

**Codeswitching** ***in*** the **Irish-Latin** *Leabhar Breac* :

*Mediæval homiletic **culture***

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**Codeswitching *in* the Irish-Latin *Leabhar Breac* :**

*Mediæval homiletic culture*

**Codeswitching *in* de Iers-Latijnse *Leabhar Breac* :**

*Middeleeuwse homiletische cultuur*

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

Proefschrift

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E furono solo i monaci dell'Hibernia che nei loro monasteri scrissero e lessero, lessero e scrissero, e miniarono, e poi si gettarono su navicelle fatte di pelle d'animale e navigarono verso queste terre e le evangelizzarono come foste infedeli, capisci? Sei stato a Bobbio, è stato fondato da san Colombano, uno di costoro. E dunque lasciali stare se inventavano un latino nuovo, visto che in Europa non si sapeva più quello vecchio. Furono uomini grandi.

*'It was only the monks of Hibernia in their monasteries who wrote and read, read and wrote, and illuminated, and then jumped into little boats made of animal hide and navigated toward these lands and evangelized them as if you people were infidels, you understand? You have been to Bobbio, which was founded by Saint Columba, one of them. And so never mind if they invented a new Latin, seeing that in Europe no one knew the old Latin any more. They were great men.'*

I libri non sono fatti per crederci, ma per essere sottoposti a indagine. Di fronte a un libro non dobbiamo chiederci cosa dica ma cosa vuole dire, idea che i vecchi commentatori dei libri sacri ebbero chiarissima.

*'Books are not made to be believed, but to be subjected to inquiry. When we consider a book, we mustn't ask ourselves what it says but what it means, a precept that the commentators of the holy books had very clearly in mind.'*

~ Umberto Eco, Il nome della rosa (tr. William Weaver)



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## Abbreviations

123	1 <sup>st</sup> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> person number
A	Adjective class
a	Accusative case
ab	Ablative case
Act	<i>Actus Apostolorum</i>
AD	<i>anno domini</i> [in the year of the lord [ <i>ob.</i> ]]
ADJ	Adjunct function
Alt	Alternational codeswitching type
AN	Anglo-Norman language
AP	Adjectival phrase
APP	Appositive function
AUX	Auxiliary verb
B	adverb class
BC	Before Christ [ <i>ob.</i> ]
BCE	Before Common Era [ <i>olim</i> BC [ <i>q.v.</i> ]]
BL	London, British Library
BLE	London, British Library, Egerton 91
BNF	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France
BP	adverbial phrase
C	Coordinator class
c.	Column
cc.	Columns
ca.	<i>circa</i> [around]
CC	<i>Catechesis Celtica</i> [Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, Reginensis latinus 49]
CCH	<i>Collectio Canonum Hibernensis</i> [ed. Wasserschleben 1885; Flechner <i>forthc.</i> ]
CE	Common Era [ <i>olim</i> AD [ <i>q.v.</i> ]]
CIT	Citational function
CK	<i>Catechesis Krakoviensis</i> [Kraków, Archiwum Kapituły Metropolitej Krakowskiej 140 (43)]
cl	Clause
>cl	Interclausal scope
<cl	Intraclausal scope
CM	Codemixing

cMI	Classical Modern Irish language [ca.1200-1800 CE]
COM	Complement function
COMP	Comparative grade
Con	Congruent lexicalisation codeswitching type
COP	Copula verb
CS	Codeswitching
CV	<i>Catechesis Veronensis</i> [Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare LXVII (64)]
D	Determiner class
d	Dative case
DIL	Dictionary of the Irish Language [ed. Marstrander 1913 - Quin 1976]
DLD	Database of Latin Dictionaries, < <a href="http://clt.brepolis.net/dld/Default.aspx">clt.brepolis.net/dld/Default.aspx</a> >
Dn	<i>Daniel</i>
DP	Determiner phrase
DU	Dual person
Ecl	<i>Ecclesiastes</i>
eDIL	Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language, < <a href="http://www.dil.ie">www.dil.ie</a> >
EMP	Emphasising particle
ex.	<i>Exeunte</i> (end of century)
Ez	<i>Ezechiel</i>
f.	Folium
ff.	Folia
FCB	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Fonds Celtique et Basque 1
FÓ	<i>Féilire Óengusso</i> [ed. Stokes 1880, 1905; Volmering <i>forthcoming</i> ]
FOR	Formulaic function
FUT	Future tense
g	Genitive case
ga	Irish language
ga-la	Irish-Latin language [diamorph]
HiCS	Historical codeswitching
HisTEI	Historical TEI [ <i>q.v.</i> ]
HL	Hiberno-Latin language
Ier	<i>Ieremias</i>
IMPF	Imperfect tense
IMPV	Imperative mood
in.	<i>Ineunte</i> (beginning of century)

Ins	Insertional codeswitch type
Iob	<i>Iob</i>
Ioh	<i>Iohannes</i>
Is	<i>Isaias</i>
ISOS	Irish Script on Screen, < <a href="http://www.isos.dias.ie">www.isos.dias.ie</a> >
la	Latin language
LB	<i>An Leabhar Breac</i> [Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 23 P 16]
Lc	<i>Lucas</i>
LFF	<i>Liber Flavus Fergusiorum</i> [Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 23 O 48 a & b]
LQE	<i>Liber Questionum in Evangeliiis</i> [ed. Rittmueller 2003]
MB	Gospels of Mael Brigte [London, British Library, Harley 1802]
MC	Main clause
Mc	<i>Marcus</i>
Mcc	<i>I, II Macchabeorum</i>
ME	Middle English language
MED	Middle English Dictionary, < <a href="http://www.quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med">www.quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med</a> >
med.	<i>Medio</i> (middle of century)
MI	Middle Irish language [ca.900-1200 CE]
ML	Mediaeval Latin language
MLF	Matrix Language Frame
MoCS	Modern codeswitching
Mt	<i>Matthæus</i>
N	Noun class
n	Nominative case
NP	Noun phrase
ob.	<i>obiit</i> [he/she/it has died]
OBJ	Object function
OI	Old Irish language [ca.600-900 CE]
Os	<i>Osee</i>
P	Preposition class
p.	Page
pp.	Pages
PAS	Passive voice
PH	<i>The passions and the homilies from Leabhar Breac</i> [ed. Atkinson 1887]
phr	Phrase

	>phr	Interphrasal scope
	<phr	Intraphrasal scope
PL		Plural person
PP		Prepositional phrase
PPA		<i>Participium praesentis activi</i> [Present participle]
PPP		<i>Participium perfecti passivi</i> [Past participle]
PRE		Predicate function
PRF		Perfect tense
Prv		<i>Proverbia</i>
Ps		<i>Psalmi</i>
PST		Past tense [Preterite]
Q		Question particle
q.v.		<i>quo vide</i> [... for which, see....]
REL		Relative form
Rg		<i>III, IV Regum</i>
RIA		Dublin, Royal Irish Academy
Rv		<i>Revelatio</i> [ <i>Apocalypsis</i> ]
s		Sentence
	>s	Intersentential scope
	<s	Intrasentential scope
SBJV		Subjunctive mood
SBST		Substantive verb
SC		Subordinating [embedded] clause
SG		Singular person
SUB		Subject function
TCD		Dublin, Trinity College Library
TEI		Text Encoding Initiative, < <a href="http://www.tei-c.org">www.tei-c.org</a> >
TRA		Translation function
V		Verb class
v		Vocative case
VN		Verbal noun
VP		Verb phrase
w		Word
XML		eXtended Mark-up language
YBL		<i>Yellow Book of Lecan</i> [ <i>Leabhar Buidhe Leacáin</i> ; Dublin, Trinity College 1318]

## Chapter 1

## Introduction

1.1 Naturally, a manuscript

When William of Baskerville, in his search for the most important manuscript of the Middle Ages, first inspects the church of the labyrinthine monastery in the mediaeval murder mystery *Il nome della rosa*, he is confronted with a strange creature, the monstrously countenanced monk Salvatore, who seems to be speaking in tongues stranger still:

'Penitenziagite! Vide quando draco venturus est a rodegara l'anima tua! La mortz est super nos! Prega che vene lo papa santo a liberar nos a malo de todas le peccata! Ah ah, ve piase ista negromanzia de Domini Nostri Iesu Christi! Et anco jois m'es dols a plazer m'es dolors...Cave el diabolo! Semper m'aguaita in qualche canto per adentarme le carcagna. Ma Salvatore non est insipiens! Bonum monasterium, et aqui se magna et se priega dominum nostrum. Et el resto valet un figo seco. Et Amen. No?'<sup>1</sup>

[In the English translation:

'Penitenziagite! Watch out for the draco who cometh in futurum to gnaw your anima! Death is super nos! Pray the Santo Pater come to liberar nos a malo and all our sin! Ha ha, you like this negromanzia de Domini Nostri Iesu Christi! Et anco jois m'es dols e plazer m'es dolors. Cave el diabolo! Semper lying in wait for me in some angulum to snap at my heels. But Salvatore is not stupidus! Bonum monasterium, and aqui refectorium and pray to dominum nostrum. And the rest is worth merda. Amen. No?']<sup>2</sup>

The original passage cited above comprises a conflation of Latin, Italian and Provençal, even in the same sentence. This phenomenon, where two or more languages are used within the scope of one speech act is called codeswitching [CS], the topic of the present investigation. If one were to disentangle the above statement in its constituent languages, a number of observations arise:

[1.1] Not all words can be securely assigned to only one language, like the initial penitenziagite 'be repentant', which comprises a conflation of the Italian *penitenzia* and the Latin or Italian agite;

[1.2] Within individual sentences the switch point from one language to another is often formed by words which can theoretically be assigned to multiple languages, like the Latin or Provençal est in the phrase *la mortz est super nos* 'death is upon us';

<sup>1</sup> Umberto Eco (1980), *Il nome della rosa*.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* (1980), *Il nome della rosa*, tr. William Weaver (1986 |1983|: 31):

## 2 Codeswitching in the *Irish-Latin Leabhar Breac*: mediaeval homiletic culture

[1.3] Certain stock phrases concerning religion are reserved to the Latin language, like **peccata** 'sins' or **Domini Nostri Iesu Christi** 'our lord Jesus Christ' but a colloquial expression like *un figo seco* 'a dry fig, zilch' is in the vernacular;

[1.4] Switches can take place both between phrases like *se priega dominum nostrum* 'one prays to our lord', within the phrase like *ista negromanzia* 'this necromancy', or a combination of between and within phrases like **Cave el diabol** 'beware of the devil';

[1.5] Lastly, and not least importantly, though this amalgam of languages is seemingly haphazard, the narrator of the story says: "E tuttavia, bene o male, io capivo cosa Salvatore volesse intendere."<sup>3</sup>

As appears from the above example, codeswitching does not necessarily hinder the comprehension of the message. In the case in point it can be claimed that this is due to the very close proximity of Latin, Italian and Provençal as affiliates of the Romance language family. Compare, however, the English translation, where a similar conflation of languages as in the original passage is attested. Even though these two paragraphs obviously share the same semantic content, however, the outcome of this codeswitching is markedly different. The translation renders most Latin in English, though it leaves certain words like **draco** 'dragon' and **semper** 'always'. More unusually, new stretches of Latin appear, like **in futurum** 'in the future', **angulum** 'corner' or **refectorium** 'dining-room'. Remarkable is the substitution of **insipiens** 'foolish' for **stupidus**, the latter naturally related to the English *stupid*. Similarly, some words of the vernacular are retained where others have been translated to either English (*rodegarla* → *gnaw*; *La mortz* → *Death*) or Latin (**papa** → **Pater**; **canto** → **angulum**). Most strikingly, the vernacular Italian expression *un figo seco* has been rendered by another Italian idiom *merda* 'a damn'. Looking at this alternate version of the same text, it appears proper to add an additional observation:

[1.6] Different recensions of the same text make different language choices in both the amount and the properties of codeswitching, making it a profoundly individual and creative phenomenon.

Though the preceding case of historical codeswitching is of course fictional, all of the observations listed above apply to actual mediaeval bilingualism as it is attested in its sources from all over Europe. Whereas English is at present the proverbial *lingua franca* in science and society, in times mediaeval the long-

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<sup>3</sup> "And yet, one way or another, I did understand what Salvatore meant."



lasting legacy of Latin still lingered. However, where in the early Middle Ages a monopoly for Latin may be surmised as the language of scientific study, there is one small pocket of indomitable Gaels holding out against the dominance of Romance. Early Irish was a rival to Latin in both religious and secular matters and in both higher and lower registers. This equivalence in turn led to the appearance at an early age of text composed in Latin and Irish together. This Latin-Irish bilingualism is the subject of the present study. An exceptional example of this very common concept can be observed in the *Leabhar Breac* 'Speckled Book', a religious manuscript from the early fifteenth century. Though Christianity can presently be considered a conservative current in society, in the Middle Ages the study of Scripture was certainly a science in perpetual motion. Over the course of the millennium the Bible became embellished by doxological discussion, research tools and many a secondary [para]text. One such genre of biblical study is the homily, a moral commentary on Scripture. Though both the Bible and the bulk of its reception are in the authoritative Latin, this tradition is adapted to Irish audiences through vernacular redresses and additions. The resulting texts, containing Latin not translated by the Irish or Irish unrelated to the Latin, are appealing sources for the study of older bilingualism.

While the *Leabhar Breac* might be viewed as a late witness to this mediaeval bilingualism, it is one of the most persistent problems in Irish studies to date the available texts. Even though most manuscripts hail from between the fourteenth and the seventeenth centuries, the texts they contain and their languages must go back to much earlier times, albeit with many modernisations and corruptions. Likewise, the *Leabhar Breac* [henceforth *LB*], dated to the start of the fifteenth century, contains a core of texts that was composed around the year 1100 CE, while other texts may have originated as late as 1350 CE.<sup>4</sup> Even this core, though, can be linked to a homiletic tradition that was in vogue in the seventh and eighth centuries. Later influences include the monastic reform movement of the *Céli Dé* in the ninth century, an upheaval coinciding with ecclesiastical councils encouraging the translation of Latin into the vernacular.<sup>5</sup> The *communis opinio* is that the *Leabhar Breac* is a compilation made from various sources at various times. Without disputing this truth, the present investigation turns the perspective away from what information historical documents cannot convey on the structure of texts and languages. Rather, the following chapters are concerned with the original intentions of the compiler toward the manuscript as a whole and the homilies in particular. Given the fact that this homiletic genre, bilingual by nature, is central to the codex, it needs to be studied what the make-up of the manuscript is and what the roles are which both languages play in its composition. From this case study implications may be inferred about the

<sup>4</sup> Mac Eoin (1996: 195).

<sup>5</sup> Follett (2006: 124).

#### 4 Codeswitching in the Irish-Latin *Leabhar Breac*: mediaeval homiletic culture

language situation of mediaeval Ireland. Set beside other areas such as mediaeval England, the present investigation of bilingualism should help to shed light on the place of Ireland in the intellectual history of mediaeval Europe.

##### 1.2 Objectives and outline of research

Previous studies have hitherto investigated either the place of mediaeval Irish society within Europe or the use of multiple languages in texts from Ireland. What remains, however, is the combination of both fields to come to a fuller understanding of the *Leabhar Breac* as a document both special in its own right and symptomatic of its societal context. Since the composite structure of both the manuscript and the texts of the *Leabhar Breac* can only be considered through multidisciplinary study of codicology, history and linguistics, the main question to be answered by the present research should take into account these different avenues of investigation. The central question in this undertaking concerns the information which the different modes and functions of bilingualism in the homiletic quires of the "*Leabhar Breac*" can provide about the sociolinguistic and scholarly setting of mediaeval Ireland within Europe. This main question can be divided into several subsections of inquiry. Firstly, an analysis of the languages of codeswitching can tell us why which language is used where it is. Secondly, this switching can be observed especially frequently in homilies, moral commentary on Scripture, because these often begin and end with Latin quotations that are explained through Irish and Latin elaborations. In studying these Latin-Irish texts and their Latin and Irish sources, the development of the vernacular Irish language in its relationship with the Latin *lingua franca* is clarified. Thirdly, the interactions between the two languages in such learned texts can provide information on the status of Irish vernacular learning within the framework of mediaeval European intellectual culture.

The above consideration of the languages, texts and cultural contexts of the *Leabhar Breac* logically brings about a tripartite thematic division in chapters. The first strand follows the patterns of the languages of codeswitching within *LB*. The varying interchange between two languages is indicative not only of their grammatical and syntactical properties but also of their respective social standing. Categories to be considered are the scope or length of the switch, the lexical and syntactic parsing, textual contents and their contexts, vocabulary in the text and its presence in parallel versions, secondary literature and source analysis, and the role of scribe and corrector. All these aspects typify the state and thus the status of vernacular Irish compared to the Latin register. The middle level concerns the composition of the collection and the correlation between codicology on the one hand and genre and language on the other. The interchange of languages occurs in texts that appear within the manuscript in an order that appears deliberate, although it is partially distorted by the binding. A

codicological overview of the manuscript can bring to light the intentions of the author and scribe toward their public. This hierarchy of languages can be correlated to the hierarchy of texts, and also to their use of sources, which speaks volumes about the respective status of the two languages. The final perspective considers what a bilingual homiletic manuscript can say about the sources of scientific study in mediaeval Ireland in a European context. This source study is undertaken in the light of linguistics; that is, it does not attempt to unearth Irish and Latin sources beyond those behind the texts and languages of *LB*. Conclusions on the implications of Irish intellectual culture as compared to that on the Continent may be inferred, but these will remain in need of further study.

From the foregoing overview it is clear that there are many aspects to the study of the *Leabhar Breac*, its texts, languages and cultural affiliations. Hence it follows that a multidisciplinary approach is needed in order to shed light on this complex codex. The sources of codeswitching in manuscripts and texts are at the centre of chapters 2 and 3. In chapter 2 a codicological description of the manuscript will be provided in order to identify the material particularities of the witness. This task is not only useful in itself but also for an analysis of the use of languages. It is vital to look at the original, rebound and misbound quire structure to glance the planning and hierarchy of languages in the manuscript as a whole and in individual texts. After this groundwork has been laid, it will be paramount to identify comparable manuscripts and text versions in order to qualify the use of languages in the *Leabhar Breac*. When the language use in this manuscript corresponds to other witnesses, the degree of Latin-Irish bilingualism within mediaeval Irish society can be assessed more thoroughly. Conversely, if the texts from *LB* contain language use not present elsewhere, this can be taken as indicative of an exceptional status for this important manuscript. The witnesses with which to compare *LB* are all homiletic and religious codices from around the fifteenth century containing Latin and Irish items. These are the *Yellow Book of Lecan* (c.1391-1417); the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum* (c.1437-1440); MS Egerton 91 (c.1473); and MS Celtique et Basque 1 (c.1475-1500). After the corpus has been established, chapter 3 compares their texts against the characteristics of the homiletic genre. The consideration of genre is important, because it can determine in how far language patterns stem from the restraints of textual structure and in how far they may display original composition on the part of the author or scribe. The juxtaposition with other Latin-Irish text versions will enable an analysis of transmissions and adaptations of their language properties.

The study of the language properties of Latin-Irish codeswitching comprises the core of the investigation in chapters 4, 5 and 6. In chapter 4 the linguistic theories on both modern and historical codeswitching are considered in the light of their applicability to the Latin-Irish corpus. The degrees of bilingualism present in the

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intellectual environment of mediaeval Ireland can be characterised in two ways, the one in terms of grammatical constraints on codeswitching, the other in terms of the role of both languages in learned discourse. The culmination of linguistic theory and sociohistorical practice will come in chapter 5 and 6, when first the grammatical uses and then the typological functions of codeswitches in the *Leabhar Breac* will be subjected to studious scrutiny. Grammatical properties of codeswitching concern the language categories in which switches can be divided such as scope, word class and syntactical function. Typological characteristics of codeswitching comprise the amount to which both languages contribute to the construction of the sentence, in which codeswitches can be inserted into a mostly monolingual framework, alternated in syntactically self-sufficient segments, or lexicalised congruently by both languages on the basis of a shared syntax. After these three chapters the language situation in mediaeval Ireland is fully visible.

These findings on the role of multilingualism in Irish society could consequently be compared to the situation in other intellectual cultures of mediaeval Europe in chapters 7 and 8. Chapter 7 contains a comparison with the situation in mediaeval England and its bilingual homiletic literature. This overview is not only interesting in itself but also relevant both to the close links between the two areas and also to the broader perspective for Celtic studies in a European context. As both cultures harbour a far-reaching use of bilingualism within texts and society, the comparison should indicate in how far the codeswitching in the *Leabhar Breac* is indeed exceptional. The conclusions on the degrees of bilingualism in the *Leabhar Breac* as compared to its parallels at home and overseas can be drawn with accuracy within chapter 8. After a summary of each of the preceding chapters the final section of this investigation will consider how the pattern of languages in *LB* and its parallels can elucidate the status of these languages in mediaeval Irish society as compared to European society at large. At the end of the investigation, the question can be answered to what extent the degrees of bilingualism in *LB* are extraordinary in comparing the manuscript and its homiletic texts to parallel versions and other witnesses from the field of Latin-Irish on the one hand, and to the situation in homilies from early mediaeval England on the other hand. The appendices, finally, contain full descriptions of the codeswitches, the codicology and textual affiliations of the *Leabhar Breac* so that future researchers can profit from the present investigation.

### 1.3 State of the art in Irish-Latin bilingualism

Even though the frequency with which bilingual texts appear is an extraordinary characteristic of mediaeval Ireland, the investigation of the interaction of Latin and Irish has long remained underdeveloped due to the lingering influence of nationalism on scholarly study. The renewed interest in the local lore of Ireland caused an unfortunate neglect of Latin learning, to such an extent that the 1887

edition of the passions and homilies from the *Leabhar Breac* either omitted or misplaced all Latin material.<sup>6</sup> Subsequent editions of the manuscript largely ignored the role of Latin, with the possible exception of Ó Máille.<sup>7</sup> The latter scholar refers to *LB* when remarking on occasional adaptations of Latin literature to Irish interests. It is only a contribution by the German scholar Bernhard Bischoff that pays due attention to Latin affiliations. Bischoff strives to catalogue Latin literature allegedly written by Irishmen (often referred to as *Hiberno-Latin*) by defining a number of common characteristics.<sup>8</sup> Around the time of the translation of Bischoff's overview into English a new interest arises in the languages of the *Leabhar Breac*. The correlation between palaeography and codicology is investigated by Ó Concheanainn. He succeeds in identifying the hand of the copyist as that of Murchad Ó Cuindlis, who was involved in other Irish manuscripts.<sup>9</sup> Around the same time it is tentatively noted by Mac Donncha that not all Irish in *LB* derives directly from original Latin passages:<sup>10</sup> Latin can be left untranslated, Irish can fail to correspond to Latin, and Latin can be influenced by Irish. Such an analysis of Latin-Irish interactions notwithstanding, the core of Celtic studies continued to avoid this research area. Even in a study of the important *Cambrai Homily* as late as 1981, issues of bilingualism are largely ignored.<sup>11</sup> At the same time, though, there arose a new interest in the Latin and Irish of the *Leabhar Breac* through the work of Jean Rittmüller. Her studies on the sources and parallels of *LB* indicated that this manuscript partly derives from an older homiletic traditions and partly constitutes original composition in both the Latin and the Irish language.<sup>12</sup>

The interest in bilingualism picked up only after Wenzel's publication of macaronic, or multilingual, sermons, which he suggested could have been addressed from the pulpit at a bilingual public.<sup>13</sup> Wenzel was revolutionary insofar as he saw codeswitches not as a defect but as a strategy. For these switches he also provided a tentative taxonomy, categorising them as either gloss, metatext or integrated speech. Glosses are additions functioning outside a main text; metatexts are segments within the main text derived from another text source; while integrated speech comprises codeswitches whereby two languages

<sup>6</sup> Atkinson (1887: iii-iv); cf. the facsimile edition (1876).

<sup>7</sup> O'Keefe (1905); Best (1907), *id.* (1912); Gwynn (1911), *id.* (1914); O'Neill (1911); Ó Máille (1912); Dottin (1913); cf. the criticism by Draak (1957: 1).

<sup>8</sup> Bischoff (1954: 189-279); tr. Colm O'Grady (1976: 78-145).

<sup>9</sup> Ó Concheanainn (1973: 67).

<sup>10</sup> Mac Donncha (1974: 59-71); cf. his editions (1983, 1984) of two multilingual texts from the *Leabhar Breac* witness.

<sup>11</sup> Ó Néill (1981: 137-147).

<sup>12</sup> Rittmüller (1982: 1-10).

<sup>13</sup> Wenzel (1994: 17-22); cf. *id.* (2005: 1-23), where homilies stated to be written in Latin are spoken vernacularly.

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are equally essential to the main text. The publication by Wenzel coincides with another study of sermons by Constable. He considers the conflation of Latin and the vernacular in preaching a form of 'semi-' or 'demi-literacy', terms which classify bilingualism as competence rather than deficiency.<sup>14</sup> In the wake of Wenzel the study of historical bilingualism becomes rather prolific. The unique situation of mediaeval Irish literacy is underlined by the findings of Stevenson, who underscored the elevated status of Irish in its native learning tradition, while also acknowledging the debts of that tradition to Latin literature.<sup>15</sup> Along similar lines, the *Leabhar Breac* is esteemed by Mac Eoin as an exceptional example of Latin-Irish integration. According to his study the differing use of languages in the homilies indicates differing dates for their composition from c.1100 to 1350 CE.<sup>16</sup> In a similar survey of the interchange of Latin and Irish in the *Táin Bó Cuailnge* 'The cattle raid of Cooley', Tristram asserts that the Latin segments would not have been intended to be spoken but rather serve as extra-textual discourse markers. By signalling the Latin narrative framework to which the Irish textual contents are connected, the codeswitching renders the story suitable for audiences both from a Latinate and from an Irish background.<sup>17</sup> Tristram refers to a paper by Nicole Müller on codeswitching as a tool intended to draw attention, occurring more regularly at constituent boundaries than within word groups. Such grammatical properties of codeswitching will be weighed later on in chapters 5 and 6.

In previous scholarship the consensus was that Latin receded before Irish in the ninth and tenth centuries.<sup>18</sup> Instead of a linear development from Latin to Irish, however, the use of the two languages is increasingly seen as a choice on the part of the author or copyist. According to Hewish, the languages of the homilies in the *Leabhar Breac* is adapted to the demands of the compilation, which is said to be aimed at an educated lay audience more familiar with Irish than Latin traditions. Consequently, the Latin in *LB* is not presented as the language of ancient authority, but it is used rather to emphasise the message in Irish.<sup>19</sup> This notion corresponds to the conclusions by Fletcher, who posits that texts were recombined to form new compilations for preaching or teaching purposes.<sup>20</sup> Codeswitches could therefore function as markers of the integration of different sources, implying a high level of competence in both languages. In addition, Fletcher points to an intricate interweaving of the Irish, English and

<sup>14</sup> Constable (1994: 131-152).

<sup>15</sup> Stevenson (1995), (1996: 99-134); cf. *ead.* (2011: 124-142), where bilingualism is defined as two languages being present but not identical in use.

<sup>16</sup> Mac Eoin (1996: 195).

<sup>17</sup> Tristram (1997: 847-866), citing Müller (1995).

<sup>18</sup> Tristram (1997: 859).

<sup>19</sup> Hewish (2003: 11-21).

<sup>20</sup> Fletcher (2009: 12-62, 242-269).

Latin mediaeval written cultures. Another study into the transmissions of texts is O'Sullivan (2010), who traces a collection of litanies across many manuscripts including the *Leabhar Breac* and the *Yellow Book of Lecan*, where they were written by the same scribe.<sup>21</sup> The fluid transmission of texts is also a major theme in the editions by McLaughlin. Three homilies from *LB* contain traces of untranslated Latin or unfinished Irish that betray the reworking of Latin Bible commentary into bilingual homilies.<sup>22</sup> This creative process can be traced in other codices such as the (*Great*) *Book of Lecan*, linked to the same scribe as the one involved with the *Leabhar Breac*. The correspondences extend to the use of common sources from the Hiberno-Latin textual tradition, the addition and omission of bilingual introductions or conclusions, and the paraphrasing of citations. All these authorial adaptations draw attention to the scholarly skills of the scribe in both Latin and Irish. On the basis of this analysis McLaughlin devises four different stages of bilingualism within the *LB*. These stages range from Latin texts with only occasional Irish, via texts with bilingual beginnings or endings and fully bilingual texts, to Irish texts with but little Latin.

The formulation of these four stages of bilingualism in studying Latin-Irish texts is the culmination of all previous attention to the intricate interrelation of both languages. What is still lacking from all of the above, however, is an in-depth investigation of exactly how the two languages correlate. Fortunately, the field of historical codeswitching has undergone considerable growth in the past decades. Since the work done by Wenzel there has been a major contribution to the study of Latin and the vernaculars by Adams,<sup>23</sup> who identifies a distinction in status between the two codes. In his survey of epigraphical material from the Roman world, Latin constitutes the official language with which the vernaculars can be contrasted for language-specific contents. This pioneering work has spurred offshoots in other fields as well. A study on the *Life of Patrick* has been executed by Bronner, in which codeswitching mostly occurs between sentences. This interchange is shown to be a conscious choice in order to emphasise the differences between the status of the two languages.<sup>24</sup> Contrasting with this sociolinguistic approach is a series of articles on the computation of dates and numbers by Bisagni and Warntjes.<sup>25</sup> They claim that the codeswitches there serve a didactic purpose, explaining Latin technical terminology in the native language of the Irish monks and scholars. The most extensive treatment of Latin-Irish codeswitching is a study on the Sankt Gallen glosses by Moran. He provides not only an analysis of the grammatical constructions in which

<sup>21</sup> O'Sullivan (2010: 26-36).

<sup>22</sup> McLaughlin (2010: 37-59); *ead.* (2012: 113-127); *ead.* (forthcoming).

<sup>23</sup> Adams (2003: 1-8, 18-29); cf. Adams et al. (2002).

<sup>24</sup> Bronner (2005: 3).

<sup>25</sup> Bisagni/Warntjes (2007: 1-33); *eid.* (2008: 77-105).

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codeswitches are employed, but also an electronic research environment. There other scholars can search the data in different categories and thus address their own queries.<sup>26</sup> In addition to shedding light on the detailed interchanges between the Latin and Irish language, the choice for open access and accountability is surely a significant step forward in historical bilingualism.

### 1.4 Dating the texts in the *Leabhar Breac*

A major methodological problem in investigating Irish manuscripts is the fact that the date of production of these codices is usually much later than the date of composition for the texts they contain. Though most manuscripts stem from between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, the state of their language system often puts the textual origins to between the ninth and twelfth centuries, the period of Middle Irish. In the case of the *Leabhar Breac* the core of the collection dates to c.1100. Haubrichs specifies the convent of Cellach in Armagh as the location of compilation, and c.1105-29 as the accompanying date.<sup>27</sup> The *Fís Adamnáin* (p.253) is dated specifically to 1106.<sup>28</sup> Two texts appear to date from the eleventh century, to wit the preceding *Homily on Death* (p.251) and the *Vision of Mac Conglinne* (p.213); the text of the *Betha Phátraic* (p.24) appears to be as early as c.900. Three items may be later than the others, the *Passio Iacobi* (p.177, post-twelfth century), the first part of the *Passio Christi* (p.160, c.1200), and the *Homily on the Ten Commandments* (p.243, c.1350).<sup>29</sup> Even within one quire the texts may not be homogeneous in terms of composition date. In fact, as Ó Concheanainn has it, “the arrangement of the manuscript does not correspond to the chronological order of the ascertainable dates of writing.”<sup>30</sup>

Part of the reason behind the differences in dating lies in the development of religious writing within Ireland. From at least the seventh century Irish monastic schools employed their own mode of exegesis, combining Continental traditions of line-by-line Bible commentary, the Irish predilection of question-and-answer text structure and thematically ordered lists of information.<sup>31</sup> By this time the conjoining of oral Irish instruction and written Christian Latin had been underway for at least two centuries. In early mediaeval Ireland the Roman alphabet was used for the writing of religious and secular literature in Irish as easily as in Latin.<sup>32</sup> For *LB* it is claimed that the homilies can be traced back to the seventh-century exegetical school in Lismore.<sup>33</sup> The next significant shift

<sup>26</sup> Moran (2009-2011), cf. <<http://www.stgallpriscian.ie/>>.

<sup>27</sup> Haubrichs (2002: 170-2).

<sup>28</sup> Mac Donncha (1974: 61).

<sup>29</sup> Mac Eoin (1996: 209).

<sup>30</sup> Ó Concheanainn (1973: 64).

<sup>31</sup> Stevenson (1996: 134).

<sup>32</sup> Richter (1995: 125); cf. Richter (2002: 29).

<sup>33</sup> Mac Donncha (1984: 7).



happened at the end of the eighth century, when the religious reform movement known as the *Céli Dé* prompted the writing of new instructional material. The influence of these *Culdees* can be seen clearly in *LB*, for instance in the presence of the *Rule of the Céli Dé* on p.9 or the *Martyrology of Óengus the Céli Dé* from p.75. At the same time, Insular scholars involved in the Carolingian Renaissance brought back home new theological and scholarly insights into Latin learning.<sup>34</sup> This school of homiletic thought, stressing the liturgical application of saintly lives, is visible in *LB*, where the homiletic material of quire C is obviously ordered according to the liturgical calendar.<sup>35</sup>

As it appears there are divergent textual traditions behind the various sections of the *Leabhar Breac* codex. This led the editor of the *Passions and homilies* to indicate three parts of the book, *Passions and homilies* proper (pp.1-106), *Religious history* (107-213) and *Homiletic matter* (214-280) respectively.<sup>36</sup> This oversimplification meets many obstacles, of which the matter of genre will be dealt with in section 1.5. Another objection to the above classification is that it obscures the role of language in the transmission history of these texts.<sup>37</sup> The use of the vernacular languages was especially relevant to Irish society, where the vernacular was more vital in the early Middle Ages than anywhere else in Europe.<sup>38</sup> In the light of the development of Irish learning it is small wonder that many homilies transform Latin models to vernacular versions. Where most manuscripts show markedly more of one language than the other, though, *LB* is a witness to the transformation of Latin to Irish homily in progress. Whereas some homilies are mostly Irish translations of Latin originals, others contain untranslated Latin and Irish sections, loose Irish paraphrases of the Latin text, or passages derived from a different Latin version than the one cited.<sup>39</sup> This variety of bilingualism at the textual level means that the transmission history of *LB* can only be traced by investigation the language patterns of its individual texts, so that broad categorisations of its contexts, as indicated above, do little justice to a compilation in which change from one to another language is fluid and fluent.<sup>40</sup>

### 1.5 The homiletic genre in the *Leabhar Breac*

Apart from the language patterns present in the composition of these texts, the problematic classification of textual genres in *LB* also argues against any overly schematic categorisation of its contents. The term "homily" can incorporate many

<sup>34</sup> Mostert (1995: 105); cf. Bischoff (1976: 80).

<sup>35</sup> Grégoire (1996: vi).

<sup>36</sup> Atkinson (1887: 36).

<sup>37</sup> Mac Donncha (1974: 67).

<sup>38</sup> Stevenson (1995: 17); cf. Richter (2002: 29).

<sup>39</sup> Mac Donncha (1974: 69).

<sup>40</sup> McLaughlin (2010: 50-9).

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related genres, and these need to be clarified before applying this catch-all term. Firstly, a homily is strictly speaking an exposition on a Biblical passage (*pericope*) that follows its structure verse by verse (*lectio continua*), while a sermon is a catechetical discourse on a theme of liturgical importance.<sup>41</sup> Coming from these respective backgrounds, sermons correspond more closely to the act of speaking by instructing a congregation to moral behaviour, while homilies are rather written reflections on Christian doctrine. In short, homilies exemplify the virtues of the contemplative life, whereas sermons call their audience forth toward an active life. Following this distinction most texts in *LB* can be rightly categorised as homilies, although some examples contain themes and motifs reminiscent of sermon literature. It should be stated, though, that there is no structural disambiguation between the two terms in mediaeval sources.<sup>42</sup> Secondly, the homiletic genre turned out to be an appealing mould with which to shape other text types as well. The first category to be integrated into homiletic form was the *vita*, the Saint's life that itself served as a virtuous example such as the homily purports to promote. Two instances, the lives of Patrick and Ciaran, appear in *LB* within homiletic structures.<sup>43</sup> Another type is the *Visio Adamnani*, which is rendered in *LB* as a vision encapsulated within a homily. These originally Latin texts were reworked into a new bilingual format. The resulting mix of homilies and passions, with prayers and hymns also incorporated, is a heterogeneous compilation catered to the preferences of its patron.<sup>44</sup>

As a whole, the homiletic collection is of an ostensibly mixed character, the different texts diverging as to their position on the sliding scale from Biblical commentary to homiletic exegesis. Such distinctions are difficult to make, though, in the light of the transmission history of these texts. It is often debatable whether the homiletic sources of *LB* have either Irish or Carolingian origins. The traditional approach is to posit criteria that facilitate the identification of anonymous texts as coming from Irish origins.<sup>45</sup> For other texts, the patristic sources in Irish texts were clearly cited from Carolingian homiliaries written in Latin.<sup>46</sup> At any rate, the existence of Hiberno-Latin Biblical commentaries between 600 and 800 is proven by the *Liber Questionum in Evangeliiis* (c.725), which in turn exerted considerable influence on later exegesis.<sup>47</sup> The increasing availability of edited material enables a view of the texts in *LB* as the reworking of the Hiberno-Latin commentary tradition into exegetical homilies.<sup>48</sup> The

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Grégoire (1966: 6).

<sup>42</sup> Müssig (2002: 76).

<sup>43</sup> Mac Donncha (1974: 66).

<sup>44</sup> Rittmüller (1982: 1).

<sup>45</sup> Bischoff (1976 |1954|: 90).

<sup>46</sup> Tristram (1997: 864).

<sup>47</sup> Gorman (2000: 50).

<sup>48</sup> Hewish (2003: 16).

resulting collection is not so much an unfinished stage in this development as it is a fluid and intricate compilation which marks an individual approach toward the transmission of homiletic materials. The intricacy of the homilies in *LB* has been shown to depend on its languages as well as on its genre characteristics. Consequently, these texts seem to have been directed at educated readers, not the listening populace.<sup>49</sup> As the only available evidence comes from written sources, however, it cannot be claimed that these were ever spoken out as such. Rather, behind the texts as they appear in the codices, whether or not they were based on spoken discourse, lies a process of dictation, transcription, correction and edition.<sup>50</sup> Instead of seeing them as oral or written, it may be that these originally spoken sermons were written out in more detail as homilies to serve as a storehouse for spoken preaching. The homilies in *LB* may therefore have functioned as *artes praedicandi*, exemplifying the art of preaching. This theory would reunite their connections to the Scriptural teaching of Gregory the Great and his contemporaries as well as to more academic homilies of scholasticism.<sup>51</sup>

In terms of the structure of the homiletic genre in *LB* it is also possible to discern both older and newer stages of its development. The scholarly influence on the homilies is visible in the standard sections and subsections of these texts in *LB*.<sup>52</sup> The typical homily comprises three sections, beginning with the *exordium*. This part is headed by a biblical passage called *thema* 'theme' or *paraenesis* 'opening moral', followed by the introduction to the divine author (God) and the human scribe (e.g. Moses or David) of the Bible book in question. Subsequently, the theme is often repeated and put into the context of a citation from a Latin Biblical passage usually preceding it, either or not directly. The second section is the *expositio* or exegesis of the theme, cut up into its various *divisiones* or subsections embellished by citation from Scripture and the *patres*.<sup>53</sup> Usually, but not always, the next section is the *exhortatio* to the monastic or lay audience, summoning them to moral action in the spirit of the theme of the homily. The text ends with the *peroratio*, mostly no more than an invocation of the intercession of the saints continuing into a Latin phrase *in secula seculorum amen*. This formal and learned structure may have appealed less to the parish priest than to the educated laity.<sup>54</sup> Both may have availed themselves, however, of both languages in their homiletic practices, the former for the sake of sermon composition, the latter for his personal edification.<sup>55</sup> Because of this variable function of the text, non-liturgical material, such as narratives and examples,

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Mac Donncha (1974: 68).

<sup>50</sup> Constable (1994: 134).

<sup>51</sup> Rittmüller (1981: 2); cf. Wenzel (2005: 15).

<sup>52</sup> Wenzel (2005: xiii).

<sup>53</sup> Boyle (2014: xxv-xxviii).

<sup>54</sup> Tristram (1997: 864); cf. Müller (1999: 85).

<sup>55</sup> Hewish (2003: §21), at <<http://publish.ucc.ie/borderlines/Hewish>> [Accessed 17-02-2015].

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was regularly included in the body of the homily, wedged between the characteristic structural parts of *exordium* and *peroratio*. As such these texts could have functioned both inside and outside of the church.

Whereas the structure of the homilies themselves may indicate a scholastic origin, the structure of the homiletic collection as a whole is well in line with Scriptural tradition. Upon inspecting the homiletic quires of the codex, the traditional liturgical ordering can still be detected to an extent. Principally, there are three categories of sermon material providing information to the preacher. The first is the division *de sanctis* 'by the saints', in which the champions of religious virtue are adduced as examples to be followed. This ordering is most prominent in the second quire of *LB*, where the Irish saints Patrick and Columba are combined (*LB* pp.24-29). In addition, the ninth and tenth quires sport a succession of mostly apostolic lives, to wit Peter and Paul, Bartholomew, James, Andrew, Philip, Longinus, John, the Seven Sleepers, and George (pp.172-190). It should be noted that these saints are not ordered in the procession of the liturgical year, which would begin around Advent with Andrew (November 30), through Pentecost around the time of Matthias (May 14), and end with Simon & Jude (October 28). Since not all of the apostles are attested, and not all of the lives are of apostles, the absence of this order is unsurprising.

The occurrence of this sequential order constitutes the second category of sermon material, which follows the aforementioned ecclesiastical calendar *de tempore* 'by time'. The proximity to the homiletic tradition surrounding Gregory the Great is perhaps best observed in this liturgical division. Within *LB* this scheme corresponds to the third quire, where it is very much visible in the juxtaposition of texts on Palm or Riding Sunday, Ash or Spy Wednesday, Maundy Thursday, and Pentecost (pp.40-52). There is another series later on in the witness, with the homilies on the Resurrection and the Incredulity of Thomas (pp.170-172). These two texts precede the apostolic section mentioned above in the ninth quire. The third subdivision is called *de virtutibus* 'by virtues' and treats the moral themes rather than the people by whom or the time when these were performed. This time it is the fourth quire of *LB* that contains a collection of examples, with the homilies on Charity and on Almsgiving (pp.66-68). A second string of instances appears in the fourteenth quire, where are found the homilies on the Lord's Prayer, on Death, and on Fasting (pp.248-258). Such planning in passions and homilies is representative of the reconstructed collection called the *Irish Homiliarium*, of which *LB*, *Lebor na hUidre*, *Lismore*, and the Gospels of Máel Brigte form the primary witnesses.<sup>56</sup> The comparison between *LB* and its parallel codices will be elaborated in chapter 2.

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<sup>56</sup> Mac Donncha (1974: 59).

### 1.6 Editorial policy

The editing of Irish language material has an established tradition of at least a century and a half, not all of which conforms to modern editorial practices. The previous edition of the *Leabhar Breac*, Atkinson's *The Passions and the Homilies from Leabhar Breac* (1887), is inaccurate at best.<sup>57</sup> Out of an exclusive interest in Irish the pervasive Latin passages are either separated from their context or relegated to a non-existing appendix. This procedure completely obscures the codeswitching at the core of the codex. Atkinson even composes short sections of Irish on his own to replace the Latin of the manuscript, rendering Latin *et cum compleveruntur* as Irish *occus o ra-forbaide* 'and when they were completed', *sic* as *is amlaid-sin* 'thus', *post dies octa* as *ocus aithle ocht laa* '[and] after eight days', and *pater noster* as *a athair* 'o[ur] father'.<sup>58</sup> Beside such inaccurate treatment of source material, the tools of standardisation and emendation were much more current in the time of Old Philology. In the light of New Philology, though, it is the present policy to convey as accurately as possible the actual variance of the individual codex. For this purpose a number of editorial practices are adopted.

In the establishment of the text <angular brackets> signify scribal additions, [square brackets] mark editorial additions only where text is missing, and (round brackets) denote omissions indicated by the scribe or a corrector. In the following chapters **bold** is used for Latin, *italics* for Irish and underline for words that may be assigned to either language ('diamorphs'). This simplified system provides easy overview of the codeswitches with a view toward their grammatical and typological analysis. In addition, the detailed transcription of the switches in the appendix uses italics to indicate the insertion of letters abbreviated or suppressed in the manuscript. These italics refer to several special signs of note that act as palaeographical conventions in the manuscript:

ˉ The straight horizontal stroke over a letter usually marks the omission of the letter *n* after a vowel; after a consonant it can also mark the omission of a vowel (usually *e*) + a consonant (usually *n* or *r*); at the end of a word it may mark the omission of any syllable or inflection (*-ach*, *-ain*, *-em* etcetera); in the middle of a word it may mark common suspensions such as *bliadna*, *eclaisi*, *ernaighthi* and so;

˘ The hooked horizontal stroke over a letter marks the omission of the letter *m* or (back) vowel + *m*;

˜ The swerved horizontal stroke (*tilda*) over a letter marks the omission of the letter *r* or vowel + *r*;

<sup>aeiou</sup> Superscript vowels mark the omission of *r* either before or after a consonant (*cf**gpt*) + the vowel;

<sup>57</sup> Cf. the criticisms on the edition voiced by Stokes (1888–1890 : 203–34).

<sup>58</sup> Carey et.al. (1995) at <<http://www.ucc.ie/celt/online/G206000/header.html>> [Accessed 19-04-2016].

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- ˘ The superscript *v*-shape (*breve*) marks the lenition (aspiration) over *cpt*, optionally *fs*, and occasionally *bdg*;
- The raised point (*punctum delens*) marks the lenition (aspiration) over *fs*, potentially *bcdgpt*, or the elision of *mn* within a consonant cluster;
- ˆ The superscript forward stroke (*fada*) marks the lengthening of a vowel (in Irish) or its general accentuation (mostly in Latin);

Other special symbols or tachygrams used in either language:

- o Latin *cum*, Irish *co-*, *con-*, *coin-*;
- ʒ Latin *us* (occasionally *um*), Irish *-us*, *-uis*;
- q Latin *quia* 'because', whence Irish *ar* 'because', or even the letter sequence *-ar-* in Irish **and** Latin;
- 7 Latin *et* 'and', Irish *ocus* 'and', or the letter sequence *-et-* in Latin **and** *-et-/-ét-* in Irish; cf. the use of *7rl* for Latin *et reliqua* 'and so on' or Irish *ocus araile* 'and so on'; cf. Latin and Irish *&c* 'etcetera';
- ʃ Latin *uel* 'or', Irish *nó* 'or', or the letter sequence *no/nó* in Irish;
- h̄ (Hiberno-)Latin (*h*)*autem* 'however, thus', Irish *himmorro* 'however, thus';
- ÷ Latin *est* 'is', often in the form *i.÷* for Latin *id est* 'that is' **and** Irish *ed ón* 'that is';
- š Latin *sed* 'but', hence Irish *acht* 'sed', or even the letter sequence *-sed* in Irish;

Other suspensions of monolingual items:

- .c. Irish *cet/cét* 'hundred, first';
- c̄ Latin *cecinit* 'he has sung';
- dī Irish *didiu* 'therefore, hence';
- dī Latin *dicit* 'he says';
- d̄x Latin *dixit* 'he has said';
- dī Latin *dicitur* 'it is said';
- ə Latin *eius* 'his';
- h<sup>i</sup> = *hic*, etc. h<sup>c</sup>/h<sup>i</sup>/h<sup>o</sup> Latin *hic/hoc* 'this, here';
- ī Latin *inter* 'between';
- .m./m̄/m̄c Irish *mac* 'son';
- n̄ Latin *non* 'not';
- p Latin *per* 'through';
- p̄ Latin *pr(a)e* 'before';
- p<sup>t</sup> Latin *post* 'after';
- ϕ Latin *pro* 'before';
- s̄cl Latin *s(a)ecula* 'ages';
- s̄cs Latin *sanctus* 'holy, saint';
- s<sup>t</sup> Latin *sunt* 'they are';
- u<sup>o</sup> Latin *uero* 'however, thus'.

Special attention should be paid to the issue of word separation. Editors usually standardise spellings, obscuring actual manuscript readings in the process. In the present investigation word separation is retained as found in the codex. Only where this is uncertain will classical separation be employed. The typical Irish phenomenon where a line is continued on the empty space of the line above, called *ceann fá eite* 'head under wing', is transported to its intended position and signalled by a graphically proximate double backward slash (\\). The presence or absence of capital letters and punctuation is kept as in the manuscript.

Generally speaking, the main observation on word separation in Irish is that constituents, word groups that form a logical unit, are written together. Thus the span of an unseparated word group can contain conjunctions, copulae, prepositions, articles, nouns, determiners and emphasising particles. Moreover, the verbal complex is usually written together, while the addition of *n* to a following word through nasalisation, and *h* through *h*-mutation or prosthetic *h*, are written together as well. This pattern accounts for roughly ninety percent of cases, while the other ten percent mostly consists of examples with *ar* 'for', *dé/día* 'from', *do* 'to', *is* 'is', *ní* '(is) not', *ol/or* 'says', *so* 'this' and *uli* 'all'. This tendency creates some unusual sequences, to mention but a few: *ocnahapstalusin* 'with those apostles', *intathcúimmigudsin* 'that commemoration', *istriasináinesin* 'it is through that fasting' and *nirbahanechnaid* 'it may not be his sagacity'. Retaining such spellings sheds light not only on the actual practices of the medieval scribes, but also on the relationship between such grammatical constructions and the possible locations of codeswitches.

The choice for a diplomatic editing and transcription style is informed by a desire to contribute to the state of open-source science. Since some of the directions taken in this dissertation could be the subject of disagreement, the availability of the source material and annotated data enable critics to conduct their own analyses. For instance, if the definition of codeswitching in the present undertaking is deemed too broad for use, different hypotheses may be tested on the available data. If the material should prove useful for research outside the scope of the present project, future researchers hopefully would not have to return to the manuscript themselves. For these purposes use has been made of open-source software. As a text editor Apache OpenOffice (<[www.openoffice.org](http://www.openoffice.org)>) has been used. As a reference tool Zotero (<[www.zotero.org](http://www.zotero.org)>) has been employed. As an XML utility <oXygen/> (<[www.oxygen.org](http://www.oxygen.org)>) has been found to great satisfaction. More information on the usage of computer coding can be found in chapter 4. It is hoped that the extent of open-source scientific research will continue to increase in future years.





## Chapter 2

## Manuscript descriptions

### 2.1 Introduction

The use of Irish and Latin in the *Leabhar Breac* is the central concern of the subsequent chapters. This investigation is aided considerably by a close regard for the vessel in which the languages are contained. Attention to manuscripts has increased greatly over the twenty-five or so years since the publication of Cerquiglini's *Éloge de la variante*.<sup>59</sup> This seminal study moves away from stemmata and the reconstruction of *Urtexts*, hypothetical prototypes of all textual versions, toward the individual manuscript recension with its inevitable imperfections. As a result there is a highlighting of the exact type of variance that defines mediaeval textual culture. That this *New Philology* has not yet reached all aspects of Celtology is evident from the lack of a modern edition of the *Leabhar Breac*. The passions and homilies from *LB* were last edited in 1887 by Atkinson, separating the Latin and Irish phrases in two halves and emending the remaining text to comply to correct Old Irish. Reviewing the work of Atkinson, Whitley Stokes criticised "the limited extent of his consciousness" in translating its languages.<sup>60</sup> Even before this time a manuscript facsimile was issued by Ó Longáin and Gilbert between 1872 and 1876.<sup>61</sup> This "lithographic reproduction" is now replaced by an online collection of scans available at *Irish Script On Screen*.<sup>62</sup> Information on the composition of the manuscript, though, has not received a proper published update in the intervening twentieth century.<sup>63</sup>

The present chapter will attempt to provide an updated description of the codex that is the *Leabhar Breac*. In section 2.2 a catalogue description of the manuscript will be outlined and improved. In section 2.3 the codicology of all the individual quires of *LB* will be analysed in order to determine the make-up of the witness. In section 2.4 a quire formula will be derived from the above updated description of the manuscript. In section 2.5 this quire overview will be used to determine a hierarchy in languages and genres within the *Leabhar Breac*. In section 2.6 such a hierarchy will be linked to the possible order of composition for all of the quires. In sections 2.7 and 2.8 other versions of the texts in *LB* will be adduced in order to analyse their use of languages, with the sources for *LB* in section 2.7 and with the four major manuscript parallels in section 2.8. Section 2.9, finally, provides a tentative conclusion on the make-up of the manuscript.

<sup>59</sup> Cerquiglini (1989).

<sup>60</sup> Stokes (1891: 208), commenting on Atkinson (1887).

<sup>61</sup> Ó Longáin and Gilbert (1872-6).

<sup>62</sup> *Irish Script On Screen*, at <http://www.isos.dias.ie/> [Accessed 25 January 2016].

<sup>63</sup> The current catalogue description (Mulchrone et al. (1943, fasc.27)) is summary. The notes kept with the manuscript reveal major investigations by especially Scott Gwara, but no publication has appeared from his undertakings.

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### 2.2 Catalogue description

The make-up of the texts in the *Leabhar Breac* and their languages will be considered in chapter 3. The physical manuscript itself is the focal point of the present chapter, although a full description of form and content of the *Leabhar Breac* is not the main objective of the present study. Unless it is known where Latin and Irish are found in the book and how their successive positioning is intended to function, however, it is inconceivable to pass judgment upon such an important manuscript. As yet there is no complete codicological description of the witness, nor is there an overview of the quire construction which takes into account the fact that the codex has been rebound several times. It will therefore now be attempted to provide a description of the manuscript, even though its bound state makes this a difficult endeavour.<sup>64</sup> For the sake of both the present study and of any future investigations, it is hoped that the following description will be an improvement upon the current state of affairs.

Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS 23 P 16 is commonly called *An Leabhar Breac* (*LB*; 'The Speckled Book') for its spotted cover. It was formerly known as *Leabhar Mic Aodhagáin* ('The Book of the MacEgans') or *Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighre* ('The Great Book of Duniry'). *LB* is a composite manuscript at one point consisting of two vellum volumes of ii+266 and 18+ii pages respectively, for the most part measuring c.40.5x28 cm.<sup>65</sup> It was written in Irish and Latin, at least partially between 1408 and 1411 CE, ostensibly by Murchadh Riabach Ó Cuindlis, at Cluain Lethan and Lothra (Lorrha), in Múscraige Tíre (N. Co. Tipperary).<sup>66</sup> The same scribe also worked on the (*Great*) *Book of Lecan* and the *Yellow Book of Lecan*.<sup>67</sup> Other hands are visible on p.69b, ll.25-32, pp.72-3, and p.254a, l.41.

Further information on the personnel involved with the making of the manuscript can be found near the margins. Two names are roughly contemporary to the manuscript, *Misi Solam* 'I am Solam' on p.109, and *Messi Siaccas fer in liubair se* 'I am Siaccas, the man of this book' on p.59. Given the fact that these notes are both on the first available leaves of their respective foliations (*a* 1 and *b* 3; cf. *infra*), it is tempting to see in the two figures an involvement with the early history of these respective quires. Given their prominent place in the quire, it might be surmised that these are scribal names. Since the palaeography does not provide evidence for more than one main scribe, though, the two may

<sup>64</sup> This summary manuscript description functions as a prelude to the codicological analysis; of which a fuller version appears in appendix B.

<sup>65</sup> Vol. I Hodges and Smith Cat. no.1230, *olim* 40/6; vol. II Cat no.224, *olim* 3/67, *olim* 23 H 1 j. The catalogue entry by Mulchrone (see note 63) is followed here.

<sup>66</sup> Also from Lorrha is the *Stowe Missal* (RIA D ii 3) which shares with *LB* the *Tract on the Mass* (p.251a); cf. O'Rahilly (1926).

<sup>67</sup> Mss. RIA 23 P 2 and TCD 1318 respectively; cf. Ó Concheanainn (1973: 67).

have been early owners of the individual booklets or quires.<sup>68</sup> One other contemporary reference is to the clan *Ó Madagáin*, whose name, mentioned on p.175 and dated to c.1411, may be confused with that of the *Mac Aodhagáin*. The latter were connected to the book before 1544, hence providing one of its alternative titles *Leabhar Mic Aodhagáin*. Place-names in the margin from this early period include *Cluain* (*Lethan*; alternatively *Clonost* or *Clonmacnoise*, pp.212, 245) and *Baile Riccin* (p.192), both pointing to the Tipperary area. After 1544 marginal evidence indicates an involvement of the clan of *Dún Daighre* (pp.190, 201, 226); whence the alternative name for *LB*, the *Book of Duniry*.

In 1629 part of volume II, pp.272-277, was copied by *Míchéal Ó Cléirigh*, and at the very close of the century the same section was in the possession of a *lector* [*Patrick*] *O'Fathaigh* (p.270). When the codex came to *T[homas] G[lyn]* (p.179) in 1708, it consisted of 144 folia, two more than presently remain. The book subsequently fell to Eamann Ó Ceallaigh (1727-1732; pp.221, 240, 259) and John O'Brien, Bishop of Cloyne (c.1768), as well as to Cornelius O'Daly and his father, at which time the manuscript was known to be kept in loose quires. From this family the two volumes were separately acquired by the Royal Irish Academy around 1789. In a description by George Mullen made around 1831 the codex was stated to contain 131 folia, missing both pp.238A-D and the second volume, while several sections were bound incorrectly. It was then restored to its full state by other Eugene O'Curry in 1844 with the inclusion of volume II. The two missing leaves numbered as pp.238A-D were only added after this time, as their inclusion in the facsimile published by the Royal Irish Academy in 1872-6 indicates. Finally, a hundred years later, the book was reportedly rebound, repaired, reinforced and resown by Roger Powell in 1973, in which still imperfect state it remains today.

As a consequence of the composite structure of the codex no fewer than five or six foliation systems are found. Pagination *a*), which predates the acquisition by the Academy in 1789, runs from nos. 1 to 90, now pp.109-202 (once the outer leaf of the manuscript), omitting pp.185-186 and 199-200, which are leaf stubs aberrant in size. Pagination *b*), which predates the description by George Mullen in 1831, is numbered 3-18, now pp.59-74, and 19-38, now pp.243-262. Foliation *c*), made before the rebinding by O'Curry in 1844, counts ff.1-131 of volume I, omitting pp.238A-D. As the manuscript has since been rebound and the leaves reordered, this foliation is now distorted, as indicated in table 2.1 below. However, some of the differences between the previous foliation and the present pagination have retroactively been corrected by a more recent hand, to be called

<sup>68</sup> According to the catalogue by O'Curry (1842) the former is a member of the *Mac Aodagháin* family, the latter a mere owner. There is also a *Solamh Ó Droma* working as a scribe on the *Book of Ballymote* (RIA 23 P 12), but the hands do not match. Cf. Ó Concheanainn (1973: 65).

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c+). Pagination d) postdates 1844 and runs from I to L in Roman numerals on the first fifty folia. Lastly, the current pagination e), made after the two tomes were combined, runs from pp.1-280 including 238A-D, following the 1872-6 facsimile.

Table 2.1: Quire structure LB according to foliation c)

Qq.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
ff. =	1-9	10-18 <sup>69</sup>	19-27	112-121 <sup>70</sup>	28-35	36-43	44-51	52-61	62-71	72-81	82-92	93-100 <sup>71</sup>	101-111 <sup>72</sup>	122-131
= pp.	1-18	19-36	37-54	55-74	75-90	91-106	107-122	123-142	143-162	163-182	183-204	205-220	221-242	243-262

### 2.3 Codicology

The various stages in the composition of the codex are visible not only in the numerations but also in the manuscript make-up. Overall the decoration of the capitals, with simple, zoomorphic patterns in red, yellow and blue, is in the ribbon-and-wire style derived from the twelfth-century exemplars of the book. The drawing of the Crucifixion on p.166, however, is in line with decorations from the time of the manuscript itself. Furthermore, an image of the Menorah on p.122 may even have been shared with another contemporary witness, to wit Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 610.<sup>73</sup> The whole book is in double column, apart from fourfold columns on p.74 and single columns on pp.57-58 and pp.199-200. The latter leaves are more recent additions, as are pp.185-86. This leaf and pp.200-201 were originally left blank after their respective texts finished; like pp.159b, 181a, 186b, and 280, they were only written on later.

There are also chasms, or hiatus, in the manuscript after pp.6, 186, 204, 210, 238, 238D, 260 and 280. Of these Ferguson says: "The number of folios missing at each point depends largely on the difference between the present and the original composition of the gatherings".<sup>74</sup> Because of this incongruity between present and original binding, an attempt will now be made to collate these stages of composition in order to derive the original quire structure of the codex. Only when it is known where the two languages were intended to be used in the manuscript and what their order and hierarchy is, will it be possible to study the functions and uses of bilingualism in the *Leabhar Breac*. In order to come to any conclusions on the societal scale of bilingualism, the manuscripts and languages must first be understood.

<sup>69</sup> Previously misbound with f.12 preceding ff.10-11.

<sup>70</sup> Previously missing the number on f.121.

<sup>71</sup> Previously misbound with f.93 preceding f.94 and f.100 preceding f.99.

<sup>72</sup> Previously missing the number on f.110.

<sup>73</sup> Duffy (2004: 267).

<sup>74</sup> Ferguson (1876: xiv).

Table 2.2: *Quire structure LB as received before rebinding (by page numbers)*

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P
1	13	33	53	75	91	107	123	143	163	183	205	221	237	243	263
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	32	52	74	90	106	122	142	162	182	204	220	236	242	262	280

Pencil sketches of the quire structures in the conservation file of *LB* specify its make-up as regular ternions from the start (pp.1-228), a single duernion (229-236), and again regular ternions to the end (237-244 including 238A-D, 245-280).<sup>75</sup> This proposal fails to do justice to what seems to be the usual quire of *LB*, already indicated by Ferguson to be the quinion. That this structure is not universally present is clear from the quiring received by Powell before rebinding *LB*, as rendered in table 2.2 above. In this interpretation of the quire structure, the majority of quires (A, D, E, F, G, K, L, M, N, and P) does not correspond to the standard size of five bifolia, or twenty pages. In order to make sense of this seemingly confused state, all the codicological clues need to be taken into account. The rest of the section will therefore provide an overview of each quire and its present and putative original composition. Due to the present bound state of the manuscript the following is at most an educated estimate.

A ii flyleaves | 1-6 | chasm | \*II missing folia | 7-12 | \*II (foliation *c* 1r-6v; *d* I-XII)  
 The first quire has been bound outside the paper comb that holds the rest of Volume I; its pages are slightly trimmed. Trace material in the inner margin of p.1 suggests that another folio was once stitched or glued to it. Since the text, the *Passio Christi*, does not appear to be acephalous, the missing page may have been an original flyleaf; the one present is a more modern one. Apart from this defect, pp.1-2 also appears to be missing its complement leaf, which explains the lacuna after p.12, where the *Fland Fina* ends atelous. At p.6 the linen cord of the modern binding signals the mid-point of the quire; originally there may well have been another leaf providing the ending of the *Passio Silvestri*, which is now atelous.<sup>76</sup> There is no trace of this, however, so that it is unclear if the quire was originally a quaternion (with four leaves missing) or a quinion (with two leaves missing).

B 13-32 (*c* 7r-9v; 12rv; 10r-11v; 13r-16v; *d* XIII-XXXII)

The second quire is the first to be included inside the modern paper comb. On p.13 there is a heavy tear across the inner margin, but this may be because it had once been the outer leaf of the unbound quire; the *Genealogy of Saints* beginning here has no textual loss. In foliation *c*, however, pp.19-20 originally came after p.24, which order has been corrected on rebinding. In the middle of the quire,

<sup>75</sup> A ternion is a section of three folded bifolia, hence twelve pages; a duernion is then eight pages, a quinion twenty pages, and a quaternion (what we now call 'quire') is sixteen pages.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Plummer (1925: no.360); Kenney (1929 I: 740n).

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between pp.22-23, there is a linen cord with scraps sticking out. The last text of the quire, the *Vita Columbae*, flows over into the next, signalling that these two sections belonged together at the time of the production. The order of events in the text, though, is haphazard, perhaps owing to the break between the quires.<sup>77</sup>

C 33-52 (c 17r-26v; 33-50 d XXXIII-L; 51-52 not d)

The third quire begins with a new paragraph of the *Vita Columbae*. There is a newly studded paper fold in the inner margin of the binding, and in the middle of the quire a single stitch of the probably modern linen cord is visible. The section is entirely regular and again flows over into the next with the text of the *Homily on the Pentecost*, though the new quire does not start with a new paragraph. The last leaf of the present quire, though, is very rubbed, and it clearly once was the outside folio of the current section.

C+ 53-54 (c 27rv)

Between pp.52-53 there is again visible a paper fold, belonging to the modern quire binding. Though Powell subsumed this section under quire D, it is perhaps more properly put with C, since the separate leaf, cut shorter than the others at the bottom margin, continues the same text. Another fact supporting this idea is that foliation c numbers this leaf 27rv, but the following leaf is 112rv.

D- 55-56 (c 112rv)

By the same account the following singleton should be taken with the next section D. That it was separate is made more probable by mould damage not seen on the surrounding folia.<sup>78</sup> There is loss of a leaf after p.56, but the textual loss has been resolved by a supplement written on an added stub.

D \*II | 57-58 | 59-64 | 65-68 | 69-70 (59-70 b 3-14; c 113-9; c\* 29-35)

The stub on pp.57-58 has a normal length but a single column width; it is a later insertion intended as a replacement of a torn leaf, of the same material as the other inserted leaves that form pp.185-186 and 199-200. There does not appear to be at present a lacuna either before or after the stub where the leaf was removed. Regardless, it is likely that this torn leaf was numbered b 1-2, since p.59 is b 3, and the inserted stub is apparently posterior to the pagination b. There is also a numbering 1 (b) / 28 (c\*) on pp.55-56, but this must be a later rectification since the folio is numbered 112 in the original c. Likewise, p.57 is pencilled 29 (c\*) while p.58 is 116 in c, which has been corrected to 114 in pencil. The following

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Stokes (1877), Hogan (1894); the latter has a section order corresponding to pp.32a, 33ab, 32ab, 33a; would this be due to the hiatus?

<sup>78</sup> Powell (1972) in the preservation file disputes that this leaf is "yellow and darkened" as the manuscript description indicates.

leaves, pp.59-68, all appear to differ in sizes due to cropping. The resulting quire, either quaternion or quinion, looks to be stitched or glued together haphazardly.

The random order of leaves in the quire is reflected in the distorted text of the *Betha Brighde*, found on pp.61-66. Especially around pp.63-64, where the cord at the middle of the modern quire is visible, it looks like there may have been a single leaf lost. Yet though the editions of the text have hazy paragraph order around this point, there is no visible text loss.<sup>79</sup> The last leaf, pp.69-70, is again separate, though the text, the *Homily on Almsgiving*, continues on p.71. Thus, where the first text of the quire starts on the preceding leaf, the last text flows over into the following section. It is therefore difficult to say with certainty where this quire begins and ends. A scribal note on p.59 may be taken as a token that a new section is started, together with a *probatio pennae* on p.60. At p.62 there is a small paper strip inserted by O'Curry signalling a parallel for the *Book of Lismore*. It also seems that part of p.69 and pp.72-73 were written by another person than the main scribe of the *LB*.

D+ 71-74 (*b* 15-18; *c* 120r-[121v])

The next bifolium is bound separately, and has the ending of the previous text on its first leaf, the *Homily on the Archangel Michael* beginning at the top of p.72. After this text follow litanies also present in the *Yellow Book of Lecan*, where they were written by the same scribe.<sup>80</sup> The fact that the last litany is incomplete does therefore not necessarily mean that there is a lost leaf, since it may have been intended merely as filler. The two leaves are in a meagre and rubbed condition, having been separate from the quire. It is not unthinkable, however, that they once were a part of it, thereby making the original quire D the following quinion 55-56 | \*II | 59-68 | 69-70 | 71-74. It is also possible that pp.107-108 once formed the close of quire D, with D+ being a loose bifolium. This would be in line with the homiletic contents of this quire, while quire E would be incorrectly inserted.

E 75-90 (*c* 28r-35v) &

F 91-106 (*c* 36r-43v)

The *Féilire Óengusso* is now bound in one big gathering, with a *probatio pennae* at p.76 near the top. It stands to reason that these were formerly two quaternia; on pp.89-90 there are traces of prick holes, while p.91 starts with a large new heading. The modern white cord is visible at this point, as are white paper bands and studs at pp.75 and 106. After the end of the *Féilire* on p.106 the filler text seems to be abbreviated in a smaller font. The cutting of the leaves once again seems very irregular.

<sup>79</sup> Stokes (1877) has a section order corresponding to pp.63b-64ab-63b-64ab; Hogan (1894) has a section order corresponding to 63a-64ab-63b-64b-63b-65b-63b-64b-65a-64a-65ab-64a-65b.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Mac Donncha (1984); O'Sullivan (2010).

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G- 107-108 (c 44rv)

This separate leaf, mounted onto p.109, contains homilies and filler text unrelated to the following Biblical section; it is not included either in pagination *a* which begins with p.109. It looks as though a folio is missing before this leaf, but it is hard to be sure; no text loss is seen around p.107. Given the homiletic contents it could also be either the last leaf of quire D or the first leaf of quire J.

G \*II | 109-110 | 111-112 | 113-120 | 121-122 (*a* 1-14; *c* 45r-51v)

The next quire opens with a folio, pp.109-110, so heavily damaged that it must have been the outer leaf of the binding, as foliation *a* confirms. The next leaf, pp.111-112, also appears to be separate, and it looks as though a folio is missing afterwards. The Biblical text at the end of p.112 looks continuous, however. There is wear and tear at the bottom of this page, while p.113 starts with a new section at the top of the page. The appearance of prick holes does appear to suggest a new section, but as it stands this page is the halfway point of the quire which terminates on p.122. This means that one or more leaves must have once preceded the leaf that is now pp.109-110. The last leaf is again mounted onto the preceding page; p.121 has a picture of a chandelier similar to that in Laud Misc. 610. The direction of copying would have been reversed, however, since *LB* predates Laud misc. 610 by about half a century. Modern cord is currently visible between pp.114-115, but this quire may not always have been a quaternion.

H 123-140 | 141-142 (*a* 15-34; *c* 52r-61v)

The eighth quire is rather regular, although the last leaf looks to be slightly loose. Modern paper is visible at pp.122-123 and 142-143, while the white cord can be seen near the middle of pp.132-133.

I 143-144 | 145-160 | 161-162 (*a* 35-54; *c* 62r-71v)

The ninth quire also has a few irregularities around the first and last leaf. The first folio seems to be loosened and mounted onto the following section; the vellum is very thin here. On the next page, prickings appear to be present. Given the fact that the last leaf is also loose and seemingly stuck to the next gathering it could be that the quire was originally quaternion instead of the current quinion. In that case the beginning of the *Passio Christi* on top of p.160 may again have been put on the last leaf of the preceding gathering, p.159b *i* having been left blank. The inner binding of p.162 is broken and has been reinforced; modern quire cord is visible in the middle of the quire at pp.152-3.

J 163-182 (*a* 55-74; *c* 72r-81v)



The tenth quire is completely regular, with the modern binding visible between pp.162-163 and 172-173, the latter page again displaying a *probatio pennae*. The bottom of p.181a is left unwritten, whereas a white paper band is present between pp.182-183. This quire has remained intact until today.

K- 183-184 | (a 75-76; c 82rv)

The text of the *Passio Longini* starts on p.181 and continues onto the separate leaf that is pp.183-4. There it is followed by the *Homily on the Maccabees* which ends atelous due to a lacuna. It is hard to tell how much of this unedited text is missing and thus whether the leaf is part of the next quire.<sup>81</sup> This possibility is rendered likely by the fact that the scribe commonly either finishes his text on the first leaf of the next quire or, conversely, starts with a new text on the last leaf of the previous quire.

K | \*II | 185-186 || \*II | 187-196 | 197-198 | \*II | (c 83rv; 187-98 a 77-88; c 84r-89v)

There is a stub of one missing leaf before the inserted folio pp.185-186, of which 186a was originally and 186b is still blank; this also holds for part of p.192b. At the end of the stub on p.186 the *Homily on Luxoria*, part of a tract on Penance, is imperfect. It is stated to be atelous, but the rest of the text is still visible in either faded or erased condition. This inserted leaf mounted onto the following section is of the same material as pp.57-58 and 199-200, but unlike the other fragments it is in the regular double column. The *Scél na Samna* on p.187 is acephalous, clearly coming after a chasm, but whether it was this same leaf or another that contained the end of the Homily is unclear. The white cord between pp.192-193 would suggest the former option, but there are also traces of a binding between pp.194-195, suggesting the latter. After a possibly separate leaf with visible prick holes, pp.197-198, there seems to be another missing folio, replaced by the separate inserted leaf that is pp.199-200. However, there does not seem to be textual loss in the *Epifania Domini* after either p.198 or p.200.

K+ | 199-200 | (not a; c 90rv)

This leaf fragment in single column seems to have a different, perhaps older numeration (=005 rv?). Since neither this inserted fragment nor the one on pp.185-186 are included in numeration *a*, it is tempting to think of the original quire without them. With pp.201-202 forming the last folio of *a*, the original quire might then have been 183-184 | II | 187-196 | 197-198 | II | 201-202. This theory would explain the worn state of pp.201-2.

K++ | 201-204 || (201-202 a 89-90, c 91rv; 203-204 not a, c 92rv)

After the fragment follows a separately bound bifolium on which the text

<sup>81</sup> An edition by McLaughlin is forthcoming.

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spilling over onto p.200 is continued with a colophon in the lower margin. At the same time a new text, the *Homily on Michael*, starts at the top of the page. The next text, the *Cáin Domnaig* on p.202, is said to end atelous on p.204, but the situation is more complicated than this. The text consists of two related parts, the first of which, the *Epistil Ísu*, is complete; the second, the *Cáin Domnaig* proper, is incomplete. Collation with variant versions (RIA 23 N 10 and BL Harley 5280) makes clear that little under a quarter of the text, respectively 26 out of 114 lines in the former or 31 out of 132 lines in the latter witness, is present in *LB*.<sup>82</sup> Since the fragment takes up about half a column it seems likely that the missing part is in the area of two columns, in other words a single page. This may thus have taken up p.204\* while p.205\* would have been filled by the beginning of the *History of Philip*, which begins acephalous on p.205. However, it may also be that the *Cáin Domnaig* proper was just an afterthought not meant to become finished.

L \*II | 205-6 | 207-10 || \*II | 211-4 | 215-8 | 219-20 | (c 94r-93v; 95r-98v; 100r-99v)  
As stated the new section starts acephalous, although there are marks of the modern binding around the first leaf; another cord of a green colour is also visible. The entire quire appears stuck between the sections surrounding it, not sewn to the cords as would be normal. According to foliation *c*, pp.207-208 were first bound before pp.205-206; the cut and torn margins are a clear indication that the latter leaf is now a singleton. As a result the *Vita Philippi* is not only imperfect at the beginning, missing one leaf the equivalent of two folia in the *Book of Ballymote*, but also near the middle and the end.<sup>83</sup> Between pp.210-211 another leaf is missing compared to this parallel text. Prick holes on p.210 seem to indicate that it was once the halfway point of the quire. The next two leaves look like they have been mounted onto p.211. There are more *probationes pennae* on p.210, as often happens in the very middle of a gathering. However, the brown cord is presently in the middle between pp.212-213, where the text resumes with a new paragraph. Here textual loss is also found, not due to a large lacuna but rather a slight eye-skip of a few lines. The next text, *MacConglinne's Vision*, was misbound, whereas pp.215-216 and 217-218 seem single leaves. Interestingly, the former leaf has indents not dissimilar to pp.209-212, further disturbing the quire order. The last page with torn inner margins consists of filler text which ends atelous. Another leaf may have been lost as the quire ends.

M 221-236 | 237-238 || \*II | (c 101r-109v)

The following quire clearly starts with a new text at the top. The second leaf, though, seems to be mounted onto the following folium, so that the gathering appears irregular. Between pp.228-229 there is a cord with strips sticking out to mark the middle of the quire, which may once have been quaternion. In that case

<sup>82</sup> Cf. O'Keefe (1910).

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Peters (1967).

the second-to-last leaf, pp.233-234, must have been mounted onto the final leaf, pp.235-236. The latter has prick holes and torn margins that indicate either the end of the quire or the loss of one leaf. After that the same paper band as at p.221 is visible. However, the text on Colum Cille on p.236 is abbreviated at the end by *7rl* 'and so on'. Between pp.236-237 another paper band and stud is seen; another text on Colum Cille begins, ending atelous on p.238. This last leaf is bound onto the following, so the text on Colum Cille may start on the last page of section M.

N 238AB | \*II | 238CD || \*II | 239-40 | 241-2 (238AD not *c/e*; 239-242 *c* [110], 111)  
 The single leaves 238AB and CD were restored to the manuscript after the present numeration *d*. Both leaves begin with another new text on Colum Cille; both are damaged with textual loss. Both apparently end atelous: the *Hymn* on 238AB is abbreviated by *7rl* 'and so on'; the last stanza lacks its commentary.<sup>84</sup> After a lacuna the *Amra Choluim Cille* on pp.238CD is continued on 239-240 with a new paragraph, ending incomplete at the end of the leaf. The loss of §§2-86 of the text amounts to about half of the 145 sections, so there is likely a loss of one folium.<sup>85</sup> The last leaf has prickings and dark tears in its inner margin, suggesting it once was a last leaf. On pp.241-242 begins a new text on another singleton, now the final leaf. It is damp and brittle, as it has once been on the outside of the gathering, perhaps at the end of the entire codex, as the following quire O was once twined with section D according to foliation *b*, and is still misbound; quire N could thus be 237-38 | \*II | 238AB | \*II | CD | \*II | 239-242.

O 243-246 | 247-250 | 251-258 | 259-260 || 261-262 (*b* 19-38; *c* 122-131)

The following quire is marked by a modern paper binding and reinforcement, a new text and visible pricking. The text on the first bifolium is dated later date (c.1350) than most of the collection (c.1100).<sup>86</sup> As stated above, this section and quire D had a continuous pagination *b*; on the first leaf, the foliation *c* seems to have been corrected from 124 to 122. On both counts p.243 could have been following on p.74, another section with homilies. It is interesting that quire D may end atelous while p.243, though starting with a big initial, looks to be missing the opening citation present in most homilies. Regardless, the text ends complete and is followed by another homily on another complete bifolium. After p.252 a white cord can be seen, though the text there continues with another paragraph on p.253. It may be that p.252 was originally numbered 25 in *b*. The scribe's hand changing size at p.254 may indicate that the work was done around different times. On p.258 prickings appear to be present, while its worn margins may indicate that it once was an outer leaf; the scribal note there might confirm that this leaf was once final. The next page 259 is written in the same

<sup>84</sup> As found in the *Liber hymnorum* (TCD 1441).

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Stokes (1899).

<sup>86</sup> Mac Eoin (1996: 195).

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hand but with a different spacing, and seems to be mounted on the preceding quire. The text on p.260 ends atelous and may have been filler. The single leaf may be defective, although the damaged margins also suggest that it was once a final leaf. Another singleton, 261-262, has a number of minor texts, the last one ending abruptly. The rest of the *Lorica Coluim Cille* would have taken up another half column (7 out of 33 quatrains filling 13 out of 88 lines) but not another new folio. As it stands the quire is probably complete, finished with filler texts. A paper comb comes at the end of the volume.

P 263-278 | 279-280 || \*II || ii (279-280 originally blank; 280i blank)

What is now the sixteenth quire P, independently bound as Volume II, is stuck outside the modern paper comb. The parchment also seems to be of a different quality, and the leaves are cut in irregular width. The modern binding is visible between pp.273-274, making it the likely halfway point. The last leaf of the manuscript, pp.279-280, is separate and longer than its surroundings, stuck onto the preceding quire. Its text, the *Passio Christofori*, ends atelous on p.280a where it seems to be faded rather than discontinued. Still, more text is missing than may fit the page: compared with the version in the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum*, LB has almost 6 out of little over 8 pp. On p.280b the *Visio Bernardi* is also left unfinished. It stands to reason that one folio may be missing, since this would make the quire a quinion, a final leaf stub is also visible near the bottom margin.

Table 2.3: *Quire formula LB in original reconstruction*

#	Quire structure	Former numberings
A	ii   1-6    *II   7-12   *II	c 1r-6v; d I-XII
B	13-32	c 7r-9v; 12rv; 10r-11v; 13r-16v; d xiii-xxxii
C	33-52+53-54	c 17r-27v; 33-50 d xxxiii-l; 51-54 not d
D	55-56   *II   59-64   65-68   69-70   71-74	59-74 b 3-18; c 112r-[121v]; c* 29r-37v
O	243-246   247-250   251-258   259-260    261-262	b 19-38; c 122-131
E	75-90	c 28r-35v
F	91-106	c 36r-43v
G	107-108+109-110   111-112   *II   113-120   121-122	107-108 c 44rv; 109-122 a 1-14; c 45r-51v
H	123-140   141-142	a 15-34; c 52r-61v
I	143-144   145-160   161-162	a 35-54; c 62r-71v
J	163-182	a 55-74; c 72r-81v
K	183-84   *II    187-96   197-98   *II   201-2+203-4	183-202 a 75-90; c 82r-91v; 203-204 c 92rv
L	*II    205-206   207-210    *II   211-218   219-220	c 94rv; 93rv; 95r-98v; 100r; 99r
M	221-236	c 101r-108v
N	237-38    *II   238AB   *II   238CD    *II   239-42	c 109r-111v; 238A-D not c/e
P	263-278   279-280    *II    ii	n/a

#### 2.4 Quire formula

With the conjectural quire composition in mind the codicological formula can be reconstructed as in table 2.3 above. However, there remains the matter of the numbering systems. The new quire boundaries reserve a place for the lost leaves

of pp.238AD and solve the problem of *a* by excluding the added stubs on pp.185-186 and 199-200. A thornier task is the reintegration of numbering *b*. As it stands, its pages are separated between quires D and O, although their juxtaposition is corroborated by the equally continuous numbering *c*. One possible answer would be to move quire D before quire O, but this option is denied by the *Homily on the Day of Pentecost* which runs over from quire C. Conversely, since it is possible that quire O begins acephalous and quire D ends atelous, the best bet is to move quire O after quire D. In that case there may or may not be a missing leaf between the two sections. On the basis of these observations the original construction of the manuscript may have been as indicated above in table 2.3.

This system would make every quire into a quaternion or quinion apart from the three single leaves. It thereby improves upon Powell's conjectures, who posited irregular quires without an explanation of their structure. The resulting quire formula, as compared with the old and the new binding, would look roughly as given in table 2.4 below, though one cannot be certain until the quires are removed from the codex.

Table 2.4: *Quire formula LB in continuous numbering and in quire numbering*

#	Continuous numbering	Quire numbering
A	*IV+1-12	[ii+6+*II+6+*II]
B	13-32	[20]
C	33-52+53-54	[20]+[2]
D	55-74	[2+*II+16]
O	243-262	[20]
E	75-90	[16]
F	91-106	[16]
G	107-108+109-122+*II	[2]+[2+*II+4+*II+10]
H	123-142	[20]
I	143-162	[20]
J	163-182	[20]
K	183-202+203-204	[2+*II+12+*II+2]+[2]
L	*IV+205-220	[*II+6+*II+10]
M	221-236	[16]
N	237-242+*VI	[2+*II+2+*II+2+*II+4]
P	263-280+*II	[18+*II]

### 2.5 Language hierarchy in the *Leabhar Breac*

The function of the above quire formula is to provide a basis for a collation between texts and languages. Now that the make-up of quires is known, it can be ascertained whether there is a certain distribution of genres and languages

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per quire. Quire A, entirely in Irish, opens with the Passion, followed by history and ecclesiastical prose, of which the last text merely fills out the quire. Quire B has at its head a Latin genealogy with an appendix in Irish, then a vita and passion in Irish, flowing over into quire C. The third quire consists solely of homilies in mixed language, again carried onto the next section. Quire D also consists of Latin-Irish homilies and vitae with Latin-Irish litanies as filler texts on the last leaf. Quire O, if it is interpolated at this place, continues in both languages with homilies and related genres such as visions, ending with poems and other filler texts in Irish. The last leaf may be a separate insert at the end of the book, discounting volume II on pp.263-280.

Quires E and F are fully reserved for the Irish martyrology, albeit with a gloss in Latin and Irish. Likewise, quires G and H have an Irish biblical tract that runs until quire I; this quire then turns to prose and other texts in Irish. Quires J and K contain a very convoluted collection: homilies and passions in Latin and Irish with various fillers. Quire L has two major Irish texts, a history and a pseudo-vision, while quire M also has Irish history. Quire N comprises Latin and Irish poems on Colum Cille with an amount of Irish filler at the end. Quire P, lastly, has an Irish glossary, poems, a passion and filler. Thus it transpires that there are definitely different stages in the planning of this production. Religious history and homilies have their own respective sections. In terms of the languages involved in the *Leabhar Breac*, the genre of history is mostly Irish, whereas the homiletic genre is mostly mixed. An overview of languages is found in table 2.5.

Table 2.5: Quire, language and genre of LB

#	Language	Genre
A	Irish	Passion, history, religious prose
B	Latin; Irish	Genealogy; vita/passion
C	Latin-Irish	Homily
D	Latin-Irish	Homily, vita, litany
O	Latin-Irish; Irish	Homily, vision; poems (filler)
E	Irish (Latin gloss)	Martyrology
F	Irish (Latin gloss)	Martyrology
G	Irish	Biblical tract
H	Irish	Biblical tract
I	Irish	Biblical tract; religious prose
J	Latin-Irish; Irish	Homily, passion; poems (filler)
K	Latin-Irish; Irish	Homily, passion; poems (filler)
L	Irish	History, <i>visión</i>
M	Irish	History
N	Latin, Irish	Poems (some filler)
P	Irish	Glossary, passion, poems (some filler)

Out of this overview an image of language use emerges. In terms of genre it is clear that most items, including biblical [*Saltair na Rann, Stair Nicomeid*] and secular [*Philip and Alexander*] history, martyrology [*Féire Óengusso*] and verse [*Amra Choluim Cille*], are in Irish; genealogy [*Patrick*] and related texts are in Latin; while homilies [*Palm Sunday, Temptation, Lord's Supper, Pentecost, Circumcision, Charity, Almsgiving, Michael*], hymns [*Litanies of Mary and Jesus*] and related genres [*Lives of Patrick, Columba, Brigid and Martin*] are in alternating Latin and Irish. It appears that the planning of quires is therefore almost exclusively consistent. The historical quires are in Irish (AEFGHILM), the homiletic quires in mixed language (CDOJK), and the few Latin-only pieces are combined with Irish texts. On the whole, then, the language barriers seem to be very deliberate. As far as the two languages are concerned, there is a clear hierarchy. Irish is the main language for the codex and is used for most genres. Latin is the first choice for genealogy and the second option for passion, prose, litany, vitae and verse. Latin-Irish is reserved for homilies and related genres such as hymns, visions or litanies. This last language category, consisting of a mixture of Latin and Irish both between phrases and within the phrase, will be analysed in more detail in the coming chapters.

### 2.6 Order of composition

The structural planning of quires is corroborated further by scribal notes in the margins of the codex. On almost every other page extra-textual messages are transmitted that convey comments on place and time, observations on nature and weather, personal and political statements, poems and ownership notes. Some of these entries, usually the religious rather than the secular ones, convey a date of writing such as an *obit* or a liturgical feast. With the aid of these notes the composition of the core of the codex is dated to 1408-1411, although other texts may have been copied before or after. As it stands pp.86-101, belonging to quires E and F, were written in December 1408; pp.132-140 from quire H were written over the course of ten days in August 1410; pp.141-175, in quires H through J, were written in six weeks until September 1410; pp.27-33, of quires B and C, were written in March 1411, while pp.42-46 in quire C were written in ensuing April 1411. On p.52 there is a sole entry for July 1411, while p.254, last to mention, was written on Hallowe'en 1411. These dates are thus posterior to the writing of the other two manuscripts by Ó Cuindlis, a booklet in the [*Great*] *Book of Lecan* in 1397 and an independent section of the *Yellow Book of Lecan* [YBL] between the years 1398 and 1399.<sup>87</sup>

More interestingly, there appears to be a clear order of composition, in which general religious overview (martyrology and Bible history in quires E-H) antedates moral contemplation (passion, homily and vision in quires B, C and J).

<sup>87</sup> This overview is based on Ó Concheanainn (1973: 77); LB p.241 was written in a single day.

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Again it appears that the bilingual homiletic quires are to be regarded as a separate entity. One wonders whether the order of composition indeed hinged on the availability of sources and the scribe's travels, or rather if his intentions leaned toward a division based on contents. In the latter case, it may be interesting, if speculative, to construct a quire formula based on order of composition. As far as can be ascertained, the Martyrology in quires E-F takes first place, as part of its pages can be dated to 1408. In the unaccounted year 1409 perhaps the historical quires L-M were written. The Bible history in quires G-I would then come next, followed by the passions and homilies in quires J and, it stands to reason, K. With this in mind it can be corroborated that the first leaf of quire F, pp.107-108, indeed belongs to the context of homilies rather than to the historical quires from its surroundings.

The same frame of composition could then be claimed for quires A-D, commencing with history and continuing into passion and homilies, in which case quire O is likely to follow. This leaves the two quires N and P to the last instant, which would explain their haphazard content. This order of quires has the added benefit of keeping intact the numerous numerations of the manuscript. Pagination *a*) runs on quires G through K written in the second half of 1410; *d*) remains consecutive dating between March and July of 1411; while *b*) runs on quires D and O in the second half of 1411. In addition, some of the mistakes in the numberings *c*) and *e*) have in this manner been corrected. The quire formula based on the putative order of composition could thus be rendered as in table 2.6 below. From all angles it looks like the homiletic quires of the *LB* stand apart in language and composition. Still, in order to determine how special *LB* is one first has to consider its manuscript sources and parallels.

Table 2.6: *Quire formula LB in putative original order of composition*

Quire numbers	Page numbers	Tentative dates
E, F	75-106	December 1408
L, M	205-236	?1409
G, H, I, J, K	107-204	August-September 1410
A, B, C, D, O	1-74+243-262	March-July 1411
N, P	237-242+263-280	?Hallowe'en 1411

2.7 Manuscript sources

The persistent interchange of languages that emerges from the description of the *Leabhar Breac* signals a very productive example of Latin-Irish bilingualism. In particular, the homiletic genre proves to be a text type in which an intertwining of languages is readily to be expected. Part of the explanation for this phenomenon of codeswitching in homilies is that they combine a variety of source material into a composite compilation. However, the very process of



rewriting raises the possibility that the choice of language in *LB* is informed by its sources as well as its compiler. Since the dividing line between derivation and original composition cannot be drawn with even remote certainty, it would be valid to analyse the language situation in *LB* and its codeswitches in its present state. At any rate it is evident that the bilingual texts were a viable form of information to both their scribe and their audience. In order to investigate in how far the language use in *LB* is unique, others recensions of its homilies in related manuscripts are consulted for their use or lack of codeswitches. The following section will treat in turn the principal sources and the significant parallels to the homiletic collection of the *Leabhar Breac*. This source study is not undertaken for the sake of literary comparison, however interesting in itself that may be. The goal is rather to determine the differences in use of language(s) between various recensions. Thus, the texts in *LB* not only testify to the kinds of Latin literature assimilated by Irish scribes, as Kenney stated, but also to their language education and their competence vis-à-vis a mixed audience of Latin clergy and vernacular lay-folk.<sup>88</sup>

One commonality between the *Leabhar Breac* and its forerunners, which will be named in the next paragraphs, is the referencing of the Gospel of Matthew. There is in fact a strong tradition of Matthean commentary in Ireland from the early Middle Ages onward. This tradition encompasses both native, Hiberno-Latin compositions on the Bible and continental authors that were known and used in mediaeval Ireland. Although the study of the Irish Bible commentaries or *Bibelwerk* is worthwhile for its own sake, the present investigation is limited to possible influences on the composition of the *Leabhar Breac* codex. This scope of sources includes witnesses to the Hiberno-Latin Matthean commentary tradition that may not have actually influenced the present manuscript directly but rather contributed to the pool of learning to which the writings in *LB* belong. Therefore, apart from homiliaries proper, connections may be sought in other textual traditions that derived from the same origins, such as legal and literary *collectanea* and *florilegia*. Latin writing on Matthew outside the Irish sphere is not considered in this context, since it does not play a part in the possible background of the compilation of *LB*. The following overview provides a fairly general overview of textual kinship. Specific analogues between comparable texts will be discussed in the next chapter.

The possible sources of *LB* will be treated in chronological order. The first item to be mentioned is the legal compilation called *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* (*CCH*, c.725).<sup>89</sup> This storehouse of law has a thematic ordering of citations from authorities to be used in a juridical context. Because of this structuring the

<sup>88</sup> Kenney (1929: 739ff).

<sup>89</sup> Wasserschleben (1885); a new edition is being prepared by Flechner (forthcoming).

collection is a particularly relevant source for the composer of a homily on one of the themes employed in the *CCH*. Looking at the citations from authorities, sections XII *De jejunió* and XIII *De elemosina* turn out to have been valuable sources for the homilies on Fasting and Almsgiving in *LB* pp.44-45. For the remainder the generic thematic correspondences cannot be said to comprise direct citations. Around the same time, a major Hiberno-Latin commentary on Matthew starts to surface with the title *Liber Questionum in Evangeliiis* (*LQE*, s.VIII<sup>in</sup>).<sup>90</sup> It contains homilies that comment on disparate sections of the Matthean Gospel in the exegetical tradition of the Irish monastic schools. The parts of this text pertinent to *LB* focus mostly on chapters 19 to 26 of Matthew. Like the relevant sections of *CCH*, these themes are incorporated in the homilies on the Holy Week on pp.40-48. Whereas the sermons on Fasting and Almsgiving are subsumed under the date of Ash or Spy Wednesday, the texts based on *LQE* centre around Riding or Palm Sunday and Maundy Thursday. As it appears quire C in *LB* is especially steeped in the homiletic tradition of Irish scholarship, as these pages correspond to several major works of Irish homiletic literature.

The next phase in the chronology of Hiberno-Latin Bible commentary is formed by three related manuscripts known collectively as the *Catecheses*. They signal a novel step in the tradition in that their homilies do not primarily serve as a line-by-line exegesis of Scripture but rather as a thematic elaboration of the *sententia* or message of a Biblical passage. The earliest of the three is the *Catechesis Veronensis*, Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare LXVII [64] (*CV*, s.VIII<sup>ex</sup>-IX<sup>in</sup>).<sup>91</sup> Like *LB* it has a series of homilies in the sequence of the liturgical year, in this case from Christmas to Pentecost. Because of this structuring, the main similarity between *CV* and *LB* is found near the end of quire C in the homilies on Maundy Thursday, Pentecost and in the subsequent homily on Circumcision, pp.48-56. The authorship and provenance of the *CV* are unknown but assumed by their editor to be either Irish or within the sphere of Irish influence on the continent. This includes the many monastic settlements founded by Irish monks from the eighth and ninth century onward, such as there are Bobbio, Luxeuil and St Gall.

The second source of its kind is the *Catechesis Cracoviensis*, Kraków, Biblioteka Kapituły Katedralnej 140 [43] (*CK*, c.800).<sup>92</sup> Again, the homilies that show possible overlap concern readings from Matthew 4-7 on the Holy Week, namely those on Palm or Riding Sunday and Maundy Thursday, *LB* pp.40-45. Moreover, thematic links exist with the Passion of Peter and Paul and perhaps the Homily on the Epiphany, *LB* pp.172 and 198. The origins of *CK* lie in the milieu of the

<sup>90</sup> Rittmueller (2003).

<sup>91</sup> Martin (2000: vii).

<sup>92</sup> David (1937: 62-89); cf. Krasnodębska-D'Aughton on <[www.ucc.ie/latinbible/cracow.htm](http://www.ucc.ie/latinbible/cracow.htm)> [Accessed 28-1-2015].

Irish bishop Virgil of Salzburg. The third and most important specimen is the *Catechesis Celtica*, Città del Vaticano, Codex Reginensis latinus 49 (CC, s.IX<sup>ex</sup>-s.X<sup>in</sup>).<sup>93</sup> The correspondence of CC and LB around themes from Matthew 4-27 is pervasive, especially in the aforementioned quire C in the texts on Palm or Riding Sunday, Ash or Spy Wednesday and Maundy Thursday, as well as the Homily on the Circumcision (LB pp.40, 44, 45, 48, 56). This is not all; additional correspondences inform the homilies on Charity, the archangel Michael and the Pater Noster (LB pp. 66, 201, 248). Again, the homiletic quire C in LB pp.35-54 shows an especially strong influence from its sources.

There are other collections to which comparison could be made, but these are either of lesser importance or more difficult to access. Two well-known Matthean commentaries should be mentioned in this respect. The former is the *Bibelwerk* in Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 940 (s.ix), also linked to the circle of Virgil of Salzburg.<sup>94</sup> Though the importance of this work has been established for individual homilies, the lack of a modern edition makes it impossible to fathom its influence on a complete collection such as LB. The latter is London, British Library, Harley 1802, usually named the *Gospels of Mael Brigte* (MB; a.1138).<sup>95</sup> This manuscript, stolen from the Royal Library in Paris in 1705 by Jean Aymon,<sup>96</sup> has a Bible text surrounded by Latin and Irish commentary. The possible correspondences of Matthean readings to the homilies LB are buried in many glosses. Apart from these major manuscripts there are three underestimated witnesses to the Hiberno-Latin commentary tradition. One is a series of twelve sermons in München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6233 (s.viii).<sup>97</sup> Its origins can be traced to Tegernsee Abbey in Bavaria, established by monks from St Gall. Another is a collection called *In nomine dei summi*, contained in Città del Vaticano, Palatinus Latinus 220 and 212 (s.viii<sup>ex</sup>).<sup>98</sup> It consists of seven Hiberno-Latin homilies; its provenance is situated in the Rhine Valley. Finally, there is a manuscript in Linz, Bibliothek der philosophisch-theologischen Hochschule der Diözese A I/6 (s.ix<sup>in</sup>), also from Bavaria.<sup>99</sup> These three sources from present-day Germany merit more examination than can be executed here.

The strong Irish traditions of Bible commentary carry additional consequences for the composition of relatively more recent collections such as LB. The Latin citations of both the Bible and other authorities in the fifteenth-century homiletic witnesses often derive not from the original sources but from an intermediary

<sup>93</sup> Rittmueller (1992-3: 259-305).

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Mullins (2014: 323-44).

<sup>95</sup> O'Reilly (1995: 290-310).

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Ter Horst (forthcoming).

<sup>97</sup> Cross and Breatly (forthcoming) in *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*; cf. McCune (2006:17).

<sup>98</sup> McNally (1979: 121-43).

<sup>99</sup> Etaix (1981: 126).

text. Thus, passages that display a mixed form of the Vulgate and the *Vetus Latina* may be traced back to works from the Church Fathers known in Ireland rather than to Biblical sources.<sup>100</sup> This is of course not the only use that the composers of *LB* made of the patristic *auctoritates*. For Gregory the works most cited are the *Dialogi* and the *Homiliae*; with Jerome these are the *Expositiones* and the *Commentarii*; as to Augustine the *Sermones* and the *Enchiridion* are favourites of the compiler. The scribe of *LB* did not always have recourse to the bound volumes of the *patres*, however. From certain sequences of citations or paraphrases it can be deduced that works of collected sayings were employed in their stead. Two of such collections likely originate from within Ireland. These are readily attested among the authorities cited in *LB*, to wit the *Collectanea* attributed to both Bede and Sedulius Scottus.<sup>101</sup> When investigating the sources of the *Leabhar Breac* in more detail, such direct and indirect origins of Latin citations will also have to be taken into account.

In viewing the lineage of *LB* in terms of homiletic traditions, it becomes clear that behind the individual witnesses lies a blueprint of a Hiberno-Latin Bible commentary. The different stages of this tradition can be exemplified through comparison between the period of initial composition and later occurrences in manuscripts. At the early end are collected citations around a single theme, such as *CCH* and the *Collectanea*. In the middle period, homily collections appear that reuse these citations in the context of Biblical exegesis, e.g. *LQE* and the *Catecheses*. Finally, this exegetical type of homily is gradually replaced by a more global reading and interpretation of the Bible passage under consideration. Thus the statement by McNamara that *CC* “reproduced unaltered an earlier collection, one probably put together in the eighth century” can with the present state of knowledge be linked explicitly to the existence of *LQE*.<sup>102</sup> More specific to *LB*, three texts from *CC* labelled *Umelia de oratione dominica* (f.9v), *In dominica die palmarum* (f.13r) and *In cena domini* (f.16v) are reflected in the homilies on the Lord's Prayer, Riding or Palm Sunday and the Lord's Supper (*LB* pp.247, 40, 48). Lastly, in the intervening homily on Fasting (p.45a) both branches of the tradition come together through connections with *CCH* and *LQE* as well as *CC* and *CK*. Further confirmation of the tradition behind *LB* is provided by Rittmüller, who sees a “single outline of exegesis” originating in *LQE* (c.725) and *CC* (c.900) on the one hand and culminating in *MB* (a.1138) and *LB* (c.1410) on the other.<sup>103</sup> The continuity in the textual tradition of Irish Bible commentary should therefore not be underestimated.

<sup>100</sup> Bernard (1893: 321).

<sup>101</sup> Cf. McNamara (2000: 443); Löfstedt (1989), Bischoff (1976 | 1954 | : 92-7); see bibliography II.

<sup>102</sup> McNamara (1990: 293).

<sup>103</sup> Rittmueller (2003: 48).

The development of the homiletic genre sketched above provides an indication where to place individual texts in the larger picture. However, it is insufficient to refer to this tradition when claiming direct dependence between two text versions. One notable problem is that the date of manuscripts may be much later than the date of origin of the texts they transmit. For example, although the *manuscript* of *LB* is centuries later than *MB* (a.1138), most *texts* in *LB* date to c.1100.<sup>104</sup> This fact invalidates any theory that the bulk of homilies from *LB* would have been informed by the glosses in the *Gospels of Mael Brigte*. Moreover, even if two texts share the same title and theme, they do not have to be identical in actual content. The homiletic tradition may merely dictate the encompassing structure of beginning, *exordium*, and *peroratio*, end. By contrast, the core part of the *homilia* proper, including the *expositio* of the argument and the *exhortatio* inviting action on the part of the reader or listener, may well be left for the individual compiler to decide.<sup>105</sup> Moreover, a homiletic structure could also be imposed upon other text types such as *vita* and *visio*. Thus, the Homily of Christ in *YBL* contains an *exordium* not present in *LB*, where the Saints' lives of Patrick, Martin, Columba and Brigit have been fitted with appropriate introductory materials.<sup>106</sup> Though the trends of Bible commentary are readily visible, only a close study of the interdependence of various recensions can prove a direct link between such sources and the texts in *LB*, as the next section will investigate.

### 2.8 Manuscript parallels

If the identification of putative Hiberno-Latin sources appears problematic, the dating of texts from Latin-Irish homiletic manuscripts is even more uncertain. Because of the time lag between the composition of texts and the manuscripts in which they appear, it is often difficult to date the different recensions of writing. In the present section these variant versions will be compared in detail for the language patterns they contain. The focus is here on codicology in order to identify parallels in compilatory practice, compositional aim and scribal activity. Through this method four volumes can be singled out in which the correspondences with *LB* exceed the level of merely sharing a number of texts. Instead, the overlap between the witnesses extends to their structural planning. Not among these are the codices already treated in the thesis by Mac Donncha.<sup>107</sup> This is not only out of time constraints, but also because of the focus on saints' lives in these manuscripts. This feature is irreconcilable with the homiletic primacy found in *LB*, even though *vitae* may here be absorbed into homilies. For the four manuscripts in which a homiletic concept can also be traced, the corresponding texts have all been investigated in manuscript or electronic form.

<sup>104</sup> O'Concheanainn (1973: 67).

<sup>105</sup> Mac Donncha (1978: 61).

<sup>106</sup> Ní Chatháin (1987: 504); cf. Mac Donncha (1986: 170); *id.* (1976: 61-6); cf. Kenney (1929: 212).

<sup>107</sup> Mac Donncha (1972: 59) discusses among others the Book of Lismore (Chatsworth) and *LU*.

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Beyond titles and incipits, the structure of sections and the reworking of recensions have been investigated with the aim of establishing whether or not two texts are parallels. The languages in which the homilies are written, analysed in more detail in chapter 3, are also taken into due account.

For the characterisation of the language patterns of *LB* the consideration of parallel textual transmissions in other, roughly contemporaneous manuscripts is essential. If the codeswitching in *LB* is largely shared by other manuscripts, this patterning is not so much a witness to a singular composition but rather an asset of homiletic literature in late-mediaeval Ireland. In order to answer the question in how far *LB* is indeed unique, it will therefore be informative to view language patterning in other homiletic manuscripts of the same time period. By investigating the use of Latin and Irish in these codices, it should become clearer in how far codeswitching is a feature of the homiletic genre in general or rather of *LB* specifically. Although most parallel manuscripts are of slightly later date, this does not necessarily preclude influence of these witnesses on *LB*, since, as has been stated, it is common practice in Ireland that the date of a manuscript is usually considerably later than the date of composition of the texts which it contains. It is therefore perfectly possible that the *original* texts behind both manuscripts borrowed from each other. In other words, although the actual recension of a text in, for instance, the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum* (c.1440) could not have informed the recension of the same text in *LB* (c.1410), the latter can nonetheless contain elements derived from their common tradition dating back to c.1100. Where possible, the directionality of influence between the parallels will be indicated through the codicological and philological examination of their textual variants.

The four parallel manuscripts to *LB* are all well-known witnesses, but only two have been described in detail. Both of these are also available online through the excellent interface of *Irish Script on Screen (ISOS)*.<sup>108</sup> Sticking to chronological order, the earliest of these is Dublin, Trinity College 1318 (*olim* H 2.16) called the *Leabhar Buidhe Leacáin* 'Yellow Book of Lecan' (*YBL*, c.1398-1417). This is a composite manuscript consisting of at least four individual sections; the *ISOS* website distinguishes no fewer than seventeen booklets, adding that a new manuscript description is pending. One of these seventeen parts, cc.281-344 (c.1398-1401), was written by Murchadh Ó Cuindlis (or Morogh O'Cuindilis, as he is styled in the catalogue description of *YBL*).<sup>109</sup> This is the very scribe of *LB*, the (*Great*) *Book of Lecan* (c.1397) and a lost manuscript called the *Red Book of Munster*. Interestingly, Ó Cuindlis states in a marginal note that his section of

<sup>108</sup> *Irish Script on Screen* (Meamram Páipéar Ríomhaire), <<http://www.isos.dias.ie/>> [Accessed 28-01-2015]. I should like to thank Pádraig Ó Macháin for the use of high-resolution images of the manuscripts in *Irish Script on Screen*.

<sup>109</sup> Abbott (1900: 329).

*YBL* was written *do fen* 'for himself'. There is a facsimile of the codex made by Atkinson, the editor of the *Passions and Homilies*, but it is as outdated as his work on *LB*.<sup>110</sup> The second item is Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 23 O 48 *a & b*, nicknamed the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum* (*LFF*, c.1437-1440).<sup>111</sup> This witness is nowadays split into two parts, of which the quires are not in the original order of composition. The manuscript has many links with both *YBL* and *LB*, though it postdates them by a couple of decades. There appear to have been five scribes involved in production, but unfortunately nothing is known of their identities.

The other two manuscript parallels are admittedly famous as well, but they are not nearly as well documented as the two codices on *ISOS*. Though their sections and contents have been described, it should prove productive to provide proper codicological surveys of these important manuscripts. Since they are not available online the two witnesses below have been studied in person. This provisional work is hoped to improve upon the existing descriptions from the previous centuries. Probably the earlier of the two witnesses is London, British Library, Egerton 91 (*BLE*, c.1462-1473) which is described only in the library catalogue.<sup>112</sup> There it is described as "Lives of saints, and an Irish translation of Innocent III's *De contemptu mundi*". This is only part of the truth, as the codex contains about as many homilies as *vitae*. The last manuscript to be mentioned is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Fonds Celtique et Basque 1 (*FCB*; cat. no. 24682).<sup>113</sup> This witness is composed of several parts, written by various scribes. Two smaller sections of four quires each are said to date to circa 1450 and 1500 respectively. The bulk of the codex, eight quires, is the work of one scribe named I(o)l(l)ann (anglicised William) Mac an Le(a)g(h)a (fl. c.1473). This happens to be the same scribe who produced *BLE*, which explains the many coincidences between these two later manuscripts. These overlaps will be investigated in section 2.9, after the description of the individual manuscripts.

### 2.8.1 Dublin, Trinity College 1318 (*Yellow Book of Lecan* (Leabhar Buide Leacáin))

The chief characteristic of *YBL* is that it is a composite manuscript amalgamating multiple originally independent booklets of quires. As a result it has several paginations, of which the principal is given in columns (cc.1-998); a secondary system numbers pages [pp.1-462]. The title *YBL* proper belongs to cc.1-344 only, mostly written c.1391. This section comprises probably four separate booklets. The first booklet, cc.3-122, contains two complete texts, *Cormac's Glossary*, present in *LB* p.263, and an etymological tract. The first two single-column pages, cc.1-2, properly go together with cc.125-8 in the second booklet that runs until c.216. These pages are filled with the poems from two books of *Duanaire*, or

<sup>110</sup> Atkinson (1896).

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Gwynn (1906-7: 15-41), Mulchrone et.al. (1933: 1254-73); cf. Breatnach (2011: 95-163).

<sup>112</sup> Flower (1926: 438-51).

<sup>113</sup> Omont (1890: 389-); Todd (1846: 223-9) dates the first and last parts of *FCB* to ss.XIV-VI.

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collections of poetry. The third booklet, cc.217-280, is religious in nature, with the *Cáin Domnaig* (c.217; another version on c.957) and the *Regula Mochuta* (c.221) in *LB* p.202b and 261a, as well as the Jewish history on c.249. There are also texts on Bec mac Dé and the *Céli Dé* in both witnesses, but they do not match exactly. The fourth, cc.281-344, has an historical bent, having been written by Murchad Ó Cuindlis at a slightly later date than the previous parts. Unsurprisingly, it shares a number of texts with *LB* including a number of poems and litanies (cc.326-38).

The additional booklets of *YBL* each tend to have a specific theme. The fifth section has a book of Romances (cc.370-400), the sixth contains the *Dindsenchus* (cc.401-36), the seventh harbours a couple of medical treatises (cc.437-99a), the eighth conveys the *Leabhar Ollamhan* (cc.500-35), and the ninth displays the *Dialogue of Sages* (cc.536-71). The tenth and last section of ninety-nine leaves, cc.573-958a, primarily deals with stories such as the *Táin Bó Cuailnge*. It probably includes the incomplete tale of the *Táin Bó Fliadhais* on cc.345-68. A few overlaps with *LB* occur in the *Amra Choluim Chille* (c.680) and in a short section on Patrick (c.811). Within the last booklet of historical tales there is an interesting interlude of passions and other religious stories on cc.812-79. Tellingly, this section shows several parallels with *LB*, including passions of Christ (c.812) and John the Baptist (c.849) and homilies on death (c.852) and on the Archangel Michael (c.869). There is also an Irish reworking of the *Sermo ad reges* called the *Tegas Solman* on c.863, though the two versions are not readily comparable. Interestingly, this interlude is in quaternion while the rest of the section is in quinion. An additional quire of *YBL* is now separately contained as Dublin, National Library of Ireland G 4 (*olim* Cheltenham, Thirlestaine House, Phillipps Collection no. 8214). The quinion, numbered in columns 959-998, was written in 1391 by the same scribe as the preceding section. Its contents include *Mesca Ullad* known from *LU* and *LL*, and *Caithréim Cellaig* also available in *LB* on pp.272-77.

Comparison of the two paginations conveys notable differences. In favour of the foliation system is the juxtaposition of thematically related sections. Thus, the *Leabhar Ollamhan* (cc.500-72) is linked up with Cormac's Glossary (cc.3-87) on ff.217-52 and 255-83 respectively. Likewise, the two tracts on etymology (cc.88-124) and placename lore (cc.401-36) are intertwined as pp.421-33 and 438-55. These two examples of alternate foliation immediately pose a major problem, though. The splitting of the glossary and the etymology runs against the codicology of the two continuous quires A and B (cc.3-62, 63-122). Apart from basing the foliation system solely on textual contents, this solution would put the single-column pp.123-4 within the three-column quire B. In fact, the bifolium belongs in quire T where it forms the ending of the *Toghail Bruidhne*. A similar problem is the separation of the two medical treatises of quires M and N (cc.437-68, 469-99a). The foliation places one text at ff.341-60 and the other at the end at



ff.456-62, even though this would sever the regular quire structure. Lastly, the final independent quire is not included in this system, suggesting that it is more recent than its split from the main codex, dated to 1770-86 by the catalogue.<sup>114</sup> These are all indications that the columnation is closer to the original state of the manuscript than the foliation, although it is difficult to be certain in these areas.

Table 2.7: *Codicology Yellow Book of Lecan*

Collation columns	Codicology	Contents	Correspondences	Comments
A 3-62	quinion 3 columns	Cormac's Glossary	LB 263a-272b	p.1-2 misbound
B 63-122	quinion 3 columns	Etymological tract		p.123-4 misbound
C 1-2+125-52	quaternion	Books of Duanaire		c.125-8 loose leaf
D 153-84	quaternion	" "		
E 185-216	quaternion	" "		c.211-4 other hand
F 217-48	quaternion	Religious wisdom	LB 202b, 261a	
G 249-80	quaternion	History of the Jew	LB 113a-123a	c.249-62 new hand
H 281-312	quaternion	Battle Magh Rath		wr. M. Ó Cuindlis
I 313-44+344a-d	quaternion+folium	Historical tales &c	LB 74a-d	date c.1395 (note)
J 345-64+365-8	ternion incomplete	Táin Bó Fliadhais		c.365-8 filler text
K 369+370-400	insert+quaternion	Book of Romance		369a-r later letter
L 401-32+433-6	quaternion+folium	The Dindsenchus		c.433-6 added leaf
M 437-68	quaternion	Medical Treatises		
N 469-98+499a-b	quaternion+folium	" "		incl. c.476a-476b
O 500-31+32-5	quaternion+folium	Leabhar Ollamhan		c.532-5 added leaf
P 536-67+68-72	quaternion+folium	Dialogue of Sages		572-2c stub of leaf
Q 573-612	quinion	Táin Bó Cuailnge		
R 613-51	quinion	Táin & other Tána		p.619 one column
S 652-91	quinion	" "	LB 239a-241a	
T 692-731+123-4	quinion+2 folia	Toghail Bruidhne		c.705ad added leaf
U 732-71	quinion	Miscellany stories	(FCB 27v)	four pp. cut leaves
V 772-811	quinion	" "	LB 220a-b	
W 812-51	quinion	Passion of Christ	LB 160, 111, 187b	
X 852-69d+870-9	quaternion	Religious stories	LB 201, 251, ?35b	incl. c.869a-869d
Y 880-919	quinion	Historical stories		
Z 920-958a+iiii ff.	quinion+4 folia	" "		four paper leaves
*G4 959-998	quinion	" "	LB 272b-277a	963-6, 87-90 single

<sup>114</sup> Ní Shéaghda and Ó Macháin (1961-96).

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##### 2.8.2 Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 23 O 48 a & b (*Liber Flavus Fergusiorum*)

Like *LB*, the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum* is at present contained in two complementary volumes. The original number of folia was a hundred and eight, of which now only ninety-two remain. The current construction of the quires has four in the first volume and five in the second. However, notes in the manuscript indicate that what is now volume one should have stood between quires four and five of volume two. Such a system would put the Life of Mary in vol. ii before the *Finding of the True Cross* in vol. i, and the Life of George in vol. ii after the Lives of the two Johns in vol. i. This ordering, reflected in the collation formula, has as an additional advantage that it bundles most of the work of the main scribe in one sequence. This scribe *a* was responsible for quires A-B and F-I, while the other four hands each delivered one quire at most. Quire C is mostly due to scribe *c* dated to 1437, quire D belongs to scribe *b*, quire E is the effort of scribe *d* dated to 1440, while the endeavours of scribe *e* are visible in a short section of quire C. None of their names are certain, although two scribes named *Donnchadh Ó Maelchonuirí* (d.1404) and *Aedh* are mentioned in the manuscript.<sup>115</sup>

In terms of contents *LFF* is almost exclusively devoted to passions and other religious stories. In the rearranged order the first quire E, after filler texts on f.1, contains the lives of Mary, Anselm, Juliana and Christ. The last item, the Vision of St Bernard on f.10[11]v, is akin to the final text of the second volume of *LB*, p.280b. Its ending is supplied by a loose leaf misbound as f.25. The next quire, F, has on f.17[19]v a version of the Life of Cellach found like the above text in the last quire of *LB*, p.272b. It agrees less with *LB* and more with the version in the additional quire of *YBL*, but it omits part of the metrical material. At the end of the quire occurs a section of Biblical history and a homily on Fasting (f.21[23]rv), as well as passions of Peter and Paul and other apostles from f.22[24]v. All of these are also in *LB*, on pp.109b, 258ab, 172b and 180b respectively. Interestingly, the homily on Fasting also contains an additional section on the evils coming to Ireland like *LB*. Subsequently in the third quire G is found the passion of Christ on f.26r, comparable to *LB* p.160a and *YBL* c.812. Quire H has on f.34[45]v one item on the house of Solomon and one on the Sunday letter, the former in *LB* p.130b, the latter in *LB* p.202b and *YBL* cc.217 and 957. The following two texts are related, *Agallaibh an Chuirp 7 na hAnma* on f.37[46]r and the *Visio Pauli* on f.38[47]v. The former is in *LB* p.251b, while the latter is a source of the text on *LB* p.258b. Last, a text on colours of religious clothes on f.41r conforms to *LB* p.108a.

Quire A of the first volume opens with the *Finding of the True Cross* which is attested in *LB* on p.221. At the end of the quire appear a number of short texts,

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<sup>115</sup> Breatnach (2011: 95-163) describes in detail the scribal features of *LFF*, many shared with *LB*.

among which is the *Wonders at the Birth of Christ* on f.11[64]v. This text exists in *LB* on p.132a and in *YBL* on c.869. The second quire contains two subsequent texts of interest, *Pais Crisdofuruis* on f.16[68]r and *Fis Adamnáin* on f.17[69]v. These correspond to *LB* pp.278a and 253b. In quire C is found another segment of Biblical history regarding Adam of Eve on f.25[76]v, preserved in *LB* on p.111b and in *YBL* on c.844. Later on appears a series of passions of Patrick (f.29[80]r), Andrew (f.30[81]v), Philip (f.31[82]r) and Bartholomew (f.31[82]v). While the first is a version different from *LB*, the other three are attested together on pp.178b, 179b and 175b. Similarly in the next quire, the passions of John the Evangelist on ff.32[87]rv are different recensions, while the life of John the Baptist on f.33[88]v is akin to *LB* p.187b and *YBL* c.849. The Life of Elexius on f.34[89]v and a homily on the Lord's Prayer are unlike *LB*, but a short tract on Penitence is related to *LB* p.107b. The last quire of volume ii has two more overlaps, the *Life of St. George* on f.44[95]r and the Homily on the Commandments on f.52[105]r. These correspond to *LB* pp.190b and 243r respectively. In short, *LFF* is completely emanating with parallel recensions of the writing in not only *LB* but also in *YBL*, as table 2.8 below summarily testifies.

Table 2.8: *Codicology Liber Flavus Fergusiorum*

Collation folia	Codicology	Contents	Correspondences	Comments
E ii   1   2-12    25	sextern	Passion (of Christ)	<i>LB</i> 280b (Bernard)	scr. <i>d</i> ; dated 1440
F ii 13-24	sextern	Passion & religion	<i>LB</i> 258-72, 172-80	scribe <i>a</i> ; f. 14 <i>del.</i>
G ii 26-33	quaternion?	Passion (of Christ)	<i>LB</i> 160a-172 pass.	“ ”; rest filler texts
H ii 34-38    39-43	sextern; 2 folia <i>om.</i>	Religious material	<i>LB</i> 130, 202, 251b	“ ”; no folia [48-9]
A i 1-2   3    4-10   11-12   13-14	sextern (ex. 3, 12); ff.6-9 wrong order	<i>Stair Fierabrais</i> & histories of Christ	<i>LB</i> 221a (= <i>Finding of the cross</i> ), 132a	“ ”; f. 3, 12 vellum slip (unnumbered)
B i 15-21   22-23   24-5	quinion	Religious material incl. <i>Fis Adamnáin</i>	<i>LB</i> 253b, 278a ( <i>Passio Cristofori</i> )	“ ”; f. 23 vellum slip (unnumbered)
C i 26-31	quinion; 4 folia <i>om.</i>	Stories & passions	<i>LB</i> 111, 178-9, 175	scr. <i>c</i> ; dated 1437
D i 32-37	quinion; 3 folia <i>om.</i>	Passion & religion	<i>LB</i> 187b, 107-108	scr. <i>b</i> ; no ff. [93-4]
I ii 44-51    52-55	sextern	Passions & stories	<i>LB</i> 190b ff., 243a ff.	scr. <i>a</i> ; no ff.[103-4]

Although the above order of quires is speculative, there are further clues as to the composition of the codex. In particular, the alternate foliation given between brackets above throws light on its origins. Quire E [1-14] is indeed considered the commencement of the codex, confirming the correct place of f.25 [14]. After quire F [15-26] there is a gap of nine leaves; as a result, quire G is numbered as [36-43]. It stands to reason that there would have once been another quaternion or quinion at this position. Quire H [44-7, 50-1] in this system shows a two-leaf lacuna after the *Visio Pauli* from f.38. Before the beginning of volume one there is

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another gap of three leaves, after which quire A [55-66] commences, not counting the unnumbered slips of ff.3 and 12. Similarly, f.23 in quire B [67-76] remains uncounted in this system. Quire C [77-82] also shows defects at the end, missing [83-6] to complete a quinion. The next quire D foliated [87-92] may have been a quinion lacking at least its last leaves [93-4]. Finally, quire I [95-108] as it stands is a regular sextern in which folia [103-4] may have been an added leaf, now lost. As it appears most imperfections appear at the ends of quires, but this secondary foliation renders a clearer picture of the codex that *LFF* once has been.

##### 2.8.3 London, British Library, Egerton 91

London, British Library, Egerton 91 attests to the various mutilations that the manuscript may undergo. Its book-block has been severed in the interest of binding so that many leaves are now cut short along the bottom and outer margins, often with textual loss. Other folia have been repaired, and seven paper pages have been added, either as reinforcement or to replace lost leaves. These added pages are often at the end of the quires. At the beginning and at the end of the manuscript one parchment and three paper leaves have been pasted as flyleaves. The first parchment leaf has inadvertently been included in the numbering as folio one out of a total of sixty-seven. There is another pagination on every recto and verso, with minor differences. A modern inscription on the parchment flyleaf of f.1 surprisingly reads 'The *Leabhar Breac* ~ Old Lives of Ancient Irish Saints, &c in the Irish language. Valuable Manuscript'. What it has in common with the real *Leabhar Breac* (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 23 P 16) is the subject matter of saints' lives and the presence of many marginal notes. Also found here is the recension of *De contemptu mundi* common to many Irish manuscripts, including the other parallel codices to the *LB*. The date is given in the catalogue as fifteenth century, but fortunately this can be established with more precision. It so happens that the scribe is known to have been I(o)l(l)ann Mac an Le(a)g(h)a (anglicised William, and nicknamed *Rúaidh* 'the Red'), an exponent of a family of professional scribes, poets and physicians.

As a writer or translator he was involved in versions of the lives of Hercules, Eustace, Mary of Egypt, Guy of Warwick and Beves of Hamtoun.<sup>116</sup> For the majority of his work, William was devoted to hagiography, homiletic sermons and other religious material such as the Charter of Christ or the Dialogue of the Body and the Soul. As a copyist, he is linked to many Irish manuscripts of the age (fl. pre-1462 – post-1473).<sup>117</sup> They include Dublin, King's Inns 10 (c.1463), National Library of Ireland, G 9 (*id.*), Royal Irish Academy 23 P 3 (c.1466 -1470), Trinity College 1298 (*olim* H 2.7), ff.239ff. (s.xv<sup>ex</sup>); London, British Library, Additional 11809 (c.1465-1500) and 30512 (ff.75ff.); Oxford, Bodleian Library,

<sup>116</sup> Poppe (1996: 279). More information on Iollann is given in chapter 7.

<sup>117</sup> Breeze (1989: 141).

Laud 610 (< 1462); and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Fonds Celtique et Basque 1 (c.1473-1497). The last item was written with his son Maelechlainn (fl. 1487, nicknamed *Maghnus* to distinguish him from Maelechloinn mac Torna, d.1468). This son also copied both Dublin, King's Inns 15 and Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates 72.1.4 (*olim* Gaelic IV), together with his own son, conveniently named Iolann (d.1513). Maelechlainn also copied Dublin, Trinity College 423 with another brother Connla (fl.1496). This brother was also involved in Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 24 B 3 and 24 N 29. The overlap in names and the absence of precise dates make the above family ties confusing.<sup>118</sup>

The codex commences on f.2r with a translation of Innocent III's *De contemptu mundi*. This text is not in *LB*, but there are copies in multiple manuscripts of passions and homilies, such as the Paris codex described in section 2.8.4, the *Book of Lismore*, Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 24 P 1 and Rennes, Bibliothèque de Métropole 598. The second quire contains three texts paralleled in *LB*: the *Betha Sin Seoirsi* on f.11r, a homily of Paphnutius on f.12r, and the *Páis Longínuis* on f.13r. These are found in *LB* on pp.190b, 7a and 181b; the first text also has a section on Solomon corresponding to the *Sermo ad Reges* in *LB* p.35b. Quire C opens on f.14r with the Passion of Peter and Paul (*LB* p.172b) and ends with the homily on the Lord's Prayer on f.20r (*LB* p.248a). The next quire begins with the homily on Colum Cille on f.22r, attested in *LB* on p.29b. The second half of this section on f.26r has the Life of Brendan also appearing in *FCB* f.81v. It contains a passage parallel to the *Fís Adamnáin* in *LB* p.253b. Quire E seems to comprise only half of a full section; perhaps it is to be taken together with the similar half-quire J. Within this first section is attested the *Betha inmhoirsesser* on f.32v, akin to *LB* p.189a.

Quire F comprises several chapters of a text entitled *Dopein iferrn* 'On the punishments of Hell'; there are no direct links to *LB*. By contrast, the next quire supplies a Life of Martin on f.44v similar to the story in *LB* p.59a. There are also two tracts on John the Baptist on ff.46r and 48r, but they do not appear to be related to the recension of *LB*. The end of the following quire H seems to have the start of the life of Brigit on f.55v, which is said to commence acephalous on f.57; the text has some overlap with *LB* p.61b. In quire I is also encountered *Betha namanach neigiptan* on f.60r, corresponding to the text of the *Passio Marcellini* in *LB* p.7b. At the end of the section can be found *Digal fola Críst* on f.63v, available in *LB* on p.150b. Finally, the incomplete quire J, perhaps to be linked with quire E, ends with a Litany of Mary which is unlike the text in *LB* p.74a. In addition to the correspondences with *LB* there are multiple connections to *FCB*. These include the life of Longinus, a tract on duties of priests, the life of Brendan, a

<sup>118</sup> Walsh (1947: 206).

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homily on Gregory, the passion of Marcellinus, *Dígal fola Crist*, and the story of the Jew of Bourges. The precise links between the three witnesses are studied later; the overview of Egerton 91 in the light of *LB* is given in table 2.9 below.

Table 2.9: *Codicology Egerton 91*

Collation folia	Codicology	Contents	Correspondences	Comments
A 1   2-5   i   6-7	quaternion	<i>Contemptu mundi</i>		paper page <i>post</i> 7
B i   8-9   10-13   i	quaternion	“ /passion/homily	<i>LB</i> 190b, 7a, 181b	paper page <i>post</i> 13
C 14-21	quaternion	Passion & homily	<i>LB</i> 172b, 248a	paper page <i>post</i> 21
D 22-25   26-29	quaternion	<i>Vita Columbae</i> &c	<i>LB</i> 29b	
E 30-33   ?i	binion	<i>Vita Morfessir</i> &c	<i>LB</i> 189a	paper page <i>post</i> 33
F 34-41	quaternion	? <i>Liber scintillarum</i>		paper page <i>post</i> 41
G 42-48   i	quaternion	Martinus/Iohannes	<i>LB</i> 59a; vs. 187b	
H 49-51   52-56   i	quaternion	Other passions &c	<i>LB</i> 61b	paper page <i>post</i> 56
I 57   58-64	quaternion	Brigitta and others	<i>LB</i> 7b, 150b	paper page <i>post</i> 57
J 65-67   i   iii pp.	binion	litany of Mary &c.	<i>LB</i> 74a	

2.8.4 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Fonds Celtique et Basque 1 (8175)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Fonds Celtique et Basque 1 has many parallels with *LB* as well as *BLE*, as discussed above. Like the latter the Paris manuscript has a damaged book-block, detached on front and back. Moreover, its comb has split in two fragments between folia 88 and 89. This divide coincides with a change in scribe, so that these may have been separate booklets. The basic unit of composition seems to be the quaternion, but far from all quires today retain their eight folia. The catalogue divides the codex into seven parts, ff.1-8, 9-14, 15-21, 22-29, 30-57, 58-73, and 74-117. Within the manuscript there are also quire signatures, but these do not correspond to a division in composition. In fact there are three major divisions visible, related to the three scribes who worked on the witness. The first part, now misbound into two parts on ff.9-21 and 58-73, is attributed in a marginal note to Flathri in Truag (c.1450). The second part comprising ff.1-8, 22-57 and 74-89 is mostly copied by Ilann Mac an Lega, the same scribe as above, writing his part c.1473. The third part runs from ff. 90-117. It has a note naming Maelechlainn, the son of Ilann, as the scribe.

In the rearranged order presented here, the first and the second quires B and C, ff.9-14 and 15-21, both end incomplete. Quires I and J are fully formed, but the last leaves on ff.72v-3v are filled with an incomplete copy of the same text as ff.12r-14v, the end of quire B. Quires A and D are complete, with the text at the end of f.8 continuing onto f.22. Such sequences are another reason for attributing

quires BCIJ to a different scribe than their surroundings. As for the subsequent quires, E appears to be missing a folio, F and G are again seemingly complete, and H lacks its last three leaves. Within quire K ff.77-78 have been partly detached from the binding. Quire L starts on f.82 with a single leaf and contains textual corrections by a different hand. At the end is a stub and the split in the comb. Quire M is regular, whereas quire N starts with a single leaf and contains a lacuna in the middle. This quire contains part of the *Liber scintillarum* [*sive sententiarum*], which seems to spill over into quire O. There the text ends incomplete, though the quire is regular in its composition. Lastly, quire P ends incomplete with additions on ff.116v-117v and a stub in between. At the end of the codex two fly-leaves are attested.

The overview of the quires in reconstructed order shows a section of homilies as well as a sequence of passions. In this respect, the manuscript is an important parallel to *LB*, although the latter codex has many more cases of codeswitching. In terms of texts the first quire B has on f.14r the text *Agaldaim in cuirp 7 in anma*, comparable with *LB* p.251b. The next quire C starts on f.15r with the homily on Fasting, which *LB* has in the same quire as the above text on p.258a. In quire I *De contemptu mundi* is attested, with sections on charity and on the Lord's Prayer not compatible with *LB* p.248a. At the end of quire J is contained another version of *Agallamh* on f.73v. The second part of the codex starts with *Stair claindi Israel* on f.1. At the end of this quire on f.7v is *Tegusg righ Solaimh*, an Irish version of the *Sermo ad Reges* found in *LB* p.35b. It continues into quire D, which together with quire E has no further links with *LB*. Quire F has on f.38r *Betha sancti Seoirsi*, on f.42v a life of Longinus and on f.43v a life of Juliana. These recensions correspond to *LB* p.190 and p.181b and to *LFF* ii f.1 respectively. Quire G has on f.45r ff. the section of *Stair Nicoméid* that is also attested in *LB* on p.170a ff.

The passions are then resumed in quire H with the life of Colum Cille on f.53r and the Seven Sleepers on f.56v; these can be found in *LB* on pp.29b and 189a. Likewise, quire K has the passions of Patrick on f.74r, Brigit on f.76v and Brendan on f.81v. The first two are in *LB* on pp.24b and 61b; the last one is in *BLE*, the *Book of Lismore*, and a manuscript from Brussel, Bibliothèque Royale 4190-4200. The passion of Brendan continues into quire L, which also has a homily on the Lord's Prayer comparable to the one in *LB* on p.248a. The third part starts on f.90r with *Dighail fola Crist*, which corresponds to *LB* p.150b. The same quire M ends with *Aislingthi Adamnáin* on f.95r, running on into the next quire. This is related to the *Fís Adamnáin* in *LB* p.253b. Following it is the Exaltation of the Cross on f.98v, which *LB* has on p.221a. The next text on f.101r is from the *Liber scintillarum* [*sive sententiarum*]. This collection has a paragraph entitled *Don aithrige* 'On penance' in the next quire O on f.104v, which corresponds to *LB* p.107b. The new quire also has a homily of Michael on f.105v,

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the story of Adam on f.107v and the treatise on the Mass on f.109r. These are all attested in *LB* on pp. 201a, 109a and 48b. Finally in quire P, *Stair manach* on f.112v has the same combination of two texts as *LB* p.7a-b. Such correspondences to the *Leabhar Breac* are structural, as table 2.10 below summarily demonstrates:

Table 2.10: *Codicology Fonds Celtique et Basque 1*

Collation folia	Codicology	Contents	Correspondences	Comments
B 9-14   ii	quaternion	Religious prose	<i>LB</i> 251b (cf. J)	scribe <i>a</i> (Flathri)
C 15-21   i	quaternion	Sermons and other	<i>LB</i> 258a	
I 58-59   60-65	quaternion	<i>Contemptu mundi</i>		
J 66-73	quaternion	“ ” +homily Death	<i>LB</i> 251b (cf. B)	ff.72-3 cf. ff.12-4
A i       1-8	quaternion	<i>Stair claindi Israel</i>	<i>LB</i> 35b? ( <i>Tegusg</i> )	scribe <i>b</i> (Uilliam)
D 22-29	quaternion	Religious prose		f.22 continues f.8
E 30-31   i   32-36	quaternion	Passions		
F 37-44	quaternion	“ ”	<i>LB</i> 190b, 181b	
G 45-52	quaternion	<i>Stair Nicoméid</i>	<i>LB</i> 170a	
H 53-4   55   56-7	quaternion (atel.)	Passions (contin.)	<i>LB</i> 29b, 189a	+3 leaves missing
K 74-6   77-8   79-81	quaternion	“ ”	<i>LB</i> 24b, 61b	f.77-8 detached
L 82   83-89	quaternion	“ ” +homily <i>Pater</i>	<i>LB</i> 248a	comb split at f.89
M 90-97	quaternion (+stub)	Religious prose	<i>LB</i> 150b, 253b	scribe <i>c</i> (Echlainn)
N 98-100   ii   101-3	quaternion	“ ”	<i>LB</i> 221a, 107b	f.98 single leaf
O 104-111	quaternion	“ ”	<i>LB</i> 201a, 109, 48b	
P 112-116   117   ii	quaternion (+stub)	“ ”	<i>LB</i> 7ab	quire ends atelous

### 2.9 Conclusion

From the codicological description of the five manuscripts emerge many links not only to individual texts but also to homiletic composition in general. Comparison between the diverse codices is here subdivided into the two early witnesses *LB* and *YBL*, the intermediary manuscript *LFE*, and the later codices *BLE* and *FCB*. As to the first group, the two manuscripts share a scribe, Murchad Ó Cuindlis. Moreover, two litanies from the *Scúap Chrábaid* on c.336 (326) are also included on *LB* p.74 as filler texts at the end of the homiletic quire D. It stands to reason that Ó Cuindlis copied these from *YBL* to the spare page of *LB* p.74. In terms of textual correspondences, the present binding of *YBL* opens with Cormac's Glossary on c.3 (p.255), which is the first text of the second volume of *LB* p.263. Later on there is a series of texts on cc.221-7 (pp.407-10), the *Regula Mochuta Raithin* and a Rhapsody by Bec mac Dé, found conjointly at the end of the first volume of *LB* on pp.260-1. In the last section of ninety-nine leaves in



YBL multiple links can be indicated. One is the sequence of a brief text on the dates of Patrick's life and the combined account of the *Passion of the Lord* and the *Gospel of Nicodemus* on cc.811-2 (pp.140-1). Another is the juxtaposition of the *Passion of John the Baptist* and the *Homily on Death* on cc.849- 57 (pp.159-63). A third is the concurrence of an Irish version of the *Sermo ad reges* and the *Homily on the Archangel Michael* on cc.863-9 (166-9); all these texts are also found in close connection within the *Leabhar Breac*.

Although *LFF* may not share its scribes or decade of composition with any of the other witnesses, it is in fact the codex closest to *LB* in the sheer number of parallel texts, especially given its limited size. Furthermore, it has several series of texts that appear in similar sequence in *LB* as well. For example, a progression of passions of Andrew, Philip and Bartholomew on i ff.30[81]v-31[82]v is paralleled within *LB* on pp.175b-9b. A similar string of saints' lives is seen on ii ff.22[23]v-26r with the passion of Peter and Paul, other apostles and Christ, represented in *LB* on pp.160a-180b. The third type of intertextuality is found in the debate of Lucifer and Adam (ii f.21[23]r), the story of Adam and Eve (i f.25[76]v) and a tract on Penitence (i f.36[91]v). All of these connect to a small section in *LB*, found on pages 107 to 111. Especially telling is the treatment of texts from the last two quires of *LB*. From pp.243-262 *LFF* has versions of the *Fís Adamnáin* on i f.16[68]r; the homily on Fasting on ii f.21[23]v; the Evils coming on Ireland on ii f.22[24]r; a combination of the homily on Death and the *Visio Pauli* on ii ff.37[46]r-38 [47]v, and the homily on the Ten Commandments on ii f.52[105]r. The last quire of the second volume of *LB*, pp.263-280, is attested in *LFF* by the life of Cellach on ii f.17[19]v and the life of Christ on ii f.10[11]v. The total number of parallel texts between *LB* and *LFF* is in excess of twenty, especially notable in that the latter is but a small codex. There seems to be a good chance that *LFF* has indeed copied some of its content from *LB*.<sup>119</sup>

For *BLE* and *FCB* the presence of a shared scribe is a strong sign of their interrelatedness and a help towards their dating around 1475. Apart from this fact, their similarities include a number of texts from the homiletic quires of *LB*. Within *BLE* there is a concentration of parallel texts at the start of the codex. There are found the lives of George (f.11) and Longinus (f.13), the homilies on the *Pater Noster* (f.20r), on Colum Cille (f.22r), on the *Fís Adamnáin* (f.26r) and on the Seven Sleepers (f.32v). Later on is another series of lives of Brigit (f.55v) and Marcellinus (f.60r) and the *Dígal fola Críst* (f.63v). As for *FCB* most of the overlap occurs at the end of the codex, apart from the lives of George and Longinus which are found together in the first section at ff.38-43. The lives of Colum Cille and the Seven Sleepers are stuck together in the second section at ff.53r and 56v,

<sup>119</sup> The likelihood of copying could be corroborated by the study of orthography; cf. the article by C. Breatnach (2011); see note 115.

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which also contains the life of Brigit (f.76v) and the homily on the *Pater Noster* (f.87v). The largest concentration is found in the last section with the *Dígal fola Críst* (f.90r), the *Fis Adamnáin* (f.95r) and terminating with the life of Marcellinus (f.112v). These clusterings are even more revealing when compared to *LB*. There it can be clearly discerned that, apart from loose items such as the life of Marcellinus (p.7b) and the *Dígal fola Críst* (p.150b), parts of the codex are reserved for certain texts. In the first quires of saints' lives appear the tracts on Colum Cille (p.29b) and Brigit (p.61b). Among the later quires of passions are George, the Seven Sleepers and Longinus (pp.181b, 189a and 190b). Finally, within the last homiletic quire we have the *Pater Noster* (p.248a) and the *Fis Adamnáin* (p.253b). In this clustering of texts one can clearly state the interdependencies between the *Leabhar Breac* and its varied manuscript parallels.

### Chapter 3.

### Homiletic structure

#### 3.1 Introduction

The codicological considerations set forth in the foregoing chapter suggest strong structural overlap between the composition of *Leabhar Breac* and its parallel codices. This congruence does not mean, however, that the texts in *LB* themselves derive directly from these other manuscripts, or vice versa. A study of the layout of these texts and their languages can confirm whether the parallelism extends beyond a coincidence of titles and themes. For this reason an investigation into the genre of homiletic texts is required, so that it can be decided whether the pattern of languages in *LB* and its cognates is a facet of a genre, a manuscript or a manuscript family. After an overview of the homiletic genre in section 3.2 the texts in *LB* will be analysed in the order of its quires in sections 3.3 through 3.7. In this manner the codicological conclusions of the preceding chapter can be connected to the structural requirements of the homiletic genre. In turn, the results concerning language choice of this chapter as outlined in section 3.8 serve as the starting point for the more detailed language investigation in the subsequent chapters. Whenever the two languages need to be distinguished in the examples, Latin is put in **bold**, diamorphs in underscore.

Given the parallelism between *LB* and the four manuscripts mentioned in chapter 2 on the level of the codex, it would also be interesting to examine the exact use of language in corresponding recensions of texts in these other codices. In addition, there are comparable text versions in dozens of manuscripts, not to mention hundreds of sources with relevant readings. Such a collation falls far outside the scope of the present study; it might merit an article for each individual textual tradition or a summary overview for the entire tradition.<sup>120</sup> The broad outlines of such a sketch can nonetheless be drawn on the basis of observations on individual texts. In this respect *Leabhar Breac* clearly contains far more Latin and Latin-Irish codeswitching than any of its manuscript parallels. Latin elements in *LB* are usually either translated or omitted in other witnesses. By contrast, the putative sources behind *LB* are almost wholly Latin. The correspondence between these two branches of the homiletic tradition, however, appears to be more of a thematic or general nature rather than a specific verbal dependence. The unique position of the *Leabhar Breac* in the tradition of the homiletic genre will hereafter be discussed on the basis of the individual quires.

#### 3.2 Homiletic genre

The homiletic genre has undergone a historical development from Biblical commentary by the *patres*, especially Gregory the Great, to a transcript of spoken sermons, as section 1.6 has stated.<sup>121</sup> These innovations result in a dichotomy

<sup>120</sup> Ter Horst (forthcoming).

<sup>121</sup> Grégoire (1966: 5).

between what is called the Ancient and the Modern Form of the homily. The former was dominant up until the long twelfth century, though it remained in use throughout the Middle Ages.<sup>122</sup> It reiterated a passage from Scripture (*pericope*) through a verse-by-verse explanation (*lectio continua*). This explanation centred around the four senses in which a text was to be understood. These are labelled as literal or historical (referring to the words of Scripture themselves); moral or tropological (using the passage as an example of human behaviour); allegorical or mystical (signifying the symbols in this world that reflect divine will); and anagogical (using the passage to guide the faithful toward heaven). This fourfold system is often simplified into a two-way opposition of a literal (the text of the *pericope* and/or its translation into the vernacular) and a spiritual meaning (all of the non-literal meanings).<sup>123</sup> Such a simple system is often found in literature intended to be spoken to an audience, thereby shaping the eventual form of the catechetical sermon.

By contrast, the Modern Form is informed predominantly by the written tradition, particularly through the rise of scholasticism at the universities. The epistemology of logical structure and categorisation came to be applied to the homily as well.<sup>124</sup> As a result the Modern Form has a strict subdivision into an introduction (*exordium*), argumentation (*expositio*) and conclusion (*peroratio*). The citation from Scripture at the beginning (*thema*) is significantly shortened and is followed by another quote on the same subject from its biblical context (*prothema*). The argumentation has a central idea (*processus*) structured by subarguments (*distinctiones*) and corroborated by citations (*concordantia*) from church authorities.<sup>125</sup> Finally, the conclusion is usually constructed through the use of formulaic expressions. This Modern Form of the homily became so popular that texts from other genres such as saints' lives (*vitae*), hymns, litanies and prayers might henceforth be remodelled as homilies. As a result of this inclusive approach the homily could function as a storehouse of knowledge from all kinds of religious sources. This homiletic thesaurus could then be used by either the literate layperson or the secular clergy for the construction of their own reading materials through the use of these homilies as *artes praedicandi*, 'preaching tools'.

Different texts from the *Leabhar Breac* display different steps in the development sketched above, sometimes combining several stages within one homily. The

<sup>122</sup> Spencer (1993: 112).

<sup>123</sup> Fletcher & Gillespie (2001: 53).

<sup>124</sup> Horner (1978: 382).

<sup>125</sup> Spencer (1993: 228-46). There is a technical difference between two forms of argumentation, the *divisio* and the *distinctio*. The former dissects the *pericope* into smaller segments, while the latter enumerates several possible approaches toward expounding the *pericope*. This difference is not essential for the present investigation.

core of its texts comes from a tradition referred to as the 'Irish homiliary', originating around 1100 CE.<sup>126</sup> Other texts, however, have different backgrounds, as some of the homilies are reworked versions of the lives of such saints as Patrick, Martin, Ciarán and Brigid. The life of Ciarán, for example, is rewritten in *LB* as a homily on charity without mentioning its earlier hagiographical origins.<sup>127</sup> Later additions to the homiletic genre also occur; the texts on the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Maccabees and the *Sermo ad Reges* date from about the twelfth to the fourteenth century. These variegated sources are reworked by the scribe of *LB* into a strict stylistic structure with a distinct distribution of languages. The complicated structure of the texts from this codex renders them closer to the written nature of the homily than to the spoken sermon, as they were written for an educated readership who could follow their formulaic language and citations. Nonetheless, these written homilies could also serve as a storehouse for preachers seeking suitable material for their congregations. This mixing of elements from mostly Latin commentary and Irish exemplification for preaching purposes underlies the mixing of languages in *LB*.

The planning that went into the codex is visible in the primary homiletic quires of the manuscript. Pages 24 to 74 and 243 to 262 from quires B, C, D and O contain a representative sample of the codex, comprising homilies, saints' lives, apostolic passions, litanies and prayers. That these four quires were originally adjacent is evinced by the alternative foliation *b)*, which numbers quire D and O consecutively, as chapter 2 has shown. Moreover, the *Féilire Óengusso* on pages 75 to 106 that follows upon quire D has a smaller format and a different quire structure, with quaternions instead of the usual quinions. Within the span of the four aforementioned quires twenty-two homilies occur, six of which contain *vitae*.<sup>128</sup> In these instances the saint's life is incorporated in the homiletic structure after an abbreviated *expositio*, but before the *peroratio*. This procedure may have been intended to capture the interests of the more general public with regard to the moral or dogmatic example of the church fathers.<sup>129</sup> In addition to these four quires the homilies spread throughout the manuscript will also be investigated. These include the two texts on the loose leaf at the start of quire G on pp.107-8 (which may belong to quire D instead) and the passions and homilies in the section that stretches from pp.160 to 202 in quires I through K. The so-called homiletic fragments from quire P in tome II fall outside the scope of this study, as the texts are either not bilingual, not complete, or not convincingly homiletic .

<sup>126</sup> Ó Háinle (1990: 477-9).

<sup>127</sup> Fletcher & Gillespie (2001: 48); Hewish (2006: 1) calls this a 'hagiographical homily'.

<sup>128</sup> Tristram (1997: 864) numbers nine Latin-Irish homilies, but this number is far too restrictive.

<sup>129</sup> Fletcher & Gillespie (2001: 41-52).

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Even between the principally homiletic quires there are various differences. Quire B opens with the genealogies of the Irish saints, including Christ, Mary and Patrick. This tract serves as introductory matter to the homiletic *vitae* of Patrick and Colum Cille that come next. The first text of quire C on St Stephen is also a saint's life turned homily, after which a batch of regular homilies appears. Of these six examples no fewer than four contain exposition according to the four senses. This type of exposition is characteristic of the Ancient homiletic form rarely found elsewhere within *LB*. Quire D contains two lives and five homilies, while quire N has a further four homilies. Though these two sections are strongly connected, there is a marked difference in their treatment of the *reiteratio*, the repetition of the theme. In the former quire this element is exclusively in Latin, while in the latter the Latin is always followed by Irish. The homilies from the other quires are all atypical examples. The fluidity of the homiletic structure becomes evident on examining them in more detail. One typical instance of a regular homily is reconstructed formally in table 3.1 below:

Table 3.1: *Structure of the Homily on the Circumcision [LB 56a]*

Structure	Item	Text	Language
Exordium	Incipit	Imdibe críst indarabaitsed <b>incipit</b> 'Christ's circumcision, the second baptism, begins here'	Latin-Irish
	Thema	<b>Postquam consummati sunt dies octa</b> 'After eight days have been completed'	Latin
	Auctor	Lucás suiscelach ... Ísu críst mac dé 'Lucas the evangelist ... Jesus Christ son of god'	Irish
	Prothema	<b>factum est hautem dum ibi essent impleti sunt dies ...</b> 'While they were there, it happened that the time came' ...	Latin
	Reiteratio	<b>&amp; postquam consummati sunt dies .iiii.</b> 'And after eight days have been completed'	Latin
Expositio	Processus	Cesnaigter sund cid dianabair insuiscelach 'It is asked there of what it is that the evangelist said'	Irish
	Distinctio	<b>Circum[c]issio de qua hic memoratur unum est</b> 'The circumcision about which is told here is one'	Latin
	Subdistinctio	<b>Gen[e]ra enim bapismatis sunt sex inueteri t[est]amento</b> 'For there are six kinds of baptism in the old testament'	Latin
	Concordantia	ainm gal[g]ala .i. reuelatio .i. follus 'The name <i>Galgala</i> , that is, 'revelation', that is, 'bright[ness]'	Latin-Irish
Peroratio	Invocatio	athar 7 maic 7 spiruta noib 'Of the father and the son and the holy spirit'	Irish
	Benedictio	Alme trócaire ndé ulicumachtaig 'We beseech the intercession of god almighty'	Irish
	Formula	<b>insecula seculorum amen</b> 'In the ages of ages, amen'	Latin

It is convenient in this discussion to distinguish the four options in the use of languages for different homiletic items, to wit Latin; Irish; Latin-Irish codeswitching; and Latin plus Irish translation or paraphrase. What is clear from this example is that different languages are preferred for different homiletic parts. Some segments, such as the naming of human and divine authors in the *exordium* or the invocation and benediction in the *peroratio*, are rendered in Irish only. Other elements, among which most of the structural elements in the *expositio*, are mainly Latin. Items combining Latin and Irish, though, are attested throughout the text, starting with the bilingual title. Most of these are found in the *expositio*, for example among the *concordantia*. Whereas the homiletic structure often favours Latin over Irish, the reverse directionality is usually attested in codeswitches in the body of the text. The following overview of quire structures will determine the details of this use of languages within *LB*.

### 3.3 Quire B

*LB* 24b [*Betha Patraic*]

The homiletic framework from table 3.1 will henceforth be applied to various texts within the genre. The first two quires of *LB* are not mainly homiletic, containing mostly historical texts and passions in a single language throughout. The first half of quire B is dominated by a long Latin genealogical tract on Irish saints. By contrast, the second half of the quire consists of two homiletic texts, to wit versions of the *vitae* of two of the patron saints of Ireland, Patrick (p.24b) and Columba (29b). The former text is a typical example of a saints' life reworked into a homily. Due to the lack of an incipit the first phrase of the text is its theme from Mt 4:16, [*P*]opulus qui sedebat in tenebris uidit lucem magnam, rendered in both Latin and Irish. The divine and human authors are established in Irish with the help of a Latin citation from Jerome's *In Isaiam*, i.e. *non tam dicendus esset propheta quam euangelista*.

Interestingly, the protheme is taken not from Matthew but from Is 9:1, *Primo tempore alleuata zabalun et terra neptalim*. This choice makes sense upon seeing the similarity to the theme of the subsequent verse (Is 9:2), *Populus qui ambulabat in tenebris, uidit lucem magnam; habitantibus in regione umbræ mortis, lux orta est eis*. The Latin theme is then repeated, while the rest of the *exordium* is in Irish. The exposition consists solely of an Irish *vita* with a few Latin phrases, such as the unattributed citation *Nox enim erat in mundo usque dum christus qui sol iustitie est radios suos aspersit in mundum*. The various names of Patrick are given in Latin and Irish as *Magonius .i. magis agens* 'Magonius, that is, 'doing more',<sup>130</sup> *.i. sanctus Patricius episcopus* 'that is, saint Patrick the bishop' and *.i. Pater ciuum* [sic] *apapa dicitur celestinus .i. athair nacatharda* 'that is, 'father of citizens', said by

<sup>130</sup> Cf. Healy (1905: 40).

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Pope Celestine, that is, 'father of the citizens'. The exordium is conventional with an Irish invocation *athar 7 maic 7 spiruta noib*, an Irish benediction *Alme trocaire* and a Latin closing formula *in secula seculorum amen*.

The text also has citations from three other treatises on Patrick. From his own *Confessio* comes *Bene ieiunas 7 bene oras cito intras ad patriam nati[u]am*; from Muirchu's *Vita Patricii* originates *7 ait sanctus patricius negi nisi nunc creðiteris cito morieris*, and from Tirechán's similarly titled text stems *ueni sancte patrici saluos nos facere*. Three other citations derive from the Psalms, to wit *hii in curribus 7 hii in equis. nos hautem in nomine domini dei nostri magni* from Ps 20[21]:8; *Exurgat deus 7 disipentur inimici eius* from Ps 68[69]:2 and *Ne tradás domine bestiis animas confitentium tibi* from Ps 74[75]:19. Interestingly, the last phrase is also used in the *Life of Ciarán*, which lies behind the Homily on Charity in *LB* p.66b. A further occurrence of Latin sheds light on the usage of Insular Latin. The stock phrase *gratias agam* 'may I convey thanks' is purported to have been pronounced by Patrick as *grazacum*.<sup>131</sup> In *LB* this passage is given as *graticum .i. deo gratias ago*. Apart from *in gratiam* 'the thanksgiving', with the Irish article *in*, and a number of phrases with *dicere* such as *ut dixit patraic* 'as Patrick has said', *LB* has no further codeswitching.

*LB 29b Betha Coluim Cille*

In addition to Patrick another major Irish saint is present in this quire through the *Betha Coluim Cille* on *LB* p.29b, describing the life of Columba. The text opens with a theme from Acts 7:3, *Exii de terra tua et de cognatione tua et de domo patris tui et vade in terram quam tibi monstrauero*, subsequently translated into Irish. The text continues in Irish with the identification of the author, after which the Latin theme is repeated in abbreviated form. Instead of a protheme there appears a metatextual comment, *Hec quidem istoria nota est*, which could be seen as an indication of historical senses. To indicate what story is meant it is remarked that *abraham a domino preceptum fuisse ut terram caldeorum desereret*, then translated into Irish. In the exposition Irish is the dominant language with only occasional Latin elements, especially as textual divisions introducing a new section. The Irish sections are often paraphrases from the Latin text version by Adamnán. The bulk of the text is in the shape of a saint's life with the inclusion of multiple poems. The ending is conventional with an Irish invocation *athar 7 maic 7 spiruto noib*, an Irish benediction *Ailim trocaire* and a Latin formula *in secula amen*.

Although the analysis of these two homiletic lives is not exhaustive, some figures are presented in table 3.2 below. For each of the homiletic compartments

<sup>131</sup> Perhaps this was understood as *gratis agam* 'let me do it free of charge', hence refusing the gift of a copper cauldron. This bastardisation of a Latin formulaic religious expression is reminiscent of the *penitenziagite* of the introduction; cf. Hogan (1894: 15).



its conventional components are named and their languages noted. The fact that the two texts of this quire were originally saints' lives influences much of their formal character as well as the absence of Latin in their expositions. Latin-Irish codeswitching is far more frequent in the middle part of the homily than in the structural sections at the beginning and end. Furthermore, almost all homiletic items appear strictly in one of the two languages. Only the citations from the *concordantia* can contain more than one language. Overall Irish is more commonly used than either Latin or Latin+Irish, although the exposition favours the latter option. It seems that codeswitching is mostly a matter of the homiletic exposition, while saints' lives are Irish in their entirety. It remains to be seen, however, whether these tendencies are upheld in other, more homiletic quires.

Table 3.2: Language frequencies of homiletic items in quire B (2 items)

Structure	Item	Latin	Irish	Latin+Irish	Latin-Irish	Total
Exordium	Incipit	---	1	---	---	1
	Thema	---	---	2	---	2
	Auctor	---	2	---	---	2
	Prothema	1	---	---	---	1
	Reiteratio	1	---	---	---	1
	<i>Subtotal</i>	2	3	2	---	7
Expositio	Processus	1	---	---	---	1
	Distinctio	---	---	1	---	1
	Subdistinctio	---	---	1	---	1
	Concordantia	---	1	1	---	2
	<i>Subtotal</i>	1	1	3	---	5
Vita	Invocatio	---	1	---	---	1
	Narratio	---	2	---	---	2
	<i>Subtotal</i>	---	3	---	---	3
Peroratio	Invocatio	---	2	---	---	2
	Benedictio	---	2	---	---	2
	Formula	2	---	---	---	2
	<i>Subtotal</i>	2	4	---	---	6
	<b>Total</b>	5	11	5	---	<u>21</u>

3.4 Quire C*LB 34a Césad S[t]epain incipit*

The third quire moves more firmly into homiletic territory. At its head are two texts on the death and revelation of St Stephen. Though their subjects are related, the two texts differ greatly. The first, *Césad S[t]epain incipit* 'The passion of Stephen begins' on *LB 34a*, is a proper homily in terms of both structure and language. It takes its Latin theme from Ioh 16:33, *In mundo presúram habe[bi]tis. sed confidite. quia ego uici mundum*. This citation is repeated twice without translation in the course of the exordium. By contrast, the identification of the divine and human author are in Irish. Instead of a protheme a citation appears from Bede's *Homilia 2.10*, *Curauit prius magister futura discipulis bella praedicere*. The exposition shows the same sequence of languages. First the citation from the homily by Bede is continued in untranslated Latin. It is followed by a section of conventional, formulaic Irish. This part is concluded by the Latin phrase *Sanctus stephanus noui testamenti protomartir*. The homily proper is followed by a biblical passage in which the order of languages is inverted. The first paragraph has Irish introductions and a lengthy Latin citation from Act 6:8-15. The beginning of the next Bible chapter is given in Irish, with the rest of the text in Latin with Irish translation and paraphrase running until Act 8:2. Deviating from ordinary homiletic practice there is no peroration at the end, though its structure is otherwise homiletic. Perhaps the next text is to be seen as the continuation of this homily, as it contains a peroration that is absent in this text.

*LB 34b Césad çephain insin anuas*

The similarly titled *Césad çephain insin* 'That [is] the passion of Stephen' is distinguished from the previous part by adding *anuas* 'below'. A secondary title is rendered as *Do fáillsiugud a chuirp sosis* 'On the revelation of his body here onwards'. After an unattributed phrase in Latin, *ego sum lucianus seruus christi prespiter et ecclesiae dei*, what follows is almost wholly written in Irish. A few mixed phrases occur such as *Z dorogart nomen meum fo thri. dicens. lucian. ter* 'and he called my name three times, saying 'Lucian' thrice' or *7 ise ainm in tíresin. uilla gamaliélis* 'and this is the name of that area, 'the village of Gamaliel''. Moreover, there are epithets such as *s'ephanus martir* or *zephánus seruus dei* and stock phrases such as *et dixit mihi* or *dicens*, the latter introducing a Latin citation from Ioh 3:5. Outside of these elements the body of the text is mainly narrative, lacking a homiletic structure. The tract ends with an Irish invocation *athar 7 maic 7 spiruta noib* 'of the father and the son and the holy spirit', an Irish benediction *Alme trocaire* 'We beseech the intercession' and a conventional Latin closing formula *in secula seculorum. amen*. The spelling of the name of Stephen with the idiosyncratic z-graph, alongside other variants such as *Septhanus* and *Zephanus*, is an indication of Irish confusion of z- and st-. This phenomenon, also attested in *LB* with *evangelizis* for *evangelistis*, has its background in the variable value of

the corresponding Ogham symbol *straif*, which may originally have represented either <ts> or <st>.<sup>132</sup>

*LB 35b Sermo ad Reges*

The *Sermo ad reges* 'Sermon to kings' on *LB* p.35b is atypical compared to the preceding homilies in that it contains long stretches of Latin copied verbatim from an identifiable source. This source is a seventh-century Hiberno-Latin treatise on the *rex iniquus* entitled *De duodecim abusivis saeculi* 'On the twelve abuses of the world', of which chapter nine is especially relevant. Not counting the later Irish rewritings under the title *Tegasc Solmain*, the present text is the only known copy of the tract. This Latin version stands out among the eleventh-century homily collection; although it has been fitted with an *exordium* and a *peroratio* in order to make it look homiletic, the core of the text is older than most of *LB*.<sup>133</sup>

The homily itself starts unusually with a theme not from the New Testament but from Proverbs 16:7 *Cum placuerint domino uiae hominis, inimicos eius conuertet ad pacem*. Remarkably, its translation into Irish is followed by a further series of citations from 1 Kings 3:5-13, which tie in with the regal topic of the text. Other citations on the same subject are two consecutive verses from 1 Samuel 13:13-4 and a section corresponding to Romans 13:1-5. Another point of interest is the use of sources through intermediary texts. A section from Wisdom 6:6-7 is derived from Isidore's *Synonyma* while citations from Ezekiel and Jeremiah have been quoted through either the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* or the *Corpus Iuris Canonici*. The scribe has juxtaposed these quotes with original Irish sections. In terms of homiletic structure there is no such thing as a protheme, although the *exordium* contains an Irish identification of the author.

The second half of the homily derives directly from *De duodecim abusivis saeculi*. Near the end a strong correspondence to the *Visio Pauli* is attested. Apart from these Latin derivations, however, the homily is an original Irish composition. The combination of the two languages into codeswitches is rare. In an extraordinary case like *inachuimne fen 7 inaforaithmet .i. achredo 7 aphater* 'in his own remembrance and in his commemoration, that is, his *Credo* and his *Lord's Prayer*', the Latin names of the prayers have been adapted to Irish morphology, where the initial consonants are lenited after the possessive pronoun. The exposition does not conform to homiletic use, but the *peroratio* is complete with an Irish invocation *athar 7 maic 7 spiruto noib*, an Irish benediction *Alme trocnaire* and the standard Latin closing formula *in secula seculorum. amen*.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. McManus (1986: 9-31); Schrijver (1995: 399); Ter Horst (forthcoming).

<sup>133</sup> Miles (2014: 141-56).

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LB 40a *Domnach na himrime*

The Homily on Riding (or Palm) Sunday, *Domnach na himrime* appears on LB p.40a. It has as its theme Mt 21:1 *Et cum adpropinquasset hierosolimis*, subsequently translated into Irish. This pattern is repeated for the following verses until Mt 21:14, with the Irish varying between a translation and a paraphrase. In its reading of Mt 21:8 the text of LB, *plurimae autem turbae*, corresponds with the Insular Bible against the Vulgate reading *plurima autem turba*. The identification of the authors is in Irish, while the protheme taken from Mt 20:29-34 appears in alternating Latin and Irish. The exposition recaps the theme in Latin and Irish and continues with Latin distinctions, citations and, invariably, with their Irish equivalents. These alternations almost exclusively occur between sentences rather than within them.

A rare switch within the sentence is *tinntud fhocuil. dommus maxillarum. tegdais na leccan* 'translation of a word, *Domus Maxillarum*, 'House of Jaws''. There are also three meta-textual references that structure the homily, signifying the shift from historical to spiritual to moral exegesis of the homily. The first, *Hec est istoria huius lectionis*, is only given in Latin; the others are in Latin and Irish, *hic est sensus huius lectionis spiritualis* and *hec lectio habet et moralem sensum*. The exposition for the first time finishes with an exceptional exhortation addressed to the *fratres carissimi* in Latin. The peroration has the Irish invocation *athar 7 maic 7 spiruta noib* and benediction *Ailim troaire* with a Latin formula *insecula seculorum amen*. This treatise tends toward the Ancient Form of the homily.

LB 44a *Cédaín inbraith incipit*

The Homily on Fasting, *Cédaín inbraith incipit* 'Wednesday of the betrayal begins' is found on LB p.44a,<sup>134</sup> the same subject is treated again on LB p.258b. The present text is based on a citation from Mt 6:16, *Cum autem ieiunatis nolite fieri sicut hipocritae tristes*, subsequently translated to Irish. This pattern is continued until Mt 6:18, *Pater tuus qui uidet in absconso reddet tibi*, where the use of *absconso* for *abscondito* echoes the Insular Bible text. The authorship of Matthew is put in Irish, which is nearly the only Irish that is not a translation of Latin. The protheme is taken from Mt 6:1, *Atendite [recte Attendite] ne iustitiam uestram faciatis coram hominibus*. Uncharacteristically, the exposition is almost exclusively untranslated Latin apparently based in part upon Isidore's *Sententiae*. In addition, Augustine's *Sermo domini in monte* and Gregory's *Cura (Regula) pastoralis* are also cited.

The resulting homily reads as a compilation of commentaries on Matthew, the Evangelist most often used in homilies from LB. Unsurprisingly, the same sources are also behind the Lambeth Commentary (the flyleaves from London,

<sup>134</sup> McLaughlin (2010: 37-80).

Lambeth Palace 119), which cites another part of the Sermon on the Mount.<sup>135</sup> In the present text one further Irish sentence occurs which is not a translation of Latin: *Conid follus asnadesmberectaibsin conid sochaide ipetarlaic 7 innúfhíadnaise* 'Hence it is clear from those countless examples in the Old and in the New Testament'. In the peroration both languages are used without translation, with the Irish invocation *inóentaíd nanóemtrínóti úaisle airmitnige* 'in the unity of the holy, noble, respected trinity' and benediction *Alem trócaire ndé ulicumachtaig* 'We beseech the intercession of the almighty god', and Latin closing formula *in secula seculorum amen*. As McLaughlin has indicated, the homily is atypical for *LB* in having almost all of its material in Latin.

*LB 45a Deieiunio domini indeserto*

The homily on the Temptation, *Deieiunio domini indeserto* on *LB* p.45a, opens with a theme from Mt 4:1, *Tunc ihesus ductus est indesertum aspiritu ut temptaretur adiabolo*. Verses from the Latin theme and its Irish rendition alternate until Mt 4:11. After giving the Irish author the protheme is again in Latin and Irish, citing Mt 3:16 and only a part of Mt 3:17. The repetition of the theme in Latin and Irish leads to the exposition, where the Latin verses and their exegeses have Irish translations or paraphrases. Some of the subdistinctions are given in the typically Irish triad tradition, such as *tribus caisis* [recte *causis*] *indesertum ductus est* and *tribus caisis motauerunt .xl<sup>nam</sup> deloco suo*. As in the homily on p.40a there are some meta-textual comments in Latin and subsequent Irish: *Hec iuxta litteram dicta sunt. Ise sin etargna fhollus naliachtansa. Ceterum iuxta spirituaelem intelligimntiam* 'This is said according to the letter. This is the plain interpretation of the passage. Forthwith according to the spiritual meaning.'

In addition, citations are used from the commentary on Matthew by Jerome; for instance, the phrase *Ductus est hautem non inuitus ancaptiuus sed exuoluntate pugnandi*.<sup>136</sup> As seen before, some citations deviate from the standard readings. In citing Is 58:6 *LB* reads *nonne hoc est ieiunium quod magis elegi*, a reading shared with the Vulgate against the modern text *Nonne hoc est magis ieiunium quod elegi*. By contrast, for Is 58:7 *LB* reads *et cum uideris nudum, cooperi eum* against Vulgate *cum uideris nudum, operi eum*. Of interest is also the citation from Mt 4:10 *uade ratro satanas*, since the addition of *retro* is an Insular reading. The use of sources and the homiletic structure is so similar to surrounding homilies that one suspects a common origin. At the end of the exposition are Latin admonitions to the monastic *fratres*, while the peroration has an Irish invocation *athar 7 maic 7 spirita nóib* and benediction *Alme trócaire* with a Latin formula *insecula seculorum*.

<sup>135</sup> Bieler and Carney (1972: 1-55).

<sup>136</sup> Hieronymus, *Commentaria in Matthaeum* 1. 4. 1.

LB 48b *Incena domini*

The homily on the Lord's Supper, *Incena domini* 'On the meal of the lord' on p.48b contains a potential codeswitch in its title. The analysis of *in* as the Irish article rather than the Latin preposition is made less likely by the fact that a homily on the same theme in CC reads *Omelia in Cena Domini*. The present text has a theme from Mt 26:17 *Prima hautem die açimorum accesserunt dis[ci]puli adihesum. dicentes. ubiuis paremus tibi comedere pascha*. After the translation into Irish LB continues with a citation from Mt 26:18-29 rendered in Latin and Irish. The Irish introduction of the author is followed by a Latin and Irish protheme taken from Mt 26:2 *Scitis quia post biduum pascha fiet. 7 filius hominis tradetur ut crucifigatur*. After the Latin and Irish reiteration of the theme the exposition is in alternating Latin and Irish, beginning *dies primi mensis est. quando agnus immolabatur apud iudeos*. In the course of the exposition spiritual senses of Scripture are found in *Dies açimorum. nouum testamentum signat*. The usual ending appears, an Irish invocatio *athar 7 maic 7 spiruta noim*, benediction *Alme trócaire* and Latin formula *insecula seculorum. amen. amen*. As McLaughlin states that a third of the Latin has not been traced to known sources, a part of this Latin and Irish homily may be original composition.<sup>137</sup>

LB 52b *De die pentecostes [uel discipuli]*

The Homily on the day of Pentecost on p.52b is based on Act 2:1-13, beginning [*Cum conplerentur dies pentecostes erent omnes apostoli pariter ineodem loco*. The theme and the next verses are again given in Latin and Irish, while the introduction of the author is rendered in Irish. The theme is repeated in both languages and connected through an Irish context to the protheme. The latter item is given in Latin and Irish, to wit Act 1:4 *Precepit eis ihesus né abierusolimis discederent. sed ut expectarent promissionem patris quam audistis inquit peros meum*. Then the theme is again repeated in Latin and Irish, albeit in a differing rendition, *& cum conplerentur dies pentecostes .i. quinquagessima dies adie resurrectionis*. The exordium ends with an Irish paragraph with Latin citations from the Old Testament and Act 1:8 from the New Testament in Latin and Irish.

The exposition begins with a bilingual switch from historical to spiritual interpretation; the readings *Hec est historia huius lectionis; Hec lectio habet et spiritualem sensum* are subsequently translated to Irish. Some citations in LB referring to the Old and New Testament are reminiscent of the previous homily on the Lord's Supper. On the Old Testament is said *Inueteri lege pentecosten obseruabat populis déi .i. l.mum diem. axiiii. die primi mensis qua agnus apud iudeos imolabatur*; on the New Testament is said *Innouo hautem testamento pentecoste cepit exordium quando xpistus aduentum spiritus sancti*. The exposition ends with a Latin and Irish address to the monastic *fratres carissimi*. In the peroration the conventional elements are found: an Irish invocation *athar 7 maic 7 spiruta noib*,

<sup>137</sup> McLaughlin (2012: 121).

an Irish benediction *Alme troaire* and a conventional Latin closing formula *in secula seculorum amen*.

From all of the above analyses it is clear that quire C has quite a strict structure, as table 3.3 below shows. The use of languages in exordium and peroration are highly regulated, while the presence of the Scriptural senses and the monastic address in the exposition deviate from other quires. This quire seems to relate to a different branch of the homiletic tradition than other quires in *LB*. Nonetheless, almost every homily in this quire corresponds not only to the major manuscript parallels but also to recensions in other codices. Since the present study does not aspire to provide editions for all these, such correspondences will be limited to a comparison of language patterns. In effect, what will be assessed is the language pattern of the homilies in *LB* compared to its earlier sources or its later parallels.

Table 3.3: Language frequencies of homiletic items in quire C (8 items)

Structure	Item	Latin	Irish	Latin+Irish	Latin-Irish	Total
Exordium	Incipit	3	2	---	3	8
	Thema	1	1	6	---	8
	Auctor	---	7	---	---	7
	Prothema	1	---	4	---	5
	Reiteratio	2	---	3	---	5
	<i>Subtotal</i>	7	10	13	3	33
Expositio	Processus	2	---	3	---	5
	Distinctio	---	2	3	---	5
	Subdistinctio	---	---	3	---	3
	Sensus	---	---	4	---	4
	Concordantia	4	---	4	---	8
	Exhortatio	2	---	1	---	3
	<i>Subtotal</i>	8	2	18	---	28
Vita	Narratio	1	1	---	---	2
	<i>Subtotal</i>	1	1	---	---	2
Peroratio	Invocatio	---	7	---	---	7
	Benedictio	---	7	---	---	7
	Formula	7	---	---	---	7
	<i>Subtotal</i>	7	14	---	---	21
<b>Total</b>		<b>23</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>84</b>

## 3.5 Quire D

*LB 56a Imdibe Críst indarabaitesed incipit*

The first text of quire D on p.56a is labelled *Imdibe críst indarabaitesed incipit* 'The circumcision of Christ, the second baptism, begins'.<sup>138</sup> Its Latin theme from Lc 2:21, *Postquam consummati sunt dies octa*, is rendered without translation. The subsequent sections on the identification of the author and the introduction of the context are in Irish. After the latter element a Latin protheme from Lc 2:6-7 appears, followed by two repetitions of the theme in Latin and Irish. After this the exposition commences with an exegesis on the six categories of circumcision, almost all of which text is rendered in untranslated Latin. The fact that *LB* offers a Scriptural exegesis on circumcision as one of the six types of baptism is more representative of the modern homiletic style than the traditional type as attested in other texts on the same theme. The following discussion on the figure of Abraham is the only part that is in Latin-Irish codeswitching, showing unusual switches within the sentence interspersed with a number of diamorphs.

The first example of this codeswitching is *Ram aainm riatusmed chlainde do .i. pater excelsus* 'Ram is his name before the begetting of his offspring, that is, Exalted Father'. Another instance is *Abram vero aainm iartusmed chlaindi do .i. pater excelsus* 'Abram then is his name after the begetting of his offspring, that is, Exalted Father [sic]'. These Latin and Irish items continue to alternate without translating one another, with Latin only marginally more in use than Irish. A further bilingual phrase is beautifully bidirectional. In the phrase *aainm gal[g]ala .i. reuelatio .i. follus* 'the name Galgala, that is, revelation, that is, bright[ness]', the explanation changes from Irish to Latin and back to Irish.<sup>139</sup> Another interesting phenomenon is the unclassical Latin orthography. Such examples as *babtismi*, *circumcissio* and *sanginis* may be explained as either Irish interference in consonant use or ongoing developments in mediaeval Latin. In the case of the Irish *sinechdoig*, borrowed from Greco-Latin *synecdoche* and attested only in this one instance,<sup>140</sup> there is another partial blending of borders between the languages. The remainder of the exposition is entirely in Latin, relying heavily on Luke, Matthew and the Psalms. As usual, the peroration comprises an Irish invocation *athar 7 maic 7 spiruta noib*, a benediction *Alme trócaire* with a standard Latin formula *in secula seculorum amen*.

<sup>138</sup> Mac Donncha (1984: 7-12).

<sup>139</sup> *Follus* may actually be either Irish 'bright[ness]' or Latin 'prophesying' through Gaulish *fol[lis]* 'garrulous, stupid'; cf. Du Cange s.v. *follis* at [dt.brepolis.net.proxy.library.uu.nl/dld/](http://dt.brepolis.net.proxy.library.uu.nl/dld/) [Accessed 14-07-2016]: '3. Follis, vox vetus Gallica, quam etiam usurpamus, pro stulto, vel fatuo; Fol enim dicimus: Cambro Britanni et Armorici, Ffol.'

<sup>140</sup> Cf. [dil.ie/37582](http://dil.ie/37582) [Accessed 23-03-2016].



*LB 59a Incipit deuirtute sancti martain*

The homily on Saint Martin on *LB* p.59a is based on the *Vita Martini* and *Dialogi* by Sulpicius Severus as well as Bede's *Expositio in Lucam*.<sup>141</sup> The title is bilingual with a Latin-Irish directionality, as the name of the saint is in the Irish form. The exordium has a theme from Mt 6:24 *Nemo potest duobus dominis seruire*, afterwards translated into Irish. After the Irish introduction to the author the theme is connected by the Latin expression *heret hautem* 'links to' with its protheme, *Nolite tesauri zare uobis tesauros interra. tesauri zate hautem uobis tesauros incelo* from Mt 6:19-2. Note that the caution in the spelling of *tesauri zare* can be likened to the difficulty with the z-graph in the spelling *zephain* on p.34-5, underlining the Irish confusion over the Latin letter z as encountered previously. The exposition starts with *Nemo potest duobus dominis seruire .i. nemo christum potest amplecti simmul 7 [se]culum*.<sup>142</sup> Latin exegesis and Irish translation continue until the invocation *Sochaide tra d[onoemaib] 7 dofirenaib in choimded etir fetarlaic 7 nufiadnaise* 'Multitudes then of saints and of men of the lord between the Old and the New Testament', after which the text turns into a narrative reworking of Sulpicius. Latin citations include *.i. sanctus martinus episcopus <.i. noem martain uasalepscop torindse>* 'that is, saint Martin the bishop, that is, it signifies saint Martin the archbishop', the toponym *nacatrach ambianensium* 'of the city of Amiens' and the personal name *coheláir epscop pictauæ* 'to Hilary the bishop of Poitiers'. Last, mixed formulaic expressions are *dixit hautem rex detradius aainm* 'then said the king, Tetradius his name' or *euantius aainmside* 'Evantius his name'.

A number of Latin phrases are more interesting still. A couple of citations from the original Latin *vita* are retained in *LB*, *Martinus adhuc catacuminus hac mé contexit*, and *.x.<.ui.> demones uenerunt nunc inciuitatem*. In one instance, however, there is a marked difference between the treatment of Latin and Irish. A long Latin quotation derived from the version by Sulpicius starts *O uere beatus uir in quo dolus non fuit* 'Truly blessed man, in whom was no subterfuge'. This speech continues for a considerable while until it is followed by an Irish equivalent introduced by *.i.* 'that is'. The Irish version, however, is a very loose paraphrase in indirect rather than direct speech: *Ba haensom 7 ba hinund dogrés cotaitned infailte némnda* 'He was one and he was the same always reflecting the heavenly bliss'. After this the peroration ends with the conventional Irish invocation *athar 7 mic 7 spiruta nóib*, the Irish benediction *Ailim trócaire* and the Latin formula *in secula seculorum amen*. As the passages remaining in Latin are all cases of direct speech, apparently the scribe felt it better to present these in the original form, switching to Irish in order to paraphrase.

<sup>141</sup> Herbert (2002: 79).

<sup>142</sup> Isidorus Hispalensis, *Synonyma* 2.94; one may also read *simul 7* as *simulac* 'simultaneously'.

LB 61b *Betha brigte incipit*

Another case of overlap between the genres of *vita* and homily is the *Betha Brigte incipit* 'the life of Brigid begins' on LB p.61b. The exordium added to the saint's life starts with a theme from Rv 14:4, *Híi sunt qui sequuntur agnum quocunque ierit*. After the Irish introduction of the author the protheme is from the preceding verse Rv 14:3 *Nemo potest dicere canticum nisi illa .c.xl.iiii. milia qui emp(er)ti sunt deterra*, with a gloss *.i. fortitudinem uir tutum accipiunt proterrenis*. Neither citation conforms in full to the regular Bible reading. After the reiteration of the theme, coupled with another gloss *idest virgines tertius gradus ecclesiae*, the exposition starts by explaining these grades of church hierarchy in Latin. This explanation is supported by citations, one of which corresponds to the *Liber scintillarum*, to wit *nihil enim prodest carnem habere uirginem si mente quis nupserit*, subsequently translated into Irish. This pattern of Latin exegesis, Latin citation and Irish translation is repeated twice, first with reference to Isidore's *Sententiae* 2.40 and later with a quote from Augustine's *De sancta uirginitate*. After this the *vita* commences and the language use changes to Irish with occasional Latin phrases. Examples include a proper name *.i. sancta uirgo dei brigida* and a textual marker *dixit propheta*. Mixed instances also occur such as *.i. kalende ebrai* 'i.e., the Kalends of February' or *dixit inri fridubthach* 'the king said to Dubthach'.

One remarkable switch occurs when an Irish paragraph describing the life of Brigit is summarised in one Latin sentence at the end: *7 dombert inri claideb déit dodhubthach daracend. 7 sic liberata est sancta uirgo brigita captiuitate* 'And the king gave an ivory sword to Dubthach on her behalf, and thus the holy virgin Brigit is rescued from captivity'. This kind of switch is used to signal a shift in the discourse from the description of an event to narrative conclusion. Another switch reflects the textual genesis of the homily through the addition of two glosses, *otá elpa <† alba> diataircetul 7 dianoebud .i. epscop mel 7 melchu <nomina eorum>* 'they were from the Alps, or Scotland, for their prophesying and their sanctifying, that is, bishop Mel and Melchu their names'. A further case where a gloss is involved concerns an obscure Latin phrase *eibisa tebricio*, translation *dena calma abricio, dena calma abricio* 'act bravely, Bricius'. This makes little sense unless it is read as *eia te Bricio* 'hey you, Bricius' and *bis* 'twice' as a gloss incorrectly incorporated into the main text. A last interesting addition is a marginal poem of magnificent macaronic property, *Martain milid mod nach dis / dogallia lúgdanensis* 'Martin a miles in no mean manner, from Gallia Lugdunensis'. The peroration has the usual sequence, Irish invocation *athar 7 mic 7 spirat noib*, Irish benediction *ailim trocnaire* and a conventional Latin formula *insecula seculorum amen*.

## LB 66b [Homily on Charity]

The variety inherent in the homiletic genre is nowhere more visible than in the

Homily on Charity given in *LB* p.66b, as the same exordium and peroration surround the core of the *Life of Ciarán* in the Book of Lismore. Neither title is present in *LB*, where the text starts with a theme from Mt 7:12, *Omnia ergo que quaque uultis ut faciant uobis homines ita 7 uos faciet illis*, also translated into Irish. Unusually, the introduction of the author is split into two: first Christ is named as the divine writer, followed by a repetition of the theme; thereafter Matthew is named as the human agent, with again the theme repeated. Only then is the protheme from Mt 7:11 given in Latin and Irish. After three Latin reiterations the exposition begins, based on Gregory's *Homiliae in Evangelium*, with the Latin elements translated line by line into Irish.<sup>143</sup> However, a large amount of Latin has not been traced to known sources. Still, some parts of the transmission can be reconstructed. One instance is a citation from Sol 8:6, which can be traced by its context to Bede's *In Cantica canticorum*. The following quote, from Ogerius' *De uerbis domini in coena*, also cites this same passage from Sol 8:6-7. This raises the possibility that the citations may come from a single *florilegium* or *collectaneum*.

Other sections may also stem from *collectanea*, possibly Bede's, while references to the letters by Clemens and to the *Sententiae* by Petrus Lombardus may have been transmitted through intermediate sources as well. One further instance is the exegesis on 1 Cor 12:31-13:8 near the end of the text, which is derived from Augustine's *Sermo* no.350. Another interesting insight into the transmission of the text is provided by the citation *Dimissa sunt ei peccata multa quoniam dilexit multum*, which is derived from Lc 7:47. This quote has as its source Gregory's *Homilia in Evangelium* rather than the Vulgate, which reads *Remittuntur* instead of *Dimissa*. A third remarkable aspect is the solution of an expansion in the citation *Excellenciozem uiam uobis demons ergo*, where the abbreviation for the ending *-tr<sup>o</sup>* has been incorrectly solved as *erg<sup>o</sup>*. After an address to the *fratres karissimi* in Latin and Irish four following lines have been erased or left blank. The usual parts of the peroration appear, although *LB* has a Latin invocation *patris. 7 fili. 7 spiritus sancti* alongside an Irish benediction *Alme trocaire* and a Latin formula *insecula seculorum amen*. The choice of prothemes and the use of sources suggest the existence of a continuous collection of homiletic material. In a compilation such as *LB*, though, not every text of this tradition is attested.

#### *LB* 68b *Donalmsain incipit*

Like the previous text, the Homily on Almsgiving, *Don almsain incipit* 'Of almsgiving, the beginning' on *LB* p.68b, treats its source materials in a rather indirect manner. The connections vary from the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* and the *Catechesis Celtica* to Caesarius' homilies, Gregory's *Regula* or *Cura pastoralis*, Jerome's *Commentaria in Matthaem*, Augustine's famous *Sermo domini in monte* and Bede's *Collectanea*. From the list two points emerge. One is that the

<sup>143</sup> Ó Laoghaire (1987: 159).

compiler of the present text and the previous one probably used a *florilegium* to find various authors' thoughts on a single theme. The other is that the multitude of homilies with themes and prothemes from Mt 4-6 indicate that there may have been an integrated commentary on the biblical story of the *Sermon on the mount*. This possibility is strengthened by the existence of fragments of exactly such a commentary in the former flyleaves of the manuscript in London, Lambeth Palace 119.<sup>144</sup>

The Homily on Almsgiving has a codeswitch in its very title *Don almsain incipit*. Its theme from Mt 6:2-4 shows variations from the standard Bible text similar to those encountered in other homilies. Mt 6:2 is cited as *Cum ergo facies elimossinam [recte eleemosynam] nolituba canere antete sicut hipocrite faciunt insinagogis*, where the reading *facies* from the Vulgate differs from the standard reading *facis*. Mt 6:4 is given as *Ut sit elimossina tua inabsconso. & pater tuus qui uidet inabsconso reddet tibi*, with the frequently encountered Insular reading *absconso* instead of the Vulgate reading *abscondito*. The Latin theme and its verse-by-verse Irish translation continue until Mt 6:4, at which point the homiletic introductions are given only in Irish. The protheme is Mt 6:1, and at the end of the exordium the theme is reiterated through abbreviation. Unusually, the exposition starts with a bilingual segment, translating Latin exegesis into Irish. At first the Latin is mostly citation from Scripture, but soon this is intertwined with citation from the *patres* Gregory, Augustine and Jerome; at times multiple sources comment on the same line.

Interestingly, according to McLaughlin, *LB* has an Irish paraphrase of the exegesis from Augustine's *De sermone domini in monte*.<sup>145</sup> Another passage from Augustine, *Mendicat pauper sed accipit dives*, is altered in *LB* to read *deus* instead, the reading attested in Sedulius Scottus' commentaries. Further on a verse from Proverbs 13:8 is given in *LB* as *Redemptio anime uiri diuite pro[p]riae sunt*, where the Vulgate has *suae* for *propriae*. Generally speaking, the Scriptural quotes in the codex are a mix between Vulgate and *Vetus Latina* versions. The conventional closing phrases are attested, the Irish invocation *athar 7 maic 7 spiruta noim*, the Irish benediction *Almit trocaire* as well as the conventional Latin formula *insecula seculorum amen*. From this homily it can be concluded that Irish is not always a translation of Latin. Sometimes the Irish text paraphrases the Latin that precedes it, while at other times the Irish seems to correspond to a different recension of the Latin passage. Such a procedure may point to the use of concordances or collectanea rather than translating directly from a single source.

<sup>144</sup> Bieler & Carney (1972: 1-55).

<sup>145</sup> McLaughlin (2012: 116).

LB 72a [*Homily on the Archangel Michael*]

The Homily on the Archangel Michael on LB p.72a follows the homily on Almsgiving, which had already mentioned Michael. There is another homily on Michael on p.201a, but the recensions are unrelated. Correspondences occur with the text of the Homily on the Temptation on p.48a, discussed in section 3.4 above. The Homily on the Archangel in LB treats Dn 7:10 and commences *Milia miliumm ministrabant ei*. After the theme in both Latin and Irish the introductory descriptions are in Irish, if interspersed with a little Latin such as *De quo dominus ait*. The description of the human author unusually cites a further passage from Dn 10:11, *Daniel uir desideriorum uocatur* with commentary by Jerome; both are also translated in Irish. After this the protheme, Dn 7:9-10, is rendered in regular Latin and Irish. The exposition starts conventionally with *Conidforslicht nambriatharsin* and the reiteration of the theme. What follows is citations and exegeses in Latin translated and paraphrased into Irish. Apart from a few biblical quotations; most of these are from such writers as Jerome, Gregory, Augustine and Ælfric, who have all commented on the same themes. There is also a discussion of the ranks of angels with their Latin title (*ministrantes, troni*) and an Irish explanation; once occurs a Latin epithet *anna [ple]nitudo scientie* 'the name [is] 'abundance of knowledge'.

The names of the archangels are also explained in Latin and Irish in such instances as *fuatar nahanmanna sin. sicut est gabriel .i. fortitudo dei* 'they got those names such as Gabriel, 'might of god'; *Raphiel didiu dianad etercert anna. medicina dei .i. leges dé* 'Raphael then whose name is interpreted *medicina dei*, that is, 'cure of god'; or *Michael didiu asalith 7 asafraithmet atfiadar ineclais dé isinlathesin indiu. qui sicut deus interpretatur* 'Michael then, whose festival and whose commemoration are known in the church of god on this day today, who is interpreted 'akin to god'. After this section the story strangely turns into a tale of the consecration of a church to Michael. Its name is put in Latin and Irish as *Ainm doneclais sin didiu apofania <uel appodonia> .i. costa* 'The name of that church then [is] 'Revelation' or 'Offering', that is, 'appearance(s)'.<sup>146</sup> This Irish account is full of Latinate place names such as *Garganus* and *Sepontina* that also occur in Ælfric's homily. At the end of the story appear a number of invocations, after which is found a paragraph in Latin but full of possibly Irish interference, such as the glide vowel in *demoines* 'demons' and the confusion over the voicing of consonants in *picipus* for *piscibus* 'to fishes'. The peroration has an Irish invocation *athar 7 maic 7 spiruta noem* and benediction *Ailim trocaire* and a Latin formula *insecula seculorum*.

<sup>146</sup> Atkinson (1887) reads *Aposania* for *apofania*; *Apodonia* is a grecism; *costa* looks like the Latin for 'rib', is explained by *DIL* s.v. 2 éis ([dil.ie/19846](http://dil.ie/19846)) as an obscure derivation from *cos* 'foot'; but may here be a plural of the Irish verbal noun *costud* 'appearance' [consulted 31-08-2016].

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LB 74a [*Scúap Chrábaid*]

Four litanies follow on LB p.74a, the last of which is here incomplete. Other versions appear in the *Yellow Book of Lecan* under the title *Scúap Chrábaid* 'Broom of Devotion', where they were written by the same scribe, Murchad Ó Cuindlis.<sup>147</sup> In LB they are stuck at the end of the quire between the homily of Michael and the following *Féilire Óengusso*. Perhaps Ó Cuindlis copied them onto these spare pages from the earlier version he had made in the YBL. The first of these texts, the *Litany of Mary* on p.74a beginning *A muire mor* 'Great Mary', does not have Latin apart from the final phrase *in secula seculorum. Amen*. The *Second Litany of Jesus* commences *A isu noem* on p.74b. It contains a quotation from Ps 32:1 *Beati quorum remisse sunt iniquitates 7 quorum tecta sunt peccata*, one from Rm 7:24 *quis me liberabit de corpore mortis huius peccati nisi gratia tua ihesu christe*, and a final instruction to pray *Credo. 7 pater*. The *First Litany of Jesus* starts on p.74c with *A teoch fritt inda huili forcedlaigi forphti* 'The house with you in which are all holy teachers' and does not contain any Latin; the version in YBL c.336-7 contains roughly the second half of the present text. The fourth text is the *Litany of the Trinity* beginning *Erchis din adé uli cumachtaig* 'Have mercy, god almighty'. In LB the text ends atelous due to a gap that is not found in the recension in YBL c.338.

LB 107a [*Donta*] *rmchrutta inso*

The Homily on the Transfiguration found on LB p.107a is wedged between the *Féilire Óengusso* and an Irish biblical tract. It is currently outside the homiletic sections, but the leaf may have once belonged to the homiletic quire D (see chapter 2.3). As it stands the text is stuck together with the Homily on Penitence on p.107b. The present title is *Dontarmchrutta inso* 'On the Transfiguration here' and the first line is *Et factum est post dies sex assu[m]psit*, citing Mt 17:1. This homily would therefore follow logically upon the commentary in the *Cambrai homily* [Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale 679, ff.37r-38r] with Mt 16:24 as its core citation, thus increasing the likelihood of a continuous 'Irish homiliary'. The Latin verses are continued until Mt 17:9 without translation, followed by the Irish introductions of the author. After a summary repetition of the Latin theme and its formulaic Irish context appears the Latin protheme of Mt 16:28. The exposition proper starts with the abridged Latin theme, after which the text is fully in Latin. However, following a concise Latin citation from Lc 9:30, the fuller version of which mentions Moses and Elias, two citations from these two biblical persons are given in Irish. The remainder of the exposition is again in Latin, while the highly concise peroration has a Latin invocation *patris 7 filii 7 spiritus sancti*, an Irish benediction *Ailim trocaire* and a Latin formula *amen*. This homiletic composition displays much more Latin than Irish.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. Mac Donncha (1984); O'Sullivan (2010).

*LB 107b Incipit donathrige inso*

The following text is entitled *Incipit donathrige inso* 'On the penance begins here' on *LB* p.107b. This is not in fact a homily, as its beginnings makes clear; the initial question *Cia cetna roforchan aithrige dodenam fortús* 'Who first taught to do penance originally?' and its answer *ni ansae* 'not difficult' indicate a typically Irish question-and-answer treatise. The Latin elements do not exceed such items as *isesin scel foraihtmentar hic* 'this is the story that he refers to here'; *Petrus apstal himmorro* 'Peter the apostle then'; *tresansalm nerdraicc .i. miserere mei deus. Eçecias faith himmorro* 'through the famous psalm *Miserere mei deus*. Ezechias the prophet then...' and potentially the ending *aithrige ndicra codia. Zrl* 'zealous penance to god, and so on'. This text does not qualify to be labelled as homiletic.

Table 3.4: Language frequencies of homiletic items in quire D (7 items)

Structure	Item	Latin	Irish	Latin+Irish	Latin-Irish	Total
Exordium	Incipit	---	2	---	3	5
	Thema	2	---	5	---	7
	Auctor	---	7	---	---	7
	Prothema	2	---	4	---	6
	Unitio	1	---	---	---	1
	Reiteratio	6	---	7	---	13
	<i>Subtotal</i>	11	9	16	3	39
Expositio	Processus	2	---	1	---	3
	Distinctio	4	---	3	---	7
	Subdistinctio	2	1	3	1	7
	Concordantia	---	---	7	1	8
	Exhortatio	---	---	1	---	1
	Invocatio	---	1	---	---	1
	<i>Subtotal</i>	8	2	15	2	27
Vita	Invocatio	---	2	---	---	2
	Narratio	---	2	---	---	2
	<i>Subtotal</i>	---	4	---	---	4
Peroratio	Invocatio	2	5	---	---	7
	Benedictio	---	7	---	---	7
	Formula	7	---	---	---	7
	<i>Subtotal</i>	9	12	---	---	21
	<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>91</b>

In conclusion, the homilies from quire D are firmly in the Modern Form, as table 3.4 above displays. The reference to the four senses of Scripture from quire C are absent here. Most deviations from the standard homiletic structure occur in the invocation in the *peroratio*, which sometimes occurs in Latin rather than Irish. Even saints' lives are strictly subjected to the form of the homily through the addition of commentary derived from *collectanea*. The differences in language use between such sources and parallels on the one hand and the *Leabhar Breac* on the other hand indicate an advanced level of planning by the scribe of the codex.

### 3.6 Quires J-K

After the *Féilire Óengusso* in quires E and F, quires G through I contain Biblical history with related texts like the *Dígal Fola Críost* and a tract attributed to Bede on the Holy places in the East. At the very end of quire I begins a passion of Christ amalgamated from various accounts.<sup>148</sup> The first section on *LB* pp.160a-163b is a historical narrative derived from the Gospel of Nicodemus (*Stair Nicoméid*). A homiletic section follows on pp.163b-166a with excerpts from the Gospel of Matthew. On p.166a the narrative is resumed until its ending on p.167a. A homily on the Resurrection runs on pp.167a -169b, and finally a series of homilies based on the Gospel of Nicodemus can be found on pp.169b-172b.

#### *LB* 163b *In ernail tanaise for pais in choimded sund secundum Mathaeum*

The first section, entitled *Pasio domini nostri ihesu christi incipit* on *LB* p.160a, has but two Latin phrases among its structural elements. These are an apposition *.i. ihesus nazarenus rex iúdiæorum* and the citation *in manus tuas, Domine, comendo spiritum meum* which corresponds to Ps 30(31):6. The following section, *In ernail tanaise for pais in choimded sund secundum Mathaeum* 'The second part on the passion of the lord here according to Matthew' on p.163b, has a codeswitch in its title. The theme from Mt 26:30 and protheme from Mt 26:26-29 are rendered in Irish. After an Irish version of Ps 22(23):28, a quote likely taken from Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, the tract turns into the biblical story of Mt 26:31-27:10. The only Latin is in verses from Matthew, *Aue rábúí .i. Dia latt, a maigistir* 'Hail, master, that is, god [be] with you, master' (26:49); *Reus est mortis .i. is bidba báis dun* 'He is condemned to death, that is, he is condemned to death for us' (26:66).

The continuation of the narrative on p.166a takes up the story from Mt 27:11-52 with reference to Lc 23:46 and a repetition of Ps 30(31):6. A few phrases are derived from the original Latin text, like *Crutifige* (Mt 27:23), *Ely, Ely, Ely, lama Zababany* (Mt 27:46) or *sine, uideamus an ueniat Elias liberare eum* (Mt 27:49). The final section of Mt 27:51-52 is rendered in Latin with a running Irish translation,

<sup>148</sup> Mac Donncha (1976: 170).



e.g. *et terra mota est. ⁊ rocúmscaiged in talum. et petrae scise sunt. ⁊ rodluigit na clocha. et monumenta aperta sunt* 'And the earth moved, and the rocks are cleft, and the monuments are opened'. For the so-called Homily on the Resurrection on p.167a it appears that the homiletic introduction has been omitted and only exegesis remains. In the treatment of Mt 28:3-6 and 28:19 the only Latin left is a gloss *requiés .i. cumsanad* 'requies, that is, rest' and a phrase *actális uita et tethorica uita* 'the active and the contemplative life', with unusual spellings for *actualis* and *theoretica*. Despite the lack of the usual homiletic structure the peroration has an Irish invocation *athar 7 maic 7 spiruta noib*, benediction *Alme trocaire* and a Latin formula *insecula seculorum amen* as standard. This section on the passion taken as a whole displays around a bare minimum of the required homiletic elements.

*LB 169b [Homily on Good Friday]*

After the biblical narrative but before a string of passions are found a few more homiletic texts. One is a Homily on Good Friday on *LB* p.169b commencing *Doronad gnim nadbul ndiasnesi icomainn* 'A great unspeakable deed was done during communion'.<sup>149</sup> The text is not included in Atkinson's edition, but McNamara (1975) does mention it in passing.<sup>150</sup> This reticence may be in part due to the fact that the text does not have the semblance of a homily; for example, it does not open with a Latin theme. It does mention its authorship in Irish and quotes from Lc 18:32 or Mt 20:19 in untranslated Latin. Most other Latin quotations, though, are translated into Irish, such as Ioh 19:17 to 19:34 and Lc 19:41 and 23:46. The composition as a whole is very haphazard, with Latin citations from a pre-Vulgate Bible and Irish paraphrases and elaborations. Instead of a peroration, there appears at the end of the text a new heading *Gne naill inso beos* on *LB* p.170a. After a hiatus of a dozen lines, left either blank or rather badly faded, comes another homily with some more genre characteristics.

*LB 170a [Homily on the Resurrection]*

After the hiatus a second Homily on the Resurrection starts on *LB* p.170a with *Ero mors tua o mors et morsus tuus o inferne*, a rather obscure citation from Hos 13:14. Remarkably, the text has no title, so that there is no differentiation in the manuscript between the continuation of Nicodemus' Gospel starting on *LB* p.160, the homily on the Resurrection on p.167a, and a reputed homily on Thomas after this text. The text bears no visible relation to the homily on the Resurrection on p.167a or that on Thomas on p.194. Apart from the untranslated theme and its repetition the text contains little Latin. The rest of the exordium is in Irish, while the exposition offers no other Latin citations or exegeses. A number of possibly mixed items appear, e.g. *7 issed atbert friu amen amen olse* 'and thus he spoke to them, 'Amen amen,' said he' and *Iarforba nasapoti vero*

<sup>149</sup> I am grateful to both my supervisors for suggestions on the translation.

<sup>150</sup> McNamara (1975: 3).

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'After finishing the sabbath then...'. In the latter case, the possible codeswitch *vero* follows upon the Latin loan *sapoti* 'sabbath'. The most interesting examples of codeswitching are *Tanic tra iarlathib triar fer ogalilee coierusalem .i. finiés sacart* 'After [three] days then three men came from Galilea to Jerusalem, that is, Phineas the priest...', and *Naiudei vero 7 oirchindig nasacart orachualatar* 'The Jews then and the leaders of the priests, when they had heard...'. Here the assignment of words and syntax to either of the languages is intermingled to such an extent that it is possible to speak of 'codemixing'.<sup>151</sup> The rest of the text reverts to Nicodemus' Gospel until finishing atelous on p.172 without a further peroration.

*LB 172b Pais petair 7 póil*

The first of the apostolic passions, the *Pais petair 7 póil* on LB p.172b, is another narrative text that is wrapped inside a homily. The story is related to the apocryphal *Virtutes apostolorum* currently being edited by Els Rose.<sup>152</sup> The present text is an Irish version of the *vita* prefixed by an overview of the life and works of the apostles. Its theme is from Mt 5:10 *Beati <qui> persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam quoniam ipsorum est regnum celorum*, with a protheme from Mt 5:1-3, *Uidens autem ihesus turbas*, the start of the *Sermon on the mount*. In the apostolic biographies a few phrases and names in Latin appear, such as *ainm do Caifás .i. capitalis .i. cenna* 'his name [is] Caiphas, that is, *capitalis*, that is, principal', *.i. sanctus Petrus et sanctus Paulus apostoli*; and the proper name *Gamaliél*. This section ends with Paul's words in 2 Tm 4:7-8: *Certamen bonum certavi*, a line also cited in the *Vita Tripartita Patricii*.<sup>153</sup>

The following narrative is almost wholly Irish but near the end some Latin appears. Some instances are names like *ainm sacra uia* 'the name *Via Sacra*', *in uia Ostensi* '(on) the *Via Ostiensis*', *ainm Vaticánus* 'the name *Vaticanus*', *ainm Catacumba* 'the name *Catacumba*', and *in Vaticáno* 'in the Vatican'. More elaborate citations include one from the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, i.e. *uado in Roma crucifigi iterum*; the Vulgate version of Phil 1:23, *Cupió disolui et esse cum Christo*; and a canonical citation from Mt 19:28, namely *Cum sederit filius hominis in sede maiestatis suae*. The ending is once again conventional, starting with an Irish invocation *athar 7 maic 7 spiruta noib*, the benediction *Alme trocaire*, and ending with a conventional Latin formula *insecula seculorum amen*. The other apostolic passions are not composed as homilies and rendered in Irish only. These include *Pais Partoloin* on p.175b, *Pais Iacoip apstail* on p.177a, *Pais Andrias* on p.178b, *Pais Pilip apstail* on p.179b and *Páis Longinuis* on p.181b. The last text is preceded by short tracts on the manner and death of the apostles and prophets, in addition to a poem with prose introduction on the tidings of the sons of Israel.

<sup>151</sup> Muysken (2000: 1); cf. chapter 4.2.

<sup>152</sup> Rose (forthcoming).

<sup>153</sup> Stokes (1877 I: 170), citing Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson 512, f.20a10.

*LB 183a Procept namachaabdai inso*

The *Procept na Machaabdai* or Homily on the Maccabees on p.183a is an unedited text to appear in a publication by Roisín McLaughlin.<sup>154</sup> It deviates somewhat in layout from the other texts discussed, as it does not seem to belong to the original homiletic core of the *Leabhar Breac*; neither is it based on the Gospel of Matthew. Instead its theme is from Ps 30(31):25, *Viriliter agite 7 confortetur cor uestrum omnes qui speratis in Domino*, subsequently repeated in Irish. After the Irish introduction to the author the protheme is from Ps 77(78):70, *Elegit Daud seruum suum 7 sustulit eum de gregibus ouium*. It should be noted that this is not strictly speaking a protheme, as its contents do not precede the theme, and that neither theme nor protheme is taken from the Books of the Maccabees named in the title. The latter books are treated only in the exposition, giving paraphrases of their verses, most notably for 1 Mac 2:1, 2 Mac 3:6 to 2 Mac 26 and 2 Mac 6:18.

In all of these hardly any Latin occurs, apart from the apposition *Antiochus Epifanes uero .i. aroli immper* 'Antiochus Epiphanes then, that is, another emperor' (cf. 2 Mac 4:7) and two reference markers *a quo* and *hic*. The first of these is used in the phrase *iúdas frisanabar machabeus. a quo namachabdai* 'Judas who is called 'the Maccabean', from which [are called] the Maccabees', as a bridge between the Latin term *machabeus* and its Irish translation *namachabdai*. A second marker introduces an Irish translation of a Latin line, *hic autem uersus .i. uiriliter agite exortatio est bonorum nese arecto proposito carnis imbecillitate. subducatur. In fers áirithisea imorro dia ta briathra hic* 'This verse then, *Viriliter agite* [Ps 31[30]:25], is an exhortation to the good, lest they be led from the right resolution by the weakness of the flesh. This particular verse, then, of which the words are here'. This theme receives further exegesis in such phrases as *Uiriliter agite .i. nolite laxas manus in tribulationibus dimittere* and *Uiriliter enim agite qui in bonis operibus constantissime perdurat*. The second part of the theme is expounded as *& confortetur cor uestrum .i. est ne seminae mollitia defitiat ad toleranda mala huius seculi. qui corda uestra domino constanter oferatis*. The exposition begins with the conventional appellation *Sochaide* 'Congregation', after which is found the line *lith 7 forraithmet inecmong nareesea 7 na haimsire .iest sancti machábi martires* 'the festival and commemoration in in this moment of space and time, that is, the holy martyrs of the Maccabees'. There are Irish exhortations to both priests and the laity before the text ends atelous without any peroration present.

*LB 187a [Scél na Samna]*

Between the homily on the Maccabees and the Passion of George on p.190b are three smaller tracts. The first, the so-called Homily on Luxoria, is actually a short extract only seven lines long from a penitential, beginning with a line *Luxoria*

<sup>154</sup> McLaughlin (forthcoming).

*tra iss ed ainm ina dualcha tanaisi marbas anmain duine* 'Luxury, then, is the name of the second vice that kills the soul of men'.<sup>155</sup> The subsequent text on All-Hallows, *Scél na Samna* 'Story of All-Hallows' on LB p.187a, begins ...*inmaine o roforbair in cretem cristaide* 'the love which the christian belief has increased', acephalous due to a lacuna. The text contains a couple of citations of a homiletic nature, such as *Ut quicquid humana fragilitas per ignorantiam; Dicentes benedictio. 7 claritas. 7 sapientia. 7 gratiarum actio* (Rv 7:12). In addition there is a section on the three hosts at the Resurrection, the last of which has a codeswitch, *martires didiu intertia turbai* 'martyrs then in the third throng'. After this series an Irish address to the monastic brethren appears, ending with an unusual peroration. The invocation is missing, the benediction is *Alme inuli noemu 7 noemóga* 'I beseech to all holy men and holy virgins', while the Latin formula is the standard *insecula seculorum amen*.

Another text on the same topic reads *Dontsamain beos. Feria omnium sanctorum* 'On All-Hallows still. The feast of All Saints' on LB p.187b. This section has much more codeswitching than the previous text, such as *Ise fáth aranabar feria omnium sanctorum frisinsamain* 'This is the reason that All-Hallows' is called 'feast of all saints' and *conaire sin atberair feria omnium sanctorum fria ar rocoiscrad omnibus sanctis integdais* 'Therefore it is called 'feast of all saints', since it is consecrated to all saints in/of church.' There also appear smaller switches such as *Cotarla in bonifatius* 'When the aforementioned Boniface was appointed'; *Deo gratias olesium* 'Thanks to god, said he'; and a remarkable narrative sequence of Irish and Latin, *7 nosléced aningen rethe foramus inleomain. 7 uincebat aries leonem* 'And the virgin released a ram against the lion, and the ram conquered the lion.' Another codeswitch ends the text abruptly with *homnes pueri romanorum isinsamain cechabliadna. 7rl* 'all Roman boys on All-Hallows of every year, and so on'. Neither of the two texts on *Samhain* can be considered a homily *stricto sensu*.

#### LB 190b *Páis Georgi*

The following Passion of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, the *Páis in Morfesir* on LB p.189a, begins *Buí rig croda annseirc forsin domun fecht naill*. It is based on Gregory of Tours, and is not a homily. The next text on LB p.190b is the *Páis Georgi* 'Passion of George' (a possible codeswitch in itself). This is formed as a proper homily, the exordium taking its theme from the Vulgate Ps 115:15 *Pretiosa (est) in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum eius*. This version of the Bible text nowadays survives only in the Roman Martyrology, the commencement of two sermons by Augustine, nos. 306 and 328, and Cassiodorus' *Expositio in Psalterium*. The introductions to the author are unusually in Latin as well as Irish, including a citation from Act 13:22 (*invenit David filium Iese. uirum electum*

<sup>155</sup> Cf. Gwynn (1911); *id.* (1914); other recensions are found in RIA 3 B 23, Rawlinson B 512 and the Book of Lismore.

*secundum cor meum*), as well as a passage attributed to Bede, *ex persona ecrotantis* [recte *aegrotantis*] *Ezechie canitur*. After the reiteration of the theme further exegesis is found from this same source. The exposition contains only little Latin, such as an apposition *.i. sanctus martir Geurgius* and a citation *Deus in adiutorium meum intende, Domine, ad adiuuandum me festina* (Ps 69(70):2). The peroration contains an Irish invocation *athar 7 maic 7 spiruta noib*, Irish benediction *Alme trocaire* and Latin formula *insecula seculorum amen*.

*LB 194a [Homily on the Resurrection]*

After the section of passions three more homilies appear, the first of which is the Homily on the Resurrection on *LB* p.194a. Like the text on p.170a it has the tendency to incorporate Biblical narratives. Its theme from Ioh 20:26, *Et post dies hocta* [recte *octo*] *hiterum erunt discipuli eius intus*, is continued with an Irish translation until Ioh 20:29. After that follows an Irish introduction to the author with an abridged reiteration of the Latin theme. This section ends with its Irish context and the Latin and Irish protheme of Ioh 20:24-25. The exposition here has the conventional alternation of Latin citations and exegeses with Irish translations and elaborations. Unusually, metatextual notices of historical, spiritual or moral meaning in Latin and Irish appear, *Hec est historia huius lectionis; hec est lectio sensum habet spiritualem; hec iuxta sensum dicta sunt; moraliter hautem; hec iuxta moralem intelligentiam; and hec octo hautem dies per anagogen*. The peroration is again regular with an Irish invocation *athar 7 maic 7 spiruta noib*, Irish benediction *Alim trocaire* and Latin formula *insecula seculorum. Amen*. The entire homily follows the rules of composition and language use common to the homiletic collection, though the addition of the senses of Scripture is uncommon.

*LB 198a Epifania Domini*

The *Epifania Domini* on *LB* p.198a begins not with a Latin homiletic theme but with an Irish narrative *Arroét iosep inni noemmuire dia coimét iar comairle inaingil 'Joseph received holy Mary to guard her according to the counsel of the angel'.<sup>156</sup> A citation of Matthew is inferred, though, in the following phrase *Conid forslicht nambriatharsin aisnedes matha sund* 'therefore according to those words that Matthew speaks here'. The passage on Joseph and Mary may be Mt 1:18-25, but this is a matter of speculation. The rest of the exposition is mostly Irish, with some Latin phrases such as the name of the church *Theopania .i. dei aparatio* [recte *apparitio*]. At the bottom of p.198b a new hand takes over, and thereafter the degree of Latin increases noticeably, including a selection of citations from Mt 2:3-5-7 with translation, *omnis ierosolima cum eo... Tunc herodes clam uocatis magis*. The mix of Latin and Irish continues, expounding on Mt 2:8-12 on the leaf stub that is p.199-200. Included is an interpolated passage on the names of the *magi**

<sup>156</sup> Stokes (1887: 346); Malone (1880 II: 343); a homily on the Epiphany appears in Cambridge, Pembroke College 25, sermo 13, ff.23r-24v.

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that is noticeably more Latin than Irish. There are again multiple instances of the senses of Scripture given in untranslated Latin, *Hec iuxta litterum dicta sunt; ceterum iuxta spiritualem intelligentiam; hec est spiritualis sensus huius lectionis* and *Hic est moralis sensus huius lectionis*. Moreover, a number of mixed phrases appear such as *ut dixit solam* 'as Solomon said' or *ut dixit infáith* 'as the prophet said'. The final section is in Latin only, apart from two Irish closing formulae; the first to end the exposition, and the second to signal the peroration. This last section is regular with an Irish invocation *athar 7 maic 7 spiruta noib*, benediction *Alme trocaire* and a short Latin formula *in secula amen 7rl*.

LB 201a [*Homily on the Archangel Michael*]

The second Homily on the Archangel Michael on LB p.201a has as its theme *Angelis suis mandavit de té Deus ut cusdodiant te in omnibus uiis tuis* from Ps 91(90):11. The citation at the centre of the text, though, is from Mt 19:16 *Et ecce unus accedens*. Authors cited include Jerome and Frigulus, and there are references to Ps.-Isidore's *Liber de numeris* as well as to Ps.-Bede's *Collectanea*. In addition, the readings from the Bible again seem to coincide with the Insular branch of the Bible.<sup>157</sup> At the end of the text two subheadings appear, *Scela nabiaستا cosin* 'Stories of the beast(s) thus far' and *Scela inchatha cosin* 'Stories of the battle thus far'. In addition an Irish tract on signs of Doomsday appears, with which Michael was connected, on p.202a. Regardless of their identical themes, there is no link to the homily on Michael on LB p.72a, although both mention the nine circles of angels. Though the text ends with a peroration, including an Irish invocation *athar 7 maic 7 spiruta noib*, benediction *Alme trocaire* and a Latin formula *insecula seculorum amen*, the whole can hardly be considered as a homily.

The last text of the quire, *Cain Domnaig* on LB 202b, has thematic links with the Homily on the Epiphany in LB p.198a, touching upon Mt 2:1-11. The text actually consists of three parts, including the *Epistil Ísu* or *Sunday Letter*; all of these are attested independently in multiple manuscripts.<sup>158</sup> The LB recension is incomplete, containing the first section and part of the second section of the full text. It is unclear whether more text had been planned or whether the present text functions as filler.<sup>159</sup> In conclusion, the texts in quires J-K contain considerably less consistency than the homiletic quires C-D, as table 3.5 below indicates. The homilies in the present quire often lack certain structural elements or render them in Irish rather than Latin, while the presence of the senses of Scripture and monastic addresses appears optional. Furthermore, where other genres such as saints' lives and historical narratives have been reworked into

<sup>157</sup> Rittmueller (1982: 3), referencing Bischoff (1954).

<sup>158</sup> LFF (bis), YBL (bis), RIA 23 N 10, 24 P 25, Additional 4783, Harley 5280, Rawlinson B 512, and NLS Adv. 72.1.40.

<sup>159</sup> O'Keefe (1910: 189).

homilies, the resulting treatises do not always adhere fully to the homiletic framework. The intimate links between this semi-homiletic section and the overarching biblical narrative mean that this quire may be better classified as a historical composition. As a result the composition of quires J-K may have been connected more closely to that of the surrounding quires on biblical history, E through I, L and M. The quires comprising mostly homilies, C, D, N and O, thus remain the core of the homiletic collection within the *Leabhar Breac*.

Table 3.5: Language frequencies of homiletic items in quires J-K (9 items)

Structure	Item	Latin	Irish	Latin+Irish	Latin-Irish	Total
Exordium	Incipit	1	2	---	2	5
	Thema	4	2	2	---	8
	Auctor	---	5	1	---	6
	Prothema	2	1	2	---	5
	Reiteratio	3	---	---	---	3
	<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>27</i>
Expositio	Processus	1	1	1	---	3
	Distinctio	---	---	1	---	1
	Subdistinctio	---	---	1	---	1
	Concordantia	4	---	7	---	11
	Sensus	1	---	1	---	2
	Exhortatio	---	2	---	---	2
	Invocatio	---	1	---	---	1
	<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>---</i>	<i>21</i>
Peroratio	Invocatio	---	6	---	---	6
	Benedictio	---	7	---	---	7
	Formula	7	---	---	---	7
	<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>---</i>	<i>---</i>	<i>20</i>
	<b>Total</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>2</b>	<b><u>68</u></b>

### 3.7 Quire O

LB 243a [*Homily on the Ten Commandments*]

The Homily on the Ten Commandments on LB p.243a heads quire O, which may originally have been subsequent to quire D, as has been argued in chapter two.

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In this light it follows the Homily of Michael and the litanies of Jesus, Mary and the Trinity. It is unusual, however, in lacking an exordium. Perhaps the text originally opened before the beginning of the quire, on an added leaf that also contained the ending of the unfinished litany at the end of quire D. As the present text starts at the top of the leaf with visible decoration, it may be surmised that the exemplar for this text already lacked its beginning. As it stands the *LB* text starts with *Atberair isin naemad caibdel .xx.et do lebar matha* 'It is said in the twenty-ninth chapter of the book of Matthew'. The Matthean verse referred to is in reality not from the twenty-ninth book but from Mt 19:16-7, *Et ecce unus accedens, ait illi: Magister bone, quid boni faciam ut habeam vitam æternam*. This could be considered as a reiteration of the theme to start off the exposition.

The first verse actually to be cited in Latin is Ps 119:21 *Maledicti qui declinant a mandatis tuis* with an elaborate Irish paraphrase. The structure of the exposition is logically tied to each commandment in its Irish rendition, *Inchetaithe* 'the first commandment', *Indalaithe* 'the second commandment', and so on. Latin is mostly restricted to citations such as *Quoniam iniquitates mee sicut onus graue; Incenderunt igni sanctuarium dei; Qui hodie fratrem suum homicida est; Deuorant plebem meam sicut escam panis; Uos fecistis eam spelungam [recte speluncam] latronum; and Qui amat periculum peribit in illo*. A few phrases appearing to contain Latin are perhaps better explained as loanwords. In the expression *lex 7 chanóine* 'secular and canon law', this specific meaning of Latin *lex* 'law' may be closer to the Irish loanword.<sup>160</sup> The same semantic explanation can be extended to another Irish loanword, *amal dosbeir pax don lebar* 'as he gives a peace-kiss to the book', as the Latin original *pax* 'peace' appears here with a specific meaning.<sup>161</sup>

One mixed segment, *frisín béist renabar locusta. 7 brucus ahainmm* 'to the beast called locust, and *brucus* [is] its name', can be described as formulaic due to the appearance of phrases frequently involved in the triggering of codeswitches, such as *renabar* and *ahainmm*. Another example of codeswitching is its follow-up *innathair nemi rénabar serpens 7 inaspa 7 insindach 7 inmucc* 'the venomous adder called serpent and the asp and the fox and the sow'. As it is uncertain whether *aspa* is Latin or Irish, this may be a case of an Irish article modifying a Latin noun.<sup>162</sup> The same function word *in* can be a preposition in both Latin and Irish, and as such it is used with numerous Bible books, some with unusual spellings

<sup>160</sup> *Lexa* in LFF; when the phrase is repeated in *LB* as *olex 7 ochánoin*, LFF has *olex 7 ocanoni*; cf. DIL s.v. *léx* at [dil.ie/30088](http://dil.ie/30088) [Consulted 31-08-2016].

<sup>161</sup> DIL s.v. *pács*, (*páx*) or [dil.ie/34124](http://dil.ie/34124) [Consulted 31-08-2016].

<sup>162</sup> The standard Latin form is *aspis*, the derived Irish form *aspid*. Spelling in other codices are *Innapa* in 3 B 23, *inapa* in 24 P 25, *an<a>spa* in LFF. There is a Medieval Latin form *aspa* but it indicates a chain; cf. Breatnach (1990: 96) on a similar use of the article.



such as *inleuiticumm*, *inapocolipsi*, *ineclestiasico*, *inlibro exódi*,<sup>163</sup> *inexameron* and *inlibró ysaie*. In addition, unusual spellings are used to indicate authors and their works such as *hieronimmus*, *indialago* or *crastosomus*. The text in *LB* ends with another instance, *amal atbeir inezetsiele* 'as he says in Ezekiel', followed by a Latin citation *Ecce ego suscitabo omnes amatores tuos contra. 7 cetera. Finit. amen*. No regular form of peroration occurs, making this a dubious candidate for a homily. It also falls outside the homiletic core of *LB* (c.1100). The text has some links to Robert Grosseteste's *De decem mandatis* (c.1200) and is dated to c.1350; this is much closer to the date of composition of the codex c.1400 than to the heyday of the Irish homiletic textual tradition about c.1100.<sup>164</sup>

*LB 248a [Homily on the Lord's Prayer]*

Another text either or not to be included is the so-called *Homily on the Canonical Hours* on *LB 247a*. Instead of a homily the text comprises a prose part and a verse part, of which the former is a more elaborate reworking of the latter, leaving out the rhyme of its original. The few Latin phrases that occur are *ispiruta apostolos*, probably a scribal error for *super apostolos*; *secundum legem* 'by the law', and *ut dixit poeta* 'as the poet said'; all of these are absent from the verse tract. The following text, usually called *Sermo synodalis [qui in singulis synodis parrochianis prespiteris est enuntiandus]*, is not a homily either. The tract is sometimes attributed to Pope Leo c.847-55 and seems to stem from the tenth century.<sup>165</sup> It serves as a foreword to the Homily on the Lord's Prayer on p.248a for which it functions as a *commonitorium*, an address to the religious. The Irish version of this text dates to the twelfth century, though its context, and thus the quire, may be as late as the fourteenth.<sup>166</sup> This later dating would explain several textual connections to the *Legenda Aurea* (dated c.1260) surfacing in the *Sermo synodalis*.

The Homily on the Lord's Prayer itself on p.248a has the Latin text of the prayer with an alternating Irish translation. The text is famous for having the early Irish version of the first article *a athair* 'o father' for the newer *ar n-athair* 'our father'.<sup>167</sup> The first verse from Mt 6.9, [*S*]ic ergo uos orábitis, is used as the theme and is later also reiterated. Around this reiteration occur two parts of the Irish introductions to the author, leading up to a Latin protheme from Mt 6:7-8, commencing with *Orantes autem nolite multum loqui sicut ethniti faciunt*. After another reiteration of the theme the exposition starts with a question in Latin and Irish, reflecting the Irish tradition of *ceist* 'question' and answer *ní ansae* 'not difficult'. The middle part of the text contains a line-by-line exegesis of the prayer, with each structural

<sup>163</sup> *Ex(a)udí* in 3 B 23; when the phrase is repeated in *LB*, *inlibro exodi* is unmistakably Irish.

<sup>164</sup> Mac Eoin (1996: 195).

<sup>165</sup> Amiet (1964: 12-82).

<sup>166</sup> Malone (1880: I 108, II 264-8).

<sup>167</sup> Ó Cuív (1979-80: 212-22).

element first in Latin and then translated, often more elaborately, into Irish. After a close reading of the Bible passage an exhortation to the *fratres* is found. The regular peroration occurs with an Irish invocation *athar 7 maic 7 spirut[a] noib*, benediction *Ailim trocaire* and a conventional Latin closing formula *in secula seculorum amen*. This text is at last fitted with all the elements of a proper homily.

*LB 251b [Homily on Death]*

The third bifolium of quire O starts with a text also present in bilingual form, albeit with different alternations, in the Stowe Missal.<sup>168</sup> The incipit of this Tract on the Mass reads *De figuris 7 spiritualibus sensibus oblationis sacrificii ordinis*, then translated into Irish. The text has an Irish frame within which Latin citations are rendered. In spite of many citations, the first of which is from Ps 17:8 *Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me*, this is not a homily proper. Around the ritual of the communion, Latin formulae are coupled with Irish instructions such as *quesso te pater. banna lassin. deprecor te filii. banna lassin. obsecro te spiritus sancte. intres banna lassin* 'I beseech thee father. A drop with that. I beg you son. A drop with that. I implore you holy spirit. A third drop with that.' Mixed sentences also occur such as *Noui testamenti initium sin* 'That [is] the beginning of the New Testament'; *conaroscara amenma fridia cid inoin uocabulo icon ernaignthisea* 'so that his mind separate not from god even in one word at this prayer'; *conid desin ise ainmm nahernaighthisea .i. periculosa oratio* 'so that hence is the name of this prayer, that is, *Perilous Prayer*'; or *.i. múinter nime per mensam, múinter thalman per calicem* 'that is, the city of heaven through the tabernacle, the city of earth through the chalice.' A last instance is an inflected Latin name used in an Irish phrase, *iláim longini* 'in the hand of Longinus' and *aiged longini* 'the face of Longinus'. The text seems to end atelously in *amal forchantar isin scriptuir noib 7rl*. Though it is not a homily its two languages are intimately mixed.<sup>169</sup>

After the Tract on the Mass the so-called Homily on Death on p.251b is actually a reworking of the *Dialogue of the Body and the Soul*. This text goes back to Egyptian traditions through a twelfth-century anonymous Latin version known variously as the *Visio Fulberti* or *Philiberti*.<sup>170</sup> The Irish version is a further expansion of the Latin text, claimed to have been translated in 1443 by a William Maguibhne.<sup>171</sup> This is inconsistent with the date of the translation within *LB*, in which the Latin parts within the Irish text appear to be earlier than the extant Latin version of the *Visio Fulberti*.<sup>172</sup> These depend on either an Anglo-Saxon text of the tenth century

<sup>168</sup> Todd (1856: 3-32).

<sup>169</sup> Cf. Stokes (1904: 232-59).

<sup>170</sup> Dudley (1911: 129).

<sup>171</sup> A John Maguibhne (or Mac Dhuibhne) is mentioned as arch-deacon of Drumlahan in 1343; is the date a century off?

<sup>172</sup> Hogan (1861: 352).

or a common prototype.<sup>173</sup> A further source is the *Visio Pauli* of which the Irish version is used in the *Fís Adomnáin*, LB p.253b.<sup>174</sup> Like the *Fís Adomnáin* the *Dialogue* in LB wavers between *visio* and *vita*. The text itself opens with a theme from Ps 15:1-3 *Domine quis habitabit*, though its protheme is from Mt 18:3, *amen amen dico uobis*. In between the two appears a twofold Irish introduction to the author, separated by the reiteration of the theme. Through a citation from Augustine, introduced bilingually as *ut dixit agustin* 'as Augustine said', the text gives its topic and exposition, *Uniquique anime duo exercitus occurrunt antequam migrat a corpore. alter angelorum alter demonum*, subsequently rendered into Irish.

The rest of the text is a mostly Irish version of the *Dialogue* with occasional Latin and Irish quotes, in addition to small mixed-language text structuring phrases such as *ut dixit fria* 'as he said to her'. The next section of the text has an *ubi sunt* motif in Latin and Irish with phrases such as *Ubi es nunc nunquid hic habitas audi. nos pecauit, Cur [non] cessas superbie; and Cur [non] cessas blasphemare*. After another direct speech in Latin, *O anima <in>felix respice in nos*, the Irish translation goes on at great length, enumerating appellations for *A ainimm anfechtach* 'o unlucky soul'. This section has its basis in the *Visio Pauli*, the source also underlying the following text of the *Fís Adomnáin*. At the end of the text a regular peroration appears with an Irish invocation *athar 7 maic 7 spiruta noib*, a benediction *Alme trocaire* and a Latin formula *in secula seculorum amen*. A final reading of interest to the transmission of the text is the mistaken abbreviation *dentrrior* for what in the exemplar must have apparently read *deterior*.

#### LB 253b *Fís Adomnáin incipit*

The *Fís Adomnáin incipit* on p.253b contains a codeswitch in its title.<sup>175</sup> Although it is not strictly a homily, it resembles one in encapsulating another genre (*visio*) within the guise of a sermon. As such the Latin citations in the exordium are an integral part of the strategy of the scribe of LB. As its theme the text cites Ps 146(147):5-6, *Magnus dominus noster*. Its Irish translation is interesting as it uses doublets to paraphrase the Latin text such as *Isuasal oculus isadamra incoimdiu* 'Noble and brilliant is the lord'. After an Irish introduction to its author its theme is reiterated verse by verse and an uncredited protheme is given, *nemo potest ei dignam laudem aserere*. The exposition consists mostly of Latin commentary and its Irish paraphrases. After an invocation starting *Sochaide tra do noemaib 7 do firenaib* the remainder of the exposition is Irish, save for an isolated phrase introduced by *Z dixit fri haingliu nime* 'and he said to the angels of heaven', reading *Hanc animam multo peccantem angelo tartari tradite 7 demergat eam in infernum*. The peroration is somewhat abbreviated, containing only the Irish

<sup>173</sup> Gaidoz (1889: 465).

<sup>174</sup> Batiouchkof (1891: 9).

<sup>175</sup> Volmering (2012: 6).

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invocation *athar 7 spirtu noib*, an Irish benediction *Alme trocairi* and a generic Latin formula *7cetera*. This *vita* has been converted to a homily only partially.<sup>176</sup>

*LB 258a [Homily on Fasting and Abstinence]*

The so-called Homily on Christian Faith and on the Sacraments on *LB* p.256a is not in any manner homiletic, although it contains a partial peroration reading *inoentaíd aingel 7 archaingel mec dé búi* 'in the unity of the angels and archangels of the son of the living god'. The Homily on Fasting and Abstinence on p.258a is not fully homiletic either. Apart from the dearth of Latin the initial theme is lacking, and the authorial introduction is placed at the start of the text. However, a protheme does appear, if the Irish *intan tra dogéna áine. nabí cosmail frisinnbrecaire itir* 'now when you will do fasting, do not be similar to the hypocrite at all' may be said to correspond to *Cum ergo facis eleemosynam, noli tuba canere ante te, sicut hypocritæ faciunt in synagogis* from Mt 6:2. If this is true, the protheme is the same as the theme used in the Homily on Almsgiving in *LB* p.68b. Uncharacteristically, the text continues with an enumeration of the eight types of fasting; the second half is taken up by testimonies from Biblical personae on fasting. Only two textual markers are in Latin, to wit *ut christus dixit* and *ut dixit ieronimus*. There is no conclusion to the text, which may rather serve as an introduction to the next.

*LB 258b Uisio quam uidit adamnanus uir spiritu sancto plenus*

Even though the Second Vision of Adamnán is not a homily to the same degree as the *Fís Adamnáin* might be, it is included because of its characteristics and its position combined with the preceding homily.<sup>177</sup> There is substantial overlap with the prophecy of St Mo Ling in *LB* p.242b. The present prophecy commences *uæ uæ uæ uiris hiberniæ insolæ mandata domini transgredientibus*. Its opening phrases in Latin are rather defective, such as *Uæ meritricibus 7 peccatoribus qui[a] sicut foenum 7 stipula concremabuntur aburaignata* [recte *a bura ignita* 'from a burned beam'] *inanno bisextili 7 embolesmi 7 infine circuli 7 inde collatione iohannis bautistæ*. After a few lines of Latin the text turns to Irish, with only a few exceptions. Mention is made of hymns of praise to sing in Latin and Irish: *cét slechtain fribiait 7 magnificat 7 ben[e]dictus 7 miserere mei deus. 7 crosfigell frihimmund patraic. 7 immund nanapstal 7 lamchomairt frihimnum dicat 7 innum míchil* 'a hundred genuflexions with a *Beati* and a *Magnificat* and a *Benedictus* and a *Miserere mei deus*, and cross-vigil with a Hymn of Patrick and a Hymn of the Apostles, and a handbeating with a *Hymnum dicat* and a Hymn of Michael'. Though the first hymn *biait* is in Irish, the next hymns are in Latin; the second to last is in Latin, while the last is in mixed Latin and Irish. For the rest no phrases in Latin appear, apart from a gloss *.i. manda*, which may be an Irish spelling for

<sup>176</sup> Ó Máille (1912: 101).

<sup>177</sup> Volmering (2014: 647ff).

*manna*. The rest of the Irish text concerns uses of fasting and prayer like the previous homily. Given the absence of homiletic elements as exordium, exposition and peroration, it cannot be called a proper homily.

The remainder of the quire consists of miscellaneous texts, none of which are homiletic; the *Scel Choirpri* [sic] *Chruim* on p.259b comes closest by being a parody on a saint's life. Next comes a story illustrating the benefits of prayer on p.260a, which has certain overlaps with the *Félire*, p.75a. There follow three short stories associated with Bec mac Dé, a follower of the *Céli Dé* movement, i.e. *Comlond Diarmata meic Cerbaill fri Ruadan*, *Etsecht Bic meic Dé* and *Cetbriathra Bic meic Dé* (260b). At the bottom of the same page is found a table of ecclesiastical duties in two columns, of which both form and contents are unexpected in a manuscript thought to be aimed at the educated laity. After a chasm in the manuscript, p.261a has the *Regula Mochuta*, while the last leaf of the volume finishes by way of filler with several short texts such as *Celltair Dichill Diarmata* on p.262a a poem called *Imchlod aingel* opening *Is mebul dom inradud*, and the *Loricca coluim cilli* at the close of LB p.262b.

Table 3.6: Language frequencies of homiletic items in quire O (5 items)

Structure	Item	Latin	Irish	Latin+Irish	Latin-Irish	Total
Exordium	Incipit	---	---	---	1	1
	Thema	---	---	3	---	3
	Auctor	---	4	---	---	4
	Prothema	1	1	2	---	4
	Reiteratio	---	1	4	---	5
	<i>Subtotal</i>	1	6	9	1	17
Expositio	Processus	1	---	1	---	2
	Distinctio	---	2	3	---	5
	Subdistinctio	---	4	1	---	5
	Concordantia	---	---	2	2	4
	Exhortatio	---	---	1	---	1
	Invocatio	---	1	---	---	1
<i>Subtotal</i>	1	7	8	2	18	
Peroratio	Invocatio	---	3	---	---	3
	Benedictio	---	3	---	---	3
	Formula	2	---	---	---	2
	<i>Subtotal</i>	2	6	---	---	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>43</b>	

In all, quire O is less consistent than the earlier quires C-D in terms of structure and language use, as table 3.6 above shows. Many of the texts labelled by the catalogue as homilies lack most or all of the usual structural elements. The texts that are homiletic are often defective at beginnings and ends, particularly lacking a theme. The exordia and perorations, though, are more complete than the expositions, which are often in the form of catechetical sermons without a strong structure of distinctions and subdistinctions. In terms of language there is a striking absence of Latin in these homilies to the benefit of Irish or Latin+Irish. No *vitae* are attested, nor is any use made of the senses of Scripture. This quire, in effect, is not as homiletic in structure and language as the layout of the texts and their description would suggest.

Quire P in the second volume of the *Leabhar Breac* contains an apparently miscellaneous collection of texts, all of them paralleled in other manuscripts. None of them are taken into consideration in the present investigation, because they all fail to qualify to be called 'Latin-Irish homilies'. The *Sanas Cormaic* 'Cormac's Glossary' on p.263 is obviously outside the genre, even if it contains Latin and Irish language items. *Caithréim Cellaig* 'The conquest of Cellach' on p.272b is a tract in prosimetrum which has overlap with the *Betha Cellaig*. This is not enough to label it as a homily. The *Coisecrad Eclaisi* 'The consecration of a church' on p.277a contains Latin and Irish alternations, but is obviously not a homily. The *Pais Cristifir in Chonchinn uii. kalende mai* 'The passion of Christopher the Dog-headed on April 25' opens on p.278a with a phrase [B]ai *ingreim mor forsna cristaidib*. Strangely enough in the middle of p.278b is again written *pais cristifir in chonchinn uii. kalende mhai. [B]ai ingrem mor forsna cristaigib*; the non-homiletic *vita* ends atelous on p.280. The last text of the codex is the *Vision of St. Bernard*, in reality a homily on Christ, also attested elsewhere. However, this version is largely illegible, incomplete at the end and probably lacking any Latin text. All in all the second volume of *LB* is by and large interesting but not relevant to the current study.

### 3.8 Conclusion

The previous overview strongly indicates the existence of a continuous collection of homiletic themes and prothemes in Ireland, of which only a sample of texts is attested within the compilation of homilies in *LB*. A portion of Latin is cited from Scriptural or patristic sources; a portion is copied from the exegesis of Latin authors; a portion is reworked from both of the above; and a portion is of unknown origins. In the case of homilies having been reworked from *vitae* it is more proper to divide them into four portions, viz. *exordium*, *homilia*, *vita* and *peroratio*. Though these elements can be combined to form coherent texts, each segment has its own regulations as to the use of languages.

Table 3.7: Language frequencies of homiletic items in the Leabhar Breac (31 items)

Structure	Item	Latin	Irish	Latin+Irish	Latin-Irish	Total
Exordium	Incipit	4	7	---	9	20
	Thema	7	3	18	---	28
	Auctor	---	25	1	---	26
	Unitio	1	---	---	---	1
	Prothema	7	---	14	---	21
	Reiteratio	12	3	12	---	27
	<i>Subtotal</i>	31	38	45	9	123
	Expositio	Processus	7	1	6	---
Distinctio		4	4	11	---	19
Subdistinctio		2	5	9	1	17
Sensus		1	---	5	---	6
Concordantia		8	1	21	3	23
Invocatio		---	3	---	---	3
Exhortatio		2	2	3	---	7
<i>Subtotal</i>		24	16	55	4	99
Vita	Invocatio	---	3	---	---	3
	Narratio	1	5	---	---	6
	<i>Subtotal</i>	1	8	---	---	9
Peroratio	Invocatio	2	23	---	---	25
	Benedictio	---	26	---	---	26
	Formula	25	---	---	---	25
	<i>Subtotal</i>	27	49	---	---	76
	<b>Total</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>13</b>	<b><u>307</u></b>

Looking at the overview of all the thirty-one homilies together, significant trends start to surface. Table 3.7 above renders an overview of the languages used most commonly in all homiletic compartments. It is convenient in this discussion to reiterate the four options in the use of languages, to wit Latin; Irish; Latin-Irish codeswitching; and Latin plus Irish translation or paraphrase. In the *exordium*

and *peroratio* the language choice is rather restricted. In the exordium the incipit is often expressed through Latin-Irish codeswitches, while the theme, protheme and reiteration are normally expressed in Latin followed by an Irish equivalent. By contrast, the section on divine and human authors of the text is almost exclusively in Irish. In the peroration the choice of language is specific to each of the structural elements; where the invocation and benediction are almost always in Irish, while the closing formula is nearly universally Latin. A much more fluid pattern of language use is found within the *expositio*, which may be the case because there are fewer restrictions on the appearance of structural elements. Even within the body, though, the higher structural elements such as *processus* and *distinctio* are rather more readily given in Latin than the lower elements such as *subdistinctio* and *concordantia*. Lastly, optional elements such as *sensus*, *exhortatio* or *vita* have marked preferences of their own, the first two for Latin plus Irish, the last one for Irish. In this light the scarcity of exhortations to the *fratres karissimi* may belie the likelihood of a monastic audience.<sup>178</sup>

The sources and parallels encountered above indicate that the *Leabhar Breac* is firmly rooted in the homiletic tradition of mediaeval Ireland. Compared to other recensions, however, the use of languages in *LB* is markedly different. For the former aspect, the links to such collections as the *Liber Questionum in Evangeliiis* (c.725) and the *Catechesis Celtica* (c.900) are strong in terms of their respective themes, but there is very little evidence of copying literal information beyond the formal aspects of the homily such as *incipit*, *thema*, and *peroratio*. These and other potential sources of *LB* are either wholly in Latin (*CCH*, *LQE*) or mostly Irish (the *Catecheses*); none of them display anything resembling the degrees of codeswitching within the *LB*. In other words, none of its texts can be called a direct copy of any attested Latin or Irish source. Furthermore, even where Latin parts are derived from known sources, this transmission often follows the methods of the *collectanea* and *florilegia* rather than direct citation, as a result of which process the phrases enter *LB* often through adaptation and paraphrase. All of this characterises the compiler of *LB* as a scholar skilled in both Latin and Irish composition, making his manuscript a remarkable witness of the creative combination of the two languages. Though the extent to which this combination is applied is higher in *LB* than in its manuscript parallels, the ongoing process of transforming the Latin commentary tradition to Irish homiletic compositions is evident in all witnesses through their practices of compilation and adaptation. It can be claimed that scribal communities of late-mediaeval Ireland were bilingual in effect, even if each manuscript makes an individual choice in the patterning of its languages. The theoretical background of this intertwined use of languages will be investigated in the coming chapter.

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<sup>178</sup> Cf. Wenzel (1994: 34).



**Chapter 4****Codeswitching theory**4.1 Introduction

The variety of language use found in the homiletic texts of the previous chapters is extraordinary in its own right. It is worthwhile to examine in how far this language interchange corresponds to documented cases of codeswitching. In this manner conclusions can be drawn on the extent to which the *Leabhar Breac* is typical of codeswitching in general. Investigating this relationship requires a theoretical framework which encompasses the commonalities between spoken and written codeswitching. This model should attempt to delineate the grammatical or discursive circumstances under which one language is likely to switch to another. If the alternation of languages in the *Leabhar Breac* follows patterns that correspond to established cases of codeswitching, the conclusion is justified that this alternation in *LB* constitutes codeswitching, rather than traces of a process of compilation.<sup>179</sup> If *LB* shows this codeswitching, we may conclude that the text of *LB* is the product of a bilingual community in which codeswitching is an accepted norm of communication.

In this light the alternation of languages in *LB* is to be compared to modern, mostly spoken, codeswitching studies. The present chapter will consider existing theoretical approaches to codeswitching both modern and historical in section 4.2. Their comparative merits will be evaluated so as to arrive at a working methodology for the data in *LB* in section 4.3. Finally, mention has to be made of the many caveats in working with historical language material through the magnifying glass of modern research methods in section 4.4. The conclusions on the choice of a modern codeswitching model for historical data are presented in section 4.5. It should be emphasised at this point that the choice for a codeswitching model is only made on the basis of its descriptive prowess in the analysis of the historical, written data from the *Leabhar Breac*. This chapter does not wish to pronounce judgment on the merits of the respective theoretical models for codeswitching in general.

4.2 Codeswitching theories

The systematic study of codeswitching has been a growing concern in scholarship for around forty years. Initially, research focused on contemporary, spoken switching, perhaps reflecting the growth of a globalised world and a concomitant confluence of people and languages.<sup>180</sup> In the past two decades there has been an increased awareness that multilingualism is not a modern invention. Rather, it has been pointed out that historical societies much more

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<sup>179</sup> Hogan (1861: 352).

<sup>180</sup> Cf. US Spanish-English CS in e.g. Timm (1975); Pfaff (1979); Poplack (1980) or Lipski (1982).

often made use of multiple languages rather than a single one.<sup>181</sup> A prime sign of this historical bilingualism is the codeswitching in written material such as manuscripts. As a result, mediaeval bilingual documents have increasingly been analysed using the methods of their present-day counterpart, modern spoken codeswitching, despite the differences in time and source type. Modern and historical codeswitching will be dealt with in sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2, after which special attention must be paid to the state of the art within Irish codeswitching studies in section 4.2.3.

#### 4.2.1 Modern codeswitching

The fundamental framework for the field of bilingualism in older texts derives naturally from contemporary case studies. Theoretical work on modern codeswitching [MoCS] has come into its right over the past decades, though its definition may differ from one publication to the next. Appel and Muysken call CS the 'practice of a speaker who alternatively uses two languages in one utterance', thus reserving the term for spoken language.<sup>182</sup> Romaine focuses on the role of grammar when she speaks of CS as a 'juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages belonging to two different grammatical (sub)systems'.<sup>183</sup> Finally, through defining CS as 'using the grammar and/or lexicon of two languages', Muysken puts forward the notion of combining two syntactical systems to construct a single, unified code. This integration of two languages in one and the same language utterance is referred to as codemixing [CM].<sup>184</sup> Since the last-mentioned definition leaves open the possibility of using this theoretical basis for written language, this theory offers a useful framework for the study of historical codeswitching.

##### 4.2.1.1 Myers-Scotton

Within the purview of modern codeswitching there are two main points of view from which to choose, one connected with neuro- and sociolinguistics and one with grammatical theory. Within the former field, the *Matrix Language Framework* [MLF] by Myers-Scotton is the main methodology for the study of codeswitching.<sup>185</sup> Her model states that the two languages in a bilingual utterance are fundamentally unequal. This inequality informs not only the syntax but even the neurological activation of the two speech systems on a cognitive level. For this reason only one of the languages in a codeswitch situation defines the syntactic structure or matrix [the *Matrix Language* or *ML*], in which the other is entirely embedded [the *Embedded Language* or *EL*]. Within this

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<sup>181</sup> Cf. the assessment in the introductions by Adams et.al (2002: 1-20) and Adams (2003: 1-110).

<sup>182</sup> Appel and Muysken (1987: 2-3).

<sup>183</sup> Romaine (1995: 121).

<sup>184</sup> Muysken (2000: 117).

<sup>185</sup> Myers-Scotton (1993: 61-2).

*Matrix Language Frame* [MLF] two tenets control the content of codeswitching. The *morpheme order principle* holds that *EL* elements have to follow the word order and grammatical constraints of the *ML*. The *system morpheme principle* says that system morphemes, which have a grammatical function in the sentence, must appear in the *ML*. System morphemes are words such as determiners and prepositions that provide the grammatical connections between content morphemes, the words with lexical meaning such as nouns and verbs.

The differences between system and content morphemes are explained tentatively through the phase in the language production process in which they are accessed and activated. The stages of this process range from early to late system morphemes, with content morphemes as a strictly separate category. This range is intended to predict which language elements can and which cannot be switched. Content morphemes are selected first and can easily be switched. Early system morphemes such as articles are selected after the content morphemes and are less likely to be switched. Late system morphemes are rarely if ever switched, with bridges between content morphemes being more likely to switch than "outsider" morphemes such as inflection and case. Thus, the verbal predicate is usually the first element to be selected in a sentence, and its language will consequently be imposed on the arguments it selects. This systematic approach to syntactic formation is derived from current neurolinguistic research.<sup>186</sup>

A number of problems may occur in the application of the theory of the *MLF* to examples from unconventional sources, such as historical data which are difficult to subject to neuro- or sociolinguistic study. First, designating which is the *Matrix Language* is difficult to do on objective grounds. Whether this is decided through the majority of morphemes, the language of the verbal predicate or the language of the first element in the sentence, there is always a degree of arbitrariness involved in such a choice. Second, the absolute subordination of the *Embedded Language* is likewise difficult to maintain with every example. One obvious case is an embedded element that constitutes a phrase of its own. This phrase may have multiple items with internal syntactical connections rather than being dependent solely on the syntax of the outside frame. For these instances of switches with an internal syntax Myers-Scotton has proposed the usage of the term *Embedded Language Islands* [ELI]. As these codeswitch islands do not adhere to the restriction of the *Matrix Language Frame* that switches need to follow the dominant syntax, they appear to undermine the universality of the *MLF* theory. Third, the *MLF* appears to be better suited to

<sup>186</sup> Such a recent neurolinguistic study by Weber et al. (2016) suggests that bilinguals activate the two language systems simultaneously, especially when the syntactic structures overlap. I am grateful to my colleague Nike Stam for the notification of the article.

describe intraclausal codeswitching, since the marginal status of the *Embedded Language* in the syntax of the sentence renders it unlikely that switches would encompass whole clauses themselves. Myers-Scotton avoids the use of such terms as sentence and clause in favour of the notion of the *projection of the complementiser* [CP]. This idea asserts that every sentence or clause is in fact dependent on a complementiser (the default complementiser in English is *that*), whether or not this is explicitly expressed. This purely theoretical argument perceives syntax as a hierarchical procession from the highest to the lowest element. It is therefore only partially applicable to codeswitching, which on the surface concerns language patterns in the linear order of the sentence; in other words, codeswitching basically constitutes an item in one language followed by an item in another language. This fundamental way of describing codeswitching within the *MLF* model entails a primary differentiation into the length of the switch. The generic labels used for these switch lengths are sentence (a speech act running from capital letter to full stop), clause (a speech act containing at least a finite verb with its arguments) and phrase (a speech act comprising a head with optional modifiers). The confusing term 'constituent' should not be employed in this context. As will be seen, all of these concepts to measure switch scope are more problematic for historical data than they are for modern studies.

In the application of the *Matrix Language Frame* theory to historical data, specifically, another obstacle is encountered. The *MLF* has its basis in neurolinguistics and speech production. The acquisition and accessing of speech systems is a relatively young area of research which is continuously advancing. Neither brain scans nor language questionnaires can be applied to a historical written text, however. Sociolinguistic data are difficult to obtain for any historical period, let alone for an Irish manuscript which contains texts reflecting a written tradition of at least three hundred years old. In effect, the conceptual core of the *MLF* model can hardly be tested within historical codeswitching. Without the sanction of neuro- and sociolinguistic theory it is problematic to analyse incomplete written documents through the principles of the *MLF*, regardless of its value to modern codeswitching.<sup>187</sup> The analysis of the written, historical codeswitching in the *Leabhar Breac* may not benefit especially from the perspective of the *MLF*, just as the *MLF* model may not be proved or disproved by an application of historical data to the same extent that present-day data may. It might instead be preferable to use a modern model in which the historical data can conceivably test its applicability to both modern and historical codeswitches.

#### 4.2.1.2 Muysken

The work of Appel & Muysken (1987), Muysken (2000) and Muysken et.al (2007) centres around the issue of *government*. This theory concerns the way in which

<sup>187</sup> Myers-Scotton (2002: 59-62).

syntactic structures interact with the individual elements that make up the sentence. *Government* attempts to make predictions of such syntactical phenomena as case assignment and pronominal reference. Following the methodology set out by Muysken, the notion of *government* is exemplified by two rules. The first, *linearity*, says that switching is facilitated by a shared word order between two languages. For instance, a language like Latin has a basic syntactic structure of subject-object-verb (SOV), but a language like Irish has as its usual system verb-subject-object (VSO). According to linearity there could be switching between subject and object in Latin-Irish mixing, since both languages have the same word order for the two constructions. However, switching between verbs and their arguments would be disfavoured, as Latin is generally a verb-final and Irish a verb-first language. The occurrence of codeswitching at the beginning of Latin-Irish sentences would only be possible through the use of marked constructions, such as fronting the Latin verb or using the Irish copula.

The second constraint, *dependency*, says that switching is discouraged by a lexical dependency between items; for example, between a verb and the arguments it selects or a preposition and the noun it governs. In combining the two rules of *government*, switching is especially unlikely in situations where the two languages use a different complementation pattern. A Latin verb that selects the genitive may have an Irish counterpart that takes the accusative, while a preposition that governs the ablative case in Latin (such as *e* or *ex*) could have an Irish equivalent with dative case (like *ó* 'from'). Switching under these circumstances would not violate linearity, as there is a shared word order, but it would violate dependency, since it involves a relationship between a higher and a lower order in the syntactical hierarchy. It should be noted, however, that the constraints of *government* should be taken as probabilistic, predicting the chance that certain constructions occur, rather than prescribing that disfavoured uses of language should not occur.<sup>188</sup>

Even where codeswitching is disfavoured by the predictions of *government*, there are various neutralising elements that can accommodate or even trigger switches. These items can be neutral in the sense that they are independent of the main syntactic structure, or because they can be interpreted as belonging to more than one language. One such element is the diamorph, a word which has the same form in both languages, such as the preposition *de* 'from' in Latin and Irish. This usage can be considered a neutralisation on the level of the lexicon. More will be said of these diamorphs in the discussion of methodology in section 4.3.4. Another option is the neutralisation of inflection on foreign elements, like the rendition of a name with nominative ending in syntactic circumstances that should produce a different case, as will be seen later. A

<sup>188</sup> Cf. Halmari/Regetz (2011: 116).

neutralised inflection can be thought of as morphological neutralisation. This phenomenon can serve as one of the criteria with which to distinguish the appearance of codeswitching from the related phenomenon of borrowing. In theory, codeswitched items should not display phonological integration into the receiving language, while borrowings are prone to such integration. In practice, however, codeswitching forms part of a spectrum of bilingual interaction that includes borrowing. All of these processes are steps on the scale of language interaction that runs from phonological interference through borrowing to codeswitching and full-scale codemixing.<sup>189</sup>

Even within a narrow definition of codeswitching, hypothetically distinguished from other processes, there is room for further subcategorisation. Early CS studies often distinguished several sociolinguistic uses related to spoken language, for instance referential, directive, expressive, phatic and poetic function.<sup>190</sup> All of these concern the attitude of the speaker toward the utterance or the changing of roles in discourse. However, these are of reduced utility in a written context, where an analysis of grammatical constructions is more viable than a discursive analysis, which pertains to the discourse between speakers and their audiences. By contrast, a syntactical subcategorisation of the scope encompassed by the switch makes for a more meaningful framework. Traditionally the three scopes thus distinguished are tag-switches, intra-sentential and inter-sentential switches. There are modifications to be made to this system in the light of written sources. Tag-switches like *you know* or *isn't it* are typical features of spoken discourse which are not expected to be frequent in historical data, where the occurrence of switching in discourse is harder to prove.<sup>191</sup> Intrasentential switches can furthermore be subdivided into interclausal, interphrasal and intraphrasal scopes in order to analyse the syntax of switches on every level of the sentence. The resulting system thus encompasses four scopes of codeswitching: intersentential (switching between sentences), interclausal (switching between clauses), interphrasal (switches between phrases) and intraphrasal (switches within the phrase).

The above classification of scopes can be profitably linked to the different types of switches distinguished by Muysken.<sup>192</sup> His typology does not involve the sociolinguistic function of a switch, nor primarily the grammatical categories to which a switch belongs. Rather, switch types deal with the degree to which a switch participates in the syntactic framework of the sentence. There are three switch types to be distinguished. *Insertion* deals with isolated elements from

<sup>189</sup> Gardner-Chloros (2009: 12).

<sup>190</sup> Appel and Muysken (1987: 118).

<sup>191</sup> Cf. Spencer (1993: 55, 119); Wenzel (1994: 14-7); Romaine (1995: 122).

<sup>192</sup> Muysken (2000: 3).

language B in an otherwise uniform syntactic structure from language A, akin to the model by Myers-Scotton. This is unlike borrowing, where the form of the loanword is remodelled according to morphophonological rules in the receiving language. *Alternation* involves the interchange of elements from language A and B which each have their own syntactical framework. Neither language depending on the other for its syntactic structure, and neither languages can therefore be said to be higher or lower in the sentence hierarchy. *Congruent lexicalisation* is the most advanced form of codeswitching, to the extent that it can be called 'codemixing'. Both languages share responsibility for the syntactic structure, in which words from either code can be freely interwoven. The resulting 'ambiguous CS', in which there is an actual equivalence of codes rather than merely a matrix into which elements are embedded, is the most intricate form of codeswitching. Typical instances of all three switch types are given in examples 4.1 through 4.3 below (numbers after a hashtag refer to Appendix A):

- [4.1] istéchtá conaroscara amenma fridia cid inoin **uocabulo** iconernaighthisea.  
 is=téchtá                      co=na=roscara                      a=menma  
 be.COP=proper                      that=not=separate.SBJV                      his=mind
- fri=diá                      cid                      i<sup>n</sup>=oin                      uocabulo                      ic=on=ernaighthi=sea  
 against=god                      even                      in=one                      word.dSG                      at=the=prayer=this
- 'It is meet that his mind separate not from god even in one word at this prayer.'  
 [#456]

- [4.2] taitnid isincatraig nemdai **inter ceteros fideles dei inter sidera**.  
 taitnid                      i=sin=catraig                      nemdai                      inter  
 Shine.3SG                      in=the=city.dSG                      heavenly.dSG                      between
- ceteros                      fideles                      dei                      inter                      sidera  
 remaining.aPL                      faithful.aPL                      god.gSG                      between                      star.aPL
- 'It shines in the heavenly city among other followers of god among the stars.'  
 [#160]

- [4.3] 7 dorogart **nomen meum** fotri. **dicens**. lucian. **ter**.  
 7                      dorogart                      nomen meum                      fo                      thri.                      dicens.  
 And                      call.PRF                      name                      my                      about                      three                      say.PPA
- lucian.                      ter  
 Lucianus                      thrice
- 'And he called my name three times, saying 'Lucianus' thrice.' [#45 - 49]

Example [4.1] is insertional, since the Latin noun *uocabulo* is embedded as an isolated Latin element into the syntactic structure of the Irish prepositional phrase beginning with *inoin*. Example [4.2] is alternational, as the Latin prepositional phrase *inter ceteros fideles dei inter sidera* is a self-contained construction syntactically independent of the Irish part of the sentence. Example [4.3] is congruent lexicalisation, because both language inform the syntactic structure of the predicate and its arguments to such a degree that they are inseparable, making it difficult to assign the status of matrix language to either code. The adaptation to historical data of these concepts designed for spoken codeswitching certainly appears promising. A discussion of its application to historical material until the present day is therefore undertaken in section 4.2.2.

#### 4.2.2 Historical codeswitching

The adaptation of modern theories on practices of bilingualism to older written sources will henceforth be termed 'historical codeswitching' [*HiCS*].<sup>193</sup> One of its pioneering publications by Wenzel investigates the macaronic or codemixed sermon in England.<sup>194</sup> He distinguishes three categories of codeswitches: *a* tags or other technical terms; *b* text-structuring divisions such as subheadings and citations; and *c* intra-sentential segments. This approach to bilingualism was deemed to be "suited for delivery from the pulpit", in line with the spontaneity inherent in spoken switching. A contrasting view is expressed in two studies on bilingualism within the Roman Empire by Adams, who considers written codeswitching to be a highly self-reflective communicative strategy.<sup>195</sup> This conscious attitude toward CS is at least partly the result of the fact that the sources used are mostly epigraphical, requiring a great deal of planning and forethought in the composition and planning of a text and its languages. As much of the material comprises personal names, proverbs and technical tagging, Adams sees CS as a marked strategy rather than as a source of spontaneous and fluent bilingualism. The written character of historical codeswitching is also stressed by Fletcher, who asserts that manuscript sermons may well reflect written *reportationes*, transcriptions made before or after the speech act itself, to be mined by other preachers.<sup>196</sup> In the eyes of the earliest scholars studying historical codeswitching, the opinion holds that written sources of codeswitches are marked documents at some remove from spoken CS.

A more inclusive view is offered in a recent volume on codeswitching in early English edited by Schendl and Wright (2011). Instead of adhering to a narrow definition they consider CS part of a spectrum that ranges from borrowing to full

<sup>193</sup> With reference to the conference on 'Historical code-switching: the next step', Tampere 2014.

<sup>194</sup> Wenzel (1994: 17-22, 127).

<sup>195</sup> Adams (2003: 145, 245); cf. Adams (2002).

<sup>196</sup> Fletcher (2009: 30, 245).



bilingualism.<sup>197</sup> Discursive functions like citations, references and textual organisation are combined with grammatical functions within and beyond clause and phrase boundaries.<sup>198</sup> Some of these codeswitches may be more fixed in form and function, for instance *dicere*-phrases such as example [4.3], whereas other switches appear to be more spontaneous, such as the insertion of the Latin noun *uocabulo* in example [4.1]. Because of this spontaneity it is impossible to assign all codeswitching to the regulated interactions between a matrix and an embedded language.<sup>199</sup> Instead, the outcome can be called a single, new code of unmarked switching which Wenzel had referred to as 'macaronic'.<sup>200</sup> This inclusive theory has consequences for the intended targets of the texts. Even if it is unclear whether these were written to be spoken, all parties from author and scribe to public were a part of a bi- or multilingual intellectual environment. Thus CS might yield insight into individual education as well as into audience background.<sup>201</sup>

#### 4.2.3 Irish contributions

The previous sections have shown that the growing field of historical codeswitching has long been profitably studied with the tools available from modern codeswitching research. The application of modern codeswitching theory to mediaeval Irish sources, however, only stems from the last two decades. Before that Dumville had already noted the increasing use of native inflections on Latin nouns and adjectives in the Annals of Ulster. This process led to a mixing of the two syntactic systems, especially after ambiguous prepositions such as *de* and *in* which can be assigned to either the Latin or the Irish language.<sup>202</sup> Many years later Tristram tackled the functions of CS in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* from a sociolinguistic point of view.<sup>203</sup> These functions are identified as metatextual (used in the organisation of the textual structure), intertextual (used for citations from other texts), performative (used in the employment of the written text in spoken performance) and authentic (used to mark passages as pertaining to moral authority). With regard to these categories it transpires that Latin is mostly restricted to such formal functions, whereas Irish is used for the more creative stretches of language. In effect, the Latin parts of the bilingual text as it stands may have been rendered in Irish in oral performance. Latin would then be intended to assist the user in the formulation of his own Irish textual version. The same suggestion of the marked or non-

<sup>197</sup> Schendl/Wright (2011: 24).

<sup>198</sup> Pahta/Nurmi (2011: 242), Halmari/Regetz (2011: 146).

<sup>199</sup> Meecham-Jones (2011: 256).

<sup>200</sup> Trotter (2011: 156), Wright (2011: 191); cf. Wenzel (1994: 17-22).

<sup>201</sup> Stephenson (2011: 135).

<sup>202</sup> Dumville (1982: 320-41).

<sup>203</sup> Tristram (1997: 854-9, 864).

spontaneous use of Latin is found in Müller, who considers macaronic style to be a deliberate CS strategy, with *Hervorhebung*, emphasis, as its principal function.<sup>204</sup> At the same time, she notes grammatical properties that favour switching at grammatical boundaries rather than within the syntagm.

The language structure of homiletic texts is the subject of a study by Bronner based on the *Vita Tripartita Patricii*, a different version of which also occurs in *LB*. Whilst subscribing to the results of Müller, she suggests a distinction between the homiletic parts of the text, which are more regulated in terms of language use, and more narrative episodes where language selection is much freer.<sup>205</sup> The restricted and rather technical use of Latin in an Irish context is asserted by Bisagni and Warntjes, who infer that the audience of their texts needed Irish to help them explain Latin.<sup>206</sup> Using the vernacular to explain Latin is also an issue for Fletcher, who connects this practice to preaching in late-mediaeval Ireland. His contention is that English preachers working in Ireland may have employed either of the vernaculars, writing down their sermons in Latin only after the act. In this light the *reportatio* in written form may not precisely reflect the spoken delivery.<sup>207</sup> By contrast, in the opinion of Tuominen, CS may serve as a middle ground between the authoritative Latin and the more explanatory vernacular. The mingling of the two codes can be considered a combination of technical and spontaneous usage.<sup>208</sup> One method through which these varying uses of codeswitches can be combined is in employing diamorphs, as section 4.2.4 will describe.

The most up-to-date undertaking in the field of Latin-Irish bilingualism is a theoretical overview by Bisagni (2013-4). According to Bisagni the origins of Latin-Irish bilingualism are already apparent as early as the seventh century when Aldhelm and Bede address the Irish ecclesiastical schools on both islands. In this context Latin was widely learnt as the language of authority as well as the *lingua franca* of the Insular educational environment. Very early reflections of this bilingual society are glosses in a number of eighth- or ninth-century manuscripts, of which the article discusses the Würzburg codex. These items may reflect actual bilingual practice in the mediaeval classroom by the teacher and his students. Through this schoolroom environment glosses may have accumulated in multiple layers, though the degree to which items were copied

<sup>204</sup> Müller (1999: 85); a number mentioned of nine macaronic homiletic texts in *LB* is debatable and not followed here.

<sup>205</sup> Bronner (2005: 3); according to the article the amount of Latin within Irish texts is about ten percent (cf. Bieler 1974).

<sup>206</sup> Bisagni/Warntjes (2007: 30).

<sup>207</sup> Fletcher (2009: 242, 261).

<sup>208</sup> Tuominen, Taavitsainen & Jucker (2014: 3-26).

between codices is unknown.<sup>209</sup> Because of this copying process some instances of codeswitching may not meet the criteria of spontaneous language use. Potentially problematic uses such as interclausal switches, citations, discourse markers (such as the aforementioned *dicere*-phrases) or technical terminology related to the church are therefore excluded from the analysis by Bisagni. Nonetheless, the designation of CS as the “complete, coherent and original product of one original writer” indicates a high level of bilingual ability akin to modern in-group CS.<sup>210</sup>

Moving on to grammatical concerns, Bisagni's article elects to use the *MLF* model by Myers-Scotton. The Würzburg glosses are treated as Irish insertions embedded in a Latin framework. The language of the syntactical core elements such as verbal inflections, nominal case markers and possessive pronouns is taken to be indicative of the assignment of a matrix language. Among the bilingual glosses Latin is mostly found on the lexical level, providing a large proportion of nouns and noun phrases, prepositional phrases, verbs and verb phrases. By contrast, the syntactic structure of sentences is often informed by the Irish system, including system morphemes such as determiners and prepositions, the latter of which are never in Latin. Moreover, grammatical features of Irish such as dative prepositional constructions and cleft sentences are present even underneath the guise of Latin lexicon. Another mixing strategy is the zero-morpheme usage, in which an inserted word remains unadapted to the syntax of either language. This strategy of neutralisation is especially applicable to heavily mixed texts such as *LB*. Even when examples of citation, paraphrase, translation and technical terminology are excluded, the remaining instances of switching between Latin and Irish are sufficiently similar to modern codeswitching to be analysed by its rules.<sup>211</sup>

#### 4.3 Methodology

After the overview of the state of the art in historical codeswitching it is imperative to formulate the foundations of the present investigation. A strict methodology is necessary given not only the amount of material but also the imperfections of historical data arising from the vagaries of textual transmission. Fortunately, the aforementioned application of modern models to written data provides a valuable framework for the language analysis of the *Leabhar Breac*. First the choice of a theoretical model will be elaborated in section 4.3.1. Subsequently two different methods of language analysis will be linked to the data, a typological approach to switching in section 4.3.2 and a grammatical

<sup>209</sup> Cf. also Stam (forthcoming).

<sup>210</sup> Bisagni (2013-4: 15, 56), discussing Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, MS M.p.th.f.12; cf. Fletcher (2009: 66).

<sup>211</sup> Bisagni (2013-4: 31, 50).

frame in section 4.3.3. After this overview section 4.3.4 will pay special attention to the unusual class of visual diamorphs. The final section 4.3.5 scrutinises the merits and limitations of data analysis through computerised methods.

#### 4.3.1 Theoretical model

Although Bisagni has shown that the *Matrix Language Frame* model can be profitably employed in historical codeswitching, the choice of a dominant code in the *Leabhar Breac* can be problematic. As chapter 3 has indicated, Latin and Irish are used for varying purposes in homiletic texts, without the implication of an *a priori* hierarchy. Neither quantitative nor qualitative methods are always capable of settling the question of a *Matrix Language*. The quantitative approach of counting the number of words for each language may result in the designation of a different *ML* for each sentence, depending on its part in the homiletic structure. If the *Matrix Language* shifts from sentence to sentence, this would undermine the universality of the *MLF* model. Conversely, the qualitative approach, where the status of *Matrix Language* is attributed to the core syntactic structures such as the verbal predicate, fails to do justice to those complex codeswitches in which both languages take part in the syntactic structure of clauses and phrases. The fundamental inequality of the two languages involved in codeswitching is hard to uphold for verbal complexes in which Irish and Latin are intimately interwoven. In short, the model of the *MLF* defines characteristics of codeswitching that are violated by the historical data in the *Leabhar Breac*, such as the determination of the *Matrix Language* and the monopoly of a single language to regulate the syntax. Such prescriptions would obstruct rather than enable an analysis of the codeswitching in the *Leabhar Breac*.

As it stands the *MLF* model assumes complete dominance of one language over the other. This theory has difficulty in incorporating the variety inherent in a mediaeval manuscript such as *LB*. It would be rather more desirable to have a probabilistic approach, whereby all data can readily be incorporated without prior bias as to which switches are acceptable and which are unacceptable. Given the evidence from *LB* the framework would have to be able to deal with sentences in which there are multiple switches that do not conform neatly to syntactic boundaries and grammatical constraints. There is another reason why the present study prefers this descriptive approach. In written, historical sources there is often a lack of sociolinguistic context. For this reason information on the background of the language user, his education and his language attitudes is restricted to the limited conclusions drawn from the texts themselves. By contrast, the availability of grammatical information is just as abundant as in modern corpora. These properties of historical sources mean that written codeswitching can be analysed more reliably through the application of grammatical constraints than through a sociolinguistic approach to their data.

A descriptive rather than a prescriptive view on grammatical codeswitching constraints is one of the primary assets of Muysken's theory. The *government*-based model does not exclusively preclude the appearance of grammatically disfavoured switches but instead describes the grammatical context of switches occurring in the data to determine the probability of each switch appearing.<sup>212</sup> This predominantly descriptive character is useful in analysing data on historical codeswitching. At the present limited state of knowledge on historical CS the adoption of a non-restrictive model is a crucial step to increase the availability of data and eventually to come to a systematic theory. This desideratum is realised in this investigation through an inclusive definition and model of codeswitching. The model by Muysken makes ample use of codeswitching data from earlier studies to come to his own inclusive theory. The origins of his probabilistic approach to linguistics lie in the rules and regulations of *Optimality Theory*. This theory states that the analysis of language structures is not informed by a binary system of correct and incorrect usage but rather by the relative ordering of any applicable constraints in a way that requires the least amount of regulation. For a case study in codeswitching it is useful to list the criteria that improve or reduce the chance of switching and organise them according to their influence on CS. Thus, when it is uncertain whether any particular language sequence can be said to constitute codeswitching, the model presented by Muysken pronounces judgment on the basis of the grammatical properties of the sequence itself, rather than on modern notions of grammatical correctness.

#### 4.3.2 Codeswitching typology

According to Muysken there are three main types of CS that can be used to categorise most of the data from previous codeswitching studies: insertion of an isolated element, alternation between language segments, and congruent lexicalisation whereby both languages contribute to the make-up of the sentence. These categories have already been introduced in section 4.2.1. The first option is insertion, which corresponds roughly to Myers-Scotton's *Embedded Language* within the *MLF* model. Insertion entails that within a unilingual syntactic structure a foreign element is interposed without it conforming to the morphology and phonology of the dominant language. In this respect it differs from borrowing, where a foreign item is adapted to the native sound system and inflectional paradigms. The second choice is alternation, which is to say the juxtaposition of separate stretches of languages which are syntactically self-contained.<sup>213</sup> The third phenomenon is congruent lexicalisation, where there is no single matrix language that determines any one part of the sentence. Instead,

<sup>212</sup> Gardner-Chloros (2009: 93).

<sup>213</sup> Myers-Scotton (2002: 8).

the structure of the mixed code is a combination of two languages on a fundamental syntactical level.

The *government* model by Muysken is particularly applicable to the historical codeswitch data. The characteristics of Muysken's model will now be elucidated on the basis of examples from the *Leabhar Breac*. One advantage of Muysken's system is the division of data into three switch types, which makes it a research tool that is more descriptively adequate compared to the *MLF* and its binary system of *Matrix* and *Embedded Language*. In effect, Muysken's model has more analytic power to categorise difficult cases. One such issue is the presence of multiple switches back and forth between two languages in a single phrase or a sentence. The difficulty lies in determining whether after a codeswitch the return to the initial language should be counted as an instance of codeswitching in itself. This distinction between single and multiple switches becomes clear in example [4.4]:

- [4.4] is **locusta quasi longa [h]asta** atberar fria  
 is locusta quasi longa hasta atberar fri-a  
 be.COP locust like long lance say.PAS against-it  
 'Locust, like a long lance, is what it is called' [#403]

Here the Latin sequence *locusta quasi longa [h]asta* can be called a single insertion, because it is embedded within the Irish verbal phrase comprising the copula *is*. After this insertion the core syntax is resumed with another Irish verbal element. This analysis is more accurate than seeing a switch from and to an Irish verb phrase. Such insertional examples are analysed equally well by the *MLF* model and by government theory. Conversely, note an alternation in example [4.5]:

- [4.5] **quesso te pater.** banna lassin. **Deprecor te filii.** banna lassin.  
 quesso te pater. banna la=ssin.  
 beseech.1SG you.aSG father.vSG drop with=that  
  
 Deprecor te filii. banna la=ssin.  
 Beg.1SG you.aSG son.vSG drop with=that  
 'I beseech you father; a drop with it. I beg you son; a drop with it.' [#439 - 441]

The two languages here form consistent syntactic constructions on their own, so that each switch back and forth is an instance of *CS* proper. Whereas the *MLF* would still consider one of these languages as superior to the other, the theory by Muysken suggests that they contribute equally to the sentence. The difference between the two examples can thus be explained with reference to *CS* theory.

Congruent lexicalisation is the most complex form of codeswitching, in which both languages take part in the syntactic core of the sentence. This switch type occurs primarily within the bounds of the phrase. Within this switch type many instances concern nomenclature, for instance the pre- and postmodification of the name *Bonifatius* in example [4.6]:

- [4.6] inbonifatius cetna  
 in=bonifatius cetna  
 the=Boniface same  
 'the same/aforementioned Boniface' [#365]<sup>214</sup>

The Latinate name of a saint is introduced by an Irish article *in* and followed by an adjective *cetna*. This modification of the name through a foreign syntactic structure eases the transition between the languages and thus neutralises the differences. Since the Latin head of the phrase is modified by Irish elements, the combined input of the two languages into a single syntactic structure constitutes congruent lexicalisation. Whether names such as *Bonifatius* should be considered codeswitches or loanwords will be discussed in section 4.3.4. The fact that the name is embedded into the syntax of the receiving language, without changing its own morphophonology, is an indication that it here serves as a codeswitch. Another phenomenon that neutralises the boundaries between two languages is a lack of inflection as seen in example [4.7]:

- [4.7] arfoicc cesar .i. imper naroma  
 ar=foicc cesar .i. imper na=Roma  
 for=fear Caesar.nSG that is emperor the.gSG=Rome  
 'for fear of Caesar, that is, the emperor of Rome' [#349 - 350]

Almost all the above items can be either Latin or Irish, including the solution of the abbreviation *imp~* as either Irish *imper* or Latin *imperator*. In this light the lack of a genitive ending on *cesar* and the use of the form *roma*, which can be either Latin nominative or Irish genitive, fits the intermediate status of the clause as a whole. The following example shows that a Latin inflection can also be triggered by Irish prepositions:

- [4.8] triarfer ogalilee coierusalem  
 triar=fer o=galilee co=ierusalem  
 three-men.nPL from=Galilea.dSG to=Jerusalem  
 'three men [went] from Galilea to Jerusalem' [#324 - 325]

<sup>214</sup> Breatnach (1990: 95-9).

The dative ending on the Latin *galilee* is here apparently triggered by the Irish preposition *ó* 'from', as the Latin equivalent of the preposition, *de* or *ex*, governs ablative case instead and would have yielded *galilea*. A similar case of congruence between codes affects the vocative particle in the following instance:

[4.9] dena calma **abricio**  
 dena calma a=bricio  
 do.IMPV valiant VOC=Bricius.abSG  
 'stay strong, o Bricius' [#153, 155]

The ablative case on the Latinate name *Bricius* may have been triggered by a confusion between the Irish vocative particle *a* and the Latin preposition *a* 'from' that governs the ablative case, which is possibly what is attested in this example. An alternative explanation, though, is that *Bricio* is simply the Celtic form of the Latin name *Bricius*, as it would be in British Latin.<sup>215</sup> Congruent lexicalisation can even occur at the intraphrasal level, as the following prepositional phrase shows:

[4.10] anmunna naplágsa illibro exodi  
 anmunna na=plág=sa i'=libro exodi  
 name.nPL the.gPL=plague.gPL=this in=book.abS Exodus.gSG  
 'the names of these plagues in the Book of Exodus'. [#404, 405]

The prepositional phrase comprises the Irish preposition *i* 'in', which here causes the initial consonant of the Latin noun *libro* to be written double in order to indicate that it is not mutated by the preposition, as other consonants would have. Such an integration of two language systems is not possible in the *MLF*, but it is sanctioned by the congruent lexicalisation of Muysken's model. The application of these three switch types not only reduces the excess of back switches such as example [4.4], but it also improves the analysis of isolated switches. Particularly relevant are insertions that start a sentence, as in this case

[4.11] **Ministrantes** himmorro indaaingil tecait dothimthirecht iterdia 7 doinib  
 Ministrantes himmorro inda=aingil tecait  
 Serve.PPA however the.nPL=angel.nPL<sup>216</sup> come.REL  
  
 do=thimtirecht iter=dia 7 doinib  
 for=serve.VN between=god and man.dPL  
 'Ministrantes, then, are the angels that come to the service between god and men'.  
 [#247]

<sup>215</sup> I am grateful to Prof Schrijver for this suggestion.

<sup>216</sup> *Inda* is here taken as the nominative plural of the article *inna* in Middle Irish, or *ind* in Old Irish. I am grateful to Dr Ó Flaithearta for this suggestion.



At face value, the switching in the above sentence occurs from the Latin *Ministrantes* to the Irish *indaaingil* through the use of the diamorph *h-*, consistently used for Irish *himmorro* or (Hiberno-)Latin *haudem*. In the *MLF* model it is unclear whether the choice for the *Matrix Language* should be based on the initial language, the language most frequently used, or the language most crucial to the syntactical structure of a sentence. Through the notion of insertion as defined by Muysken, however, it is possible to view *ministrantes* as a Latin switch inserted into an otherwise Irish context. This makes more sense from a syntactical point of view, as the construction of the sentence is wholly Irish. It is possible to consider the example as a cleft sentence in which the copula, *it* in Irish, is left unrealised, although the expected form of the relative verb might be *tecat* instead of *tecait*.<sup>217</sup> This would put the above example on a par with insertions that are not placed at the start of the sentence, as seen in the following instances:

[4.12] Arisiat **stantes** ann  
 Ar=is=iat                      stantes                      ann  
 For=be.COP=they              stand.PPA                      there  
 'For they are the people who stand there' [#246]

[4.13] **Martires** didiu intertia turbai  
 Martires                      didiu                      in=tertia                      turbai  
 Martyr.nPL                      then                      in=third.abSG                      throng  
 'The martyrs, then, [are] in the third throng' [#352]

In example [4.12] the Latin insertion *stantes* is in the middle of the Irish sentence. By contrast, the Irish adverb *didiu* in [4.13] appears in a Latin sentence. Because such adverbial phrases are independent of their syntactic context, they are defined by Muysken as alternation.<sup>218</sup> Thus the differentiation of codeswitches into insertions, alternations and congruent lexicalisations provides for a more accurate description of intricate examples of codeswitching as compared to the more rigid *Matrix Language Frame*, which takes insertion to be the default option.

#### 4.3.3 Grammatical categorisation

The above differentiation into switch types enables an analysis of codeswitches through their grammatical role in the sentence. In order to clarify these grammatical roles it will be beneficial to categorise the grammatical properties that are inherent in the individual switches. Four core grammatical categories are therefore marked in the sentences that contain codeswitches. Apart from the

<sup>217</sup> I am grateful to Dr Ó Flaithearta for this suggestion.

<sup>218</sup> Muysken (2000: 96).

language of the switched item, as discussed above, there are three further categories that can provide grammatical information. These three are the scope of a switch, the grammatical class to which it belongs, and its syntactic or discursive function.

#### 4.3.3.1 Switch scope

To both Myers-Scotton and Muysken there is a fundamental divide between what appears above and below the level of the clause, and another division between the level of the phrase and that of the word. Intersentential and interclausal codeswitches, referring to codeswitching between sentences and between clauses respectively, are intimately tied up with questions of the functions of switches within the discourse. Switches on the inter- and intraphrasal scope, referring to codeswitching between phrases and within phrases respectively, are instead concerned mostly with grammatical relationships. A difficulty is presented by the fact that on the intraphrasal level it may prove impossible to determine the language of an individual item, as seen in the names in examples [4.6] through [4.9]. By contrast, codeswitches of greater length usually provide a grammatical or semantic context through which the language of ambiguous elements can be determined, as in examples [4.2] and [4.5]. The designation of diamorphs is better reserved for intraphrasal items where the determination of language is fundamentally uncertain.

The terminology on the scope of switches as used in the previous paragraphs is one of two possible classifications of codeswitches. An often-used categorisation is in sentences, clauses, phrases and words. Though these are all familiar terms, they actually only designate the length of the item. By contrast, the system of inter- and intra-sentential, -clausal or -phrasal items involves the grammatical properties of codeswitching contexts. For instance, interphrasal switching is concerned with the syntactical relationship between major elements such as verbal predicates and nominal arguments. By contrast, intraphrasal switching involves the grammatical dependency between the head of a phrase and its modifiers such as determiners and adjectives. This system of grammatical relationships corresponds more closely to the model constructed by Muysken.<sup>219</sup> The benefits involved in distinguishing the different scopes of codeswitching are manifold. As stated above, the language characteristics of switches change from the intersentential to the intraphrasal level. The notion of scope is also useful in the analysis of the other categories of grammatical class and syntactic function. For example, the formulaic function of switches containing *nomen* 'name' or *dicere* 'to say' is usually found at the interphrasal scope, as these phrases often provide additional information about other phrases. By contrast, codeswitches

<sup>219</sup> Appel & Muysken (1987: 124).

with complement function are divided over the inter- and intraphrasal scope. It is worthwhile to use the concept of scope when discussing the other characteristics of switches, starting with grammatical classes in the next section.

#### 4.3.3.2 Switch class

Another language category is grammatical class or word class. The most salient subdivision to be made here is one between function words and content words, already referred to in the model by Myers-Scotton in section 4.2.1.1. The former category comprises items that are crucial for the construction of the clause or phrase, to wit prepositions, determiners and conjunctions. To the latter group belong the lemmata that contain the lexical meaning of the clause or sentence, to wit verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs. The relationship between scope and class carries important consequences for the probability that a codeswitch is present or absent. For instance, the syntactical dependencies on the interphrasal level determine the likelihood of switching in nominal, verbal and prepositional phrases. By contrast, on the intraphrasal level it is the modification of nouns, prepositions and verbs by adverbs and determiners that decide the possibility that a codeswitch appears. In effect, the language criteria of scope and class combine to create the structure of switches. With regard to switches from the verbal predicate to the nominal arguments they govern, or from prepositions and determiners to the nouns that follow, it is interesting to compare the practices of switching to what is allowed or disallowed in theory.

#### 4.3.3.3 Switch function

The final language category to be considered is switch function. This category can reflect both the discursive and the syntactic relationship of a switched element to a preceding element, depending on the switch scope. Discursive or narrative function mostly occurs at the interclausal level; syntactic function is found most frequently in intraclausal items. On the interclausal level discursive functions dominate, comprising citational, formulaic and translational switches. Citations are stretches of text that reflect the direct speech of a potentially identifiable authority, which may or may not be copied verbatim or near-verbatim from external textual sources. The clause starting with *Hanc animam* in example [4.14] below is a citation. Formulae are idiomatic expressions that are used as stock phrases in a roughly standardised form. *Dicere*-phrases such as in examples [4.3] above and [4.14] below are formulaic. Translations unsurprisingly rephrase the semantic content of the preceding statement in another language. The second clause in example [4.3] offers a translation of the first clause.

On the intraclausal level the narrative function of formulaic switches can also be found. The difference with interclausal formulae is the greater degree of grammatical interweaving of formulae on the interphrasal level, as in item [4.14]:

- [4.14] fogeib anmine 7 acairbi onchoimdid chumachtach. 7 dixit frihaingliu nime. **Hanc animam..**  
 fogeib an-mine 7 acairbi o-n=choimdid chumachtach  
 get.3SG un-gentleness and harshness from-the=lord powerful  
 7 dixit fri<sup>h</sup>=aingliu nime. Hanc animam  
 and say.PRF against=angel.aPL heavenly This.aSG soul.aSG  
 'He receives ungentleness and harshness from the almighty lord, and  
 said to the angels of heaven: 'This soul..' [#506 - 508]

Latin *dicere*-formulae are commonly employed to introduce citational clauses. As such switches may include conjunctions and subjects (e.g. *ut dixit patricius* 'as Patrick said'), they could be thought of as clauses themselves. In the above example, though, the *dixit*-switch clearly only comprises the verb phrase 7 *dixit*, which is modified by an Irish prepositional phrase *frihaingliu nime* acting as indirect object to the verb. This grammatical property identifies such formulae as interphrasal rather than interclausal switches.

Most switched items of the interphrasal scope concern syntactical relationships, such as the above phrase *frihaingliu* which is syntactically dependent on *dixit*. Examples of such syntactical relationships are adjunctive, appositive, complement, object, predicate or subject function. Adjuncts are elements that modify the sentence as a whole but are not obligatory to its syntactic pattern.. An example is seen in the twin prepositional phrases *inter ceteros fideles dei inter sidera* in example [4.2], which are not crucial to the sentence structure. Apposition is a construction in which two elements, normally noun phrases, are placed side by side as an explanatory equivalent serving to identify one another, both having the same syntactic relation and point of reference. An example is the noun phrase *.i. imper na roma* in example [4.7], which specifies the preceding noun phrase *cesar*. One could interpret the diamorph *.i.* as the functional equivalent of a comma. Complements, as opposed to adjuncts, are elements that are obligatory arguments of a preceding item. In example [4.10], *llibro exodi* is a complement of the preposition *i*, which requires a nominal argument to follow.

The other three interphrasal functions are relatively self-explanatory. Objects can include direct and indirect objects, although direct object switches are scarcely attested (*nomen meum* in example 4.3 is one example). These two subtypes will be separated when relevant. Predicates are usually verbal, constituting the finite verb at the core of the sentence. Nominal predicates, providing additional information on the subjects of copula verbs, will be distinguished when they occur. Subjects are almost always proper nouns, as neither Latin nor Irish

normally uses subject pronouns. The determination of the language of names, including those with subject function, will be discussed in section 4.3.4.

In intraphrasal items, finally, only one function is categorised, which is whether or not the switch in question is a complement. This intraphrasal switch function often relies strongly on the grammatical class of the switched item. In some cases a grammatical dependency completely dictates syntactic function, such as the complementary relationship between a noun and the preceding preposition. An example of this phenomenon is *illibro exodi* in [4.10]. At other times more options can be available to analyse a grammatical relationship according to syntactic function. For instance, a juxtaposition of two phrases can amount to either an appositive connection, as in *cesar .i. imper naroma* in [4.7], or an adjunctive connection, as in *insinatraig nemdai inter ceteros fideles dei* in [4.2]. The intimate interplay between language, scope, class and function will be investigated in detail in the following chapter. An overview of the most common language categories, with the tags they receive in transcription, is found in figure 4.1. The language options have been described, among other places, in section 4.2.1.2; the other categories have been described in section 4.3.3 above.

Figure 4.1: Language categories

- language: Irish (@lang="ga"); Latin (@lang="la"); mixed (@lang="ga-la")
- scope: intersentential (s), interclausal (cl), interphrasal (phr), intraphrasal (w)
- class: Verb, Noun, Adjective, adverb, Preposition, Determiner, Coordinator
- function: ADJunct, APPositive, COMplement, FORMula, OBJect, PREdicate, SUBject

#### 4.3.4 Diamorphs

One observation emerging from the combination of the categories of language and scope is the multitude of intraphrasal switches which cannot confidently be attributed to one language or the other. Words that may belong to either language on account of their external appearance are known in modern codeswitching as diamorphs. In spoken language these are called homophonous diamorphs, as they sound the same ('homophone') in both codes. These bridges are capable of neutralising the gap between two languages, often triggering a codeswitch in the process. A similar phenomenon occurs in historical data, although there the medium of communication is writing rather than speaking. This written counterpart, labelled 'visual diamorph' by Wright, concerns the use of a word that is identical in surface form in both languages because of its visual presentation in the written manuscript.<sup>220</sup> Examples include prepositions such as *de* 'from' and *in* 'in' in various languages, as figure 4.2 below indicates. The use of diamorphs may be a conscious codeswitch strategy, as their inbetween language

<sup>220</sup> Wright (2011: 203).

status makes it easier for the writer to pick one of the two languages with which to continue the sentence. Diamorphs therefore enable the continuation of a sentence in a different language than the one with which it started. Visual diamorphs may not even be assigned to a single language in the mind of the author or audience of the manuscript. What is needed for diamorphs to facilitate switching is that the languages involved “are similar or are perceived to be similar”, just as “[t]he distinction between two codes may be neutralised at the point where they share a pair of homophonous diamorphs.”<sup>221</sup> This notion also applies to the visual diamorphs encountered in the historical codeswitching of written texts.

*Figure 4.2: Diamorphs in Anglo-Norman/Middle English/Medieval Latin (Wright 2011)*

1. function words, such as *de* (ML, AN), *in* (ML, ME), *et* (ML, AN)
2. bound morphemes, such as noun plural marker *-is* (ML, AN, ME)
3. borrowings, such as *spitell* (AN → ME), *harnersat* (AN → ML)
4. bare roots exposed by abbreviation/suspension, such as *turtull~*
5. bound morphemes suppressed by abbreviation, such as *cartand~*

One application of modern theory on diamorphs to historical texts is the system presented by Wright (2011). She constructs a division of visual diamorphs on the basis of trilingual business texts as rendered in figure 4.2 above.<sup>222</sup> The first category is function words, including prepositions such as *de* 'from' and *in* 'in' or conjunctions. The second category of unabbreviated bound morphemes concerns inflections that are identical in Anglo-Norman, Middle English and/or Medieval Latin. This category is not represented in the corpus of the *LB*, as Latin and Irish differ widely in their inflectional endings. The third category is borrowings across languages, such as the Anglo-Norman *spitell* 'guest-room' entering the English language, or the Latin word *lex* 'law' borrowed by Irish in example [4.15] below. The fourth category is bare roots with abbreviated endings, while the fifth category is formed by suppressed bound morphemes. Both categories comprise word stems that are identical in multiple languages, without the language-specific inflections that would disrupt their status as diamorphs. An example is the form *imper* 'emperor' in example [4.7], which can be expanded as Irish *imper[e]* or Latin *imperator*.

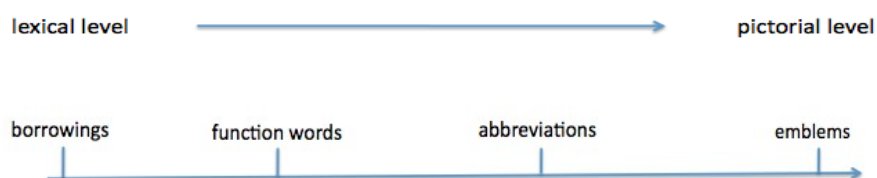
These final two categories can be taken together to form a category of abbreviations. There is an additional category that can be included, to wit diamorphs working on a pictorial level as symbols rather than as lexical items. Because of their pictorial character, and because they slightly resemble the abstracted code of heraldry, these pictorial elements such as *.i.* 'that is' or *7* 'and'

<sup>221</sup> Muysken (2000: 133), citing Clyne (1967).

<sup>222</sup> Wright (2011: 194).

may be termed *emblems*.<sup>223</sup> By rearranging the different categories of diamorphs, there appears a gradual scale running from diamorphs at the lexical level via function words, through abbreviations, to diamorphs at a pictorial level.<sup>224</sup> This scale classifies switches in different degrees of lexical or pictorial content, as well as in the degree to which they are either written in full or reduced to a symbolic form. Presented in figure 4.3 below, the diamorph scale forms an elaboration of Wright's theory. Through this extended categorisation it is possible to see the degrees to which diamorphs combine both codes, whether this occurs at the level of fully lexical items, function words, abbreviations or purely visual items.

Figure 4.3: *Diamorphs on scale* (Ter Horst/Stam forthcoming)



#### 4.3.5 Computer coding of language categories

Both the diamorphs discussed in section 4.3.4 and the grammatical categories of section 4.3.3 produce instances where the properties of codeswitches can be difficult to determine and may to some degree depend on the opinion of the individual investigator. In order to prevent idiosyncracies and standardise the methodology of grammatical tagging as much as possible, the use of the computer as an advanced research tool is of considerable assistance. In quantitative terms, the sheer amount of data makes it difficult to apply grammatical distinctions with consistency. In qualitative terms, a computer removes the errors of manual labour through the automated extraction of this wealth of data to much more user-friendly spreadsheets. A computerised text editor, however, necessitates the categorisation of each item into one single language category. This is because computers do not handle overlap optimally, both on a lexical and a syntactic level. Lexically, computer coding has difficulty with items that may belong to two languages:

- [4.15] olex 7 ochanóin  
 o=lex                    7                    o=chanóin  
 from=law.nSG    and    from=canon.dSG  
 'from civil law and from canon law' [#397]

<sup>223</sup> Ter Horst/Stam (forthcoming).

<sup>224</sup> Driscoll (2006: 254-61), *id.* (2009: 13-34).

In this instance *lex* can be interpreted both as a Latin switch and as an Irish loan from Latin. It is not integrated into the Irish code through its form, though it did undergo a semantic narrowing from 'law' to 'civil law'. A syntactic instance is example [4.4], *is locusta quasi longa [h]asta atberar fria* 'locust, like a long lance, is what it is called'. This comprises a Latin predicate inserted into an Irish verb phrase represented by the copula *is*, which continues after the insertion with the Irish relative verb *atberair*. This insertion triggers the computer to denote two switches, one switch to and one switch from the Latin insertion, instead of just the one Latin insertion that can be identified on the basis of Muysken's switch types. In such cases of ambiguity, the human mind is better equipped to decide the number of languages and switches involved.

The coding language employed in entering these complicated data is *TEI-XML*, the *eXtended Markup Language* according to the standards for digital humanities created by the *Text Encoding Initiative*.<sup>225</sup> *XML* provides an open-ended toolbox to encode data on language and language context, while *TEI* ensures that the data are uniformly typeset for others to peruse. This setup is ideal in view of open-source academia. As a text editor that enables the creation of custom interfaces, the standard version of *<Oxygen/>* has been fitted for our purposes with a historical framework dubbed *HISTEI* by Mike Olson.<sup>226</sup> The shell can cope with the vagaries of language variation and manuscript transmission typical of historical texts. For one, there is Unicode support for diacritic characters such as the lenited consonants of Irish text. For another, it is possible to include at the push of a button diverse metadata. For instance, the identification of people or places, foreign or formulaic expressions, and uncommon textual occurrences such as abbreviations, glosses and cruces can be marked in code. These characteristics can then be searched under one header. The specific aim in using *XML* is that the data may be made available to other investigators active in distinct but related research projects.

One custom feature introduced into the text editor that goes beyond the standard structure of *XML* is the use of a language tag *<@lang="ga-la">*. This combination of the established tags for Gaelic and Latin, though not directly sanctioned by *TEI-XML*, is a convenient code for queries and readily understandable from its component parts. The new term is employed for situations in which the choice of language is unclear because a word can belong to more than one language. In effect, the "ga-la" tag is only applied for intraphrasal diamorphs, where it is sometimes impossible or undesirable to distinguish an Irish from a Latin word. At the phrasal and clausal level the context usually enables us to distinguish a Latin from an Irish segment.

<sup>225</sup> <http://www.tei-c.org/index.xml> [Accessed 28/7/2016].

<sup>226</sup> [www.histei.info](http://www.histei.info) [Accessed 28/7/2016].



Individual decisions have to be made in cases of confusion, as with *in celum* '[in] the heaven'. The possible interpretations of *in* as a Latin or Irish preposition or an Irish definite article causes the phrase to be seen as prepositional or nominal respectively. In the phrase *cotaitnem nasollsi suthaine <.i. in celum>* 'with brilliance of the everlasting light, that is, in/the heaven', more than one analysis is therefore possible. The Latin noun *celum* preceded by the Irish preposition would here be ungrammatical, since its form before *celum* would be *i* rather than *in*. Conversely, in a locative sense the Latin preposition *in* should govern ablative case *celo* rather than *celum*. The form *celum* may denote an accusative denoting direction, which would be unlogical in terms of meaning, or a noninflected nominative form, which would be disfavoured grammatically. By a process of elimination the Irish article *in* forms the most acceptable grammatical explanation, resulting in the mixed segment *in celum* 'the heaven'.<sup>227</sup> In such cases the context of the switch will also be taken into account, in particular the languages preceding and following it. If a potential diamorph is both preceded and followed unequivocally by the same language, its designation as a codeswitch is made unlikely. In the above example of *sollsi suthaine .i. in celum*, a clear switch in language from Irish to Latin is observed around the diamorph. Problematic instances will of course be discussed in detail in the relevant sections of chapters 5 and 6.

An interesting instance of the improvements provided by computer code appears in the rendering of abbreviations. The choice of how to expand an abbreviation or suspension would normally be on the part of the editor, which state of affairs usually entails the silent or explicit supplying of a normative language form. For example, the previous edition of the *Leabhar Breac* silently expands *aps* 'apostle' to Irish *apstal*, even where Latin *apostolus* is equally an option. Through using XML it is possible to distinguish between the abbreviated form of a word as it is written in the manuscript and its form when the abbreviation is expanded by the editor. This distinction is useful when considering the difference between lexical and graphemic suspensions identified by Driscoll. The former category comprises loans and other words that are identical in surface form in multiple languages, and thus do not require different labels for manuscript and edited form, which are identical. The latter category, containing pictorial forms with multiple possible expansions, corresponds closely to the category of visual diamorphs discussed in section 4.2.3.<sup>228</sup> These diamorphs can then be indicated by different @type tags, such as @type="lexical"

<sup>227</sup> The appearance of the Irish masculine article *in* in front of the neuter Latin noun *c(a)elum* may be influenced by the shift of its Irish equivalent *nem* 'heaven' from neuter to masculine in the Middle Irish period. I am grateful to Dr Ó Flaithearta for pointing out this possibility.

<sup>228</sup> Driscoll (2006: 259).

and @type="graphemic". Such a solution would enable easy access to subtypes by different users. For online representation, the element @choice is capable of providing variant readings in diplomatic and editorial mode. In this manner a reader who wants to differentiate the original text from the critical edition can choose to display either the string with suspensions showing or the editor's elected text. Thus a string *i-p\_* could be rendered *imper* in diplomatic mode and *imper(e)* or *imperator* in editorial mode. An example of a textual passage with computerised coding is given in [4.16] below, where tagged elements include the grammatical categories of language (ga, la), scope (s, phr, w), class (VP, NP, V) and function (PRE, SUB, COM).

[4.16] **Loricca** coluim cilli **incipit**. 'The defence of St Columba begins.' [#555 - 556]  
 <s xml:lang="ga"><phr ana="#VP" function="PRE"><phr xml:lang="la" ana="#NP" function="SUB"><w xml:lang="ga" ana="#N">Loricca</w><phr xml:lang="ga" ana="#NP" function="COM">coluim cilli</phr></phr><w xml:lang="la" ana="#V">incipit</w></phr></s>

Judging from the level of abbreviations, the visual appearance of a word form does not always permit one to distinguish whether one is dealing with the one language or the other, and whether or not a codeswitch is involved. Apart from the solution of abbreviations there is also uncertainty in the language assignment of fully written words with unusual spellings. Interference of one language on the orthography of another, although outside the scope of a narrow definition of codeswitching, is nonetheless indicative of a larger bilingualism. One example is the phrase *in dialago* for *in dialogo* 'in [Gregory the Great's] Dialogues'. The orthography of the noun after the prepositional diamorph is ostensibly influenced by Irish phonology, with its interchangeability of vowels in non-initial syllables. This case can either be considered an acceptable mediaeval variant of the Classical Latin standard spelling, or as a "Hiberno-Latin" writing convention influenced by Irish phonology and orthography. In cases where it is ambiguous whether one is dealing with an actual switch from one language to another or rather with the interference of spoken language on a written form, scholars like Bisagni would not consider these items to constitute spontaneous codeswitches to the same extent as modern, spoken codeswitches.<sup>229</sup> However, Gardner-Chloros has convincingly argued that spontaneity depends on the language attitudes in societies, not on the spoken or written medium they use.<sup>230</sup> This point will be elaborated in section 4.4.3 when considering conscious codeswitching.

<sup>229</sup> Bisagni (2013-4: 47-8).

<sup>230</sup> Gardner-Chloros (2009: 177-8).

#### 4.4 Methodological obstacles

For all of the above criteria that curtail the uncertainty inherent in the analysis of this data corpus, a margin of ambivalence is impossible to circumvent. Section 4.3.3 has shown that there are ambiguities in the assignment of grammatical categories at the interphrasal level, while section 4.3.4 explains the problematic analysis of diamorphs in intraphrasal items. Although uncertainty in analysis can never be avoided completely, it is expected that the provision of open-source data enables those voicing criticism to conduct their own searches. In the end any investigation can only be the next stepping stone towards a refinement of knowledge. The following overview will bring to the fore elements of uncertainty in theory and practice of switches. First of all, problematic aspects of terminology on codeswitching are elucidated in section 4.4.1. Difficulties with language categories in the light of computerised analysis are clarified in section 4.4.2. Finally, lingering objections to the use of modern codeswitching theory in the study of historical codeswitching need to be debunked in section 4.4.3.

##### 4.4.1 Codeswitching terminology

The introductory chapter already indicated the diverse terminology involved in the investigation of codeswitching. This variety carries consequences for the language processes described by those terms. The place of codeswitching in the broader concept of bilingualism also depends on the definition of bilingualism. These definitions range from a broad view such as 'some second-language skills in one of (the) four modalities' [speaking, listening, writing, reading] to a narrow usage like 'native-like control over two or more languages'.<sup>231</sup> There are two possible approaches to remedy this discrepancy. The first option is to determine the presence of codeswitching in a spoken or written passage through the degree to which the two language are intermingled. In this light codeswitching may be construed as any combination of two languages in the same passage, while their intimate integration can be called codemixing following the model by Muysken. The second option is to consider codeswitching as one stage in a wider spectrum of related phenomena of language contact. In this way codeswitching can best be seen as the stage of language contact where a passage in one language is used in the context of another language, though usually without adaptation to its syntax. Seen in its diachronic dimensions, this stage of language contact can be a step on the way to full-scale diglossia, where two languages are used side by side in separate, diversified functions. In any individual document, however, one views only an idiosyncratic cross-section of the language attitudes prevalent in society. The use of codeswitching in the *Leabhar Breac* therefore constitutes an eligible option among a wider spectrum for communicating in a bilingual environment.

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<sup>231</sup> Appel/Muysken (1987: 2-3).

On the topic of the relationship between codeswitching and other processes in the continuum of language contact, there are four distinguishing characteristics of codeswitching in texts as identified by Schendl, displayed in figure 4.4 below.<sup>232</sup> The first characteristic of codeswitching is a lack of integration of foreign words into native morphology. The second criterion is an adherence of words from another languages to the syntax of the receiving language. The third category is a low frequency and/or a restricted distribution of foreign words in the native lexicon. The fourth class is the occurrence of other switches in the same text. These criteria are intended to be descriptive rather than prescriptive, since each document containing codeswitching comprises its own combination of languages, constituting a form of idiolect with idiosyncratic language choices.

Figure 4.4: Distinguishing criteria of codeswitching in texts (Schendl forthcoming)

- a lack of morphological integration (cf. [4.15])
- an adherence to native syntax (cf. [4.16])
- a low frequency and/or restricted distribution in the receiving language
- the occurrence of other switches in the same text

The character of the individual document notwithstanding, this classification can be profitably applied to a heavily codeswitched collection like *Leabhar Breac*, as will be done in the following. The variable attitude towards morphological integration can be seen in nomenclature such as *inbonifatius cetna* in [4.6] and *cesar .i. imper naroma* in [4.7]. Some of these names are adapted to the sound system of the receiving language, while others are left with zero inflection. Neutralisation of syntax is attested especially within nominal phrase, such as *triarfer ogalilee coirusalem* in [4.8] or prepositional phrases, such as *olex 7 ochanóin* in [4.15]. The criterion of adherence to native syntax is more difficult to apply to the *Leabhar Breac*, in which it has already been seen that there is not always a uniform *Matrix Language* of which the syntactical structure can be upheld or violated. The final criterion of high frequency of switching has been established for *LB* in chapter 3, where it transpired that codices related to *LB* in content have considerably lower levels of switching. This difference concerns not only the amount of switches but also the intimate intertwining of languages that is special to *LB*. In short, all the characteristics of codeswitching as indicated above apply to the *Leabhar Breac*.

#### 4.4.2 Determination of the language of codeswitches

Though a tentative definition of codeswitches may be attained, it is not always without problems to ascertain the language of words involved in potential switches. Moreover, the choice between one language and another may even be

<sup>232</sup> Schendl (forthcoming).

undesirable, as the blurring of language boundaries may reflect the actual practice of the fluent bilingual. In the process of identifying the language of codeswitches it is necessary to denote the difficulties inherent in the categorisation of the properties of codeswitches as described in section 4.2.3, to wit language, scope, class and function.

In terms of switch language it is important to reiterate the difference between the switch-points and the codeswitches proper. The former constitute the space between a segment in one language and a segment in another, while the latter simply denotes the segment in the new language after that point. This difference matters when one considers the grammatical dependency around cases of switching. Taking the switch-point to occur outside the codeswitch itself permits the trigger for switching to be the grammatical construction surrounding the switch. In addition, when a codeswitch is triggered by a diamorph, it is usually assumed that the diamorph does not constitute a codeswitch in itself, but rather facilitates the transition from the one language to the other. Only in cases where it is uncertain whether or not a Latinate item has an identifiable Irish equivalent, such as with the names of certain persons and places, will this diamorph be considered as a switch in itself. A corollary of this approach is that the identification of codeswitches is made on the basis of linear rather than hierarchical analysis. In other words, a codeswitch is deemed to occur if in a sequence of words one language changes into another. Only after this pattern has been established can there be any consideration of the syntactic constraints and connections that may or may not allow switching.

In describing codeswitches through the use of computerised coding there is always an element of choice on the part of the editor when encountering ambiguous elements. This is another instance in which it is preferable to take a descriptive approach to the data presented rather than impose a model on them. One of the unforeseen consequences of working with computerised data systems is that every word in an example sentence is determined to be either Latin or Irish. Language ambiguity, such as Latinate names in an Irish context, is not handled well by mark-up language. However, the choice between two languages is sometimes difficult and possibly undesirable, as a word may be intended to function in two languages simultaneously. An example already mentioned in section 4.3.5 is the abbreviated phrase *in celum*, where *in* can be the Irish definite article as well as a Latin or Irish preposition.

Although the ambiguous word *in* is designated as a diamorph, the grammatical context suggests that the phrase *in celum* can be deemed to be Irish rather than Latin, as section 4.3.5 has demonstrated. A different approach is taken by Harvey, who considers the first word in the phrase *in Muirbulc Mar* 'in the Great

Sea-Bay' to be a preposition written as Latin but to be pronounced as Irish.<sup>233</sup> Thus, while the written text contains the seemingly Latin preposition *in* before an Irish name, the reader may have simply substituted the Irish preposition *i* in speaking aloud. In this light the choice to write the Latin variant *in* could indicate that the preposition here does not cause mutation of the following noun in the same way as the Irish preposition *i* usually does. On balance, this seems to be a more complicated explanation than stating that the diamorphic word *in* might both be rendered in Latin and in Irish depending on the surrounding context and the reader or speaker. Instead of deciding by debatable modern standards, the status of such a diamorph can be left as ambiguous as it would have been for the intended audience.

In general it may be complicated to assume a difference between the language in which a word is written and the language it could have been rendered in spoken language, especially considering the small difference between *i* and *in*. This scenario of substitution in speaking may be more probable for formulaic expressions which differ considerably in form between Latin and Irish, as the fixed, perhaps emblematic written form of such expressions strongly disfavours translation. Thus formulaic phrases such as *nomen eius* 'his name' and *ut dixit* 'as he said' could be used in writing to reflect the spoken Irish *a ainm* and *amal asbert* (or *asmbert*). Thus a phrase in the *Leabhar Breac* stating *mel 7 melchu nomina eorum* [#169-171 in Appendix A] and its Irish equivalent in the Book of Lismore *mel 7 melchu ananmanna* 'Mel and Melchu [were] their names' may respectively reflect written and spoken versions of the same phrase. Such ambiguity would have been increased exactly because of the abbreviated form of formulaic expressions. It is another matter, however, to suggest that short function words such as the preposition *in* could have been altered when speaking, as they are not idiomatic.

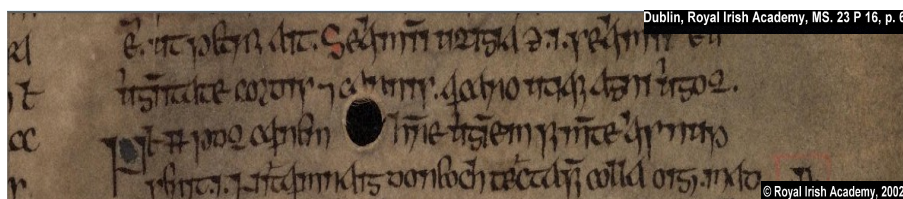
A difference in the treatment of language ambiguity is visible between the inter- and intraphrasal scope. As to the latter, even beneath the level of the word it is possible to have a combination of two codes. This phenomenon can also be interpreted as the interference of one language with another, as in the above case of *in Muirbulc Mar* 'in the Great Sea-Bay'. Another instance is *illibro exodi* 'in the Book of Exodus' [#404-5], where a mutation caused by an Irish preposition *i* extends to a Latin noun *libro*. By contrast, the form *inlibro exódi* also found in the *Leabhar Breac* is certainly Latin, although there the diacritic on *exódi* may mark Irish interference. It may be an Irish length mark (*fada*) to denote that the vowel *ó* was thought to be long, but it may also merely be a mark of accentuation frequent in Latin manuscripts. However this may be, both options

<sup>233</sup> Harvey (1991: 59). In the Old Irish corpus of the Milan glosses no instances have been found where the preposition *in* violated the constraints of Irish grammar. There is thus no grammatical reason for their analysis as Latin. I thank Dr Aaron Griffith for this notion.

mark Irish preferences. One reason for the ambiguity between Irish and Latin in the orthography may lie in the local pronunciation of Latin. This explanation may inform the spelling of the Latin *cotidianum* 'daily', which could have been used to indicate that its pronunciation is with the Medieval Latin and/or Irish /ð/ rather than the Classical Latin /d/. Such a spelling is possibly an indication of the Irish accent with which Latin learning was spread in Ireland, though it may merely be a common mediaeval feature. According to Harvey as stated above, Irish interference on Latin spellings may have more to do with native Irish phonology than with a command of classical Latin. This notion makes such intraphrasal elements even more ambiguous, as one word may combine orthographical and phonological features from both languages.

Beyond such inconclusive cases there are instances in which the language selection is entirely up to the reader. This is most visible in the use of abbreviations. Being generally based on Latin models, a number of these signs function in both language systems. The abbreviation for *quia*, for example, is also used for the Irish equivalent *ar* 'because'. The next step is the use of the same sign for the letter combination *-ar-* within an Irish word such as *nithar<sup>ma</sup>ig* 'it does not avail'. Finally, a Latin word like *carnem* 'flesh (aSG)' can use the same symbol with the alphabetic content of its Irish equivalent. Here the combination of languages extends below the level of the word, as visible in figure 4.5 below. Although these cases are not diamorphs or codeswitches in themselves, they rely on the diamorphic nature of the abbreviation for Latin *quia* or Irish *ar*, and thus reflect the bilingual context of the society producing and using such documents.

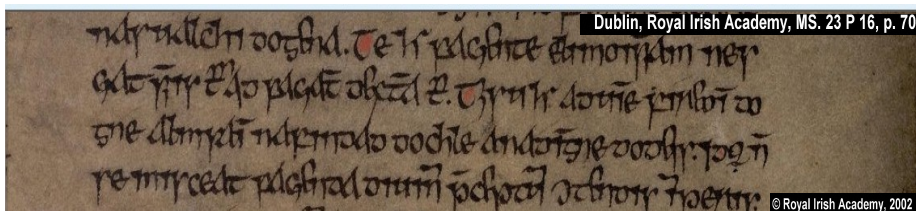
Figure 4.5: Various uses of the quia abbreviation: l.2 *quia*, l.3 *carnem*, l.4 *Nithar<sup>ma</sup>ig*  
Reproduced by permission of the Royal Irish Academy © RIA



Another ambiguous abbreviation is the letter *t* with a following superscript open *a*. In Latin this indicates *tua* 'your (feminine)' while in Irish it represents *tra* 'then'. This may lead to a combination of the two systems, as the spelling of *sinistra* in figure 4.6 below indicates. Though such words are not diamorphs themselves, they contain the ambiguous diamorphs within them as a sign of the intertwining of the two spelling systems. Further indication of this intertwining is that the abbreviation *h~* for Irish (*h*)*imorro* 'however' can be used specifically by Irish scribes for its (Hiberno-)Latin equivalent (*h*)*autem*, which is not usually

spelt with aspiration outside texts from Ireland. With brevigraphs such as *aps~* and *eps~*, too, there is a choice to read Latin *apostolus* or Irish *apstal* 'apostle' for the former and for the latter Latin *episcopus* or Irish *epsco* 'bishop'. This depends partly on the language context and partly on the reader's own interpretation.

Figure 4.6: Various uses of the superscript open a: *l.2 sinis tra, tua*  
Reproduced by permission of the Royal Irish Academy © RIA



Apart from the hardly ascertainable role of the audience in the use of these abbreviations, they can also be analysed according to their (con)textual nature. The ambiguous language status of abbreviations is supported by their involvement in the facilitation of codeswitching. An extraordinary number of codeswitching instances contain abbreviations and other diamorphs, thereby bridging the gap between the two languages. Especially prevalent are diamorphs that operate on a purely pictorial level, elements such as *.i.* and *7* that have been coined *emblems*. This phenomenon may be explained by positing that the bivalent language status of such items creates a situation in which a writer or speaker can continue the thought process in either language. One instance of diamorphs as triggers is the phrase *atbert induine fris .x.[.ui.] demones uenerunt nunc inciuitatem* 'the man said to him: "[Six]teen demons have now come into the city' [#149]. The abbreviated numeral *.xvi.* can be expanded as both Latin *sedecim* and Irish *sé deec*, thereby smoothing the transition from the Irish to the Latin sentence.<sup>234</sup> The language determination of the diamorph itself is of secondary importance; though, grammatically speaking, it is connected to the following Latin noun *demones*. By acknowledging the role of diamorphs in codeswitching and by distinguishing different categories of diamorphs, the identification of the properties of codeswitches can be improved considerably.

#### 4.4.3 Conscious and unconscious codeswitching

Another aspect of historical codeswitching that can be considered problematic is the perceived planned nature of written as opposed to spoken language.<sup>235</sup> Studying epigraphical data Adams (2003) considers the CS he encounters as one of the "marked forms of discourse" different from the "informal utterance of a

<sup>234</sup> If the underlying syntax were wholly Irish, though, the passage should read *sé demones deec*, even while the *.ui.* is a later correction. I am grateful to Dr Ó Flaithearta for this observation.

<sup>235</sup> Cf. Stam (forthcoming).



bilingual".<sup>236</sup> Such an "inherent formality" of written CS is also presupposed for Irish materials by Müller, who defines its role as *Hervorhebung* (emphasis) to highlight textual passages.<sup>237</sup> These notions, discussed in section 4.2.2, imply conscious motives for employing written codeswitching, but they do not provide us with the full picture. Not all forms of writing are the same; their language may change according to register, topic or genre. The acceptability of codeswitching in any one spoken situation is improved if the speakers are bilingual peers evaluating both languages positively and speaking them proficiently. Switching is preferably practiced with other in-group members who also wish to express their dual identity.<sup>238</sup> All of these aspects also apply to the mediaeval Irish bilingualism in the *Leabhar Breac*. The structure of the homiletic texts in *LB* admits of systematic codeswitching. This genre has its origins in an interchange between the Latin language of the mediaeval church and the audience of Irish society. As such, the language of homilies is also closer to the spoken word than most genres. Moreover, Irish intellectual culture elevated the vernacular to a high status, rivalling Latin in religious writings such as *LB*.<sup>239</sup> Both producers and users of this manuscript belonged to the bilingual elite that employ codeswitches competently and creatively. In conclusion, codeswitching in the *Leabhar Breac* constitutes an accepted norm in educated society, written by and for in-group users steeped in bilingual culture, in a genre that is closer to the spoken word than other written registers. As such the codeswitching in homilies of the *Leabhar Breac* conforms to patterns of modern, spontaneous codeswitching.

The above argument for the existence of unconscious codeswitching does not mean that each and every switch is necessarily spontaneous. On the contrary, written texts lend themselves well to the flagging of language switching. By making explicit mention of the imminent occurrence of a switch, its spontaneity is significantly reduced. A common example in *LB* is the use of *ut dixit (fria)* 'as he said (to her)' to warn the reader of direct speech about to appear. Another instance is *in Bonifatius* 'the (aforementioned) Boniface; (this) Boniface', where the Irish article *in* warns of the citation of the foreign name *Bonifatius*.<sup>240</sup> Such introductions of formulae and citations appear to be conscious codeswitching, since the switched items are marked by flags that introduce the unusual elements and draw attention to the occurrence of these references. The latter example, though, can also be used in a more language-neutral manner. Because *in* as a diamorph can function in both codes, it may trigger the switch to the other language. Thus, a sentence starting in Irish may continue in Latin upon

<sup>236</sup> Adams (2003: 107, 303, 412).

<sup>237</sup> Müller (1999: 85).

<sup>238</sup> Myers-Scotton (1993: 119).

<sup>239</sup> Stevenson (1995: 17).

<sup>240</sup> Breatnach (1990: 95-9).

encountering a Latin-Irish diamorph.<sup>241</sup> Such a trigger can be fully unconscious, since the language user may not be planning a shift of style, but is rather stumbling into a switch through the intermediate trigger. This situation applies perfectly to *LB* where the number of diamorphs or other language-neutral elements involved in switching is high, as section 4.3.4 shows.

Some diamorphs, however, may stem not from the mind of the author but rather from the hand of a later redactor. The compilatory nature of the *Leabhar Breac* collection complicates the assignment of any one word form to either the author or a later redactor of a text. Though its textual genesis is problematic, it has become clear by the analysis of textual genre in chapter 3 that the manuscript was consciously modelled by the scribe compiling the codex to present to his audience a coherent collection. Even if the scribe engaged in rewriting, we can study the resulting texts as a living language document attesting to a time and a genre in which codeswitching was an acceptable choice. In this sense, the language state of *LB* can be analysed in line with the syntax of modern, spoken codeswitching. The parallels between modern and historical codeswitching in terms of grammatical structure enable an appreciation of the latter as an equally spontaneous composition as the former. In this light the use of structuring devices such as emblematic abbreviations may also be salvaged as proper codeswitching. This is true for emblems such as *l*, for Latin *uel* and Irish *nó* 'or', and *.i.*, for Latin *id est* and Irish *ed ón* 'that is', as in example [4.7]. Although these signs may indicate that information is derived from different sources, the ambiguous language status of such diamorphs may also indicate an unconscious trigger through which the same writer or compiler is led to a shift in language. The fact that emblems function in both languages, even where vernacular equivalents are available, is another indication that emblems play a valuable role in the study of bilingualism as it occurs in written documents.<sup>242</sup>

An inclusive attitude toward codeswitching, connecting modern models to mediaeval practices, can also be applied to Bisagni's switch category of "ecclesiastical technolect". According to Bisagni, terminology relating to the Church should be considered a conscious language choice, since even in Ireland with its highly developed vernacular the use of religious terminology is largely reserved for Latin. What may argue against this view, however, is that much religious writing in Irish is extant, employing Irish vocabulary for religious terms. In particular, the genre of homiletic commentary employed within *LB* admitted of new native terms for in-group communication, like in the following example:

<sup>241</sup> Clyne (2003) in Gardner-Chloros (2009: 16).

<sup>242</sup> Bisagni (2013-4: 26, 48).

- [4.17] cé<sup>t</sup> slechtain fribíait 7 magnificat 7 ben[e]dictus 7 miserere mei deus  
 cé<sup>t</sup> slechtain fri=bíait 7 magnificat 7  
 100 genuflexion with=beati & magnificat &  
 benedictus 7 miserere mei deus  
 benedictus & miserere mei deus  
 'a hundred genuflexions with a *Beati* and a *Magnificat* and a *Benedictus*  
 and a *Miserere mei deus*'. [#527]<sup>243</sup>

If the names of hymns belonged to an exclusively Latin ecclesiastical technolact, they would not appear in both Irish (*bíait*) and Latin (*magnificat*) interchangeably. Rather, we can conclude that the homiletic genre admits of a relatively free choice of language even in areas that are traditionally associated more with Latin. The language of religious terminology is therefore not by definition a marked choice that would differentiate such codeswitches from the 'spontaneous language use' of modern codeswitching.

#### 4.5 Conclusion

The historical codeswitching in the homiletic texts from the *Leabhar Breac* can be analysed through the theoretical framework of modern codeswitching. Two theories come to the fore, the *Matrix Language Frame* [MLF] of Myers-Scotton and the *government*-based analysis presented by Muysken. The former framework is followed by Bisagni (2013-4), who uses its preference for an insertional type of switches to analyse Latin and Old Irish glosses. While this model works rather well for modern, spoken codeswitching, its psycho- and sociolinguistic aspects are more difficult to apply to historical, written documents. The degree to which *LB* either follows or violates modern constraints on codeswitching is evidence only of the limitations of this comparison, not of the lack of bilingual ability on the part of the producers and users of this historical manuscript. While it may be beneficial to categorise acceptable codeswitching and discard dubious cases, not all of the codeswitches in the corpus can be analysed in terms of matrix language and insertional switching. Because historical codeswitching, especially in Latin-Irish documents, is still a relatively pristine subject, it may be more useful to see which switches occur before it can be decided which switches are acceptable.

The *government*-model by Muysken offers more options for categorisation and analysis of ambiguous occurrences. Its two central guidelines are *linearity*, whereby codeswitching is facilitated by a common word order in both languages, and *dependency*, when switching is obstructed by strong grammatical relationships between syntactic constituents. The more hierarchical approach of the *MLF* model could be construed as only one possible type of codeswitching amongst other, more intricate combinations of language.

<sup>243</sup> An idiomatic use of the Irish term is *bérla bán biait* 'the pure language of the *Beati*', i.e. Latin.

Such a typology of switching, derived from different corpora, is at the basis of the model made by Muysken. The insertion of small items from another language into an overarching syntax conforms most to the *MLF* model by Myers-Scotton. The alternation among larger, syntactically independent items in different languages corresponds most firmly to the grammatical constraints of *Optimality Theory* as argued in section 4.3.1. The congruent lexicalisation of constituents, where both codes contribute to its syntax, is represented by the use of the term *codemixing* by Muysken in his studies on codeswitching strategies, as seen in section 4.2.1. Though each type is connected to different relationships between the languages in a document, discourse or society, it is perfectly plausible to find all three phenomena within one corpus. In order to differentiate in more detail between the constructions of various codeswitches, another set of language criteria may be applied. These concern the language of the codeswitch and of its context; the scope or syntactic length that the switch encompasses; the class or grammatical part of speech to which a switch belongs; and the syntactical or discursive function that a codeswitch conveys in relationship to the surrounding text. The combination of these two sets of criteria, the one based on switch types, the other on grammatical criteria, results in a subcategorisation of codeswitches according to both their sociolinguistic and syntactic uses.

The flexible and inclusive view adopted here presents codeswitching as one of the stages of language contact, related to phenomena such as borrowing and interference. Conversely, being inclusive can cause problems of overreaching with limited data. Such problematic cases are better incorporated into a broader view of bilingualism than divorced from the documents in which codeswitching is common practice. With the aid of computerised analysis it is possible to decode all language characteristics of the data in such a way that future studies can select data subsets that take either exclusive or inclusive approaches. In this light the use of diamorphs, items of inbetween or indeterminate language status, can be analysed as the result of the intimate integration of two languages, to which process the presence of diamorphs is a triggering element. Whether or not the use of codeswitching is a conscious choice, historical sources are not necessarily incapable of displaying spontaneous switching in sources such as *LB*. The status of the vernacular, on a par with Latin, within the in-group of educated mediaeval Irish intellectuals enables an analysis of this document of mediaeval bilingualism along the same lines as the speech of modern bilinguals. The *Leabhar Breac* is therefore capable of being analysed through adapting modern CS models to historical documents. This analysis will be done in the next two chapters.

## Chapter 5

## Grammatical properties of codeswitching

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has provided a theoretical framework for both historical codeswitching and its representation through computerised research tools. These considerations determine what data will or will not be included in the language analysis of codeswitches in the *Leabhar Breac*. On the one hand, the link with modern codeswitching made in section 4.2.1 salvages a large part of the historical data from claims of unreliability. In addition, the data described in this chapter may well provide a desired “stronger historical focus” for modern codeswitching.<sup>244</sup> On the other hand, the use of computerised tagging described in section 4.3.5, however profitable in preventing human error, necessitates a manual sifting of output before the applicable data become apparent. This process of clearing up the clutter will be undertaken step by step in the following paragraphs. In section 5.2 the data will undergo a cleansing in order only to retain the most unambiguous codeswitches. In section 5.3 the remaining data will be split into relevant subcategories in order to elucidate further language patterns. In section 5.4 special attention will be paid to the category of switch function and its connections to codeswitch theory. The conclusion in section 5.5 will concern the interplay of the grammatical categories from sections 5.3 and 5.4 to unearth the favoured and disfavoured switch constructions in *LB*.

Table 5.1: Raw codeswitching data

Selection criteria	Number #	Percentage %
Insertional back-switches	177	11
Non-triggering diamorphs	146	9
Intersentential switches (>s)	735	46
Intrasentential switches (<s)	557	34
<b>Total</b>	<b>1615</b>	<b>100</b>

5.2 Codeswitching data

Exporting the tagged *XML* data of passages from the *Leabhar Breac* containing codeswitches to an electronic spreadsheet generates a total number of 1615 hits, as table 5.1 above shows. This number indicates all the instances in the data where the language tag changes between Irish "ga", Latin "la" and diamorph "ga-la". This linear approach to codeswitching causes an excessive amount of hits, since in dealing with the insertional switch type each item is counted twice. Only the first hit, switching *toward* the insertion, is relevant; the second hit, switching

<sup>244</sup> Muysken (2000: 250).

*back* into the syntactically dominant language, is not relevant, as section 4.3.2 has shown. These back-switches after an insertion, numbering about eleven per cent of the total, will be subtracted from the total number of hits. An example of switching toward and back from an insertion is the following example from *LB*:

- [5.1] Arisiat **stantes** ann inlucht tairisit fiadgnuis dé innanoibe 7 inaffrinne  
 Ar=is=íat            stant-es            ann    in=lucht            tairisit  
 For=be.COP=they stand-PPA    there    the=people            stand.REL  
  
 fiad=gnuis            dé            i<sup>n</sup>=a=noibe                            7            i<sup>n</sup>=a=fírinne  
 before=face            god            in=their=holiness                    and            in=their=right  
 'For *stantes* are the folk who stand there before the face of god in their holiness and in their righteousness' [#246]

The Latin term for the angelic order *stantes* is inserted as a nominal predicate to the Irish verbal predicate *arisiat*. The “right-hand” switch back to the Irish adverb *ann*, however, is simply a continuation of the sentence structure and not relevant.<sup>245</sup> Here only *stantes* is considered to be a codeswitch, which is embedded in an otherwise wholly Irish sentence.

The next category to be excluded is made up by diamorphs that do not trigger language change, as noted in section 4.4.2. Items that are in theory attributable to either language may in practice be attested within unilingual environments. These cases will still be picked up by *XML*, which sees a switch from one language to “ga-la” and back. However, they do not trigger language change, nor can they themselves confidently be called switches, as their language cannot be ascertained. Such diamorphs that are not indicative of codeswitching patterns constitute nine per cent of the total figure. Diamorphs that do trigger language change will be included and discussed in detail at the very end of the current investigation. A case of a diamorph that does not trigger language change is the following item:

- [5.2] Ineclais atbertsin. **ut apostolus dicit. Filioli mei quos iterum parturio.**  
 In=eclais            atbert=sin.            ut            apostolus            dicit.  
 The=church            say.PRF=that            as            apostle            say.3SG  
  
 Filioli            mei            quos            iterum    parturio  
 child.nPL            my.nPL            who.aPL            again    labour.1SG  
 "The church said that, as the apostle says: 'My children, for whom I again toil.'  
 [#445]

<sup>245</sup> Halmari/Regetz (2011: 128).

The word *apostolus* is here abbreviated to *aps*, which may also represent the Irish equivalent *apstal*. However, since the words preceding and following the abbreviation are Latin, it is itself likely to be Latin as well.

The remainder of the occurrences are actual codeswitches, with a total of 1292 hits, or 80% of items. This number can be subdivided further into intersentential and intrasentential codeswitches. The division of switches into four degrees of scope has been set out before in detail in section 4.3.3.1. These four degrees are intersentential, interclausal, interphrasal and intraphrasal codeswitches. The former category will receive only short mention in this chapter, as these switches above the sentential level convey little language information in the light of grammatical theory. In principle such switches use the grammar and lexicon of only one language within the single speech act of the sentence. Furthermore, intersentential switches are much more closely linked to compilation and translation rather than to composition, and are therefore generally less indicative of spontaneous codeswitching.<sup>246</sup> Still, it may be informative to inquire what functions intersentential codeswitches encompass. Though most intersentential switches constitute translation, as table 5.2 below indicates, an example of an intersentential codeswitch that is not a form of direct translation is the following:

[5.3]    **& accesserunt adeum ceci 7 claudi intemplo 7 sanauit eos. 7 tancatar annsin focétoir cohisu isintempul aes cechedma 7 cehadoccomla .i. claim 7 daill 7 baccaig 7 cossgallraig. 7 roslanaiged uli uadsom focetoir.**

&	accesserunt	ad=eum	ceci	7
and	approach.PRF	to=he.aSG	blind.nPL	and
claudi	in=templo	7	sanauit	eos.
lame.nPL	in=temple.abSG	and	heal.PRF	they.aPL
7	tancatar	ann=sin	focétoir	co <sup>h</sup> =isu
and	come.PRF	there=that	forthwith	to=Jesus
i=sin=tempul	aes	cecha=tedma	7	cecha=docomla
in=the=temple	people	each=disease.gSG	and	each=difficulty.gSG
.i.	claim	7	daill	7
that is	leprous.nPL	and	blind.nPL	and
			lame.nPL	and
			leg-sick.nPL	
7	roslanaiged	uli	uad=som	focetoir.
and	heal.PRF	all	of.them=EMP	forthwith

<sup>246</sup> Bisagni (2013-4: 20-25); McLaughlin (2010: 45-50); Muysken (2000: 112); Tristram (1997: 864).

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'And they came to him, the blind and the lame in the temple, and he cured them. And they came there anon to Jesus in the temple, the folk of every disease and difficulty, that is, the leprous and blind and lame and leg-aching, and he cured all of them anon.' [LB 40b]

Clearly the Irish text is much more elaborate than the Latin, turning the story into a paraphrase rather than a translation. This intersentential switch type, taking up 735 hits or 46% of the total, will now be discussed briefly.

Table 5.2: Intersentential codeswitches

Subcategories	ga	la	Total
Translated	435	---	<b>435</b>
Paraphrase	176	---	<b>176</b>
Untranslated	61	63	<b>124</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>672</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>735</b>

The category of intersentential switches differs substantially from the more grammatically complex intrasentential CS. In terms of the *government* of languages, which is an important criterion for Muysken, there is little syntactic connection between a sentence in Latin and the one following in Irish. Yet there may be discursive or narrative functions of intersentential switches that show a preference for the one language or the other. Around 60% of intersentential switches, 435 in total, are directly equivalent to a preceding item. Another 24%, 176 in number, amount to paraphrases; this is taken to mean that the content of the two sentences overlaps, but the actual phrasing or wording is not one on one the same in both languages. Many of these paraphrases are more extensive in Irish than in Latin. A common phenomenon is the doubling of idioms,<sup>247</sup> a process wherein a Latin expression is rendered through two Irish equivalents. A case of doublets occurs within *LB* at the start of the *Fis Adamnáin*, shown below:

[5.4] **Magnus dominus noster 7 magna uirtus eius 7 sapi[e]n[ti]e eius nonest numerus.** Isusal 7 isadamra incoimdiu. ismor 7 ismachtnaigthi anert 7 achumachtu. nisfil crich náuimir for immud aecna nánamoreolais.

Magnus dominus noster 7 magna uirtus eius  
Great lord our and great strength his

7 sapientie eius non=est numerus. Is=usal 7  
and wisdom.gSG his not=be number be.COP=high and

<sup>247</sup> Cf. Spencer (1993: 83); cf. Mac Cana (1995).



is=adamra      in=coimdiu.    ismor      7    is=machtnaigthi  
 be.COP=brilliant    the=lord      be.COP=greatand    be.COP=wonderful

a=nert      7    a=chumachtu.    nis=fil      crich    ná=uimir  
 his=strength      and his=power      not=be.COP    limit    nor=number

for=immud      a=ecna      ná<sup>n</sup>=a=mor-eolais  
 on=abundance      his=wisdom      nor=his=great-knowledge  
 'Great [is] our lord and great his strength, and to his wisdom is no  
 estimation. Noble *and brilliant* is the lord, great *and wonderful* is his  
 strength *and his power*, there is no limit or number to the abundance of  
 his wisdom *or to his great knowledge*.' [LB 253b]

The Irish equivalent makes use of a heightened rhetoric effect to render the original Latin readings. To that intent the second member of the doublet, rendered in italics above, often seems more marked than the initial element, a phenomenon also noted by Muysken.<sup>248</sup> For translations and paraphrases the directionality of switches is unequivocally from Latin to Irish. This undoubtedly has to do with the reworking of Latin sources into a predominantly Irish codex.

Further instances of codeswitching at the intersentential level include combinations of Latin and Irish that are not either translations or paraphrases. Ninety-nine times, or 13% of the time, a sequence of two sentences in different languages occurs where the latter does not translate the former. Interestingly, this is about as likely to concern Latin switches (#61) as Irish instances (#63). The untranslated items suggest most strongly a style of composition in which both languages can be freely interconnected. A final category of intersentential items is interference of one language on orthography or phonology of a sentence in the other language. The inclusion of this category with intersentential switching is debatable; it may also be considered an aspect of codeswitching on the level below the word, or as an altogether different mechanism from codeswitching, if a more rigid definition of codeswitching is used. The reason for its inclusion here is that interference shares with intersentential CS a relative lack of syntactic interconnectivity, so that both are treated outside the scope of intrasentential CS as reflections of related phenomena within the wider spectrum of bilingualism. A case of either orthographical or phonological interference is a following item:

[5.5] **Nullus cantet sine amictu. Stola. Alba. Famorae. & casulai. & hec uestimentai nitidai sint**

Nullus cantet sine amictu. stola. alba. famorae.  
 None sing.SBJV without garment gown alb amice

<sup>248</sup> Muysken (2000: 189).

& casulai. & hec uestimentai nitidai sint  
 and mantle and this.nPL clothing.nPL shining.nPL be.SBJV  
 'No one is to sing without habit, robe, garment and mantle and these  
 clothes are to be shining' [#425, 426]

The endings in *-ai*, alien to Latin which usually has *-(a)e*, are common to Irish, where they indicate the Irish pronunciation of *-i* after a non-palatal consonant, as in example [5.39]. Such switches are encountered in both directionalities, as likely showing Latin interference on Irish items (#12) as vice versa (#13). It should however be borne in mind that these are rough figures rather than exact data; the precise quantity and quality of intersentential switching in *LB* is beyond the scope of this study. These figures comprise switches in the homiletic texts of *LB*, since these are the most indicative of codeswitching practices. As the percentages of inter- and intrasentential switches in these texts from *LB* are comparable to modern codeswitching studies, the figures seem representative.<sup>249</sup>

### 5.3 Intrasentential switches

The remaining 557 hits or 34% of all data comprise the codeswitches at the core of this discussion. These switches will now be analysed as per the grammatical categories identified in chapter 4.3.3. In the present section the attributes of language, class and scope from the corpus of the *Leabhar Breac* will be elucidated by examples. The substantial category of function will receive individual treatment in section 5.4.

#### 5.3.1 Switch language and grammatical properties

The first grammatical characteristic to be noted is the language of codeswitches. Of the three possible languages of codeswitches, to wit Latin, Irish and Latin-Irish, all of the latter Latin-Irish switches occur on the intraphrasal level, and all of them involve proper nouns. The reasons for restricting diamorph switches to the intraphrasal level have been set forth in section 4.3.4; diamorphs above the intraphrasal level are triggers of switches rather than switches by themselves. An example of the diamorphic nature of Latinate names is the following case:

[5.6]    nalibrasinairmither inurd nacanoine noime .i. parauule. 7 **ecclesiastes**. 7  
           cantaicc nacantaicci  
 na=libra=sin                    airmither                    i<sup>n</sup>=urd    na=canoine                    noime  
 the.nPL=book.nPL=that    number.PAS                    in=order    the.gSG=canon.gSG    holy.gSG  
  
 .i.        parauule.    7    ecclesiastes.    7        cantaicc    na=cantaicci  
 that is    parable.nPL and ecclesiastes    and        song.nSG    the.gPL=song.gPL

<sup>249</sup> Schendl (2013: 163).

'those books are numbered in order of the holy canon: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Solomon.' [#68]

The difficulties with the language assignment of Latinate names are here clearly present, as the three books of the Bible receive different treatments. The first book is an Irish adaptation of Latin *Parabol[a]e*, modified either by native Irish sound laws or by the local pronunciation of Medieval Latin. The second is kept in its Latinate form, but here no Irish version is available, allowing the form to function in both languages. By contrast, the third title is rendered by an Irish equivalent. Only the second item can be convincingly considered a codeswitch.

Table 5.3: Grammatical properties of intrasentential switches

Language	Class	interclausal	interphrasal	intraphrasal	Total
ga	CC	3	---	---	<b>3</b>
	MC	14	---	---	<b>14</b>
	SC	1	---	---	<b>1</b>
	A[P]	---	1	3	<b>4</b>
	B[P]	---	1	---	<b>1</b>
	D[P]	---	1	1	<b>2</b>
	N[P]	---	66	10	<b>76</b>
	P[P]	---	16	---	<b>16</b>
	V[P]	---	3	---	<b>3</b>
	<i>Subtotal</i>		<i>18</i>	<i>88</i>	<i>14</i>
ga-la	N[P]	---	---	82	<b>82</b>
la	CC	5	---	---	<b>5</b>
	MC	2	---	---	<b>2</b>
	SC	33	---	---	<b>33</b>
	B[P]	---	21	---	<b>21</b>
	N[P]	---	134	30	<b>164</b>
	P[P]	---	44	---	<b>44</b>
	V[P]	---	86	---	<b>86</b>
	<i>Subtotal</i>		<i>40</i>	<i>285</i>	<i>30</i>
<b>Total</b>		<b>58</b>	<b>373</b>	<b>126</b>	<u><b>557</b></u>

The grammatical properties of intrasentential switches are presented in table 5.3 above, using the abbreviations and terminology explained in the list on page xi. From the subtotals in table 5.3 above it appears that Latin switches take up about 64% of all intrasentential switches, Irish switches 22% and Latin-Irish diamorphs 15%. The intraphrasal diamorphs are an exceptional category whose function as triggers of language change will be treated as a separate phenomenon at the end of this chapter in section 5.4.3. What all switch scopes have in common, though, is that the nominal class is by far the most numerous. Of the switches to Latin and to Irish, nominal items take up well over (63%) and slightly under (46%) half of all elements respectively. Unlike diamorphs, however, individual Irish and Latin nominal items are overwhelmingly found at the interphrasal rather than the intraphrasal level. Many of these nominal phrases are introduced by a coordinator that is itself a diamorph. An example of an interphrasal nominal item which makes use of diamorphs is the following:

- [5.7] **patricius** <i. **pater ciuium** i. athair nacatharda> aainm ic[c]omorba  
 petair <i. **celis[tinus]**>  
 Patricius .i. pater ciuium .i. athair na=catharda  
 Patrick that is father citizen.gPL that is father the.gPL=citizen.gPL
- a=ainm ic=comorba petair .i. celistinus  
 his=name at=successor Peter.gSG that is Celestinus  
 'Patrick, that is, *pater civium*, that is, 'father of the people', [is] his name  
 by the successor of Peter, that is, Celestinus.' [#2, 3, 4]

The Latin name Patrick receives a superlinear gloss of a Latin and an Irish noun phrase, of which naturally only the second constitutes a switch in language. The name of the pope ('the successor of Peter') is given in a Latinate noun phrase, in which the spelling *celistinus* for *celestinus* is a common Medieval Latin practice. All are introduced by the item *.i.* 'that is', a diamorph signifying either Latin *id est* or Irish *ed ón*, thereby blurring the boundaries of languages.

After nominal items the biggest switch categories are verbal and prepositional elements. This is consistent with studies on both modern and historical CS; nominal, verbal and prepositional classes are regularly the largest categories.<sup>250</sup> However, the latter two classes are different from the nominal items. Firstly, verbal and prepositional switches are only attested on the interphrasal level. Verbal phrases always from a self-contained unit and prepositions are never switched as bare words. Secondly, these two classes show a different

<sup>250</sup> Schendl (2013: 165), Bisagni (2013-4: 39); intraphrasal prepositional switches are also unused in the *Leabhar Breac*.

distribution for Latin and Irish items. For both prepositional and verbal items switching to Latin is much more frequent, disproportionately so for the verb phrases, which are almost exclusively Latin. What lies behind this predilection for Latin is the use of formulaic expressions. These are switches that usually contain a fixed form and frequently relate to the discursive or narrative context of a passage. Two examples of formulaic language are given in [5.8] and [5.9]:

- [5.8] Usqi isincailech artus icontemprið issued istéchtá. 7 dicis. quesso te pater. Banna lassin.  
 Usqi i=sin=cailech ar=tus ic=on=temprið iss=ed  
 Water in=the.aSG=chalice.aSG for=begin at=the=servant be.3SG=it  
 is=téchtá. 7 dicis. quesso te pater  
 be.3SG.REL=proper and say.2SG request.1SG you father  
 'What is proper is firstly water into the chalice by the servant, and you say: 'I beseech thee, father.'" [#438]

- [5.9] ailim troccaire inchoimdead triaimpe noembrigde corissam innæntaidsin inseculaseculorum  
 ailim troccaire in=choimdead tri<a>=impide  
 request.1SG mercy.aSG the.gSG=lord.gSG through.his=entreaty  
 noem=brigde co-r-issam in<sup>N</sup>=aentaíd=sin in=secula=seculorum  
 holy=Brigit.gSG that-SBJV-reach the.gSG=unity=that in=age.aPL=age.gPL  
 'I implore the mercy of the lord through the intercession of the holy Brigit, that I may attain that unity, for ever and ever.' [#241]

For verb phrases the use of Latin *dicere* to introduce direct speech is widespread, as is attested in example [5.8]. For prepositional phrases the closing formula *in saecula saeculorum* is frequently found at the very end of the texts, as in example [5.9]. Almost all verb phrases and a majority of prepositional phrases can be categorised as formulaic usage, fulfilling a formal, fixed function. Formulaic function comprises a total of 36% of all switches in the *Leabhar Breac*. An example of a prepositional phrase that instead functions as an adjunct is given below:

- [5.10] cusin cathraig dianad ainm **capua** isléib armóin. **super risam maris terreni**  
 cu=sin cathraig di-<a<sup>n</sup>>=ad ainm capua i=sléib  
 to=that city.aSG of-whom=be.COP name Capua in=mountain.dSG  
 armóin. super ri[p]am maris t[yr]reni  
 Hermon over shore.aSG sea.gSG Tyrrenian.gSG

'to the city whose name is Capua off Mount Hermon on the shore of the Tyrrhenian Sea.' [#6]<sup>251</sup>

The Latin prepositional phrase starting with *super* cannot be said to convey formulaic function; it has a non-fixed form and refers to the same context as the rest of the the sentence. Even the fixed forms of formulaic phrases, however, can receive additional information, such as the addition of *apostolus* in *ut apostolus dicit* in example [5.2]. Such unusual instances are discussed further in section 5.4.

The other categories from table 5.3 are all more sparingly attested. Of all adverbial phrases twenty-one out of twenty-two switches are Latin. As with verb phrases the reason for this predilection is a formulaic usage of adverbial items. An instance of a Latin adverbial phrase with formulaic usage is as follows:

- [5.11] Otconnairc **vero** bonifatius sin. rolinet 7 londus 7 torsi ainmesarda he.  
 O<t>=connairc vero bonifatius=sin. ro-linet 7  
 From.it=see.PRF but Boniface=that PRF-fill.3PL and
- londus 7 torsi ain-mesarda he  
 rage and sorrow un-measured he
- 'When Boniface then saw that, both rage and immoderate sorrow filled him.'  
 [#347]

The use of Latin *vero* 'but', weakened to a discourse particle 'then' in Medieval Latin, is a formulaic convention in Irish as well as Latin contexts. In this case it introduces the Latinate name *Bonifatius*. Items such as *vero* may also have been rendered in the vernacular when speaking, thus constituting visual diamorphs. This process possibly informs the unique instance of an Irish adverbial switch, where an otherwise Latin sentence has the Irish *didiu* as the equivalent of *vero*:

- [5.12] **Martires** didiu **intertia** turbai.  
 Martires didiu in=tertia turbai  
 Martyr.nPL hence in=third throng  
 'Martyrs, then, [are] [in] the third throng' [#352]

Although the Irish *didiu* stands alone in a Latin context, it is followed by the Latin preposition/Irish article *in*, facilitating the transition. As it turns out, the Irish adverb has the exact same use as its Latin equivalent *vero* in [5.11] above. Worth noting, in addition, is the Irish ending *-(a)i* on a Latin noun *turba*, familiar from example [5.5].

<sup>251</sup> Cf. the Latin switch at the end of *inernail tanaise forpais inchoimded sund secundum Mathaeum* 'The second tale on the passion of the lord here according to Matthew' [#313].

Smaller still are the categories of adjectival and determiner items, with only a handful of hits for each. Unlike the more frequent switch categories discussed above, however, these minor classes are attested in both inter- and intraphrasal items. All of these are in Irish; apparently the lower-level modification of the headwords of phrases and clauses is the task of the vernacular. One of these modifiers is the use of the Irish determiner *in* before Latinate nouns such as *Bonifatius* already encountered in example [5.11] above. Both premodification and postmodification are possible within the shared structure of both languages, as example [5.13] below attests:

- [5.13] Cotarla inbonifatius cetna çusincluiche. coneprt friu combahecoir dóib  
 Co=tarla in=bonifatius cetna çu=sin=cluiche.  
 And=come.PRF the=Boniface same to=the.dSG=game.dSG
- co<sup>n</sup>=eprt fri-u co<sup>m</sup>=ba<sup>h</sup>=e-coir dó-ib  
 until=say.PRF against-them.aPL that=is.PST=un-proper for-them.dPL  
 'The same Boniface came to the game, and said to them that it was not  
 right for them.' [#365]

Where in [5.11] the Latinate name *Bonifatius* was followed by the Irish *sin* 'that', in [5.13] it is modified on both sides by the Irish article *in* and the Irish adjective *cetna* 'same'. The name is thus completely encapsulated in the Irish syntactic structure. For the interphrasal situation, the syntactic dependency is necessarily less powerful than in intraphrasal items, as in the case of an adjectival phrase:

- [5.14] Maith gaden. tribus dedit garg angleo.  
 Maith gaden. tribus dedit garg a<sup>n</sup>=gleo  
 Good voice three.dPL give.PRF strong in-fight.dSG  
 'A good voice, he gave to the three, strong in battle.' [#548]

Though the interpretation of the line is problematic, it clearly begins and ends in Irish with a Latin segment interceding, although *tribus* could conceivably be an alternative spelling of the Irish *triubus* 'trousers' as well. The part after Latin *dedit* 'gave' begins with the Irish adjective *garg* 'strong' itself elaborated by the phrase *angleo* 'in/their battle'. Both before and after the Latin segment it appears that Irish arguments introduced by adjectives or determiners can fully function. Apart from this questionable phrase starting with the adjective *garg*, however, determiners are the only function words to be switched in *LB*. These items signify words with primarily syntactical content, in contradistinction to lexical content found in system words such as nouns, verbs, adjectives or adverbs.

The final three categories from table 5.3 are also sparingly attested and occur exclusively in interclausal contexts. The main differences between their respective uses are related to the languages involved. The largest category of embedded clauses is almost entirely restricted to Latin, as in the following case:

- [5.15] **amal rofaillsig incoimdiu diaroli fir noem. conePERT. ego sum lucianus seruus christi**  
 amal ro-faillsig in=coimdiu di=aroli fir noem.  
 like PRF-show the=lord.nSG of=other man.dSG holy  
  
 co<sup>n</sup>=ePER-t. ego sum lucianus seruus christi  
 that=say-PRF I be.1SG Lucian slave Christ.gSG  
 'as the lord showed to a certain holy man saying: 'I am Lucian servant of Christ'.'  
 [#38]

The Latin direct speech starting with the Latin *ego sum* marks a shift in discourse from the Irish introduction *amal rofaillsig...*, as it expresses the argument of *conePERT* 'saying'. All of the switches of this type are citations, thus comprising more than half of all interclausal items. By contrast, the second largest interclausal category of main clauses predominantly consists of Irish examples:

- [5.16] **Pater noster .i. aathair. ut supra.**  
 Pater noster .i. a=athair. ut supra  
 Father our that is o.vSG=father as high.COMP  
 'Pater noster, that is, our father, as above.' [#427]

The short Latin clause reading *Pater noster* is neatly translated by the Irish main clause as *a athair*, with a switch directionality from Latin to Irish. The intervening element *.i.* is a diamorph, facilitating the switching. The final category of coordinating clauses is divided nearly equally over the Latin and Irish instances:

- [5.17] **7 nosléced aningen rethe foramus inleomain. 7 uincebat aries leonem**  
 7 no<s>=léced an=ingen rethe for=amus  
 and PST.it=release the=daughter ram.aSG on=attempt  
  
 in=leomain. 7 uinc-ebat aries leon-em  
 the=lion.dSG and triumph-PST ram lion-aSG  
 'and the virgin released a ram against the lion, and the ram defeated the lion.'  
 [#364]

Here the Latin coordinating clause follows an Irish coordinating clause, both headed by a diamorph. Such diamorphs are often used for the connections



between two clauses, blurring the language divide. Unlike the other interclausal categories, though, coordinating clauses do not have strong language preference.

### 5.3.2 Switch scope

The above discussion of clausal subtypes illustrates the fact that there is a big differentiation in switches according to the syntactic unit to which they belong. In other words, the grammatical properties of switches are connected to a large extent to the scope of the switches, as has been described in section 4.3.3. The numbers in table 5.3 provide ample indication of the differences between the switch scopes. Interclausal switches are attested in 58 items or 10% of all intrasentential switches. The bulk of switches are interphrasal with 373 items or 67%. Intraphrasal switches are attested in 126 items or 23% of intrasentential switches. The percentage of Latin switches in interclausal and interphrasal switches is 69% and 76%, but in intraphrasal switches this percentage is just 24%. This fact mostly stems from the large category of Latin-Irish diamorphs reserved to the intraphrasal scope. In addition, the nature of intraphrasal switching could suggest that both languages have a more equal role in the syntactic construction. This general picture has to be substantiated further by a full analysis of switches.

Since scope has been defined in terms of switching between equal constructions, as explained in section 4.2.1.2, interclausal switches must be preceded by clauses and interphrasal switches by phrases. However, some of the interphrasal switches are in actuality preceded by clauses rather than phrases. There are two phenomena that cause this incongruity. Firstly, formulaic verb phrases with the Latin *dicere*, mentioned in example [5.8] above, usually follow clauses. One reason for this choice is that other formulaic items tend to be phrases as well; another reason is that these *dicere*-items are in turn modified by other phrases, as shall be seen in section 5.4.2. Secondly, some sentences start with a single element in one language, only to continue exclusively in another language. These sentences are interpreted as containing an initial inserted switch depending on the clause to which they belong. This is preferable to an analysis where an insertion constitutes the base language of the sentence, since this approach would turn the rest of the sentence into a switch that cannot be put into any grammatical category of scope or class. For insertion as a switch type, see chapter 6; an example of clause-initial insertion is given in the following case:

- [5.18] **Ministrantes** *himmorro* indaaingil tecait dotimtirecht iterdia 7 doinib.  
 Ministrantes *himmorro* inda=aingil tecait  
 Serve.PPA.nPL however the.nPL=angel.nPL come.REL
- do=timtirecht iter=dia 7 doinib  
 to=serve.VN between=god.dSG and man.dPL

'Ministers, then, are the angels who come to the service between god and men.  
[#247]

The isolated Latin phrasal insertion *ministrantes* is connected to the rest of the clause by the use of the diamorph *h-*, which can denote Irish (*h*)*immorro* or [Hiberno-]Latin (*h*)*autem*. At first sight this example might be interpreted as a Latin phrase switching to an Irish clause. However, it is more meaningfully seen as an Irish clause with a switch from an initial Latin phrase, as explained above. These two examples, phrases with *dicere* and sentence-initial insertions, are thus the only instances within the data in which switches involve change of scope.

The above analysis of switch language and scope from table 5.3 has implications for codeswitching theory. Chapter 4 has already mentioned *government*, a crucial concept in observing historical codeswitching through modern theory. This theory on the placing of constituents from two languages within a unified framework has two subcategories, *linearity* and *dependency*. The former requires constituents to adhere to the word order of both Latin and Irish; the latter forbids the switching between constituents that are grammatically intertwined. Looking at the categories from table 5.3 the difference in directionality between interphrasal and intraphrasal items has already been noted. The former mostly switch from Irish to Latin, whereas the latter mostly switch toward diamorphs. This difference in directionality has consequences for *dependency*, as the dominant language in a grammatical construction will provide the framework to decide which switches to the other language are grammatical or not. Given the different languages patterns in various grammatical constructions, the influence of issues of *dependency* on codeswitching do not appear to be unchangeable but are rather related to the grammatical properties of individual scopes. One such violation of *dependency* is seen in *dicere*-items as [5.19] below:

[5.19] inmaith lesaiges innóg ináirge. **ut dixit intara.**  
 in=maith lesaiges in<sup>n</sup>=óg in=áirge. ut dixit int=ara  
 Q=good tend.REL the=virgin the=dairy as say.PRF the=servant  
 'Does the virgin tend the dairy well, as the servant said?' [#178]

The Irish nominative subject *intara* is here dependent upon the formulaic Latin verb phrase *ut dixit*. From a theoretical point of view such a switch conforms to the principle of *linearity*, since its Irish equivalent, *amal asbert*, shares the same syntax. However, the item violates *dependency*, since the Latin verb phrase governs the Irish subject.<sup>252</sup> Such switches will be elaborated on in section 5.4.

<sup>252</sup> Items ##8 19 30 71 76 142 173 176 179 180 182 184 186 190 192 196 198 200 202 204 206 208 212 216 219 222 225 227 231 234 236 238 240 276 381 382 472 496 & 541.

### 5.3.3 Switch class

Turning to the category of grammatical class there is a large degree of overlap between modern and historical codeswitching. The standard classes of nominal, verbal and prepositional items dominate, with an overwhelming amount of nominal items on the intraphrasal level.<sup>253</sup> Function words, items with a more grammatical than semantic use, only rarely constitute switches. Most of these are determiners on the intraphrasal level. This is of course also the scope with the most intricate interweaving of constructions, a procedure that is most likely to contradict the stricter of the CS theories. The constraint on the switching of single prepositions known from other studies is maintained in *LB* (perhaps facilitated by diamorphic prepositions such as *in* and *de*), but verbal switches are more frequent in the present data than in other corpora.<sup>254</sup> At the intraphrasal scope, as stated above, determiners are occasionally included in switches. Both Latin and Irish determiners may precede or follow a nominal head of a phrase, so that the combination of a head in one language with a determiner in another language does not raise a conflict with *linearity*. By contrast, the switching of determiners, as in the case of the Irish article and the Latin noun in [5.13] above, is in violation of *dependency*.<sup>255</sup> Apart from this, the switches usually do not violate the grammar of either language taken alone.

Another way to judge whether the codeswitches in the *Leabhar Breac* conform to established grammatical practices is the list of criteria proposed by Schendl to determine the presence of codeswitching, as discussed in chapter 4.4.1. The first criterion, to wit the adherence to native syntax, is mostly upheld through the linear equivalence of the two languages.<sup>256</sup> The second criterion, a lack of morphological integration is often violated, especially at the intraphrasal level. The third, low frequency and/or restricted distribution, is difficult to determine, and is not always upheld in the category of nomenclature. The final criterion, an abundance of codeswitches in the same context is in any case evident for the *Leabhar Breac* codex. Some of these violations of codeswitching criteria can be explained through a difference between surface realisation and underlying form. Although Latin constitutes the majority of switches on the lexical level, the syntactic structure often remains Irish underneath.<sup>257</sup> The result of this discrepancy is a potential violation of *dependency*, though the *linearity* remains intact. A feature that overcomes this discrepancy between languages is the neutralisation of morphemes that obstruct language overlap, for example

<sup>253</sup> Cf. Bisagni (2013-4: 39); Halmari/Regetz (2011: 129); Muysken (2000: 211-21); Schendl (2011: 165). Wright (2011: 194) has a prepositional diamorph category; perhaps this explains the lack of single preposition switches.

<sup>254</sup> Bisagni (2013-4: 38).

<sup>255</sup> Cf. the determiner switch *Incipit deluxoria inso sís* 'It begins on luxury here below' in #344.

<sup>256</sup> Schendl (forthcoming).

<sup>257</sup> Bisagni (2013-4: 41-6).

through zero-morpheme inflection. In all, the partial applicability of constraints on codeswitching and the existence of alternate features to overcome obstacles between languages make it clear that the notion of *government* is inadequate to describe historical codeswitching data in full detail.

The frequency of switching across word classes in *LB* can be compared to a few comparable codeswitch studies. A select number of historical and modern codeswitching corpora are juxtaposed in table 5.4 below. Comparison of intersentential and interclausal switches is difficult, since not all studies separate the two categories. Compared to the corpus of mediaeval English homilies studied by Halmari and Regetz, *LB* has high percentages of phrases and a low number of clauses; the proportion of word switches is about equal. In terms of phrase types the equivalence between these two corpora is especially remarkable. Both corpora have the same three largest categories with similar percentages, to wit nominal, prepositional and verbal phrases, though *LB* appears to have a preponderance of nouns. The three largest grammatical classes are also shared by another study of Middle English homilies by Schendl, although the percentages and proportions differ much. Schendl also makes mention of data from modern English-German codeswitching studies. Although the percentages for the different scope vary greatly, the same word classes come up as the main categories. In this way *LB* is comparable to codeswitch data of other studies, although the differences in classification with table 5.3 complicate this picture.<sup>258</sup>

Table 5.4: Codeswitch corpora compared

Scope	Class	Leabhar Breac %	Halmari/Regetz %	Schendl Bodley %	English-German %	Average %
sentence/ clause	---	10	20	37	35	25
phrase	NP	36	20	14	3	19
	PP	11	7	10	7	8
	VP	16	15	7	1	10
word	---	23	11	26	38	25
Other	---	5	28	6	15	13
<b>Total</b>	---	<b>101</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>100</b>

#### 5.4 Switch function

The above analysis of intrasentential switches shows that the scope and grammatical class of a switch can influence the language of that switch. Closely

<sup>258</sup> Schendl (2013: 165); cf. Halmari/Regetz (2011: 129).

related to grammatical class is a final category, the syntactic function of switches, which will be correlated with the findings from the previous sections. The division of each analysis in terms of switch scope used in table 5.3 will be maintained. At the level of clauses and words there are only a few functions available, mostly depending on the relationship between the head of the phrase and the periphery of the item in question. By contrast, phrases harbour a diversification of function corresponding to the breadth of phrasal classes such as verbal, nominal or prepositional. As a result this middle category will receive a separate treatment below.

Table 5.5: *Interclausal class, function and language*

Language	Class	CIT	FOR	TRA	Total
ga	CC	---	1	2	3
	MC	---	6	8	14
	SC	---	---	1	1
	<i>Subtotal</i>	---	7	11	18
la	CC	2	2	1	5
	MC	1	---	1	2
	SC	31	2	---	33
	<i>Subtotal</i>	34	4	2	40
	<b>Total</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>58</b>

#### 5.4.1 Interclausal function

For interclausal function three choices are available, as summarised in table 5.5 above. These are citation, formulaic language and translation, the last of which denotes shorter stretches than at the intersentential level. As far as the choice of language is concerned, Irish takes up 31% of all switches and Latin 69%. This is slightly surprising given the dominance of Irish switches at the intersentential level, which shares with interclausal switches its basic functionality. Looking at the individual subcategories, the largest grouping is that of Latin embedded citations, responsible for 31 items, or about 78% of Latin switches. Because of this grouping the citational function forms the largest interclausal category. An example of such a citational switch is the following case:

[5.20] atbert induine fris **.x.[uí.] demones uenerunt nunc**  
 atbert in=duine fris .x.ui. demones uenerunt nunc  
 say.PRF the=man to.him 16 demon.nPL come.PRF now  
 "The man said to him: 'Sixteen demons have now come.'" [#149]

That citations are almost always embedded clauses results from their dependence on preceding clauses that introduce the citation through a verb like the Latin verb *dicere* or, as here, the Irish verb *as-beir* 'to say', with the citation conveying what is said, as though functioning as a direct object to the verb. The switch to the embedded citation is triggered neatly by the numeral *diamorph sedecim* [sé déec] here retained as an abbreviation. As a result the Latin citation is kept in Latin, though the introduction is in Irish. This language pattern is attested frequently in homiletic texts, especially those with narrative passages.

Formulaic and translation functions are about equally attested with eleven and thirteen hits respectively. Most of these switches are found in main clauses in Irish. In this respect these two functions differ from the citations, which occurs mostly in Latin subclauses. Even within the interclausal scope, the directionality of switches is thus not uniform. This incongruency necessitates a more elaborate classification than the idea of a universal and unequivocal *Matrix Language* provides. Examples of formulas and translations are given in [5.21] and [5.22]:

[5.21] **Mitet pater.** banna annsin. **Indulget filius.** banna aile andsin.  
 Mitet pater. banna ann=sin. Indulget filius. banna aile and=sin  
 Send.FUT father drop in=that Concede son drop other in=that  
 "The father will dismiss." A drop in that. 'The son concedes.' Another drop in that.' [#447, 449]

[5.22] Dontsamain beos. **Feria omnium sanctorum.**  
 Do-nt=samain beos. Feria omnium sanctorum.  
 To-the-hallow again. Feast all.gPL saint.gPL  
 'On All Hallows again. The festival of All Saints' [#357]

In [5.21] the alternating use of Latin and Irish is due to differing functions. The Latin citations are to be said aloud, while the Irish formulae are instructions for conventional ceremonial actions to be performed by a cleric. The Latin functions as direct speech, even though the introductory *dicere*-element is not rendered. In example [5.22] the relationship between the languages is that of translation. Unlike citational switches, however, the directionality of interclausal translation is mostly Latin to Irish. This may have to do with the fact that such citations are often part of the originally Latin liturgy. The bidirectionality of interclausal switching is further substantiated by coordinating clauses. Whereas almost all main clauses are rendered in Irish, coordinating clauses can be in Latin or Irish in fairly equal measure. For the rest coordinating clauses do not differ greatly from main clauses, which can also occur in all functions. One case containing coordinating clauses in a variety of languages and functions is a following item:

- [5.23] 7 ised roraid riaangliu. **Martinus adhuc catacuminus hac mé contextit**  
 [.i. martain exarcistid is he dorat damsa indiu innetachsa]  
 7 is=ed roraid ria=angliu. Martinus adhuc  
 and is=that say.PRF against.his=angel.aPL Martin hitherto  
  
 catacuminus hac mé contextit .i. martain exarcistid  
 exorcist this.abSG me cover.PRF that is Martin exorcist  
  
 is he dorat dam=sa indiu in<sup>n</sup>=etach=sa  
 be.COP he give.REL to.me=EMP today the.aSG=covering=this

'And this is what he said to his angels: 'Martin the exorcist yet covered me with this,' that is, 'Martin the exorcist is the one who gave to me today this garment.'

[#136]

This sentence starts with an Irish coordinating clause containing Irish *roraid* 'to say', the equivalent of a Latin *dicere*-formula. This verb governs an embedded citation in Latin, conforming to the language of the original locution as in example [5.20] from the same text. This citation is then translated into Irish by means of another coordinating clause commencing with the diamorph item *.i.* (*id est* or *ed ón*). This example displays the diverse functions of the interclausal scope in both Latin and Irish instances. Both the choice of language and the discursive or narrative function vary between each of the three subcategories. Embedded citations are mostly Latin, while formulae and translations occur primarily in Irish main clauses. Technically speaking, the first subcategory switches between an Irish verb and its Latin argument. However, *dependency* is more difficult to apply to the interclausal scope, where syntactic connections are not as strong as at the intraclausal level. In addition, the interclausal data show that there is not a universal directionality of switching, and thus no universal *Matrix Language* for these items. At this scope the historical codeswitching in the *Leabhar Breac* shows more variation than modern codeswitching models allow.

#### 5.4.2 Interphrasal function

Codeswitching at the interphrasal level is the most complex scope with the largest number of subcategories. For this reason the interphrasal data have been split into two tables, tables 5.6 and 5.7. Table 5.6 below compares the phrase type of the switch with that of the preceding phrase. The admissible phrase types of the switch and the preceding item are important because they shed light on the feasibility of modern theories with respect to historical text data. The figures in table 5.6 concern constraints on codeswitches at syntactical boundaries from theories such as *dependency* and *selection*, as has been explained in section 4.2.1.2. Apart from the six phrasal subcategories the categories preceding the switch include clausal items. As has been explained in section

5.3.2, both initial insertions and *dicere*-phrases can be preceded by clauses, but such phrasal switches are still included as a category among other phrasal items. In the table these are labelled 'XC', as they constitute of multiple clause types, though the switches to noun phrases, 26 in number, are all main clauses.

Table 5.6: *Interphrasal class and language*

Language	Class	→ AP	→ BP	→ DP	→ NP	→ PP	→ VP	Total
la → ga	BP →	---	---	---	4	---	---	4
	NP →	---	1	---	15	5	2	23
	PP →	---	---	1	3	---	1	5
	VP →	1	---	---	44	11	---	56
	<i>Subtotal</i>	1	1	1	66	16	3	88
ga → la	BP →	---	---	---	2	2	---	4
	NP →	---	6	---	45	8	13	72
	PP →	---	4	---	28	9	7	48
	VP →	---	11	---	33	25	---	69
	XC →	---	---	---	26	---	66	92
	<i>Subtotal</i>	---	21	---	134	44	86	285
	<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>373</b>

#### 5.4.2.1 Interphrasal switch subcategories

Another observation arising from table 5.6 is the dominance of Latin over Irish in all major interphrasal switch classes, with the two languages comprising 76% and 24% of all instances respectively. The dominance of nominal switches is also significant with 200 hits or 54% of all interphrasal items. Exactly two-thirds of the switched noun phrases are in Latin. The following example is illustrative:

- [5.24] Tairmiscther andsin inluichesi dognítis. **homnes pueri romanorum**  
 isinsamain cechabliadna  
 Tairmiscther and=sin in=cluiche=si dognítis. homnes  
 Prohibit.PAS there=that the=game=this do.IMPF all.nPL
- pueri romanorum i=sin=samain cecha=bliadna  
 youth.nPL Roman.gPL in=the=hallow each.gSG=year.gSG  
 'This game was prohibited there [which] all Roman youths did at  
 Hallow's Eve every year.' [#368]



The Latin noun phrase *homnes pueri romanorum* is here preceded by an Irish verb phrase *dognítis*, to which it acts as a subject. Interestingly, the scribe wrote a high point between the two phrases, as if showing his hesitation in their combination. Looking at table 5.6 verb phrases are indeed the most frequent class preceding the switch with 125 hits. As switches themselves verb phrases are the second largest categories after noun phrases, amounting to 24% of all instances. Almost all of these verb phrase switches are in Latin; this is likely related to the fact that Irish is a verb-first language, so that switches to Irish verbs are disfavoured. The verb phrase switches are usually preceded by clauses, as in the following case:

- [5.25] amal foródamair oiúdaidib amirsechaib arires crist. **dicens Septhanus hautem plenus gratia**  
 amal foródamair o=iúdaidib amiserchaib. ar=ires críst  
 like suffer.PRF from=Jew.dPL unbelieving.dPL for=faith Christ  
  
 dicens Septhanus hautem plenus gratia  
 say.PPA Stephen however full grace.abSG  
 'as he suffered from the unbelieving Jews for the faith of Christ, saying:  
 'Stephen then full of grace' [#37]

The Latin verb phrase which starts with *dicens* depends on the whole preceding Irish clause rather than the prepositional phrase *arires crist*. Such interphrasal verbal switches are always in Latin when they are preceded by clauses. In speaking, however, such *dicere*-phrases might also be rendered by their Irish equivalent *conapert*. This formulaic introduction of direct speech therefore blurs the language boundaries. This blurring also holds for the nominal switches inserted at the start of the sentence, as illustrated by *Ministrantes* in example [5.18]. Another type of verbal switch is preceded by a noun phrase, like in [5.26]:

- [5.26] Cedain inbraith **incipit**  
 Cedain in=braith incipit  
 Wednesday the.gSG=betrayal begin  
 'Spy Wednesday begins' [#90]

This is a typical example of the way in which a text, in this case on Spy Wednesday, is introduced, using an Irish noun phrase followed by a Latin verb phrase. Noun phrases are the biggest category to precede interphrasal switches, with 98 instances. They are often found in front of nominal switches, as in [5.27]:

- [5.27] 7 ise ainm intíresin. **uilla gamaliélis**  
 7 is=e ainm in=tíre=sin. uilla gamaliélis  
 and be.COP=he name the=land=that village Gamaliel.gSG  
 'and the name of that land is the village of Gamaliel.' [#52]

The Latin switch *uilla gamaliélis* is a clarification of the preceding Irish noun phrase *ainm intíresin*. As seen above in section 5.3, proper names are very common constructions as switches on both the inter- and the intraphrasal level.

After nominal and verbal items, prepositional phrases are the third largest class both as switches and preceding them. The directionality of switching is usually Latin to Irish. Most items either switch from verbal to prepositional phrases or from prepositional to nominal phrases, as illustrated by the following examples:

- [5.28] amal aderair **inapocolipsi**. 7 amal atbeir solam **ineclestiastico**  
isinnomad capdel déc  
amal aderair in=apocolipsi. 7 amal atbeir  
like say.PAS in=Apocalypse.abSG and like say.3SG
- solam in=ecelestiastico i=sin=nomad capdel déc  
Solomon in=Ecclesiasticus.abSG in=the=ninth chapter ten.  
'As is said in Revelations, and as Solomon says in Ecclesiasticus in the  
nineteenth chapter.' [#387, 388]

- [5.29] induine dianadsloind icnafelsamaib **minor mundus .i.** domun becc  
in=duine di-a<sup>n</sup>=ad=sloind ic=na=felsamaib  
the=man of-whom=be.COP=name.PAS at=the=philosopher.dPL
- minor mundus .i. domun becc  
small.COMP world that is world small  
'the man who is designated by the philosophers *minor mundus*, that is  
'small world" [#87]

In the first example two Latin prepositional phrases containing names are introduced by the diamorph *in* 'in', preceded by an Irish verb phrase *aderair* and an Irish verb phrase and noun phrase *atbeir solam* respectively. In the second example the Irish prepositional phrase *icnafelsamaib* indicates the agent responsible for the Latin appellation *minor mundus*. This is a smaller kind of the citation of nomenclature than the instances at interclausal levels, such as [5.23].

Switched noun phrases are the only class that can be preceded by every phrase type in table 5.6. The smaller categories of adverbial and adjectival phrases are only found in front of nominal switches, as is the case in the following example:

- [5.30] **Antiochus Epifanes uero .i.** aroli immper do[grécaib] rofollamnaigestar  
oen bliadain dec

Antiochus	Epifanes	uero	.i.	aroli	imemper
Antiochus	Epiphanes	but	that is	another	emperor
do=grécaib	rofollamnaigestar	oen	bliadain	dec	
to=greek.dPL	govern.PRF	one	year	ten	
'Antiochus Epiphanes then, a certain emperor of [the Greeks], governed eleven years.' [#340]					

The Latinate adverb *uero* here forms the transition between the Latinate name of the emperor and its Irish explanation, aided by the diamorph *.i.* and by the fact that *uero* can be rendered by Irish *didiu* in speaking. These minor categories can be switches by themselves, in which case they are mostly preceded by verb phrases. In particular Latin adverb phrases are frequently found after Irish verb phrases as with *Otconnairc vero bonifatius sin* in [5.11]. Like in [5.30] the adverb *vero* builds a bridge between a verb phrase in Irish *Otconnairc* and a Latin name *Bonifatius*. On the whole, however, these categories are infrequently attested.

Table 5.7: Interphrasal class, function and language

Class	Language	ADJ	APP	COM	FOR	OBJ	PRE	SUB	Subtotal	Total
AP	ga	---	---	---	---	---	1	---	1	1
	la	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
BP	ga	---	---	---	1	---	---	---	1	22
	la	3	---	---	18	---	---	---	21	
DP	ga	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	1	1
	la	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	
NP	ga	---	14	---	2	4	1	45	66	200
	la	---	59	---	9	7	12	47	134	
PP	ga	3	---	1	---	12	---	---	16	60
	la	12	---	---	32	---	---	---	44	
VP	ga	---	1	---	1	---	1	---	3	89
	la	---	2	---	83	---	1	---	86	
<b>Total</b>		<b>19</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>146</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>373</b>	<b>373</b>

#### 5.4.2.2 Interphrasal class, function and language

The results of the interplay of interphrasal class, function and language discussed in the previous section are given in table 5.7 above. As many of the

examples above have shown, formulae constitute the most frequent function in interphrasal items. This category is especially prevalent in verb phrases, of which 84 instances (94% of total) are formulae. Almost all formulaic phrases are rendered in Latin, not only verb phrases but also the other interphrasal classes. Apparently formulae have a strong predilection for the Latin language. Examples of formulaic verb phrases have been provided in [5.25] and [5.26], to wit *dicens* and *incipit*. After verbs the largest formulaic class is prepositional phrases, as noted in [5.28] with *inapocolipsi*, followed by adverbial phrases, as in [5.30] with *uero*. In these three word classes formulaic function is the largest category and it is attested in the highest number of different classes. Interestingly, noun phrases are not as common with formulaic function. This may be explained by the fact that nominal items are usually used for their semantic content, and therefore do not fit a profile of standardised phrases well.

The two functions that noun phrases frequently fulfil are the second and third largest subcategories, subject and appositive function. The former function occurs only in noun phrases and almost exactly as often in Irish as in Latin. Examples of subjectival phrases in both languages are rendered in the following:

- [5.31] Uair isdoccomal lesinanmain. dreimm na .uíí. nime. **ut dixit** a[g]ustin.  
**dicens. Uniquique**  
 Uair is=doccomal le=sin=anmain. dreimm na  
 Because be.COP=difficulty with=the=soul.aSG climb.VN the.gPL  
 uíí. nime. ut dixit agustin. dicens. Uniquique  
 7 heaven.gPL as say.PRF Augustine say.PPA Everyone  
 'For the climbing of the seven heavens is difficult to the soul, as Augustine related saying: 'Everyone....' [#472]

- [5.32] Arailefer **tetradius** aainm notechtad mogaid lándodemnaib. ised roraid  
**tetradius** friamártain  
 Araile=fer tetradius a=ainm notechtad mogaid  
 Another=man Tetradius his=name have.IMPF servant  
 lán=do=demn-aib. is=ed roraid tetradius fria=mártain  
 full=to=demon-dPL be.COP=it speak.PRF Tetradius against=Martin  
 'A certain man, Tetradius his name, had a slave full of demons. Tetradius spoke to Martin thus.' [#146, 147]

Both subjects, *agustin* and the second *tetradius*, occur in comparable contexts, after a verb of speaking and before a direct quotation. This subject function is

expressed 51% in Latin and 49% in Irish. In one rare instance, a Latin name appears to have been employed as a subject of an Irish passive verb, as follows:

- [5.33] 7 ata figuir aige seo isinlebar renabar **leuiticumm**.  
 7 ata figuir aige seo i=sin=lebar re<sup>n</sup>abar leuiticumm  
 and is.SBST figure at.it this in=the=book say.PAS Leviticus  
 'And there is an image of this in the book called *Leviticus*.' [#385]

The apparent accusative case on the subject *leuiticumm* after the Irish verb *re<sup>n</sup>abar* is unexpected, if not unusual; the regular case is nominative.<sup>259</sup> A contrastive instance is a Latin verb governing an Irish subject with apparent accusative case:

- [5.34] **dixit** dubthach níanand ocreicc mindmais 7 ica<sup>t</sup>abairt dobochtaib. **dixit**  
 inrig toet inog isindún  
 dixit dubthach ní=anand oc=reicc m=indmais 7 ica<sup>t</sup>abairt  
 say.PRF Dubthach not=cease at=sell.VN my=goods.gSG and at.its=sell  
  
 do=bochtaib. dixit in=rig toet in=og i=sin=dún  
 to=poor.dPL say.PRF the=king.aSG come.IMPV the=virgin in=the=fort  
 'Dubthach said: 'She does not desist from selling my wealth and giving it  
 to the poor.' The king said: 'Let the virgin come to the fort.'" [#188]

The first *dixit* is followed by a subject. The second time *dixit* occurs with the phrase *inrig* in the accusative rather than the nominative (= *in rí*). Regardless of this confusion it is clear that the phrase must still be interpreted here as subject.<sup>260</sup>

The appositive function seen in the first occurrence of *detradius* in example 5.32 denotes a phrase that is placed next to a preceding phrase in order to provide additional information. This function, discussed in section 4.3.3, almost always occurs with nominal items, often introduced by the diamorph *.i.*, as [5.35] below:

- [5.35] darsruth iordanén isand ronimdib ihesu isin<sup>f</sup>erund dianadainm galgala  
.i. reuelatio .i. follus  
 dar=sruth iordanén is=and ronimdib ihesu i=sin=<sup>f</sup>erund  
 over=river Jordan be.COP=there circumcise.REL Jesus in=the=land

<sup>259</sup> Cf. Breatnach (1994: 240) on the 'Middle Irish innovation' of the use of the accusative with passives, with examples from the *Saltair na Rann*. I am indebted to Dr Ó Flaithearta for furnishing me with this valuable reference.

<sup>260</sup> Cf. Breatnach (1994: 249) on the confusion between nom.sg. and acc.sg. in the velar stem of *rí* 'king' within a Harleian manuscript. I am indebted to Dr Ó Flaithearta for providing me with the above source.

di-a<sup>n</sup>=ad=ainm galgala .i. reuelatio .i. follus  
 of-whom=be.COP=name Galgala that is Revelation that is bright  
 'across the river Jordan, it is there that he circumcised Jesus in an area  
 named Galgala, i.e. revelation' [#128, 129]

The region called in its Latinate form *Galgala* is here explained through two alternatives. The first is clearly Latin; the second is ostensibly Irish *follus* 'bright', 'manifest' rather than Latin *follis* 'crazy'. Eighty percent of such appositions are rendered in Latin, indicating a strong language preference for this function.

Apart from subjects and appositions most other functions can also be fulfilled by the nominal class. Among such functions the minor groupings of objects, adjuncts and predicates are all about as often attested; all of these are dependent upon nominal items. For predicate and object function noun phrases are the largest category, with a majority of instances in Latin. An example of a predicative noun phrase is the following:

[5.36] Raphiel didiu dianad etarcert anma. **medicina dei .i. leges dé**  
 Raphiel didiu di-a<sup>n</sup>=ad etarcert anma  
 Raphael then of-whom=be.COP interpretation name.gSG  
  
 medicina dei .i. leges dé  
 medicine god.gSG that is healing god  
 'Raphael, then, of whom the interpretation of his name [is] *medicina dei*,  
 that is, medicine of god' [#267]

The Latin translation of the biblical name *Raphael* is the nominal predicate to the preceding Irish subject *etarcert anma*. Because such predicates tend to be proper names derived from the Latin tradition, codeswitches are especially frequent in Irish sentences containing appositive constructions. Note that in the above example the Latin switch is followed by two diamorphs, the emblem *.i.* as well as the lexical diamorph *leges*, which can also function in both languages.

Objectival function is mostly restricted to indirect objects; direct objects seldom seem to switch. Apart from a number of diamorphic objects, some of which include the Latin and Irish prayer *pater* '*Pater noster*, the lord's prayer', there are but few convincing cases. One possible example is the following instance:

[5.37] 7 roiarfaid decid ararsámaid alamu amalsiut. **ut dixit patricius in**rannsa  
 7 roiarfaid de=cid ararsámaid a=lamu  
 and inquire.PRF of.him=why place.PRF his=hand.aPL

amal=siut. ut dixit patricius in=rann=sa  
 like=yonder as say.PRF Patrick the=verse=this  
 'and he inquired of him why he had placed his hands like that, as  
 Patrick said this stave' [#26]<sup>261</sup>

The switched *dixit*-clause is followed by the Latin name of Patrick and a phrase starting with the diamorph *in*. Its identification as the Irish article at the head of the object phrase would be unusual in this context, as *dicere*-construction usually contain an indirect object (Latin *ei* or Irish *fris*) followed by the citation that explains what is said. However, to analyse *in* as a Latin preposition at the head of an Irish prepositional phrase is even less likely. For an undoubted direct object switch, *dorogart nomen meum* 'he asked my name', see example [6.4].

For indirect objects the directionality of switching is variable. For nominal objects Latin outnumbers Irish in switches at a two-to-one ratio. An example of a noun phrase with objectival function is the following instance, where object function is not expressed nominally but by an idiomatic Irish construction:

[5.38] Iarsin tra frecrais incorp donanmain. 7 **dixit** fria. **O anima dura.**  
 Iar=sin tra frecrais in=corp do-n=anmain.  
 After=that then answer.PST the-body to-the.dSG=soul.dSG  
  
 7 dixit fria. O anima dura  
 and say.PRF against.it O soul hard  
 'After that then the body answered to the soul and said to it: 'O harsh soul.'  
 [#498]

Here the Latin verb *dixit* governs the Irish inflected preposition *fria* as its indirect object, only to be followed by another switch to Latin direct speech. Apparently the difference in complementation between Latin *dicere* plus dative pronoun and Irish *as-beir* plus inflected preposition did not inhibit a codeswitch at this place. Such prepositional objects are found slightly more often than nominal objects, and always appear in Irish. It appears that the formulaic function of *dicere*-phrases does not admit of inflected Latin objects, perhaps because these are not easily equated to the Irish construction, and thus do not follow the *linearity* rules.

As to the adjunct function, prepositional phrases in both languages outnumber nominal elements, with adverbial and determiner items being minor categories. One example of a Latin prepositional adjunct is as follows:

<sup>261</sup> Cf. Stokes (1877: 98-9), who also takes the phrase to be an object.

- [5.39] Aanimm himmorro taitnid isincatraig nemdai **inter ceteros fideles dei inter sidera**  
 A=animm himmorro taitnid i=sin=catraig nemdai  
 His=soul however shine.3SG in=the=city.dSG heavenly.dSG
- inter ceteros fideles dei inter sidera  
 among remaining.aPL faithful.aPL god.gSG among star.aPL  
 'His soul, though, shines in the heavenly city among other followers of  
 god among the stars.' [#160]

Contrary to example [5.38] the prepositional phrase in [5.39] is peripheral to the syntactic structure. It is also less restricted in semantic content than the objectival prepositional phrase, so that it cannot be claimed to be a formulaic function. Note that the predominantly Irish sentence does not start with the usual verb. Constructions with omitted copula verbs or *nominativi pendentes* are not uncommon, though. After formulaic phrases, adjunctive and predicative functions are attested in the greatest number of different grammatical classes.

Together with the phrase categories of adjectives and determiners, complement function is virtually absent from interphrasal items. This function is encountered much more frequently in nominal items at the intraphrasal scope. The only two cases of interphrasal complements are the following:

- [5.40] **Incipit** donaithrige inso.  
 Incipit do-n=aithrige in=so  
 Begin.3SG to-the.dSG=penance the=this  
 'On the penance begins here.' [#302]
- [5.41] Donalmsain **incipit**  
 Do-n=almsain incipit  
 To-the.dSG=alms.dSG begin.3SG  
 'On the alms begins' [#243]

Although the prepositional phrase is not a necessary argument of *incipit*-phrases, it functions here in place of the usual nominal subject, and can for that reason be called an equivalent to a complement, as it is prompted by the verb phrase. Alternately, *incipit* could have been interpreted in an Irish context as a noun, 'the beginning', though such usage is much less common than its usual occurrence with a nominal subject, in which case the Latin *incipit* cannot be called nominal. The phrase perhaps functions as the Irish equivalent of a Latin title with *de* 'about', such as *De attritione* 'On penance' [5.40] or *De eleemosyna* 'On alms' [5.41].



#### 5.4.2.3 Interphrasal switches and grammatical theory

Analysing the relationship between interphrasal switches and the phrases preceding them, the first observation concerns the direction of switching. Interphrasal switches favour Latin over Irish at the ratio of three to one overall. This directionality is prevalent for every individual phrase type. Nominal, verbal and prepositional phrases are the largest categories within the *Leabhar Breac*, as they are in modern codeswitching. These categories do not all behave in the exact same manner, however. Nominal and prepositional switches employ Latin around twice as often as Irish. Verbal switches are almost exclusively in Latin, however, as are all adverbial phrases. Exclusively Latin are also those noun and verb phrases which are preceded by clauses rather than phrases. As to the phrase type before the switch, verbal phrases are attested more frequently than noun phrases. Prepositional phrases are about as common before and after the switch point, while all other categories are sparingly attested. In addition, there appear to be a number of fixed phrasal sequences that occur frequently, such as a Latin verb phrase with an Irish nominal switch or an Irish prepositional phrase with a Latin nominal switch. It seems that the probability of the occurrence of a codeswitch is indeed dependent on its grammatical relationship with the item preceding it. This observation should therefore be connected to the rules and constraints of codeswitching theory.

The hypothesis that there are strong syntactic connections across language boundaries has consequences for the applicability of modern CS theory to historical codeswitching. This issue is particularly true for the notion of *dependency*, which states that switching is discouraged between two elements in grammatically connected positions. In the data under investigation this principle is circumvented with remarkable ease. Especially verbs and their arguments frequently transcend language boundaries, as in examples [5.24] and [5.26]. In syntactic contexts in which there are fewer constraints on CS, such as prepositional and adverb phrases, this criterion of dependency is more often upheld. The second aspect of government theory, *linearity*, asserts that codeswitching is facilitated by equivalence in word order between languages. This feature is found more often in the historical data, as with the use of *dicere*-phrases in [5.25] and of citational nominal phrases such as [5.27] and [5.29].

By contrast, *linearity* is more problematic to uphold in the light of Irish verb-initial preferences. Thus, the examples of [5.26], [5.30] and [5.39] are readily acceptable to Latin but disfavoured according to Irish word order. A possible solution is to see such sentences as containing a suppressed Irish copula *is* 'is', which triggers a cleft sentence acceptable to both Latin and Irish systems.<sup>262</sup>

<sup>262</sup> The omission of copulae as a contact strategy has already been noted for modern codeswitching by Ferguson (1971). Copula omission may play a part in CS for ## 1 2 24 28

Alternatively, it could be claimed that the presence of codeswitching blurs the boundaries between the two languages to such an extent that the resulting sentence does not belong solely to the syntax of either of the two languages. In either analysis the intrinsic tendency of interphrasal switches to be grammatically connected to preceding elements causes many violations of *government* theory. The hierarchy of the word classes in themselves, however, is perfectly in line with modern instances of codeswitching, seen above in table 5.4.

The foregoing discussion of interphrasal function has provided further indication of the applicability of modern codeswitching theory on the data in the *Leabhar Breac*. Restrictions on the hierarchy between languages, however, is not systematically upheld in the sources presently studied. Even within interphrasal items switching occurs in both directions. Most functions such as formulaic and appositive have a preference for Latin switches. Subject function is divided evenly between Latin and Irish, though, while object function is more frequent in Irish items. In the case of objectival function another parameter of codeswitching is also violated, to wit *linearity*. The use of a Latin *dicere*-phrase with an Irish prepositional pronoun as in example [5.36] is not equivalent to the Latin complementation pattern with simple pronoun *ei*. This example involving Latin *dicere* with Irish *fri* has been modeled on the Irish version *as-beir fri* 'to say to'.<sup>263</sup> That an Irish syntactic structure may be behind Latin *dicere*-phrases is suggested by another item with an Irish formulaic item introducing a citation:

- [5.42] dorinfid nabriathrasa triasinrig fáith .i. dauid mac iesé conapert.  
**Magnus dominus noster...**  
 dorinfid na=briathra=sa tria=sin=rig fáith .i.  
 inspire.PRF the.aPL=word.aPL=this through=the=king prophet that is
- dauid mac iesé co<sup>n</sup>=apert. Magnus dominus noster  
 David son Jesse when=say.PRF Great lord our  
 'he inspired these words through the king-prophet David son of Jesse  
 when he said: 'Our great lord.' [#504]

32 57 61 85 110 117 121 123 125 135 160 162 243 245 247 248 250 253 255 256 257 258 259 262  
 266 269 278 302 309 312 326 337 340 345 346 352 402 455 501 552 553 554 & 555 in Appendix  
 A. Cf. also Halmari/Regetz (2011: 134): "These types of switches [of subject and object  
 complements] are not problematic for our framework because they involved copular (or,  
 linkings) verbs, which are, contrary to transitive verbs, not case-assigners. This  
 phenomenon is explained in the Government and Binding framework (Chomsky 1986) as  
 follows: the determiner phrase in the subject complement position gets the case from the  
 subject determiner phrase under checking and not under government by the verb." Though  
 they thus include subjects of transitive verbs in the notion of *government*, the contentions of  
 Deuchar et.al (2007) and Lipski (2014) restrict the idea of *selection* to objects or complements.

<sup>263</sup> Items ## 11 17 21 23 210 475 479 486 493 498 & 507.

The phrase *conapert* is the exact equivalent in function and meaning of the usual Latin *dicens*-phrase. As such it can be seen as the actualisation of a diamorph when rendered in one language. The difference between the realisation of objects of Latin *dicere* and its Irish equivalent *as-beir*, though, undermines the applicability of the example to the idea of *dependency*. Contrary to theory, the arguments of this Latin phrase can be rendered in another language. This not only holds for subjects like *agustin* in [5.31] but also objects like *fria* in [5.36]. Such a language interchange runs contrary to the *dependency* between verbs and selected arguments.

The variety in complementation patterns is also apparent from the various connections that can be made between grammatical class and syntactic function. Some functions are associated with one class in particular, such as appositions with noun phrases like *galgala .i. reuelatio .i. follus* in [5.35]. By contrast, most functions are divided between many word classes. More peripheral functions like adjuncts, appositions or formulae are especially bound by the codeswitching guidelines of *linearity* and *dependency*. More essential syntactic functions such as subjects, objects and predicates frequently violate *dependency* and, to a lesser extent, *linearity*.<sup>264</sup> For these frequent functions, moreover, the Latin-to-Irish directionality of switching diverges from the dominance of Irish-to-Latin switches in the whole corpus. From the above analysis of interphrasal switches it is clear that the combination of the four grammatical criteria of language, scope, class and function illuminates not only the methods of switching but also the reasons behind some subcategories of switching, through the identification of discursive and syntactical contexts that are especially susceptible to switching. That such switches only follow the regulations of modern codeswitching theory to a moderate degree highlights the variety inherent in the use of historical data.

#### 5.4.3 Intraphrasal function

The final scope at which to test *government* theory is the intraphrasal level, summarised in table 5.8 below. Nominal items, already prevalent at the interphrasal scope, are almost omnipresent at the intraphrasal level.<sup>265</sup> All data include nominal elements; the four switches that are not themselves nominal modify a nominal item. The vast majority of intraphrasal switches are employed as a complement (COM) to the head of the phrase in which they are found. Because this is the scope at which it is common to use diamorphs, there is a possibility for a Latin-Irish analysis of items in addition to Latin and Irish.

<sup>264</sup> Cf. Halmari/Regetz (2011: 126).

<sup>265</sup> Cf. Bisagni (2013-4: 39); Halmari/Regetz (2011: 129); Muysken (2000: 211-21); Schendl (2011: 165). Wright (2011: 194) has a prepositional diamorph category; perhaps this alleviates the need for single preposition switches.

Table 5.8: *Intraphrasal class, function and language*

Language	A		D		N		Total
	+ COM	- COM	+ COM	- COM	+ COM	- COM	
la → ga	---	---	---	---	5	---	5
la → ga-la	---	---	---	---	3	4	7
ga → la	---	---	---	---	21	---	21
ga → ga-la	---	---	---	---	70	5	75
ga-la → la	---	---	---	---	6	3	9
ga-la → ga	2	1	1	---	5	---	9
<i>Subtotal</i>	2	1	1	---	110	12	126
<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>		<b>1</b>		<b>122</b>		<b>126</b>

The most frequent construction is a switch from an Irish head to a diamorphic complement. This type is employed in 56% of cases, by far the largest grouping. An example of a diamorphic complement is the following:

- [5.43] 7 dochuaid coheláir *episcop pictauæ* combúí ré fota acca  
 7 dochuaid co=heláir episcop pictauæ co<sup>m</sup>=búi ré fota acca  
 And come.PST to=Hilary bishop Poitiers that=be.PST space long at.him  
 'And he came to Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, who was a long time with him.'  
 [#140]

The transition from the Irish personal name *heláir* to the Latin placename *pictauæ* is made through the intercession of the diamorphic *eps~*, to be read as Irish *episcop* or Latin *episcopus*. Whereas at higher-level scopes diamorphs are largely peripheral to the syntactic structure, for example the use of the emblem *.i.*, at intraphrasal levels they are a large part of the grammar of codeswitching. Diamorphs are involved in 79% of these intraphrasal switches, 65% as switches and the rest as triggering items before a switch. A minority of instances switches directly from Irish to Latin, and even fewer items switch the other way around. Almost all of such items are complements, as in the following case:

- [5.44] imalle re chommilethaib doralá bocht nocht do icdiucaire indorus  
 nacatrach **ambianensium**  
 imalle re chommilethaib doralá bocht  
 together with fellow soldier.aPL put.PRF poor

nocht do ic=diucaire i<sup>n</sup>=dorus na=catrach ambianensium  
 naked to.him at=cry.VN in=door the.gSG=city Amiens.gPL  
 'along with fellow soldiers he invited the naked poor to entreat at the  
 gate of the city Amiens' [#135]

In the above example the Irish phrase *indorus nacatrach* is finished by the Latin name *ambianensium*. Here there is a direct language transition without diamorph. The Latin inflection *-ium* on the switch bars a reading as a diamorph.

Apart from the fact that most intraphrasal items contain diamorphs, most such switches function as the complement to the head of the phrase. In the above example the switch *ambianensium* 'of Amiens' is dependent upon the headword *catrach* 'city'. Only 11 hits do not fit the complement function, like the following:

[5.45] tresansalm nerdraic(c) [i.i.] **Miserere mei deus.** Ezecias faith himmorro  
 tuctha dó .xu. bliadna  
 tre=san=salm nerdraicc .i. Miserere mei deus.  
 through-the-psalm famous that is Forgive.IMPV me.gSG god.vSG

Ezecias faith himmorro tuctha dó .xu. bliadna  
 Ezechias prophet however give.PAS from.it 15 year.aPL  
 'through the famous psalm *Miserere mei deus*, the prophet Ezechias then  
 was given thither fifteen years.' [#312]

The phrase after the Latin psalm *Miserere mei deus* continues with the Latinate name *Ezecias*. The remainder of the phrase, and indeed the clause, is entirely Irish. It is therefore appropriate to see the use of *Ezecias* as an initial Latin insertion into an otherwise Irish context triggered by the preceding Latin psalm. Since it is followed by an Irish modifier *faith* 'prophet' in the same phrase, the Latin name *Ezecias* functions as an intraphrasal switch that is not a complement.

Remaining instances of intraphrasal switching belong to the minor classes of adjectives and determiners, most of these used with complement function. Examples for both types are found in example [5.13], where the phrase *inbonifatius cetna* has a diamorphic determiner *in*, a Latinate name *Bonifatius* and an Irish adjective *cetna* 'same'. The headword *Bonifatius* is thus both pre- and postmodified by the minor grammatical classes of determiner and adjective. Though all intraphrasal switches take place within noun phrases, occasionally it is the determiner or adjective rather than the noun that is switched. Remarkable nonetheless is the ubiquity of nomenclature in intraphrasal switching. Such items automatically operate in between both languages, since they can be employed in uni- and bilingual circumstances alike. The value of Latinate

names in codeswitching depends on various factors, including whether or not a native version of a name is available and whether or not the name shows native inflections.<sup>266</sup> Depending on the answers to these questions, names may or may not be considered diamorphs. Nomenclature as a subcategory of switching will be discussed in considerable detail at the end of this section and in section 6.2.<sup>267</sup>

The presence of pre- and postmodification at the intraphrasal level is facilitated by the similar linear structure of Latin and Irish. None of the examples cited in this section on intraphrasal items violate *linearity* constraints, though in the phrase *inbonifatius cetna* from example [5.13] there is no Latin equivalent for the Irish article, a grammatical category lacking in Latin. At the intraphrasal scope both languages contribute to the syntactic frame, with a limited number of adjectives and determiners modifying the structure of noun phrases. By contrast, the criterion of *dependency* is more often violated. The large majority of instances of CS at the intraphrasal level function as complements, which should in theory follow the language choice of their heads, on which they are dependent. In addition, switching of function words such as determiners is disfavoured in theory. The violation of this constraint is an indication of the intricate bond of the languages in intraphrasal constructions. Many of these items involve proper names, most of them as switched complements, while others appear at the start of the phrase that triggers switching. The items that are not complements mostly function as appositions peripheral to the phrasal structure. In terms of directionality, a strong preference for switching from Irish to Latin or Latin-Irish is found, coupled with a prominent presence of diamorphs. A large majority of intraphrasal nouns have a switch directionality of Irish to diamorph, though the minor grammatical classes of adjectives and determiners have the reverse directionality, like in examples [5.13] and [5.14].

The intercession of diamorphs as triggers of codeswitching will be studied in more detail in section 6.5. At this point the language analysis of nomenclature deserves further clarification. Among the diamorphs that form the primary category of nominal complements, many are cases of nomenclature. Unless there is an obvious distinction in such names between Latin and Irish forms, such as with *Petrus* and *Petar*, these items are best thought of as belonging to either language. Such diamorphs may trigger a continuation of a sentence in another language than the one with which it started. A case of an Irish sentence switching after an intraphrasal diamorph is the following:

<sup>266</sup> I am grateful to Dr Pádraic Moran for this observation.

<sup>267</sup> Nomenclature may play a role in ## 1 2 5 53 57 61 63 72 81 82 84 85 92 93 94 95 96 97 114 115 116 119 121 123 125 127 143 145 146 147 148 164 245 247 248 250 263 269 271 278 279 281 282 283 288 290 291 294 298 299 303 305 307 312 317 320 325 329 331 333 334 342 346 349 350 360 394 401 410 416 418 422 423 424 436 461 503 509 510 511 512 513 514 519 520 522 524 531 534 535 536 537 538 544 545 546 553 & 554..

[5.46] iúdas frisanabar machabeus. aquo namachabdai. 7 eliçar diarbainm saphus

iúdas frisa<sup>n</sup>abar machabeus. a=quo  
 Jude say.REL Maccabean from=who.abSG

na=machabdai. 7 eliçar diarb=ainm saphus  
 the.nPL=Maccabean.nPL and Eleazar of-whom.be.COP=name Sapphus  
 'and Jude who is called *Machabeus*, from whom the Maccabees, and  
 Eleazar of whom the name is Sapphus.' [#342, 343]

The Latinate personal name *machabeus*, referring back to *iúdas* 'Jude the Maccabean', is dependent on the Irish *frisanabar* 'who is called'. At the same time the switch triggers a Latin continuation *a quo*, introducing the Irish ethnonym *namachabdai* 'the Maccabeans'. It is clear from the example that the choice for a Latin or Irish form of a name, in cases where both forms exist, depends in part on the languages preceding and following it. This notion of the language realisation of diamorphs has been observed before with the names of the Bible books *.i. parauule. 7 ecclesiastes. 7 cantaicc nacantaicci* in example [5.6]. The ubiquity of diamorphs, especially names, works as a catalyst for the presence of codeswitches, as will be illustrated more elaborately in section 6.2. In some cases foreign names inflect according to Irish syntax, violating theories of *dependency*, as in example [5.47] below:

[5.47] Tanic tra iarlathib triar fer ogalilee coierusalem .i. finiés sacart ...

Tanic tra iar=lathib triar fer o=galilee  
 Come.PST then after=day.dPL three man.nPL from=Galilea.dSG

co=ierusalem .i. finiés sacart  
 to=Jerusalem that is Phineas priest

'Then after [three] days three men came from Galilee to Jerusalem, that is, Phineas the priest ...' [#324]

The Latin name *galilee* has a dative case governed by the Irish preposition *o*, where a putative equivalent Latin preposition *de* or *ex* would have triggered ablative case *galilea*. This is a violation of *dependency*, which claims that the selection of case prohibits switching. In addition, the criterion of *linearity* indicates that switching should only occur if the cases used are the same in Latin and Irish. Even at the intraphrasal level, the frameworks of *linearity* and *dependency* are not universally followed. First and foremost, the occurrence of the third language option of diamorphs next to Latin and Irish blurs the boundaries between languages and, as a result, between grammatical constructions. These diamorphs are a competing neutralisation strategy beside

the notion of *government*. Regardless of diamorphs, almost all intraphrasal switches involve some form of internal modification within the noun phrase bridging the two languages. The appearance of adjectives and determiners in pre- and postmodification, as with *inbonifatius cetna* in example [5.13], usually violates the constraints of *dependency*, though such switches normally adhere to *linearity*. Finally, the dominance of complement function in intraphrasal items provides problems for the selection inherent in *dependency*.<sup>268</sup> Intraphrasal switch constructions thus seem to subvert grammatical constraints to a point where the combination of languages is difficult to disentangle. Another approach to such items is provided by congruent lexicalisation in section 6.2.3.

### 5.5 Conclusion

After the analysis of all the grammatical categories of codeswitches it is time to conclude whether and, if so, in how far the language use in the *Leabhar Breac* corresponds with codeswitching theory. Firstly, the sifting of the raw data in order to end up with proper codeswitching in section 5.2 appears justified. The removal of insertional back-switches, which are the continuation of the sentence after a single inserted element, prevents the occurrence of these grammatically uninformative items within the codeswitching data. In addition, non-triggering diamorphs, when they are both preceded and followed by the same language, can usually be discarded on the grounds that they do not play a role in the interweaving of languages within syntactic constructions. A similar lack of grammatical relevance accounts for the omission of intersentential switches in this discussion. This switch scope comprises chiefly translation and to a lesser extent paraphrases from Latin to Irish. For the intersentential sequences without translation or paraphrase, however, the directionality of switching is indifferent, problematising the notion of a *Matrix Language* for the whole of the data. The fact that these items operate on a discursive rather than on a grammatical level raises questions about the use of syntactic theories of *linearity* and *dependency* for such switches. This sifting leaves one-third of the initial data.

Applying modern theory to the grammatical categories of intrasentential switches is more promising. The choice of language is surprisingly unpredictable, as section 5.3.1 has shown, with a relatively high percentage of Irish switches at the interclausal level, a strong preference for Latin switches at the interphrasal level and a wealth of diamorphs at the intraphrasal level. This variation makes it difficult to speak of a single *Matrix Language* across all codeswitches in the *Leabhar Breac*. Section 5.3.2 has suggested that a differentiation into switch scope allows for a more informative analysis. Though most switches are preceded by grammatical constructions on the same scope,

<sup>268</sup> Items #98 132 135 140 163 284 285 300 304 306 324 328 370 372 377 378 379 460 462 523 529 & 555.



some interphrasal switches are dependent on interclausal items. These constructions run counter to the notion of grammatical *government*, as they violate the constraint on switching at the syntactic boundaries of the sentence. Moreover, the restrictions on verb-first sentences (for Irish) and the uses of modification (for Latin) complicate an analysis of such segments as belonging to a single language. By contrast, the favoured grammatical classes of modern codeswitching are mirrored in the data of the *Leabhar Breac*, where nominal, verbal and prepositional items dominate. The distribution of grammatical classes is broadly comparable to other modern and historical corpora, as is evident from section 5.3.3. Conversely, the frequent switching of lexical items, such as nominal, verbal or prepositional phrases, has a habit of violating the theoretical criterion of syntactical *dependency*. In this categorisation of switch language, scope and class, the notion of *linearity* is more often upheld than the principle of *dependency*. The theory of *government* is thus only partly applicable.

From section 5.4 on switch function it can be concluded that there is a great variety in the degree to which a switch is essential to the construction of the sentence. Switched adjuncts, appositions, citations and formulae often appear at the margins of the sentence or at major syntactic boundaries; and are frequently introduced by diamorphs. By contrast, complements, objects, predicates or subjects are more crucial to the syntactic construction, violating constraints on the equivalence of linear word order as well as the grammatical dependence between syntactic structures. These violations occur least at the interclausal level, as clausal boundaries are generally strict syntactic boundaries as well. At the interphrasal level the many different combinations of word classes cause violations of switching between core constructions and their complements. The diamorphs at the intraphrasal level, lastly, bring about a considerable blurring of language boundaries within grammatical constructions. The codeswitching in the *Leabhar Breac* therefore habitually, though irregularly, circumvents the constraints of codeswitching theory. In this respect the notion of *linearity* is less problematic, as Latin and Irish often either share the same word order, or, alternatively, promote the presence of shared constructions that are marked or marginal in either of the two languages.<sup>269</sup> By contrast, the rules of *dependency* are more often violated. The relationship between the predicate of a clause and its arguments, between the phrasal head and its complements, or between the assigner and the assignment of case are not always maintained. Instead, it appears that there are several alternate strategies for the neutralisation of the differences between the codes. Now that this grammatical analysis of switches has thus modified the prohibitions from present-day theory, the next chapter offers an analysis of switch types that rather pays attention to their possibilities.

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<sup>269</sup> Cf. Muysken (2000: 27); vs. Halmari/Regetz (2011: 148).



## Chapter 6

## Codeswitching typology: practice and theory

6.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter has divided codeswitching data into grammatically informed subcategories. A different approach is to determine groupings around the different status of the two languages in the discourse. A suitable aid in such a classification is Muysken (2000), who distinguishes three switch types that correspond to different proportions in which the two languages take part in the discourse. For each switch type several properties are mentioned, which may be used to distinguish difficult examples. Through this approach a subdivision can be made on the basis of the functional properties of the switch. As in the previous chapter, a distinction of the scope of the switch will be maintained in the following sections in order to aid in the syntactic analysis. Section 6.2 delineates the differences between the three discursive switch types that were introduced in chapter 4.3.2. Sections 6.2.1 through 6.2.3 divide insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalisation into their subtypes through the analysis of relevant examples. Section 6.3 contains a comparison of these switch types and subtypes with the theory discussed in chapter 4, while section 6.4 compares the analysis of switch types and subtypes with the grammatical categories discussed in chapter 5. Section 6.5 will account for the role of diamorphs in enabling and triggering switching. In the final section 6.6 conclusions will be drawn from the collected data on codeswitching properties in the *Leabhar Breac*.

6.2 Switch types

As chapter 5 has shown, grammatical class is an important indicator of *how* codeswitches occur and appear. The language information provided by the data has been helpful in measuring to what extent historical codeswitching conforms to present-day theories on codeswitching constraints. Such a focus on grammatical relationships does not explain, however, *why* some codeswitches adhere to the same rules other switches violate. In this regard the three switch types from chapter 4.3.2, to wit insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalisation, are helpful. In order to answer the question why switches differ in their adherence to the rules, one can consider the difference in treatment of two switches in comparable syntactic contexts, as illustrated in [6.1] and [6.2]:

- [6.1] Ata didiu neccodim isinadnoculsa immochassaib <s>**ephanus martir**.<sup>270</sup>  
 Ata didiu neccodim i=sin=adnocul=sa  
 Be.SBST then Nicodemus in=the.dSG=burying=this  
  
 imm=o=chassaib stephanus martir  
 around=his=foot.dPL Stephen martyr  
 'Nicodemus then is in this burial around the feet of Stephen the martyr.' [#53]

<sup>270</sup> An originally ç-cedir-style z-graph in *zephanus* was erased, amended to s, and a t was added.

[6.2] **Incipit devirtute sancti martain**

Incipit                    de=uirte                    sancti                    martain  
 Begin.3SG            from=virtue.abSG            saint.gSG            Martin.gSG  
 'It begins of the virtue of Saint Martin' [#132]<sup>271</sup>

The first example has an Irish noun *chassaib* governing the Latin name *Stephanus*; note that *martir* may be either Latin or Irish. Although the Latin item is syntactically genitive, it has nominative inflection. By contrast, the second example has a Latin genitival adjective followed by an Irish genitival name. The choice whether or not to inflect such a switch can seem arbitrary and unsuited to linguistic analysis. Following Muysken, however, these contrastive cases can be readily understood. The former option of underrealised inflection is indicative of a switch type referred to as insertion, in which an isolated item is embedded into the syntax of another language without morphological adaptation. The latter option of full inflection within an intraphrasal switch is congruent lexicalisation, where both languages together contribute to the grammatical groundwork of the sentence. The third, in between option of alternation occurs when two languages are juxtaposed without overlap in grammatical constructions. These definitions of switch types are usually exclusive enough to label a switch definitively. Rare ambiguous cases will be treated in the following. The definitive data on these switch types are collected in table 6.1 below. Note that a sentence may contain more than one switch or switch types, in which case they are counted separately.

Table 6.1: Switch types

Scope	Type	Alternation		Congruent		Insertion		Total
	Lang	+ Diam	– Diam	+ Diam	– Diam	+ Diam	– Diam	
inter>cl	ga	8	10	---	---	---	---	18
	la	10	30	---	---	---	---	40
	<i>Subtotal</i>	18	40	---	---	---	---	58
inter>phr	ga	16	6	16	49	1	---	88
	la	167	29	13	14	38	24	285
	<i>Subtotal</i>	183	35	29	63	39	24	373
intra<phr	ga	---	---	3	11	---	---	14
	ga-la	---	---	14	5	56	7	82
	la	---	---	---	21	7	2	30
	<i>Subtotal</i>	---	---	17	37	63	9	126
	<b>Total</b>	276		146		135		<u>557</u>

<sup>271</sup> The manuscript catalogue reads *martani* but the flags on the minims obviously read *martain*.

Table 6.1 above lists the three switch scopes, the three switch types, the three switch languages and the use of diamorphs in switching. The primary point to note is the dominance of alternation, which is about twice as common as either insertion or congruent lexicalisation. The second significant observation is that alternation is the only option for interclausal items. This is readily understood given the lack of grammatical dependence between switched clauses, which excludes insertion and congruent lexicalisation. Conversely, at the interphrasal level alternation is unknown, as these switches always deal with intimate grammatical connections that are alien to alternation. A third observation is a language divide between the interclausal and interphrasal scope on the one hand and the intraphrasal on the other. Whereas switches from the former two categories have a marked preference for Latin over Irish, the intraphrasal switches strongly prefer diamorphs over both Latin and Irish. The reason for this difference is that diamorphs only occur as switches in intraphrasal items; on other scopes they are part of a switch attributed to one language. Other conclusions also have to do with diamorphs. In all, the number of switches including diamorphs is 349, or 63% of all items. Diamorphs are thus important factors in switching. Returning to the switch types, diamorphs appear in the majority of items for both alternation and insertion. In these types they outnumber switches without diamorphs more than twice in alternation and more than three times in insertion. However, in congruent lexicalisation switches without diamorph are actually twice as common as switches with diamorphs. This is surprising, as diamorphs would be particularly suited to the integration of languages as seen in congruent lexicalisation. An example of congruent lexicalisation without diamorph clarifies the distribution of the data:

- [6.3] **dixit** dúnlaing cid foracrecca t́ingín féin. **dixit** dubthach níanand ocreicc mindmais  
 dixit dúnlaing cid fora-crecca t-ingin féin.  
 say.PRF Dúnlaing why wherefore-sell.2SG your-daughter own
- dixit dubthach ní=anand oc=reicc m-indmais  
 say.PRF Dubthach not=stay.3SG at=sell.VN my-wealth  
 'Dúnlaing said: 'Why are you selling your own daughter?' Dubthach  
 said: 'She does not refrain from selling my wealth.' [#184, 186]

In congruent lexicalisation both languages contribute to the syntax of the sentence, as section 4.3.1 has explained. In most instances this intermingling of languages does not mean that the underlying syntax of the sentence is itself a mixture of Latin and Irish constructions. Rather, congruent lexicalisation usually describes a situation where lexical items from both languages are employed to

express a connected syntactic structure such as a verbal predicate and its arguments. This is the case for the two *dixit*-phrases, which have a Latin predicate with an Irish subject. The analysis of this particular interweaving as congruent lexicalisation is not unproblematic. It could be claimed that the formulaic *dixit*-items are actually diamorphs that can be rendered by the vernacular equivalent *as-beir*. While it cannot be ruled out that this vernacularisation may have happened in speaking, there is no method to verify this procedure for written language. Within the bounds of writing the above example could not be claimed to be a diamorph, since diamorphs have been defined as bridges between languages in section 4.2.4. In example [6.3], though, the *dixit*-items are at the head of their respective clauses, so that there is no intermediate element between the Latin *dixit* and the Irish names following them. The lack of such a bridge may be another reason for the analysis of the above example as congruent lexicalisation. Where the structure of a sentence is already intimately mingled on a syntactic level, there may be less of a necessity to integrate its lexical elements through the use of diamorphic items.

Another insight to be gleaned from table 6.1 is the distribution of switch types on different scopes. Interclausal switches belong exclusively to alternation, which is also the preferred switch type in interphrasal items. Alternations at the interphrasal level are roughly twice as common as congruent lexicalisations, and more than three times as common as insertions. On the intraphrasal level, however, insertion is the favoured type, while congruent lexicalisation takes second place, and alternation is wholly absent. The difference is explained by the fact that alternation is suited to larger constituents while both insertion and congruent lexicalisation favour smaller structures. For interphrasal switches the language choice is markedly different depending on switch type. Whereas Latin is strongly favoured for alternation and insertion, Irish has a much larger role in congruent lexicalisation. An explanation is that alternations and insertions tend to switch only once, usually from Irish to Latin. For insertions the dominance of switches to Latin is so strong as to suggest that here Irish indeed functions as a *Matrix Language*. By contrast, congruent lexicalisation allows switching to and fro, thereby increasing the presence of Irish switches. In intraphrasal items the important notion is that nearly half of all items are diamorphs of the insertional type, including many names, such as in [6.1]. One interphrasal item with congruent lexicalisation rather than insertion as type is the following instance:

- [6.4] 7 dorogart **nomen meum** fothri. **dicens.** lucian. **ter.**  
 7 dorogart nomen meum fo=thri. dicens. lucian. ter  
 And call.PRF name my about=three say.PPA Lucianus thrice  
 'And he called my name three times, saying 'Lucianus' thrice.' [#45, 46, 47, 48, 49]

This sentence shows a spectacular language interchange, switching with every phrase. These items are not “language islands”, in the definition of Myers-Scotton, but they constitute the sentence together. The differentiation of switches according to type thus concerns their integration into the syntactic structure of the sentence. This should clarify the violations of grammatical constraints on switching noted in the previous chapter. The three switch types, insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalisation, will now be subcategorised.

### 6.2.1 Insertion

Insertion is the switch type in which a syntactic structure with one dominant language contains one small segment in another language that is embedded in the dominant structure without modification. This switch type corresponds most closely to the *Matrix Language Frame* created by Myers-Scotton; for Irish data this model has been expanded by Bisagni to include subtypes reflecting codeswitches in glossed texts.<sup>272</sup> The first two subtypes are labelled insertions identical to, or similar to, words or phrases occurring in the main text (that is, outside the gloss). Though *LB* does not have extensive glossing to the texts, there are many extra-textual glosses in the margins. As these also refer to a textual layer outside the present text, this category could be labelled 'citations'. Another subtype is called 'ecclesiastical technolect', a valuable if not unproblematic label referring to terminology connected to the church.<sup>273</sup> The last subtype is simply stated as 'other', denoting insertions which do not fit any of the three previous categories. The switches in this subtype can be thought of as 'proper' switches, that is, switches that occur spontaneously, unlike the other subtypes which explicitly refer to words outside the main text. To this list can be added the subtype of nomenclature, involving the insertion of the names of people or places. By adapting the list posited by Bisagni accordingly, the listing of subtypes for insertion becomes as displayed in table 6.2 below. The subtypes of insertion are hereafter elucidated by giving examples for individual categories.

Table 6.2: *Insertion subtypes*

Insertion subtypes	Number #	Percentage %
Citation	10	7
Nomenclature	97	72
Ecclesiastical technolect	27	20
Proper/other	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>100</b>

<sup>272</sup> Myers-Scotton (1993: 7); Bisagni (2013-4: 49).

<sup>273</sup> Bisagni (2013-4: 48).

6.2.1.1 Citational insertion

Insertions derived from citations immediately provide a difficulty in that they can be confused with alternating citations.<sup>274</sup> Citations tend to be stretches of multiple words with a coherent internal structure. Such a definition sounds closer to the category of alternation. However, when citations are nested into the sentence structure and form a single constituent, the criteria proposed by Muysken make an analysis as insertions preferable. Seen in this light there are ten citational insertions in the switch data. One example is openly marked as a citation, possibly culled from pseudo-Aristotle's *De elementis*.<sup>275</sup>

- [6.5] induine dianadsloind icnafelsamaib **minor mundus** .i. domun becc  
 in=duine di-a<sup>n</sup>=ad=sloind<sup>276</sup> ic=na=felsamaib  
 the=man of-whom=be.COP=name at=the.PL=philosopher.dPL
- .i. minor mundus .i. domun becc  
 that is small.COMP world that is world small  
 'the man who is designated by the philosophers *minor mundus*, that is,  
 'small world' [#87]

The attribution of the Latin term to philosophers immediately sets the citation apart from the clause. Such an extra-textual switch still constitutes a codeswitch, even if its subtype can be called “unsyntactic direct citation”.<sup>277</sup> Another case shows two complex citations likely related to the writings of Peter Comestor.<sup>278</sup>

- [6.6] 7 atbeir isaias fáid corabcasmail fernaethfhiadnaise frisinbéist renabar  
**locusta**. 7 **brucus** ahainmm. cofhásait sciathana forri. 7 mar fhásait is  
**locusta quasi longa** [h]asta<sup>279</sup> atberar fria.
- 7 atbeir isaias fáid co=rab=casmail  
 And say.3SG Isaiah prophet that=be.SBJV=similar
- fer=na=leth-fhiadnaise fri=sin=béist re<sup>n</sup>abar locusta.  
 man=the.gSG=half-witness.gSG against=the=beast call.REL<sup>280</sup> locust

<sup>274</sup> Items ## 87 246 251 254 260 267 345 402 403 & 407.

<sup>275</sup> Cf. London, British Library, Cotton Galba E. iv (c.1200) ff.200v-201v; cf. Haskins (1924: 93-4).

<sup>276</sup> Cf. the Dictionary of the Irish Language at [dil.ie/29104](http://dil.ie/29104) q.v. B. VI. ii. b. s. 3 [consulted 29/7/2016].

<sup>277</sup> Bisagni (2013-4: 25).

<sup>278</sup> Petrus Comestor, *Historia scholastica, liber Exodi* cap. xxii.

<sup>279</sup> The manuscript actually reads *lasta*, an Irish word meaning 'flaming'; this may contribute to the switch back to Irish.

<sup>280</sup> Cf. the Dictionary of the Irish Language at [dil.ie/4383](http://dil.ie/4383) q.v. 'With prepp. With FRI [=re]' [consulted 29/7/2016].



7 brucus a=hainmm. co=fhásait<sup>281</sup> sciathana forri. 7  
 and larva his=name until=grow.3PL wing.nPL on.it and  
 mar fhásait is locusta quasi longa hasta atberar fria  
 as grow be.COP locust like long lance say.PAS to.it  
 'And Isaiah the prophet says that a man of false testimony is akin to the  
 beast called *locusta*. or *brucus* its name, until wings grow on it, and as  
 they grow, *locusta*, like a long lance, is said to it.' [#402, 403]

Both parts of the Latin citation are grammatically dependent on the Irish verb phrases to which they belong, *renabar ...* and *is ... atberar*. The last citation is actually completely enclosed within an Irish frame. Last to be included in this first subtype are five designations of angels that are also marked as citations:

[6.7] **Archangeli.** ise intochtmad grad dianid etarcert. **summi nuntíi .i.**  
 techtair forórdai.  
 Archangeli. is=e int=ochtmad grad di-a<sup>n</sup>=id  
 Archangel.nPL be.COP=he the=eighth grade of-whom.COP  
 etarcert. summi nuntii .i. techtair forórdai  
 interpretation highest.nPL messenger.nPL that is envoy golden.nPL  
 'Archangels, that is the eighth grade which is interpreted *highest legates*,  
 that is, 'glorious envoys'. ' [#259, 260]

An initial Latin insertion *archangeli* is immediately explained by an Irish item *ise intochtmad grad*. Although such short citations might be thought of as alternations, the lack of an independent syntax and their dependence on an overarching sentence structure rather suggests a preferred analysis as insertion. Alternatively, sentence-initial switches could be considered *nominatioi pendentes*.

#### 6.2.1.2 Nomenclature insertion

Insertions corresponding to nomenclature constitute the biggest category within this switch type.<sup>282</sup> In many of the 97 cases there is a connection to biblical persons and places. Examples are *Iudas*, *Simon* or *Abraham*, and *Bethfage*, *Nazareth* or *Ierusalem*, respectively. Other instances are related to classical persons and places, including *Helena*, *Antipater* or *Cesar*, and *Capua*, *Gallia*, or *Campania*. For many of these names no current native equivalent exists, so in effect they

<sup>281</sup> Cf. the Dictionary of the Irish Language at [dil.ie/9788](http://dil.ie/9788) q.v. 3 co 4 [consulted 30/10/2016].

<sup>282</sup> Items ## 1 2 5 53 57 61 63 72 81 82 84 85 92 93 94 95 96 97 114 115 116 119 121 123 125 127 143 145 146 147 148 164 245 247 248 250 263 269 271 278 279 281 282 283 288 290 291 294 298 299 303 305 307 312 317 320 325 329 331 333 334 342 346 349 350 360 394 401 410 416 418 422 423 424 436 461 503 509 510 511 512 513 514 519 520 522 524 531 534 535 536 537 538 544 545 546 553 & 554.

function as a diamorph usable in both languages. In other cases, there is a distinction between Latin *Petrus* and Irish *Petar*, or Latin *Michael* and Irish *Mích[e]ál*. Sometimes the spelling of Latinate names shows signs of Irish influence, such as the neutralisation of unstressed back vowels in *Laçurus*, *Lúgdanensis* or *Mesapotamia*. There is no certainty as to whether such interference reflects the practices of pronunciation or orthography, as non-classical spellings of Latin can be informed both by the development of Medieval Latin writing practices and by Irish interference on spoken Latin. It is impossible to know whether the Irish users of these texts regarded such spellings as either Irish or [Hiberno-]Latin.<sup>283</sup> As spellings of Latinate names with Irish interference can be argued to adhere to either language, they can often be considered as diamorphs. This view also circumvents the discussion on whether such names are codeswitches or borrowings. A telling example of the aforementioned language uncertainty is the name *Bonifatius*, which occurs four times in the *Leabhar Breac*:

[6.8] **Bonifatius** tra incetramad abb iarnggoir noem rosrohordaig insollainsi nasamna.

Bonifatius tra	in=cetramad	abb	iar <sup>ng</sup> =goir	noem
Boniface then	the=fourth	abbot	after=word	holy

rosrohordaig	in=sollain=si	na=samna
order.REL	the=feast=EMP	the.gSG.hallow.gSG

'Boniface, then, the fourth abbot after the holy word who ordered this festival of *Samhain*.' [#346]

[6.9] Cotarla **bonifatius** comorba petair inarailéó fair conePERT frisINIMPEIR.

Cotarla	bonifatius	comorba	petair
Happen.PRF	Boniface	successor	Peter.gSG

in=araile=ló	fair	co <sup>n</sup> =epert	fri=sin=impeir
the=other=day	on.it	when=say.PRF	against=the=emperor

'Then Boniface took his place as the successor of Peter on the next day, as he said to the emperor.' [#360]

In the above the name *Bonifatius* occurs in fully Irish contexts, though its ending must be seen as either Latin or a neutralised nominative case. In other words, the Latin-looking name may have been used since no native Irish equivalent existed. Another occurrence of the same name is treated under the switch type of congruent lexicalisation in section 6.2.3, where it is pre- and post-modified by an Irish determiner, the first of which is a diamorph itself, in the following example:

<sup>283</sup> Harvey (2013: 90); the point was raised in private correspondence by Pádraic Moran, whose advice is acknowledged.

- [6.10] Cotarla in**bonifatius** cetna cúsincluiche. conept friu combahecoir dóib infuirseoracht.  
 Cotarla in=bonifatius cetna cú=sin=cluiche. co<sup>n</sup>=ept  
 Happen.PRF the=Boniface same with=the=game .dSG when=say.PRF
- fri-u co<sup>m</sup>=ba<sup>h</sup>=e-coir dó-ib in=fuirseoracht  
 against-them.aPL that=be.PST=un-fitting to-them.dPL the=buffoonery  
 'Then the same Boniface happened upon the game, telling them that the  
 folly did not fit them.' [#365]

Although these Irish modifications might suggest an interpretation of the name *Bonifatius* as Irish, the article *in* can also have the function of introducing the citation of a foreign element.<sup>284</sup> The question whether the name *Bonifatius* is Latin or Irish, and thus whether these examples are proper switches, is influenced by the availability of an alternate Irish version of the same name. The last example with the same name is part of a switch involving an alternational adverb phrase:

- [6.11] Otconnairc vero **bonifatius**sin. rolinet 7 londus 7 torsi ainmesarda he.  
 O-t=connairc<sup>285</sup> vero bonifatius=sin. ro-linet 7  
 From-it=see.PRF but Boniface=that PRF-fill.3PL and
- londus 7 torsi ain-mesarda he.  
 rage and sorrow un-measured he
- 'When Boniface then saw that, both rage and immoderate sorrow filled him.'  
 [#347]

In the above example the Latin adverbial phrase *vero* constitutes the switch; as adverbs are interpreted as interphrasal switches, they are not diamorphs. The Latinate name *Bonifatius* providing the bridge between the Latin and Irish elements may itself be either language. In other words, there is no language choice if there is no native alternative available. Only one possible Irish form of the name can be found in the *DIL*, and it does not even function as a headword:

- [6.11a] Bonifas, caithreoir ón Róimh<sup>286</sup>  
 'Boniface, citizen from Rome' [BL Egerton 185; TCD 1382]

<sup>284</sup> Breatnach (1990: 95-9).

<sup>285</sup> Cf. the Dictionary of the Irish Language s.v. 2 ó at [dil.ie/33365](http://dil.ie/33365) [consulted 30/10/2016].

<sup>286</sup> Cf. the Dictionary of the Irish Language s.v. *caithreoir* at [dil.ie/8011](http://dil.ie/8011) [consulted 28/7/2016].

The citation is from the seventeenth-century *Psaltair na Rann*, not to be confused with the tenth-century *Saltair na Rann*. Every quatrain of the text begins with a name that is either Latin or gaelicised. It is unclear whether *Bonifas* is truly a native Irish form. The late date of the text begs the question why such an Irish name had not been attested before. While it cannot be said with certainty that *Bonifas* is Irish, it cannot be confidently called Latin either; the only entry in a mediaeval Latin dictionary of this form is just as dubious. It says that *Bonifa* or *Bonifas* is a syncopated form found on one inscription, but it can also be read as *Bonitae*.<sup>287</sup> Although the name is thus neither wholly Irish nor wholly Latin, it is also attested twice in Middle English. Unfortunately, both citations have a date slightly later than the *Leabhar Breac*.<sup>288</sup> However, as the English name likely derives from French, it remains an option that the Latinate name entered Irish through French.<sup>289</sup> Given the dubious derivation of Latin or Irish *Bonifas*, the form *Bonifatius* may be justifiably classified as a diamorph in both languages.

### 6.2.1.3 Ecclesiastical terminology insertion

Insertions belonging to ecclesiastical technolact are the second largest category within the switch type, with 27 hits. Bisagni coined the term for words belonging to the Latin church as a reason behind their language choice. That not all ecclesiastical matters are exclusively in Latin can be deduced from the following counterexample where a series of religious chants is expressed in Latin and Irish:

[6.12]	cét slechtain	fribíait	7	magnificat	7
	cét	slechtain	fri=bíait	7	magnificat
	100	genuflexion	with=Beati	and	Magnificat
		benedictus	7	miserere mei deus	
		Benedictus	and	Miserere mei deus	
		'A hundred genuflexions with a <i>Beati</i> and a <i>Magnificat</i> and a <i>Benedictus</i> and a <i>Miserere Mei Deus</i> .' [#527]			

While the first title depending on *fri* is in Irish, the following three chants are Latin. While Bisagni allowed for the possibility of translating this terminology from Latin into Irish, in the above examples the combination of items from both languages appears to be unproblematic.<sup>290</sup> Because of the intimate intermingling of languages, the item is considered to be congruent lexicalisation. Nonetheless, many religious terms are rendered in Latin. Some subcategories can be

<sup>287</sup> Cf. Forcellini Onomasticon s.v. *Bonifatius* at <http://clt.brepolis.net/dld> [consulted 28/7/2016].

<sup>288</sup> Capgrave, *Cronicles* a1464; Lydgate, *Fall of Princes* ?a1439 at [quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/](http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/) s.v. *Bonifas* [consulted 28/7/2016].

<sup>289</sup> Risk (1971: 585-655); *id.* (1974: 67-98).

<sup>290</sup> Bisagni (2013-4: 48-50); cf. *Biait prointige 7 magnificat 'Beati* of the refectory & *Magnificat'*, LB 9b12.

distinguished, such as the aforementioned names of chants and prayers.<sup>291</sup> Thus one can find here *gratiam* [*agimus*],<sup>292</sup> *gloria* [*in excelsis deo*] or *pater* [*noster*]. The last case is interesting, since the word has also been borrowed in Irish. As a result there is a distinction between Latin *pater* 'father', Irish *pa[i]ter* 'a *Pater Noster*' and Irish *athar* 'father'. It should come as no surprise, though, that the first two usages are sometimes interchanged. A related subgrouping is formed by Latin titles that have narrow semantic content when used in Irish. The Latin *magister* 'teacher, master' lies behind the Irish *ma[i]gister*, which often indicates a cleric in charge of a monastic school. Similarly, the Latin *columna* 'pillar, column' also serves as the plural of Irish *columa*, in which case it can denote the supporters or defenders of faith.<sup>293</sup> Also subsumed here are *lex* 'civil law' from Latin *lex* 'law' and *pax* 'peace-kiss' from Latin *pax* 'peace'. In the absence of phonological modification it is difficult to decide whether an individual form of *lex* or *pax* is Latin or Irish. Lastly, there is a large grouping of names of angelic orders, ostensibly derived from a Latin work on the subject, as in the following:

[6.13] **Michael** didiu asalith 7 asaforai@met atfiadar ineclais dé isinlathesi indiu. **qui sicut deus interpretatur.**

Michael didiu as-a=lith 7 asa=foraitmet atfiadar  
Michael then be.REL-his=festival and be.REL=memory relate.PAS

i<sup>n</sup>=eclais dé i=sin=laithe=si indiu. qui sicut deus interpretatur  
in=church god in=the=day=EMP today who like god explain.PAS

'Michael then of whom his feast-day and his commemoration are related  
in the church of god to this day today, who is interpreted as 'alike god'. [#269]

Likely deriving from a Latin text, *Michael* can be considered Latin, as a fully functional Irish form *Mích[e]ál* is in widespread use. On the other hand, the spelling of the order *Hiruphin* may indicate little more than an orthographical variant of its usual Latinate form *Cherubim*, both of which are sparingly attested.

#### 6.2.1.4 'Proper' insertion

Proper insertion is a rare phenomenon, as most of the above examples display a marked reason for considering them examples of insertional switching. In the data there is only one instance of insertion that appears completely unmarked:

[6.14] uair ised istéchtá conaroscara amenma fridia cid inoin uocabulo  
iconernaighthisea.

<sup>291</sup> Items ## 13 14 15 69 77 101 105 108 110 111 228 253 255 256 257 258 259 262 266 286 287 362 386 396 397 435 & 542.

<sup>292</sup> Cf. Bisagni (2013-4: 47).

<sup>293</sup> Cf. the Dictionary of the Irish Language at [dil.ie/10546](http://dil.ie/10546) [consulted 28/7/2016].

uair is=ed is=téchta co=na=roscara a=menma  
 for be.COP=it be.COP=proper that=not=separate.SBJV his=mind

fri=diá cid i<sup>n</sup>=oin uocabulo ic=on=ernaigthi=sea  
 against=god even in=one word at=the=prayer=this  
 'Thus it is that it is meet that his mind separate not from god even in one  
 word at this prayer.' [#456]

Apart from the non-formulaic nature of the switch, the exact language interpretation is important to pinpoint. The phrase *inoin uocabulo* admits of two readings, which differ in their distribution of Latin or Irish, as illustrated below:

[6.14a] **in** oin **uocabulo**

[6.14b] i<sup>n</sup> oin **uocabulo**

In the first case the preposition *in* is Latin, followed by the Irish determiner *oin*, with the Latin noun *uocabulo* in the ablative case after the Latin preposition. In the second case, the preposition *i* is Irish, causing nasal mutation on the following Irish determiner *oin*, after which there is a switch to the Latin noun *uocabulo* with the dative case depending on the Irish preposition. Though both readings are possible, it is preferable to take the second explanation. This choice circumvents analysing the phrase as a congruent lexicalisation in which there is an unparalleled switch of a bare Latin preposition, a switch back to Irish in the determiner, and another switch to the Latin noun. Instead, the second reading identifies just one switch to the Latin noun *uocabulo*, which can now be interpreted as a single insertion. This appears the optimal reading, regardless of the difficulty in determining the language of diamorphs such as *in* or the various proper names seen above.<sup>294</sup> In all, the strong syntactic dependence of insertions leads to a far more regulated and thus a less spontaneous type of codeswitching.

### 6.2.2 Alternation

For alternation Muysken names several subtypes, not all of which are attested in the *Leabhar Breac*. Seven subtypes can be mentioned. The first is best described as discourse alternation. This signifies all alternation that signals a shift in the discourse, such as direct speeches and formulaic phrases that introduce them. The second is peripheral alternation, which indicates all switching in the sentential margin. Under this banner are found right- or left-dislocation (including clefting) and coordinating switches. Many of these switches are adpositional, meaning that they harbour pre- and possibly postpositions. The

<sup>294</sup> Halmarty/Regetz (2011: 117).

third is the doubling of switching structures in both languages. This phenomenon is not found in the data, although it appears to be related to the aforementioned cases of Irish doublets translating one Latin term in example [5.4]. The fourth is alternation in conjunctions. This subtype is unattested in *LB*, even if it is often difficult to distinguish conjunctions from adverbs, the sixth subtype. The fifth is apposition, which must not be confused with the adposition subsumed under the second subtype. Apposition is the juxtaposition of a usually nominal predicate to another mostly nominal grammatical structure. The sixth is adverb alternation, which again is easily confounded with the fourth subtype of alternation in conjunctions. The seventh and last subtype is alternation in pronouns, probably attested only once within the data. All of these subtypes will now be characterised through analysis and exemplification of their properties.

Table 6.3: Alternation subtypes

Alternation subtypes	Number #	Percentage %
Discourse	132	48
Peripheral	49	18
Doubling	---	---
Conjunction	---	---
Apposition	73	26
Adverb	20	7
Pronoun	2	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>276</b>	<b>100</b>

#### 6.2.2.1 Discourse alternation

As can be seen from table 6.3 above, discourse alternation is the largest subtype with 132 items, almost half of all data.<sup>295</sup> This subtype of alternation indicates a switch in language at the point of a shift in the discourse. A division may be made into three further categories, which are referred to by their functions as formulae, citations and translations. Nearly 70% of the items, 92 in number, are formulae, 34 items are citations, constituting about one quarter, with only six registering here as translations. Alternational citation is longer and syntactically

<sup>295</sup> Items ## 7 10 16 18 20 22 25 26 29 33 34 37 38 50 54 58 60 70 73 74 75 79 83 104 109 136 138 141 144 149 151 152 174 177 179 181 183 185 186 189 191 193 194 195 197 199 201 203 205 207 209 211 213 215 218 220 221 224 226 230 233 235 237 239 265 270 275 295 296 301 310 314 315 316 318 322 337 357 364 367 369 380 384 414 421 428 430 433 438 439 440 441 442 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 453 463 464 469 470 471 473 474 476 478 484 485 487 488 489 490 491 492 494 495 497 499 504 505 506 508 515 516 539 & 540.

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independent compared to insertional citation. Most of such items are in Latin as in [6.15], but there are a dozen cases where a citation is in Irish as in [6.16] below:

- [6.15] triaerlathar inspiruta nóib. **ut dictum est. Efundam de spiritu meo**  
 tria=erlathar in=spiruta nóib. ut  
 through=arrangement the.gSG=spirit.gSG holy as  
  
 dictum est. Efundam de spiritu meo  
 say.PPP be.AUX Pour.FUT from spirit.abSG my.abSG  
 'through arrangement of the holy spirit, as is said: 'I will pour out from my spirit'  
 [#444]

- [6.16] **dicens. O caro dura. O templum diabolorum. ut dixit.** Acholand  
 chruaid. athempuil diabuil  
 dicens. O caro dura. O templum diabolorum.  
 say.PPA O flesh hard. O temple devil.gPL  
  
 ut dixit. A=choland chruaid. a=thempuil diabuil  
 as say.PRF O=body hard o=temple.vSG devil.gSG  
 'saying 'O harsh flesh, o temple of devils', as he said: 'O hard body, o  
 temple of the devil" [#489]

The first *dicere*-construction triggers a Latin continuation while the second one triggers an Irish item. The Irish switch in [6.16] could be called a citation after *ut dixit*, or a translation of *O caro dura* .... Since the switches occur at the shift in the discourse to direct speech, they are discourse alternation. As can be seen by the example sentences, the use of the Latin verb *dicere* to introduce a citation forms an important part of the subcategory of formulae. Other formulaic expressions include *7c[etera]* 'and so on', *ut supra* 'as above' and the diamorph emblem *7rl* 'and the remainder'. This last item can be expanded both as Latin *et reliqua* and as Irish *ocus araile*, both with the same meaning. Most of these formulaic alternations are in Latin, but at times they are rendered unequivocally in Irish:

- [6.17] dorinfid nabriathrasa triasinrig fáith .i. **dauid mac iésé** conapert.  
**Magnus dominus noster.**  
 dorinfid na=briathra=sa tria=sin=rig fáith .i.  
 inspire.FUT the=word.aPL=this through=the=king prophet that is  
  
 dauid mac iése co<sup>n</sup>=apert. Magnus dominus noster  
 David son Jesse when=say.PRF Great lord our  
 'he will express these words through the king-prophet David son of  
 Jesse, saying: 'Our great lord.' [#504]



Here the Irish item *conapert* forms a vernacular rendering of the Latin formulaic expression *dicens*. As the Irish formula introduces a Latin citation, it is a discourse alternation just like example [6.16] above.

As it turns out the subtype of discourse alternation coincides largely with the scope and functions of interclausal switches. This is no coincidence, as discourse functions are often found at interclausal levels. There are in total nearly three times as many formulae as there are citations in alternating switches. The same result is obtained from grammatical analysis of citational and formulaic function in clauses and *dicere*-phrases in section 5.4.1. These two approaches to the discourse function of codeswitching appear to complement one another.

#### 6.2.2.2 Peripheral alternation

Peripheral alternation indicates switches that occur at the margin of the sentence, outside the bounds of the syntactic core formed by the verbal predicate and its arguments. The peripheral constructions include dislocation, such as the fronting or clefting of constructions before the verbal predicate, and adposition, the use of prepositional items at the beginning or end of a sentence. This subtype of alternation is attested 49 times.<sup>296</sup> A sizable part of these switches are formulaic in function. Among the formulae there are two further subcategories. One is the construction *in secula seculorum* 'in the ages of ages' or similar, which often if not always occurs at the end of texts. Another is the Latin names of Bible books, which may or may not be gaelicised in the process. Such expressions are similar to the 'ecclesiastical technolect' of the insertional variety. The fact that these names can be modified to Irish phonology argues against a purely conventional use. The following examples show such biblical books in unconventional form.<sup>297</sup>

[6.18] ineclestiasico  
'in Ecclesiasticus' [#388, 411, 412]

[6.19] inezetsiele  
'in Ezekiel' [#413]

Both names show confusion in spelling [st], [ts] and [z], a graph highly problematic in Old Irish.<sup>298</sup> Behind the orthographical variation lies a phonological adaptation of Latin loans with the sequence *-st-*, which is rare in

<sup>296</sup> Items ## 6 31 39 66 80 89 91 99 112 118 131 160 161 241 242 244 289 292 313 319 332 335 336 353 356 361 373 383 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 395 398 399 400 413 409 411 412 437 465 467 500 & 557.

<sup>297</sup> Bisagni (2013-4: 48-50).

<sup>298</sup> Ter Horst (forthcoming); Schrijver (1995: 399); McManus (1988: 160); McManus (1986: 25).

Irish. This indicates that the form of religious nomenclature can be adapted to a use within Irish contexts. Apart from formulaic function, peripheral alternation can also take a freer form. Two examples may be adduced to illustrate contrastive uses of peripheral alternation within the bounds of the *Leabhar Breac*:

[6.20] Aanimm himmorro taitnid isincatraig nemdai **inter ceteros fideles dei inter sidera**

A=animm himmorro taitnid i=sin=catraig nemdai  
His=soul however shine.3SG in=the=city.dSG heavenly.dSG

inter ceteros fideles dei inter sidera  
among remaining.aPL faithful.aPL god.gSG among star.aPL  
'His soul, though, shines in the heavenly city among other followers of  
god among the stars.' [#160]

[6.21] múintire nime 7 talman inoen múintir .i. múinter nime **permensam.**  
múinter thalman **percalicem.**

múintire nime 7 talman i<sup>n</sup>=oen múintir .i.  
community.nPL heaven.gSG and earth.gSG in=one community that is

múinter nime per=mensam. múinter thalman per=calicem  
community heaven.gSG through=table community earth.gSG through.chalice  
'the communities of heaven and earth in one community, that is, the community  
of heaven by the tabernacle, the city of earth by the chalice.' [#466, 468]

Whereas the first example displays a connected, complex peripheral switch from Irish toward Latin, the second instance has a twofold alternation of Irish noun phrases and Latin preposition phrases. One final instance is similar to example [6.20], in that the switch is entirely at the end of the sentence. More unusual is the fact that the switch in [6.22] may have been triggered by another Latin name:

[6.22] cusin cathraig dianad ainm **capua** isléib armóin. **super risam maris terreni**

cu=sin cathraig di-a<sup>n</sup>=ad ainm capua i=sléib  
to=the city of-whom.COP name Capua in=mountain

armóin. super ri[p]am maris terreni<sup>299</sup>  
Hermon over shore.aSG sea.gSG Tyrrhenian.gSG  
'to the city whose the name is Capua on Mount Hermon at the shore of  
the Tyrrhenian Sea.' [#6]

<sup>299</sup> Stokes (1877: 16) emends *risam* to *ripam* and *terreni* to *tyrreni*. The first is an obvious slip, the latter is editorial standardisation and will thus not be followed in the present undertaking.

After the insertion of the Latin name *capua* into an Irish clause there follows another wholly Latin phrase. Regardless of this potential trigger, though, the Latin alternation is unmistakably oriented at the sentence periphery.

Doubling alternation is not attested in the data. Conjunction alternation could be claimed for one case, even though this one instance is not without its problems:

[6.23] 7 nibia fortamlus anamut fair. sed bidinill dofen ascech aird. 7  
donatuataib 7 donacenaib.  
7 ni=bia fortamlus anamut fair. sed bid=inill  
and not=be.FUT supremacy enemy.gPL on.him but be.FUT=safe

do=fen as=cech aird. 7 do=na=tuataib 7 do=na=cenaib  
for.him=self out=each point and for=the=tribe.dPL and for=the=clan.dPL  
'and there will not be supremacy of enemies upon him, but it will be  
safe for him out of each direction, both for his tribes and for his clans.' [LB 35b]

It is highly unusual that the Latin conjunction is written *in plene* rather than being abbreviated to *s~*. However, since the entire sentence is Irish, and the same abbreviation frequently represents the Irish equivalent *acht* (with the same meaning), it is perhaps fair to see this example as a diamorph, not a codeswitch.

### 6.2.2.3 Appositive alternation

Appositive alternation is the juxtaposition of a usually nominal predicate to another mostly nominal grammatical structure to which it is syntactically bound. This subtype is very common, numbering 27% of all occurrences.<sup>300</sup> Nearly all items are introduced by an emblematic diamorph, openly marking them as appositive switches. This emblem is usually *.i.*, less often 7. Because these signs are diamorphs to be interpreted as Latin *id est* and *et* or Irish *ed ón* and *ocus* respectively, they readily trigger switching between languages. It should be noted that what now appear as appositions may have been glosses in the exemplar of *LB*, having been incorporated into running text only upon copying.<sup>301</sup> As seen above, it is also possible that Latin constructions are translated to Irish and written *in plene*, in the manner in which they might have been pronounced:

<sup>300</sup> Items ##3 4 12 28 35 52 56 64 65 67 86 88 113 120 122 124 126 128 129 130 133 134 137 150 159  
165 166 168 169 171 175 223 249 252 261 264 268 272 274 277 280 293 311 327 330 339 341 343  
351 358 371 374 375 376 406 417 427 429 431 432 454 457 466 477 480 481 482 483 502 518 530  
532 & 533.

<sup>301</sup> Bisagni (2013-4: 26).

[6.24] otá elpa [ueł alba] diataircetul 7 dianoebud .i. epscop mel 7 melchu  
[nomina eorum].

o=tá elpa ueł alba dia=taircetul 7  
from=be.SBST<sup>302</sup> Alps or Scotland for.their=prophesying and

dia=noebud .i. epscop mel 7 melchu nomina eorum  
for.their=sanctifying that is bishop Mel and Melchu name.nPL their  
'They are from the Alps, or Scotland, for prophesying and for  
sanctifying them, bishop Mel and Melchu [are] their names' [#171]

Appositions of the type *nomen eius* are common as glosses, as the corpus of the *Féilire Óengusso* shows.<sup>303</sup> Generally speaking, appositions providing additional information are a typical rhetorical function.<sup>304</sup> A remarkable parallel, though, is indicated through a paper note inserted into *LB* at this point referring to the Book of Lismore, held at Chatsworth House. There one can read in the same text:

[6.24a] otha Elpu dia taircetul & dia bennachadh, Mel & Melchu a n-anmanna.

o=tha Elpu dia taircetul & dia  
from=be Alps for.their prophesying and for.their

bennachadh, Mel & Melchu a<sup>n</sup> anmanna  
blessing Mel and Melchu their name.nPL  
'they are from the Alps for prophesying and for blessing, Mel and  
Melchu [are] their names.' [*Book of Lismore* f.53vb]

In this codex, contemporaneous with *LB*, the scribe has opted for the Irish equivalent of *nomina eorum*. Bisagni relates a similar case where Latin *contra* in one codex can be expanded as Irish *fri* in another.<sup>305</sup> These are further indications that Latin may have been rendered Irish in speaking. A last possible appositionive codeswitch occurs in one treatise on the religious festival of *Samhain*, All Saints:

[6.25] Ise fáth aranabar **feria omnium sanctorum** frisinsamain

Is=e fáth ara<sup>n</sup>=abar feria omnium sanctorum fris-in=samain  
Be.COP=he cause that=say.PAS feast all.gPL saint.gPL against-the-hallow  
'This is the reason that Samhain is called *Feast of All Saints*. [#358]

The Latin appellation *feria omnium sanctorum* can be considered an apposition to the Irish phrase *frisinsamain*. This is preferable to the argument that the Latin

<sup>302</sup> Cf. the Dictionary of the Irish Language at [dil.ie/34102](http://dil.ie/34102) q.v. óthá [Consulted 28/7/2016].

<sup>303</sup> Cf. Stam (forthcoming).

<sup>304</sup> Halmari/Regetz (2011: 132), citing Gumperz (1982).

<sup>305</sup> Bisagni (2013-4: 28-9).

phrase is a nominal predicate of the Irish verb phrase *aranabar*, since this name is neither the subject nor the object of the passive verb *abar*. Otherwise it would have to be labelled as insertion, in the same vein as example [6.6]. Another occurrence of the same Latin phrase admits of two contrastive analyses as well:

- [6.26] atberair **feria omnium sanctorum** fria. ar rocoisecrad **omnibus sanctis**  
integdais.  
 atberair            feria    omnium            sanctorum        fria.    ar  
 say.PAS            feast    all.gPL            saint.gPL        to.it    for  
  
 ro-coisecrad            omnibus            sanctis            in=tegdais<sup>306</sup>  
 PRF.consecrate.PAS    all.dPL            saint.dPL        in=house  
 'Feast of All Saints is said to it, since it was consecrated to all saints in the church.'  
 [#362, 363]

The first Latin phrase is completely embedded into the Irish verb phrase *atberair* ... *fria*, making it a certain insertion. The second Latin switch, being an argument of the Irish verb *rocoisecrad*, would have to be called a congruent lexicalisation since it displays a Latin case governed by the Irish verb. While the dative case would be present in both Irish and Latin, Irish would use a preposition instead.<sup>307</sup>

#### 6.2.2.4 Adverbial alternation

Adverbial alternation is, obviously, the use of adverbs from one language in the context of another. Although the switching of such a short, non-essential element can easily be thought of as insertion, Muysken (2000) nonetheless labels adverb switching as alternation. The reason for this choice is the role adverbs play in the structuring of the discourse, so that they are more akin to other forms of alternation.<sup>308</sup> This category can easily be confused with the fourth subtype of alternation among conjunctions. Adverbial alternation is connected to formulae, as almost all of the data show a similar structure.<sup>309</sup> Most often the adverb comes in second place in the sentence, usually after the verb. In the following item a Latin adverb is rendered in the Irish translation, though it is not present in Latin:

- [6.27] **Sex haitem caisis hec oratio silenter canitur.** Ar .ui. fathaib vero gabar  
inpater isanaís.  
 Sex    haitem    caisis            hec    oratio    silenter    canitur.  
 6        however    cause.dPL    this    prayer    silent.ADV    sing.PAS

<sup>306</sup> Maybe *in* is the genitive of the article; cf. the Dictionary of the Irish Language at [dil.ie/40335](http://dil.ie/40335) [Consulted 28/7/2016].

<sup>307</sup> Bisagni (2013-4: 40-6).

<sup>308</sup> Muysken (2000: 96).

<sup>309</sup> Items #51 55 59 62 102 106 117 232 340 347 352 354 355 308 434 458 459 468 525 & 526.

Ar .ui. fathaib vero gabar in=pater i=sanais  
 For 6 cause.dPL but hold.PAS the=father in=silence  
 'So for six reasons is this prayer sung silently. So for six reasons is the  
*Pater [Noster]* held in silence.' [#434]

This second position for adverbs is admissible in both Irish and (Medieval) Latin syntax. The first element in the sentence is often a verb, though this example displays that other options are possible as well. Note too the use of the diamorph *pater* in its Latin form with its narrow Irish meaning. In many cases it is difficult to decide whether the adverb is really Latin or whether it should be read as Irish. However, as adverbial phrases cannot be diamorphic, they must be considered according to their surface form, here Latin. Conversely, a few instances exist where instead is found an Irish adverb in a Latin phrase as in the following case:

[6.28] **Martires** didiu **intertia** turbai.  
 Martires didiu in=tertia turbai  
 Martyr.nPL then in=third throng  
 'Martyrs, then, in the third host.' [#352]

Note that the influence of Irish also informs the inflection of *turbai*, an Irish morpheme on a Latin word, as seen before. Given the fact that Latin adverbs can occur in purely Irish contexts and vice versa, it is perhaps best to think of such adverb alternations as capable of being rendered in either language in speaking. This also holds for a small number of adverbs that are found at the end of a sentence, for which phenomenon the following item may serve as an example:

[6.29] isésin scél forraithmentar **hic**  
 is=é=sin scél forraithmentar hic  
 be.COP=he=that story remember.PAS here  
 'This is a story which is remembered here' [#308]

This usage seems similar to discourse alternation, as it refers to the structuring of the text. It could also be labelled a peripheral switch, as it is can be conceived of as a right-dislocating of a phrase. Less likely, Latin *hic* could also be taken as the pronoun 'this' referring to *scél* which would make it pronominal alternation as in the next section. In general, the switch seems intended to structure the discourse.

#### 6.2.2.5 Pronominal alternation

Pronominal alternation, lastly, is the switching of bare pronouns referring anaphorically to previous information. This subtype may be found in an instance that is reminiscent of the previous example in having the switch finally:

[6.30] **hic autem uersus .i. uiriliter agite exortatio est bonorum nese arecto proposito carnis imbicilitate subducatur.** Infers áirithisea imorro diatabriathra **hic**.

hic autem uersus .i. uiriliter agite exortatio  
this however verse that is virtuous.ADV act.IMPV incitement

est bonorum nese a=recto  
be good.gPL that not=oneself from=right

intention.abSG carnis imbicilitate subducatur. In=fers  
proposito flesh.gSG stupidity.abSG remove.PAS The=verse

áirithi-sea imorro di-a<sup>n</sup>=ta=briathra hic  
certain-this however of-whom=be.SBST.word.nPL this  
'This verse then, *Viriliter agite* [Ps 31:25], is a spur toward good things,  
lest one is led away through dullness from the true urge of flesh. This  
very verse, then, from which the words are, is this.' [#338]

Given the pronoun *hic* 'this' in the Latin clause, it is tempting to call it a pronoun in the Irish clause too. Apart from this anaphoric analysis, though, it is quite possible that the second *hic* 'here' is adverbial. One additional example of pronominal alternation makes use of the reverse directionality of the languages:

[6.31] **Incipit deluxoria inso síis**  
Incipit de=luxoria in=so<sup>310</sup> síis  
Begin from=luxury here=this below  
'On luxury begins here below' [#344]

The Irish demonstrative pronoun *so* 'this' is connected by the diamorphic article *in* to the Latin verb phrase. Although such constructions are marginal, they are apparently acceptable in either language, without an obstruction to the *linearity*.

### 6.2.3 Congruent lexicalisation

The last switch type is the most complex and intricate type of codeswitching within Muysken's system; many of the subtypes proposed here blur the boundaries of the two languages and syntaxes. The first subtype is the switching of function words such as determiners and prepositions. As these are part of the syntactic skeleton of the sentence, switching here is unusual. The second subtype is a switch of a selected item. This indicates that a switch is grammatically dependent on or modified by an element in another language.

<sup>310</sup> Cf. the Dictionary of the Irish Language at [dil.ie/38191](http://dil.ie/38191) q.v. 1 *so* II [Consulted 30/10/2016].

The third subtype is bidirectionality, which means that there are multiple subsequent switches in a sentence. This differs from the back-switches of insertion and the embedded switches of alternation, since in bidirectional switches both languages contribute to the syntax of the sentence. The fourth subtype is defined by Muysken as diamorphs. A number of cases where the diamorph is an integral part of the switch will be discussed under this header. By contrast, diamorphs that stand on their own as a bridge between two languages do not themselves constitute switches. The diamorphs as a category of congruent lexicalisation are discussed at the end of the chapter in section 6.5.

The fifth subtype of congruent lexicalisation is the integration of morphological properties into the receiving language. This touches upon issues of the orthography and the imposition of native sound laws on foreign morphemes. The sixth subtype is labelled triggering of switches. Since this process is intimately tied up with diamorphs, it will mostly be relegated to the end of the chapter as well. The seventh subtype is the mixing of collocations and idiomatic expressions. This mostly occurs with fixed expressions with a formulaic function. These seven subtypes form the selection that will be illustrated here through examples. In addition, there are four further subtypes mentioned by Muysken. These are linear and/or structural equivalence; multi-constituent codemixing; non-constituent or 'ragged' mixing; and non-nested *a b c* structures. All of these labels refer more to the scope of the switches involved than to their content. In view of the grammatical analysis of chapter 5 these instances can be better categorised within the other subtypes. In this manner the data will receive an optimal description in terms of both grammatical and syntactic usage. The aforementioned seven subtypes will now be described in further detail with the aid of diverse cases from the corpus of the *Leabhar Breac*.

Table 6.4: Congruent lexicalisation subtypes

Congruent lexicalisation	Number #	Percentage %
Function words	7	5
Selected elements	34	23
Bidirectional switches	15	10
Diamorphs	11	8
Morphological integration	16	11
Triggering	---	---
Collocations and idioms	63	43
<b>Total</b>	<b>146</b>	<b>100</b>



### 6.2.3.1 Function words

The figures for the various subcategories of congruent lexicalisation are found in table 6.4 above. The first category concerns switches involving a function word, mostly determiners such as articles and demonstratives. These belong to the current switch type because they take part in the syntax of phrases. Function word switches are an exceptional phenomenon; seven cases are found, of which not one is unequivocal.<sup>311</sup> Three involve certain diamorphs, and three other are related to a name in Latin. Another ambiguous example is the following statement at the beginning of a long citation:

[6.32] **Noui testamenti initium** sin.  
 Noui                    testamenti            initium                sin  
 New.gSG                testament.gSG        beginning            that  
 'That [is the] beginning of the New Testament.' [#455]

The Irish demonstrative modifies an entirely Latinate noun phrase in an intimate mix of languages. As it stands *sin* can be considered a part of the Latin noun phrase. Another analysis, however, has *sin* as the subject of a hidden Irish copula *is* 'is'. In this case the Latin phrase *noui testamenti initium* is the predicate of this Irish copula, which would make the switch bidirectional. The same demonstrative *sin* is also found in two other uncertain cases. The examples are *iudeii sin* 'those [are] Jews' and *bonifatius sin* 'that [is] Boniface'. For the former, the spelling with *-ii* may indicate the Irish noun *Iúdae* rather than the Latin *Iudaeus*, although the spelling *iudei* is also attested.<sup>312</sup> For the latter, as has been stated above in section 6.2.1.2, it is unclear whether *Bonifatius* is specifically Latin or a diamorph. Furthermore, in certain contexts Irish *sin* can also function as an adverb meaning 'there',<sup>313</sup> or as the object of the verb, changing the scope from intra- to interphrasal. Both *Bonifatius* and *Iudei* also have another method of intraphrasal complementation, seen in *naiudei vero* 'the Jews, then' and *inbonifatius cetna* 'the same Boniface'. Here, preceding both nouns is a form of the Irish article, which contrasts with the postmodification in *iudeii sin* and *bonifatius sin*. These are perhaps the best evidence for the switching of function words. The combination of diamorph names and determiners with multiple uses makes it difficult to determine the merit of these intraphrasal instances.<sup>314</sup>

<sup>311</sup> Items ##323 326 348 365 366 420 & 455.

<sup>312</sup> Cf. the Dictionary of the Irish Language at [dil.ie/29198](http://dil.ie/29198) q.v. *Iúdae* [Consulted 28/7/2016].

<sup>313</sup> Cf. the Dictionary of the Irish Language at [dil.ie/37567](http://dil.ie/37567) q.v. 1 *sin* A [Consulted 28/7/2016].

<sup>314</sup> Cf. Breatnach (1990: 95-9) for the use of the article *in* as a marker of citation.

## 6.2.3.2 Selected elements

Switching of selected elements concerns the complementation patterns of verbs and nouns, in other words the items that are grammatically dependent on verbs (such as objects) and nouns (such as genitive complements). This subtype is substantially larger with 34 hits.<sup>315</sup> It shows a significant homogeneity in its grammatical properties. Almost all selected elements are nouns and names, of which 79% are in the genitive case. Furthermore, 82% of the switches are in the direction of Irish to Latin. An example of a selected switch is the following item:

- [6.33] **iláim longini**  
 i=láim                    longini  
 in=hand.dSG    Longinus.gSG  
 'in the hand of Longinus' [#460; cf. #462]

The proper noun *Longinus* displays Latin genitive inflection selected by the preceding Irish noun *láim*. As the inflection is thus governed by a form in another language, the example constitutes congruent lexicalisation. The opposite directionality of switching is attested in the phrase **sancti martain** 'Saint Martin' from example [6.2]. Cases other than the genitive are also used, for example the dative and the accusative, respectively, within the following items:

- [6.34] Tanic tra iarlathib triar fer **ogalilee** coierusalem .i. finiés sacart ...  
 Tanic                    tra            iar=lathib            triar            fer  
 Come.PST            then            after=day.dPL    3            man.nPL  
  
 o=galilee                    co=ierusalem    .i.            finiés    sacart  
 from=Galilea.dSG            to=Jerusalem    that is    Phineas priest  
 'Then after some days three men came from Galilee to Jerusalem, that is Phineas the priest..' [#324-325; cf. #328]

- [6.35] 7 lamchomairt fri**himnum dicat** 7 **imnum** míchíl  
 7    lamchomairt fri=himnum    dicat    7    imnum    míchíl  
 and handbeating    with=hymn.aSG    Dicat    and hymn.aSG    Michael.gSG  
 'and a hand-beating with a *Hymnum Dicat* and a hymn of Michael' [#528, 529]

The first example has a Latin noun with dative case selected by the Irish preposition *ó*. The second item has Latin accusative *imnum* twice selected by the Irish preposition *fri* and a subsequent switch back to Irish. A final example of selection has consecutive switches, first with an Irish noun, later with a Latin verb:

<sup>315</sup> Items ##98 132 135 140 163 167 273 284 285 300 302 304 306 324 328 363 368 370 372 377 378 379 405 419 460 462 523 527 528 529 543 550 551 & 555.

[6.36] **Loricca coluim cilli incipit.**

Loricca	coluim	cilli	incipit
Defence	Colum.gSG	Cille.gSG	begin

'The defence of Colum Cille begins.' [#555, 556]

The Latin noun phrase, which includes an Irish selected genitive, is itself selected by a Latin verb. This consecutive switch pattern is different from alternation, since the subsequent switches are here syntactically intertwined. When both languages are used in the realisation of lexical items belonging to the syntactic core of the sentence, this fact points to congruent lexicalisation.<sup>316</sup>

### 6.2.3.3 Bidirectional switches

The previous example [6.36] can also be taken as a bidirectional switch from Latin to Irish and back.<sup>317</sup> In this subtype multiple subsequent switches occur in the core syntax of a sentence. Such switches are to be distinguished from both back-switches of insertion and the peripheral switches of alternation. Insertional back-switches occur after an inserted switch that is completely embedded into the frame of the receiving language. Peripheral switches have their own internal grammar, which is alternated with the grammar of the rest of the sentence. By contrast, bidirectional switches consist of phrases in different languages that are employed together to express a connected syntactic structure. In this light, an identification of bidirectional switches as congruent lexicalisation can be made confidently. One case comparable to [6.35] is the following item from a poem:

[6.37] Maith gaden. **tribus dedit** garg angleo.

Maith	gaden	tribus	dedit	garg	a <sup>n</sup> =gleo
Good	?voice	tribe	give.PRF	strong	in=battle

'A good voice [is what] the tribe gave, strong in battle.' [#547, 548]<sup>318</sup>

Compared to the previous example the reverse directionality applies, starting with an Irish object phrase selected by the following Latin verb phrase, which also selects the subsequent Irish predicate. This differs from the back-switches of insertion and the embedded switches of alternation, since in bidirectional switches both languages contribute to the syntax of the sentence. The meaning of the sentence, to be fair, is fairly obscure, but the patterning of languages is evidently visible in the above example. This bidirectionality can be intricate,

<sup>316</sup> Lipski (2014: 25) considers the switching between subject pronoun and verb as 'infelicitous.'

<sup>317</sup> Items ##40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 170 443 452 547 & 548.

<sup>318</sup> The phrase is problematic; perhaps it reads *maith gade is tribus dedit* 'it is good that he prayed, to the three he gave'; another dubious solution is to read *gadar* 'beagle', rendering *maith gade tribus dedit* 'a good beagle he gave to three'. None of these solutions are satisfying.

with each added element contributing to codeswitching. An extreme example of bidirectionality is a fivefold switch seen in an aforementioned interphrasal item:

[6.38] 7 dorogart **nomen meum** fothri. **dicens.** lucian. **ter.**  
 =[6.4] 7 dorogart nomen meum fo=thri. dicens. lucian. ter  
 And call.PRF name my about=three say.PPA Lucianus thrice  
 'And he called my name three times, saying 'Lucianus' thrice.' [#45, 46, 47, 48, 49]

The clause begins with a diamorph 7 and an Irish verb phrase *dorogart*. This verb selects an object in Latin, *nomen meum*, which in turn is followed by an Irish prepositional phrase, *fo thri*. The second clause is actually a mirror opposite to the first one. The verb phrase is now the Latin form *dicens*. The subsequent selected object is Irish *lucian*. The phrase ends with the Latin adverbial element *ter*. Since the two clauses convey about the same information, they might be thought of as alternational doubling. In this case, though, the two languages each provide part of the syntactic core as congruent lexicalisation.

#### 6.2.3.4 Diamorphs

Several of the selected elements in the foregoing examples can be labelled diamorphs, including in [6.38] the items *nomen meum* and *dicens*. While Muysken includes diamorphs as a separate switch type, they are usually found to facilitate subsequent switches. The present section will discuss examples where diamorphs contribute to switching.<sup>319</sup> The study of diamorphs per se is found in section 6.5. As stated above in section 5.3.2, only intraphrasal elements may be described as diamorphs; phrases and clauses can usually be deemed to belong to either language. However, many interphrasal switches make use of diamorphs, although these are assumed to be assigned the same language as the phrase to which they belong. The differences between diamorph properties can be judged from the three comparable examples in [6.39], [6.40] and [6.41] below:

[6.39] Pais Cristifir inchoinchinn **uii. kalende mai**  
 Pais Cristifir in=chon-chinn uii. kalende mai  
 Passion Christopher the=dog-head 7 Kalends.gSG May.gSG  
 'The passion of Christopher the Dog-headed on the 25<sup>th</sup> of April' [#557]

[6.40] 7 lithlat/hi nahí noembrigte **i. kalaind** ebrai arái lathí mís  
 7 lith-lathi na=hí noem=brigte  
 and feast-day the.gSG=that holy=Brigit.gSG

<sup>319</sup> Items #27 68 100 139 173 217 309 321 415 521 & 549.

.i. kalende ebrai<sup>320</sup> arái lathi mís  
 that is Kalends.nPL February.gSG regarding day month.gSG  
 'and the feast-day of that holy Brigit, that is, the 1<sup>st</sup> of February as to the  
 day of the month' [#166, 167]

[6.41] 7 foraimet inmartirisea **isept Kalende** enair arai lathi mis grene  
 7 foraimet in=martiri=sea i=sept  
 and commemoration the.gSG=martyr.gSG=this in=7

Kalende enair arai lathi mis grene  
 Kalends.nPL January regarding day month.gSG sun.gSG  
 'and commemoration of this martyr on the 25<sup>th</sup> of December as to the  
 day of the solar month' [#36]

The first instance has an Irish phrase with a fully Latin date triggered by the numeric diamorph *uii*. The second case has a decidedly Irish name of the month while diamorph *kl-* can be interpreted as either Latin *Kalend(a)e* or Irish *Kalaind*. The third example has a seemingly Irish date, since the phrase depends on the preposition *i* which is also Irish. However, apart from the diamorph for Kalends the word *sept* is neither Latin *septem* nor Irish *secht*. As a result *sept* goes beyond the blurring of language boundaries inherent in diamorphs and moves into the terrain of the language integration typical of a fluently bilingual society. In each case the diamorphic date can be expanded as either the standard Latin phrase or as the Irish equivalent. The choice, which is left to the individual reader, may depend in part on the language of the rest of the phrase, as the differences between examples [6.39] through [6.41], as well as the following example, show:

[6.42] conid desin dorigned tech **sanctebrighte** hicill dara  
 co<sup>n</sup>=id de=sin dorigned tech sancte=brigitte hi=cill dara  
 that=it of=that make.PAS house saint.gSG=Brigit.gSG in=Kil Dare  
 'so that out of that was made the house of the holy Brigit in Kildare' [#229]

The highly abbreviated genitival phrase could be read as Latin *sancte brigite*[a]. However, an Irish interpretation as *sanct brigte* is also possible, even if the usual word for 'holy' in Irish would be *noib*. The word *sanct* is sparingly attested, though, among others in the saints' calender *Féilire Óengusso* also attested in *LB*.

#### 6.2.3.5. Morphological or phonological integration

Morphological and phonological integration is the process by which an original loanword is adapted either to the orthography of the receiving language or to the sound laws to which native words are prone. It is often difficult to

<sup>320</sup> Apparently for lenited genitive (f)ebrai, not found thus in [dil.ie/21386](http://dil.ie/21386) [Accessed 28/7/2016].

distinguish loanwords and codeswitches from one another, and the two might be viewed as partially overlapping stages within the same spectrum of language contact. The inclusion of this category in the switch type of congruent lexicalisation therefore relies highly on individual interpretation of examples from the data.<sup>321</sup> Muysken includes in this subtype only morphological issues in modern codeswitching, since it is easier in spoken language to differentiate morphology, phonology and orthography. Because of the difficulties in distinguishing these related phenomena in written sources, they are treated here as a unit. The fact that seemingly morphological switches can actually reflect issues of phonology and orthography is indicated by the following item:

[6.43] **Nullus cantet sine amictu. Stola. Alba. Famorae. & casulai. & hec uestimentai nitidai sint**

Nullus	cantet	sine	amictu.	stola.	alba.	famorae. <sup>322</sup>
None	sing.SBJV	without	garment	gown	alb	amice

&	casulai.	&	hec	uestimentai	nitidai	sint
and	mantle	and	this.nPL	clothing.nPL	shining.nPL	be.SBJV

'No one is to sing without garment, gown, alb, amice and mantle, and these clothes are to be shining' [#425, 426]

One possible explanation for the ending *-ai* on the Latin words, instead of regular *-a*, is that it corresponds to the Irish morpheme *-[a]i* known from nominal *u*-stems like *mug* 'serf', plural *mogai*. This phenomenon was also seen in the Latin *turbai* 'throng' in example [6.28] as well as in the Irish *forórdai* in [6.7]. Alternatively, the ending might reflect an attempt to distinguish the pronunciation of short and long *a* in Latin. In the first case the phenomenon is morphological, while in the second case it is phonological. A similar uncertainty affects two related examples giving the Latin and Irish names of two prayers:

[6.44] **ihesu christe. qui regnas insecula seculorum. amen. Credo. 7 pater.**

ihesu	christe.	qui	regnas	in=secula	seculorum.	amen.	credo	7	pater
Jesus	Christ	who	reign	in=age	age.gPL	amen	Credo	7	Pater

'Jesus Christ, who reigns throughout all ages, amen. *Credo* and *Pater*.' [#297]

[6.45] 7 inaforaithmet .i. a credo 7 a pater. **Filios suos non sinere impie [algere.**  
 7 i<sup>n</sup>=a=foraithmet .i. a=credo 7 a=pater.  
 and in=his=remembrance that is his=Credo and his=Pater

<sup>321</sup> Items ##36 78 153 154 155 156 157 158 229 297 358 384 404 408 425 & 426.

<sup>322</sup> It appears *famorae* is a misspelling of *fanone*, from *fano* 'maniple, amice', a religious vestment.

Filios suos non sinere impie agere  
 son.aPL own.aPL not allow impious.ADV act  
 'and in his remembrance, that is, his *Credo* and his *Pater*. Do not let your  
 sons act impiously.' [#78]

The first phrase has fully Latin names of both prayers, and there is no reason to assume switching. The second phrase, however, shows that the prayers also function in an Irish context, with mutation on the initial phonemes of both *chredo* and *phater*, caused by the Irish leniting possessive pronoun *a*. The phonological or morphological adaptation of these names now makes them Irish. Comparable effects of an Irish mutation on a Latin noun, although very rare, are also attested:

[6.46] 7 amal ata **inlibro exódi** isin .xxad. cáipdel  
 7 amal ata in=libro exódi i=sin .xxad. cáipdel  
 and like be in=book.abSG Exodus.gSG in=the 20<sup>th</sup> chapter  
 'and as it is in the book of Exodus in the twentieth chapter' [#391; cf. #389]

[6.47] acht atat anmunna naplágsa **illibro exodi**  
 acht atat anmunna na=plág=sa i'=libro exodi  
 but be name.nPL the.gSG=plague=this in=book.abSG Exodus.gSG  
 'but the names of this plague are in the book of Exodus' [#404, 405]

The first example has a fully Latin prepositional phrase, opening with the diamorph preposition *in*. The second has the Irish preposition *i* which marks non-lenition through the double *ll* of Latin *libro*. Here we have the intrusion of Irish interference on a Latin noun, an intimate sign of congruent lexicalisation. A final example of integration involves the morphology of a Latin name used in a fully Irish context:

[6.48] nert maith **abricio** doimmdergud mártain. Dodechaid **bricio** cenfuirech  
 comártain  
 nert maith a=bricio do=immdergud mártain.  
 strength good o=Bricius.abSG for-reprove.VN Martin.gSG  
  
 Dodechaid bricio cen=fuirech co=mártain  
 Come.PRF Bricius.abSG without=delaying to=Martin.aSG  
 "Good strength, o Bricius, on taunting Martin.' Bricius came without  
 delay to Martin.' [#157, 158]

In these otherwise Irish examples the Latin name *Bricius* appears as *Bricio*, which corresponds to a Latin dative or ablative, even when it is used in the nominative as in its second occurrence. It might be that the confusion in ending arises

because of the first occurrence *a Bricio*. The Irish particle *a* is used to signal vocative case, but it is diamorphous with the Latin preposition *a*, governing ablative case. Seen in this light the examples could be explained as morphological integration triggered by the diamorph *a*. From an orthographical point of view, however, the writing of *Bricio* for classical Latin *Bricius* appears to correspond to common usage in British Latin (c.400-1100 CE).<sup>323</sup>

#### 6.2.3.6 Triggering

The above examples show that the context of an item can decide whether it belongs to one language or another, as the presence of triggers can often explain why there is switching between the languages. Triggers are expressions in a text in one language that invite a change into another language through a similarity in idiomatic use. These triggers are usually diamorphs, as in the above case of *a Bricio*, where *a* can be designated as either the Irish vocative particle *a* or as the Latin preposition *a* 'from'. Because triggering is tied up intimately with the issue of diamorphs, both processes will be discussed together in section 6.5. There is only one example in the data of a trigger than cannot be called a diamorph, as it appears on the interphrasal scope:

[6.49] *irrige 7 iflaithius mophopuilse .i. popul israel. & alibi dictum [est] ...*  
*i*<sup>r</sup>=rige                    7                    *i*=flaithius                    mo=phopuil=se  
 in=kingdom            and                    in=rule                    my=people=EMP

*.i. popul israel. & alibi dictum est*  
 that is people Israel and elsewhere say.PPP be  
 'in the kingdom and in the rule of my own people, the people of Israel, and elsewhere it is said..' [#74]

The bridge between the Irish phrase and the Latin clause is the entire underlined diamorph segment. Of its parts *.i.* can be expanded as Latin *id est* or Irish *ed ón* and *pop~* as Latin *populus* or Irish *popul*, while *israel* is a proper name used in both languages. In this instance the diamorphic element that triggers a switch from Irish to Latin is a whole phrase instead of a single word.<sup>324</sup> These triggers should thus not be treated as switches themselves but rather as part of the switches they trigger, in this case the Latin international phrase *& alibi dictum est* after the Irish segment *irrige 7 iflaithius mophopuilse*. The role of triggers in intraphrasal contexts will be tackled in its own right near the end of this chapter.

<sup>323</sup> Schrijver (2014: 34-48, esp. 41).

<sup>324</sup> Halmari/Regetz (2011: 142).



### 6.2.3.7 Collocations and idioms

The final subtype of idioms and collocations concerns fixed expressions with a formulaic function. As the semantics of such expressions is often specific to one language, the use of two languages in idioms and collocations is considered to be a case of congruent lexicalisation. This subtype is by far the largest category, containing almost half of all congruent lexicalisations.<sup>325</sup> It is the least interesting category in terms of grammatical structure. Two constructions are responsible for virtually all of the data here, and both of these are formulaic. The first is the ubiquitous *dicere*-construction, which occasionally selects arguments in both Latin and Irish to denote the names of the speaker and the audience. Especially in cases where the verb is followed by a diamorph, the Latin verb *dicere* invites a continuation in another language, as is illustrated below:

[6.50] **dixit** *in*rí fridubthach nidatcomadais diblinaib.  
 dixit in=rí fri=dubthach ni=dat=comadais dib=linaib  
 say.PRF the=king against=Dubthach not=be.2SG=suitable two.dDU=side.dPL  
 'The king said to Dubthach: 'You are not suitable in either way'.' [#191, 192]

Here the *dicere*-construction is followed by *in*, which can cause a continuation in Latin (such as *in dialago*) as a preposition, or in Irish as a preposition or, in this case, an article. As section 5.4.2 has shown, the switching of subject complements is easier than objects, but both contribute to the core syntax. Another idiomatic construction is also often found in the *Leabhar Breac*, to wit the Latin verb *incipit*:

[6.51] Betha coluim chille **incipit**.  
 Betha coluim chille incipit  
 Life Colum.gSG Cille.gSG begin  
 'The life of Colum Cille begins.' [#24; cf. #556-557]

The above example indicates the ease with which a formulaic expression such as *incipit* is connected with arguments in another language. In this case the Latin verbal predicate receives an Irish subject. This flexibility inherent in congruent lexicalisation, as seen in the above examples, has consequences for the adherence of historical codeswitching to modern models. Of the three switch types of insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalisation, the latter displays the most intricate intermingling of languages, not only on the lexical but also on the syntactic level of the text. As such the instances of congruent lexicalisation are most favourably analysed through the model made by Muysken, in which the grammatical interrelationship between the two languages is viewed not through

<sup>325</sup> Items ##8 9 11 17 19 21 23 24 30 32 71 76 90 103 107 142 162 176 178 180 182 184 186 188 190 192 296 298 200 202 204 206 208 210 212 214 216 219 222 225 227 231 234 236 238 240 243 276 381 382 472 475 479 486 493 496 498 501 507 517 541 552 & 556.

absolute constraints but through the probability of their occurrence. At the other end of codeswitching typology is the insertional variety propagated by Myers-Scotton, in which the two languages are kept apart in the sentential syntax. Given the fact that the *Leabhar Breac* contains about as many insertions as congruent lexicalisations, both of which are far less common than the intermediate category of alternation, it can be claimed that the data in this chapter document a mode of codeswitching that represents a middle ground between Muysken and Myers-Scotton. The bilingual state of the *Leabhar Breac*, displaying two languages of a fairly balanced status, can therefore offer insight into the theoretical considerations and practical implications of codeswitching.

### 6.3 Switch type theory and practice

Just as the three switch types display differing treatments of grammatical categories, they also have divergent relationships to the various theories on codeswitching. The first type, insertion, entails the embedding of items from the donating language according to the grammatical demands of the receiving language. One way to achieve this adaptation is the neutralisation of inflection, so that embedded elements show zero morphology. Such adaptation conforms to the notion that insertions are integrated into the syntax of the receiving language, though inserted elements are not treated as belonging to the receiving language in terms of morphology or lexicon.<sup>326</sup> In addition, at the intraphrasal level, where insertions dominate, switches include a high percentage of diamorphs. These diamorphs are another way in which the grammatical constraints of the receiving language can be circumvented, since they can be interpreted as belonging to either language. Language neutrality is therefore a feature of both the lack of flexion on insertions and the presence of diamorphs in this switch type. Looking at the languages used for insertion, there is a strong preference for Latin and diamorphs over Irish. This predilection is especially apparent in the insertion of Latinate or diamorphic proper nouns. On the intraphrasal level these insertions often function as a complement to a head word, while on the interphrasal level they act as the subject of a sentence. As far as insertion is concerned, Irish may be closest to the title of *Matrix Language*.<sup>327</sup>

Continuing on the subtypes of insertions, the first three, to wit citations, ecclesiastical technoelect and nomenclature, share a certain extra- or metatextual characteristic. They all refer to sources outside the text itself, specifically texts where such citations, technical terms and names are referenced. For citations it is mostly the length and the accompanying complexity that determines whether they are insertion, alternation or congruent lexicalisation. A citation that is completely enclosed within a verb phrase violates the criterion of *dependency*, as

<sup>326</sup> Muysken (2000: 60).

<sup>327</sup> Myers-Scotton (1993: 7).

it depends grammatically on an element in another language, such as *locusta* in example [6.6] above. Other insertions break the rules of *government* for different reasons, such as *Archangeli* in example [6.7]. This initial insertion either violates *linearity*, because Irish requires a verb-first construction, or *dependency*, because the noun phrase is selected by an hypothetically elided Irish copula *it 'are'*.<sup>328</sup>

Another theoretical characteristic of insertion is that the morphology of foreign words is not adapted to the receiving language. This criterion is difficult to uphold for *LB*, because the line between two languages cannot always be drawn, especially in the case of diamorphs. A native version of a name may or may not be extant or current. Even if it is, its phonological or orthographical adaptation may be due to influence or interference of Latin on Irish or vice versa. Moreover, names may have been borrowed from other original sources, such as French and English. Neither need it be true that no native equivalent exists, as in the case of the ecclesiastical technolect in example [6.12], where one item, *biait*, is Irish, while other articles of faith are rendered in Latin. This supposed neutrality of insertions is not always distinguishable from congruent lexicalisation.<sup>329</sup> The same intermediate status holds for adaptations or semantic narrowings shifting from Latin to Irish, like Latin *pater* 'father' and Irish *pa[i]ter* 'the Lord's Prayer'. The existence of only one spontaneous insertion, seen in section 6.2.1.4, tells that this switch type is regulated by a stricter hierarchy like that of a *Matrix Language*.

The switch type of alternation is the most susceptible to the use of grammatical criteria and constraints, since alternational switches mostly occur at major syntactic boundaries. As the largest group it is also responsible for the great majority of Latin switches, so that in total the directionality of switching in the *Leabhar Breac* is more often from Irish to Latin. Clauses and phrases are favoured because of the usually larger scope of alternating switches. All this is in line with theories about both *linearity* and *dependency*, which have a preference for switching at the major syntactic boundaries. This preference is also visible in the classes and functions of alternation. Formulaic verb phrases and prepositional phrases are neat units that follow the same syntactic rules in both languages. One problem with prepositional switches, though, is that they may be selected and thus violate *dependency* constraints. The notion of *dependency* is inapplicable to alternation, as there are issues with both the *selection* of verbal arguments and with the switching of function words, as section 6.2.2 has shown. By contrast, for appositive noun phrases often headed by diamorphs, *government* is fully upheld.

Most alternational switches are lexical items such as nominal and verbal phrases. This observation runs contrary to the assumption made by Muysken that lexical

<sup>328</sup> Lipski (2014: 35) calls this omission 'telegraphic mixing', an asset of congruent lexicalisation.

<sup>329</sup> Muysken (2000: 39).

items are counter-indicative of an analysis as alternational switches.<sup>330</sup> On the contrary, these lexical categories correspond to the favourite alternational codeswitch classes. The subtypes of alternation show different methods of dealing with the aforementioned constraints of *government*. One approach, seen in section 6.2.2.2 and 6.2.2.3, is the placement of items outside the core syntactic structure, as is true for peripheral and appositional alternation. Another method is the flagging of metatextual functions, as is the case for discourse and doubling alternation, as well as alternations using conjunctions, adverbs or pronouns in section 6.2.2.4 and 6.2.2.5. To the subtype of discourse alternation the constraints of *government* do apply, as the marked citations and formulae are syntactically independent of the sentence structure, unlike their insertional counterparts. To signal these functions, diamorphs are again a welcome help, as section 6.2.2.1 already noted. Compared to insertion, though, alternation has more freedom to combine triggers one after another, for example through the use of emblems such as *.i.* and 7 in conjunction with diamorphic nomenclature.

The above discursive use of apposition corresponds to the textual structuring inherent in alternation. Because alternation is syntactically isolated from or marginal to the sentence structure, it often ignores concerns of *government* at large. This is especially true of non-essential word classes such as adverbs. Here, again, the use of diamorphs as adverbs neutralises the boundaries between the languages. In this respect it helps that the languages often share linear structure in the placement of phrases such as those formed by adverbs.<sup>331</sup> This structural equivalence holds not only for adverbs but also for verbal and prepositional phrases. Even where the two syntactic systems might collide, as with the verb-first requirement of Irish, the use of codeswitches enables solutions admissible to both languages, as in the cleft sentences of examples [6.28] or [6.32].<sup>332</sup> Alternation theory suggests that the acceptable combination of languages here is usually due to the separation of syntactic constructions, for example through dislocation or apposition, rather than through the shared syntax of congruent lexicalisation.

In congruent lexicalisation both languages contribute to the syntactic structure of the sentence. An example is the splitting of the roles of case assigner and assignment over the two languages. To a great extent, this collaboration is aided by structural equivalence of constructions in both languages. The mandatory initial position of verbs in Irish is allowed for Latin as well, although it is far from a default option, while modification of headwords such as nouns in noun phrases can take the form of both pre- and postmodification in Latin as well as

<sup>330</sup> Muysken (2000: 96).

<sup>331</sup> Muysken (2000: 104).

<sup>332</sup> Cf. Bisagni (2013-4: 44-6).

Irish. The similar treatment of subjects and (direct) nominal objects in both language is also advantageous to congruent lexicalisation, as the primary arguments of verb phrases can be filled by both Latin and Irish items. On the intraphrasal level the case system in nouns is largely similar in both languages, so that the case on a word can be governed by the headword that is rendered in another language. The occurrence of diamorphs on the intraphrasal level also fits the category of congruent lexicalisation, as these constitute the word-level embodiments of the integration and neutralisation of two languages.

In the entire corpus of switches in the *Leabhar Breac*, however, diamorphs appear to be less common in congruent lexicalisation than in either insertion or alternation. The reason for this discrepancy may be that the bridging function of diamorphs is more useful in switch types that harbour more inequality in the extent to which each language participates in the grammatical frame of the sentence, as is the case for insertion and alternation. By contrast, in congruent lexicalisation there is a far-reaching convergence of languages on a typological level, without the express need for lexically neutral elements such as diamorphs.<sup>333</sup> Finally, in terms of directionality, congruent lexicalisation has a marked scarcity of switches to Latin, whereas in the other switch types Latin is the preferred switch language. This may be due to the bidirectionality of the items in this switch type, which increase the chance that a lexical item might be realised in Irish rather than Latin. The fact that the syntactic structure of the sentence is filled by items from both languages points to a more complicated explanation of codeswitching than the existence of grammatical constraints. Rather, congruent lexicalisation may constitute a stylistic choice coming from the social acceptance of codeswitching, in accordance with the term *codemixing*.<sup>334</sup>

The shared syntactic structure of congruent lexicalisation is also visible in its subtypes. Switching of articles or determiners indicates a role for both languages in the skeleton of the sentence, as in example [6.10]. The same holds for the switching of selected elements and bidirectional switches such as [6.36] or [6.37], as these signify that the connections from one item to another are dependent on both languages. Though the subtype of selected elements centres around nominal items, function words are also involved in selection, as in example [6.32]. Congruent lexicalisation is encountered not only in the case assignment of nominal phrases but also in verbal arguments, since these constitute the very core of the syntactic structure. Further subtypes mentioned by Muysken such as linear or structural equivalence are additional indication of the ability of items from the switch type of congruent lexicalisation to act as a bridge between languages. In the light of the present corpus, though, the involvement of

<sup>333</sup> Muysken (2000: 148); vs. Muysken et al. (2007: 306).

<sup>334</sup> Muysken (2000: 122-3).

diamorphs, triggering, morphophonological integration and mixed idioms in the blurring of language boundaries is rather because of the role they play in facilitating switching than because they should be seen as switches themselves. Rather than following the classification of diamorphs as a subtype of congruent lexicalisation, as Muysken has done, it may be more informative to study the ways in which the diamorphs facilitate or trigger switches. The fact that diamorphs take part in the congruence of the two codes is visible to a far-reaching degree in example [6.40], where one word belongs to both languages.

The examples in the previous sections are not sufficiently or systematically explained by supposing a *Matrix Language* with foreign elements that are being connected to it by “bridges” such as inflections and case markers.<sup>335</sup> Contrary to the classical opinion on codeswitching, all of the above elements are capable of being expressed in both languages. The integration of the two codes includes the levels of orthography, phonology and morphology, as in example [6.43], in addition to the overlap in syntactic function and agreement in flexion, as in example [6.38].<sup>336</sup> Even on the lexical level convergence is reached through the use of fixed expressions such as *dicere*-constructions and *incipit*-titles, as in examples [6.50] and [6.51]. Both of these phrases govern selected elements in either language, which is an indication of the degree to which the two languages are integrated. This type of interchange may therefore be indicative of codeswitching as a stylistic choice rather than as a grammatical or semantic necessity. All in all congruent lexicalisation is not only most suited to the code-mixing described by Muysken; it is also informative of the role the languages play in Irish society. The intricate character of codeswitching applies not only to a bilingual text but also to its bilingual creators and users.<sup>337</sup> Far from constituting the result of imperfect learning, the codeswitching applied by the Irish connected the Medieval Latin of source materials to their own sophisticated code through an intricate interweaving of the syntactic structures.

#### 6.4 Switch types and grammatical categories

The divergent grammatical properties of the three switch types discussed above invite investigation into the correlations between the language categories of chapter 5 and the typology of the current chapter. This method necessitates a subdivision into switch scope so as to distinguish phenomena at each level of analysis. At the interclausal level, however, the exclusive use of alternation means that the switch type does not provide information additional to the grammatical analysis of interclausal items in table 5.5. As a result, the

<sup>335</sup> Bisagni (2013-4: 34).

<sup>336</sup> Muysken (2000: 154).

<sup>337</sup> Muysken (2000: 271); Halmari/Regetz (2011: 143).

interclausal scope can be conveniently ignored in the present discussion. For the interphrasal scope, though, a typological distribution further refines the analysis.

Interphrasal switching is analysed only for the three largest grammatical classes of nominal, verbal and prepositional phrases. Adjectival, adverbial and determiner phrases have too few hits to merit extensive mention. In the interest of completeness, all adverbial phrases are alternational except for one case of congruent lexicalisation. The one determiner phrase is also alternational, while the one adjective phrase is congruent lexicalisation. From the data summarised in table 6.5 below, interesting observations include the predilection of formulaic verb and prepositional phrases for alternation. Appositive noun phrases are overwhelmingly alternations as well, while subject noun phrases are split almost evenly between congruent lexicalisation and insertion. Looking at the other switch functions, the adjunctive, objectival and predicative function each favour a different switch type. Whereas the bigger functional categories are thus dominated by individual switch types, the biggest grammatical class of noun phrases has a comparable number of items for each of the three switch types.

Table 6.5: *Interphrasal switch type, class and function*

inter>phr	NP			PP			VP			
Type	Alt	Con	Ins	Alt	Con	Ins	Alt	Con	Ins	Total
ADJ	---	---	---	13	2	---	---	---	---	15
APP	62	---	11	---	---	---	3	---	---	76
COM	---	---	---	---	1	---	---	---	---	1
FOR	10	1	---	32	---	---	75	9	---	127
OBJ	---	8	3	---	12	---	---	---	---	23
PRE	2	2	9	---	---	---	---	2	---	15
SUB	2	50	40	---	---	---	---	---	---	92
<i>Subtotal</i>	76	61	63	45	15	---	78	11	---	349
<b>Total</b>	<b>200</b>			<b>60</b>			<b>89</b>			<b>349</b>

The combination of grammatical and typological analysis can be elucidated through an example, to wit an appositive noun phrase of the alternational type:

- [6.52] 7 ise ainm nahathrigesin isinscriptúir nóib i. sera penitentia i. mall aithrige  
 7 is=e ainm na<sup>h</sup>=aithrige=sin i=sin=scriptúir  
 And be.COP=it name the.gSG=penance=that in=the=scripture

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nóib .i. sera penitentia .i. mall aithrige  
 holy that is late penitence that is late penance  
 'And this is the name of that penance in the Holy Scripture: *sera penitentia*, i.e., 'late penance'.' [#482, 483]

The Latin switch *sera penitentia*, introduced by the diamorph *.i.*, is appositive to the Irish subject *ainm nahathrigesin*, which is itself an elaboration of the predicate *e*. The subsequent Irish switch is a translation of the Latin phrase, and it is also introduced by a diamorph *.i.*. Because of this tendency to put nominal appositions at the periphery of the sentence, this grammatical category often favours alternation.

Table 6.6: *Intraphrasal switch type, language, class and function*

intra<phr	Func	+ COM			- COM			
Class	Lang	Alt	Con	Ins	Alt	Con	Ins	Total
Adjective	ga	---	2	---	---	1	---	3
	ga-la	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
	la	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Determiner	ga	---	1	---	---	---	---	1
	ga-la	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
	la	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Noun	ga	---	10	---	---	---	---	10
	ga-la	---	16	57	---	3	6	82
	la	---	21	6	---	---	3	30
	<b>Total</b>	---	<b>50</b>	<b>63</b>		<b>4</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>126</b>

Switch types on the intraphrasal level are less complicated, as table 6.6 above demonstrates. Alternation is completely absent from intraphrasal items. Insertion has nine nouns that are not complements; by contrast, no fewer than sixty-three noun complements are insertions. For congruent lexicalisation the picture is more complex. It is the only type in which the two other word classes of adjectives and determiners are present, albeit sparingly. This type also includes a large number of noun complements, although slightly fewer than the insertional type. Given the restricted use of non-nominal items it is unsurprising that nouns are the only class to show both available switch types. In effect, congruent lexicalisation is the exclusive type for non-nominal classes while nouns are divided between insertion and congruent lexicalisation. This



differentiation in nominal items is the result of the differing language properties of noun complements. If the nominal switch shows neutralised inflection, it is considered to be an insertion, like *stephanus martir* in example [6.1]. If, however, the nominal switch displays inflection it must be a congruent lexicalisation, like *martain* in [6.2]. The following example shows a congruent lexicalisation in which the Latin nominal inflection is governed by a preceding Irish preposition:

- [6.53] Tanic tra iarlathib triar fer **ogalilee** coierusalem .i. finiés sacart ...  
 =[6.34] Tanic tra iar=lathib triar fer  
 Come.PST then after=day.dPL 3 man.nPL
- o=galilee co=ierusalem .i. finiés sacart  
 from=Galilea.dSG to=Jerusalem that is Phineas priest  
 'Then after some days three men came from Galilee to Jerusalem, that is Phineas the priest..' [#324-325; cf. #328]

The inflection on the Latin noun *galilee*, in this case the Latin dative *-[a]e*, depends on an Irish preposition *ó* 'from'. Had the preposition been Latin *ex* or *de* it would have demanded an ablative case, yielding *galilea*. It might be argued that the Latinate noun *ierusalem* has accusative case as governed by the Irish preposition *co*, but the name is here better thought of as an item that is not declined. This example illustrates the touching points between the switch type and its language properties. In terms of language choice the intraphrasal situation shows that insertional items are mostly diamorphs, while congruent lexicalisation is divided almost equally between diamorphs and Latin elements. Different switch scopes and types therefore combine in different manners. Such differences are most remarkable in the alternational type. Though it is expected that alternation dominates the interphrasal scope with its rigid syntactic boundaries, it is surprising that interclausal items are *always* alternations while intraphrasal items are *never* alternations but most often insertions. Grammatical class conveys a difference between the treatment of nominal items, in which all switch types can appear, and smaller categories, which usually have a preference for one switch type. As for function, finally, it seems that nearly every function tends toward a single switch type, although interphrasal subjects and non-complement intraphrasal items have a more diverse pattern. In all it is clear that an analysis of switch type is an improvement of grammatical analysis.

Both the typological and the grammatical analysis should also be tested against codeswitch theory. From the grammatical analysis of chapter 5 it might be surmised that historical codeswitching forms a violation of the grammatical properties of both languages involved. The typological analysis in the present chapter has shown that codeswitching rather constitutes a language of its own

with a grammar compiled from the confluence of two sources, where congruent lexicalisation shows the highest degree of confluence. From the varying intensity with which the two languages are combined in the *Leabhar Breac* it can be stated that the idiosyncrasies of historical codeswitching are relevant in their own right rather than as transgressions of modern codeswitching theory. On the contrary, it is more useful to employ examples from this corpus to qualify theoretical considerations in order to test their validity regarding historical data.

Table 6.7: *Government criteria*

Methodology	Category/type	linearity	dependency
Grammatical [Ch. 5]	language	–	+/-
	scope	+	–
	class	+/-	–
	function	+/-	+/-
Typological [Ch. 6]	insertion	–	+/-
	alternation	+	+/-
	congruent lexicalisation	+/-	+/-
	<b>Total</b>	+/-	+/-

An overview of these language criteria in the determination of codeswitch typology is rendered in table 6.7 above. The principal observation is that most items conform only in part to theories on *government*. The biggest deviation is the issue of *dependency* in grammatical categories, where there is a decidedly negative score for especially scope and class in their adherence to theory. In grammatical categories *linearity* is observed to varying degrees, with the choice of language scoring higher and the scope scoring lower on the viability of a shared word order. The language choice appears to be freer and more bidirectional than theory allows, as section 5.3.1 has shown. As to scope, in switches that extend beyond phrasal boundaries the criterion of *dependency* is regularly violated, though not *linearity*, according to section 5.3.2. Grammatical class often does not adhere to syntactic constraints between lexical items, even if the frequency with which different classes are used follows the proportions common to other corpora, as section 5.3.3 indicated. Discourse function, described in section 5.4, fails to be defined by the framework of either *linearity* or *dependency*, consenting or dissenting to theory in equal measure. In all, *government* only partially applies to language categories, with *linearity* yielding less of a problem than *dependency*, as the latter is more difficult to circumvent in the sentence structure. Latin and Irish usually share word order, including the

places where function words should not be permitted to switch.<sup>338</sup> The crucial relationship between the assigner and the assignment of case, though, is not exempt from switching. As switch categories are ambiguous in their observance of constraints, the adherence to theory should also be assessed for switch types.

The switch types in table 6.7 show markedly different results for the twin criteria of *linearity* and *dependency*. For *dependency*, switch types are similar to the category of function discussed in section 5.4.3, in that each type is made up of certain discursive subtypes. As a result, it differs from subtype to subtype whether *dependency* is upheld or not. By contrast, the criterion of *linearity* is a remarkable way to tell apart the three types. To insertion *linearity* does not apply at all, as the fundamental inequality in status between the two languages prevents an analysis of the sentence as adhering to more than one word order. Moreover, the fact that either of the two languages can be dominant in different circumstances makes the very concept of *Matrix Language* immaterial. For alternation, the syntactic separation of the segments produces the opposite effect, in that the observance of major syntactic boundaries guarantees the applicability of the *linearity* criterion. In congruent lexicalisation, finally, *linearity* is usually upheld as a result of shared syntactic structures, though the diverse data often offer unusual or marked constructions that may be marginal in either grammar. On the whole *linearity* appears to be upheld with more ease than *dependency* because of its reduced impact on the core syntactic structure of the sentence. Neither criterion, though, is able to explain the extent to which codeswitching constitutes the default option in the homilies of the *Leabhar Breac*. Of the two approaches taken in the past two chapters, though, switch typology seems to shed more light on this wealth of material, since it provides for a more detailed categorisation of examples according to their distinguishing properties.

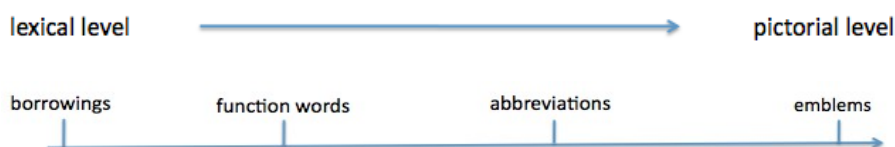
### 6.5 Diamorphs

A special factor in the convergence of languages is the use of diamorphs which, as has been established, can facilitate, neutralise and trigger a switch from one language to another. Though their flexibility is readily visible from examples, the model made by Muysken restricts the usage of diamorphs to the category of congruent lexicalisation. In reality only a subsection of diamorphs belong here, most of them involving formulaic expressions. Other diamorphs, however, can be called insertional, in proper names such as [6.8], or alternational, such as the use of abbreviations in introducing appositive switching as in example [6.52]. In addition, some diamorphs do not trigger any language change at all and ought not to be included as a switch category along the lines of Muysken. Diamorphs are therefore better judged not mainly as switches by themselves, but rather by the role they play in neutralising codes and thereby triggering codeswitching.

<sup>338</sup> Cf. Muysken (2000: 27); Muysken et al. (2007: 306); vs. Halmari/Regetz (2011: 148).

To this intent a methodology was developed, as set out in section 4.3.4, to subdivide diamorphs by the ways in which they contribute to lexical and functional convergence of the two languages, illustrated by the following figure:

Figure 6.1: *Diamorphs on scale* (from Ter Horst and Stam (forthcoming))



The diamorph categories set forth in chapter four can be linked to the three switch types. The first category of borrowings contains lexical items that have retained their original form in the receiving language, like Latin or Irish *lex* 'law, secular law' and *pax* 'peace, peace-kiss'. Related to these is nomenclature of persons and places that can occur in both Latin and Irish settings, for instance *Andreas* and *Achaia*. Such items adhere to either of two types depending on whether or not they display Latin inflection in Irish contexts. If the items have neutralised inflection, they are called insertions; otherwise they are examples of congruent lexicalisation. To the latter switch type also belong function words such as prepositions and determiners, since these contribute to the syntactic structure of the sentence. Abbreviations such as *aps* for *apostolus* or *apstal* and *eps* for *episcopus* or *epscop* are usually not switches in themselves, but rather they trigger switching by neutralising differences between languages. The resulting switches mostly belong to alternation, many of them to the subcategory of appositions. This also holds for adverbial switches, which are alternation under Muysken's system. Emblems, finally, do not constitute switches but rather trigger switches, most of which are alternations.

The diamorphic nature of interphrasal items is much harder to prove than, for example, the diamorphic nature of the Tironian notes and numerals. This identification is further problematised by the fact that diamorphic phrases can be extended in various manners, as has been discussed in section 5.4.3. *Nomen*, for example, may occur in the phrase *nomen eius* 'his name' but also in the phrase *nomen urbis* 'the name of a city', *nomen amnis* 'the name of a river', as well as in the mixed *nomen cille* 'the name of a church'. Phrases involving *dicere* can look like *ut dixit* 'as he said' or *ut dicit* 'as he says' but also like *at ille dixit* 'and he said' (as above) and *Comgall dixit* 'Comgall said', not to mention *ut dixit fris* 'as he said to him'. It is difficult to imagine that, given this variety, the phrases would be emblematic enough to be read as visual diamorphs every

time. Since it is impossible to conclude with sufficient certainty that these phrases acted as visual diamorphs, they will not be treated as such at present.

### 6.6 Conclusion

The threefold typology of codeswitches has proved to be an indispensable tool in their subcategorisation. First off, it does away with the theoretical allowing or disallowing of switches that occur in practice. The typological description of the codeswitching in the *Leabhar Breac* has shown that more elaborate results can be reached by describing the variety in the data than by attempting to coerce what is found in the historical document into the models made by modern theories.<sup>339</sup> As Halmari and Regetz put it: “instead of being universal, the principles governing codeswitching patterns are probabilistic; rather than being categorical and predictable, they are tendencies.”<sup>340</sup> The three switch types into which the data can be subdivided neatly adhere to differing scholarly visions on codeswitching. Insertion corresponds most closely to the model made by Myers-Scotton, where one language forms a matrix into which isolated elements from another language are embedded. The very fact that in the *Leabhar Breac* both languages can fulfil this matrix function is reason to question a strictly hierarchical view of the languages involved in switching. Alternation is the switch type most suited to the idea of *government* as supported by Muysken. The usually strict boundaries for clauses and phrases are the ideal environment to test the *linearity* and the *dependency* of switching. As it turns out, the notion of *linearity* is more easily incorporated into a syntactic structure without violating either language. The criterion of *dependency* is violated more often, as it involves the construction of the sentence at its core, where crucial lexical items are often prone to codeswitching. Both of these criteria need to be applied to historical data with considerable flexibility in order for them to remain valuable. Lastly, congruent lexicalisation transcends the boundaries of both the embedding of languages in insertion and the sequential separation of languages in alternation. Rather, this switch type signifies a situation in which the integration of languages is intense enough to speak of a unified code. In relating this language pattern to society at large, congruent lexicalisation can be connected to the study of sociolinguistics, encompassing the societal view of (multiple) language use advocated by Gardner-Chloros.<sup>341</sup> In this view congruent lexicalisation can be seen as a voluntary shifting of language style rather than syntactic system. This type is the most far-reaching degree of the integration of Latin in Irish society, from which the *Leabhar Breac* has originated.

<sup>339</sup> Cf. Cerquiglini (1989).

<sup>340</sup> Halmari/Regetz (2011: 116), referencing Horner (2006).

<sup>341</sup> Gardner-Chloros (2009: 7).

What this bilingual Hiberno-Latin society looked like is a speculative affair. The orthographical and phonological interference of Irish on Latin morphology give credence to the suggestion that a local Latin variety was used in speaking.<sup>342</sup> One group that used spoken Latin within as well as outside the classroom was the religious elite of monks and clerics.<sup>343</sup> The *Leabhar Breac*, though, does not appear to belong exclusively to the regular religious environment, as it also includes items of interest to the lay elite.<sup>344</sup> Within this highly educated environment, bilingualism was an asset shared by authors, compilers and scribes as well as their audience.<sup>345</sup> Regardless of whether the codeswitching which is observed in *LB* is indeed the “complete, coherent and original product of one original writer”, the language command displayed within the manuscript is akin to modern codeswitching, as it is a product of and for a highly educated in-group, competent in both languages.<sup>346</sup> In the homilies in *LB*, the interplay between the two languages can become so intricate as to evolve into a single, new code of unmarked switching, where the shared syntactic structure of Latin and Irish cannot, and need not, always be distinguished.<sup>347</sup> This macaronic writing constitutes not just a stylistic choice for a shared *usus scribendi* but also a veritable language identity.<sup>348</sup> Through the witness of the *Leabhar Breac*, then, we learn that the level of bilingual ability of the Irish educated classes is high indeed. The Irish situation is not an isolated phenomenon; the comparison with modern codeswitching reveals parallels to the historical data, and may even provide a historical foundation with which to favour one theory over another. As a result, the study of modern codeswitching not only contributes to the analysis of historical data, it may also gain from it in return.<sup>349</sup>

In characterising the society that produced the codeswitching in the *Leabhar Breac*, it is profitable to review the extra-linguistic contexts connected to each of the switch types by Muysken. Alternational codeswitching, by far the most frequent type within *LB*, is associated most with prolonged language contact between two language communities. An initial state of the insertion of foreign elements into a dominant language has paved the way for a more balanced bilingualism. This language balance is still characterised by “strong norms, language competition and typological distance”,<sup>350</sup> unlike the hybrid framework

<sup>342</sup> Harvey (1990: 179-82); *id.* (1991: 49).

<sup>343</sup> Bisagni (2013-4: 13).

<sup>344</sup> Hewish (2003: §16).

<sup>345</sup> Stephenson (2011: 131-43).

<sup>346</sup> Bisagni (2013-4: 10-29, 51); cf. Fletcher (2009: 66).

<sup>347</sup> Trotter (2011: 156); Wright (2011: 191).

<sup>348</sup> Schendl/Wright (2011: 20-1); cf. Myers-Scotton (1993: 223-4).

<sup>349</sup> Bisagni (2013-4: 50).

<sup>350</sup> Muysken et al. (2007: 336).

of two languages coming together in congruent lexicalisation.<sup>351</sup> The latter type, although it is by no means the most frequent switch type, nonetheless seems particularly apt to describe the sociolinguistic situation of mediaeval Ireland. Latin and Irish had been used conjointly in written works of scholarship since at least the eighth century, when the writings of Old Irish can first be firmly traced. From this time the vernacular, unusually vivid compared to the dominance of Latin in literary circles elsewhere in mediaeval Europe, was used in every literary register and genre where Latin could also be employed. Furthermore, the continuous incorporation and adaptation of (christian) Latin lexicon into Irish may have increased the similarities between the two languages. These similarities are in addition to the familial relations of Irish with Latin, which is comparatively the closest cognate of the Celtic language family. This would have been a fertile foundation for more extensive forms of language contact in the form of codeswitching and related phenomena, such as a neutralising of endings on words with shared roots. Many of the codeswitches encountered in the past chapters have benefitted from overlap in either syntax or vocabulary of the two languages. It may therefore be slightly surprising that alternation rather than congruent lexicalisation is the largest switch category, as the two languages seem to have functioned on fairly equal footing, rather than as entities that were strictly separated in Irish society, as the dominance of alternation would suggest.

One explanation for this apparent incongruence can be construed from an investigation by Lipski.<sup>352</sup> Although an abundance of congruent lexicalisation can be a sign of fully-fledged bilingual ability, its dominance in a corpus may rather reflect their imperfect separation. Widespread codemixing in seemingly ungrammatical contexts may display the influence of interference rather than competence. Muysken acknowledges that the most “ragged” types of congruent lexicalisation, non- or multi-constituent mixes, are rarely attested in fluent bilinguals.<sup>353</sup> Instead, the hallmark of bilingual ability is alternation, the ability to combine two codes without breaking their boundaries. The more conventional instances of congruent lexicalisation are often strongly similar to alternational patterns.<sup>354</sup> The difference between the two, a presence of lexical items in the former type, is also reduced by the aforementioned abundance of lexical items in alternations within *LB*. Whereas alternation does not appear prominently in data by Muysken et al. (2007) because of their focus on interclausal switches,<sup>355</sup> the wealth of intraclausal data from *LB* has enabled alternation to rise to its rightful prominence. In all, the grammatical

<sup>351</sup> Muysken (2000: 249); Muysken et al. (2007: 308).

<sup>352</sup> Lipski (2014: 26-43).

<sup>353</sup> Muysken (2000: 149-150) in Lipski (2014: 42).

<sup>354</sup> Shenk (2006: 184) in Lipski (2014: 42).

<sup>355</sup> Muysken et al. (2007: 336).

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sophistication of alternation may be the truest sign of full competence in bilingual users, who are capable both of producing strikingly mixed expressions of congruent lexicalisation and of restricting this mixing to the extent that the combination of languages would still be understandable to their fellow bilinguals.



**Chapter 7****Latin-English homilies**7.1 Introduction

The codeswitching encountered in the *Leabhar Breac* and analysed in the previous chapters is most certainly an exceptional testimony to the bilingualism in mediaeval Irish society. Yet from the scribal activity surrounding Irish homiletic texts, as encountered in chapter two, the sociolinguistic situation of mediaeval Ireland would be better described as tri- rather than bilingualism. While the languages of learning in mediaeval Ireland were first and foremost Latin and Irish, the connection with English literature, language and culture was far from foreign to the west of the Irish Sea. A scribe such as Iollann Mac an Leagha, responsible for two major manuscript parallels to the *Leabhar Breac*, was equally versed in translating contemporary English *vitae* as he was in editing venerable Latin and Irish texts, as chapter two has shown. This trilingual skill invites a look at the language situation in late-mediaeval England. Particularly, it would be worthwhile to investigate whether homiletic texts from that time and place display any symptoms of codeswitching similar to their Irish counterparts.

The present chapter will therefore attempt to trace shared traditions in Insular homiletic practice.<sup>356</sup> Historical contacts between mediaeval Ireland and England will be examined in section 7.2. The particularities of the English homiletic tradition will be described in section 7.3. The structure of these homilies and the languages used for individual parts will be subjected to a detailed examination in section 7.4. Previous studies on Latin-English codeswitching and the theories used in them will be put to the fore in section 7.5. The two following sections will show examples of codeswitches with an analysis of their languages, from the perspective of grammar in section 7.6 and of switch typology in section 7.7. Section 7.8 concerns the scribes behind these texts and their languages. Through this approach conclusions can be drawn on the theory as well as the practice of codeswitching in mediaeval England in section 7.9.

7.2 Insular connections

The growth of writing in the vernacular during the Middle Ages had an early start both in Ireland, where Roman authority had never been established, and in Britain, where it had been removed early in the fifth century CE.<sup>357</sup> From the same time dates the documented christianisation of the Irish at the hands of Palladius the Gaul and Patrick the Briton. Of Patrick's successor Olcán it is said that *publicas aperuit scholas*, 'he has opened public schools', for the Irish bishops and monks.<sup>358</sup> Similarly, the Venerable Bede tells of the English monk Æthelhun,

<sup>356</sup> The substance of this chapter appears in abridged form as an article (Ter Horst *forthcoming*).

<sup>357</sup> Harvey (1991: 48); cf. Boehme (2012: 29) on sixth-century codemixed hymns by Gildas.

<sup>358</sup> Colganus, *Acta Sanctorum* I 375; cf. Hauréau (1861: 3).

who dies visiting an Irish monastery in 664, and of his brother Æthelwine, about whom it is said that *Hiberniam gratia legendi adiit, et bene instructus patriam rediit* 'he came to Ireland for reason of reading, and went home well educated'. Of the bishop of Wessex, Agilbert the Gaul, Bede relates that [*l]egendarum gratia Scripturarum, in Hibernia non parvo tempore demoratus* 'he had stayed not a short time in Ireland for the sake of the reading of the Scriptures'.<sup>359</sup> Agilbert was one of the participants at the famous Synod of Whitby held in that same year 664, in which Irish influence on English monks was at the centre of tempestuous debate.

The fact that Irish clerics came to exercise influence on English centres of learning in Northumbria, Wessex and Mercia is well attested. At the end of the seventh century the English author Aldhelm received his inspiration for hermeneutic thought from the Irish school of Máel Dub in what is now Malmesbury. Aldhelm says of biblical study in Ireland that *catervatim istinc lectores classibus advecti confluunt* 'readers flock thence in throngs, having arrived in fleets', and of the Irish that *Hiberniae rus discentium opulens* 'the country of Ireland is rich in students'.<sup>360</sup> Even Aldfrith or Alfred, who became king of Northumbria in 685, is said to have studied in Ireland: *Scottorum qui tum versatus incola terris/ Coelestem intento spirabat corde sophiam* 'Having become an inhabitant in the lands of Irishmen, he inhaled heavenly wisdom with eager heart'.<sup>361</sup> After the initiation of Irishmen into religious learning from across the Irish Sea, the favour appears to have been returned by the Irish in no small measure. Personal contacts between learned Irish and English milieus are attested throughout the early Middle Ages. It must be noted, though, that some of these citations may link to the Irish (*Scotti*) in the North or Britain (e.g. Iona) rather than in Ireland.<sup>362</sup>

Among the learned experts assembled at the Carolingian court after 800 CE, Insular personnel included both Alcuin of York and John Scot Ériugena 'Ireland-born'. For the eminence of the learned Irishmen can be said that the circle around Ériugena erected and taught at schools in Gaul,<sup>363</sup> again returning the earlier favour of the Gaul Palladius who brought christian learning to Ireland. From the late ninth century CE onwards it is evident that an exchange of books and churchmen on both sides of the Irish Sea is in place.<sup>364</sup> At the end of the tenth century CE this process is invigorated by a Benedictine reform movement that would inform Irish monasticism with full force in the eleventh century. This period between the ninth and twelfth century marks the heyday of the religious

<sup>359</sup> Beda Venerabilis, *Historia Ecclesiastica Anglorum* III 7, 11, 27.

<sup>360</sup> Aldhelmus, *Epistola ad Eahfridum ex Hibernia in patriam reversum*; cf. Boehme (2012: 35), Ireland (1991: 64); Menner (1973 |1941|: 42-3).

<sup>361</sup> Beda Venerabilis, *De Miraculis Sancti Cuthberti* Ch. 21. 58-9; in Irish he is called Flann Fína.

<sup>362</sup> Cf. Edwards (1999: 15-26). I am grateful to Dr Ó Flaithearta for pointing out this possibility.

<sup>363</sup> Hauréau (1861: 28).

<sup>364</sup> Crick (2011: 226).

movement of the *Culdees* or *Céli Dé* 'companions of god'. Their semi-monastic communities in Ireland and England were known to promote the promulgation of lay devotion. This tendency toward personal piety was exactly the type of activity of interest to the educated laity that likely constitutes the audience of the *Leabhar Breac*.<sup>365</sup> It should be stated in the context of these Insular connections, however, that the productive period of Old English homiletic writing around the year 1000 predates the putative "Irish homiliary" tradition by about a century.<sup>366</sup>

### 7.3. Homiletic genre

Regardless of the temporal discrepancies between the two, the sources of both English and Irish homily collections display a great deal of overlap. The famous English homiliaries of Vercelli, Blickling and Pembroke all depend on sources from the eighth and ninth century in the same tradition as the *Leabhar Breac*, as chapter 3 has indicated. Mention can be made of the *Liber Questionum in Evangeliiis* [LQE], the *Catechesis Celtica* [CC] and the *Catechesis Krakoviensis* [CK], in addition to the Linz homily collection and the Hiberno-Latin *Liber de Numeris*. The English homiletic collections furthermore contain saints' lives of Martin, Mary and Brigid, alongside devotional topics such as the Lord's Prayer, the nature of priesthood, and similar subjects. There are in addition many thematic correspondences between English and Irish religious writings. Both areas share a preoccupation with such christian sciences as eschatology and numerology. Specific texts may even be traced along these Insular lines. The homilies on Death and the Lord's Supper, for instance, have Hiberno-Latin origins and were only later transported from Irish to English usage. By contrast, the later English homiletic tradition founded by Alfred the Great and continued by Ælfric and Wulfstan in the tenth and eleventh century depends on patristic and continental sources rather than Irish intermediates.<sup>367</sup> As a result of these transmissions, the change in homiletic form from Ancient to Modern reached the English earlier than the Irish, who still used the old style of biblical exegesis in the eleventh century.

In the later Middle Ages developments in Insular religious literature seems to have sprung once again from England. In the wake of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 orders of itinerant friars like the Franciscans started preaching to the common people in the vernacular. Some of the English chapters travelled to Ireland, then under Anglo-Norman influence, availing themselves of up to four languages in doing so.<sup>368</sup> It is possible that the written *reportationes* they made in Latin reflect sermons spoken in one or more of the vernaculars. This preaching

<sup>365</sup> Haggart (2006-7: 17).

<sup>366</sup> Gatch (1978: 53-4).

<sup>367</sup> Wright (1993: 7).

<sup>368</sup> Fletcher/Gillespie (2001: 56-7); cf. the Latin-English-French Ms. Harley 913 (c.1330).

differed slightly from the regular homilies, which served as contemporary commentaries on biblical readings. Instead, the sermon expounded on the spiritual content of the liturgy in the light of patristic sources. The lowly purpose of this type of preaching is apparent from the topics upon which it touches. These are not lofty theological matters but rather the catechetical cornerstones of faith such as the *Ave Maria*, the Creed and the Decalogue. Devotional topics such as the holy cross, hell and the last judgement, moreover, were held in high regard in both Britain and Ireland at the time. In addition, the embedding of the genres of *vitae*, legends, narratives, *exempla*, prayers and hymns into sermons is attested in English sources as well as such Irish documents as the *Leabhar Breac*.

The above religious developments appear to inform documents on both sides of the Irish Sea. The topics touched upon by Ó Cuindlis and especially Mac an Leagha evoke the English developments around the turn of the fifteenth century. One of these movements at the end of the Middle Ages is the Franciscan reform of which Mac an Leagha may well have known from his English contacts.<sup>369</sup> The teaching of Latin to young monks often occurred in English, since, as one writer stated in the school context, *omnes loquimur unam linguam, omnes loquimur Anglicum* 'we all speak one language, we all speak English'. Popularising activities of renegade friars and unlicensed itinerants ultimately led to restrictions on lay instruction and vernacular preaching. Archbishop Arundel decided by decree that written reference works in Latin should be the sole basis for evangelical exegesis, turning the emerging vernacular commentaries into *anathema*. At the exact time of these struggles, 1396-1413 CE, there are attested a multitude of manuscripts in which the vernacular takes a prominent role alongside Latin. The Latin-Irish *Leabhar Breac* can be considered a kindred spirit to the numerous bilingual manuscripts from England at this time. The process of adding translations and paraphrases to canonical Latin strongly informs homiletic collections on both sides of the Irish Sea. The macaronic medley of Latin and the vernacular languages around the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries represents the tide of the times. In both areas, bilingual homily collections provide access for the literate laity to religious teachings from an ancient tradition.

Alongside its growing accommodation of the vernacular, the mediaeval English homily developed a textual structure that marked a new point in homiletic tradition. Of the four senses of Scripture according to the Ancient Form of the homily, the ones used most in England were literal or historical, spiritual or moral, and mystical. This reduction paved the way for a new dual system which depended on a dichotomy of literal and spiritual interpretation. The literal sense could be fulfilled by a mere rendering of the Scriptural passage (*pericope*),

<sup>369</sup> Ross/Poppe (1996: 275).

usually with a translation, while the spiritual sense subsumes all metaphorical meanings in one class.<sup>370</sup> This simpler system is often found in sermon literature, the more catechetical counterpart of the homily based on a spoken address to the audience. When such sermons were written down either before or after delivery, information might be added to instruct the user in his own preaching performance. The written sermons found in such manuscripts are often mixed in nature, containing elements of written and spoken word, using Latin and English, cast in both the Ancient and the Modern Form of the homily. These texts with their amalgamated contents may have served as storehouses for other preachers composing homilies through the use of *artes praedicandi* rather than as spoken sermons themselves.

In addition to containing Ancient Form elements such as a remnant of the senses of Scripture, these English sermons harbour the short *thema*, *prothema*, reiteration and the (sub)distinctions of Modern Form homilies. The presence of distinctions and subdistinctions is often explicitly signalled, preceded by an overview of the structure of the exposition named the *processus*. Even within the guise of the Modern Form, though, some additional details are provided by the English sermon. The exordium often included a prayer introduced under the header *oratio*. In the exposition the *exemplum*, a moral allegory, formed a fixed element. Last, the peroration included an item called the *integratio*, which sought to reaffirm the connection between the theme and its exposition. Regardless of such innovations, the use of the senses of Scripture was pervasive in English sermons, occurring in the introduction as well as in the exposition. Used in this way the literal sense may be reduced to a mere mention of the theme and its translation, while the spiritual sense was a stepping stone for catechetical exegesis in the *expositio*. Moreover, apart from the prayers and the exempla, the English sermons also appeared to attract saints' lives and related textual genres similar to their occurrence in Irish homiletic collections such as the *Leabhar Breac*.

#### 7.4 Sermon structure

The division of languages in English sermons often follows as fixed a system as their Irish homiletic equivalents. A typical outline of such a sermon is given in table 7.1 below. The exordium starts with a theme and its two senses in Latin, but with the reiteration an interchange of English and Latin occurs. A similar sequence of languages is found in the exposition. The *processus* is fully in Latin, but the lower grade of the *distinctio* switches to English at the end, whereas the following *subdistinctio* contains significant segments in English. Similarly, the *exemplum* is fully in Latin, but the *exhortatio* switches from English to Latin. In this middle part of the sermon codeswitching appears perfectly acceptable. In the peroration the integration is again in Latin, while the closing benediction

<sup>370</sup> Fletcher/Gillespie (2001: 53).

alternates Latin and English without the one translating the other. In the scope of this one sermon all available language options are explored, from the dominance of Latin or English via translation and alternation to fully codeswitched constructions. Furthermore, in line with the Irish homilies, Latin is often preferred in the higher structural elements of the sermon, while the vernacular functions more freely in lower-level items. From this single example it can readily be observed that this text type combines a fairly fixed structuring of textual elements with a flexible use of languages. Whether this pattern holds true for other English sermons will be examined in the remainder of this section.

Table 7.1: *Codeswitches in sermon O-18 [Bodley 649]*

Category	Example
<i>Exordium:</i>	
Thema	<b>Sanauit eum Luce XIII et in dominice presentis euangelio</b> 'He healed him. Luke 14 and in the gospel of the present Sunday'
Literaliter	<b>Ista est historia et veritas secundum sonitum littere</b> 'This is the story and truth according to the sound of the word'
Spiritualiter	<b>Spiritualiter set quid intelligemus per istam historiam</b> 'Spiritually, though, what do we understand through this story?'
Reiteratio	<b>cepi pro themate sanauit eum</b> hath helid him or made him hole 'I took for the theme 'He has healed him' or 'He made him whole''
<i>Expositio:</i>	
Processus	<b>Hic conuenienter pro processu sermonis potestis petere duos questiones</b> 'Here you can conveniently ask two questions for the course of the sermon'
Distinctio	<b>Prime questioni cum queritis etc. respondeo et dico quod</b> children ... 'To the first question, 'When you ask,' etc., I answer and say that children ...'
Subdistinctio	<b>Primo dixi quod genus Ade was punitus</b> with a bollinge dropsy 'First, I have said that the race of Adam was punished with a swelling dropsy'
Exemplum	<b>In confirmacionem istius dicam vobis narracionem pulcram</b> 'As confirmation of this I will relate to you a beautiful story'
Exhortatio	Take hede <b>et videte quomodo Christus filius Dei effudit sanguinem cordis sui</b> 'Take heed and see how Christ the son of god has poured out the blood of his heart'
<i>Peroratio:</i>	
Integratio	<b>Quia vt propheta dicit Qui propiciatur omnibus iniquitatibus...</b> 'For as the prophet says, 'He who pardons all your sins ...'
Benedictio	that for mannys helth deyde on the rode tre. <b>Qui cum Patre</b> ... 'he that for the benefit of man died on the cross. He who with the father ...'

In order to compare this one example to the language situation in the Latin-Irish *Leabhar Breac*, more needs to be known of the English manuscript and its make-up. The codex containing the above sermon is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley

649, dated like *LB* to the early-fifteenth century. It comprises two sets of homilies, of which the first one is by and large monolingual Latin writing.<sup>371</sup> By contrast, the second set of twenty-five homilies comprises twenty-three homilies with a varying amount of codeswitching and only two fully Latin texts.<sup>372</sup> It is of course this second set that will receive further inspection. A closer scrutiny of the language structure of the mixed sermons is schematised in table 7.2 below. In order to provide a valuable comparison a number of points are in need of additional clarification. Some items such as the prayer, the author, the senses and the exhortation are not present in each of the sermons. Furthermore, though the presence of the homiletic elements is fairly universal, the order in which a particular sermon presents them is subject to change. For each of these categories the preferred languages have been catalogued. As with the Irish homilies, the recognisable structure of the homiletic genre does not prevent considerable variety in its language patterns.

Table 7.2: Language structure of English homilies [*Bodley 649*; 23 texts in total]

Homiletic part	Category	Language
Exordium	Thema	13 Latin; 9 Latin+English
	Oratio	4 Latin-English
	Prothema	22 Latin
	Auctor	3 Latin
	Literaliter	3 Latin
	Spiritualiter	8 Latin; 4 Latin-English
	Exhortatio	10 Latin
	Reiteratio	12 Latin-English; 7 Latin
Expositio	Processus	10 Latin
	Principalium	18 Latin; 12 Latin-English
	Divisio	17 Latin; 9 Latin-English
	Subdivisio	17 Latin-English; 9 Latin
	Exemplum	22 Latin
	Concordantia	12 Latin; 8 Latin-English
	Spiritualiter/Moraliter	10 Latin
	Exhortatio	13 Latin-English; 9 Latin
Peroratio	Integratio	14 Latin
	Benedictio	11 Latin; 8 Latin-English

<sup>371</sup> Horner (2006: 3).

<sup>372</sup> Wenzel (2005: 550), omits O-19 with the phrase *Hath clad oure bisschop with vertu brigt*.

The different homiletic parts and their subsections show marked differences as to which languages are most frequent. As in the Irish situation there is a preferred use of language for each of the segments, with a more fixed language pattern in the exordium and peroration than in the more diverse exposition. Mostly Latin elements in the introduction are the prothemes, authors, literal senses and exhortations. The prayers, spiritual senses and reiterations are often in a mix of Latin and English, while the theme is either Latin or Latin followed by English. In the middle part similar predilections for Latin are attested for the *processus*, the *exempla* and the spiritual senses. All other categories, the *principalia*, the *divisiones* and *subdivisiones*, *concordantia* and *exhortationes*, include a large proportion of codeswitched items. Finally, the conclusion has a usually Latin *integratio* and a *benedictio* in either Latin or Latin-English codeswitching. Most of the codeswitching occurs in the exposition, a phenomenon similar to the Irish homilies from the *Leabhar Breac*. Unlike the latter codex, however, Bodley 649 does not contain any elements for which the vernacular is the only language. Although many switches occur in this corpus, Latin is never fully abandoned.

Another observation involves the appearance of duplicate items such as exhortations and the senses of Scripture in both *exordium* and *expositio*. These duplicates are not identical in terms of language use, however. When found in the introduction the literal sense is in Latin, while the spiritual sense varies in its language between Latin and Latin-English codeswitching. In the middle part, however, the literal sense is absent, but the spiritual sense is always attested in Latin. As for the *exhortatio*, this item always uses Latin in the introduction, but in the middle part it may be Latin-English or Latin. A final note concerns the hierarchy of structural elements present in the exposition. It appears that the higher up in the textual hierarchy an item appears, the more likely it is to be found in Latin. Like in the Irish situation, the *processus* contains the most Latin, whereas the subdivisions and citations employ the least Latin. A comparison between the Irish and the English homily also holds true for the conclusion, which in both cases usually starts in the vernacular and terminates in Latin.

The similarity of the English sermons to the examples provided in the context of Latin-Irish codeswitching is revealed through various characteristics. Firstly, the categories of the homiletic structure are strikingly alike those seen in the Irish texts. The popularity of such items may still vary between England and Ireland. For instance, the presence of prayers, senses and exhortations is more common in the homilies to the east of the Irish Sea. In addition, one item from England is completely unknown to the Irish, namely the aforementioned *integratio*, which links up the theme of the homily to the exposition through another relevant citation. Secondly, the structural parts of the homily higher up in the hierarchy



are most regularly rendered in Latin. Some items appear more open to Latin-English mixing than others, mostly those at the start and end of a text. Thirdly, the codeswitched items that occur are extremely intricately constructed. In this regard the English sermons may exceed the intimacy of mixing found in Latin-Irish items, as section 7.6 investigates. All in all, the correspondences of Irish and English homilies are more than enough to warrant their inclusion in a shared study, even if variation very much remains the norm with manuscript materials.

In addition to the similarities with Irish homilies, the English sermons from Bodley 649 also benefit from a comparison to another collection of homilies from a contemporaneous manuscript. This codex, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud miscellaneous 706, contains thirty-three homilies, of which twenty-six are in Latin, three in English and four in Latin and English. The latter four are shared with the collection of Bodley 649. However, the collection also harbours two funerary sermons using Latin and English.<sup>373</sup> One of these is dedicated to the nobleman Thomas de Beauchamp [d.1401], the other one to abbot Walter Fro[u]ncester [d.1412]. The former is an elaborate example of bilingual writing. It even hints at the knowledge of French in connecting the name of the deceased to a *pericope* on the *pulcher ager* 'beautiful field', the Latin equivalent of Beauchamp. The latter contains a large number of English glosses to the Latin text. The four mixed Latin-English sermons, the Latin-English-French funerary sermon and the Latin funerary sermon with English glosses all tell, in different modes, of the bi- or even trilingual ability of the scribes active in their respective productions.<sup>374</sup>

### 7.5 Codeswitching theory

In order to assess the bilingual abilities of English scribes, recent scholarship has proposed a number of theoretical considerations derived from modern codeswitching. Horner (1975-1978) was the first to note the use of multiple languages in sermons from England, studying the collection in Laud misc. 706. While there are occasional references to the knowledge of French, the sermons are mostly in Latin with substantial use of English.<sup>375</sup> The degree to which English is integrated into the Latin text of these sermons varies from the English translation of a Latin theme to an integral combination of codes. Similar variation is distinguished by Spencer (1993), who separates sermons in Latin with occasional English tags or proverbs from the macaronic medleys of the Bodley and Laud collections.<sup>376</sup> The difference between these two forms of codeswitching can be seen as a gradual diachronic development. The macaronic end stage of this process profits from a dropping of Latin case endings to

<sup>373</sup> Horner (1975: 180-249); Horner (2006: 5-6) labels them Latin rather than Latin-English.

<sup>374</sup> Cf. Ter Horst (forthcoming).

<sup>375</sup> Horner (1978: 381-5).

<sup>376</sup> Spencer (1993: 55, 129); cf. Wright (2011: 195).

decrease the differences between the two languages. Wenzel (1994) similarly suggests a threefold differentiation of codeswitches, labelled class *a* through *c*. Glosses, translated quotations, themes, proverbs and technical terms are in class *a*, constituting extraneous elements that correspond to entities outside the text. Divisions, distinctions and their subcategories form class *b*, comprising meta-textual items that structure the text. Finally, class *c* consists of syntactically integrated elements that can be considered as proper codeswitches. The last category is deemed to reflect the writer's thoughts going back and forth from one language to another.<sup>377</sup> Wenzel also analysed syntactic switch properties, assigning the status of dominant language to Latin, and noting the abundance of lexical items as compared to functional elements. As in modern theory the examples on historical codeswitching seem to follow the usual rules of grammar.

It may be surmised that the closer proximity of these catechetical sermons from England to actual preaching, reflecting stages both before and after the oral performance, increases the suitability of an analysis based on modern, spoken codeswitching theory. Fletcher et al. (2001) adduces witness accounts of public preaching to determine that English preachers going to Ireland might speak Irish to their audience, yet write down their report in Latin.<sup>378</sup> A comparable comment is made by Wenzel to the effect that "even if medieval preachers had preached their sermons, or were about to do so, in the vernacular, they wrote them down in Latin".<sup>379</sup> Although certainty is difficult to obtain, codeswitched sermons can reflect a middle ground between the usual language of the oral performance and that of the written *reportatio*, a strategy employed in circumstances where both the producing and the receiving party were competent in either language.<sup>380</sup> Because of the possible difference in competence between producer and receiver, there may arise interference from one language on another at the level of both the syntax and the lexicon. This situation, familiar from second-language acquisition, may alternatively reflect a teaching environment wherein Latin would be the language of writing alongside education in a spoken vernacular.<sup>381</sup>

The most elaborate study of the syntactic properties of Latin-English codeswitching is performed by Halmari and Regetz (2011) on the basis of the first ten homilies in Bodley 649. Since this corpus contains about eight times more Latin (87.8%) than English (12.2%), only switches from Latin to English are considered. Switches back into Latin rarely occur at major constituent boundaries and are not analysed for their grammatical properties.<sup>382</sup> This

<sup>377</sup> Wenzel (1994: 14-22, 82-4, 113).

<sup>378</sup> Fletcher/Gillespie (2001: 56).

<sup>379</sup> Wenzel (2005: xiii).

<sup>380</sup> Fletcher (2009: 51, 62-6).

<sup>381</sup> Fletcher (2013: 140-3); cf. Schendl (2013: 154-63).

<sup>382</sup> Halmari/Regetz (2011: 28n.9).

observation reflects the hypothesis adopted in the article that most alternation of language does not affect the syntactic core. Adjuncts and interclausal switches are the most commonly switched constructions in the corpus. Like the categories of coordinating conjunctions and complements, these constructions occur at major constituent boundaries. This strict syntactic divide is more difficult to uphold, however, for switches between the verbal predicate and its subject or object arguments, as well as switches between prepositions and their objects. All these constructions are involved in the skeleton of the sentence structure, constituting a habitual violation of the constraint on switches in the syntactic core. In order to remedy this discrepancy, the article suggests an underlying structure of Latin beneath switches that are explicitly English on the surface. Such an ad-hoc explanation could obscure or amend rather than clarify the data.

A different approach is taken by Boehme (2012), who considers the diachronic dimensions of Latin-English macaronics.<sup>383</sup> According to her, the increasing bilingualism is visible not only in the percentages of switches, but also in their scope. Between the beginning and the end of the mediaeval period Latin-English switches developed from tags and citations, via insertions and alternations, to intrasentential codeswitching. This development is visible in the homiletic genre. Twelfth-century homilies like *In diebus dominicis* contain mostly intersentential switches that function as translations, as is illustrated by the following instance:

[7.1]

**dies dominicus est dies leticie et requiei**- sunnedei is die of blisse and of alle ireste.  
'Sunday is the day of merriment and [all] rest.'

In the thirteenth century, texts such as *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini* allow interphrasal switching that is not used as translation. An example where successive untranslated thoughts use different languages is the subsequent item:

[7.2]

If you thinke of Pis comynge he coms, lo, fort onon. **Primum ibi, 'in nomine Domini'**  
'If you think of this coming he comes right away. First here, 'In the name of the lord'.

Finally, the fifteenth century paves the way for lexical interchange within phrases, such as in *De celo querebant*, where sequences occur like the following:

[7.3]

**Oportet ipsos attendere quod** of stakis and stodis **qui deberent stare in ista vinea**  
**quedam sunt** smoþe and lightlich wul boo, **quedam sunt** so stif and so ful of warris  
**quod homo** shal to-cleue hom **cicius quam planare**.

<sup>383</sup> Boehme (2012: 40-1) [her translations].

**'It suits them to notice that of stakes and supports that should stand in that vineyard some are smooth and will readily bend, some are so stiff and so full of obstinacy that a man shall cleave them through faster than straighten them.'**

The development of codeswitching in the later Middle Ages is readily observed in bilingual sermons, shifting from intersentential switches through interphrasal items to instances where the syntax of a sentence can be filled by both languages.

### 7.6 Grammatical properties of codeswitches

The growth of Latin-English codeswitching as shown in section 7.5 can be studied further through an investigation of the exact manner in which the two languages are combined. There are two ways in which to approach such formal characteristics of codeswitches, as set out in chapter 5 and 6. One approach is to analyse the properties of switches through the grammatical categories of language, scope, class and function. The other method is the differentiation of codeswitches in the typological categories of insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalisation. The following sections will investigate grammatical properties of different examples. An analysis of Latin-English items in terms of switch typology is undertaken in section 7.7.

#### 7.6.1 Switch language

The first category to be considered is the language itself. The best indication of the relationship between Latin and English in late-mediaeval sermons is given by Wenzel (1994). In his overview of thirty-four sermons there are a total of nearly two hundred thousand words in Latin and merely twenty-five thousand in English, resulting in relative percentages of 88.6% Latin and 11.4% English.<sup>384</sup> This is a comparable outcome to the analysis of ten homilies from Bodley 649 by Halmari and Regetz, cited in section 7.5. The overwhelming amount of Latin in these macaronic sermons has led researchers to view this language as the matrix of the texts, with an accompanying adoption of Myers-Scotton and her *Matrix Language Frame* for the analysis of the sermons. The usage of English is analysed as short inserted elements subservient to Latin syntax, or longer embedded islands thought to be independent of Latin syntax. In this respect there would be a strict distinction between Latin and English in their grammatical properties and constraints in the corpus. This distinction has implications for the respective status of the two languages in the society displaying this type of bilingualism.

One problem that is unaddressed in this methodology is the occurrence of items that cannot be assigned to one language or the other. Halmari and Regetz briefly acknowledge this problem in stating the difficulty in assigning a language to

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<sup>384</sup> Halmari/Regetz (2011: 117), referring to Wenzel (1994: 347-8).

proper names and words such as the preposition *in* 'in' in Latin and English. However, this difficulty is not reflected in the binary assignment of items to either Latin or English. The role of diamorphs in the assignment of language and the possible triggering of switches can be seen from examples in an article by Fletcher (2013). Citing from a manuscript in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat.th.d.1, Fletcher produces four examples containing the aforementioned preposition *in*:

- [7.4] *ipse posset be releuyd and holpyn **in casu quod esset in** meschef*  
'he could be relieved and helped in case that he was in mischief'
- [7.5] **ad releuandum et adiuuandum nos in** our myschef  
'in order to relieve and assist us in our mischief'
- [7.6] **Ista puella portauit** þe faireste childe **in suis brachijs**  
'That girl carried the fairest child in her arms'<sup>385</sup>

The phrases starting with *in* may continue in both Latin (*casu, suis*) and English (*meschef, our*), which makes the preposition a potential trigger for codeswitching. To these observations by Fletcher three cases can be added where a codeswitch occurs next to the Latin conjunction *et*. As these sermons are connected, either or not directly, to spoken usage, it may well be that this Latin form merely reflects the written convention for the function word in question, which may have been expressed in the vernacular in speaking, or at the least, played a part in triggering the codeswitch. The examples are derived from the following items:

- [7.7]  
**vno arbori qui vocatur** þe cedre **et vno vnguento quod vocatur mirre**  
'with a tree that is called the cedar and with a spice that is called myrrh'
- [7.8]  
qwenchede and put away **omnes lustis** and lykynggis **et immundas cogitaciones**  
'quenched and put away all lusts and desires and unclean thoughts'
- [7.9]  
**Pro amore permisi latus meum aperiri cum acuta lancea,** **et** myn herte ben clouyn  
'for love I allowed my side to be opened by a sharp lance, and my hart to be cleft'

The presence of the trigger *et* 'and' occurs between English and Latin as well as vice versa. In this respect the last example suggests that *et* forms a part of an otherwise English clause, and may rather reflect the written form of English *and*.

<sup>385</sup> Fletcher (2013: 141) [his translations].

### 7.6.2 Switch scope

The importance of scope in the categorisation of codeswitching is evident from the sermons edited by Wenzel (1994). Between the three sermons supplied in full in his appendix, stark differences arise as to the length and complexity of the switches. In the first sermon S-07, *Amore languero*, the entire introductory statement is in Latin. The rest of the exordium is almost fully Latin, except for some single words such as *free* or *plate* and phrases such as *a blissful day*. In addition, a couple of verses appear fully in English. The exposition displays the same pattern, with a lengthy division developed in Latin only. Similar scattered elements are rendered in English in the form of verses, a few phrases and single words. A rare interclausal codeswitch is the following example in the exposition:

[7.10] **Quantum signum est** that he euer herkenet aftir hys druri.  
 'The fourth sign is that he always listened for his paramour.'<sup>386</sup>

The English clause starting with *that* is syntactically dependent on the Latin main clause *Quantum...* A similar distribution informs the third homily *Quem teipsum facis*, labelled W-154. The opening section is almost wholly in Latin, with only scattered words in English such as *wrechednes*, *myschef* and *vnhornes* 'vileness'. In the exposition there are a striking number of doublets such as *vylenyas and dyssputes*, *shame and vylenye*, or *Wele and Woo*. This doubling of items is a known translation technique also employed in the *Leabhar Breac*.<sup>387</sup> Very few interphrasal switches appear, like *fadup and fallup* 'fades and falls', *what euer he be, to be long fastyng. or be bond or fre* 'be he bound or free'. In the two sermons the scope of codeswitching does not exceed the occasional isolated word or phrase.

By contrast, the second homily O-07, *De celo querebant*, comprises a complete range of switching. The introduction to the text begins with a mixed phrase *gracia and comfort* 'grace and comfort'. In the rest of this section are found switched clauses like *þai sozt fro heuonn* 'they sought from heaven', alongside phrases such as *and goode beleue* 'and good belief' or single words like *vnthrifti* 'useless'. Mixed phrases are found throughout, including *duo sufferen ramos* 'two outstanding branches', *quid aliquis cleymed* 'whatever anyone claimed' and *vosmet doth correccioun super illos* 'you yourselves bring correction on them'. Such switches are clear indications of codemixing in the meaning used by Muysken, indicating the switch type of congruent lexicalisation described in the previous chapter. In the following prayer and division the percentage of English increases even further, whereas in the subdivisions and peroration the many English words, phrases and clauses are clearly subordinate to the Latin text. On the whole, this sermon encompasses all of the scopes available to codeswitching.

<sup>386</sup> Wenzel (1994: 252-3).

<sup>387</sup> Cf. the Latin and Irish opening of the *Fis Adamnain* on LB p.253b, cited under example [5.4].

Table 7.3: Grammatical class in Bodley 649 O-1 to O-10 (adapted from Halmari/Regetz)

Switch category	Number #	Percentage %
<i>“Non-problematic”:</i>		
Adjuncts	506	26.2
Clauses	390	20.2
Coordinating conjunctions	203	10.5
Subject/object complements	157	8.1
Miscellaneous	14	0.7
Indirect objects	3	0.2
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>1,273</i>	<i>66.0</i>
<i>“Potentially problematic”:</i>		
Verb phrases	284	14.7
Direct objects	142	7.4
Prepositional objects	125	6.5
Subjects	87	4.5
Anomalous	17	0.9
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>655</i>	<i>34.0</i>
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,928</b>	<b>100</b>

### 7.6.3 Switch class

As stated above, the grammatical properties of Latin-English codeswitching have been described most thoroughly by Halmari and Regetz (2011). Although they do not differentiate the scope of switches, some favoured classes can be distinguished, as is displayed in table 7.3 above. Among the non-problematic or peripheral constructions, the biggest class of adjuncts constitutes 26.2% of all switches in the corpus, comprising mostly prepositional phrases. Appositive switches, described as a subcategory of adjuncts, are mostly nominal elements. Nominal in nature are also switches starting with a coordinating conjunction and switches of subject and object complements. Indirect objects are often expressed by prepositional phrases. Among these non-problematic elements, the prepositional and nominal classes seem dominant. Switches between potentially problematic elements most often take the form of verb phrases. Other syntactically connected categories are subjects and objects, which are mostly nominal or prepositional. Although the major classes of switching are the familiar nominal, prepositional and verbal elements, the verbal class is the most problematic in terms of possible violations of codeswitching theory. The bottom

half of table 7.3 above therefore constitutes the codeswitch constructions that go against grammatical regulation.

It may prove interesting to compare this distribution of classes as rendered by Halmari and Regetz (2011) with another bilingual sermon. The text in question is the *Sermo obiti*, a funerary sermon for Thomas de Beauchamp (d.1401) from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. misc. 706, also encountered in section 7.4 above. Though classified by Horner (1975) as a Latin sermon, the text comprises no fewer than 114 switches into English, as listed in table 7.4 below. Peripheral constructions are represented by clauses, taking up 25% of all cases; adjuncts in 19%; subject and object complements in 9%; and coordinating conjunctions in 7%. Syntactically core constructions are slightly less common, with verb phrases numbering around 30% of cases, subjects and objects at 7%, and prepositional complements at 3%. Compared to the figures given by Halmari and Regetz, the proportion between peripheral and non-peripheral constructions seems comparable. In addition, the proportion of the major classes of nominal, prepositional and verbal elements also appears similar in both corpora. The conclusions on class from Halmari and Regetz are thereby confirmed in this particular homily.<sup>388</sup> These findings are of course by necessity rather preliminary.

Table 7.4: Grammatical class in the *Sermo obiti* (Laud misc. 706)

Switch category	Number #	Percentage %
<b>Peripheral ("Non-problematic"):</b>		
Adjuncts	22	19
Clauses	29	25
Coordinating conjunctions	8	7
Subject/object complements	10	9
<i>Subtotal</i>	69	60
<b>Non-peripheral ("Problematic"):</b>		
Verb phrases	34	30
Subjects/objects	8	7
Prepositional complements	3	3
<i>Subtotal</i>	45	40
<b>Total</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>100</b>

<sup>388</sup> Horner (1975: 180-249); Halmari/Regetz (2011: 128-9).



#### 7.6.4 Switch function

For the category of switch function it is perhaps best to return to the diachronic dimensions of these homiletic texts. Between the twelfth and fifteenth century the interchange of Latin and English saw a development from functions concerned with changes in discourses to syntactically interdependent constructions. This change can be seen in the sermons cited by Schendl (2013). In the sermon *In diebus dominicis* from the twelfth century the alternation between Latin and English is dictated by changes in discourse, as in the following item:

[7.11] þe mare to haligen and to wurþien þenne dei, þe is icleped sunnedei; for of þam deie ure lauerd seolf seiþ: '**dies dominicus est dies leticie et requiei** sunnedei is dei of blisse and of alle ireste. **non facietur in ea aliquid, nisi deum orare, manducare et bibere cum pace et leticia** ne beo in hire na.ing iwrat bute chirche bisocnie and beode to Criste and eoten and drinken mid griþe and mid gledscape.' **Sicut dicitur: 'pax in terra, pax in celo, pax inter homines'** for swa is iset: 'griþ on eorþe and griþ on hefene and griþ bitwenen uwilc cristene monne.'

[the more to sanctify and to worship this day, which is called Sunday; for of this day our Lord himself says: '**the day of the Lord is the day of joy and rest**, Sunday is the day of joy and of all rest. **Nothing is done on this day, except praying to god, eating and drinking with peace and happiness**, nothing is done on this day but church attendance and praying to Christ and eating and drinking with peace and happiness.' **As it is said: 'peace on earth, peace in heaven, peace between men'** for thus it is put down: 'peace on earth and peace in heaven and peace between all christian men.]<sup>389</sup>

The Latin stretches, clearly introduced as citations and translated into English, are marked switches, meaning that they fulfil a conscious function to structure the text, as explained in section 4.4.3. Note that the introductions to quotations are either in Latin (**sicut dicitur**) or English (*ure lauerd seolf seiþ*). In the second sermon *Amore languo* from the late-fourteenth century, the switches seem to function as complements and predicates, adding details from the vernacular to the Latin description, as the following passage illustrates:

[7.12] **Et ecce qualiter mirabiliter iste miles fuit armatus vt procederet ad bellum: Primo enim habuit suum** actoun, **suum corpus mundum <vel nudum>; et pro suo hauberk quod est ful of holes habuit corpus suum plenum vulneribus. Pro galea habuit coronam spineam capiti inpressam, et pro cirothecis de plate habuit duos clauos fixos in manibus. Pro calcaribus habuit clauum fixum in pedibus. [...]** Pro

<sup>389</sup> Schendl (2013: 155) [his translations].

**scuto opposuit latus suum. Et processit sic contra inimicum cum lancea non in manu set stykand in his side.**

[And behold how marvelously this knight was armed for battle: first, for his coat he had his clean or naked body; for his hauberk which is full of holes he had his body full of wounds; for a helmet he had a crown of thorns pressed into his head; for gloves of steel he had two nails piercing his hands; for spurs he had a nail piercing his feet; [...] for a shield he offered his side. And thus he rode against his enemy, with a lance not in his hand but sticking in his side.]<sup>390</sup>

The nouns *actoun* 'coat', *hauberk* 'mail' and *plate* 'steel'<sup>391</sup> are all details that complement the image created by the Latin description, while the phrases *ful of holes* and *stykand in his side* function as predicates to the preceding Latin phrases. Here the switches already take a more significant part in the syntactic structure. In the third sermon *Domine, adiuua me* from the early-fifteenth century, there is a slight elaboration on the syntactic roles that the vernacular occupies, as can be concluded from the following example:

[7.13] **Quia, vt Augustinus refert, 3 De ciuitate capitulo 19, statim vt dederunt se to slowth et ocio inceperunt esse so faynt and so graceles quod tota milicia et omnes proceres ipsorum fuerant occisi in vno bello, et pro isto flebili turne Roma cecidit in tantam mischef quod ipsi infra wer fayn spoliare templa deorum suorum et facere milites and cheueteyns ex latronibus et natiuis pro defensione ciuitatis.**

[For, as Augustine says in book 3, chapter 19 of *The City of God*, as soon as the Romans gave themselves to sloth and lassitude they became so faint and so deprived of grace that all their soldiers and all their nobles were killed in one war, and because of this lamentable turn of events Rome fell into such trouble that those within the city were ready to despoil the temples of their gods and to make soldiers and chieftains of thieves and slaves in order to defend the city.]<sup>392</sup>

Like the preceding example this text contains complement switches such as *turne*, *mischef* or *and cheueteyns*, which are dependent on the heads of the phrases to which they belong. However, there are also two switches that are connected to the verbal complex. The switch *dederunt se to slowth* 'they gave themselves over to sloth' is a mixed-language idiom in which the verb phrase spurs a switch to English. In the case of *ipsi infra wer fayn spoliare templa deorum suorum* 'those within the city were ready to despoil the temples of their gods', the language changes from a Latin subject (including a substantivised preposition

<sup>390</sup> Schendl (2013: 157).

<sup>391</sup> This could be Medieval Latin *plata* 'metal strip' in the genitive; cf. <http://clt.brepolis.net/dld/>.

<sup>392</sup> Schendl (2013: 158).

*infra* '[those] inside') via an English auxiliary verb phrase to a Latin infinitive and object. This switch touches the core of the verbal predicate, increasing the syntactic intricacy of the switching. In the fourth sermon *Videbant signa* from the equally early-fifteenth century manuscript Bodley 649, this increasing intimacy in the intermingling of languages is at its zenith, as is seen in the following item:

[7.14] **Quamdiu clerus** and þe laife [*sic*] **huius terre** wer knet togedur **in vno** fagot and brenden **super istum ignem, istud regnum** was ful warme and ful wel at hese. **Caritas** brande so hote, þe ley of loue was so huge **quod non** Scottich miste **ne** no Frensche scouris **quiuerunt extinguere istam flammam**. **Set nunc, prodolor, perfectus amor** is laid o watur, **caritas fere extinguitur, iste ignis** is almost out. **Quere vbi vis infra villam ex extra, poteris** blowe **super vngues tuos** for any hete of loue. **Caritas est adeo frigida** as dumbeltomis fer, truloue is hard to finde. Miche similacioun þer is, faire cher failleth not, **picta verba sunt sufficiencia, set fiducia modica est, vix aliquis confidit alteri**. **Dominus de seruo timet, frater de fratre, pater de filio**. **Ex quo igitur fiducia est verum signum amoris, vbi nulla est fiducia ignis amoris** is out, þe **ignis perfecte caritatis** is puffed out. **Si igitur extincio ignis materialis erat verum signum vindicte que fel super eos, consulo quod timeatis istum signum, extincionem spiritualis ignis, and amendes vos tempestiue er veniouns ruit super nos**.

[As long as the clergy and the laity of this land were knit together in one brand and burned on this fire, this kingdom was very warm and very much at ease. Charity burned so hot, the fire of love was so large that no Scottish mist nor any French showers were able to extinguish this flame. But now, for shame, perfect love is drowned, charity is entirely extinguished, this fire is almost out. Seek where you wish within the village or outside, you might as well blow on your two fingers for any warmth of love. Charity is as cold as Dumbleton's fire, true love is hard to find. There is much pretense, pleasant appearance fails not, painted words are plentiful, but there is little fidelity, scarcely anyone confides in another. Lord is afraid of servant, brother of brother, father of son. So since confidence is a true sign of love, where there is no confidence, the fire of love has gone out, the fire of perfect charity is snuffed out. So if the extinguishing of the material fire is a true sign of the vengeance that fell upon them, I advise you that you fear this sign, the extinguishing of the spiritual fire, and amend yourselves quickly before vengeance fall upon us.]<sup>393</sup>

In the above passage every possible form and function of switching occurs. From a citational usage such as *Caritas est adeo frigida* 'Charity is as cold', via complement function such as *þe laife huius terre* 'the laity of this land', to verbal

<sup>393</sup> Schendl (2013: 162).

predicates such as *verum signum vindicte que fel super eos* 'a true sign of the vengeance that fell upon them' and beyond to intricately interconnected clauses such as *and amendes vos tempestiue er veniouns ruit super nos* 'and amend yourselves quickly before vengeance fall upon us'. On the basis of these four segments, switch functions can be claimed to expand in the history of sermons.

### 7.7 Codeswitching typology

In addition to the grammatical analysis, an investigation into the typology of switches can also yield insights into the relationship between two languages and the status of that relationship in society. The three switch types in question describe to what extent the switch contributes to the syntax of the sentence. Muysken (2000; 2007) extrapolates from this intertwining of languages that in each text one of the switch types described in the preceding chapter is dominant. This dominant switch types corresponds to an overarching relationship between these languages in society.<sup>394</sup> The first type, *insertion*, asserts that a switch is a small segment completely dependent on the syntax of the overarching language. The second type, *alternation*, assumes a juxtaposition of two languages whereby each segments has its own internal syntax. The third switch type, *congruent lexicalisation*, corresponds to a situation in which both languages contribute to the sentential syntax. These three switch types, introduced in section 4.3.2, will be linked to the aforementioned corpus of twenty-three Latin-English sermons from the manuscript at Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 649 (early-fifteenth century). In order to limit the amount of data, only switches in the structural items of each of the sermon parts, as per table 7.2, will be considered. Switches in the body of the exposition, outside of the structural elements, will not be considered on account of limitations of space and time. This method should provide sufficient numbers of codeswitches, as the following overview indicates.

Limiting the analysis to codeswitching in the structural parts of these homilies, a total of 124 codeswitches are attested. Most of the switches, 74 cases (60%), occur in the exposition. The exordium contributes 36 examples (29%), while 14 items (11%) are found in the peroration. Since structural items are least frequent in the exposition, it is to be expected that this homiletic part contains the most switches in free text in addition to the structural switches. As a result, the figure for the structural switches in the exposition would be the least representative of all switches in the respective homiletic part. When the different types of switches are considered, it becomes clear that the different homiletic parts have different degrees of switching, as table 7.5 below displays. In the exordium there is a clear dominance of alternational switches with a fair number of congruent lexicalisation and almost no insertion. In the exposition, however, congruent lexicalisation is more common than alternation, while a reasonable presence of

<sup>394</sup> Muysken (2000: 249); Muysken et al (2007: 306-8).

insertion is also attested. In the peroration, finally, alternation and congruent lexicalisation are almost equally present, whereas insertion is nearly lacking. This frequency of congruent lexicalisation in the exposition could be even higher when codeswitches in items outside the homiletic structure are added, since the less restricted contents of this section lend themselves well to less restricted and more spontaneous syntactic constructions. As it stands, though, alternation is attested in 61 items (49%), congruent lexicalisation in 51 instances (41%), insertion in just 12 cases (10%). The differences between switch types in various homiletic parts undermines the idea that texts should have a central switch type.

Table 7.5: Structural switches in Bodley 649

Structural switch	Alternation	Con. lexicalisation	Insertion	Total
Exordium	25	9	2	36
Expositio	29	36	9	74
Peroratio	7	6	1	14
Total	61	51	12	124

#### 7.7.1 Alternation

A differentiation of switches into subtypes can help to elucidate the manner in which the two languages are intertwined. In the largest type of alternation, the discursive subtype, where the switches serve to convey crucial signals and shifts in the discourse, is very frequent. Such switching often occurs at the start of a text, when Latin citations from Scripture are paraphrased in English. These switches are usually in rhyming verse, occasionally explicitly marked by *anglice* 'in English'. The discourse switches occur at major syntactic boundaries, a procedure also followed in many other alternational items, like the following:

[7.15] Quen my strength was most **paciebar graues penas**  
'When my strength was most, I suffered deep wounds' [O-1.373]

The alternation between English and Latin here falls neatly at the boundary between subclause and main clause. Such switches at the interclausal scope are much more common than interphrasal alternation like peripheral or appositional constructions. When interphrasal switches occur, they are usually prepositional adjuncts or nominal appositions, as the following items illustrate:

[7.16]  
'**Ponam,** **dicit Deus omnipotens,** **in** alle hom **qui disponunt se ad gratiam signum**'  
"I will place a sign", says almighty god, "in all men who dispose themselves to grace"[O-8.441]

[7.17]

**Attendite, domini, quomodo iste latro** þe fend **inferni decept istum hominem**  
 'Pay heed, lords, how this thief, the fiend, deceived this man' [O-4.494]<sup>395</sup>

In the first example, the English switch *in alle hom* is a non-essential prepositional phrase, on which in turn depends a Latin clause. In the second example, the English switch *the fend* is an apposition to the Latin phrase *iste latro* with similar semantic content. Such adjunctival switches are not overly common in the corpus, although the endings of sermons occasionally contain a Latin formula with an English element *to blis euerlastyng* 'to everlasting bliss', which functions as an adjunct. By contrast, switches that double the semantic contents of one language in another are more readily attested than in Latin-Irish sources:

[7.18] **Dies solis est bona conuersacio et** holynes; **dies lune, mundana prosperitas** and riches

'Sunday is good conduct and holiness; Monday, worldly prosperity and riches'  
 [O-1.126]

The first English item *holynes* is likely to be seen as an insertion. If, however, the preceding conjunction *et* can be considered a diamorph, the phrase *et holynes* may rather be interpreted as an alternation after *conuersacio*. The second segment *and riches* clearly copies the Latin *prosperitas* as a continuation on the same syntactic level. It is therefore better seen as an alternation of the doubling subtype. The only other common construction within the alternation type is the switching of conjunctions and adverbs, as illustrated by the following examples:

[7.19]

**Set adhuc** be not to bold on þi frend, **non confidas nimium in misericordia.**

'But still be not too bold with your friend, do not confide too much in mercy'  
 [O-10.561]

[7.20] Herby **omnes sancti saluabantur, scriptura teste, Sapientie XIII**

'Hereby all the saints were saved, as scripture testifies, Wisdom 14' [O-10.591]

These examples show that both Latin and English conjunctions and adverbs can be employed to start a sentence which continues in another language. Unlike *et* or *and* in [7.18], which operate more as visual diamorphs with less of a lexical content, words such as *adhuc* or *herby* are not readily rendered by their English equivalents. Switches of single pronouns are not attested in the data. In sum, the dominant subtype of alternation is clearly the discursive switch function, accentuating the structure of the text.

<sup>395</sup> Halmari/Regetz (2011: 132) analyse this instance as an insertion in the light of the *MLF*.

### 7.7.2 Congruent lexicalisation

In congruent lexicalisation both languages depend on one another for the formation of the syntax in a sentence. The difference with alternation is best illustrated by an instance of the most common subtype of congruent lexicalisation, the switching of selected elements. The following two cases are contrastive in the treatment of the verbal predicates and the employment of both Latin and English; the first is an alternation, the second congruent lexicalisation:

[7.21] **Deus qui statuebatur supra pinnaculum crucis...** rede vs and spede vs  
'God, who was placed on the pinnacle of the cross ... guide us and speed us' [O-22.2]

[7.22] **Primo dixi quod genus Ade was punitus** with a bollinge dropsy  
'First, I said that the race of Adam was punished with a swelling dropsy'  
[O-18.94]

In the first instance a switch appears between an extended nominal subject, or more precisely a nominal predicate to the subject, and its verbal predicate. Although such a switch is problematic in terms of *dependency*, it still respects major constituent boundaries in accordance with the alternational switch type.<sup>396</sup> In the second instance the verb phrase itself contains a switch from English to Latin, with both languages contributing to the syntax of the verbal predicate. This second example should be considered as congruent lexicalisation rather than alternation. Such complicated switches concerning verbal predicates are remarkably common in the corpus, for example in the following case:

[7.23] **Non potes** go rabbislich **ad sacerdotem et dicere**, "**Domini**, appose **me**."  
'You cannot go rashly to the priest and say, "My lord, examine me"' [O-2.175]

Here the verbal predicate starts with the Latin auxiliary *potes*, on which depend two infinitives, both the English *go* and the Latin *dicere*. Moreover, the citation starting with a Latin vocative *Domini* (recte *Domine*) is continued with an imperative *appose* which looks Latin but is English,<sup>397</sup> itself governing an object to be read as either Latin or English *me*. Verbal predicates as these are indeed intricately intertwined. In addition to such verb phrases, the subtype of selected elements may also comprise nominal segments. One such nominal item is used in a selected element switching from Latin to English and back, as seen in [7.24]:

<sup>396</sup> Halmari/Regetz (2011: 137-8).

<sup>397</sup> Middle English Dictionary q.v. *ap(p)ösen* (v.); <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=med1955> [Accessed 4/8/2016].

[7.24] **in vna deitate cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto regnat in** þe empire **summi celi**  
'reigns as one God with the Father and the Holy Spirit in the empire of  
highest heaven' [O-7.551]

The formulaic expression with the Latin verb phrase *regnat* is followed by an English prepositional phrase *in þe empire*, on which then depends a Latin complement *summi celi* with genitival marking. Note that the beginning of the switch is formed by a diamorph, to wit the preposition *in*. Another ambiguous example may or may not display similar case markings on the nominal element:

[7.25] **Dixi secundo principaliter, Domine, adiuua nos in periculis** wild **bestis**  
'For the second principal part, I said, Lord, help us in dangers from wild beasts'  
[O-4.330]

As the English noun phrase is the grammatical complement of the Latin phrase *in periculis*, it ought to display case marking. It is unclear, however, whether the noun *bestis* constitutes the dative plural of Latin *bestia*, in which case the shared syntax could be considered congruent lexicalisation. Perhaps more likely is that we have here simply the plural marking *-is* on the English noun *best*, and as a result the noun phrase is best considered an insertion with nominative or neutralised case marking. Sometimes the extent to which both languages participate in the verbal predicate exceeds the level of selection and conforms more to the subtype of bidirectional switching, as the following case illustrates:

[7.26] **Si ista ars faile þe, si þe sparklis amoris gon out antequam poteris**  
**accendere candelam**  
'If this practice fails you, if the sparks of love go out before you are able  
to light the candle' [O-8.397]

The sentence starts by switching from a Latin nominal subject to an English predicate and its object. The following Latin conjunction is succeeded by an English nominal subject, itself modified by a Latin genitive. The verbal predicate of the second clause is again in English, followed by a clause fully in Latin. Both quantity and quality of switching are best considered as congruent lexicalisation.

In the above examples the switches take place between the verbal predicate and its arguments. At other occasions the idiomatic expression of the verbal predicate itself contains a switch, as becomes clear from the following instance:

[7.27]  
**Omnes oportet ouerseile turbidum mare huius mundi, omnes oportet transire..**  
'All must sail over the troubled sea of this world, all must cross..' [O-23.7]



The switching within a verbal predicate is usually labelled congruent lexicalisation, since it affects the core of the sentential syntax. In the case of [7.27] where only the infinitive *ouerseile* is switched, one may surmise that the metaphorical use of this word required the writer to use the English expression. Note, though, that in the following clause the Latin *transire* is used with similar semantic connotation. Switching of the English verb *ouerseile* is common enough, however, to be included in the idiomatic subtype of congruent lexicalisation. This particular turn of phrase was preferably expressed in English rather than Latin. Another intricate interweaving of the two languages happens through switching of function words, as illustrated by the following example:

- [7.28] **Vt lego in sacra scriptura, Apocalypsis 5, ꝑe euangelista Iohannes...**  
'As I read in sacred scripture, Revelation 5, the evangelist John' [O-4.4]

The appearance of the English article at the beginning of an otherwise Latin nominal phrase is only understandable in the light of congruent lexicalisation, as the insertion of function words is not normally allowed. Other instances where function words are a part of codeswitching can be somewhat more complicated:

- [7.29] **Tantus honor et gracia** schal falle **nostre nau**i... **quod noster** souereyn lord **valet dicere**...  
'So much honor and grace shall fall to our ship that our sovereign lord can say'  
[O-25.245]

- [7.30] **Dico primo et principaliter**, ꝑou woful, etc. Quat woful **creatura magis indiguit** succur...  
'For the first principal part, I say, woeful, etc. What woeful creature had more need of succour' [O-14.90]<sup>398</sup>

In the first instance a Latin determiner *noster* is at the head of an English noun phrase *souereyn lord*. It is uncertain whether the English segment is a relatively complex insertion dependent on the Latin head *noster*, or whether there is indeed a syntactically integrated switch from a Latin determiner to an English adjective and noun. The second instance is similar in that a determiner *quat* in one language appears to be connected to a noun *creatura* in another. Though both items are far from conclusive, the intricacy of codeswitching in both cases may be more in line with an overall analysis as congruent lexicalisation. A similar instance of switching uses adjectival modifiers rather than determiners:

<sup>398</sup> Cf. Halmari/Regetz (2011: 145).

[7.31]

**Legi tarde quod vnus** ansyent **miles** and wel trauelid **habuit seruum vocatum Gilam**

'I read recently that an old, well-traveled, knight had a servant named Gilam'

[O-7.319]

The Latin noun *miles* is both premodified by the English adjective *ansyent* and postmodified by the English adjectival phrase *and wel trauelid*. This manner of modification constitutes congruent lexicalisation, since the complementation pattern of the noun phrase is realised by both Latin and English elements.

The subtypes of triggering, diamorphs and morphological integration do not provide clear examples from the homiletic parts, although Halmari and Regetz note an example *emenda tuum clockum* 'change your clock', in which the Latin case ending *-um* is exceptionally added to an English noun. However, a coming together of the two codes can be seen in many instances, such as the following:

[7.32] '... fading of þi fresch colour. þe fresch color rose qui cito wil fade...'

'the fading of your fresh color, the fresh color of the rose that will quickly fade'

[O-11.293]

The sequence *color rose* can be both Latin and English. Whereas the spelling *color* likely signifies the English word, the spelling *color* is ambiguous. Presently it is followed by *rose*, here the genitive of Latin *rosa*, which in turn triggers a brief continuation in Latin *qui cito*. Such elements of intimately intertwined languages are evidence of an extensive bilingual ability inherent in congruent lexicalisation.

### 7.7.3 Insertion

Compared with the wealth of congruent lexicalisation, the number of insertions is rather small. The subtype of nomenclature accounts for most insertions, although these are not proper names but rather technical terms. In such contexts the distinction between insertion and alternation can be slight, as item [7.18] already indicated. Still, the patterns of insertion become clear through examples:

[7.33] **Si non fueris bonus** swirdman, **nescias floresch recte isto spirituali gladio**

'If you are not a good swordsman, if you do not know how to flourish properly this spiritual sword' [O-1.270]

Whereas the switch to English *floresch* is necessarily analysed as a congruent lexicalisation because it is a verb, the noun *swirdman* is rather inserted to render a term more easily expressed by its user in English. Similar instances of the switching of a single noun with a technical meaning are the following instances:

- [7.34] **tu est sepulcri aperito, ideo excommunicatus. Sunt eciam moneeclippers.**  
'you are an opener of a tomb, and therefore, excommunicated. So also are the moneyclippers' [O-12.70]
- [7.35] **Istud passage est adeo terribile quod nullus audebat antur him vp super gradus istos**  
'This passage is so terrifying that no one dared venture up these steps' [O-12.82]
- [7.36] **iste est principalis tepet solennis tue mitre. Alter tepet est dillectio proximi**  
'he is the main tippet of your solemn mitre. The other tippet is love of the neighbour.' [O-12.384]

These three examples from the same text all display English nouns that can be described as technical. This term is taken to mean that the word was available to the speaker more readily in English than in Latin, similar to the use of *ouerseile* in example [7.27] above. In [7.34] *moneeclippers* is the clearest example of a word that may not have come to mind in Latin. In [7.35] *passage* is used after the Latin determiner *istud*, which is inflected for gender. As the English noun is not inflected, it can be said to conform to Latin syntax. Interestingly, the other switch in this sentence *antur him vp* is best analysed as an idiomatic verbal complex, and therefore as congruent lexicalisation. The word *antur* 'venture' only appears in the Middle English Dictionary as a noun, however.<sup>399</sup> In [7.36] two occurrences are seen of the English noun *tippet*, an ornamental scarf. Though its technical use appears evident, it is remarkable that the alternative spelling *tepet* corresponds to the third person of the Latin verb *tepere* 'to be tepid'. This may be further evidence of the orthographical adaptation of switches. Another insertional switch is more dubious given its similarity to an alternational switch pattern:

- [7.37] **Primum brachium magni maris est synne and wickednes**  
'The first arm of the great sea is sin and wickedness' [O-10.42]

Here the English segment is a longer phrase that acts as the nominal predicate of a Latin verb phrase. The phrase is embedded into Latin syntax, upholding insertional analysis. By contrast, the doubling of items *synne and wickednes* is more reminiscent of alternation, as in example [7.18]. In addition to nominal insertions there are also a number of English adjectives used in the same way. Because these cannot be said to constitute jargon, they are best classified under the 'proper' subtype, as the following examples clearly illustrate:

<sup>399</sup> Middle English Dictionary q.v. *aventure*; cf. <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED3150> [Accessed 4/8/2016].

[7.38] **Nisi timeas iusticiam, misericordia te non saluabit. Istud ostendam per historiam** ruful.  
'Unless you fear justice, mercy will not save you. I shall show you this through a sorrowful story.' [O-8.350]

[7.39]  
**Muri huius templi qui claudunt et seruant nos** ful warme **sunt bona communitas**  
'The walls of this temple which enclose and keep us warm are the good commons' [O-15.15]

[7.40] ... **primo adorabis Deum tuum debite cum fide que est** nedful  
'First, you will adore your God with the required faith which is needful' [O-17.6]

[7.41] **Dixi secundo quod lignum vite erit tibi fructus mirabilis** strengthinge  
'I said second that the tree of life will be a marvelous strengthening fruit'  
[O-17.92]

[7.42] **set inter omnes virgines** most low, **sicut apparet Luce 1<sup>o</sup>, 'Ecce ancilla..'**  
'but among all virgins the most lowly, as is apparent in Luke 2, "Behold the handmaiden ..."' [O-24.237]

All of these adjectives and adjectival phrases are completely dependent on surrounding Latin syntax, and hence constitute insertions. A complex case is the combination of adjective and noun in this item analysed by Halmari and Regetz:

[7.43] **Istam** blisful reynbow **Christus erexit in summum celum omnium**  
'Christ set this blessed rainbow in the highest heaven of all' [O-7.504]<sup>400</sup>

The fronted object phrase *istam blisful reynbow* could be considered congruent lexicalisation as it is an intraphrasal switch from a Latin determiner to its English complement. However, the Latin determiner *istam* is inflected for case, whereas the English complement is uninflected. This makes a categorisation as insertion preferable, as the switch is completely embedded into a Latin syntactic structure.

The low number of insertions is especially interesting in the light of the analysis of ten of these homilies by Halmari and Regetz (2011), who claim that 60% of switches in their corpus can be said to uphold the *Matrix Language Frame* model with its exclusive attention to insertions. In the theoretical frame provided by Myers-Scotton the percentage of unproblematic insertions in this corpus may lie as high as two-thirds, or 66%.<sup>401</sup> The present study of roughly the same material,

<sup>400</sup> Halmari/Regetz (2011: 125).

<sup>401</sup> Halmari/Regetz (2011: 130).

now analysed in the light of *government* as described by Muysken, places the percentage of insertions at only 12%. Moreover, it is only in the switch type of insertion that there is a possible presence of a *Matrix Language* through the embedding of English elements into the dominant Latin language. Although most examples from the other two switch types also switch from Latin to English, in both categories there are instances where English segments, either or not with Latin switches, make up the majority of the sentence. In addition, many particularities of the corpus point toward an underlying “mental” syntax springing from an Englishman, even where the surface form of the sentence is Latin. Examples are [7.35] and [7.43], where the word order and the use of demonstratives such as *istud* and *istam* are closer to English than Latin syntax. Whether these texts have a shared syntax of Latin and English or whether there is an underlying interference from English on Latin, the interweaving of the two languages is far more elaborate than is covered by a simple description as insertion. Rather, the use of alternation and congruent lexicalisation in the majority of cases indicates a societal setting in which two languages are used in close combination.<sup>402</sup>

### 7.8 English scribal milieus

The above instances of codeswitching testify not only to the structuring devices in a text but also to the bilingual competence on the part of the author or copyist. Given the comparable competences required for the composition and compilation of both Irish and English bilingual homiliaries, it should be worthwhile to investigate the backgrounds of these English scribes as well. For the two major macaronic homily collections mentioned above, their names are fortunately known. In the case of Bodley 649 we even have an identification of the presumed author of the texts. The style of the sermons contained therein has been likened to the first of four Latin and English texts in Worcester, Cathedral [Chapter] Library F. 10 [c.1400], referred to as a “Benedictine sermon anthology”.<sup>403</sup> This sermon on the *Passion of the lord* is signed by a Hugo Legat. As indicated by Fletcher, this Hugo or Hugh was a Benedictine originating from Hertfordshire.<sup>404</sup> Affiliated to the monastery of St Albans, he taught at Oxford in the houses of Gloucester College around 1400 CE. The homilies in both Bodley 649 and F. 10 are in the Modern Form of the sermon popular in the context of the university. Likewise, both collections are remarkable for their mentioning of contemporary events like Lollardry, which was denounced by monastic orders such as those at St Albans. Along with Laud misc. 706, these three manuscript have texts with such a similar imprint that their attribution to Hugo Legat is made plausible.

<sup>402</sup> Muysken (2000: 249).

<sup>403</sup> Horner (2005: 4166).

<sup>404</sup> Fletcher (2009: 154-5).

Apart from his concern for current religious affairs, Legat has additional interests to boast. Some of the references in his work derive not from christian but from classical sources. Three sources can be adduced for an inclination toward classical Latin literature on the part of the *rhetor et poeta* Legat. The first case is his commentary on Boethius' *Consolatio*, of which only the *incipit* is now known.<sup>405</sup> The second instance is the inclusion of Ovid's *Heroides* in a grammar book of his making which is now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson G.99. The third example is his order for the binding of British Library, Harley 2624, comprising Cicero's *De inventione*. Such an interest in both grammar and rhetoric is also evident from Legat's composing of model *dictamina*, rhetorical letters that were held in high regard among monk-scholars and their houses. His fame in teaching came to the notice of a wider audience, to such an extent that his students conveyed a pride in having learnt from "Brother Hugh our teacher".<sup>406</sup> In the autumn of his years he also took up an additional interest in history.<sup>407</sup> All these areas, typical of the intellectual culture of monk-scholars as found at Gloucester College, make the learned Hugo Legat as well-versed an intellectual as either Ó Cuindlis or Mac an Leagha encountered in chapter 2.

Much the same sophistication can be claimed for the scribes concerned with transcribing the homily collection attributed to Legat. Bodley 649 was copied by John Swetstock, a Benedictine who was certainly a student and possibly a teacher at Oxford. Judging by his copying of the aforementioned collection of macaronic sermons, his sympathies in current societal affairs can be surmised. His sentiments can be claimed to lie with King Henry V, while his antipathy is directed toward the dissenting Lollard movement. Ironically, the latter milieu was exactly the kind of intellectual environment in which the vernacular and lay education were promoted. As it turns out the professional agenda of John Swetstock is more difficult to pinpoint. On the one hand, the Modern Form of his homilies indicates his links to the highly skilled university environment. On the other hand, his widespread use of interlinked languages is in unison with the lay literacy movement, though also used in university teaching. To be able to connect Latin and the vernacular, even if it is intended for a gentile audience, takes considerable skill and education. In instructing students in the composition of sermons, the use of Latin and English was profitably combined.<sup>408</sup>

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<sup>405</sup> Grisdale (1939: xiii).

<sup>406</sup> Clark (2000: 66-8).

<sup>407</sup> Clark/Tait (2004: #16346).

<sup>408</sup> Fletcher (2009: 245-7).

Strikingly similar is the social context of the second manuscript containing homilies written by Hugh Legat, Laud miscellaneous 706. Though only compiled into one binding in the late fifteenth century, the manuscript was actually composed in the early decades of the 1400s. One of the primary scribes among a total of eleven is a John Paunteley or Pauntley. He may also have been the author of some of the texts contained in the collection.<sup>409</sup> A Benedictine monk from Gloucester, Paunteley was also a professor of *sacre pagine* 'secular and religious ritual' at Gloucester College in Oxford. The time of his tenure lies between 1401 and 1412, the exact same time as the above scholars. This is also the college in which Hugo Legat was active, an institute with a reputation for the instruction of young monks. It is therefore tempting to see these collections as *artes praedicandi*, or model sermon storehouses. In this mixed milieu of monastic and lay intellectual culture, codeswitching could be claimed to be an accepted mode of discourse for its in-group users. These scarce socio-linguistic data bring historical codeswitching even closer to the phenomenon known from the present.

### 7.9 Conclusion

Around the beginning of the fifteenth century, the level of bilingual command was sufficiently similar in England and Ireland to produce comparable results. All of the manuscripts encountered in the above discussion invite to a lesser or greater extent a view of a thoroughly multilingual Insular intellectual culture. The learned people and their texts make use of multiple languages in the process of spreading knowledge. Even so, codices with pervasive codeswitching remain the rare exception. Furthermore, both societal multilingualism and individual codeswitching are by rule variable rather than fixed phenomena. A scribe made different choices from one text to another, while different scribes adapt the language and structure of the same text according to their diverging needs. The fact that some scribes were capable of tailoring their skills to the demands of the compilation is a sure sign of their competences. For these complex homiletic collections, it seems that their function is somewhat removed from direct spoken prayers. Rather, their interpretation as model sermons for either theoretical *artes praedicandi* or practical preaching material makes the university milieu with its instruction of young monks and secular laypersons particularly applicable.

An obvious problem with written codeswitching is that the transmission of manuscripts in the Middle Ages is complicated. In a compilation it is difficult to disentangle the language of the author from that of the scribe. This situation is ameliorated by concentrating on the side of the user of these texts. For the compiler collecting and connecting the texts, for the scribe confronted with

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<sup>409</sup> Horner (1978: 382).

multiple languages and for the student putting the sermons and homilies to his own use, codeswitching was a perfectly acceptable phenomenon. Put more strongly, the homilies, however they came about, were employed in a milieu that is by nature receptive of the idea of bilingualism. This is especially true for the genre of religious commentary, which combines the authority of Latin with instruction in the vernacular. The scribes involved in producing these texts were capable of creating structures in which two languages functioned within strict frameworks but with considerable flexibility. In addition, these people provide us with practical examples of live bilingualism. As copyists, translators and writers working in Latin, Irish and English, Murchadh Ó Cuindlis, Iollann Mac an Leagha, Hugo Legat, John Swetstock and John Paunteley are the greatest source of evidence for the exemplary education of the individuals who wrote, copied and used these multilingual homiletic manuscripts on both sides of the Insular intellectual world.

The notion that preaching material may have been used as *ars praedicandi* is even more likely for English sermons than it is for Irish homilies. The overview of sermon O-18 in table 4.1 makes explicit mention of the modelling of the preacher's own performance. The reiteration gives a meta-textual reference to the homiletic structure by stating *cepi pro themate* 'I took for the theme'. Most strikingly, the *processus* contains instructions for the preachers using the text: *Hic conuenienter pro processu sermonis potestis petere duos questiones* 'Here you can conveniently ask two questions for the course of the sermon'. This address gives the impression of sermons "designed not for preaching as they stood but as quarries for subsequent preachers."<sup>410</sup> As a consequence, such sermons would be representative not so much of a spoken performance to a congregation but of a written transmission to an apprentice preacher. Such a viewpoint makes the use of codeswitching in this transmission an acceptable choice in a learned environment, regardless of the language or languages of the putative sources of a particular text.<sup>411</sup> The languages of mediaeval bilingualism, be they Latin and Irish or Latin and English, functioned in such intimate and variable configurations that one cannot always be judged to be superior to the other.<sup>412</sup> Rather, the use of codeswitching in mediaeval Insular homilies appears to have been an uncontroversial and productive phenomenon.<sup>413</sup>

The particular properties of this phenomenon can be analysed by either of two complementary methods. A grammatical approach to the codeswitches in the various corpora, as executed by previous scholars, indicates a resemblance to

<sup>410</sup> Fletcher (2009: 245).

<sup>411</sup> Fletcher/Gillespie (2001: 55).

<sup>412</sup> Vs. Stevenson (2011: 137).

<sup>413</sup> Machan (2011: 328).



the homilies from Ireland. The juxtaposition of languages with mixed phrases and diamorphs is noticeably more complicated than one language dominating the other. The scope of switches shows a difference between shorter one-way switches and extensive interchanges. In terms of word class, the frequency of nominal, verbal and prepositional items in the Latin-English sermons is comparable to other corpora. However, the frequent switching between verbal elements and their arguments is problematic in terms of the constraints on codeswitches in the syntactic core. As to the function of switches there is a clear diachronic development from a more discursive, citational use of switches to the syntactic complexity of intraphrasal switching known from the examples in the *Leabhar Breac*. The second methodological approach of switch typology shows similar correspondences in use between the Latin-Irish homilies and the Latin-English sermons from Bodley 649. Contrary to the predictions of the *Matrix Language Frame* model, there is a great deal of intimate interweaving of languages in both corpora. Simple insertion is in fact the least common category, with congruent lexicalisation and especially alternation as the most frequent switch types. These two types together point toward a considerable coming together of languages as characteristic of both Irish and English society. In all of these aspects the mediaeval Insular codeswitching of both corpora reflects the vibrant state of bilingual learning on either shore of the Irish Sea.



## Chapter 8

## Summary, conclusions and outlook

8.1 Summary

Mediaeval texts were often constructed using more than one language. This combination of two or more languages within the same communicative context is called codeswitching [CS]. The use of both Latin and Irish in the early fifteenth-century manuscript *An Leabhar Breac* [LB; 'The Speckled Book'] is the topic of the present investigation. In particular, the texts in LB from the genre of the homily, moral commentary on Scripture, frequently display this intermingling of languages. Studies of historical codeswitching, based on modern, spoken codeswitching theories, have emerged during the past twenty-five years. Investigation into the systematic interchange of Latin and Irish, though, has only been advanced in the last decade. There are two main methodologies in the study of codeswitching. The one, the *Matrix Language Frame* invented by Myers-Scotton, postulates a fundamental inequality between a dominant *Matrix Language* and a subsidiary *Embedded Language*. The other, the *government* model derived from Chomsky and adapted to the study of codeswitching by Muysken, determines the probability of switching through the grammatical rules and regulations involved with different syntactic constructions. In either theory it is implied that codeswitching is indicative of the use of languages not only in a text but also within the society in which the text originated. Through these contrastive views on codeswitching it is possible to gain further insight into the role of bilingualism in mediaeval Irish society. The status of bilingual learning in mediaeval Ireland can subsequently be compared to other regions, such as mediaeval England and the Continent.

The characteristics of the homiletic genre are especially susceptible to this switching, as it is in essence a blending of authoritative Latin citations of written origin and vernacular Irish explanations more closely connected with spoken performance. This genre originates in the biblical commentaries of the church fathers, but by the time of the *Leabhar Breac* these texts had become much more elaborate and intricate. Here the homilies have a tripartite structure, with the *exordium* introducing the biblical passage, the *expositio* explaining its meaning, and the *peroratio* providing closing formulae. Each of these segments has a different degree of codeswitching; while the middle part has the most freedom in its use of languages, the beginning and the ending have a more circumscribed language pattern. The grammatical criteria with which to analyse this interchange of languages include the direction of switching between the languages, the scope or size of the switch, the word class, and the syntactic function of the codeswitches. In some cases, even determining the language of a specific segment can be problematic. The use of language-neutral elements

known as diamorphs is of particular interest to the present investigation on codeswitching. In addition to these ambiguous diamorphs more problems are encountered in studying mediaeval Irish sources. These difficulties include the dating of the texts in manuscripts or the distinction between the work of the author and that of the scribe of a manuscript. The perspective presently adopted is to focus on the manuscripts, texts and languages as transmissions that were used as functioning entities by their audiences. This open-ended and descriptive attitude necessitates an inclusive approach to the definition of what constitutes codeswitching. The open-access availability of data in the appendices enables other researchers to take a different approach to the material.

One acute desideratum in the area of accessible data is an updated manuscript description of the *Leabhar Breac*. Chapter 2 provides the codicological background to such a study, the results of which can be found in Appendix B in the form of an improved description. The previous catalogue description of the manuscript already indicated its composite structure. In order to enable an analysis of the order or hierarchy of languages in *LB*, both the original and the intended composition of its quires must first be investigated. There are structural differences between various parts of the codex, for example in the form of 'blocks' of historical, homiletic or hagiographical material. Among the homiletic quires, some texts are derived from the Ancient Form of the homily while others adhere to the Modern Form. This variety notwithstanding, a clear effort has been made to create a coherent compilation. The coherence is distorted, though, by the repeated attempts at rebinding which the manuscript has undergone through the ages. The five or six different foliation systems attest to these various stages, in which parts of the manuscript were either missing or misbound. Considering both the contents and the foliations, it must be concluded that the *Leabhar Breac* is likely still misbound, with quire O due to be restored after quire D. Apart from this inaccuracy the quire structure of *LB* is not as irregular as previously thought, with quinions dominating in most sections other than the quaternions of the originally separate *Féilire Óengusso*. At other times the incomplete state of a quire indicates textual loss, which can often be restored by comparison to parallel recensions of the text. Overall, though, there appears to have been a clear planning behind the quires, in terms of genres as well as their languages. Certain clusters of related texts occur with a fairly uniform use of languages, in which Irish is clearly the dominant language at large, whereas the widespread homilies are almost exclusively in a mixture of Latin and Irish. Through all of the above observations it is possible to postulate a putative order of composition for the quires of the codex. Over a period of at least three years between 1408 and 1411 it appears that the scribe had a fairly fixed plan in mind for the compilation of different blocks of genres and languages, a plan only partly reflected in the current codex.

The compilation of the *Leabhar Breac* is based on a wide range of sources from within and outside of the homiletic tradition. This tradition originates in the Bible commentaries of the church fathers, chief among which is Gregory. The Irish branch of this tree of knowledge can be traced to the early eighth century, although it is difficult to claim with certainty that any particular source influenced the *Leabhar Breac* directly. A prime example of the time is the *Liber questionum in evangeliis* (c.725), a reworking of commentaries on especially Matthew. Around the same time a compilation of Irish legal sources, the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*, displays a thematic ordering that corresponds to homiletic topics. In the ninth century another branch of the homiletic tradition sprouts with three main saplings, collectively known as the *Catecheses*. In the Vatican manuscript of the *Catechesis Celtica*, the Veronan manuscript of the *Catechesis Veronensis* and the Cracovian manuscript of the *Catechesis Krakóviensis* the structuring of the texts has the semblance of a homily. Between the ninth and the eleventh century this homiletic tradition comes to fruition through the efforts of the *Céli Dé* reform movement, leading to the heyday of the so-called 'Irish homiliarum' about 1100 CE. This hypothetical prototype of the later homiletic manuscripts was mostly based on the Matthean Gospel favoured in Ireland. In addition, other sources on Matthew, such as commentaries by Augustine, Frigulus, Jerome and Sedulius Scottus, appear to have been used by the Irish scholars. Insular influences include the *opera omnia* by Bede and various anonymous or spurious works of presumed Irish origins such as *De duodecim abusivis saeculi*, the *Liber de gradibus* and the *Liber de numeris*. Many greater and lesser works seem to have been cited not directly but rather through intermediary sources such as *collectanea* and *florilegia* of various authors. All of these elements reinforce to a greater or lesser degree the homiletic tradition epitomised by the *Leabhar Breac*. Around the same time as *LB*, other manuscripts also bear witness to the production of similar homiletic materials. Four of these witnesses display sufficient overlap with the *Leabhar Breac* to be considered parallel codices. In the case of the *Yellow Book of Lecan* there is also a partial overlap in scribe, as Murchadh Ó Cuindlis copied a part of the latter codex from which he transferred a couple of litanies to *LB*. With the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum* the similarity is mainly informed by the coincidence of passions and homilies in this relatively small manuscript. The other two manuscripts, the London codex *BLE* and the Paris witness *FCB*, share the same scribe, *Iollann Mac an Leagha*, one of the most prolific writers of his time. The presence of a series of apostolic passions is the clearest indication of the overlaps between these two transmissions and the *Leabhar Breac*. Beyond the coincidences at the textual level, the interrelatedness of these four manuscripts and *LB* also occurs at the level of codicology. Related texts shared by *LB* and its parallels are often found within the same sections, so that there appear to have been units of composition that

have travelled between different branches of the homiletic tradition. In all of the above areas, ranging from the codicology and the sources to the parallels of the *Leabhar Breac*, it is abundantly clear that this manuscript has a proud pedigree.

The transmissions of its variegated sources and parallels notwithstanding, a clear effort has been made to impose a uniform structure on the *Leabhar Breac*, as chapter 3 explores. This imposed structure is visible not only in the sequence of homiletic segments within texts, but also in the languages used for each of these elements. This conscious modelling of the material in the *Leabhar Breac* contradicts the image of its compiler as a careless copyist of its sources. Instead, his person and his use of languages indicate a programmatic profile quite distinct from other homiletic witnesses. Nonetheless, *LB* has many characteristics in common with other branches of the homiletic tradition. The tradition hails back to the texts by the church fathers commenting on Scripture, slowly turning to elaborate exegeses in the course of the centuries. The diachronic development of the homiletic genre is visible in two versions, which vary in their internal construction. Homilies of the Ancient Form are structured around a longer citation from Scripture (*pericope*) cited verse-by-verse (*lectio continua*). These verses are subsequently expounded through reference to the four senses of Scripture, to wit literal or historical; moral or tropological; allegorical or mystical; and anagogical. This Ancient Form is concerned more with the catechetical message of preaching in its spoken form. By contrast, the Modern Form, associated with the rise of scholasticism at the universities in the long twelfth century, has a form more closely corresponding to its use in written reflection and instruction. This newer version furnishes a strict division in three structural partitions of *exordium*, *expositio* and *peroratio*. The first of these comprises a short citation from Scripture (*thema*), a citation from its context (*prothema*), introductions to the authors of the texts, and a repetition of the theme. The *expositio* contains a hierarchical analysis of the meaning of the biblical passage, flowing forth from the *processus* of the argument, through the *distinctiones* derived from the theme, to their subdistinctions and accompanying concordances from authorities. At the end of the Modern Form of the homily, either an exhortation to the monastic community occurs or the *vita* of a saint exemplifying the virtue extolled in the exposition, before the homiletic structure is concluded by the formulaic expressions in the *peroratio*. The occurrence of *vitae*, hymns and litanies within the mould of the Modern homily is an indication of the recognisable success of this text type, which may have functioned as a storehouse of material to the aspiring preacher.

The compilation of preaching material inherent in the *Leabhar Breac* attests to both the variety of homiletic traditions and the conscious effort towards

coherence undertaken by its compiler. As a result, the different quires within the *Leabhar Breac*, identified in the foregoing sections, display different stages of the development of the homiletic genre within the consistent compilation of its codex. After a non-homiletic opening in quire A, quire B contains at its end two homiletic saints' lives of Patrick and Columba respectively. Both of these texts are reworkings of original *vitae*, embellished with *exordia* and *perorationes* in order to conform to the requirements of the homiletic genre. These texts therefore constitute a crucial stage in the development of the genre. By contrast, quire C contains a string of texts from more venerable traditions, considering both their original ordering by the liturgical calendar and their use of the four senses of Scripture from the Ancient Form of the homily. These texts are closer to the spoken use of catechetical contemplation for the congregation. Quire D firmly fulfils the requirements of the Modern Form of the homily, comprising more theoretical cogitations on the virtues divided into distinctions and subdistinctions, as used in written transmission. The litanies found at the end of this quire, before the start of the *Félire Óengusso*, were copied by the same scribe who wrote them in the *Yellow Book of Lecan*, another reflection of the conscious nature of the current compilation. After the *Félire* the codex continues with biblical history, at the conclusion of which are rendered a number of rather haphazard homiletic tracts in quires J and K. The distinction between the homilies and the narratives into which they are embedded is difficult to determine, especially as the texts do not always contain all of the elements which characterise homilies. Nonetheless, there is a clear information structure in line with homiletic patterns, reaffirming the visibility of the conventions of the genre. In addition, the quires contain a string of saints' lives with minor homiletic additions. The intervening quires L through N return to more narrative material, after which quire O again displays a considerable number of homiletic compositions in line with those in quire D. These texts concern various christian virtues and liturgical elements of interest to educated audiences, with the addition of a number of visions that are embedded within the structure of homiletic texts. Such thematical correspondences between quires D and O are further evidence of their intended juxtaposition, as the previous section already argued. The final quire P, separately bound, does not display significant homiletic form. As it appears the genre characteristics of the *Leabhar Breac* homilies confirm the codicological planning of the manuscript.

The degree of planning inherent in the textual contents of the *Leabhar Breac* can only be comprehended in connection to the languages in which these texts were written. If the interchange of Irish and Latin follows identifiable patterns of language use, as chapter 4 argues, the composition of the *Leabhar Breac* can be defended against claims that this interchange is due to purely compilatory practices. The study of such intermingling of languages originates in the theories

on the use of modern codeswitching from predominantly spoken data, starting with Spanish-English societies in the United States of the 1970s. The adaptation of modern, spoken codeswitching theory to historical, written data started in the 1990s with studies on Latin-English sermons. Only in the past decade has historical codeswitching been utilised in Irish contexts through the consideration of Latin-Irish computus by Bisagni and Warntjes. Bisagni (2013-4) also offers the most elaborate discussion and application of the merits of modern codeswitching theory to historical data. The method adopted by Bisagni for this purpose is the *Matrix Language Frame* model proposed by Myers-Scotton. This theory is based on a fundamental inequality between the two languages in a codeswitching situation. One language acts as the *Matrix Language*, providing the syntactic framework of the sentence including the verbal predicate, function words and inflections such as case endings. By contrast, the *Embedded Language* is completely enclosed within the grammatical structure of the matrix and does not display an internal syntax of its own. The inequality between the two languages is explained through neurolinguistic processes whereby certain core constructions in a sentence are activated in the brain ahead of other, more trivial elements. This leads to a hierarchy of language constructions in which switching is reserved for the more peripheral elements. Another modern codeswitching theory incorporates switching in situations more crucial to the sentential syntax, the *government*-based model promoted by Muysken. The notion of *government* concerns the interaction in the sentence between the underlying syntactic structures and the surface form of the individual elements from which the syntax is constructed. When codeswitching is attested in constructions in which *government* plays a part, there are two constraints with which the validity of the switches can be tested. The first criterion, *linearity*, asserts that codeswitching is facilitated by an equivalence in word order between the two languages involved. The second characteristic, *dependency*, states that codeswitching is hindered by the grammatical relationships between syntactically crucial constituents and the elements that depend on them. Muysken's model allows for predictions of the likelihood of codeswitching in specific syntactic situations, using probability and optimality rather than prescription in order to describe the data most accurately.

There are several reasons why the present investigation has adopted the model by Muysken for historical analysis rather than the *Matrix Language Frame*, although this is not intended to be taken as inherent criticism of the latter per se. Firstly, neuro- and sociolinguistic components of the *MLF* are better suited to the accessible data of modern, spoken codeswitching than to historical codeswitching, where it is more difficult to obtain data on language production. Instead, one can often only observe the language use as it occurs within the historical document in its fixed form. Secondly, a sociolinguistic perspective on codeswitching is more difficult to uphold for historical data that cannot be



investigated in terms of language attitudes and societal norms. Thirdly, the determination of the *Matrix Language* is potentially problematic because of the same lack of sociolinguistically ascertainable attitudes, and possibly even undesirable where it may have been the intention to bridge the boundaries between two languages through language-neutral triggers and other ambiguous elements. Lastly, given the written nature of historical sources, the prospective outcome of the grammatical analysis of codeswitching data is greater than the potential information that a more sociolinguistic view would offer. For all of these reasons the *government*-based model by Muysken is given prominence in the analysis of the historical codeswitching in the *Leabhar Breac*. A crucial classification in this model is the three codeswitching types that reflect the differences in the degree to which the codeswitch take part in the core structure of a sentence. The first type, *insertion*, asserts that the switched element is completely embedded into the syntactic structure of a receiving language, along the lines of the *Matrix Language Frame* as used by Myers-Scotton and Bisagni. The second type, *alternation*, addresses switching between longer elements that each have their own internal syntax, reflecting grammatical rules and regulations of the *government*-based approach of Chomsky and Clyne. The third type, *congruent lexicalisation*, concerns switching whereby the parts that make up the syntactic structure of a sentence can be realised by lexical elements from both languages, so that the resulting intertwining of languages reflects the *codemixing* conceived by Appel and Muysken.

This threefold differentiation enables much-improved predictions of the grammatical constraints to which various codeswitches adhere, as the language patterns observed in each of the three switch type can be linked to different theoretical frameworks. This typological classification can be combined profitably with the grammatical categories which denote the characteristics of the switches seen by themselves, to wit the switch language, scope, class and function. The language of switches is usually Latin or Irish, while an ambiguous category of Latin-Irish switches is reserved for certain word-level items. This intraphrasal level is the lowest of four switch scopes, which also include the interphrasal, interclausal and intersentential scope. Grammatical class comprises the parsing of word forms in verbal, nominal, prepositional, adjectival and determiner categories. Function, finally, informs the role that switches play within the context of the discourse to which they belong. These functions vary from extra- and meta-textual, like citations, formulae and translations, to syntactic functions, such as adjuncts, appositions, complements, objects, predicates and subjects. All these aspects can be coded into the computer language XML, enabling an automated analysis and categorisation of codeswitching in *LB*; even though the ensuing results still need to be checked by a human for inconsistencies. The difficulties deriving from the determination of

the data are not restricted to the complications of the computer. Fundamentally, the definition of codeswitching carries far-reaching consequences for the analysis of the individual items. Different definitions range from the restrictive view of codeswitching as the expression of the full and fluent bilingualism of an individual in a single speech act, to the inclusive incorporation of any and all bilingual ability in the combination of two languages in a single speech act. From the latter perspective, the phenomenon of codeswitching is connected to a broader spectrum of bilingualism, including related stages of language contact such as borrowing, interference and diglossia. The difficulty in distinguishing between these developments may not be as problematic when taking the stance that all of these language abilities reflect a societal bilingualism that would be unduly fragmented by its separation into disconnected parts, as has often happened in the past. Another aspect of bilingual ability that is easily lost in editorial practice is the assignment of ambiguous elements to a particular language. If a word may belong to more than one language, it is undesirable to make an editorial emendation by categorising such an element as one language, especially since ambiguous words may be intended exactly to bridge the boundaries between languages. By retaining these elements as they are employed in the text and by designating them as diamorphs, that is to say words which in form may belong to both languages, the option is left open that the comprehension of producers and users of the text profited from the confluence of two codes offered by these ambiguous elements. Such diamorphs range from function words such as determiners and prepositions, via ambiguous abbreviations, to Latinate nomenclature that also functioned in Irish. In their most pictorial form, diamorphs designated as *emblems* function as visual phenomena that may be realised by the individual language user in either Latin or a vernacular. This view of language choice depends on the notion that codeswitching may or may not be the conscious or marked attitude toward bilingualism by its producers and users. Though it is traditionally assumed that a written document can only be a conscious composition in which codeswitching constitutes a marked language choice, the flexible functions of the two languages in mediaeval society salvage the use of written codeswitching from purely purposeful production. Instead, historical codeswitching, as it can be analysed by rules and regulations known from modern codeswitching, equally comprises the spontaneous language use by in-group bilinguals.

The grammatical properties of the codeswitches in the *Leabhar Breac* are categorised with the aid of computer coding in chapter 5. In order to arrive at the pertinent data, though, the parsed output needs to be cleared of the clutter that comes from casting a wide net to catch the codeswitches. The first category to be discarded from the data is the class of back-switches or right-hand switches after an inserted item. Though only the insertion itself should constitute a switch, the

computer sees a change of language before and after the insertion. The second superfluous category is formed by diamorphs that do not trigger language change. Words that may belong to both languages are also used in monolingual environments, where they also register as switches because of their inbetween language status. The third type of switch to be put aside is the intersentential switch. While these are perfectly acceptable as examples of codeswitching, they operate on a discursive rather than a syntactic level and thus provide meagre information on grammatical properties. Interestingly, though, intersentential switches almost always occur in a directionality from Latin to Irish. In addition, almost all such items are direct translations or paraphrases of Latin elements. However, when a sequence of Latin and Irish is not semantically equivalent, the directionality can just as easily be from Latin to Irish as vice versa. This language interchange at the intersentential level is comparable to the interclausal level. The use of language is the first grammatical criterion to be investigated at the intrasentential levels, which constitutes only about a third of all items returned from the computerised coding data. The most important observation here is that Latin is by far the largest language category, while Irish amounts only to a third of the Latin switches and Latin-Irish diamorphs to a mere fourth. The second grammatical category of switch scope is useful in delimiting the occurrence of these diamorphs to the intraphrasal level. This is the only scope where Latin is not the dominant language, because ambiguous elements of higher scope can always be identified as belonging to just one language on the basis of the textual context. In intraphrasal items Latin is about twice as common as Irish, which is a proportion similar to that at the interclausal level. At the level of interphrasal items, however, Latin outnumbers Irish in switches by a ratio of over three to one. The third grammatical category is word class, which shows a majority of such interphrasal switches to be noun phrases. After nominal items come verbal and prepositional elements, the three largest grammatical classes coinciding with those of modern codeswitching studies. By contrast, adjectival, adverbial and determiner phrases are all marginally attested classes. Nominal items are even more dominant at the intraphrasal level, where the only other switches are those in modifiers of these omnipresent nouns. At the interclausal level there is a marked difference in language use between the embedded clauses, which are overwhelmingly Latin, and the main clauses, which are predominantly Irish; coordinating clauses make up the middle ground between these two options. A related observation to be mentioned in this respect is an almost universal language preference for Latin over Irish in verb phrases. This predilection is connected to the fact that verb phrases are almost always formulaic, which suggests a strong correlation between language choice and syntactic function.

The fourth and final grammatical category, switch function, concerns the occurrence of constructions such as formulae. Formulae are one of three

functions on the interclausal level, together with translations and the largest grouping of citations. The latter are found almost exclusively in Latin embedded clauses, as they are normally introduced by Irish main clauses. In certain cases this citational use of Latin seems to reflect a desire to convey the language that was originally used for the direct speech in question. By contrast, the often formulaic introductions to the citations appear mostly in Irish, as do the translations of cited clauses. At the interphrasal level the picture is most complex, with seven functions connected to seven grammatical classes. Because of the more intricately connected syntax of switches at this scope, it is interesting to analyse what phrases precede the switch in question. Again the three largest classes of nominal, verbal and prepositional phrases are most common before the switch-point, though the verbal items have overtaken the nominal class as the most frequent. Moreover, there are two circumstances where a phrasal switch is preceded by a clause rather than a phrase. The first of these is the ubiquitous *dicere*-construction, which is dependent on the entire preceding clause rather than the last element before the switch. The other option is sentence-initial insertions, which are also dependent on the entire clause into which they are embedded. Such an initial element is better analysed as an insertion into the subsequent language rather than as constituting the *Matrix Language* itself. The latter view would mean that the remainder of the sentence constitutes the switch, even though the initial element does not dictate the core syntactic structure into which it is inserted. Apart from these two exceptions, phrasal switches are preceded by other phrases. Of the functions which phrases can fulfil formulaic is foremost, especially in the aforementioned verbal phrases with *ut dixit* or *incipit*.

Interestingly, such formulaic verb switches can themselves cause further switching in their arguments, such as in *ut dixit fria* 'as he said to her' or *incipit don aithrige* 'on the penance begins [here]'. Such argument switches are in violation of *government*, certainly with respect to *dependency* and often to *linearity* as well. Prepositional phrases are also common as formulae, especially the stock phrase *in secula seculorum*. Remarkably, nominal items are not often formulaic, instead preferring either appositive or subjectival function. Whereas the former function is predominantly put in Latin, the latter is divided equally over Latin and Irish items. Appositions often occur at the sentential margin, thus avoiding the constraints of *government*. In this respect they correspond to adjunct function, which also usually takes place at major syntactic boundaries. Subject switches, though, can be claimed to violate *dependency* as arguments of a verbal predicate. This constraint might be weaker for subjects and for predicates of copula verbs than for objects, however. Subjects can also violate *linearity* if they are sentence-initial, a position only allowed for verbs in Irish. In this case it can often be surmised that the sentence is intended to start with a copula verb that is left

unexpressed, a common practice in Irish. In this way a marked and marginal construction can serve to create a syntactic situation that is disfavoured but acceptable in both languages. Another method to bridge the boundaries between two languages can be observed on the intraphrasal level. There the use of diamorphs often facilitates or triggers a switch of language. All of the intraphrasal items are connected to nouns, which either function as switches themselves or as the heads of phrases in which adjectives or determiners switch. Almost 90% of intraphrasal switches are complements, which is taken to mean that they harbour a syntactic connection to the head of the phrase. Most often the directionality of switching here is from Irish to Latin-Irish, many of which diamorphs are related to Latinate nomenclature that can also be employed in an Irish context. With this regard there are two strategies for the switching of intraphrasal names, the one by adapting the ending of the name to the syntactic requirements of the receiving language, the other by neutralising the ending of the name in order to bridge the boundaries between the languages. These should be seen as competing strategies to overcome the grammatical constraints inherent in codeswitching. The details of different syntactic procedures in the combination of two languages are profitably investigated by the use of Muysken's three codeswitch typologies.

The typological analysis of codeswitching in chapter 6 concerns the relative status of the two languages within the discourse. If the grammatical analysis identifies *how* historical codeswitches occur, the typological method intends to discern *why* they happen. The first switch type is insertion, whereby a short segment in one language is completely embedded into the syntactic frame of another language. This switch type is most frequent at the intraphrasal scope, where it is usually represented by diamorphs, though at the interphrasal level the language of insertion is decidedly Latin. The second switch type is alternation, in which different languages are used in consecutive elements that are syntactically independent of one another. This is the only switch type attested at the interclausal level, where it is mostly used in Latin; it is also the largest category at the interphrasal level, in which case it is usually found in Latin introduced by diamorphs. The final switch type, congruent lexicalisation, represents switches where both languages are combined in the realisation of elements that belong to the syntactic core. This switch type has a similar distribution to insertion, although it is used by every language in similar proportions, usually without recourse to diamorphs. While it could be conceived that the intimate mixture of languages in congruent lexicalisation would be welcoming to the ambiguous diamorphs, it appears that these are rather employed to bridge the language boundaries in the switch types where this convergence is not already available. On balance, the switch type of alternation is about twice as common as either insertion or congruent lexicalisation.

Together with the aberrant distribution of alternation over the different scopes, this switch type is obviously the odd one out.

Turning to the subcategories of each switch type, insertion can be divided into four subtypes. The first subtype of citation is only occasionally attested, as most citations are longer stretches attributed to alternation. Where citation is insertional, however, it may violate the codeswitching constraints of *dependency*, when it is selected by verbal elements of the syntactic core, or *linearity*, when its sentence-initial position runs counter to the Irish requirement of verb-first sentences. The second subtype of nomenclature is by far the largest, comprising personal and placenames. The identification of such names as belonging to either of the three switch types depends on the manner in which the switches are modified to match their syntactic context. In the case of insertional nomenclature, the names are often left uninflected so as to facilitate their integration into the receiving language. It is notoriously difficult, though, to determine to what language a Latinate name belongs. In cases where a native equivalent is available, the name can be said to be Latin; in fully Irish contexts it can be claimed to have been adapted to Irish usage; in remaining cases it must be analysed as a diamorph. The presence of other diamorphs and modifications must determine the language of insertional nomenclature. The third subtype of ecclesiastical technolect usually refers to Latin terminology of the church, though it is possible that such terms are translated into Irish, often coupled with a slight semantic narrowing. For the last subtype of proper, spontaneous insertion only one example is attested, which may also be analysed in more than one manner. In all it appears that insertion lends itself best to marked switches embedded in a dominant language.

Alternation has four major subtypes, although other subtypes are also sparingly attested. The first switch subtype of discourse alternation is the largest category, comprising almost half of all alternations. The switches in this subtype correspond to the discursive functions discussed in the previous chapter. This overlap holds not just for the attested functions of citations, formulae and translations but also for the relative frequency with which they occur. Since these clausal and phrasal switches all take place at major syntactic boundaries, few violations of *government* theory are expected. The second subtype of peripheral alternation refers to switches in the sentential margin outside the syntactic core. The most common constructions in this respect are adposition, the use of prepositional phrases near the end of the sentence, and clefting, the fronting of constituents to the beginning of the sentence. Since these areas are outside the syntactic core, the theoretical framework of *government* remains intact. The third subtype of appositive alternation concerns a construction that offers additional

information to a syntactically similar item preceding it. Such segments are almost always introduced by diamorphs such as *.i.*, and their demarcation makes sure that constraints of *government* are respected. The fourth subtype of adverbial alternatio is included in this switch type rather than under insertion, because these adverbs have discursive function and are syntactically independent, reaffirming the aforementioned theoretical framework. Many of these adverbs could also be analysed as diamorphs, to be realised in either of two languages according to the desire of the reader. Other subtypes such as pronominal, conjunctival or doubling alternation are identified with too little certainty to warrant their mention. What is clear from all these cases, though, is that alternation avoids conflicts with codeswitching theories, either by switching at major syntactic boundaries or by using marked constructions acceptable to both languages in cases when a neutralisation of syntactic differences is desired.

Congruent lexicalisation can be divided into six subtypes, while many others mentioned by Muysken can be better analysed as neutralisation strategies rather than codeswitching. The first subtype of function words is rarely found and difficult to substantiate beyond doubt. A number of articles and demonstratives can be conceived as switches after a diamorphic name, but none of the examples are beyond reproach. The second subtype of selection has many convincing cases of switched nominal elements that are inflected in accordance with preceding heads of phrases. Some switches even seem to display the case selected by a preposition in another language, which constitutes an extremely intricate combination of codes. The third subtype of bidirectional switches involves the change of language after a verbal predicate and back again into the original language. As all of these elements take part in the syntactic core, such examples of congruent lexicalisation violate *dependency* to a far-reaching degree. The fourth subtype is again problematic in its definition of diamorphic switches. As explained above, only instances where the diamorph itself constitutes the change from one language to another can be considered. Cases in which the diamorph only serves as a trigger facilitating a codeswitch cannot be considered as switches themselves. Still, even in cases where the occurrence of diamorphic switches is beyond doubt, the attribution of the diamorph to the one language or the other may be debatable between different users. The fifth subtype is morphological or phonological integration, which entails the adaptation of a foreign element to the usage of the receiving language. This process includes both morphological integration, such as changes in inflection, and phonological integration, such as the neutralisation of unstressed vowels typical of Irish; the two phenomena are difficult to disentangle in historical, written codeswitching. The appearance of the Irish morphological process of mutation on a word of Latin origin is an extreme example of the integration of the two codes, though it is debatable whether this constitutes codeswitching or a related phenomenon

such as interference. The sixth subtype of idioms or collocations comprises two popular verbal formulae, *dicit* and *incipit*, which invite codeswitching in their arguments. This violation of *dependency*, and to a lesser extent of *linearity*, is common to all instances of congruent lexicalisation with their intimate mixtures.

By adopting the above threefold typology of the roles codeswitches play in the sentence structure, it becomes clear that this differentiation of switches corresponds to the divergent theories on codeswitching that have been posited. Insertion involves the hierarchical relationship between a language providing the core syntax and a language providing an isolated lexical element, a relationship reminiscent of the *Matrix Language* and the *Embedded Language* of the *Matrix Language Frame* model by Myers-Scotton. Since the switches do not have a strong syntactic structure of their own, they usually conform to codeswitching theories on *government*. Some citations, however, violate *dependency* in their dependence on a syntagm in another language, while the exceptional category of initial insertions violates both *dependency* and *linearity* by the unsanctioned nominal switch at the beginning of a sentence. In addition, the neutralisation of morphology and phonology on such ambiguous elements as diamorphic nomenclature might make it difficult to decide whether one is dealing with insertion or congruent lexicalisation. Furthermore, the bidirectionality of codeswitches in the *Leabhar Breac*, in which both languages can contribute to the sentential syntax, argues against the presence of a universal *Matrix Language* in *LB*. Even though insertion is the switch type closest to the concept of the *Matrix Language*, the latter term cannot be used unproblematically. Alternation is best analysed through the *government*-model created by Chomsky and Clyne to make predictions about the interrelationships between major syntactic constituents. Because a majority of alternations is located at the sentential margins, many instances do not violate constraints on *dependency* between the core syntactic constructions. Other important nominal and prepositional elements, though, may be selected by a syntactically crucial structure, thus running counter to the tenets of *dependency*. *Linearity*, on the other hand, is usually upheld by alternational elements, as both Latin and Irish have generally compatible syntactic constructions and a relative freedom with which to use modification. Interestingly, even where the codes do not coincide there is a tendency to employ either diamorphs or other marked constructions to neutralise existing language differences. Congruent lexicalisation, as is to be expected, constitutes considerable violations of modern codeswitching theory. Where two languages collectively contribute to the construction of the syntactic core to such an extent that they can both fill lexical items interchangeably, the rules for both *dependency* and *linearity* are bound to be broken regularly. In the switching of function words, integrated elements, inflection and nominal complements, the boundaries between the two languages are permeated so pervasively as to do



away with notions of *government*. In other circumstances, though, congruent lexicalisation can lead to an equivalence between codes, such that the structures of Latin and Irish both permit similar sentence building, for example in their treatment of subjects and objects, if not predicates. Whereas the constraint of *linearity* is thus upheld in some switch while it is disregarded in others, the rule of *dependency* cannot be claimed to apply with any success in the light of the frequent violations of argument selection between the Latin and Irish languages.

Apart from corresponding to different codeswitching theories, the three switch types have different relationships to the grammatical categories from chapter 5. At the interclausal scope there is an exclusive occurrence of alternation, coinciding with the discursive rather than the syntactic function of codeswitching at this scope. For the interphrasal level it is interesting that noun phrases are divided fairly evenly over the three switch types, whereas both verbal and prepositional items are strongly dominated by alternation, with but little congruent lexicalisation and no insertion attested. Part of the reason for this difference is the overwhelmingly formulaic function of verbal and prepositional phrases, which therefore appear as fixed elements outside the core syntax of the sentence. With nominal items, however, alternation is mostly employed for appositions, while the dominant function of subject is divided fairly evenly over insertion and congruent lexicalisation, depending on the presence of inflection. At the intraphrasal scope insertion is only dominant in diamorphic nouns, whereas all other categories have a predilection for congruent lexicalisation. The intimate intermingling of languages at the intraphrasal scope conforms most to the switch type of congruent lexicalisation, unless the use of diamorphs as a neutralising element instead invites an insertional analysis. Such diamorphs therefore fulfil different roles depending on the semantic context of the switch. At a lexical level diamorphs neutralise the morphological phonological properties of foreign elements to aid in their integration into the receiving language. In the more grammatical category of function words, diamorphs ease the transition between syntactic structures in different languages. At a pictorial level diamorphs used in abbreviations allow two possible realisations of the ambiguous element, while the category of emblems functions as a trigger of other diamorphs rather than as a codeswitch by itself. The different types of diamorphs are therefore distinct strategies in the neutralisation of the differences between codes, whereby some diamorphs act as codeswitching while others occur in a symbiotic relationship to switches. The violations of traditional grammar that result from this convergence are mostly visible in the criterion of *dependency*, which cannot be reconciled with the grammatical categories of scope and class to any great satisfaction. The criterion of *linearity* is upheld better when it comes to grammatical categories, although the difficulty in declaring a *Matrix Language* in the *Leabhar Breac* goes against the purported universality of a

language hierarchy. Generally speaking, the three switch types succeed in categorising historical data along the lines of divergent codeswitch theories. The variety inherent in historical codeswitches, though, argues for an analysis of these items based on the data themselves rather than on the contrastive theories.

The extraordinary testimony of the languages of the homiles in the *Leabhar Breac* can only be weighed when compared to related collections, not only through parallel manuscripts from Ireland but also through sermon texts of England, as explored in chapter 7. The connections between the Irish and English branches of the homiletic tradition derive from an intensive contact between both regions in terms of languages, literature and (religious) learning. The learned elite in both nations may well have been tri- rather than bilingual, although the use of English in Ireland and Anglo-Norman or French in England falls largely outside the present scope. This cultural connection is attested at least since the christianisation of Ireland at the hand, among others, of the British-born Patrick. Conversely, converted Irishmen flocked to England as clerics and scholars in Northumbria and Mercia especially, while English students visited Ireland seeking its learned intellectuals. The shared Insular book culture is also visible in the homiletic genre, the sources of which are largely similar in both branches, although the Englishmen were better connected to the Carolingian commentary tradition. Additional commonalities include the catechetical and devotional topics, the sometimes spoken nature of the texts, and the embedding of related genres such as hymns, litanies, narratives, prayers or saints' lives within the guise of the homiletic structure, alongside the combined use of two languages in the same contexts. The similarities extend to the textual divisions as well, with an overall correspondence in the homiletic parts and elements employed in both branches. The English texts do have their own particulars, among which the uses of the senses of Scripture and the appearance of additional explanatory elements such as *exempla* and *integrationes* are paramount. The more catechetical nature of the English texts, combined with their continued use of Ancient Form elements, merits their designation as sermons rather than homilies, although it should be stressed that both are branches of the homiletic genre. Further confirmation of this fundamental congruence is the similarity in language structuring in English and Irish traditions, whereby the higher items in the respective homiletic parts are more readily rendered in Latin, whereas a lower-level item is more likely to employ the vernacular language alongside Latin. Unlike Irish homilies, however, English sermons never make exclusive use of the vernacular in any structural segment, always using Latin as well. Like their Irish neighbours, though, English sermons employ codeswitching most in the freer structure of the exposition.

Given the overlap between English and Irish homiletic literature and culture, it is evident that the same theoretical approach can be applied to both branches of the tradition. The study of historical codeswitching from English sources is relatively venerable and revolves around sermon collections that are called macaronic, displaying a medley of languages. Earlier studies usually focus on the more discursive functions of codeswitching, in addition to the consideration of the potential of spoken performance of these sermons, which is greater than with Irish homilies. Only recently have historical codeswitching studies of English sources taken a turn toward grammatical concerns, arriving at similar constraints and conclusions as compared to other language pairs. Diachronically speaking, this development from discursive to grammatical functions of codeswitching is also attested in the sources themselves, as they evolved from more rigid, mostly intersentential switching to more flexible, frequently intraphrasal switching. Given the similar development of modern codeswitching theories for historical documents on both sides of the Irish Sea, the Latin-English sermons can be described using the same methodology as the Latin-Irish homilies, through taking a two-fold approach toward both grammatical and typological properties. As to the primary aspect of grammatical analysis, switch language, it is striking that Latin dominates English to a considerable degree. This observation may mark the existence of a *Matrix Language* in English sources, though previous studies did not incorporate the degree to which diamorphs such as conjunctions and prepositions may play a part in language choice. As far as scope is concerned, most switching takes place within the phrase, with only an occasional interphrasal item. Such rare interphrasal switches are often intricately mixed with multiple switched elements within the same phrase, or with switching between functional and lexical elements of a phrase in contexts that are considered disfavoured. In the third category of grammatical class, the usual nominal, verbal and prepositional elements predominate. The majority of items are stated to be non-problematic in terms of syntactic constraints on switching. Such switching is peripheral to the syntactic core of the sentence, including the subcategories of adjuncts, clauses, coordinators and complements. Potentially problematic switching is often a part of the verbal predicate or its argument structure of objects and subjects. In Irish sources, though, there appears to be cause for differentiation in the category of subjects and objects. Firstly, switched indirect objects are stated to uphold syntactic constraints, even though this is not true for Irish indirect objects which violate *linearity* constraints. Secondly, switched subjects and objects may unexpectedly uphold syntactic constraints when they serve a copula verb rather than a transitive verb, as the role of selection is not as strong in such verbs. Finally, Irish sources show a markedly different treatment of direct objects, which are rarely switched, and subjects, which are commonly switched, indicating a different attitude toward *government* for the two items. This

observation merits more investigation. For the fourth and final category of function, the aforementioned diachronic development from a more discursive to a more grammatical functionality is clearly visible in the sources. Between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries, switch function in Latin-English sermons develops from citational and translational uses, via complement function and idiomatic items, ultimately to switching around the verbal predicates and their intricately mixed arguments. In most such grammatical characteristics, the English sources correspond closely to usage in Latin-Irish homilies.

More novel than those syntactic considerations is the application of switch typology to the English sources of codeswitching. As previous studies principally considered Latin-English codeswitches in the light of the *Matrix Language Frame* model by Myers-Scotton, such switches would have been thought to conform to the switch type of insertion. While this hierarchical approach to codeswitching seems to be in line with the grammatical category of language, which almost always switches from Latin to English in the sermons, the existence of the additional switch types of alternation and congruent lexicalisation sheds an entirely different light on the data from the Latin-English sermon literature. An important observation is that the use of switch types varies between the different parts of the homiletic structure, as alternation prevails in the exordium and congruent lexicalisation in the exposition, with both prominent in the peroration. Interestingly, in none of the homiletic parts is insertion the prevalent switch type, only amounting to ten percent of switches in the whole of the data. Instead, the dominant type is alternation, which appears at the boundaries of the syntactic structure. The most common occurrence is in interclausal items, with interphrasal elements restricted to mostly prepositional adjuncts and nominal appositions. More than in Irish sources, the doubling of switched items is of significant occurrence. Conjunctions and adverbs are only occasionally switched, though these can occur in either directionality. The second switch type of congruent lexicalisation includes an extraordinary number of switches in and around the verbal predicate. Such items include switches of the main verb, of infinitive verbs, and of the arguments of the verbs, again in both directionalities. Other common occurrences of congruent lexicalisation are modifiers such as determiners or adjectives and nominal diamorphs that either constitute or trigger codeswitches. Finally, insertions appear to be limited mostly to terminology that is more easily expressed in English than in Latin, almost always related to lexical items such as nouns and adjectives. When such terminology is intermingled in the Latin constructions, it is often difficult to distinguish insertion from congruent lexicalisation. Unlike the other types of codeswitching, however, insertion seems to be used solely in the direction of Latin to English. In this respect insertion is the only switch type which adheres to the notion of a *Matrix Language*, a concept inapplicable to other switch types.

Whereas the expected prevalence of insertion in homilies from England would point to a society where languages are strictly separated, instead the rarity of insertion and the appearance of alternation as a dominant switch type with congruent lexicalisation as a close second indicates the far-reaching integration of the two languages in daily usage. This integration is exemplified by the two manuscripts under investigation, which both comprise collections with an intimate mingling of languages. The one, Bodley 649, has a series of twenty-five sermons of which twenty-three contain codeswitching; the other, Laud misc. 706, comprises thirty-five sermons of which six in a mixed code of Latin and English. This bilingualism concerns not only the text corpora but also their creators, whose names are fortunately known. Three of these scribes, Hugh Legat, John Swetstock and John Pauntley, are connected to Oxford University around the turn of the fifteenth century, all of them probably as teachers at Gloucester College. As monk-scholars, these scribes and writers had an interest not only in the copying but also in the creating of such sermon material as could serve as teaching aids for young novices and lay intellectuals. In addition, the individuals took an interest in current affairs such as the denunciation of Lollardry or the proliferation of lay religious orders and movements, all issues related to the use of the vernacular. With additional interests in language, politics, history and rhetoric, these scribes are prime examples not only of the exceptional education in the English intellectual elite, but also of the prominent parallels with the Irish intellectual environment at the exact same time. The correspondences between both sides of the Irish Sea comprise the intermingling of languages, the prevalence of the homiletic genre, the use of homiletic texts as *artes praedicandi*, the versatility of the intellectual personnel in the writing, translating, copying and compiling of a manuscript, and the variety of execution inherent in its production and subsequent use. Above all, however, it has become apparent that both Irish and English codeswitching can be analysed using modern methods, displaying a productive and personalised approach toward the use of languages which were intimately integrated in the hierarchical status and the educational system of their respective societies.

## 8.2 Conclusions and outlook

The above summary of the preceding chapters paves the way for conclusions on the question of Irish bilingual ability in view of mediaeval Insular and European intellectual cultures. On the basis of these conclusions an outlook for future studies into historical codeswitching and the genre of the homily can be offered.

The conclusions arising from the present investigation correspond to the three subsections of inquiry identified in the introduction. The first inquiry to be

considered is the composition of the *Leabhar Breac* in terms of codicology, compilation and genre. Far from constituting a random collection of careless copies from manuscript material, the compilation of the *Leabhar Breac* has been shown to be consciously and conscientiously modelled according to the tastes of its compiler. A tentative reconstruction of the original order of composition indicates that there was not only a coherent construction behind each quire but also a conceived coherence in the different stages of copying material in various genres. There are distinct building blocks of historical, homiletic and narrative quires, all adapted to the overriding agenda of the manuscript as a whole. These segments also show individual distribution of languages, which do not necessarily correspond to the distribution of their exemplars and parallels. In short, the scribe of the *Leabhar Breac* consciously created his own compilations. This notion corresponds to the information derived from other manuscripts and their scribes. Related homiletic writings clearly indicate that a scribe could make a different choice of languages in different manuscripts and that different scribes made different choices of languages, even in the same manuscript. This indicates that language choice is both an individual stylistic characteristic and a conscious strategy to strengthen the coherence of a compilation. Such bilingual ability has been attributed both to Murchadh Ó Cuindlis and Iollan Mac an Leagha in Irish sources and to Hugh Legat, John Swetstock or John Pauntley in English sources.

Thus, the conclusion is justified that "the *Leabhar Breac* is made up of individual pieces taken out of their original context and adapted, to varying degrees, to the requirements of this later compilation."<sup>414</sup> The complicated compilation of these treatises with their intricately interconnected language codes can be connected to the backgrounds for several of their scribes in university teaching and textual criticism.<sup>415</sup> The learned purpose of these manuscript and their texts may provide an alternative to the usual narrow consideration of such items as either ecclesiastical or secular.<sup>416</sup> In this manner the focus of research into historical texts can become more aligned toward its audience rather than continuing the "speculative pursuit of homilaria which may or may not have existed."<sup>417</sup> The codeswitching in the *Leabhar Breac* constitutes a "recognisable homiletic convention" to both users and producers by virtue of an intermediate stage between the base Latin texts and the eventual Irish offshoots.<sup>418</sup> While the degree of bilingualism evident in the *Leabhar Breac* is exceptional, a combined use of languages is apparently productive, vital, and uncontroversial to its users and

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<sup>414</sup> Hewish (2003: §16).

<sup>415</sup> Schendl/Wright (2011: 25-31); cf. Wenzel (1994).

<sup>416</sup> Boyle (2014: xxviii); cf. Boyle (2012).

<sup>417</sup> Fletcher/Gillespie (2001: 55).

<sup>418</sup> Boyle (2009: 226); cf. Boyle (2012).

producers, who were obviously working in a multilingual environment.<sup>419</sup> This sociolinguistic state of affairs seems similar on both sides of the Irish Sea, contributing to an advanced state of Insular learning. Future research into the audiences of such productions could further clarify the use of the texts in society.

The second inquiry to explore is the languages employed in the *Leabhar Breac*. As the above codicological considerations have shown, language use in historical sources is far from a random phenomenon. The compilatory programme behind the *Leabhar Breac* is clearly intended to provide a place for both languages within the same witness. Neither is it true that the two languages follow a fixed system of a dominant and an embedded code in terms of hierarchical status. Even if the use of Irish includes translation of Latin elements and the use of Latin comprises citations of authoritative works, there are Irish segments that do not function as translation and Latin stretches of original composition by their skilled scribe. This productive process of language use counters the objection to historical data that they could only constitute conscious and marked instances of codeswitches. Instead, the perceived spontaneity of language use stems from the acceptability of the intermingling of different registers and their degree of formality in society, rather than from a hypothetical opposition of 'informal' speaking where switches are allowed and 'formal' writing where they are not.<sup>420</sup> An open-minded approach to historical codeswitching paves the way for its analysis through the methods of modern theories. In this respect it should be stressed that the variability of the mediaeval manuscript and its historical data, in the vagaries of text transmission and in the absence of any standardised spellings, "argue against any claims that medieval languages could have such stable socio-linguistic significance". In other words, Latin should not be considered a 'prestige language' in mediaeval Ireland and England, nor should the use of the vernaculars be deemed "an act of either national identity or cultural resistance".<sup>421</sup> As a result, the most rewarding approach toward historical codeswitching is not 'variationist', that is, identifying acceptable switch constructions according to what occurs in a majority of cases. Nor should historical codeswitching take recourse to 'prescriptivist' approaches, that is, determining through modern models which codeswitches are acceptable, and thereby sanctioning some occurrences while glossing over other historical data. Rather, historical codeswitching and its diverse data should be viewed in a descriptive and probabilistic manner, based on what the sources actually relate.<sup>422</sup>

<sup>419</sup> Machan (2011: 328-9); cf. Schendl/Wright (2011: 21).

<sup>420</sup> Gardner-Chloros (2009: 20-1).

<sup>421</sup> Machan (2011: 327); Stevenson (2011: 133).

<sup>422</sup> Gardner-Chloros (2009: 7-8).

The probabilities of historical codeswitches occurring can explain *why* languages are used *where* they are used. The three-tier codeswitch typology championed by Muysken (2000) has been found to offer the most analytical insight and the most diversified results of any available theory. Unlike the *Matrix Language Frame* model made by Myers-Scotton (1993) and adapted to Latin-Irish codeswitching by Bisagni (2013-14), the *government*-based model by Muysken does not equate codeswitching with the insertion of isolated switches into a dominant language. It may be surmised that insertion is more applicable to earlier stages of the bilingual society, where the use of Irish was more subordinated to the dominant presence of Latin. As such insertion may be connected more to the early genre of glosses as studied by Bisagni (2013-14) and Stam (forthcoming), where the codes have not been integrating fully. In the running text of the homilies in the *Leabhar Breac* the leading switch type is instead alternation, which can be used to describe about half of all codeswitches. Because of the grammatical proficiencies required for the equal use of two languages in one utterance, it could be claimed that *LB* reflects a greater bilingual competence on the part of producer and users of these texts. This competence could be studied in more detail in the light of the diachronic development from Latin to Irish texts in mediaeval Irish society. Such a choice for codeswitching, in a time when Irish fully functioned independently, is perhaps more a shift in language preference than one in language competence.

Alternational codeswitching conforms to the theories of *government*, which concerns the syntactic correlations between lexical elements in sentences. In many cases of alternational codeswitching, however, there is a problem with switches between items that are syntactically interdependent, such as verbs and their arguments or heads and their modifiers. Equally equivocal is the regular lack of linear equivalence between the two codes especially around the verbal beginnings of sentences or at idiomatic expressions. It seems that neutralisation of the differences between codes is an area of research that deserves to be mined. There are alternative strategies for the congruence of two codes such as a neutralisation of conflicting components or an elevation of marked constructions in a language. Such strategies intended to integrate two codes are indicative of the third switch type of congruent lexicalisation. This intimate intertwining of language corresponds to what Muysken (2000) calls *codemixing*, a system in which two languages are used productively to create a third code with an identifiable rather than a random structure.<sup>423</sup> The congruent lexicalisation or *codemixing* constitutes one of several strategies in situations of language contact including the avoiding, neutralising or standardising of conflicting constructions mentioned previously. By incorporating codeswitching into the spectrum of language contact one could include related phenomena such as borrowing and

<sup>423</sup> Wright (2011: 206); cf. Muysken (2000).



interference.<sup>424</sup> The question is not how to define codeswitching in order to determine the basis for the data analysis. Rather, the question is how to include the different degrees in codeswitching in order to come to a fuller understanding of bilingualism by providing a desired 'stronger historical focus' in codeswitching research. As a result, one should not seek to define codeswitching as *x*, but rather seek to analyse *x* according to the guidelines of codeswitching.<sup>425</sup>

The combination of codes in congruent lexicalisation carries important consequences for the third line of inquiry, namely the education or intellectual culture of Ireland and the Insular elite compared to the Continent. In terms of scholarly sources it is clear that Irish scholars had at their disposal the full range of writings from biblical commentaries by the Fathers and Carolingian circles, through legal compilations from Continental and Insular origins, to lives of saints, litanies, hymns, prayers and visions from a variety of places and times. The combination of these variegated sources in Latin and the vernaculars by not only the scribe of the *Leabhar Breac* but also his contemporaries from Ireland and England indicates the high proficiency of these individuals in intellectual affairs. The multilingualism of such scholars is also a strong indication of the interconnectivity between Ireland and England for the later mediaeval period. In England, sermon literature came from a comparable background, comprised a similar form, and contained corresponding combinations of Latin and the vernacular. Irrespective of overlaps between both sides of the Irish Sea, the relative status of the languages in either society seems to have been distinctly dissimilar. On the one hand, the codeswitches from English sources frequently appear freer and less regulated by grammatical rules, thus indicating a greater percentage of congruent lexicalisation than for the Irish data. On the other hand, English is never used here without the accompaniment of Latin, nor does the vernacular reach a quantity of words or a quality of phrasal structure resembling the dominant Latin language. As a result, alternational switches are not as much a predominant presence in England as they are in Ireland. This observation can be taken in order to draw further conclusions on the relative status of Latin and the vernacular by comparison between homiletic literature in both localities.

According to the categorisation by Muysken (2000), the differentiation into three codeswitch types is not merely a methodology for analysing individual cases of codeswitching; it is also an indication of the relative status of the two languages within society. Given the high state of learning in both Latin and the vernacular in mediaeval Ireland and England, it is to be expected that texts from these areas favour alternation and congruent lexicalisation, which indicate a highly evolved use of two languages, over insertion, which corresponds to a hierarchical use of

<sup>424</sup> Gardner-Chloros (2009: 10-12).

<sup>425</sup> Muysken (2000: 250); Gardner-Chloros (2009: 11).

a prestigious and a suppressed language. This is exactly what has been found in the Latin-Irish homilies and the Latin-English sermons, even if these are not representative of literary society at large. The relatively high frequency of congruent lexicalisation in sermons from mediaeval England would be in line with a societal situation in which both languages have a fairly similar status and are not separated in different registers. This may have to do with the diachronic development of the vernacular in England, which was highly valued in the early Middle Ages, subsequently ousted by Anglo-Norman after the Battle of Hastings in 1066, and only restored to prominence about the second half of the thirteenth century. In other words, perhaps English and Latin have not been used together long enough to lead to an abundance of alternation as found in Ireland. The dominance of the latter as a switch type in Ireland might come as a surprise, given the fact that both languages are used in Irish society in similar registers. An attractive thought in this regard is that the Irish knew their languages so well that they also knew how and when to separate them in wanting to communicate knowledge from producer to user. The alternational switch type, like congruent lexicalisation, signifies high status for both languages in learned culture, but with a more regulated usage within society for each code. It is a sign of considerable skill to encompass two languages in the same speech act, but to be able to distinguish between each code as the requirements of genre and user dictate. This idea confirms that the codeswitches in the *Leabhar Breac* can be analysed in the same vein as its modern counterparts, as the manuscript merits consideration as spontaneous, unmarked textual composition in which the codeswitching constitutes a permitted method of intellectual transmission to both producer and user of in-group bilingualism. It would be desirable to view switching in other text types in the same manner to substantiate these findings, as a high frequency of alternation and congruent lexicalisation in other text types could further qualify the previous focus on insertion in studies such as Muysken et al. (2007) or Bisagni (2013-14) and change our views of mediaeval Irish society.

The above lines of inquiry enable an answer to the main query of this investigation, namely what the different modes and functions of bilingualism from the homiletic quires of the manuscript can teach us about the socio-linguistic and scholarly setting of mediaeval Ireland within Europe. The grammatical modes of historical codeswitching have shown that its syntactic framework can be analysed using theories from modern CS. As to functions of historical codeswitching there is a clear undercurrent of discursive functions related to the extra-, inter- or meta-textual use of sources. Still, most switches are related to syntactic and grammatical concerns of the scribe of the *Leabhar Breac*. The abundance of both alternation and congruent lexicalisation in the *Leabhar Breac* bespeaks not only the bilingual ability of these scribes, but also the far-reaching integration of both languages in Irish society as well as the educational

and intellectual capability of catering the codeswitches in any particular text to the demands of the audience and the potential beneficiary. The excellent education enjoyed by these translators, writers, scribes or copyists in Latin, Irish, English and potentially French enabled them to adapt their use of languages from source to output in a mode akin to a modern in-group bilingual. In conclusion, the degree of codeswitching in the homiletic quires of the *Leabhar Breac* displays a bilingual ability that is on par with modern multilingual society, while the compilatory and compositional skills of the scribes involved in such an activity in Ireland were rivalled only distantly by their English colleagues and on the Continent only by the macaronic poems and poets of the Italian Renaissance. As such, Irish intellectual culture partook in the textual traditions of Insular and, to a lesser degree, Continental scholarship, but at the same time it surpassed the vernacular developments elsewhere in Europe by its intimate integration of both the language and the learning of the Latin and the local Irish intellectual culture.

Such conclusions on the Latin-Irish *Leabhar Breac* and its place in mediaeval Irish and European society imply many an outlook on future research in these areas. One terrain in which the present research offers recommendations is diachronic codeswitching studies. Muysken (2000) had already argued for a stronger historical focus for codeswitching, which in the present study has shown that the universal tenets in modern theory are not necessarily common to written manuscript data. Given the variety inherent in manuscript transmission, any diachronic theory on codeswitching should take into account this flexibility. Furthermore, future research may benefit from the incorporation of language phenomena related to codeswitches such as interference, borrowing or avoidance.<sup>426</sup> Another area where the present study can recommend further course of action is the underlying language of codeswitching. It has presently been suggested that it is profitable to view the intimate intermingling of languages like in the *Leabhar Breac* as an integral language in itself rather than as an intermediate situation to which neither syntax is wholly suitable. Therefore, each language pair used in codeswitching constitutes a different idiolect, which is not to say that there are no characteristics to codeswitching that are either universal or inherited from its donor languages. Rather, from a hypothetical list of rules or constraints to codeswitching, each codemix opts for certain nodes in *Optimality Theory* and disregards others. For example, the Latin-Irish codemixing in the *Leabhar Breac* elects to use initial insertion with hidden copula clefting in order to bridge the boundaries between the Irish verb-first and the Latin verb-final order of preference. More generally speaking, Latin-Irish codeswitching makes distinct choices in the selection of dependent elements, a criterium which has hitherto been posited as a universal constraint on codeswitching. The precise parameters of a violation of *dependency* in the case of Latin-Irish codeswitching

<sup>426</sup> Gardner-Chloros (2009: 5).

therefore require further investigation. From the foregoing analysis it appears that there are differences between treatment of switched subjects or objects in various syntactic contexts. In line with the hypotheses of Halmari and Regetz (2011), it seems that switching of nominal elements depending on copula verbs is unproblematic, even when the copula is left unexpressed. However, their lumping together of the subjects and objects of transitive verbs has not been substantiated by Latin-Irish codeswitching. Whereas switched subjects are unproblematic in the *Leabhar Breac*, direct objects hardly ever constitute switches, while the switches of indirect objects are common but contrary to the principles of linear equivalence. The latter observation confirms the inclination of Muysken et al. (2007) to consider objects, but not subjects, as selected arguments of verbal predicates and thus as constraints on codeswitching.<sup>427</sup> These areas deserve further research in order to analyse the relative weight of switching constraints.

Related to the problem of *dependency* within the specific context of the Latin-Irish codeswitching in the *Leabhar Breac* is the issue of the ambiguous diamorph items. Few codeswitching studies discuss items for which a categorisation into only one of two languages is either impossible or undesirable, though both Muysken (2000) and Wright (2011) make important contributions to the use of diamorphs in codeswitching. The present study has shown, however, that diamorphs in the *Leabhar Breac* are abundantly available, in quantitative terms, and that the use of diamorphs can be differentiated between the three switch types, qualitatively. An enormous number of diamorphs can be categorised as nomenclature, person and placenames of Latinate origins which can also occur in a vernacular context. While such names are often ignored in codeswitching studies, they are obviously one way in which to bridge the boundaries between two languages, and as such contribute to the bilingual characteristics of the text. It would benefit the study of historical codeswitching to catalogue vernacular variants of Latinate names, in addition to the dictionary work that has been done on the names of Irish saints. Whether or not a native variant of a name exists is fundamental in deciding whether or not nomenclature is diamorphic. In addition, the role of inflection in the classification of names as either insertion or congruent lexicalisation needs to be investigated. Names which in surface form appear as though they display Latin inflection can also be fossilised Irish forms derived from an adaptation of inflected Latin items. This may be true for the names of Herod in the phrase *aris lahiruath tetrachai mac herotis maic antipater maic herotis* 'for it is by Herod the Tetrarch, son of Herod, son of Antipater, son of Herod' (items ##303-306). A last aspect of diamorphs to be determined in more detail is the newer category of emblems, words which can function in both languages on the basis of their

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<sup>427</sup> Halmari/Regetz (2011); Muysken et al (2007).

visual or pictorial presence. Especially the occasional variance between diamorphs and their vernacular renderings between codices could be clarified.

On the topic of related codices it is paramount to stress that the usage of sources and parallels to the *Leabhar Breac* has not been a main component of the present research, as this investigation concentrated on the languages of codeswitching as they appear rather than as they were once intended. It remains to be explored in how far the textual recensions in the *Leabhar Breac* correspond to their parallels in the *Yellow Book of Lecan*, the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum*, the London and the Paris manuscripts in terms of both language use and homily characteristics. In addition, the exact indebtedness of the *Leabhar Breac* to various homiletic collections and related writings like the *Liber Questionum in Evangeliiis*, the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* and the several *Catecheses* is still not described to any great satisfaction. The incredible intellectual achievements of the scribe of the *Leabhar Breac* in compiling and modifying his sources to adopt a personal agenda in language and literature is evident. However, the exact extent of original writings and old adaptations in this major manuscript can never be ascertained until the analysis of sources and parallels is undertaken, which may well take another dissertation. In the area of adaptation the genre characteristics of the homily, designated as a 'recognisable homiletic convention', should also be studied between manuscripts in order to determine whether the formulaic introduction and conclusion for the homilies derive from Latin sources, whether they were copied or adapted from a previous Irish production or whether the scribe of the *Leabhar Breac* had an active role in their invention. At least for the *Leabhar Breac* it appears that its Latin formulaic phrases have been adapted to the Irish grammatical context. In this light the hypothetical existence of a collection of homiletic incipits, themes and distinctions also deserves further investigation, so that it can be decided to what degree the *Leabhar Breac* is indeed an innovative composition. In this way the search for an 'Irish homiliary' may finally bear fruit.

The inter- and para-textual affiliations of the *Leabhar Breac* bring to light the final desideratum to be derived from the present investigation, for which it is a pity to note that there has been no place in the current project on homiletic language, to wit the wealth of marginal annotations at the corners of the *Leabhar Breac* codex. Although they have been left out of the language analysis on account of their absence in the texts from the homiletic genre, the marginalia in the *Leabhar Breac* veritably flood the nooks and crannies of the codex. The usage of these comments includes the interlinear annotations of a number of verse tracts on or by Columba. Mostly, however, the notes seem to deal with the life of the scribe, his travels, the seasons and the prototypically Irish weather, his moods and his memories, often citing a quatrain of verse as if to preserve it from old oral memory to the written records. While a number of annotations have been used

before to reconstruct the periods in which Ó Cuindlis wrote particular sections, most marginalia have never been investigated intensively. This preservation of oral lore can conceivably be connected to the oral remainders in written homilies of institutional instruction. Such interaction between the oral and written culture can also be analysed in terms of the use of idiom and language diachronically. Furthermore, it may be feasible to reconstruct in more detail the sources which the scribe used or the mediaeval people and places from which he obtained them, thus contributing further to the study of intellectual culture. Ó Cuindlis' concern with language and grammar, evident from the texts themselves, can be set off against the marginal memoranda of their producer, and those of their users, in order to shed more light on the transitions that occur 'between the expression of ideas in Latin and Irish.'<sup>428</sup> In this interaction between the languages held in equally high regard in mediaeval Ireland, the zenith in composition is held by the frequent and fluent codeswitching in the *Leabhar Breac*.

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<sup>428</sup> Boyle (2009).

## Appendix A: Codeswitches in the *Leabhar Breac*

### Clavis Appendicis

- order = reference number of codeswitch [#]
- sentL = language of the sentence
- sentText = context of the codeswitch
- switchText = text of the codeswitch
- Lang = language of the codeswitch
- Nam = grammatical class of the codeswitch
- Ana = syntactic analysis of the codeswitch
- Func = discursive function of the codeswitch
  
- preText = segment preceding the codeswitch
- Lang = language of the pretext
- Nam = grammatical class of the pretext
- Ana = syntactic analysis of the pretext
- Func = discursive function of the pretext
- Type = typological category of the codeswitch [*pace* Muysken]
- Diam = potential facilitating of the codeswitch by a diamorph
- Folio = page and line number of the codeswitch in the *Leabhar Breac*

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
1	la	magonius (.i. magis agens) ainm icgerman	magonius	la
2	la	patricius (.i. pater ciuium .i. athair nacatharda)	patricius	la
3	la	patricius (.i. pater ciuium .i. athair nacatharda)	.i. athair nacatharda	ga
4	ga	ainm ic[c]omorba petair (.i. celis[tinus])	.i. celistinus	la
5	ga	cusin cathraig dianad ainm capua isléib armóin	capua	la
6	ga	isléib armóin. super ri[p]lam maris terreni	super ri[p]lam maris terreni	la
7	ga	dodíchoin 7 diaclannaib ut dixit patraic insin	ut dixit	la
8	ga	dodíchoin 7 diaclannaib ut dixit patraic insin	patraic	ga
9	ga	corocht formna fer. dixit patricius fris	fris	ga
10	ga	Díchuir fodechta. si potes. dixit magus	si potes	la
11	la	Tunc dixit patricius frisinmnai fhuine	frisinmnai fhuine	ga
12	ga	inchori dó. graticum .i. deo gratias ago	graticum .i. deo gratias ago	la
13	ga	icathabairt vad. ingratiam cétna olsiat.	gratiam	la
14	ga	inbriathar sin oldáre. ingratiam ocabreith vad	gratiam	la
15	ga	ingratiam ocabreith vad. ingratiam oathabairt	gratiam	la



order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
1	phr	NP	SUBJ	magonius .i. magis agens aainm icgerman	ga	cl	MC	FOR	Ins	Diam	25b21
2	phr	NP	SUBJ	Patricius .i. pater ciuium .i. athair nacatharda	ga	cl	MC	FOR	Ins	Diam	25b21
3	phr	NP	APP	.i. pater ciuium	la	phr	NP	APP	Alt	Diam	25b21
4	phr	NP	APP	icomorba petair	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Alt	Diam	25b21
5	phr	NP	APP	dianad ainm	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Ins	Diam	26a36
6	phr	PP	ADJ	isléib armóin	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Alt		26a36
7	phr	VP	FOR	dodíchoin 7 diaclannaib	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt		26b21
8	phr	NP	SUBJ	dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		26b21
9	phr	PP	OBJ	patricius	la	phr	NP	SUBJ	Con		27b1
10	cl	SC	CIT	Díchuir fodechta	ga	cl	SC	CIT	Alt		27b1
11	phr	PP	OBJ	patricius	la	phr	NP	SUBJ	Con		28a17
12	phr	VP	APP	dó	ga	phr	PP	OBJ	Alt	Diam	28b1
13	w	N	NOT	in	ga-la	w	D	NOT	Ins	Diam	28b7
14	w	N	NOT	in	ga-la	w	D	NOT	Ins	Diam	28b8
15	w	N	NOT	in	ga-la	w	D	NOT	Ins	Diam	28b8

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
16	ga	gaiscid foreogan condimaccu. ut dixit friu	ut dixit	la
17	ga	gaiscid foreogan condimaccu. ut dixit friu	friu	ga
18	ga	maith] flaith uadib cobrath. ut dixit brigit	ut dixit	la
19	ga	maith] flaith uadib cobrath. ut dixit brigit	brigit	ga
20	ga	.i. mac cuill aaimm. ut dixit friamuntir	ut dixit	la
21	ga	.i. mac cuill aaimm. ut dixit friamuntir	friamuntir	ga
22	ga	uictor aingel icaacallaimsium ass. ut dixit friss	ut dixit	la
23	ga	uictor aingel icaacallaimsium ass. ut dixit friss	friss	ga
24	ga	Betha Coluim Chille incipit	incipit	la
25	ga	doerail aelithre fair. conepert friss. exi de terra	exi de terra	la
26	ga	alamu amal siut. ut dixit patricius inrannsa	ut dixit patricius	la
27	ga	alamu amal siut. ut dixit patricius inrannsa	inrannsa	ga
28	ga	ranic dó dogabail. Misericordias dei insalmsin	insalmsin	ga
29	ga	dororaindsium 7 dolebraib roscrib. ut dixit infile	ut dixit	la
30	ga	dororaindsium 7 dolebraib roscrib. ut dixit infile	infile	ga

order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
16	phr	VP	FOR	gaiscid foreogan condimaccu	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt		29a30
17	phr	PP	OBJ	ut dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		29a30
18	phr	VP	FOR	maith] flaith uadib cobrath	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt		29a35
19	phr	NP	SUBJ	ut dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		29a35
20	phr	VP	FOR	.i. mac cuill aainm	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt		29a39
21	phr	PP	OBJ	ut dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		29a39
22	phr	VP	FOR	uictor aingel icaacallaismus ass	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt		29b12
23	phr	PP	OBJ	ut dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		29b12
24	phr	VP	FOR	Betha Coluim Chille	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Con		29b51
25	cl	SC	CIT	conepert friss	ga	cl	SC	FOR	Alt		29b64
26	phr	VP	FOR	alamu amal siut	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt		31a14
27	phr	NP	OBJ	patricius	la	phr	NP	SUBJ	Con	Diam	31a14
28	phr	NP	SUBJ	Misericordias dei	la	phr	NP	APP	Alt	Diam	31b2
29	phr	VP	FOR	dororaindsium 7 dolebraib roscrib	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt		32b32
30	phr	NP	SUBJ	ut dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con	Diam	32b32

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
31	ga	rosairillem rosaitrebam in saecula. Amen	insaecula	la
32	ga	Cesad sepain incipit	incipit	la
33	ga	rocloestium. dicens. in mundo presuram habetis	in mundo presuram habens	la
34	ga	conapair for slicht a magistrech ísu in mundo &c.	in mundo &c	la
35	ga	inaaimiresi .i. sanctus çepanus nouitestamenti	.i. sanctus çepanus nouitestamenti protomartir	la
36	ga	inmartirisea isept Kl. enair. arai lathi mis grene	sept Kl	ga-la
37	ga	ar ires crist. dicens Sephanus hautem plenus	Sephanus hautem plenus gratia 7 fortitudine	la
38	ga	diaroli fir noem. conepert. ego sum lucianus	ego sum lucianus seruus christi prespiter	la
39	ga	prespiter & eclesiae dei. isind eclaisin ata	isind eclaisin ata	ga
40	ga	eclesiae dei. isind eclaisin ata gómáliegis	gómáliegis	la
41	ga	isind eclaisin ata gómáliegis in fich	fích	ga
42	ga	ata gómáliegis in fich .i. capagarmali	.i. capagarmali	la
43	ga	.i. capagarmali. i comfochraib do ierusalem	i comfochraib	ga
44	ga	.i. capagarmali. i comfochraib do ierusalem	ierusalem	ga-la
45	ga	7 dorogart nomen meum fo thri. dicens	nomen meum	la

order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
31	phr	PP	FOR	rosairillem rosaitrebam	ga	phr	VP	FOR	Alt	Diam	34a17
32	phr	VP	FOR	Cesad sepain	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Con		34a18
33	cl	SC	CIT	dicens	ga	cl	SC	FOR	Alt	Diam	34a25
34	cl	SC	CIT	conapair for slicht a magistrech ísu	ga	cl	SC	TRA	Alt	Diam	34a30
35	phr	NP	APP	inecmung narease 7 inaaimsiresi	ga	phr	NP	COM	Alt	Diam	34a48
36	w	N	COM	i	ga	w	P	NOT	Con	Diam	34a51
37	cl	SC	CIT	dicens	ga	cl	SC	FOR	Alt		34a53
38	cl	SC	CIT	conepert	ga	cl	SC	FOR	Alt		34b34
39	phr	PP	ADJ	lucianus seruus christi prespiter & eclesiae dei	la	phr	NP	PRE	Alt		34b34
40	phr	NP	PRE	ata	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Con		34b34
41	w	N	COM	in	ga-la	w	P	NOT	Con		34b34
42	phr	NP	APP	gómáliegis in fích. i.	ga	phr	NP	PRE	Con	Diam	34b34
43	phr	PP	ADJ	capagarmali	la	phr	NP	APP	Con		34b34
44	w	N	COM	do	ga	w	P	NOT	Con	Diam	34b34
45	phr	NP	OBJ	7 dorogart	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Con	Diam	34b51

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
46	ga	7 dorogart nomen meum fo thri. dicens	fo thri	ga
47	ga	7 dorogart nomen meum fo thri. dicens	dicens	la
48	ga	nomen meum fo thri. dicens. lucian. ter	lucian	ga
49	ga	nomen meum fo thri. dicens. lucian. ter	ter	la
50	ga	.i. cid is ail duit a thigerna. 7 dixit mihi	7 dixit mihi	la
51	ga	Ata vero inairthiur inadnocuil immalle	vero	la
52	ga	_7_ ise ainm intíre sin. uilla gamaliélis	uilla gamaliélis	la
53	ga	isinadnoculsa immochassaib stephanus martir	stephanus martir	la
54	ga	cu roforcan isu dicens. Nisi quis renatus fuerit	Nisi quis renatus fuerit exaqua 7 spiritu	la
55	ga	Rohadnaiced vero moshetig _i._ etinai	vero	la
56	ga	Rohadnaiced vero moshetig _i._ etinai	_i._ etinai	la
57	ga	_7_ moprimgeni. Sedina aainmside inaroli fich	Sedina	la
58	ga	Rochuntabartaigsiu imenmain. dicens. Ciabo	dicens	la
59	ga	Messi vero 7 momac habibus inadnocul ataum	vero	la
60	ga	rofergaig frim cummór. dicens. Cid arnadechadais	dicens	la

order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
46	phr	PP	ADJ	nomen meum	la	phr	NP	OBJ	Con		34b51
47	phr	VP	FOR	fo thri	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Con	Diam	34b51
48	phr	NP	OBJ	dicens	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		34b51
49	phr	BP	ADJ	lucian	ga	phr	NP	OBJ	Con		34b51
50	phr	VP	FOR	Rorecrusa dó 7 issed roraidius friss .i. cid is ail duit	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt	Diam	34b52
51	phr	BP	FOR	Ata	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Alt?	Diam	34b63
52	phr	NP	APP	ainm intíre sin.	ga	phr	NP	FOR	Alt?		35a1
53	w	N	COM	chassaib	ga	w	N	COM	Ins?		35a5
54	cl	SC	CIT	dicens	ga	cl	SC	FOR	Alt		35a7
55	phr	BP	FOR	Rohadnaiced	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Alt?	Diam	35a20
56	phr	NP	APP	moshetig	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Alt	Diam	35a20
57	phr	NP	SUBJ	moprimgeni	ga	phr	NP	APP	Ins	Diam	35a20
58	phr	VP	FOR	Rochuntabartaigsiu itmenmain	ga	cl	MC	CIT	Alt	Diam	35a41
59	phr	BP	FOR	Messi	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Alt	Diam	35a47
60	phr	VP	FOR	7 rofergaig frim cummór	ga	cl	CC	TRA	Alt	Diam	35a51

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
61	ga	Nicetius aainm 7 atbert fris. Eirgg 7 abair frilucian	Nicetius	la
62	ga	Tanic vero chucaind isinmatin iarnabarach	vero	la
63	ga	isinmatin iarnabarach inmanach nicetius	nicetius	ga-la
64	ga	7 naamundsá iscribend indte .i. çepánus seruus	.i. çepánus seruus dei	la
65	ga	isinadnocul amal ituadamar .i. çep.anus	.i. çep.anus	la
66	ga	roisairillem. rosaitrebam. inseculaseculorum	in seculaseculorum	la
67	ga	inurd nacanoine noime .i. parauule	.i. parauule	la
68	ga	nacanoine nóime .i. parauule. 7 ecclesiastes	7 ecclesiastes	ga-la
69	ga	7 cantiaicc nacantaicci. paraule sin lebor	paraule	ga-la
70	ga	condat namait do. ut dixit. dauid. mac iese	ut dixit	la
71	ga	condat namait do. ut dixit. dauid. mac iese	dauid. mac iese	ga
72	ga	condat namait do. ut dixit. dauid. mac iese	iese	ga-la
73	ga	ut dixit. dauid. mac iese. Amici mei 7 proximi	Amici mei 7 proximi mei aduersus me	la
74	ga	mophouilse .i._ popul israel. _&_ alibi	& alibi dictum [est] ei	la
75	ga	7 corrabat diarér. ut dixit. intapstal	ut dixit	la



order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
61	phr	NP	SUBJ	Nicetius aainm 7 atbert fris	ga	cl	MC	FOR	Ins	Diam	35a62
62	phr	BP	FOR	Tanic	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Alt?	Diam	35a66
63	w	N	COM	inmanach	ga	w	N	NOT	Ins	Diam	35a66
64	phr	NP	APP	naanmunda iscribend indle	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Alt	Diam	35a70
65	phr	NP	APP	itcuadamar	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Alt	Diam	35b1
66	phr	NP	FOR	rosaitrebam	ga	phr	VP	FOR	Alt	Diam	35b23
67	phr	NP	APP	nacanoine noime	ga	phr	NP	COM	Alt	Diam	36a2
68	w	N	NOT	paraule	la	w	N	NOT	Con	Diam	36a2
69	w	N	NOT	cantaicc nacantaicci	ga	w	N	NOT	Ins		36a2
70	phr	VP	FOR	dognither in inbuidsin acharait condat namait	ga	cl	CC	TRA	Alt	Diam	36a49
71	phr	NP	SUBJ	ut dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con	Diam	36a49
72	w	N	COM	mac	ga	w	N	NOT	Ins	Diam	36a49
73	d	SC	CIT	ut dixit. dauid. mac iese	ga	cl	SC	FOR	Alt		36a49
74	d	CC	FOR	comorbada dogrés uait irrige 7 iflaithius mophopuise	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt	Diam	36b11
75	phr	VP	FOR	IS cóir dochach corap[ut] faen fúthib sin 7 corrabat	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt	Diam	37a6

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
76	ga	7 corrabat diarér. ut dixit. intapstal	intapstal	ga
77	ga	7 fírinde f.uiglit amal columna narígu fíreun	columna	ga-la
78	ga	7 inafaithmet .i. ac.redo 7 ap.ater. Filios	.i. ac.redo 7 ap.ater	la
79	ga	.i. ac.redo 7 ap.ater. Filios suos non si nere	Filios suos non si nere impie [algere	la
80	ga	rosairilem. rosaittreuam. insecula seculorum	in secula seculorum	la
81	ga	7 odorochtatar cobethfage hif.ail slebi oliuet[i]	oliuet[i]	ga-la
82	ga	7 forcetul sechnon tíre iúda . 7 ait illis. Ite	iúda	ga-la
83	ga	tíre iúda . 7 ait illis. Ite in castellum quod contra	7 ait illis	la
84	ga	araile fer ingalar. laçurus ainmsium. acastel	laçurus	la
85	ga	INbethfage atberair sund dianadetercert	bethfage	la
86	ga	iarinttud fhocuil. Dommus maxillarum	Dommus maxillarum	la
87	ga	dianadsloind icnafelsamaib minormundus	minormundus	la
88	ga	icnafelsamaib minormundus .i. domun becc	.i. domun becc	ga
89	ga	curusaithrebam he iartain. insecula seculorum	insecula seculorum	la
90	ga	Cedain inbraith incipit	incipit	la

order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
76	phr	NP	SUBJ	ut dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		37a6
77	w	N	NOT	amal	ga	w	CR	NOT	Ins	Diam	37b24
78	phr	NP	APP	inaforaithmet	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Con	Diam	38a27
79	cl	MC	CIT	ised d'leagair dacech cristaide corotechta in déda sin	ga	cl	SC	TRA	Alt		38a27
80	phr	PP	FOR	rosaittreuam	ga	phr	VP	FOR	Alt	Diam	40a24
81	w	N	COM	slebi	ga	w	N	COM	Ins	Diam	40a29
82	w	N	COM	tíre	ga	w	N	COM	Ins	Diam	40b60
83	phr	VP	FOR	sechnon tíre iúda	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Alt	Diam	40b60
84	phr	NP	SUBJ	araile fer ingalar	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Ins	Diam	40b68
85	w	N	COM	IN	ga-la	w	D	NOT	Ins	Diam	42a53
86	phr	NP	APP	iartinntud fhocuil	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Alt		42a53
87	phr	NP	APP	icnafelsamaib	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Ins		43a17
88	phr	NP	APP	minormundus	la	phr	NP	PRE	Alt	Diam	43a17
89	phr	PP	FOR	iartain	ga	phr	BP	ADJ	Alt	Diam	43bm.i.
90	phr	VP	FOR	Cedain inbraith	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Con		44am.s.

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
91	ga	corus aittrebam in secula seculorum. Amen	in secula seculorum	la
92	ga	dothocht indíthrub srotha íordanén coroáin	íordanén	ga-la
93	ga	inslaniccid ísu oeoín isruth íordanén	íordanén	ga-la
94	ga	7 xl. n.aidche indíthrub srotha íordanen	íordanen	ga-la
95	ga	7 ruc .u. clocha leis asruth íordanen	íordanen	ga-la
96	ga	inaimsir chonstantín meic helena ardrig	helena	ga-la
97	ga	rotinolta .u.iiiii.x.ar.ccc_[aib] innecea icatraig	innecea	la
98	ga	innecea icatraig bethinae dodampnad	bethinae	la
99	ga	rosairlem. rosaittreuam. insecula seculorum	in secula seculorum	la
100	la	INcena domini.	cena domini	la
101	ga	Atrubairt inmagister iscomfhocus indaimser	inmagister	la
102	ga	rorecair .vero. iudas fer inbraith. 7 ised roráid	vero	la
103	ga	rorecair .vero. iudas fer inbraith. 7 ised roráid	iudas	ga
104	ga	iccelebrad nacásc. Dicientes. ised roráidset	Dicientes	la
105	ga	Magister dicit. Atbeir inmagister. Tempus	inmagister	la

order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
91	phr	PP	FOR	corus aittrebam	ga	phr	VP	FOR	Alt	Diam	45a5
92	w	N	COM	strotha	ga	w	N	COM	Ins	Diam	45a48
93	w	N	COM	sruth	ga	w	N	COM	Ins	Diam	45a57
94	w	N	COM	strotha	ga	w	N	COM	Ins	Diam	45b40
95	w	N	COM	sruth	ga	w	N	COM	Ins	Diam	47a19
96	w	N	COM	meic	ga	w	N	COM	Ins	Diam	48a45
97	phr	PP	ADJ	rotinolta_uiii.x.ar.ccc_[aib]	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Alt	Diam	48a45
98	w	N	COM	catraig	ga	w	N	COM	Con		48a45
99	phr	PP	FOR	rosaittreuam	ga	phr	VP	FOR	Alt	Diam	48b15
100	w	N	COM	IN	ga-la	w	P	NOT	Con		48b18
101	phr	NP	SUBJ	Atrubairt	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Ins	Diam	48b27
102	phr	BP	FOR	rorecair	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Alt?	Diam	48b49
103	phr	NP	SUBJ	vero	la	phr	BP	FOR	Con	Diam	48b49
104	phr	VP	FOR	iccelebrad nacásc	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Alt	Diam	49a29
105	phr	NP	SUBJ	Atbeir	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Ins	Diam	49a45

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
106	ga	Othanic.vero.infescor.dessid ísu icmeis	vero	la
107	ga	Othanic.vero.infescor.dessid ísu icmeis	infescor	ga
108	ga	intigerna atr[u]bert frihísu. acht ismagister	magister	la
109	ga	artus cosimon .i._ copetar. _&_ dixit ei petrus	_&_ dixit ei petrus	la
110	ga	Magister _7_ tigerna atbertise frimsa. 7 iscoir	magister	la
111	ga	nosaicse _7_ me tigerna _7_ magister dtuib	_7_ magister	ga-la
112	ga	coroarillem. coroaîtrebam. insecula seculorum	insecula seculorum	la
113	ga	fir inairthair .i._ parthi _7_ medi _7_ persa	_i._ parthi _7_ medi _7_ persa	la
114	ga	_7_ medi _7_ persa _7_ lucht mesapotamia	mesapotamia	ga-la
115	ga	.i. popul naharábi fristruth niordanen anair	niordanen	ga-la
116	ga	tucad tall recht domaccu israel. Sic rofoillsig	israel	ga-la
117	ga	recht domaccu israel. Sic rofoillsig inspirut noeb	Síc	la
118	ga	rosalem rosatirebam insecula seculorum amen	insecula seculorum	la
119	ga	amal aisnedes pilisio ictrachtad libair ióib	pilisio	ga-la
120	ga	libair ióib .i._ ráim. _7_ abram. _7_ abraham	_i._ ráim. _7_ abram. _7_ abraham	la

order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
106	phr	BP	FOR	Ot.anic	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Alt?	Diam	49b4
107	phr	NP	SUBJ	vero	la	phr	BP	FOR	Con	Diam	49b4
108	phr	NP	SUBJ	is	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Ins	Diam	50a28
109	cl	CC	FOR	artus cosimon _i._ copetar	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt	Diam	51a25
110	phr	NP	SUBJ	Magister _7_ tigerna atbertise frimsa	ga	cl	MC	FOR	Ins	Diam	51a60
111	w	N	NOT	tigerna	ga	w	N	NOT	Ins	Diam	51a63
112	phr	PP	FOR	coroaitrebam	ga	phr	VP	FOR	Alt	Diam	52b8
113	phr	NP	APP	fir inairthair	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Alt	Diam	52b45
114	w	N	COM	lucht	ga	w	N	NOT	Ins	Diam	52b45
115	w	N	COM	sruth	ga	w	N	COM	Ins		52b57
116	w	N	COM	maccu	ga	w	N	COM	Ins	Diam	53a55
117	phr	BP	ADJ	domaccu israel	ga	phr	PP	OBJ	Alt?		53a55
118	phr	PP	FOR	rosattrebam	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Alt	Diam	55b64
119	w	N	COM	aisnedes	ga	w	N	NOT	Ins	Diam	56a43
120	phr	NP	APP	ictrachtad libair ióib	ga	phr	NP	ADJ	Alt	Diam	56a43

	order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
	121	ga	Ram aainm riatusmed chlainde do <code>_.i._</code> pater	Ram	la
	122	ga	riatusmed chlainde do <code>_.i._</code> pater excelsus	<code>.i.</code> pater excelsus	la
	123	ga	Abram vero aainm iartusmed <code>q[h]</code> laindi do	Abram vero	la
	124	ga	iartusmed <code>q[h]</code> laindi do <code>_.i._</code> pater excelsus	<code>_.i._</code> pater excelsus	la
	125	ga	Abraham didiu <code>_.i._</code> intiú ísac isinund ón	Abraham	la
	126	ga	<code>_.i._</code> intiú ísac isinund ón <code>_7_</code> pater multarum	<code>_7_</code> pater multarum	la
	127	ga	dar sruth iordanén isand ronimdib <code>_ihesu_</code>	iordanén	ga-la
	128	ga	isinferund dia nadainm galgala <code>_.i._</code> reuelatio	galgala <code>_.i._</code> reuelatio	la
	129	ga	dia nadainm galgala <code>_.i._</code> reuelatio <code>_.i._</code> follus	<code>_.i._</code> follus	ga
	130	ga	[sex li]lteris scribitur <code>_.i._</code> incoic quorum numeri	<code>_.i._</code> incoic	ga
	131	ga	rosairillem. rosaîtrebam. insecula seculorum	insecula seculorum	la
	132	la	INcipit deuirtute sancti martain	martain	ga
	133	ga	inahainsiresea <code>_.i._</code> sanctus martinus episcopus	<code>_.i._</code> sanctus martinus episcopus	la
	134	ga	sanctus martinus episcopus [ <code>_.i._</code> noem martain]	<code>_.i._</code> noem martain uasalepscop torindse	ga
	135	ga	icdiucaire indorus nacatrach ambianensium	ambianensium	la



order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
121	phr	NP	SUBJ	Ram aainm riatusmed chlainde do	ga	cl	MC	FOR	Ins	Diam	56a44
122	phr	NP	APP	Ram aainm riatusmed chlainde do	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Alt	Diam	56a44
123	phr	NP	SUBJ	Abram vero aainm iartusmed c[h]laindi do	ga	cl	MC	FOR	Ins	Diam	56a45
124	phr	NP	APP	iartusmed c[h]laindi do	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Alt	Diam	56a45
125	phr	NP	SUBJ	Abraham didiu .i._ intíú ísac isinund ón	ga	cl	MC	FOR	Ins	Diam	56a45
126	phr	NP	APP	intíú ísac isinund ón	ga	phr	NP	APP	Alt	Diam	56a45
127	w	N	COM	sruth	ga	w	N	COM	Ins	Diam	56b61
128	phr	NP	APP	dia nadainm	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Alt	Diam	56b61
129	phr	NP	APP	galgala .i._ reuelatio	la	phr	NP	APP	Alt	Diam	56b61
130	phr	NP	APP	scribitur	la	phr	VP	PRE	Alt	Diam	57#62
131	phr	PP	FOR	rosaittrebam	ga	phr	VP	FOR	Alt	Diam	59a14
132	w	N	COM	sancti	la	w	A	COM	Con		59a16
133	phr	NP	APP	inecmong naresea 7 inahaimsiresea	ga	phr	NP	COM	Alt	Diam	59b14
134	phr	NP	APP	sanctus martinus episcopus	la	phr	NP	APP	Alt	Diam	59b14
135	w	N	COM	catradh	ga	w	N	COM	Con		59b43

	order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
	136	ga	ised roraid ríangliu. Martinus adhuc catacuminus	Martinus adhuc catacuminus hac mé contextit	la
	137	ga	hac mé contextit [.i. mártain exarcistid is he dorat	[.i. mártain exarcistid is he dorat damsá indiu	ga
	138	ga	tascada doneoch míltnigfes deit. dixit hautem rex	dixit hautem rex	la
	139	ga	7 dochuaid coheláir epscop pictauæ combúi	epsco	ga-la
	140	ga	7 dochuaid coheláir epscop pictauæ combúi	pictauæ	la
	141	ga	roiaraíaid inlatrand indatómnach. dixit mártain	dixit	la
	142	ga	roiaraíaid inlatrand indatómnach. dixit mártain	mártain	ga
	143	ga	mártain iarsin cosinindsi dianidainm gallinaria	gallinaria	la
	144	ga	iséso intí aranguid mártain. dixit iúdex. lécid	dixit iúdex	la
	145	ga	Martain mílid mod nach dis. dogallia lúgdanensis	gallia lúgdanensis	la
	146	ga	Araile fer. detradius ainm. notechtad mogaid	detradius	la
	147	ga	mogaid lán dodemnaib. ised roraid tetradius	tetradius	la
	148	ga	7 roindarb nadémna onmogaid 7 rocreit tetradius	tetradius	la
	149	ga	atbert induíne fris .x.[uí.] demones uenerunt	.x.[uí.] demones uenerunt nunc inciuitatem	la
	150	ga	Araile fer crístaide [_i._] euantius ainmside	[_i._] euantius	la

order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
136	cl	SC	CIT	7 ised roraíd riaangliu	ga	cl	CC	FOR	Alt		59b52
137	cl	CC	TRA	Martinus adhuc catacuminus hac mé contextit	la	cl	SC	CIT	Alt	Diam	59b52
138	phr	VP	FOR	7 tabair tra tascada doneoch míltnígfes deit	ga	cl	CC	TRA	Alt		59b62
139	w	N	COM	heláir	ga	w	N	COM	Con	Diam	60a6
140	w	N	COM	epscoip	ga-la	w	N	NOT	Con		60a6
141	phr	VP	FOR	roiarfaid inlatrand indatómnach	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt	Diam	60a17
142	phr	NP	SUBJ	dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		60a17
143	phr	NP	APP	dianidainm	ga	phr	PP	FOR	Ins	Diam	60a30
144	phr	VP	FOR	iséso inti aranguid mártain	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt		60a41
145	w	N	COM	do	ga	w	P	NOT	Ins	Diam	60a m.i.
146	phr	NP	APP	Araile fer	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Ins	Diam	60b34
147	phr	NP	SUBJ	ised roraíd	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Ins	Diam	60b34
148	phr	NP	SUBJ	7 rocreit	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Ins	Diam	60b37
149	cl	SC	CIT	atbert induine fris	ga	cl	MC	FOR	Alt	Diam	60b50
150	phr	NP	APP	Araile fer crístaide	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Alt	Diam	61a13

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
151	ga	7 ised atbertiss eibisa tebricio. marbuded atbertis	eibisa tebricio	la
152	ga	7 ised atbertiss eibisa tebricio. marbuded atbertis	marbuded atbertis	ga
153	ga	tebricio. marbuded atbertis. dena calma abricio	abricio	la
154	ga	dena calma abricio. dena calma abricio. nert maith	dena calma	ga
155	ga	dena calma abricio. dena calma abricio. nert maith	abricio	la
156	ga	abricio. dena calma abricio. nert maith abricio	nert maith	ga
157	ga	abricio. dena calma abricio. nert maith abricio	abricio	la
158	ga	immdergud mártain. Dodechaid bricio cenfuireach	bricio	la
159	la	impune etiam abinfimis [i. baderoil] clericis	.i. baderoil	ga
160	ga	isincatraig nemdai inter ceteros fideles dei inter	inter ceteros fideles dei inter sidera	la
161	ga	7 corosaittrebam. insecula seculorum amen. amen	insecula seculorum	la
162	ga	Betha brigte incipit	incipit	la
163	ga	IOhain mac zepedei brundalta ísu. comorba nahógi	zepedei	la
164	ga	Conid forslicht nambriatharsin atbeir iohannes	iohannes	la
165	ga	7 inahaimsire _i._ sancta uirgo dei brigida	_i._ sancta uirgo dei brigida	la

order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
151	d	SC	CIT	7 ised atbertiss	ga	cl	CC	FOR	Alt		61a46
152	d	CC	FOR	eibisa tebricio	la	cl	SC	CIT	Alt		61a46
153	phr	NP	SUBJ	dena calma	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Con	Diam	61a46
154	phr	VP	PRE	abricio	la	phr	NP	SUBJ	Con		61a46
155	phr	NP	SUBJ	dena calma	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Con	Diam	61a46
156	phr	NP	SUBJ	abricio	la	phr	NP	SUBJ	Con		61a46
157	phr	NP	SUBJ	dena calma	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Con	Diam	61a46
158	phr	NP	SUBJ	Dodechaid	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Con	Diam	61a46
159	phr	VP	APP	abinfimis	la	phr	PP	SUBJ	Alt	Diam	61b7
160	phr	PP	ADJ	isincatraig nemdai	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Alt		61b16
161	phr	PP	FOR	7 corosaittrebam	ga	phr	VP	FOR	Alt	Diam	61b19
162	phr	VP	FOR	Betha brigte	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Con		61b22
163	w	N	COM	mac	ga	w	N	NOT	Con		61b25
164	phr	NP	SUBJ	atbeir	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Ins		61b37
165	phr	NP	APP	inecmong nareesea 7 inahaimsire	ga	phr	NP	COM	Alt	Diam	61b65

	order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
166	ga	7 lithlathi nahí noembrigte	_.i._kalende_ebrai	_.i._kalende_ebrai	la
167	ga	7 lithlathi nahí noembrigte	_.i._kalende_ebrai	ebrai	ga
168	ga	otá elpa [_.l_ alba] diatair cetul 7 dianoebud		_.l_ alba	la
169	ga	7 dianoebud	_.i._epscop_mel_7_melchu	_.i._epscop_mel_melchu	la
170	ga	7 dianoebud	_.i._epscop_mel_7_melchu	melchu	ga
171	ga	_.i._epscop_mel_7_melchu [nomina eorum]		nomina eorum	la
172	ga	Albert inben. se maic olsi. Dixit	_.epscop_mel	Dixit	la
173	ga	Albert inben. se maic olsi. Dixit	_.epscop_mel	_.epscop_mel	ga
174	ga	tusmitud intsil rigdai. dixit propheta. ingein		dixit propheta	la
175	ga	bidhe ahainm nanoeminginese sancta brigita		sancta brigita	la
176	ga	aingen olse. dixit brigit [fri dubthach] áirimse		brigit	ga
177	ga	inmaith lesaiges innóg ináirge. ut dixit intara		ut dixit	la
178	ga	innóg ináirge. ut dixit intara [i. inbuachail]		intara [i. inbuachail].	ga
179	ga	ochtrnú[i]rd inaardi. dixit intara friabrigit		dixit	la
180	ga	ochtrnú[i]rd inaardi. dixit intara friabrigit		intara	ga

order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
166	phr	NP	FOR	nacrist aide féil 7 lithlathi nahí noembrigte	ga	phr	NP	OBJ	Alt	Diam	62a1
167	w	N	COM	_kalende_	ga-la	w	N	COM	Con	Diam	62a1
168	phr	NP	APP	elpa	ga	phr	NP	ADJ	Alt	Diam	62a33
169	phr	NP	APP	dianoebud	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Alt	Diam	62a33
170	w	N	COM	_7_	ga-la	w	CR	NOT	Con		62a33
171	phr	NP	FOR	_.i._.epscoo_mel_7_melchu	ga	phr	NP	APP	Alt	Diam	62a33
172	phr	VP	FOR	se maic olsi	ga	cl	SC	CIT	Alt	Diam	62a41
173	phr	NP	SUBJ	Dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con	Diam	62a41
174	phr	VP	FOR	ciahuair bidmaith donrigain tusmiud intsil rigdai	ga	cl	MC	CIT	Alt		62a67
175	phr	NP	APP	ahainm nanoemingese	ga	phr	NP	PRE	Alt		62b24
176	phr	NP	SUBJ	dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		62b52
177	phr	VP	FOR	7 aben inmaith lesaiges innóg ináirge	ga	cl	CC	TRA	Alt	Diam	63a25
178	phr	NP	SUBJ	ut dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		63a25
179	phr	VP	FOR	ambuidechsa cipindus ochtrídú[j]rd inaardi	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt	Diam	63a26
180	phr	NP	SUBJ	dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		63a26

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
181	ga	dobersi claideb dubthaig do. Dixit dubthach	Dixit	la
182	ga	dobersi claideb dubthaig do. Dixit dubthach	dubthach	ga
183	ga	.i. mingensa orse. dixit dúnlaing cid foracrecca	dixit	la
184	ga	.i. mingensa orse. dixit dúnlaing cid foracrecca	dúnlaing	ga
185	ga	cid foracrecca fíngin fé. dixit dubthach níanand	dixit	la
186	ga	cid foracrecca fíngin fé. dixit dubthach níanand	dubthach	ga
187	ga	7 icathabairt dobochtaib. dixit inrig. toet inog	dixit	la
188	ga	7 icathabairt dobochtaib. dixit inrig. toet inog	inrig	ga
189	ga	7 dosbérai dobochtaib. dixit brigít rofítir mac	dixit	la
190	ga	7 dosbérai dobochtaib. dixit brigít rofítir mac	brigít	ga
191	ga	dobérai ind donchoimdid nañdúla. dixit inrí	dixit	la
192	ga	dobérai ind donchoimdid nañdúla. dixit inrí	inrí	ga
193	ga	dodhubthach daracend. _7_ sic liberata est	_7_ sic liberata est	la
194	ga	dodia <n>itgetsa aire. deo gratias olbrigít	deo gratias	la
195	ga	conidrochofáil brigít frisín precept. dixit pátraic	dixit	la



order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
181	phr	VP	FOR	dobersi claideb dubthaig do	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt	Diam	63b1
182	phr	NP	SUBJ	Dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		63b1
183	phr	VP	FOR	frisin rig	ga	phr	PP	OBJ	Alt	Diam	63b1
184	phr	NP	SUBJ	dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		63b1
185	phr	VP	FOR	dúnlainig	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Alt	Diam	63b1
186	phr	NP	SUBJ	dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		63b1
187	phr	VP	FOR	dubthach	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Alt	Diam	63b1
188	phr	NP	OBJ	dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con	Diam	63b1
189	phr	VP	FOR	7 dosbérai d'obochtaib	ga	cl	CC	TRA	Alt	Diam	63b8
190	phr	NP	SUBJ	dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		63b8
191	phr	VP	FOR	7 còtuli indmas dobera ind donchoimdid nañdúla	ga	cl	CC	TRA	Alt	Diam	63b10
192	phr	NP	SUBJ	dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con	Diam	63b10
193	d	CC	CIT	7 dombert inrí claideb déit dodhubthach daracend	ga	cl	CC	TRA	Alt	Diam	63b13
194	d	SC	CIT	madrochindis tógi dodia <n>itgetsa aire	ga	cl	SC	TRA	Alt		63b26
195	phr	VP	FOR	conidrochotail brigít frisín precept	ga	cl	SC	TRA	Alt	Diam	63b60

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
196	ga	conidrochotail brigít frisín precept. dixit pátraic	pátraic	ga
197	ga	7 ised aibert. fíis itonnarc olsi. dixit pátraic indis	dixit	la
198	ga	7 ised aibert. fíis itonnarc olsi. dixit pátraic indis	pátraic	ga
199	ga	7 bamtoirsech desin olbrigít. Dixit pátraic nabí	Dixit	la
200	ga	7 bamtoirsech desin olbrigít. Dixit pátraic nabí	pátraic	ga
201	ga	innossa 7 acomaitgíu. dixit macclerech domuntir	dixit	la
202	ga	innossa 7 acomaitgíu. dixit macclerech domuntir	macclerech	ga
203	ga	grad nepscuip forbannscáil. dixit _epsco_p_ méil	dixit	la
204	ga	grad nepscuip forbannscáil. dixit _epsco_p_ méil	_epsco_p_ méil	ga
205	ga	araile clam cobrigít dochunchid bó. dixit brigít fris	dixit	la
206	ga	araile clam cobrigít dochunchid bó. dixit brigít fris	brigít	ga
207	ga	donrig 7 rotuaslaiced incimbid. dixit _epsco_p_ méil	dixit	la
208	ga	donrig 7 rotuaslaiced incimbid. dixit _epsco_p_ méil	_epsco_p_ méil	ga
209	ga	brigít immedon naprainde. _7_ dixit friaraile nóig	_7_ dixit	la
210	ga	brigít immedon naprainde. _7_ dixit friaraile nóig	friaraile nóig	ga

order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
196	phr	NP	SUBJ	dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		63b60
197	phr	VP	FOR	pátraic	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Alt	Diam	63b60
198	phr	NP	SUBJ	dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		63b60
199	phr	VP	FOR	7 bamtoirsech desin olbrigít	ga	cl	CC	TRA	Alt	Diam	64a8
200	phr	NP	SUBJ	Dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		64a8
201	phr	VP	FOR	atbertsi fri dothuairí tsíu innossa 7 acomaithegiu	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt	Diam	64a40
202	phr	NP	SUBJ	dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		64a40
203	phr	VP	FOR	Atbert mac caille conarbahord grad nepscuip	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt	Diam	64a53
204	phr	NP	SUBJ	dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con	Diam	64a53
205	phr	VP	FOR	Fecht and tanic araile clam cobrigít dochunchid bó	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt	Diam	64b7
206	phr	NP	SUBJ	dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		64b7
207	phr	VP	FOR	Rucad iarsin donrig 7 rotuaslaiced incimbid	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt	Diam	64b29
208	phr	NP	SUBJ	dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con	Diam	64b29
209	phr	VP	FOR	.i. brigít conahógaib rothairis brigít immedon	ga	cl	CC	TRA	Alt	Diam	64b33
210	phr	PP	OBJ	_7_ dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		64b33

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
211	ga	7 asašronaib sechtair. dixit brigít frisindemon	dixit	la
212	ga	7 asašronaib sechtair. dixit brigít frisindemon	brigít	ga
213	ga	in barrdénmaib donchiniud doenna. dixit demon	dixit	la
214	ga	in barrdénmaib donchiniud doenna. dixit demon	demon	ga
215	ga	orse dochum parduis. dixit brigít fria demon. cid	dixit	la
216	ga	orse dochum parduis. dixit brigít fria demon. cid	brigít	ga
217	ga	parduis. dixit brigít fria demon. cid diatanacaise	demon	ga-la
218	ga	7 isnacomitecht atúsa. dixit brigít frisinoíg. tabair	dixit	la
219	ga	7 isnacomitecht atúsa. dixit brigít frisinoíg. tabair	brigít	ga
220	ga	bennachtu brigte foruair iarsin. patricius dixit	patricius dixit	la
221	ga	illáim ocrig fer ross. Dixit brigít insærfá damsá	Dixit	la
222	ga	illáim ocrig fer ross. Dixit brigít insærfá damsá	brigít	ga
223	ga	cométus oenóidhe fortsu dó [nunc populus]	nunc populus	la
224	ga	connctatar indásachtach. dixit brigít frisindénmach	dixit	la
225	ga	connctatar indásachtach. dixit brigít frisindénmach	brigít	ga

order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
211	phr	VP	FOR	7 alassar asacraess 7 asašronaib sechtair	ga	cl	CC	TRA	Alt	Diam	64b37
212	phr	NP	SUBJ	Dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		64b37
213	phr	VP	FOR	[cid] armercotige in barrdémaib donchiniud doenna	ga	cl	SC	TRA	Alt	Diam	64b41
214	phr	NP	SUBJ	dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con	Diam	64b41
215	phr	VP	FOR	demon	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Alt	Diam	64b41
216	phr	NP	SUBJ	dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		64b41
217	w	N	COM	fria	ga	w	P	NOT	Con	Diam	64b41
218	phr	VP	FOR	fria demon	ga	phr	PP	OBJ	Alt	Diam	64b41
219	phr	NP	SUBJ	dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		64b41
220	phr	VP	FOR	Basuachnid lecách ba bennachtu brigte foruair iarsin	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt		64b61
221	phr	VP	FOR	illáim ocrig fer ross	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt	Diam	65a1
222	phr	NP	SUBJ	Dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		65a1
223	phr	NP	APP	fortsu dó	ga	phr	PP	OBJ	Alt		65a3
224	phr	VP	FOR	Rosgab uamun mor nahóga batar ifail brigte	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt	Diam	65a10
225	phr	NP	SUBJ	dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		65a10

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
226	ga	duthrarsa dul lett. dixit inscolaiqe. Achaillech	dixit	la
227	ga	duthrarsa dul lett. dixit inscolaiqe. Achaillech	inscolaiqe	ga
228	ga	Gabais brigít pater leis. 7 bacraibthech ósinimmach	pater	la
229	ga	desin dorigned tech_s[an]c[te]_brig[it]e hicill dara	_s[an]c[te]_brig[it]e	ga-la
230	ga	nibeomm didiu icummaid immoenboin. dixit brigít	dixit	la
231	ga	nibeomm didiu icummaid immoenboin. dixit brigít	brigít	ga
232	ga	immáin abó aoenur. cotanic iterum forcúla cobrigít	iterum	la
233	ga	d< >a nícc cobrigít. dixit brigít frisindaraclam. níqe	dixit	la
234	ga	d< >a nícc cobrigít. dixit brigít frisindaraclam. níqe	brigít	ga
235	ga	7 forailangatar amal drolu. dixit brénaínd friagilla	dixit	la
236	ga	7 forailangatar amal drolu. dixit brénaínd friagilla	brénaínd	ga
237	ga	Cotarut cách díb achobas diaraile. Dixit brenaind	Dixit	la
238	ga	Cotarut cách díb achobas diaraile. Dixit brenaind	brenaind	ga
239	ga	cen momenmain india. Dixit brigít Odoratus	Dixit	la
240	ga	cen momenmain india. Dixit brigít Odoratus	brigít	ga

order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
226	phr	VP	FOR	rofitir mac nahingeni olbrigit duthracursa dul lett	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt	Diam	65a22
227	phr	NP	SUBJ	dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con	Diam	65a22
228	phr	NP	OBJ	brigit	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Ins	Diam	65a27
229	w	N	COM	tech	ga	w	N	NOT	Con	Diam	65a38
230	phr	VP	FOR	7 nibeomm didiu icummaid immoeboin	ga	cl	CC	TRA	Alt	Diam	65a50
231	phr	NP	SUBJ	dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		65a50
232	phr	BP	FOR	cotanic	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Alt	Diam	65a54
233	phr	VP	FOR	7 bahogslan focétoir	ga	cl	CC	TRA	Alt	Diam	65b19
234	phr	NP	SUBJ	dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		65b19
235	phr	VP	FOR	7 forailangatar amal drolu	ga	cl	CC	TRA	Alt	Diam	66a9
236	phr	NP	SUBJ	dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		66a9
237	phr	VP	FOR	Cotarut cách dib achobas diaraile	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt	Diam	66a13
238	phr	NP	SUBJ	Dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		66a13
239	phr	VP	FOR	nirbognáth modul tar .uíí. nimarib modu	ga	cl	SC	CIT	Alt	Diam	66a13
240	phr	NP	SUBJ	Dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		66a13

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
241	ga	corissam innaentaidsin insecula seculorum. amen	insecula seculorum	la
242	ga	rosairillem. rosaitrebam. insecula seculorum amen	insecula seculorum	la
243	ga	Donalmsain incipit	incipit	la
244	ga	curairillem curaitrebam insecula seculorum. amen	insecula seculorum	la
245	ga	S[ta]ntes 7 ministrantes _i._ f[or]end [bis] inatost	S[ta]ntes 7 ministrantes	la
246	ga	Arisiat stantes ann [inlucht] tairisit fiadgnuis dé	stantes	la
247	ga	Ministrantes _himmorro_ indaaingil teacit do	Ministrantes	la
248	ga	Saraphin em ise incétna grad _i._ ardentes	Saraphin	la
249	ga	Saraphin em ise incétna grad _i._ ardentes	_i._ ardentes	la
250	ga	Hiruphin didiu ingrad tanaise dianad tinnútú anna	Hiruphin	la
251	ga	dianad tinnútú anna [p]l[e]n[j]itudo scientie	[p]l[e]n[j]itudo scientie	la
252	ga	[p]l[e]n[j]itudo scientie _i._ immad fessa 7 ecna	_i._ immad fessa 7 ecna	ga
253	ga	Troni didiu intras grad. sedes anaimm _i._ sosta	Troni	la
254	ga	Troni didiu intras grad. sedes anaimm _i._ sosta	sedes	la
255	ga	Dominationes didiu incetramad grad	Dominationes	la



order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
241	phr	PP	FOR	innaentaidsin	ga	phr	PP	FOR	Alt	Diam	66a61
242	phr	PP	FOR	rosaitrebam	ga	phr	VP	FOR	Alt	Diam	68b51
243	phr	VP	FOR	Donalmsain	ga	phr	PP	SUBJ	Con		68b53
244	phr	PP	FOR	curaitrebam	ga	phr	VP	FOR	Alt	Diam	71b58
245	phr	NP	SUBJ	S[ta]ntes 7 ministrantes _i._ [for]end	ga	cl	MC	FOR	Ins	Diam	72a53
246	phr	NP	PRE	Arisiat	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Ins		72a54
247	phr	NP	SUBJ	Ministrantes _himmorro_ indaaingil	ga	cl	MC	FOR	Ins	Diam	72a59
248	phr	NP	SUBJ	Saraphin em ise incétna grad	ga	cl	MC	FOR	Ins	Diam	72b1
249	phr	NP	APP	incétna grad	ga	phr	NP	PRE	Alt	Diam	72b1
250	phr	NP	SUBJ	Hiruphin didiu ingrad tanaise	ga	cl	MC	FOR	Ins	Diam	72b4
251	phr	NP	APP	dianad tinnitúd anma	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Ins		72b4
252	phr	NP	APP	[p]e[n]itudo scientie	la	phr	NP	APP	Alt	Diam	72b4
253	phr	NP	SUBJ	Troni didiu intres grad. sedes anainm	ga	cl	MC	FOR	Ins		72b6
254	phr	NP	APP	intres grad	ga	phr	NP	PRE	Ins		72b6
255	phr	NP	SUBJ	Dominationes didiu incetramad grad	ga	cl	MC	FOR	Ins		72b9

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
256	ga	Principatus didiu in .u._ed grad .i. airichasa	Principatus	la
257	ga	Potestates didiu cumachtu issed asessed ngrad	Potestates	la
258	ga	Uirtutes didiu nerta a .uii.ad grad. ITe sin naspiruta	Uirtutes	la
259	ga	Archangeli. ise intochtmad grad dianid etarcert	Archangeli	la
260	ga	intochtmad grad dianid etarcert. summi nuntí	summi nuntí	la
261	ga	dianid etarcert. summi nuntí .i. techtaire forórdai	.i. techtaire forórdai	ga
262	ga	Angeli in .ix._ad grad .i._. aisnetig iarsinní	Angeli	la
263	la	Sicut est gabrielh .i._ fortitudo dei. amal ata	gabrielh	ga
264	la	Sicut est gabrielh .i._ fortitudo dei. amal ata	.i. fortitudo dei	la
265	la	.i._ fortitudo dei. amal ata gabrielh conidinund	amal ata gabrielh conidinund 7 sonair[ti dé]	ga
266	ga	Raphiel didiu dianad etarcert anma. medicina dei	Raphiel	la
267	ga	Raphiel didiu dianad etarcert anma. medicina dei	medicina dei	la
268	ga	dianad etarcert anma. medicina dei .i._ leges dé	.i._ leges dé	ga
269	ga	Michael didiu asalith 7 asaforaitmet affiadar	Michael	la
270	ga	isinlathesi[n] indiu. qui sicut deus interpretatur	qui sicut deus interpretatur	la

order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
256	phr	NP	SUBJ	Principatus didiu in .u._ed grad	ga	cl	MC	FOR	Ins		72b11
257	phr	NP	SUBJ	Potestates didiu cumachtu	ga	cl	MC	FOR	Ins		72b14
258	phr	NP	SUBJ	Uirtutes didiu nerta a .uii.ad grad	ga	cl	MC	FOR	Ins		72b17
259	phr	NP	SUBJ	Archangeli. ise intochtmad grad dianid etarcert	ga	cl	MC	FOR	Ins		72b19
260	phr	NP	APP	dianid etarcert	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Ins		72b19
261	phr	NP	APP	summi nuntii	la	phr	NP	APP	Alt	Diam	72b19
262	phr	NP	SUBJ	Angeli in .ix._ad grad	ga	cl	MC	FOR	Ins	Diam	72b22
263	phr	NP	SUBJ	est	la	phr	VP	PRE	Ins	Diam	72b28
264	phr	NP	APP	gabriel	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Alt	Diam	72b28
265	d	MC	FOR	Sicut est gabriel .i._ fortitudo dei	la	cl	MC	TRA	Alt		72b28
266	phr	NP	SUBJ	Raphael didiu dianad etarcert anma	ga	cl	MC	FOR	Ins	Diam	72b30
267	phr	NP	APP	dianad etarcert anma	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Ins		72b30
268	phr	NP	APP	medicina dei	la	phr	NP	PRE	Alt	Diam	72b30
269	phr	NP	SUBJ	Michael didiu asalith 7 asaforaitmet	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Ins		72b33
270	d	RC	FOR	atfiadar ineclais dé isinlaithesi[n] indiu	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt		72b33

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
271	ga	gargain .i.is[inc]endathaig dianad ainm campania	campania	la
272	ga	araile fer soimm isint sleib _i._ Garganus ainim	_i._ Garganus	la
273	ga	isann roboiside isincatraig dianadainm sepont[in]e	sepont[in]e	la
274	ga	michel douasal epscop nacatrach [_i._ sepon]te	_i._ sepon]te	la
275	ga	[_i._ sepon]te] i f[s._]7_ dixit michel frisinepscop	_]7_ dixit	la
276	ga	[_i._ sepon]te] i f[s._]7_ dixit michel frisinepscop	michel	ga
277	ga	tancatar popuil creitmecha _i._ benepon]tini	_i._ benepon]tini	la
278	ga	anannumna dochathugud frigentidib. Sepontini	Sepontini	la
279	ga	Ainm doneclais sin didiu apofania [_]_ appodonia]	apofania [_]_ appodonia]	la
280	ga	didiu apofania [_]_ appodonia] _i._ costa fobith	_i._ costa	ga
281	ga	Rofóidset tra techta uadib cohabbaid róma _i._	róma	ga-la
282	ga	Robi comairli síluestair doib. airchindig naróma	róma	ga-la
283	ga	diblinaib .i. comarba petair cu_pop_ul naróma	róma	ga-la
284	ga	naróma._]_ aittrethaide nacatrach sepon]te	sepon]te	ga-la
285	ga	roartraig michel do_ epscop_ nacatrach sepon]te	sepon]te	ga-la

order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
271	phr	NP	APP	dianad ainm	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Ins	Diam	72b49
272	phr	NP	APP	isint síleib	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Alt	Diam	73a3
273	phr	NP	APP	dianadainm	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Con	Diam	73a4
274	phr	NP	APP	nacatrach	ga	phr	NP	COM	Alt	Diam	73a13
275	phr	VP	FOR	douasal epscop nacatrach [_i_ seponte] i fíis	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt	Diam	73a13
276	phr	NP	SUBJ	_7_ dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		73a13
277	phr	NP	APP	7 aimser tancatar popuil creitmecha	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Alt	Diam	73a20
278	phr	NP	SUBJ	Seponitini didiu ananmunnaside	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Ins		73a20
279	phr	NP	APP	didiu	ga	phr	BP	ADJ	Ins		73a35
280	phr	NP	APP	_1_ appodonia	la	phr	NP	APP	Alt	Diam	73a35
281	w	N	COM	habbaid	ga	w	N	COM	Ins	Diam	73a41
282	w	N	COM	na	ga	w	D	COM	Ins	Diam	73a42
283	w	N	COM	na	ga	w	D	COM	Ins	Diam	73a42
284	w	N	COM	catrach	ga	w	N	COM	Con	Diam	73a42
285	w	N	COM	catrach	ga	w	N	COM	Con	Diam	73a47

	order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
	286	ga	Atát tra teora columna icfulang naheclaisi sin	columna	ga-la
	287	ga	naheclaisi sin. 7 snidig banna lataeb nacolumna	columna	ga-la
	288	ga	Sliab sioin donaslebtib. Sruth niordanen	niordanen	ga-la
	289	ga	rosairillem. rosaittrebam insecula seculorum	insecula seculorum	la
	290	ga	Aóllosi nazareth. Agloir ierusalem. Amaisi	nazareth	ga-la
	291	ga	Aóllosi nazareth. Agloir ierusalem. Amaisi	ierusalem	ga-la
	292	ga	rosairillem. rosaittrebuam. insecula seculorum	insecula seculorum	la
	293	ga	iarmbréir indrigfatha _i_ dauid mac iese	_i_ dauid mac iese	la
	294	ga	iarmbréir indrigfatha _i_ dauid mac iese	iese	ga-la
	295	ga	_i_ dauid mac iese. conepert. Beati quorum	Beati quorum remisse sunt iniquitates 7 quorum	la
	296	ga	poil apstail. conepert. Quis me liberabit	Quis me liberabit decorpore mortis huius peccati	la
	297	ga	insecula seculorum. amen... Credo. _7_ pater	Credo. _7_ pater	ga
	298	ga	a[f]ir finemain. aflesc do[f]re[i]m moysi. ari	moysi	ga-la
	299	ga	finemain. aflesc do[f]re[i]m moysi. ari israel	israel	ga-la
	300	ga	dothogu petair 7 damaic [z]epedéi. i. iacop	[z]epedéi	ga-la

order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
286	w	N	COM	teora	ga	w	D	NOT	Ins	Diam	73a58
287	w	N	COM	na	ga	w	D	COM	Ins	Diam	73a58
288	w	N	COM	Sruth	ga	w	N	NOT	Ins		73b29
289	phr	PP	FOR	rosaittrebam	ga	phr	VP	FOR	Alt	Diam	74a5
290	w	N	COM	šollsi	ga	w	N	NOT	Ins	Diam	74a54
291	w	N	COM	gloir	ga	w	N	COM	Ins	Diam	74a54
292	phr	PP	FOR	rosairillem. rosaittrebuam	ga	phr	VP	FOR	Alt	Diam	74b36
293	phr	NP	APP	indrigfatha	ga	phr	NP	COM	Alt	Diam	74c30
294	w	N	COM	mac	ga	w	N	NOT	Ins	Diam	74c30
295	d	SC	CIT	conepert	ga	d	SC	FOR	Alt		74c30
296	d	SC	CIT	conepert	ga	d	SC	FOR	Alt		74c46
297	phr	NP	FOR	insecula seculorum. amen	la	phr	PP	FOR	Con	Diam	74c46
298	w	N	COM	[f]re[i]m	ga	w	N	COM	Ins	Diam	74d62
299	w	N	COM	ri	ga	w	N	NOT	Ins	Diam	74d62
300	w	N	COM	damaic	ga	w	N	NOT	Con		107a18

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
301	ga	troaire ndé rosaittrebam. uli inoentaidsin amen	amen	la
302	ga	INcipit don aithrige inso	don aithrige	ga
303	ga	Aris lahiruath tetrachai mac herotis maic	tetrachai	la
304	ga	Aris lahiruath tetrachai mac herotis maic	herotis	la
305	ga	tetrachai mac herotis maic antipater maic herotis	antipater	ga-la
306	ga	tetrachai mac herotis maic antipater maic herotis	herotis	la
307	ga	herotis maic antipater maic herotis asculontai	asculontai	ga-la
308	ga	rolaad petar hicarcair. isésin scél forraithmentar hic	hic	la
309	ga	Petrus apostolus hautem isé ro forcan intrés fécht	Petrus apostolus	la
310	ga	.i. aithrige ahulc inolc aile [ut faciamus]. nó isinolc	ut faciamus	la
311	ga	tresansalm nerdraic(c) [i.i.] Miserere mei deus	.i. Miserere mei deus	la
312	ga	[i.i.] Miserere mei deus. Ezeccias faith himmorro	Ezeccias	ga-la
313	ga	for pais in choimded sund secundum Mathaeum	secundum Mathaeum	la
314	ga	icomfocus doisu. 7 atbert fris. Aue rábíí .i._ Dia	Aue rábíí	la
315	ga	nanuli dtúla 7 issed atbertsat. Reus est mortis	Reus est mortis	la



order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
301	phr	BP	FOR	uli inoentaidsin	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Alt		107b56
302	phr	PP	COM	INcipit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		107b58
303	phr	NP	SUBJ	lahiruath	ga	phr	PP	PRE	Ins	Diam	107b67
304	w	N	COM	mac	ga	w	N	NOT	Con		107b67
305	w	N	COM	maic	ga	w	N	NOT	Ins	Diam	107b67
306	w	N	COM	maic	ga	w	N	NOT	Con		107b67
307	w	N	COM	herotis	la	w	N	COM	Ins	Diam	107b67
308	phr	BP	ADJ	foraithmentar	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Alt?		107b68
309	phr	NP	SUBJ	forsinpopul niudaide hicinaid chesta crist fessin	ga	cl	MC	FOR	Con	Diam	107b71
310	cl	SC	FOR	Ocus in cet[h]ramad .i. aitrige ahulc inolc aile	ga	cl	CC	TRA	Alt		108a34
311	phr	NP	APP	tresansalm nerdraic(c)	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Alt	Diam	108a47
312	w	N	NOT	Miserere mei deus	la	w	N	NOT	Ins	Diam	108a47
313	phr	PP	ADJ	In email tanaise for pais in choimded sund	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Alt		163b20m.e.
314	cl	SC	CIT	7 atbert fris	ga	cl	CC	FOR	Alt	Diam	164b31
315	cl	SC	CIT	7 issed atbertsat	ga	cl	CC	FOR	Alt		169b57

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
316	ga	asailedu foragnuis. _&_ colophis eum sederunt	_&_ colophis eum sederunt	la
317	ga	aninaid dianadainm golgotha. 7 rocrosat ann he	golgotha	la
318	ga	dimnsaigid inathair nemda. _7_ dixit. INmanus tuas	_7_ dixit	la
319	ga	aroen recrist 7 robatar ocimdecht inierusalem	inierusalem	la
320	ga	inierusalem 7 anilchat[h]rachaib tíre iúda ocfocell	iúda	ga-la
321	ga	7 bóí ocmolad crísi ifiadnaise iudeíi 7 pilait	iudeíi	ga-la
322	ga	necódimm doib. 7 íssed atbert friu amen amen	amen amen	la
323	ga	Otchualatar tra iudeíi sin dodenum do íosep	iudeíi	la
324	ga	Tanic tra iarlathib triar fer ogalilee co ierusalem	galilee	la
325	ga	Tanic tra iarlathib triar fer ogalilee co ierusalem	ierusalem	ga-la
326	ga	Naiudei vero _7_ oirchindig nasacart orachualatar	iudei vero	ga-la
327	ga	naresea 7 nahamsire .i. sanctus petrus 7 sanctus	.i. sanctus petrus 7 sanctus paulus apostoli	la
328	ga	mac eoin he dolucht galalee .i. abzadia ainm	galalee	ga-la
329	ga	ainm do Caiús .i. capitalis .i. cenna. uair bacend	Caiús .i. capitalis	la
330	ga	ainm do Caiús .i. capitalis .i. cenna. uair bacend	.i. cenna	ga

order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
316	cl	CC	CIT	Annsin ro chuirsit asailedu foragnuis	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt	Diam	169b60
317	phr	NP	PRE	dianadainm	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Ins	Diam	170a1
318	phr	VP	FOR	7 ronuaill oguth mor dinnsaigid inathair nemda	ga	cl	CC	TRA	Alt	Diam	170a8
319	phr	PP	ADJ	ocimdech	ga	phr	PP	COM	Alt	Diam	170a56
320	w	N	COM	tíre	ga	w	N	NOT	Ins	Diam	170a56
321	w	N	COM	fiadnaise	ga	w	N	COM	Con	Diam	170a56
322	cl	SC	CIT	7 issued atbert friu	ga	cl	CC	FOR	Alt		170a64
323	phr	NP	SUBJ	tra	ga	phr	BP	ADJ	Con	Diam	170b4
324	w	N	COM	o	ga	w	P	NOT	Con		170b16
325	w	N	COM	co	ga	w	P	NOT	Ins	Diam	170b16
326	w	N	COM	Na	ga	w	D	NOT	Con	Diam	170b67
327	phr	NP	APP	nahamsire	ga	phr	NP	COM	Alt	Diam	170b64
328	w	N	COM	lucht	ga	w	N	COM	Con		170b69
329	phr	NP	PRE	ainm do	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Ins	Diam	172b72
330	phr	NP	APP	Caifás .i. capitalis	la	phr	NP	APP	Alt	Diam	172b72

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
331	ga	simon focetoir isininad dianad ainm sacra uia	sacra uia	la
332	ga	pol forcolomu marmardai inuia ostensi. 7 rosiacht	iniuia ostensi	la
333	ga	7 roshuidigset isininad dianad ainm vaticánus	vaticánus	la
334	ga	nacurpu isininad dianad ainm Catacumba	Catacumba	la
335	ga	Rosuidiged iarum corp petair invaticáno	invaticáno	la
336	ga	inoentaidsin rosaittrebam in secula seculorum	in secula seculorum	la
337	la	imbicilitate subducatur. Infers áirithisea imorro	Infers áirithisea imorro diata briathra	ga
338	ga	Infers áirithisea imorro diata briathra hic	hic	la
339	ga	nahaimsire _i_[est] sancti machábi martires	_i_[est] sancti machábi martires	la
340	ga	isinbliadain hitaumm. Antiochus Epifanes uero	Antiochus Epifanes uero	la
341	ga	Antiochus Epifanes uero _i._ aroli immer	_i._ aroli immer	ga
342	ga	mathathias. 7 iúdas frisanabar machabeus	machabeus	la
343	ga	machabeus. aquo namachabdai. 7 eliçar	na Machabdai	ga
344	la	INCĭpit deluxoria inso síis	inso síis	ga
345	ga	Luxoria tra issed ainm inadualca tanaisi marbus	Luxoria	la

order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
331	phr	NP	PRE	dianad ainm	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Ins	Diam	174b39
332	phr	PP	ADJ	forcolomu marmardai	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Alt	Diam	174b60
333	phr	NP	PRE	dianad ainm	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Ins	Diam	175a26
334	phr	NP	PRE	dianad ainm	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Ins	Diam	175a38
335	phr	PP	ADJ	corp petair	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Alt	Diam	175a41
336	phr	PP	FOR	rosaittrebam	ga	phr	VP	FOR	Alt	Diam	175a70
337	cl	MC	TRA	nese arecto proposito carnis imbicillitate subducatúr	la	cl	MC	CIT	Alt	Diam	183a39
338	phr	BP	FOR	Infers áirithisea imorro diata briathra	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Alt?		183a39
339	phr	NP	APP	nahaimsiire	ga	phr	NP	COM	Alt	Diam	183b13
340	phr	NP	SUBJ	isinbliadain hitaumm	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Alt	Diam	183b17
341	phr	NP	APP	uero	la	phr	BP	ADJ	Alt	Diam	183b17
342	w	N	COM	frisanabar	ga	w	A	NOT	Ins		183b28
343	phr	NP	PRE	a quo	la	phr	PP	SUBJ	Alt		183b28
344	phr	DP	ADJ	deluxoria	la	phr	PP	ADJ	Alt?		186#18
345	phr	NP	SUBJ	Luxoria tra issed ainm inadualca tanaisi marbus	ga	cl	MC	FOR	Ins		186#19

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
346	ga	Bonifatius tra ince[fh]ramad abb iarnggoir noem	bonifatius	la
347	ga	Otconnairc vero bonifatius sin. rolinet 7 londus	vero bonifatius	la
348	ga	Otconnairc vero bonifatius sin. rolinet 7 londus	sin	ga
349	ga	corochuindig ar foicc cesar _.i._imper_ naroma	cesar	ga-la
350	ga	corochuindig ar foicc cesar _.i._imper_ naroma	roma	ga-la
351	ga	noemda d'ofidecht .i. dominus cum beata dei	.i. dominus cum beata dei genitrice maria cum	la
352	la	isinmbudin tanaise. Martires didiu intertia turbai	didiu	ga
353	la	isinmbudin tanaise. Martires didiu intertia turbai	intertia turbai	la
354	ga	Albert vero eoin _apstal_ diarotaispenait	vero	la
355	ga	Escartach vero diabuil 7 intetecul fas folam	vero	la
356	ga	itir aibrilib aingel 7 archangel. insecula seculorum	insecula seculorum	la
357	ga	Dontsamain beos Feria omnium sanctorum	Feria omnium sanctorum	la
358	ga	aranabar feria omnium sanctorum frisinsamain	feria omnium sanctorum	la
359	la	_.i._domus omnium hidgulorum fuit inromai	romai	ga-la
360	ga	Cotarla bonifatius comorba petair inaraille ló	bonifatius	la

order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
346	phr	NP	SUBJ	iarnngóir noem roshordaidg insollainsi nasamna	ga	cl	MC	FOR	Ins	Diam	187a15
347	phr	BP	FOR	Otonnaicr	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Alt?	Diam	187a21
348	phr	NP	OBJ	bonifatius	la	phr	NP	SUBJ	Con		187a21
349	w	N	COM	foicc	ga	w	N	COM	Ins	Diam	187a21
350	w	N	COM	na	ga	w	D	COM	Ins	Diam	187a21
351	phr	NP	APP	indister nabuidne noemda dofidecht	ga	phr	NP	PRE	Alt	Diam	187a38
352	phr	BP	FOR	Martires	la	phr	NP	SUBJ	Alt?		187a44
353	phr	PP	ADJ	didiu	ga	phr	BP	ADJ	Alt	Diam	187a44
354	phr	BP	FOR	Atbert	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Alt?	Diam	187a50
355	phr	BP	FOR	Escartach	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Alt	Diam	187b3
356	phr	PP	FOR	itir airibrib aingel 7 archangel	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Alt	Diam	187b7
357	d	MC	TRA	Dontsainin beos	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt		187b12
358	phr	NP	PRE	Ise fáth aranabar	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Alt		187b13
359	w	N	COM	in	la	w	P	NOT	Con	Diam	187b14
360	phr	NP	SUBJ	Cotarla	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Ins	Diam	187b15

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
361	ga	corcoisecrad iarum latoil animpire inpanteón	in panteón	la
362	ga	conaire sin atberair feria omnium sanctorum fria	feria omnium sanctorum	la
363	ga	ar rocoisecrad omnibus sanctis integdais boi	omnibus sanctis	la
364	ga	foramus inleomain. _7_ uincebat aries leonem	_7_ uincebat aries leonem	la
365	ga	Cotarla inbonifatius cetna cúsinluiche. conept	inbonifatius	la
366	ga	Cotarla inbonifatius cetna cúsinluiche. conept	cetna	ga
367	ga	octairchetul críst 7 diabuil. Deo gratias olesium	Deo gratias	la
368	ga	dognítis. homnes pueri romanorum isinsamain	homnes pueri romanorum	la
369	ga	pueri romanorum isinsamain cechabliadna. 7rl	7rl	la
370	ga	Páis Georgi incipit	Georgi	la
371	ga	na reesi 7 nahaimsire _i._ sanctus martir Geurgius	_i._ sanctus martir Geurgius	la
372	ga	Alme trocaire dé triahimpide georgi. rohisumm uli	georgi	la
373	ga	rosairillem. rosaittrebam in saecula saeculorum	in saecula saeculorum	la
374	ga	nasollamunsa lasineclais theofania .i. deo aparitio	theofania .i. deo aparitio	la
375	ga	bahe aaimn fortús .i. eofratia frugifer .i. toirthech	.i. eofratia frugifer	la



order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
361	phr	PP	ADJ	latoil animpire	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Alt	Diam	187b18
362	phr	NP	PRE	atberair	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Ins		187b20
363	phr	NP	OBJ	rocoisecrad	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Con?		187b20
364	cl	CC	TRA	7 nosléced aningen rethe foramus inleomain	ga	cl	CC	CIT	Alt	Diam	187b31
365	phr	NP	SUBJ	Cotarla	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Con	Diam	187b32
366	w	A	NOT	bonifatius	ga-la	w	N	NOT	Con		187b32
367	cl	SC	CIT	Deo gratias olesium	ga	cl	MC	FOR	Alt		187b36
368	phr	NP	OBJ	dognúitis	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Con		187b41
369	phr	NP	FOR	isinsamain cechabliadna	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Alt	Diam	187b41
370	w	N	COM	Páis	ga	w	N	NOT	Con		190b m.s.
371	phr	NP	APP	inecinoc na reesi 7 nahaimsire	ga	phr	NP	COM	Alt	Diam	190b24
372	w	N	COM	himpide	ga	w	N	COM	Con		193b57
373	phr	PP	FOR	rosaittrebam	ga	phr	VP	FOR	Alt	Diam	193b57
374	phr	NP	APP	lasineclais	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Alt	Diam	198a40
375	phr	NP	APP	aainm fortús	ga	phr	NP	PRE	Alt	Diam	198a49

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
376	ga	bahe aainm fortús .i. eofratta frugifer .i. toirthech	.i. toirthech	ga
377	ga	isaingel donime roarthraig isindelbsin stelle	stelle	la
378	ga	Cesnaigit augtair domot 7 ardi 7 etrochta stelle	stelle	la
379	ga	mair anall nasruthib arsataib inmirbuilsea stelle	stelle	la
380	ga	infaith uasal Isaías. dicens. Omnes desabaa ueniant	Omnes desabaa ueniant	la
381	ga	lucht chraibdech nosaithig. ut dicit insalmchetláid	insalmchetláid	ga
382	ga	triaumalóit isinduine dogni toil dé. ut dixit solam	solam	ga
383	ga	rosairillem. rosaittrebam. in secula amen 7rl	in secula 7rl	la
384	ga	rosairillem. rosaittrebam. in secula amen 7rl	7rl	ga
385	ga	figuir aige seo isinlebar renabar leuiticu[m]m	leuiticu[m]m	la
386	ga	_7_ amal d'osbeir pax don lebar deis a ethig	pax	la
387	ga	amal aderair in apocolipsi. _7_ amal atbeir solam	inapocolipsi	la
388	ga	_7_ amal atbeir solam inecles(t)iastico isin nomad	inecles(t)iastico	la
389	ga	Uair aderair inlibro exódi isin xxmad cáipdel	inlibro exódi	la
390	ga	amal adeir pól_ apstal_ adcorinthios. Na denamm	adcorinthios	la

order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
376	phr	NP	APP	i. eofrattra frugifer	la	phr	NP	APP	Alt	Diam	198a49
377	w	N	COM	delbsin	ga	w	N	COM	Con		198b41
378	w	N	COM	etrochta	ga	w	N	COM	Con		198b42
379	w	N	COM	mirbulsea	ga	w	N	COM	Con		199a18
380	cl	SC	CIT	Roterchan didiu infaith uasal Isaias. dicens	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt	Diam	199a20
381	phr	NP	SUBJ	ut dicit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con	Diam	199a32
382	phr	NP	SUBJ	ut dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		199a42
383	phr	PP	FOR	corisam uli inoentaidsin. rosairillem. rosaittrebam	ga	phr	VP	FOR	Alt	Diam	200a15
384	phr	NP	FOR	amen	la	phr	BP	FOR	Alt	Diam	200a15
385	phr	NP	PRE	renabar	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Con	Diam	243a38
386	phr	NP	OBJ	dosbeir	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Ins	Diam	243a54
387	phr	PP	FOR	aderair	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Alt?	Diam	243a59
388	phr	PP	FOR	solam	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Alt?	Diam	243a59
389	phr	PP	FOR	aderair	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Alt?	Diam	243b7
390	phr	PP	FOR	pól_apstal_	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Alt?		243b19

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
391	ga	_7_ amal ata inlibro exódi isin _xx_ ad. cáipdel	inlibro exódi	la
392	ga	_&_ adeir ambróis inexameron. cocuirend ir chorr	inexameron	la
393	ga	ina dubachus dainglib nime. amal adeir libró ysaie	libró ysaie	la
394	ga	amal adeir h[ier]o[n]jim[mus]. cibe dán bés duine	h[ier]o[n]jim[mus]	la
395	ga	amal adeir i[m]malicia _i._ isin cethramad caipdel	i[m]malicia _i._	la
396	ga	int-šeoit féin o fir na hécni do reir lex_7_ chanóine	lex	ga-la
397	ga	ata crosta o dligud eclaisi dé _i._ o lex 7 o chánoin	lex	ga-la
398	ga	uair adeir leuitico. na salaig ainmm do dia féin	leuitico	la
399	ga	amal atbeir indialago gurabé ainim do dia féin	indialago	la
400	ga	diachomarsain. amal atbeir inlibro prouerbiorum	inlibro prouerbiorum	la
401	ga	atbeir isaias fáid corabcasmail fernaléifadnaise	isaias	la
402	ga	frisinbéist renabar locusta._7_ brucus ahainmm	locusta_7_ brucus	la
403	ga	mar fhásait is locusta quasi longa [h]asta atberar	locusta quasi longa [h]asta	la
404	ga	acht atat annunna na plágsa illibro exodi	illibro	ga-la
405	ga	acht atat annunna na plágsa illibro exodi	exodi	la

order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
391	phr	PP	FOR	ata	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Alt?	Diam	243b24
392	phr	PP	FOR	ambróis	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Alt	Diam	243b45
393	phr	NP	FOR	adeir	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Alt		244a6
394	phr	NP	SUBJ	adeir	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Ins		244b1
395	phr	PP	FOR	adeir	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Alt	Diam	244b13
396	w	N	COM	reir	ga	w	N	COM	Ins	Diam	244b68
397	w	N	COM	.i.o	ga	w	P	NOT	Ins	Diam	245a34
398	phr	NP	FOR	adeir	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Alt	Diam	245a63
399	phr	PP	FOR	atbeir	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Alt	Diam	245a67
400	phr	PP	FOR	atbeir	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Alt	Diam	245b12
401	phr	NP	SUBJ	atbeir	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Ins	Diam	245b21
402	phr	NP	PRE	frisinbeíst renabar	ga	phr	PP	OBJ	Ins?		245b21
403	phr	NP	PRE	is	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Ins?		245b24
404	w	N	COM	i	ga	w	P	NOT	Con		245b28
405	w	N	COM	llibro	ga-la	w	N	COM	Con		245b28

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
406	ga	plág freccras daitne na leifriadnaise dib .i. locusta	.i. locusta	la
407	ga	<.i.> innathair nemi rénarab serpens 7 inaspa	serpens	la
408	ga	<.i.> innathair nemi rénarab serpens 7 inaspa	inaspa	ga-la
409	ga	Ata figair aige so inleuitico isin] nómad caipdel	inleuitico	la
410	ga	uair atbert iohan[n]és cris(t)os[t]omus gurab	iohan[n]és cris(t)os[t]omus	la
411	ga	ic solam. isin tres caipdel .xx_ et ineclesia[astj]co	ineclesia[astj]co	la
412	ga	solam isinochtmad caipdel .xxet. ineclesia[stj]co	inecclesia[stj]co	la
413	ga	amal atbeir inezetsiele. Ecce ego suscitabo omnes	inezetsiele	la
414	ga	amal atbeir inezetsiele. Ecce ego suscitabo omnes	Ecce ego suscitabo omnes amatores tuos contra	la
415	ga	pilait 7 isinnté tanic rath i_spiruta_ apostolos	apostolos	la
416	ga	Hiteirt tancatar tuath dé tar sruth neordanen	neordanen	ga-la
417	ga	na tri gilla _i_ ananias asarias misahél_7_ daniél	_i_ ananias asarias misahél_7_ daniél	la
418	ga	Hiteirt roacailset tuath íuda_ críst_	íuda	ga-la
419	ga	taníc intaingel corusmarb primgene egipte uli	egípte	ga-la
420	ga	taníc intaingel corusmarb primgene egipte uli	uli	ga

order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
406	phr	NP	APP	freccras daitne na leffriadnaise dib	ga	phr	NP	PRE	Alt	Diam	245b30
407	phr	NP	APP	renabar	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Ins		245b48
408	w	N	NOT	serpens	la	w	N	NOT	Con	Diam	245b48
409	phr	PP	FOR	figair aige so	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Alt	Diam	245b61
410	phr	NP	SUBJ	atbert	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Ins		245b66
411	phr	PP	FOR	isin tres caipdel_..xx_..et	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Alt	Diam	246b11
412	phr	PP	ADJ	isinochtmad caipdel .xxet.	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Alt	Diam	246b67
413	phr	PP	FOR	atbeir	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Alt?	Diam	246b72
414	cl	SC	CIT	amal atbeir in ezetsiele	ga	cl	SC	SC	Alt		246b72
415	w	N	COM	_spiruta_	ga	w	N	COM	Con		247a2
416	w	N	COM	sruth	ga	w	N	COM	Ins		247a4
417	phr	NP	APP	na tri gilla	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Alt	Diam	247a5
418	w	N	COM	tuath	ga	w	N	COM	Ins	Diam	247a6
419	w	N	COM	primgene	ga	w	N	NOT	Con	Diam	247a40
420	w	A	COM	egipte	ga-la	w	N	COM	Con		247a40

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
421	ga	in slaniccid corosuid for deiss dé athar. ut dixit	ut dixit	la
422	ga	tanic tall centár. tuath dé darsruth iordanán	iordanán	ga-la
423	ga	roaigligset arríg. tuath olc imresnach iudai	iudai	ga-la
424	ga	hiteirt inrath lán rolass. foríóin aninis pathmas	pathmas	ga-la
425	la	_ & _ casulai. _ & _ hec uestimentai nitidai sint	casulai	ga-la
426	la	_ & _ casulai. _ & _ hec uestimentai nitidai sint	uestimentai nitidai	ga-la
427	ga	ocadenum. Pater noster .i. a athair. ut supra	.i. a athair	ga
428	ga	ocadenum. Pater noster .i. a athair. ut supra	ut supra	la
429	ga	ocadenum. Pater noster .i. a athair. 7cetera.	.i. a athair	ga
430	ga	ocadenum. Pater noster .i. a athair. 7cetera.	7cetera	la
431	ga	ica attach 7 ica etargudi. Pater noster .i. a athair	.i. a athair	ga
432	ga	atberaítt ica nernaigthe. Pater noster .i. a athair	.i. a athair	ga
433	ga	hec oratio silenter canitur. Ar _ui_ fathaib vero	Ar _ui_ fathaib	ga
434	ga	hec oratio silenter canitur. Ar _ui_ fathaib vero	vero	la
435	ga	Ar _ui_ fathaib _vero_ gabar in pater i sanais	pater	la



order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
421	phr	VP	FOR	corosuïd for deiss dé athar	ga	cl	SC	TRA	Alt	Diam	247a55
422	w	N	COM	sruth	ga	w	N	COM	Ins		247a59
423	w	N	COM	olc imresnach	ga	w	A	COM	Ins	Diam	247a61
424	w	N	COM	inis	ga	w	N	COM	Ins	Diam	247a62
425	w	N	NOT	&_&	la	w	N	NOT	Con		248a8
426	w	N	COM	hec	la	w	A	NOT	Con		248a8
427	cl	MC	TRA	Pater noster	la	cl	MC	FOR	Alt	Diam	248b22
428	phr	NP	FOR	i. a athair	ga	phr	NP	APP	Alt		248b22
429	cl	MC	TRA	Pater noster	la	cl	MC	FOR	Alt	Diam	248b32
430	phr	NP	FOR	a athair	ga	phr	NP	APP	Alt	Diam	248b32
431	cl	MC	TRA	Pater noster	la	cl	MC	FOR	Alt	Diam	248b44
432	cl	MC	TRA	Pater noster	la	cl	MC	FOR	Alt	Diam	248b47
433	cl	MC	TRA	Sex_hautem_caisis hec oratio silenter canitur.	la	cl	MC	CIT	Alt	Diam	249b75
434	phr	BP	FOR	Ar_ui_fathaib	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Alt?	Diam	249b75
435	w	N	COM	in	ga-la	w	D	NOT	Ins	Diam	249b75

	order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
	436	ga	int soscela doíuidecht i tempul ieru(m)salem	ieru(m)salem	ga-la
	437	ga	corálem corattrebamm in secula seculorum amen	in secula seculorum	la
	438	ga	artus icontemprið ised istéchtá. _7_ dicis: quesso	_7_ dicis	la
	439	la	_7_ dicis: quesso te pater. Banna lassín. Deprecor	Banna lassín	ga
	440	la	quesso te pater. Banna lassín. Deprecor te filíí	Deprecor te filíí	la
	441	ga	Banna lassín. Deprecor te filíí. banna lassín	banna lassín	ga
	442	la	Deprecor te filíí. banna lassín. Obsecro te spiritus	Obsecro te spiritus sancte	la
	443	la	Obsecro te spiritus sancte. intrés banna lassín	banna	ga
	444	ga	7 tria erlathar in spiruta nóib. ut dictum est	ut dictum est	la
	445	ga	IN eclais atbertsin. ut _apostolus_ dicit. Filíolí	ut _apostolus_ dicit	la
	446	ga	formetur in uobis. ised chanair ic tabairt fina	ised chanair ic tabairt fina isin cailech nofrind	ga
	447	ga	isin cailech nofrind Mitet pater. banna annsin	Mitet pater	la
	448	ga	isin cailech nofrind Mitet pater. banna annsin	banna annsin	ga
	449	la	Mitet pater. banna annsin. INdulget filíus. banna	INdulget filíus	la
	450	ga	banna annsin. INdulget filíus. banna aile andsin	banna aile andsin	ga

order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
436	w	N	COM	tempul	ga	w	N	COM	Ins	Diam	250b26
437	phr	PP	FOR	corálem corattrebann	ga	phr	VP	FOR	Alt	Diam	250b58
438	phr	VP	FOR	Usqi isincailech artus icontempriú issued istéichta	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt	Diam	251a13
439	d	MC	FOR	quesso te pater	la	cl	SC	CIT	Alt		251a13
440	d	SC	CIT	Banna lassin	ga	cl	MC	CIT	Alt		251a13
441	d	MC	FOR	Deprecor te filií	la	cl	SC	CIT	Alt		251a13
442	d	SC	CIT	banna lassin	ga	cl	MC	CIT	Alt		251a13
443	w	N	COM	intres	ga-la	w	D	NOT	Con	Diam	251a13
444	phr	VP	FOR	7 tria erlathar in spiruta nóib	ga	cl	CC	TRA	Alt	Diam	251a17
445	phr	VP	FOR	IN eclais abertsin	ga	cl	MC	CIT	Alt	Diam	251a27
446	d	MC	FOR	donec christus formetur in uobis	la	cl	SC	CIT	Alt		251a27
447	d	SC	CIT	ised chanair ic tabairt fina isin cailech nofrind	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt		251a27
448	d	MC	FOR	Miet pater	la	cl	SC	CIT	Alt		251a27
449	d	SC	CIT	banna annsin	ga	cl	MC	CIT	Alt		251a27
450	d	MC	FOR	INDulget filius	la	cl	SC	CIT	Alt		251a27

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
451	ga	banna aile andsin. Miseretur spiritus sanctus	Miseretur spiritus sanctus	la
452	la	Miseretur spiritus sanctus. intres banna andsin	banna	ga
453	ga	gnúmaib 7 fomoltud naicnid. vt dictum est. Uidit	vt dictum est	la
454	ga	icanair infersa .i. immola deo sacrificijum laudis	.i. immola deo sacrificijum laudis	la
455	la	Noui testamenti initium sin. INtan tra chanair	sin	ga
456	ga	conaro scara a menma fri dia cid in oin uocabulo	uocabulo	la
457	ga	ainmm na hernaighisea _i._ periculosa oratio	_i._ periculosa oratio	la
458	ga	graid for a chula _7_ chinnes iterum for a grúis	iterum	la
459	ga	trédi tresanathnúidigher in duine iterum co dia	iterum	la
460	ga	athcumai cusin lágín i láim longíni isind achsaill	longíni	la
461	ga	aiged críst in a chroich _i._ frisincatraig ierusalem	ierusalem	ga-la
462	ga	ierusalem _7_ is sair roboi aiged longíni	longíni	la
463	ga	tidecht chucaind. ut dictum est. Orietur in diebus	ut dictum est	la
464	ga	togairm chaich uli chuci in a diaid Dicens. uenite	Dicens	la
465	ga	in oen múintir .i. múinter nime per mensam	per mensam	la

order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
451	cl	SC	CIT	banna aile andsin	ga	cl	MC	CIT	Alt		251a27
452	w	N	COM	intres	ga-la	w	D	NOT	Con	Diam	251a27
453	phr	VP	FOR	tria rúnib 7 gnímaib 7 tómol tud naicnid	ga	cl	SC	TRA	Alt	Diam	251a34
454	phr	VP	APP	infersa	ga	phr	NP	COM	Alt	Diam	251a44
455	w	D	COM	Noui testamenti initium	la	w	N	NOT	Con		251a46
456	w	N	COM	oin	ga	w	D	COM	Ins	Diam	251a51
457	phr	NP	APP	ainmm na hernaighisea	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Alt	Diam	251a54
458	phr	BP	FOR	chinnnes	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Alt?	Diam	251a55
459	phr	BP	FOR	in duine	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Alt?	Diam	251a57
460	w	N	COM	láim	ga	w	N	COM	Con		251a67
461	w	N	COM	catraig	ga	w	N	COM	Ins	Diam	251a68
462	w	N	COM	aiged	ga	w	N	NOT	Con		251a68
463	phr	VP	FOR	uair issed boi aiged críst frinde oc tid echt dhucaind	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt	Diam	251a68
464	phr	VP	FOR	7 se ic togairm chaich uli chuci in a dia< >d	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt	Diam	251a73
465	phr	PP	ADJ	.i. múinter nime	ga	phr	NP	APP	Alt		251a76

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
466	ga	.i. múinter nime per mensam. múinter thalman	múinter thalman	ga
467	ga	per mensam. múinter thalman per calicem	per calicem	la
468	ga	Ishesin igitur oige 7 comlantius na hirse cathalcdai	igitur	la
469	ga	ísu ina śoscela. Dicens amen amen dico uobis	Dicens	la
470	ga	ísu ina śoscela. Dicens amen amen dico uobis	amen amen dico uobis	la
471	ga	dreimm na .uíí. nime. ut dixit a[g]u(u)stin. dicens	ut dixit	la
472	ga	dreimm na .uíí. nime. ut dixit a[g]u(u)stin. dicens	a[g]u(u)stin	ga
473	ga	dreimm na .uíí. nime. ut dixit a[g]u(u)stin. dicens	dicens	la
474	ga	nañdemna cusnaharmaibsin leo. ut dixit fria	ut dixit	la
475	ga	nañdemna cusnaharmaibsin leo. ut dixit fria	fria	ga
476	la	ut dixit fria. Oanima felix .i. aanimmanfechtnaç	Oanima felix	la
477	la	ut dixit fria. Oanima felix .i. aanimmanfechtnaç	_.i._ aanimmanfechtnaç	ga
478	ga	in anim in airetsin ina curp. ut dixit fria. [.i:] Ercid	ut dixit	la
479	ga	in anim in airetsin ina curp. ut dixit fria. [.i:] Ercid	fria	ga
480	ga	ar máigistrechne .i. lúç[i]fer cona dóescursluag	.i. lúç[i]fer	la

order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
466	phr	NP	APP	per mensam	la	phr	PP	ADJ	Alt		251a76
467	phr	PP	ADJ	múinter thalman	ga	phr	NP	APP	Alt		251a76
468	phr	BP	FOR	Ishesin	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Alt?	Diam	251b36
469	phr	VP	FOR	atbert isu ina šoscela	ga	cl	MC	FOR	Alt	Diam	251b54
470	cl	SC	CIT	Dicens	ga	cl	SC	FOR	Alt		251b54
471	phr	VP	FOR	docommal lesin anmain. dreimm na .uí. nime	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt	Diam	251b57
472	phr	NP	SUBJ	ut dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		251b57
473	phr	VP	FOR	ut dixit a[g]u(u)stin	ga	cl	SC	FOR	Alt	Diam	251b57
474	phr	VP	FOR	inslog morsin nañdemna cusnaharmaibsin leo	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt	Diam	251b80
475	phr	PP	OBJ	ut dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		251b80
476	cl	SC	CIT	ut dixit fria	ga	cl	SC	FOR	Alt		251b80
477	cl	CC	TRA	Oanima felix	la	cl	SC	CIT	Alt	Diam	251b80
478	phr	VP	FOR	uair isann bís in anim in airetsin ina curp	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt	Diam	252a34
479	phr	PP	OBJ	ut dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		252a34
480	phr	NP	APP	7 toil ar máigistrechne	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Alt	Diam	252a36

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
481	ga	co taitnem na sollsi suthaine [_i_ in _celum_]	_i_ in _celum_	la
482	ga	isinscriptúir nóib _i_ sera penitentia _i_ mall	_i_ sera penitentia	la
483	ga	_i_ mall aith[h]rige nachfógnand do neoch	_i_ mall aithrige	ga
484	ga	nachfógnand do neoch a dénum. _7_ dicit. Ego	_7_ dicit	la
485	ga	conatísad doc[h]júmm nime. ut dixit fria. IS follus	ut dixit	la
486	ga	conatísad doc[h]júmm nime. ut dixit fria. IS follus	fria	ga
487	ga	Accusans dicens. Iarsin impais in anim frisin corp	Iarsin impais in anim frisin corp	ga
488	ga	combói ocimcháined frisin corp. dicens. O caro	dicens	la
489	ga	dura. O templum diabolum. ut dixit. Acholand	Acholand	ga
490	ga	na ndriong ndénnachsa. _7_ dicit. O caro dura	_7_ dicit	la
491	la	corpus respondit anime dicens. Iarsin tra frecrais	Iarsin tra frecrais in corp don anmain	ga
492	la	in corp don anmain. _7_ dicit fria. O anima dura	_7_ dicit	la
493	la	in corp don anmain. _7_ dicit fria. O anima dura	fria	ga
494	la	in corp don anmain. _7_ dicit fria. O anima dura	O anima dura	la
495	ga	7 berid mallachtain uada. _7_ dicit in corp frisin	_7_ dicit	la



order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
481	phr	NP	APP	co taitmem na sollsi suthaine	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Alt	Diam	252a66
482	phr	NP	APP	ainm nahaithrigesin isinscriptúir nóib	ga	phr	NP	PRE	Alt	Diam	252b31
483	phr	NP	APP	_i. sera penitentia	la	phr	NP	APP	Alt	Diam	252b31
484	phr	VP	FOR	nachfógnand do neoch a dénum	ga	cl	RC	TRA	Alt	Diam	252b31
485	phr	VP	FOR	conatísad docfhjúmm nime	ga	cl	SC	TRA	Alt	Diam	252b44
486	phr	PP	OBJ	ut dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		252b44
487	cl	MC	TRA	Accusans dicens	la	cl	SC	FOR	Alt		252b53
488	phr	VP	FOR	combói ocimcháined frisín corp	ga	cl	RC	TRA	Alt	Diam	252b53
489	cl	SC	TRA	ut dixit	la	cl	SC	FOR	Alt		252b53
490	phr	VP	FOR	7 corochasáiter tú anosa i fiadnaise na ndriong	ga	cl	CC	TRA	Alt	Diam	252b68
491	cl	MC	TRA	dicens	la	cl	SC	FOR	Alt		253a28
492	phr	VP	FOR	larsín tra frecráis in corp don anmain	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt	Diam	253a28
493	phr	PP	OBJ	_7_ dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		253a28
494	cl	SC	CIT	_7_ dixit fria	ga	cl	CC	FOR	Alt		253a28
495	phr	VP	FOR	7 berid mallachtain uada	ga	cl	CC	TRA	Alt	Diam	253a56

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
496	ga	7 berid mallachtain uada. _7_ dixit in corp frisín	in corp	ga
497	ga	comdáil anmma in fireóin. _7_ dixit fria. O anima	_7_ dixit	la
498	ga	comdáil anmma in fireóin. _7_ dixit fria. O anima	fria	ga
499	ga	anmma in fireóin. _7_ dixit fria. O anima sancta	O anima sancta	la
500	ga	rosairillem. rosaittrebam. in secula seculorum	in secula seculorum	la
501	ga	Fís adomnáin incipit	incipit	la
502	ga	nabriathrasa triasinrig fáith _i._ dauid mac iesé	_i._ dauid mac iesé	la
503	ga	nabriathrasa triasinrig fáith _i._ dauid mac iesé	iesé	ga-la
504	ga	triasinrig fáith _i._ dauid mac iesé conapert	conapert	ga
505	ga	_i._ dauid mac iesé conapert. Magnus dominus	Magnus dominus noster	la
506	ga	7 acairbi on choimdid chumachtach. _7_ dixit fri	_7_ dixit	la
507	ga	chumachtach. _7_ dixit fri haingliu nime. Hanc	fri haingliu nime	ga
508	ga	_7_ dixit fri haingliu nime. Hanc animam multo	Hanc animam multo pecantem	la
509	ga	precept doróine siluestar abb roma do chonsatin	roma	ga-la
510	ga	siluestar abb roma dochonsatin mac helena dorig	helena	ga-la

order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
496	phr	NP	SUBJ	_7_ dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con	Diam	253a56
497	phr	VP	FOR	7 i comdáil anmma in fireóin	ga	cl	CC	TRA	Alt	Diam	253b10
498	phr	PP	OBJ	_7_ dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		253b10
499	d	SC	CIT	_7_ dixit fria	ga	cl	CC	FOR	Alt		253b10
500	phr	PP	FOR	rosairillem. rosaittrebam	ga	phr	VP	FOR	Alt	Diam	253b41
501	phr	VP	FOR	Fis adomáin	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Con		253b44
502	phr	NP	APP	triasinrig fáith	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Alt	Diam	253b56
503	w	N	COM	mac	ga	w	N	NOT	Ins	Diam	253b56
504	phr	VP	FOR	_i_ dauid mac iesé	la	phr	NP	APP	Alt		253b56
505	d	SC	CIT	conapert	ga	cl	SC	FOR	Alt		253b56
506	phr	VP	FOR	7 acairbi on choimdid chumachtach	ga	cl	CC	TRA	Alt	Diam	255a9
507	phr	PP	OBJ	_7_ dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con		255a9
508	d	SC	CIT	_7_ dixit fri haingliu nime	ga	cl	CC	FOR	Alt		255a9
509	w	N	COM	abb	ga	w	N	NOT	Ins	Diam	256a17
510	w	N	COM	mac	ga	w	N	NOT	Ins	Diam	256a17

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
511	ga	nafiredpartsa rotholtnanaig dodia ocabel 7 ocnoe	abel	ga-la
512	ga	nafiredpartsa rotholtnanaig dodia ocabel 7 ocnoe	noe	ga-la
513	ga	rotholtnanaig dodia ocabel 7 ocnoe 7 ocabraham	abraham	ga-la
514	ga	Muir ruad dodlugi. Sruth iordanen do thirmugud	iordanen	ga-la
515	ga	frisimbethaid suthain. ut xpistus dixit. Achtmíne	ut xpistus dixit	la
516	ga	triaáine .i. etrad 7 croes. ut dixit ieronimus faith	ut dixit	la
517	ga	triaáine .i. etrad 7 croes. ut dixit ieronimus faith	faith	ga
518	ga	7 rochairig infáid noem .i. esias iat .i. debtha	_.i._ esias	la
519	ga	tria áine doridnacht diarecht domoysi mac amrai	moysi	ga-la
520	ga	tria áine doridnacht diarecht domoysi mac amrai	amrai	ga-la
521	ga	Istria áine 7 irnaighi in_popuil_ iúdaide rosearad	iúdaide	ga
522	ga	7 irnaighi in_popuil_ iúdaide rosearad ierusalem	ierusalem	la
523	ga	iúdaide rosearad ierusalem inamsir ezechie rí	ezechie	la
524	ga	rosearad ierusalem inamsir ezechie rí iúda	iúda	ga-la
525	ga	Troscaid vero ifeoil eoin baupiaist dogres	vero	la

order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
511	w	N	COM	oc	ga	w	P	NOT	Ins	Diam	257a70
512	w	N	COM	oc	ga	w	P	NOT	Ins	Diam	257a70
513	w	N	COM	oc	ga	w	P	NOT	Ins	Diam	257a70
514	w	N	COM	Sruth	ga	w	N	NOT	Ins	Diam	257b24
515	phr	VP	FOR	triasináinesin etarscarthar nechfrisinmbethaid suthain	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt		258a39
516	phr	VP	FOR	Isead ismó híchthar triaáine .i. etrad 7 croes	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt	Diam	258a53
517	w	N	COM	ieronimus	la	w	N	NOT	Con		258a53
518	phr	NP	APP	infáid noem	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Alt	Diam	258a59
519	w	N	COM	do	ga	w	P	NOT	Ins	Diam	258a74
520	w	N	COM	mac	ga	w	N	NOT	Ins	Diam	258a74
521	w	A	COM	_popuil_	ga-la	w	N	NOT	Con		258a83
522	phr	NP	OBJ	rosærad	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Ins	Diam	258a83
523	w	N	COM	amsir	ga	w	N	COM	Con		258a83
524	w	N	COM	rí	ga	w	N	NOT	Ins	Diam	258a83
525	phr	BP	FOR	Troscad	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Alt?	Diam	259a21

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
526	ga	ISdar sarugud dé 7 patraic vero dacechduine erfais	vero	la
527	ga	slechtain fribáit _7_ magnificat _7_ ben[e]dictus	magnificat	la
528	ga	lanchomairt frihimnum dicat _7_ innum míchil	himnum dicat	la
529	ga	lanchomairt frihimnum dicat _7_ innum míchil	míchil	ga
530	ga	7 ernaiḡthi tra doratad in muireoin [_i._] manda]	_i._ manda	la
531	ga	doratad codaniel onchoimdid iar sanáine dosgní	daniel	ga-la
532	ga	ocbeín phupu nafinemnu. _7_ bácúcc aainmm	_7_ bácúcc	la
533	ga	asinstúrd tened _i._ sétrach. misácc. abdinócc	_i._ sétrach. misácc. abdinócc	la
534	ga	rocuirit lanabudón isintenid. uair naroadairset	nabudón	ga-la
535	ga	Istria aine 7 ernaiḡthi tra rosoerad nabudón rig	nabudón	la
536	ga	rotullit _xu._ bliadna forasoegul doezecias mac	ezeccias	ga-la
537	ga	_xu._ bliadna forasoegul doezecias mac achaiast	achaiast	ga-la
538	ga	forasoegul doezecias mac achaiast rig israel	israel	ga-la
539	ga	derscaigthech fecht nand 7 doratus do ut dixit	ut dixit	la
540	ga	dophéne anosa] ori[n]clerech. _7_ dixit inrig	_7_ dixit	la

order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
526	phr	BP	FOR	dar sarugud dé 7 patraic	ga	phr	PP	ADJ	Alt?	Diam	259a32
527	w	N	COM	_7_	ga-la	w	CR	NOT	Con		259a36
528	w	N	COM	fri	ga	w	P	NOT	Con		259a38
529	w	N	COM	innum	la	w	N	COM	Con		259a38
530	phr	NP	APP	in muireoin	ga	phr	NP	OBJ	Alt	Diam	259a49
531	w	N	COM	co	ga	w	P	NOT	Ins	Diam	259b6
532	phr	NP	APP	nafíemnu	ga	phr	NP	COM	Alt	Diam	259b6
533	phr	NP	APP	natri macu asínsúrnd tened	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Alt	Diam	259b14
534	w	N	COM	la	ga	w	P	NOT	Ins		259b15
535	phr	NP	SUBJ	rosoerad	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Ins		259b16
536	w	N	COM	do	ga	w	P	NOT	Ins	Diam	259b23
537	w	N	COM	mac	ga	w	N	NOT	Ins	Diam	259b23
538	w	N	COM	rig	ga	w	N	NOT	Ins	Diam	259b23
539	phr	VP	FOR	7 doratus do	ga	cl	CC	TRA	Alt	Diam	259b59
540	phr	VP	FOR	Cedon cindus atai ba [truma dophéne anosa]	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Alt	Diam	260a34

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
541	ga	dophéne anosa] ori[n]clerech. _7_ dixit inrig	inrig	ga
542	ga	Críde gloria. Athchomain ninci. Omun dichmairc	gloria	ga-la
543	ga	canair álle glúais t<i>r cloc. asbeir benedic	benedic	la
544	ga	Maith ogabriel. glor cenamredi innacluais	gabriel	ga-la
545	ga	Rig nahamra. fine shamra simon sen. nati riut	simon	ga-la
546	ga	fine shamra simon sen. nati riut a_ihesu	a_ihesu	ga-la
547	ga	Maith gaden. tribus dedit garg angleo. cred	tribus dedit	la
548	ga	Maith gaden. tribus dedit garg angleo. cred	garg angleo	ga
549	ga	Morbarrad _apstal_ alban. ard agraaid. patria	_apstal_	ga-la
550	ga	_apstal_ alban. ard agraaid. patria aingel arbith	patria	la
551	ga	_apstal_ alban. ard agraaid. patria aingel arbith	aingel	ga
552	ga	IMchlod aingel incipit	incipit	la
553	ga	Gabriel geltar gra(a)d Panuhél puirt dé	gabriel	la
554	ga	Gabriel geltar gra(a)d Panuhél puirt dé	Panuhél	la
555	ga	Loricca coluim cilli incipit	coluim cilli	ga



order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
541	phr	NP	SUBJ	dixit	la	phr	VP	FOR	Con	Diam	260a34
542	w	N	COM	Críde	ga	w	N	NOT	Ins		260b83
543	phr	NP	OBJ	asbeir	ga	phr	VP	PRE	Con		262a3
544	w	N	COM	o	ga	w	P	NOT	Ins	Diam	262a36
545	w	N	NOT	fine shamra	ga	w	N	NOT	Ins	Diam	262a52
546	w	N	NOT	simon sen	ga	w	N	NOT	Ins	Diam	262a52
547	phr	VP	PRE	Maith gaden	ga	phr	NP	OBJ	Con		262a68
548	phr	AP	PRE	dedit	la	phr	VP	PRE	Con		262a68
549	w	N	COM	Morbarrad	ga	w	V	NOT	Con	Diam	262a71
550	w	N	COM	agraid	ga	w	N	NOT	Con		262a71
551	w	N	COM	patria	la	w	N	COM	Con		262a71
552	phr	VP	FOR	IMchlod aingel	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Con		262b9
553	phr	NP	SUBJ	Gabriel geltar gra(a)d	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Ins	Diam	262b28
554	phr	NP	SUBJ	Panuhél puirt dé	ga	cl	MC	TRA	Ins	Diam	262b28
555	w	N	COM	Loricca	la	w	N	NOT	Con		262b75

order	sentL	sentText	switchText	Lang
556	ga	Loricca coluim cilli incipit	incipit	la
557	ga	Pais Cristifir in Chonchinn uii. kalende mai	uii. kalende mai	la

order	Nam	Ana	Func	preText	Lang	Nam	Ana	Func	Type	Diam	Folio
556	phr	VP	FOR	Loricca coluim cilli	ga	phr	NP	SUBJ	Con		262b/75
557	phr	NP	FOR	Pais Cristifir in Chonchinn	ga	phr	NP	COM	Alt	Diam	278a/57



Appendix B: Updated catalogue description of the *Leabhar Breac*

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
1 (d) (Vol. I)	(c) 1r; (d) i	A	<i>Páís [I]magine Crist</i>	<i>Araile cathair rigda fl isin Aisia</i>
4 a m – 6	(c) 2v; (d) iii	A	[ <i>Scéla Silvester ocus Constantín</i> ] [History of Pope Silvester]	<i>Silvestar tra espoc firen foithmech he ... o atchuata tra in ri sin ~ otchonnaire na</i>
7 a incl.	(c) 4r; (d) vii	A	[On the meeting of the monks Paphnutius and Onophrius]	<i>... fort ~ rosia clú do chrabuid fón uile doman</i>
7 b	(c) 4r; (d) vii	A	[ <i>Páís Marcellínus</i> ] [Passion of Marcellinus]	<i>O atchuata tra Dioclíam in t-impír clu crabuid ~ ecna ~ cretmi in abbad Pasmute</i>
9 b 12 incl.	(c) 5r; (d) viiii	A	[ <i>Riagail na Céle nDé</i> ] [Rule of the Céli Dé]	<i>Incipit riagail na celed nDe. O Moel Ruain cc. Biath próintige ~ magnificat</i>

Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
1 (d) (Vol. I)	Passion	LFF ii 25 (14) ra Laud 610 f.11b-14a	Atkinson 1887:41-8 Atkinson 1887:49-54 Dotfin 1913 ii:88-91 Plummer 1925 #360 Kenney 1929 I:740n.	Irish	Latin loans cf. 160a, 280b!
4 a m - 6	History	BLE f.12a FCB f.112v c.1 Laud 610 f.25r Egerton 92	Atkinson 1887:55 Plummer 1925 #334 Kenney 1929	Irish	atelous
7 a incl.	History	BLE f.62b c.2 FCB f.112v c.1 Laud 610 f.25 Egerton 92	Atkinson 1887:56-9 Plummer 1925 #334	Irish	acephalous
7 b	Passion	YBL c.224 [p.408], c.227 [p.410], c.344 [p.330], c.802 [p.136] cf. RIA 3 B 23, Brux. 2324-40	Reeves 1873:119ff. Stokes 1877 Gwynn 1927 Kenney 1929 §472-3 Follett 2006:114-7	Irish	Prose version of verse original; cf. 260b38-52
9 b 12 incl.	Regula			Irish	

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
<b>11 b</b>	(c) 6r; (d) xi	A	<b>Ríagail Phátraic</b> [Rule of Patrick]	<i>Soerad eclaisi de. combathis</i> 7 comma 7 gabail necnairce
12 b 29	(c) 6v; (d) xii	A	Fland Fina. <i>Mairg do duine caras</i> <i>duine</i>	<i>Mairg do duine caras duine</i>
13 a – 23 b 13 incl.	(c) 7r; (d) xiii	B	Genealogical tract on the Irish Saints, beg. with pedigree of Christ, the Virgin Mary and St. Patrick	<i>Cristus filius Ioseph .i. custos</i> <i>Marie</i>
23 a 5 (cf. supra)	(c) 11r; (d) xxiii	B	List of those who held office in Patrick's household	
23 b 13	(c) 11r; (d) xxiii	B	Litany of the Irish Saints	<i>Tri .i. curcha do ailithrib</i>



Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
<b>11 b</b>	Regula	Lismore f.81vb TCD 1336 YBL c.232 Add. 30512 f.19 TCD 1363 p.87 RIA 23 N 27 f.17v	Stokes 1890:135 O'Keefe 1904:216-24 Sharpe 1984:230-70 Kelly 2002:284-95 Breatnach 2005:266 Follett 2006:142-3	Irish	longest version
12 b 29	Moral prose		Hull 1929:95-105	Irish	
13 a – 23 b 13 incl.	Genealogy		Plummer 1925 #187	Latin	incl. tabula p.23 a 5
23 a 5 (cf. supra)	Tabula		Book of Ballymote [RIA 23 P 12], 215re	Irish	cf. 13a; cf. 220 b <i>f</i>
23 b 13	Litany			Irish	

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
24 b	(c) 11v; (d) xxiii	B	[ <i>Bethu Phátraic</i> ] [Life of Patrick]	[ <i>Populus qui sedebat in tenebris uidit lucem magnam</i> ]

Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
24 b	Passion/Homily	FCB f.74r c.1 (acephalous) LFF i 29(80)ra m. Book Lismore f.1 RawlinsonB512 f.5 Brux. 2324-40 f.13 RIA 24 P 25 p.91 King's Inns 10 f.17 Egerton 93 f.1 TCD 1285 f.95v TCD 1337 p.520 RIA C iv 3 p.233 RIA 23 A 15 p.323	Stokes 1877, 1887 Hogan 1894:1 Mulchrone 1927:1 ff., 1939 Kenney 1929:342-5 Mac Neill 1932:1-41 Jackson 1986:5-45 Dumville 1993:255-8 Howlett 1998:1-23 Bronner 2005:1-12	Latin/Irish	Is 9:2 (Stokes 1875) Vita Tripartita - shorter version c.900; Homily (Stokes) 11C

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
29 b <i>i</i> incl.	(c) 15r; (d) xxviii	B	Betha Colum Cille	<i>Exii de terra tua et de cognatione tua</i>
32a	(c) 16v; (d) xxxii	B	Colum Cille. <i>Is aire charaim Doire</i>	<i>Isaire charaim doire. araredi arag[loine.] arislomnan ainigel find. onchind comice aroile.</i>
34 a incl.	(c) 17v; (d) xxxiii	C	Césad S[le]paim incipit	<i>In mundo pressuram habeb[is]</i> <i>Do faillsiugud a chuirp so sis amal ro faillsig in Coimdiu di aroli fir noem</i>
34 b <i>m</i>	(c) 17v; (d) xxxiii	C	Cesad Çephain <i>inisin anuas</i>	

Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
29 b <i>i incl.</i>	Passion/Homily	BLE f.22 FCB f.53r c.1 RIA 24 P 25 p.71 Book Lismore f.7v King's Inns 10 f.21 NLS Adv. XL p.13	Stokes 1877:20-33 Hennessy 1887:467 Hogan 1894:110 Plummer 1925 #26 Grosjean1927-8:111 Kenney 1929:433-4 Grosjean1929-31:84 Herbert 1988:217-88	<b>Latin/Irish</b>	Gn 12:1 (Stokes 1875) First Irish Life
32a	Verse	Book of Lismore	Stokes 1877:89:125 Stokes 1890:27 Murphy 1956:68-9 Atkinson 1887:81-2 Plummer 1925:171	<b>Irish</b>	1 q. Ioh 16:33 (Stokes 1875)
34 a <i>incl.</i>	Homily		McNamara 1975:81 Atkinson 1887:82-6 Plummer 1925:171 McNamara 1975	<b>Latin/Irish</b>	begin and end Latin!
34 b <i>m</i>	Homily			<b>Latin/Irish</b>	begin and end Latin!

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
35 b	(c) 18r; (d) xxxv	C	<i>Sermo ad reges</i>	<i>Cum placuerint Domino irae homini, inimicos eius convertet ad pacem</i>
40 a m	(c) 20v; (d) xl	C	<i>Domnach na himirne</i> [Homily on Riding [Palm] Sunday]	<i>[Et] cum apropinquassent Ierusalymis et venissent Bethfage ad montem Oliveti</i>
44 a	(c) 22v; (d) xliiii	C	<i>Cédain in Braith</i> [Homily on Fasting/Spy [not Ash] Wednesday]	<i>Cum autem, ieiunatis nolite fieri sicut hipocritae tristes</i>
45 a	(c) 23r; (d) xlv	C	<i>De ieiunio Domini in deserto incipit et de temptationibus cibus diabolus eum</i> <i>temptaverat</i> [Homily on the Temptation]	<i>Tunc Iesus ductus est in desertum a Spiritu</i>

Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
35 b	Homily	vs. YBL c.863-9 vs. BLE f.11 vs. FCB f.7v c.1, FCB 22r abridged	Atkinson 1887:151-62 Miles 2014:141-56	<b>Latin/Irish</b>	Prv 16:7 (Stokes 1875)
40 a m	Homily		Atkinson 1887:163-71 Stokes 1873 Atkinson 1887:171-2 Mac Donncha 1972 Tristram 1985 McNamara 2000 McLaughlin 2010	<b>Latin/Irish</b> <b>(Lat. om)</b>	Mt 21:1 (Stokes 1875)
44 a	Homily	cf. Lambeth PL 119		<b>Latin/Irish</b> <b>(Lat. om)</b>	Mt 6:16 (Stokes 1875)
45 a	Homily		Atkinson 1887:172-81	<b>Latin/Irish</b>	Mt 4:1 (Stokes 1875) Latin loans

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
48 b	(c) 24v; (d) xlviij	C	<i>In cena Domini</i> [Homily on the Lord's Supper]	<i>Prima autem die Azimorum accesserunt discipuli ad Iesum dicentes</i>
52 b	(c) 26v	C	<i>De die Pentecostes</i> [Homily on the Day of Pentecost]	[ <i>C</i> ]um complerentur dies Pentecostes erant omnes apostoli pariter in eodem loco
56 a – 59 a	(c) 112v	D	<i>Imadibe Crist. indara baitsed incipit</i> [Homily ut on the Circumcision]	<i>Postquam consummati sunt dies octa circumcideretur puer</i>
59 a 16	(b) 3; (c) 114r	D	<i>Incipit de virtute Sancti Martain</i> [Life of St. Martin of Tours]	<i>Nemo potest duobus dominis servire</i>



Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
48 b	Homily	cf. FCB 109r c.1 vs. BLE	Atkinson 1887:181-90 Rittmueller 1982-84	<b>Latin/Irish</b> (Lat. om)	Mt 26:17(Stokes 1875)
52 b	Homily		Atkinson 1887:190-98	<b>Latin/Irish</b> (Lat. om)	Acts 2:1-13 (Bernard)
56 a – 59 a	Homily		Atkinson 1887:198-201 Mac Donncha 1984 Stokes 1873-5:381 Hogan 1894:87 Gwynn 1913:377	<b>Latin/Irish</b> (Lat. om) <b>Latin CS</b>	Lc 2:21 (Stokes 1875)
59 a 16	Passion/Homily	King's Inn 10 Egerton 91 f.44b cf. TCD 241	Plummer 1925 #336 Spencer 1993 Hewish 2008	<b>Latin/Irish</b>	Mt 6:24; 13C (Stokes 1875); cf. Book of Armagh (Latin; 9C) cf. Sulpicius Severus, Vita/Virtutibus Martini

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
61 b (c)	(b) 5; (c) 115r	D	<i>Betha Brigte</i> [Life of St. Brigid]	<i>Hii sunt qui sequuntur Agrum</i>
66 b	(b) 10; (c) 117v	D	Homily on Charity	<i>Omnia ergo quequaque uultis ut faciant uobis homines ita et uos facite illis</i>

Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
61 b (c)	Passion/Homily	BLE f.58; FCB f.76v c.2; Rawlinson B 512 f.31-35b Book Lismore f.11 RIA 23 L 33 f.1 RIA 23 P 2 f.166c Bruxelles 2324-40 Bruxelles 5100-4 King's Inns 10 f.20 King's Inns 14 f.3 FCB 16v c.2; cf. 101r c.1 [cit. Mt 7:13] King's Inns 10 Book of Lismore RIA 23 Q 10	Stokes 1876-8:443-4 Stokes 1877:50 Stokes 1890:34-53 Hogan 1894:65 Meyer 1918:293-4 Plummer 1925 #11 Spencer 1993	<b>Latin/Irish</b>	Rv 14:4 (Stokes 1875) cf. Book of Lismore! (Stokes 1890 Lives) First Irish Life; cf. Sermo Innocentibus; 11-12C
66 b	Homily		Atkinson 1887:202-6 Stokes 1890:34	<b>Latin/Irish</b>	Mt 7:12 (Stokes 1875) cf. Book of Lismore! cf. Vita Ciarán cf. Golden Rule

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
68 b 50 – 72 a 60	(b) 12; (c) 118v	D	<i>Don almsain incipit</i> [Homily on Almsgiving]	<i>Cum ergo facies elimoisinam noli tuba canere ante te</i> <i>Milia milium ministrabant ei et decies milites et centena milia astabant ei</i>
72 a	(b) 16; (c) 120v cf. 201a	D	Homily on the Archangel Michael	
74 a 7	(b) 18; (c) 121v	D	Colcu Úa Duinechda. [ <i>Sctiap Chrábaid</i> ] Litany of Mary (Litany of the Virgin)	<i>A Muire mor. A Muire as mo dona Muirib</i>

Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
68 b 50 – 72 a 60	Homily	RIA 3 B 23 Laud 610 NLI G 10 cf. FCB, cf. LFF? cf. Lambeth PL 119	Atkinson 1887:207-13 McLaughlin 2012	<b>Latin/Irish</b>	Mt 6:2 (Stokes 1875) elimoisinam !
72 a	Homily	YBL c.869 l.19 [p.169]; cf. FCB 105v c.2?	Atkinson 1887:213-19	<b>Latin/Irish</b> ( <b>Lat. om</b> )	Dn 7:10 (Stokes 1875) different scribe
74 a 7	Litany	YBL c.336 l.17, c.338 l.4, p.154 BLE f.67 cf. RIA 3B22 RIA 23B3 RIA 24P1 King's Inns 10 Brux. 2324-40 71a Brux.4190-200 f.212 Brux. 5100-4 p.9 Rawl. B 512 p.41b	O'Curry 1861:614 O'Curry 1865:4 Malone 1880 i 113 Malone 1880 ii 269 Grene 1880 Stokes 1887 Meyer 1900-1:92 Plummer 1925 O'Sullivan 2010:26	<b>Irish</b>	

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
<b>74 b</b>	(b) 18; (c) 121v	D	<b>Litany of Jesus II</b>	<i>Aísu noem. Acara coem</i> <i>Ateoch frtt indahuili forcedlaig,</i> <i>forphti rofglaindsetar</i> <i>ins,ans spirutalta imonda</i>
<b>74 c</b>	(b) 18; (c) 121v	D	<b>Litany of Jesus I</b>	<i>ERchis dín adé uli cumachtaig. Adé</i> <i>naslóg. Adé uas<sup>air</sup></i> <i>A tígerna indomain.</i>
<b>74 d</b>	(b) 18; (c) 121v	D	<b>Litany of the Trinity</b>	
<b>75 a incl.</b>	( <u>not b</u> ); (c) 28r	E	Óengus of Tallacht. [ <i>Féire Óengusso Céli</i> <i>De</i> ] <i>Cethardai condagar da cech elathain .i.</i> <i>locc ~ ainser ~ persa ~ fáith airicc</i>	<i>Sén, a Christ, mo labrai</i>

Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
<b>74 b</b>	Litany		Plummer 1925	<b>Irish</b>	
<b>74 c</b>	Litany		Plummer 1925	<b>Irish</b>	
<b>74 d</b>	Litany	cf. YBL c.839 l.19 [p.327] Rawl. B 505 f.211r Rawl. B 512 f.53v RIA 23 P 3 f.1r Laud misc.610 f.59 RIA G 10 p.20 Brux. 5100-4 f.68r Egerton 88 f.88 TCD 1337 p.616b cf. UCD A 7	Plummer 1925 O'Curry 1861:634 MacCarthy 1866-7 Stokes 1880, 1881-3, 1883-5:273, 1905 Thurneysen 1908:6 Hennig 1955:227-33, 1970:45, 1975:119-59 Schneiders 1988:38-59, 1995:157-69 Dumville 2002:19-48	<b>Irish</b>	
75 a incl.	Martyrology			<b>Irish/Latin</b>	

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
79	(c) 30r	E	<i>Ísucán. [Íte ... co táinic Críst cuicce i r-richt noíden, comid ann as-berf-sí]</i>	<i>[Ísucán alar lium im dísiurtán; cía beith cléirech co lín sét, is bréc uile acht Ísucán.]</i>
90	(c) 35v	E	<b>[Mo Ling dixit]</b> <i>Tan bím eter mo shrúithe</i> <b>[All things to all men]</b>	<i>[Tan bím eter mo srúithe. am teist ergaire cluiche; tan bím eter i n-áes mer. do-muinet is mé a n-óiser.]</i>
106 b m	(c) 43v	F	On the author of the Féilire	<i>Aibínd suide sund amne</i>
106 b i	(c) 43v	F	<i>Cuic adnaicthi ní mod mend</i>	<i>Cuic adnaicthi ní mod mend</i> <i>Et factum est post dies sex assupsit Iesus Petrum ~</i> <i>Iacobum ~ Iohannem</i>
107 a	(c) 44r	F	<i>[Don tá]mchrutla inso</i> [Homily on the Transfiguration]	



Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
<b>79</b>	Verse	Laud misc.610 f.61 UCD A 7 f.7ra RIA 23 P 3 f.12v cf.Brux.5100-4 p.80	Murphy 1956:26-9 Ó Conghaile 1964 Greene 1967:102-3 Quin 1981:39-52	<b>Irish</b>	c.900?
<b>90</b>	Verse	Laud misc.610 f.1a UCD A 7 p.47b15	Stokes 1880 Murphy 1956:32-3	<b>Irish</b>	10C (Murphy)
106 b m	Verse	Brux. 5100-4 f.68r cf. Laud misc.610	Stokes 1883:339-80 Stokes 1905:2-15 Flower 1916:150-4	Irish	13 qq.; blank <i>olim</i> ?
106 b i	Verse			Irish	7 qq.
107 a	Homily	cf. Cambrai Homily?		<b>Latin/Irish</b>	Mt 17:1 (Stokes 1875)

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
107 b 57	(c) 44r	F	<i>Incipit donaitirige inso</i> [Homily on Penitence]	<i>Cia cethna ro forchan aithrige do denam for tús?</i>
108 a 57 – 108 b 29 incl.	(c) 44v	F	Tract on the colours of the Chasuble	<i>Cachttt Cia lasa tucait na datha examla ucut isin cochull n-offrind hi tús?</i>
108 b m (cf. supra)	(c) 44v	F	Diarmait mac Moil Brenaind [Of the colours of the Chasuble]	<i>Ceist. In cuala cia da ndual</i>
108 b i	(c) 44v	F	<i>Dondchaad Mór</i>	<i>Breen Enaig innmhain cách</i>
109 a – 150 b i incl.	(a) 1; (c) 45r	G	Biblical tract	<i>Dorigne Dia imorro in rigthech uachtarach</i>
109 a (cf. supra) incl.	(a) 1; (c) 45r	G	On the creation and the Fall of Adam	
111 b 35 (cf. supra 2)	(a) 3; (c) 46r	G	[Airbertach mac Cosse Dobráin] [ <i>Saltair na Rann</i> ]	<i>Rig roraidd erim nglan</i>

Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
107 b 57	Moral Prose	FCB 104v c.1 LFF i 36(91) vb m. LFF ii 41rb vs. RIA 23 Q 10 vs. RIA 24 P 1	Atkinson 1887:220-22	Irish	Cf. Irish penitential
108 a 57 – 108 b 29 incl.	Moral Prose		O'Curry 1861 Stokes 1887	Irish	
108 b <i>m</i> (cf. supra)	Verse			Irish	16 qq.
108 b <i>i</i>	Verse [Lyrical]		Meyer 1894:64	Irish	4 qq. damaged;
109 a – 150 b <i>i</i> incl.	Religious History			Irish	outer leaf <b><i>olim</i></b> damaged;
109 a (cf. supra) incl.	Religious History		MacCarthy 1892:25	Irish	outer leaf <b><i>olim</i></b> damaged;
111 b 35 (cf. supra 2)	Verse	Rawl. B 502 f.19 RIA 24 P 27 p.1	Stokes 1883:31-2 Greene 1976 Greene 2007	Irish	7 qq.

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
113 a 37 (cf. supra) incl.	(a) 5; (c) 47r	G	On the history of the children of Israel	<i>Incipit do stair Chloinde Israel in so siss amal atbeir in scriptuir</i>
123 a (cf. supra 2)	(a) 15; (c) 52r	G	On the Covenant of the Lord with the children of Israel	<i>Tinna Dé do Claimm Israel</i>
124a (cf. supra 2)	(a) 16; (c) 52v	G	On the Ark of the Covenant	<i>Aichnid dam cech merci mor</i>
132 a <i>m</i> (cf. supra) incl.	(a) 24; (c) 56v	H	On the Birth of Christ	<i>Ochtauin Augustus ha hairdrig in domain in tan rogenair</i> <i>Crist</i>
133 a (cf. supra 2)	(a) 25; (c) 57r	H	On the seventeen wonders of the world on the night Christ was born	<i>Do secht n-ingantaib déc in domain in adaig rogenir Crist</i>
133 b (cf. supra 2)	(a) 25; (c) 57r	H	On the three gospels read on the night Christ was born	<i>Incipit do scealab na Soscel in so</i>
135 b <i>m</i> (cf. supra 2)	(a) 27; (c) 58r	H	Oration of Joseph	<i>Indiu tanic isin domun</i>
136 a (cf. supra 2)	(a) 28; (c) 58v	H	On the shepherds of Bethlem	<i>Do scealab na mBuachalla in so</i>
137 a <i>m</i> (cf. supra 2)	(a) 29; (c) 59r	H	On the Wise Men	<i>Incipit do scealab na nDruad</i>

Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
113 a 37 (cf. supra) incl.	Religious History			Irish	
123 a (cf. supra 2)	Religious History			Irish	
124a (cf. supra 2)	Verse			Irish	14 qq.
132 a <i>m</i> (cf. supra) incl.	Religious History		Flower 1926-53:534 Herbert et al. 2001	Irish	
133 a (cf. supra 2)	Religious History		McNamara 2002	Irish	
133 b (cf. supra 2)	Religious History		Hogan 1895 II:33 Kenney 1929	Irish	11C (Kenney 1929)
135 b <i>m</i> (cf. supra 2)	Religious History		Stokes 1887:346	Irish	
136 a (cf. supra 2)	Religious History		Hogan 1895 II:62 Stokes 1887:346	Irish	
137 a <i>m</i> (cf. supra 2)	Religious History		Hogan 1895 II:59	Irish	

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
139 b <i>m</i> (cf. supra 2)	(a) 31; (c) 60r	H	On the Massacre of the Innocents	<i>Oided na Macraide in so</i>
141 b <i>m</i> (cf. supra 2)	(a) 33; (c) 61r	H	On the Flight into Egypt	
142 b <i>m</i> (cf. supra 2)	(a) 34; (c) 61v	H	On the death of Herod	
144 a <i>m</i> (cf. supra 2)	(a) 36; (c) 62v	H	On the death of Zacharias	<i>Oided Zacarias .i. athair Eoin</i> <i>Baaptaist</i> <i>Baithis Isu i Sruth Iordamen ... Ocus</i> <i>is ann so bud oided</i> <i>Hiruaid d'fhaisneis</i> <i>Airecc na n-aspal amal</i> <i>rogairmit dochum n-irse in so</i> <i>Do airem Muinntire Crist in so... Ar</i> <i>scél bunaid innossa uair tanic scél</i> <i>Eugair etraind ~ se</i> <i>Iar cur tra Eoin Baupstist hi</i> <i>carrair</i>
144 b <i>m</i> (cf. supra 2)	(a) 36; (c) 62v	H	On the Baptism of Christ	
145 a (cf. supra 2)	(a) 37; (c) 63r	I	On the Apostles	
146 b <i>m</i> (cf. supra 2)	(a) 38; (c) 63v	I	On the Household of Christ. Foll. (interr.) by account of Éuagair	
147 b <i>m</i> (cf. supra 2)	(a) 39; (c) 64r	I	<i>Cetprocept Isu sund</i>	

Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
139 b <i>m</i> (cf. supra 2)	Religious History		Meyer 1891:69-108	Irish	
141 b <i>m</i> (cf. supra 2)	Religious History		Hogan 1895 II:74	Irish	
142 b <i>m</i> (cf. supra 2)	Religious History			Irish	
144 a <i>m</i> (cf. supra 2)	Religious History			Irish	
144 b <i>m</i> (cf. supra 2)	Religious History			Irish	MII
145 a (cf. supra 2)	Religious History			Irish	
146 b <i>m</i> (cf. supra 2)	Religious History		Stokes 1891	Irish	variant version 147 b; cf. 78 <i>i</i>
147 b <i>m</i> (cf. supra 2)	Religious History		Poppe 2013, 2014	Irish	

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
150 b i	(a) 42; (c) 65v	I	<i>Dígal Fola Crist</i> [Adamnán] Account of the Holy Places of Tír na nÓg in so tuarascbala na locc the East, according to Bede, <i>De locis sanctis</i>	<i>Da bliadhain .xl. uero batar na Hiudaide a morfoirpairt cruid ~ bid ~ claimni</i>
157 b m – 159 b m	(a) 49; (c) 69r	I		<i>noem fileit isin domun airtherach</i>
160 incl.	(a) 52; (c) 70v	I	<i>Pasio Domini Nostri Iesu Cristi; Pais in Choirmed sund secundum Mathaeum</i> <i>In ernail tanaise for pais in choirmed sund secundum Mathaeum</i>	<i>Isin nonnad bliadain déc do flaith Tibit Césair</i>
163 b 19	(a) 56; (c) 72v	J		<i>Roscaith do ihesu conapstalaib</i>



Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
150 b <i>i</i>	Religious History	Book Fermoy f.44r	Lambert forthcom.	Irish	
157 b <i>m</i> – 159 b <i>m</i>	Religious History	Rawl.Laud 610f.27 YBL c.812, p.141 cf. FCB f.45? LFF ii 25(14)ra Egerton 1781 RIA 24 P 25 King's Inns 10	Hull 1928:225-40	Irish	dep. De locis sanctis rest 159 b blank
160 incl.	Religious History	Rawlinson B 512	Atkinson 1887:113-43 Mac Donncha 1986	Irish	Latin quotes; homily c.1200 lacks exordium; cf. Gospel Nicodemus
<b>163 b 19</b>	Homily		Atkinson 1887:124	<b>Latin/Irish</b>	

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
169 b 39 – 170 b	(a) 61; (c) 75r	J	Homily on Good Friday	<i>Doronad grím n-adbul ndiasnesi i comairm in lathisi indiu</i>
170 a 21	(a) 62; (c) 75v cf. 160a, 194a	J	Homily on the Resurrection incl. Homily on incredulity of Thomas; incl. Christ's descent into Hades/Harrowing Hell	<i>Ero mors tua o mors 7 morsus tuus, o inferne</i>
172 b m	(a) 64; (c) 76v	J	<i>Pais Petair ~ Póil</i>	<i>Beati persecutionem patiuntur</i>
175 b	(a) 67; (c) 78r	J	<i>Pais Partoloin</i>	<i>Luid Partholon apstal do forcetul isin India</i>
177 a i	(a) 69; (c) 79r	J	<i>Pais Iacoip apstail</i>	<i>Luid Iacop mor mac Zepedei .i. brathair Eoin apstail</i>

Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
169 b 39 – 170 b	Homily	cf. YBL c.823	McNamara 2000:443	<b>Latin/Irish</b>	part 170 a blank incomplete; incl. Gospel Nicodemus: Mt 26:66ff.
170 a 21	Homily	cf. LFF i 23 va i.? King's Inns 10 cf. LU 34a?	Atkinson 1887:143 McNamara 1994	<b>Latin/Irish</b>	cf. Passio Domini 160 =Low Sunday =Octave of Easter
172 b m	Passion	BLE f.14 LFF ii 22(24) va m. RIA 24 P 1	Atkinson 1887:86-95 Plummer 1925:171 McNamara 1975	<b>Latin/Irish</b>	part 170 a blank
175 b	Passion	LFF i 31(82) va m. RIA 24 P 1 p.60b	Atkinson 1887:95-101 Plummer 1925:257 McNamara 1975	Irish	begin and end Latin!
177 a i	Passion	RIA 24 P 1	Atkinson 1887:102-6 Plummer 1925:171 McNamara 1975:94	Irish	

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
178 b m	(a) 70; (c) 79v	J	<i>Pais Andrias</i>	<i>Dia mboi ingreim mor forsna aspalaib</i>
179 b i	(a) 71; (c) 80r	J	<i>Pais Pilip apstail</i>	<i>Bui Pilip apstal da .xx. bliadhan oc sermoim</i>
180 b 44 – 181 a m	(a) 72; (c) 80v	J	On the pedigrees and manner of death, etc., of the Apostles	<i>Incipit do bungeneilaig na n-apstal</i>
181 b	(a) 73; (c) 81r	J	On the manner and death, etc., of the Prophets	<i>Imraitir didu sínd do aitedaib na primfátha ~ don lucht fo n-epletar ~ dona lloccaib in rohadnaicít</i>
181 b m	(a) 73; (c) 81r	J	<i>Sécht .I.at uide co mbrig. Preceded prose section subject poem</i>	<i>Cestnaighthir didu beos hi sund cia lín uide boi do maccu Israel o Babiloim co Hierusalem</i>

Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
178 b <i>m</i>	Passion	LFF i 30(81) va m. RIA 24 P 1 p.70b	Atkinson 1887:106-10 Plummer 1925:256 McNamara 1975:91	Irish	
179 b <i>i</i>	Passion	LFF i 31(82) rb m. YBL c.247 [p.420] LFF ii 24(26) vb m. cf. Harley 1802 f.9b	Atkinson 1887:110-3 Plummer 1925:171 McNamara 1975	Irish	mended before written
180 b 44 – 181 a <i>m</i>	Religious History	cf. Egerton 92?	Stokes 1888:364	Irish	rest 181 a blank
181 b	Religious History			Irish	
181 b <i>m</i>	Verse	cf. Rawlinson B512	Meyer 1899:17	<b>Latin/Irish</b>	6 qq.

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
181 b 46	(a) 73; (c) 81r	J	<i>Páis Longfuis</i>	<i>Dia mbui Crist hi croich la hludaigib dodechaid oen do na mileda boi ocin crochudh</i>
183 a m – 184 b i	(a) 75; (c) 82r	J	<i>Procept na Machaabdai</i>	<i>Viriliter agite ~ confortetur cor uestrum omnes qui speratis in Domino</i>
185 – 186 incl.	(not a); (c) 83r	K	[Poems, sayings]	
185 a	(not a); (c) 83r	K	<i>Mac do Dia, macc do Muire</i>	<i>Mac do Dia, macc do Muire</i>
185 b	(not a); (c) 83r	K	<i>Mathán didu duine dil</i>	<i>Mathán didu duine dil</i>
185 b m	(not a); (c) 83r	K	Some sayings attributed to Gregorius and Augustine	<i>Is ann dobeir tu a mbi agat do Dia in tam dobeir tu fén dó</i>
185 b i	(not a); (c) 83r	K	<i>A coland, is cui[mh]neanthac thfherg</i>	<i>A coland, is cui[mh]neanthac thfherg</i>
186	(not a); (c) 83v	K	<i>Cumtach labras in lon sa</i>	<i>Cumtach labras in lon sa</i>

Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
181 b 46	Passion	BLE f.13 FCB f.42v c.2 Egerton 136 p.85 King's Inns 10	Atkinson 1887:60-4 McNamara 1975:81 Atkinson 1887:222-7 Hewish 2003 McLaughlin forthcom	Irish	10C
183 a <i>m</i> – 184 b <i>i</i>	Homily	cf. RIA 3 B 23	Gwynn 1914:121 not added: original	<b>Latin/Irish</b>	fragm. atelous: chasm Latin loans
185 – 186 incl.					smaller folios
185 a	Verse			Irish	blank <i>olim</i>
185 b	Verse			Irish	41 qq.
185 b <i>m</i>	Religious History			Irish	7 qq.
185 b <i>i</i>	Verse			Irish	6 qq.
186	Verse [Lyrical]		Meyer 1890:42-3	Irish	8 qq.

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
186 [a] m	(not a); (c) 83v	K	Homily on Luxoria	<i>Luxoria tra iss ed ainm ina dualcha tanaisi marbas ainmain duine</i>
186 b marg. sup.	(not a); (c) 83v	K	<i>Cet molt le trichait mart mban</i>	<i>Cet molt le trichait mart mban</i>
187 [a] – 187 b m incl.	(a) 77; (c) 84r	K	<i>Scél na Samna</i> [Notes on Samain [All-Hallows]]	<i>... inmaine o roforbair in cretem Cristaide</i>
<b>187 b 12</b>	(a) 77; (c) 84r	K	<i>Dont samain beos. Feria omnium sanctorum</i>	<i>Ise fáth aranabar feria omnium sanctorum frinsamain</i>
187 b 43	(a) 77; (c) 84r	K	<i>Pais Eoin Bauphist</i>	<i>Bui aroile fer angid etróccar i n-Ierusalem</i>



Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
186 [a] <i>m</i>	Religious Prose	cf. Rawlinson B512 RIA 3 B 23, 23 P 3 Book of Lismore NLI G 10	Gwynn 1914:121	Irish	7 ll., another hand; rest 186 a blank (fr.)
186 b <i>marg. sup.</i>	Verse	FCB f.15 b.2 Book of Lismore, 67a1; TCD 1.285 BL Add. 30512		Irish	1 q.; <i>marg. sup.</i> rest 186 b blank
187 [a] – 187 b <i>m</i> incl.	Religious Prose		cf. Windisch 1884 II? O'Neill (1911):57, 61 Nugent (2010):66-8	<b>Latin/Irish</b>	<b>Latin/Irish</b> acephalous
<b>187 b 12</b>	Religious Prose	YBL c.849, p.159; vs. 8071.8 p.138 vs. BLE f.46, 48b cf. LFF i 33(88) vb King's Inns 10 NLS Adv. I p.14 vs. BL Add. 30512	Atkinson 1887:64-8 Müller 1923:150 Plummer 1925:261 McNamara 1975:64	<b>Latin/Irish</b>	
187 b 43	Passion			(Irish)	

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
189 <i>m</i>	(a) 79; (c) 85r	K	<i>Páís in Morfesir ro chotail i nEiffis, etc.</i>	<i>Buí rig croda anniseirc fòrsin domun fecht n-aill</i>
190 <i>b</i>	(a) 80; (c) 85v	K	<i>Páís Georgi</i> Homily on the Resurrection of Christ [resumation of the Biblical narrative]	<i>Pretiosa est in conspectu Domini more sanctorum eius</i> [Et] post dies octo hiterum erunt discipuli eius intus ~ <i>Tomas cum eis</i>
194	(a) 84; (c) 87v	K		<i>Arroet Ioseph inni Nœem Muire dia coimet iar comairle in aingil fo annum chomaime</i> A <i>athair nua namdasa</i>
198 <i>a m</i>	(a) 88; (c) 89v	K	<i>Epifania Domini</i>	
200 <i>b</i> 15 – 201 <i>i</i>	(not a); (c) 90v	K	Baothgalach Mor Duna Daigre Continuation and colophon	
201 <i>i</i>	(a) 89; (c) 91r	K	Baothgalach Mor Duna Daigre	

Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
189 <i>m</i>	Passion	BLE f.32b FCB f.56v c.2 (atelous) vs. BLE f.11 [B] vs. FCB f.38r c.2 LFF ii 44(95)ra [C] Book Fermoy f.38 [B]; cf. NLI G 9	Atkinson 1887:68-71  Atkinson 1887:71-81 Plummer 1925:259 Haubrichs 1979 Haubrichs 2002:170	(Irish)	
190 b	Passion			Irish	begin and end Latin gloss CS; version A
194	Homily	cf. FCB 21r c.1 cf. LU 34a?	Atkinson 1887:227-34 MacCarthy 1864- Atkinson 1887:234-40 Stokes 1888:27 Malone 1880 II 343 d'Aughton 2003:471	<b>Latin/Irish</b>	hocta hiterum Tomas [Octave of] Easter
198 a <i>m</i>	Homily?			<b>Latin/Irish</b>	gloss CS
200 b 15 – 201 i	Verse			Irish	15 qq. blank <i>olim</i>
201 i				Irish	blank <i>olim</i>

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
201 a 1	(a) 89; (c) 91r cf. 253b	K	Homily on St. Michael [Homily on the Epiphany]	<i>Angelis suis mandavit de te Deus ut custodiant te in omnibus uis tuis</i>
202 b 25 – 204 b i	(a) 90; (c) 91v	K	[ <i>Cain Domnaig</i> ] <i>Epistil Ísu</i>	<i>intinscana epistil int Shlanicceda</i>
205 – 213 a m	(c) 94r	L	History of Philip and Alexander the Great	<i>... airechaib ~ cathmiledaib oc inguin</i>

Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
201 a 1	Homily	YBL c.869.9/p.169 FCB f.105v c.1 YBL c.217 [p.405], c.957 l.12 [p.214] LFF ii 34(45) va m. Rawlinson B 512 Bruxelles 2324-40 RIA 23N10, 24P25 NLS Adv. 40 p.71 BL Harley 5280f.36	Atkinson 1887:240-44 Meyer 1901:228 O'Keefe 1905:189 O'Keefe 1910:21 Kenney 1929 § 270 Borsje 1994 Herbert 1997:60-9 Breatnach 2005:207 Meyer 1884 Meyer 1887:1-108 Peters 1967	<b>Latin/Irish</b>	cusdodibus cf. Scéla Láí Brátha
202 b 25 – 204 b i	Religious History			Irish	cf. Wulfstan hom.xliv-v; atelus: endleaf <i>olim</i> ? incompl.: filler? c.8C?
205 – 213 a m	History			Irish	acephalous and defective: chasm

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
213 a m – 219 b i	(c) 97r	L	<i>Aislinge Meic Conglinne</i>	<i>Cethardai as cuintesta da cach elathain</i>
220	(c) 99v	L	On the date of Patrick's coming to Ireland	<i>Debemus scire quo tempore Patricius sanctus episcopus atque preceptor maximus Scotorum inchoauit uenire in Hiberniam</i>
220 b	(c) 99v	L	[Comarbada Pátraic] <i>Do chomorbaib Patric</i> [List of Patrick's successors]	<i>Patraic .cxx.mo etatis sue quieuit</i>

Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
213 a <i>m</i> – 219 b <i>i</i>	Homily Parody	cf. TCD 1337 p.732	Hennesy 1873 Meyer 1892 Dottin 1893:297-8 Thurmeysen 1901:131; Flower 1916: 150-4; Greene 1967; Gwara 1988 Jackson 1990 Sayers 1994:1 Jefferies 1995-1997 Ford 1999 Williams 2004:45 McKenna 2005:269 Preston-Matto 2010	Irish	late 11C-15C; 12C1 (Dillon Hull); Prose and verse
220	History		Petrie 1839 Stokes 1887 Lawlor 1918-20:316 Dumville 1993:273-8 Haggart 2002-3:35	<b>Latin/Irish</b>	gloss CS
220 b	History	YBL c.338b p.327c TCD 1339 p.42cd cf. Laud misc. 610		<b>Latin/Irish</b>	

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
220 b i	(c) 99v	L	On the number of Patrick's Household	<i>Ba hiait so in .xxiii. batar i n-urd la Patraic</i>
221	(c) 101r	M	Series of Legends of the Finding of the Holy Cross	<i>Amail foifriith craná croiche Crist i n-ainsir Dabid meic Iesé ar tus</i>
236 b	(c) 108v	M	Account of the four requests of Colum Cille to the Angel and the interpretation of Boëthine's vision	<i>Colum Cille mac Fédlimí mic Fergusa Cendfota</i>
237 a incl.	(c) 109r	N	Lengthy prose introduction to Colum Cille, <i>Altus prosetor</i>	<i>Altus prosetor. Colum cille fecit hoc ymnus trinitati perseptem annos incellula nigra</i>
237 b i (cf. supra)	(c) 109r	N	<i>Altus prosetor</i>	<i>Altus prosetor, etc.</i>
238A incl.	(not c)	N	Lengthy prose introduction to Sechnall, <i>Audite omnes amantes</i>	<i>Audite omnes. Locus huius ymni .i. domnach sechnaill</i>



Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
220 b <i>i</i>	History		Stokes 1887	Irish	cf. 23 a 5
221	Religious History		Schirmer 1886	Irish	gloss English
236 b	Religious History		Stokes 1889-90	Irish	
237 a incl.	Prose		Stokes 1887 Bernard 1898:62-65	<b>Latin/Irish</b>	
237 b <i>i</i> (cf. supra)	Verse (Hymn)	TCD 1441 f.11-13 UCD A 2 p.2-8 cf. BL Colton Galba A xiv f.7-19	Stokes 1887 Bernard 1898:66-83 Blume 1908:257-364 Stevenson 1985 Wesseling 1988:46 Stevenson 1999:326	<b>Latin/Irish</b>	imperfect; atelous; interlinear gloss; 7c? cit. Cassianus, Conlationes; 8 stt.
238A incl.	Prose			<b>Latin/Irish</b>	

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
238B a (cf. supra)	(not c)	N	<i>Audite omnes amantes</i>	<i>Audite omnes amantes, etc.</i>
238C incl.	(not c)	N	<i>Amra Choluim Chille</i> [preview & poem]	<i>Locc don imon sa Ara ...</i> <i>Aed mac Aimmirech cen fell</i>
238C b – 238D b i (cf. ^)	(not c)	N	Preface to Dallán, <i>Amra Choluim Chille</i>	<i>Dallan odisirt dallain.</i> <i>7 quo sepultus est</i>

Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
238B a (cf. supra)	Verse (Hymn)	Cf. OFM A 2; cf. TCD 1441 [Liber Hymnorum]	Kenny 1929 Bieler 1953:117-27 Orchard 1993:153	<b>Latin/Irish</b>	interlinear gloss
238C incl.	Verse (Hymn)	YBL c.680 p.71 cf. Rawl.B502 f.54 LebomahUidrep.5 NLI G 50; Egerton 1782 f.1; cf. Stowe cf. RIA C iii 2 TCD 1337 p.610b TCD 1441 f.33-34v RIA 23 E 25 f.5a-15 cf. Laud misc. 615	O'Beirne Crowe 1871 Bernard 1898 I 162 Stokes 1899 31-55 Best 1929:11-41 Clancy 1995:96-128 Bisagni 2004, 2008. 2009, forthcoming Henry 2006 Hennessey 1887:467 Herbert 1989 67-75 Russell 2014:63-93	Irish	10 qq.; brittle; 8C? continued on p.239; cf. Liber hymnorum: TCDE.4.2, OFM A 2?
238C b – 238D b i (cf. ^)	Prose	Cf. supra		<b>Latin/Irish</b>	atelous brittle chiasm

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
239 – 240 b <i>m</i>	(c) 110r	N	<i>Amra Cholúim Cille</i> [conclusion] Short prose introduction to <i>Amra Senaín mic Gerrcúid</i>	... o <i>Cholúim cosc tuath</i> <i>Amra [sen]aín maic gerrcúid</i> <i>inso</i>
241	(c) 111r	N		
241 a <i>m</i>	(c) 111r	N	<i>Amra Senaín mic Gerrcúid</i>	[S]enan saer sidathair
241 b	(c) 111r	N	[Gill]as.] [S]uffragare trinitatis unitas Legend illustrating the efficacy of prayer	[S]uffragare trinitatis unitas, etc. <i>Araile sraith noemda boi ic</i> <i>molad Dé</i>
242 b <i>m</i>	(not b); (c) 111v	N	[Scúap a Fánait] <i>Don Scoip a Fanait</i> ~ <i>don Roth Ramach</i> ~ <i>don tSaignén</i> <i>Teindtíge</i>	<i>Isan aimsir didu Fhlaind</i> <i>Cinnaid ticc in roth ramach</i>
242 b <i>i</i> incl.	(not b); (c) 111v	N		

Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
239 – 240 b <i>m</i>	Verse (Hymn)				acephalous; brittle; interlinear gloss (frag.)
241	Prose			<b>Latin/Irish</b>	continued from p.238C damp loose brittle single leaf
241 a <i>m</i>	Verse (Hymn)	TCD 1336 cc.832-5 Brux.4190-200 f.269	Stokes 1901:220-5 Grosjean 1948:199 Breatnach 1989:7	<b>Latin/Irish</b>	13 qq interlinear gloss damp loose brittle single leaf
241 b	Verse (Lorica)		Malone 1880 II 271	<b>Latin/Irish</b>	94 ll. interlinear gloss damp loose brittle single leaf
242 b <i>m</i>	Religious Prose			Irish	damp loose brittle single leaf
242 b <i>i</i> incl.	Prose	NLI G 1 f.45r NLI G 10 p.46b12	O'Curry 1861:426-8 Stokes 1905:190:1	Irish	damp loose brittle single leaf

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
242 b 57	(not b); (c) 111v	N	[St Mo Ling.] <i>Tarrngaire na Fele Eoin</i>	<i>A De mair   conugbaínd mo di eraíl</i>
243 a 1	(b) 19; (c) 122r cf. 177a	O	Homily on the Ten Commandments	<i>Atberair isin naemad caibdel .xx.et do Lebar Matha</i>
247 a 1	(b) 23; (c) 124r	O	Homily on the canonical hours	<i>Cid ara ndentar celebrad is na trathaibh sea, sech na trathibh ele</i>

Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
242 b 57	Verse	LFF. ii 52 (105) rb cf. RIA 3 B 23 RIA 24 P 25 NLI G 10? cf. Stowe Missal, RIA D ii 3	O'Curry 1861:633-4 Stokes et.al. 1908 Flower 1926 II 483	Irish	7 qq. damp loose brittle; single leaf
243 a 1	Homily		Atkinson 1887:245-59 Mac Eoin 1996:195 Malone 1880 II 309 MacCarthy 1886 Best 1907, 1912 Bisani 2007, 2008 Ó Cróinín 2010 James Palmer 2011	<b>Latin/Irish</b>	spelungam gluais] gl. gloss! cf. Chrysostom, Homilia? c.1350 (Mac Eoin)
247 a 1	Prose	FCB f.87v Stowe p.96-7 BL Egerton 92		Irish	different pen

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
247 b 54	(b) 23; (c) 124r	O	[ <i>Est enuntianus</i> ] <i>Sermo Sinodalis</i> [ <i>Admonitio Synodalis</i> ] [Homily on the duties of the Religious]	<i>Fratres prespeteri ~ sacerdotes</i> <i>Domini, cooperatoros nostri ordinis</i> <i>estis</i>
<b>248 a 45</b>	(b) 24; (c) 124v	O	<b>Homily on the Lord's Prayer</b>	<i>Sic ergo vos orabit, bud amlaid so</i> <i>didu dognethi ernaiithe; Paternoster</i>
251 a 1	(b) 27; (c) 126r	O	<i>De figuris 7 spiritualibus sensibus oblationis</i> <i>sacrificii ordinis</i> [Tract on the Mass]	<i>Figur tra in chollaighthi</i>



Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
247 b 54	Religious Prose	cf. Freiburg i.Br., Hs 7, ff.309vb-11rb	Malone 1880 II 264 Amiet 1964	<b>Latin</b>	prespeteri, cooperatorios 10C (dMGH); c.1034-46 (Freiburg Hs 7). separate sections? cf Burchardus Wormatiensis, Decretorum libri XX last 3 lines blank separate sections? (infancimus cod.)
<b>248 a 45</b>	Homily	BLE f.20 FCB f.87v c.1 LFF i 35(90) rb i. cf.Lambeth PL 378 BL Harley 1802, f.19 q.v. Mt 6:5-13	Atkinson 1887:259-66 Todd 1855 O'Curry 1861 MacCarthy 1879-86 Malone 1880 II 313 MacCarthy 1887:339 Warner 1906 Meeder 2005:179-94	<b>Latin/Irish</b>	11-12C; cf.Céli Dé 9C
251 a 1	Religious Prose	cf. Stowe ff.65v-7r		<b>Latin/Irish</b>	separate sections? ras. in marg. ext.

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
251 b 3	(b) 27; (c) 126r	O	<b>Homily on the Tidings of Resurrection.</b>	<i>Ise himmorro gell forácbad icon eclais ifus coléic frisin fegud&lt;sin&gt; in spirit noem</i>
251 b 38	(b) 27; (c) 126r	O	Homily on Death, in Dialogue form [On the Soul's Exit from the Body]	<i>Domine, quis habitabil in tabernaculo tuo aut quis requiescat in monte sancto tuo</i>

Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
<b>251 b 3</b>	Religious Prose	YBL c.852, p.161 FCB f.14r c.2 FCB f.72v c.1 LFF ii 37(46) rb l.9 cf. 23 Q 10; FCB 101?	Stokes 1887 <a href="http://143.239.128.67/celt/online/G207001">http://143.239.128.67/celt/ online/G207001</a> Atkinson 1887:266-74 cf. Gaidoz 1889 Batiouchkof 1891:1 Dudley 1911: cf. Visio Fulberti 12C Carey/Wright 2014	Irish	scriptuir/scribtuir! in/its.amlaiget vs. in/dts.amlaigend !! double dotting. amal written in full! (Domne); Diabolus Dixit anima dixit add. de/rrior = deterior! oproprium exsamil Satilitium spellings FCB translated 1443?
251 b 38	Homily				

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
253 b 44	(b) 29; (c) 127r cf. 258b	O	<i>Fis Adomnáin</i>	<i>Magnus Dominus noster ~ magna uirtus eius</i>
256 a 44	(b) 32; (c) 128v	O	Homily on Christian Faith and loyalty to the Church (and on Thomas) [On some Articles of the Creed (Hogan)]	<i>Cach duine risna dúthracht síd ~ cendsa in Choimmed d'fhagbail</i>
257 a 1	(b) 33; (c) 129r	O	<b>Instruction on the sacraments</b>	<i>ÍHesu críst mac ríge nime 7 talman. in[lres]persu natrinóti iscom oesa 7 iscutruma frisinathair</i>

Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
253 b 44	Vision	cf. BLE; FCB f.95r c.1; LFF i 17(69v)b Lebor hUidre f.27 BL Egerton 1781 Lismore; NLI G 9	Stokes 1870, 1871:184-94 Malone 1880 II 347 Windisch 1880:156 Stokes 1895:265-79 Boswell 1908:28-47 Ó Máille 1912:1-112 Seymour 1927:304 Colwell 1952 Dumville 1977-8:62 Volmering 2012:5-8 Carey 2014	<b>Latin/Irish</b>	alliteration is <b>innisin!</b> +micahell! is éthgig! drawings! is air-istium; Ps156:5 Cf. preceding homily; different pen; Ó Máille 1912: 11C1
256 a 44	Religious Prose		Malone 1880 II:270 Hogan 1895 II:29	Irish	MI! Contains homily Thomas' incredulity separate sections?
<b>257 a 1</b>	Religious Prose		Hogan 1895 II:17	Irish	separate sections?

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
258 a 12	(b) 34; (c) 129v	O	Homily on Fasting and Abstinence	<i>Slaniccid in cheniuil doenna Ísu</i> <i>Crist Mac Dé Athar iar ndeacht, mac</i> <i>Muirí ingine iar ndoeacht, Dia ~</i> <i>duine i n-oeniaid oenpersande</i>
258 b 8	(b) 34; (c) 129v cf. 253b	O	Uisio quam uidit Adamnanus ut Spiritu Sancto plenus [The [second] vision of Adamnán]	<i>Uae uae uas uiris Hiberniae insolae</i> <i>mandata Domini</i> <i>transgredientibus</i>
259 b 40	(b) 35; (c) 130r	O	<i>Secl Choipri Chruim - Moelsechlaind meic</i> <i>Moelruanaid .i. Sen-Moelchelaind</i>	<b><i>Epscop uasal</i></b> <i>robui hi Cluain Mac</i> <i>Nois, Coirpre Cromm</i> <i>athbertha fris</i>

Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
258 a 12	Religious Prose	FCB f.15r c.1 LFF ii 21(23) va i.	Malone 1880 II 344 Atkinson 1887:274-5	Irish	brittle; ised unabbr.! insolae; 11C (Stokes) ab ura lignata/a bura dirigunt; embolesmi; foenum; brittle; inde collatione; Ps 156:5? s.XI: "shortly before s.XI: "shortly before <b>Latin/Irish</b> 1096" (Stokes 1891)
258 b 8	Vision	LFF ii 22(24) ra m. cf. FCB f.95r c.1? TCD 1317 cf. Book of Mulling?	O'Curry 1861:424-5 Stokes 1891:420-43 Volmering 2014	<b>Latin/Irish</b>	mc mc cod.; ISme .r. in marg. (cf. Tristram) cohathliath; brittle; Uch uch tra  cf.
259 b 40	Religious Prose	cf. Egerton 92 f.30 Bruxelles 5100-4	O'Donovan 1864 Dottin 1913:119 Wiley 2013 Carey 2014	Irish	Homily Death, f.253a

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
260 a 50	(b) 36; (c) 130v	O	<i>A marrath fil forsin ernaigthe is ed tuicter triasin scel sa sis</i> [Story illustrating the benefits of prayer]	<b><u>Epscop uasal</u></b> do Goedelu do choid do Boim
260 b 13	(b) 36; (c) 130v	O	<i>Comlond Diarmata meic Cerbaill fri Ruadan</i>	<i>Bec mac Dé is é fáith is dech bui i nErim ina aimsir</i>
260 b 38	(b) 36; (c) 130v	O	<i>Eisecht Bic meic Dé</i>	<i>O thanic cusna dedenchu do Bec mac Dé</i>
260 b 52	(b) 36; (c) 130v	O	<i>Cetbriathra Bic meic Dé</i>	<i>Dia mbuí cach oca rada</i>
260 b 63	(b) 36; (c) 130v	O	Table of ecclesiastical duties	<i>Cid is dech do clerech. Ni anse: léiri degscurtain</i>



Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
260 a 50	Religious Prose		Dotin 1913:132 Boyle 2013:9-48 Wiley 2000:205-10 Wiley 2008:13-67 cf. Wiley 2013	Irish	Epscop uasal] cf. preceding text beg. Epscop uasal; brittle
260 b 13	Religious Prose			Irish	-su for -sa/-som (MI!) brittle
260 b 38	Religious Prose	Brux. 2324-40 f.66 Brux. 5100-4 f.7v NLI G 1 f.43r3 ff.		Irish	cf. preceding & following text; brittle
260 b 52	Verse		Thurneysen 1915: 421-43	Irish	9 ll.; incompl.? brittle cf. . BethaCholuimCh. 135 qq.; cf. <i>Regula</i> <i>Mochuta Rathin</i> and <i>Von</i> <i>den Todsünden</i>
260 b 63	Tabula		n/a; cf. Meyer 1895	Irish	Imperfect; atelous doubl. column chasm

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
261 a 1	(b) 37; (c) 131r	O	[Rule of Mochutu/Fothud na Canóine] Incipit Reglum Mochuta Rathin do forcetul .x. timmna for cech oenduine	<i>Ite ascnam na flatha (261 a 1) Do monorugud epscoip (261 a m); Do abbaid eclaisi; Do monorugud sacairt; Do monorugud manaigh (261 b m); Do chei De nó di clerech rectesa (261 b m); Do ord proind 7 proinntige (261 b m)</i>
262 a 27	(b) 38; (c) 131v	O	<i>Celltair Dichill Diarmuta Indsi Clothrand</i>	<i>Beit comsnáduid</i>
262 b 9	(b) 38; (c) 131v	O	<i>Imchlod aingel incipit</i>	<i>Aingil Dé dom dín</i>

Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
261 a 1	Regula	YBL c.221, p.407 Add. 30512 f.20a1 RIA 23 N 10 p.82 RIA 23 P 3 f.14r TCD 1285 f.125v MaynoothM48p312 cf. Rawl. B 512? vs. YBL c.869c, p.171/c.802, p.136 vs. LFF ii 20(72)va Bruxelles 2324-40 cf.Bruxelles5100-4 Egerton 2899 Laud 615 RIA 23 G 23, 23 N 23 Maynooth 39, 70 Renehan 96	Reeves 1864:82-3 Reeves 1873:200 Windisch 1882 Meyer 1895:187-88; Meyer 1899:17 Meyer 1919-1921 Kenney 1929 § 267	<b>Latin/Irish</b>	135 qq.; brittle; s.IX <sup>in</sup> (Meyer 1895) <i>caam fá éite:</i> before & after!
262 a 27	Verse (Lonica)		<b>n/a</b> ; cf. Gwynn 1911 cf. Stokes 1880:118 Plummer 1910: clxxx	Irish	29 qq.; brittle; cf. Féil. 212.38
262 b 9	Verse		O'Curry 1861 O'Nolan 1912 (Best)	Irish	30 qq.; brittle

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
262 b 55	(b) 38; (c) 131v	O	<i>Is mebul dom inradud</i>	<i>Is mebul dom inradud</i>
262 b 75	(b) 38; (c) 131v	O	<i>Loricca Coluim Cilli incipit</i>	<i>Sciath De norim u mam</i>
263 (Vol. II)	( <u>not b</u> ); ( <u>not c</u> ); 1	P	<i>Sanas Cormaic</i>	<i>Adam .i. homo no terragena</i>
272 b m – 277 a m incl.	10	P	[Caithréim Cellaig]	<i>Rig rogab for Condachtu .i. Eogan Bel mac Cellaig.</i>

Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
262 b 55	Verse	RIA B iv 2 f.141 Brux. 2324-40 f.65v cf. Bruxelles 5100? Laud misc.615p.48	Meyer 1907:13-5 Murphy 1956:38-43 Greene 1967:144-7	Irish	12 qq.; brittle; s.X (Meyer 1907); c.1000 (Carney)
262 b 75	Verse (Lorica)	Rawl B 502 p.106b YBL c.3 p.255 Harley 5280 f.75rv RIA D ii 1 p.177ra RIA 23 N 10 p.74 TCD 1317 p.13, 77 TCD 1339 p.179ab UCD A 12 p.1-40 Laud misc.610 f.79	Stokes 1895 Meyer 1915:345-7 Stokes 1862:1-44 Stokes 1868 Stokes 1891-4:149 MacCarthy 1892 Meyer 1912:1-128 Russell 1988:1-30 Russell 2008:9-45 Russell 2010	Irish	7 qq.; brittle; 10C/c.1000
263 (Vol. II)	Scientific Prose	Laud misc.610 f.79 NLI G 4=YBL c.982 LFF ii 17(19) vb i.	O'Grady 1892:50 Mulchrone 1933, 1971; Herbert 1997:320-33	Irish	shrivelled
272 b m – 277 a m incl.	Historical Prose/Verse	Brux. 2324-40 f.53v		Irish	cf. <i>Silva Gadelica</i> copied <i>olim</i>

Pagination (present)	Foliation (former)	Quire	Text	Incipit
273 a m (cf. supra)	11	P	<i>Mairg treices clerecht er caird</i>	<i>Mairg treices clerecht er ceird, &amp;c.</i>
274 a m (cf. supra)	12	P	<i>A ocu romuainmiges</i>	<i>A ocu romuainmiges, &amp;c.</i>
274 b (cf. supra)	12	P	<i>As mocean in maiten ban</i>	<i>As mocean in maiten ban, &amp;c.</i>
275 a m (cf. supra)	13	P	<i>Inmain cách isa corp so</i>	<i>Inmain cách isa corp so, &amp;c.</i>
275 a i (cf. supra)	13	P	<i>Truag toirrsech atúsa sund</i>	<i>Truag toirrsech atúsa sund, &amp;c.</i>
275 b (cf. supra)	13	P	<i>As maith do thurus am thig</i>	<i>As maith do thurus am thig, &amp;c.</i>
275 b m (cf. supra)	13	P	<i>Aithrech in ni do raides</i>	<i>Aithrech in ni do raides, &amp;c.</i>
276 a i (cf. supra)	14	P	<i>As inbaid na hécta sa</i>	<i>As inbaid na hécta sa, &amp;c.</i>
276 b m (cf. supra)	14	P	<i>Leasee liumsa dola for sét</i>	<i>Leasee liumsa dola for sét, &amp;c.</i>
276 b i (cf. supra)	14	P	<i>Fás anocht aittreb Eogain</i>	<i>Fás anocht aittreb Eogain, &amp;c.</i>
276 b i (cf. supra)	14	P	<i>As fás aittreb choemChellaig</i>	<i>As fás aittreb choemChellaig, &amp;c.</i>
277 a m	15	P	<i>Incipit Coisecrad Eclaisi indso</i>	<i>Line andso dorigensat hecnaide eolcha, &amp;c.</i>
278 a i – 280 a m	16	P	<i>Pais Cristifir in Chonchinn</i>	<i>Bai ingreim mor forsna cristidib</i>
280 b	18	P	<i>On the vision of St. Bernard</i>	<i>Dia mbai [...]</i>

Pagination (present)	Genre	Parallels	Literature	Language	Codicology
273 a <i>m</i> (cf. supra)	Verse			Irish	6 qq.
274 a <i>m</i> (cf. supra)	Verse			Irish	6 qq.
274 b (cf. supra)	Verse			Irish	20 qq.
275 a <i>m</i> (cf. supra)	Verse			Irish	9 qq.
275 a <i>i</i> (cf. supra)	Verse			Irish	3 qq.
275 b (cf. supra)	Verse			Irish	3 qq.
275 b <i>m</i> (cf. supra)	Verse			Irish	5 qq.
276 a <i>i</i> (cf. supra)	Verse			Irish	3 qq.
276 b <i>m</i> (cf. supra)	Verse			Irish	3 qq.
276 b <i>i</i> (cf. supra)	Verse			Irish	14 qq.
276 b <i>i</i> (cf. supra)	Verse			Irish	12 qq.
277 a <i>m</i>	Verse		Stokes 1901:363-87	Irish	
278 a <i>i</i> – 280 a <i>m</i>	Passion	LFF i 16(68)ra	Fraser 1913:307-25	Irish	atel.; rest 280 a blank
280 b	Vision	cf. LFF ii 10 (11) va		Irish	cf. 1a! incomplete: rest 280 b illegible





Appendix C: Sources and parallels of the *Leabhar Breac*

Thema	Source: CCH	Source: LQE	Source: CC	Source: CK	Source: other	Parallel: LB	Parallel: YBL	Parallel: BLE
MATTHEW								
			cf. ff.11r-2v. 4r-4v. 3r-		cf. Ps.-Beda, Collectanea, Expositio in Evangelium			
	dep.; cit.		3rb19;+f.3r20-	cf. hom.13,	13; cf. Mt 4;			
	Caesarius,		3va9? cf.51ra-	ff. 47v-51r,	Ps.-Isidorus,	45a; 23r;		
Mt 4:1(-11)	cf. XII?		52rb?	Mt 4:1	Lib. de Num.	xlv		
					cf. Hiberno- Latin Matthew ÖNB 940; cf. Augustinus, Sermo domini de monte; cf. Cassianus, Collationes			
			cf. ff.11v6- 13rb34;	cf. hom.9-12, ff.28v-47r,				
			cf. 52vb59- 53ra15?	Mt 4:23-5:5				cf.LB 68b, 72a; 248a
Mt 4:23-5:12	vs.							

Thema	Parallel: FCB	Parallel: LFF	Parallel: other	Lectio	Editio	Title	Incipit
MATTHEW							
Mt 4:1(-11)				Virtutes: Fasting	Atkinson 172	De ieiunio Domini in deserto incipit et de temptationibus cibus diabli eum temptaverat	Tunc Iesus ductus est in desertum a Spiritu
Mt 4:23-5:12			cf. Lambeth Palace 119?	Virtutes: Almsgiving Michael ?Lord's Prayer			

Thema	Source: CCH	Source: LQE	Source: CC	Source: CK	Source: other	Parallel: LB	Parallel: YBL	Parallel: BLE
					dep.Caesarius Homiliae.199, 142; ps.-Beda, Collectanea; Augustinus, Sermo domini de monte; cf.			
	cf.XIII.1-6; XIII.5 cit.			cf.Arnoldus, Expositio in Evangelium 15, Mt 6:3-4, ff.101r-106v	Cura/Regula pastoralis; cf. Lib.hymnorum			68b50; 12; 118v
Mt 6:2-4	Mt 6:3, 6:2		cf.50ra12-16?					

Thema	Parallel: FCB	Parallel: LFF	Parallel: other	Lectio	Editio	Title	Incipit
			cf. Lambeth Palace 119? RIA 3 B 23, Laud 610, NLIG 10?		Atkinson 207 McLaughlin 2012	Don almsain incipit	Cum ergo facies elimoisinam noli tuba canere ante te
Mt 6:2-4	cf.?	cf.exordium +peroratio?		Virtutes: Almsgiving			

Thema	Source: CCH	Source: LQE	Source: CC	Source: CK	Source: other	Parallel: LB	Parallel: YBL	Parallel: BLE
					Hieronymus, Expositiones Ps.-Gregorius Liber de gradis Burchardus, Decretum LXX Gelasianus, Sacramentary Augustinus, Sermo domini 2.9 = Ep.130			
Mt 6:9-13	dep.	cf. ff.9va18- 10va30; cf. 10v31-11v19				248a45; 24; 124v		cf. f.20
Mt 6:16	cf. XII 1-2?	cf. ff.51ra13- 52rb			second Visio Adamnani cf.	44a; cf.258a; 22v; xliiii		

Thema	Parallel: FCB	Parallel: LFF	Parallel: other	Lectio	Editio	Title	Incipit
Mt 6:9-13	cf. f.87v c.1	cf. f.35(90)rb	cf. Lambeth Palace 119; Freiburg im Breisgau 7 Harley 1802, f.19 Mt 6:5-13	Virtutes: Lord's Prayer	Atkinson 259 Stokes 1873 Atkinson 171	Paternoster [Cumdach na patri]	Sic ergo vos órabitis. bud amlaid so didiu dogneithi ernaigthe
Mt 6:16	cf. Lambeth Palace 119		Tempus: Spy [or Ash] Wednesday Virtutes: Fasting	Mc Donncha Tristram 1985 McNamara 2000 Mc Laughlin 2010	Cédain in Braith	Cum autem ieiunnatis nolite feri sicut hipocritae tristes	

Thema	Source: CCH	Source: LQE	Source: CC	Source: CK	Source: other	Parallel: LB	Parallel: YBL	Parallel: BLE
(Mt 6:16; (1 Tm 4:10))	cf. XII 1-2	cf. 51rab			258 a; 34; 129v			
Mt 6:24		cf.?			Beda in Lucam cf. Gregorius, Moralia in Iob; cf. Sulpicius Severus, Vita Martini	59a 16; 3; 114r		cf. f.44b
Mt 7:12		vs. ff.25ra6- 25va29		cf. hom. 22-3 ff.80v-89r; Mt 7:7-13?	dep. Petrus Episcopus or Clementius, Sententiae? vs ÖNB 940	66b; 10; 117v		
Mt 16:24 (Zc 5:9-11)		cf. ff.35vb14- 37rb20			dep. Gregorius Moralia in Iob; Ps.-Isidorus, Liber de Numeris			cf. 107a



Thema	Parallel: FCB	Parallel: LFF	Parallel: other	Lectio	Editio	Title	Incipit
(Mt 6:16; (1 Tm 4:10))	cf. f.15r c.1	cf.ii 21(23)va		Virtutes: Fasting	Malone 1880 Atkinson 274 Stokes 1873 Hogan 1894 Gwynn 1913 Plummer '25 Spencer 1993 Hewish 2008	Slanicíd in cheniuil doenna Ísu Críst Mac Dé Athar iar ndeacht, mac Muiri ingine iar ndoeacht, Dia 7 duine i n-oentaíd oepersande	
Mt 6:24			bookArmagh King's Inns10 TCD 241; cf. Spencer '93	Sancti: Martin		Incipit de virtute Sancti Martain	Nemo potest duobus dominis servire Omnia ergo quequaque uultis ut faciant uobis homines ita et uos facite illis
Mt 7:12	cf. 16v c.2, cit. Mt 7:13; cf. 101r c.1		cf. Lismore; RIA 23 Q 10 King's Inns10	Virtutes: Charity Tithing	Atkinson 202 Stokes 1890		
Mt 16:24 (Zc 5:9-11)			cf. Cambrai Homily				

Thema	Source: CCH	Source: LQE	Source: CC	Source: CK	Source: other	Parallel: LB	Parallel: YBL	Parallel: BLE
Mt 17:1						107 a; 44r		
incl.	cf. XLVII?		vs. hom. 1-4, ff. 5r-19v; Mt 3:1-11 (cf.21)			107b57; 44r		
Mt 19:16(-30) cf.foll.hom. (=Ps 91.11?)	dep. (exclusive)	cf. ff.3ra-3vb, 7ra-7rb15; cf. 20va10-15; cf. 50ra27-51ra12			Ps.-Isidor. L. de numeris, Ps.Bed. Coll. cf. (DELQ)R! vs. ÖNB 940!	201a1 (40); 89; 91r; cf.72 p.169		
(Mt 19:16) Ps 19:21		cf.?			Chrysostomos Homiliae?	243 a 1; 19; 122r		

Thema	Parallel: FCB	Parallel: LFF	Parallel: other	Lectio	Editio	Title	Incipit
Mt 17:1				Tempus: Transfigure		[Don ta]rmcruttia inso	Et factum est post dies sex assupsit Iesus Petrum ~ Iacobum ~ Iohannem
incl.	cf. 104v c.1	cf.i 36(91)vb m.; cf.ii 41rb	vs. RIA 23 Q 10 vs. 24 P 1	Virtutes: Penitence	Atkinson 220	Incipit donaithrige inso	Cia cetna roforchan aithrige dodenam fortús?
Mt 19:16(-30) cf.foll.hom. (=Ps 91.11?)	cf. 105v c.1			Sancti: Michael; Tempus: Epiphany			Angelis suis mandauit de té Deus ut cusdodiant te in omnibus uis tuis
(Mt 19:16) Ps 19:21			StoweMissal RIA D ii 3, 3 B 23, 24 P 25 cf.NLIG 10?	Virtutes: Decalogue	Atkinson 245 Mac Eoin 1996		Atberair isin naemad caibdel .xx.et do Lebar Matha

Thema	Source: CCH	Source: LQE	Source: CC	Source: CK	Source: other	Parallel: LB	Parallel: YBL	Parallel: BLE
Mt. 20:1-16	dep.	cf. ff.7vb22ot, 6rv, 8r-8va23; + 8va24-9ras			cit. Gregorius Homiliae in Evangelii IX (verbatim)			cf. 66b
(Mt 20:17-34) + Mt 21:1-17	vs.?	cf. ff.14ra3- 16ra9-16va12 vs.f.13rb-14ra ,47va32-47vb, 24ra-24ra27, 27va11-29ra, 30ra7-30va1	cf. hom.15 56r-61v Mt 21:1-11	not ÖNB 940				40am.; 20v; xl

Thema	Parallel: FCB	Parallel: LFF	Parallel: other	Lectio	Editio	Title	Incipit
Mt. 20:1-16				Virtutes: Charity			[Et] cum apropinquassent Ierusalymis et venissent Bethfage ad montem Oliveti
(Mt 20:17-34) + Mt 21:1-17				Tempus: Palm Sunday	Atkinson 163	Domnach na himrime	

Thema	Source: CCH	Source: LQE	Source: CC	Source: CK	Source: other	Parallel: LB	Parallel: YBL	Parallel: BLE
Mt 26:17(-30) (Mt 26:20-30) cf. Ioh 13:4-15 NEW TEST	dep.	cf. 17rb9- 18va1; vs. 16va12-17rb8	vs. hom. 14; ff.51v-55r; Mt 25:31?		dep. Pascha. Radbertus, Commentarii in Matthaicum cf. Corpore et sanguine; Hieronymus, In Matthaicum Manchanus; cf. CV 5?	48b; 24v; xlviii		
Lc.2:21		cf. ff.47ra35- 47va31; vs. 30va2-31v, 48-49vb19?			Hiberno-Latin Mattjew ÖNB 940 (vs. LQE) cf. CV 4; cit. Lc 2:22?	56a; 112v		
Act 2:1-13					cf. Cat. Ver.11 ?	52b; 26v		

Thema	Parallel: FCB	Parallel: LFF	Parallel: other	Lectio	Editio	Title	Incipit
Mt 26:17(-30) (Mt 26:20-30) cf. Ioh 13:4-15 NEW TEST				Tempus: Maundy Thursday	Atkinson 181 Rittmüller 1982	In cena domini	Prima autem die Azimorum accesserunt discipuli ad Iesum dicentes
Lc 2:21				Tempus: Circumcisio	Atkinson 198 McDonncha 1984	Imdibe Crist. indara bairised	Postquam consummati sunt dies octa ut circumcideretur puer
Act 2:1-13				Tempus: Pentecost	Atkinson 190	De die Pentecostes	Cum completeretur dies Pentecostes erant omnes

Thema	Source: CCH	Source: LQE	Source: CC	Source: CK	Source: other	Parallel: LB	Parallel: YBL	Parallel: BLE
Act 6:8-8:2					34a; 17v; xxxiii			
incl.Ioh 16:33					34bm.; 17v; xxxiii			
Act 7:3; cf. Gn 12:1					29bi.; 15r; xxviii			cf. f.22
(Rv 7:12)					187a; 77; 84r			



Thema	Parallel: FCB	Parallel: LFF	Parallel: other	Lectio	Editio	Title	Incipit
Act 6:8-8:2				Sancti: Stephanus	Atkinson 81	Césad S[t]epain incipit	In mundo pressuram habeb[bi]tis
incl.Ioh 16:33				Sancti: Stephanus	Atkinson 82	[Revelation of the body of Stephen to Presbyter Lucianus.] Dofaillsiugud achuairp sosis amal rofaillisig incoimdiu diaroli fir noem	
Act 7:3; cf. Gn 12:1			Kings Inns10 Lismore f.7b RIA 24 P 25, p.71; cf. NLS Advocate XL		Stokes 1877 Hogan 1894 Plummer 1925	Betha Coluim Cille	Exii de terra tua et de cognatione tua ... inmaine oroforbair incretem Crístaide
(Rv 7:12)			Add. 30512 = TCD 1285		Windisch 1884 O'Neill 1911	Sceíl na Samna	

Thema	Source: CCH	Source: LQE	Source: CK	Source: other	Parallel: LB	Parallel: YBL	Parallel: BLE
Rv 14:4 OLD TEST				Acta Briggittae written c.1154	61[b]; 5; 15r		cf. f.58
Ps 15:1-3 cf. Mt 18:3				cf. Visio Pauli	251bm.		cf. c.852, p.161

Thema	Parallel: FCB	Parallel: LFF	Parallel: other	Lectio	Editio	Title	Incipit
Rv 14:4	cf. 76v c.2		bookLismore Rawlinson B 512, r.31-35b; RIA 23 L 33; Brussels2324 -40, 5100-4 Kings Inns10	Sancti: Brigid	Spencer 1993	[Sermo Innocentibus] Betha Brigitte	Hii sunt qui sequuntur agnum
OLD TEST					Atkinson 266 Gaidoz 1889 Batiouchkof 1891; Dudley 1911; Carey, Wright 2014		Domine, quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo aut quis requiescat in monte sancto tuo?
Ps 15:1-3	cf. f.14r c.2;	cf. ii 37(46)	RIA 23 Q 10;	Virtutes:			
cf. Mt 18:3	cf. f.72v c.1	rb 1.9; cf. ff.	cf. BNF 101?	Death			

Thema	Source: CCH	Source: LQE	Source: CC	Source: CK	Source: other	Parallel: LB	Parallel: YBL	Parallel: BLE
(Ps 17:8; Mt 16:18; (Mt 11:28))						251a1; 27; 126r		
							cf. c.336 l.17 cf. c.338 l.4, p.327 Trinity,	
(Ps 32:1)						74a7bcd; 18; 121v	c.839 l.19, p.154 Virgin	cf. Virgin f.67 vs. LB f.4-5a

Thema	Parallel: FCB	Parallel: LFF	Parallel: other	Lectio	Editio	Title	Incipit
(Ps 17:8; Mt 16:18; (Mt 11:28))					Todd 1855 O'Curry 1861 MacCarthy 1879-1887 Malone 1880 Warner 1906 Meeder 2005	De figuris 7 spiritualibus sensibus oblationis sacrificii ordinis	Figuir tra in chollaighthi
(Ps 32:1)			Stowe 65v-7r	Virtutes: Mass	Malone 1880 Grene 1880 Stokes 1887 Plummer 1925; cf. Ó Sullivan 2010		
			RIA 3 B 22, 23 B 3, 24 P1 Kings Inns10 Brussels2324 -40, 4190-200	Sancti: Mary, Jesus #2, Jesus #1, Trinity			A Muire mor. A Muire as mo dona Muirib

Thema	Source: CCH	Source: LQE	Source: CC	Source: CK	Source: other	Parallel: LB	Parallel: YBL	Parallel: BLE
Ps 147:5[-6]					dep.Ps.-Beda Homiliae; cf. De descensu Christi ad Infernum	253b44; 29; 127r; cf.258b		cf.
Ps.?						258b8; 34; 129v; cf.253b		
Prv 16:7						35b; 18r; xxxv 72a3;	vs. c.863-9?	vs. f.11: abridged
Dn 7:10						16; 120v; cf. 201	cf. c.869, l.9, p.169?	

Thema	Parallel: FCB	Parallel: LFF	Parallel: other	Lectio	Editio	Title	Incipit
Ps 147:5[-6]	cf. f.95r c.1	cf. i 17(69v)bi.	cf. Lebor na hUidre, BL Egerton 1781 bookLismore NLI G 9; cf. Brussels 5100-4	Sancti: Adamnán	Stokes 1870 Malone 1880 Windisch 1880; cf. Ó Máille 1912 Volmering 2012; Carey 2014	Fis Adamnán	Magnus dominus noster 7 magna uirtus eius
Ps.?	cf. f.95r c.1?	cf. ii 22(24) ra m.	cf. TCD 1317 Book Mulling	Sancti: Adamnán	Stokes 1891 Volmering 2014	Visio quam vidit Adamnanus ut Spiritu sancto &c.	Uae uae uas uiris Hiberniae insolae mandata Domini transgredientibus
Prv 16:7	vs. f.7v c.1; +22r (abr.)			Virtutes: Kingship	Atkinson 151 cf. Miles 2014	Sermo ad reges	Cum placuerint Domino irae homini, inimicos eius convertet ad pacem
Dn 7:10	cf. 105v c.2?			Sancti: Michael	Atkinson 213	Milia milium ministrabant ei et decies milies et centena milia astabant ei	

Thema  
HOMILIES

Source: CCH Source: LQE Source: CC Source: CK Source: other Parallel: LB Parallel: YBL Parallel: BLE

(vs.Mt 28:19)

Cf. Book of  
Armagh 24b; 11v;  
xxiii cf. (impf.)

c.812, p.141  
Gospel of  
Nicodemus  
c.823 p.147  
Gospel of  
Nicodemus

160a;  
52; 70v  
169b39;  
61; 75r

cf.?

incl.  
(Mt 26:66ff.)

vs.hom.16-17  
(19), ff.61v-8r  
Mt 28 Ioh 20

170a21;  
62; 75v;  
cf. 194a

cf. f.23vb3-40  
32ra11-b37



Thema	Parallel: FCB	Parallel: LFF	Parallel: other	Lectio	Editio	Title	Incipit
HOMILIES							
(vs.Mt 28:19)	cf. f.74r c.1 (acephal.)	cf. i 29(80)ra	King's Inns10	Sancti: Patrick	Stokes 1877 Stokes 1887 Hogan 1894 Mulchrone 1927 Jackson 1986	[Vita tripartita Patricii] Pasio domini nostri Iesu Cristi. Páis in Choimded sund secundum Mathaeum	[P]opulus qui sedebat in tenebris uidit lucem magnam
	cf. f.45?	cf.ii 25(14)ra begin/end LB	King's Inns10 RIA 24 P 25 Rawl. B 512 Egerton 1781	Tempus: Passion	Atkinson 113 McDonncha 1986	Isin nomad bliadain déc do flaith Tibit Césair	
incl. (Mt 26:66ff.)				Tempus: Good Friday		Doronad gním nadbul ndiasnes icomainm inlathisi indiu	
				Tempus: Passion/ Resurrectio		[Christ's descent into Hades / Harrowing of Hell]	Ero mors tua a mors 7 morsus tuus, o inferne
	cf. f.23vai.?		King's Inns10 cf. Lebor na hUidre 34a?		Atkinson 143		

Thema	Source: CCH	Source: LQE	Source: CC	Source: CK	Source: other	Parallel: LB	Parallel: YBL	Parallel: BLE
incl.						170; cf.160a		
						183am; 75; 82r		
	?dep.c.12-24 CCH LIV 2-3					186am; 83v		
						194 a; 84; 87v; cf. 170a		
			cf. ff.23vb3-40 32ra11-32rb37					
						198am; 88; 89v		

Thema	Parallel: FCB	Parallel: LFF	Parallel: other	Lectio	Editio	Title	Incipit
incl.				Tempus: Resurrectio	Atkinson 222		
				Sancti: Maccabees	Hewish 2003 McLaughlin forthcoming	Procept na Machaabdai. Viriliter agite 7 confortetur cor uestrum omnes qui speratis in Domino	
			cf. RIA 3 B 23				Luxoria tra issed ainm inadualcha tanaisi marbas anmain duine
			3B23; 23P3; B 512; G 10	Virtutes: Luxoria	not Atkinson Gwynn 1914	[De Luxoria]	
	cf. 21r c.1: Et post dies octo			Tempus: Resurrectio	Atkinson 227 MacCarthy 1864		[Et] post dies hocta hiterum erunt discipuli eius intus ~ Tomas cum eis
				Tempus: Epiphany	Atkinson 234 Stokes RC 8 d'Aughton '03	Epifania Domini	Arroet Joseph inni Noem Muire dia coimet iarcomairle in aingil fo annum chomaim

Thema

Source: CCH Source: LQE Source: CC

Source: CK

Source: other

Parallel: LB Parallel: YBL Parallel: BLE

cf. ff.53ra16-  
53rb

202b25;  
90; 91v

c.217 (p.405)  
c.957 (p.214)

213am.;  
97r

247a1;  
23; 124r

Thema	Parallel: FCB	Parallel: LFF	Parallel: other	Lectio	Editio	Title	Incipit
			Rawl. B 512			De die dominico	
			Brussels 2324		O'Keefe 1905	Cáin domnaig /	intinscana epistil
			RIA 23 N 10	Tempus:	Borsje 1994	Epistil Isu	int Shlanicceda
			RIA 24 P 25	Sunday	Hennessy		
					1873; Meyer		
					1884, 1892		
				Virtutes:	Greene 1967		Cethardai as
				Parody	Gwara 1988	Aislinge Meic	cuintesta da cach
				homily	Jackson 1990	Conglinne	elathain
			cf. TCD 1337		Malone 1880		
					MacCarthy		
					1886 Best '07		
					-1912 Bisagni		
					2007-8 Ó		
				Tempus:	Cróinín 2010		Cid ara ndentar
			Stowe p.96-7	Horarium	Palmer 2011		celebrad is na
			Egerton 92				trathaibh sea,
	cf. 87v						sech na trathibh ele
							[Canonical hours]

Thema	Source: CCH	Source: LQE	Source: CC	Source: CK	Source: other	Parallel: LB	Parallel: YBL	Parallel: BLE
					cf. Legenda Aurea?	247bi.		
						256a44; 32; 128v		
incl.						256ai.; 32; 128v		
						259b40; 35; 130r		

Thema	Parallel: FCB	Parallel: LFF	Parallel: other	Lectio	Editio	Title	Incipit
				Virtutes: Religious duty		[Est enuntiaudus] Sermo Sinodalis	Fratres prespeteri ~ sacerdotes Domini, cooperatores nostri ordinis estis
				Virtutes: Faith	Malone 1880 Hogan 1895 MacEoin1996	Christian Faith Loyalty Church Articles Creed	Cach duine risna dúthracht síd ~ cendsa in Choiimmed dfhagbail
incl.				Tempus: Resurrectio		[Thomas' incredulity] Scel Choirpri Chruim 7	Int[ara] persu didiu dontriursin .i. innac
				Sancti: Coirpre Chruim	O'Donovan 1864 Dottin 1913:119 Wiley 2013 Carey 2014	Moelsechlaind meic Moelruanaid .i. Senmoelchelaind	<b>Epscop uasal</b> robui hi Cluain Mac Nois, Coirpre Cromm athbertha fris
			cf.Egerton 92 Brussels5100				

Thema	Source: CCH	Source: LQE	Source: CC	Source: CK	Source: other	Parallel: LB	Parallel: YBL	Parallel: BLE
incl. PASSIONS						260a50; 36; 130v		
						1d; 1r; 1; cf.160a		
						7b; 4r; vii		cf.f.62b c.2
(Mt 5:10)					cf. Abdias!	172bm; 64; 76v		cf. f.14



Thema	Parallel: FCB	Parallel: LFF	Parallel: other	Lectio	Editio	Title	Incipit
incl. PASSIONS				Virtutes: Prayer	Dotin 1913	A marrath fil forsin ermaighthi ised tuicter triasinscel sasis	<b>Epscop uasal</b> do Goedelu do choid do Boim
		cf.ii 25(14)ra begin/end LB	Laud610 f.11	Sancti: Christ	Atkinson 41	Páis [I]maigine Crist	Araile cathair rigda fil isin Aisia
					Atkinson 56		O atchuala tra
					Plummer 334	[Passio	Dioclian in t-impir
			cf.Egerton 92	Sancti: Marcellinus	Kenney 1929	Marcellini]	clu crabuid 7 ecna 7 cretmi in abbad Pasnute
			Laud610 f.25		Atkinson 86		
					Plummer '25		
					McNamara		Beati
(Mt 5:10)		cf.ii 22(24)ya m.	cf. 24 P 1	Sancti: Peter&Paul	1975	Pais Petair 7 Póil	persecutionem patiuntur

Thema	Source: CCH	Source: LQE	Source: CC	Source: CK	Source: other	Parallel: LB	Parallel: YBL	Parallel: BLE
						175b; 67; 78r		
		cf.?				177ai; 69; 79r		
						178bm; 70; 79v		
					cf. Abdias!	179bi; 71; 80r		
incl.				vs.hom.20, 74v-7v Mt10:5 (vs.hom.26-7)		180b44; 72; 80v	cf. c.247, p.420	

Thema	Parallel: FCB	Parallel: LFF	Parallel: other	Lectio	Editio	Title	Incipit
					Atkinson 95		
					Plummer '25		Luid Partholon
	cf.i 31(82)va		Sancti:		McNamara		apstal do forcetul
	m.	cf. 24P1 p.60	Bartholom.		1975	Pais Partoloin	isin India
					Atkinson 102		Luid Iacop mor
					Plummer '25		mac Zepedei .i.
			Sancti:		McNamara		brathair Eoin
		cf. 24 P 1	James		1975	Pais Iacoip apstail	apstail
					Atkinson 106		
					Plummer '25		Dia mboi ingreim
	cf.i 30(81)va		Sancti:		McNamara		mor forsna
	m.	cf. 24P1 p.70	Andrew		1975	Pais Andrias	aspalaib
					Atkinson 110		
					Plummer '25		Bui Pilip apstal da
	cf.i 31(82)rb		Sancti:		McNamara		.xx. bliadhan oc
	m.		Philip		1975	Pais Pilip apstail	sermoim
	cf.ii 24(26)vb					[On the pedigrees and manner	
	m.; cf. MB	cf. Lecan,	Sancti:		Stokes 1888:	of death, etc., of the Apostles]	
	Ha.1802 f.9b	Egerton 92?	Apostles		364	Do bungelelaig na n-apstal	
incl.		Hartley 1802					

Thema	Source: CCH	Source: LQE	Source: CC	Source: CK	Source: other	Parallel: LB	Parallel: YBL	Parallel: BLE
					181b46; 73; 81r		cf. f.13	
				vs.hom.1-6, ff.5r-21r; Mt 3:1-11, 11:2	Acta Longini			cf. c.849, p.159; vs. 807 l.8 p.138 vs. f.46, 48b
					Acta Gregory Tours	189am; 79; 85r		cf. f.32b
						190b; 80; 85v		cf. f.11

Thema	Parallel: FCB	Parallel: LFF	Parallel: other	Lectio	Editio	Title	Incipit
	cf. f.42v c.2		cf. King's Inns Eg.136 p.85	Sancti: Longinus	Atkinson 60 McNamara 1975	Páis Longinuis	Dia mbui Crist hi croich la hluadaigib dodechaid oen do na míledu boi ocin crochudh
			cf. King's Inns cf. NLS I p.14 vs. Add.30512	Sancti: John Baptist	Atkinson 64 Müller 1923 Plummer '25 McNamara 1975	Pais Eoin Baptist	Bui aroile fer angid etróccar i n-Jerusalem
	cf. f.56v c.2 (atulous)			Sancti: 7 Sleepers	Atkinson 68 Atkinson 71 Plummer '25 Haubrichs 1979, 2002	Páis in Morfesir ro chotail i nEffis	Buí rig croda annseirc forsin domun fecht n-ail Pretiosa est in conspectu Domini more sanctorum eius
	cf. f.38r c.2	cf. ii 44(95)ra	cf. NLI G9; Fermoy f.38	Sancti: George		Páis Georgi	

Thema Source: CCH Source: LQE Source: CC Source: CK Source: other Parallel: LB Parallel: YBL Parallel: BLE

272bm.; cf. NLI 8214  
10 = YBL c.982!

278ai.;  
16

MISCELL.

9b12; cf.c.224; cf.  
5r viiii c.227/p.410,  
cf.260b38 c.344/p.330,  
/260b52 c.802/p.136

Thema	Parallel: FCB	Parallel: LFF	Parallel: other	Lectio	Editio	Title	Incipit
					O'Grady 1892:50		
					Mulchrone 1933, 1971;		
			Brus.2324-40	Sancti:	Herbert 1997:320	[Caithréim Cellaig]	Beatha Cheallaigh
		cf.ii 17(19)v <b>b</b>	f.53	Cellach	Fraser 1913:	Pais Cristifir in	[B]ai ingreim mor
		cf.i 16(68) <b>ra</b>		Sancti: Christopher	307	Chonchinn	forsna cristidib
MISCELL.					Reeves 1873: 119 Stokes 1877 Gwynn 1927 Kenney 1929:472		
			RIA 3 B 23;		Follett 2006:114	Riagail na celed nDe O Moel	Biait prointige 7
			Brus.2324-40			Ruain cecinit	magnificat

Thema

Source: CCH Source: LQE Source: CC

Source: CK

Source: other

Parallel: LB Parallel: YBL Parallel: BLE

75a; 28r

150bi.

cf. f.63b

238Ba

cf. Lib. hymn



Thema	Parallel: FCB	Parallel: LFF	Parallel: other	Lectio	Editio	Title	Incipit
			Rawl. B 505 f.211		O'Curry 1861		
			Rawl. B 512 f.53v		MacCarthy		
			RIA 23 P 3 f.1r		1866 Stokes		
			Laud misc.610 59		1880, 1881,		
			RIA G 10 p.20		1883, 1905		
			Brux. 5100-4 f.68r		Thurneysen		Cethardai
			Egerton 88 f.88		1908 Hennig		condagar da cech
			TCD 1337 p.616b		1955, 1970-5,		elathain .i. locc ~
			cf. UCD A 7		Schneiders		aimser ~ persa ~
			Egerton 1781		1988, 1995	[Féilire Óengusso	fath airicc
			Rawl.Laud 610.18		Dumvill.2002	Céli De.]	
			bookLismore f.41		Stokes 1890		
			bookFermoy f.44		Flower 1926		
					Lambert2004		
					, forthcoming	Digal fola Crist	Da bliadhain .xl.
					Kenney 1929		uero
					Bielier 1953		Audite omnes
					Orchard1993	[Sechnall]	amantes

cf. f.90r c.1

Thema	Source: CCH	Source: LQE	Source: CC	Source: CK	Source: other	Parallel: LB	Parallel: YBL	Parallel: BLE
					cf. Lib. hymn TCD 1441 + UCD OFMA2	238C	cf. c.680 p.71	
						261a, 37; 131r; cf.260b	cf. c.221, p.407 a 7 vs. c.869c, p.171; c.802. p.136?	
						262a27; 38; 131v		

Thema	Parallel: FCB	Parallel: LFF	Parallel: other	Lectio	Editio	Title	Incipit
			cf. B502 f.54; LU p.5, G50; Stowe Missal Egerton 1782 f.1 cf. RIA C iii 2 TCD 1337 p.610b TCD 1441 f.33-34 RIA 23 E 25 f.5a cf. Laud misc.615		O'Beirne 1871 Bernard 1898 I 162; Stokes 1899 Best 1929:11 Clancy 1995 Bisagni 2004 2008, 2009, forthcoming Henry 2006 Reeves 1864 Reeves 1873 Windisch 1882 Meyer 1895, 1899:17 1919-1921 Kenney 1929 Gwynn 1911 Stokes 1880 Plummer '10	[Dallán] Amra Choluim Chille	Locc don imon sa Ara ... Aed mac Ainmirech cen fell
			Add. 30512 f.20a1 RIA 23 N 10 p.82 RIA 23 P 3 f.14r TCD 1285 f.125v Maynooth M 48; cf. Rawl. B 512?			Incipit Reglum Mochuta Rathin doforcetul .x. timma for cech oenduine [Fothud na Canóine]	Ite ascnam na flatha
	vs.ii 20(72)va i.?		Bruselles 2324-40 cf. Bruselles 5100-4			Celltair Dichill Diarmuta Indsi Clothrand	Beit comsnáud

Thema

Source: CCH Source: LQE Source: CC

Source: CK

Source: other

Parallel: LB Parallel: YBL Parallel: BLE

262b75;  
38; 131v

263a; 1

cf. c.3 p.255

Thema	Parallel: FCB	Parallel: LFF	Parallel: other	Lectio	Editio	Title	Incipit
			Brus. 2324-40 f.65 cf.Bruselles 5100		Meyer 1915; Stokes 1895	Loricca Coluim Cilli incipit	Sciath De nonim umam
			Rawl B 502 p.106				
			YBL c.3 p.255				
			Hartley 5280 f.75r		Stokes 1862, 1868, 1891-4		
			RIA D ii 1 p.177r		MacCarthy		
			RIA 23 N 10 p.74		1892 Meyer		
			TCD 1317 p.13/77		1912:1-128		
			TCD 1339 p.179a		Russell 1988,		Adam .i. homo no
			UCD A 12 p.1-40		2008:9, 2010	Sanas Cormaic	terrarena
			Laud misc.610.79				



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 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson G 99 [s.xii<sup>ex</sup>-xiii<sup>med</sup>]  
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## Samenvatting

### Inleiding

*An Leabhar Breac* (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 23 P 16 (olim 1230) betekent 'Het Gespikkelde Boek', verwijzend naar de gevlekte kaft. Deze titel is echter niet de originele: eerder stond het bekend als *Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighre*, 'Het Grote Boek van Duniry'. Dit handschrift is geschreven in ieder geval tussen 1408 en 1411 door Murchadh Riabach Ó Cuindlis, zo lezen we in notities die zijn toegevoegd. Het materiaal meet circa 40,5 bij 28 centimeter, afgezien van drie bladen met afwijkende afmetingen, waarover later meer. Er zijn totaal 142 bladen gebonden in twee delen; de delen zijn afzonderlijk in het bezit van de bibliotheek gekomen en daar pas later samengebonden. Een insulair Iers schrift is in twee kolommen onderverdeeld, diverse kleine afwijkingen daargelaten. Kapitalen zijn eenvoudig; enkele initialen zijn uitvoeriger uitgevoerd in rood, oranje, geel en blauw. Illustraties zijn er slechts twee: van de zevenarmige kandelaar op p.121, van de kruisiging op p.166. Ook vermeldenswaard zijn de vele marginalia met gedichten en opmerkingen over plaatsen en weer. Op het gegeven dat het handschrift is geschreven in het Iers en Latijn wordt verder uitgebreid ingegaan. Het manuscript bevat voornamelijk religieuze teksten, met enig historisch materiaal er toebehorend. Aan de aanvang staan passies van Christus, paus Silvester en Marcellinus, gevolgd door regels voor Ierse monniken, een genealogie van Ierse heiligen en van de volgelingen van sint Patrick. De laatste heeft ook zijn eigen heiligenleven, net als Stefanus en Columba. Deze *vitae* worden opgevolgd door homilieën, geleerde preken, over koningen, Bijbelse personages en feestdagen. Daarna zijn dan twee *vitae* te vinden van Martinus en Brigitta en meer homilieën over christelijke deugden en ook over de aartsengel Michaël. Aansluitend zijn er twee grote tekstblokken, het ene een kalender met de heilige martelaren van het geloof, het andere een sectie over bijbel en geschiedenis. Na deze passages komen er weer passies en homilieën, onder andere van Christus en de apostelen, en over de heilige paasweek. Verder lezen we legenden van Alexander de Grote en het heilige kruis en weer meer homilieën over de christelijke deugden en Ierse heiligen. Deel twee van het handschrift omvat een woordenlijst, de passie van Christoforus, diverse gedichten en de visie van sint Bernardus, onder vele andere, secundaire teksten.

Hoewel het handschrift tegenwoordig uit 142 bladen bestaat, is bekend dat er in 1708 nog 144 waren. Er zijn dan ook toevoegingen en lacunes in het manuscript. In het eerste geval gaat het om pagina's 57-58, 185-186, 199-200 en 238A-238D. De eerste drie bladen zijn van een ander formaat, en hebben toegevoegde tekst die was weggevallen; het laatstgenoemde blad behoorde voorheen wel tot het handschrift, maar is pas later door de bibliotheek verworven. Wat de lacunes

betreft: deze bevinden zich na pagina 6, 186, 204, 210, 238, 238D, 260 en 280. Volgens de catalogus is het aantal missende pagina's bij deze lacunes het gevolg van het herhaaldelijke verbinden van het handschrift mettertijd. De eerste keren dat we weten dat dat gebeurde waren in 1831, 1844, en nogmaals in 1973. Er is echter reden om te denken dat de codex nog steeds niet geheel juist gebonden is. Deze redenen omvatten onder meer de vijf verschillende systemen van foliëren. Een ervan heeft de nummers 3-18 en 19-38 en is nu te vinden op pagina's 59-74 en 243-262. Dit doet vermoeden dat de twee secties ooit aaneensluitend zijn geweest. Een ander systeem nummert van 1 tot en met 90, beginnend op p.109 en eindigend op p.202 (niet op pp.185-6 en 199-200). Door gebruikssporen is het bekend dat dit ooit de laatste pagina van een sectie was. Een derde nummering is daadwerkelijk een foliëren, zodat alleen de rechterpagina's in het eerste deel gemarkeerd worden. Dit systeem stemt evenmin overeen met twee meer recente systemen van foliëren; de ene heeft Romeinse cijfers op de eerste vijftig pagina's, de andere heeft Arabische cijfers in het hele handschrift, uitgezonderd deel twee en toegevoegde bladen 238A-D. Naar diverse verschrijvingen in de verschillende nummeringen was volop verwarring het gevolg, waardoor wederom meerdere annotaties de aandacht vestigen op zulke talrijke tekortkomingen in codicologie.

### Compositie

De bovenstaande introductie van het manuscript plaveit de weg voor conclusies wat betreft de vraag van Ierse tweetalige vaardigheid in het licht van Insulaire en Europese middeleeuwse intellectuele cultuur. Op basis van deze conclusies volgt een perspectief op toekomstige studies naar codewissel en het homiletisch genre. De conclusies afgeleid van het huidige onderzoek corresponderen met de drie deelgebieden van onderzoek zoals uiteengezet in de introductie. Deelgebied één omvat de compositie van de *Leabhar Breac* betreffende codicologie, compilatie en genre. In het geheel geen willekeurige collectie van achteloze kopieën van eerder handschriftmateriaal, de compilatie van de *Leabhar Breac* is aantoonbaar bewust en doelmatig gecreëerd naar de wensen van zijn samensteller. Een preliminaire reconstructie van de originele volgorde van de compositie beduidt een coherente constructie achter elk katern, alsook een plausibele planning van de verscheiden stadia en genre van het kopiëren van materiaal. Discrete onderverdelingen voor historische, homiletische en narratieve katernen zijn stuksgewijs aangepast naar de grotere agenda van het gehele handschrift. Deze segmenten tonen ook wat de individuele distributie van talen is, hetgeen niet per definitie overeenstemde met de talen van bronnen en parallellen. Kortom, de kopiist van de *Leabhar Breac* was bewust bezig met het creëren van zijn compilaties. Dit idee is eenduidig met een verkenning in andere handschriften en hun artiesten. Vergelijkbare schrijfsels bij het homiletisch genre beduiden dat de kopiist kon variëren in taalgebruik tussen verschillende handschriften, alsook dat verschillende kopiïsten andere keuzes te

gelde maakten voor de taal van dezelfde tekst zelfs binnen hetzelfde handschrift. Taalkeuze is daarbij een individuele stijloverweging zowel als een bewuste optie ter versteviging van de coherentie van een compilatie. Zulk tweetalig talent valt te ontwaren bij Murchadh Ó Cuindlis en Iollann Mac an Leagha aan Ierse zijden, en bij Hugh Legat, John Swetstock en John Pauntley in de Engelse hoedanigheid.

Dientengevolge is de conclusie te billijken dat de *Leabhar Breac* bestaat in aparte stukken ontvreemd van hun oorspronkelijke context en toegespitst door diverse methodes op deze later compilatie. De gecompliceerde compilatie van dergelijke verhandelingen met hun intiem verwezen talen kan worden gekoppeld aan hun kopiïsten en hun achtergronden in academisch onderwijs en tekstkritiek. Doelen van deze handschriften en teksten waren geleerd en bieden zodoende alternatief voor de gebruikelijke enge benadering van zulke stukken als kerkelijk of seculier respectievelijk. Hiermee kan de nadruk van het onderzoek naar historische tekst meer neigen naar het publiek dan naar het speculatief zoeken tot verzamelingen van homilieën welke al dan niet bestaan hebben. De codewisseling in de *Leabhar Breac* omvat een herkenbare homiletische conventie voor zowel de opstellers als de gebruikers van de teksten, gezien hun ontwikkelingsstadium tussen de basis in Latijn en het naleven in Iers. Hoewel een mate van tweetaligheid exceptioneel is in de *Leabhar Breac*, is het gecombineerd gebruik van talen klaarblijkelijk zowel productief en vitaal als onbeladen voor zijn producenten en consumenten, die in een meertalige omgeving gewoon waren te werken. Zulke talige en sociale staat van zaken lijkt gelijkend aan beide zijden van de Ierse Zee, daarmee een bijdrage leverend aan de gevorderde staat van Insulaire geleerdheid. Toekomstige studies naar het publiek van zulke producties kan maatschappelijk tekstgebruik duiden.

### Taalgebruik

Deelgebied *twéé* omvat de gebruikte talen in de *Leabhar Breac*. Zoals gebleken in de bovenstaande overwegingen van codicologie was taalgebruik van historische bronnen verre van willekeurig. Een opzet van compilatie achter de *Leabhar Breac* is klaarblijkelijk bedoeld om beide talen de plaats te bieden in hetzelfde geschrift en van geen van hen te veronderstellen dat deze dominant of ondergeschikt zou zijn in een vaststaand systeem of hiërarchische status. Zelfs wanneer het gebruik van Iers is gebaseerd op het vertalen van Latijnse elementen, of wanneer Latijnse segmenten verwijzen naar autoritaire werken, dan nog zijn er Ierse passages die niet dienen tot vertaling en Latijnse stukken van oorspronkelijke compositie van een begenadigd kopiïst. Dit productieproces van taalgebruik ontkracht verwijten gemaakt aan historische data dat zij enkel bewust en gemarkeerd taalgebruik wil omvatten. Integendeel, de aangetoonde spontaniteit van codewisseling resulteert uit een acceptabel vermengen van verschillende registers en formaliteiten binnen een samenleving, in plaats van een hypothetisch onderscheid tussen informelere

en formelere schrijfsituaties waar codewisseling al dan niet gerechtvaardigd zou zijn. Een open blik tot historische codewisseling plaveit de weg voor een analyse volgens de methodologie van moderne theorieën. Wat dit betreft mag benadrukt worden dat de veranderlijkheid voor het middeleeuwse handschrift en zijn data, alsmede de wederkerigheid van teksttransmissie en spelling zonder standaarden geen voeding bieden voor opvattingen dat middeleeuwse talen stabiele waarden in de samenleving vertegenwoordigden. Anders gezegd moet Latijn niet worden beschouwd als een verheven taal in middeleeuws Ierland en Engeland, evenmin als het gebruik van de volkstalen een daad van nationaal of cultureel verzet zou moeten beslaan. Dientengevolge is de nuttigste aanpak van historische wisseling in talen niet gebaseerd op een meerderheid van syntactische gevallen waar zulk een fenomeen plaatsvindt, noch op een prescriptieve benadering van historische codewisseling waar moderne modellen bepalen welke bestaande data juister zijn dan welke andere bestaande data. Integendeel, historische codewisseling en haar diverse data dienen descriptief en analytisch gezien, op basis van ware bronnen.

#### Taalkundige modellen

De distributie van historische codewisseling verklaart *waarom* talen geutiliseerd worden *waar* dit gebeurt. De driedeling van codewisseling bepleit door Muysken (2000) biedt hierbij de meeste inhoudelijke houvast en de meest gedetailleerde en bruikbare resultaten vergeleken met andere theorieën, zoals de *Matrix Language Frame* modellen van Myers-Scotton (1993) en het voor het Iers aangepaste model van Bisagni (2013-14). Integendeel, Muysken en zijn model gebaseerd op ideeën van *government* ziet codewisseling niet als de insertie van geïsoleerde segmenten in een dominante spraak, een situatie die meer overeenkomt met een voormalig stadium van de tweetalige samenleving waarin het gebruik van de volkstaal was ondergeschikt aan de dominante aanwezigheid van Latijn. *Insertie* is daarbij een beter bruikbaar idee voor het vroege genre van glossen zoals bestudeerd door de voornoemde Bisagni (2013-14) en Stam (2017), in wier geval codewisseling geen geheel geïntegreerd gegeven vormt. In de lopende tekst van de homilieën binnen de *Leabhar Breac* is alternantie het dominante type van codewisseling, present bij bijna de helft van alle gevallen. Gezien de grammaticale vaardigheden benodigd bij het gelijkwaardig gebruik van twee talen in één uiting moge worden beweerd dat de *Leabhar Breac* een grotere tweetalige competentie bevraagt aan de kant van producent en consument. Deze competentie dient bestudeerd in verder detail in het licht van de diachrone ontwikkeling van Latijn naar Iers in teksten in Ierland. Deze keuze voor codewisseling in een tijd waarin Iers volledig onafhankelijk en functioneel was, is wellicht eerder bewijs van taalvoorkeuren dan van beheersen.

*Alternantie* in codewisseling komt overeen met de theorieën van *government*, die betrekking hebben op de syntactische relatie tussen lexicale elementen in zinnen. In veel gevallen van alternantie treden er echter problemen op bij codewisseling tussen syntactisch onafhankelijke segmenten als werkwoorden en hun argument of het hoofd en zijn bijstellingen. Tevens problematisch is het gebruikelijk gebrek aan lineaire equivalentie tussen twee talen, vooral aan het werkwoordelijk begin van zinnen en in het geval van idiomatische uitdrukkingen. Zulke neutralisering van onderscheid tussen talen is klaarblijkelijk een vruchtbaar onderzoeksgebied. Verschillende strategieën bestaan voor het laten vervloeien van twee talen, zoals de neutralisering van conflicterende componenten of de verheffing van in beider talen marginale of gemarkeerde constructies. Deze strategieën van neutralisering wijzen naar een derde type codewisseling, congruente lexicalisering. Dergelijke nauw verweven vormen van codewisseling beduiden het door Muysken geduid gebruik van *code-mengen*, waarbij twee talen productief worden gebruikt om hier een derde taal met een herkenbare en onwillekeurige structuur mee te scheppen. *Congruente lexicalisering* of *code-mengen* vormt een van de velerlei strategieën om met taalcontact om te gaan, naast neutralisering, standaardisering of vermindering. Door de inburgering van codewisseling, met haar conflicterende constructies, tot het spectrum van taalcontact kunnen verwante verschijnselen zoals ontlening en interferentie ook verbonden worden. De vraag is niet zo zeer, hoe codewisseling moet worden gedefinieerd om de data te analyseren, maar veel eerder hoe zulke verscheidene gradaties van codewisseling ingekapseld kunnen worden en aldus een bijdrage leveren aan een beter begrip van tweetaligheid. Dit reeds gewenste sterkere historische perspectief in onderzoek van codewisseling gaat niet uit van een strikte definitie van deze term, maar zoekt ruimte binnen de definitie van de codewisseling voor de analyse van historische data volgens moderne methoden.

### Intellectuele kringen

De combinatie van talen in het derde type codewisseling heeft repercussies voor deelgebied *dríe*, de educatie en de intellectuele cultuur in Ierland en de Insulaire omgeving zoals vergeleken met het vasteland. Bronnen over Ierse intellectuelen maken duidelijk dat zij beschikten over het volledig arsenaal aan geschriften van commentaren op de bijbel door de kerkvaders en de Karolingers, van wettelijke bundels van Insulaire en continentale komaf, en van de heiligenlevens, litanieën, hymnen, oraties en visioenen vanuit verschillende plaatsen en tijden verzameld. De combinatie van deze verscheidene bronnen in Latijn en de volkstalen door de kopiïst van de *Leabhar Breac* en zijn tijdgenoten in Ierland en Engeland wijst naar hun grote intellectuele vaardigheid. De meertaligheid present in zulke geleerden betoont ook sterk de verbondenheid van Ierland en Engeland in de tweede helft van de middeleeuwen. Vergeleken met Ierland kende Engeland een soortgelijke achtergrond, vorm en taalkeuze in geschreven preken. Ondanks die overlap was

de status van de volkstaal evenwel vrij verschillend in de beide gemeenschappen aan weerszijden van de Ierse Zee. Ten eerste schijnt de Engelse codewisseling de vrijere hand te hebben en minder gereguleerd te worden door een grammaticale getrouwheid, waardoor er vergeleken met Ierland een groter percentage is voor congruente lexicalisering. Ten tweede wordt Engels nimmer gebruikt los van het Latijn, noch heeft het Engels een woordelijke kwantiteit of een eerder structurele kwaliteit vergelijkbaar met de dominante Latijnse taal. Dientengevolge schijnt de alternantie een niet zo dominant type van codewisseling in Engeland als Ierland. Deze gewaarwording kan worden gebruikt om verdere conclusies te trekken uit de relatieve status van Latijn en de volkstalen in homilieën uit beide landstreken.

#### Status in de samenleving

Getuige de categorisatie bij Muysken (2000) is de differentiatie van de drie types codewisseling niet enkel een methodologie om individuele gevallen van analyse te voorzien, maar tevens een bewijs van de relatieve status van de twee talen van middeleeuws Ierland en Engeland. De geavanceerde staat van kennis in de beide talen en samenlevingen scheppen de verwachting dat hun teksten eerder kiezen voor congruente lexicalisering en alternantie, met hun hoog ontwikkeld gebruik van twee talen, dan voor insertie, met haar hiërarchisch beeld van een dominant en een recessief gebruikte taal. Precies deze vondst is gedaan in de Latijnse/Ierse homilieën en de Latijnse/Engelse preken, zelfs al zijn deze niet representatief van de gehele samenleving. De relatief hoge percentages in congruente lexicalisering bij preken uit middeleeuws Engeland komen overeen met een samenleving waar twee talen en betrekkelijk gelijke status hebben en niet zijn onderverdeeld in een apart register. Dit heeft verband met de diachrone ontwikkeling van de volkstaal in Engeland: hooggewaardeerd in de vroege middeleeuwen, verjaagd tijdens de Normandische invasie van 1066, en eindelijk hersteld in glorie in de tweede helft van de dertiende eeuw. Anders gezegd zijn Latijn en Engels wellicht niet genoeg zij aan zij gebruikt om de overvloed aan alternantie te genereren als van Ierland. Deze dominantie van alternantie in Ierland is vrij verrassend, gezien het feit dat beide talen hier in overeenkomstige registers zijn gebruikt. Een goede verklaring zou zijn dat de Ieren hun talen dusdanig goed gewoon waren dat zij ook konden bemerken hoe de twee de scheiden wanneer de communicatie van gebruiker tot ontvanger daarom vroeg. Codewisseling door alternantie beduidt evenzeer zoals congruente lexicalisering een hoge status voor beide talen in het geleerde milieu, maar met een meer gereguleerd gebruik van beide talen binnen de samenleving. Het vereist behoorlijke vaardigheid om twee talen in eenzelfde spraakhandeling te omvatten, maar niettemin elk te onderscheiden naar gelang de omstandigheid van genre en publiek. Dit idee bevestigt dat codewisseling in de *Leabhar Breac* het best geduid kan worden volgens dezelfde wetten als haar moderne equivalenten en dientengevolge eveneens een spontane, ongemarkeerde compositie van tekst

en handschrift behelst, waarbij codewisseling een toegestane techniek blijkt voor intellectuele transmissie van de kant van zowel de producent alsook consument in het groepsproces omtrent tweetaligheid. Het valt te wensen dat codewisseling in andere teksttypes met dezelfde blik wordt gezien om deze resultaten verder te bevestigen, daar een hoge frequentie van alternantie en congruente lexicalisering in andere teksttypes een kanttekening kan plaatsen bij de voorkeursbehandeling van insertie in voorgaande studies als Muysken et al. (2007) en Bisagni (2013-14), om onze veronderstellingen over de middeleeuws Ierse samenleving te wijzigen.

#### Hoofdvraag en hypothese

Deze drie deelgebieden boven geschetst beantwoorden de hoofdvraag van deze studie, te weten wat de verschillende verschijningswijzen en functies omtrent de tweetaligheid in de homiletische katernen van de *Leabhar Breac* aan informatie te bieden hebben wat betreft de talige, culturele en intellectuele positie van Ierland binnen middeleeuws Europa. De grammaticale gedaanten van codewisseling in de geschiedenis hebben vertoond dat haar syntactische raamwerk analyseerbaar is volgens methoden van moderne codewisseling. In haar functies, daarentegen, bestaat een sterke onderstroom van discursieve bedoelingen verbonden met een betekenis buiten, tussen of onder de tekst. Niettemin hebben de meeste gevallen van codewisseling betrekking op de syntactische en grammaticale overwegingen van de kopiïst van de *Leabhar Breac*. De dominantie van zowel alternantie alsook congruente lexicalisering aldaar bewijst niet alleen de tweetalige vaardigheid bij deze kopiïsten, doch ook de verregaande integratie van de twee talen in de Ierse samenleving en daarmee de educatieve en intellectuele capaciteiten nodig om de codewisseling in iedere individuele tekst aan te passen aan de eisen van publiek en de potentiële mecenas. De excellente educatie zoals gecultiveerd bij dergelijke vertalers, schrijvers, redacteurs en kopiïsten in Latijn, Iers, Engels en wellicht in het Frans stelden hen in staat hun taalgebruik te variëren vanuit de brontekst tot de doelttekst naar dezelfde maatstaven als modern taalgebruik binnen een groep. Samenvattend tonen de gradaties van codewisseling in de homiletische katernen van de *Leabhar Breac* een tweetalige vaardigheden vergelijkbaar met de moderne meertalige samenleving, waarbij de kwaliteiten in compilatie en compositie in de kopiïsten van Ierland alleen vagelijk geëvenaard werden door hun evenknie van Engelse komaf en in nog geringere mate door de dichters in macaroni binnen de Italiaanse renaissance. Zodoende benutte de Ierse intellectuele cultuur de teksten en traditie van voornamelijk Insulaire en zijdelings continentale wetenschappen, terwijl zij tegelijkertijd de ontwikkelingen van de volkstaal elders in Europa naar de kroon stak door haar intieme integratie van zowel taal als tekstcultuur binnen de universele Latijnse en lokale Ierse intellectuele milieus van de middeleeuwen.

Toekomstig onderzoek

Dergelijke conclusies wat betreft de Ierse/Latijnse *Leabhar Breac* en zijn plaats in de Ierse en Europese middeleeuwse beschaving bieden menig aanknopingspunt voor verder onderzoek in deze gebieden. Eén gebied waarin huidig onderzoek te gebruiken is, is de diachrone benadering van de studie naar codewisseling, zoals Muysken (2000) al had betoogd met betrekking tot de sterkere historische ankers gewenst voor codewisseling. Het huidig onderzoek heeft betoond dat universele beginsels van moderne theorieën niet per definitie gedeeld worden door de data van historische bevindingen. De variëteit die de handschrifttransmissie beduidt, zorgt dat elke diachrone theorie van codewisseling deze flexibiliteit in oogmerk moet nemen. Bovendien behoeft toekomstig onderzoek voordeel te ondervinden van de incorporatie van talige verschijnselen gerelateerd aan codewisseling, bij voorbeeld interferentie, ontlening of vermijding. Een ander gebied om bijdragen te ontlenen aan de huidige publicatie is de studie naar de onderliggende taal van codewisselingen. De suggestie bestaat dat de intieme verbintenissen tussen talen beter gezien dienen te worden als een integrale taal in zichzelf als van de *Leabhar Breac*, boven een beschouwing als een tussenstadium waarin beide systemen van syntaxis onvolledig zijn gerealiseerd. Elk talenpaar in codewisseling is daardoor in feite een eigen idiolect hetgeen niet verhult dat er individuele karakteristieken kunnen zijn vanwege de universele of ontleende eigenschappen van de brontaal. Integendeel, uit een hypothetische lijst van regels en regulering in codewisseling kan ieder talenpaar bepaalde keuze maken en laten wat betreft *optimaliteittheorie*. Bijvoorbeeld beproeft de combinatie van Latijn en Iers in de *Leabhar Breac* keuzes voor initiële insertie met verborgen koppelwerkwoorden om zo de gaten tussen de talen te vullen; Iers heeft haar werkwoorden immers initieel, terwijl het Latijn zijn werkwoorden laatstelijk plaatst. In het algemeen maakt de codewisseling bij Latijn en Iers duidelijke keuzes voor de selectie van haar afhankelijke segmenten die tevoren toch als universeel verbod op codewisseling hadden moeten gelden. De precieze parameters van een violatie van *afhankelijkheid* behoeven in het geval van codewisseling in Latijn en Iers voorts verdere onderzoeking. Het voorgaand verhandelde vertoont verschillen tussen de behandeling van codewisselingen in onderwerpen en lijdend voorwerpen naar gelang hun syntactische systemen. Uit het werk van Halmari en Regetz (2011) wordt geopperd dat de codewisseling in nominale elementen zonder probleem verbonden werd aan koppelwerkwoorden zelfs wanneer dit werkwoord ontbreekt. In het geval van de codewisseling Latijn en Iers is er evenwel een verschil tussen de eigenschappen van het onderwerp en het lijdend voorwerp in overgankelijke werkwoorden. In de *Leabhar Breac* blijken codewisselingen in onderwerpen onproblematisch, directe lijdende voorwerpen bijkans ongehoord, en indirecte lijdende voorwerpen ingeburgerd ondanks hun overtreding van lineaire equivalentie. Deze constatering bevestigt de neiging van Muysken et al. (2007) om objecten, maar niet onderwerpen, als een geselecteerde



constructie bij het predicaat, en dus als een beperking van codewisseling, te zien. Deze gebieden verdienen verder onderzoek om hun relatieve waarden te wegen.

Gerelateerd aan het probleem van *afhankelijkheid* binnen de specifieke contexten van codewisseling tussen Latijn en Iers in de *Leabhar Breac* is de kwestie van een *diamorf*. Dit ambigue element wordt zelden meegenomen in de classificaties van codewisseling daar het niet mogelijk of wenselijk is om het tot een der twee talen te rekenen, hoewel Muysken (2000) en Wright (2011) een belangrijke bijdrage te leveren hebben gehad voor het gebruik van het begrip. Het huidige onderzoek is evenwel een indicatie dat dergelijke ambigue elementen binnen de *Leabhar Breac* in kwantiteit overvloed aanwezig zijn en in kwaliteit verschillen naar gelang drie typen van codewisseling. Een groot getal aan ambigue elementen mag gerekend worden tot benamingen van personen en plaatsen van Latijnse origine in context van de volkstaal. Zulke namen worden niet zelden genegeerd in onderzoek naar codewisseling, ook al zijn zij klaarblijkelijk een probaat middel om de tweetalige kenmerken van een tekst te onderstrepen en de verschillen tussen de twee talen te verkleinen. Het strekt de studie naar historische codewisseling tot voordeel als de varianten van namen in de volkstaal in kaart worden gebracht naar voorbeeld van de verzameling van namen van Ierse heiligen. Het is namelijk sterk relevant of een naam voorkomt in de volkstaal om te bepalen of een tekstelement ambigu is of niet. De rol van flexie bij de classificatie van namen als ofwel insertie, ofwel congruente lexicalisering dient eveneens verder onderzocht. Namen die aanzien als Latijnse vormen kunnen ook versteende Ierse verbuigingen vertonen geleend van Latijnse flexies. Dit is te zien in de namen van Herodes bij de Ierse zinsnede, *aris lahiruath tetrachai mac herotis maic antipater maic herotis* 'want het is Herodes, de tetrarch, zoon van Herodes, zoon van Antipater, zoon van Herodes, te wijten.' Een laatste aspect van ambigue elementen moet ook verder worden onderzocht, namelijk de nieuwe categorie van emblemen, woorden waarvan de functie bij de beide talen kan worden geschaard op basis van hun visuele versies of pictogram. Vooral de variatie tussen ambigue elementen en de verschijningsvormen binnen de volkstalen tussen verschillende handschriften behoeft verdere onderzoeking.

Wat betreft de aan de *Leabhar Breac* verwante handschriften is het belangrijk om te benadrukken dat hierin het gebruik van bronnen en parallellen niet behoorde tot de hoofdmoot van het onderzoek, dat zich hoofdzakelijk beperkte tot de talen van codewisseling zoals zij verschijnen en niet zoals zij ooit zouden zijn bedoeld. Het valt nog te bezien in hoeverre de tekstuele recensies in de *Leabhar Breac* zich verhouden tot hun parallellen in de *Yellow Book of Lecan*, *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum*, en de manuscripten in Londen en Parijs voor wat betreft de taal en de homilieën. Daarbuiten behoeft de precieze schatplichtigheid van de *Leabhar Breac* aan zulke homiletische en heterogene collecties als de *Liber Questionum in Evangeliiis*, als de *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*, en als de diverse *Catechesis* beduidend verregaand betere beschrijving dan heden. De aanzienlijke intellectuele verdiensten van een

kopiïst als die van de *Leabhar Breac* qua compilatie en adaptatie van zijn bronnen behelst evident een persoonlijke agenda in taal en tekst. Een exact gehalte van de originele teksten en bewerkte versies kan echter nooit worden berekend voor dit belangrijke handschrift, voordat de analyse van bronnen en parallellen volmaakt wordt, wat wellicht voer is voor een volgende dissertatie. Wat betreft adaptaties van de karakteristieke kenmerken van het herkenbare homiletisch genre en haar conventies kan een studie van soortgelijke handschriften nader bepalen hoeverre de plichtplegingen in introductie en conclusie van homilieën afkomstig zijn van Latijnse bronnen, hoeverre zij zijn gekopieerd of geadapteerd van een voormalig Ierse bewerking, en hoeverre de kopiïst van de *Leabhar Breac* een actieve rol heeft vervuld in hun vervolmaking. Het heeft er de schijn van dat de Latijnse frasen in de *Leabhar Breac* aangepast zijn aan de Ierse context hetgeen mogelijkheden biedt voor het hypothetische bestaan van een collectie van homiletische componenten zoals aanhef, thema en onderverdelingen. Verder onderzoek moet uitwijzen dat de gradaties van innovatie in de *Leabhar Breac* al dan niet uniek zijn aan de codex en dientengevolge dat er al dan niet sprake is geweest van een Iers homiliarium.

De affiliaties tussen en buiten de teksten van de *Leabhar Breac* betreffen het finale desideratum van het huidige onderzoek, waarvan het te betreuren is dat hiertoe geen gelegenheid is gevonden binnen het presente project naar homiletische taal, te weten de waardevolle marginale notities in al de hoeken van de *Leabhar Breac*. Alhoewel deze buiten beschouwing van de taalanalyse zijn gelaten door gebrek aan betrokkenheid bij de homiletische teksten, betrekken de marginalia waarlijk en baarlijk elke hoek en nis van het handschrift. Het gebruik van bemerkingen in interlineaire positie bij de poëzie van Columba is wellicht uitzonderlijk, want de meeste notities noden de inkijs in het leven van de kopiïst, zijn reizen, seizoenen en mistroostige weersomstandigheden, stemmingen en herinneringen, poëtische presentaties die het gesproken woord vereeuwigen in het geschreven geheugen. Sommige notities zijn aangewend om de periode van productiviteit in bepaalde katernen te reconstrueren; de meeste marginalia blijven onvolmaakt onderzocht. Deze residuen van orale traditie kunnen worden verbonden aan de homilieën en hun herinneringen aan gesproken instructie. Die interactie tussen geschreven en gesproken cultuur kan ook in ogenschouw genomen worden voor het gebruik in de loop der tijd van idiomen en uitdrukkingen. Daarbuiten is het te billijken dat de door de kopiïst benutte bronnen beter betoond worden, eveneens als plaatsen en personen tot wie deze voorheen behoorden, om zo een bijdrage te leveren aan de wetenschapsgeschiedenis. Ó Cuindlis was nauw betrokken bij taal en woord zoals te zien in de teksten, zodat de marginale memorabilia van hun producent, en van hun consumenten, wellicht verder licht laten schijnen op transitie tussen een periode waarin eerst Latijn en later Iers werd gebruikt om ideeën te duiden. Deze interactie tussen gelijkwaardige talen vindt zijn hoogtepunt in de vaak en vrij voorkomende codewisseling in de middeleeuwse Ierse *Leabhar Breac*.

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~ Alteri eegae meae amoris sempiterni causa intimus locus dissertationis, cordis ~  
~ vitaeque reservetur. ~



**Curriculum vitæ**

Tom ter Horst was born in Nijmegen, in the Netherlands, on 6 March 1985. In 2003 he obtained his high school diploma from the Stedelijk Gymnasium Nijmegen, after which he went to Radboud University Nijmegen to study Classics (BA) and English (BA and MA; cum laude). He relocated to Utrecht to pursue a Research Master in Medieval Studies (cum laude), after which he worked as a research assistant in a project on the Latin apostolic apocrypha. He undertook a PhD at Utrecht University as a part of the Vrije Competitie project on 'Medieval Irish Bilingualism' and finished his dissertation in 2016.