A Study of the Outside Matter in 17th-Century French-English Dictionaries

Monique C. Cormier
Université de Montréal
Département de linguistique et de traduction
P.O. Box 6128, Station Centre-ville
Montréal, Québec H3C 3J7
Canada

Herberto Fernandez
McGill University
Translation Studies
Centre for Continuing Education
688 Sherbrooke St. West, Room 1181
Montréal, Québec H3A 3R1
Canada

Abstract
This paper deals with the outside matter in bilingual French and English dictionaries of the seventeenth century. In particular, it explores the structure of four dictionaries: Guy Miège’s *New Dictionary French and English, With Another English and French* (1677), his *Dictionary of Barbarous French* (1679) and *The Great French Dictionary* (1688), and Abel Boyer’s *Royal Dictionary* (1699). The paper examines the linguistic and lexicographical problems discussed by the lexicographers. Miège and Boyer used the front matter to present the scope of the dictionary and explain their methods and principles of dictionary compilation. The evolution from the strictly normative approach of Miège to the nuanced outlook of Boyer is also discussed.

1 Introduction
Randle Cotgrave’s *Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (London, 1611) is the most important French-English dictionary of the Renaissance. It was a popular work and went through five editions, laying the foundation for the compilations of Guy Miège and Abel Boyer. In 1632, Robert Sherwood added an English-French section, turning Cotgrave’s work into a bidirectional dictionary. Three editions of Cotgrave’s dictionary, edited by James Howell, followed in 1650, 1660, and 1673-72. Howell’s “Newly Refin’d and Amplifi’d” edition of Cotgrave in 1650 added several texts to the front matter of the French-English part, dealing with the history of French, grammatical issues, and the French Academy’s modification of French spelling. Howell also annexed a small topical vocabulary to the back matter of the English-French section, demonstrating his goal of producing a comprehensive work
(dictionary, grammar, dialogue, topical vocabulary) for the teaching of both languages, although the emphasis was placed on French. Howell's compilation also reflects a prescriptive approach, a direct result of the French Academy's influence—its first impact on a bilingual French-English dictionary. Howell adopted the spelling reforms introduced by the French Academy; his refined French is therefore that of the "Kings Court", as he says in the "Epistle Dedicatory".

While there is no lack of research on the sources and methods used for the early bilingual French and English dictionaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, our objective is to concentrate on the works of Howell’s successors, Guy Miège and Abel Boyer. Our aim is to examine the outside matter of their dictionaries and to attempt to answer the following questions:

1) How did each lexicographer organize his work?
2) What subjects were discussed in the front or back matter?
3) What linguistic or lexicographical problems were raised?

Our assumption is that the manner in which these two lexicographers organized their dictionaries and the subjects they discussed in the front matter illustrate their approach to lexicography. Our corpus comprises Guy Miège's *New Dictionary French and English, With Another English and French* (1677), his *Dictionary of Barbarous French* (1679) and *The Great French Dictionary* (1688), as well as Abel Boyer's *Royal Dictionary* (1699).

2 Guy Miège's "Racourci de deux Langues Vulgaires" (1677)

Although Howell's additions had more or less transformed Cotgrave's dictionary into a textbook of French and English, the 1677 *New Dictionary French and English, With Another English and French* by Guy Miège was an independent dictionary, with no other material added. By the time of the Restoration Miège (1644-c.1718) had emigrated from Switzerland to England and published three French and English dictionaries (1677, 1679, and 1688), plus the first abridged dictionary (1684 et seq.) in that pair of languages.

The front matter of Miège's 1677 dictionary contains a title page, a dedication, and a preface. On the title page, Miège explains that he has followed the updated spelling of the French Academy and added new words, phrases, and proverbs. This content is arranged in a methodical way "For the Use both of English and Foreiners". The second text is the dedication to Charles Lennox (1672-1723), son of Charles II of England, to whom Miège presents his "Racourci de deux Langues Vulgaires, le François & l’Anglois."

In his "Preface To The Reader, Shewing the Necessity, Substance, and Method of this Work" Miège describes his lexicographical approach. He views language as a living organism, subject to decay and corruption: "Change, the common Fate of Sublunary things, is of all others That of living Languages, which sometimes are in a flourishing, and sometimes in a declining condition [...]." He then describes the work of the French Academy in correcting and improving the "decaying condition" of French. The Academy has worked on "expressions as wanted amendments": for example, improper words have been left out and others introduced in their place, phrases have been changed, French spelling has been modified to reflect pronunciation, and superfluous letters has been eliminated. In this way, says Miège,
the Academy has brought French to perfection and purity and, as a result, it has become the universal language in Europe. His prescriptivism is clearly stated when he writes that the French language has to be protected against “the former rambling way and extravagant course of exploding, changing, intruding Words and Phrases”. Furthermore, Miège states that the revised edition of Cotgrave’s dictionary by Howell would have contributed more to the spread of French were it not for the obsolete words it included:

“To which I confess Mr. Cotgraves Dictionary would have contributed a great deal more than it has, had it been any ways accommodated to our present Age. Which indeed is highly pretended to in the last Edition thereof [that of 1673], but so performed that the Title runs away with all the Credit of it. And indeed the Book is so far from being refined according to Cardinall Richelieu’s Academy, as is pretended in the Title, that it swarms every where with Rank Words and Obsolete Phrases, favouring more of King Pharamonds Reign than that of Lewis XIV. So that I look upon Cotgrave as a good Help indeed for reading of old French Books (a thing which few people mind) but very insignificant either for reading of new ones, or speaking the Court-French, which is the Design of this Work.”

Miège is thus very critical of Cotgrave’s dictionary because of the obsolete words it included, “those Antiquated and Cramp’t Words [...] the Rubbish of the French Tongue”, words which he himself omits so as to start with a clean slate. In so doing, Miège is following the prescriptivism of the French Academy, trying to refine the French language, claiming to have produced a complete work including common, everyday words, “High (or Choice) Words” (used by scholars and educated people), legal terms, and phrases and proverbs to illustrate the several meanings and usage of a word. Ironically, he would later be criticized for not having included such obsolete words and phrases. Another subject discussed in the preface is the role of phrases and proverbs, for, he writes, “it is not enough for a compleat Dictionary to give an account of Words, unless one shews withall the use of them [...]” This leads to his inclusion of phrases “according to the various acceptations of Words” in French and English, “a Thing of great use both for the speaking and the reading part.” He also includes descriptions, observations and proverbs.

In the second edition of Cotgrave’s dictionary, Sherwood (1632, “To The English Reader”) had briefly explained the microstructure of his dictionary, but Miège is the first to do so in any detail. His method is etymological,

“whereby Derivatives are reduced to their Primitives. So that the Primitive go’s as a Leading Word in Capitals, and its Derivatives that come after in smaller Characters. By which means one hath a curious and distinct Prospect of every Primitive, with all its Off-spring together.”

In organizing his entries, Miège adopts an etymological structure for pedagogical reasons: “a singular Help to the Learner, who finding by this means the Etymology of Words lying all along before him will easily master the Language.”

rôle des dictionnaires français-latin qui, au-delà de la naissance des dictionnaires français monolingues à partir de 1680, alimentent la lexicographie bilingue avec le français.”

Certainly, the etymological organization of the microstructure reveals a didactic principle underlying Miège’s approach, whereas his view of language and the choice of the macrostructure are essentially prescriptive. Like Howell, Miège adopts the modifications proposed by the French Academy but, unlike Howell, he discards archaisms and obscure words. Yet, his detailed and systematic explanation of his compilation methodology sets Miège apart from his predecessors. Howell’s outlook was primarily that of a teacher; consequently, he filled the front and back matters with didactic material. Miège’s standpoint is that of a lexicographer; therefore, in his preface he provides a fuller treatment of the macrostructural and microstructural choices he has made.

3 Guy Miège’s “Recueil de Cotgrave, avec quelques Additions” (1679)

We have seen, in our discussion of Miège 1677, that Miège criticized Cotgrave for including obsolete words and that he himself was criticized for leaving them out of his dictionary. Such criticism is at the origin of his Dictionary of Barbarous French of 1679. Hausmann (1991: 2957) explains the linguistic situation of the time in the following terms:

“[...] au cours du 17e siècle le vent linguistique a bien tourné en France. La cour ayant imposé la loi de la compréhension immédiate, la langue classique favorise l’usage nuancé d’un vocabulaire de base et rejette comme archaïque et ridicule tout le fatras lexicologique du siècle précédent.”

Hausmann also explains, however, that in the seventeenth century the British public continued to favor sixteenth-century French. Under such circumstances, Miège’s dictionary of 1677 was received with some hostility, with the result that in 1679 he published a supplementary compilation, the Dictionary of Barbarous French. This is a monodirectional French-English dictionary preceded by a title page plus an “advertisement”. The title page describes the content as “Obsolete, Provincial, Mis-spelt, and Made Words in French”; that is, everything Miège left out of the preceding dictionary. In the “advertisement”, Miège bitterly explains that the dictionary originated in the criticisms of his previous work: “C’est dans cette veue que j’ai entrepris cet Ouvrage, qui n’est au fond qu’un Recueil de Cotgrave, avec quelques Additions.” The lexicographer sets out the contents of the macrostructure as follows:

“Sachez, qu’outre les vieux Mots François, quantité de Mots de Province, & d’autres faits à plaisir, il y a quelques termes d’Art, des Noms de Plantes, d’Animaux, &c. qui auroient pû passer dans mon Nouveau Dictionnaire, mais que j’avois rejettez comme des Noms qui sont en effet peu conus & usitez.”

Miège is thus consistent in the topics he treats in this presentation: the “advertisement” contains a discussion of the genesis of the dictionary, the target public, the arrangement of the word list, and the content of the lexicon.

4 Guy Miège’s “complete and absolute Piece in its kind” (1688)

Miège’s Great French Dictionary (1688) appeared at a time when the popularity of French was continuing to grow in England. So widespread was the usage of the French tongue after
the Restoration that during the second half of the seventeenth century French was in a position
to rival the use of Latin in England. According to Lambley (1920: 391-392),

"In England French had long been a rival to Latin as the most commonly used foreign tongue, and
after the Restoration it was generally recognized, among courtiers, men of fashion, ministers of state,
and diplomats, as the more convenient means of intercourse. Only scholars and the universities contin-
ued to uphold the traditional supremacy of the Latin tongue, and even at the universities Latin had
passed out of colloquial use before the Restoration, though still used in disputation and other pre-
scribed exercises."

Perhaps in response to this increasing demand for French, Miège changed his outlook
and decided, as Howell had done, to include grammars in his 1688 dictionary.

The Great French Dictionary (1688) is a bidirectional compilation, with a grammar for
each language. There is a general title page for the book, but each part also has a separate
title page. The general title page summarizes the content of the whole book. The first issue
raised is that of spelling: contrary to what he had done in 1677 and following what he had
begun in 1679, in this edition Miège includes both the “Ancient and Modern Orthography”.
Secondly, he claims his comprehensive dictionary includes the various meanings of words,
exemplified by phrases and proverbs. Thirdly, he remarks that the microstructure includes
the various significations of words, “both Proper and Figurative”, exemplifying by phrases
and proverbs. Finally, Miège says that he has explained difficult words and adjusted their
“Properties”, i.e., their peculiarities. Miège felt that grammar had its place in a dictionary, as
shown by the grammatical sections prefixed to each part.

The “Preface” is the next component of the front matter and begins by returning to the
1677 dictionary, mentioning the factors that had led to the relative lack of success of the dic-
tionary, contributing to “run down the Book, to baffle its Author, and disappoint the
Bookseller”. Yet, in the end the dictionary had been accepted, and this was a stimulus for
him to prepare a “next Impression” that would be “a complete and absolute Piece in its
Kind”. In this 1688 dictionary, says Miège, “you will find both Languages set forth in their
greatest Latitude, such a Variety of Learning intermixt, and in the Whole so vast a
Difference from my first Attempt, both as to Matter and Form, that I left no ground for the
least Comparison.” Such a compilation, he claims, will please two different publics: English
readers wishing to learn French, and foreign readers wishing to learn English: “This Book,
Janus-like, has a double Aspect; French to the English, and English to Forreiners. To both
Parties equally Useful; for the one, to get French; and the other, English.” This, then, was the
public for whom the dictionary had been compiled.

The preface further develops the topics mentioned on the title page: the comprehensive-
ness of the dictionary, orthography, and the scope of the word list. By 1688, Miège’s pre-
scriptivism had softened, and although he openly acknowledged his dislike of “Obsolete and
Barbarous Words”, he thought “fit to intersperse the most remarkable of them, lest they
should be missed by such as read old Books”. In general, Miège describes the work in terms
of an encyclopaedia:
“Thus you have a Dictionary, consisting not only of bare Words and Phrases, but such as explains the very Things themselves expressed by those Words. And, as the First Part does here and there give a Prospect into the Constitution of the Kingdom of France; so the Second does afford to Foreigners what they have hitherto very much wanted, to wit, an Insight into the Constitution of England.”

In *The Great French Dictionary*, Miège abandons the etymological arrangement used previously and adopts alphabetical ordering, yet he still shows the relationship between derivatives and primitives in parentheses. He opts for the following microstructure:

“Here all the several Acceptations of a Word are commonly summed up together, proceeding methodically from the general to the particular, and from the proper to the figurative. Then come the Phrases [...] to illustrate the same respectively; and at last the Idioms, which generally begin with these Words, or thus. What Proverbs fall in of course are Intermixt with them; and, where there’s more than one, they are brought together under a Head, to distinguish ’em from the rest of the Matter.”

Miège also deserves credit for adding, at the end of the preface, a separate section to explain usage marks and abbreviations, entitled “The Explanation of the following Marks, prefixt to some Words; as also, of some Abbreviations”.

The next text in the front matter is a French grammar, namely, “The Grounds Of The French Tongue. With A Preface Upon The Beauties, and the Use of that Language”. The preface to this grammar is an abridgement and rewording of the preface to his dictionary of 1677, save for the last paragraph. Then comes the separate title page for the French-English section, similar to the general title page, except that in this case the subject of orthography is not mentioned. As for the back matter of this section, it is made up of the “Additions To The French-English Part; With Some Corrections”, that is, an addendum of eight pages of entries. The front matter of the English-French part begins the twenty-page English grammar, or “Methode Abbregee, Pour Apprendre L’Anglois. Avec Une Preface Sur L’Origine, les Beautez, l’Usage, & la Facilité de cette Langue”; this preface sketches a history of English. After the grammar, there is the separate title page for the English-French section, identical to the separate title page of the previous section. The back matter is made up of “The Additions To The English-French Part”; which opens with a bilingual “Advertisement-Avis”, explaining the nature of the additions to both parts.

Generally speaking, lexicographical subjects prevail over all others in Miège’s preface of 1688. Here, it is the dictionary project that is described. Miège does not confine himself to the genesis of the work and scattered remarks on the macro- and microstructures, but develops a coherent discourse on the dictionary as a project, its aims, scope and content.

5 Abel Boyer’s “Modern Composition” (1699)

At the end of her study of the teaching of French in England during Tudor and Stuart times, Lambley (1920: 400) explains that a new period began with the massive migration to England of Protestant refugees after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, especially under William of Orange (1689):
“From this time dates a new period in the teaching of French in England, dominated by the influence of these refugees, from whose ranks the chief tutors and schoolmasters were recruited, and whose French grammars and manuals continued, in some cases, to be used till the end of the eighteenth century, and even later.”

One such work to exert a lasting influence was the *The Royal Dictionary. In Two Parts. First, French and English. Secondly, English and French* (1699), compiled by one of those refugees, the French man of letters Abel Boyer (1667-1729). It appeared at the end of the seventeenth century and was founded on the solid lexicographical tradition established by Holyband, Cotgrave and Miège. It contains a French-English section, with a title page, a dedication, a preface, an explanation of usage marks and abbreviations, and an addendum. The English-French section contains only a preface and an “advertisement”.

Unlike the title pages of the dictionaries by Howell and Miège, Boyer’s does not outline the organization or the contents of the dictionary; instead, the title echoes the French Academy dictionary’s dedication to the King. Boyer limits himself to a list of written sources (lexicographical and literary) consulted for each part of the dictionary. Following these sources, there is a quotation from Horace’s *Ars Poetica* (vv. 70-72): “Multa renascen- tur quae jam cecidere, cadentque // Quae nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si voleat Usus, // Quem penes Arbitrium est, & Jus, & Norma loquendi.”¹ In response to Miège’s concerns about the evolution of language, Boyer posits usage as the ruling factor. With regard to the French Academy’s project of reforming the French language, Boyer adopts a nuanced position, according to which it is useless to subject language to precise and reasonable rules, for in the end it is usage that determines what is acceptable and what is not. In the dedication, Boyer discusses language change, writing that there seem to be both linguistic and non-linguistic factors that contribute to the universal character of French, namely, its beauties and the prestige of the monarchy. However, states Boyer, if such external factors were behind the evolution of language then it should be expected that the English tongue would be as universal as French. Instead, writes Boyer, it is usage that determines the evolution of language, and here we find the full explanation of the quotation from Horace on the title page:

“‘tis often the Caprice of Use and Fashion that influences Languages, and their Fate is independent upon that of the People who speak them: Thus, in former times, tho’ Greece was subdued by the Romans, yet the Greek Tongue remain’d unconquer’d, and was no less favour’d and esteem’d in Rome than in Athens: And thus, in our Days, altho’ France be shrunk in her Power, yet her Language is still admir’d and in Vogue.”

For Boyer, a preface was necessary to protect his “Modern Composition” from criticism. Generally speaking, the “Preface” deals with two subjects: the criticism of previous compilers, especially Miège, and the sources and content of the *Royal Dictionary* itself. Boyer set

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¹ “Many terms that have fallen out of use shall be born again, and those shall fall that are now in repute, if Usage so will it, in whose hands lies the judgment, the right and the rule of speech.” (Horace 1955: 457)
out to examine Miège’s dictionaries, and in so doing he laid down certain principles relating to bilingual dictionary compilation:

1) The gloss should be short and provide relevant and exact information about the headword.²

2) When a word has several meanings, a definition should be furnished and meaning discrimination techniques should be used to separate the several acceptations of a word.³

3) When quotations are used to exemplify usage, translations should be avoided; examples should be drawn from fictional and non-fictional sources such as literary texts, plays, journals, historical accounts, etc., which are more adequate sources of language in context.⁴

4) An equivalent should always be provided for a given headword in both target languages.⁵

5) The microstructure should be systematic in the type of data it contains.⁶

6) A comprehensive set of usage marks is required to explain the formal and semantic properties of the headword.⁷

Boyer devotes the second half of the preface to commenting on his sources and methodology. He acknowledges the authority and work of the Academy in setting a standard; on the

² "First. It may be observed upon him, That he is too Prolix in some places, so he is too Concise in others: The former of these Defects is to be seen in many tedious Explications of Law-Terms, long Descriptions and Definitions, Historical Passages, and such like Superfluities, entirely Foreign and Impertinent to his Subject. On the other hand, he gives us but a slender, nay, sometimes a false Interpretation of many Words, especially of those of English Terms which are derived from the Latin [...] ."

³ "Secondly. It is observable, That there are but very few Words, either in French or English, but what have many Significations, sometimes entirely different one from another: Now, every particular Acceptation of a Word, ought to have a distinguishing Mark, to direct the Learner, or Reader, to the proper Word he looks for: But instead of that, Mr. M- puts all the different Significations in a Cluster, and thereby leads his Reader into so intricate a Labyrinth, that he seldom gets out of it without falling into a gross Error. [...] I would fain know by what sort of Magick, a Man can find out the true individual Signification he is in quest of, unless there be a parallel Signification, or short Definition, in the same Language, to direct his choice as you shall see all along in this Dictionary; wherein the different Senses of Words are all characterised."

⁴ "Thirdly. 'Tis another great Fault in Mr. M-, to bring in Scripture-Phrases at every turn; for, as the Holy Writ is the best Guide in Matters of Religion, so I dare say, it is the least sure in point of Languages, not only by reason of the obsoleteness of the Stile, but also, because there are a great many Words in the French and English Translations, which are different only through the Translators disagreeing about the Greek and Hebrew Original. Therefore Mr. M- had done well to have kept his pious Quotations for a better purpose, and have perused Histories, Novels, Newsbooks, Observators; and above all, Plays, which would have furnish'd him with near three Thousand familiar and current English Words, that are wanting in his Dictionary, and which will be found in mine."

⁵ "Fourthly. There are above five Hundred Words in the French part of his Dictionary, without any opposite English to answer them; and as many in the English Part, quite distitute of their French Signification."

⁶ "Fifthly. Sometimes he gives you a false Interpretation of Words: Sometimes he sets down the synonymous, or parallel Signification, and omits the true and proper: And sometimes he only furnishes you with a Description, and leaves you at a loss for the Word you look for. [...]"

⁷ "Lastly. He uses no Distinctions to shew what Expressions are Proper or Figurative; what Vulgar, and what Proverbial: He seldom marks the Gender of Nouns Substantive, or the different Parts of Speech, as Verbs, either Active Neuter, or Reciprocal; Adverbs, Prepositions, &c. A thing most essential in this sort of Dictionary."
other hand, he dislikes the alphabetical arrangement of the Academy’s dictionary, which he considers inadequate from a pedagogical point of view:

“However, there’s one thing wherein I purposely differ from the French Academy, which is the marshalling and digesting all Words according to the Alphabetical Order, and not under the Radical Primitives from which they derive, because I have found this last way to be very perplexing and troublesome to Beginners, whose conveniency ought chiefly to be consulted.”

In the preface to the dictionary, Boyer regrets the lack of a comprehensive English dictionary. He considers inadequate and incomplete the English and Latin dictionaries of T. Cooper, F. Gouldman, A. Littleton, and T. Holyoke; the etymological dictionary of S. Skinner; and the dictionaries of difficult words of T. Blount, E. Phillips, and E. Coles. Boyer acknowledges having borrowed material from these authors; he does not, however, list Miège 1688, although this was, in fact, the main source for the English-French part.8

Boyer is concerned with the pedagogical function of a dictionary and the need to specify the semantic properties of the headword:

“A Dictionary ought not to be a bare Collection of Words, but must serve likewise to form young People’s Judgment in the right Use of a Language and teach them the different Significations of Terms: All this you will find in this Work, in which I have marked what Expressions are Genuine and Proper, what Figurative, what Obsolete, what Vulgar, what Proverbial, &c. And as for those Words which I have found in any Writer of unsufficient Authority, I have mark’d them for Dubious.”

Boyer is also aware of the need for phrases illustrating usage. In his compilation, he follows the Horatian criterion when it comes to collecting them: “I therefore content my self to comprehend in this Volume most of those Phrases, which Use, the sovereign Umpire of Languages has as it were consecrated, and which are as essential Parts of a Speech, as the very Words of which they are composed.” A similar principle is used for technical vocabulary: “As for Terms of Arts and Sciences, you will find here those that occur in common Conversation, and are generally known, with a short and plain Definition; [...].” Like Miège, Boyer includes in the front matter a one-page “Explanation of the Marks and Abbreviations made use of in this Work”, in English and French; this he does in accordance with the principles expressed above concerning the properties of the headword. The front matter of the French-English section closes with “Additions & Corrections” for the first and second parts.

The English-French section contains the French version of the preface. Aware of the strong criticism he is directing against Miège, Boyer includes at the end an “Advertisement”: “That the World may be convinced, that I do Mr. M. [Miège] no wrong, when I say in the Third Page of my Preface, Fifthly Sometimes he gives you, &c. I here subjoin some gross Faults which I have cursorily pick’d out of the Second part of his Dictionary”. He then pre-

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sents a list of English entries with the French equivalents he proposes to replace those given by Miège.

It can be said that, overall, this dictionary represents a continuation of the trends followed by Miège in 1688. Previous compilations are discussed and criticized and there is a systematic discussion of the organization and content of the dictionary, both at the macro- and microstructural levels. Nevertheless, even if Boyer certainly follows in the footsteps of his predecessors, his preface is a more complete exposition of the lexicographical postulates he was advancing. In addition, he emphasizes the fact that once certain principles are adopted, they must be applied systematically. The way the Royal Dictionary is organized, with no preliminary or supplementary grammatical texts, but integrating such data into the microstructure, reflects Boyer's goal to produce a comprehensive and accessible dictionary.

6 Conclusion

In the preceding pages, we have traced the three-pronged influence of the French Academy on French and English bilingual lexicography of the 17th century, namely, the emergence of the prescriptive outlook in Howell's editions of Cotgrave, the continuation of this normative approach and the appearance of strictly lexicographical views in Miège (1677, 1679, 1688), and the nuanced approach of Boyer (1699). Moreover, we have seen how each lexicographer organized the outside matter according to his prescriptive and pedagogical views and how, in the front matter, each compiler described his macro- and microstructural choices in an increasingly systematic and focused way, from Miège's method of 1677 up to the clear formulation of lexicographical principles by Boyer in 1699.

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