



Flagging multilingual features in post-Conquest manuscripts

Verbal and visual

Janne Skaffari

ORCID: 0000-0001-7349-9904

In written language as well as in spoken communication, code-switching is often accompanied by flagging. Directing attention to features which are important or potentially difficult to process, flags also appear in medieval manuscripts and may have a visual or a verbal form. Visual flagging may involve, for example, the use of red ink, underlining, or marginal manicules, while verbal flags include metalinguistic labels specifying the embedded language or the main language, and intratextual translations of other-language material. Based on data from a large number of manuscripts produced in England in the long twelfth century, this study examines both Latin code-switches in Early Middle English texts and English switches appearing in Latin manuscripts. It considers motivations for both code-switching and concomitant flagging, and outlines a tentative typology of verbal and visual flagging, which may also be applicable to other periods and language pairs.

Keywords: code-switching, flagging, medieval manuscripts, multimodality

1. Introduction¹

As a multilingual practice, code-switching – the use of two or more languages or language varieties in the same instance of communication, be it spoken or written – has become a prominent research topic in English historical linguistics particularly in the last decade or so (see Schendl & Wright 2011; Pahta, Skaffari, & Wright 2018). Such research often addresses the syntax of multilingual sentences, the socio-pragmatics of historical code-switching and the ubiquitous problem of distinguishing single-word switches from lexical borrowings. There is also a multimodal dimension in written code-switching as the presence of another language may be visually highlighted in a text. In addition to visual *flagging*, some verbal commentary – essentially verbal flagging – may appear adjacent to switches as well. Until recently, such flags have seldom merited more than a fleeting mention in published research (e.g. Voigts 1996; Rogos-Hebda 2016; Skaffari 2016), but there is now growing interest in linking multilingual practices with their material and visual context (Kopaczyk 2023: 122). The associations between language and the visibility of script may also interest palaeographers (see Aiello 2021).

The linguistic starting point of the present chapter is code-switching (henceforth, CS), which has a fairly long history as an object of linguistic enquiry but which has not been applied to written materials for equally long (see, for example, Sebba (2012) for a discussion of CS in written data). Research on spoken CS, which continues to offer frameworks for examining written CS, has established that switching from one language to another may be accompanied by changes in pitch and speed, pauses, metalinguistic comments and also non-verbal behaviour (e.g. Auer 1999: 314; Poplack 2004: 593), although these are not always present (see Gumperz 1982: 59–60). Such prosodic and other cues have equivalents in the written medium: just as CAPITALS can be interpreted as shouting in today's digital communication, foreign or 'other-language' words are often italicised in print media to signal difference from the main language of the text and perhaps, sometimes, give

1 The idea for this study emerged while I was working for Professor Päivi Pahta's research project Multilingual Practices in the History of Written English, funded by the then Academy of Finland. Most of the manuscripts had been consulted during my own Academy-funded project Multilingualism in the Long Twelfth Century. In addition to the now Research Council of Finland, I wish to thank the Institute of Medieval and Early Modern Studies for a library fellowship at Durham University.

them a certain *je ne sais quoi*.² This type of typographical highlighting in printed material has a parallel in hand-written texts, which has been called *script-switching* by, for example, Gardner-Chloros (2009: 21); Kaislaniemi (2017) discusses this concept at length. Other means of marking code-switches include the use of red ink and underlining. All of these are what Machan (2011: 305) and Rogos-Hebda (2016: 38) call *bibliographic codes*, which at times match changes in the linguistic code of the text.

There are several reasons for the relative sparsity of CS research on the visual and other flags accompanying language mixing. The visual, extra-linguistic features may have seemed irrelevant to linguists interested in syntax or sociolinguistics, or the features have been inaccessible to linguists. Inaccessibility is related to the fact that larger-scale studies of historical CS have of necessity often relied on existing diachronic or historical corpora (a case in point is the seminal paper by Pahta & Nurmi 2006), which are typically based on editions and include little information about the layout and appearance of the original sources. Case studies of CS in individual manuscripts or early printed books allow a different approach: their authors may also observe the physical context, but they do not necessarily consider the visual changes at the points where another linguistic code appears. Although such switch-points sometimes have also verbal flags, explicitly naming the language to or from which the switch is made, these *metalinguistic* flags do not necessarily catch the researcher's eye, perhaps because the languages involved have been regarded as obvious for the contemporary producer or reader as well as the later researcher, or because the focus has lain on syntactic or sociolinguistic aspects of CS. Flagging does, however, help to structure the text and may index the producer's expectations of the recipient or attitude toward the text. It may be seen to constitute *metadiscourse*, which Hyland (2017: 17) defines as ways in which "we use language out of consideration for our readers or hearers based on our estimation of how best we can

2 Numerous CS studies call the codes involved *matrix* and *embedded* languages. As terms, these are most appropriate for syntactic research on intrasentential CS, but as the switches in my material are of various types, and as syntax is not in focus, I will refer to *main* and *other* languages, the latter term inspired by Auer (1999: 314) and, in particular, Poplack (2018). Embedding nonetheless remains a practical concept.

help them process and comprehend what we are saying”. Facilitating comprehension is extremely relevant in multilingual texts.

In contrast to earlier studies, this chapter discusses both visual and verbal flags accompanying CS in medieval texts. It cannot aim at an exhaustive catalogue of flagging phenomena but explores the range of flags attached to both ‘English in Latin’ and ‘Latin in English’, as seen in manuscripts from the two centuries following the Norman Conquest in 1066, or the ‘long twelfth century’. Paying attention to both visual and verbal flagging makes the approach richer. Like most research on historical CS, the chapter draws on both historically orientated work and studies of contemporary spoken CS, although concepts from the latter need modifications when researching historical “multilingual literacy practices” (Schipor 2018: 39–42).

This study begins with a brief introduction to multilingualism in post-Conquest England and the primary sources consulted (Section 2). The multilingual context of this period is what produced the CS and forms of flagging described in Section 3, which explores different types of linguistic and non-linguistic cues accompanying changes in code. These practices are reviewed and elaborated on in Section 4. The outcome of this discussion is a tentative typology of flagging, capable of accommodating examples sought from the manuscripts of the long twelfth century but potentially applicable to other periods and contexts as well. This list of flagging types is presented in Section 5. Finally, Section 6 summarises the key findings and provides an outlook for future research on CS and flagging.

2. Medieval multilingualism and post-Conquest texts

Medieval multilingualism is discernible in multiple ways: it includes both societal and individual bi- and multilingualism; it shows in different topic domains, such as religion, and genres, such as instructional writing; and it is evident in the intertextuality of writing, with material adopted and adapted from various sources, including translations especially from Latin. In England after the Norman Conquest, individuals with bilingual (English-French) skills must have made use of CS in speech, but it is noteworthy that in the written medium – in manuscripts produced in the country – it was typically English and Latin that appeared together within texts, not the two vernaculars, English and French.

Compared to the preceding Old English period with its rich tradition of vernacular writing, the post-Conquest period has seemed quite difficult for historical linguists because of its alleged lack of English data.³ This, however, is in part a matter of perspective: while it is true that the number of texts containing original material composed at this time is not large in comparison with the preceding and following centuries, older vernacular texts were still copied and circulated, often with modifications reflecting language use at the time of copying rather than that of composition (see e.g. Faulkner 2012).

The best-known new English texts surviving from the period are the last annals of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (in the Peterborough manuscript) and *Poema Morale* from the twelfth century, and *Ancrene Wisse* and the Katherine Group from the early thirteenth. The copied material, which is more abundant, includes, for example, many homilies by Ælfric of Eynsham, reproduced and reused for at least two hundred years after his death (Swan 2000: 67). Excellent resources for locating also less known English texts – and small amounts of consecutive English surviving in Latin books – from this period are the catalogues by Laing (1993) and Da Rold *et al.* (2010–2013), which directed the present author to view the original manuscripts on site in the repositories that hold them. The original objective was to account for CS as a linguistic phenomenon in such post-Conquest manuscripts. At some of the repositories I also engaged in what Daniel Wakelin (2014) has called “do-it-yourself digitisation”, photographing relevant folia of dozens of manuscripts. While some libraries have made many of their manuscripts available as digital images on their websites, the coverage is still far from comprehensive, and a neglect of the long twelfth century can sometimes be discerned. Visiting the libraries has therefore been a crucial part of the project, not least because of the visual aspect of CS, which literally caught my eye and subsequently led to a change in the focus of my research.

I have thus far viewed examples of CS in over 120 manuscripts from around 1200, nearly all of them *in situ*. They were identified with the help of the aforementioned catalogues. Of the repositories in London, Oxford and Cambridge, which hold approximately 90 per cent of the relevant items, the most important single repository is the British Library. The majority of the texts are literary in the broadest sense of the term. The domain of religion is

3 For a recent discussion of the “linguistic ecology” of the period, see Faulkner (2022: 68–101).

dominant: the mainly English material includes, for example, homilies, while the Latin sources are more varied, including also saints' lives, theological texts and history. Latin is typically the main language in the data; this also applies to two of thirds of the nineteen manuscripts cited below.

3. Flagging in post-Conquest material

Flagging multilingual features in written materials means indicating or highlighting the presence of another language in a text or book.⁴ More broadly, flagging can be explained as directing “attention to a feature of the written or spoken text that is important or requires more processing from the reader/hearer” (Nurmi & Skaffari 2021: 501). Flagging therefore facilitates comprehension, which is particularly relevant in multilingual communication, as not every potential participant of the communicative event can be expected to know both or all of the languages in the text or conversation.

In this section on flags in post-Conquest manuscripts, visual flagging is discussed before verbal; the latter cannot be subsumed under the former, although both types of flagging are *visible* to the reader. Anything that the reader can discern on the page is indeed visible, but not all of it is primarily *visual*, in the sense of ‘non-linguistic’.⁵ What is visible is central to my study and therefore described carefully, while the actual content of the other-language units is not, so the code-switches are not consistently quoted or translated below. Moreover, CS may also be unmarked, or “smooth” (Poplack 2004: 593), but such flagless switches are outside the scope of this study.

Before focusing on the visual, it is perhaps necessary to adjust expectations about the material characteristics of the manuscripts. The English books of the period were not visually impressive: Treharne (2012: 97) points out that expensive *de luxe* copies were rare. Vernacular books were practical materials meant for reading and use, not for display. The range of visual flags is thus not extremely wide, but the technically less demanding verbal flags may appear in all kinds of material.

4 For a discussion of ‘highlighting’ and other related terms, see Varila *et al.* (2017: 11–13).

5 Understanding the content provided on the physical page may require both reading skills and visual or graphic literacy (cf. Ruokkeinen *et al.* 2024).

3.1. Visual flags

Visual flagging was executed in medieval manuscript production by scribes and rubricators who in order to emphasise a particular feature of the text drew attention to it by choosing a position, size, colour or style for it that differed from its surroundings (see Carroll *et al.* 2013: 57). A very typical example of this practice – unlikely to surprise anyone familiar with reading medieval manuscripts – is the use of red ink for Latin passages, while the vernacular text around them is in ordinary black or brown. Extremely clear examples of this can be seen in, for example, the late twelfth-century London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 487, in which Latin quotations stand out in the English-language homilies, sometimes half a dozen of them on a single page (see Figure 1). Similarly, Ælfric’s Christmas homily in Cambridge, University Library MS Ii.I.33 begins on f. 29r with a Latin *rubric*; the term itself suggests red colour, as its etymon, the Latin *rubrica*, meant ‘red ochre’ and hence ‘chapter heading (written in red)’ (*OED* s.v. *rubric*). In Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.52, which contains the *Poema Morale* and the ‘Trinity Homilies’, the ten-line Latin passage in the English homily on f. 14r can be located with ease since, unlike the English, it is dotted with thirteen red *litterae notabiliores* (larger or otherwise visually outstanding capital letters; here, large capitals in red).

Flagging could also be done by underlining words or longer stretches of text in the other language. Red ink could be used for this purpose (see Stowe 34, discussed below), but the colour did not have to differ from the rest of the text on the page. Moreover, it was possible to draw a frame or a box around other-language units or their flags.⁶

As flagging, the use of red ink as well as underlining and boxing must have been more conspicuous and thus more effective than, for example, slight changes in graph size, if also potentially slower to execute. With reference to script choice or script-switching, it was customary to use Caroline script for Latin and Insular script for English (e.g. Treharne 2000: 25); Caroline minuscule had been imported from the Continent approximately one hundred years before the Norman Conquest (Parkes 2008: 110). Change of script according to the language is evident in, for example, the oldest manuscript in the present

6 For a less concrete use of frames as a concept in linguistic CS research, see Gardner-Chloros (2009: 75).

study, Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh.I.10, whose earliest items are from the eleventh century (Kato 2010). However, it seems that the difference between the languages in terms of “visual quality” was lost by the thirteenth century (Aiello 2021: 36). Even without shifts in script or graph size, other-language expressions often somewhat stand out on the page, as the distribution of letters inevitably differs between Latin and Old or Middle English. The greater frequency of abbreviation and suspension signs in embedded Latin may alone catch the reader’s eye, as may the presence of thorns and eths (*þ*, *ð*) in embedded English. These features are not deliberate flagging, however, as they are part and parcel of writing in the selected languages.

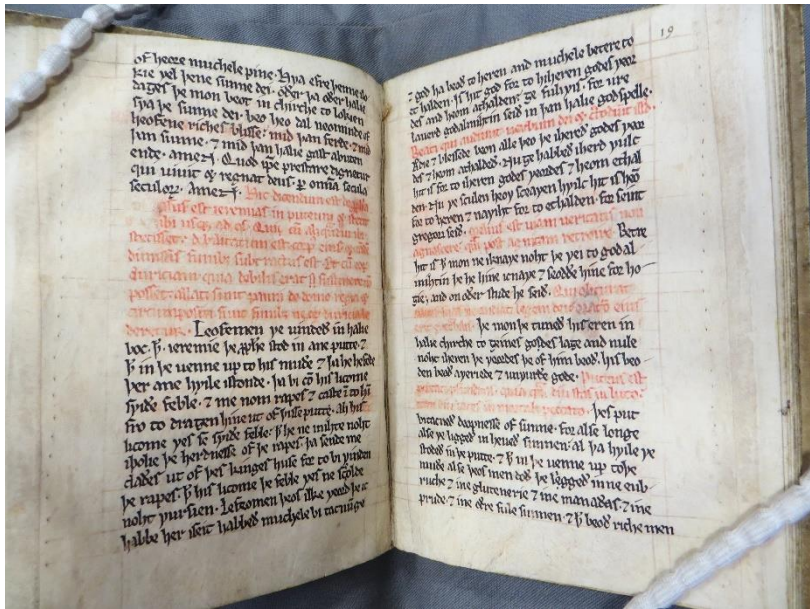


Figure 1. London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 487, ff. 18v–19r. Image courtesy of Lambeth Palace Library.

It is worth noting that visual enhancement is at times a means for differentiating between rhetorical units (see Machan 2011: 3) in the text, rather than highlighting an other-language unit. The red heading mentioned above is a typical example of this, and relevant here are also quotations: the Latin

within the vernacular text may not be originally by the English author but introduced from another source. There is thus a link between quoting and change of language, but all quotations may not be highlighted: a case in point is London, British Library, MS Stowe 34, in which red underlining consistently accompanies Latin quotations (with only a few exceptions, which may be oversights), but not quotations in English, which must, ultimately, be translations from Latin authorities. Multilingual practices are thus intertwined with intertextual ones in medieval writing; visual flagging may accompany either or neither, and it may at times be difficult to discern which purposes the same type of visual flag serves in different contexts.

The examples of the use of red ink above are of Latin appearing in dominantly English-language texts, but similar means of flagging were also available for marking English in Latin. For example, the Latin sermons in London, British Library, MS Harley 3823 contain a few English verses, not clearly visually flagged apart from f. 354v, on which two couplets appear with red underlining; however, variants of the same verses are not visually flagged in Durham, Cathedral Library, MS B.I.18. Another use of red is visible in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 511 (example 1):

- 1 *Angl* maiden stod at welle and
 wep weilawei · late cemet ye
 lith of dai-(f. 110v)
 ‘In English: A maiden stood at the well and wept Weilawei, late
 comes the light of day.’ (transl. JS)

Here the two and a half lines of the English lyric, appearing in a Latin sermon, are not underlined but struck through with red ink (not reproduced in example 1, due to technical constraints). The intention cannot have been to remove the English: strikethroughs in red mark also other words and abbreviations without making them illegible, and the use of red and blue ink leaps to the eye across this page. The code-switch is introduced with *Angl*, a shortened form of the language label *anglice* ‘in English’, preceding what Wenzel (1986: 225–226) calls an “abrupt quotation” and a “mysterious snatch” of vernacular verse. The visual flag is thus accompanied by a metalinguistic one, a feature discussed below (Section 3.2).

As noted above, the post-Conquest manuscripts containing English texts are often quite plain and unadorned, with little or no colour or other costly visual features, although they contain Biblical quotations and Latin words and phrases, elsewhere often picked up by various means. In some cases, the only visual cues guiding the reader to a quotation or a code-switch are marginal manicules (hand-shaped pointers). In Durham, Cathedral Library MS B.I.18 (a Latin manuscript of *Summa de Vitiis*), manicules can be seen in the margins or between columns on many folia, two of them pointing to embedded English (ff. 37r and 85v), both code-switches preceded by a suspended form of *anglice*. Similarly, London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius D vii (f. 184v) also displays multiple flags: in the left margin, a manicule points to a red box with the words “angl̄ dictū” inside, and the Latin body text next to the box contains the *anglice* label and almost two lines of English. Without careful palaeographical analysis, it is difficult to estimate whether manicules and the like are contemporary with the text or represent annotations by “any of the users of the manuscript” (Schipor 2018: 13), be they subsequent readers or much later scholars; for example, the brace next to the English ‘Bede’s death song’ in the Latin of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 211 (f. 108r) is later than the text in the column (Aiello 2021: 52). The same may be true of some of the underlining or boxing in the manuscripts as well. Multiple layers of markings are nonetheless evidence of use and, importantly, indicative of readers’ engagement with other-language material.

A further visible feature is the use of margins or flyleaves for incorporating more text, including additions in another language; a fair share of the limited English material in mainly Latin manuscripts is housed in the extremities of page and book. For example, the bottom margin on f. 25r in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 45, contains two and a half lines of the English version of “Candet Nudatum Pectus”: “Naked was hys wite brest”, etc. In contrast, in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C 317, this Latin poem and a version of its English translation appear together in the body text on f. 89v, separated by a paraph touched with red.⁷ Similarly, marginal and inter-

7 A Latin-and-English sequence also survives in Durham, Cathedral Library, MS A.III.12. This is the oldest of the English “Candets” (Hanna 2011: 189). The English lines always appear with Latin, according to Hanna (2011: 191), but Digby 45 is actually an exception to this (see also Aiello 2021: 57–59).

linear *glosses* – providing translations or explications – are loci for multilingual practices (see 3.2 for related phenomena).⁸ Whether we encounter other-language passages in the margin or glosses between lines of text, these are flagging in verbal form but in visually marked positions on the page. Verbal flags may also be placed within the body text, as we shall see next.

3.2. Metalinguistic flags

Metalinguistic flags are verbal means of pointing to code-switched units or acknowledging their presence: they may name the main language, the other language, or both. As observed by Nurmi and Skaffari (2021: 508), who look at various types of flags for Latin in the history of English and discover similarities in practices from Old to Present-Day English, the languages involved can be identified directly by their names or indirectly, for example as ‘our language’. This, however, is not the only way to flag code-switches verbally.

Examples of label-type verbal flags can be found in many of the manuscripts consulted. In Latin texts, *anglice* – also mentioned by, for example, Voigts (1996: 818) and already seen above – appears shortly before the English response to a toast in London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius B xiii (f. 95v). In London, British Library, MS Cotton Faustina A v, ‘Bede’s death song’ included in the Latin text is poised between references to both languages on f. 43r: “hoc anglico carmine cōponens” and “ita latine sonat”. While it is less easy to find other-language labels in the English texts of the period, main-language labels can be discovered instead: on f. 3r in Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.I.33, for example, a Latin quotation from the Genesis is linked to its English translation with ‘that is in English’, combining an “apposition marker” (Pahta & Nevanlinna 1997: 124) with a label for the target language of the translation (the main language of the text).

In addition to naming languages, verbal flagging can also be assumed to incorporate various forms of *reiteration*: the content of the switch may be repeated in the main language, quite faithfully or with an elaboration or an abridgement. The Cotton Faustina folio cited above is a case in point: the *anglice* label is followed by the English song or poem, and the *latine* label by

8 The best-known glossator of the latter part of the period must be the Tremulous Hand of Worcester (see e.g. Franzen 1991), whose Latin glosses survive in, for example, London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho C i vol. 2 (Laing 1993: 79).

reiteration – i.e., translation – in the main language of the text. Reiteration can be used in spoken language to clarify the meaning of the code-switch, or to emphasise a point (see e.g. Gumperz 1982: 78–79). As a feature of medieval bilingual texts, reiteration has been acknowledged at least since Voigts (1996: 816), but there has been little sustained interest in it. Importantly, Diller (1997–1998) has called this type of reiteration “support”;⁹ see Skaffari (2016) for other possible terms, including *intratextual translation*, and Nurmi and Skaffari (2021) for support as *mediation*. Both Diller (1997–1998) and Skaffari (2016) identify elaboration as the most frequent type of support in their respective primary sources from different centuries: the little Latin quoted from an authoritative source – not unlike what Gumperz (1982: 71) called “truncated, idiomatic stock phrases” – sufficed to establish the reliability of the message conveyed, whereas more space was given to support, which made the content intelligible to a wider audience. The need for this must have been particularly keenly felt when producing texts with an instructional purpose, such as much of religious writing; many of the texts cited here can be assigned to such domains. The reproduction of a relatively large range of homiletic texts in England at this time is a compelling cue to what many of the books may have been intended for: they aided religious instruction, for which expensive decoration was not deemed necessary but which would not have functioned equally well if reiteration in the vernacular had not supported the authoritative Latin.

As seen above, support was at times accompanied by labels for the source or target language, or both. In Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 343, for example, the Latin term *avarus* mentioned in the English text on f. 166v is translated with OE *gytsere* ‘avaricious person’, followed by “on englisce”. This type of metalinguistic flagging was not, however, always done, as can be seen in the preface to the Early Middle English *Ancrene Wisse*, in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402 (example 2):

- 2 ðeos riwle is eaueu inwið & rihteð þe heorte. Et hec ÷ caritas quam describit apłs. de corde puro et consciencia bona & fide non ficta.

9 A similar phenomenon has been described as “guidance added” in research on translating allusions (Leppihalme 1997: 82). Translation is crucial in support for CS.

Þeos riwle is chearite of schir heorte & cleane inwit & treowe bileau.
(f. 1r)

‘This rule is always internal and directs the heart. *And this is the charity that the Apostle describes, ‘of a pure heart and a clear conscience and sincere faith’.* This rule is the charity of a pure heart and a clear conscience and true faith.’ (Millett 2009: 1; original italics)

Since *ap[osto]l[u]s* is mentioned as the source within the Latin sequence but not in English, the code-switch here is longer than its support. Similarly to the rest of the preface, example 2 is without metalinguistic labels for languages; as there is no striking language-related flagging of the visual kind either, the intratextual translation is the only identifiable flag. The Present-Day English rendition, however, is monolingual but flags visually both the embedded translation from Latin and the quotation within it – the former with italics, the latter with punctuation – to guide the reader through the multiple levels of the text.

4. Discussion

The previous section contained varied examples of flagging as metadiscourse assistance to readers encountering a text with multilingual content; these were obviously just a small portion of what the post-Conquest manuscripts contained. We saw how the change of linguistic code was often accompanied by a change in the bibliographic code, made explicit by a language label or supported by an explanation. It is time to address the motivations behind CS on one hand and flagging on the other, and other factors contributing to the variation witnessed in the material.

The global motivation commonly identified by historical CS researchers for switching from English into Latin is the authority carried by the latter; as is well known, it was the international language of the Church and of learning. In contrast, it is harder to pinpoint an equally all-encompassing single motivation for the use of English in Latin texts, although instances of switching in this direction do survive in these manuscripts. Looking at English verses in somewhat later material, Wenzel (1974: 55) has suggested the desire for “memorable and appealing” phrasing as a motivation for their inclusion in the

Latin texts. English switches in the post-Conquest Latin material are words from mortals rather than the word of God; such switches into the language of the original speaker or context may have been considered more authentic or reliable as evidence, or they may have added a local touch to the content provided in Latin (cf. the English response in the Cotton Tiberius example above). Regardless of motivation, some of them have come to preserve snatches of vernacular verse, songs or proverbs which can no longer be accessed elsewhere (Wenzel 1986: e.g. 226). Such “scraps of English” (Laing 1993: 40 *et passim*) are therefore not unimportant.

In addition to verses and quotations, the switches to English may also be names, for example place names in boundary clauses – clauses specifying the geographical boundaries of a plot of land – included in Latin charters (see Schendl 2004). In my material, English boundary clauses appear within Latin in the bottom margins of ff. 328v–329r in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 297. It must have been more expedient to refer to places in the original language rather than with potentially less transparent Latin translations.

All of this suggests that as writers used the two different languages intentionally and for distinguishable – although not necessarily easily confirmable – purposes even in the same text, they were indeed able to tell them apart. That English and Latin appeared together therefore does not imply the emergence of a single, un-separable linguistic system. Towards the end of the Middle English period, the situation may have been different, as Trotter (e.g. 2011) has pointed out, but this applies only to some registers and to the use of the vernaculars, English and French, rather than English and Latin.¹⁰

As for flagging, there are multiple potential motivations for making multilingual features more noticeable in the text. The reason for reiterating content must have been the desire to ensure that the code-switch is understood. This clarifying function has been identified by many CS researchers (e.g. Gumperz 1982: 78), and it is also a feature of metadiscourse (Hyland 2017: 17). As CS phenomena may often be similar in writing and speech, we can review the findings from medieval manuscripts with the help of the classification of flagging patterns presented in the study of CS in spoken lingua franca English by Hynninen, Pietikäinen, and Vetchinnikova (2017: 103–109). Their term for clarification in its various forms is *explication*, but they also identify another

10 The thoroughly mixed code of business writing, involving also Latin, is a case in point (see e.g. Wright 2005).

pattern, *contextualisation*, which refers to mentioning where the switch comes from; this resembles the language labels quoted in 3.2. Sometimes the names of the cited sources or authorities are spelled out as well. Their third type, *hedging using pragmatic markers*, may seem less relevant, but it is explained as features slowing the discourse down at points needing more attention, that is, in the vicinity of CS.¹¹ In manuscripts, visual flagging may have served two purposes: highlighting the switched sequence – often probably because of its content or the value or origin thereof – on one hand, but possibly also providing a hedge on the other, alerting the reader approaching a change in the linguistic code. In the century or so after the Norman Conquest, when monasteries and other institutions were typically led by men of Norman descent, the presence of English in a Latin text may have been surprising and the language itself unintelligible to at least some of the potential readers, which cannot have been the case with Latin – the *lingua franca* of the learned – appearing in otherwise vernacular material. Latin must have been more acceptable, and as Hynninen, Pietikäinen, and Vetchinnikova (2017) point out, it is the less acceptable, more problematic linguistic choices that tend to be flagged.¹² However, we do find instances of visual flagging for both English-in-Latin and Latin-in-English, as section 3.1 indicated.

On another level, the use of flagging may be guided by genre conventions or the manuscript's visual programme, topics which unfortunately could not be discussed at length in connection with the examples above. Visually marking a different rhetorical unit, such as a heading or a quotation in Latin, is an example of such conventions; it also helps the reader to navigate on the page (e.g. Rogos-Hebda 2016: 40–41). Furthermore, the appearance of the manuscript may reflect the individual preferences of the producer or his commissioner or patron. It is therefore important to bear in mind that the flagger may not have been the original code-switcher, but a copyist – or a series of them – was involved in the process; it is, thus, also the scribe who “communicates” to the reader (Jucker & Pahta 2011: 3–4). Moreover, as a material feature of the manuscript, visual flagging was subject to the time and

11 The fourth and last type, request for help (Hynninen, Pietikäinen, & Vetchinnikova 2017: 105), is not relevant here.

12 Similarly, Trotter (2011: 365) argues that not flagging Middle English words in later Insular French texts indicates that choosing to use English equivalents of French lexical items was unconscious and unremarkable.

money available for producing a book – the more colourful the book, the more time-consuming and expensive it was to produce – and did not solely reflect attitudes towards either multilingual practices or intertextual contents.

5. Towards a typology

The types of flagging and the visible practices in executing them are summed up in Table 1 below, in an attempt to devise a tentative typology of flagging English-Latin CS.¹³ A typology need not provide a frequency-based ranking of the categories or types but may, instead, account for the range of possibilities; a quantitative approach was not possible as word counts for most of the material were not available, and therefore frequency counts could not have been normalised. Quantitative and qualitative variation within the material must nonetheless be acknowledged: in one manuscript, several flags may appear together on the same page, while in another we may find a different array of flags, or none at all. To ensure that Table 1 is not a mere summary of the flags encountered in a handful of primary sources displaying an exceptional wealth of relevant features, the types were collected from across the manuscripts consulted.

Examples of the different types were collected from both the Latin and the English-language manuscripts of the period (cf. quotations and descriptions in Sections 3 and 4). It was rare that a particular type of flag could only be located in an English text but not in a Latin one, or vice versa; further searches in medieval manuscripts from England, perhaps beyond the temporal boundaries applied here, could certainly provide a fuller range of data. Moreover, as I originally did not focus on flagging but on CS as a linguistic phenomenon, visual and verbal flags may have been recorded less consistently for some of the manuscripts accessed early in the project.

Some of the visual and verbal types might be divided further. Of the former, the use of red ink, which is now represented by just two types (writing in red on one hand and other use of red ink on the other, such as underlining), could well be described more explicitly, red ink being a versatile means of highlighting parts of text. Of the verbal flags, more attention could be paid to different ways of referring to the source and/or target language, beyond

13 For a more complex model linking multilingual and multimodal practices, but not verbal flagging, see Kopaczyk (2023: 125).

“other metalinguistic labelling”, which now covers labelling the main language (and thus the language of the translation) and both of the languages involved.

Table 1. Types of flagging in the material consulted.

Type of flagging	Type of execution
Visual flagging	Code-switched text in red
	CS marked in red otherwise
	CS marked in main ink
	CS in different script
	CS in different size
	Code-switched unit placed differently
	CS flagged in margin
Verbal flagging	Metalinguistic label for the embedded language
	Other metalinguistic labelling
	Glosses provided
	Support in main language provided
No flagging	(Unmarked, smooth CS)

As noted above, Table 1 does not reflect typicality or frequencies. Nonetheless, it was not possible to avoid making some observations about the preferred forms of flagging. Although the same methods were available for writing and flagging English and Latin, the two languages seem to have been treated somewhat differently. For example, it was more difficult to locate red ink associated with English in a Latin text than vice versa. Other means of flagging were used instead, perhaps most notably metalinguistic labels. Regardless of the main language of the text, English seems to receive a language label more often than Latin, possibly because the latter was the default language of writing and therefore an unmarked choice; in a similar vein, Faulkner (2022: 70) notes that “a linguistic code has a name only if it is an object of discourse”. Switching to English in a Latin text may have been regarded as exceptional enough to merit a verbal flag (but not red ink, for example), and as the language skills of every potential reader of Latin texts could not have been expected to include the vernacular, it was useful to provide a translation as well as a metalinguistic label for the embedded English.

Another observation arising from a close examination of the data has to do with what is actually flagged. Visual flags appear with rhetorically distinct parts of the text, such as other-language quotations and headings, whereas

verbal flagging is more clearly ‘CS flagging’. The metalinguistic cues point to the code-switched units within the text itself, or to their translations, rather than to instances that represent different types or levels of discourse: the red of the quotation, for example, may be primarily a discourse-structuring device and only secondarily a language-marking one, while naming the language(s) points more directly to the presence of two linguistic codes. This underlines the relevance of considering metalinguistic labelling in CS research.

The typology, despite these caveats and concerns, may well be of use in research outside the rather narrow temporal limits defining the material studied here. Linguistic practices and communicative functions are known for their longevity. Recently, this has been discussed with reference to both support for CS in multilingual texts (Nurmi & Skaffari 2021) and, more broadly, to language practices transhistorically enduring changes in society and in technology (Evans & Tagg 2020). Flagging remains important: in 21st-century texts, often digitally produced, distributed and accessed, red ink is no longer relevant, but the function it had in the manuscript era still is.

6. Conclusion

The main findings of this study are that English-Latin CS observable in the long twelfth century is often although not consistently flagged and that flagging takes multiple forms, both visual and verbal, or multimodal and linguistic. This underlines – sometimes literally – the fact that the juxtaposed languages carried separate functions within the same text or manuscript. In its varied forms, flagging facilitated readers’ encounters with and understanding of other-language passages.

Multilingual and flagging practices also communicate to us the context in which the texts were produced. Post-Conquest England was multilingual in writing and in speech, and the default language of its texts was Latin. In this de-vernacularised writing culture, snippets of English nonetheless appeared in supposedly monolingual texts composed in Latin, either in the margins or carefully placed within the Latin prose. Some new English texts were also produced, and those writing in English could hardly conceal or suppress the relevance of the prestigious lingua franca of Europe. As all readers or audiences did not have multilingual literacy skills, the supporting translations must have been useful in both Latin and English texts.

The present exploration, I hope, invites researchers working on historical CS to consider the material as well as the linguistic context of each instance of two or more languages interacting on the page and with the reader. The changes in bibliographic code that match switches from one linguistic code to another may serve multiple purposes, which have not yet been examined fully; they may highlight the content, origin or authority of the other-language sequence as well as code-switching itself, or they may potentially serve as a type of hedging. The verbal – metalinguistic and reiterative – flags also merit more attention, since they may suggest what text producers thought about the intelligibility and acceptability of their choices in the eyes of their intended audiences. Overall, it is the recipient's view on code-switching and other multilingual practices that we should also pay attention to in future: marginal notes in another language or manicules added onto the page remind us that the original code-switcher's output did not become interaction until a reader received and reacted to it.

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