University of Stavanger

The Faculty of Arts and Education

MASTER THESIS

Study program: LMLIMAS	Spring term, 2019 Open
Author: Karoline Schiølde Johansen	.... (Author's signature)
Supervisor: Delia Schipor, ph.d.	
Thesis title: To almyghtty god et cetera An Edition of Medieval Testamentary Texts of Women from St Albans	
Keywords: Middle English, local documents, testaments, wills, women	Pages: 81 + appendices: 14 pages Stavanger, 05.05.19 date/year

Karoline Schiølde Johansen

To almyghtty god et cetera
An Edition of Medieval Testamentary
Texts of Women from St Albans

MA in Literacy Studies

Spring 2019

University of Stavanger

Abstract

This thesis presents studies of seven testamentary texts of women from St Albans and an edition of the same texts. The studies deal with several aspects and factors related to linguistic variation, multilingualism and structure. The texts are dated to the period 1427-1486 and belong to two registers of testamentary texts found at the Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies in Hertford.

 Four research questions have been investigated in this thesis: 1) What kind of linguistic variation do these testamentary texts show? 2) What multilingual practices occur in these testamentary texts? 3) Do the opening and closing phrases of these testamentary texts vary and if yes, how? How do the opening and closing phrases relate to the function of these texts? 4) How do the female testamentary texts differ from the male testamentary texts?

The texts revealed much orthographic, morphologic, multilingual and grammatical variation. This illustrates the amount of possible linguistic variation in medieval testamentary texts towards the end of the 15th century. It also illustrates the complexity of linguistic development. In addition, it may have revealed gendered practices related to terminology and female will-making.

The thesis provides historical context of local and national history, women's social position, literacy and how it was available to women, as well as context of the concept of death and the making of testamentary texts. In addition, it presents Middle English writing and studies related to Middle English and multilingual variation. The linguistic studies have been compared to Thengs (2013), Bergstrøm (2017), the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (eLALME 2013a) and seven testamentary texts by men in the *Corpus of Middle English Local Documents* (2017; henceforth MELD). The male testamentary texts were found to be considerably homogenous when compared to the female texts, but the male texts were likely written by only one scribe.

This thesis contributes to the study of women's literacy practices in late medieval England, which is a relatively new research area. At the same time, it is complementary to other linguistic studies produced within the MELD project, such as Thengs (2013) and Bergstrøm (2017). Lastly, this edition was intended to make these texts available for other historians and linguists, and they have contributed to the MELD corpus.

Acknowledgements

List of abbreviations

AND	*Anglo-Norman Dictionary*
DMLBS	*Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*
eLALME	*An Electronic Version of A Linguistic Atlas of Late Midiaeval English*
LALME	*Linguistic Atlas of Late Midiaeval English*
MED	*Middle English Dictionary*
MELD	*Corpus of Middle English Local Documents*
NWM-C	*Northwest Midland Document Corpus*
OE	Old English
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
PDE	Present-Day English
1st pers. verb	First person verb
3rd pers. verb	Third person verb

Contents

1. Introduction

This thesis is a study of seven wills and testaments of women dated to the period 1427-1486. The study deals with several aspects related to linguistic variation, multilingualism and opening and closing phrases. The linguistic study is of six English texts and one mixed-language text, although the focus is on the English texts. The English texts also contain Latin formulaic phrases, which is common for this period (cf. Thengs 2017: 275). Wills and testaments are here collectively referred to as testamentary texts on the basis of their shared characteristics (cf. Schipor 2018; see p. 18-19). The main aim of this thesis is to present a diplomatic edition of the texts, in a readable flavour, and an in-depth analysis of their variation in terms of orthography, morphology, formulaic phrases and multilingual practices. The testamentary texts were produced by at least three different scribes (see p. 33). All the testamentary texts belong to two registers of testamentary texts from St Albans, found at Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies in Hertford.[1]

The following research questions are investigated in this thesis:

1) What kind of linguistic variation do these testamentary texts show?
2) What multilingual practices occur in these testamentary texts?
3) Do the opening and closing phrases of these testamentary texts vary and if yes, how? How do the opening and closing phrases relate to the function of these texts?
4) How do the female testamentary texts differ from the male testamentary texts?

Socio-historical context has been included in the investigation of these research questions.

This thesis is a contribution to the *Corpus of Middle English Local Documents* (henceforth MELD; Stenroos, Thengs & Bergstrøm 2017-) compiled by the MELD team at the University of Stavanger. One of the texts in this edition, D4170#2, was already part of the MELD corpus (2017) (see p. 70), but the MELD team gave their permission for it to be included in this thesis. Another text, M4170#12, was transcribed manually in cooperation with the present author's supervisor (see p. 70-71). To the best of our knowledge, there is no prior diplomatic edition of these texts. Owst (1926) provides sample translations and examples from some of these texts, but not in a diplomatic format. Another aim of the present edition is to make this material available to historians and linguists for further study.

The *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* (henceforth LALME) is a significant work in geographical dialectology. It is mainly concerned with localizing Middle English

---

[1] Archive reference number: ASA/1AR and ASA/2AR.

texts (McIntosh 1973 [1989: 87]). The MELD project has developed a new approach and direction of study in historical linguistics, with a focus on what was written at a given place and time (Stenroos, Thengs & Bergstrøm 2017a). This thesis continues in the same direction as the MELD project, and what can be referred to as the MELD project's new research tradition.

Several dictionaries have been consulted for the understanding of these texts, in addition to making the summaries, the studies and the glossary. These dictionaries are: the *Oxford English Dictionary* (henceforth OED), the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* (henceforth AND), the *Middle English Dictionary* (henceforth MED) and the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (henceforth DMLBS).

The historical study of women's literacy practices is relatively new. Comparing these texts to male testamentary texts can provide greater insight into this field of research. Nevalainen (1996: 88) emphasizes the need for more gender related research in historical linguistics. This thesis studies aspects related to female literacy and the social status of women. It is uncertain how many documents were written by women from this period, but there is evidence of women being involved in the production of certain types of texts. Women took part in pre-writing and pre-literacy stages (see p. 13-15). This thesis studies the pre-literacy practices of women, such as their possible involvement in orally composing these documentary texts. The texts by women can offer insight into literacy practices according to gender, and general practices of linguistic variation. The literacy practices in a multilingual society (see for example Schipor 2018) and connected to women can make for an interesting study of linguistic variation in late medieval England.

The first chapters present historical overviews. This includes both England and St Albans, as well as the general context of literacy in the Middle Ages in addition to who could acquire literacy skills, and how. It is important to contextualize both the country at large and the situation in St Albans specifically to understand the context in which these texts were produced. The next chapter is about women's social status in this period, and what women might read and write. Chapter 4 provides an overview of aspects related to death and the text type testamentary texts, their connection to registers, and gender differences in testamentary texts. Chapter 5 presents various scholarly approaches to linguistic variation and multilingualism in Middle English texts.

Chapter 6 contains a description of the manuscripts and detailed summaries of the seven testamentary texts. The summaries may be especially useful for someone less

acquainted with reading Middle English. The description provides information regarding the condition of the manuscripts, palaeographical aspects and scribal hands.

Chapter 7 includes methodological considerations and studies in orthographic and morphological variation, openings and closings, and multilingual practices. The first part of the studies focuses on the pronoun system, initial, medial and final (th), initial (sh), initial (wh), and the words 'bequeath', 'item' and 'said'. The second part of the studies focuses on opening and closing phrases, the marginalia and an analysis of M4170#12, the mixed-language text. Especially code-switching, code-mixing and multilingual events are relevant theoretical frameworks for this second group of studies (see p. 55-65). The findings are compared to other studies and additional material from the MELD corpus (MELD 2017; see p. 40).

The last chapter is dedicated to the editing conventions and the diplomatic edition of these testamentary texts, in a readable flavour. The conventions have a direct impact on the realizations of the edition and the explanations for why it looks as it does. While the edition aims to be as true to the manuscripts as possible, it is not a copy and benefits from an explanation. A brief glossary is provided in an appendix, as well as the data from male testamentary texts from the MELD corpus (2017) used for comparison with the female testamentary texts.

2. Historical background

2.1 A historical overview of late medieval England

In the Middle Ages, as today, England was organized as a hereditary monarchy (Hicks 2010: 22). The parliament advised the monarch, and the central administrations executed the king's will (Hicks 2010: 22). The will of the monarch was to be centred around the interests of the people, and the King represented divine power (Hicks 2010: 24). In a hereditary monarchy, the throne would be passed in a direct line to the next heir. In the 15th century, however, this practice was disturbed by the continuous conflict between the houses of Lancaster and York, which held the power in different periods. Towards the end of the century, the house of Tudor ascended the throne.

The Hundred Years War was an expensive affair for England (Hicks 2010: 61), lasting from 1337 to 1453. It is generally accepted that it opened with the King of France, Philip VI, reclaiming territory from Edward III's, and closed when England lost Gascony (Curry 2003: 1). In 1340, Edward III claimed the French throne based on hereditary status, which contributed to the onset of these conflicts, even though the conflicts between England and France started earlier (Curry 2003: 2-3). The two main explanations for the war have been that it was based on issues and conflict that had built over time, or that it was a fight for the French throne, as Edward was in fact more closely related through blood to the previous kings than Philip (Curry 2003: 4, 39-40). England had power in various geographical locations throughout this century, and the two nations England and France made several truces, but war broke out several times (Curry 2003: 3-4).

In the late 14th century, the question of who should succeed King Richard II was a challenge (Hicks 2010: 40-41). King Richard II had no natural successor, and the choice fell on the Duke of Lancaster, King Henry IV, based on the late king's closest relatives (Hicks 2010: 40-41). There were no proper guidelines for who should inherit the throne when the monarch had no children and thus no direct male biological line (Hicks 2010: 41). Primogeniture was the system where the next direct kin would inherit, but males were generally preferred (Hicks 2010: 35-36). Another system called entail in tail male placed higher value on the male gender to be chosen for inheritance, to reject female heirs (Hicks 2010: 36). The house of Lancaster ascended the throne in 1399, which was the cause of a central conflict in the Wars of the Roses (Hicks 2010: 40-41).

The Lancaster reign was peaceful, but the onset of the Wars of the Roses was the beginning of a turbulent time in England (Hicks 2010: 26). These conflicts were between the houses of York and Lancaster about the rights to the crown (Hicks 2010: 6, 40). The conflicts in the Wars of the Roses were short and did not result in sieges (Hicks 2010: 9). The material damage was limited, but the battles were many and were fought between men who probably had little knowledge of war (Hicks 2010: 9-10).

King Henry V, son of King Henry IV, became a national hero when he won the Battle of Agincourt, conquering Normandy, and established himself as successor to the king of France through the Treaty of Troyes (Black 2017: 87-88; Curry 2003: 89; Hicks 2010: 55-56). According to the treaty, Henry was to be king after Charles' death and regent of France until this event (Curry 2003: 89). The claim for the throne was thus not based on his bloodline from Edward III, but on the treaty alone (Curry 2003: 89). After Henry V's death, his infant son became king, and the late king's brothers Bedford and Humphrey became Regent of France and Protector of England respectively (Black 2017: 88; Hicks 2010: 56). Henry VI was less popular than his father and historians have considered him unfit to rule (Hicks 2010: 75, 77). King Henry VI's reign ended with him losing the English throne, as well as England losing the French throne (Hicks 2010: 75).

The Black Death was a cause of crisis in the 14th century, killing about 47% of the inhabitants of Hertfordshire in the years 1307-1377 (Black 2017: 73). Nationally, about 50% of the population died from the plague between 1300-1500, which impacted the economy negatively (Black 2017: 73). The consequences of the national crisis in England were still felt during the following century (Black 2017: 73, 82).

In the 15th century, the economy had a period of recession termed the Great Slump (Hicks 2010: 50). The Great Slump impacted people of all social standings negatively, but the main result was a shortage of coin (Hicks 2010: 50-51). Although this was a general problem in Europe, this was blamed on the government of Henry VI in England (Hicks 2010: 53). However, England alone could not fix the bullion crisis in Europe (Hicks 2010: 53).

2.2 Historical background of St Albans[2]

The town in the county of Hertfordshire now referred to as St Albans, was possibly originally the Roman settlement Verulam (Page 1908a). Verulam was destroyed in the 6th century and later replaced by the Saxon town Kingsbury in the 8th century, around the same time as the abbey of St Albans was built nearby (Page 1908a). As the town of St Albans grew, conflict ensued between the two neighbouring towns St Albans and Kingsbury, resulting in Kingsbury being destroyed by Abbot Alfric of St Albans (Page 1908a). Currently, the town of St Albans extends over where Kingsbury lay, but was initially built around the abbey of St Albans, which had religious control over the town (cf. Page 1908a). This religious control made it a monastic borough, of which there were only 30 in England and Wales (Burton 1994: 243-244). In addition to being built around the abbey, St Albans was built by the Market Place, 'St Peter's Street, Holywell Street, High Street and Fishpool Street' (Page 1908a).

The name of St Albans can be traced back to Alban (cf. Still 2002: 11-13). Alban was the protomartyr of England, who was beheaded in the beginning of the 3rd century near the Roman town Verulam (Still 2002: 11-13). The story tells of a pagan soldier called Alban who was baptised after helping a priest to hide and escape (Still 2002: 12). Alban was arrested and executed for failing to make the proper pagan sacrifices (Still 2002: 12). A well of holy water appeared at the place of his execution (Still 2002: 12), which led to place names in the district referring to this holy well, for example Holywell Street (cf. Page 1908a). The religious aspect of the names in the district may illustrate the importance of the King of Mercia discovering the martyr Albans' remains in 793 (cf. Still 2002: 13). The religious beliefs of the district may also be connected to the local miraculous events of healing the sick (cf. Sayers 1971: 58). The abbey of St Albans still has a shrine for the martyr to this day (The Cathedral and Abbey Church of Saint Alban).

Both the abbey and the town of St Albans became more important and prosperous over the next centuries. Abbot Leofstand participated in making St Albans a central stop on the way to and from London by improving Watling Street, resulting in the establishment of numerous inns (Levett 1938: 180; Still 2002: 30, 109). St Albans became prosperous as people travelled through the city to reach the Midlands, the north-west Counties and Ireland (Still 2002: 30; Page 1908a). In the 12th century, St Albans gained renown because the

---

[2] The present chapter draws on the works of Page (1908a, 1908b) and Still (2002), whose research concerning St Albans in the period 1290-1349 are mainly based on the Latin text *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani* (Still 2002: 4).

Empress Maud visited the town before being crowned in London (Page 1908a). The liberty of St Albans included fifteen churches: 'St Peter's, St Stephen's, and Kingsbury… Watford, Rickmansworth, Abbots Langley, Redbourn, Codicote, St Paul's Walden, Hexton, Norton, Newnham, Barnet… Winslow and Aston Abbots' (Sayers 1971: 61-62). These churches were spread out in Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire (Sayers 1971: 62). Many of the studied testamentary texts made reference to churches in the area (see 6.2, 8.2). By the 12th century, the abbey of St Albans had become a prestigious and powerful abbey, answerable directly to the pope rather than the diocesan (Sayers 1971: 60; Still 2002: 25, 32).

City officials gradually improved the local system of jurisdiction (cf. Page 1908b). This improvement of the judicial system included the abbot's council and the seneschal. The council was called the *Magnum Concilium* (Levett 1938: 31). This council had administrative and legislative responsibilities and often gathered for cases regarding the townspeople (Levett 1938: 31). The judicial system was led by the seneschal or *dapifer,* a local layman whose duty was to legally defend the abbot and be present at different courts (Levett 1938: 103-104).

The 13th and 14th centuries was a period characterized by conflict between the townspeople of St Albans and the abbey (cf. Page 1908b; Still 2002: 31). The inhabitants of St Albans created an uprising for municipal freedom in the late 14th century (cf. Page 1908b; Still 2002: 31, 109). The abbey had the rights of mills for grinding corn which the tenants were forced to use, if someone was caught grinding corn illegally in another way, they had to pay a fine (Still 2002: 111). Conflict arose where the townspeople had several requests; they wanted the city to have the status of a borough which gave them representatives in parliament (Page 1908b; Still 2002: 111). The townspeople also wished to be independent from the abbot's mills, by using their own hand-mills (Page 1908b; Still 2002: 111). This culminated with the said uprising (cf. Page 1908b; Still 2002: 31, 109). The riot ended with King Edward III's blessing to the sheriff to use the required force (Still 2002: 112). The inhabitants of St Albans pursued their discontent legally in London and won, which resulted in St Albans becoming a borough (Page 1908b; Still 2002: 112-113). Shortly afterwards, the townspeople lost the borough status and their hand-mills in another conflict where the people of the town were found guilty of scheming against the abbot (Page 1908b; Still 2002: 114). The town's fight for independence became a long one (Levett 1938: 182).

The conflict and pursuit for becoming a borough in the 13th and 14th centuries can be related to the types of towns in the Middle Ages. There were four main types of towns: 'the royal estate centre; the trading emporium; the fortified site or *burh;* and the ecclesiastical focus of a religious cult' (Holt & Rosser 1990: 5). In the late medieval period, the distinction

between different types of town became less clear-cut because they started becoming mixed (Holt & Rosser 1990: 5).

Several battles in the 15th century took place in St Albans (Page 1908a). It was an essential location in the Wars of the Roses (see p. 4-5), which took place in the second half of the 15th century (Hicks 2010: 3; Page 1908a). Firstly, there was a battle in 1455 in St Albans between the duke of York and the duke of Somerset, who had support from the king (Page 1908a). York had superiority in numbers (Hicks 2010: 111). Many were wounded on both sides, before the king's men fled, and the king found safety (Page 1908a). As a result, York became Lord Protector, but lost his status one year later (Hicks 2010: 4). After six years, in the second battle of St Albans, Queen Margaret and her men were victorious (Hicks 2010: 161; Page 1908a).

2.3 Literacy in the Late Middle Ages

It is difficult to provide exact rates of literacy in the Middle Ages because of the limited number of accurate sources (Bergs 2013: 245). Originally, the idea of *litteratus* referred to a person's capabilities in Latin, and not the modern notion of literacy in reading and writing (Clanchy 2013: 188). In this thesis, the term literacy is used in the modern understanding of the word. In addition, reading and writing were considered separate sets of skills in the medieval period (Clanchy 2013: 234), which further complicates the understanding of literacy in this period.

Cressy (2006: 53) argues for a direct approach to estimate literacy rates in Tudor and Stuart England. This may be done by counting how many had been able to sign their name versus make a mark instead (Cressy 2006: 53). The main challenge of such an approach is that it may overestimate the amount of people who would write easily, or underestimate those who could read, but not write (cf. Cressy 2006: 55). Cressy (2006: 145) estimates that the literacy rates were approximately between 16% and 0% for women in London and East Anglia in the late 16th century. Male literacy was more diverse according to profession and social status, where for example about 59% of gentlemen in the diocese of Durham around 1560 were estimated to be literate (Cressy 2006: 143). Comparatively, only 16% of the men working in trade and craft in the same time period in Durham and Northumberland were literate (Cressy 2006: 146). Generally, women did not develop or use literacy skills in their daily lives, due to lack of time and necessity (Cressy 2006: 128; Thirsk 1985: 2; see 3.1, 3.2). While there are accounts of literate women, Cressy (2006: 128) explains that this does not mean these skills were expected. Women had not developed equal literacy skills to men, according to Cressy

(2006: 128; for more on women and literacy, see 3.2). Literacy abilities are also connected to geographical location, where for example the London population developed literacy skills before the rest of the country (Cressy 2006: 129). According to Cressy (2006: 176), roughly 10% of men and 1% of women were literate during the reign of Henry VII.

Another type of evidence for literacy skills can also be inferred based on seals. These seals are usually attached to documents and if the seals were unique, they indicated that the respective documents were legally valid (Clanchy 2013: 53). The seal would sometimes have an exclusive engraving of the owner's name, suggesting that the owner could recognize and maybe sign his or her own name (Clanchy 2013: 53). The recognition of a person's name may reveal some level of literacy, or pre-literacy skills but may not necessarily indicate a well-developed ability to read or write.

Becoming literate is often associated with education. The study of grammar was mainly concerned with Latin morphosyntax, but also included the study of song and reading (cf. Orme 2006: 66). Schools could either teach all these areas of knowledge or focus on specific ones (Orme 2006: 66-67). Grammar schools taught their pupils two broad categories of knowledge: knowledge of the Latin language and using Latin (Orme 2006: 68). The teachers probably taught Latin by using English at the beginning of the pupils' education (Fletcher 2013: 143). After the 14th century, certain persons were trained in trade and business as well (Orme 2006: 68). These skills would be useful for keeping accounts or drawing up administrative documents (Orme 2006: 68). They are part of the category of business writing (cf. Orme 2006: 68), which was taught to administrative clerks, people involved in trade and members of the aristocracy (Orme 2006: 68-70). People became flexible for several career paths by learning Latin and potentially to write in English or French and learning about worldly news and spiritual matters (Orme 2006: 159).

The duration of a person's grammar education would depend on plans for the future and the ability to pay for schooling (Orme 2006: 130). A fee for schooling at a grammar school in Oxford, was 4 pence for a term in the 13th century, but it fluctuated throughout the next centuries (Orme 2006: 132). Other factors could make schooling more expensive, for example if students had to relocate for their studies, the additional costs would be too expensive for most (Orme 2006: 133). Schools could be in churches, but grammar schools specifically usually had their own physical space (Orme 2006: 136).

Extensive evidence regarding the number and placement of schools in the Middle Ages is lacking (Orme 2006: 189, 194). However, it is likely that the larger towns in England, including St Albans, established a public school sometime in the 12th century (Orme 2006:

193, 371). This probably developed further to several smaller towns having schools by the 13th century (Orme 2006: 193). Some economic security was provided by the schools' patrons, generally represented by bishops, secular clergy, Augustinian canons, Benedictines, Cistercians and lay patrons (Orme 2006: 196). The economic support for schools was provided by those enjoying a high social status, but even groups not considered wealthy could join forces to endow a chosen school (Orme 2006: 240-242). Other gifts like buildings and books were also given for the benefit of education (Orme 2006: 244).

Both men and women acted as teachers, but there is more extant evidence regarding male teachers (Orme 2006: 167). Last names such as *Schoolmistress* do, however, indicate that some teachers were female (Orme 2006: 166-167). The earliest known example of this surname is from 1335 (Orme 2006: 166). Female teachers would probably teach younger pupils, and more basic skills than their male counterparts (Orme 2006: 167). Such female teachers could also be nuns, where nunneries would foster and teach both girls and boys good manners and to read prayers for a fee of ca. 6 pence a week (Orme 2006: 286). Although women acted as teachers in a few cases, their access to education was generally limited, which contributed to low literacy skills among them, compared to men (see 3.2, p. 8-9), and administrative language was specifically inaccessible for women (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 41).

3. Women in late medieval England

3.1 The social status of women

The historical study of women in many different aspects is challenging because of the limited written material concerning and written by them (Thirsk 1985: 2). This applies to history, literacy studies and sociolinguistics. Their lives, status and language may in many cases only be studied indirectly. The study of their language is based on what they produced themselves and contemporary comments by others (cf. Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 6). This thesis examines the status of women and their literacy practices in a more nuanced perspective, rather than attempting to determine if they were literate.

Sociolinguists often define gender as a social category (Labov 2001: 263). However, linguists usually classify language users based on biological sex (Labov 2001: 263). The question of gender identity is relevant to modern sociolinguistic studies, but the historical linguist does not have this information easily accessible. Often, the historical linguist can only base information on the extant material, which allows for inferences regarding biological sex rather than gender identity. We are more likely to have information regarding a person's biological sex, than how they themselves identify.

In Tudor England, the socially understood gender may have been more important and deciding than the biological sex (Fletcher 1995: xvi). It seems that gender was viewed as somewhat fluid, where women and men were separated by the amount of heat they possessed (Fletcher 1995: xvi). Heat was 'the immortal substance of life' (Fletcher 1995: xvi), of which women had a smaller amount. This can also be seen in terms of strength of body and mind, of which men had more than women (Fletcher 1995: xvi-xvii). As Fletcher phrases it: 'It [gender] shaped sex rather than the other way around' (Fletcher 1995: xvi).

While it may be easy to view women as a social category on its own, women in the Middle Ages did not constitute a homogenous group (cf. Bennett 2009: 90-91). The following social variables may be used to classify women in historical sociolinguistic studies: class, marital status, religion, legal status, migration, sexual status and region (Bennett 2009: 90). Sexual status differs from marital status, as this includes prostitutes (Bennett 2009: 90). Many of these categories would have corresponding categories for men, but they might imply different opportunities for the different genders. Women's marital status would impact what rights and opportunities they had (Bennett 2009: 90). Compared to southeastern Europe where an eighteen-year-old woman would probably be married, women in England married later in

life (Bennett 2009: 90). The category of religion in the late Middle Ages can be grouped in Judaism, orthodox Christianity and Lollardy, and women's beliefs might lead them to a life as a nun, anchoress or vowess (Bennett 2009: 90). One would get different results from a study, depending on how one divides the social group of women, because different groupings can reveal different variation.

While women were a heterogenous group, Bennett (2009: 92-93) lists a series of similarities regarding women in the Middle Ages which override the class-system. Formal politics was not accessed by women, and the legal system favoured primarily men, then widows and unmarried women, and lastly restricted the lives of married women (Bennett 2009: 92). Wives were ready to help their husbands in their trade (Bennett 2009: 92). Lastly, married women had the responsibility of a typical homemaker, or housewife, carrying out tasks such as taking care of the children (Bennett 2009: 92-93).

Women's social position were generally understood in relation to men (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 37). They were either an extension of the social status of their fathers or husbands (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 37). However, the status of *femme sole* allowed for a certain degree of power and independence (Bennett 2009: 92). Women acting as femmes soles could have their own businesses and be accountable for the economic advantages and debts such an establishment could entail (Barron 1989: 40).

Women, especially in London, could also achieve some power through widowhood (cf. Barron 1989: 46; Todd 1985: 55). The widow was entitled to a house, some economic security for the rest of her life and a third of her late husband's goods and chattels (Barron 1989: 36, 46). Additionally, the widow of a freeman could become a *freewoman,* which had its benefits (Barron 1989: 46). The freewoman was generally able:

> … to run her husband's business, to open a shop, to be free of toll throughout England, to wage her law in city courts, to train her husband's apprentices and present them in their turn for the freedom and to ensure that the provisions of her will were executed according to city custom (Barron 1989: 46).

Women could pursue these economic advantages granted to them in London, but none of the women seems to have actively sought the political privileges similar to those enjoyed by freemen (Barron 1989: 48-49).

In the process of becoming married, the man and woman would become one entity, a state referred to as the conjugal unity (Barron 1989: 35). According to the *Magna Carta,* women had rights for dower after their spouse died, but had no rights to the estate while the

husband was alive (Barron 1989: 35). The dower consisted of the opportunity to 'free bench' and a third of the deceased's lands to secure income (Barron 1989: 35, 41). The free bench refers to the opportunity to have a share of the house the widow lived in with her husband, to continue to live in after his death (Barron 1989: 41). A new system was developed in the 14th and 15th century, whereby instead of a dower the couple bought an estate upon marriage that would be the widow's after her husband's death (Barron 1989: 35). A widow could claim a third of her late husband's property and had the rights to a third of the goods and chattels due to the practice of *legitim* (Barron 1989: 36). However, the legitim was arguably not accepted by the common law (Barron 1989: 36).

Women's position as widows may be considered more privileged than it was, according to Bennett (2009: 91). While it is true that they could receive a third or a half of their husbands' lands and goods, and had freedom to own land and do business, widows could end up in varied economic and social positions (Bennett 2009: 91), especially depending on their husbands' wealth.

Two juxtaposing views existed regarding widows and remarrying (cf. Todd 1985: 55). According to a certain view, widows were expected to remarry, to perpetuate a social order where men are dominant (Todd 1985: 55). Yet the act of remarrying reminded men how easily they could be replaced (Todd 1985: 55). From this perspective, being widowed resulted in a complex social situation. Todd's (1985: 60) findings of a group of 100 Abingdon widows from 1540-1599 suggest that 50% remarried, but the following years there seems to be a trend of fewer remarriages. Todd's (1985: 58) numbers are based on probate records. The original marriage lasted between 10 and 12 years, and the widow waited for 1 to 2 years to remarry (Todd 1985: 62-63).

3.2 Women and literacy

Women had more limited access to education than men (see p. 9-10). Women of a certain social status probably had better opportunities to develop literacy skills. Certain types of literacy seem to be dominant in women's lives.

The religious prayer books called *books of hours* were widespread and certainly read by noble ladies for personal devotions (Clanchy 1993: 111). Other religious books were also written for women, such as the *Lambeth Apocalypse* (Clanchy 1993: 189). The earliest surviving copy of a book of hours was written by William de Brailes in ca. 1240, an illuminator from Oxford, to a lady, which seems to be a new trend in this century (Clanchy 1993: 111, 190). Noble women acted as teachers of literacy and prayer for their families,

based on the books of hours (Clanchy 1993: 112). A large number of the common people developed functional literacy by being forced to read prayers (Clanchy 1993: 112). Religious books were often in French and Latin, posing a difficulty for women (cf. Clanchy 1993: 189), as they generally did not learn Latin. However, some of the prayers could have been familiar to them and they may have received limited education at home, making it accessible to read such books (Clanchy 1993: 189). Ladies needed a level of literacy skills in Latin, French and English (Clanchy 1993: 194). In addition, if a lady's literacy skills were lacking, they might 'read' illustrations which often accompanied the text (cf. Clanchy 1993: 191).

As the book of hours facilitated teaching of literacy in a lady's household, Walter of Bibbesworth's wrote his *Treatise* in the 13th century to help Denise de Montchensy teach her children French (Clanchy 1993: 198-199; see p. 10, 29-30). Using this book as a guide, she would be able to educate her children the important lexicon associated with 'husbandry and management' (Clanchy 1993: 198). Walter presumes that women of higher class had an ability to read English as a mother tongue and a little French in addition to some Latin (Clanchy 1993: 198-199). Written French was becoming more widespread and important, even if one did not have it as a mother tongue (Clanchy 1993: 199).

Dearnley (2013) explores what languages were accessible to women. This may be exemplified by a translation of the *Trotula* into English called *The Knowing of Woman's Kind in Childing* from the 14th century (Dearnley 2013: 259-260). The translation explains why English was chosen as the language for this text (Dearnley 2013: 259-260). The *Trotula* is a gynaecological treatise written in Latin, which appears to have been written by an Italian woman, and it became a popular medical text addressing women's health (Dearnley 2013: 259). The English translation states that English is used because more women understand English than other languages and expresses a wish for this text to reach many women, either by them reading it or having it read to them (Dearnley 2013: 260). Dearnley (2013: 270) argues that texts referring to female audiences in this way may be considered evidence of women reading English translations.

Stenroos (2019) made the author aware of an indenture[3] by Dame Mabill Louthre and Hugh, her son. The woman's name is consistently written in a larger size throughout this document (Stenroos, personal communication 2019). This, arguably, made it possible for someone with limited literacy skills to have control, as she may have been able to recognize her name, especially since it is larger than the rest of the text. This is similar to Lowe's (2013)

---

[3] MELD code D0380

work on lay-literacy in Anglo-Saxon England. Lowe (2013: 177) argues that some information can be gathered based on visual and structural aspects of texts, regardless of literacy abilities.

The present thesis is mostly concerned with testamentary texts which are connected to or dictated by women. Lewis (2000: 65), however, connects female testamentary practice to the preface of *The Book of Margery Kempe.* This depicts a literacy event where Kempe is able to supervise the situation because after she has dictated, the priest would read aloud what he had written (Lewis 2000: 65). Lewis (2000: 65) argues that similar literacy events would happen in a few cases of drawing up testamentary texts (Lewis 2000: 65).

Another genre of surviving evidence of female texts are letters. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003: 118-124) have found several features where women were promoters of linguistic change based on data from the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence,* consisting of letters. The research conducted by Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003: 45) is based on the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence* where about 21.6% of the informants are women, who often would use a scribe. A significant variable in favour of women as leaders of linguistic change is the second person personal pronouns 'ye' and 'you' between 1500-1579 (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 119). Another interesting feature in gender linguistics is the final <s> and final <th> distribution in third person singular (cf. Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 122-124). The data from the 15th century indicate a higher usage of final <s> by men than women, but this is also explained with the fact that most of the females were from East Anglia in this period in the corpus (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 123). In the 16th century, however, Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003: 122-123) give credit to women for the change from final <th> to <s> in third person singular verbs. Examples as these indicate that women were promoters of linguistic change, even in historical periods. While this indicate that women were linguistic innovators, men were also promoters of linguistic change (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 128).

Nevalainen (1996: 77) refers in her study to sociolinguists of modern-day English who have found that women and men operate linguistically differently. Gender differences in historical linguistics have not been extensively researched, but Nevalainen (1996) presents three case studies of Early Modern women and language change. The results of the study were inconclusive (Nevalainen 1996: 88). Nevalainen (1996: 88) encourages further study of historical gender differences, because there is reason to believe that women took part in promoting innovative linguistic features which have become representative of the standard

variety. This can be seen with final <s> forms and <th> forms, where women seem to promote the future standard <s> form (Nevalainen 1996: 84).

Labov (2001: 272-293) discusses linguistic innovation and women based on the principle of changes from above and changes from below. This dichotomy distinguishes between conscious and unconscious linguistic changes (Labov 2001: 274, 279). Women generally use more prestigious language and less stigmatized language than men, which can be described as change from above (Labov 2001: 274). However, women are also perceived to be at the forefront of linguistic change from below (Labov 2001: 279-280). This is what Labov (2001: 292-293) describes as the gender paradox: 'Women conform more closely than men to sociolinguistic norms that are overtly prescribed, but conform less than men when they are not' (Labov 2001: 293). This means that women are responsible for a variety of linguistic acts, both conservative and innovative (cf. Labov 2001: 293).

4. The formalities of death

4.1 The religious aspects of death

A close inspection of testamentary texts reveals that medieval people placed a focus on life (cf. Duffy 2005: 301, 303). This is contrary to the common misconception that they had a gruesome preoccupation with death (cf. Duffy 2005: 301, 303). Testators made provisions for their soul and body, but had a focus on material belongings and important relationships, which illustrates a complex relationship with death (Duffy 2005: 303).

The medieval person thought of death as when 'the immortal soul left the mortal body and joined with an incorruptible, sexless, immortal body' (Daniell 1997: 1). Bodily harm did not impact the immortal soul, but a sinful soul could make physical illness appear (Daniell 1997: 1). Further, sins would result in the soul being tormented in hell (Daniell 1997: 1). After death, the soul would go to one of three different places: heaven, hell or purgatory (Daniell 1997: 9-10). Hell and heaven were eternal fates, so in order to avoid spending eternity in hell, one could pray devotedly, give alms or join mass singing (Erbe 1905: 269).

Purgatory, although similar to hell in terms of torture, was a temporary cleansing that would end with salvation in heaven afterwards (Daniell 1997: 9-10; Duffy 2005: 345). Purgatory was thus a place of hope, even if the torture was extensive (Duffy 2005: 345). Accounts of purgatory and hell partly intended to frighten and partly intended to encourage a better lifestyle (Duffy 2005: 339-340). In England, purgatory was usually thought of as a prison (Daniell 1997: 10), and the English considered it closer to hell than what other Europeans did. Testamentary texts often included instructions for giving alms in the name of the deceased, in order to reduce the time spent in purgatory (cf. Duffy 2005: 346). Suffering in the after-life would happen as a result of sins or business left unfinished before death, but the temporary fate of purgatory would happen to most people (Daniell 1997: 11; Duffy 2005: 341). Reconsolidation and debt paying as part of the will-making process were actions undertaken in order to avoid purgatory (Duffy 2005: 322-323).

Priests would be present at the deathbed, guiding the dying person to a good death (cf. Daniell 1997: 32). This would include the priest doing the *Ordo Visitandi* (Daniell 1997: 32). More specifically, the priest would place a crucifix in front of the dying, to comfort and show them the presence of Jesus Christ (Duffy 2005: 314), and save their souls from lurking demons (Daniell 1997: 32). The dying were asked seven questions, or interrogations, establishing their sins and beliefs (Daniell 1997: 32). After the *viaticum,* which is 'the

extreme unction and the sacrament' (Daniell 1997: 33), the dying would be at the cross-road between this world and the next, until they stopped breathing (Dinn 1995: 153-154). The extreme unction aimed at preventing the Devil from controlling the body after death occurred (Daniell 1997: 33). The dying persons were expected to actively take part in these religious rituals before the occurrence of death (cf. Daniell 1997: 33). This is documented by the existence of manuals describing how to die well, such as *Ars Moriendi* (Daniell 1997: 34). A person's opinion toward salvation at the last moment before death could save a sinful soul, or damn an honest soul (Wunderli & Broce 1989: 262).

People often had opinions as to what was to happen to their bodies as they died and could decide where to be buried (Harding 1995: 120). In the wills of medium or lower rank Londoners in Harding's study, most chose a parish burial (Harding 1995: 121-122). According to canon law, burial was to be free, but in the 16th century some fees were associated with burial in the church (Harding 1995: 125). Parish burial was often a cheaper option and associated with where the rest of the family was buried (Harding 1995: 122). Women, more often than men, included specific descriptions of burial location, providing names of persons next to whom they were to be buried (Harding 1995: 126; see p. 38). This was more or less natural, because women generally outlived their spouses (Harding 1995: 126-127).

To fail to make a testamentary text before death was to die intestate, which was generally a disgrace (Archer & Ferme 1989: 11). Intestate could also mean that the testamentary text was faulty or that the executors for some reason did not take responsibility for the testamentary text (cf. Archer & Ferme 1989: 11). Testamentary texts often include instructions for giving alms in the name of the deceased, or to pay the testator's debts, both of which would contribute to avoiding purgatory (cf. Duffy 2005: 322-323, 346). These factors indicate the importance of testamentary texts and careful selection of appropriate executors.

4.2 Testamentary texts

The terms *testament* and *will* are in some contexts used interchangeably, although they refer to two types of texts. A *testamentum,* or a testament, is a document describing what will happen to the testator's movable property (Wood 2012: 22). Furthermore, the testament also includes accounts of religious and spiritual matters related to the burial and the soul (Schipor 2018: 155; Wright 2015: 37). The last will, known in Latin as the *ultima voluntas,* handles the lands and realty of the testator (Wood 2012: 22). In the present study, it appears that a broader definition of a will may be more useful (see 7.3). The contrast between testaments and wills is

not always clear (Wood 2012: 22), since in some cases both functions were carried out in the same text and eventually the two functions merged (Beal 2008: 440). For this reason, the term *testamentary text* is here used to refer to testaments and wills collectively. However, the distinction is made wherever it is essential to the discussion.

Testamentary texts are personal documents, as they are strongly connected to family and partly created in order to minimize time in purgatory (cf. Clanchy 2013: 234). However, this does not necessarily mean that they are written by the testators themselves (Wright 2015: 36). Based on authorship, we may classify testamentary texts as holograph or nuncupative (cf. Wright 2015: 36; see p. 25-26). Holograph testamentary texts are written by the testators themselves, while nuncupative testamentary texts are written by other individuals, such as clerks and parish priests (Wright 2015: 36). Nuncupative testamentary texts were given orally to a literate person (cf. Wood 2012: 55) and often written in the third person, from memory or written notes (Spedding 2014: 287). Producing nuncupative texts inherently involved more levels of textual processing than holograph testamentary texts.

According to English practice, the oral or nuncupative testamentary text was also legitimate (cf. Helmholz 2018: 244), and would often result in a written text. Considering the low rates of literacy (see p. 8-9), dictating one's testamentary text would have been accessible to a larger percentage of the population. The oral statement of a dying man was enough to overturn the written will and testament, but this sometimes resulted in conflicts based on 'slender proof' (Helmholz 2018: 244). The flexibility of the testamentary text encouraged spontaneous changes as the testator was approaching death (Helmholz 2018: 255).

The medieval will transitioned from being an oral act with witnesses to validate it, to becoming a written and sealed document towards the 14th century (Clanchy 2013: 256). The spoken testamentary text was an act of trust, where the dying had little control over what happened and what was written down (Daniell 1997: 30). Occasionally, this resulted in fraud where money did not reach its originally intended destination (Daniell 1997: 30). Although the sealing of some testamentary texts was witnessed, it was the form of the document that rendered it valid (Clanchy 2013: 256).

Testamentary texts appear to be formulaic (cf. Duffy 2005: 355), meaning that they generally start with very similar opening phrases (see 7.3). In her study of formulaic phrases from 15th century testamentary texts, Spedding (2014: 281) has found that they include sufficient variation in the opening phrases to justify their investigation. At the same time, it has been noted that towards the 15th century, the structure of testamentary texts was becoming standardised (cf. Wright 2015: 40).

Spedding (2014: 284-286) and Wright (2015: 37-38) distinguishes between five constitutive parts of medieval testamentary texts, namely: the divine invocation, the general preamble, the pious preamble, and bequests A and B. The divine invocation is represented by the set phrase in Latin, which is also used in English testaments: *In dei nomine Amen* 'In the name of God amen' (Spedding 2014: 284).

The general preamble is the second part of a testamentary text (Spedding 2014: 285). The date is part of this preamble, partly serving to ensure that the respective testamentary text was the final one before death (Spedding 2014: 285). The testators are identified by name and while male testators often also provide information about their profession, female testators provide details about their marital status, as well as information about their husband's profession (Spedding 2014: 285). Location would usually also be given (Spedding 2014: 285). The testator had to be mentally healthy, or *sanus mente*, which would be stated directly in testaments (Spedding 2014: 285). Statements concerning physical health are as a rule also included in the general preamble (Spedding 2014: 286). Lastly, the general preamble usually includes a statement of intent to follow up with business (Spedding 2014: 286).

The pious preamble commonly begins with the 'commendation of the soul', introduced by the Latin discourse marker *in primis* 'firstly' (Spedding 2014: 286). It is only relevant for testaments (Schipor 2018: 156). This is followed by instructions concerning the burial place and possibly other related specifications (Spedding 2014: 286). The next part is dedicated to 'obsequies, piety and debts' (Spedding 2014: 286) and concerns special funeral arrangements, as well as instructions regarding debts (Spedding 2014: 286).

The bequests are divided into two parts, A and B, where A is concerned with spiritual matters, and B with material property (Wright 2015: 38; cf. Spedding 2014: 284-286). Bequest A is only part of testaments (Schipor 2018: 156). Afterwards people are appointed as executors and witnesses are written down (Spedding 2014: 286), and lastly there may be a codicil added to the original document at a later time (Wright 2015: 38; cf. Spedding 2014: 284-286). The executors named in testamentary texts are the persons performing the testators' requests (cf. Wood 2012: 57).

Testamentary texts went through a process of validation (cf. Helmholz 2018: 243; cf. Spedding 2014: 283-284, 287). The probate of a testamentary text would be granted after the testator's death (Archer & Ferme 1989: 7; Spedding 2014: 283-284). For it to be granted, one or more of the executors and witnesses had to testify on the authenticity of the testamentary text in court or before an ecclesiastical authority (Archer & Ferme 1989: 7; Spedding 2014: 283-284). In order for the testamentary text to be registered and the probate given, the

executors needed to assess whether the testator's requirements were feasible (cf. Wood 2012: 56). According to the Institute of Justinian of the 6th century, a testamentary text was considered valid if it had seven witnesses (Helmholz 2018: 243). In late medieval times, the rule was less strict, requiring only two witnesses in order to validate a testamentary text (cf. Helmholz 2018: 243). For the testament to be legally valid, it had to be proved and the executors had to be made responsible of taking care of the testator's wishes (Archer & Ferme 1989: 7). If and when the executors succeeded with administrating the testamentary text, they had to submit an account (Archer & Ferme 1989: 17). After the probate was granted, the original document was given to the executors, while a copy of the document and the probate was written in a register (Spedding 2014: 284; see 4.3). In St Albans (see 2.2), there was a distinction between probate for freemen and villeins (Levett 1938: 208-209). The first was administered by the archdeacon of the abbey, while the latter by the officer of the halimote (Levett 1938: 208-209), a lord of a manor's court.

The production of testamentary texts usually consisted of several stages (Wright 2015: 36). It ranges from the dictation made by the testator, to the register copy of the document followed by the probate note (Wright 2015: 36; see 4.3). Many of the originals sent to the executors are lost, but copies of these have survived in registers (Spedding 2014: 284).

4.3 Registers

Certain documents, such as testamentary texts, were deemed important enough to be intended to last. Such documents were often collected by an authority for future reference (Clanchy 1993: 92). Registers are collections of copied texts formed in books or rolls (Clanchy 1993: 103; see p. 25-26). The trend for registers went from being in rolls to being in books by the 14th century (Clanchy 1993: 142). Since they were copies, they did not carry the authority of official records (Clanchy 1993: 103). As copies, registers are typical examples of secondary records (see p. 25). However, registers could also act as official documents, if the originals were unavailable (Clanchy 1993: 103). Registers are defined in LALME as formal collections of texts copied into a book (eLALME 2013b: Vol. 1: Ch. 4). Based on their nature as copies, registers may or may not be representative of the language of the original texts (eLALME 2013b: Vol. 1: Ch. 4).

Few individuals were involved in the production of registers or consulted them frequently (cf. Jacob 1953: 3-4). The processes associated with this text production were characteristic of registers in a diocese, in connection with the administration of an archbishop or bishop. The key people involved were the scribes, the Registrar and the Official (Jacob

1953: 4). The scribes were hired to write and copy texts into the register (Jacob 1953: 4). The Registrar decided what to include in the register (Jacob 1953: 4). Lastly, the Official had the responsibility of the legal functions (Jacob 1953: 4).

The terms register and cartulary have regularly been confused (Foulds 1987: 5). The online version of the OED defines a register as a collection of important information. This is a vague definition, which explains why the term register has been cause for confusion.

The medieval term *registrum* often refers to cartularies and was also used for the Chancery records (Clanchy 1993: 103). Cartularies have a narrower definition than registers in Clanchy, who refers to it as 'a collection of title-deeds copied into a register' (Clanchy 1993: 101). They became widespread in the 13th century (Clanchy 1993: 102). Another definition of cartularies is the compilation of copied texts, specifically charters and title-deeds, or muniments, associated with monasteries or other institutions (Davis 1958: xi; Foulds 1987: 6). The significant distinction between cartularies and registers lies in their subject matter (Foulds 1987: 6). The word 'cartulary' has evolved from the name of its main contents, *carta*, or charters (Foulds 1987: 7).

4.4 Gendered testamentary practices

Men wrote more testamentary texts than women (cf. Cressy 2006: 106; cf. Wood 2012: 48). To illustrate, based on the wills proved in the Archdeacon's Court of London between 1393 and 1415, 17% of the wills were by women (Wood 1994: 56). Of the 234 wills by women, 157 belong to widows, 70 to single women or of unknown marital status and 7 belong to married women (Wood 1994: 56). Similarly, 18% of the wills proved in Bury St Edmunds between 1380-1415 were by women, where none were identified as married (Wood 2012: 44).

Men generally named their wives as executors, while women often chose their children as executors (Wood 2012: 54; see 6.2, 6.3, Table 1). In a study of family patterns in Bishop's Lynn in the 14th century, Beauroy (1986: 33) found that women bestowed more to their executors, in comparison to men in a similar position. Several reasons are suggested, such as the women being in debt, or the bequests initially intended for their husbands would be transferred to the executors, because they had become widowed (Beauroy 1986: 33). However, Beauroy (1986) does not mention the naming of children as executors. Daughters received more movable goods from their mothers, while fathers favoured their sons (Beauroy 1986: 33-34).

According to the English common law, unmarried women and widows had the right to draw up a testamentary text (cf. Wood 2012: 50). The English common law also allowed

married women to make their testamentary text, but only with permission from their husband (cf. Wood 2012: 50; cf. Wood 1994: 56; see p. 12-13). Few testamentary texts of this type have survived. Interestingly, the church court argued for married women's wills to be valid regardless of the husband's approval (Barron 1989: 37). The religious argument and fear of the married women dying without grace and intestate was not enough to win over the common law (Sheehan 1963: 238-239).

In London, when a widow drew up her testament and will she did not have a deciding factor in what happened to her dower lands (Barron 1989: 43). She did, however, bequeath inherited land, money and different kinds of property (Barron 1989: 43). The London widows were not bound by legitim (see p. 12-13), meaning that they could dispose of their real estate as they wished, except for their dower lands (Barron 1989: 43). This resulted in that 'the greatest testamentary freedom in London was exercised by single women and widows (Barron 1989: 43).

Even though men made more testamentary texts than women, this does not mean that the majority of the population made testamentary texts (cf. Cressy 2006: 106). Wealth does to some degree predict the ability to make a testamentary text, and the lower layers of society were underrepresented (cf. Cressy 2006: 106). This also seems to correlate with literacy rates (see p. 8-9). To be more specific, women, labourers and husbandmen were social categories most often associated with low levels of literacy (Cressy 2006: 106).

5. Linguistic variation and multilingualism in late medieval England

5.1 Middle English writing and scribal practices

McIntosh (1956 [1989: 12]) advocates the study of written variation in its own right. Written Middle English does not relate directly to the spoken language of the time (McIntosh 1956 [1989: 2]). Spoken and written communication are different in several ways, for example in spoken discourse certain meanings may be expressed by gestures or facial expressions (Milroy & Milroy 2012: 54). In the written medium, the receiver is often not present, so clarity is essential (Milroy & Milroy 2012: 54). This means that there must be a unified understanding of the written language (cf. Milroy & Milroy 2012: 54). This is a reason for a certain conservativeness towards language change in writing, compared with speech (Milroy 1992: 165).

   In Middle English texts, there is variation in 'spelling, morphology, syntax and lexicon' (Milroy 1992: 156). This is largely triggered by extra-linguistic factors such as geography and chronology (Milroy 1992: 156). However, these are not the only factors causing variation, since much intratextual variation may be found (Milroy 1992: 157). One scribe could write the same word in different ways in the same document, possibly as a result of scribal idiosyncrasy. Language change may be influenced by family and closely connected groups (Samuels 1981: 47). It is also likely that teachers and schools influence linguistic development (cf. Samuels 1981: 47; see p. 9-10). This illustrates how important educational factors were for the production of linguistic variation. Linguistic variation in English writing was legitimate in the Middle Ages (Milroy 1992: 159). However, this variation is grammatically systematic, in that it allows the reading and accurate understanding of Middle English texts (Milroy 1992: 194; cf. Milroy & Milroy 2012: 7).

   The language in late medieval England was extremely variable. This results in the term *dialects* being used for written Middle English for about 1430 and earlier (cf. Benskin 1981: xxviii). Intratextual as well as intertextual variation based on for example geography is common (cf. Freeborn 2006: 175). It has been suggested that English underwent a standardisation process as it started being used as an administrative language in the late Middle Ages (Barber, Beal & Shaw 2009: 154; Milroy 1992: 156; Samuels 1981: 43). Works such as Samuels (1963 [1989]) may also indicate some standardisation of English. Milroy and

Milroy (2012: 6, 19) indicate that to develop a standard language[4], other variation that may have presented itself in that language must be subdued. They name three broad categorical reasons for standardisation, namely 'social, political and commercial needs' (Milroy & Milroy 2012: 30). Certain studies have documented the perception of Latin as the main language of record in the 15th century (see Schipor 2018: 263) and the existence of various degrees of linguistic variation in English texts from this period (cf. eLALME 2013a). For this reason, it is generally problematic to discuss the standardisation of English as a large-scale phenomenon in 15th-century England.

Writing was generally confined to several contexts in the Middle Ages, one of them being that of professional scribes producing administrative texts (cf. Benskin & Laing 1981: 55, 89; see 4.3). Administrative texts commonly underwent several stages of writing, from dictation to drafting, to writing the original and then possibly copying them into a register or other official records (cf. Clanchy 2013: 86; cf. Wright 2015: 36; see 4.3). Not all administrative texts show these stages, as some of them were not included in collections of official records. The texts may have been changed at any stage in the process of copying, resulting in multi-layering where the surviving records may be linguistically different from the originals (cf. Benskin & Laing 1981: 55). Without the existence of a prescribed variety, the scribe would have had a high level of linguistic autonomy in the act of copying (Benskin & Laing 1981: 89). A scribe could also omit parts of the texts he was copying (cf. Foulds 1987: 9).

Such copied texts are what Clanchy (2013: 86) calls secondary records, while primary records are the original texts. Most of the primary records have been lost, while secondary records have had a higher chance for survival, because they were intended to last (Clanchy 2013: 86). Secondary records have been copied into registers (see 4.3), which has contributed to their preservation. Documents were mainly written by professional scribes (cf. Clanchy 2013: 49), who had received appropriate training.

McIntosh (1973 [1989: 92]) has outlined three options for copying scribes who encountered a written dialect different from their own. A scribe could change the manuscript significantly in accordance with his dialect, which is common, or not change it, which is rare (McIntosh 1973 [1989: 92]). The third option is to change the original text to some extent, resulting in a dialectally varied text (McIntosh 1973 [1989: 92]). Such copying practices may

---

[4] The term 'standard language' is an abstraction, and is not being used to refer to an actual standard language.

have also applied to the process of text production based on dictation, for example in the case of nuncupative testamentary texts (see p. 19).

The existence of such scribal copying practices and the lack of detail concerning the authorship of texts are common challenges in studies of historical linguistics (Horobin 2010: 17). Bergs (2013: 246) suggests that the language of copied texts may be more representative of the scribe rather than the person dictating it. In such a case, the scribe was the source of linguistic change (Bergs 2013: 246). However, scribes seem to have been less inclined to introduce certain types of changes. For example, in a study of Paston letters, Bergs (2013: 250) found that the influence of scribes at the morphosyntactic level was minimal.

According to McIntosh (1975 [1989: 36]), one would expect a copied text to 'look' similar to the scribe's usual handwriting. This means that the appearance of the copied text would be minimally influenced by the original (McIntosh 1975 [1989: 36]). McIntosh (1975 [1989: 35-36]) divides what he calls scribal profiles into linguistic features and palaeographic features, collecting systematic information on scribes.

There may have been a pragmatic approach with translating phrases to make the text accessible for the local reader (Benskin & Laing 1981: 89-90). If some dialectal words were considered difficult or unknown to the reader of a different dialect, then the scribe would consider replacing them with more familiar ones (Benskin & Laing 1981: 90). This may result in him using what LALME calls a *relict* (eLALME 2013c: Vol. 1: Ch. 3.2.1)*. The relict is a form which the scribe did not have in his own repertoire but is used because of its occurrence in the text he copied (eLALME 2013c: Vol. 1: Ch. 3.2.1, 3.3.3; see p. 25). This should not be confused with constrained usage. With constrained usage, the scribe can accommodate his linguistic forms to that of the text he is copying, but not incorporate forms that are unfamiliar to him (eLALME 2013c: Vol. 1: Ch. 3.4.1).

Texts with features associated with several geographical areas have been called mixed or 'corrupt' and the language of such texts has been referred to as *Mischsprachen* (McIntosh 1963 [1989: 28]). Mischsprachen texts make determining the origins of a manuscript complex, which is why scholars initially excluded them from linguistic studies.

5.2 Studies of linguistic variation in Middle English

LALME was an extensive project concerning dialects in the Middle Ages. The period of interest was limited to 1350-1450, to avoid recording changes over time rather than based on geography (eLALME 2013c: Vol. 1: 1.1.1). One of the central goals of this project was to localize medieval manuscripts (McIntosh 1973 [1989: 87]). The focus was on written

language, without determining possible implications for pronunciation (eLALME 2013c: Vol. 1: Ch. 1.4.1).

McIntosh (1963 [1989: 26-27]) outlines the usefulness of the fit-technique, which is used in LALME. Texts of a known date and place were used as 'anchors' for other texts on the basis of shared linguistic features (eLALME 2013c: Vol. 1: 2.3.2, 2.3.3). This means that local documents were analysed and used as linguistic grounds for the variation typical of a certain area (eLALME 2013c: Vol. 1: 2.3.3). Local documents often state their place of production, or provide information about their origin, which made them an essential part of the LALME materials (eLALME 2013c: Vol. 1: 2.3.2). By making a map of dialectal features based on localised texts, one can with a fair amount of certainty place new texts in relation to the localised ones based on linguistic features (McIntosh 1963 [1989: 26-27]; eLALME 2013c: Vol. 1: 2.3.3). If the new text is localised with fair certainty, it can also be plotted into the map to further develop it, especially if the researcher is fine with altering the map for the texts to continue to fit together (McIntosh 1963 [1989: 27]).

Many studies have focused on determining the origins of manuscripts, especially literary ones (Milroy 1992: 167-169). This type of information is commonly lacking in literary texts, but is readily available in documentary texts (Milroy 1992: 170). Documentary texts are described in LALME as 'legal instruments, administrative writings and personal letters' (eLALME 2013b: Vol. 1: 2). Documentary texts form the object of study in the MELD project, where the focus is placed on studying language produced at a specific time and place (cf. Stenroos 2016: 108; Stenroos, Thengs & Bergstrøm 2017a). Nearly half of the texts in the MELD corpus include a localizing clause, which relates more or less directly to the location of production (Stenroos 2016: 108). This allows the study of language produced in a given place, without the limitations of dialect conventions. Stenroos (2016) also suggests that the mapping of dialects is not sufficient because 'the geographical connections of any text, scribe or speaker are potentially highly complex' (Stenroos 2016: 122). Therefore, Middle English dialectology should be 'multi-pronged' (Stenroos 2016: 122), accounting for sociolinguistic factors and historical context of text production.

Stenroos (2016: 104) argues that a geographical approach is not always straightforward. Linguistic variation does not necessarily form a continuum and may have been triggered by several factors, including, for example, city-hopping (Stenroos 2016: 104; cf. Thengs 2013: 344; see p. 28). It was relatively common for medieval professionals such as clerks to receive their education at, for example, a certain urban centre in the south and then move north to pursue a career (Stenroos 2016: 108). Written variation did not necessarily

develop and spread in the same way as spoken variation (Stenroos 2016: 104-105), since only a minority of the population was literate and literacy skills were not evenly spread across England. Therefore, analyses of linguistic variation should be complemented by discussions of socio-historical factors in correlation rather than on their own (Stenroos 2016: 100-101).

Stenroos (2013: 160) writes that although variation based on geography became less important during the 15th century, written variation was still prominent during the 17th century. Accordingly, Stenroos (2013: 160-161) suggests that it is important to focus on linguistic variation regardless of the less prominent geographical aspect. Nevalainen (2000: 329; Nevalainen 2006: 117) promotes the term *supralocalisation*, rather than standardisation, to refer to the linguistic situation in late medieval England.

The term colourless language is relevant to the discussion of standardisation. Some writers in the Middle Ages gradually employed more forms associated with the Chancery Standard over their own dialect, others chose linguistic forms which were commonly used, but not the Chancery Standard (Samuels 1981: 43). The latter process is the development of colourless language (Samuels 1981: 43). Accordingly, the localization and study of dialects of colourless language texts become a complex activity (Samuels 1981: 44). Samuels (1981: 44) suggests it would be possible to differentiate between localizable dialects, the Chancery Standard, regional varieties with forms from Chancery Standard, and colourless language.

In 2013, Thengs conducted a multi-pronged study whereby he compiled the *Northwest Midland Document Corpus* (henceforth NWM-C) and investigated the language of texts produced in the Northwest Midlands. He focused on the presence of supralocalised forms and the way in which linguistic variation may be connected to literacy networks (Thengs 2013: 1). Thengs (2013: 344-345) examined morphological and orthographic variation, such as the distribution of the (th) variable, and the opening and closing phrases used in documentary texts. Thengs' (2013: 9) study discusses linguistic variation as a combined result of several factors, such as genre and chronology, in addition to geography.

Thengs (2013: 344-345) found data which may be interpreted as a result of 'urban-hopping'. The development of innovative language seems to correspond to trade routes (Thengs 2013: 344-345). Some features also seem to be connected to the genre of the text (Thengs 2013: 345). For example, <sch> spellings seem to occur more frequently in ordinances than in other types of texts (Thengs 2013: 186). Thengs (2013: 345) suggest that few forms may be classified as 'markedly local' and late medieval scribes might not have moved as much as previously assumed.

A more recent study of linguistic variation is by Bergstrøm (2017) and focuses on documents produced in Cambridge and its immediate surroundings. This study can also be described as 'multi-pronged' and was part of the same research initiative as the MELD project (see p. 27). Three main research questions were investigated: to look at Cambridge with the perspective of a text community; to study the written language in Cambridge; and the question of Cambridge's role in the standardisation of English (Bergstrøm 2017: 16).

Bergstrøm (2017: 20-21) studied morphological and orthographic variation. The third person plural pronouns, as well as 'the third person present singular and plural indicative', were selected based on their variation (Bergstrøm 2017: 20). For the orthographic study, four consonant clusters ((th), (sh), (wh) and (gh)) were chosen, and Middle English reflexes of the Old English vowel <æ>, <a> and <e> that were frequent in the corpus (Bergstrøm 2017: 21). These features were considered in relation to 'social, pragmatic, philological, and chronological variation' (Bergstrøm 2017: 21). This fits with the main aim of MELD, namely to investigate linguistic variation in close connection to the time and place of text production. A study of guild ordinances and comparison with London was also included in the study (Bergstrøm 2017: 188-202, 203-217).

In Bergstrøm (2017: 219, 221, 233), the materials were notably uniform from a chronological perspective as well as a synchronous perspective, possibly suggesting a strong text community. The variation in them, however, indicates the existence of a supralocal variant, but Cambridge's role in standardisation is uncertain (Bergstrøm 2017: 222, 231, 233). The unexpected forms present in the Cambridge documentary texts may be associated with Suffolk and northern dialects (Bergstrøm 2017: 229).

5.3 Approaches to multilingualism in late medieval England

Latin and French succeeded Old English as the main languages for administrative purposes and record keeping in the Middle Ages, and Middle English was minimally used (Milroy & Milroy 2012: 26; Samuels 1963 [1989: 70]). After the Norman Conquest in 1066, French was used both as a spoken and written language in England for more than three centuries (Berndt 1965 [1969: 369]; Orme 2006: 73). Latin was used in the domains of religion, 'scholarship, education, administration, law and literature' (Schendl & Wright 2011: 18). The medieval society was characterized by multilingualism,[5] with additional languages including Old Norse and Welsh (Jefferson & Putter 2013: xii).

---

[5] Multilingualism, in this thesis, is understood to include bilingualism.

French was used in writing until into the 15th century (Orme 2006: 73; Schendl & Wright 2011: 19). During the 15th century the English mostly stopped using French in administration, and it seems that the monolingual French speakers had disappeared by the late Medieval period (Orme 2006: 75, 77; cf. Samuels 1963 [1989: 70]). The Norman Conquest did not result in a high percentage of French inhabitants, with the nobility and their servants using French the most (Berndt 1965 [1969: 370-371]; Freeborn 2006: 87). Following the Norman Conquest, small groups of English peasantry may have acquired knowledge of French, but they were largely speaking English (Berndt 1965 [1969: 379]).

The fact that French was mainly used by the English nobility is signalled by the semantic fields to which the French loanwords were adopted. During the 12th and 14th centuries, French loanwords entered the English language, mainly in the following semantic fields: art, architecture and building, church and religion, entertainment, fashion, food and drink, government and administration, home life, law and legal affairs, scholarship and learning, literature, medicine, military, riding and hunting and social ranks (Freeborn 2006: 158).

In the 14th and 15th century, the use of English as a written language gradually increased as it was slowly adopted for various text functions (Milroy & Milroy 2012: 26). Some of these text types are financial accounts, testamentary texts and abjurations (Schipor 2018: 154). Schipor (2018: 141) observed a rising amount of English texts from the 15th century. However, at this point English had not yet become the main language of written documents (Stenroos 2016: 112). All these factors illustrate the relevance of studying different languages in connection to each other and on their own, in this period.

Code-switching is a term traditionally used by historical linguists interested in multilingualism (see for example Schendl 2013). The term code-switching refers to using several languages in spoken or written discourse (Schendl & Wright 2011: 15). Nouns are subject to code-switching more commonly than other word classes (Trotter 2011: 156). The point where the language switches determines whether it is intrasentential or intersentential (Myers-Scotton 1997: 3). The intersentential switch refers to a change of languages at or above the sentence level (Myers-Scotton 1997: 3). Intrasentential switches, on the other hand, happen within a single sentence (Myers-Scotton 1997: 4).

A *matrix language* is the dominant language in a multilingual text (Myers-Scotton 1997: 3, 7). The other languages employed in multilingual texts to a lesser degree are referred to as *embedded languages* (Myers-Scotton 1997: 3). In the present study, the term matrix language is used to refer to the language which is quantitatively dominant. This is

straightforward in six out of seven testamentary texts studies here (see 7.5). The visual complexity of manuscripts may challenge the matrix language and code-switching frameworks. In such a case, it may be useful to instead employ the term multilingual event, which is broader and refers to the use of different languages in visually distinct elements of a text (Schipor 2018: 44). For example, a Latin title preceding an English body text would constitute a multilingual event. Additionally, the term code-mixing is used in the thesis.

Another challenge may be the that the different languages may not be perceived as separate, in which case a person does not 'switch' between languages but is mixing languages (Trotter 2011: 157). Trotter (2011: 155, 183) studied formal accounts from Southampton, wills from York and inventories from Dover, and came to the conclusion that while these texts have words which are English, Latin and French, they do not appear to make use of code-switching. More specifically, the texts do not have signs of conscious language boundaries (Trotter 2011: 183), so a more appropriate term may be code-mixing. Code-mixing or mixed-language, may be identified on the basis of frequent code-switches, mixed grammatical systems, uncertain etymologies and the use of visual diamorphs (cf. Ingham 2013: 106-114; cf. Trotter 2011: 161; cf. Wright 2011: 203).

When studying multilingual texts, it may be difficult, if not impossible, to assign a linguistic label to a word. This is because it is on the way to become, or has become, part of another language. In mixed-language writing, for example, a word with an abbreviated ending may be interpreted to belong to several languages at the same time (Wright 2011: 195). Wright (2011: 195) exemplifies this with the abbreviated word *argent',* which can be classified as Latin 'silver-plated', Anglo-Norman '(of) silver' and Middle English 'silver-gilt'. Similarly, visual diamorphs refer to abbreviated words or function words which may be read in more than one language, such as *Jt~* 'item' in the present material (Wright 2011: 203; see p. 64).

According to Wright (2015: 35), an example of a text type written in four different linguistic systems is the last will (see 7.5). The language systems in use were: Medieval Latin, Anglo-Norman French, Middle English and what she calls the mixed-language business system, consisting of a mix of features from the three other language systems (Wright 2002: 471; Wright 2015: 35). The mixed-language business system is typical of text types involving money management (Wright 2011: 191). It is not surprising that the mixed-language business system is associated with testamentary texts, as Duffy (2005: 346-347) also has noted how the production of wills became more business-like in the late medieval England (see p. 9, 20).

Wright (2015: 39-40) claims that often in wills, legal and religious aspects are in Latin, whereas more Middle English is used for material possessions (see p. 64). Wright (2015: 40) also found that the use of English in Latin wills was limited to presenting names and measures. In medieval texts with Latin or French as matrix language, switching to English in nouns and verb stems is common (Wright 2015: 40). It also seems that the monolingual English ratio versus mixed-language texts in the 15th century is higher than before (cf. Wright 2015: 44).

A relevant study by Ingham (2013: 106) focuses on land grant charters. These have numerous examples of code-mixing with English, French and Latin text (Ingham 2013: 106). For example, the French definite article (*le* and *la*) would often be used for an English noun in an otherwise Latin text (Ingham 2013: 106-107; see 7.5). Such events have been explained as the English definite article being translated into French, which, according to Ingham (2013: 107), is not a valid explanation. Sometimes the English noun is a proper name in these types of multilingual contexts (Ingham 2013: 110). Ingham (2013: 110-111), however, finds that nouns referencing landscape make use of the French article, while actual proper names have no article. French articles seem to have been used to mark a change from Latin to the vernacular (Trotter 2011: 176). Ingham (2013: 119) concludes that in England in the 12th and 13th centuries, the use of the French article shows the practice of embedding the spoken language into the Latin texts. He also suggests that such multilingual practices mirror the linguistic practices in the spoken drafting of texts (Ingham 2013: 119).

6. Materials

6.1 The manuscripts

The testamentary texts in this study are dated to the period 1427-1486. They belong to two registers of testamentary texts from St Albans, and more specifically from the Court of the Archdeaconry (Stenroos, Thengs & Bergstrøm 2017b). One of them reads 'Stoneham' on the cover (Stenroos, Thengs & Bergstrøm 2017b; cf. Owst 1926: 190). They are held at the Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies and have the following archive reference numbers: ASA/1AR and ASA/2AR. ASA/1AR represents a register of testamentary texts dated to 1415-1470, while ASA/2AR is a register of testamentary texts dated to 1471-1525, and maybe longer, but the cut-off point in the MELD project is 1525.

The registers are preserved well and are made of paper. Most of the texts are legible, but a few short passages in the margins are illegible. There is a faded area in D4168#26, fol. 49 v, where some of the text is illegible. The size of each register is approximately 30 by 41cm. The binding of the registers is modern (cf. Owst 1926: 190), and it is possible they were initially part of the same register.

Being part of registers, these testaments are copied texts or secondary records (see 4.3, p. 25-26). They have at least two stages of text production, from being orally drafted, to copied into the registers (cf. Wright 2015: 36; see p. 19).

The handwriting is generally characterized by a relatively high level of accuracy. All of the texts show a combination of Anglicana and Secretary features. They all have the Secretary feature of single compartment <a>, and the Anglicana feature 8-shaped <g>, as well as sigma-shaped <s>. All of them except for D4168#4 have the Secretary features open <w> and two stroke <e>. Documentary texts from this period typically contained a mix of Secretary and Anglicana features and may be called mixed in terms of palaeography.

The texts seem to be written by several different scribes. There are no exact guidelines to determine whether texts were written by the same scribe, but the following features can contribute to determining whether they were: firstly, the ampersand symbol used for 'and' as well as 'et cetera', and secondly, the spacing and general appearance of the texts. D4168#4 and D4168#26 seem to have been written by one scribe. D4170#9 and M4170#12 may have been written by the same scribe as the previous texts. D4170#1 and D4170#2 seem to be written by a different scribe, and D4170#14 by yet another scribe. There are grounds to believe that for these testamentary texts, at least three different scribes were involved.

The texts make frequent use of abbreviations. The function words 'the', 'that' and 'with' are often abbreviated with the first consonant and an <e> or <t> in superscripts respectively, as in $þ^e$, $þ^t$ and w^t. A frequent abbreviation in these texts, including the mixed-language text, is $Jt\sim$ 'item', which appears with different spellings (see p. 53). There is variation in abbreviation practices, which is expected based on the variation on other levels. The various types of abbreviations are not distributed evenly across the texts.

The testamentary texts are accompanied by marginalia containing the names of and references to the testators. The exceptions are in D4170#2 and D4170#9, which do not include this. However, these texts refer to testators mentioned in texts immediately preceding them on the manuscript page, which contain marginal notes indicating the names of the testators. In D4170#2, another symbol appears in the margin, similar in shape to the modern letter 'v', which may point to the name in the marginal note directly above it. The same testator is often referred to with different spellings and languages in the text and in the marginalia (see 7.4).

Of the seven testamentary texts, two wills are not followed by probate notes (see p. 58-59). This seems to be the exception rather than the rule and does not imply that these particular wills lacked official approval. In some cases, probate notes appear in a different place in registers instead of immediately after the testamentary texts they refer to (Schipor, personal communication 2019).

Sums of money are given in Roman numerals. They are employing the currency system of pounds, shillings and pence in the abbreviated form *l*, *s* and *d*, which originate from the Latin correspondents *libra, solidi* and *denarii* respectively. One pound is 20 shillings, and a shilling is twelve pence. For each summary, the total amount of money to be accounted for is provided, based on the monetary system mentioned above. Most of the individual sums are small, but in a few texts, they amount to a significant sum. In one case *marc~* 'mark' was used as part of the monetary system, where one mark corresponds to 160 pennies (MED), but it could also refer to 'two-thirds of a pound sterling' (OED). The monetary unit 'l', pounds, is not present in the manuscript texts. Some of these texts also made use of phrases such as *And to eu<u>er</u>y chyld redyng & syngyng in surplye<u>es</u> in the qwere ij d* 'And two pence to every child reading and singing in the choir' (see lines 45-46), which obscures the precise amount of money involved in the testamentary text.

In the following sections, the distinction between wills and testaments is made based on the openings of the testamentary texts. 'In the name of God amen' and its Latin equivalent signifies a testament, while 'This is the last will' and its Latin equivalent signifies a will. This

differs from the theoretical distinction of wills and testaments (see p. 18-19), and is problematised in the study of opening formulae (see 7.3).

When discussing the people present in these texts, either in the summaries or in the studies, the modernized form of the names has been chosen. For example, the same text may refer to both the son and daughter of a certain testator as *jon,* in which case the present researcher presents them as John and Joan respectively. Also, the same person can be referred to with different spellings, but in the thesis, they are referred to with only one spelling. If a particular form present in the manuscript is of interest or importance, that form is preserved.

6.2 The contents of the testamentary texts

The testament of Alice White (D4168#4)

The testament of Alice White is dated to December 1472 and the probate was given 28 December, presumably the same year (see Table 1). She requests to be buried in the churchyard of Watford, and afterwards, money is given to the altar and the Lady Light in the chapel, possibly referring to modern-day St Mary's church or St Peter & St Paul's church in Watford. She wants someone to light a candle in honour of the virgin Mary on her behalf, as well as the candle for St Thomas, St Katherine and in front of the crucifix. Money is bestowed to the high clerk, whose profession may indicate that he had written her testament. Her son Roger White is named executor and is given the rest of her belongings. The total amount of money given in the text is 1 shilling and 6 pence (see Table 1).

The testament and will of Constance Cressy (D4168#26)

The testament and will of widow Constance Cressy was written 28 April in 1486 and the probate was given 10 June, most likely of the same year (see Table 1). She will dispose of her movable and unmovable goods according to her previous agreement with Robert Gymew. Robert Gymew and his wife, Alice, are named her executors. John Ferrers, William Drayton, John Hole and William Goman are witnesses to the act of making her testament and will.

Constance makes requests for her spiritual wellbeing after death. She requests that her body be buried in the chapel of St Andrew, and placed inside St Albans monastery by the altar of *oure lady* 'our lady' (see line 74). Robert and Alice must find a priest to sing for Constance's soul, her husband's soul, and their friends' souls, and indeed every Christian soul.

The alter is given her silver chalice with some golden paint. The high alter of St Andrew is given a communion cloth and tablecloth. The priests arranging her funeral and the children who sing in it are given money. Some money goes to the nuns of Sopwell, some to the nuns of the priory of St Mary Des Prés (Pray) (cf. Levett 1938: 287), some to a nun of St Peter, and a nun of St Michael. The church of Harpenden receives money for restoration, as well as the church of Luton, the parish church of Dodferd, and the friar house Langley. The church of Harpenden and the church of Luton both receive a communion cloth. Six servants are given money, and of them, Alice Stafford, receives significantly more than the other servants. Land and money are given to Robert Gymew and his wife Alice. All the bequeaths amount to a total sum of 3 pounds, 15 shillings and 2 pence (see Table 1).

The will of Alice Forag (D4170#1)

The married Alice Forag's will was made in 1427 (see Table 1). This information is inferred from the Latin testament belonging to the same person, found directly above the will on the register page. Some information is added from the testament to present a more complete picture of Alice Forag's testamentary practice (see Table 1). Her children are given silver spoons, basins, water pitchers, tablecloths and towels. Her daughters additionally receive beds, belts and rosary beads. Furthermore, Joan, her daughter, is given a gown, cloak and a hood*,* and Amy, her daughter, *my beste werygcloth þᵗ longeth to my body* 'my best cloth for wearing that fits my body' (see lines 145-146). Jon, her son, is given *langettes* of beads, a gown, trousers, a hood and two acres of wheat. 'Langette' is used to describe objects shaped like a tongue. There are either two servants named Jon (*jon Chestr* and *Jone*) or only one, the servant(s) is/are given a gown and five acres of wheat. No money is bequeathed in this text.

The testament of Dionisia Cheyne (D4170#2)

The testament of Dionisia Cheyne was written 1 July 1430 and approved 9 October, probably referring to the same year (see Table 1). Money is given for the light for the cross and St Katherine, the bachelors' box and maidens' box. The largest sum of money, 6 shillings and 8 pence, is given to Thomas Cheyne. Sir Robert, John Cauche and his son also receive money.

Her cousin Jon, and Alyson Cheyne are each given a pot, a basin, a water pitcher and a bed. Alyson is in addition given 5 silver spoons. Her son is given 6 spoons worth 10 shillings and a pointed tool which costs 3 shillings and 4 pence. Thomas Cheyne is given sheets, and Anne's sister is given a cloak and a hood. The rest of her goods is given to her children,

William and Joan, and they are named as her executors. The total amount of money is 17 shillings (see Table 1), but the profit from the sale of 12 sheep would be added to that.

The will of Alice Atte Well (D4170#9)

The last will of the widow Alice Atte Well was made on 10 December 1454 (see Table 1). Most of her furnishings are systematically bequeathed to John and Joan Nunny. Her sister is given a gown. Both Katherine, the wife of Adam, and Katherine, the wife of Wygge, are remembered, as well as the daughter of Adam. Daniel William Newenham, Sir Davy Knefton and Daniel Thomas Walden all receive goods, and Sir Davy Knefton is named one of the executors. The servant Cecily Goule receives a considerable amount of goods. The women Joan and Elianore are given containers for household use.

Some goods are also bestowed for religious or charity purposes (see p. 17). Two ancresses of St Andrew and St Michael churches receive money. The parish church of St Andrew and the church of Sandrugge are given each a pillow, and Sandrugge is also given a vestment for a priest. Moreover, St Andrew is given 7 shillings[6] for the making of a pillar. St Michael is given a dish for salt of silver for the mass book. Alice's old bedding is distributed to the poor people. Lastly, 13 shillings 4 pence are bequeathed for the repair of Hertford way. This amounts to a total of 6 pounds, the largest amount in these texts (see Table 1).

The will of Agnes Levesy (M4170#12)[7]

The last will of Agnes Levesy was written 13 August 1465 (see Table 1). The probate was granted 22 August, most likely the same year. She requests to be buried in the parochial chapel of St Andrew's (cf. Page 1908b). Money is given for charity (see p. 17): the construction of a cross in a church, and for the restoration of the road to Holywell and St Stephen. Gowns are given to her daughters Joan and Alice, and her sisters Joan and Edith. Her daughters are each given a belt and a pot and pan made of brass. Her sons, Walter and William, are each given a bowl, and nine spoons. William is additionally bestowed a quilt, sheets, a mattress and a pot and a pan. Her servants Alice and Dorothy Barthilmey are given sheets made of flax, sheets made of tow and 6 shillings and 8 pence. Her children are given 4 pence and the rest of her money needed to cover her debts. Her son, John Levesy, is chosen as

---

[6] Shillings is here inferred, based on the amount given to the ancresses of St Michael and St Peter's. Pence may also be a logical inference, as the other sums of money are given in two parts, shillings and then pence.
[7] Much of this text is written in Latin. This summary and further translations have been made with considerable help from Delia Schipor, and based mainly on Owst (1926) and with some extra information from Wright (2011: 196-197).

the executor. Her servant Margareth Wyrall is given a gown of mixed woollen cloth, *musterdevillers*, and a *russet* gown is given to her other servant Matilda Well. The total amount of money bequeathed is 1 pound, 5 shillings and 4 pence (see Table 1).

The testament of Elizabeth Gosbyll (D4170#14)

The testament of the unmarried Elizabeth Gosbyll is dated to 15 March 1469 and the probate to 4 May 1470 (see Table 1). Elizabeth requests to be buried with her friends in the St Peters churchyard in St Albans. Some money is bequeathed for a new front for the altar in the chapel of St Andrew, and for 30 requiem masses to be said (see p. 17) of the church of St Gregory. John Nunny and Thomas Bevirley are named as executors who shall repay her debts, and 40 pence are given to them. This amounts to a total of 1 pound (see Table 1).

6.3 Summarizing remarks

The largest sum of money, 6 pounds, was bequeathed by Alice Atte Well (see Table 1). Constance Cressy had the second highest amount of money, 3 pounds, 15 shillings and 2 pence (see Table 1). All the testators, except D4168#4, D4170#2 and M4170#12, are provided with a marital status. Constance Cressy and Alice Atte Well are widows (see Table 1), which may explain the large sums of money. Alice Forag is married, and Elizabeth Gosbyll is single (see Table 1). Forag's marital status is based on the Latin phrase *nuper uxor* 'new wife'.

Some of the texts mention witnesses and executors explicitly. D4168#26 is the only text with witnesses. D4168#26, D4170#9 and D4170#14 state directly the executors. However, Alice Atte Well states that the executor Sir Davy Knefton is only one of several. Information regarding executors is inferred in D4168#4, D4170#2 and M4170#12 based on phrases such as:

> *þᵉ residuue of myn other goodes j bequeth to willya~ my sone & jon my doughter forto dispose for me as þei wolde j did for hem* 'I bequeath the rest of my goods to my son William and my daughter Joan, to dispose of for me as they would want me to do for them' (see lines 165-167).

Most of the testators mention few servants. Constance Cressy, however, mentions six, and Agnes Levesy four (see Table 1). It is uncertain whether Alice Forag mentions one or two servants, because the spellings of names are not standardized, so it is difficult to ascertain whether the servant(s) *jon Chestr* and *Jone* are the same person.

Testator	Code	Date	Function	Marital status	Total of money	Executor(s)	Relation-ship	Number of servants
Alice Whyte	D4168#4	December 1472	Testament		1s 6d	Roger Whyte	Son	
Constance Cressy	D4168#26	29 April 1486	Testament and will	Widow	3l 15s 2d	Robert and Alice Gymew		6
Alice Forag	D4170#1	1427	Will	Married				1 or 2
Dionisia Cheyne	D4170#2	1 July 1430	Testament		17s	William and Joan	Her children	
Alice Atte Well	D4170#9	10 December 1454	Will	Widow	6l	Sir Davy Knefton	Her priest	1
Agnes Levesy	M4170#12	13 August 1465	Will		1l 5s 4d	John Levesy	Son	4
Elizabeth Gosbyll	D4170#14	15 March 1469	Testament	Single	1l	John Nunny and Thomas Bevirley		

Table 1. The testamentary texts

7. The studies

7.1 Methodological considerations

The scope of this project has allowed for a combined method of data collection, namely both manual and electronic. The concordance programme AntConc was employed for the electronic collection of data, which was then verified manually. The concordance programme required the use of the transcription version of the edited texts since it employs the basic character set. The data from the mixed-language text, M4170#12, was collected manually because this text contains special characters (see p. 70-71, 79-80). As M4170#12 is partly written in a mixed code, only the constructions that can be read as English have been included in the study of morphological and orthographic variation.

The different variants of linguistic variables were collected by searching the word list and thereafter tagged and counted. The manual search is an important stage in the data collection process, in order to discard forms which are similar to the item in question, but not relevant, such as Roman numerals in relation to the first person pronoun 'I'. Upper- and lower-case letters are treated together as capitalization practices are outside the scope of this study. More information about what has been excluded from the studies is presented where this is relevant. Number of attestations are provided in brackets for the different forms, and lists are provided alphabetically with headwords and then organized according to frequency of occurrences.

Some of the following studies have largely been inspired by the work of Thengs (2013) and Bergstrøm (2017). The findings of the studies have been compared with the findings of Thengs (2013) and Bergstrøm (2017) wherever applicable.

The data collected from the female testamentary texts have additionally been compared to data collected from seven male testamentary texts from the MELD corpus. They belong to one of the same registers as the female texts (ASA/1AR) (Stenroos, Thengs & Bergstrøm 2017b). The male texts are generally shorter than the female texts and they are all written in English. They span over a shorter period of time than the female ones, being dated from 1447 to 1463 (Stenroos, Thengs & Bergstrøm 2017b). Of the seven male testamentary texts, one is a will and six are testaments. The MELD catalogue entries do not contain information about the scribe or scribes who wrote these texts (Stenroos, Thengs & Bergstrøm 2017b), but they seem to have been written by one scribe. They appear very similar in terms of handwriting style and they use the same ampersand symbol for 'and' (cf. p. 33).

The studies are grouped into four sections dedicated to linguistic variation, openings and closings, marginalia and the mixed-language text. The first section is mainly concerned with the first research question about linguistic variation. The three latter sections are mainly concerned with multilingual and structural variation. All the sections except 7.5 can provide insights to the differences between the male and female testamentary texts.

The linguistic study has focused on pronouns, the consonant clusters (th), (wh) and (sh), and some frequent words which illustrate variation in these texts. The section concerning final (th) and the word 'bequeath' marks manuscript crossed <h> as <h<u>e</u>>. This is similar to the convention of underlining spellings which are in italics in the edition (see p. 70). For the structural and multilingual studies, the focus is on openings and closings, marginalia and the mixed-language text specifically.

7.2 Linguistic variation

7.2.1 The system of personal pronouns

The pronoun system was varied in the Middle Ages and can show variation related to for example geography. An overview of the system of personal pronouns in these testamentary texts is provided in Table 2. The pronouns which show the most variation have been selected for further discussion in this section. There are no attestations of the second person pronouns, which is unsurprising considering the function and nature of testamentary texts. Some of the personal pronouns occur rarely, in which case it is impossible to ascertain whether they are commonly used forms.

	Singular				**Plural**
First person	*Subjective*	j (49), i (4)			
	Objective	me (5)			
	Possessive	my (104), myn~ (8), myn*n* (3), myn (1)			oure (15), our~ (2), our (1)
Third person		*masculine*	*feminine*	*neuter*	
	Subjective		she (1)	it (1)	they (5), thay (1), þei (1)

Objective				hem (7), theyme (3), theym (1), them~ (1), them (1)
Possessive	his (8), hys (1)	her (1)	his (3)	their~ (2), theyr~ (1), theyr (1)

Table 2. First and third person personal pronouns

The majority forms of the first person subjective and possessive singular are *j* and *my* (see Table 2). These are the two pronouns with the most attestations overall. This is expected, as the texts are written in first person and their function is to present the wishes of the testator. Contrary to Spedding (2014; see p. 19), none of the testamentary texts are in third person. Two instances of the first person pronoun *j* have not been counted, because they immediately precede stretches of illegible text. This means that they may represent the personal pronoun, Roman numerals, or something else entirely.

The pronoun system used in these texts mostly corresponds to Present-Day English forms. Bergstrøm (2017: 124) also found that the most frequent pronoun forms in his materials correspond to modern English. The exceptions in the present materials are mostly found in the possessive pronoun 'our', and the third person plural forms of 'them' and 'they' (see Table 2). The pronoun 'our' mostly appear with a final <e>, dissimilar from Present-Day English, and 'them' have much variation. Additionally, the possessive neuter form *his* is also dissimilar from Present-Day English but has few attestations.

The pronouns 'they' and 'them' show much variation in the present material (see Table 2). In this system, the forms *hem* and *they* have a few more occurrences than the others but these forms are mostly associated with D4170#1 and D4168#26 respectively. Comparatively, the majority forms are *they* and *them* in Bergstrøm (2017: 111), although forms with <h> spellings are also present in his study.

Initial <th> is the majority spelling in the plural third person group as a whole (see Table 2). The <h> attestations occur only in the objective form. More than half of these come from one text, D4170#1. The modern-day standard forms of personal pronouns with initial <th> are generally considered Scandinavian borrowings, which were adopted into the English

system as a result of close language contact. These <th> forms were initially more widespread in the Danelaw area, and later spread of the southern regions (cf. Thengs 2013: 107).

The majority form is *hem* in the plural objective (see Table 2). It may be compared to the present-day colloquial form /em/ in an unstressed position, as in 'we'll catch em'. The use of *hem* in the present material may be chronologically motivated, since it appears mostly in the earliest text, D4170#1, dated to 1427 (see Table 1). This may be seen with the perspective of the Scandinavian (th) forms gradually replaced the existing <h> forms (cf. Thengs 2013: 107).

The present attestations of the third person objective form 'them' include initial <th> and <h>, and medial <e> and <ey> (see Table 2). The initial variants are nearly evenly attested, and the majority variant of the medial vowel is <e>. Similarly, <h> forms were widespread in Hertfordshire, according to LALME (Dot Maps for item 8, eLALME 2013a). However, in LALME there are few attestations of medial <ei>/<ey> in the whole country, except for a cluster of attestations in the west of the East Midlands (Dot Maps for item 8, eLALME 2013a). This is an area not far from Hertfordshire, and as St Albans became part of the traveling route to the Midlands (see p. 6-7), there may have been communication and travelling between these areas. Therefore, it is not surprising to find the minority forms with medial <ey> in these texts.

Forms with <th> are the majority in the subjective form of the third person plural 'they' (see Table 2). The texts have three variants of this pronoun: *they, thay* and *þei.* Even though <þ> is attested, it only has one attestation. By contrast, <þ> in 'they' seem to be the most common spelling throughout the country, with <th> as a close second, according to LALME (Dot Maps for item 7, eLALME 2013a).

Medial <ey> and <ei> are the majority spellings in the item 'they' in the present materials (see Table 2). However, these forms are mostly attested in one text, D4168#26. <ey> and <ei> are, according to LALME, widespread (Dot Maps for item 7, eLALME 2013a). Furthermore, there are no attestations of <ay> and <ai> forms in Hertfordshire in LALME, they seem more common in Middlesex and Essex (Dot Maps for item 7, eLALME 2013a). Considering how common they are in the neighbouring districts to the south, and the potential amount of travel through St Albans, it is not surprising to find a minority form with <ay> in these texts (Dot Maps for item 7, eLALME 2013a; see p. 6-7).

Bergstrøm (2017: 114) found <ai>/<ay> spellings of 'they' to mainly be associated with a memorandum from the late 15th century, and, interestingly in wills from the early 16th century. Bergstrøm (2017: 115) explains that these forms are connected to <ei>/<ey>

spellings of 'them', which occur only in the memorandum and wills in his corpus. The explanation set forth states that these forms are used to distinguish 'they' and 'them' from each other (Bergstrøm 2017: 115). This does not seem to be the case in the present study.

The pronoun system used in the male testamentary texts is similar to that of the female testamentary texts (see Appendix 2). One item shows an interesting difference between the male and female texts. The female majority form for 'our' is *oure* (see Table 2). The first person plural possessive pronoun, however, has two forms with <w>, *owre* and *owr~,* in the male texts (see Appendix 2). This represents 6 out of 16 attestations in the male testamentary texts (see Appendix 2). These forms occur in three different texts but are representative of only one scribe.

7.2.2 Initial, medial and final (th)

The consonant cluster (th) has been found to have much variation in Middle English (see Thengs 2013; see Bergstrøm 2017). This section covers (th) in initial, medial and final position consecutively.

These testamentary texts have <th>, <y>, <þ> and <h> in initial position where the present-day norm would dictate the use of <th>. The attestations are divided into forms of 'the' and 'that', and the remaining into present-day realizations of voiced and voiceless fricatives of (th), represented by THEIR and THING. All initial (th) forms have been collected, except the proper noun 'Thomas', which shows 12 attestations, including *Thome* in the mixed text. While 'Thomas' is written with (th) in present day English, it is pronounced with initial /t/, and is thus not included. Compounds, however, where the initial element is (th), are included.

THE   *þ^e* (120), *the* (48), *y^e* (2), *tha* (1), *th+N* (1) **'the'**

THAT   *þ^t* (27), *that* (10), *þat* (1) **'that'**

THEIR   *their~* (2), *theyr~* (1), *theyr* (1) **'their'**; *hem* (7), *theyme* (3), *them~* (1), *them* (1), *theym* (1) **'them'**; *thanne* (1), *ya<u>n</u>* (1) **'then'**; *there* (2), *þ<u>ere</u>* (1) **'there'**; *þ<u>er</u>of* (2), *therof* (1) **'thereof'**; *þ<u>er</u>to* (2) **'thereto'**; *thervpon<u>n</u>* (1) **'thereupon'**; *thyse* (1) **'these'**; *they* (5), *thay* (1), *þei* (1) **'they'**; *this* (6) **'this'**

THING   *thyng<u>ges</u>* (2) **'things'**; *thykbonded* (1), *thyke* (1) **'thick'**; *thre* (1) **'three'**

PDE	Total	Number of texts	\<th\>	\<þ\>	\<y\>	\<h\>
THE	172	7	50 (29.1%)	120 (69.8%)	2 (1.2%)	0
THAT	38	7	11 (28.9%)	27 (71.1%)	0	0
THEIR	42	6	28 (66.7%)	6 (14.3%)	1 (2.4%)	7 (16.7%)
THING	5	4	5 (100%)	0	0	0

Table 3. Initial (th)

The majority spelling for initial (th) is \<þ\>, while \<y\> spellings are rare (see Table 3). The forms with \<þ\> are the clear majority forms in the frequently used words 'the' and 'that', which have similar percentages (see Table 3). More or less the opposite trend is apparent in the two remaining sets of voiced and voiceless words, where the majority is \<th\> (see Table 3). It seems that the two first sets are more conservative, and the latter sets more prone to choose the digraph \<th\>.

The digraph \<th\> in 'the' seems to be connected to the text dated the latest, D4168#26 (see Table 1). The texts dated the earliest, D4170#1 and D4170#2 (see Table 1), have collectively only one attestation of *the.* D4168#26 has more occurrences of *the* than the other texts. It should be noted that \<þ\> spellings are the majority in every text, except M4170#12. However, there seems to be an increase of \<th\> in 'the' over time.

Attestations with \<y\>, however, seems to be connected to the earlier material. They occur only in the two earliest texts (see Table 1). In the male testamentary texts, there are no attestations of \<y\> spellings for initial (th) (see Appendix 2). This may be chronologically motivated or connected to the scribe. The earliest male testamentary text is from 1447 (Stenroos, Thengs & Bergstrøm 2017b), which is after D4170#1 and D4170#2 were written, and the male texts were written by one scribe.

The deciding factor for the spread of \<y\>, \<þ\> and \<th\> may be connected to text length (see also Bergstrøm 2017: 139-140). Of these texts, D4168#26 and D4170#9 are by far the longest. D4168#26 shows an almost even distribution of *the* and *þᵉ,* while D4170#9 shows a clear prevalence of *þᵉ*. This indicates that length does not necessarily dictate the use of \<th\> and \<þ\>. The shorter texts, D4170#1, D4170#2, D4170#14 and D4168#4, all have between 77.8% and 94.1% of \<þ\> in the words 'that' and 'the'. In the longest text, D4168#26, there is a clearly higher number of \<th\> in relation to \<þ\> compared to the other texts. According to

Bergstrøm (2017: 140), <th> forms are more common in longer texts. However, <þ> is gradually replaced by <th> in the 15th century, and the replacement happens faster in the southern half of the country (Stenroos 2004: 280; Benskin 1982). Considering that D4168#26 is the longest text and also dated the latest in the period studied here (see Table 1), the preferences for <th> may be the result of a combination of factors.

Furthermore, the form *the* takes up more space than the abbreviated forms. D4168#26 and D4170#9 are the texts which involve the highest amount of money (see Table 1). Therefore, they would be able to pay for the parchment and making of longer texts. The usage of *the* in D4168#26 may therefore be linked to the testator's status. Additionally, the length of the texts may thus be an indicator of status, because they demonstrate how much they needed to bequeath.

The shortest text, D4168#4, may also be connected to wealth and status. As the long text with the high number of *the* forms can indicate prestige and money to make a long text, the short text may indicate lack thereof based on the opposite findings. Most of the word with initial (th) appear as *þᵗ* and *þᵉ*. Furthermore, the testator in this text does not bequeath a high amount of money (see Table 1), which adds to this argument.

The shortest text may also be connected to the making of a testamentary text with haste. It is a text which makes frequent use of the abbreviated form of 'et cetera' (see p. 71). If it was written quickly, it would make sense that it would use abbreviated forms of other words. Additionally, single graphs would be quicker to write than digraphs. This text has <þ> as the clear majority spelling for initial (th). In addition, the words 'the' and 'that' appear in their abbreviated forms *þᵗ* and *þᵉ,* which are also quicker to write than the full unabbreviated words. While this is an interesting point, it should be noted that these abbreviated forms are the majority forms overall, so it is unsurprising that they are the majority forms in this text as well.

The function words 'the' and 'that' appear frequently in abbreviated forms. They are short and may be prone to a different development than the other words, as they are often abbreviated. It may be the case that 'the' and 'that' are often written with <þ>, as it requires fewer letters and are thus faster to write. What is interesting, is that two forms of 'thereto' and 'thereof' are also abbreviated words with <þ> from the THEIR set.

The same trend of <þ> in the function words 'the' and 'that' is found in the male testamentary texts (see Appendix 2). The male testamentary texts have 42.8% *þᵉ*, and 61.1% *þᵗ* forms (cf. Appendix 2), which is slightly lower than the female texts. The only <þ>

spellings in the male texts in the set THEIR are in *þerof* (1) and *þerto* (1) (see Appendix 2). This is also similar to the findings in the female texts.

Medial (th) occurs with three different realizations in these texts: <th>, <d> and <þ>. This variable had four variants in the Middle Ages: <th>, <y>, <þ> and <d> (Bergstrøm 2017: 143). Medial (th) is divided into two sets. The OTHER set consists of words which are etymologically linked to Old English words with medial <þ> or <ð>, and the TOGETHER set consists of words with Old English medial <d>. Place names and surnames have been excluded.

The word *euerthe* is included in the OTHER set. The word seems in the context, *J wylle þ^t Roger whyte my sonne haue to bryng me euerthe And to do for me &c~,* to be an abbreviated or clipped version of 'everything'. It has been included in this set because it appears medially and because 'thing' was historically written with <þ> in Old English.

OTHER   *eyther* (1) **'either'**; *euerthe* (1) **'everything'**; *fetherbed* (1) **'feather'**; *forthermore* (1) **'further'**; *nother* (1), *nothir* (1), *noþer* (1) **'nother'**; *oder* (5), *a-nother* (1), *othe* (1), *other* (1) **'other'**

TOGETHER *fader* (1) **'father'**; *moder* (2), *moders* (1) **'mother'**

	Attestations	Number of texts	% of total
<th>	9	4	47.4%
<þ>	1	1	5.3%
<y>	0	0	0%
<d>	9	3	47.4%
Total	19	Medial (th) 5	100%

Table 4. Medial (th)

Medial <th> and <d> are evenly attested (see Table 4). The most prominent realization of medial (th) in OTHER is <th>. However, the majority form of the word 'other' has medial <d>. There are few words in the TOGETHER set and they all have medial <d>.

A similar spread of medial (th) is seen in the male testamentary texts (see Appendix 2). The only words in the TOGETHER set in the male texts are *moder* and *fader* (see Appendix

2). The only two medial <d> realizations in the OTHER set is in *feder+bed* (1) 'featherbed' and *todyr* (1) 'the other' (see Appendix 2). This shows the same word, 'other', appearing with medial <d> in both the male and female texts.

The female texts do not mix different forms of 'other'. The form *oder* appears only in D4168#26. The remaining forms of 'other' are from D4170#2. It is tempting to analyse this in terms of chronology, as D4168#26 is dated to 1486 (see Table 1), later than the other testamentary texts. Developments which seem to be related to chronology may also be explained by a change of scribe. However, the distribution of medial (th) may point to the complex and intricate process of linguistic change and development. It is interesting to see that other studies have found <d> in words without <d> in Old English, especially in the first quarter of the 16th century (see Bergstrøm 2017: 146-147).

Final (th) is attested with the spellings <th>, <th͟e>, <the> and <t> (see p. 41). Compounds of '-cloth' and 'with-' are included, along with words with final <e>. The <t> variants are only present in the abbreviated forms of *w͟t* 'with'. Both nouns, function words and verbs with forms with final (th) have been collected.

> *beryth͟e* (1) **'bear'**; *bequeth͟e* (21), *bequeth* (4), *beqweth* (1), *bequth͟e* (1), *byqueth͟e* (1), *byqwth͟e* (1) **'bequeath'**; *bothe* (1) **'both'**; *cloth͟e* (2), *clothe* (1), *bordecloth͟e* (1), *tabull͟e-cloth͟ee* (1), *werygcloth* (1) **'cloth'**; *groweth* (1) **'grow'**; *helth͟e* (3) **'health'**; *longeth* (1) **'long'**; *maketh͟e* (1) **'make'**; *moneth* (1), *moneth͟e* (1) **'month'**; *sufferyth͟e* (1) **'suffer'**; *w͟t* (27), *with͟e* (3), *w͟t-in* (2), *with* (1), *w͟t-oute* (1), *wyth͟e* (1) **'with'**

PDE	Total	Final <th͟e>	Final <th>	Final <the>	Final <t>
bear (3rd pers. verb)	1	1	0	0	0
bequeath (1st pers. verb)	29	24	5	0	0
both	1	0	0	1	0
cloth	6	4	1	1	0
grow (3rd pers. verb)	1	0	1	0	0
health	1	1	0	0	0

PDE	Total	Final <th_e_>	Final <th>	Final <the>	Final <t>
long (3rd pers. verb)	1	0	1	0	0
make (3rd pers. verb)	1	1	0	0	0
month	2	1	1	0	0
suffer (3rd pers. verb)	1	1	0	0	0
with	35	4	1	0	30
Total	79 (100%)	37 (46.8%)	10 (12.7%)	2 (2.5%)	30 (38%)

Table 5. Final (th)

Final <th_e_> is clearly the majority spelling (see Table 5). This spelling is most frequent in 'bequeath' and the only word with final <t> is 'with' (see Tables 5, 6). This is similar to Thengs' (2013: 225) findings of w^t being the most used form with final <t>. The majority spelling <th_e_> is also the majority in the male testamentary texts (see Appendix 2).

PDE	Total	Final <th>	Final <th_e_>	w^t
with	32	1	4	27
with- (compound element, e.g..: w^t-in)	3	0	0	3
Total	35	1 (2.9%)	4 (11.4%)	30 (85.7%)

Table 6. 'With' and 'with-'

Th realization of final (th) is connected to specific texts. The ending <th> seems to be connected to the texts dated earliest, D4170#1 and D4170#2 (see Table 1). These texts are written by the same scribe (see p. 33). The ending <th_e_> seems to be more frequent in the material written after 1454. Additionally, abbreviated 'with' is mostly connected to D4170#9. Variation in final (th) may thus indicate a chronological development or scribal preference.

All the verbs in third person singular, like *groweth,* have the morphological ending <th> or <th<u>e</u>> (see Table 5). A different realization of the marker is final <s>, which is associated with northern texts (cf. Freeborn 2006: 164). Final <th> in verbs is common for the East Midlands (Freeborn 2006: 241). The northern feature <s> is characteristic of Present-Day English, but this development seems to have happened later (cf. Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 122-124).

Another morphological feature connected to the South in these texts is the past participle form *ydoo<u>nn</u>* in D4168#26, which can be connected to the South (Dot Maps for item 69, eLALME 2013a). This form may represent a relict (see p. 26), as it is the only one in these texts.

7.2.3 Initial (sh) and (wh)

Initial (sh) and (wh) are two features which have been connected to variation in Middle English (see Thengs 2013; see Bergstrøm 2017). These have been chosen based on the variation in this period.

A list of the different attestations of initial (sh) which correspond to Old English <sc> and present day /ʃ/ is provided. They are divided into two sets, SHALL and SHEEP. 'Shall' is a more frequently used word, and as such could have a different development than the less frequent words grouped in the other set. Compounds are included, but the personal pronoun 'she' is excluded, as its historical development is debatable (Thengs 2013: 176).

SHALL   *shall<u>e</u>* (9), *schalle* (3) **'shall'**

SHEEP   *schep* (1) **'sheep'**; *fleyenshetes* (1), *shet<u>es</u>* (1), *schetes* (1), *shetis* (1),
             towenshetes (1) **'sheets'**; *short* (1) **'short'**

Initial <sh> is the clear majority spelling and this feature is relatively homogenous. In comparison, LALME illustrates that both <sch> and <sh> are frequent spellings in most geographical areas, including Hertfordshire (Dot Maps for item 22, eLALME 2013a).

The two sets seem to have a similar development. The only examples of <sch> in both sets are found in the two earliest texts, D4170#1 and D4170#2, from 1427 and 1430 (see Table 1). These two texts have no <sh> forms. This may be influenced by the fact that they are relatively closely dated and written by the same scribe (see p. 33). While the number of occurrences is not especially high, it seems that <sch> forms are connected to a particular

50

scribe, or that the Present-Day English form <sh> is connected to the material dated after 1454. A similar chronological trend has been observed in Thengs (2013: 183) and Bergstrøm (2017: 153).

No attestations of <sch> spellings for initial (sh) have been found in the male testamentary texts. The male material from this period only had forms with initial (sh) which are representative of Present-Day English norms. This fits with the chronological development in the female texts.

The spelling for initial (wh) corresponding to Old English <hw> is more homogenous than initial (sh). The surname 'Whyte' is excluded. All spellings follow the modern spelling of <wh>.

> *which̲e̲* (3) **'which'**; *whyte* (3), *white* (1) **'white'**; *wher~* (1) **'where'**; *whete* (2) **'wheat'**; *whooo* (1) **'who'**; *whom* (1), *who̲mm* (1) **'whom'**

There is one example of initial (wh) spelled as <w>, in the male testamentary texts in *wyte* 'white' (see Appendix 2). Similarly, <wh> spellings are more attested than <w> also in LALME (Dot Maps for item 44, eLALME 2013a). However, there seems to be an even spread of <w> spellings for (wh) throughout most of the country, according to LALME (Dot Maps for item 44, eLALME 2013a).

There is a clear tendency to use the realization for (wh) which is in use in Present-Day English. While it is a simplification of the matter, the East Midlands dialect have been suggested to be the origin for many of the forms in Present-Day English (Freeborn 2006: 235). The homogenous realization of initial (wh) may be seen to contribute to the development of supralocalised forms.

There is more variation of initial (wh) in the rest of the country (see Thengs 2013: 230-233). Spellings with <q> for initial (wh) are strongly associated with northern districts and northern East Midlands (Dot Maps for item 44, eLALME 2013a). There are no <q> spellings in these texts. This means that there seems to be little northern influence in these texts in initial (wh) specifically.

7.2.4 The items 'bequeath', 'item' and 'said'

The next section will treat three frequent words in these texts: 'bequeath', 'item' and 'said'. This section focuses mostly on one text, because of the degree of intratextual variation. The three words relate to the nature and function of these texts. 'Bequeath' is a frequent word in

testamentary texts because it essentially performs the function of the text. The word 'item' can be associated with testamentary texts, often in its abbreviated form. It is a common word for making inventories and lists in the Middle Ages. The word 'said' refers to something which is written earlier in the document.

A great range of variation has been found for 'bequeath' (see Table 7). This typically appears as in line 5: *J bequethe to þe hye Awter iiij d* 'I bequeath four pence to the high altar'. As these texts are written in first person, all attestations of this verb are in first person singular. No attestations are found of this item in M4170#12, because the Latin equivalent, *lego,* is used. The word 'bequeath' has six different realizations in these testamentary texts, and a total of 29 attestations (see Table 7). A great majority of the attestations have the form *bequethe* (see p. 41)*.* The majority prefix is <be>, the majority medial realization is <qu> and the majority final cluster is <the>. Most of the texts show several variants for the item in question.

Code	Total	*bequethe*	*bequeth*	*beqweth*	*bequthe*	*byquethe*	*byqwthe*
D4168#4	2	2	0	0	0	0	0
D4168#26	6	3	0	0	1	1	1
D4170#1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D4170#2	4	0	3	1	0	0	0
D4170#9	12	12	0	0	0	0	0
D4170#14	5	4	1	0	0	0	0
Total	29	21	4	1	1	1	1

Table 7. The verb 'bequeath' in 1st person singular

The different texts have varying degrees of variation. D4170#9 has 12 attestations of the form *bequethe* (see Table 7)*.* D4168#26 is written the latest yet has the most variation (see Tables 1, 7). Most of the texts have relatively few attestations, or relatively few forms. D4168#26, however, illustrates the amount of linguistic variation towards the end of the 15th century.

Interestingly, the male texts are considerably homogenous. Of the attestations of the verb 'bequeath' in the first person singular, only these forms are found: *bequethe, be-quethe, be-quethe* (see Appendix 2)*.* It seems likely that the male testamentary texts were written by the same scribe as D4170#9 (see p. 33). As both D4170#9 and the male testamentary texts are

similar and homogenous concerning this item, the argument that they were written by the same scribe may be strengthened.

In the list of 'item', occurrences in M4170#12 are included, since this lexeme may be read in English, as well as Latin (see p. 64). The occurrences in the mixed text amount to a total of 15 of *Jt'*. These go under *Jt~*. For the item 'said', compounds have been included.

Jt~ (25), *Jtm~* (8), *Jtm* (1), *Jtm<u>m</u>* (1) **'item'**

Out of a total of 25 attestations of 'item', 9 are in D4168#26. These are representative of every attested form in all the texts. D4168#26 has much variation concerning this item. D4170#9 and M4170#12 are contrastingly homogenous, with only *Jt~* attestations. The male texts are also relatively homogenous in regard to 'item'. They have two variants: *Jt~* and *Jtm~*. These amount to a total of 36 attestations.

said (20), *forsaid* (6), *abouesaid* (2), *forseyd* (2), seyd (2), *abouesaide* (1), *aforsayd* (1), *forsayd,* (1), *saide* (1), *sayd* (1), *sayde* (1) **'said'**

The majority form of 'said' corresponds to the present-day conventions (see Table 8). There is, however, considerable variation concerning this item in D4168#26. Out of a total of 39 attestations of 'said', 35 are from D4168#26. As D4168#26 is the longest text, it is expected that it has many attestations of this word. The longer the text, the greater the likelihood of referring to something which has already been written. This may explain the high number of the item 'said'. The variation in this item is regarding the medial vowel and final <e>. The medial vowels are <ai>, <ay> and<ey>.

Interestingly, 'said' shows much variation in the male texts. The male texts have the vowels <ai>, <ay>, <ei> and <ey>. These vowels are nearly evenly attested, but the majority is <ay>. While the male texts have been found to be considerably homogenous in this study, they are not so with regard to this item.

D4168#26 shows much variation relating to all these three items: 'bequeath', 'item' and 'said'. The other texts have, for the most part, not shown variation to this extent. This illustrates the amount of intratextual variation in the late 15th century.

	Final realization		Medial realization		
Total	**Ø**	**Final \<e\>**	**\<ai\>**	**\<ay\>**	**\<ey\>**
39	36	3	31	4	4
100%	92.3%	7.8%	79.5%	10.3%	10.3%

Table 8. Variation in 'said'

7.2.5 Summarizing remarks

As has become apparent in the study, these texts are highly variable concerning many of the features and items studied in the section 7.2. The following trends have become apparent throughout the study on linguistic variation. The findings, however, are not necessarily limited to singular factors.

Many of the features and forms investigated are similar to Present-Day English. This applies especially to the majority features. Most of the pronouns also correspond to the modern system, and initial (wh) is realized identically to Present-Day English (see p. 51, Table 2). Initial (sh) and initial (th) revealed more Present-Day English spellings in the texts dated later (see p. 45-46, 50-51). For example, the text dated to the latest period, D4168#26 (see Table 1), has an increase of \<th\> in THE and THAT (see p. 45-46). The East Midlands have been connected to the origin of many of the standardized forms (see p. 51), which could be related to these forms corresponding to Present-Day English.

However, not every feature corresponds to Present-Day English. This is true for initial (th) in the sets THE and THING, medial (th) in the TOGETHER set and final (th) (see 7.2.2, Tables 3, 4, 5, 6). There is an interesting development of medial (th) as \<d\> in the word 'other' in D4168#26, which is neither related to Old English or Present-Day English. Initial (th) also shows an extensive spread of \<þ\>, in contrast to present-day conventions (see p. 44-45).

Some texts show more variation than others. D4170#9 and the male testamentary texts show little variation of 'bequeath' and 'item', while D4168#26 shows a higher degree of variation in these items in addition to the item 'said' (see p. 51-54). Interestingly, D4168#26 is dated later than D4170#9 and the male testamentary texts (see Table 1). This indicates that the process of linguistic development was complex and may be influenced by multiple factors, including, but not restricted to chronology.

Text length and the use of <th> versus <þ> may be an indicator for social status. D4168#26 is a long text which makes more use of <th> in 'the' than the other texts. By contrast, the shortest text, D4168#4, makes little use of <th>. A longer text may indicate that there are more important goods to bequeath, and a willingness to use money to make a long text. A shorter text can possibly signify the opposite, however, in this thesis it has also been linked to the text being written quickly.

Some forms and features may be connected to geography and travel. The historical background establishes St Albans as a central stop to and from London (see p. 6-7). This makes the occurrence of a couple of forms and features not associated with the district logical. The verb forms with final <th> and initial <y> may also be connected to East Midlands and the South (see p. 50). Medial <ey> in 'them' and <ay> in 'they' may be connected to travel, as they are not widespread in Hertfordshire (see p. 6-7, 43). <th> or <þ> forms of pronouns are connected to northern districts, but the majority form with <h> in 'them' can be connected to southern areas (see p. 42-43).

7.3 Opening formulae and closing phrases

Testamentary texts can be described as highly formulaic. There are two types of opening phrases which may represent set formulae. These two types are connected to the text function and the distinction between testaments and wills. The first type is connected to testaments. This is the divine invocation, *in dei nomine amen*, written either in Latin or English (see p. 20). As the term suggests, the divine invocation can be connected to religious practice. The second type of openings is connected to wills, 'this is my last will', which does not carry religious implications. The opening of wills often makes references to the testator, which means that it can be argued to be part of the general preamble (see Spedding 2014: 285; see p. 20).

The opening phrases in these texts are not distinguished with punctuation. The opening phrases included in this study have been selected based on their repetitive character, and their location before the date and personal wishes.

Code	Name	Function	Opening formulae
D4168#4	Alice White	Testament	Jn &c~
D4168#26	Constance Cressy	Testament and will	Jn the name of allmyghty god fader and son~ and holy gost And of blessyd lady seint Marie eu*er*more virgyn~ and of all*e* halowe*nn* Amen
D4170#1	Alice Forag	Will	This is my laste wylle
D4170#2	Dionisia Cheyne	Testament	Jn di~ no*min*e Ame*n*
D4170#9	Alice Atte Well	Will	This is the laste wylle of me Alice atte welle
M4170#12	Agnes Levesy	Will	Hec est vltima voluntas mea Agnetis Levesy
D4170#14	Elizabeth Gosbyll	Testament	Jn dei no*min*e Amen

Table 9. Opening formulae

All of the formulae in the wills are written from the perspective of the testator, in first person. This is irrespective of who actually wrote them. The opening formulae of testaments do not provide information on this aspect. However, throughout the rest of the text, both the testaments and wills are written in the first person .

The opening phrases of the wills have different grammatical constructions. The opening phrases of the wills D4170#9 and M4170#12 are similar although they are written in different languages (see Table 9). D4170#1 conveys much the same meaning, except that the testator is not named explicitly. D4170#1 has the possessive construction 'my last will', whereas the other wills are introduced with the object form 'this is the last will of me' (see Table 9). The personal pronoun *my* is used because the information of who 'my' refers to is written in the text above it .

The length of the opening phrases varies considerably. The shortest has one word and one abbreviation, and the longest has 25 words (see Table 9). Both the longest and the shortest examples of formulae are from testaments. All the testaments except one end with

Amen (see Table 9). They are, however, generally brief, and similar to each other. They are all considerably less complex than the longer opening formula in D4168#26.

The functions of these texts are provided based on their opening formulae. One text is described as both a will and a testament (see Table 9). The additional function of 'will' in this text is provided because it later in the document describes itself as a will, *of þ^e said Robert and of Alys his wyff whom of this my last will_e J make myn~ executo_urs* 'I make Robert and Alice, his wife, the executors of my last will'.

When comparing the actual function of the texts to the definition of testaments and wills (see p. 18-19), there is an interesting discrepancy. To recount, a testament refers to the movable goods and religious aspects, and a will to the unmovable goods (see p. 18-19). Unsurprisingly, not many women had unmovable goods, estates and lands, to give away (see p. 12-13 23). Four of the texts in the present material may be identified as wills according to the terminology they employ (see Table 9). However, according to the definition above, only two of them, D4168#26 and D4170#1, may be considered wills because they bequeath real estate. Cressy, the testator in D4168#26, is a widow of relatively high social standing (see p. 38), which may be the reason she has lands to bequeath. Forag, however, the testator in D4170#1, seems to be newly married (see p. 38, Table 1), yet is able to bequeath real estate.

All of the texts may also go under the definition of testaments based on their contents of a religious nature and what they bequeath (see p. 18-19). However, two texts, D4170#9 and M4170#12, define themselves as wills in the opening phrases (see Table 9), but concern movable goods only. One of them, M4168#12, makes references to burial, which is a practice connected to testaments (see p. 20). Neither contain references to real estate and unmovable goods, which makes them testaments according to the definition in the theory (see p. 18-19). However, these women testators consider them wills, according to the nature of their possessions, namely movable goods, which they considered valuable enough to be passed on to their family, relatives, or servants.

The opening formulae and their connection to text function may be misleading. Most of the extant material of testamentary texts are testamentary texts of men (see p. 22), and most texts studied by scholars are by men. Therefore, the definition of wills may to a greater degree point to male testamentary practice, than female. These texts indicate a different testamentary practice for women than men.

There is variation in the language used in both functions: will and testament. Of the seven testamentary texts, three of the opening phrases are in Latin, three in English, and one is ambiguous. The formulae of the wills in these texts follow the language of the rest of the text,

whereas the testaments vary. The one that can be both languages consists of the preposition *Jn* and the abbreviated form of 'et cetera' (see Table 9). Both of these elements are used in both English and Latin, which makes the language of the phrase ambiguous. All except one of these texts are what one might call English texts. In two of these cases this leads to intersentential code-switches from the embedded Latin to the English matrix language (see Table 9). The others do not constitute code-switches as they either do not switch languages, or it is impossible to determine if they do, as in D4168#4 (see Table 9).

There is no chronological distribution in the use of English or Latin in the opening formulae. Of the texts from the first half of the century, 1 of 2 is in Latin; of the texts from the second half of the century, 2 of 5 are in Latin, and one can be both languages. Similarly, there seems to be no clear preference for English in the later material in the male texts (see Appendix 2). It may be noted that the number of texts in the material is necessarily restricted, which also limits the scope of inferences regarding the chronological distribution of languages.

The text with the abbreviated introduction may have been written in haste (see p. 46, Table 9). As none of the other opening formulae are shortened, it seems peculiar that the scribe would abbreviate the opening phrases of the testament if the original was longer. Furthermore, if the original text was abbreviated, the scribe copying it into the register would probably have enough knowledge of the genre to be able to expand the opening.

The introductory formulae of the male testamentary texts are considerably uniform (see Appendix 2). Six of these are testaments and one is a will (see Appendix 2). Three of them show identical introductions in Latin: *Jn dei nomine amen* (see Appendix 2). The other three show identical introductions in English: *Jn the name of god amen* (see Appendix 2). Aside from the variation in the choice of the language itself, these are identical. The only formula that distinguishes itself from the others is in D4170#4, because it is the only will (see Appendix 2). The opening of the male will is not identical to the ones in the female texts. It defines the man in terms of where he is from straight away: *This is the last wylle of Thomas Bordale of the toun~ of seynt Albons* (see Appendix 2). Other than this added piece of information, it is similar to the other openings of the female wills. Interestingly, the only introduction of a will in the male testamentary text, corresponds to it being the only one mentioning real estate. The others concern movable property and are introduced accordingly.

The opening formulae referred to the first element in the texts, but in most of these texts, the closing phrases do not refer to the last element. Testamentary texts in registers often have a probate note added at the end of the text (see p. 20-21). The probate note is always in

Latin. The probate notes are not referred to as closing phrases because they were added in the register copy after the texts were validated. Some of the probate notes result in code-switches. Even though it is a register addition, it is part of the body text. In the cases of the English texts, there is a switch from English matrix language to the embedded Latin in the probate note. This results in three intersentential code-switches.

The last full phrases which have meaning on their own were chosen for the study of closing phrases. As previously stated, the lack of standard punctuation makes the choice of what to include in the closing phrases more complex than it may have been with Present-Day English.

Code	Name	Function	Closing phrases
D4168#4	Alice White	Testament	And the residue of my godes J wyll*e* þ^t Roger whyte my so*n*ne haue to bryng me euerthe And to do for me &c~
D4168#26	Constance Cressy	Testament and will	yoven in þ^e daye and þ^e yere of our~ lord god Abouesaid
D4170#1	Alice Forag	Will	Ande jone my Sone ij acres of whete þ^t groweth at pollford felde aȝeynes [...]
D4170#2	Dionisia Cheyne	Testament	þ^e residuue of myn other goodes j bequeth to willya~ my sone & jon my doughter forto dispose for me as þei wolde j did for hem
D4170#9	Alice Atte Well	Will	þ^e day & yere aboue rehersed . ∴
M4170#12	Agnes Levesy	Will	Jt' Matild weℏ nu*per ser* mee my Russet gown' furryd w^t Cony
D4170#14	Elizabeth Gosbyll	Testament	And j bequeth*e* eche of myn~ exe- cuto*ur*es xl d for theyr besynesse

Table 10. Closing phrases

Generally, the closing phrases give information about the date or the executors (cf. Table 10). In addition, there does not seem to be a clear difference of closings related to functions. Two of these closings end with a reference to the date given at an earlier point (see Table 10).

Three of the texts end with a comment regarding the executors (see Table 10). Two other texts end with a seemingly random conveyance without any indication that the text is ending (see Table 10). In M4170#12, this seems to be because the two last requests have been added as an afterthought. What seems to be a more standard ending to the will is in lines 282-283: *Jn cuius rei test' present' sigilu' meu' apposin Dat' die & Anno predictis* 'Let it be known, for the validation of this present testaments I have put my seal, dated the day and year above-mentioned'. This means that the closing phrase, before the added conveyances, is similar to D4168#26 and D4170#9 (see Table 10). The only text which seems to have an abrupt ending is D4170#1, which may be explained by the presence of a text related to the same woman, Alice Forag, immediately below D4170#1 on the register page. This is a Latin text concerned with this woman's debts.

Many of the texts reference important people in the closing phrases. Two of the texts end with bestowing all the rest of the belongings to their children (see Table 10). The testator of D4170#2 asks that her children dispose her goods in lines 165-167 (see Table 10). The first text ends with an abbreviated sentence, maybe asking something similar of White's son, Roger Whyte. The remaining testament, D4170#14, also ends with what can be understood as a concluding remark of business, or the necessary tasks of her executors. It is interesting that it is phrased as business, as some of the theory also suggest that testamentary practice had become business-like (see p. 31).

The choice of language in the closing phrases seems here to be based on the rest of the text. They are not formulaic, by comparison with the introductory phrases, which seem to be more similar to each other. All the closing phrases of the English texts are in English. The last sentence in M4170#12 is mixed-language (for an analysis of this, see 7.5). If we look at what seems to be the concluding sentence, it may be interpreted as Latin, with no words which immediately are recognized as English. While the openings are in Latin in certain cases, by contrast, this does not seem to be the case with the concluding phrases.

With one exception, all of the male testamentary texts seem to have a common or standard ending (see Appendix 2). Five of them end with a mention of a seal or the date, and one ends with naming executors (see Appendix 2). The will ends suddenly with a last bestowing of money (see Appendix 2). Most of the male testaments provide similar information, although they are not as uniform as their opening formulae. Because of their uniform openings and closings, the scribe who wrote the testamentary texts into the registers may have been the same scribe involved in drawing up the testamentary texts in this area.

7.4 Testators and marginalia

It is common practice for texts in registers to contain marginalia. Five of the texts have marginalia. Three of the marginalia were chosen based on their variation from the body texts and legibility. One of these texts, D4170#9, does not have any marginalia directly beside it (see Table 11). However, the text refers to the same testator as the entry above it on the register page, which shows marginalia containing the name of the testator. For this reason, this particular marginal note has been included in the study.

Code	Marginalia	In text
D4168#4	Alisia whyte	Alsii~ Whyte
D4168#26	d*omi*na Cressy*ur*	Constance Cressy
D4170#9	Alicia atte Welle	Alice atte welle
M4170#12	Agnes Levesy	Agnetis Levesy

Table 11. Names in marginalia and body text

One of the marginalia has added the Latin title *domina* 'lady' before the testator's name (see Table 11). It seems that Latin has been used to provide specific information regarding the social status of Cressy. The total amount of money given away in her testamentary text is 3 pounds, 15 shillings and 2 pence (see Table 1). This is the second highest amount of money in the testamentary texts, only one text has a higher amount with 6 pounds (see Table 1). The number of servants named in Cressy's text, six, is also the highest, where most of them name one or no servants (see Table 1). The only other text with a high number of servants is M4170#12, where four servants are named (see Table 1). The amount of money and number of servants strengthen the argument that this woman enjoyed a relatively high social standing. The Latin information of social standing in the margin, is not the only piece of evidence for this. The testator is referred to as 'dame' in for example lines 18-19: *J dame Constance Cressy of seint Albons.* The text is dated the latest and is an example of how Latin is used in the marginalia towards the end of the 15th century.

Other extant evidence also illustrate Cressy's social standing. This evidence suggests that Cressy was the daughter of Reginald Baron Grey de Ruthyn (Lydekker 1937 [2015: 147]). She married Sir John Cressy (Lydekker 1937 [2015: 147]), who had been knighted for his efforts in the war in France (see p. 4). This evidence also suggests that Rothamsted was

inherited by Matthew Cressy (Lydekker 1937 [2015: 148]), even though Constance is bestowing it to Robert and Alice in her testamentary text (see p. 36). Cressy is a widow, which along with her social standing, may mean that she had more freedom than other women of her time. She would maybe have a greater incentive to feel in control over her testamentary practice, or she might even have had some literacy skills (see 3.2). It is likely, however, that all the women had help from a literate person in the process of drafting these documents (see p. 19).

The other marginalia do not provide such specific information as the mention of a title (see Table 11). Owst (1926: 196-197) suggests that Alice Atte Welle in D4170#9 was a lady or a dame of a merchant family. Even though Alice had a higher social standing, there is nothing in this testamentary text that explicitly states this information. As previously stated, however, this is the testamentary text with highest amount of money involved.

The other texts use other varieties, or Latinized varieties of the names. *Alicia* and *Alisia* are Latinized versions of the English name Alice (Cassidy & Wild 2011: 2). The mixed-language text seems to be a special case. The marginalia seems to be English, and the name in the text seems to be the Latinized version of the name (see Table 11). In other words, the languages in the text and the marginalia are switched when compared to the other texts. The form *Alsii~* in D4168#4 also seems to be a special case (see Table 11). *Alsii~* does not appear to be a typical English version of 'Alice'. This is different from the other texts that switch between marginalia-language and text-language of names. The name in the text appears to have the same ending as Latin genitive second declension, often used for male names (Cassidy & Wild 2011: 1).

There is no additional information in the marginalia regarding the social status of the male testators (see Appendix 2). Four of them, however, refer to the testators by saying where they are from, through the Latin preposition *de,* as in *Thomas Purcelle de watford* (see Appendix 2)*.* The name *Thomas* can in this case both be a Latin nominative and an English version of the name (cf. Cassidy & Wild 2011: 1). Latin, however, seems to be used in the marginalia to add additional information of belonging. In one case, the same information is written in English in the text itself: *willm Cheyne of watford* (see Appendix 2)*.* Similar information seems to be added in only one of the female texts, D4170#2: *[...] cheyne watford* (see line 150). This female marginal note, however, does not make use of the Latin preposition *de.*

The language in the marginalia is often different from the language of the text. It seems that the testators are often referred to differently in the marginalia and the texts.

Because marginalia are visually distinct parts of texts and the language seems to be different from the body text, these may be considered multilingual events (cf. Schipor 2018: 44; see p. 31). The marginalia cannot be defined to happen at a clause level as intrasentential code-switching, neither beyond the clause level as intersentential code-switching, because it is entirely outside the body text. There is no guarantee that there was a point of switch in either producing or reading the register texts.

7.5 Code-mixing in a testamentary text

M4170#12 is the will of Agnes Levesy. It is dated to 1465 (see Table 1), and it appears to be written in a mixed code, created by the use of Latin, French and English. Some words are immediately recognizable as Latin, French and English. The mixing of languages can be related to three levels: uncertain etymologies, the mixing of grammatical systems and abbreviation practices resulting in the possibility of reading words in different languages (see p. 31).

Five sentences from M4170#12 have been chosen as examples to illustrate the multilingual practices in this text:

a) Jt' lego Joħe filie mee vxu*or* Thome kylyngwortħ toga' mea' meliore de blodis cu' le g*ra*y furre

b) Jt' lego wiłło filio meo j murra'phalerat' cu' argento voc' le thykbonded maser

c) Jt' lego walta fił murra' mea' cu' le flaunched bond

d) Jt' lego Edithe sorori mee altam toga' de blodis the coler lyned w^t blak bokeram

e) Jt' lego Marg'ie wyrałł nu*per ser*uient' mee my musterdevyllers gowne lyned w^t blak bukram

Many words in the examples are attested in several dictionaries. This makes it difficult to categorize them in terms of language. For example, the OED has attestations of *gray* in Old English, and describe its etymology as a 'cognate with Old Frisian *grē*'. *Gray* is also attested in AND as Anglo-Norman. The words *musterdevyllers* and *bukram* or *bokeram* in examples c) and d) are both attested in MED and AND. *Musterdevyllers* is defined as a woolen cloth in both dictionaries. The word *bukram* is defined as 'fine costly cloth' in MED and in AND as 'fine Oriental material'. DMLBS also defines *bukaramus* as a '(piece of) fine linen or cotton cloth', which further complicates the matter concerning etymologies. Additionally, the word

maser in b) is attested both in MED, DMLBS and in AND. These words are attested in several languages or dictionaries, and are thus difficult to assign to one language alone.

a), b) and c) show three instances of the French definite article *le*. In these three cases, the French article is placed directly before an arguably English word or phrase, which is common, according to Ingham (2013: 106-107). The French article *le* may be a sporadically translated English article 'the' in multilingual texts, as it appears where the English definite article would, according to English syntax (see p. 32). Ingham (2013: 107; see p. 32), however, is negative to the theory of translating the English article to the French equivalent in mixed texts.

In these examples, the usage of *le* is not consistent. In example d), there is an English article, and the following phrase is also arguably in English. Based on the amount of variation on other levels in medieval writing in England, it is not surprising that the French article is not systematically used instead of the English article. As also can be seen in example e), the switch to English does not require the French article *le* or the English article *the.* The fact that the definite article appears in both languages indicates that the linguistic system governing this text is mixed.

In all the example sentences, there are instances of the possessive adjective 'my' in Latin: *mee, mea'* and *meo.* The possessive adjectives function syntactically as modifiers. The Latin examples appears as post-modifiers, according to the Romance rule. In e), this creates an interesting syntactic construction where two possessive 'my' appear twice in a row, once in Latin and once in English. The English word is a pre-modifier, according to the Germanic rule.

The grammatical system employed here draws on English, French and Latin. This is exemplified by the French *le* and the English and Latin possessive adjectives. Additionally, because of the uncertain etymologies, Latin is not necessarily quantitavely dominant, either. Therefore, the term code-mixing may be more appropriate in this case.

Each of the examples above include the abbreviation *Jt'* 'item', which can be read in both in English and Latin (see p. 31). It is attested in MED, AND and DMLBS. Such visual diamorphs (Wright 2011: 203; see p. 31) are frequent in mixed-language texts.

The words which argueably can be read as English are referring to material goods. Examples of this are *maser* and *gowne* in b) and e). It seems that aspects relating to the burial and the probate are presented in Latin. This is similar in Wright's (2015: 39-40; see p. 32) findings. Wright (2015: 39-40) relates Latin to religious and legal aspects, and English to physical goods.

This text may be considered a mixed-language text based on the use of visual diamorphs, uncertain etymologies and mixed grammatical systems. Even though there is an increase of monolingual English in the 15th century (Wright 2015: 44), this text attests the lingering use of code-mixing in testamentary texts.

7.6 Conclusions

The research questions asked in the introduction were related to linguistic variation, multilingual practices, how the opening and closing phrases vary and relate to text function, and the differences between the male and female testamentary texts (see p. 42-43). Three of the research questions relate directly to specific sections, namely 7.2, 7.3 and 7.4. The fourth research question has been relevant in all the sections of the studies, except 7.5.

The studies have a broad range of perspectives on various phenomena. The aspects are orthographically and morphologically related, in addition to opening and closing phrases, as well as multilingual practices. The scope of the project has not allowed an equally in-depth analysis of every aspect. The amount of data is small, which considerably reduces the scope for generalizations. However, the present data is compared Bergstrøm's (2017) and Thengs' (2013) findings, LALME (eLALME 2013a) and male testamentary data, so the present findings are placed in a larger context and are thus significant.

The studies have been approached from a multi-pronged perspective. They have dealt with several factors which may account for variation. Chronology, testators, scribes, gender, and geography are all factors which have been discussed as potential causes for variation. The studies have revealed differences between the male and female texts. For the most part, there is less variation in the male texts. However, other factors than gender may have contributed to these differences. All the male texts were written by one scribe, in addition, they span over a shorter time period (see p. 40). Therefore, what appears to be gender-related variation at first glance, may reveal more about the practices of particular scribes.

The present findings align with chronological findings in Thengs (2013) and Bergstrøm (2017). Both in the present material and in Bergstrøm (2017: 124; see p. 41-42), most of the pronouns correspond to Present-Day English. Bergstrøm (2017: 144; see p. 48) also found, similarly to this thesis, words with medial <d> such as 'other', which did not have this realization in Old English. 'Other' with medial <d> may be connected to the later material, as it appears only in the text written the latest, D4168#26. Similar findings in Bergstrøm (2017: 146-147; see p. 48) contribute to this argument. Initial (sh) may also be chronologically motivated in the present material, because this seems to be the case in Thengs

(2013: 183) and Bergstrøm (2017: 153; see p. 51). However, the present material is homogenous in regard to initial (wh), which is dissimilar to Thengs (2013: 230-233; see p. 51). While initial (wh) is homogenous in all the texts, one text in particular, D4168#26, has much intratextual variation in general. The fact that this is the text written the latest is significant. It illustrates the possibilities of intratextual variation in the late 15th century.

The findings concerning opening phrases show that they are formulaic (see 7.3). However, they show variation in the language they use, in length and grammatical structure. The texts which stand out are D4168#4 and D4168#26. The first is very short and can be read in both English and Latin. The latter is much longer than the other formulae. Comparatively, the closings do not show similar formulaicness.

An interesting finding is related to the opening phrases of wills, specifically. Wills generally start by introducing the text type and testator: *This is the laste wylle of me Alice atte welle* (see Table 9). Interestingly, the openings of wills did not necessarily correspond to how wills are defined in the theory (see p. 18-19). This may be related to the social status of women. Women, in most cases, did not own lands, and may therefore define wills differently from men. The terminology of wills may therefore be improved to account for how women defined wills.

The multilingual practices in these testamentary texts relate to different levels. The openings and probate notes are examples of intersentential code-switching within the body text (see p. 57-58, 58-59). The presence of Latinized names in marginal notes contributes to the creation of multilingual events with the English body texts (see 7.4). M4170#12 reveals signs of several grammatical systems, visual diamorphs and complex etymologies (see 7.5). The testator's name is presented in an English form in the marginalia and in Latin in the text itself, and not the other way around which seem to be common based on the other texts (see 7.4). The texts reveal a diversified range of multilingual practices throughout the 15th century. There is no distinct chronological decline in the use of Latin in the introductions, probate notes and marginalia (see also Schipor 2018).

The findings of D4168#26 have stood out throughout the studies, and may be related to the testator's higher social standing. The testator had much to bequeath, so the text is long (see p. 45-46). This text also has the longest opening phrase, making the text longer. It makes more use of the form *the* (see p. 45), than the other texts, which takes up more space. This shows the testator's ability to pay for a longer, prestigious text, which is backed by the amount of money involved in the bequests (see Table 1). The testator's social standing is also exemplified by the use of the Latin title *do<u>mi</u>na* in the marginalia (see p. 61). In contrast, the

shortest text, D4168#4, is characterized by abbreviated forms of 'the' and 'et cetera', resulting in an even shorter text, which may be connected to a text written in haste, or a testator with lower social status (see p. 46).

The female testators most likely did not write the texts themselves. They would most likely have had help from a professional scribe, clerk or parish priest (see p. 19, 35, 62), and thus the written language may not necessarily be considered directly related to the language of these particular women. However, they would probably have been active in orally drafting the texts and the language of these texts would have been intelligible to them (see p. 19, 62). The scribes writing the texts may have done two things: they may have been influenced linguistically by the oral dictation (cf. Bergs 2013: 250; see p. 26), or they may have adapted their preferred dialect to make it more accessible to the testators (cf. p. 26). However, because there are several layers of textual processing before the final register text, the question of whose language it reflects is further complicated (see 4.3). Especially the higher standing women might have wanted to feel in control of the testamentary practice, where the scribe might read the text back to the testators (see p. 15).

Some differences between the male and female testamentary texts have been found. The male texts are generally more homogenous, such as in the item 'bequeath' (see p. 52-53). The openings are significantly homogenous, this is also the case for the closings, though to a lesser degree (see p. 58, 60). With regards to marginalia, the male testators are often provided with information of where they are from in a Latin construction (see p. 62), while this is not generally the case with the female marginalia. Because the male texts are so considerably homogenous in terms of structure, the scribe producing the register text may also have been involved in the making of the texts in the district (see p. 60).

By doing studies with different perspectives, this qualitative study has revealed variation in many different aspects, despite the few texts involved. The different approaches have also been important because of the inclusion of a mixed-language text which could either be viewed as a complicating factor, or as an opportunity for a multitude of studies. The present author chose to view the inclusion of the mixed-language text as an opportunity for a wide range of analysis.

These findings are based on seven testamentary texts, which makes the question of researching larger amounts of data intriguing. Researching gender differences in different genres with more data would allow for generalizations (see Nevalainen 1996: 88; Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 118-124). Because of the layers of textual processing associated with register texts, other material may be more useful for the study of gender-related

67

variation. In addition, morphosyntactic variation specifically seems promising (cf. Bergs 2013: 250;) even in texts where women orally composed the texts. Because of the variation related to other factors in this period, such as geography (), other factors should be taken into consideration, resulting in a multi-pronged study ().

Furthermore, the present author recommends an enquiry into how the introductory formulae relate to text function and gender. There are more extant male wills than female wills (), which implies that male wills have been more intensively researched than female wills. How wills are defined may be a direct result of this. A more extensive study of female wills could further develop the definition of wills, as well as more appropriate terminology.

8. The edition

8.1 Editing conventions

The main aim of this thesis is to make an edition of these testamentary texts available for linguistic and historical studies, which is why the edition is diplomatic. Furthermore, it is the readable version of the MELD project, which means that while being as faithful as possible to the original, it is more easily accessible for scholars unaccustomed to reading historical texts. To secure a high level of accuracy, the transcriptions have all been proofread by a member of the MELD team.

The transcription work was done by making the base version, as it is called in the MELD project. It has much detail and comments, which can make it unsuitable for reading. The base version has been used for the linguistic study, using the concordance programme AntConc. Because of the extra comments and coding in the base version, the results had to be thoroughly and manually checked to secure the most accurate data. The transcription makes use of the basic symbols in the ASCII character set to distinguish between 31 different letters in total.

Line separation is preserved in the transcription. In many cases a line in the original manuscripts translates into more than one line in the transcription due to the space limitations imposed on the present format. However, the beginning of a new line in the original manuscript is always placed on a new line in the transcription, rather than in direct continuation of the preceding line.

Medieval documents do not have standardised punctuation. Manuscript capitals are transcribed as capitals, and the original punctuation. '.' is equal to manuscript *punctus*, '/' is equal to the *virgule*. Final flourishes are indicated by a tilde '~', as they can represent several endings. *Positurae*, or the small groups of dots, are also transcribed as '∴'. The various abbreviations for 'and' are transcribed as '&'. Symbols representing 'et cetera' are all marked as '&c~'. Words that are written as one word in present day English are connected by '-', and this symbol also concerns words that stretch over two lines. In addition, 'ᵒ' represents small circles in the manuscripts.

Orthographical variation is preserved to a certain extent. The edition differentiates between yogh <ʒ>, thorn <þ> and <y>. It also differentiates between manuscript <v> and <u>, even when these do not correspond to the expected modern English spelling

conventions. Similarly, the distinction of <i> and <j> is kept, where <j> can be used in the manuscripts in places where the modern-day reader may expect <i>, such as in line 3: *J* 'I'.

Most abbreviations are expanded in italics. The common words abbreviated with superscript letters such as *þᵗ* 'that', however, are kept as in the original. When quoting words from the manuscripts in the thesis, abbreviations are not marked with italics, but are underlined. This is because direct quotations from the texts are italicized when discussed in the thesis, and the abbreviations would not have been visible in these circumstances. The abbreviations are expanded according to the MELD project conventions, but do not represent the linguistic possibilities in the manuscripts. They allow for readability, but do not impose on the language of the original manuscripts. For example, certain symbols may be read in different ways. In line 100, for example, the abbreviation symbol at the beginning of the word *performed* has been given the reading 'per', which does not exclude different interpretations of the same symbol in other contexts. Words that are crossed out in the manuscript appear crossed out in this edition.

Texts that appear in the margins are placed in square brackets with a note [margin:], and texts that are in Latin are similarly marked with [Latin:]. The text in the marginal note is placed directly above the text it accompanies. In the manuscripts, such marginal notes are often placed at the same level with the first line of the adjoining text. The beginning of every line containing Latin text is indicated with the code: [Latin:]. Unexpected words or spellings are marked with [sic] following them directly. Illegible stretches of text are indicated by square brackets and three dots […].

Roman numerals are used for manuscript numbers. For the Roman numerals to be as true to the original as possible, final I, is represented by 'j', as it appears as *j* in the manuscript. Often the numerals appear together with the monetary currencies 's' and 'd', which refer to shillings and pence respectively (see p. 34).

One of the texts, D4170#2, was already part of the MELD corpus and had been transcribed by the MELD team at an earlier date. This means that, due to changes in the MELD conventions, there are a few minor differences in the conventions used in this particular text. To be more specific, this text has not marked words in the margin with [margin:], but the marginal note appears above the text on a separate line. This text has also marked the Latin dating and the following Latin word *Ego* 'I' with [Latin:]. In the other texts, Latin parts of dating phrases have not been marked.

Another one of the texts, M4170#12, is in a mix of languages, which did not allow for the employment of the MELD conventions. M4170#12 has a different code because it is a

mixed-language text. The MELD project does not have any conventions for the naming of such texts, but in this thesis, it has been marked to be different from the other monolingual texts. The editing principles are thus not entirely the same. Latin stretches of words are not marked as Latin, as much of the text is in Latin, and neither is English marked as English phrases. The letters <h> and <l> which have a crossbar in the manuscripts also have a crossbar in this edition. Instead of the tilde to mark a final flourish, this text uses the apostrophe.

8.2 The texts

The testament of Alice White (D4168#4)

Fol. 11r

1   [margin: Alisia whyte]

         Jn &c~ This testament made in þ^e yere of oure lord M^{l}e^{l}e CCCC lxxij in þ^e moneth of

         decemb*er*r beryth*e* wytnesse þ^t J Alsii~ Whyte bequeth*e* my soule &c~ and my body to be

5   beryed in þ^e chyrch*e*-yerd of watford Moreou*er* J bequeth*e* to þ^e hye Awt*er* iiij d Also to our

         lady lyght in þ^e chapell*e* i̶j̶-̶d̶ iiij^d Also to seint Thom*a*s lyght ij d Also to seint kat*er*yne

         lyght ij d Jt~ to þ^e rode lyght i̶j̶ ^{iiij} d Also to þ^e hye clerk ij d And the residue of my

10   godes

         J wyll*e* þ^t Roger whyte my so*n*ne haue to bryng me euerthe And to do for me &c~

         [Latin: *pro*b*er* fuit &c~ xxviij die men*ser* decemb*er*r a^o dom*ini* infrascript~]

The testament and will of Constance Cressy (D4168#26)

Fol. 49v

         [margin: [Latin: d*omi*na Cressy*ur*]]

         Jn the name of allmyghty god fader and son~ and holy gost And of blessyd lady seint

15   Marie eu*er*more virgyn~ and of

         all*e* halowe*n*n Amen The xxviiij day of of [sic] the moneth*e* of April*e* the yere of oure

         lord god M^{l}e^{l}e CCCC iiij^{xx} & vj . And the

         furst yere of þ^e reigne of kyng kerry [sic] the vij^{t}he . J dame Constance Cressy of seint

         Albons wydowe beyng of hole

20   wytte and mynde þeff & bequ*the* my sowle to all*e*-myghtty god my maker and my sauyo*ur* And to our~ blessyd lady

seint Mar*ie* his gloriouse moder and to all*e* his saynt*es* And my body to be buryed in the Chapell of saynt

Andrew w^t-in þ^e monastery of seint Albon~ there as my tumbe is ordeyned and made

25   by the Awter of oure

lady Jtm~ J wole & bequeth*e* to þ^e same Awter a Chalys of syluer *par*cell gylt And to the hye Awter of seint

Andrew A corporas w^t myn~ Fryed w^t pecales And a tabull*e*-clothe of dyaper . And J tha same dame

30   Constance by sufferance and by lycence of Robert Gymew of seint Albans gentilman to who*m* J haue by

my dede yurallyd in þ^e kyngg*es* Chauncary yeven~ all*e* my good*es* moveabull*e* and on-moveabull*e* the which*e*

good the said Robert by the Auctorite of þ^e said dede sufferyth*e* me the said dame

35   Constance to dispose

and to yeve all*e* my good*es* moveabull & onmoueabull lond*es* & tenement*es* yn soche wyse as shall*e* acorde and

combyne with*e* the said Robert his plesure And that j wolle at the day of my burying & of my terment

40   to be ydoo*n* for my soule helth*e* after the dispasicyon~ of þ^e said Robert and of Alys his wyff whom of this my

last will*e* J make myn~ executo*ur*s Jtm~ J wole that þ^e preest þ^t shall*e* syng the hye masse in þ^e day of my

buryeing shall*e* haue viij d And eny oder preest iiij d And to the Clerk*es* of þ^e chirch*e*

45   eyther of hem iiij d And to

eu*ery* chyld redyng & syngyng in surply*es* in the qwere ij d Jtm~ J wole & bequeth*e* to þ^e Nunnys of Sopwell*e*

iij s iiij d And to þ^e Nunnys of þ^e Pray iij s iiij d and to þ^e Ancresse of seint Peter iij s iiij d And to þ^e Ancresse of

50   seint Mychall*e* iij s iiij ^d Jtm*m* J wole & byqueth*e* to þ^e house of þ^e frerys of langley wher~ J am a syster iij s iiij d

Jtm J [...] & byqwth*e* to þ^e hye Awter of the chirch*e* of Harpeden~ A corporas of white

tissew And to þᵉ reparacion~

of þᵉ same chirche vj s viij d Jtm~ to þᵉ hye Awter of luytenn chirche A corporas wᵗ

55   my husbond *sir* John Cressy

[...] And to þᵉ reparacion of the same chirche vj s viij d Jt~ to þᵉ parisshe chyrche of

Dodferd in þᵉ Councte

of Nort [...] corperas of tissew And to þᵉ reparacionn of þᵉ same vj s viij d Jtm~ J wole

& bequethe to John

60   party [...] a [...] vj s viij d And to Alys Stafford my *seruant* vj s viij d And to MArion~

my *seruant* iij s iiij d

And to J[...] [...] *seruant* iij s iiij d And to John Robynson~ my *seruant* iij s iiij d And

to Robert Blincte my

seruant in [...] richard Dale my *seruant* iij s iiij d . Jtm~ J wol þᵗ

65   robert Gymew and Alys hys wyff shalle

haue [...] wᵗ the tenmtes londes and rentes to þᵉ same place belongyng And also the x s

.

[...] assyse goyng [...] of the Nune now callyd the lyonn somtyme called

þᵉ Cornerhalle in seint Albonns

Fol. 50r

70   And the said Robert And Alys of þᵉ forsaid place londes tenementes & Rentes in

dagenale and of the sayd

Rent of x s shalle fynde a preast to syng for my husbondes soule and for myn~ and for

oure frendys soules and for

alle ᵒᵘʳᵉ ~~crysten~~ frendes souleʒ & alle cristen~ souleʒ At the Awter of oure lady

75   aforsayd in þᵉ Chapelle of seint Andrew by þᵉ

space of iij ʒeres next comyng After my decese And that also þᵉ said robert Gymew &

Alys his wyff shalle

haue my MAner of Rothamsted and Sawseys withe Alle oder londes tenntes Rentes &

*ser*uyceʒ in þᵉ parysshes

80   of whethamsted and harpeden~ to þᵉ said MAner parteyning wᵗ alle the commoditeeʒ

commyng of theyme duryng

þᵉ terme of x yere next folowyng after my decease So mony wyse þᵗ the saide robert &

Alys and their~ execu-

toures after þᵉ seyd x yeres ben fully endyd & comme vpp ordeyn~ or do to be

85	ordeynyd A preest to syng
	*per*petuelly for þ^e sowlys of my husbond *sir* John Cressy & my*n*n And oure sonnys sowleȝ & frend*es* sowleȝ And
	all*e* *cristi*styn~ [sic] sowleȝ At the forsayd Awter of oure lady by the sayde tumbe in the Chapell*e* of seint Andrew
90	forseyd wyth*e* and of þ^e forseyd Rent*es* co*m*maditees & avayles that þ^e same rob*er*t & Alys shall*e* haue & take
	vpp of the forsaid Maner of Roth*a*msted & sawseys lond*es* & te*n*ntes Rent*es* & *ser*uice*s* to theym *par*tey-
	myng duryng þ^e said t*er*me of x yere . And here-vppon*n* J wole & requyre my feffers
95	in þ^e said Maner~ lond*es*
	te*n*ntes Rent*es* & *ser*uic~ that thay make therof A lawfull*e* estate to þ^e said Rob*er*t & Alys And to oder with*e*
	theyme suche as they wole duryng þ^e said t*er*me of x yere vnder þ^e co*n*dicion*n* forsaid þ^t A preest
100	*per*petuelly fownde be *per*formed / And thanne after þ^e said x yere be fully co*m*me vppe J wole that þ^e said
	Maner~ w^t all*e* þ^e lond*es* & oder thyngg*es* foresaid belongyng & *par*tenyng þ*er*to be þ^e said Rob*er*t & Alys &
	theyr~ executo*ur*e*s* be sold And by theyme þ^e money þ*er*of co*m*myng be doon deled
105	and disposed for all*e*
	oure sowles abouesaide as they shall*e* seme pleasyng to god and moste *pro*fite to the helth*e* of oure sowles
	And J wole and charge þ^e said Rob*er*t & Alys that they ordeyn~ *per*fo*ur*me & fulfylle this my p*re*sent laste
110	wille in all*e* thyngg*es* abouesaid As they wole Aunswer~ thervpon*n* to fore godde And J the said dame
	Constance by the sufferance licence a*a*nd Asent of þ^e said Robert J haue ordeyned myn*n* overseers
	master Thom*a*s Shenkevyn*n* doctor legu~ Thomas leventhorp gentilman*n* & Thomas
115	hethenesse to see
	that this my last wylle be *per*formed . And into the witnesse of all*e* þ^e said p*re*mysses to this my p*re*sent

laste wille J haue put my seals Thyse beryng witnesse John Ferrers the alder

gentilman~ wyll*am*

120   Drayton*n* John hole will*am* GomAn*n* and oder yoven in þᵉ daye and þᵉ yere of our~

lord god Abouesaid

[Latin: Probatu*m* & approbatu*m* insumatu*m* fuit . pus~ testm~ cora*m* nob*er* Johe

Rothebury]

[Latin: archuo &c~ decimo die men*ser* Junij Aᵒ dom*ini* infrascripto & co*m*missa est

125   admi*n*strecio]

[Latin: bonner pus~ testm~ comcernen~ rob*er*to gymew alicie ex*ecuturi*bu*s int*er*ims

no*mina*t~ in [...]]]

The will of Alice Forag (D4170#1)

Fol. 13r

This is my laste wylle þᵗ Joone my Sone haue ij Spones of Sylu*er* wᵗ-oute þᵉ Choyse of

þᵉ beste as for [...]

130   ande Amy my dough*ter* Schalle haue iij Spones of Syluer And jon my dough*ter* iij

Spones of Syluer And also jon

my Sone Schalle ches þᵉ beste basyne & þᵉ beste lauo*ur* as for heyre . Ande ya*n* Amy

my doughter~ þᵉ nexte best [...]

& basyne . ande jone my doughter ne nexte basyn & lauo*ur* / Also j wille þᵗ Amy my

135   dough*ter* & jon my dough*ter*

jche of hem haue a bedde & jche of hem a gyrdyl hneysed with Sylu*er* . & Jche of hem

a payre of bedes

þᵗ is to wete to Jon my langettes of bedes . Also þᵗ Joha~ my sone amy & jone my

doughters haue the

140   bordclothes & towayles wᵗ þᵉ sanopes de*par*ted amo*n*ge hem thre . Also j wille þᵗ of a

pece of clothe þᵗ [...]

at þᵉ fullers jone my dowght*er* haue a gowne & a kyrtyl wᵗ ane hoode Ande jone my

sone a gowne

a payre of hosen & a hode & jon Chestr my s*er*uau*n*te a Gowne . Ande amy my

145   dough*ter* my beste werygcloth

þᵗ longeth to my body & Jone my dough*ter* my beste hode . And Jone my s*er*ua*n*nte v

acres of whete þᵗ Grew[...]

in wellecrofte . Ande jone my Sone ij acres of whete þᵗ groweth at pollford felde

aȝeynes [...]

The testament of Dionisia Cheyne (D4170#2)

150   [...] cheyne watford

[Latin: Jn di~ no*mine* Ame*n*] þᵉ firste day of Julij þᵉ yer of oure lorde [Latin: Mᵒ

CCCC-t*ri*cesimo Ego] Dionisia cheyne of watforde bequeth my Soule

to alle-myghty godde & to oure lady Seynt Marye & my body to be beryed in þᵉ chirch

yerd of watforde / Also j beqweth to þᵉ

155   roode lyghte xij d to seynte thomas lyght viij d to seynte kat*er*yne lyght viij d to þᵉ

vicari iij s iiij d to syr Robert xx d to

jone cauche viij d to his son iiij d to yᵉ bachelers box xij d to yᵉ Maydenes box xij d .

to jon my cosyn an hoole bedde & a potte

a basyn & a lauo*ur* . Also to alyson~ cheyny an hol bedde nexte þᵉ beste . a basyn & a

160   lauo*ur* a potte & v spones of syluer Also othe vj

spones my son schalle haue prise of x s*e* & a pec*er* þᵉ p*ri*se of iij s*e* iiij d / ~~Also~~ Also a-

nother pec*er* to alison~ cheyny Also to Thomas

cheyny vj s viij d & þᵉ beste payr schetes / Also j bequeth xij schep to be solde &

deled a-monge my godde-childre*n* Also to Anneys

165   Sewster a blewe cloke & a blew hode þᵉ residuue of myn other goodes j bequeth to

willya~ my sone & jon my doughter forto dispose

for me as þei wolde j did for hem [Latin: *pro*bat~ fuit hᵒ testm~ ixᵒ die oct~ Aᵒ dm~

sup*ra*s*cri*pt~]

The will of Alice Atte Well (D4170#9)

This is the laste wylle of me Alice atte welle made the x . day of decembr~ in þᵉ yere

170   of oure lord

ihesu criste Mˡeˡe CCCC . liiijᵗᵉ . being in þᵉ lawfull*e* power of wydowhode and goode

mynde Jn þᵉ which*e* after

the bequest of my soule to almyghtty god &c~ lyke as þᵉ tenor of my testament

maketh*e* mencion~ j wyll*e*

76

175   and bequeth*e* that John Nunny & Joh*a*n his wyffe haue c*er*ten~ stuffe of myn~

housold that is to sey

all*e* thappayraile & hangyng of my bedchambre þ*t* is to wete . j . fetherbed . j .

materasse of blewe

w*t* his bolster . j testo*ur* j . celo*ur* & . iij . c*ur*tens . / And in my draught chambre . ij .

180   c*ur*teins before þ*e* presse . j . celo*ur*~

& j . testo*ur* w*t* þ*e* salutacion~ of oure ladye . / And in þ*e* buttrye . j . potell*e* [...] j

q*ua*rte pot of pewt*ur* . xix . peces

of pewter vessell*e* stondyng on þ*e* shelf & . ij . pott*es* j pottell*e* & j q*ua*rte for wyne .

And in þ*e* halle . ij . bankers

185   w*t* þ*e* kusshou*n*s of tapstry werk longyng to them . And in þ*e* parlo*ur* . ij . bankers of

paled werk rede & grene

w*t* their~ kusshou*n*s . / And in þ*e* kechen~ . ij . pott*es* of lateyn~ one of hem w*t* short

fete . j chafyr of bras cont*er* iij . q*ua*rt*es*

& . j . chafyr of j q*ua*rt*er* & j nothir of a pynt w*t* . v . ioned stoles / And also þ*t* þ*e* same

190   John & Joh*a*n shall*e* haue my

flat pece of sylu*er* & j peyre of gret beedis of Ambre & j wylle þ*t* she þ*e* said Johane

haue my gowne of

murrey furred w*t* grey my hode of violet & j . count*er*fet basyn~ w*t* his ewer & j

gyrdyll*e* of grene alyre har-

195   neised w*t* sylu*er* Moreou*er* j bequeth*e* & wyll*e* þ*t* Elyn~ my soster wyf of John

Spygon~ haue my violet gowne

furred w*t* byses / And þ*t* my cosen~ dan~ Eliȝabeth*e* haseley Nunne of Elstowe haue

my wosted bed of blak

alyre & j spone of sylu*er* ou*er*gelt / . Jtm~ j wyll*e* & bequeth*e* to þ*e* Ancoresse of seint

200   Petre . vj s viij d And to þ*e*

Ancoresse of seint Michell*e* asmoche . / Jt~ j wyll*e* & bequeth*e* to Edithe hawes my

blak gowne furred w*t* grey

my blak kyrtill*e* . j peyre of blankett*es* one whyte a noþ*er* russet a cou*er*let of grene &

whyte . j peyre of shetis

205   of hussewyff*es* cloth*e* & my kussheu*n*s of tapsters werk wered . Jt*e*j wyll*e* & bequeth*e*

to kat*er*ine þ*e* wyffe

of Thomas Adam j peyre of geet bedys And to kat*er*ine þ*e* wyffe of Ric~ wygge my

blak gyrdell*e*

harn*es*ed w*t* sylu*er* . And to þ*e* hye awt*er* of seint Andrew my *par*issh*e* chyrche j pelow

210   lyned w*t* selk grene

[fol. 79r]

& rede / And to þ*e* chyrche of Sandrugge j nother pelowe of þ*e* same and j vestyment

for a preest to syng

in / And to þ*e* chyrch*e* of seint Michell*e* in kynggesbury . j saltsaler of sylu*er* toward a

masse boke myn~

215   housbondd*es* soules & myn*n* to be remembred in & p*ra*yed for Jt~ j wyll*e* & bequeth*e*

to dan~ willya~ Newenh*a*m

j . maso*ur* w*t* þ*e* lowe bend þ*e* lesse of two w*t* a cou*er*kell*e* hauing a knoppe of sylu*er*

full*e* of prelles ou*er*gelt

Jt~ j wyll*e* & bequeth*e* to syr davy knefton~ my preest one of myn~ executo*ur*s my

220   chaleys w*t* a su*per* altar~

j peyre of Crewett*es* j sakeryngbell*e* halywater stoppe . v . spones of sylu*er* of thyke

sorte þ*t* ben~ dayly

had on hond & occupyed & iij . kussou*n*s of work rede & grene / And to dan~ Thom*a*s

walden~ my whyte

225   materasse / Jt~ j wylle & bequeth*e* to Cecily Goule my *ser*ua*nt* . j cou*er*led of blewe &

bett*er* lewe . j . payre

blankett*es* . j . payre of shet*es* of huswyff*es* cloth*e* . j rounde basen~ w*t* his ewer~ j gret

blak forcer . j . gret

pot þ*t* is woned to stond in þ*e* chemeney w*t* bowes j . panne of j galon~ & . j .

230   bordecloth*e* & j towell*e* / And

also to þ*e* same Cecily & to Elianore þ*e* doughter of John wangford & dosen~ vessell*e*

garnesshed euenly

to be de*par*tyd betwex them~ bothe And to Johan~ þ*e* doughter of Thomas Adam a

forcer þ*t* was my

235   moders to ley her kercheves yn / And all*e* þ*e* olde beddyng in my bedchamber j wyll*e*

& bequeth*e* to be deled

amonge pore folke þ*ere* nede is / Also i wyll*e* & bequeth*e* to þ*e* forsaid Cecily my

*ser*ua*nt* . iij . candelstykk*es*

of laton~ / And forthermore i wyll*e* & bequeth*e* to þ*e* makyng of a pylo*ur* w*t*-in my

240   *par*ysshe chyrche of seint

        Andrewe . vij . m*a*rc~ yf my godis wyll*e* strecch*e* þ*er*to Jt*e*j wyll*e* þ^t þ^e forsaid Cecily haue my blak gowne

        þ^t i ham woned to were dayly furred w^t grey . Jt~ i wyll*e* & bequeth*e* to þ^e amendyng of þ^e hygh*e*-wey

245   called Hertford wey . ledyng toward Butt*er*wyke ward xiij s iiij d to þ^e same wey þ^t my husbond mayster

        Adam made Jn witnesse her-of j haue set to my seale þ^e which*e* j borowed / dated þ^e day & yere aboue rehersed . ∴

The will of Agnes Levesy (M4170#12)

Fol. 122v

    [margin: Agnes Levesy]

250   Hec est vltima voluntas mea Agnetis Levesy fact' xiij^o

        die August A^o d*omini* M^{mo} CCCC^{mo} lxv

        Jn p*ri*mis post legaco*n*em & commendaco*n*em a*nim*e mee deo lego su*m*ino altari infra capella' paro^l sci'

        Andree xij d Jt' ad co*n*strucco*n*em solarij c*ruces* ib*ide*m de nouo constru^d iij s iiij d Jt'

255   cuiłit capella' meis

        exeq' missa & ad corp*us* meu' sepe^d p*re*sent' in die sepulture mee vj d Jt' cuiłit portanti corp*us* meu'

        ad eccl*es*iam vj d Jt' lego in re*par*ac' regie vie int' ponte*m* de halyweł & scm' stepħin vj s viij^{d8} Jt'

260   lego Joħe filie mee vxu*or* Thome kylyngworth toga' mea' meliore de blodis cu' le g*ra*y furre

        ȝona mea' rubea' phalerat' cu' argento anemeled j olla' eu*or* & j patella' enea' Jt' lego Alicie

        fił mee vxu*or* wiłłi Joħnson toga' mea' soda*m*m meliore*m* de blodis furrat' cu'g*ra*y

265   ȝona' mea' virid

        harneysed cu' argento enameled j olla' eu*or* & j pateł eu*or* Jt' lego wiłło filio meo j murra'

        phalerat' cu' argento voc' le thykbonded maser Jt' lego walta fił murra' mea' cu' le

---

[8] Seems to have been added above the line either due to space limitation or as a later correction.

flaunched

270 bond j supellectile . ij lodices ij par' linthiam' j materas j olla' enea' & j patełł eu*or* Jt' lego

p'dcis' wiłłmo & walta filijs meis noue*m* coclear' de argento int' eos equalit' bi*par*tend Jt'

lego Joħe sorori mee my blew sengle gowne the coler lyned witħ sactyn' Jt' lego

275 Edithe

sorori mee altam toga' de blodis the coler lyned w^t blak bokeram Jt' Dorothie & Alicie

Barthilmey *ser*uient' meis vtriqȝ earz j payr' fleyenshet*es* & j payr' towenshet*es* Ac vtriqȝ

earz vj & viij d Jt' lego cuiłit filiolorz & filiolarz mearz iiij d Resid bonorz meorz cu'

280 cu'lȝ

debit*es* meis do & lego Joħi levesy fił meo ad dispo^d proaia' pri's qȝ sin *pro*ut meli*us* viderit Jn

cui*us* rei test' p*re*sent' sigilu' meu' apposin Dat' die & Anno p*redicti*s Jt' lego Marg'ie wyrałł

285 nu*per ser*uient' mee my musterdevyllers gowne lyned w^t blak bukram Jt' Matild wełł

nu*per ser* mee my Russet gown' furryd w^t Cony

*pro*bat' fuit &c' xxij die Augusti a^o sup*ra*d

The testament of Elizabeth Gosbyll (D4170#14)

Fol.126r

 [margin: Elizabeth*e* Gosbyll*e*]

 [Latin: Jn dei no*min*e Amen] The xv day of Marche in þ^e yere of godde j M^l*e*^l*e* CCCC

290 . lxix . J Eliȝabeth*e*

Gosbyll*e* of þ^e Jurisdiccio*n*n of seint Albon sole wo*m*man hole and myghtty of mynde in gode reme*mbra*nce

make my testament in this wyse . Fyrst j bequeth*e* my soule to all*e*-myghtty god my savyo*ur* and

295 to his blessed moder oure lady seint Mary eu*er*more virgyn~ & to all*e* halewen~ And my body to be

buryed in seint Petris Chyrchyerd among my frendes there lying Jtm~ j bequeth onward

to a newe frontell*e* for þ^e hye Awter of seint Andrewe of whooo par*þ*ssh*e* late j was iij

300   s iiij d or

as moche in value Jt~ j bequeth*e* to a*n* Trentall*e* of Sent Gregory to be seyd & done for

my soule soone

aft*er* my decese as it may be x s The residue of my godes J yeve & bequeth*e* to John

Nunny &

305   Thomas Bevirley þ*er*of to pay & content my dett*es* þat j owe þ^t be redy wryten in my

paper

and also to dispose þ^e remem*a*nt as they knowe my wyll*e* for þ^e helth*e* & And þ^e

forsaid John

& Thomas of this same testament J make myn~ executo*ur*es And j bequeth*e* eche of

310   myn~ exe-

cuto*ur*es xl d for theyr besynesse

[Latin: Prob & approb &c~ iiij die Maij A^o dm~ M^o CCCC lxx^o &*c*]

Bibliography

AND = See *Anglo-Norman Dictionary.*

Anglo-Norman Dictionary Online Second Edition. Accessed Apr. 19 <http://www.anglo-norman.net/gate/#idm140133200790816>.

Archer, R. E., & Ferme, B. E. (1989). 'Testamentary Procedure with Special Reference to the Executrix'. In Bate, K., Curry, A., Hardman, C., & Noble, P. (eds.), *Medieval Women in Southern England*. Reading: University of Reading. 3-34.

Beal, P. (2008). *A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology*, *1450 to 2000.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Barber, C., Beal, J. C., & Shaw, P. A. (2009). *The English Language. A Historical Introduction.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [first published 1993].

Barron, C. M. (1989). 'The 'Golden Age' of Women in Medieval London'. In Bate, K., Curry, A., Hardman, C., & Noble, P. (eds.), *Medieval Women in Southern England*. Reading: University of Reading. 35-58.

Beauroy, J. (1986). 'Family Patterns and Relations of Bishop's Lynn Will-Makers in the Fourteenth Century'. In Bonfield, L., Smith, R. M., & Wrightson, K. (eds.), *The World we have Gained. Histories of Population and Social Structure*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 23-42.

Bennett, J. M. (2009). 'England: Women and Gender'. In Rigby, S. H., (ed.), *A Companion to Britain in the Later Middle Ages*. Chichester: Blackwell Publishing. 87-106.

Benskin, M. (1981). 'The Middle English Dialect Atlas'. In Benskin, M., & Samuels, M. L. (eds.), *So Meny People Longages and Tonges. Philological Essays in Scots and Medieval English Presented to Angus McIntosh*. Edinburgh: Michael Benskin & M. L. Samuels. xxvii-xli.

Benskin, M. (1982). 'The Letters <þ> and <y> in Later Middle English, and Some Related Matters'. In *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 7. 13-30.

Benskin, M., & Laing, M. (1981). 'Translations and Mischsprachen in Middle English Manuscripts'. In Benskin, M., & Samuels, M. L. (eds.), *So Meny People Longages and Tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Mediaeval English Presented to Angus McIntosh*. Edinburgh: Michael Benskin & M. L. Samuels. 55-106.

Benskin, M., Laing, M., Karaiskos, V., & Williamson, K. (2013a). 'General Introduction'. In *An Electronic Version of A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*. Accessed 23 Feb. 19 <http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme.html>.

Benskin, M., Laing, M., Karaiskos, V., & Williamson, K. (2013b). 'Index of Sources'. In *An Electronic Version of A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*. Accessed 23 Feb. 19 <http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme.html>.

Benskin, M., Laing, M., Karaiskos, V., & Williamson, K. (2013c). *An Electronic Version of A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*. Accessed 23 Feb. 19 <http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme.html>.

Bergs, A. (2013). 'Writing, Reading, Language Change - A Sociohistorical Perspective on Scribes, Readers, and Networks in Medieval Britain'. In Wagner, E., Outhwaite, B., & Beinhoff, B. (eds.), *Scribes as Agents of Language Change*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. 241-259.

Bergstrøm, G. (2017). *Yeven at Cavmbrigg'. A Study of the Medieval English Documents of Cambridge*. (Doctoral dissertation). Stavanger: University of Stavanger.

Berndt, R. (1965). 'The Linguistic Situation in England from the Norman Conquest to the Loss of Normandy (1066-1204)'. In *Philologica Pragensia* 8, 145-163. Repr. in Lass, R (ed.), *Approaches to English Historical Linguistics. An Anthology*. London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.. 369-391. [Page nos. refer to 1969 version].

Black, J. (2017). *A History of the British Isles.* London: Palgrave. [first published 1996].

Burton, J. (1994). *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cassidy, R., & Wild, B. (2011). 'Thirteenth-Century Personal Names'. Accessed 10 Apr. 19 <http://cmjk.com/Reading_Records/Home_files/Personal_names.pdf>.

The Cathedral and Abbey Church of Saint Alban. 'Story of St Alban'. Accessed 4 Apr. 19 <https://www.stalbanscathedral.org/history/story-of-st-alban>.

Clanchy, M. (1993). *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing. [first published 1979].

Clanchy, M. (2013). *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell. [first published 1979].

Cressy, D. (2006). *Literacy and the Social Order. Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [first published 1980].

Curry, A. (2003). *The Hundred Years War.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. [first published 1993].

Daniell, C. (1997). *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066-1550.* London: Routledge.

Davis, G. R. C. (1958). *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain. A Short Catalogue.* London: Longmans, Green and Co Ltd..

Dearnley, E. (2013). ''Women of Oure Tunge Cunne Bettir Reede and Vnderstonde this Langage': Women and Vernacular Translation in Later Medieval England'. In Jefferson, J. A., & Putter, A. (eds.), *Multilingualism in Medieval Britain (c. 1066-1520)*. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers. 259-272.

Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources Online. Accessed Apr. 19 <http://logeion.uchicago.edu/ros>.

Dinn, R. (1995). 'Death and Rebirth in Late Medieval Bury St Edmunds'. In Bassett, S. (ed.), *Death in Towns. Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100-1600*. London: Leicester University Press. [first published 1992]. 151-169.

DMLBS = See *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources.*

Duffy, E. (2005). *The Stripping of the Altars. Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580.* London: Yale University Press. [first published 1992].

eLALME = See Benskin, M., Laing, M., Karaiskos, V., & Williamson, K. (2013).

Erbe, T. (ed.) (1905). *Mirk's Festial.* Accessed 4 Jan. 19 <https://archive.org/details/mirksfestialcoll01mirkuoft/page/268>.

Fletcher, A. (1995). *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800.* London: Yale University Press.

Fletcher, A. J. (2013). 'Written Versus Spoken Macaronic Discourse in Late Medieval England: The View from a Pulpit'. In Jefferson, J. A., & Putter, A. (eds.), *Multilingualism in Medieval Britain (c. 1066-1520)*. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers. 137-151.

Foulds, T. (1987). 'Medieval Cartularies'. In *Archives 18*(77). 3-35.

Freeborn, D. (2006). *From Old English to Standard English.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. [first published 1992].

Harding, V. (1995). 'Burial Choice and Burial Location in Later Medieval London'. In Bassett, S. (ed.). *Death in Towns. Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100-1600.* London: Leicester University Press. [first published 1992]. 119-135.

Helmholz, R. H. (2018). 'Deathbed Strife and the Law of Wills in Medieval and Early Modern England'. In Korpiola, M., & Lahtinen, A. (eds.), *Planning for Death: Wills and Death-Related Property Arrangements in Europe, 1200-1600.* Boston: Brill. 239-257.

Hicks, M. (2010). *The Wars of the Roses*. London: Yale University Press.

Holt, R., & Rosser, G. (1990). 'Introduction: The English Town in the Middle Ages'. In Holt, R., & Rosser, G. (eds.), *The Medieval Town. A Reader in English Urban History 1200-1540*. Essex: Longman Group UK Limited. 1-18.

Horobin, S. (2010). *Studying the History of Early English.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ingham, R. (2013). 'Language-Mixing in Medieval Latin Documents: Vernacular Articles and Nouns'. In Jefferson, J. A., & Putter, A. (eds.), *Multilingualism in Medieval Britain (c. 1066-1520)*. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers. 105-121.

Jacob, E. F. (1953). *The Medieval Registers of Canterbury and York: Some Points of Comparison*. London: St. Anthony's Press.

Jefferson, J. A., & Putter, A. (2013). 'Introduction'. In Jefferson, J. A., & Putter, A. (eds.), *Multilingualism in Medieval Britain (c. 1066-1520).* Turnhout: Brepols Publishers. xi-xxiv.

Labov, W. (2001). *Principles of Linguistic Change. Volume 2: Social Factors.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

LALME = See Benskin, M., Laing, M., Karaiskos, V., & Williamson, K. (2013).

Levett, A. E. (1938). In Cam, H. M., Coate, M., & Sutherland, L. S. (eds.), *Studies in Manorial History.* Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

Lewis, K. J. (2000). 'Women, Testamentary Discourse and Life-Writing in Later Medieval England'. In Menuge, N. J. (ed.) *Medieval Women and the Law*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press. 57-75.

Lowe, K. A. (2013). 'Reading the Unreadable: Lay Literacy and Negotiation of Text in Anglo-Saxon England'. In Kwakkel, E. (ed.) *Writing in Context: Insular Manuscript Culture 500-1200*. Leiden: Leiden University Press. 152-183.

Lydekker, J. W. (1937). 'The Cressy Family of Rothamsted'. In *St. Albans and Herts Architectural and Archæological Society,* 143-151. Repr. in (2015) *St. Albans & Hertfordshire Architectural & Archaeological Society,* 143-151. [Page nos. refer to 1989 version]. Accessed 22 Apr. 19 <http://stalbanshistory.org/documents/1937.08_LYDEKKER_with_cover_05151.pdf?fbclid=IwAR0oGfsPbV-HL9DLOqbGlkftFuKV25adCoMfU2AI9m87_d55s7nv3yGaEMw>.

McIntosh, A. (1956). 'The Analysis of Written Middle English'. In *Transactions of the Philological Society,* 26-55. Repr. in Laing, M. (ed.) (1989), *Middle English Dialectology. Essays on Some Principles and Problems.* Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press. 1-21. [Page nos. refer to 1989 version].

McIntosh, A. (1963). 'A New Approach to Middle English Dialectology'. In *English Studies* 44, 1-11. Repr. in Laing, M. (ed.) (1989), *Middle English Dialectology. Essays on Some Principles and Problems.* Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press. 22-31. [Page nos. refer to 1989 version].

McIntosh, A. (1973). 'Word Geography in the Lexicography of Medieval English'. In *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 211, 55-66. Repr. in Laing, M. (ed.) (1989), *Middle English Dialectology. Essays on Some Principles and Problems.* Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press. 86-97. [Page nos. refer to 1989 version].

McIntosh, A. (1975). 'Scribal Profiles from Middle English Texts'. In *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 76, 218-235. Repr. in Laing, M. (ed.) (1989), *Middle English Dialectology. Essays on Some Principles and Problems.* Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press. 32-45. [Page nos. refer to 1989 version].

MED = See *Middle English Dictionary.*

MELD = See Stenroos, M., Thengs, K. V., & Bergstrøm, G. (2017-).

MELD (2017). *A Corpus of Middle English Local Documents*, version 2017.1 (Eastern Counties), compiled by Stenroos, M., Thengs, K. V., & Bergstrøm, G., May 2017, University of Stavanger. Accessed 15 Apr. 19 <www.uis.no/meld>.

Middle English Dictionary Online. Lewis, R. E., et al. (eds.). Accessed Apr. 19 <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/>.

Milroy, J. (1992). 'Middle English Dialectology'. In Blake, N. (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the English Language Volume II 1066-1476*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 156-206.

Milroy, J., & Milroy, L. (2012). *Authority in Language. Investigating Standard English.* Abingdon: Routledge. [first published 1985].

Myers-Scotton, C. (1997). *Duelling Languages. Grammatical Structure in Codeswitching.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. [first published 1993].

Nevalainen, T. (1996). 'Gender Difference'. In Nevalainen, T., & Raumolin-Brunberg, H., (eds.), *Sociolinguistics and Language History. Studies Based on the Corpus of Early English Correspondence*. Amsterdam: Rodapi B. V.. 77-92.

Nevalainen, T. (2000). 'Processes of Supralocalisation and the Rise of Standard English in the Early Modern Period'. In Bermúdez-Otero, R., Denison, D., Hogg, R. M., & McCully, C. B. (eds.), *Generative Theory and Corpus Studies: A Dialogue from 10 ICEHL.* Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. 329-371.

Nevalainen, T. (2006). 'Fourteenth-Century English in a Diachronic Perspective'. In Schaefer, U. (ed.), *The Beginnings of Standardization*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Europäische Verlag der Wissenschaften. 117-132.

Nevalainen, T., & Raumolin-Brunberg, H. (2003). *Historical Sociolinguistics.* Essex: Pearson Education Limited.

NWM-C = See Thengs, K. V. (2013).

OED = See *Oxford English Dictionary.*

Orme, N. (2006). *Medieval Schools. From Roman Britain to Renaissance England.* London: Yale University Press.

Owst, G. R. (1926). 'Every-Day Life in Mediæval St. Albans. Some Notes on a Fifteenth-Century Register of Wills'. In *St Albans & Hertfordshire Architectural & Archaeological Society.* Accessed 26 Mar. 19 <http://www.stalbanshistory.org/documents/1926_03_.pdf >. 190-206.

Oxford English Dictionary Online. Oxford University Press. Accessed Apr. 19 <http://www.oed.com/>.

Page, W. (ed.) (1908a). 'The City of St Albans: Introduction'. In *A History of the County of Hertford: Volume 2*. London: Victoria County History. *British History Online.* Accessed 2 Jan. 19 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/herts/vol2/pp469-477>. 469-477.

Page, W. (ed.) (1908b). 'The Borough'. In *A History of the County of Hertford: Volume 2*. London: Victoria County History. *British History Online.* Accessed 2 Jan. 19 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/herts/vol2/pp477-483>. 477-483.

Samuels, M. L. (1963). 'Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology'. In *English Studies* 44, 81-94. Repr. in Laing, M. (ed.) (1989), *Middle English Dialectology. Essays on Some Principles and Problems.* Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press. 64-80. [Page nos. refer to 1989 version].

Samuels, M. L. (1981). 'Spelling and Dialect in the Late and Post-Middle English Periods'. In Benskin, M., & Samuels, M. L. (eds.), *So Meny People Longages and Tonges. Philological Essays in Scots and Medieval English Presented to Angus McIntosh.* Edinburgh: Michael Benskin & M. L. Samuels. 43-54.

Sayers, J. E. (1971). 'Papal Privileges for St. Albans Abbey and its Dependencies'. In Bullough, D. A., & Storey, R. L. (eds.), *The Study of Medieval Records. Essays in Honour of Kathleen Major*. London: Oxford University Press. 57-85.

Schendl, H. (2013). 'Code-Switching om Late Medieval Macaronic Sermons'. In Jefferson, J. A., & Putter, A. (eds.), *Multilingualism in Medieval Britain (c. 1066-1520).* Turnhout: Brepols Publishers. 153-169.

Schendl, H., & Wright, L. (2011). 'Code-Switching in Early English: Historical Background and Methodological and Theoretical Issues'. In Schendl, H., & Wright, L. (eds.), *Code-Switching in Early English.* Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. 15-45.

Schipor, D. (2013). *Multilingual Practices in Late Medieval English Official Writing. An Edition of Documents from the Beverley Town Cartulary.* (Master's thesis). Stavanger: University of Stavanger.

Schipor, D. (2018). *A Study of Multilingualism in the Late Medieval Material of the Hampshire Record Office*. (Doctoral dissertation). Stavanger: University of Stavanger.

Sheehan, M. M. (1963). *The Will in Medieval England. From the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to the End of the Thirteenth Century.* Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies.

Spedding, A. (2014). '*Hoc est testamentum:* The Structure and Development of Introductory Clauses in Latin Testamentary Writing'. In *Viator 45*(1). 281-309.

Stenroos, M. (2004). 'Regional Dialects and Spelling Conventions in Late Middle English: Searches for (th) in the LALME Data'. In Dossena, M., & Lass, R. (eds.), *Methods and Data in English Historical Dialectology.* Bern: Peter Lang. 257-285.

Stenroos, M. (2013). 'Identity and Intelligibility in Late Middle English Scribal Transmission: Local Dialect as an Active Choice in Fifteenth-Century Texts'. In Wagner, E., Outhwaite, B., & Beinhoff, B. (eds.), *Scribes as Agents of Language Change*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. 159-181.

Stenroos, M. (2016). 'Regional Language and Culture: The Geography of Middle English Linguistic Variation'. In Machan, T. W. (ed.), *Imagining Medieval English. Language Structures and Theories, 500-1500*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 100-125.

Stenroos, M., Thengs, K. V., & Bergstrøm, G. (2017-). *A Corpus of Middle English Local Documents*, version 2017.1. University of Stavanger. Accessed 3 May 19. <http:/www.uis.no/mest>.

Stenroos, M., Thengs, K. V., & Bergstrøm, G. (2017a). 'MELD Introduction'. In *A Corpus of Middle English Local Documents,* version 2017.1. University of Stavanger. Accessed 16 Apr. 19. <www.uis.no/meld>.

Stenroos, M., Thengs, K. V., & Bergstrøm, G. (2017b). 'Catalogue of the Eastern Counties'. In *A Corpus of Middle English Local Documents,* version 2017.1. University of Stavanger. Accessed 10 Apr. 19 <www.uis.no/meld>.

Still, M. (2002). *The Abbot and the Rule. Religious Life at St Albans, 1290-1349.* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Thengs, K. V. (2013). *English Medieval Documents of the Northwest Midlands*. (Doctoral dissertation). Stavanger: University of Stavanger.

Thirsk, J. (1985). 'Foreword'. In Prior, M., (ed.), *Women in English Society 1500-1800*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.. 1-21.

Todd, B. (1985). 'The Remarrying Widow: A Stereotype Reconsidered'. In Prior, M., (ed.), *Women in English Society 1500-1800*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.. 54-92.

Trotter, D. (2011). 'Death, Taxes and Property: Some Code-Switching Evidence from Dover, Southampton, and York'. In Schendl, H., & Wright, L. (eds.), *Code-Switching in Early English.* Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. 155-189.

Walsingham, T. (1867-1869). *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani A Thoma Walsingham.* Riley, H. T. (ed.) in 3 volumes., RS 28. London.

Wood, R. A. (1994). 'Poor Widows, *c.* 1303-1415'. In Barron, C. M., & Sutton, A. F., (eds.), *Medieval London Widows 1300-1500.* London: The Hambledon Press. 55-69.

Wood, R. A. (2012). *Life and Death: A Study of the Wills and Testaments of Men and Women in London and Bury St. Edmunds in the Late Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries*. (Doctoral dissertation). London: University of London.

Wright, L. (2002). 'Code-Intermediate Phenomena in Medieval Mixed-Language Business Texts'. In *Language Sciences 24*(3-4). 471-489.

Wright, L. (2011). 'On Variation in Medieval Mixed-Language Business Writing'. In Schendl, H., & Wright, L. (eds.), *Code-Switching in Early English.* Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. 191-218.

Wright, L. (2015). 'On Medieval Wills and the Rise of Written Monolingual English'. In Conde Silvestre, J. C., & Calle-Martín, J., (eds.), *Approaches to Middle English: Variation, Contact and Change,* Frankfurt: Peter Lang. Internationale Verlag der Wissenschaften. 35-54.

Wunderli, R., & Broce, G. (1989). 'The Final Moment Before Death in Early Modern England'. In *Sixteenth Century Journal 20*(2). 259-275.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Glossary

The glossary is not an extensive collection of every word and every form in the texts. Words which are typical for testamentary texts have been chosen to appear in this glossary. In addition, words that the present author suspects may be more difficult than others, for people with less experience with Middle English, are included. This glossary exists mainly of words found in the texts written in English, with a few additions that the author has chosen because of their significance or their appearance in an otherwise mostly English environment. These are presented in alphabetical order. For words with varying spelling and grammatical forms, only one of these are included as a headword, and others are provided in bold. Information regarding grammatical type, definition and a small etymological note in [ ] are provided for each word. For most definitions and etymologies, the *Oxford English Dictionary* and the *Middle English Dictionary* have been used, but the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* and the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* have also been used. For words with several definitions, the most likely has been chosen and the definitions are presented in a concise manner.

Some words have been included in the glossary, not because they are present in the manuscripts, but because they are central to testamentary practice. These are: intestate, purgatory, testator, testatrix, testament and testamentum.

Abbreviations Used in the Glossary

AF	Anglo-French
AN	Anglo Norman
L	Latin
ME	Middle English
MF	Middle French
ML	Medieval Latin
OE	Old English
OF	Old French
n.	noun
v.a.	verb article

v.	verb
adj.	adjective
n. cpds	compound noun
adv.	adverb
p.	preposition
*	the form is not attested

A

acorde	*v.* to bring into agreement [AN acorder]
alyre	*v.* to choose, select [AN elit]
ambre	*n.* a yellowish translucent fossil resin. It is used for ornaments [French ambre]
ancresse	*n.* a female recluse, a nun; MS also **ancoresse** [OE ancre]
anemeled	*v.* to inlay metal with a vitreous composition applied to the surface by fusion, or to adorn magnificently; MS also **enameled** [AN enamayller, enameler]
assyse	*n.* a custom, practice, rule, tradition [OF assise, ML assisa]
auctorite	*n.* the right to rule or command, legal power; position of authority [OF au(c)torité]
avayles	*n.* a beneficial effect; advantage, benefit, profit [OF vaille]
awter	*n.* a block, table; MS also **altar** [OE altare, from Latin]
aʒeynes	*prep.* against [OE again + s]

B

bankers	*n.* a covering, of tapestry or other fabric, for a bench, couch, or chair; an ornamental hanging for a room, altar, or bed [OF banquier]
basyne	*n.* a basin; MS also **basyn, basyn~, basen~** [OF bacin]
bedde	*n.* a bed [OE bed]
beedis	*n.* a small perforated ball or other body, a series of which (formerly called 'a pair of beads') threaded upon a string, forms the rosary or paternoster; MS also **bedes, bedys** [OE *bedu]
bend	*n.* a band, bracelet, necklace [OE bend & OF bende]

bequeth	*v. transitive.* to give as a bequest, to bequeath; MS also **byqwthe̲, byquethe̲, bequethe̲, beqweth, bequethe̲** [ME biqueste]
blewe	*adj.* blue, dark [OF bleu, blo]
bolster	*n.* a long stuffed pillow or cushion used to support the sleeper's head in a bed [OE bolster]
bordclothes	*n.* a tablecloth [OE bordclāþ]
bowes (D4170#9)	*n.* a waste [AN bowe]
box	*n.* a strongbox for money or valuables [OE box]
buttrye	*n.* a storeroom for provisions, especially ale and other alcoholic drinks; a pantry, a larder [AN boterie]
byses	*n.* some kind of (? brown) fur, much used in the 15th century for trimming gowns, etc. [Origin unknown]

C

celo*ur*	*n.* a canopy over bed; MS also **celour~** [OF celëure, sileure]
	n. a paneling or some other ornamental covering for walls or ceilings
chafyr	*n.* a vessel for heating water; kettle, pot [OF chaufouere]
ches	*v.* to choose [OE céos-an]
corporas	*n.* a communion cloth [OF & ML corporalis (palla)]
cou*er*kelle	*n.* a cover (of a vessel), a lid [OF covercle]
cou*er*led	*n.* a piece of cloth used for covering various other objects: an altar cloth, a pall, a couch cover, a cloak, etc.; MS also **couerlet** [AF cuver-lit]
councte	*n.* a county [AN counté, countie]
count*er*fet	*adj.* made in imitation of that which is genuine; imitated, forged [OF contrefet]
crewett*es*	*n.* a small vessel to hold wine or water for use in the celebration of the Eucharist, or to hold holy water for other uses [ME cruete]
c*ur*tens	*n.* a curtain for screening or ornament; one of a set of drapes used to enclose a bed; MS also ***curteins*** [OF co(u)rtine]

D

dispasicyon~	*n.* condition of being set in order; arrangement [AN disposition]

draught	*n. cpds.*: ~ chaumbre, a room to which one can retire, a private room [Probably OE *dreaht, *dræht]
dyaper	*n.* a linen fabric woven with a small and simple pattern [OF dyapre]

E

ewer	*n.* 'A pitcher with a wide spout, used to bring water for washing the hands' (Welsh); MS also **ewer~** [AN *ewiere]
executo*ur*s	*n.* one who executes or carries out (a purpose, design, command, work, etc.); MS also **executoures, executo*ur*es** [AN executor]

F

feffers	*n.* one who invests another or others with an estate, specifcally an estate in trust [AN feoffour]
fete	*n.* a foot [Cognate with Old Frisian fōt]
forcer	*n.* a strongbox, chest, coffer, casket [OF forcer, forcier]
frerys	*n.* a friar [OF frere]
frontell*e*	*n.* an altar frontal, ornamental border to an altar [OF frontel]

G

geet	*n.* a hard, black semi-precious form of lignite, able to receive a brilliant polish and used ornamentally [AN geit]
goyng	*v.* to travel or journey on [cognate with Old Frisian gān]
gret	*adj.* large in size or quantity [OE grēat]
gyrdell*e*	*n.* a belt worn round the waist to secure or confine the garments; MS also **gyrdyl** [OE gyrdel]

H

halowe*n*n	*n.* a saint; a martyr; a prophet; a holy man or woman; one of the apostles; MS also **halewen~** [OE hālga a saint]

hangyng	*n.* a piece of drapery with which a bedstead, the walls of a room, etc., are hung; a curtain or the like [OE hón/hangian or ON hęngjan + -ing suffix]
heyre	*n.* an inheritance [OF eir, heir]
hol	*adj.* in good condition, whole; MS also **hoole** [OE hāl]
hosen	*n.* an article of clothing for the leg [OE hosa]

I

intestate	*adj.* and *n.* of a person: Not having made a will [Latin intestātus]
ioned	*v.* to join (things) into a whole [OF joindre]

K

knoppe	*n.* an ornamental knob on a cup, spoon, dish, etc.; ~ maser, a bowl decorated with a knob [OE cnop]
kusshou*n*s	*n.* a cushion; MS also **kussheu*n*s, kussou*n*s** [cuisshin, quishin, < OF coissin; or cusshyn, cushin, < French coussin (14th century)]
kyrtill*e*	*n.* a garment for women or girls, often an outer garment; MS also **kyrtyl** [OE cyrtel]

L

langettes	*n.* an object shaped like a tongue [AN langette]
lateyn~	*n.* a latten (mixed metal of yellow colour), brass; MS also **laton~** [OF laton, leiton]
lauo*ur*	*n.* a water pitcher [OF lavĕoir]
lego	*v.* to give, bequeth [classical Latin lēgāt-]
lewe	*adj.* of material things: prized, precious, pleasing; lever, more to (one's) liking or taste [OE lēof, līof]
licence	*n.* a liberty (to do something) [AN licence]
lowe	*adj.* the opposite of high *adj.* [A borrowing from early Scandinavian]

luyte*n*n	*n.* the modern-day Luton
lyght	*n.* a lamp or set of candles burned in church commemorating a festival or saint, in front of the cross (MED); MS also **lyghte** [OE léoht]

M

marc~	*n.* 160 pennies [OE marc singular & plural]
maser	*n.* a drinking bowl made of maple-wood; MS also **maso*u*r** [OF masre, mazre]
materasse	*n.* a mattress [AN materas, materace, materasse]
murrey	*adj.* or *n.* a colour resembling that of the mulberry; a reddish purple or blood red; also, cloth of this colour [AN moré]
musterdevyllers	*n.* a kind of woolen cloth [OF, variant of Montivilliers, from L Monasterium Villare]

N

nune	*n.* a female religious who has taken solemn vows; a nun; also, an anchoress; MS also **nunne** [OE nunne, plural nunnan (from L) & L nonna & OF none, nonne, noune, nune]

O

ordeynyd	*v.* to arrange in the correct order or position; to keep in due order; to regulate, govern, direct, manage, conduct [AN ordener]

P

panne	*n.* a vessel made of metal or (formerly) earthenware, used for cooking and other domestic purposes [Cognate with Frisian panne, ponne]
paled	*v.* to hung with cloth, draped, adorned [OF paler & L pālāre]
*par*cell gylt	*adj.* partly gilded, or partly covered with gold [AN parcele + Germanic gylla]

pecales	*n.* a closely woven cotton fabric with a smooth finish originally manufactured in France [French percale]
pec*er*	*n.* a pointed tool, used for piercing or boring [OF percëoir]
potell*e*	*n.* a pot, tankard, or similar container [AN potel]
pray	*n.* the nuns of the Pray refers to the nuns of the priory of St Mary Des Prés (Pray) (Levett 1938: 287)
prelles	*n.* a small songbird of the Emberizae family [AN prelle]
presse	*n.* a cabinet, closet, chest, etc. for clothes, books, etc.; a clothespress [OF presse, prese & CL pressus & ML pressa]
probate	*n.* the official proving of a will [classical Latin probātum]
purgatory	*n.* a condition or place of spiritual cleansing and purification [AN purgatore]
pylo*ur*	*n.* a tall vertical structure of stone, brick, wood, metal, etc., used either as a support for a structure, or as a monument or ornament [AN piler]

Q

q*ua*rte	*n.* a liquid measure of capacity, a quart; a quart container; ~ botel (pot), a vessel holding a quart; MS also **q*ua*rter** [OF carte, quarte quart & cart, quart a fourth]
qwere	*n.* the organized body of singers in cathedral or church service [OF cuer]

R

rent*es*	*n.* a revenue from property, income [OF rent & rente & ML renta]
re*par*acion	*n.* an act of replacing or fixing parts of an object or structure in order to keep it in repair; MS also **re*par*acion~**, **re*par*acio*n*n** [AN reparacioun]
rode	*n.* a crucifix; MS also **roode** [OE rōd, rōde]
russet	*n. & adj.* the colour russet, grey or dull red, brown, etc., suitable for working clothes; a serviceable woolen cloth [OF rosset]

S

sakeryngbell*e*	*n.* a small bell rung at the elevation of the host [French sacre-r + -ing suffix + OE belle]
saltsaler	*n.* a small vessel used on the table for holding salt [Common Germanic: OE sealt (salt) strong neuter salt + saler, OF sal(l)iere]
sanopes	*n.* a cloth runner placed over a tablecloth to protect it [OF *sauvenape]
schep	*n.* a sheep [OE (West Saxon) scéap]
selk	*n.* silk [OE sioloc, seoloc]
stoles	*n.* a stool on which to sit; a seat, pew, bench [OE stōl]
stoppe	*n.* a vessel for containing holy water [OE stoppa]
su*per*	*prep.* above [Latin super]
surplye*es*	*n.* addition payment [OF surplus]

T

tenement*es*	*n.* the holding of property, tenure, possession; rented property; MS also **te*n*mtes, te*n*ntes** [OF tenement, plural tenemens & ML tenementum]
terment	*n.* a burial, an interment; also, a funeral service [shortened form of entĕrement *n.*, OF enterrement]
testament	*n.* a document describing what will happen to the testator's movable goods and chattels (Wood 2013: 22) [Latin testāmentum]
testamentum	see *testament*
testator	*n.* one who makes a will or testament [AN testatour]
testatrix	*n.* female testator, see *testator*
testo*ur*	*n.* canopy (over bed) [AN tester]
thappayraile	*n.* furnishings [OF apareil]
tissew	*n.* a rich kind of cloth, often interwoven with gold or silver [OF tissu]
towayles	*n.* a towel; MS also **towell*e*** [OF toaille]
towenshet*es*	*n.* sheets made of tow, i.e. coarse flax or hemp [tow + EN suffix + OE scíete]
trentall*e*	*n.* a set of thirty requiem masses, said on the same day or on different days; also, the payment made for this [ML trentāle]

U

ultima voluntas   *n. cpd.* a last will [Latin ultima voluntas]

V

vessell*e*   *n.* a small, portable container, especially one for storage or serving of food or drink; a flask, pitcher, jug, cup, dish, pot, etc. [OF & AN vessel]

W

werygcloth   *n.* the wearing of clothing, a special kind of clothing, jewelry, etc.; also, clothing, garments; a personal collection of clothes [OE werian + OE cláð]

wete   *v.* to know [OE witan]

wosted   *n.* a fine, smooth fabric made from closely-twisted yarn spun of long-staple wool combed to lay the fibres parallel [from the propername Worstead]

Y

yurallyd   *v.* to swear [L jurare]

ydoo*n*n   *v.* to do [cognate with Old Frisian dwā]

Appendix 2: Data from the male testamentary texts

The data from the male testamentary texts are given both in the conventions from this thesis, and the forms found in the readable version available online on MELD (2017). The MELD code for these texts are: D4170#3, D4170#4, D4170#5, D4170#6, D4170#7, D4170#8 and D4170#11. The data is gathered in the same way as the data in chapter seven. The data is mostly presented in the same tables as in chapter seven, for them to be as easily comparable as possible. Some of the data is represented slightly differently, in order for them to be more easily identifiable. Not every table was relevant or needed from the male testamentary texts, in which case they were excluded.

	Singular				**Plural**
First person	*Subjective*	j (48), y (9), i (4)			
	Objective	me (6)			
	Possessive	my (75), myn~ (11), myn*n* (2)			oure (8), owre (4), owr~ (2), our~ (2)
Third person		*masculine*	*feminine*	*neuter*	
	Subjective	he (5)	she (5)	it (4)	thay (1), they (1), thei (1)
	Objective	hym (2)	her (2)		hem (3), them (1)
	Possessive	his (7)	her (4), here (2)		

Table a. First person and third person personal pronouns

Set	**Attestations**
THE	*the* (94), *þ͡e* (71), *t+adj* (1)
THAT	*þ͡t* (22), *that* (14)
THEIR	*hem* (3), *them* (1) **'them'**; *there* (1), *þerof* (1), *þerto* (1) **'there'**; *thay* (1), *thei* (1), *they* (1) **'they'**; *this* (11) **'this'**

Set	Attestations
THING	*thowsand* (1) **'thousand'**; *thyng* (1) **'thing'**

Table b. Attestations of initial (th)

PDE	Total	Number of texts	\<th\>	\<þ\>	\<y\>	\<h\>	\<t\>
THE	166	7	94 (56.6%)	71 (42.8%)	0	0	1 (0.6%)
THAT	36	4	14 (38.9%)	22 (61.1%)	0	0	0
THEIR	21	7	16 (76.2%)	2 (9.5%)	0	3 (14.3%)	0
THING	2	2	2 (100%)	0	0	0	0

Table c. Initial (th)

Set	Attestations
OTHER	*brother* (1) **'brother'**; *feder+bed* (1) **'feather'**; *lether* (1) **'leather'**; *nother* (1) **'nother'**; *other* (3), *todyr* (1), *an+other* (2), *a-noþer* (1) **'other'**
TOGETHER	*fader* (1) **'father'**; *moder* (5) **'mother'**

Table d. Attestations of medial (th)

	Attestations	Number of texts	% of total
\<th\>	8	4	47.1%
\<þ\>	1	1	5.9%
\<y\>	0	0	0%
\<d\>	8	5	47.1%
Total	17	Medial (th)	100%

Table e. Medial (th)

Set	Attestations
SHALL	*shulde* (2), *shall*e (1)
SHEEP	*shepe* (1), *shepp* (1) **'sheep'**; *shetes* (1), *shetys* (1) **'sheet'**; *short* (1) **'short'**

Table f. Attestations of initial (sh)

Feature	Attestations
Initial (wh)	*wherof* (2), *wher-in* (1) **'where'**; *whych*e (2), *whiche* (1), *whyche* (1) **'which'**; *whyte* (1), *wyte* (1) **'white'**

Table g. Attestations of initial (wh)

Feature	Attestations
Final (th)	*begynneth*e (5), *begynneth* (2) **'begin'**; *longeth*e (3) **'belong'**; *bequeth*e (29), *be-queth*e (5) **'bequeath'**; *bordcloth*e (1) **'cloth'**; *deseueryth*e (1) **'deserve'**; *forth*e (1) **'forth'**; *goth*e (1) **'goth'**; *hangeth*e (1) **'hang'**; *helth*e (3) **'health'**; *leueth*e (1) **'live'**; *month*e (2) **'month'**; *mouth*e (1) **'mouth'**; *perteyneth*e (1) **'pertaining'**; *smyth*e (1) **'smith'**; *wyth*e (1) *with*e (2) w^t (12), w^t#*in* (1), w^t-owt (1), *w^towte* (2) **'with'**

Table h. Attestations of final (th)

PDE	Total	Final <the>	Final <th>
bequeath	34	34	0
begin	5	5	0
health	3	3	0
long	3	3	0
month	2	2	0
cloth	1	1	0
deserve	1	1	0
forth	1	1	0
goth	1	1	0
hang	1	1	0

PDE	Total	Final <th_e_>	Final <th>
live	1	1	0
mouth	1	1	0
pertaining	1	1	0
smith	1	1	0
with	19	3	16
Total	75	59 (78.7%)	16 (21.3%)

Table i. Final (th)

Item	Attestations
'bequeath'	*bequeth_e_* (29), *be-queth_e_* (5), *be-quethe* (2)
'item'	*Jtm~* (24), *Jt~* (12)
'said'*	*said* (6), *abouesayd* (4), *sayd* (3), *seid* (3), *seide* (3), *seyd* (3), *aboue-seyd* (1), *afore-sayd* (1)

* Including compounds

Table j. Attestations of 'bequeath', 'item' and 'said'

Code	Function	Opening formulae
D4170#3	Testament	Jn dei no*min*e amen
D4170#4	Will	This is the last wyll*e* of Thomas Bordale of the toun' of seynt Albons
D4170#5	Testament	Jn the name of god amen
D4170#6	Testament	Jn the name of god amen
D4170#7	Testament	Jn the name of god amen
D4170#8	Testament	Jn dei no*min*e amen
D4170#11	Testament	Jn dei no*min*e amen

Table k. Opening formulae

Code	Function	Closing phrases
D4170#3	Testament	Jn wytnesse her-of j have set my seel the day & the ȝerʼabove-wretyn*e*
D4170#4	Will	Also that John ~~harpole~~ harperle cosynʼ of the seide Thomas haue . xij d .
D4170#5	Testament	Jn wytnes wherof to this p*re*sent wrytyng y haue set to my seall*e* yovenʼ at watford the day and yere abouesayd ~~~
D4170#6	Testament	yeuenʼ at watford the day & yere abouesayd / / /
D4170#7	Testament	Jn witnesse wherof to this p*re*sent testament y haue set to my seall*e* yeove*n*n at watford þᵉ day & yere abouesayd / /
D4170#8	Testament	Jn wytnes of whyche y set to my sele to þˢ psent testament
D4170#11	Testament	Also j ordeynʼ and set for to be mynʼ executo*ur*s p*ri*ncypall*e* my mastres katerynʼ Swyndforde þᵉ Pryo*ur* of seint Albon*n*s and syr Richard Roos knyght and Thomas Croos of þᵉ kyngges exchequer . / /

Table l. Closing phrases

Code	Marginalia	In text
D4170#3	Johes Gybbes de Ryk	John Gybbes
D4170#4		Thomas Bordale
D4170#5	Thom*a*s Purcell*e* de watford	Thom*a*s purcell*e*
D4170#6	wi*ll*ms kneth*e* de watford	will*a*m kneth*e*
D4170#7	wi*ll*ms Cheyne de watford	willm Cheyne of watford
D4170#8	Ricu*n* Fox	Richard Fox
D4170#11	Johes Newton*n*	John Newtonʼ

Table m. Names in marginalia and in body text