

Code-switching in the long twelfth century

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Final draft version (without subsequent minor alterations) of Skaffari, Janne. 2018. Code-switching in the long twelfth century. In Pahta, Päivi, Janne Skaffari & Laura Wright (eds.). *Multilingual Practices in Language History: English and Beyond*. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 121-142. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.utu.fi/10.1515/9781501504945-007>. The final publication is available at www.degruyter.com.

1. Introduction

In the field of historical code-switching research, English historical linguists have been particularly active, exploring medieval and modern data, but as the history of English provides an enormous range of material, it may not be surprising that they have thus far overlooked at least one important sub-period in the English Middle Ages. This is the period immediately following the Norman Conquest of 1066, when England became increasingly trilingual. This chapter is devoted to the long twelfth century, from the late eleventh century until well into the thirteenth. Although the concept of “long century” seems to have been used less frequently by historical linguists than by historians, there are several recent publications in which a “long twelfth century” appears with reference to the history of English between, approximately, the Norman Conquest and the second quarter of the thirteenth century (e.g. Skaffari 2009; Faulkner 2012b; Kwakkel 2012; cf. Treharne 2012).² This designation is particularly appropriate here: we encounter several languages in the material dated to this period, which makes a label such as Early Middle English inadequate, particularly as some of the English is not Middle but, rather, Old English – even if copied around 1200.

The objective of the present chapter is to provide a linguistically orientated overview of code-switching and other multilingual practices in material from the long twelfth century, with English as one of the languages involved. The growing community of historical code-switching researchers has virtually ignored this period, in spite of its “endemic multilingualism” (Trotter 2003: 84) and the recent efforts of scholars working on medieval language and literature to bring this period into focus (particularly Treharne 2012 and Faulkner 2012b). To fill the gap, the extant material needs to be described and examined, and approaches originating in research on other periods tested further. Only the first few steps can be taken here, as the material and phenomena are more diverse and copious than is often expected of this period.

¹ The author wishes to acknowledge the Academy of Finland for supporting the *Multilingualism in the Long Twelfth Century* project (decision number: 257059).

² Kwakkel (2012: 79) associates this period with the “Twelfth-Century Renaissance”, dating it to 1075–1225; Skaffari (2009), following the sub-periodisation employed in the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts*, does not consider primary sources from after 1250; and Faulkner (2012b: 275) “provocatively” chooses to start his long twelfth century with a pre-Conquest date, 1042, the beginning of Edward the Confessor’s reign. Treharne’s (2012) work on a period similar to ours starts from the earlier of the eleventh-century conquests, the Viking one by Cnut, and continues until 1220.

This chapter first provides overviews of research on multilingualism in medieval England and of the extant texts and manuscripts from the long twelfth century. The bulk of the chapter is concerned with some of the multilingual features in these manuscripts, seeking to identify forms, functions and patterns of code-switching. These mostly involve switching between English and Latin, but it is also important to consider French.³ The findings are summarised in the concluding remarks, emphasising also the variedness of multilingual practices in this under-researched but highly important transitional period.

2. Research on multilingual practices in medieval England

As the Norman Conquest continues to be treated as essentially the greatest turning point in the history of pre-modern Britain, with well-known – although anything but fully researched – implications for government, culture and language, it does not seem unreasonable to expect that the long twelfth century differs from the preceding Anglo-Saxon era in terms of types and levels of multilingualism and the ways in which multilingual features appear in the written record. While the Norman Conquest certainly promoted French into a prominent High language in England – to use sociolinguistic terminology and follow a traditional view – it did not as such introduce a new language into England: there were French-speakers and activity in French on the British Isles before 1066, particularly in Edward the Confessor’s time; Trotter (2009: 162), for example, questions the Conquest as a “watershed”. At the same time, another European High language, Latin, strengthened its position as the main language of writing in England. While English was Low by comparison, it remained the first and only language of the majority. It also, within a few generations, became a language worth acquiring by the Normans’ descendants; there is a continuing debate on when, how and at what rate this happened (see below for some studies on French–English bilingualism and language shift).

Rather than post-Conquest materials, research into multilingual writing practices, code-switching and code choice has focused on texts from the later medieval period. Such studies (e.g. Wenzel 1994; Pahta 2003; Machan 2011; Trotter 2011; Wright 2013) have both broken new ground in multiple ways and applied and refined concepts and methods originally introduced in research into contemporary conversational code-switching. More work is also being done on code-switching involving Early or Late Modern English (e.g. Tuominen and Nurmi et al., this volume). By contrast, there has been fairly little research into code-switching in Anglo-Saxon England (but

³ The varieties of French often discussed in English historical linguistics have been called Anglo-Norman, Anglo-French and insular French (see Wogan-Browne 2009 for more). The present chapter normally refers to French only, without further qualifications.

see Schendl 1996–this volume; Timofeeva 2010). In a rare diachronic study, Pahta and Nurmi (2006: 205) have, nonetheless, estimated that the quantities of code-switching in Old and Middle English are quite similar, since the Old English text excerpts of the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* contain 1.8 code-switched units per 1000 words on average, and the Middle English sub-corpus only slightly more (2.2). In the light of this overall assessment, it is hardly reasonable to assume that the transitional period bridging Old and Middle English would be completely devoid of code-switching.

A search for code-switching research on the long twelfth century yields little more than fleeting mentions. In *Code-Switching in Early English* (Schendl and Wright 2011a), there is one chapter on Old English and many on Late Middle English, while none focus on the intermediate period. For Middle English scholars, an obvious place to start locating earlier language mixing would be *Ancrene Wisse*, the best-known religious text of the period: it has indeed been mentioned by Schendl (1996: 53), and Trotter (2003: 85), in his re-evaluation of its vocabulary, discusses bilingualism and hybridisation, regarding code-switching as “concomitant” with and a “constituent” of multilingualism. Skaffari (2009) refers to code-switching occasionally in his discussion of lexical borrowing into Early Middle English (e.g. subsection 4.2.4 on the switching–borrowing issue and the case study in chapter 7). Faulkner (2012b) calls for a multilingual perspective on literature in post-Conquest England but does not directly discuss code-switching, and Treharne (2012), analysing manuscripts containing English, contemplates the multilingual situation but does not mention code-switching as such. Considerably more attention has indeed been paid to other outcomes of language contact at this time, and the question of multilingualism itself: the importance of French in the medieval linguistic landscape (e.g. Wogan-Browne et al. 2009; see also Ingham 2012), the influx of French-derived vocabulary (see e.g. Durkin 2014: 223–280 for a recent dictionary-based account and Rothwell 1998 for the importance of insular adoption in lexical borrowing from French), and the extent and duration of English–French bilingualism in the upper classes (e.g. Berndt 1976; Short 1992) have figured prominently in linguistic work on post-Conquest England. The relative novelty of French in England should not, however, conceal the continued presence and increasing importance of Latin at this time (see e.g. Hunt 1991; Morgan and Thomson 2008: 25).

3. The manuscripts

The temporal gap identified above does not by any means apply to just historical code-switching research. In English historical linguistics, there seems to have been a tendency to avoid focusing on this “difficult” period alone since it provides relatively small datasets to examine. While having

to cope with scanty evidence understandably attracts few linguists, more material exists than is often acknowledged: for example, Treharne (2012: 98–101) lists some eighty manuscripts “with main texts in English” from between the 1050s and c. 1100 – ample evidence that English did not stop being written immediately after the Norman Conquest. A great deal more material is nonetheless available from the Late Middle English period, and also the preceding Old English offers substantial quantities of data, especially if compared to other European vernaculars of the same date.⁴ However, many of the Old English texts are actually preserved in somewhat later, post-Conquest manuscripts. They are not just copies made out of antiquarian interest but material which was still utilised in post-Anglo-Saxon England and therefore compiled into new, relevant selections (see Irvine 2000: 42–43; Swan 2006: 156; Faulkner 2012a: 182; Treharne 2012: 96–98 et passim). When compared to this material transmitted from the Old English period, original compositions from post-Conquest England are relatively rare until at least the first half of the thirteenth century.

An excellent resource for exploring English in post-Conquest sources is *A Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English, 1150–1325 (LAEME)*, and the *Catalogue* of its sources (Laing 1993). The contents of the manuscripts are divided into several categories in the *Catalogue*: literature, documents, glosses and mixes of any of the above. The present chapter is part of a research project drawing on manuscripts dated in the *Catalogue* to a potentially pre-1250 date, of which there are almost 270. While this may seem a large number, it has to be admitted that it conceals the variedness of the material, as it does not distinguish between a book containing several English texts and, for example, a Latin manuscript with some vernacular lyrics scribbled on a single folio: either type counts as one item in this account. Nevertheless, both types serve as viable examples of medieval writing practices in multilingual England. To complement the *Catalogue*, I have also consulted another irreplaceable resource, the *Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220* project site (edited by Da Rold et al., 2010–2013; abbreviated here *EM*), with information about over two hundred manuscripts. Partly overlapping with the temporal scope of the *Catalogue* and therefore its list of manuscripts, *EM* helps in locating additional material down to the decade of the Norman Conquest and also provides more detailed descriptions of the manuscripts than the *Catalogue* aims to do.⁵ Most of the long-twelfth-century material is preserved in the repositories

⁴ As Treharne (2012: 104) points out, “all of the English manuscripts and documents that have survived from England to c.1200 and beyond are remarkable testimony to a vernacular textual tradition that is rarely paralleled elsewhere in the medieval world”.

⁵ From a code-switching studies point of view, the problem with both resources is that while they identify the presence of English in manuscripts containing also material in other languages, their main focus does not lie on multilingualism, nor can they provide information about instances of intrasentential code-switching, especially single words on the

of London, Oxford and Cambridge: in both *EM* and the pre-1250 coverage of the *Catalogue*, the share of the manuscripts held at the repositories of these three cities is approximately 84 per cent.

The present chapter is not intended to be an exhaustive survey of all potentially relevant manuscripts but has for practical reasons a narrower focus. My main objective has been to examine manuscripts in which the English component is very broadly classifiable as literature (e.g. Laing 1993: 5–6), including all types of religious writing.⁶ The predominant domain of vernacular English literature at the time was religion (e.g. Treharne 2012: 12), as exemplified by compilations of Old English homilies as well as many of the newer texts. Moreover, the examples provided and manuscripts mentioned in this chapter come from a specific period, that is, from between the last quarter of the eleventh century and the second of the thirteenth. Thus, material dated in the catalogues to, for example “C13”, is excluded from closer analysis here; although the temporal boundaries of the long century are malleable according to the researcher’s needs (see e.g. Brett 2015: 1), they should not be too liberal.

Overall, I have by the time of writing consulted over 110 long-twelfth-century manuscripts.⁷ Fifty-four of them contain literary material specifically from the period 1075–1250; these are the sources of the present study. In two thirds of these manuscripts, Latin is the dominant language. While attention has been paid to texts with English as an embedded language as well as material with Old or Early Middle English as the matrix, all of the linguistic examples cited below have an English matrix, though some manuscripts with Latin as the main language are also discussed. The material includes some of the best-known vernacular texts of the period, *Ancrene Wisse* being a prime example; as Schendl and Wright (2011c: 5, 8–9) note, it is useful for scholars to return to much-researched texts and genres equipped with the novel approach of code-switching.

4. Code-switching: Towards locating levels and patterns

What is evident from the two sections above is that while the sources containing English cannot compete with later Middle English manuscripts in terms of quantity of extant material or range of domains, it is larger than has often been acknowledged. Its multilingual features have not been explored as such, despite the evidence that code-switching involving English is attested both earlier and later in medieval England. Section 4 endeavours to start such exploration by proceeding from the largest textual units down towards the smallest grammatical or linguistic ones, starting

switching–borrowing cline, which appear at the “bottom level” (see 4.4 below). The latter point is a major reason why a quantification of the code-switching sequences in the manuscripts is not possible here.

⁶ For example, just under one half of the London/Oxford/Cambridge material is classified as literary in the *Catalogue*.

⁷ The information provided in catalogues cannot replace viewing the code-switch in its physical manuscript context.

with multilingualism within manuscripts (4.1) and followed by code-switching represented visually on the manuscript page (4.2.), utilised within texts (4.3) and, finally, occurring within sentences and clauses (4.4).⁸ The emphasis is on English–Latin code-switching; French is discussed separately in Section 5. Below, each of these levels is discussed briefly and illustrated with some manuscripts and linguistic examples from the period. Accounts of code-switching at different levels have been published before (see e.g. Pahta 2003: 199–206), and also appear in the present collection (see Kopaczyk, this volume). The present division is based on observable forms, not potential functions of or motivations for code-switching. However we define the levels at which code-switches can be observed, overlap and multiple interpretations are possible, as will also become evident.

4.1. Manuscript level

Whole manuscripts, regarded here as the topmost level at which code-switching takes place, are often not included at all in historical code-switching. Schendl and Wright (2011b: 23–24), for example, dismiss “the frequent occurrence of different monolingual texts collected in a single manuscript..., though such ‘intertextual’ switching ‘often resembles the situational code-switching typical of diglossia’, and equally constitutes an important testimony for the widespread multilingualism of the literate part of medieval society”. A broader and more inclusive definition of code-switching – or, simply, multilingual practices – would, however, also include monolingual texts appearing in one and the same manuscript but written in different languages, that is, intertextual switching. Even if the authors or scribes had not had any reason to code-switch within the texts they were composing or copying, a subsequent user of the material found it useful to collate the texts, producing one manuscript with material in more than one code, which would then be encountered by a reader. The production of such a book would not be motivated by the monolingual expectation of some intended readership, but by the commissioner’s or copyist’s desire to own, read or produce a book united by a single genre, the same type of subject matter, or some such factor related to his or her needs and abilities (see e.g. Voigts 1996: 819 and Honkapohja, this volume, for examples of medical manuscripts).⁹

A good example of a manuscript with a vernacular text poised between Latin materials is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 4. After nearly a hundred folios of Latin, it contains *Poema*

⁸ In addition, some claim that a switch point may be located within a word, but this level is not considered here.

⁹ Applying this idea may be challenging: for example, a codex containing manuscript material produced c. 1200 may have been bound much later and therefore hardly represents long-twelfth-century multilingual practices from the producers’ point of view.

Morale, an important Early Middle English poem surviving in several manuscripts, on ff. 97r–110v, followed by two short texts in Latin. Another example of language-mixing at the manuscript level is Worcester, Cathedral Library, MS Q 29, in which an English-language Nativity sermon appears between Latin sermons and a Latin text on computus, beginning near the bottom of the second column on f. 136v and continuing until the top part of the second column on f. 137r; it appears to be an integral text on these folios, not a later addition loosely connected to the co-text. Within the English sermon, there is also some code-switching into Latin, which underlines the fact that a single source may of course contain multilingual features at more than one level.¹⁰

A third example, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius D iii, contains Latin calendars, some verse material in French and the Benedictine Rule, in which each Latin chapter is followed by an Old English one, reiterating the content of the preceding chapter. As this particular text is an adaptation of the Rule for the use of nuns (Laing 1993: 73), the presence of English seems analogous to the use of the vernacular – rather than (only) Latin – in other religious texts for women, *Ancrene Wisse* being the most famous example from this period. The Latin-English Rule does, however, differ from the two manuscripts described above and from Cotton Claudius D iii itself as a complete manuscript: in the Rule, the passages in two languages can be regarded as part of a single bilingual whole (for code-switching at text level, see 4.3), whereas genuine intertextual code-switching takes place between separate texts contained within the same book.

In the examples of intertextual code-switching above, the monolingual units appear consecutively in the manuscript, but this is not the only form of language-mixing at this level. Often margins have been put to good use by contemporary scribes or subsequent annotators, whose chosen language may not be that of the body text; little scraps of English, for example, appear on the last folios of Latin manuscripts. These could potentially be regarded as extrasentential switches, in both the literal and technical sense of the word. As a code-switching term, “extrasentential” is associated with tag switching, the use of such embedded-language units as interjections, which do not have a clear grammatical role in sentence structure; like Poplack’s (1980: 589) tags, they “may be inserted almost anywhere”. Material written in the margins does not, however, have to constitute a separate text, as will be seen in Section 5 below, with French rather than Latin appearing with English.

¹⁰ Stanley (1961) has edited the sermon.

4.2. Page level

The page level refers to what the reader observes on the manuscript page or opening as scribal output; in addition to the verbal content, it also encompasses higher and lower level visual elements (see Varila et al. 2017), namely, the layout of the manuscript (see Parkes 1991 for *mise-en-page*) and the choice or appearance of the script. While it was typical of English manuscripts until well after the Conquest that separate scripts were employed for Old English and Latin – Insular and Caroline, respectively (e.g. Treharne 2000: 25) – the visual aspect has not been considered in historical code-switching research until quite recently. Machan’s “visual pragmatics” (2011) is related to such concepts as “visual prosody” (Meurman-Solin 2013) and “pragmatics on the page” (Carroll et al. 2013). Essentially, the visual approach proposes that linguistic forms are not the sole means of conveying a message to the recipient by the producer, but that the verbal content is to be considered also in its material and visual context. Machan himself examines the use of red ink in connection with Latin code-switches in late medieval manuscripts of the English *Piers Plowman* and some other works. Other methods of marking a change from one language to another include the use of a different script or the same script in a different size; today we of course often see the same function performed by the use of italics.

Many of the manuscripts examined here are visually quite modest. In London, British Library, MS Stowe 34, red underlining does appear in connection with Latin quotations and other, shorter switches into Latin.¹¹ The few cases in which the Latin is not underscored may simply be oversights by the rubricator, who was probably not one of the two main scribes whose work the manuscript is (as indicated in *LAEME*). This is illustrated by (1): while the rubricator has underlined the first quotation from a psalm, which is followed by an English translation, he has missed the following one, from another psalm.

- (1) Of hem sade ðe pphete. **Fuerunt m̄ lacrimae me panes die ac nocte** [underlined in red]. mine teares he sade me waren bred daiȝ 7 niht swa gode hie þouhten. Of opres kennes teares he sade **laēm̄is meis stratuū meum rigabo** [not underlined]. Ich scal watrien min bedd mid mine teares. (London, British Library, MS Stowe 34, f. 47r)¹² ‘Of them said the prophete: *Fuerunt mihi lacrimae meae panes die ac nocte*, “My tears,” said he, “were my bread day and night; so good they seemed [to be].” Of

¹¹ *Vices and Virtues*, the only text the manuscript contains, is rich in code-switches. For more information, see Skaffari (2016).

¹² The code-switched units are bolded.

other kinds of tears he said: *Lacrimis meis stratum meum rigabo*, “I shall water my bed with my tears.” (Holthausen 1888: 146)

Highlighting the Latin in a vernacular text – which may not be motivated primarily by the desire to pick out the embedded language but to mark important components of the discourse, such as quotations from authoritative sources (see also Machan 2011: 314) – is not unusual or unexpected in medieval manuscripts.¹³ Visual flagging adds weight to the selected words or passages and also helps the reader – even the researcher, centuries later – to locate them, but there are plenty of examples in the manuscripts with little or no visual marking of quotations or other instances of code-switching. In manuscript culture, any type of decoration was always linked with cost, in time, effort and ink, so even if the motivation existed, there may not have been enough resources. It is typical of vernacular manuscripts of this period that they look modest, according to Treharne (2012: 97): they were meant to be read, not just looked at.

Language-mixing can also be interlinked with how entire pages are laid out. An example from the more elaborate end of the range of manuscripts produced during this period, the Eadwine Psalter (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.17.1, from the middle of the twelfth century) is a large and intricate book, containing the psalms in different Latin versions and glossed in three different languages. In a recent analysis, Treharne (2012: 173) discusses the Psalter in terms of multilingualism on the page, or “the praxis of a multimedia multilingualism”, explaining the position and use of English in the book. Whereas the most prominent position on the page is given to the preferred Gallicanum version of the Psalms, the adjacent versions are in smaller script and accompanied by interlinear glosses in the vernaculars of England – English and French. Treharne points out that the version glossed in English is the one that is placed closest to the important Gallicanum Psalms; English is thus less marginal than French, which appears at the edge of the page.

4.3. Text level

Language-mixing may also be observed within individual texts, the next level at which code-switching takes place. Much of code-switching here can simply be labelled as intersentential or interclausal. Code-switching at the text level is not, however, uniform, nor is it only comprised of clauses or sentences embedded in the body text.

¹³ The visual appearance of English within Latin texts and passages seems to be less conspicuous.

An easily observable practice in medieval manuscripts is the use of the embedded language in a discourse-organising or text-structuring function: for instance, headings may be in Latin although the body text is in English, and similarly the incipits and explicits. There is plenty of evidence of this practice in later texts, but the long twelfth century also provides a variety of examples, such as the typical closing formula occurring in *Ancrene Wisse* (2).

- (2) Ase ofte as 3e habbeð ired eawiht her on, greteð þe leafdi wið an Aue, for him þ swonc her abuten. Inoh meaðful ich am þe bidde se lutel. ¶**Explicit.** Iþench o þi writere i þine beoden sumchearre, ne beo hit ne se lutel. Hit turnede þe to gode, þ tu bidest for oðre. (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402, f. 117v)
‘Whenever you have read anything in this book, salute our Lady with a Hail Mary for the man who worked on it. I am moderate enough in asking so little. *The End.* Remember your scribe sometimes in your prayers, no matter how little. It will benefit you if you pray for others.’ (Millett 2009: 165)

In (2), the Latin word *explicit* is preceded by a red-and-blue paraph. It does not conclude the whole text but instead is followed by a short colophon, in the same hand as the text above it, which offers the last piece of instruction in this penitents’ manual.

At this level, code-switching does not exclusively appear at boundaries of various sections within a text but also within passages of text. There is also variation in length, from short clauses to longer units used intersententially. Example (3) is from *Sawles Warde* – a member of the *Ancrene Wisse* group of Early Middle English religious prose – and features a biblical quotation from Matthew.

- (3) Her of ha herieð godd 7 singeð a unwerget eaū iliche lusti in þis loft songes. as hit iwriten is. **Beati q̄ habitant.** 7 ē. Eadi beoð þeo laūd. þe i þin hus wunieð. (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 34, f. 80r)
‘Thereof they praise God, and ever unwearied, ever alike joyful, they sing this song of praise [as it is written], *Beati qui habitant &c.* – Blessed are those, O Lord, who dwell in thine house.’ (Morris 1868: 262, 264)

The Latin switch is short, a truncated quotation serving as a cue pointing to an authoritative source.¹⁴ There are numerous similar cases, but they may not have the same type of inter-passage text-organising function as discussed above. The use of another language does, however, help to identify them as quotations and therefore as rhetorically distinct from their immediate co-text.

There is overlap between this level and the previous one, as the embedded units may be visually flagged. This we see in (2) with the paraph before the Latin word, while the quotation in (3) does not stand out from the vernacular text; MS Bodley 34 is not visually striking and has very little colour (red). Embedded words and phrases may also be flagged at the clause level.

4.4. Clause level

The clause level is where code-switching is intrasentential (intraclausal), comprising phrases or individual words. A familiar concern of code-switching researchers is whether – and how – intrasentential single-word switches can be distinguished from loanwords.¹⁵ In the present material, there are plenty of examples of this form of code-switching, often featuring names and terms of various types – a not untypical type of code-switching in writing (see e.g. Matras 2009: 107; Pahta and Nurmi 2006: 213–214; international names may also be viewed as diamorphs; see ter Horst & Stam, this volume). A few examples will suffice here, presented without co-text for the sake of brevity. Part 1 of *Ancrene Wisse* deals with the daily devotional life of the anchoress and is therefore rich in references to Latin prayers: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402 contains on a single page (f. 6r) “Placebo” (‘I shall please’) twice and eight other instances of very short switches (one or two words). The late entries of the *Peterborough Chronicle* occasionally mention hymns such as “Te deum laudamus” (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 636, f. 88r). In London, British Library, MS Stowe 34, both vices and virtues are typically introduced with their Latin names, essentially religious terminology, although unlike personal and place names as well as the songs and prayers mentioned above, they are usually accompanied by English translations or explanations (4).

- (4) AN hali mihte is icleped **fides recta**. þ is rihte 3eleaue hie is angīn of alle cristendome (London, British Library, MS Stowe 34, f. 8v)
‘One holy virtue is called *fides recta*, that is, right belief. It is the beginning of all Christianity.’ (Holthausen 1888: 24)

¹⁴ Schendl, this volume, calls such quotations “incomplete”. In another manuscript containing *Sawles Warde*, London, British Library, MS Royal 17 A xxvii, the same quotation is longer: “Beati qui habitant in domo tua dñe” (f. 9v).

¹⁵ See, for example, Queiroz de Barros and Schendl, this volume, for a discussion of the topic.

The Latin term is followed by the corresponding English phrase informing the reader, who may not have understood much Latin, of the meaning of the switch. Diller (1997–1998: 510) calls this “English support” (see also [1] and [3] above).

The examples above appear uninflected in the sentences where they are attested – they may be used in subject or similar positions or be difficult to adjust grammatically if they are full Latin structures containing internal inflection (e.g. “Te deum laudamus”) – but Latin inflection is occasionally visible, as at a few points in MS Stowe 34 (example 5).

- (5) ðe hali apostel nāneð ðese þrie halize mihtes togedere. **Fidem. Spem. Karitatē.**
And seggeð þ̅ þies ðe hatte **karitas** is heizest 7 betst of ðese þrie. (London, British Library, MS Stowe 34, ff. 11v–12r)
‘The holy apostle calls these three holy virtues together, *fidem, spem, caritatem*, and says that this which is called *caritas*, is the highest and best of these three.’
(Holthausen 1888: 34)

Here all three Latin nouns, underlined in red ink in the manuscript, are inflected in the accusative case, being governed or controlled by the English verb for ‘call, mention’. Similar examples are found in some of the manuscripts consulted. English itself had by this time lost much of its inflectional morphology.

In addition to Latin words and phrases embedded in English sentences, there are French-derived lexical items whose status in the English vernacular is not always obvious. While there are loanwords which seem to have become relatively well-established in Early Middle English (such as *grace* ‘(God’s) grace, mercy’, *pes* ‘peace’ and *serven* ‘serve, work for’; see Durkin 2014: Chapter 12 and Skaffari 2009: 153–168 for more examples and analysis), some items of French origin might be viewed as intrasentential code-switching, leading into lexical borrowing in some cases. Furthermore, there are occasional longer stretches of French in some of the manuscripts, which is discussed below.

5. Code-switching into French

As mentioned under 2 above, it is natural to expect changes in multilingual practices to have taken place in England after 1066 and for them to become visible in material produced at that time. The most striking difference one can anticipate must be associated with French, whose strengthened

presence cannot be overlooked in studies of spoken and written communication in post-Conquest England. At the societal and cultural macro level, the growing importance of French is reflected in the production and dissemination of Anglo-Norman texts in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (e.g. Lodge 1992: 81); it has been noted by Short (1992: 229) that “French literature begins, to all intents and purposes, in twelfth-century Anglo-Norman England”. However, while this body of Anglo-Norman literature, comprising historical writing, hagiography, scientific texts, verse, and so forth, is certainly a remarkable feature of text production in England at this time, it has not been explored within the present project.¹⁶ Some observations can nonetheless be made on the basis of the other sources consulted.

Individual English texts and manuscripts suggest that the contact with French did not have much impact at the earliest stage. In his exploration of the third edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, Durkin (2014: 257–264) finds that the most remarkable peaks in lexical borrowing from French (his “French only” category) appear in the first half of the fourteenth century, whether we consider the greatest leap upwards from the previous half-century or the largest share of French loans of all new vocabulary (that is, in absolute or relative terms); the fifty years following 1200 pale in comparison with these peaks, although they do clearly surpass the preceding fifty years. Examining the use of almost three hundred French-derived words in Late Old and Early Middle English text excerpts, Skaffari (2009: 192–195) identifies a statistically significant increase in the number of loanwords from the second half of the twelfth century to the first half of the thirteenth. This diachronic change also shows when texts *copied* from Old English sources between 1150 and 1250 are compared with those presumably originally *composed* within this period. In either case, there is much less evidence of French influence in the older material, although that, too, postdates the Norman Conquest by approximately one hundred years.

Unlike lexical borrowing, code-switching between English and French in post-Conquest England has received little attention. The coexistence of English and Latin in written material, discussed at length above, is perhaps unsurprising given the role of Latin as a High language associated with religion, learning, administration and the law – as a medieval “language for specific purposes” in multiple domains. While Latin was a ubiquitous feature of medieval culture, it is improbable that the use of French could have been rare and restricted to monolingual settings only, be they conversation at the highest levels of society or monolingual literature composed for the Anglo-Norman elite. It is noteworthy, however, that in the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts*,

¹⁶ The amount of English in post-Conquest Anglo-Norman manuscripts “remains to be worked out” (Da Rold and Swan 2011: 261, footnote 14).

Pahta and Nurmi (2006: 205–206) find as few as three French switches per 100,000 words of Middle English text, each of them on average 14 words; switches to Latin are over sixty times more common in the Middle English sub-corpus. This alone suggests that while code-switching was an established practice in medieval English writing, switching between vernaculars was not particularly frequent in texts. The long twelfth century does not seem to have been an exception to this.¹⁷

French words, phrases and clauses do appear in the sources examined for the present chapter, but in a clear minority of cases. *EM* contains a helpful index of manuscripts containing material in French, with 28 entries. Judging by the index, the earliest records of French in manuscripts containing English were glosses. Marginalia also appear, and towards the end of *EM*'s coverage, there are some French-language verses and proverbs.¹⁸

One of the earliest switches into French in the material considered here is in Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii. 1. 33. This manuscript, dated to the second half of the twelfth century, is a collection of Ælfric's homilies, saints' lives and a translation of parts of *Genesis* (Laing 1993: 46; Da Rold 2010–2013). It is essentially an example of Old English rewritten in the twelfth century, to echo the title of the ground-breaking collected volume by Swan and Treharne (2000), but, as is often the case, it is not a monolingual manuscript: it contains not only occasional Latin incipits, additions and annotations but also two instances of French, in the bottom margins of ff. 70v and 120r. The first of these appears in Ælfric's homily on St Andrew and reads (6):

- (6) Icest auint en achaia. dunt plusur unt^{oi} parler. / dedenz la cite d^e patras que u^{us}
auez oi numer. (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii. 1. 33, f. 70v)¹⁹
'This happened in Achaea, of which many have heard speak, [/] within the city of
Patras, which you have heard named.' (Traxel 2004: 77, note 99)

As this example is a marginal addition, it is not self-evident that it should be considered a code-switch at all, although we certainly see multilingualism at work on a manuscript page here. In his book on the manuscript, Traxel (2004: 77–79) devotes three pages to this addition but does not use

¹⁷ Code-switching between vernaculars is also discussed by Ingham, this volume.

¹⁸ Unfortunately the descriptions provided in *EM* do not always specify where in the manuscript the French appears, as is the case with London, British Library, MS Cotton Faustina A ix, which is listed in the index of manuscripts with French, but the description of its contents, appearance and history (Treharne 2010–2013) does not mention either French or Anglo-Norman.

¹⁹ The manuscript is available for viewing in the Cambridge Digital Library. The French addition appears at the bottom of the folio at <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-II-00001-00033/154>.

the term “code-switching”; other recent work on this manuscript (Irvine 2000: 54–55; Swan 2000: 78–80; Treharne 2012: 165) does not mention the French at all, with the exception of Da Rold and Swan (2011). While the addition on f. 70v is not embedded inside or between English clauses – it is truly extrasentential (see 4.1) rather than intra- or intersentential – it does appear “within one communicative event” (Schendl and Wright 2011b: 23), constituted by reading this particular homily. When reading this page, the reader is unlikely to disregard entirely the addition, which is clearly visible in the margin and which, like the longer English addition equally visible on the same page, contributes to the narrative on St Andrew; both supplement information about his death but do not repeat each other’s content.²⁰ Moving from the recipient to the producer, there is more to suggest that the addition is no accident: the manuscript is probably the work of two main scribes according to *EM* (Da Rold 2010–2013), or possibly four (Traxel 2004: 37–59), but the scribe responsible for the French here also wrote most of the rest of the manuscript, although not the body text on this particular folio. The date of the addition could therefore be relatively close to that of the body, not decades or centuries later as some additions or corrections often are. Moreover, as both the English and the French addition were written on lines specifically ruled for them (Da Rold 2010–2013), they were not mere scribbles. The motivation behind code selection is not, however, easy to discern here: Traxel (2004: 78) suggests that the shorter addition may have been copied from an unknown French manuscript, and Da Rold and Swan (2011: 263) propose that the marginalia were additional material for readers to use in writing or preaching. Despite its language and position in the margin, the French text is part of the same message as the rest of the page. It is therefore not intertextual, manuscript-level code-switching but can be placed at the page and text levels.

Another example of French in an early English text is less controversial but still appears in the periphery of a text rather than at its centre. In one of its three manuscripts – London, British Library, MS Royal 17 A xxvii – *Sawles Warde* ends in a colophon, with both Latin and French in the English text (7):

- (7) **Par seinte charite** biddeð a **pater nost̄** for iohan þ̄ þeos boc w̄t. Hwa se þis writ
 haueð ired. Ant crist him haueð swa isped. Ich bidde **p̄ seinte charite**. þet 3e
 bidden ofte for me. Aa **p̄r n̄r**. ant **aue marie**. þet ich mote þ̄ lif her drehen. Ant

²⁰ The “multilingual experience” of an individual reader or recipient may be quite different from that of the scribe or producer. The definitions of code-switching tend to focus more on production than reception – an important and intriguing issue but not, however, within the scope of this chapter. Da Rold and Swan (2011: 263–264) also touches on these issues, not so much with respect to code-switching but manuscript production.

ure lauerd wel icwemen. I mi 3uhede 7 in min elde. þet ich mote ihu crist mi sawle 3elden. AMEN. (London, British Library, MS Royal 17 A xxvii, f. 10v)²¹
'*Par seinte charite* [for the sake of charity], pray a *Pater noster* for John, who wrote this book. Whoever has read this writing and Christ has so prospered him, I pray, *par seinte charite*, that you pray often for me a *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria*; so that I may so lead my life and well please our Lord, in my youth and in my old age, that I may yield my soul to Jesus Christ. Amen.' (modernised from Morris 1868: 266)

As observed by Skaffari (2003: 92), the French phrase is an example of code-switching, "par seinte charite" used twice in the scribe's personal conclusion to the text. It can easily be seen as an example of tag switching, which is underlined by its appearance in two different positions in the clauses, intensifying the scribe's entreaties. Just as in (6), the French switches do not appear as core content.

Overall, the role of French in written code-switching does not seem to be very prominent at this time. The reason for this preliminary conclusion, however, depends firstly on the focus of my research, which lay on material with English as the matrix or the major embedded language, which led to the exclusion of insular French manuscripts. Secondly, the distinction between the two vernaculars may have been less relevant than the one between Latin and vernacular, as proposed by David Trotter (e.g. 2011: 182). This does not mean that the vernaculars were equal; on the contrary, the Anglo-Normans regarded English as an uncouth, barbaric language, as noted by Treharne (2012: 151), who otherwise stresses the value and versatility of English as a language of writing.

6. Concluding remarks

This study set out to provide an overview of code-switching in English sources from the long twelfth century. Although there has been a notable gap in the coverage of multilingual practices at this time, there is absolutely no reason to overlook this period as an object of historical code-switching research. Familiar as the main features of the post-1066 linguistic situation may seem to be, there is much more that we should know and understand about multilingual writers, readers and texts. The body of extant material is not as small as has been previously suggested, but there

²¹ Some of the visual detail is lost in presenting this and other examples in print, but this is unlikely to be essential from the code-switching point of view.

is plenty of variation in how much code-switching it contains, and at which levels. Latin is the dominant language in the majority of the sources, and its use also persists within the vernacular English texts in the domain of religion, whereas the role of French is remarkably small in the manuscripts examined.

We have discussed four levels at which code-switching can be observed in medieval (and other) sources – manuscript, page, text and clause – corresponding to intertextual, visually flagged, interclausal and intraclausal switching, as well as the somewhat problematic case of extrasentential code-switching, the “other” language not appearing within the text but, rather, marginalised on the edges of the page. These are the levels at which multilingual features are observable, but it is worth noting that the same manuscript may contain examples of code-switching at multiple levels, and that visual flagging coincides with features at other levels: it is a way of highlighting inserted or alternating words, phrases or passages, and not independent of them. Moreover, the inclusion of the visual aspect serves as a reminder of the usefulness of consulting original manuscripts instead of simply relying on editions or catalogues.

The current study has only been able to draw on some of the relevant manuscripts from the period. Another limitation is that while selecting sources on the basis of their descriptions in catalogues can provide a bird’s eye view of the material, it may nonetheless obfuscate what takes place at the lower levels. This applies perhaps most of all to intraclausal single-word switching, with its risk of confusion with lexical borrowing. It is possible to overcome these limitations in future research by including more of the extant manuscripts in a principled manner but at the same time pausing to examine at least some of them with much greater attention to the minutest of details. More work is still needed to place the long twelfth century firmly on the map of historical code-switching research.

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