of verbal aggression in the *Canterbury Tales*, states that insults are not truth conditional. So, it is the untruth of calling a 'higher-born' person a *villein* produces the insult, since it attacks a person's rank and social status.

(18)   Goddys treytour, and ryȝt vyleyn!
          Hast þou no mynde of Marye Maudeleyn.

                              (*Handlyng Synne*, ll.11557-11558. Ed. Furnivall 1901)

      [God's traitor and right *villain*
      Have you no care of Mary Magdalen?]

As a non-catachrestic word, or 'prestige' loan, *villein* would perhaps bear M-implicature (of manner), and so have a more specific meaning. In theory, the learners using the *Manières* as their guide would recognise this word as English and it would have had additional associated concepts of servitude, not belonging to other English synonyms for a 'contemptible' or 'morally vile' person such as *caitiff* or *wretch* (the longest-standing synonym, from Old English). This is because *villein* is the only word belonging to both categories of 'specific ranks of common people' and 'contemptible person' in the Historical Thesaurus.

To illustrate this point, when we look at *villein* alongside another widely-used and long-standing term, *wretch*, it is clear that they encapsulate very similar ideas as an insult (feelings of contempt, a person who is base and morally bankrupt). However, whereas *wretch* also encompasses additional meanings, these are quite general (and are also related to the idea of the person described being 'base' or 'low'). *Villein*, on the other hand, also bears the very specific meaning of 'a class of serf'. This meaning does not necessarily include a pejorative sense. For instance, in example (15), no pejorative sense is perceptible at all.

Figure 4.9 A semantic comparison of *wretch* and *villein* (adapted from the OED)

Wretch	*Villein*
Insult: A vile, sorry, or despicable person; one of opprobrious or reprehensible character; a mean or contemptible creature	Insult: an unprincipled or depraved scoundrel a man of ignoble ideas or instincts a low-born [contempt] base-minded rustic
Also: A miserable, unhappy, or unfortunate person; a poor or hapless being	Also: One of the class of serfs in the feudal system

Villein has more specific connotations than *wretch*, and was perhaps borrowed (and survived) for this reason; corresponding to pragmatic motivations for borrowing such as 'establishing or enhancing precision', 'conveying tone', and 'increasing variation of expression' (Galinsky 1967: 71). If this is true, this would suggest an element of M-implicature for *villein*. The question remains, however, whether the subsequent ubiquity of *villein* suggests an evolution towards I-implicature. Nevertheless, we can say that in both Anglo-Norman and Middle English, *villein* was a word that could both serve as a descriptor for a rank of serf, and also as an insult. Although perhaps a more specialised insult in Middle English (due to the additional specific concept of 'serf') the learners using the dialogues would have likely understood the meaning of *villein* in the same sense as in the target language.

Ribaud is another Anglo-Norman word, also recognisable as English, that appears in the *Manières* in a similar sense. It appears in such insults as

(19)   *Ribaud*, vous baserez le cul au deable.

                                (OA 1399: 55)

[*Ribaud*, kiss the devil's arse]

Ribaud also participates in the 'moralisation of status words' phenomena, in that, according to the OED, this word had two main senses: a person of 'low social status, esp. regarded as worthless or good-for-nothing; a rascal, vagabond' or 'one of a band of undisciplined camp followers or pillagers moving with, in advance of, or behind the main body of an army'. Unusually, while this is reflected in the MED, the AND does not contain a record for the specific sense of 'pillagers'; although this in itself does not say much because the DMF does have this sense.

The OED record states that this word had been in the English written record since 1250, more than a century before the *Manières*, and so would not have been considered as a 'foreign word' by language-learners encountering the dialogues. Indeed, it appears in this rather colourful Middle English complaint-poem in Harley 2253 (c.1331-1341):

(20)   Of rybauds Y ryme ant red o my rolle,
         Of gedelynges, gromes, of Colyn ant of Colle,
         Harlotes, hors-knaves, bi pate ant by polle —
         To Devel Ich hem tolyvre, ant take to tolle!

(*Of Rybauds* ll.1-4. ed. and trans. Greer Fein 2015)

         [Of rascals I rhyme and recount in my roll,
         Of low rogues, grooms, of Colin and of Colle,
         Scoundrels, horse-knaves, by pate and by head —
         I deliver them to the Devil, and offer tribute!

The poet, describing the 'pretensions of low-born horse grooms', complains that they are anything besides 'chivalric' in a 'riotous jumble of alliterative invective and coarse insult' (Greer Fein: 2015). When one looks this word up in the Historical Thesaurus, one finds that *ribaud* competes with a lot of words encompassing the same concept (02.03.03.04.01 'worthless person'), such as *losel*, *wastour*, *dog*, and *bretheling*. When one examines these terms and their adjunct concepts (using evidence from the OED), one may see varying degrees of specificity, from the more general *dog* to the more specific *ribaud*:

Figure 4.10 Adjunct meanings in *ribaud* synonyms

Dog	Waster	Ribaud
a worthless or contemptible person	a worthless person	worthless or good-for-nothing
Also: a wretch, a cur	Also: One who lives in idleness and extravagance; 'ne'er-do-well'	Also: a person of low social status; a rascal, vagabond.
		Also: Undisciplined camp follower or pillager moving with, in advance of, or behind the main body of an army

Again, as with *villein*, *ribaud* bears another very specific meaning, compared with its synonyms. However, it remains open to speculation whether the popularity and longevity of *ribaud* meant that it acquired more I-implicature at the time of the *Manières*. Nevertheless, *ribaud* will have retained its adjunct meaning, rendering it more specific than the other synonyms.

It would appear that the meanings of *ribaud* and *villein* did not alter that much in English from the time of their borrowing to the time of the *Manières*. The fact that the semantics seem to be relatively stable in these two pilot cases suggests two things. Firstly, it reinforces the existing research that suggests intimate and prolonged contact between Middle English and Anglo-Norman. Secondly, we now know that these words would likely have been understood in their 'pragmatically appropriate' sense in French. Such words likely started out as technical terms that acquired new meanings during the prolonged period of French as an L1 in Britain.

It is worth dwelling on the potential pedagogical effect of such words. In recognising these terms, the language learners may have stood a better chance at remembering the grammatical content due to mnemonic effects and relatability to their own lived experiences. For example, if an English-speaking student recognised the sentence-initial term *ribaud* in the phrase:

(21)   Ribaud, vous estez digne d'estre perdu.

(OA 1399: 55)

        [lit. Rogue, you are deserving to be damned]

This word may have grabbed their attention, especially if they recognised *ribaud* from emotionally charged exchanges, such as confrontations. This relates to the importance of the language-learning environment, as expressed by Oller et al. (2007). The context within which the learners would have first encountered these terms is an important consideration. For terms such as *ribaud* and *villein*, it is likely that the learners would have encountered them already in English, since it is not impossible that disputes (in which these would have been aggressive address terms) or conversations with non-French-speaking labourers (i.e. *villeins*) would have happened in the public sphere. Indeed, a student may have identified the context for this word (confrontation) and put effort into learning the rest of the phrase as a helpful insult to learn when, for example, they were attacked on the road. In this instance, relatability to lived experience is a motivational factor for learning the rest of the phrase marked out by the sentence-initial *ribaud* or *villein*. The student would subsequently link the rest of the utterance to the emotionally marked word, thereby taking in information about a complex sentence structure (*vous estez digne d'estre perdu*).

This hypothesis can be related to the concept of phraseology, the study of fixed expressions and multi-word units. Particularly in the case of the insults, one can imagine that these would be used in situations for which the learner would need a particularly fast recall (e.g. being attacked). Although nothing has yet been done on the effect of cognates on language learning (particularly at the sentence or phrase-level) and recall, it is a possibility that these are linked in language learning, particularly in light of evidence that learners gravitate towards features they recognise from their own language. For example, in a phraseological study of native and advanced L2 speakers of English, it has been shown that learners of English rely on a small number of common collocations, but underuse target language EAP (English for Academic Purposes) units such as *claim that*, *the issue of*, *a strong argument* (De Cock 2003: 364). Likewise, De Cock (2003) demonstrates that French learners of English avoid multi-word units with no corresponding forms in French (e.g. *sort of*), misapply phrases that mimic French phrases (e.g. *in fact* and *en fait*) and use literal translations from French phrases that sound unusual to native speakers

of English (e.g. *according to me* for *selon moi*). What seems evident is that learners gravitate towards what they understand from their own lexicon, be it phrases or words. The question here would be whether that pull towards a recognisable word such as *villein* and *ribaud* would extend to the memorisation of the surrounding phrasal units in the insults. In sum, the fact that *ribaud* and *villein* were likely part of the learners' L1 lexicon, alongside the irreverent subject matter, could mean that the words acted as mnemonics for extra information, such as verb morphology (*vous estez*) and structures such as past-tense verbs acting as adjectives (*d'estre perdu*). The positive effect of verbal mnemonic on language acquisition has been widely studied for individual words (see Paivio & Desroches [1981] and Wyra et al. [2007] for overview), but this is not the case for full phrases. To my knowledge, work has yet to be done to answer this question: does the presence of emotion-laden cognates enhance the learning of a wider phrasal unit?[52] This is interesting to consider but is yet to be proved.

4.6 Conclusion

The *Manières* uses several address terms that may have been recognisable to English users of the treatise; some may even have been perceived as English. The dialogues also feature several cognates that sit at different places on the continuum between total semantic overlap and what are commonly known as 'false friends' in modern language pedagogy. For instance, the word *commere* possibly lost meaning from Anglo-Norman to Middle English, and so learners may have encountered pragmatic difficulty with the word in a French context because they may have understood *commere* in a more restricted, ecclesiastical sense. It is interesting to note that this is the only term (from the terms under discussion) for which the *Manières* provides explicit metapragmatic commentary, which was presumably designed to highlight the word's different usage in Middle English and Anglo-Norman. The author of the 1396 version therefore seems to have been aware that 'false friends' are, or can be, a pedagogical stumbling block. One could even argue that the repeated use of the word in this short extract (3 times in 11 utterances) presents us with a calculated attempt to ensure English users of the *Manières* would notice and internalise the discrepancy. On the other hand, the *Manières* also feature terms that are unlikely to have caused much confusion, like *ribaud* and *villein*, but are likely to have been recognised as English. To some extent, the presence of such terms may have been without added pedagogical value, but it is certainly not impossible that the author hoped such words might have acted as a mnemonic to remember the surrounding content. The study of nominal address terms again reinforces the view of the *Manières* as thoughtful language teaching tracts, both in their use of pedagogical aids (such as metapragmatic information and mnemonics) and in terms of their intent to teach pragmatically competent French.

Due to their consciously bilingual context as language manuals, the *Manières* also serve as particularly valuable texts to test wider issues of loanword naturalisation, namely whether such words would have been perceived as 'English' and by whom, and what effect this may have had. It is hoped that the methods used in this chapter will be applicable to different texts and contexts in order to generate further research on this topic.

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[52] What furthermore makes such study difficult in this area is that the boundaries between English and French in medieval Britain are not always clear-cut, and there is a large shared lexicon.

Chapter Five: *Certez, vous promistez trop petit*: sales negotiation in the *Manières.*

5.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter will be sales encounters in the *Manières*, and what they may tell us about both the nature of haggling and different approaches to language pedagogy during this period. There are several conversations within the *Manières* that explicitly deal with mercantile interaction. In the 1396 family, there are 4 sales conversations; there are 2 conversations that take place at the marketplace in the 1399 family; and 2 marketplace business interactions within the 1415 dialogues. These conversations vary broadly in terms of length and pragmatic complexity of the utterances. Indeed, the conversations in the 1415 tradition are *nominalia* [word lists] introduced by a very brief exchange. The 1399 conversations are slightly longer, but with no named speakers or product, and utterances that are generally one or two phrases long. By contrast, the 1396 exchanges are the most embellished, with more developed characters and often long and florid conversational turns. It is common for manuscripts to include a couple of conversations from different traditions:

Figure 5.1 Distribution of mercantile conversations in the *Manières* manuscripts

1396								
Poultry merchant		LH	OA					
Fish merchant	LA	LH			CD			PN
Draper's apprentice			OA					
Clothes mender		LH	OA		CD			
1399								
Market scene			OA			CA		
Another market scene			OA		CD	CA	CI	
1415								
The market at Woodstock	LA							CT
The market at Winchester				OB	CD			

In this chapter, I intend to pursue two lines of enquiry. Firstly, I intend to explore the sophisticated nature of such dialogues, in light of research on 'positioning' (the process by which liberties and duties are assigned to interlocutors according to their 'roles' within a given conversation). While mercantile dialogues in the *Manières* have a stable conversational structure, it will be revealed that there is much variation within these at the level of utterances. Therefore, both the macro and micro structures of these conversations will be examined in greater detail, and I will moreover argue that these dialogues demonstrate an awareness of the importance of positioning in haggling for a mutually-beneficial deal between vendor and buyer. This argument contradicts assumptions that the language used in the *Manières* is 'français élémentaire' [elementary French; Kristol (2001: 151)], and will occupy most of the present chapter. Although the language is not always grammatically accurate, I argue that it is *socially* sophisticated. This take on the *Manières* as teaching a French competence that is far from basic is further supported by my analysis of the two different approaches to pedagogy evidenced in mercantile dialogues. Some of the mercantile dialogues are comparatively more elaborate, with longer, discursive utterances, narrative framework, and more meticulous character construction; some of the dialogues contain very terse utterances, no narrative framework, and no reference to characters. I argue that these latter dialogues adopt a different style of pedagogy more akin to modern-day phrasebooks, with stock phrases intended to be memorised and recycled, rather than a pedagogy that involves detail to discursive manoeuvres, ongoing relational positioning, and facework. This study uses such clues in

the *Manières* to imagine a pedagogical continuum of social teaching to utilitarian phraseology, and thus adds more to our understanding of these texts as multifaceted and sophisticated teaching tools.

The focus on sales encounters in the *Manières* addresses a very salient function of the dialogues: how to successfully conduct business. This would have been a main reason to use these books for many learners, in a context in which French was a mercantile *lingua franca* (Kowaleski 2009). In fact, noting the abundance of content apparently directed towards travellers and merchants, Rothwell (2001) makes the following remark about the *Manières* in a trade context:

> the *Manières* represent a modernization of the type of instruction offered by Bibbesworth: they too are intended not for clerks bent over their desks, copying or drafting letters, deeds, wills and the like, but for nobles or rich merchants travelling in France or elsewhere and needing to use *the accepted language of trade*
>
> (Rothwell 2001:17; emphasis my own)

Indeed, later writers of pedagogical dialogues explicitly spell out the benefits of learning French, making explicit reference to mercantile activity:

(1)   Here is a good boke to lerne speke Frensshe.
        In the name of the fader and ye sonne
        And of the holy goost I wyll begynne
        To lerne to speke frenche
        Soo that I maye *doo my marchaundyse*
        In fraunce and elles where in other londes
        There as the folke speke frensshe

(Wynken de Worde, *Here begynneth a lytell treatyse for to lerne Englysshe and Frensshe*,
1497; emphasis mine)

When we look at the sales encounters represented in the *Manières*, then, we are probably looking at the materials that some merchants, tradesmen, and businessmen used to learn how to conduct successful business in French. This is an unrivalled insight into how learners acquired French for the specific purpose of trade. Such conversations would have been of particular importance to learners due to the economic benefits to be gained from successful trade deals. For the later Early Modern English dialogues, Becker (2002: 276) states that '[i]t was the main intention of the model dialogues to enable their users — many of them involved in trade, travelling and other commercial activities — to communicate successfully, both on a linguistic and on a societal level'. Success here is not solely defined as linguistic (being understood in L2), but social; being able to successfully bargain for the best deal in a second language. This invokes Gallagher's (2014) notion of dialogues as a 'speech-directed' text type, that were viewed to transfer over into spoken discourse in real-life situations.

This chapter is primarily focused on the act of haggling, which was variably known in Middle English as *chepen*, *chaffaren*, *bargainen*, *treten* and in Anglo-Norman as *bargainer*, *compromettre*, *entrecommuner*, and *entreter*. As part of haggling, interlocutors must put forward propositions and requests, which are subsequently met by counter-requests, refusals, or acceptance. In order for such mercantile interactions to be successful, it would have been imperative for the *Manières* users to learn how to formulate requests and refusals as part of negotiation. Requests and refusals, the speech acts that are at the heart of negotiation, are especially challenging due to their face-threatening nature (Bella: 2012 2014; Brown & Levinson: 1987). Requests and refusals may both threaten an addressee's

negative face, in seeking to prevent total freedom of action, while refusals are also threatening to an addressee's positive face by indicating discontentment with an interlocutor's suggestion or request, thereby violating their desire to have their ideas approved of by other members of society (Barron, 2003:128). In response to this social difficulty, requests and refusals can incorporate numerous strategies, all aimed at mitigating the risk of offence. Stavans and Webman Shafran (2018: 150) find that 'the appropriate choice of the strategies depends on sociolinguistic variables such as the relative social status of the interlocutors, social distance between them, age and culture'. This social and pragmatic complexity naturally poses a problem for language learners seeking to be both linguistically and socially 'successful' (see Stavans & Webman Shafran [2018] for an overview). As such acts are central to negotiation, I will make brief reference to some of the abundant literature on requests and refusals, but this will not be central to my argument. Additionally, while theories of politeness could be fruitfully applied to these conversations (particularly looking at the mixing of direct and indirect strategies), and while I will refer to facework in this chapter, a full consideration is beyond the scope of the present work.

Sales encounters are well-defined interactions with a very definite purpose in mind. Moreover, they are particularly interesting because they are simultaneously combative and symbiotic. In these exchanges, the shared goal of the buyer and the seller is to reach a mutually-beneficial agreement, for which both parties need to negotiate, asserting themselves while simultaneously being as polite as possible to the interlocutor. This dynamic does not readily accord with traditional accounts of power relationships. For instance, Kristol, in his analyses of refusal in the *Manières*, states that 'la société médiéval telle qu'elle se manifeste dans ces textes, est marquée par un système de classes (ou des castes)' [medieval society, such as is manifest in these texts, is marked by a system of class (or caste)] (2013: 134). He moreover suggests that it is this caste-based worldview that defines the actions of characters; for example, masters always initiate conversation and give orders, while vassals are always given acquiescing response formulae (2013: 135-136). However, in the context of mercantile negotiation, Brown and Gilmanesque models of 'power' versus 'powerless' are not always a useful analytical framework because both actors have a degree of agency, and both must cooperate in order to reach a bargain. If a buyer held the position of authority, then they would not need to bother with politeness formulae in request formulations, they would simply order that a given action be done (over the course of this chapter it will become evident that there were, in fact, a wide range of request formulations). Rather, I will put forward the view that the communicative conundrum of sales negotiation involves allocating rights and responsibilities that the interlocutors must adhere to as closely as possible. This is a process known as 'positioning' (Harré & Van Langenhove 1999; Harré 2003, 2012), and will be discussed in this chapter as a metric with which to understand conversational manoeuvres that occur during haggling.

I will first make a few brief remarks on sales and service encounter research, which has proved to be a particularly productive and dynamic field of study for all manner of reasons, from the structure of discourse (speech acts, conversational turns), to politeness (often incorporating face theory). In particular, the study of service encounters has drawn in many scholars concerned with manifestations of (im)politeness, particularly in such an institutional arrangement (see the overview in Rosina Márquez Reiter and Patricia Bou-Franch [2017]). An example of recent research can be found in Norrby et al. (2018), who find discrepancies in address behaviours which can be ascribed to the participants' roles (patron or staff), age, and situational circumstances (location), as well as events that occur during the interaction (such as difficulties, challenges, or sensitive topics). Studies such as these

highlight the importance of both specific, localised contexts and macro contexts, both of which will be examined in this chapter.

5.2 Previous research in sales encounters

'Encounter' is a word that is often used in this field to describe sales dialogues. This is following Goffman's (1961: 17) definition of an encounter as a particularly focused social arrangement 'that occurs when persons are in one another's immediate physical presence'. Although the introduction of online sales platforms has somewhat altered this definition, and research around it, this would not have been so for medieval merchants. Sales encounters are also described as a 'joint activity' between service provider and service seeker who both must share a common ground and goal (Clark 1996, Félix-Brasdefer 2015), and in which '[p]oliteness practices and face considerations (the need for association and dissociation) play a central role […] in light of the expected sociocultural norms of service providers and service seekers in communities of practice' (Félix-Brasdefer 2015: 1). Therefore, the collaborative nature of such dialogues evades traditionally-used binary notions of power. One outcome of this uneasy dynamic is the presence of non-transactional talk (for example, jokes or discussion about the weather), which serves to maintain positive social relationships and 'enhance discourse flow' (Félix-Brasdefer 2015: 8). This is defined against the expected transactional talk, which is the task-orientated negotiation discourse. It is this latter kind of talk that dominates the sales encounters in the *Manières*:

(2)   Ditez, a combien cest cy? Ditez, coment le averey je?
         Le vuillez vous avoir?
         Voire, sire, ditez a un mot.
         Sire, vous me donrez tant pour ce.
         Nemy, sire, sauve vostre grace, ce est trop.
         Et que me donrez vous donques?
         Ditez coment le me donrez vous a droit.
         Vous le averez a bon marché.
         Ditez a un mot et ne tarjez plus.
         Par mon seurement, sire, vous ne le averez rien mains.
         Sire, il ne vault pas le argent.
         Sir, coment le voillez vous avoire?
         Le averey je pour tant d'argentz?
         Nemy, sire, il me couste plus.
         Dites en bone foie coment l'avera jeo.
         Sire, direy je a un mot?
         Voire, pour Dieu.
         Par saint Jaque, vous me donrez tant. Sire, a un mot, prennez ou laissez.
         Vraiement, vous ne averez plus pour moy. Prennez vostre argent si vous vuillez. Ditez,
         n'avez vous point de meilleur a vendre?
         Marie, sire, ce est tresbon. Et encore je vous trouverey tresmeilleur et tresbonnes denrees.
         Et a combien?
         Sire, il vaut centz solides.
         Certez, il est trope chere.

                                                                                    (OA 1399: 61-62)

         [Buyer: Tell me, how much is this? Say, how will I have it?
         Seller: Do you want to have it?

Indeed, sir, tell me at one word.
Sir, you will give me X amount
No, sir, with all respect, that's too much.
And what will you give me then?
Tell me how you will give it to me precisely/justly53
You will have it at good value.
Tell me at one word and don't delay any longer.
By my oath, sir, you will not have it at all for less.
Sir, it's not worth the money.
Sir, how do you want to have it?
Can I have it for X amount?
No, sir, it cost me more.
Say in good faith how I can have it.
Sir, shall I say in one word?
Truly, by God.
By Saint James, you will give me X. Sir, at one word, take it or leave it.
Truly, you will not have more from me. Take your money, if you wish. Say, do you not
have anything better for sale?
By Mary, sir, This here is very good, and I will find you better yet at a very good price.
And at how much?
Sir, it's worth 100 shillings.
Truly, that's too much.]

However, instead of concluding that these dialogues are perfunctory and solely functional, it can be argued that the way in which transactional speech acts (i.e. asking for price, discussing quality of product) are phrased can itself constitute as relational. Indeed, for Early Modern sales dialogues, not sticking to task could be seen as a '(missing) readiness to co-operate' Becker (2002: 286, 291). By keeping the utterances on-task, a speaker demonstrates their willingness to do business, which can be construed as a form of relational talk (even though this approach can sound foreign to a modern-day perspective). It could be argued that for the earlier, medieval context, utterances that deviate from the task at hand (and that look like the modern-day 'relational talk') are not customary, and indeed, not seen as appropriate. One could argue that sticking to task is itself relational, as it positions the buyer/seller as a willing and enthusiastic participant in the conversation. In fact, this conversational principle can be directly related to Grice's maxim of relevance (1975), which forms part of the cooperative principle, the goal of which is to achieve mutual conversational goals. Here, it appears more conversationally desirable to produce utterances that directly relate to the task at hand (haggling).

In light of this brief review of the literature, one can say that judicious use of language accomplishes the task of haggling while maintaining positive face, despite the potentially face-threatening nature of the speakers' goals. The particular mercantile context is the site where this action is grounded, and thus can shape the language used. This can materialise as particular stock phrases or constructions. Indeed, service encounters are characterised by stable elements and structures that happen in a particular order (such as greetings, asking for a product or service, requesting the transfer of money from client to service provider). Alongside being particularly codified, a service encounter can be described as a task-orientated interaction. Sometimes, such encounters are accompanied with explicit official rules and procedures. Within institutional settings, interlocutors are often categorised as either

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53 *A droit* can mean both, but it is impossible to determine which sense is being used here.

"professional" and "lay", each with distinct rights and responsibilities (Drew and Heritage 1992: 47-49). In such discourses, 'a strict turn-taking system is applied which constrains certain participants to certain types of interactional activities' (Cerović 2016: 18). This process of categorisation, which defines the nature of the conversation according to rights and responsibilities of interlocutors, is elsewhere described as 'positioning', which I prefer as a framework with which to understand the sales encounters of the *Manières*. Traditional power-based analyses, while perhaps useful in other areas, do not take full account of the complexities of the sales encounter, outlined above. The model of inferiority and superiority, while not invalid, is perhaps too heavy-handed in the specific context of sales, otherwise a buyer would simply order that a product be given to them rather than request after it. Indeed, to take power as a given would overlook much of the complexity of service encounters, and moreover inadvertently underestimate the oftentimes sophisticated facework that is carried out.

5.3 Positioning

A slightly more nuanced and dynamic approach to such encounters is 'positioning'. Harré (2012) describes this as the 'process by which rights and duties are assigned, ascribed, or appropriated and resisted, rejected, or repudiated' (2012: 196). This process can be implicit ('unchallenged patterns of action') or explicit (conventions and rules). This happens in phases: 'pre-positioning' is the process whereby certain qualities are attributed to a person, such as capability, biography, morality, either on the basis of available evidence or pre-conceived prejudices. The analysis of pre-positioning is subsequently 'used as grounds for the distribution […] and deletion of rights' in a given interaction or relationship (Harré 2012: 196). For example, a medical doctor might be pre-positioned by a patient as 'capable' on the basis of their degree and subsequent years of practical experience, and is thus seen to possess a 'duty of care' which the patient has entitlement to receive. In the case of mercantile interactions, a merchant may be positioned as 'reliable' or 'devious' based on their reputation, the buyer's prior experience, or popular tropes about merchants. Indeed, there is a section preceding one conversation in the *Manières* where a draper's apprentice is accused of laziness and womanising, and over the course of the conversation, he is revealed to owe large sums of money to his debtors (CD: 1396, 19-20). Debray and Spencer-Oatey (2019: 17) find that 'the focus on rights and obligations that positioning theory emphasises seems to go well with other relational approaches in pragmatics'.

The process of positioning moreover follows 'storylines' such as 'insider/outsider' or 'buyer and customer', which are interpreted by interlocutors over the course of an interaction according to normative expectations. So, '[p]ositions are thus dynamic, emergent, and subject to negotiation over the course of an interactional episode' (Debray and Spencer-Oatey 2019: 17). To adapt this to the concerns of the present chapter, here is a proposed storyline of buyer and seller, who each have their own rights and duties:

Figure 5.2 Proposed mercantile 'storyline'

BUYER	SELLER
Responsibilities:	Responsibilities:
Be reasonable	Be reasonable
Be cooperative	Be cooperative
Rights:	Rights:
Buy at lowest possible price	Sell at highest possible price

We can see immediately that according to this storyline, the interlocutors' duties are mutual, but their rights are mutually exclusive. During a sales interaction, these rights make demands on duties, but, as soon as it is argued that the interlocutor's duties are not being performed, then the transaction risks breaking down. Indeed, this break down happens in a service conversation in the CD and CI manuscripts (the latter is found in Södergård [1953: 213-215]). In contrast to the conversations I will discuss later in the chapter, the utterances in this exchange are very short. They are contained within CI, which is the only manuscript besides LL to contain interlinear translation, which Kristol (1995: xxxvi) sees as indicative of a later tendency to teach French in English in the 15th century. I shall return to this exchange in the final phase of the chapter. In the following exchange, taken from CI edited by Södergård (1953: 213-215), I have marked moments where the interlocutors' rights and duties are implicated negatively (italicised) and positively (underlined):

(3) Vendor: <u>Ditez</u>, vueillez ce la?
  <u>Saie</u>, wil ye that there?

  Buyer: Oy sir, il est bon pour moy.
  Yee sir, it is good for me.

  Vendor:<u> Ditez, coment le vueilliez doner</u>? Sir, vous durrez moy tant.
  <u>Saie, howe wil ye yeve it</u>? Sir, ye shal yeve so moche.

  Buyer: Nony sir, *ne vault pas tant*. <u>Ditez a un mot coment l'avera</u>.
  Nay sir, *it is not worth so moch*. <u>Saie at one worde, how shal I have it</u>.
  Vendor: Sir, coment le vueilliez vous aver?
  Sir, how wil ye have hit?

  Buyer: *Ne vous durray tant d'argent.*
  I ne shal yeve so moch silver.

  Vendor: Certez, *vous promistez trop petit.*
  Certain, *ye bede me to litel.*

  Buyer: Ditez, <u>qu'est le mot draine</u>?
  Saie, <u>what is the last worde</u>?

Vendor: Sir, a un mot *ne lez averez meyns.*
Sir, at oo worde *ye it shal have noo lasse.*

Buyer: Certez, *le fetez trop.* Quar *il ne vault pas tant d'argent.*
Certain, *thou boughtest to dere.* For *it is not worth so moch silver.*

Vendor: Sir, <u>je trovera vous melior,</u> se vous vueilliez.
Sir, <u>I shal finde you better,</u> if ye wil.

Buyer: Ore moustrez lez moy donquez.
Nowe shew it me thenne.

Vendor: Sir, veiez cy bone chose.
Sir, see her good thinge.

Buyer: Ore, de quel price est ce cy?
Now, of what price is this here?

Vendor: Sir, verrament vault tant.
Sir, for soth it is worth so moch.

Buyer: Nony, mez je vous durray tant pour ce la. Tenez un dener a dieu en orneis.[54] Certez, je ne vous durray plus.
Nay, but I shal yeve so moch therfore. Holde a godis peny in ernest. For soth, I ne shal yeue noo moor.

(CI edited by Södergård 1953: 213-215)

There seems to be a mixture of both positive and negative positioning tactics occurring over the course of this conversation. It is relatively easy to spot the utterances that negatively implicate the rights and duties of buyer and seller. These utterances, which largely appear to outnumber the positive ones, such as: 'Ne vous durray tant d'argent' [I will not give you so much money], 'le fetez trop' [you demand too much], 'vous promistez trop petit' [you promise too little], and 'ne vault pas tant' [it is not worth so much], all imply that the addressee is not delivering on their obligations to be reasonable and to be cooperative. However, utterances marked as positive may be viewed as slightly more ambiguous. These utterances, such as 'Ditez, coment le vueilliez doner?' [Say, how much do you wish to give?], and 'Ditez a un mot coment l'avera' [Tell me at one word how I will have it], ostensibly place the addressee into a position where they can explicitly assert their rights in the form of a preferred price. However, this freedom, while apparently affording more space for the addressee to assert their rights, also forces them to provide the 'starting point' for the bargaining, and thus potentially puts them in a more vulnerable negotiating position. Additionally, the phrase 'qu'est le mot draine?' [what is the last word ?] demands specificity from the response, which both puts the addressee in the position to assert their preference, while also placing them in a vulnerable bargaining position, for it is at this point that the interlocuter can respond to this final word by refusing and thereby ending the negotiation. In this

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[54] As an aside, *orneis* (meaning 'earnest') is a possible transfer interference from Middle English into the French written here. There is no record for this word in either the AND or the DMF. This utterance is in itself interesting as an insight into how to behave if a transaction breaks down.

conversation, after asserting his final word, the vendor tries to offer the buyer another product, but to no avail.

Across the dialogues, further positioning tactics may be found. Negotiation is, according to Lebsanft, 'a conflictive game [therefore] it follows that its success, to a large degree, depends on controlling how the discussion of the terms is conducted' (1999:281). One method of discourse control is discussion of the product, where the foundations for the sales discussion are laid. Whereas Becker (2002: 282) describes this as a 'warm-up' to negotiation in her study of Early Modern dialogues, I argue that it likely holds another function as a positioning tactic, in line with Bös (2007: 227). If the quality of the product is found to be lacking, then this gives the buyer a bargaining chip to lower the price; alternatively, if the quality of the product is argued to be good, then the vendor has more leverage to increase the price. Discussion of the product is particularly used as a positioning tactic by vendors in the *Manières*, either from the outset, or when challenged by the buyer over inflated prices:

(4)   Buyer: Mon amy, c'est trop chere bien pres la moitee.

       Vendor: Savez vous que vous ferez? Vous me donnrez pour ces trois madlardes de rivere noef deniers, car ils sont bien bons, gros et gras, et je me fais fort que vous ne mangastes, sentistes ne maniastez au deux ans passez du millours qu'ils ne sont. Ore regardez, biau sire, comment ils sont rampliz du sain.

       Buyer: Oil dea, je le veoi bien, mais vrayement vous demandez trop

                                                                          (LH 1396: 38)

       [Buyer: My friend, that's too expensive by almost half.

       Vendor: Do you know what you'll do ? You will give me nine pence for these ducks, since they are so good, large and fat, and I am assured that you have never eaten, tasted or handled in these past two years any better than these. Now look, good sir, how full of fat they are.

       Buyer: Yes by God, I see that, but you are really demanding too much]

In the above conversation, the salesman, in response to an accusation of inflated prices, describes his ducks as 'bien bons, gros et gras' [so good, large and fat] and 'rampliz du sain' [full of fat]. The buyer in this conversation is forced to agree, and this act of concession puts him in a more vulnerable bargaining position, since the onus falls to him to justify why he should still pay less for a good product (and thus violate the vendor's rights according to the positioning 'storyline'). He subsequently resorts to attacking the vendor, accusing him of being disproportionately unreasonable (in comparison with other vendors). This implicitly invokes his own rights as buyer, and furthermore implies that the vendor is not acting on his duties:

(5)   Si Dieu m'ait, *vous estes le plus cher homme ov qui j'ay marchandee cest annee*, car j'en avrai aillours trois aussi bons anes comme ils sont pour sept deniers, mais il ne peut chaloir, car un autre fois je m'aviserai mieulx.

                                                                          (LH 1396: 38)

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[So help me God, *you are the most expensive man from whom I've bought this year*, because elsewhere I would have had three ducks of equal quality for seven pence, but no matter, because I will be better advised next time.]

Indeed, one could categorise the utterance above as an insult, which is blatant to the modern eye. However, the fact that it has been established that the product is good is invoked by the vendor in his response, which demonstrates the importance of the prior discussion of the quality of the product as setting the parameters for the subsequent negotiation:

(6)   'Par saint Pol, je sai bien que non avrez si bons de la price en toute ce ville, car j'en sui certain que vous ne vistes aucques mais du millours anes qu'ils ne sont'

(LH 1396: 38)

[By Saint Paul, I know well that you would not have such good ducks for this price in all this town, because I'm certain that you have never seen better ducks than these]

In fact, the buyer in this instance 'loses' the negotiation and pays the seller his full asking price. This brief examination of positioning, rather than 'power', as a way to view the lively sales encounters in the *Manières*, has sought to examine the fluctuating dynamics of such conversations in a way that better accounts for the range of discursive manoeuvres that may be observed across the conversations. I will now go into these in more detail.

5.4 The macrostructure of mercantile haggling
Although these conversations may be described as dynamic, I will argue here that their overall structure (or 'macrostructure') is in fact rather stable. I will first consider the macro-structure of two sales encounters in the *Manières* before discussing the localised structures in greater detail. I am only able to examine two in detail for space concerns. However, these dialogues are representative of the overall structure of other sales encounters in the *Manières*. In her study of Early Modern mercantile dialogues, Becker (2002: 277) argues that it is correct sequencing according to certain pragmatic principles that results in material success, this results in a standardised mercantile behaviour. Becker's sequence of conversational events, based on her observations of Early Modern sales encounters, is as follows:

1.   Opening phase: initiation (usually the buyer) -> demand for price ('at one word' – speakers often avoid to name a specific sum for as long as possible) -> pre-bargain (discussion of the quality of the goods) -> mention of price triggers central unit of sales talk
2.   Buying and selling
3.   Handing over of goods and ritualised farewells

(Becker 2002: 282-283)

This model views the sales encounter as having three phases which are comprised of a progression of 'sub-phases'. Elsewhere, Bös (2007) looks at both global and local structures, and articulates the service encounter through a sequence of conversational moves that are more aligned on the level of Becker's sub-phases:

Establishing Contact
Service Bid: Seller offers their wares
Need presentation: customer articulates their needs.
Pre-bargaining: 'Both customer and seller try to create for themselves a good position for the price discussion that is to follow' (Bös 2007: 227)

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Bargaining: interlocutors haggle over the price of goods.
Purchase decision: buyer articulates a decision as to whether to proceed with the purchase
Purchase realisation: 'the actual exchange of money and goods'

<div align="right">(Bös 2007: 227)</div>

I will subsume Bös's conversational moves under Becker's more general account of conversational 'phases' (marked by capital letters in the tables below). It will be shown below that the mercantile conversations in the *Manières* largely follow the macro structure articulated by both Bös and Becker, demonstrating the stable structure of these encounters, as outlined in the broader literature earlier in the chapter. Regarding localised formulae, I will underline points of particular interest, which I will then analyse in light of the framework of positioning theory. Specifically, I will mark out indirect formulae, rhetorical questions, and Face-Threatening Acts (FTAs). This is by no means an exhaustive list, and there are many additional features that would make for illuminating discussion of premodern negotiation.

The first conversation, quoted earlier, takes place in the 1396 *Manières* (LH 1396: 38). It takes place between a poultry vendor and a servant character, Janyn, who acts as the buyer. The following interaction includes bartering that, to the modern eye, is so stark that it borders on insult (of course, we cannot assume this to be the case in a medieval context). Here, it is the vendor who 'wins' the bargaining[55]:

Turn	Utterance type(s)	Macro structure
Buyer: Biau sire, <u>comment faitez vous de cecy</u>? *Vel sic:* Belle dame, pour quantbien me donnrez vous cecy? *Vel sic:* Que vous donnrai je de cy? *Vel sic:* Quantbien me costera ces trois anes de rivere? [Good sir, <u>how (much) do you make from this</u> ? *Or:* Good lady, for how much will I give you for this ? *Or :* What will I give you for this ? *Or :* How much will these three ducks cost me ?]	Question directives (seeking information)	OPENING PHASE Establishing contact Need presentation
Vendor: Sire, vous me donnrez dis deniers. [Sir, you will give me ten pence]	Request/directive	BUYING AND SELLING
Mon amy, c'est trop chere bien pres la moitee. [My friend, that's too much by nearly half]	Refusal	Bargaining

<u>Savez vous que vous ferez?</u> Vous me donnrez pour ces trois madlardes de rivere noef deniers, car ils sont bien bons, gros et gras, et je me fais fort que vous ne mangastes, sentistes ne maniastez au deux ans passez du millours qu'ils ne sont. Ore regardez, biau sire, comment ils sont rampliz du sain. [<u>Do you know what you'll do</u> ? You will give me nine pence for these ducks, since they are so good, large and fat, and I am assured that you have never eaten, tasted or handled in these past two years any better than these. Now look, good sir, how full of fat they are.]	Request/directive
Oil dea, <u>je le veoi bien</u>, <u>mais vrayement vous demandez trop</u>. [Yes by God<u>, I see that</u>, <u>but you are really demanding too much</u>]	Refusal
Par la mort Dieu, biau sire, se je eusse volu, je eusse eu huy ou matinee pour mesmes les anes .x. d. Ore me croiez se vous vuillez. [By the death of God, good sir, if I had wished, I could have had, today or tomorrow, ten pence for the same ducks. Now, believe me if you wish]	Counter-refusal (assertive)
Il ne vous faudra ja ainsi jurer, car je vous en croi bien a primer mot sanz plus sonner. <u>Ore ditez moy a un mot, que paierai je?</u> [You must never swear like that, because I believed you at the first word without any more noise. <u>Now tell me at one word, what will I pay</u>?]	Counsel Request
Par ma foy, j'en avrai atant pour yceulx ou autrement je n'avrai riens. [By my faith, I will have that much for those or otherwise I will have nothing]	Request (framed as commissive)
Si Dieu m'ait, <u>vous estes le plus cher homme ov qui j'ay marchandee cest annee</u>, car j'en avrai aillours trois aussi bons anes comme ils sont pour sept deniers, mais il ne peut chaloir, car un autre fois je m'aviserai mieulx.	Refusal Commissive

[So help me God, <u>you are the most expensive man from whom I've bought this year</u>, because elsewhere I would have had three ducks of equal quality for seven pence, but no matter, because I will be better advised next time]		
Par saint Pol, <u>je sai bien que non avrez si bons de la price en toute ce ville</u>, car j'en sui certain que vous ne vistes aucques mais du millours anes qu'ils ne sont. [By Saint Paul, <u>I know well that you would not have such good ducks for this price in all this town</u>, beause I'm certain that you have never seen better ducks than these]	Counter- refusal (assertive)	
Baillez ça doncques et veiez cy vostre argent, et a Dieu vous commande. *Vel sic:* Dieux vous conduist. *Vel sic:* A Dieu qui vous gart. *Vel sic:* A Dieu soiez. *Vel sic:* Dieux soit garde de vous. [Hand it over, then, and see here your money, and to God I commend you. *Or :* God guide you. *Or :* To God, who guards you. *Or :* May you be in God. *Or :* God take care of you.]	Agreement Blessing/Farewell	HANDING OVER OF GOODS Purchase decision/realisation Farewell
Sire, Dieux vous donne santee et paix. [Sir, God give you health and peace]	Blessing /Farewell	

Indirect formulae, future tense requests and FTAs may also be found in the 1396 *Manières*, (CD :1396, 19-20), and takes place between a draper's apprentice (acting here as the vendor) and an unidentified merchant (the buyer). Conversely to the previous example, here an agreement is reached that benefits the buyer more than the seller. Moreover, this particular exchange has a very complex purchase realisation, in which the buyer seeks to delay payment in full:

Turn	Utterance type	Macro structure
Vendor: Mes amys, venez vous ciens, et je vous moustray d'auxi bon drape come vous troverés en tote ceste ville, et vous en arez d'aussy bon marché come nulle autre. Ore regardés, beau sir, coment vous est avys? *Ou si:* Coment vous pleast il? Vieicy de bon escarlet violet, sanguin et de toutz autres colours que n'en poet nomer. Ore esliez de tiel que vous pleast. [My friends, come here, and I will show you as good drapes as you will find in all the town, and you will have it for as good value as anybody else. Now look, good sir, what do you think? *Or:* How do you like it? *Or:* See here this nice material in violet, blood red, and of all other colours that I can't name. Now, choose which one you would like.] Buyer: <u>Que me costra tout ce renc de scarlet?</u> <u>[What would all this roll of scarlet cost me ?]</u>	Request Question directive (seeking information)	OPENING PHASE Service bid Need presentation

Beau sir, vous me donrrés dux millez franks.
   [Good sir, you will give me two thousand franks]
 	
Nonil dea, mon amy, <u>mais savés vous que je vous en donrray?</u> Vous en arés de moy pur tout ce renc .xii.c. franks.
   [No by God, my friend, <u>but do you know what I will give you</u> ? You will have from me for all this roll twelve hundred franks.]
 	
<u>A, mon tresdoulx sir, il m'est avys que vous estes prudres et vaillantz.</u> Je vous die un mot: pur tout vraiment vous me donrrés .xv.c. frankes.
   [Ah, my good sir, it seems to me that you are honourable and worthy. I will tell you in one
	Request/directive
	
	Refusal
	
	Compliment
	
	Request/refusal
		BUYING AND SELLING
		
		Bargaining

word: for all this, truly, you will give me fifteen hundred franks]

Non feray je, car si Dieu m'aid, je ne vous doneray plus, et uncore il m'est avys qu'il est bien chier. [I will not do that, since, so help me God, I will not give you more, and it seems to me yet that it is too expensive.]	Refusal
Par Dieu, non est, beau sir, <u>mes vous estes trop tenant.</u> Mais pur ce que j'ay esperaunce que vous achaterés de moy plus des danrés en temps a venir, vous l'arés de la price que me costa, c'est assavoire .xii.c. francs, mais que vous me paiés bien. [By God, it isn't, good sir, <u>but you are too firm</u>. But because I hope that you will part with more pennies for me in the future, you will have it at the price that is a cost to me, that is to say, twelve hundred franks, but please pay me in full]	Refusal Commissive/offer

Maintenant, mon amy, ne vous surciés, je vous paieray tresbien, s'il Dieu pleast, si que vous me donés jour de paiement jusques a la goule d'aougost.
    [Now, my friend, don't worry, I will indeed pay you, so please it God, if you give me until the first of August to pay you]
	Agreement
	Request 3. Purchase
	                 decision

Vraiment, sir, il ne vous displese, je ne le puisse faire sinoun q'il m'en serroit grant areresment et empiremient de mon estat, <u>laquele chose je pence bien que ne vouldrez my desirer que j'en fuisse auximent arereissé ou enpiré a cause de vous</u>, […] Et pur ce, beau sir, je vous en pri tant chierment com je puisse <u>que me voillés paier mon argent tout ensemble</u> ore a ma grant necessitee sanz plus loigne dilay. Et vraiment, sir, je vous appresteray un autre foitz voluntiers derechief atant. [Truly sir, not to displease you, but I may not do that since it would be a great detriment and damage to my situation, which I truly think you would not at all desire that I make so damaged or worsened because of you, […] Because of this,	Refusal Request

good sir, I ask you as sincerely as I can that you are willing to pay my money all together according to my great need without long delay. And truly sir, I will lend to you as much again another time		
Hé, mon amy, ne vous corucés point, car vous arés ore la moité de l'argent, et de l'autre moité je me obligeray a vous par une obligacione de vous paier bien et loialment a fest de Saint Petre la Vincle prochein qui viendra. <u>En vous bien agrerés donques?</u> [Ah, my friend, do not worry at all, because you will have half the money now, and the other half I will bind myself to you by an obligation to pay you well and loyally on the next feast of Saint Peter of the chains (Saint-Pierre-ès-Liens, 1st of August). Are you agreed?]	Refusal framed as a commissive (promise). Question	
J'en su bien agree, meis toutzvois j'ameroi meulx de l'avoire maintenant a ma grant busoigne que plus en delay. Mais depuis que il ne poet estre autrement, il me covient atteindre le jour de paiement. [I am well agreed, but all the same I would have liked better to have had it now rather than later, due to my great need. But since it can't be otherwise, I must wait until the day of payment]	Agreement	
Vendor: Mon tresdoulx amy, maintenant ces danrés sont vostres. <u>Vraiment, vous avez de mesme la price que je les achata. *Ou si:* Si Dieu m'aid, vous les avés d'auxi bon marché come ils me costirent.</u> Ore prennez vous biens, <u>et je pry a Dieu q'il vous en done atant de profit et encrescement come vouldroy en avoire s'ils fuissent les miens.</u> [My very good friend, now these goods are yours. <u>Truly, you have them for the price at which I bought them. *Or:* So help me God, you have them for as good a price as they cost me.</u> Now take your goods, <u>and I pray to God that he</u>	Declarative Promise Order; blessing	HANDING OVER OF GOODS Purchase realisation 'Et quant l'apprentiz en ara trestout <u>achevé</u> et <u>accordé</u> ovec luy'

will give you such profit and advancement as I myself would like to have if they were mine.]		
Sir, grant mercy de vostre curteisie. Et se je viverai as deux ans, vous ne perdrés ja riens de vostre bienfait, car s'il Dieu pleist, je le vous rendray bien. [Sir, many thanks for your courtesy. And if I live these next two years, you will lose nothing from your good deed, for if it please God, I will repay you well.]	Thanks Promise	
Beau sir, a Dieu vous comande. [Good sir, I commend you to God]	Blessing	Farewell

When looking across conversations, what is immediately apparent is that the range of different positioning tactics is large, which might be surprising given the apparently rigid nature of sales encounters. However, the macrostructure as outlined by Becker (2002) and Bös (2007) is largely adhered to, despite elaboration in some areas. Thus, while the macrostructure remains largely stable across different encounters, there is individual creativity within this framework, as buyers and sellers haggle to achieve the best deal possible. In particular, looking at positioning, I will concentrate on indirect formulae, rhetorical questions, and Face-Threatening Acts (FTAs).

5.5 Indirectness
Commencing with indirect discursive strategies, it is worth lingering on indirectness as a quality of utterance. Briefly, this is defined by Dascal (1983) and Weizman (1989) as an intentional lack of clarity and transparency that is intended to express a different meaning to that of a given utterance. Indirectness is not, however, necessarily the same as lying (asserting X while believing Y) or irony (saying the opposite of what one means for certain pragmatic effects, this will be discussed in Chapter 6). The main premise is that the relationship between a form and the speaker's meaning is somehow obscured intentionally. For example:

> Meaning: I want you to buy me X brand of chocolate
> Function of utterance: request
>> Utterance A: I love X brand of chocolate
>> Utterance B: Could you please buy me some X brand chocolate?

Both utterances represent different places on a scale of indirectness. Utterance A is more indirect than utterance B, because utterance A contains none of the conventionalised forms of request to be found in A (such as the marker 'please' or reference to the desired act 'buy'). Utterance A therefore represents a large gap between utterance meaning (stating that one likes a particular brand of chocolate) and speaker meaning (that one wishes that the chocolate be bought for them). Utterance B, however, may still be described as indirect (albeit to a lesser extent), because it questions the possibility of a request (whether the addressee is able to buy some chocolate) using the word *could*, rather than assume its existence. This gap between speaker and utterance meaning is more subtle in utterance B, and therefore may be described as less indirect.

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Weizman (1989: 73) describes the use of indirectness as exploiting a 'gap' between the utterance meaning and speaker's meaning. In request formulation, this is often seen as intersecting with politeness phenomena, with indirect formulae being viewed in Present Day British English as more polite. Indeed, in their work on the CCSARP (Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project) framework largely focusing on requests, Blum-Kulka et al. state that '[b]y *directness* is meant the degree to which the speaker's illocutionary intent is apparent from the locution […] it is related to, but by no means coextensive with, politeness' (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989: 278). The CCSARP framework seeks to represent a scale of direct to indirect request strategy, and claims to be cross-culturally applicable. This is not without problems when applied to historical data (see Culpeper and Archer 2008). However, I believe it to be a useful and illustrative starting point for thinking about indirectness as a quality of utterance:

Direct Strategies

1. Mood derivable (The grammatical mood of the verb marks the illocutionary force as a request.)
   Leave me alone.
2. Performatives (The speaker names the illocutionary force.)
   I'm asking you to clean up the mess.

3. Hedged performatives (The illocutionary verb as shown above in (2) is modified.)
   I would like to ask you to present your presentation a week earlier than scheduled.
4. Obligation statements (Utterances stating addressee's obligation)
   You'll have to move that car.
5. Want statements (Utterances stating speaker's desire that addressee do something.)
   I really wish you'd stop bothering me.

Conventionally indirect strategies

6. Suggestory formulae (The statement is a suggestion to addressee.)
   How about cleaning up?
7. Query preparatory (The statement references preparatory conditions for a given act, for example, the addressee's willingness or ability.)
   Could you clear up the kitchen, please?

Non-conventionally indirect strategies (hints)

8. Strong hints (The statement contains a partial reference to elements/objects required for an act to be carried out, thereby implying the act itself)
   You have left the kitchen in a right mess.
9. Mild hints (statements making no reference to the request or any associated elements (as in 8), the request is interpreted through context)
   I'm a nun (in response to a persistent hassler).

(adapted from Blum-Kulka et al 1989: 18, examples from Blum-Kulka et al., descriptions of categories my own.)

To turn back to the *Manières*, the presence of indirect strategy is perhaps surprising, particularly in light of comments made by Kohnen (2008a: 27; emphasis my own): [56]

> Some recent studies suggest that many indirect speech acts have developed fairly late in the history of English. For example, *clear cases of interrogative manifestations of directives are difficult to find before the Early Modern period*. The same seems to apply to other indirect directives […]. On the other hand, more straightforward manifestations of directives, which would often appear as inappropriate or impolite today, seem to have been quite common in previous periods in the history of English. This raises questions about the speech act conventions and the level of linguistic politeness in previous centuries. Were people in earlier periods of English rude or impolite in their behaviour or did they only follow different patterns of interaction? What were the normal requirements of friendly interaction then?

It is indeed difficult to search for indirect formula through dictionaries and corpora, due to their elusive manifestation. Forms such as 'purroy je ester logge ciens' [Can I be lodged here] or 'je panse bien *qu'il seroit mieulx pour nous d'aresteren* ce ville' [I think that it would be better for us to stay in this town] (examples from Denoyelle 2013) do not necessarily contain elements that immediately alert the researcher to the illocutionary function. Moreover, corpus queries for the conventionalised request verbs *purroy* and *seroit* would return vast amounts of data to sift though qualitatively. However, when we look at the range of request formulae in the dialogues above, it is clear that such formulae sit at different locations on the (in)direct continuum. Such examples of less direct formulae include

(7)   'comment faitez vous de cecy?'

(LH 1396: 38)

[How much do you make from this?]

(8)   'Que me costra tout ce renc de scarlet?'

(CD 1396: 19)

[What would this roll of scarlet cloth cost me?]

Both of these utterances occur at the point of need presentation in the dialogues, in which the speaker simultaneously reveals a desire for a given product and requests more information about it. If we assume the gap between speaker meaning and utterance meaning to be a condition for indirectness, these utterances may be said to posses that quality. At this point in the conversation the speaker is not just referring to price, but is asking the vendor about the price. The base-meaning of these utterances could be thus taken to be

(9)   'I want you to name your price'

This is the desired effect upon the addressee. As mentioned above, this both implicates the vendor's rights (giving them the freedom to state their will) but also puts them in a risky bargaining position because they are called upon to set the tone for the negotiation: if they ask too much, the buyer may leave immediately; but simultaneously, the vendor must make a profit from the sale (this does not always happen in the *Manières*). However, the speaker's base meaning is modified in the utterances,

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[56] Kohnen's main area of research is in Old English directives, so these comments do not take into account research conducted on Anglo-Norman, of which there is very little.

and extra work is needed from the listener to infer this. The vendor in both cases does infer the speaker's meaning, and names a starting price:

(10)   Sire, vous me donnrez dis deniers

(LH 1396: 38)

        [Sir, you will give me ten pence]

(11)   Beau sir, vous me donrrés dux millez franks.

(CD 1396: 20)

        [Good sir, you will give me two thousand franks]

What is also interesting about these requests for price is that they vary in perspective. The first utterance is hearer-orientated (and thus does not mention the speaker) the second utterance is speaker-dominated (and thus does not mention the addressee). Indeed, what unites both examples, and contributes to the overall impression of indirectness, is that neither make any reference to the volition of the addressee (as in 'What do you charge?' or 'How much do you want?'), instead they avoid reference to the volition of the vendor while simultaneously placing impetus on the vendor to state a price.

Moreover, many of the utterances in these mercantile conversations use a mix of direct and indirect strategy. This can be seen when one parses them with the CCSARP in mind[57]:

(12)   Ore ditez moy a un mot [mood derivable; direct], que paierai je [hearer-orientated; avoids addressee volition; less direct]?

(LH 1396: 38)

        [Now tell me at one word, what will I pay?]

(13)   Et pur ce, beau sir, je vous en pri tant chierment com je puisse [performative] que me voillés paier mon argent tout ensemble [query preparatory] ore a ma grant necessitee sanz plus loigne dilay.

(CD 1396: 20)

        [And because of this, good sir, I ask you as earnestly as I can that you would pay me my money all together now, due to my great need, without much delay]

Other formulae in the sales encounters of the *Manières* may sit primarily on the direct end of the spectrum, but are accompanied by supportive moves, such as modifying. For example, example (13),

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[57] There are of course issues with applying the CCSARP scheme to medieval utterances. Culpeper and Archer (2008) find the (in)directness categories to be largely applicable to Early Modern requests, and state that they can be 'seen as "universal" in some sense' (2008: 79). In their study, they find a greater number of mood derivables, and a lesser number of query preparatories. However, they also find that it is the 'relatively powerful people (whether in terms of role, status or both) or intimates of high-status' who are the more prolific users of conventionally indirect requests. On the other hand, Brown and Levinson (1987) and Blum-Kulka and House (1989) both suggest that with more power comes more directness. In reality, much depends on the status of a speaker's addressee. It is thus difficult, and probably unwise, to map (in)directness onto (im)politeness without further research, and it is why I do not attempt this here. Moreover, Culpeper and Archer note that the 'assumed primacy of the head act compared with support moves (as implied by the labels "head" and "support"), may not be correct [...] Indeed, Blum-Kulka et al. (1989b: 17) do acknowledge that "some support moves, like Grounders, can serve as requests by themselves". This is important: support moves can become pragmaticalized so that they not only "support" another element signaling the illocutionary force but they themselves actually signal the illocutionary force.' (2008: 79).

if read with the CCSARP framework in mind, is rather more direct than the previous need presentation requests. This is because it contains a verb that explicitly names the speech act being conducted (*pri*) and is thus known as a performative request. However, this directness is mitigated by the modification (*tant chierment com je puisse*) that gestures towards the desperation of the speaker.

When we look at other utterances in the dialogues, we can further observe concessive supporting moves such as:

(14)   Oil dea, *je le veoi bien*, mais vrayement vous demandez trop.
         [Yes by God, *I see that*, but you are really demanding too much]

(15)   A, mon tresdoulx sir, il m'est avys que vous estes prudres et vaillantz. Je vous die un mot:
         pur tout vraiment vous me donrrés .xv.c. frankes.
         [Ah, my good sir, it seems to me that you are honourable and worthy. I will tell you in one
         word: for all this, truly, you will give me fifteen hundred franks]

Overall, indirect formula fit into the framework of positioning because they indicate that the speaker is willing to concede to the rights of their addressee, and to be cooperative in working towards the common goal. The reluctance, in places, to show imposition onto the rights and freedoms of the interlocutor, demonstrates respect for those rights, and thereby seeks to create a mutually reciprocal relationship. This moreover relates to the notion of facework, as proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987). Theories of face in pragmatics relate to the social concept of 'face' (as in, to 'lose' or 'save' face) and follow Goffman's definition of face as:

> The positive social value a person effectively clams for himself by the line others assume he
> has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self, delineated in terms of approved
> social attributes.

> (Brown and Levinson 1967: 5)

In his overview of facework, Haugh (2013: 50) restates that, crucially, this idea of face 'involves, at heart, an interactant's (socially-dependent) idea of him/herself'. Facework itself consists of actions by which an interactant 'expresses evaluations of himself and others' (Haugh 2013: 50). This notion of social face was foundational to Brown and Levinson (1987), in which they developed the concepts for linguistic pragmatic enquiry. Brown and Levinson 'treat the aspects of face as basic wants' (1987: 62) experienced by individuals in society. They delineate two types of face according to these wants: negative face (the desire to be unimpeded) and positive face (the want to be desirable [1987: 62]). For Brown and Levinson, these categories of face underpin two main types of politeness: positive politeness (characterised by reinforcement) and negative politeness (characterised by avoidance). Specifically for the considerations of this chapter, indirect strategies enhance the addressee's negative face by demonstrating deference or non-imposition. The presence of these indirect conversational moves, which seek to mitigate the potentially face-threatening or impository nature of their accompanied speech acts, signals that not only did these conversational strategies have currency in the medieval marketplace, but that the authors of the *Manières* were conscious to promote these forms in order to cultivate linguistic and economic success.

5.6 Face-threatening acts

On the other side of the (in)directness continuum, when we look at some of the refusals, we may observe the use of face-threatening acts (FTAs). These take the form of very direct complaints, which

are in contrast to the less direct strategies noted above. While acts like concession appeals to the rights of the addressee, FTAs often point out that the addressee is failing on their obligation (as per the demands of positioning theory). We can see such strategies blended in example (17):

(16)   'Oil dea, je le veoi bien, mais *vrayement vous demandez trop.*
        [Yes by God, I see that (concession), but *you are really demanding too much* (direct complaint)]

(17)   'Par Dieu, non est, beau sir, *mes vous estes trop tenant.* Mais pur ce que j'ay esperaunce que vous achaterés de moy plus des danrés en temps a venir, vous l'arés de la price que me costa'
        [By God, it isn't, good sir, *but you are too firm.* But because I hope that you will part with more pennies for me in the future, you will have it at the price that is a cost to me]

Both of the highlighted statements above accuse the interlocutor of being uncooperative, either by asking for too much, or by being too stubborn in the negotiation. These accusations are an example of what Culpeper (1996 : 356), following Brown and Levinson (1987: 69), calls 'bald on record impoliteness' ; it is a direct and unambiguous statement.[58] Moreover, by levelling such accusations at the interlocutor, this damages the addressee's positive face (the desire to be highly esteemed), and can thus be considered an act of positive impoliteness. However, in the context of positioning, where each interlocutor is asserting their rights, there may be further secondary implications for the negative face in these FTAs. This is because asking the interlocutor to be less stubborn in asserting their rights imposes onto their freedom of action.

As flagged in Culpeper (2005), Spencer-Oatey's work on rapport management is very relevant to this discussion. Rapport management has two main considerations: face and social rights. Spencer-Oatey states that, while face is fundamental to Brown and Levinson's (1987 [1978]) model of (im)politeness, her own ideas of rapport management make the interpersonal dimensions of (im)politeness more prominent (2002: 542). To this end, she elaborates on the traditional definitions of face thus:

> [...] face is associated with personal/social value, and is concerned with people's sense of worth, credibility, dignity, honour, reputation, competence and so on. Sociality rights, on the other hand, are concerned with personal/social entitlements, and reflect people's concerns over fairness, consideration, social inclusion/exclusion and so on.
>
> (Culpeper 2002: 540)

This is particularly relevant in the context of our mercantile encounters, which see interlocutors invoke their rights and call upon each other to perform their responsibilities, thereby discursively constructing and performing their positions. In these conversations, Spencer-Oatey's notions of quality face, social identity face, and equity rights are particularly helpful terms. Quality face refers to the 'fundamental desire for people to evaluate us positively in terms of our personal qualities' (2002: 540). In a mercantile context this can manifest itself as a desire to be seen as an honest and good-willed player in the haggling interaction. The term social identity face relates to the 'fundamental desire for people to acknowledge and uphold our social identities or roles' (2002: 540). In sales encounters, this may be expressed as the desire to be treated as a 'valued customer', who deserves lower prices in exchange for loyalty. This type of relationship is explicitly referred to in the second utterance when the vendor states

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[58] This label differs from Brown and Levinson (1987) in that they see bald on record as a politeness strategy only, to be used in specific situations, such as when threat to positive face is small or in an emergency. For example, the statement 'have a cup of tea' is direct, but contains not threat to the addressee's face.

that he will lower his asking price in exchange for customer loyalty. For this category, Spencer-Oatey goes further: 'Social identity face is concerned with the value that *we effectively claim for ourselves* in terms of social or group roles, and is closely associated with our sense of public worth' (2002: 540, emphasis mine). I highlight the quality of 'claiming' value because this can be explicitly related to positioning, as by asserting their rights, the interlocutors are in effect claiming a certain value for themselves, and arguing that their addressee should treat them according to their stated value. Finally, equity rights refers to 'a fundamental belief that we are entitled to personal consideration from others, so that we are treated fairly: that we are not unduly imposed upon or unfairly ordered about, that we are not taken advantage of or exploited, and that we receive the benefits to which we are entitled.' (2002: 540). Taking the literature of positioning into account, this is directly relevant, since to be treated fairly is to be treated according to one's rights.

When we look again at the FTAs above, it becomes evident that they attack the addressee on two counts: their quality face and their social identity face. That is to say, they question whether the interlocutor is being an honest and good-willed player, and (arguably secondarily) they are implying that their interlocutor is overestimating their own value, and therefore are not entitled to overly lenient treatment over the course of the negotiation. Additionally, in levelling such attacks at their interlocutor, a speaker is implicating their own rights (specifically, the right to not be exploited and to be treated fairly). Overall, these face threatening attacks are a multifaceted communicative tool, which 'call out' the interlocutor on not performing their duties, imply that the addressee is perhaps not as important as they think they are (and certainly not due special treatment), and they re-assert the speaker's own rights for consideration. Such attacks, therefore, would have been appropriate in the context of mercantile negotiation, and would likely have been useful discursive tools for the L2 student of French to learn.

5.7 Rhetorical Questions

Overall, there is a liberal mixing of seemingly direct and indirect strategies of negotiation, in which interlocutors explicitly and implicitly invoke their own rights and draw attention to the other's failing to deliver on their duties. There is furthermore another intriguing positioning feature in these mercantile conversations: rhetorical questions such as *savez vous que vous ferez?* [do you know what you will do?] and *savés vous que je vous en donrray?* [do you know what I will give you?]. Such questions find their modern counterparts in phrase-initial particles such as '[I'll] tell you what' and 'do you know [what]?'. Examples from the OED include:

(18)   I tell you what. Since you guys are spending so much today, I'll throw this in free. (*Tell* [v.] sense P5 b)

(19)   Tell you what, Bill, you can start your stock with one of my old shirts for the price of a quart. (*What* [pron., adv.] sense 8d)

(20)   You know something, the thing I hate most about my life is when I stress (Know [v.] sense P21)

(21)   Do you know something? I begin to be sorry for having refused that offer. (Know [v.] sense P21)

According to the OED, such phrases are often used either 'to introduce (and give some emphasis to) an observation or comment' or to 'introduce a suggestion or proposal' (OED 'tell [v.]': 2015). It if furthermore noteworthy that such constructions, using the verb *witen* [to know], are also to be found in Middle English:

(22)   Ah wastu wet is? We schulen bringen to ende þet we bigunnen habbeð.
[Ah, do you know what? We shall bring to an end that which we have started; *St. Katherine of Alexandria*, 22/143, in MED, witen v.(1) 5h]

(23)   For ye be lyk the sweynte cat That wolde have fissh; but, wostow what? He wolde nothing wete his clowes.
[For you are like the tired cat who wants fish, but you know what? He doesn't want to wet his claws; Chaucer, *House of Fame* I.1783, in MED, *witen* v. (1) 5h]

Not much research has been done on such constructions in contemporary pragmatics to my knowledge, and not in historical pragmatics either. But I argue that these markers can also function as discursive positioners. I use the term 'rhetorical question' following Koshik's (2005) definition:

> One type of syntactic question that is regularly understood to be doing something other than asking questions is the rhetorical question. Many people think of rhetorical questions as questions that are not meant to be answered, possibly because the answers are obvious. But when we look at how these questions are actually used in interaction, they do sometimes get answers. Something these questions all have in common, however, is that *they are not asked, and are not understood, as ordinary information-seeking questions* but as making some kind of claim, or assertion, an assertion of the opposite polarity to that of the question.
>
> (Koshik 2005: 2. Emphasis mine)

The questions *savez vous que vous ferez?* [do you know what you will do?] and *savés vous que je vous en donrray?* [do you know what I will give you?] fit this definition because they are not asking whether the addressee literally knows what they will do or be given. They are not questions that seek information or an answer. Rather, these questions could be performing several functions. On the one hand, the rhetorical questions could be functioning as indirect ways of phrasing an assertion, as stated by Koshik (2005). This could possibly work as follows:

> Utterance 1: Nonil dea, mon amy, mais savés vous que je vous en donrray?
> [No, by God, my friend, but do you know what I will give you?]
>
> Speaker belief/meaning: You know that I will give you less than what you previously asked for.
>
> Utterance 2: Savez vous que vous ferez?
> [Do you know what you'll do?]
>
> Speaker belief/meaning: I expect and want you to give more than what you are willing to part with.

Both of the above utterances challenge previous statements (see Koshik 2005: 9) and call upon their addressee to (at least in part) relinquish their rights, established as part of the positioning storyline. Utterance 1 asserts the buyer's right to buy at the lowest possible price over the seller's right to sell at the highest possible price, whereas utterance 2 calls upon the buyer's right to cede to that of the seller. Moreover, utterance 1 is arguably framed as a signal of cooperation, used to introduce a new, but lower price. It is a speaker-orientated statement, meaning that reference is made to the speaker's volition. Indeed, this frames the new proposition as a commissive speech act, in which a speaker undertakes to do something. By proposing that they will enact an alternative course of events within the negotiation, the speaker implies their own duties – to be reasonable and cooperative – and thereby raises the expectation that these will be acted upon. In short, such a statement identifies the speaker as

a cooperative haggler, by positioning themselves against their responsibilities and upholding these. Indeed, the speaker of this utterance wins the negotiation. The same cannot be said for the speaker of utterance 2, which (conversely to utterance 1) is hearer-orientated, and thus more impository on the addressee. However, this is unlikely to be the sole cause of the speaker's failure.

A different perspective on these acts may be found in Blum-Kulka et al. (1989: 284), who labels these constructions as 'cajolers', which are 'conventionalized speech items whose semantic content is of little transparent relevance to their discourse meaning'. Blum-Kulka's position is that such utterances as those above hold little semantic content, but rather, act as relational markers. This can be linked to the earlier discussion of 'relational talk', whose purpose is to maintain positive social relationships and 'enhance discourse flow' (Félix-Brasdefer 2015: 8). Indeed, Blum-Kulka adds that such structures are 'interspersed to increase, establish, or restore harmony between interlocutors' (1989: 284). Therefore, the rhetorical questions may also be viewed as part of the ongoing relational work undertaken by both speakers. However, more work on these constructions needs to be done, both in a contemporary and in a historical context.

In the sales encounters, we see that while the general structures of negotiation are relatively stable and static, there is much localised variation. I have used the framework of positioning in order to try to understand the logic and nature behind some of this variation at utterance level. It has been revealed throughout this discussion that both buyer and seller continually invoke their rights against their interlocutor's responsibilities, both explicitly and implicitly. Furthermore, such a variety of acts that incorporate different strategies suggests that sales encounter discourse was a very sophisticated area of speech. This opens up questions surrounding how such speech acts would have been learned and subsequently incorporated into a learner's French. As a way to end this chapter, I will suggest that while the texts just discussed anticipate a more competent learner who might have been able to grasp the subtleties of negotiation strategy, there are noticeably terser mercantile exchanges in the *Manières* as well that imagine a perhaps less competent learner who simply needed stock phrases to memorise and repeat.

5.8 A pedagogical continuum?
As mentioned above, some of the sales dialogues (1399: OA, 61-62; 1399: CI, Södergård 213-215) are markedly less elaborate than those examined earlier in this chapter (the poultry merchant [1396: LH, 38] and the draper's apprentice [1396: CD, 19-20]). Whereas I have outlined some of the complex positioning strategies in the more detailed dialogues, the shorter conversations are characterised by much shorter utterances, and less detail (if any) about the interlocutors or the product in question. This suggests two different coexisting pedagogical approaches: one that anticipates a competent learner who will not only learn socially adept French, but also be able to take in the behavioural didactics of positioning; and another that perhaps imagines a less able learner, and presents simple sentences to be faithfully memorised and recycled. Because some manuscripts contain both elaborate and simpler styles of mercantile conversations, it is important to state that this is not an evolution of pedagogy, with one type being replaced by another. Rather, the two styles appear to coexist. I will reiterate example (3), representing the simpler style from Södergård (1953: 213-215):

(3)   Vendor: Ditez, vueillez ce la?
         Saie, wil ye that there?

         Buyer: Oy sir, il est bon pour moy.
         Yee sir, it is good for me.

Vendor: Ditez, coment le vueilliez doner? Sir, vous durrez moy tant.
Saie, howe wil ye yeve it? Sir, ye shal yeve so moche.

Buyer: Nony sir, ne vault pas tant. Ditez a un mot coment l'avera.
Nay sir, it is not worth so moch. Saie at one worde, how shal I have it.

Vendor: Sir, coment le vueilliez vous aver?
Sir, how wil ye have hit?

Buyer: Ne vous durray tant d'argent.
I ne shal yeve so moch silver.

Vendor: Certez, vous promistez trop petit.
Certain, ye bede me to litel.

Buyer: Ditez, qu'est le mot draine?
Saie, what is the last worde?

Vendor: Sir, a un mot ne lez averez meyns.
Sir, at oo worde ye it shal have noo lasse.

Buyer: Certez, le fetez trop. Quar il ne vault pas tant d'argent.
Certain, thou boughtest to dere. For it is not worth so moch silver.

Vendor: Sir, je trovera vous melior, se vous vueilliez.
Sir, I shal finde you better, if ye wil.

Buyer: Ore moustrez lez moy donquez.
Nowe shew it me thenne.

Vendor: Sir, veiez cy bone chose.
Sir, see her good thinge.

Buyer: Ore, de quel price est ce cy?
Now, of what price is this here?

Vendor: Sir, verrament vault tant.
Sir, for soth it is worth so moch.

Buyer: Nony, mez je vous durray tant pour ce la. Tenez un dener a dieu en orneis.[59] Certez, je ne vous durray plus.

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[59] As an aside, *orneis* (meaning 'earnest') is a possible transfer interference from Middle English into the French written here. There is no record for this word in either the AND or the DMF.

Nay, but I shal yeve so moch therfore. Holde a godis peny in ernest. For soth, I ne shal yeue noo moor

There is a noticeable difference between the single-sentence utterances above, and the longer utterances to be found over the course of the other mercantile conversations. The quotation below represents the longest utterance from the more elaborate dialogues, in which the apprentice draper pleads with a customer for payment in full in order to help him settle his debts before Christmas:

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

[Truly sir, not to displease you, but I may not do that since it would be a great detriment and damage to my situation, which I truly think you would not at all desire that I make so damaged or worsened because of you, because I owe to some countrymen great sums of money which I had borrowed from them up to this coming Christmas, and on this I am obliged and held by a binding contract made in duplicate to pay near that time. And if I miss the payment in part or in full, I am sure that I will be jailed, and I am certain that I will never leave from there before I have settled my debts. Because of this, good sir, I ask you as sincerely as I can that you are willing to pay my money all together according to my great need without long delay. And truly sir, I will lend to you as much again another time.]

Such a diversion would feel wholly out of place in the shorter dialogues. Indeed, this embellished act of pleading is doing several things at once. It gives us a little insight into the background of the apprentice, creating a more 'fleshed out' and believable character. It moreover demonstrates a range of support moves for requests (*ne vous displese*, je vous en pri *tant chierment com je puisse*) as well as conversational manoeuvres such as promising and face-enhancing statements such as 'je pence bien que ne vouldrez my desirer que j'en fuisse auximent arereissé ou enpiré a cause de vous' [I truly think you would not at all wish me to damage or worsen it because of you] appealing to the magnanimity of the addressee. Additionally, it is conceivable that there is a range of possible grammar and vocabulary points that would have been expounded upon in a pedagogical environment.

In contrast, the more simplified conversations are much less discursive. In fact, in these shorter conversations, utterances seem to be condensed around salient phrases useful for haggling, such as key request forms (*vous me donnerez* [you will give me], *moustrez moi* [show me]), contestation (*il ne vault pas le argent* [it is not worth the money]) pressing the interlocutor for a sum (*mot draine* [last word], *a un mot* [at one word]), among other things. Another feature of these dialogues is the presence of 'placeholder' language: instead of a specific sum of money, as we saw in the earlier dialogues, the word *tant* (translated as *so moch* in CI) is used. Likewise, instead of naming the product being bought and

sold, the phrase *bone chose* [good thing] is used. The modern equivalent to this placeholder language would be to use the letter X instead of a number or name ('for X amount of time') while giving an example. In the context of the mercantile dialogues, one can imagine that the learner who merely wants to know a few useful phrases could insert their own prices and products in the places of *tant* and *bone chose*. There appears to be comparatively little investment in observing the complex interplay between two developed and believable characters.

Adding to this impression is lack of paratextual features, such as narrative interludes, or features that enable a reader to make sense of conversational turns (i.e. who the speaker is, and separation of clauses into possible things one could say). Below is an example of the *mise en page* of the draper's apprentice conversation as it appears in OA f.317r (altered to highlight features of interest):

Figure 5.3 OA mise on page sample
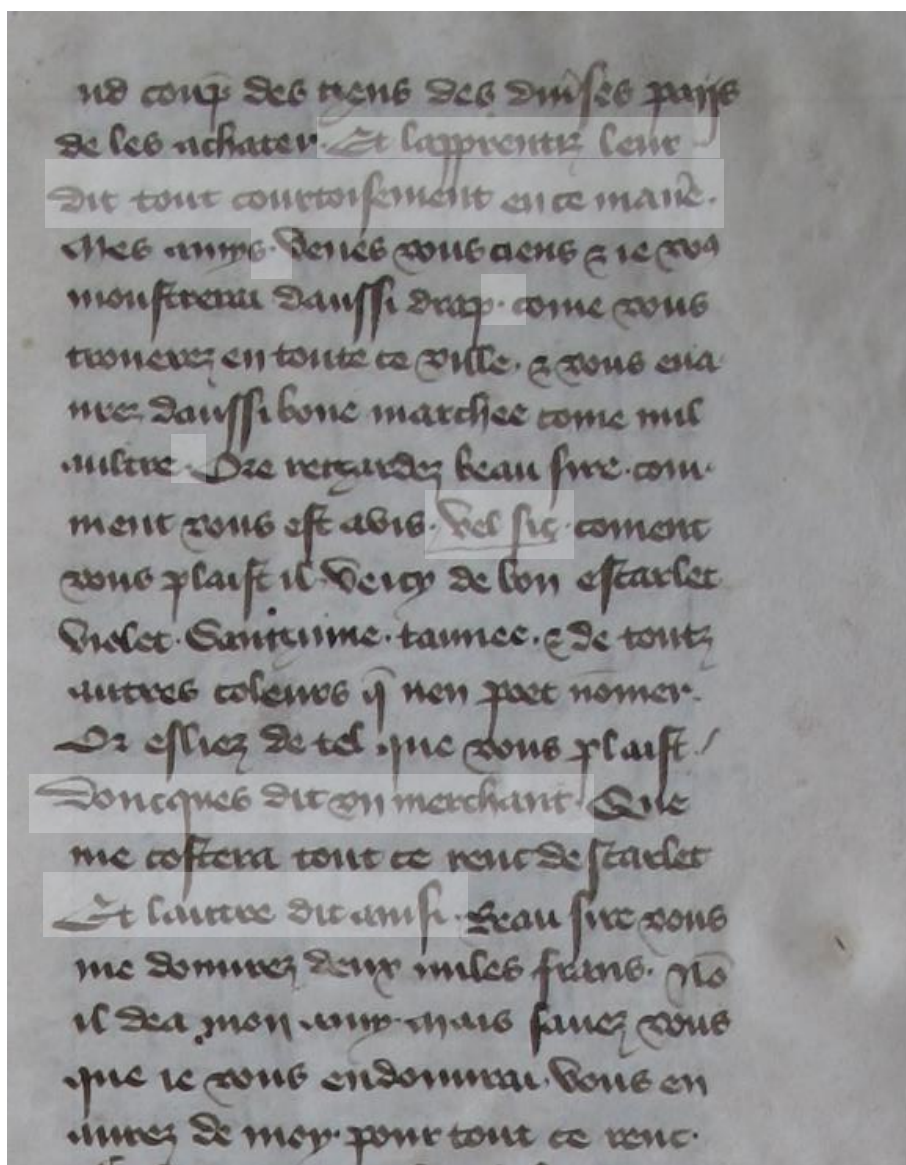
Highlighted above, we can see paratextual features such as narrative frame (*Et lapprentiz leur dit tout courtoisement en ce manere* [and the apprentice says to them very courteously in this way]) and *vel sic* [or this] which makes evident that there are two choices of utterance that the apprentice might say.

This is underlined, which visually marks it out from the direct speech. Moreover, small dots are used to separate clauses, and the scribe also uses large capital letters at the beginning of clauses to make clear the changes between speakers and between direct speech and narrative frame. For instance, we can see Q (line 14) and q (line 12), B (line 16) and b (line 7), and E (line 2) and e (line 1). Somewhat more subtly, clause-initial v has an ascender (lines 4, 9, and 10), whereas the non-clause-initial v have descenders (lines 4, 9, and 19). Overall, the reader is given a lot of support in reading this dialogue.

The picture changes when we turn to the simpler dialogues, such as this one below from CA fol.34v. While the utterances are separated line-by-line, there is no narrative frame beyond the simple title 'autre manere de parler de langgage de vendre et de aschatez touz chose' [another way of speaking to sell and to buy all things], and no obvious change of speaker:

Figure 5.3 CA mise on page sample
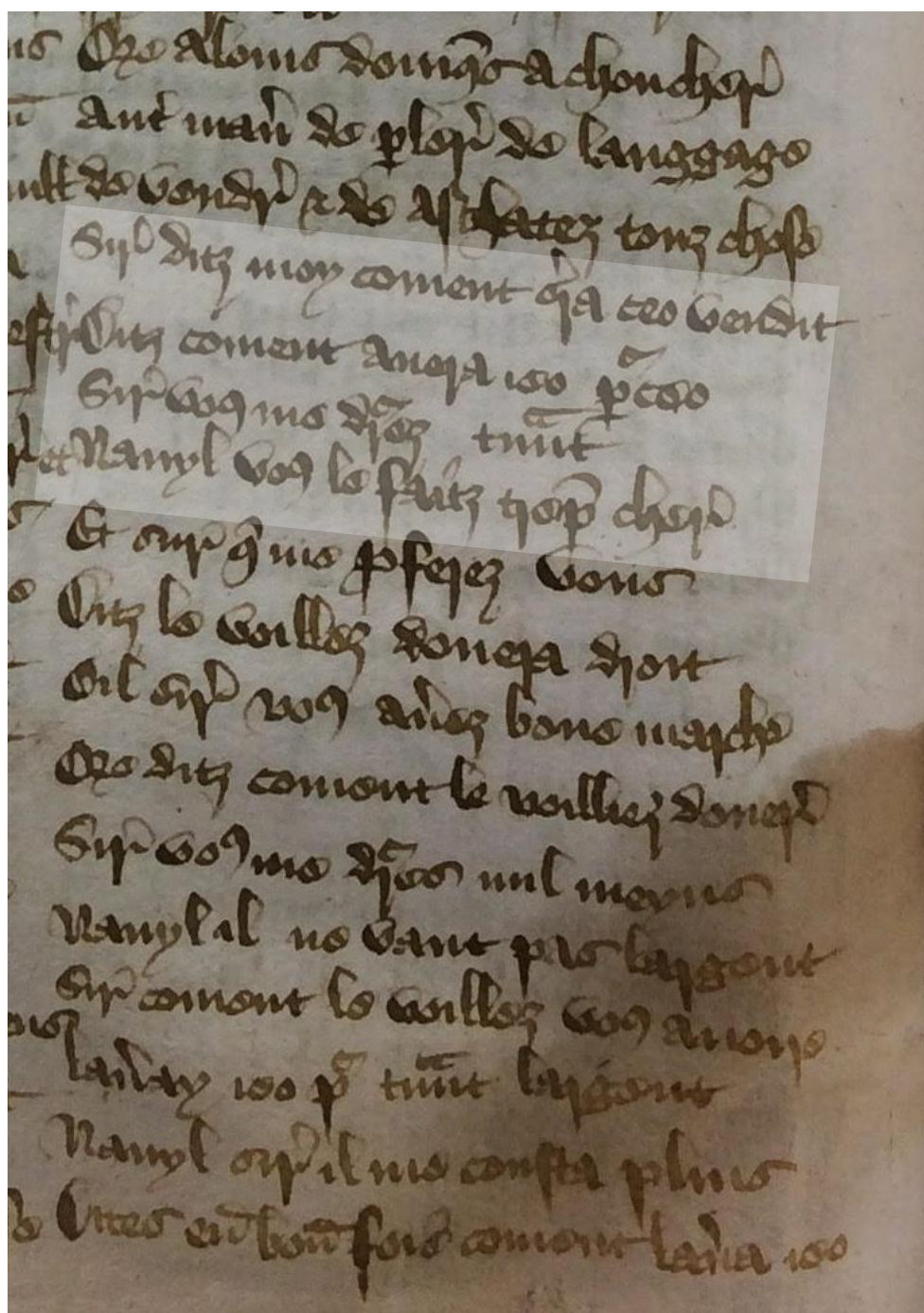
When we look at lines 4-7 (highlighted), the question of who is speaking becomes obscured:

(25)   Sir ditz moy coment serra ceo vendit
         Ditz coment avera jeo pur ceo
         Sir vous me durrez taunt
         Nanyl vous le faitz trep cher

<div align="right">(ed. Baker 1989)</div>

         [Sir, tell me how this will be sold
         Say for how much will I have this
         Sir, you will give me X
         No, you make it too expensive]

Indeed, there is no indication (beyond the reader's inference) that the first two lines are the buyer, the third line is the vendor, and the fourth line is the buyer again. CI f.163r, a bilingual fragment, shows this same tendency to omit the paratextual framework:

Figure 5.4 CI mis en page sample
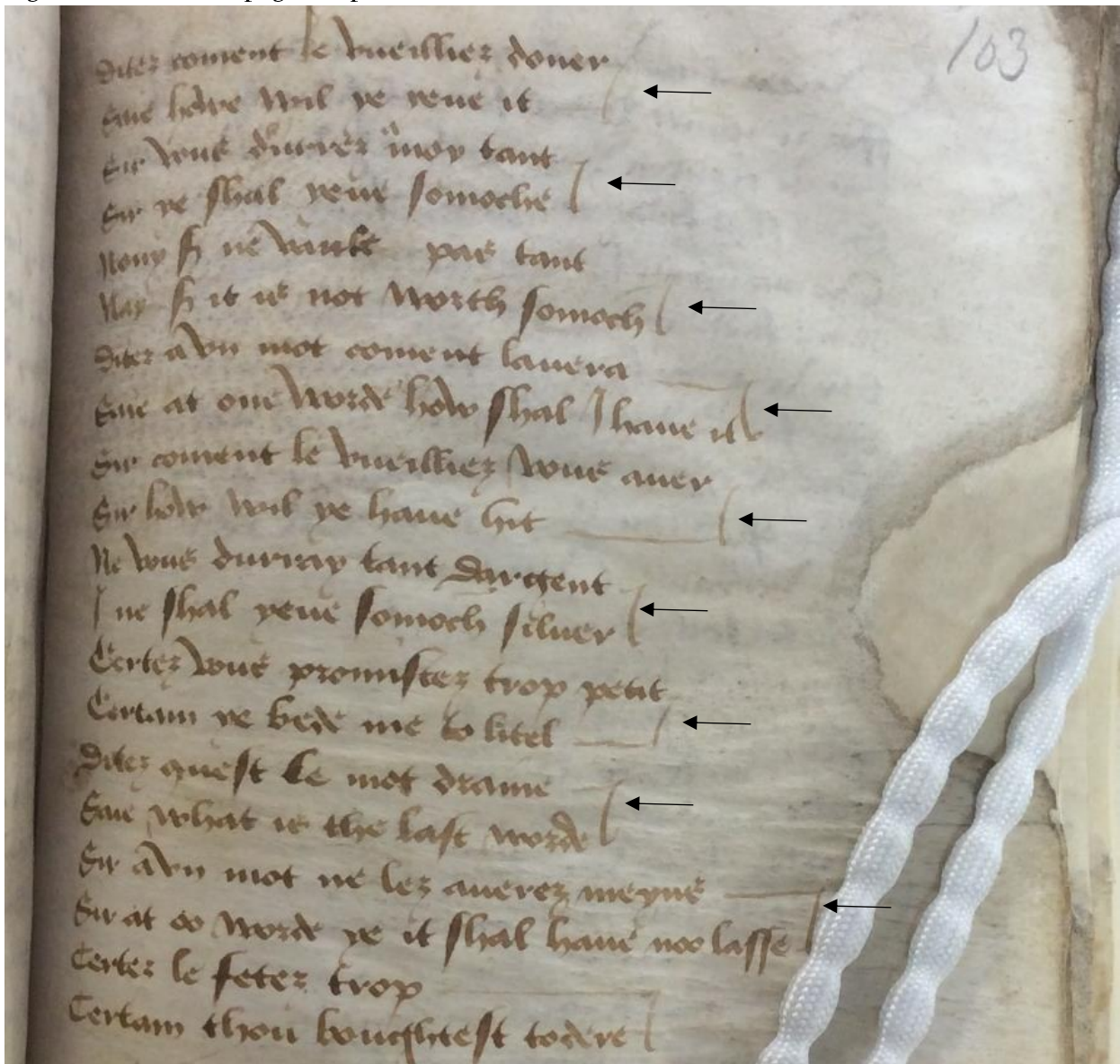
Similarly to CA, there is no obvious change in speaker, leaving the reader to infer. Södergård (1953: 214) edits the text shown in the image as follows, supplying the presumed speaker in parentheses:

(26)   [le tavernier] Ditez, coment le vueilliez doner?
         Saie, howe wil ye yeve it?

         Sir, vous durrez moy tant.
         Sir, ye shal yeve so moche

         [le voyageur] Nony si[r], ne vault pas tant.
         Nay si[r], it is not worth so moch.

         Ditez a un mot coment l'avera.
         Saie at one worde, how shal I have it.

         [le tavernier] Sir, coment le vueilliez vous aver?
         Sir, how wil ye have hit?

         [le voyageur] Ne vous durray tant d'argent.
         I ne shal yeve so moch silver.

                                        (CI ed. Södergård 1953: 214)

In the manuscript, there are lines to indicate translation pairs (these are indicated on the photo by arrows), and while phrases are separated from each other, no speakers are identified, and no title is provided to separate this conversation from the previous one. It is furthermore unclear which of the *voyageur*'s [traveller's] two utterances are being responded to by the innkeeper when he asks 'Sir, coment le vueilliez vous aver?' [Sir, how will you have it?]. On the basis of this style of presentation, it would appear that the separate phrases and their translation into English is much more important than developing characters and demonstrating the more complex discursive manoeuvres shown earlier. Rather, what we see in the examples from CA and CI is a 'this is what you might expect to hear' approach, but no indication of it being framed in a discourse. This represents a grouped list of phrases that follow a particular structure (here, the structure of mercantile negotiation), but not embedded in a particular narrative or representation of reality. Overall, the approach represented by the simple dialogues represents a very different pedagogical emphasis from the very elaborate and ongoing positioning that may be observed in the other conversations. Rather, this speaks to a 'stock phrase' style of learning that may be found in modern day phrasebooks:

(27)   Do you speak English?
        Parlez-vous anglais?

        I speak a little
        Je parle un peu.

        Do you understand?
        Comprenez-vous?

        I understand
        Je comprends

        I don't understand
        Je ne comprends pas

        I need an interpreter who speaks English
        J'ai besoin d'un interprete de langue anglaise

(*Lonely Planet French Phrasebook and Dictionary* 2015: 28)

Such utterances follow a loose structure (here, establishing the language capabilities of an interlocutor) but extra phrases are supplied for if the learner wishes to say something different; in this example, in response to an utterance that they either can understand or cannot understand. In fact, this type of bilingual learning-by-phrases can be found for Early Modern and medieval contexts. For instance, we can see clear evidence of such an approach to learning in William Wey's itineraries from the mid-15th century, displaying Greek translations of English phrases:

(28)   Good morrow, *calomare*
        Welcome, *calosertys*
        Tel me the way, *diximo strata*
        Wyth goyd wyl, *mitta karas*
        Com hethyr, *elado*
        Sytte, *catase*
        Gyff me that, *doys me tutt*
        Goo thy way, *ame*
        Anone, *lygora*
        Bryng me, *fer me*
        What seyst thou, *the leys*
        I vnderstond the not, *apopon kystys*
        God be wyth the, *Theos metasana*

(*Itineraries of William Wey*, p.102. Ed. Williams 1857)

Gallagher (2014: 39) states that such manuals 'filled a niche for those who needed basic vocabulary and phrases appropriate to a variety of situations, many to do with travel and commerce'. But even earlier, in the late 14th century, some of Chaucer's pilgrims can be seen to have adopted an 'ad hoc' approach to language learning, recycling snippets of language. Phillips (2011: 41) examines several

characters, such as the Pardoner and his friar, 'who sprinkle other languages into their conversation for particular rhetorical effect'. For instance, the Pardoner admits to seasoning his sermons with choice phrases of Latin in order to encourage devotion in his audience:

(29)   And after that thanne telle I forth my tales;
         Bulles of popes and of cardynales,
         Of patriarkes and bishopes I shewe
         And in latyn I speke a wordes fewe,
         To saffron with my predicacioun,
         And for to stire hem to devocioun.

(*Pardoner's Prologue*, ll.341-346. Ed. Benson 2008)

Although such practice was common in sermons (for instance, using Latin in quoting from the Bible) this represents internalising non-English phrases for reuse within an English-language 'matrix'. The friar of the Summoner's tale moreover adopts some French phrases in his speech: [60]

(30)   O thomas, *je vous dy*, thomas! thomas!
         This maketh the feend; this moste ben amended.
         Ire is a thyng that hye God defended,
         And therof wol I speke a word or two.
         Now, maister, quod the wyf, er that I go,
         What wol ye dyne? I wol go theraboute.
         Now dame, quod he, now *je vous dy sanz doute*,
         Have I nat of a capon but the lyvere,
         And of youre softe breed nat but a shyvere,
         And after that a rosted pigges heed --
         But that I nolde no beest for me were deed --
         Thanne hadde I with yow hoomly suffisaunce

(*Summoner's Tale*, ll.1832-1843. Ed. Benson 2008)

While the *Manières de langage* are part of a more intentional French teaching programme, the presence of code-switching between English and French at the level of phrases reinforces the possibility of this style of learning in operation for some learners.

5.9 Conclusion

How does this different pedagogy sit in relation to the positioning and rhetorical embellishment of the draper's apprentice and the poultry vendor? It is likely that this reflects two distinct (but co-existing) pedagogical styles. In the longer dialogues, I have aimed to demonstrate the wide-ranging and complex nature of the positioning tactics available to the learners using the *Manières*. While mercantile haggling can be shown to be a relatively stable genre, the utterances within this framework use differing levels of (in)directness to continually situate the players within the 'storyline' of buyer and seller, asserting their own rights while calling upon each other to perform their associated duties. Meanwhile, in the shorter sales dialogues, there are no characters or narrative frame, and the emphasis appears to shift

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[60] Putter (2011) discusses this type of code-switching in Langland, Chaucer and Gawain with reference to Erving Goffman's (1979) theory of footing, which deals with two types of code-switching: situational and metaphorical. Situational code-switching 'is associated with a change in the perception or definition of the social situation' while for metaphorical code-switching 'there is no marked change in the definition of the social situation; rather, the switch responds to a change in the nature of the topic or subject matter' (Putter 2011: 281).

towards learning shorter phrases to reincorporate into speech in the marketplace, not unlike a modern-day phrasebook. Overall, this indicates that the various writers of the *Manières* had perhaps identified two categories of learners: one who desired to learn the intricacies of haggling and who had the capability to understand more sophisticated pragmatics, and one group who were either less able or less interested in learning the differing methods of positioning, but who wanted a handful of useful phrases that they could internalise and reproduce. This chapter has sought to use clues from the *Manières* to depict a pedagogical continuum, ranging from 'social' teaching to utilitarian phraseology, and thereby add to current understandings of these texts.

Chapter Six: Mocking, telling tales, and role play: humorous incongruence in the *Manières de langage*[61]

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will examine the teaching of humour production and comprehension, an area regarded as one of the most challenging to L2 learners, in the *Manières*. The main focus of this chapter is identifying what kind of humour we can detect in the dialogues. This relates to the broader issue of how the *Manières* seek to promote pragmatic competence in L2 learners. Attention will be specifically paid to humour produced by incongruence. Incongruence, which encompasses contrast or opposition between what is *said* and what is *meant*, can function as a diagnostic for humour. This is purported by Victor Raskin in his Semantic Script Theory of Humour (SSTH), which will be discussed over the course of this present chapter. I will also discuss metapragmatic terminology (i.e. words that describe speech acts) as a way to understand certain moments in the dialogues as incongruent. Incongruence is the key term that I have decided to use, since it encompasses a range of discrete yet interrelated incongruent behaviours such as irony, sarcasm, banter, overstatement and understatement. These behaviours are all contingent on a contrast between explicit and implicit meaning, and thus can be described as incongruent. I am not interested in limiting my discussion to any single one of the aforementioned behaviours, because each is challenging to define (and there is often some confusion between terms from the speakers themselves). I will, however, be discussing situations with elements of humour. I argue that the authors of the *Manières* may have purposefully worked in humorous moments in order to facilitate learning the more challenging elements of pragmatic competence. Additionally, incongruence may have been used as a pedagogical tool in moments when the dialogues were performed aloud.

Incongruence, and the speech acts that incorporate it, are particularly difficult for L2 learners to grasp. Jiyun Kim (2014) notes that understanding sarcasm successfully in L2 presents a twofold challenge for learners: incongruity and context-dependency. Both these elements often impede a successful understanding. On the same topic, Nancy Bell and Salvatore Attardo (2010) identify seven ways in which an L2 speaker may not be able to participate with 'competence' in humorous exchanges:

1. failure to process language at the locutionary level
2. failure to understand the meaning of words (including connotations)
3. failure to understand pragmatic force of utterances (including irony)
4. failure to recognize the humorous frame (a) false negative: miss a joke (b) false positive: see a joke where none was intended
5. failure to understand the incongruity of the joke
6. failure to appreciate the joke
7. failure to join in the joking (humor support/mode adoption)

(Bell and Attardo 2010: 430)

In particular, issues (3) and (5) directly pertain to incongruence and its associated speech acts, irony, sarcasm, jokes, overstatement and understatement. That the *Manières* may be consciously attempting

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to address pragmatic competence in the area of incongruence, identified here as a particular area of difficulty for L2 learners, would suggest that these were indeed highly sophisticated pedagogical texts.

6.2 Medieval understandings of incongruence

But how did people of the Middle Ages understand incongruence? This is something that was theorised widely by writers and rhetoricians, and practiced within literature at the levels of plot and genre. Regarding the incongruence between surface meaning and intention, *ironia* was a particular trope commented on by Cicero and the fourth-century grammarian Aelius Donatus, both classical thinkers drawn upon heavily throughout the Middle Ages. Cicero in *De Oratore* (II LVIII-LXII) includes 'ex inversione verborum' ['from the inverse of words'; Attardo glosses 'antiphrasis or irony' (1994: 27)] in his taxonomy of referential humour. Similarly, Donatus in the *Barbarismus* section of the *Ars Maior* writes 'Ironia est tropus per contrarium quod conatur ostendens' [irony is a trope expressing what it intends through its opposite] (*Ars Maior*, 401). The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* also categorises irony in this way (Knox 1989: 10), as does Isidore of Seville and Bede (Beyer 2014: 149).

The comment by Aelius Donatus is particularly significant because of his widespread influence on medieval language pedagogy. His *Ars Grammatica*, consisting of the *Ars Minor* (an introduction to the parts of speech) and the *Ars Maior* (a more detailed treatise), became 'the most successful textbook ever written' (Irvine: 1994, 58). Martin Irvine provides a detailed study of the transmission of Donatus's work into the Early Middle Ages. By the fourteenth century, as James J. Murphy demonstrates, the *Barbarismus* section of the *Ars Grammatica* was one of 'the most common grammatical works in English lower schools' (1967: 120). In Middle English, the 'donet' became shorthand for an elementary or introductory primer on grammar (MED). Indeed, this is referred to in *Piers Plowman*, when the dreamer narrates that 'Þenne I drouȝ me a-mong þis drapers my Donet to leorne' [Then I go among the drapers, my Donet to learn, Passus 5 l.123. Ed. Schmidt 1978]. The narrator here is describing being primed in 'fraudulent shop-keeping' (Murphy 1967: 124). For Anglo-Norman sources, we have the *Liber Donati* for Anglo-Norman, which shares exchanges with the 1415 *Manières*. In their introduction to their edition of the *Liber Donati*, Merrileess and Sitarz-Fitzpatrick write that while the Anglo-Norman text has '[…] only an indirect connection in form and content with the famous *Ars minor* of Donatus, but the title retains the common signification of an introductory work of grammar, one stamped with the authority of a great name' (1993:1). Indeed, this indicates that in Anglo-Norman too, the name Donatus pertained to a primer rather than specifically to any works written by Donatus.

Of course, considerations of incongruity extended outside the intellectual remit of rhetoricians. Beyer (2014), who examines the roles of wit and irony in high medieval historiography, a genre 'which contains many scenes of oral communication […] testifying to the important role of humour in the interactions of the political elite' (2014: 147) identifies 'unexpected turnarounds' as a diagnostic for incongruity. Beyer cites Preisendanz who speaks of the shift from one context to another and the collapse of expectations as central to wit (Preisendanz 1970: 21, 28). Beyer, echoing discussions of pragmatic competence, furthermore notes that 'use of these rhetorical devices in speech demanded a high degree of learning and sensitivity to language and conversation' (2014, 158).

In contemporary literature, incongruence could be used for comedic effects. A good example of this is the *Pardoner's Tale*, wherein Chaucer demonstrates an adept mastery of dramatic irony. The plot of this particular tale essentially comes down to a basic confusion between spiritual and secular realities, which serves to demonstrate the Pardoner's point that an obsession with physical gain blinds a person spiritually. At the beginning of the tale, three drunken revellers inquire after a dead man seen being

carried to his grave. A servant in the tavern responds by providing what Toole describes as a 'metaphorical modus operandi of Death' (1968: 38):

(1)   He was, pardee, an old felawe of youres,
         And sodeynly he was yslayn to-nyght,
         Fordronke, as he sat on his bench upright.
         Ther cam a privee theef men clepeth Deeth,
         That in this contree al the peple sleeth,
         And with his spere he smoot his herte atwo,
         And wente his wey withouten wordes mo.
         He hath a thousand slayn this pestilence.
         And, maister, er ye come in his presence,
         Me thynketh that it were necessarie
         For to be war of swich an adversarie.
         Beth redy for to meete hym everemoore;
         Thus taughte me my dame; I sey namoore.

(*Pardoner's Tale* ll.672-684. Ed. Benson 2008)

      [He was, by God, an old friend of yours
      And last night he was suddenly slain
      Drunk, as he was sitting up at his bench.
      A stealthy thief named Death came,
      Who slays all the people of this land,
      And struck his heart with a spear,
      And went away without a word.
      He has slain a thousand this last pestilence.
      And, sir, before you meet him,
      I think it is necessary
      To be aware of such an enemy.
      Be always ready to meet him;
      My mother taught me this; I say no more.]

Whereas the meaning of this speech from the servant is clearly spiritual and eschatological, the revellers believe his description of Death to be literal, and decide to seek Death out and kill him, rather than being *spiritually* prepared to meet him. The oftentimes grotesque subversion of spiritual themes in the *Pardoner's Tale* is summarised at the end of the tale in this memorable image, when the Host tells the Pardoner:

(2)   I wolde I hadde thy coillons in myn hond
         In stide of relikes or of seintuarie.
         Lat kutte hem of, I wol thee helpe hem carie;
         They shul be shryned in an hogges toord!

(*Pardoner's Tale* ll.952-955. Ed. Benson 2008)

      I wish I had your testicles in my hand
      Instead of relics or a container of relics

> [And] have them be cut off, I will help you carry them,
> [And] they shall be enshrined in a hog's turd

There is a clear opposite here between the 'high' spiritual domain of relics and the 'low' grotesque bodily image of testicles enshrined in a turd, or in other words, an incongruity between eschatology and scatology. In fact, the humour is made even more delightful by the fact that many holy relics were indeed body parts. There is, furthermore, an ironic application of the word 'help' (since carrying his own testicles in a hog's turd is something the Pardoner would have no desire to do, and therefore would seek no 'help' in doing so!). Interestingly for this example, Chaucer explicitly states that the people all around are laughing (l.961), demonstrating the humorous potential of incongruence.

There is also an interest in incongruity within francophone texts. For instance, at the beginning of Christine de Pizan's *Livre de la Cité des Dames* [Book of the City of Ladies, 1405], Lady Reason consoles Christine, who has pondered over the widespread existence of misogyny in the philosophical treatises, poetic works, and commentaries of her day:

(3)   Et des pouettes dont tu parles, ne sces tu pas bien que ilz ont parlé en plusieurs choses en
        maniere de fable et se veullent aucunes foiz entendre au contraire de ce que leurs diz
        demonstrent ? Et les puet on prendre par la rigle de grammaire qui se nomme *antifrasis* qui
        s'entant, si comme tu sces, si comme on diroit tel est mauvais, c'est a dire que il est bon, et
        aussi a l'opposite.

        (*Livre de la Cité des Dames*, p.625. ed. Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Brownlee 1975; trans.
        1997: 122)

        [And as for the poets of whom you speak, don't you know that they have spoken of many
        things in fables, and that many times they mean the opposite of what their texts seem to say?
        And one can approach them through the grammatical figure of *antiphrasis*, which means, as
        you know, that if someone says this is bad, it actually means it is good and vice versa.]

This represents a contemporary text to the *Manières* that explicitly mentions incongruity (here, antiphrasis) as a rhetorical device. Incongruity at the level of genre was also common in Francophone texts of the period. Simpson (2011) provides a survey of incongruent genres:

        [...] parodic revisionings and refashionings proliferate: mock 'wisdom literature' (e.g. parodic
        proverbs and pedagogical dialogues) and religious parodies (e.g. rewritings of the paternoster,
        or *Les Quinze Joies du mariage*, a parody of the meditation on the fifteen joys of the Virgin).
        [Another] striking example here is the mock testamentary tradition, notably represented in
        François Villon's *Testament*, a rich tapestry of comic crudity, whether drunks walking smack
        into lampposts, flatulence in bed or homosexual innuendo. In short, any genre or discourse
        in the Middle Ages has a comic double.

        (Simpson 2011: 112)

This demonstrates a pervasive fascination with incongruence. Further, if we take the vernacular evidence together, this fascination with incongruity was present in both anglophone and francophone literature.

The payoff of incongruence is often humorous effect, but should we be expecting this within the pedagogical environment? While we cannot speak of one static pedagogical environment (these texts could have been used in classrooms or in more private learning spaces) we can piece together evidence from other didactic texts that discuss the role of humour in pedagogical methodology.

Humour oftentimes produces laughter, which was often considered as problematic throughout the Middle Ages. The widely-attested wariness of laughter did indeed extend into the pedagogical realm.[62] An early example of this can be found in *Urbanus Magnus* (c.1180), a text described by Whelan (2017) as an 'early example of codification of medieval morals and manners in written form' and 'early text on conduct and etiquette' (2017, xv, xvii):

(4)   Cum risum reddis, tenuis sit risus in ore;
         Est hominis sani capitis ridere modeste;
         Est hominis uacui cerebri crispare cachinnos.
         Dentes labra tegant cum risus gaudia prestant.

(ll.881-883. Ed. and trans. Whelan 2017)

[When you are laughing, laughter should be delicate in the mouth.
A sensible man laughs modestly.
It is a man with an empty brain to shake with boisterous laughing.
Lips should cover the teeth when laughter surpasses delight]

The aversion to extreme physical manifestations of laughter is also current within fourteenth-century courtesy manuals. For example, in *How the Goode Wife Taught Hyr Doughter* (c.1350), the daughter is instructed to:

(5)   Change not thi countenans with grete laughter,
         […]
         Ne laughe thou not lowd, be thou therof sore.

(ll.46-50. Ed. Shuffelton 2008)

[Don't change your face with much laughter
[…]
And don't laugh loudly, or (you will) be sorry for that]

There is a similar anxiety about the physically and socially disfiguring power of laughter in *Urbain li Cortois* (c.1300):

(6)   A pilere ne devez apoer,
         Ne ta neue chare grater,
         Ne rier ne reschiner,
         Ne a nuly moker

(ll.39-42. Ed. Parsons 1929)

[You must not lean against a pillar
Nor scratch your skin

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[62] Criticisms of laughter have existed throughout the Middle Ages from the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* (c.530-60), where monks were warned against 'risum multum aut excussum' [immoderate of boisterous laughter (4.54)]; to Hugh of St Victor's desire for novices to modulate their physicality, for example, bu 'ridere sine apertione dentium' [laughter without bearing teeth] (*De institutione novitarum* cap. 12, quoted from Coxon (2008:3). This aversion continues into the Early Modern period. Erasmus demonstrates a wariness of laughter, and encourages self-governance similar to Hugh of St Victor in *De civilitate morum puerilium* [On Good Manners for Boys (1530)]: 'The face should express mirth in such a way that it neither distorts the appearance of the mouth nor evinces a dissolute mind' (p.275. Ed. McGregor 1985).

> Nor laugh nor bear your teeth,
> Nor mock anybody]

Notably, the Anglo-Norman text places laughter alongside leaning (or slouching) and scratching; it would therefore be possible to infer that laughter was considered similarly uncouth. These extracts, taken from a pedagogical context (here, conduct poetry) demonstrate a culture in which laughter was considered ill-mannered.

Although excessive laughter seems to have been regarded with contempt, medieval educators seem to have capitalised on the advantages of humour in their pedagogy. Münster-Swendsen (2014) notes that obscenity was common in the pedagogic medium, both for amusement but also to dramatise and explore power relationships between student and master. Aelfric de Bata, for example, uses coarse scatological humour and crass humour: drunkenness, floggings, older monks accompanying younger boys to the toilet, violence and 'a whole catalogue of Latin words for 'shit'' (Münster-Swendsen, 2014: 169-170). Indeed, humour was thought to help with the memorial process. De Bata, for instance, explains his pedagogical method thus:

(7)   'Ergo, sicut in hac sententia didicistis, pueri mei, et legistis in multis locis, iocus cum sapientiae loquelis et uerbis inmixtus est et sepe coniunctus. Ideo autem hoc constitui et meatim disposui sermonem hunc uobis iuuenibus, sciens scilicet quosque pueros iugiter suatim loquentes adinuicem ludicra uerba sepius quam honorabilia et sapientiae apta, quia aetas talium semper trahit ad inrationabilem sermonem et ad frequens iocum et ad garrulitatem indecentem illorum.'

> (*Aelfric de Bata Colloquy 29*, ed. and transl. Dumitrescu 2011: 71)][63]

[So, as you learned in this speech, my boys, and as you've read in many places, joking is often mingled and joined with language and words of wisdom. This is why I arranged and ordered this speech in my own way for you boys. I know, of course, that boys frequently say playful words to one another rather than words that are honorable or wise. For their age always draws them to their unreasonable talk and frequent joking and improper chattering.

Similarly, Critten (2015) touches on the idea of humour as a pedagogical device of the *Manières*:

It is typical of the more developed *Manières* dialogues that alongside basic but perfectly serviceable expressions such as the lord's 'Quelle heure est il maintenant?' we find more sophisticated uses of French. Janyn's 's'il vous plaist, je sounge' is simple enough in itself, but the valet's deadpan humour indicates a thoughtful use of language [that] suggests an interest in the comic potential of French [...] the pedagogic gesture can in itself provide the matter for a joke.

(Critten 2015: 931)

The present chapter seeks to expand on this idea by conducting a more in-depth inquiry into humour produced by incongruence (a useful diagnostic for potentially humorous moments). Humour was indeed used by some teachers throughout the Middle Ages, which also demonstrated second-language use at a more advanced level (i.e. being able to understand and produce humorous utterances), thus aiming to cultivate a pragmatic competence. I will begin by examining some of the language used to

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[63] Dumitrescu adds that '[t]his passage hints that the reader should not take the events depicted seriously, but should view Bata's fictional monastery as a fantasy world where much that can go wrong, does go wrong, often outrageously.' (2011: 71).

describe incongruent behaviours in the *Manières*. This will demonstrate both the multifaceted nature of the metapragmatic terminology, and what these behaviours will have looked like. I will then look at some episodes in the dialogues with regard to Raskin's Semantic Script Theory of Humour (SSTH), which takes incongruence and contrast between scripts as a diagnostic for humorous intent. This will allow for an examination of certain events in the texts as intentionally humorous, and thus incorporate the *Manières* into the corpus of texts that do use humour as a pedagogical device designed to cultivate pragmatic competence.

6.3 Contemporary studies in incongruence

I will now discuss the language of incongruence. Defining terminology has proved elusive in studies of incongruent verbal behaviour. For example, much effort has been put into theorising and defining concepts such as irony, which is perhaps one of the broader terms to describe incongruent speech. Irony is defined in the OED as '[t]he expression of one's meaning by using language that normally signifies the opposite, typically for humorous or emphatic effect; esp. (in earlier use) the use of approbatory language to imply condemnation or contempt'. Simpson (2011; see also Barbe 1995 ch.3) provides an overview of recent theoretical explanations of irony, ranging from relevant inappropriateness based on flouting conversational maxims of quantity, quality, relation and manner (Grice 1975; Attardo 2001), to irony as echoic mention (Sperber and Wilson 1981), provoked and spontaneous irony (Cutler 1974), and implicit display (Utsumi 2000). There is very little convergence of theories and many exceptions to the rule. Williams (2012; see also Barbe 1995: 9) believes that characterising rather than defining irony is a more helpful and productive enterprise than 'micro-theoretical' approaches. Indeed, in historical studies of irony or incongruence, a diachronic awareness is necessary, because 'language change […] entails a change in the understanding of linguistic concepts, including the concept of irony, and thus renders many definitions dated' (Barbe 1995: 9). Kapogianni (2011), characterising irony as a 'non-unified phenomenon comprising different devices with different semantic/pragmatic/cognitive characteristics' (2011: 51), undertakes this enterprise of characterisation by providing three essential qualities of irony: duality and contrast, unexpectedness, or "inappropriateness", and speaker's act of evaluation (Kapogianni 2011: 54–5). However, Kapogianni mentions that speakers 'sometimes tend to loosen the use of the term 'irony' and extend it to refer to related terms such as 'sarcasm', 'banter', or even 'humour' in general' (2011: 54). For my part, I do not want to exclude related incongruent phenomena because if speakers understand these relatedly or interchangeably (i.e. understand hyperbole to be some form of irony, contested by Carston and Wearing (2015)) then I see no reason to exclude these behaviours from the present study. Moreover, many of these terms share features with the broadly-categorised 'irony'; for example, banter (evident in the *Manières*) also relies on contrast, inappropriateness, and evaluation. Hence, rather than speaking of irony exclusively, I will address a broader lexis of verbal incongruence.

6.4.1 Seeking terminology for incongruence from the *Manières*: *bourdeus, trufes* and *tensons*

The 1399 dialogues provide a good place to start thinking about the lexis of incongruent language. There are two lists of insults in OA, the first of which I reproduce here:

(8)   Autre manier de language a parler des bourdeus et de trufes et tensons.
        Mauvaise ribaud, vous mentez.
        Alez, ribaud, vous pendre.
        Ribaud, vous estez digne d'estre perdu.
        Alez decy, senglent filz de putaigne.
        Certez, pailard, vous ne eschiverez jamais.
        Garçon, vous le achetrez.

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Ribaud, vous baserez mon cuel.
Va, ribaud, le diable vous confonde.
Pailard, je serrey bien vengé de vous.

[Another way of speaking to talk about *bourdeus*, *trufes*, and *tensons*
You're lying, you evil bastard.
Go away, bastard, get lost.
You're in for it now, bastard.
Fuck off you bloody son of a bitch.
For sure, wanker, you're not going to get away.
You little prick, you'll pay for that.
You'll kiss my ass, fucker.
Go home, fucker, may Satan fuck you up.
I'll get my own back, wanker.][64]

The metalinguistic terminology that accompanies these insults, *bordeus*, *trufes* and *tensons*, is worth lingering on, since it reveals a broad application for these utterances beyond mere impoliteness. The English cognate of *bourdeus*, for example, appears in the definition of 'irony' in *The Dictionary of Sir Thomas Elyot* (accessed on the *Lexicons of Early Modern English* database, 1538):

(9)   Ironia, is a fygure in speakynge, whanne a man dissemblyth in speche that whyche he thynketh not: as in scoffyng or *bourdyng*, callynge that fayre, whyche is fowle in dede, that good, whiche is yl, that eloquent, which is barbarous. Semblably reasoning contrary to that I thinke, to the intente to mocke hym, with whome I doo dyspute or reason.

To find 'bourdyng' related to incongruence so explicitly is clearly significant for the speech acts up for discussion in the present chapter, however, this word also appears in Middle English earlier than this attestation, in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (c.1400). The following example reveals the associated gameplay that comes with the term, when Lady Bertilak and Sir Gawain engage in this banterous exchange:

(10)   'God moroun, Sir Gawayn,' sayde þat gay lady,
ȝe ar a sleper vnslyȝe, þat mon may slyde hider;
Now ar ȝe tan as-tyt! Bot true vus may schape,
I schal bynde yow in your bedde, þat be ȝe trayst':
Al laȝande þe lady lanced þo *bourdez*.
'Goud moroun, gay,' quoþ Gawayn þe blyþe,
'Me schal worþe at your wille, and þat me wel lykez,
For I ȝelde me ȝederly, and ȝeȝe after grace,
And þat is þe best, be my dome, for me byhouez nede':
And þus he *bourded* aȝayn with mony a blyþe laȝter.

['Good morning, Sir Gawain' said that gay lady,
'You are such a deep sleeper that anyone can slip in here;
Now you are quite arrested, unless a truce can be brought about for us,

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[64] I have here translated for pragmatic effect rather than strictly literal sense.

I will bind you to your bed, be sure of that':
And, laughing, the lady launched her jests.
'Good morning, gay lady', said Gawain blithely,
'I will work to your will, and that pleases me,
for I yield completely, and yearn for grace,
And that is best, I believe, for I'm obliged by need'
And thus he jested again with many a blithe laugh.]

In Middle English, then, we can see that 'bourdyng' is a term associated with gameplay, wit, and humour. This may have been recognisable to an Anglophone learner, and could guide their interpretation of the insults in the 1399 *Manière*. Indeed, for an Anglo-Norman perspective, the AND similarly defines this word as 'joke'. There is thus a clear ludic application of the 1399 insults, identified by the word *bourdeus.*

The metapragmatic label *trufes* also indicates a possible ludic application of the insult-phrases, although it also indicates a broader sense of falsehood not necessarily related to humour. A search for *trufes* on the LEME database returns an entry from John Palsgrave's *Lesclarcissement de la Langue Francoyse* (accessed on the *Lexicons of Early Modern English* database ,1530), defining this as:

(11)   'Bourde or iape wt one in sporte Ie truffle. [...] Borde nat with hym for he can abyde no sporte: Ne truffle poynt a luy, or ne bourde poynt a luy, or ne le iounche poynt, car il ne peult poynt endurer ieu.

This dictionary evidence, which sheds light on metalinguistic attitudes, reveals a close semantic link with *bourd* and *trufle* both in English and in French. Both words can thus convey a ludic or socially inappropriate speech act. However, *trufle* can also apply to less playful linguistic behaviours. The OED, defining the English cognate 'trifle' as 'a false or idle tale, told [...] to deceive, cheat, or befool, [or] to divert or amuse', gives earlier examples of its use in Middle English:

(12)   'Þeos ant oðre trufles þet he bitrufleð monie men mide'

(*Ancrene Riwle*: 46, c.1250. Ed. Day 1952)

[With this and other trifles he tricked many men]

(13)   'Þys yche tale ys no tryfyl, For hyt ys wryte yn þe bybyl'

(*Handlyng Synne*: l.5031, c.1303. Ed. Furnivall 1901)

[This very tale is no trifle, for it is written in the Bible]

From this collected evidence, we can argue that the term *trufle* encompasses the idea of falsehood or lying, both in playful and non-playful modes. This indicates that the swear phrases from the 1399 *Manières* may themselves represent both playful and serious falsehoods.

The case of *tensons* is different in that this term pertains to a more serious and potentially hostile act. Again, we may find an English definition of this in John Palsgrave's *Lesclarcissement de la Langue Francoyse* (1530), 'Chidyng altercation, noise, tencon'. An OED query for 'tencion' (a 'contention, dispute, [or] quarrel') returns an attestation from Caxton's translation of Raoul Le Fèvre's *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*:

(14)   A grete strif or tenchon [Fr. une tençon et debat] that is fallen betwene them.

(*Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, (ed. 1894) II. 260, c.1473)

What we have is a lexical field that attests to the multiple applications of the following invectives of the 1399 *Manières*. On the one hand, they can be used as genuine insults (*tensons*), on the other hand, they can be used in a ludic manner (as *bourdeus* or *trufes*). There is thus potential for incongruity, arising from this ambiguity. This can be most succinctly explained via Geoffrey Leech's Banter Principle, which is a surface-level impoliteness that conveys a 'politeness', or, a 'relationship-affirming character' as defined by Helga Kotthoff (1996: 299), thus rejecting the equation of solidarity with 'politeness'. Leech defines this as a 'mock impoliteness' involving 'underpoliteness' that has the outcome of 'establishing or maintaining a bond of familiarity' (1983, 144). This notion of 'mock impoliteness' is discussed extensively by Jonathan Culpeper (1996, 2005), who defines it as 'impoliteness that remains on the surface, since it is understood that it is not intended to cause offence' which 'reflects and fosters social intimacy' (1996: 352). Furthermore, Culpeper (2011) outlines the multiple purposes of mock impoliteness, including reinforcing solidarity, cloaked coercion, and exploitative entertainment (2011: 215; on cloaked coercion see also Holmes (2000)). Thus, mock impoliteness or 'banter' should be disentangled from the equation with 'politeness', since there appears to be a gradation of applications within (im)politeness. Michael Haugh and Derek Bousfield here use the term 'non-impolite' to refer to an "allowable offence' that is evaluated as 'neither polite nor impolite' (2012: 1102). Of course, we cannot in this instance detect whether something in evaluated as (im)polite, however, this makes broad terms such as 'non-impolite' useful, especially given that the metapragmatic terminology supports a broad application for these words. Indeed, Mills (2003) argues that in some instances 'banter or mock impoliteness might allow someone to utter something closer to their true feelings in an exaggerated form at the same time as posing it in a manner where it will be interpreted on the surface at least as non-serious' (2003: 124). This is a possible interpretation for the insults found in the *Manières*, if we take the metalinguistic terminology of *bourdeus*, *trufes* and *tensons* as evidence.

Leech's Banter Principle operates as follows:

> (i) You are a fine friend (face-value, i.e. what is said)
> (ii) By which I mean you are *not* a fine friend. (Irony Principle)
> (iii) But actually, you *are* my friend, and to show it, I am being impolite to you. (Banter Principle).

> (Leech 1983: 145)

To adapt this to the invectives found in the *Manières*:

> (i) Ribaud, vous baserez mon cuel [Bastard, you can kiss my ass]
> (iii) By which I mean you are not a bastard; you are my friend, and to show it, I am being impolite to you

Theorised this way, it is possible to argue that instructing the principles of banter (or, how insulting phrases can also be used to affirm relationships) was an aim of this section of the *Manières*. This would be a useful lesson in pragmatic competence, which demonstrates the use of an arguably more difficult conversational behaviour.

6.4.2 Seeking terminology for incongruence from the *Manières*: *mokkez*

A similarly interesting incongruent behaviour is signified in the 1396 *Manières* by the term *mokkez* [mocking]. 'Mocking' is an identified metalinguistic term associated with irony (see Williams [2012]), and is thus an evaluative incongruence (i.e. includes speaker's judgement on a given state of affairs).

Interestingly, this association also appears in Old French, since the DMF supplies this as the definition of irony: 'Raillerie qui consiste à dire le contraire de ce que l'on veut laisser entendre, ironie; Moquerie, dénigrement'. The exchange where this occurs when a man meets a *malade* [a sick man], who explains that his horse struck him on the leg so hard that 'il en est tout enfleez et auxi le peel rumpuz' [it is all enflamed and the skin is broken]. Indeed, he elaborates on his condition in rather excessive terms:

(15)   'il puit plus vilainement qu'un fimers purriz tout plain de caroyne et de merde et de toutz
        autres ordurez et chosez puantz. Et pur ce je pense bien que je ne vivray gairs sinon
        que j'en ay le plus tost remedie.'

(CD 1396: 31)

[It stinks worse than a rotten dungheap full of dead flesh and shit and of all other rubbish
and smelly things. So because of this I really think that I won't live long if I don't quickly
get a cure.]

Upon hearing this, the other man tells the *malade* the story of Job, encouraging him to endure his trials while praising and thanking God. To this the *malade* responds:

(16)   'Hé, moun tresdoulx amy, purquoy ne fustez vous mye fait un frere mendivant ou un curee
        d'une esglise ou autrement un chapelein parochiel? Veraiment, il est grant damage que vous
        n'estez mye fait un clerk, quar vous eussez donques esté un soverain prechour.'[65]

(CD 1396: 31)

[Hey, my good friend, why were you never made a mendicant friar or a curate of a church,
or otherwise a parochial chaplain? Truly, it's a great shame that you were never made a
clerk, since you would have made an outstanding preacher]

The man responds to this utterance thus:

(17)   'Hé, mon amy, vous savez tresbien *flatere*, quar je sçay bien ore que vous *mokkez* de moy.

(CD 1396: 31)

[Hey, my friend, you know very well how to *flatter*, because I now know that you're
mocking me]

Although mockery (an established related term for irony) is not necessarily intended by the *malade*, the 'preacher' has made the interpretation of irony.[66] The utterance 'vous eussez donques esté un soverain prechour' [you would have made an outstanding preacher], if taken as ironic, could conform to Kapogianni's broad characterisations of duality and contrast, and speaker's act of evaluation (Kapogianni 2011: 54–5). The contrast can be explained by Leech's Irony Principle, which states that in order to cause offence one must 'do so in a way which doesn't overtly conflict with the Politeness

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[65] In Middle English, *prechen* can also mean 'to expound in a tiresome or offensive manner' (MED). The DMF similarly includes a couple of examples for a perjorative sense of *precher*. This opens the possibility that this sense of *prechour* is being used by the *malade* in the *Manières*.

[66] Also of interest, although not directly related to humour, is the metapragmatic reference to flattery. This word also appears in English as a gloss from *flater* to *flateryn* in a 1325 manuscript of Bibbesworth's *Tretiz*, MS CUL Gg.1.1; a highly influential pedagogical treatise designed to teach children Anglo-Norman. *Flateryn* is defined in the MED as praising 'insincerely', commending 'excessively or without reason' or 'dishonestly pleasing'. Flattery can thus be considered as part of the lexis of incongruence as a form of insincerity, untruth, or overstatement.

Principle, but allows the hearer to arrive at the offensive point of your remark indirectly, by way of implicature' (Leech, 1983:82). He outlines this process thus:

(i) You are a fine friend (face-value, i.e. what is said)

(ii) By which I mean you are not a fine friend. (Irony Principle)

(Leech 1983: 145)

This is an example of speaker evaluation that consists of an 'untrue' statement (as in, the opposite of what one means). Another way of framing this is overpoliteness as a means to convey 'underpoliteness', defined as falling short of meeting expectations for politeness. Thus, if we reframe the above example from the *Manières* to conform to Leech's Irony Principle:

(i) You would have made an outstanding preacher

(ii) By which I mean you would *not* have made an outstanding preacher

This shows both the potential opposition of the utterance and also the act of speaker evaluation ('you would *not* have made an outstanding preacher') if the perlocutionary interpretation of irony is indeed correct. Even if it is not, the fact that the possibility has been introduced is a potential flag to the learner using the dialogues that this type of utterance passes for an incongruent speech act designed to either flatter or mock.

Moreover, the inclusion of a mention of 'friar' may participate in an anti-fraternal sentiment which may inform an ironic reading of the utterance. Dean (1996) provides a broad overview of this literary tradition that includes works such as *Thou That Sellest the Worde of God,* 'an outspoken layman's attack on simoniac clergy - those who sell God's word [...] The narrator singles out the friars as especially blameworthy and bids them to appear only when summoned' (Dean 1996). Another text of this genre is *Freres Freres Wo Be Ye* a poem that is typical of the genre in linking the evil deeds of friars 'to their demonic connections [... f]riars are not merely wicked, they are said to inherit Lucifer's seven deadly sins when the rebel angels fell from heaven' (Dean, 1996). Within this context there may be scope to view the reference to friars as a veiled insult. There is also potential for incongruence depending on whether one were to view friars as purely benevolent 'good preachers', or whether one was thinking of this tradition of political writings in which the friars are aligned with Satan.

There is a possible situational irony at play in this episode that is contingent on devotional attitudes. Whereas piety and devotion may have been acceptable response to sickness, and perhaps thought to cure, the *malade* could be using irony in order to make an evaluation on the other man's response to his illness. The explicit and implicit meaning could operate as follows:

(i) You would have made an outstanding preacher

(ii) But this is doing nothing to heal my leg

Indeed, no healing takes place in the text; the two interlocutors simply part ways. This interpretation of the 'mocking' episode presents an opposition between a spiritual ideal and a more imminent reality. Indeed, such an opposition leads into my subsequent discussion of how certain moments in the *Manières* relate to Semantic Script Theory of Humour (SSTH).

The main premise of Raskin's SSTH is that a text (broadly defined: this can be a joke, an image, or a piece of literature) can be fully or partly compatible with two opposite scripts (1985, 99). Raskin defines a 'script' as a 'large chunk of semantic information surrounding the word or evoked by it […] internalised by the native speaker' (1985: 81: see also Attardo (1994) ch.6). There are furthermore differing types of opposition according to SSTH: actual vs. non-actual; expected vs. unexpected; and plausible vs. implausible. (1985: 107-110). The figure of Reynard the Fox, popular in the high and late Middle Ages, demonstrates how this operates in a medieval context:

Figure 6 **Reynard preaches to his flock (BL Royal MS 10 E IV, fol. 49v)**

The image of Reynard preaching to the birds (with the intention of eating them) evokes two main oppositional scripts (PREACHER and FOX), which themselves contain oppositional 'sub-scripts'.

PREACHER	FOX
Human	Animal
Benevolent	Malevolent
Spiritual good	Earthly misdeeds
Leads flock to eternal life	Eats the flock, leading to death

It is this opposition, Raskin posits, that evokes humour. This is potentially a fruitful diagnostic for intended humour within the *Manières* (and indeed, other texts of the Middle Ages). I will discuss three aspects of the dialogues that can be related to SSTH: the inadvertently offensive fabliau told to the lady of the hostel; the goodnight formulae that are prescribed 'se vous vuilez *trumper* ascun' [If you want to *make a fool of* somebody]; and the possible humour arising from the incongruity between the learner using these dialogues and the character they perform.

I will firstly examine the fabliau, which is present in four of the six manuscripts containing the 1396 *Manières*. It is noteworthy that this scene directly precedes the goodnight formulae, which invites the idea that this type of incongruent and oppositional humour may have been a pedagogical focus for this

section of the *Manières*. I posit that the fabliau operates on situational incongruences via oppositional scripts. In this tale, *une dame bone, gentele et sage*, is propositioned for sex by her husband's amorous squire. She accepts, concocting a plan with the squire. When she and the husband go to bed, she tells him about the squire, and instructs the husband to go outside dressed as her and wait for the squire in order to catch him. But unfortunately for her husband, she has also instructed the squire to wait for the husband with a stick, and beat him up, feigning to mistake the cross-dressing husband for the wife, and protecting her virtue. The husband, having been brutally beaten is satisfied that his wife will never be unfaithful. The wife and the squire then have sex.

The narrative first establishes a courtly couple: the wife is 'une dame bone, gentele et sage' [a good woman, gentle and wise], whereas the husband is a 'mult bon chivaler et vaillant' [very good and valiant knight]. This initial portrayal corresponds to Raskin's definition of a script as a recognisable schema, the entirety of which is implied by a certain word or concept. In other words, an expectation is established by the use of courtly language that the couple will act in a courtly manner.

For this reason I will term this script COURTLY EXPECTATION. This COURTLY EXPECTATION script, however, clashes with the second script, which sees the subsequent actions of the characters fulfilling a different script, that of a fabliau. I will thus label the second script FABLIAU OUTCOME. Within these two scripts there are different oppositions at play:

COURTLY EXPECTATION	FABLIAU OUTCOME
Chivaler husband	Dresses as his wife and is beaten
Intends to catch squire	Is caught and beaten by squire
Wife appears innocent	She is in fact guilty

We can see in this fabliau that expectations are established and then thwarted by the narrative. Although this may prove mirthful to the audience reading this in the dialogues, the character being told this tale, the lady of the hostel, is far from amused (which is in itself amusing). The tale is set up by the storyteller as the 'plus meilour counte que j'oy unques mais jour de ma vie' [the best tale I have ever heard in my life] and upon finishing the narrative, states that (for the most part) all the women in the world are 'plains de maveistee et tresone' [full of evil and treachery] (CD 1396: 16). The man, at the end of the tale, immediately turns to the woman and asking how she enjoyed this 'tresnoble counte'. She responds by calling this the '*pesme* counte que j'oy unques mez dez femmez'. Evidently this is a failed attempt at impressing the lady, by telling her a story in which the moral is to avoid women.

The context for the telling of this tale is thus an incongruent situation based upon intention versus effect:

INTENTION	OUTCOME
Adept performance	Inept performance (through choice of text)
Best tale	Worst tale
Avoid women	I am with a woman/She now avoids me

Using SSTH to understand this particular scenario demonstrates the 'mechanics' of humour in this episode. We can also do this with the goodnight formulae that follow this episode, which can similarly be considered as operating on oppositional humour. The goodnight formulae can be situationally thought of as expected vs. unexpected (that is, a void between the 'normal, expected state of affairs'

and the abnormal, unexpected state of affairs' (Raskin 1985: 111) because the expected situation is a sincere 'goodnight', and the unexpected outcome is the surprise twist:

(18)   Et se vous vuilez trumper ascun, vous dirrez ainsi :
         Dieu vous doint bone nut et bon repos
         Et beau lit et vous dehors.
         Dieu vous doint bone noet et auxi bon repos,
         Que vous n'aiez maishuy le cuil clos.

                                                                          (CD 1396: 16)

         [And if you want to make a fool of somebody, you will say thus:
         God give you good night and good rest
         And a beautiful bed, with you outside.
         God give you good night and good rest
         May you never have a closed arse.]

Does the phrase 'God give you good night and good rest' contain conventions indicative of a goodnight salutation script? Attestations from the DMF testify to an established 'goodnight' script containing these elements:

(19)   A Dieu, qui bonne nuit vous doint ! [To God, who give you good night]

                                        (*Miracle de Theodore*, p.99, c.1357. Ed. Paris & Ulysse 1878)

(20)   que bonne nuit lui doint Dieux [May God give him good night]

                                        (*Le livre de trois vertus*: 97, c.1405. Ed. Willard 1989)

However, contemporary evidence for these conventions in English is scarce. A search for the 'God give you good night' phrase does not return positive results from the CMEPV. As for the MED, the only goodnight formula that is provided is one attestation from Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*:

(21)   Have now good nyght, I may no lenger wake.
                                        (*Troilus and Criseyde*: 3.341, c.1380s. Ed. Benson 2008)

We do, however, find the goodnight conventions in the *Manières* occurring in Early Modern English. In the *Corpus of English Dialogues*, the query <g+d n+ght*> (covering spelling variations for *good* and *night*) for the period 1560-1599 returns 6 hits in 4 different texts. 2 of these hits share the 'god give you good night' phrase seen in the *Manières*. It is interesting to note that these are shared between English-French pedagogical dialogues. Not only does this reflect the languages of the *Manières*, but that they are pedagogical dialogues is convenient because these seek to reproduce pragmatically 'competent' speech. The first dialogue to include this formula is Claude Desainliens's *Schoolemaister* (1573) a handbook designed to teach French:

(22)   I haue my head to loe, lift vp a litle the bolster, I can not lie so loe: my shee freende, kisse
         mee once, and I will sleape the better.
         Sleape, sleape: you are not sicke, seeyng that you speake of kissyng rather to die, then to
         kisse a man in his bed, neither in other place: take your rest in gods name: *God geeue you*
         good night, and good rest.
         I thanke you fayre mayden.

The second dialogue to include this formula is Jaques Bellot's *Familiar Dialogues* (1586), a handbook designed to instruct French speakers to speak English:

(23) The host: It shalbe done. Syrs, your beds be made: When it please you, you may go to bed.
    The gent: Nedd, take thou the candell, and showe me light to the priuyes.
    The ser: When it please you Syr.
    The march: Good euen Syr.
    The gent: *God geue you good night* : [Fr. *Dieu vous doint bonne nuit*] But it were good for vs to pray before we go to bed.

                        (*Familiar Dialogues*, p.44)

One could argue that we simply do not have the evidence for this kind of greeting in Middle English, but that is not to say that it did not exist in the Middle Ages alongside Anglo-Norman. But although it is a possibility, one cannot argue on the basis of lack of such evidence. One can more concretely argue for 'God give you good night' as indicative of a recognisable goodnight script in medieval French, that may have entered into English during the Early Modern period.[67] The *trumper* [tricking] element is enacted in the reversal of this 'goodnight' script, which reflects Beyer's (2014) discussion of mirth involving the collapse of expectations, as outlined by Preisendanz in his notion of shift from one context to another ('Umkippen' 1970: 21). Thus, in these bedtime jokes from the *Manières*, the opposition at play is a reversal of an expectation invited by the conventions of the 'goodnight' script. This is reversed by a 'twist' follow up in each case, but these work on different oppositions, outlined below:

    i) 'I wish you have a comfy bed' vs. 'I wish you outside of that bed (therefore not comfy)'
    ii) 'I wish you good night vs. I wish you have an open arse'

Example i) is a straightforward actual vs. nonactual opposition, which is a void between the actual situation or setting for the joke (I wish you be comfy), and the non-actual situation (I wish you aren't comfy). The second joke, ii), does not contain readily-identifiable opposition, since it does not operate on a binary. The latter half of the utterance could perhaps be itself an instance of verbal irony that operates as follows:

    ii) 'I wish you have an open arse'
    iii) by which I mean I hope you do not have an open anus (because that would stink and be unpleasant for me)

Particularly in a situation of bed sharing (a common practice for travellers at an inn), one can see why the speaker would desire that their bedfellow keep a shut anus. Indeed, the wish for an open anus is very peculiar indeed.

However, this joke could also be related to Kapogianni's notion of 'surrealist irony' (2011), which can operate as a criticism of seemingly 'mundane' situation-bound utterances (2011: 56). Kapogianni describes that in surrealist irony 'the expressed meaning is the (impossible) consequent of an implicit conditional forming the first premise of the argument, while the intended meaning is the conclusion of the argument. It becomes clear that in 'surrealistic' ironies, the expressed proposition [...] is not directly

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[67] Particularly interesting, given the lack of contemporary Middle English evidence for 'God give you good night', is the idea that this formula in the *Manières* consciously mimics a French register, thus imitating the pragmatic behaviours of French, as opposed to mirroring the linguistic structures and behaviours of English using French lexis.

related to the intended proposition' (2011: 60). Hence, for this bedtime joke, the expressed proposition ('I wish you have an open anus') is the (impossible and unrelated) outcome of the intended proposition ('I realise these goodnight statements are conventional and overdone'), thus incorporating a negative evaluation of the previous utterance.

That the two bedtime jokes have different operations of incongruent humour may not be accidental. The aim here could be to demonstrating two different methods to *trumper auscun* [trick somebody]: incongruence elicited by binary script opposition, and incongruence arising from a more surrealist (and bawdy) ironic strategy. Further indicating their role in pragmatic education is the fact that both jokes rhyme, which can function as a mnemonic device.

6.6 Ironic performance
I will shift the focus now to discuss the incongruence arising from the performance of the dialogues, which may have resulted in humour. The focus here is on the humour that occurs when the speaker reading the dialogues aloud and the character that they perform occupy vastly different or oppositional social scripts. A very obvious example of situational incongruence would be that the performance of so-called 'doulx franceys' by a speaker who has limited capability in the language has ironic implications. If we consider this dialogue with a French traveller:

(24)   — En que pais fustez vous nee, beau sir, se vous pleast?
         — Veraiment, en le roialme de France.
         — Je vous en croi bien. Vous parlez bien et graciousement doulx franceys, et pur ce il me
         fait grant bien et esbatement au coer de parler ovesque vous de vostre beal langage, quar est
         le plus gracious parler que soit en monde et de toutz gentz meulx preisés et amee que nulle
         autre.

                                                                                    (CD 1396: 32)

         [— In which country were you born, sir, if you please ?
         — Truly, in the kingdom of France.
         — I really believe you. You speak well and graciously sweet French, and because of this it
         does me much good and gives me joy in my heart to speak with you in your beautiful
         language, since it is the most gracious speech that there is in the world and is the most
         prized and loved by all people, like no other.]

The person reading the role of the Frenchman who speaks 'bien et graciousement doulx franceys' invites mirth or mockery if, in fact, they do not speak their French part well at all. Another instance of situational incongruence (if we momentarily assume a classroom setting) would be asking a schoolboy to read the role of a prostitute (of which there are a couple in the *Manières*). This may have produced a humorous effect (or indeed, could have been used as a punishment!).

What is the evidence that these dialogues might have been performed aloud? There is both internal textual evidence and contextual evidence. In terms of evidence yielded by the *Manières*, the marks of orality (such as multiple exclamations of 'que dea' and 'hé') are an indicator that the texts would have been performed aloud. Furthermore, we have the *publicité pro domo* (Kristol's term) from the 1415 *Manière*, wherein a young boy recites his lessons from the hostel of William Kingsmill to an unidentified knight in order to secure an apprenticeship. As he recites his nominalia (which are largely based on the earlier *Tretiz* of Walter of Bibbesworth), the boy utters the words:

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(25)   *Auxi, beal fyz*, je toy enseigne de comune langage et d'autre maner de parlance

<div align="right">(CT 1415: 78)</div>

[*Also, good lad*, I will teach you the common language and another way of speaking]

The address term 'beal fyz' is of particular interest here. This utterance also appears in LA ('bele fitz'), but the address term is changed in OB to 'beal sire'. Not only does the boy inhabit the role of his teacher (presumably Kingsmill), but he replicates a verbal exchange between master and student. The teachers of later traditions, such as the Tudor *Vulgaria*, were similarly interested in depicting students in the process of learning and reciting. On a material level, the portable dimensions of some of the *Manières* manuscripts make it possible that these dialogues may have been passed around in a classroom setting, in order to be read aloud (in a manner similar to the travellers' modern phrasebook). The manuscripts also testify to a long period of use (CI, for example, is bound within a 16th century manuscript), and thus it is not beyond reasonable expectation that the dialogues had a period of use spanning at least a century, and that different methods of physical engagement were used in the learning process. It is thus reasonable to expect, from this textual and material evidence, that reading aloud was a part of the learning process in at least some instances. The boy reciting his lessons states that he learnt French at the hostel of Kingsmill, and thus we can categorise his learning environment as a classroom-like setting. Regarding evidence for performance within the classroom setting, Orme's (2006) study on medieval schools provides a wealth of practical information on their organisation and teaching practice. Orme states that pedagogical practice within the grammar schools comprised of memorisation (either dictated by the master or read aloud by pupils) and questions and answers, which was 'the format used by Donatus and his imitators, which suggests that masters would have asked a question in class and trained the pupils to make the appropriate response' (2006: 147). Orme characterises the medieval classroom as a place of 'plenty of oral interchange' (2006: 148). It is therefore compelling to imagine that students may have been asked comprehension questions of their dialogues after performing them. Incongruent performance could involve reading the part of a character of a higher social status, constituting an aspirational performance. Regarding the use of the dialogic form in the Early Modern period, Sullivan (2008) imagines these helping students to test identities and grow into a role that they could occupy in adulthood. In this sense, performance reflects very real ambition. Certainly, there is a level of aspirational performance at play in the *Manières*. For instance, Critten (2015) writes that instances wherein the student performs the lord in the 1396 *Manières* mean that the student 'practises not only the French names of lordly appurtenances, he also learns the way in which aristocratic identity constructs itself through the calling up of things, and he learns the breathless, demanding tones in which such objects are to be summoned into his presence' (2015: 942). Indeed, this links the performance of identity with the practice of a 'correct' tone and register, which would fall into the remit of cultivating a pragmatic competence for L2 learners.

Regardless of the pedagogical context, be it a classroom or a private/domestic environment, there seems to have been an interest in occupying incongruent roles through performance. The inverse of this socially aspirational performance is the imitation of social inferiors, of which there are many potential characters (the prostitute, the field labourers, and the beggar, to name a few). This may be comparable to a fascination with higher social orders disguising themselves as lower socioeconomic people. Peasant imitation is a common trope within romance literature; for example, Rachel Snell examines the 'undercover king' (or 'king-as-commoner') motif in Middle English romance. This common theme, she writes, is a 'potent figure across many cultures… [echoing] a more egalitarian desire: that, beneath all his pomp and ceremony, the king should be 'one of us'' (2000: 133). In the examples treated by Snell, the tales involve real historical kings, with 'explicit location, colourful local detail, and topical

allusions', which results in an emphasised 'realness' (2000: 134). This represents a wider fascination with the role of the king, and the idea of innate noble qualities.

But this disguise also happens elsewhere in the romance tradition in which knights imitate peasants (in an often functional disguise). For instance, in *Bevis of Hampton* (c.1324; a free adaptation of the Anglo-Norman *Boeuve de Haumton*), Bevis disguises himself as a beggar to gain access to his lover Josian, who has been married to King Yvor. Indeed, he convinces a palmer to trade clothes:

(26)   Beves of is palfrei alighte
        And schrede the palmer as a knighte
        And yaf him is hors, that he rod in,
        For is bordon and is sklavin.
        The palmer rod forth ase a king,
        And Beves went alse a bretheling.
        Whan he com to the castel gate,
        Anon he fond thar-ate
        Mani palmer thar stoned
        Of fele kene londe,
        And he askede hem in that stede,
        What hii alle thar dede.

                    (*Bevis of Hampton*, ll.2063-2074. Ed. Herzman, Drake, and Salisbury 1997)

        [Bevis alighted from his palfrey
        And dressed the palmer as a knight,
        And gave him his horse, that he had rode in,
        For his staff and cloak.
        The palmer rode forth as a king,
        And Bevis went as a pauper.
        When he came to the castle gate,
        He soon found there
        Many palmers standing there
        From far and wide,
        And he asked them
        What they were all doing there.]

This similarly happens in Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, where Arcite disguises himself as a 'povre laborer' (l.1409) in order to enter the service of his beloved Emily's household after being exiled from Athens. In the case of the *Manières*, the parts of beggars and manual labourers would have been performed by schoolboys presumably aiming for careers involving the ability to write and compose legal and administrative texts in French (see Britnell 2009), or the ability to speak in a continental style of French (suggesting mercantile career options). This suggests an interest in mimicking the speech of peasants, perhaps because this was deemed useful information to those wishing to understand and communicate with those working for them. Alternatively, this mode of language learning could have been participating in a wider cultural interest in the performance of social roles and the nature of power.

Role play also features in amorous pursuits of the *Manières*.[68] In LH, we encounter a scene wherein a traveller solicits the services of a prostitute. However, this is enacted in a striking way that demonstrates explicitly the potential advantages of role play. The man sings the prostitute a song, 'pour avoir son amour et sa pucellage' [in order to have her love and her womanhood] (LH 1396: 41). This leads to a section where the man role plays a marriage with the prostitute:

(27)   M'amie, je vous prenne icy a ma compaigne, et sur ce je vous affiance.[69]

(LH 1396: 41)

[My love, I take you here as my wife, and by this I marry you]

This interaction is successful, but to the modern reader it feels somewhat disingenuous in the context of a business transaction. This could be an attempt on the part of the *dictatores* to simultaneously address matters of interest to young men on the road, but to turn this towards less debauched matters. However, only a few pages later does the knight depart and pay for the prostitute's services:

(29)   Doncques le signeur se monte a chival et baise la fillete sa compaigne et li baille trent francs a paier pour ses despens.

(LH 1396: 41)

[Then the lord mounts his horse and kisses the prostitute, his companion, and hands over 30 francs to pay for her expenses]

Perhaps more likely is that this is an aspirational account of how being able to play the correct role, and doing so well, brings material benefits. This places emphasis onto the ability to perform different roles. The possible function of performance incongruence is thus perhaps a hands-on experience of this ability, that prefigures the ambitious performance of lordship in the Early Modern *Vulgaria* (Sullivan 2008). Not only do we see a practicing of aspirational desires, but also a potentially more developed understanding of dialect and 'class' registers, grounded in first-hand performance. This itself comes back to the idea of cultivating sociopragmatic competence.

6.7 Conclusion

To draw to a conclusion: what could be the potential function of the incongruity detected by the metapragmatic language and instances of SSTH in the dialogues? One possible role for incongruence incorporating humour is to check that the students are paying attention or, indeed, whether they understand what is going on. This is because a certain level of attention would be needed in order to follow the incongruous sequence of events, or the opposing scripts at play within certain scenarios (such as the offensive fabliau). If we accept that some of the learners would have been young (like the boy represented in the 1415 *Manières*), this approach could have formed part of a strategy to initiate them into more 'adult' levels of humour. This feeds into the broader function of cultivating linguistic competence by displaying (and practicing) language use at a sophisticated level, which requires a very good knowledge of the language in order to appreciate it. For the *Manières*, this involved teaching students what it tangibly meant to *mokker*, to *bourder* and *trufler*, or to *trumper*, by first labelling the speech act before demonstrating its use in the following dialogue. It is thus possible that the dialogue's

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[68] This episode can be considered as a contrast to the fabliau. Notably, in the two 1396 *Manières* where the fabliau does not occur, we instead get this episode.
[69] It is significant that the indicative present is used here, since this was a requirement for a legally binding marriage contract. This could be binding just performing this, but the prostitute does not respond, and thus her silence renders such a performance legally void.

authors and teachers understood the pedagogical potential of humour, and consciously incorporated this into their teaching materials. It is furthermore imaginable that this humour was detected by the students over the course of their learning, and that this helped them to build up pragmatic competence not only because it helped them understand jokes in L2, but also because it kept them engaged as interested learners.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

The *Manières* have been subject to both historical treatment and linguistic editorial commentary and they are often afforded a mention in overviews of French-language pedagogy in medieval England (Ingham 2015; Rothwell 2001; Kibbee 1991; Lusignan 1987). However, a full treatment of the *Manières* as texts that deploy a wide range of pedagogical tools has not been undertaken until now. Moreover, the dialogues have never been examined with a sustained focus on the learners' L1: Middle English. The chapters above have demonstrated how a consideration of the broader vernacular contexts of the *Manières* can enhance our current understandings of how they operated.[70] By looking at relevant corpora and dictionaries, and supplying corpus-based results with qualitative analyses, I have aimed to investigate the learners' L1 (English) and the wider L2 (French) contexts. Furthermore, in looking at the wider linguistic landscape and constructing a bigger picture in which the *Manières* are situated, I have attempted to identify areas of learning difficulty, and examined how the dialogues may have responded to such challenges. In doing so, I have directly positioned myself against analyses that minimise the pedagogical capabilities of the dialogues, for example, Kristol's comment that they were only able to instruct a 'français élémentaire' [elementary French (2001: 151)]. The *Manières* are indeed entertaining in places, as well as obscene, humorous, and perhaps surreal. It is sometimes the case that 'funny' or 'bawdy' texts are dismissed in the first instance as 'simple'. However, these qualities should not preclude a consideration of these texts as sophisticated materials for instructing French.

The major claim of this thesis is that the *Manières* should be viewed as texts that are invested in cultivating both linguistic and social competence. Although it is acknowledged that the dialogues would likely have been used in different contexts (i.e. not educational ones) by different people throughout their history, this thesis has explicitly examined them in this capacity. In their pedagogical role, not only did the *Manières* seek to aid learners to produce sophisticated utterances, they used many pedagogical devices to impart this knowledge. I have argued that the *Manières* consciously work to develop conversational competence for English people both domestically and abroad on the continent. I moreover believe that the *Manières* are texts that demonstrate an interest in many types of oral exchange, and also seek to encourage and maintain certain behavioural standards.

To make this argument, I took a range of approaches from pragmatics and other areas of linguistics to find out how the *Manières* sought to impart both linguistic and behavioural knowledge, in relation to areas of pragmatic difficulty, where differences existed between the languages. Such linguistic difficulty could translate into social difficulty, which learners would have been particularly keen to avoid, especially if they needed French to conduct business or to advance their careers. Areas of linguistic difficulty have been identified as the equally complex yet different pronominal address systems, and potential 'false friends'. Elsewhere, pragmatic difficulty came not from linguistic origins, but social ones: oath swearing, haggling, and various types of humour. As sophisticated educational texts that sought to encourage linguistic and behavioural competence, how did the *Manières* overcome

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[70] Particularly helpful when thinking about the linguistic contexts for the *Manières* is the concept of 'language ecology' as used by Machan (2005) in his study of late-medieval English. He explains that '[s]ome aspects of a language ecology […] like some aspects of a biosystem, may remain relatively constant across time, while others may change rapidly and do so in ways that transform other features of the ecology with them. Whether its focus is diachronic or synchronic, an account of the ecology of a natural language such as Middle English, by describing who uses what linguistic varieties under which circumstances and with what social effects, characterizes the relations between a speech community's linguistic repertoire (its registers and varieties) and social practices. These ecological practices, in turn, emerge from and enact the overarching status of a language' (Machan 2005: 10).

difficulties in pragmatic acquisition? One main method was the use of narratorial intervention that often elucidates the following dialogue:

(1)   Si vero tuizaveris aliquem, hoc modo responsionem tuam procul dubio reserabis

(LH 1396: 39)

[If you address anyone using singular pronouns, in this way certainly you will disclose your response]

(2)   Autre manier de language a parler des bourdeus et de trufes et tensons

(OA 1399: 54)

[Another way of speaking to talk about games, trifles, and fights]

A second method used in the *Manières* is the exposition of the perlocutionary reactions a learner might expect to encounter via various characters, both negative (in the face of inappropriate behaviours [3]) and positive (in the face of successful utterances [4]):

(3)   Il ne vous faudra ja ainsi jurer, car je vous en croi bien a primer mot sanz plus sonner.

(LH 1396: 37)

[You shouldn't ever swear like that, since I believed you at the first word without any more fuss]

(4)   Par Dieu, si faitez bien et gentilment come se vous eussiez demurré a Parys ces .xx. ans, qar veraiment je n'oy unques mais Engloys parler franceys si bien a point ne si doucement com vous faitez, ce m'est avys toutezvoiez.

(CD 1396: 33)

[By God, you do it (speak French) well and elegantly as if you had been staying in Paris these 20 years, since truly I have never heard an Englishman speak French so exactly correctly nor as fluently as you do, that is my view anyway]

Moreover, to counter pragmatic difficulties arising due to lesser competence in French, the authors of the *Manières* incorporated conversations of varying complexity (as discussed in Chapter Five). The compiler of OA, for example, included mercantile conversations of varying complexity across the 1396 and 1399 families. This suggests an awareness of differing levels of prior exposure to French in the students. This moreover points towards different needs and learning styles in the presumably diverse group of learners using the *Manières*. As explored in the Introduction, there are several possible learners who used the *Manières*, ranging from adults to children, who may have experienced greater or lesser prior exposure to French. It is acknowledged that some prior knowledge of French was likely useful when it came to learning and practicing complex conversational manoeuvres such as negotiation, humour, and (im)politeness strategies. This fact speaks to the *Manières*' broader function of cultivating social as well as linguistic competence. For students possessing some knowledge of French before encountering the *Manières*, the dialogues likely reflected an exercise in pragmatic refinement, rather than the starting phase of acquisition, although not all students were necessarily operating at this level, as suggested by the shorter bilingual *Manières*. Indeed, this final point contributes to my overall argument for the *Manières*' sophistication. The presence of a much-reduced, 'elementary' *Manières* tradition supports the argument that the longer, more embellished dialogues are not 'elementary'.

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The focus on the social and pragmatic side of the *Manières* aligns the present work with Lusignan's view that the *Manières* reflect a practical rather than a purely theoretical pedagogy (1986: 96). Not only did these dialogues reflect the socio-political conditions of their time, responding to continental and insular contexts (see Critten 2015, 2019) but they may also be considered practical due to the range of conversations displayed therein. Often, utterances in the *Manières* not only display advanced grammar, but they also provide exposition of the relationships between different members of society. The *Manières* can thus be said to respond to the learners' need for linguistic and social success.

A discussion of these pragmatic features has often allowed me to examine the represented speech of the *Manières* through different areas of linguistics. In Chapter Two, I was able to examine the dialogues' treatment of Christ-centred oaths, and moreover discuss the broader context of the pragmaticalisation of such oaths. In Chapter Three, I examined the multiple intersecting factors governing pronominal address terms, which rarely remained static throughout a conversation, through the framework of indexicality which has been used fruitfully in discussions of contemporary French. In Chapter Four, I discussed possible strategies to detect 'false friends' through semantic overlap and appearance elsewhere in the Middle English record, and moreover considered some possibilities of the effect this may have had on the learning experience (although more work in this area remains to be done). In Chapter Five, I examined the complex and ongoing relational work in mercantile negotiation through the perspective of positioning theory and considered the pedagogical consequences of the existence of these involved conversations alongside much shorter and less embellished examples. Finally, in Chapter Six, I examined SSTH as a tool to diagnose moments of intentional humour in the *Manières*, and furthermore considered the role of humour in the pedagogy of the dialogues. The perspectives taken in these chapters reveal that there are many pragmatic behaviours and linguistic features that cannot be described as belonging within the remit of elementary discourse. Indeed, an education in post-elementary French would likely have been accessible to an English-native learner if we see the *Manières* as part of a pedagogical whole, alongside texts such as Bibbesworth's *Tretiz*, the grammatical and orthographical treatises, and other texts used to teach French in the late Middle Ages. As outlined in the Introduction, although it is possible that some of the learners who used the dialogues during their long history had little to no knowledge of French, it is likely that most had at least a little exposure to the language. Indeed, it is notable that the two languages shared much on the level of pragmatics. This should not be a surprise in light of recent work by Sylvester and Ingham (2019), which has shown that French words had penetrated even into non-elite areas of medieval life, suggesting a widespread use of French in various domains of English life.

Pragmatically speaking, the *Manières* can be described as very 'noisy' texts: they contain representations of voices from diverse walks of late-medieval life: men, women, children, labourers, merchants, and gentry. Analyses of represented orality must, of course, be approached with caution. Nevertheless, as texts that seek to impersonate socially recognisable voices for the purposes of a behavioural and linguistic pedagogy, the *Manières* are fertile ground for further pragmatic and linguistic study.

What are the possible future avenues for research? One could come from a material philology perspective that centres on the manuscripts. Such a method does not see a text independently of its material incarnation; rather, as Driscoll asserts, we should also be analysing 'the whole book, and the relationships between the text and such features as form and layout, illumination, rubrics and other paratextual features, and, not least, the surrounding texts' (2010: 90-91). Such an approach is related to the pragmaphilology branch of pragmatics, defined by Jacobs and Jucker as the study of language use within 'the contextual aspects of historical texts, including the addressers and addressees, their

social and personal relationship, the physical and social setting of text production and text reception, and the goal(s) of the text' (1995: 11). I have been able to make brief comments on the *mise en page* as well as textual variations where relevant in this thesis, but a full consideration of the paratextual features of the *Manières* manuscripts has been outside the scope of the present study. In particular, it would be interesting to explore the potential effects of paratextual features, such as rubrication and manuscript dimensions, on the learning experience. For example, would a hand-held manuscript such as CI or LA have a different effect on the learning experience than a larger manuscript such as LL? Would a small textbook be passed around a classroom, or used in private study? Would a large and less portable text be used as reference work, whereas a smaller book would be used as a practical handbook? It is also worthwhile to bear in mind that the manuscripts as physical manifestations of texts 'continue to exist through time, and are disseminated and consumed in ways which are also socially, economically and intellectually determined, and of which they bear traces' (Driscoll 2010: 91). We can see this in LA on f. 13v, which bears the inscription 'This is edwarde dotherols boke of Chichester preficiens in chichurgia' in a hand of the late-15th or 16th century (later than the assumed date of composition). It would therefore be interesting to consider later, Early Modern contexts for these dialogues, and the manuscripts that contain them.

Moreover, in this thesis I have treated the *Manières* as a test case for larger issues pertaining to contact between English and French during the Middle Ages. While the influence of Anglo-Norman on Middle English lexis (Sylvester & Ingham 2019, Sylvester et al. 2019, Trotter 2013; Rothwell 1996) and syntax (Ingham 2010; 2012) is becoming increasingly well-understood, the pragmatic influence of Anglo-Norman on English (and perhaps vice versa) has yet to be studied in any systematic way.[71] This is less chartered territory for research: where contact with French left its mark on English pragmatics, and where it did not. What is needed for this is a broader vernacular view, rather than monolingual studies. Hopefully the methods and conclusions found in the present thesis will be developed and applied to wider studies, making use of a broader corpus of texts. Such perspectives should also be applied diachronically, tracking the development of English and Anglo-Norman pragmatics in tandem. In current narratives of linguistic influence of French on English, what is missing is a pragmatic perspective; a perspective that analyses the effects of French on the social and contextual semantics of English, and vice versa.

The present thesis has sought to elucidate what a historical pragmatic perspective can bring to bear on language pedagogical texts, a genre that can be seen to respond to and inform their social and linguistic contexts. The *Manières de langage* are particularly rich texts for further study, however, the approaches taken in this thesis may be applied elsewhere to examine how historical language manuals interacted with their multilingual contexts. What educational challenges did such manuals face, and how were they overcome? What ideals did they aspire to, and how were these represented? What did the learners already know? What does the language contained within educational manuals say about attitudes towards wider varieties of the languages in question? To answer such questions, one needs to examine the wider social and linguistic contexts for the manuals in question, which calls for a mixed methodology. Exploring such questions is one way to improve understandings of historical speech communities. This thesis has also examined what language learning manuals can bring to pragmatics (on this see also McLelland [2018]). Not only did the *Manières* represent spoken French between different types of speaker (notwithstanding the methodological caution that must be exerted, as

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[71] An exception to this is Jucker's work on the adoption of courtesy-based politeness models into Middle English under the influence of French, which became instrumental to the subsequent development of later politeness models (2010, 2014). I have also begun to publish on this topic (Reed 2017, 2019, in press).

discussed in the Introduction) but they also contain language *about* language, using metalinguistic commentary and terms, as well as reactions from characters within a given fictitious interaction. In this way, the *Manières* (and other pedagogical dialogues) can act as a window into contemporary social evaluations of language use.

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