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William Harvey's *Prelectiones Anatomie Universalis* (1616): Code-Switching in Early Modern English Lecture Notes

Abstract
Historical code-switching has attracted increasing interest in recent years. From the Middle Ages onwards, medical texts have not only reflected the complex multilingualism of Britain, but also the increasing vernacularisation of scientific writing in general. This vernacularisation is often linked to a high incidence of code-switching throughout the medieval and well into the early modern period. The present paper analyses the frequent occurrence of code-switching from Latin into English in a medical text, namely William Harvey's *Prelectiones Anatomie Universalis* (1616). The *Prelectiones* represent Harvey's personal hand-written notes for a cycle of anatomical lectures accompanying a dissection. As such they have been claimed to be rather close to spoken language, though they often consist of incomplete and elliptical syntactic structures. The paper presents a brief analysis of structural and functional aspects of code-switching in these notes and concludes with a discussion of the relation between the written code-switches and their possible spoken realisation in the course of the anatomical lectures.

Key words
Code-switching; Early Modern English; Latin; medical texts; William Harvey; lecture notes

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1. Introduction

The use of the English vernacular in medical texts has a long history in Britain, going back as far as the Anglo-Saxon period. It became particularly wide-spread in the later Middle Ages, when the increasing vernacularisation of medical texts helped to spread medical knowledge outside universities and gave more and more

people access to learning (cf. Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004: 2–12). The co-existence of Latin and English in medical writing is also reflected in the large number of late medieval multilingual manuscripts as well as in the frequent occurrence of code-switching in medical texts (see Voigts 1989: 96). The choice between Latin and English partly depended on the specific type of text, with academic treatises being more typically in Latin than, e.g. remedy books.[1] A "first phase of vernacularisation seems to have been largely complete by 1475" (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004: 12), by which time even academic medical treatises were sometimes written in English (Voigts 1996). However, as late as 1534, Thomas Elyot felt compelled to justify the use of the vernacular in the preface to his *Castle of Health*, a book on 'physicke', i.e. an academic medical treatise. Quite generally, "Latin prevailed in printed scientific books until the middle of the seventeenth century", though a number of scientists, including Francis Bacon, wrote and published works both in Latin and in English (Taavitsainen 2004: 38; 69, note 2). The long preference for Latin in specialised treatises resulted on the one hand from its still undisputed status as the language of education and institutional discourse in Britain, on the other hand on its status as the international language of science. Any author who aimed at an international readership would have used Latin as the lingua franca for his published works.

The above-mentioned frequent occurrence of code-switching is not restricted to medical texts, but is a widespread phenomenon in medieval texts in general, which reflects the complex multilingual situation of medieval Britain (see, e.g., Wright 1998, Schendl 2000, 2002, Pahta and Nurmi 2006, Schendl and Wright forthcoming). It seems partly linked to the process of language shift in specific genres and text types (see Schendl 2002: 70) and the vernacularisation of medicine and medical treatises seems to have provided a favourable background for this particular expression of bilingualism in written texts.

Code-switching in medieval medical texts has attracted the interest both of medievalists and historical linguists for some time, see in particular Voigts (1989, 1996), who provides a typology of mixed medical texts, Hunt (2000) and Pahta (2003, 2004), though there is still room for further research. These studies list quite a number of typical functions of code-switching both in Latin and in vernacular medieval medical texts, such as quoting from an authoritative source, using Latin medical terminology, or using Latin for tabooed expressions or even whole text passages; on the other hand, vernacular recipes are often inserted into Latin texts. Recent research in this field has greatly profited from the publication of the electronic *Corpus of Middle English Medical Texts* (2004), which has introduced corpus-linguistic methodology into code-switching research and has also provided the empirical basis for Pahta (2004).

On the other hand, code-switching in medical texts from the Early Modern English period has so far received hardly any attention. A preliminary study of switching in extracts from eight medical books dating from between 1552 and 1676 is provided in Pahta (2007). Her statement that the primary aim of her study is "simply to show that medical texts of the Early Modern English period, like

their medieval counterparts, do indeed contain some code-switching" (Pahta 2007: 254), clearly testifies to the general neglect of this research field. On the basis of her small data base, Pahta finds a range of forms and functions of switching, which are on the whole similar to those found in medieval medical texts, with terminology, expression of intertextuality and embedded recipes being among the central functions of code-switching in her material.

Pahta's material is exclusively taken from printed medical books, an obvious data base for such a study. However, there is also a very different type of mixed-language texts from the early 17th century whose code-switching has so far not received any linguistic attention, namely the extensive handwritten notes of William Harvey, which were not intended for publication in this form.

2. William Harvey and his *Prelectiones Anatomie Universalis* (1616)

2.1. General background[2]

William Harvey (1578–1657) is most likely the greatest physician of early modern England, whose revolutionary insights into the circulation of the blood have secured his permanent fame. He studied medicine in Cambridge and Padua, then one of the most prestigious medical faculties of Europe. After his return to London, he began a highly successful medical career, becoming a member of the College of Physicians, a respected physician at a leading London hospital and, in 1618, physician to James I.

Harvey's published writings were clearly aimed not only at a British, but also at an international readership. Thus it is not surprising that all his three published books were written in Latin: the first, his famous treatise on the circulation of the blood (1628), was even published abroad in Frankfurt-am-Main, while the other two appeared in England in 1649 and 1651, though his 1649 book was also published in Rotterdam in the same year. However, all three books were also available in English translations as early as 1653, showing the widespread demand for vernacular versions of his works.

Apart from these published monolingual Latin books, Harvey left a number of unpublished writings, of which three manuscripts are particularly interesting from a linguistic point of view. These are on the one hand his lecture notes *Prelectiones Anatomie Universalis* from 1616 and a series of notes on the muscles (*De Musculis*) from 1619, on the other hand an unfinished study of the movement of animals (*De Motu Locali Animalium*, 1627). Though these are also written in Latin, they all show some code-switching into English. Such switches are particularly frequent in Harvey's lecture notes *Prelectiones*, which will be the topic of the present paper, much less so in the two other manuscripts.

2.2. The Lumleian lectures and the **Prelectiones Anatomie Universalis** *(1616)*[3]

Harvey had been elected a member of the College of Physicians in 1607 and in 1615 he was appointed 'Lumleian' lecturer there. In this position he had to give a cycle of public lectures on anatomy which was to be "accompanied by an anatomical demonstration and dissection" (Whitteridge 1989: 1; 1964: xxvi). The Lumleian lectures had been explicitly designed "for the improvement of the standards of surgery in the country and for the better education of surgeons" (Whitteridge 1964: lvii).[4]

The *Prelectiones Anatomie Universalis* are evidently Harvey's notes for his Lumleian lectures, which were used over a number of years and thus show numerous later additions in the margins and on separate pages. They contain a discussion of the body parts and of 'the three bellies', i.e. the lower belly, the chest with heart and lungs, and finally the head and brain (Whitteridge 1964: xix, xxviii). The *Prelectiones* have survived in a single manuscript in Harvey's own handwriting, MS Sloane 230, now in the British Library. The best available edition is that by Gweneth Whitteridge (1964), which not only provides a careful edition of the Latin text,[5] but also an English translation with some interpretation of the often difficult text. From a medical point of view, Harvey's lecture notes are of great importance for tracing the development of his medical views on the circulation of the blood and other questions (see Whitteridge 1989: 5). Their structure follows "[t]he rules drawn up for the Lumleian lectures [which] were in the best tradition of medical education: read the authorities, comment on the texts, expound their application" (Whitteridge 1964: xxx). Harvey used a variety of sources, but he based his lectures prominently on one particular book, Caspar Bauhin's textbook on anatomy, *Theatrum anatomicum*, first published in Frankfurt in 1605.[6] His notes are "in effect a commentary on Bauhin's textbook", whose description it follows rather closely, sometimes even quoting whole sentences, though in general mainly noting down words and phrases with his own comments (Whitteridge 1964: xxxii). As a text, Harvey's notes cannot be classified with any of the three traditional categories of medical texts (see note 1), since they are not a treatise, not even notes for an academic anatomical lecture, but rather "notes to be used as the basis for a spoken commentary accompanying a dissection", which becomes clear from a number of annotations in the manuscript, partly in the margin in red ink, giving directions for the actual dissection (Whitteridge 1989: 17f.; see also Whitteridge 1964: xxv). As such they can be supposed to be closer to speech than a text intended for publication, but since they are a mixture of complete as well as elliptical sentences and phrases, and of enumerations of single words, they do not really represent speech. As lecture notes, there was evidently no intended readership for the text, but its intended audience is of clear importance for the occurrence of the frequent code-switches into English. This intended audience, i.e. the people attending the dissections, was most likely a complex one, as was the institution of the Lumleian lectures as such. It is most likely that Harvey's "audience consisted of physicians and surgeons, for from time to time he addresses

some remarks directly to them, saying that this or this is of particular interest for physicians or surgeons" (Whitteridge 1964: xxxv). This may have influenced the language used in particular lectures, as Whitteridge implies in her claim that

> we cannot be certain whether he lectured either in English or Latin, for it is probable that for himself he always wrote in Latin. If the surgeons predominated in the audience, then possibly the lecture was in English, if the physicians, in Latin. For the most part the notes seem to be relevant to an actual dissection when the demonstrator was required not only to show anatomical structure but to discuss function in health and disease. Sometimes, however, they do seem to belong more nearly to the lecture room than to the anatomy theatre and these long discussions perhaps Harvey omitted or, at least, summarised. (Whitteridge 1964: xxxv)

Interestingly, Whitteridge does not mention the possibility that Harvey actually code-switched in his lectures, but rather seems to favour the use of either monolingual Latin or English, depending on the composition of the audience. We will come back to this question after the analysis of patterns and functions of switching in our concluding remarks.

2.3. Code-switching in the **Prelectiones**

As already briefly indicated, Harvey's lecture notes are basically a Latin text written in a mixture of full and elliptical sentences and phrases as well as enumerations consisting of nouns or adjectives. Additionally, there is a large number of switches into English, which show more or less similar structures as the Latin text, though the number of complete sentences is relatively small, while elliptical constructions and enumerations predominate, though one- and two-word switches equally occur.[7] The overall frequency of these English switches is rather high and they are spread quite regularly through the whole text. Whitteridge's (1964) edition of the notes covers 170 pages, though of uneven length because of sometimes substantial footnotes. Of these, only 35 pages do not have any English material, while the remaining 135 pages show at least one, more frequently a number of switches into English of varying length.

2.3.1. Syntactic aspects

This section does not aim at providing a full syntactic analysis of switching points and patterns in the *Prelectiones*, but rather wants to briefly illustrate the wide range of such patterns in the text and thus Harvey's flexible use of the two languages.

As said above, there is only a relatively small number of complete English sentences, in some of which we find a switch back to Latin; both types are illustrated in the passage under (1):

(1) Nan Gunter etc. puto callum fecisse. **The mad woman pins in her arme. Mary pin her cross-cloth begining with the *cuticula* as** pueri volam manus. (46)[8]
(‘Nan Gunter [name of a woman] etc. I think she made herself insensitive [to pain]. **The mad woman pins in her arm. Mary pin her cross-cloth beginning with the *cuticula* (skin) as** boys [stick pins into] the palm of the hand.)

Much more frequent, however, are non-finite and elliptical sentences and clauses, which is not surprising for handwritten lecture notes. In some instances, their meaning is only recoverable for the modern reader through a detailed analysis of the context. However, these reduced switched structures are linguistically quite interesting, since there is hardly any comparable historical material. A systematic analysis of these switches is not possible here, but they would deserve closer attention. A few instances should suffice to illustrate this linguistic strategy.

Under (2) examples of non-finite English switches are given, with (2.b) showing a switch back into Latin. The examples are from Harvey’s introductory ‘General rules for an anatomy’.

(2) a. 2. Demonstrare propria illius cadaveris, nova vel noviter inventa. 3. **To supplye only by speech what cannot be shewn, on your own credit and by authority**. (16)
(‘2. Point out the peculiarities of the particular body, the new or newly discovered [things]. 3. **To supply only by speech what cannot be shown, on your own credit and by authority**.’)

b. 7. **Not to dispute**, **confute** alias quam argumentis ostensis, quia plus quam tres dies requiritur. (16)
(‘**Not to dispute** [or] **confute** other than by visible evidence, for [otherwise] more than three days would be required.’)

Examples (3.a and b) illustrate switched elliptical sentences without a verb form, while (3.c) shows the not infrequent deletion of the copula between the Latin subject noun and the vernacular complement.

(3) a. **SPLEN other side of the stomach towards the short rib.** (74)

b. **Yeong ox less tallow** quia pinguescit intra carnem. (78)
(‘**Young ox less tallow**, because it grows fat within the flesh.’)

c. Homo **naked** etc.**yett Nature most sollicitous** dedit facultatem quae haec omnia **scin wooll furres** etc.
(50) (‘Man [is] **naked** etc., **yet Nature most solicitous** has given [him] the power [to use as covering] all these, such as **skin, wool, furs**, etc.’)

A variety of switched English constituents is found in Latin finite, non-finite or elliptical sentences and clauses, and some of these switched constituents are equally elliptical. This will be illustrated under (4) with various types of prepositional phrases (PP). (4.a) gives an example of a fully switched PP, while in (4.b) the preposition *in* could be Latin or English and thus be seen as triggering the following switch into English; (4.c) illustrates a PP with deleted preposition. PP-internal switches, on the other hand, are rare and mainly occur before Latin or Greek medical terms, some of which can be considered as technical loans, as the two examples under (4.d) illustrate.

(4) a. Hic sunt hinc intra tunicas progrediuntur oblique **on this ridge**. (96)
('They are here [and] from there they run obliquely within the membranous coats **on this ridge**.')

b. sic ***in* a ratt** interstitium longum inter cerebrum et cerebellum (324)
('thus ***in* a rat**, [they are] in the long interstices between the cerebrum and the cerebellum'.)

c. Quia homine intestina sexies longitudo corporis, septies **ginney-cuny**. (84)
('Because in man the guts [are] six times the length of the body, seven times [in] **ginneyconeys**.')

d. Infra, **loos, somtime to the** oss pectenis sed raro. (76)
('Below, **[**it is**] loose, sometimes** [attached] **to the** pubic bone, but rarely.')
where arteria et vena porta **going** iecori **ar slightly tyed to *ieiunum***. (76)
('**where** the artery and portal vein **going** to the liver **are slightly tied to the *jejenum***.')

A detailed discussion of further switched constituents would go beyond the scope of this paper. Let me just illustrate some syntactic functions of single-word switches without going into further details.

(5) a. **Splen** contra inferiore sinistra posteriore (124)
('[The] **spleen**, on the other hand, [is] lower down, on the left, to the back.')

b. ilia, lumbares, **flanke** (36)
('[the] ilium, [that is the] lumbar regions, [and the] **flank**.')

c. Hae partes aliquae aliquibus absunt omnia perfectissimis, **ratts**, unde potentes (178)
('These are the parts, some are wanting in some [animals], all [are present] in the most perfect, [as in]) **rats**, wherefore [these have power to] engender.')

d. unde impetuose insequuntur et appetunt et agunt quod per se **lothsome**. (174)
('wherefore they pursue it impetuously and seek and perform what in itself [is] **loathsome**.')

2.3.2. Some pragmatic functions of switching

In a text like the *Prelectiones*, which are personal lecture notes intended as a guide through a live dissection, we can hardly expect clear pragmatic functions of the various switches. However, there are some noticeable functional tendencies for switching which, though in no way regular, seem to have a higher frequency than others. Again, we cannot aim at any completeness here nor discuss any existing counter-examples, but will only illustrate some of the more obvious tendencies.

Quite frequently, code-switching occurs when Harvey illustrates a point previously made with examples or compares it to something for easier understanding and illustration, i.e., these are evidently commentaries which make a previous, sometimes more theoretical statement more vivid and descriptive, as the three instances under (6) illustrate.

(6) a. Contra frigida alba livida cum flatibus absque sanguine. Humida relaxantur, **wett partchment or lether**, **flatulent**; examplo **cattle going to grass**, equo **loose belly fundament swabby gutts croake and wallop**. (114)
('On the other hand cold [guts are] white [or] leaden, [they are filled] with flatus [but] without blood. Wet [guts] are relaxed, [like] **wet parchment or leather**, **flatulent**; for example **cattle going to grass**, in a horse [with a] **loose belly swabby fundament** [the] **guts croak and wallop**.')

b. Pulmonum divisio in partes continentes contentae. Contentae: sanguis, aer ut recenter mortuo quasi vesiculis; testudine **like a heape of blathers, porpos froth like aer and water**. … Praeter Naturam contentae in morbis, passiones: apostema, vomicas magnas et exiguas **like hoggs measels**; calculi ex gypsea, **pile like chalke stones**; copia ichorosa materia unde astma (282)
('The lungs division into parts containing and parts contained. [The parts] contained: blood, air, as [may be seen] in the recently dead, [as it were] in bladders; in the tortoise [the lungs are] **like a heap of bladders, in the porpoise froth like air and water**. … [Parts which are] contained contrary to Nature in diseases, affections [of the lungs]: abscesses, vomicae great and small **like hog's measles**, calculi of gypsum, **balls like chalk stones**, an abundance of ichorous matter whence asthma.')

c. Aqua acrimonia et salsedinis expers, tamen … nitrosa, **slippery scowring as in butchers hands**. (248)
('[The] water free from bitterness and taste of salt, yet … contains soda, **slippery, scouring as in butchers' hands**.')

Another frequent occurrence of switches are enumerations, though these are also sometimes mixed; frequent are enumerations of colour terms, though even these are not systematic, as (7.a) illustrates, where the second enumeration of colours is in Latin (see p. 48 for a similar example). These enumerations can also provide examples or illustrations, so that there is a functional overlap with the previous type, see (7.b).

(7) a. ***Color***: **darke yeallow**, alii **black**, alii **rusty**, item **greenish blewish**. Unde diversitas bile flava, vitellosa, aeruginosa, nigra, porracea vel virida. (148)
('***Colour***: **dark yellow**, in some **black**, in others **rusty**, also **greenish blueish**. Thence diversity in the colour of the gall which can be saffron-yellow, egg-yolk-yellow, rust-red, black, leek-green or bright green.')

b. Quibusdam motu voluntario, **porcupin, hedghog, turkey, coctoo, ruff bird in the ballad**. Hominibus: vigiliis, manè **lord, how you look! as gamesters; sick leane dog; begger sick**, eriguntur pili horridi. (44)
('In some [animals the skin can be moved] by a voluntary movement, **porcupine, hedgehog, turkey, cockatoo, ruff birds in the ballad**. In men: after long watchings, in the morning, **Lord, how you look! as gamesters; sick lean dog; beggar sick**, the dishevelled hair stands on end.')

An obvious function of single-word switches is to provide an English translation or equivalent of a previously mentioned Latin technical term, as in the examples under (8), though this is relatively infrequent; the English term is very rarely preceded or followed by *anglice* 'in English', see (8.c), where the English term is set in contrast to the formally similar but different Latin term *renes* 'kidneys':

(8) a. PANCREAS, **sweetbread**, sub duodeno, principio omenti (90)
('PANCREAS, **sweetbread**, [is situated] below [the] duodenum, in the beginning of [the] omentum.')

b. ut in piscibus; bronchiae **or larke-netts**. (242)
('as in fish, bronchial tubes **or lark nets**.')

c. lumbi, **reyns** anglice, licet renes altiores; (34)
('[the] loins, in English **reins**, although the kidneys ['renes'], higher.')

Similar to the previous function of providing a translation is the use of the complex vernacular terms in (9). In this passage taken from an appendix at the end of the manuscript with the title 'of the nerves as they appear in the course of dissection', the English terms in the Latin context most likely were used to explicitly point at the respective muscles and sinews in the process of the dissection:

(9) 3. Laterales, **stradling synews**, secundum alios radix …
4. Oris et palati, **mowth synews**, gustus etc. crassiores. …
5. Interiores, **close long sinews**. Falloppi quartum par; (341)
('Lateral [nerves], **straddling sinews**, according to others [the] root …
4. [Nerves] of the mouth and palate, **mouth sinews**, [nerves of] taste etc. thicker. …
5. [Interior [nerves], **close, long sinews**. Fallopius' fourth pair;')

A discussion of other possible pragmatic functions of switching would go beyond the scope of this brief contribution, but, like the syntactic patterns, these would deserve closer analysis. To give a fuller impression of the wide range and complex patterns of switching, a longer sample from the *Prelectiones* will be quoted under (10); this passage also illustrates the sometimes high density of English material in the Latin text. As the introductory Latin sentence makes clear, this text passage was intended to accompany the actual dissection, with the switches illustrating specific activities. We would suggest that the text may reflect Harvey's actual wording in the dissection to a high degree:

(10) Brevitur situm et posituram horum omnium quod scio vos maxime velle, postea singulatim de unoquoque.
Situs omnium: partim certus partim incertus, Natura **romidg as she can best stow, as in ships** propter motus agilitatem. Imposterum iecoris, **the gutts thrust att one side and two fingers beneth the navill. Full or empty the colick gutt on the line beneath the navil. Sitting or standing** contra **lying, cushiuns. Breathing**, moventur. WH Δ multis exactam posituram invicem nunquam servant. Gravidis, **yeong girls by lacing**, unde **cutt there laces**. Suspensa ilia, Cardinal Campeggio, **hard and yet** pulsare, hypogastrium **cleane empty**.
Intestina aliquando subtus inflata, aliquando condantia retracta.[9]
Signum malum imbecillitas intestinarum.
IECUR magis dextra, X totum. Vide venam umbilicalem, vide conexum lieni. WH tumorem meum quartana. **Under the *chondrium*** tutele gratia **allong 7 ribb** dextra superior, unde difficultas respirationis tumore iecoris, **long the short ribbs, upon the stomach which it covereth**. Connexum semper diaphragmati duobus fortissimis ligamentis, umbelicali venae cavae ramo, spinae; aliquando costis, peritoneo, colico. Connectitur capite per nervos, cordi vasibus, ventriculo et lieni per ramum splenicum.
SPLEN other side of the stomach towards the short ribbs. Tangitur manu **under the short ribs att the end of the ultimate or penultimate. Soe under and soe behinde** quod vix sano sentitur precipuè ventre tenso vel pingui; tumense nihil facilius sentitur tactu et descendit. Connectitur omento aliquando diaphragmati, peritoneo, reni sinistro. (72f.)

('I will speak briefly of the site and position of each of these for I know that

this you chiefly want to hear, and afterwards I will deal with each in turn.
As for the site of all the guts, it is partly fixed and partly variable, Nature **rummages as she can best stow, as in ships** on account of the vigour of the movement. Behind the liver **the guts thrust at one side and two fingers beneath the navel. Full or empty, the colic gut on the line beneath the navel. Sitting or standing** as opposed to **lying, cushions. Breathing**, [the guts] are moved. WH Δ in many they never keep an exact position in relation to each other. In pregnant women; **young girls by lacing**, wherefore **cut their laces**. The guts were suspended in the region of the flanks in Cardinal Campeggio, **hard and yet** pulsating; hypogastric region [was] **clean empty**.
Sometimes the intestines are blown up from below and sometimes they are pickled and taken out.
A sign of evil portent is weakness of the guts.
The LIVER is situated chiefly on the right side, X entirely. Observe the umbilical vein, observe the connection with the spleen. WH I had a tumour there when I had a quartan ague. **Under the *chondrium* (costal cartilages)** for the sake of protection, **along the seventh rib** on the right side lies its upper part, whence comes difficulty in breathing in cases of tumour of the liver, **along the short ribs, upon the stomach which it covers**. It is always connected to the diaphragm by two very strong ligaments, to the umbilical branch of the vena cava and to the spine; sometimes it is connected to the ribs, to the peritoneum and to the colon. It is connected with the head by means of the nerves, with the heart by the vessels, with the stomach and the spleen by means of the splenic branch.
The SPLEEN on the other side of the stomach towards the short ribs. It can be felt with the hand **under the short ribs at the end of the ultimate or penultimate. So under and so behind** that it can scarcely be felt in a healthy man, particularly if the belly be dilated or fat; but nothing is more easily perceptible to the touch when it is swollen and descends. It is connected with the omentum and sometimes with the diaphragm, the peritoneum or the left kidney.')

3. Summary and conclusion

In this paper we have tried to show the linguistic importance of William Harvey's *Prelectiones Anatomie Universalis*, the written notes for his Lumleian lectures on anatomy and the accompanying dissection. These notes are basically written in Latin, in a mixture of finite and non-finite as well as elliptical sentences and clauses, but often only consist of elliptical phrases or enumerations of single words. Their particular interest, however, lies in the fact that they contain a large number of code-switches into English. These switches equally have the form of full and elliptical sentences or clauses, but also of switched constituents and single

words. There are some slight tendencies to use switches for a number of pragmatic functions, especially illustrating or enumerating, but also providing vernacular translations and equivalents for medical terms. We cannot be absolutely certain in which language Harvey lectured or whether he adapted his choice of language to the composition of the audience, as Whitteridge (1964) thinks, i.e. according to whether the audience predominantly consisted of university-trained physicians or of surgeons with a more practical training. On the basis of our preliminary analysis of the patterns and functions of code-switching in the manuscript, we would, however, rather advance the idea that the switches found in Harvey's handwritten notes would, at least to a certain extent, have been reflected in his actual spoken presentation. This is even more likely since the notes were not written for an academic medical lecture, but for a practical course in anatomy accompanying an actual dissection, where constant explicit reference to the ongoing activity was normal. Further support for this assumption lies in the fact that code-switching is on the whole rather rare in the two other unpublished manuscripts mentioned above, which were not conceived as lecture notes.

As so frequent in code-switching, not every single switch can be explained as serving a specific function. However, the overall function of the English switches in the *Prelectiones* would in our view have been to make the dissection more vivid and more easily accessible for his frequently mixed audience. This does not mean that Harvey's notes fully represent his spoken words nor that he followed them literally in his presentation, but they must have served as the basis for his spoken commentaries, in other words, they were 'written to be spoken'. This corresponds to the everyday experiences of every lecturer, who uses his or her notes as the basis for a course, sometimes following the notes very closely, sometimes hardly at all. When writing such notes, however, one normally has the actual situation very much in mind, a fact which clearly influences the structure of the written text. A more systematic and detailed linguistic analysis may shed more light on this question, but for the moment this seems to be the most likely explanation for this mixed-language text written by a scholar whose published works are all in monolingual Latin.

Notes

1 For L.E. Voigts' widely accepted tripartite classification of medical texts into academic treatises, surgical texts and remedy books see Pahta and Taavitsainen (2004: 14–15), who, however, re-label the first group as 'specialised treatises'. The use of French in medical writing will not be discussed in this paper.

2 This section is much indebted to Gweneth Whitteridge's 'Introduction' in Keynes (1989).

3 For further information see the introduction in Whitteridge (1964, especially xxviff.), as well as Whitteridge (1989: 1f., 15–19), on which this section is largely based.

4 In Harvey's lifetime, we still find the distinction between the university-trained physicians like Harvey himself and the surgeons, practitioners who had learnt their skills 'on the job'; furthermore, there were a number of other, less qualified members of the medical profession in the widest sense of the word.

5 For editorial changes in the Latin text see Whitteridge (1964: xxii).
6 Bauhin's textbook would thus fall into the category 'surgical texts or treatises', see above note 1, most of which "were originally compiled by university masters and used as university textbooks" (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004: 15).
7 There is a small number of Greek single-word switches, mainly technical terms, and a few words from Italian, which will not be discussed here.
8 Switches into English are in bold, uncertain items, such as the Latin technical term cuticula, in bold italics. Translations of examples are based on Whitteridge's edition (1964), though sometimes modified to follow the original more closely, with square brackets indicating items which are not found in the Latin original, but facilitate understanding. Numbers in round brackets refer to pages.
9 'WH' is used in the manuscript "either to stress a point with which [Harvey] agrees or to introduce an original remark or comment", while the triangle "usually stands for some equivalence of 'demonstratio' or 'it can be shown', or it may simply call attention to a specific point" (Whitteridge 1964: xxii).

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