

Further Evidence for a 'Middle French' Koiné: The Fusion of Preposition + Article Sequences

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1 Introduction

This paper examines the evolution in French of fused forms of the masculine singular definite article *le* with the prepositions *de* 'of, from', *à* 'to, at', and *en* 'in'. The article first encliticized to the preposition and lost its vowel. Then, the development *à+le* > *al* > *au* with [I] vocalization is phonetically straightforward. However, *de+le* and *en+le* are problematic, presenting two sets of outcomes according to dialect area—one has the front rounded vowel [ø], which later raises to [y] (*du*, *u*); the other has the back rounded vowel [u] (*dou*, *ou*). Strikingly, the forms which ultimately triumph (*du* and *ou*) are drawn from different dialect areas. The fate of the three fused forms is also differential—*ou* disappears in the 16th century, *du* and *au* survive to this day. In this preliminary survey, we propose that the differential patterns of change encountered are the result of dialect-mixing and koineization.

2 The Data

We have three sources of relevant data at our disposal for the period c.1300: examples of closure of pretonic [ø] to [y] from reputable secondary sources such as Nyrop (1899-1930) and Pope (1934); the maps in Dees' atlases of 13th century charters (Dees 1980) and literary manuscripts (Dees 1987); and the forms found in a group of Old French Bible manuscripts, some of which are dated or datable, and which cover the period c.1260-1340.

2.1 Secondary Sources

We begin with the general question of the closure of pretonic [ø] to [y] which results in the forms *du* and *u*. Below, we list some uncontroversial examples of this change, including tonic-pretonic alternations, given by Nyrop (1899-1930: I, §302), with datings derived from the standard dictionaries of Old French (Godefroy 1880-1902 (G); Wartburg 1928- (W); Tobler & Lommatzsch 1925- (TL)). It will be seen that the forms with the closed vowel are later than 1300, and are often rare. The glosses given are Old/Middle French, not (necessarily) Modern French.

<i>rheubarbum</i> > <i>rhubarbe</i> 'rhubarb'	16th century
<i>preud'home</i> > <i>prud'homme</i> 'honourable man'	14th century
<i>feur</i> > <i>fur</i> 'rate'	14th century; but rare
<i>sort/seur</i> > <i>sur</i> 'on'	late 14th c. (one 1304 ex.)
<i>bleu</i> ~ <i>bluet</i> , <i>bluâtre</i> 'blue ~ cornflower, bluish'	Mod. Fr.; not in G or TL
<i>meule</i> ~ <i>mulon</i> 'stack ~ (small) stack'	14th century
<i>meute</i> ~ <i>mutin</i> 'riot ~ mutineer'	15th century

The development of [ø] to [y] in 'secondary stressed syllables' is also noted by Pope (1934: §543), who gives *du* and *u* as examples. She draws attention (§486) to a similar development affecting original pretonic [e] rounded to [ø] under the influence of a following labial consonant (compare *bevant* > *buvant* 'drinking', *femier* > *fumier* 'manure', and *jemeaux* > *jumeaux* 'twins'). Elsewhere (§843), she notes a geographical split in the development of *del* and *el*, alleging that [(d)ø] > [(d)y] is found in the North-Western and West Central regions and [(d)o] > [(d)u] in the Eastern, East Central, and Northern regions, with both outcomes present in the Central region, a conclusion supported by evidence from rhymes in the *Roman de la Rose*. It seems clear from the secondary sources that pretonic [ø] > [y] is a relatively late change, and that *du* and *u* are amongst the earliest items to be affected by it.

2.2 Atlas Data

Dees's atlas of 13th century charters (1980: maps 42-45, 52-55), shows the following geographical distribution of the fused forms under consideration.

de + le: *dou* predominates from South-West to North-East, with a strong showing for *del*, *deu* and *du* taken together only in the areas corresponding to the modern Somme/Pas de Calais and Aisne, in Normandy, and in the *région parisienne*; the most usual form within these areas of strength is *du*, and not *del* or *deu*.

en + le: *ou* predominates in a swathe from South-West to North-East, with *el*, *eu*, *hu*, and *u* together being strong in the areas corresponding to the modern Nord, Aisne, and Somme/Pas-de-Calais, and in Normandy, Wallonia, and Hainaut. In these areas of strength, *el* seems to be the norm, with *eu* and to a lesser extent *u* being dominant only in Normandy.

The obvious difference in the two distributions is Paris, which has *du* and *ou* as its norms.

A slightly different picture emerges from Dees's atlas of literary texts (1987: maps 84-85, 91-93), confirming the area of <ou>/[u] dominance for both *de + le* and *en + le*, but showing *del* as the norm in Wallonia, Hainaut, and Ardennes, *el* as rare, and *hu/u/v* dominating the North and Paris.

2.3 Old French Bible Data

The *Old French Bible* is the earliest complete translation of the Bible in a western vernacular. It was composed in or near the Île de France, c.1220-1260, by an anonymous team of translators working from glossed Vulgate texts (Sneddon 1999a, 1999b, 2002). It was theologically uncontentious, and circulated amongst those wealthy enough to buy illuminated manuscripts.

The translation contains substantial glossing in some books (Genesis, Joshua, Judges), moderate glossing in others (Psalms, Gospels), and almost no glossing elsewhere. Its text was revised on more than one occasion, so that we have four states of text from the 13th century alone.

The data presented in the Appendix have been chosen to exemplify forms corresponding to *de + le*, *en + le*, *sur* ‘on’, *buvant* ‘drinking’, and *buveur* ‘drinker’. (The reasons for the inclusion of the last three items are discussed below.) Relevant forms found in Matthew chapters 5 and 11 have been cited, from a selection of manuscripts representing the four 13th century states of text and the two 14th century texts (*c* and *e*) which appear in *Bible historiale* manuscripts before c.1340.¹ The order in which the manuscripts are quoted is by family (*x*, *a*, *c*, *b*, *d*, *e*), as shown in the stemma at the beginning of the Appendix. Paleographically-based dating information is also given, with a precise date where the manuscript is dated or datable.

In the manuscripts considered, we find the following forms:

***de + le*:** *del* is the norm until the end of the 13th century. Both *du* and *dou* gain ground after this date, the latter first appearing in an Eastern manuscript dated 1284 (BN fr. 12581).

***en + le*:** *el* is the norm in all manuscripts (*v* occurring only once in the sample, in a c.1300 manuscript from the North (Musée Condé 5)), except that *ou* occurs in the same Eastern manuscript as *dou*, in one other late 13th century manuscript which is less easily localizable (Pierpont Morgan M 494) and which consistently uses *du*, and in a manuscript written not long before 1341 (Ste-Geneviève 22) which also uses *du*.

The inference to be drawn is that *du* becomes the norm, replacing *del* before *ou* replaces *el*, and that this process is well under way by the mid 14th century. *Sor/seur* ‘on’ (modern *sur*) and *bevant* ‘drinking’, *beveor* ‘drinker’ (modern *buvant*, *buveur*) were also examined to see if these forms cast any light on the overall picture of the [ø] > [y] change. In the case of *sor/seur*

¹ In 1291-1295, an independent translation of Peter Comestor’s *Historia Scholastica* was made by Guiart des Moulins. Not later than 1314, Parisian *libraires* had combined most of the Old Testament portions of des Moulins’s text with Volume II (Proverbs to Revelation) of the *Old French Bible*. It is in these composite manuscripts that the three 14th century states of text are found.

(<SVPER), there is no instance of *sur*, but competition in a minority of manuscripts from the etymologically distinct *sus* (<SVRSVM). In the case of *bevant* and *beveor*, there is evidence that *buvant* appears at about the same time as *du*, but before *beveor*.

The oldest manuscript from which data were collected (BN fr. 899) has been localized to a workshop on the Île de la Cité c.1260 (Branner 1977:106; Rouse & Rouse 1991: note 56), and it uses *del* and *el*. Another manuscript, dated 1317 (Arsenal 5059), is said by its scribe to have been written in Paris; this mixes *del* and *du*, but consistently uses *el*. The interpretation which this seems to suggest is that the orthography of books prefers the older spellings and <el>, but that the local speech habits of Paris, as attested by charter evidence, come to be adopted into book orthography, hence the 14th century use of *du* and *ou*, with *ou* being accepted later than *du*. However, we may also note that the earliest Old French Bible manuscript to attest *du* (Mazarine 35) is the most Northern of the manuscripts, and attests *du* only once in the sample, behavior which one might expect if this were an innovation. If *du* is Northern, it could be appearing in Parisian books as a result of Northern influence. The three manuscripts which consistently use *du* (Pierpont Morgan M 494; BN fr. 398; Ste-Geneviève 22) are all later manuscripts of families linked to this Northern manuscript, so it would be possible to suggest that the form *du*, of whatever origin, was adopted in this family and thereafter copied from this consistent source.

It should be noted that, as well as the chronological analysis of these manuscripts, it is possible to consider them by textual family. Such an approach would suggest that some families (*x*, *a*, and, to an extent, *c*) are more conservative than others (*b* and its descendants).

2.4 Summary

In any event, and whatever the finer details of the analysis, the role of Paris here seems to be one of a melting pot, ultimately accepting the Northern and Western forms in [y] for *de + le* but not for *en + le*. The selection of one outcome in one form and of the other outcome in the other form, after a lengthy period of variation, betokens dialect-mixing and koineization.

3 Dialect-Mixing and Koineization

The phenomenon of koineization is discussed by Siegel (1985) and Trudgill (1986:107-108), who notes:

In dialect contact and dialect mixture situations there may be an enormous amount of variability in the early stages. However, as time passes, focusing takes place by means of a *reduction* of the forms available. This reduction takes place through the process of koinéization, which consists of the *levelling* out of minority and otherwise marked speech forms, and of *simplification*, which involves, crucially, a reduction in irregularities.... The result of the focusing associated with koinéization is a historically mixed but synchronically stable dialect which contains elements from the different dialects that went into the mixture, as well as interdialectal forms that were present in none. [emphasis in original]

Moreover, the accommodation involved in dialect mixing is commonly incomplete, resulting in lexical diffusion (Trudgill 1986:58-60).

There is little doubt that, from the 12th century onwards, Paris experienced a rapid growth in population, with much in-migration from other *oïl*-speaking areas. In light of the findings of modern urban dialectology, Lodge (1999:55) hypothesizes that 'the first stage in the development of urban speech in Paris was its gradual rise above the dialect continuum of northern Gallo-Romance through a process of dialect-mixing and eventual koinéization'. He correlates this process with the 'pre-industrial' phase of urban growth postulated by Hohenberg & Lees (1995) in their discussion of the rise of cities in Europe. This period runs from 1200 to 1500, and corresponds to the period from which we have taken our principal data.

These data, as presented above, are consistent with koineization. The [ø] > [y] change appears to be lexically diffuse, with *du* (and possibly *bu-vant*, but not *buteur*) being in the van. Parisian 'Middle French', the 'proto-standard' of the modern language, selects *du* and *ou*, apparently from different dialect areas, for *de* + *le* and *en* + *le*, respectively. However, the manifestations of koineization may run even deeper. We suggest that, in addition to explaining the differential development of the two fused forms, this process may also account for their differential fate subsequently.

3.1 The Disappearance of *ou*

Tuten (2000:102-104) observes the disappearance of many fused forms combining a preposition and the definite article in early Castilian and their replacement by more transparent sequences of preposition + article. For instance, *no*, *ene*, and *eno* 'in the' are all replaced by *en el*. He notes:

The ability to use contracted forms requires that the speaker learn either complex rules or more forms. Such complex knowledge is most effec-

tively passed on in stable communities.... In order to accommodate to their new and dialectally mixed communities, some speakers may have begun to eliminate those forms which were unfamiliar to many other speakers.... More likely still, both adult and child learners of the target variety of the new community would have tended to search for and reproduce forms which were consistently and frequently produced..., whose component parts also appeared separately in other contexts. The simplified production of such speakers would have further accelerated the demise of the contracted forms.

The Middle French fused form *ou* disappeared during the course of the 16th century, and some earlier commentators have adumbrated a similar account for this development, albeit without the sociolinguistic framework. Sneyders de Vogel (1919:§389) and Ewert (1943:§463), for instance, both note the opacity of the relationship between the form *ou* and the forms *en* and *le*, which are in some sense its constituents.

This type of development might also be related to work by Chambers on the acquisition of British English by young anglophone Canadians who had moved to Southern England. He claims (Chambers 1992:697) that, in the acquisition of a new dialect, 'distinct variants are acquired faster than... obscure variants'. Chambers is discussing the influence of literacy on dialect acquisition, and specifically whether or not a given variant is reflected in orthography; but it is not far-fetched to extend his conclusions to non-fusional ('distinct') vs. fusional ('obscure') variants.

However, the situation in French is somewhat different from the Castilian case discussed by Tuten, as, by the period in question, there is no longer any overt competition between *ou* and the more 'distinct' and 'consistent' sequence **en le*. One possibility might have been for **en le* to be reintroduced on the analogy of *en la* and *en l'* (a putative development which we might term 'covert competition'); but, to this day, *en le* is extremely rare in French (Grevisse 1993:§1002). What in fact happened was that a hitherto uncommon preposition—*dans* (< DE INTVS) 'in'—emerged to provide the relevant competition. Darmesteter (1890:181-185) charts this process, noting that the preposition *dans* is virtually absent from literary French before about 1550, but rapidly becomes more frequent thereafter.

3.2 But What About *au* and *du*?

Probably the commonest development, then, is for *ou* to be ousted by *dans le*, but *ou* could also be replaced by *au* (*à* + *le*). Gougenheim (1951:164), for instance, notes that the modernized edition of the poems of Jean Lemaire de

Belges (c.1473-c.1525) published in 1549 generally makes this substitution. It has left its mark in modern French oppositions such as *en mon nom* 'in my name' vs. *au nom de Pierre* 'in Pierre's name'. The standard account of this change is phonological: it was allegedly brought about by a partial merger of /u/ and /o/ (Zink 1997:71). This replacement of one fused form by another—and, more generally, the survival into the modern language of the fused forms *au* and *du*—might seem to pose problems for our claim that koinés shun fusional opacity. What explanation can be offered for the survival of some fused forms but not others?

As in the case of *ou*, there is no overt competition between *au* and *du* on the one hand and the more 'distinct' and 'consistent' sequences **à le* and **de le* on the other. But, once again, 'covert competition' exists, and these more 'distinct' and 'consistent' sequences could have been introduced on the analogy of *à la*, *de la*, *à l'*, *de l'*. That they were not is perhaps due to two factors—frequency and iconicity. *À* and *de* occur more frequently than other prepositions; the fused forms may therefore have a greater 'lexical strength', in the sense of Bybee (1985:117-118), who suggests that items which occur more frequently in texts or discourse are more firmly entrenched in the mental representation of the lexicon. *Au* and *du* may also be seen as relatively iconic. In modern French, the primary function of *à* and *de* is arguably Case-marking (Jones 1996:377-378). This implies at least a partial shift in the value of these two items from Case-assigners to Case-markers, with a concomitant decrease in their semanticity. Some evidence of this shift is provided by the fact that *à* and *de* take over the non-objective functions of the oblique (morphological) case (dative and genitive, respectively) during the Old French period (Herslund 1980). As Case is a property of the DP/NP, fusion of *à* and *de* with some element of this phrase is more iconic than comparable fusion involving more 'semantic', less 'functional' prepositions, and might be more resilient for this reason. Compare, too, in this connection, the requirement that *à* and *de*, unlike most other prepositions, normally be repeated before each conjunct of a co-ordination (Grevisse 1993:§995), the existence of *y* and *en* as 'pro-PP[*à*+DP/NP]' and 'pro-PP[*de*+DP/NP]', respectively, and the status of *à* and *de* as complementizers.

En appears to occupy an intermediate position between *à/de* and other prepositions (Table 1). It, too, generally requires repetition before each conjunct of a co-ordination (Grevisse 1993:§995), and arguably functions as a complementizer when followed by the gerundive (compare *en faisant*, etc.). However, *en* does not mark Case, and there is no pro-PP which systematically corresponds to it. More research is required in order to elucidate the exact status of *en*; but its intermediate position might account not only for the emergence of the fused form *ou*, but also for its relatively short lifespan.

	Case-marker	corresponding pro-PP	fused form with definite article	repetition (* _{PP} [P DP*/NP*])	also COM P
<i>à, de</i>	+	+	+	+	+
<i>en</i>	-	-	±	+	+
other Ps	-	-	-	-	-

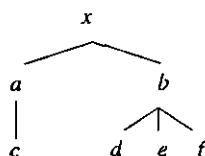
Table 1. Characteristics of some prepositions.

4 Conclusion

Much more work needs to be done on these problems. In particular, a full survey of the issues should take into account the fused forms involving the plural definite article *les*: *as*, *aux* (*à* + *les*), *des* (*de* + *les*), and *ès* (*en* + *les*), as well as the existence, but ultimate disappearance, of comparable fused forms in which the second element is the personal pronoun *le* (Nyrøp 1899-1930:II,§505). Nonetheless, we feel that we can already draw some tentative conclusions. The diachronic data point to the raising of pretonic [ø] to [y] being a lexically diffuse change, which, in particular, affects [dø] before most other items. Such lexical diffusion is characteristic of dialect-mixing. The differential evolution of *del* to *dul***dou* and *el* to *oul***u* in the French proto-standard may also be regarded as evidence of dialect-mixing and koineization. In addition, koineization may be an important factor in the disappearance of the fused forms of *en* + definite article, paralleling the proposals already made for early Castilian by Tuten. *Du* (and *au*) are arguably more resilient because of their greater frequency, and because their function of Case-marking is more tolerant of fusion. In other words, in the cases under consideration, fusion occurs for phonotactic reasons, presents different outcomes as a result of dialect-mixing, is threatened by dialect-mixing, but may be maintained because of frequency and morphosyntactic iconicity.

Appendix

a) Proposed relationship between main families of *Old French Bible* manuscripts:



b) Concorded extracts from the *Old French Bible*: Matthew chapters 5 and 11, with date and family of each manuscript

The manuscript transcriptions below aim at producing a diplomatic text within the constraints of the software used; word divisions are retained (with any exceptions indicated by [sic]), and, apart from clitics and elision, are mostly in accordance with modern practice. Hyphenation in the manuscripts is erratic, and for legibility has been supplied or deleted as necessary. Capitalization, punctuation, and lineation follow the manuscripts. The graphemes 'r' and 's' have two forms, with <r> and <ſ> the norm, and 'round r' (<@>) following round letters such as <o>, and 'short s' (<s>), if used, in word final position. Coloring of individual letter-forms (usually capitals) mostly occurs after a punctus (full stop), and is indicated by bold type.

The abbreviations are all indicated, and belong to the set inherited from Latin; some occur often, but all may be used to help the scribe keep within the column. The abbreviation for *est* is represented by <8>. The Tironian numbers are retained, <7> being used for *et*, and <9> at the beginning of a word for <co>, <com> or <con>; <9> at the end of a word is superscript, and represents <us> or, for some scribes, <s> after <u>. Final <s> itself may be superscript after any letter. Superscript vowels, depending on the word in which they occur, represent <r> or <u> plus the vowel concerned. A bar <-> above a letter represents a nasal, a suspension (no letters after the bar), or a contraction (some letters after the bar); the bar may become a hook across the ascender of letters such as <h> or <l>. A looped or hooked version of the bar (<oo>) is used for <re>, <er> or <ier>, and a bar on the stem of <p> (<p>) for <par> or <per>. Deletions are indicated by strikethrough, and insertions by '\ /' enclosing the insertion. Insertions in BN fr. 899 are in a later hand. The concordance does not respect manuscript lineation, but uses the supplied verse numbers for reference.

Rouen, Bibl. mun. 185 (family x; s.xiii/2)

5.48	come uoſtre pereſ	del ciel eſt parfez.
5.22	il jera col-pableſ	del feu denfer. [23]
5.14	eſteſ la luſſie	del monde. la cite qui eſt
5.34	len ne doit mie iurer	del tout en tout. ne par le ciel
5.12	gant loier	el ciel. Si 9me il uoſ po@-ſiuent
5.45	uoſtre pere qui eſt	el ciel q ⁱ fet ſon ſouleill
5.29	tout ton co@/ uoiſt	el feu denfer.
5.30	tout tō co@/ uoiſt	el feu denfer.
5.19	tenuz po@ tref petiſ el reame	deſ ciel. 7 cil qui le fera
5.19	jera apelez granz	el reg-ne deſ ciel. [20] Ge
5.20	uoſ nenterroiz mie,	el regne deſ ciel. [21] voſ auez oi
5.14	la cite qui eſt	ſeur la montaigne poſee ne puet
5.45	max. 7 pluſt	ſeur leſ iuſteſ 7 ſeur leſ neant
5.45	ſeur leſ iuſteſ 7	ſeur leſ neant iuſteſ. [46] Se
5.15	ſo@ couertu-re. meſ ſo@ chandelier q) ele alume a	
5.15	chandoile 7 la mete ſo@ couertu-re. meſ ſo@	

- 5.45 |son| jouleill| nestre |so@ le| buen| 7 |so@ le| max
 5.45 |so@ le| buen| 7 |so@ le| max. 7 pluēt |seur le|
 5.39 |le| tribulaci-on uient |so@ uo| q) uo| la receuez
 11.19 uint emeniāt 7 beuant. 7 il dient vez ci
 11.18 uint ne menianz ne beuanz. Cest a dire ne
 11.18 a dire ne menianz ne beuanz chose| p@ecieu|e|. 7
 11.19 vez ci deuo@eo@ 7 beueo@ de uin. ami| de| publican| 7

Paris, BN, fr. 12581 (family x; dated 1284)

- 5.48 v)res pere| dou ciel| est p-faiz
 5.19 |tre| petiz ou reame dou ciel. et ciz qui le fera 7
 5.22 |ot il| sera corpables dou feu danfer. [23]
 5.14 Vou| estes la lu-miere dou monde la cite qui est |seur la|
 5.34 len ne doit mie iurer dou tout en tout ne par le ciel. quar
 5.12 auroiz grant loier ou ciel. Si come il vou|
 5.45 v)re pere qui est ou ciel qui fait |son| joloil nestre
 5.29 que touz te| co@| voit ou feu danfer.
 5.30 que touz te| cors voit ou feu danfer.
 5.19 tenuz pour |tre| petiz ou reame dou ciel. et ciz qui le
 5.19 sera apelez granz ou regne de| cels
 5.20 nanter-roiz mie ou regne des ceauls. [21] Vou|
 5.15 |souz| couerture. me^s |seur| chandelier que elle alume a
 5.14 dou monde la cite qui est |seur la| montaigne posee ne puet
 5.45 fait |son| joloil nestre |seur le| bons 7 |seur le| mauue| 7
 5.45 |le| mauue| 7 pluēt |seur le| iuste|. [46] Se vou|
 5.45 |seur le| bons 7 |seur le| mauue| 7 pluēt |seur le|
 11.19 li filz dome vint beuant 7 maniant. 7 il dient. veez
 11.18 ne manianz. ne beuanz ce est a dire ne beuanz ne
 11.18 ce est a dire ne beuanz ne manianz choses p@e-cieu|es
 11.18 Iehan z vint ne beuanz ne manianz. ne beuanz ce
 11.19 home deu o@eor [sic] 7 beucor de vin. Ami| de| publicanz 7

Brussels, Bibl. roy. 10516 (family a; s.xiii/ex)

- 5.22 |ot. il| sera coupable del feu denfer. [23]
 5.22 |eront| co@pable| del lu-gement
 5.21 sera co@pa-ble| del lugement. cest a dire
 5.14 este| la lumiere del monde. la cite qui est |seur la|
 5.45 de nostre pere qui est el ciel. qui fet |son| joleill nestre
 5.12 ggrant [sic] loier el ciel si come il uoz
 5.16 uoz pe-re| qui est el cielz [sic].
 5.30 tout ton co@| uue| el feu denfer
 5.29 tout ton co@| uoisse el feu denfer.
 5.20 vo| nenterrez mie el regne de| cielz [21] vo| au-ez oi
 5.19 sera tenuz po@ |tre| petit el ro-iaume de| cielz. et cil
 5.14 monde. la cite qui est |seur la| montaigne posee ne puet
 5.45 fet |son| joleill nestre |seur le| buen|. 7 |seur le| max. 7
 5.45 |seur le| max. 7 pluēt |seur le| iuste|. 7 |seur le| no-ient iuste|. 7
 5.45 |seur le| buen|. 7 |seur le| max. 7 pluēt |seur le| iuste|. 7
 5.45 |seur le| iuste|. 7 |seur le| no-ient iuste|.

5.39	le tribulacion uie)t	leur voſ. que voſ la receuez
11.18	uint nemie einz [sic] ne	be-uanz. ceſt a dire ne menianz
11.19	li fil dome uint meniant. 7	beuant. 7 il di-ent vez cī home deuo@eur de
11.18	ceſt a dire ne menianz ne	beuanz. cho-leſ p̄cieuſeſ. 7 il dient

Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal 5059 (family c; dated 1317)

5.22	Il ſe-ra coupables	del feu denfer. [23] Donques
5.21	et doit eſtre	del iugement. Ceſt a dire. Il
5.48	comme noſtre pere	du ciel eſt parfeiz
5.14	eſtes la lumie-re	du monde. La cite qui eſt
5.34	on ne doit mie iurer du tout en tout. ne par le ciel	
5.12	aurouz gant loier	el ciel. Si comme il vouz
5.45	de voſtre pere qui eſt	el ciel. qui fait ſon ſoleil neſtre
5.29	tout ton co@s voſt el feu denfer. 11	
5.20	vouz nenterroiz mie el regne des cieulx. [21] Vouz auez	
5.19	ſera tenu po@ tres petit	el roi-aume des cieulx. Et cil qui le
5.19	lera apelez tres grans	el roiaume des cieulx [20] le vouz di
5.15	deſſous couuerture meis	leur chandelab@e comme elle
5.14	La cite qui eſt	leur la montaing-ne poſee ne puet
5.45	jo@ les bons. et	leur les mauueis. et pluet jo@ les
5.39	le tribulacion vient leur vouz; que vouz la re-ceuez	
5.45	fait ſon ſoleil neſtre jo@ les bons. et leur les mauueis	
5.45	les mauueis. et pluet	jo@ les iuſtes. [46] Sē vouz
11.18	ne men-ians [sic] ne	buuans choſes p̄ecieuſes. et il
11.19	Le fil domme vint	buuant et meniant. et il dient. Veez
11.19	homme deuoreour. et	buueour de vin. amis des publicans

Paris, BN, fr. 899 (family b; s.xiii/2)

5.10	car li roiaumeſ	del ciel eſt leur. [11] Voſ
5.48	come uoſtre pereſ	del ciel eſt parfez
5.22	ſot; il ſera colpableſ del feu denfer. [23] Donques	
5.35	car ele eſt cite	del grant roi. ce eſt de deu. [36]
5.14	Vos eſtes la lumiere del monde. la citeſ/ qui	
5.34	len ne doit mie iurer	del tout en tout. ne par le ciel. car
5.12	aurouz grant loier	el ciel. Si come il voſ
5.45	uoſte pere qui eſt	el ciel. qui fet ſon ſoleill neſ-tre
5.29	tout ton co@ voſt el feu de enfer.	
5.30	tout ton co@ voſt el feu denfer. 11	
5.19	ſe-ra tenuz po@ tres petit	el reaume des cieulx 7 cil qui le fera
5.19	ſera apelez grantz	el regne des cieulx. [20] Ge
5.20	uoſ nentreroiz mie	el regne des cieulx. [21] Vos
5.15	ſoz couuerture. meſ leur chandelier que ele alume	
5.14	qui ſ poſee	leur la montaigne ne puet eſtre
5.45	ſon ſoleill neſ-tre jo@ les buenſ 7 jo@ les mauueſ/	
5.45	mauueſ/. 7 pluet	jo@ les iuſteſ 7 jo@ les neant iuſteſ
5.45	neſ-tre jo@ les buenſ 7	jo@ les mauueſ/. 7 pluet
5.45	pluet jo@ les iuſteſ 7	jo@ les neant iuſteſ. [46] Se
5.39	le tribulacionſ uient jo@ uoſ que uoſ la receuoiz	

- 11.19 menians 7 beuants. 7 il dient
 11.18 uint ne menianz ne beuanz. ce est a dire ne menianz
 11.18 a dire ne menianz ne beuanz cho[es] p[ro]cieu[es]. 7 il
 11.19 vez ci home deuo[er]eo[er] 7 beue-o[er] de vin. Amis des publican[es]

Paris, Bibl. Mazarine 35 (family *b*; s.xiii/ex)

- 5.22 [ot il sera courpable] del feu denfer. [23] don-ques [e] tu
 5.35 car ele est cite del grant roi. ce est de dieu. [36] 7
 5.14 vou[is] est[is] la lumiere del mode. la cite qui est po[er]ee [o]o
 5.34 len ne doit pas iurer du tout en tout ne par le ciel. car
 5.45 de vo[ost]re pere qui est el ciel. qui fet son soleil luire [o]o [e]s
 5.12 vou[is] auez grant loier el ciel [i] 9me il vou[is] po[er]o[er]iurent
 5.29 tout ton co[er]o[er] vo[is]t el feu denfer.
 5.30 tout ton co[er]o[er] vo[is]t el feu denfer.
 5.20 vou[is] nenterrez mie el regne des ciex. [21] vou[is] auez
 5.19 tenuz po[er]o[er] m[is]t pe-tit el roiaume des ciex. 7 cil qui le fera
 5.19 sera a-pelez granz el roiaume des ciex. [20] ie vou[is] di
 5.15 [oz couuerture] me[is] leur chandelier. que ele a-lume
 5.39 [e] tribulation] vient leur vou[is] que vou[is] la receuez
 5.14 la cite qui est po[er]ee [o]o la mon-taigne ne puet estre
 5.45 qui fet son soleil luire [o]o [e]s bon[es] 7 [o]o [e]s mau[es]. 7 pluet
 5.45 [o]o [e]s mau[es]. 7 pluet [o]o [e]s iuste[es] 7 [o]o [e]s neent iul-te[es]. [46]
 5.45 luire [o]o [e]s bon[es] 7 [o]o [e]s mau[es]. 7 pluet [o]o [e]s iuste[es]
 5.45 pluet [o]o [e]s iuste[es] 7 [o]o [e]s neent iul-te[es]. [46] [e] vou[is]
 11.18 vint ne menianz ne beuanz cho[es] p[ro]cieu[es]. 7 il
 11.19 li filz dieu vint menianz 7 beuanz 7 il dient vez ci ho-me
 11.19 7 dient vez ci ho-me beueo[er] 7 deuo[er]eo[er] de vin. amis de

New York, Pierpont Morgan Lib., M 494 (family *b*; s.xiii/ex)

- 5.10 car li reyaume] du ciel est leur. [11] Vo[is] seroiz
 5.48 come vo[ost]re pere du ciel est parfez
 5.22 [ot. il sera co[er]pable] du feu denfer. [23] Don-ques [e] tu
 5.35 car ele est cite du grant roi. ce est de dieu. [36] 7
 5.14 Vo[is] est[is] la lumiere du monde. La cite qui est po[er]ee [u]
 5.34 len ne doit mie iurer du tout en tout ne par le ciel. car
 5.45 vo[ost]re pere qui est ou ciel. qui fet son soleil nestre [u]
 5.12 car vo[is] auroiz grant loier ou ciel Si come il vo[is] po[er]o[er]iurent
 5.29 tout ton co[er]o[er] vo[is]t ou feu denfer.
 5.30 tout ton co[er]o[er] vo[is]t ou feu denfer.
 5.19 tenuz po[er]o[er] trepetit [sic] ou reume des ciels. 7 cil qui le
 5.19 sera ape-lez granz ou regne des ciels. [20] le
 5.20 vo[is] nentreroiz mie ou regne des ciels. [21] Vo[is] auez oi
 5.39 [e] tribulation uient leur vo[is] que vo[is] la receuoiz
 5.15 [ouz couuerture] Me[is] [u] chandelier que ele alume clarte
 5.14 La cite qui est po[er]ee [u] la montaig-ne ne puet estre repoulte.
 5.45 fet son soleil nestre [u] [e]s bon[es] 7 [u] [e]s mau[es]. 7
 5.45 [u] [e]s mau[es]. 7 pluet [u] [e]s iuste[es] 7 [u] [e]s neant iuste[es]
 5.45 [u] [e]s bon[es] 7 [u] [e]s mau[es]. 7 pluet [u] [e]s iuste[es]
 5.45 pluet [u] [e]s iuste[es] 7 [u] [e]s neant iuste[es]. [46] [e] vo[is]

- 11.18 ce est a dire ne manianz ne buuanz chose p^oe-cieufes [sic]. 7 il
 11.19 Li fuiz dome uint manianz 7 buuanz. 7 il dient uez ci ho-me
 11.18 Iahan uint ne manianz ne buuâz ce est a dire ne manianz ne
 11.19 uez ci ho-me deuo^oeeur. 7 beueur de uin. Amis des pu-blican[.]

Paris, BN, fr. 398 (family d; s.xiii-xiv)

- 5.10 car li roiaumes du ciel est leur. [11] vous seroiz
 5.48 9me vostre pe du ciel est parfet
 5.22 Il jera conpables du feu denfer. [23] Donques se tu
 5.35 car ele est la cite du grant roi. [36] Et ne lure pas
 5.14 vou[e]ste la lumiere du monde. la cite qui est polee jus
 5.34 len ne doit mie lurer du tout en tout. ne par le ciel. car
 5.45 vostre pere qui est el ciel qui fet son soulail nestre jus
 5.30 tout ton co^o voist el feu denfer.
 5.20 vou[nenfoi] mie el regne des ciex. [21] vous auez oi
 5.19 jera apelez granz el roiaume des cieuf. [20] le vou[di
 5.19 tenuz pour tres petit el roiaume des cieuz. 7 cil qui le
 5.45 jus les maus. 7 pluet jus les iustes. 7 jus les nient iustes.
 5.45 fet son soulail nestre jus les bons. 7 jus les maus. 7 pluet
 5.45 pluet jus les iustes. 7 jus les nient iustes. [46] Se
 5.45 nestre jus les bons. 7 jus les maus. 7 pluet jus les
 5.39 le tribulation vient jus vou[q] v⁹ la receuez
 5.15 jous couuerture. mes jus chandelier que ele alume clarte
 5.14 la cite qui est polee jus la montaigne ne puet estre
 11.18 Iehan vi[t] ne meniant ne beuant. Cest a dire ne me)iant ne
 11.18 a dire ne me)iant ne beuant cho-les scieufes. 7 il
 11.19 li filz dome vint me)iant. 7 beuât. 7 il dient ve[ci ho]me
 11.19 ve[ci ho]me deuo^oeeur. 7 beueur de vin. amis des public[.]

Chantilly, Musée Condé 5 (family d; s.xiii-xiv)

- 5.48 9me vostre pe du ciel est p[er]fet
 5.10 Car li roi-aumes du ciel est leur. [11] v⁹ seroiz
 5.22 il jera co^opables du feu denfer. [23] Donques se tu
 5.35 car ele est cite du grant Roy. ce est de dieu [36] 7 ne
 5.14 la lumie du monde. La cite qui est polee jus la
 5.34 len ne doit mie lurer du tout en tout ne p[ar] le ciel car
 5.29 que tout t^o co^os voist el feu denfer.
 5.20 vous nenterroiz mie el regne des cieuf. [21] vous auez oi
 5.19 tenuz pour tres petit el roi-aume des ciex. 7 cil qui
 5.19 jera apelez granz el roiaume des ciex. [20] le vo[di
 5.45 ure pere qui est v ciel. qui fet son soleil mesure [sic]
 5.15 jous couuerture Me[leur chandelier que ele alume clarte
 5.39 t'bu-lacion. vient leur vous q] vo[la receuiz
 5.45 mesure [sic] jus les bons 7 jus les bon[] [sic] 7 pleut jus les
 5.45 jus les bon[] [sic] 7 pleut jus les iustes 7 jus les noiant iustes.
 5.45 7 pleut jus les iustes 7 jus les noiant iustes. [46] Se vous
 5.14 La cite qui est polee jus la montaigne ne puet estre reposte
 5.45 son soleil mesure [sic] jus les bons 7 jus les bon[] [sic] 7 pleut
 11.18 Iehan vint ne buuant ne meniant. Cest a dire ne

- 11.19 le fuiz dome vint mēniant 7 buuāt 7 Il dient uez ci home
 11.18 Cest a dire ne buuāt ne meniant ne buule [sic]
 11.18 ne meniant ne buule [sic] ¶ Cieules choses. 7 il
 11.19 home de voureur [sic] 7 buueeur de vin 7 amī de] pu-blicans

Paris, Bibl. Ste-Geneviève 22 (family e; s.xiv/1, before 1341)

- 5.22 Jot il Jera co@pables du feu denfer. [23] Donques Je tu
 5.35 car ce est cite du grant roy. ce est de dieu. [36] et
 5.14 Vous estes la lumiere du monde. La cite qui est polee Jus
 5.45 v)@e pere qui est ou ciel qui fait son Joleil naistre
 5.12 auez grant loier ou ciel Ji cõe il vous pourJuiuront
 5.29 tout ton co@ps voist ou feu denfer.
 5.20 vous nen-terrez mie ou regne des ciex. [21] vous auez
 5.19 tenus pour moult petit ou royaume de ciex. Et cil qui le
 5.19 Jera appelez grant ou royaume des ciex. [20] Je vous
 5.39 Se tribulacion vient Jeur vous que vous la receuez
 5.45 fait son Joleil naistre Jo@ les bons 7 Jo@ les maus. et
 5.45 les maus. et pluet Jo@ les iustes. [46] Se vous amez
 5.45 naistre Jo@ les bons 7 Jo@ les maus. et pluet Jo@ les iustes.
 5.15 Jous couerture mais Jus chandelier que elle alume
 5.14 La cite qui est polee Jus la mō-taigne ne puet
 11.18 Jehans vint ne me)-ians ne buuans ce est a dire ne menians ne
 11.18 a dire ne menians ne buuans choses p@ecieules. Et il
 11.19 dome vaint [sic] menians et buuans. et il dient. vez ci home
 11.19 il dient. vez ci home beueour et deuoure o@ [sic] de vin. amī/s

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