Stability and variation of inflectional morphology in medieval code-switching
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In my contribution I address stability and variation of inflectional morphology based on empirical evidence from historical written code-switching and discuss them in the light of structural approaches proposed for modern oral and written code-switching (CS) (Myers-Scotton 2002; MacSwan 2014; Belazi et al. 1994). The aim of this is twofold. First, I show which syntactic structures and morphological reflexes of syntactic relations are stable and which ones are more variable under contact. Second, I propose an approach to the theoretical modeling of CS constraints, which is designed to capture the observed variability and stability in historical and also in modern CS.

My line of argument is based primarily on examples extracted from a collection of Latin/Middle English sermons from ca. 1450 (ed. Horner 2006). These show alternation and insertion patterns strikingly similar to the ones reported in systematic accounts of modern code-switching (Muysken 2000; Myers-Scotton 2002). The mixing patterns in the verbal domain are consistent with the predictions of Myers-Scotton's MLF Model (2002): the position of the finite verb and the morphological expression of agreement on the verb appear to be regulated by the Matrix Language (ML) of the clause. However, the predictions of the model do not hold for case and concord marking inside the nominal domain. In addition to the predicted ML inflections on embedded language (EL) insertions (Ex. 1) or uninflected bare EL forms (Ex. 2) there are occasional EL inflections in mixed constituents as a third variant (Ex. 3):

(1)   ... emenda tuum *clock-um* ...
       ... adjust your *clock* ...

(2)   Cape istum *wild fire* contricionis ...
       Take this *wild fire* of contrition ...

(3)   ... put away (...) þis sori *cecitatem desperacionis* ...
       ... put away (...) this sorry *blindness of despair* ...

In short, we find that concord marking shows variation whereas agreement marking does not. This asymmetry between variation in the expression of concord and stability in the expression of agreement is found also in Latin-Early Modern German CS (Luther 1912; Schottel 1995) and is thus not peculiar to the text set. In both cases learned Latin is mixed with a vernacular. Thus the variability arises in a situation where one language is acquired informally as an L1 and the other language is acquired through formal schooling, with a strong focus on correct and incorrect morpho-syntactic forms. In such a contact setting the prescriptive power of explicitly learned morpho-syntax creates an additional CS variant. This variant, however, does not show random mixing but appears to be subject its own DP-internal mixing restrictions, especially with respect to the insertion of EL attributive adjectives.

The MLF Model in its current version takes the CP as its unit of reference and assigns an ML to an entire clause. When looking at certain types of CS the CP seems too large a domain to capture restrictions and peculiarities that affect smaller functional projections (cf. Belazi et al. 1995; Bury & Deuchar, unpubl. MS). ML-regulated restrictions applicable only at CP level cannot account for the difference between subject-verb agreement marking and the marking of case and concord. I propose to keep the ML approach and the constraints proposed by Myers-Scotton, but to include the functional levels of IP and DP and take *Extended Projections* (Grimshaw 2005) as the domains to which an ML is assigned. Adjusting the

domain to which the MLF constraints apply from a complete CP to extended projections allows us to capture the observed asymmetry as well as the variation/optionality concerning the morphological marking of syntactic relations in historical CS. If time permits I want to suggest an explanation of the observed diachronic stability and synchronic variability in terms of feature strength and movement concerning agreement and concord.

I conclude that even though individual languages are subject to continuous change, CS patterns remain surprisingly stable through the centuries. Additional variants can arise in a specific linguistic setting where one language is primarily spoken and transmitted orally and another one is acquired in an official setting, primarily through explicit teaching of prescriptive rules. However, this type of variation occurs with a low frequency and it does not seem to leave a lasting imprint on the recipient language.

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