

Sociological and Legal Keys to The Formation Of Hispanic Romances

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Summary

The sociological key assumed the contact of different social groups and different romances, with the linguistic and cultural transfers that implied the social and cultural mixing of the pre-Roman peoples, within the various Spanish-speaking communities. In them there was a linguistic and cultural continuity, with the cultural assimilation and reinterpretation of foreign models, as well as the languages shift, except in the case of Basque. The Basque-Romance bilingualism of the different Basque-speaking groups, within the community Basque-speaking, was at the base of the vocalism developed by the successive generational groups of the different Rioja-speaking social groups, on the linguistic frontier due to historical, sociological and cultural determinants. The legal key involved the influence of the history of Roman law on Hispanic romances. The conversion of the Iberian Peninsula into a Roman province meant a profound transformation, both in their political and social organization and in their ways of life, as well as in their law, due to the double process of cultural and legal Romanization to which they were subjected. Both occurred in parallel, since they were favored by the need to provide the occupied territory with a military and administrative organization. However, the extension of Roman citizenship to those in the new province depended on discretionary decisions of the roman authorities and the provincial magistrates. The full legal Romanization of Hispania was not officially achieved until the year 212, when the controversial emperor M. A. A. Caracalla granted roman citizenship to all the inhabitants of the empire through a constitution.

Keywords: Romanization, Visigothization, Written normalization, Stages and periods.

Date of Submission: 09-03-2024

Date of Acceptance: 19-03-2024

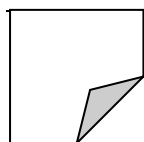
I. Introduction

The past study of the isolated text without the reconstruction of the temporal, geographical and social context was a pure entelechy, since the analyzes of said contexts were omitted, without questioning that there would be no text without contexts. It was not, therefore, just a discussion about the descriptive study of Romance texts, but rather a historical, sociological, cultural and legal reconstruction of the processes of oral formation and a written normalization of Hispanic Romances, within the different romance speaking communities. Without these contexts, there would be no romance text.

The clearest example of this historical absurdity of a text without contexts was the ascription of the *Glosas emilianenses* and *Silenses* of the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla two different centuries, from the middle of the 10th century to the second half of the 11th century. And it was even stated that its historical value would not change substantially. Faced with the general tendency of our days to delay the second half of the 11th century, its dating had to be assigned to the middle of the 10th century (the first) and the second half of the 10th century (the second), in a temporal, geographical and social written normalization of Hispanic romances. Furthermore, full linguistic awareness of the differentiation between the two varieties (medieval Latin and Romance) had to be considered.

The mechanism of the evolution of Visigothic Latin towards the Romance stage and the interaction of linguistic, sociological and legal factors were very far from being revealed, and from being described with the desirable precision and rigor. The relationship between “external” and “internal” factors was one of the most discussed issues in diachronic functionalist theory of the last century, despite the fact that they were directly related to the development of linguistic change, and the regularities observed in them had to be taken into account. Empirical studies on linguistic behavior and the dimensions of social multilingualism. Furthermore, a true success of diachronic functionalism was the recognition that the formation of the various Hispanic romances from the same Latin diasystem questioned the past simplification of hypotheses based solely on linguistic systems.

The greatest Romanesque tradition of diplomas, attested in all regions of Romania (from the second half of the 8th century), constituted 98.8% of the inventory of original Romance testimonies, from the end of the 11th century to the second half of the 13th century. It was an unusual event in Romance history and was constitutive



of the written normalization of romances. This normalization included periods of unstable social situations, within the proto-romance stage (promoted by the Carolingian and Gregorian reforms), with restrictions and revisions to the use of the written romance text, compared to other periods of stable situations of written normalization (within the proto-romance stage and the ancient one), favorable to the use and development of the romance text.

1.1. Our working hypothesis has raised a sociological and a legal key in the formation processes of Hispanic romances. The first involved the contact of different social groups and different romances, with the linguistic and cultural transfers that implied the social and cultural mixing of pre-Roman peoples, within the various Spanish-speaking communities. In them there was a linguistic and cultural continuity, with the cultural assimilation and reinterpretation of foreign models, as well as the languages shift, except in the case of Basque. These peoples were the first agents of the Latin change to Romance, in their respective speech communities. Our working hypothesis on an anthropological history of Hispanic romances analyzed linguistic variations and changes, based on successive and diverse acculturations (Indo-European, Iberian, Fenopunic-Greek, Roman, Christian, Germanic, Visigothic and Islamic), and included Iberian culture and its influence on Basque and Riojan vocalism.

The Basque-Romance bilingualism of the different Basque-speaking groups, within the Basque-speaking community, was at the base of the vocalism developed by the successive generational groups of the different Riojan-speaking social groups, on the linguistic border due to historical, sociological and cultural determinants. Furthermore, said Basque-Romance bilingualism was also in the determination of the romance diphthongization of the two open stressed vowels of colloquial Latin (*e* and *o*), which was developed by said Rioja-speaking social groups. In the middle of the 10th century, in the *Glosas Emilianenses* the examples of *ie* were general, and those of *ue* predominant (see M. T. Echenique, 1983, 2004, 2013; F. González Ollé, 1970a, 1970b, 2004; F. Gimeno and M. V. Gimeno, 2003).

The second key involves the influence of the history of Roman law on Hispanic romances. The conversion of the Iberian Peninsula into a Roman province meant a profound transformation, both in their political and social organization and in their ways of life, as well as in their law, due to the double process of cultural and legal Romanization to which they were subjected. Both occurred in parallel and independently, and if the former was favored by the need to provide the occupied territory with a military and administrative organization, the extension of roman citizenship to those of the new province depended on discretionary decisions of the Roman authorities and provincial magistrates.

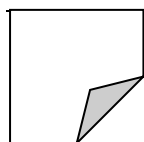
The full legal romanization of Hispania was not officially achieved until the year 212, when the controversial emperor M. A. A. Caracalla granted Roman citizenship to all the inhabitants of the empire through a constitution. That date of 212 served as a chronological limit to indicate the two well-differentiated stages that occurred under the long period of Roman domination: the first characterized by the plurality of coexisting legal systems, and the second by the full validity of roman law as law general of the entire empire

II. Border Society

On the Romanesque-Germanic border, with its historical, sociological, cultural and legal determinants, the *Serments de Strasbourg* (842) were one of the oldest and most relevant legal texts of Romance. The formulas of these oaths renewed near Strasbourg the alliance between Charles the Bald, king of the Western Franks (linguistically Gallo-romantic) and Louis the Germanic, king of the Eastern Franks (linguistically German-speaking), against his brother Lothair. The Romanesque world emerged from the Gallo-Romanesque-Germanic contact in the northern Gaul. The Germans contributed effectively to the differentiation of Romances. Especially, among the influences of the Franks under the Merovingian and Carolingian dynasties, Germanization and the creation of a multicultural Romanesque-Germanic community, less linked to the Latin-Roman tradition, had to be counted.

2.1. The introduction of anthropology (and medieval history) into the history of language could be set at the end of the last century. F. Gimeno (1990: 138-44) showed that sociolinguistics was born from an anthropological commitment that ultimately considered linguistics as a chapter of social and cultural anthropology (and the psychology of knowledge). General sociolinguistics as an extension and revision of institutional disciplines (linguistics, sociology and anthropology) integrated a macrosociolinguistics (which included the *sociology of language*) and a microsociolinguistics (which integrated *strict sociolinguistics* and the *ethnography of communication*).

This approach was very permeable to the introduction of anthropological and sociological concepts and perspectives in the history of the language. Otherwise, there were no sudden changes (catastrophes) in the history of the language, since there was no empirical evidence that linguistic change concluded within a generation, and the temporal transition (such as geographical and social) of the languages it was objectively gradual and cumulative, although subjectively it was not. The historical varieties of Latin could be arranged along a temporal



continuum, like a chain in which each pair of adjacent varieties was mutually intelligible, although the opposite ends of that chain were not.

Anthropological research in the history of language proposed deducing variables (linguistic, sociological and cultural) from the past, and verifying them empirically in the present. From this point of view, historical sociolinguistics considered the need to materialize the most plausible working hypotheses on the historical, sociological, cultural and legal reconstruction of the processes of formation and written normalization of Hispanic romances, based on empirical principles for a grammatical theory of linguistic change. However, the current confirmation of such working hypotheses did not imply that they were valid for the past. Rather, they were verifiable proposals of the present to hypothetically illustrate the historical processes of linguistic change (see J. A. Fishman, 1964/1968, 1973; U. Weinreich, W. Labov and M. I. Herzog, 1968; W. Labov, 1982; F. Gimeno, 1988, 1995, 1998, 2004, 2013, 2016, 2017, 2019).

In the considerations on the romance dialects and languages, B. E. Vidos (1956: 238-9, 335-9) concluded that in the process of formation of the romances the latin tradition was dissolved, and a diverse tradition materialized in contact was raised with the pre-roman languages and Germanic (Frank), whose bases were formed at the linguistic borders by historical, sociological and cultural determinants. Linguistic awareness of Romance arose in Gallo-Romanesque-Germanic contact in the Kingdom of the Franks before 813, and the name *Romanz* appeared in northern Gaul. The Germans effectively contributed to the differentiation of the Romances, with the interruption of communications between Italy and the provinces, on the one hand, and between one province and another, on the other hand. Especially, among the influences of the franks under the Merovingian and Carolingian dynasties, Germanization and the creation of a multicultural Romanesque-Germanic community had to be counted, from which the Romanesque world emerged.

The linguistic influence of Germanic on French was important qualitatively in all aspects (lexicon, phonology, morphology and syntax), but more quantitatively in the field of lexicon, toponymy and anthroponymy. Without a doubt, it contributed to making French the most Germanized romance. The need to use Old French in documents was first felt in the far north. Of the oldest and most relevant French texts, the *Serments de Strasbourg* typically emerged from a multicultural Romanesque-Germanic community, less tied to the Latin-Roman tradition (see C. Tagliavini, 1949/1969: 643-55).

2.2 Within the Germanic element and its influence on the peninsular linguistic history, d. Kremer (2004) proposed that the direct origins of the peninsular romances were in Visigothic Latin, and should be based on a mixture of the native and Germanic population, which reached without fissures to the Romanesque-speaking population of the peninsula. The impact of this Germanic domination was assessed in different ways. In favor of a relatively large Germanic population (and soon mixed with the indigenous population) and a prolonged differentiation of the different peoples, there were place names that alluded to groups of the type *Suevos*, *Godos*, *Godojos* versus *Romanos* or *Romanillos*.

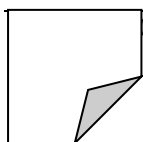
The Gothic nobility preferred to settle in the most important cities (such as Barcelona, Mérida, Sevilla, Córdoba, Toledo, etc.), and the mass of the Gothic people (without ethnic unity) began to settle already at the end of the 5th century on the Castilian plateau. (the region of the *Campos Gotorum*), although everything seemed to indicate that after the incorporation of the Suebian kingdom there was a movement towards the densely populated and fertile lands of the northwest. This ethnic dissociation caused by the spatial separation between the lower and higher groups promoted the rapid Romanization of the inhabitants of the cities and the survival of the family language, as well as the traditions among the lower peasant groups.

The mixture of different cultures was a characteristic feature of the kingdom of the Visigoths, and the cultural flourishing in Hispania, especially in the 6th century (Isidoro de Sevilla, ...) And in the stage of the first moments of the reconquest was testimony of Visigothization. The Romanization of the Visigoth population had already been completed at the end of the 5th century, and the palpable heritage of the Visigoths (and Suebi) was reduced to anthroponyms.

In the contribution of a frontier society (the Valle del Duero in the 10th century) to a border between societies (the Valle del Tajo in 12th century), J. A. García de Cortázar (1993: 56-8) proposed that Western Hispano-Christians and the Andalusians had been concretizing the profiles of their respective societies, between the years 711 and 960. The first, in an almost continuous manner, with some significant milestones represented by the monarchs Alfonso II, Alfonso III and Ramiro II. The latter, in a more discontinuous way, as shown by the crisis at the end of the 9th century, with the culminating moments in the three Abd-al-Rahman.

Thus, by the middle of the 10th century, two societies with marked features were already present. Al-Andalus was nothing more than an Islamic society of the West. The character of the process that developed during the 9th and 10th centuries in the Valle del Duero was that of a weakly populated space, on which a process of social and political organization was carried out above all, with the result of a more stable fixation of the settlement.

The starting bases of the society of the Valle del Duero were found in the disintegration of two previous social formations, represented by the valley communities of gentile ancestry and the old slave town or large



exploitation. The resulting model was that of village communities. Between the beginning of the 9th century and the middle of the 10th century, it constituted a barely structured society on which, especially from the reign of Alfonso III de Asturias, efforts were made at political integration and administrative framework, which were still very tenuous. This produced the image that the Valle del Duero was occupied, in those two centuries, by a “border society”, which made the situation an instrument of its freedom, and the obtaining of spaces guaranteed the survival of a very widespread property. The frontier society was, therefore, the direct consequence of the colonization processes that were presented as an obligatory sequel to the conquest and occupation of the territory and said society could be applied to the panorama of Western Hispano-Christian society of the 9th and 10th centuries. Furthermore, Christians and Muslims came into real (border) contact, because the force of crystallization of their respective societies forced them to project themselves onto the space occupied by the other, in which the subsequent weakness of Christian powers encouraged them to demand Muslim help in their conflicts.

The contact of the Muslims with the established population was carried out, depending on the case, in one of the three possible ways: military confrontation, capitulation or pact. In any of the three ways, the result was always (if not death) the submission of the Hispanogoths. The installation of the invaders in Spain began with their conversion from a mobile militia to a landowning class, and this enormously fluid situation was transformed between the years 714 and 719. Traditional hypotheses indicated that groups belonging to Arab tribes chose to settle in the lands of the Valles del Guadalquivir and Ebro, and were concentrated above all in Sevilla, Córdoba and Zaragoza, while the Berber groups settled in the high lands of the plateau, and were numerous in the Algarve, Extremadura, Guadarrama mountain range and in the massifs Iberian and Penibetic.

The acculturation process was observed from the second half of the 8th century and accelerated from the reign of Abd-al-Rahman II (850-912), through forms of thought and life brought from the Abbasid empire by immigrants from Baghdad, and they settled easily in Córdoba. The rapid and formal conversion of the Hispano-Gothic population reached its highest point at the end of the 10th century, in which it generally remained in the different taifa kingdoms, with the corresponding Islamization and creation of a multicultural Romanesque-Islamic community, less linked to the Latin-Roman tradition. In the middle of the 10th century, a border began to be clearly defined along the course of the Duero, and above all it was a society based on the wide provision of spaces, and on the little resistance existing to occupy them (see J. A. García de Cortázar, 1973: 51-110, 1985b, 2012, 2016; F. Gimeno, 1995: 95-106).

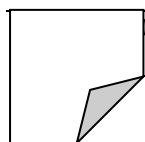
III. Historical Law in Hispania

The most general characteristic of the romances during the centuries of oral formation was the increasingly accentuated evidence that the vernaculars were a natural means of communication, insofar as the different social groups were the legal subjects of legal acts. The structuring into social groups constituted the most elemental, specific and profound dimension of all human society. Language as a social and cultural fact was a basic instrument of human communication, and materialized the vision of the world adopted by each speech community. As such, the sociological function of languages was a consequence of the variables that intervened in the communicative event and its cultural relationships, with the sociological implications of the compartmentalization of linguistic varieties.

3.1. In the sources of Spanish historical law, A. M. Barrero (1993: 231) proposed that the conversion of the Iberian Peninsula into a Roman province (*Hispania*), as a result of the military occupation of its territory by Rome and the dominion exercised by it over its inhabitants, entailed a profound transformation, both in their political and social organization and in their ways of life, as well as in their law, due to the effect of the double process of cultural and legal romanization to which they were subjected. Both occurred in parallel and independently, since they were favored by the need to provide the occupied territory with a military and administrative organization, which would allow the coexistence of the different peninsular towns with the new occupiers coming from Italy. However, the extension of *roman citizenship* (that is, the law by which the natives of the city of Rome were governed) to those of the new province depended on discretionary decisions of the roman authorities and provincial magistrates.

Based on this performance and the personal nature of roman law, the full legal Romanization of Hispania was not officially achieved until the year 212, when the controversial emperor M. A. A. Basiano (called Caracalla) granted Roman citizenship to all the inhabitants of the empire through a constitution, although as far as the Iberian Peninsula was concerned it seemed that this measure only ratified a factual situation, since at that time the practice All Hispanics had to be governed by Roman law. That date of 212 served as a chronological limit to indicate the two well-differentiated stages that (from the point of view of the law in force on the peninsula) followed one another under the long period of roman domination: the first characterized by the plurality of coexisting legal systems, and the second for the full validity of roman law as the general law of the entire empire, without prejudice to the Christian and Jewish population also following their own regulations in their spiritual life, and in the case of the latter also in those matters civil cases that (by agreement of the parties) were submitted to the arbitration judgment of their own authorities.

In Islam, the Quran as a source of law was based on the revelation of the prophet Muhammad. J. Martos (2004: 328-31) has stated that Islamic law was a system of duties, which included both ritual and moral and legal



obligations, on the same level of equality and all subject to the authority of the same religious imperative. The religious and moral element had a relevant impact on the character of Koranic legislation, which followed the Jewish precedent, and was maintained throughout the formation of Islamic law, where a tendency to replace purely legalistic attitudes with a tendency to impose moral rules on the believer. Thus, in Islamic law, religious and secular legislation, as well as theology, were inseparably mixed.

3.2. Between the 8th and 11th centuries, according to J. A. García de Cortázar (2004: 240-6), Visigothization and the conservation of the Visigothic reference in politics and culture constituted one of the characteristic elements of the Hispano-Christian society in formation. The monasteries were its main focus of deposit and dissemination. In the eastern part of the Iberian Peninsula at the beginning of the 9th century, these centers were the object of the reforming concerns of a monk of Visigoth origin, Benito de Aniano, who had the support of emperor Luis el Piadoso to establish it in the monasteries of the empire Frank. In this way, the Catalan monasteries (and to a lesser extent, the Aragonese and Navarrese) had to accept the rule of San Benito, since the 820s. Meanwhile, in the western region (from Castilla to the Atlantic) the monastic rules of the time Visigoths continued in force. However, probably from the end of the 9th century, the monastic centers of Navarre and Aragon returned to the observance of those and to the liturgical practice of the Hispanic rite, as a further sign of their disengagement from the Carolingian empire. Thus, during the 10th century, outside the Catalan counties, the rest of the Spanish territory remained faithful to the tradition created by the Visigoth scholars, especially Isidoro de Sevilla.

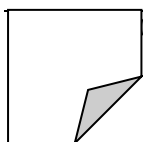
The preserved testimonies of this awareness of continuity depended on the vicissitudes of history, so there was no coincidence between documents of different types. However, it was in the eastern territories and particularly in the border area between Castilla and Navarra, where the most explicit testimonies of the Hispano-Christian will to collect the Hispano-gothic tradition were generated. The Albeldense and Emilianense codex were its culminating manifestation, in which the texts that constituted the legal bases (both ecclesiastical and civil) of the Visigoth kingdom were copied together: the conciliar canons of the *Collectio Canonum* and the *Liber Iudiciorum*. In all areas of the Peninsula, the years 711 to 850 were characterized by the political and cultural strengthening of the respective structures resulting from the Muslim invasion.

In the middle of the 9th century and regardless of the disputed figures of religious conversion, Al-Andalus had become a culturally Islamized society. The awareness of this fact was what moved (leaders of Mozarabic communities in large Andalusian capitals) to rebel against what (for them) constituted a definitive cultural immersion of their society in Islam. This awareness encouraged the rebellion of some Mozarabs against the Islamic authorities and forced others to flee towards the Christian north. There they contributed to strengthening the Hispano-Gothic traditions that they had preserved in the south.

The first schools were preserved in the monasteries. The monks were the teachers, and the schools were frequented by future monks and some young nobles. Starting in the 12th century, the cities took over from the monasteries. The encouragement of the monarchs to the role of the monasteries (as poles of colonization) constituted a historiographical topic, according to which the kings had used in the process of reconquest and repopulation the possibilities of organizing the territory and controlling the population, which the monasteries they offered. J. A. García de Cortázar (1969: 119-36) applied this working hypothesis to his study of the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla, and attributed the abundant donations (both Navarrese and Castilian) that the monastery received during the 10th century, which would have served (among other things) to encourage the colonization process in La Rioja, recently occupied by Christians. Later, given the growing conviction that the colonizing effort had been developed before by the peasant communities, J. A. García de Cortázar (1988: 17-54) defined the role of San Millán and other monasteries as that of feudal organizers of a territory that previously had been colonized by peasant communities.

In early medieval society, although the oral formalization of some legal act was possible, the writing of the document was necessary to prove the right one had over a thing (such as, for example, the ownership of land). At first, while medieval Latin was the familiar variety, documents were always written in that variety, but also later due to the difficulty of transcribing a romance oral variety or in regions of another language (Basque). However, from the second half of the 8th century to the middle of the 12th century, we find hybrid samples and texts (romance and medieval Latin), where there was a transition of the varieties involved, in a long process of written normalization of Hispanic romances.

We had to remember that it was a mere label of a clear process of linguistic transfer between the two varieties (romance and medieval Latin, without forgetting sometimes the non-romance vernacular involved, Basque) that intervened in the bi- or multilingual competence of the scribe. It is true that this research also involved necessary risks, and precautions and precautions had to be maximum, but not to the point that the descriptive and autonomous discussions of linguistic change on the Latin compilation of early medieval Riojan glossaries prevented us from seeing and understanding multilingualism of mixed manuscripts (as well as the implicit planning of romance), through



regulating the multiple variables (linguistic, social and cultural) and the superficial variants of the texts (see C. García Turza and J. García Turza, 1997, 2000, 2004; C. García Turza, 2011; F. Gimeno and C. García Turza, 2010).

The greatest Romanesque tradition of legal glosses and texts and the appearance of the *Sermens de Strasbourg* revealed, therefore, the very antecedents of the influence of the history of law in determining the sociological and legal function of the romances, which was not due to Christianity, but to the previous influence of Roman law, as well as the existence of a multicultural Romanesque-Germanic community in the kingdom of the Franks.

IV. Visigothic Law

Regarding the Latin register of the municipal charters, as texts from jurists or local authorities, some from the 11th century and especially the 12th century were preserved, so intensely romanticized that they could offer the most plausible reconstruction of peninsular romances. The value of the medieval charters was greater as they offered a very varied content, and in their paragraphs the entire medieval society and culture was reflected, without any other register being able to compete from this point of view. Now, an interdisciplinary analysis and new methodological assumptions were necessary (see A. M. Barrero and M. L. Alonso, 1989; F. Gimeno, 1995: 107-20).

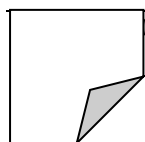
4.1. With respect to the sources of provincial law of the Iberian Peninsula, A. M. Barrero (1993: 232-46) proposed that (in addition to the differences of all kinds between Rome and the provinces) the principle of personality of Roman law, on the one hand, and its high level of technical and scientific development (compared to indigenous legal systems), on the other hand, made the imposition of the law of the metropolis on the provinces unfeasible, but it did not prevent them from being provided with their own organization, which entailed the establishment of general rules for all its inhabitants (whoever they were its origin). Thus gave rise to a provincial law different from the Roman one (although emanating from its authorities and formulated in accordance with the system of sources of Roman law): custom and its interpretation by jurists (the *mores* and the *iura*), the laws (*leges*), issued by competent institutions and authorities, and the edicts of magistrates (*ius honorarium*).

The organization of the Iberian Peninsula and its legal regime was very similar to that of other provinces of the empire. The term "law" appeared as opposed to *ius* 'provision of the city in matters of common interest', but it was maintained with an analogous meaning in the term "laws", which designated the provisions emanating from the public bodies of the city, versus to the term '*derecho*', which called the doctrine of jurists or jurisprudence. The distinction was maintained in the first part of the Visigothic period, only to disappear later. In Rome itself, the law was considered "written reason", and in this sense it acquired the meaning of '*derecho escrito*' as opposed to custom, the difference of which became worthless between the Visigoths and the early Middle Ages, although it was recovered from the late Middle Ages to the present day.

From the destruction of the city of Rome (476) until the year 711, at first as allies of the empire and after its fall as the only holders of political power, the Visigoth kings were the protagonists for almost three centuries in the history of the most of the territory of Hispania, converted into a kingdom independent of any other authority, whose domain was gradually extended to the entire peninsula. By virtue of a pact of recognition of imperial authority and the commitment acquired to defend the territory ceded by the emperor, the first Visigoth kings exercised their authority as authentic governors, and created Visigoth law, with the dictation of norms to regulate the new situations arising from the distribution of lands and the coexistence of the two peoples (Visigoths and Romans), which entailed important variations in the new legal system, although the legal texts promulgated included Roman legal tradition and practice. From then on, the kings took it upon themselves to legislate on a general basis for all their subjects, through the formation of authentic codes that replaced those of the imperial era.

4.2. The Visigoths with King Euric (466-484) began to have the institutions of the laws in writing, since before they were governed by custom, and later Leovigild profoundly revised some of Euric's laws, correcting some and suppressing some. Several superfluous ones, as well as the addition of many others that were missing. The *Codex revisus* of Leovigildo (573-586) opened a new cycle similar to the previous one, with the official validity of a written law of royal origin, based on Roman tradition, whose updating became insufficient due to the passage of time, until the about to become necessary a new work of a compilation nature. Furthermore, the clear political intention of the king's actions should be highlighted, through which (with his authority strengthened internally after the submission of the Baetica and the Suebian kingdom) he sought the affirmation of his kingdom against the imperial power of Byzantium, present in the Southeast of the Peninsula. Only two of the codes have survived to this day, and have been preserved in their entirety with the corresponding promulgation laws, so (in addition to their content) there is also evidence of their authorship, date and circumstances in which they were formed: the so-called *Lex Romana Visigothorum*, commonly known as the *Breviary of Alaric* (484-507) and the *Liber Iudiciorum* in its various editions (recesvindiana, ervigiana and vulgate).

Both the *Code of Euric* and the *Breviary of Alaric* included the current Roman law, but they did not offer any similarity in content, since the first was based on the law of practice (that is, vulgar Roman), and the second was a



selection of the texts of official law, generally accompanied by their interpretation. The mere difference in their content did not seem to the researchers to be a sufficient reason to justify the elaboration of these legal texts successively (and in a relatively short period of time), nor to explain their possible simultaneous validity, which gave rise to the formulation of different theories.

The traditional thesis, defended by the Germanist current, justified the duality of codes in the personal nature of law among the Germanic peoples, which would have forced the Visigoth kings to legislate independently for each of the populations integrated into their kingdoms. Therefore, the Eurytian text would be destined to govern among the Visigoths, while Alaric would complete the task started by his father, with a legal body aimed at the Gallic and Hispano-Roman population. Faced with this argument, still maintained by some authors, a new theory made its way (several decades ago) defending the territorial scope of Visigothic royal law, revealed in the evident Romanism of its content, which (in the case of differentiation) would not make sense in relation to the population of Gothic origin.

The new compilation, the *Liber Iudiciorum*, was promulgated by Recesvintus (654), after its review by the VIII Council of Toledo, and exclusively expressly prohibited the application of the laws of other peoples (specifically the Roman ones), as well as ordered the judges act in accordance with its content, and failing that go to the king to issue a sentence. The orientation of its content was in tune with the new circumstances of a society in the process of feudalization, in which the old public-based relations continually gave way to the emergence of private ties and particular solidarities.

On the other hand, Christianity had a body of doctrine made up of dogmatic and legal norms that were binding on its faithful. Since the 4th century (as a result of the expansion after the confessional freedom decreed by the Emperor Constantine), it forced the church to face its inevitable organic and institutional development, through the establishment of its own legal system composed of provisions emanating from its highest authorities: pontiffs and bishops gathered in ecumenical and provincial councils. The national churches determined the formation of collections, in which the canons of one or several councils were collected indistinctly, along with the pontifical epistles. The *Collectio Canonum*, commonly known as *Hispana*, was compiled by Isidoro de Sevilla between 633 and 636, and was considered the best of its time. Its significance was equivalent to *Liber Iudiciorum* in the secular order, and its validity lasted in the same way during the early medieval centuries.

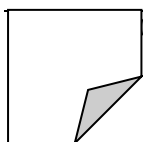
4.3. In an environment of political weakness and in the absence of an authority capable of imposing the law, it lost the role of fundamental source that it had had among the Visigoths, and the formation of law in the early medieval Christian kingdoms was replaced by custom and also by judicial decisions of special importance in the regulation of most institutions. By its very nature, this customary and judicial law did not exceed the local or regional level, which was not an obstacle for the same customs to come to govern in different places, due to the common origin of their inhabitants, nor for certain sentences to reach to create a judicial practice known and applied by other courts.

Later, this initial legal basis was expanded by a new right (generally of a privileged type), born from the need to seek and encourage the settlement of the population in the reconquered territories, in order to ensure their defense. The variety of documentation was extraordinary, and included in the generic category of “population”, “privileges” or “franchises”, from texts of a private or contractual nature to others of a public nature, granted by the corresponding political authority, in which that (along with the establishment of the status of the residents and the terms of the place) some norms were established on the organization of the life of the community.

The Muslim world, according to J. Lalinde (1974: 89), knew compilations from its main sources. The Quran initially appeared in loose sheets that gave rise to various editions, until in the 7th century the Caliph Othman proceeded to make an official one, which he commissioned Zaid, the prophet's former secretary. The writing was divided into chapters or series, which contained the “revealed signs.” Only a tenth of these chapters had legal consequences. On the other hand, the prophet's word was complemented by his conduct, whose knowledge was achieved through tradition or narration, that is, by oral transmission from generation to generation, until its fixation in writing in the 9th century.

The initial evolution of the early medieval law of the Christian kingdoms to more developed forms was favored, especially from the beginning of the 11th century, by the following factors of a different nature: a) the expansion of the borders of the kingdoms; b) the overcoming of heritage conceptions about them; c) the consolidation of royal power in them, and d) the establishment of new population centers (of an urban nature in the rear, and with an expansive purpose on the borders). Given the growing and profuse normative production, the need to collect this right in writing was felt in the different instances of power and spheres of action (the kings themselves, lords, council authorities and local practitioners or forum members), in order to ensure its knowledge and facilitate its application. This process of drafting norms (until then not expressly formulated and generally known through oral tradition) contributed decisively to the establishment and consolidation in each speech community of specific texts commonly known as *costums* and *municipal charters*, and in others of territorial scope.

The abundance and variety of texts of this nature that have reached our days made their study difficult, from the perspective of their progressive formation, and justified the insecurity of researchers when trying to trace (in general terms) the formation and writing of these medieval texts. Although they frequently presented obvious signs of



being the result of a task of compiling documents and norms from different origins and different times, most of the time it was through late and defective copies, and especially their appearance as elaborate texts. At a precise moment it had been as an effect of the discretionary and imposing action of the authority to which they appeared attributed. Whatever the way in which the local authorities proceeded to form these legal texts, it was evident that they generally did not act outside the higher authorities on which they directly depended, since the acceptance and express recognition of their jurisdiction by these it not only meant a guarantee of its compliance for the people, but also gave it an authority, all the greater because the antiquity and reiteration of this recognition was also greater.

V. Municipal Charters

In notarial and foral Latin it was necessary to distinguish those uses and structures that dated back to late Latin from those others that properly formed a Romanesque innovation. In particular, the use of the preposition *a* to introduce the direct object of person constituted one of the characteristics of Spanish and must have been an exclusively romance innovation. The use of *a* before direct personal object also occurred in central and southern Italy, Sicily and Sardinia, Roman, Triestine, Romanian, some Provençal dialects, French from Freiburg and Brussels and, above all, Portuguese and Catalan, but much more restricted than in Spanish. M. Pérez (1985: 129) pointed out that the prepositional use before accusative of person in Castilian Chancellery Latin, within his corpus from the second half of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th, was as exceptional as in the 9th and 10th centuries, and found only one case before personal accusative (*si pater ad filium occiderit ...* 'If the father kills the son...').

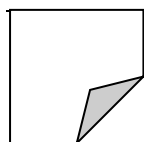
5.1. J. Bastardas (1953: 35-6) found this structure in some cartularies of the Christian kingdoms of northern Spain (La Rioja, Asturias and Castilla) from the 10th and 11th centuries, although the sure examples were very few (2 cases from the 10th century, 1 from the first half of the 11th century and 2 from the second half of the 11th century), all before appellations. For his part, R. Menéndez Pidal (1926/1950: 374) previously alluded to the fact that we found many examples of the use of *a(d)* before the accusative of person in notarial and foral texts (offered by R. J. Cuervo), but he only documented seven examples in notarial texts from the 10th and 11th centuries: Castilla (1 case from the 10th century before appellation), León (5 cases from the first half of the 11th century before pronoun) and Aragón (1 case from the second half of the 11th century before appellation).

In fact, R. J. Cuervo (1886: 1, 26b-27a) offered a good contingent of examples obtained from municipal charters (16 texts) and from ecclesiastical documents of volumes XXXV and XXXVI of the *España Sagrada* (4 texts), corresponding to the 11th century and 12th century. The foral documents belonged to Navarra (Logroño, Caparrosa, Santa Clara, Carcastillo, Marañón, Peralta, Navarrete and Labraza: 14 cases), Castilla (Villavicencio, Sepúlveda and Población de Soto: 4 cases) and Aragón (Jaca, Belchite and Calatayud: 4 cases), and they were examples before appellation (mostly, 15 cases) and pronoun (7 cases). The minority of examples belonged to the first half of the 11th century (2 cases) and the second half of the 11th century (5 cases). The majority corresponded to the 12th century (15 cases).

Our specific working hypothesis proposed an approach to the incipient reconstruction of the syntactic variation of Spanish in the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries, based on the syntactic variable *ad* ante personal direct object in hybrid foral texts (see F. Gimeno, 1995: 131-71), although examples of the romance variant were scarce in the 10th century and the first half of the 11th, since the initial evolution of the early medieval law of the Christian kingdoms was favored especially from the beginning of the 11th century. The oldest examples of *a(d)* in the new function and of the Romanesque prepositional accusative in general emerged in Navarra, Castilla and Aragón, and any contribution should be directed towards pre-literary romance texts and through the Latin scryptas. Our corpus was composed of a collection of 55 examples of brief charters with the presence of the superficial variant in a total of 225 cases of application possibilities.

The sample of hybrid texts from municipal charters (with presence or absence of the preposition *ad*) reflected the various components (linguistic and social) involved in the temporal, geographical and social context, based on some semantic-syntactic features (/± human/, /± animated/ and /± number/) in the prepositional accusative. After the formation of a corpus of texts, unfortunately very limited, a stage of variable appearance of the prepositional mark before the trait /+ human/ (in general /+ animated/) and logical identity of the variants (presence or absence of the variable) was proposed. In addition, a variationist analysis was used.

5.2 From a historical sociolinguistics point of view, the register of the brief charters of customary rights was the furthest from literary Latin, and the only one that allowed us to determine in this case the greatest impact of romance on Latin written texts, from the essential analysis of the temporal, geographical and social context of the romance speaking communities. The minimum presence of the prepositional variant in the Latin foral texts of the 10th century and first half of the 11th century (thus revising our previous wording) was statistically significant with respect to the maximum presence of the romance variant in the ancient stage (late 11th century and 12th century). We have already alluded to the scarcity of examples of the variant before the first half of the 11th century, as well as to the transmission of most of the texts with late and defective copies. In this way, the absence of the romance variant in the



foral texts of the fourth period of written normalization of Hispanic romances was justified, even though it was an implicit planning stage for them (as occurred in notarial Latin).

From the second half of the 11th century, the Gregorian reform (through the efficient Cluniac irradiation) again activated the linguistic conflict, where the Romances shift (except in the case of French and Occitan) by medieval Latin was performed without objective social mobility. In this period, said Latin was claimed, and the latinizing restriction and revision was observed in the less superficial components (syntax and semantics) and the romance variation in the most superficial ones (phonology and onomastic terms). This language shift of the romances (which was triggered in the 5th period of the process) restricted the foral Latin, and the evident revisions of the Chancellery Latin were manifested, so that the frequency of the presence of the romance variant was very scarce (3 cases in Castilla and Aragón in a total of 33 cases of possibilities of application), since medieval Latin was the only cultured and enlightened reference for the formal sanction of customary law, whether granted by the king (or ecclesiastical or lay lords), whether written by the municipality itself.

The birth of a series of cities along the Camino de Santiago encouraged the appearance of the first *burgueses* as people not dedicated to rural activity, but to commerce and industry. The original *Fuero de Jaca* (1077) was the first to include the oldest mention of this term in medieval Spanish sources (outside of Catalonia). The privileges granted to the new nuclei generously welcomed the pilgrim population, especially the *francos*, who constituted important communities, with their own legal traditions, institutions and language. A mere adjective of ethnic meaning (*francus* 'Frank') became a social state (the *franquicia*, that is, the recognition of its own legal system and authorities), but it was convenient to distinguish between the official diffusion of the *Fuero de Jaca* and the private diffusion, due to the influence they exerted the *foristas* independently of the kings, to form the nucleus of attraction of a fairly extensive area for the teaching of law. The history of Jaca law involved several recastings of the primitive core contained in the *Fuero de Sancho Ramírez*. The peak of the influx of Frankish immigrants in Jaca took place between the end of the 11th century and the beginning of the 12th century.

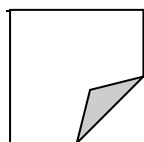
The briefest version of the *Fuero of Jaca*, according to a. M. Barrero (2003: 118), was known for having been reproduced in the confirmations of the *Fueros de Jaca* by Ramiro II (1135) and of *Estella* by Sancho VI, dated 1164. The confirmation of the jacetano document has been considered an incomplete copy of the *Fuero de Sancho Ramírez*, inserted in the aforementioned confirmation. Likewise, the version contained in the *Fuero de Estella* has been related to a grant of this character to Estella by Sancho Ramírez, at the founding moment of the town (1090). The use of Visigothic Latin, Occitan-Catalan, Aragonese and Navarrese survived in the jacetan documentation, from the end of the 11th century to the beginning of the 14th century, since the term *Fuero de Jaca* corresponded to different foral compilations.

The Romance varieties of the Jaqués charter versions offered a hybrid variety based on Occitan (on which Aragonese and Navarrese were superimposed), in which the influence of Germanization and the creation of a multicultural Romanesque-Germanic community was integrated, in Provence and northern France, less linked to the Latin-Roman tradition. Towards the second half of the 11th century, within a temporal, geographical and social context of implicit planning of Occitan and French Romance, grapheme/phoneme correspondence and grapheme representation were an autonomous activity of the Romance written register (see M. Molho, ed., 1964; M. Alvar, 1973: 174-7).

However, the conditions of the great historical, sociological, economic and cultural change of the late 11th and 12th centuries were those that determined the conclusive process of implicit planning of the romances and the clear consolidation of the written texts (in the second half of the 12th century), in which period the presence of the variant *a* before a personal direct object was maximum (52 cases of presence in León, Castilla, Aragón and Navarra, in a total of 192 cases of possibilities of application of the variable). In this sense, it was a clear stage of resurgence of artisanal and commercial activity in the new cities, which determined and favored a policy of gradual development of the written normalization of romance. As well as greater linguistic awareness of the differentiation between the two (oral and written) varieties, based on the necessary connivance of romance under a hybrid written register, in the bilingual competence of scribes.

5.3. R. Lapesa (1948) analyzed the hybridism of Asturian and Occitan in the *Fuero de Avilés* (1155), although without completely detaching itself from Visigothic Latin, and concluded that the language of the fuero broadly reflected general characteristics of Asturian romance. It was not a totally or essentially Occitan wording, with the inevitable Asturianisms, such as the version of the *Fuero de Estella* (which responded to the existence of entire nuclei of immigrants not yet integrated with the Navarrese population), in which the legal norms by those that these nuclei were to govern (in accordance with the privileges granted by the kings) were translated into Occitan.

The case of the *Fuero de Avilés* was different, since this primitive version had to be made by an Occitan writer from the French south, and it had to be a hybrid variety with coexistence of Asturian and Occitan features, in which the "franks" were understood with the native Asturians. The extension of the Avilés diploma and the numerous Occitanisms were the best linguistic index of a historical reality complementary to that represented by



the *Fueros de Estella* and *Jaca*: if these reflected the moment in which the immigrants had not integrated with the natives, the Avilés discovered the desire to fully integrate into Asturian society.

The *Fuero de Avilés* therefore represented the intervention of an Occitan author (or more than one), who sought to use the Asturian romance, without eliminating its original linguistic habits, although it is possible that the charter was not as occitanized as it might seem in a first moment. The great immigration flow of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th century gave rise to the temporal, geographical and social context of language contact, with the linguistic and cultural transfers of which the charters of Avilés and Oviedo were valuable testimonies.

The *Fuero de Avilés*, granted in 1155, was long considered the oldest peninsular text written in romance. Faced with the statements of a. Fernández Guerra in which he denied both the authenticity of the Avilés text and that of Oviedo (1145), R. Lapesa demonstrated the authenticity of the charters through verification of the confirmers, most of which appeared in documents contained in the cartulary of San Vicente de Oviedo, around the years 1145-1155.

However, the *Fuero de Avilés* ceased to have the prestige of the oldest Romanesque text, after the confirmation of the general hypothesis that the presence and abundance of proto-Romanesque testimonies of the glossistic tradition and the diplomas that appeared in the Iberian Peninsula since the 9th century. In fact, they were explained in the temporal, geographical and social context of a first written normalization of romances, which responded to the expansion of their sociological and legal function. The dating of the gloss of the ecclesiastical text (fol. 72r of codex *Em. 60*) of the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla had to be assigned to the middle of the 10th century (year 950), within the fourth period of the proto-Romanesque stage of written normalization of the romances, as well as how the full linguistic awareness of the differentiation between the two varieties (medieval Latin and Romance) should be considered.

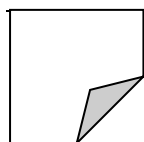
The *Fuero de Avilés* continued to be of extraordinary interest, not only for its notable archaism and its geographical variants, but above all for its Occitan hybrid character. Indeed, it was the oldest foral text written in Asturian romance with Occitan variables, whose operative part coincided almost entirely with the *Fuero de Oviedo* (1145). In that charter, the chancellery of King Alfonso VII confirmed the granting of the *Fuero de Sahagún* by Alfonso VI (1085), and granted it to Avilés, in the month of January 1155, through a lost Latin text, in order to favor the arrival and settlement of foreigners. This Latin text was known thanks to a later (although contemporary) copy of the early Romance version, also lost. This copy came to us through the preserved confirmation of Fernando IV in 1289. The 12th century was the ancient stage of the process of written normalization of Hispanic romances (from the end of the 11th century to the middle of the 13th century).

Regarding the sanctioned redactions of the charters of Oviedo and Avilés by Alfonso VII in 1145 and 1155, R. Lapesa pointed out two possibilities: 1) that they were in medieval Latin and were the subject of a later romance, or 2) if the monarch's chancellery was he limited himself to authorizing some ordinances previously composed in Asturian romance. A. M. Barrero (1972: 442) opted for the second possibility, due to the alternation of Visigothic Latin and Asturian romance in the documents, as well as the impersonal phrase that preceded the development of the norms, that was repeated in some precept throughout the text. The study of the content of the documents coincided with the textual affiliation scheme, although the numerous glosses that interrupted the development of some precepts suggested that there could have been an intermediate wording between the Latin text and the immediate model of Avilés and Oviedo, and that this included the notes noted in the margin of this first romance version of the Latin text as belonging to the text. The text offered by the Avilés parchment could be a faithful copy of the lost early romance version, although it would be more likely that it was a copy made by a second Occitan (from a different region than the first), to whom new Occitanisms were due, contradictory with the previous ones.

VI. Cartularies and Documentary Funds

The first written manifestations and the oldest historical-linguistic testimonies of the oral formation process of the romances were the loss and readjustment of the Latin casual inflection, from the 1st century a. C. (with the syntactic tracing of the Semitic word order), and the glosses (especially legal, since the 3rd century), that is, superficial variants (morphological and lexical) of the pre-Romanesque derivation in colloquial and Christian Latin, in contact with the pre-Roman vernaculars. The first Romance samples of glosses and glossaries and legal documentation could not be seen only as superficial innovations of the scribes, but rather had to be inscribed in a temporal, geographical and social context of written normalization of the Romances.

6.1. The preparation of cartularies in loose parchments by ecclesiastical institutions were efficient instruments of administrative management, which preserved the originals from the deterioration of frequent use, and collected the documents of the donated goods, with their dating and organized geographically. Although cartularies were in the past subject of distrust by historians and medievalists, as they were generally late transfers of ancient documentation, their existence had made possible a reasonably informed history of the early medieval period, since these diplomatic codices



were produced on the same desk where the literary and liturgical codices were copied, and by the same scribes. However, the documentary reliability that was presupposed in scientific research required a prior analysis of its textual fidelity and had to be taken into account the nature of the texts that served as the object of study.

J. A. Fernández Flórez and M. Herrero (2014) offered some milestones of cartularies in Europe and Spain. The emergence of the cartularies east of the Rhine (and not in the center of Carolingian France) had been justified by Anglo-Saxon influence, already from the Carolingian era itself. In such a way that its origin could be linked to the existence of dossiers prepared at the end of the 8th century in Bavaria and Germany, which (without being cartularies) preserved a series of documents that could later be integrated into the cartularies, under the reign of Ludovico Pio.

The ancient tradition had influenced Anglo-Saxon intellectual activity, before it returned to the continent, and spread especially towards central and eastern Europe. However, we should not forget the direct influence of Visigothic Spain on the “Carolingian Renaissance”, and the great dissemination of the *Etymologiae* (20 books) by Isidoro de Sevilla (c. 560-636) (see J. García Turza, 2000; F. Gimeno, 2024).

The oldest cartularies that we know had not been possible without a close connection and dependence on those preachers who had frequented ancient documentation and texts in Great Britain, and who (as a consequence of their preaching on the territories east of the Rhine) began to contribute their knowledge, uses and customs, since the 8th century. In this sense, it should be noted that between the years 1070-1072 the first cartulary of Lower Languedoc was prepared, in the desk of the Gellone Abbey.

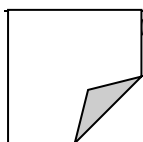
In the 11th century (previously dominated by custom), monasteries attempted to renew their ties with a distant past (of which they had only a vague memory), in order to ensure their legitimacy and importance at that time. In that century and even more so in the 12th, the progressive regularization of the chapters took place, with the division between the episcopal table and the capitular table of the patrimony, until then managed by the bishop. This reality of the midday of France was also attested in Spain and invited us to think that it obeyed some generalized approaches within the church of the Latin West. One of the oldest Hispanic cartularies was the *Becerro gótico de Cardeña*, not only for its early chronology, but also for its great intrinsic value and the entity of its contents, as well as for its configuration and presentation. Its diplomas were not originals, but copies from the end of the 11th century (the most probable date of their preparation was 1086), and it contained 373 notarial documents in Visigothic script, from the year 889 to 1085 (see M. Torreblanca, 2013).

The *Tumbo de la catedral de León* with a total of 1007 documents until the year 1124 (and the importance of its texts) became one of the most important European cartularies, in absolute terms, and in a special way among the representatives of the episcopal sees and cathedral chapters. On the way from Santiago to Finisterre, the presence of numerous cartularies was detected. The two most representative were the *Tumbo de Celanova*, among the monastics, and the “*Tumbo A*” de *Santiago de Compostela*, among the cathedrals. In particular, the *Tumbo de Celanova* was prepared in the second half of the 12th century, and was made up of a total of 579 documents, which included seven royal documents and others related to certain geographical areas, as well as a sector of the codex in the that a good number of lawsuits were concentrated over the control of certain properties, and sometimes over the tense relationships between families and people dependent on Celanova.

With respect to the great quality of the Latin used in the texts transcribed from the *Tumbo de Celanova*, which denoted a high cultural level of its editors (and frequently went out of the ordinary), J. A. Fernández and M. Herrero drew attention to the opinions of some professors, and proposed a working hypothesis about the importance of elucidating whether they were faithful reproductions of their respective original parchments, or whether (on the contrary) they reflected the linguistic level of the copyist of the codex in the second half of the 12th century, and it was the result of the homogenizing action of the copyist (or copyists) of *Tumbo*. This possibility of detecting different forms of action had led the authors to previously propose the assessment to other Leonese cartularies, in which other copyists had reviewed the Latin of the documents that they transferred to their respective cartularies, or even had altered them in another way.

On the other hand, while the detection of manipulation of the texts was very important, cases of dating errors by the scribe or copyist were of little importance. M. J. Sanz (2004: 119-20) stated that with the passage of time it has been shown that a large part of the documents were falsified only in their form, but not in their content, and were therefore false diplomats, that is that is, documents redone to give them a form more in line with that which corresponded to the equivalent document, at the time when it was redrafted, and (in other cases) with interpolations that placed an old document in the necessary title, from the new legislation in force at a specific time in the kingdom. We should not forget the legal need to legitimize the ownership title of the properties secularly owned by the monastery, for which the monks lacked documentary evidence.

6.2. Subsequently, J. A. Fernández Flórez and S. Serna (2017: I, 34-121) have edited the *Becerro gótico de Cardeña* (BGC). The cartulary of the monastery of the Santos Pedro y Pablo de Cardeña contained a set of 373 documents, dated before the year 1086, with the following distribution by centuries: 1) 9th century, 1 document; 2) 10th century, 208 documents, and 3) 11th century, 164 documents. These diplomas should have



served to regulate all types of questions and issues raised, in relation to the possession and ownership, management, protection and conservation of the assets mentioned in the diplomatic texts collected. On the other hand, it so happened that none of the more than a thousand scrolls that existed at the time in the monastic archive of Cardeña have survived to this day, with the added interest that more than two hundred texts from the BGC belonged to the time of the county of Castilla.

In the councils of Burgos (1080) and León (1090) the change of the Visigothic liturgy for the Roman rite and the substitution of the Visigothic writing for the Carolinian in the liturgical books were decreed, sponsored and carried out to a large extent by the Cluniac monks. In this way, the Visigothic letter, traditional and distinctive of Spain, constituted for more than four centuries (mainly during the 8th-11th centuries) the written register of the new kingdoms that began to emerge after the Arab invasion, in times of great insecurity, where thanks to the constant work carried out in the monastic desks it managed to take root and spread as its own and exclusive writing.

The availability of cursive Visigothic (documentary) and round Visigothic (library) allowed it to survive strongly in the time of the BGC, and in a good part of the peninsular territories and in Castilla y León. From the year 899, in which the monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña would have been founded, his desk stood out as a priority, which allowed him to produce excellent codices from the first half of the 10th century.

Furthermore, the editors have revealed the vitality of hermits and cenobites in the 7th-9th centuries, with very explicit testimonies of the transmission and delivery of books in monasteries in rioja and burgos. After some small references to several hermitage centers in burgos, they highlighted the presence of three monasteries (San Miguel de Pedroso, San Emeterio y Celedonio de Taranco and San Juan de la Hoz). The first two were attested through separate documents transcribed in the *Becerro galicano de San Millán de la Cogolla*, a codex prepared in the last years of the 12th century. The first Hispanic document was the pact signed by the monastic community of San Miguel de Pedroso (759), which included a monastic foundation, with the profession established by 27 nuns and their abbess, in the presence of King Fruela I and the bishop Valentín, on the banks of the Tirón River and near Belorado.

On the question of the origin of the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla, the editors alluded to the fact that it was widely debated, between those who advocated a continuity from the times of the hermit Emiliano until the 10th century, and those who defended the founding of the monastery around the year 925, on the place and in the surroundings of existing grottoes, with the assumption that the tomb of the hermit himself would be found, as his spiritual base and life-giving force of the monastery.

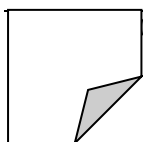
From the political and spatial organization point of view, at the end of the first quarter of the 10th century, Ordoño II of León attacked Nájera, and Sancho Garcés I of Pamplona conquered Viguera. The first restored monastic life in the area of Nájera, while the second founded the monastery of San Martín de Albelda, and reestablished monastic life in San Millán de la Cogolla, with the same desire for repopulation and reconstruction of society. Although we had to wait until May 14, 959, to attend the consecration of the church of the monastery of San Millán by García Sánchez, king of Pamplona, and his mother Queen Toda (see C. García Turza, 2000, 2003, 2004, 2013, 2023; C. García Turza y J. García Turza, 2001, 2002; J. García Turza, 1990, 2013).

Intellectual culture had its most accredited expression in the monasteries of La Rioja, conquered by the people of Pamplona and Leon. The importance of both (San Millán de la Cogolla and San Martín de Albelda) in the 10th century did not lie so much in the extension or wealth of their manor domain, but rather in the fact that each of them constituted an important monastic desk. Thanks to them, a part of the cultural legacy of the Visigoth era was preserved, which the copyist monks of Albelda and La Cogolla transmitted to posterity.

The cultural dimension of San Millán was, therefore, inextricably linked to the important evocative power of its early medieval library, which must have already been housing codices in the middle years of the 10th century. Fundamentally, from the thirties of the 10th century, in addition to the activity of the Emilian desk itself, the library could be increased by the constitution of the initial collection at the time of the foundation or restoration of the monastery. Also for the personal, economic and cultural exchanges with other regions, or for the progressive addition of numerous churches and monasteries to San Millán.

In the first third of the 11th century, after the virulence of the military campaigns of Almanzor, in which the monasteries of San Millán and Cardeña were destroyed, a special concern began to be perceived for documents, as guarantors of rights and adequate instruments to successfully deal with any disputes that may arise regarding property or real estate of all types. On the one hand, with the wars, fires and destructions, many originals were lost or had been seriously damaged (which would be advisable to remake). On the other hand, they were becoming aware that perhaps it would be good for those events that occurred in the past to be recorded on parchment (which had never been documented in writing), so that the putting into circulation of new texts had to be contemplated, with the accreditation of truly true transactions or facts, although diplomatically inauthentic and, at times, too suspicious, from all points of view that could be contemplated.

In fact, at the end of July 1017, an extraordinary royal curia was held in León, the agreements of which were recorded in the Fuero de León of 1017, and in its second chapter the issue related to the preparation of new



documents was addressed. In order that due to loss or destruction of the old parchments, or as the preparation of texts, the possession of the old real estate that lacked such accrediting deeds could be confirmed. It was, therefore, a matter of restoring the situation prior to the devastations of Almanzor, which had led to the dispersion and usurpation of a large part of the ecclesiastical heritage. Consultation of the diploma (for problematic issues regarding the ownership of different real estate) and the law became part of the habits, procedures and forms of action in western societies to this day.

6.3. J. M. Ruiz Asencio *et al.* (2014) proposed a first approach to the documentary collections (in addition to the documentation of the *Becerro gótico de Valpuesta*) for the study of the Castilian romance in its origins, based on the following geographical areas: Burgos (monastery of San Salvador de Oña, cathedral, town hall and monastery of San Juan, monastery of San Cristóbal de Ibeas, abbey of San Pedro de Cardeña, monastery of San Pedro de Arlanza, collegiate church of Covarrubias and monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos), Palencia (monastery of San Román de Entrepeñas, monastery of Santa María de Aguilar de Campoo and monastery of San Salvador del Moral), Cantabria (monastery of Santo Toribio de Liébana, monastery of Santa María de Piasca, old collegiate church of Santillana del Mar and monastery of Santa María del Puerto de Santoña), La Rioja (cathedral of Santo Domingo de la Calzada, monastery of Santa María la Real de Nájera, monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla, monastery of Santa María de Valbanera, monastery of San Martín de Albelda, monastery of San Prudencio de Monte Laturce and cathedral of Calahorra) and Navarra (cathedral of Pamplona, monastery of San Miguel Aralar and Santa María de Irache).

In summary, there were 23 Castilian ecclesiastical funds (with the exclusion of Navarra) that totaled 2.663 diplomas (to which we had to add the 186 from of the Becerros de Valpuesta). His proposals for the editions of the documentary sources proposed continuing and updating the old geographical-historical project of R. Menéndez Pidal (1926/1950), from a paleographic point of view, in order to constitute a sufficient quantity and of greatest interest to the study of the origin of Castilian, despite the fact that they presented many problems, especially due to the overabundance of copies.

The table that presented the distribution of the texts by areas and funds included the number of diplomas, depending on the following centuries: 1) second half of the 8th century, 4 documents; 2) first half of the 9th century, 15 documents; 3) second half of the 9th century, 31 documents; 4) first half of the 10th century, 208 documents; 5) second half of the 10th century, 296 documents; 6) first half of the 11th century, 385 documents; 7) second half of the 11th century, 1138 documents, and 8) first half of the 12th century, 586 documents.

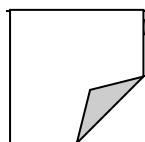
Among the diplomas from the 8th century, 2 corresponded to the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla (second half of that century) and 2 to the monastery of Santo Toribio de Liébana (Santander, end of the century). The institution that provided the most documents was the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla (833 diplomas), the vast majority were copies and some of extraordinary antiquity. From the editions of A. Ubieto (1976) and M. L. Ledesma (1989), he extracted the following distribution of the documents: 2 from the second half of the 8th century, 15 from the 9th century, 102 from the 10th, 606 from the 11th and 108 from the first half of the XII.

However, F. García Andreva (2010a: 40; 2010b: 86) pointed out that the transcriptions of the previous editions of both authors showed numerous reading errors, which prevented them from being considered reliable. Regarding its content, the *Becerro galicano de San Millán de la Cogolla* housed a total of 1004 documents that were distributed as follows: 1 from the 8th century, 16 from the 9th, 103 from the 10th, 665 from the 11th, 183 from the 12th, 19 from the 13th and 17 without a date.

J. M. Ruiz Asencio *et al.* (2014: 112-8) pointed out that one of the main difficulties was the original/copy distinction, and it was a general problem of early and mid-medieval documents, just as it was accentuated precisely at the end of the 11th century and the beginning of the 12th century. This period was the most interesting for the origins of Castilian due to a series of circumstances that were concatenated at that time. Regarding the change of writing in Castilla y León, J. M. Ruiz Asencio had observed that the French influence materialized in the diplomas from the mid-11th century and consisted of the adoption of part of the Carolinian abbreviation system, but it was a timid and non-systematic influence.

The influence became widespread from the year 1081 and coincided with the suppression of the Mozarabic rite at the Council of Burgos, so that from 1090 onwards the Visigothic document that did not have Carolinian influence in the abbreviation system could be considered very rare. The first copies in Carolina script were from the 1090s, especially those from the Valladolid cathedral (1092), Oña monastery (1096), etc. Visigothic writing with a Carolinian influence persisted until 1135 in general terms, especially those of the cathedral of Burgos (1120), Sahagún (1131), etc.

What could interest us most about the change was that (due to the adoption of the new letter) the texts written in Visigothic (also the literary and liturgical ones) began to be considered as poorly legible, and in some centers it was copied into the new writing. Furthermore, at the beginning of the 12th century, the Castilian-Leonese ecclesiastical institutions (owners of the documents) undertook a policy aimed at preserving their documentary



heritage (very broken), with the preparation of cartularies or diplomatic codices (the so-called *beceros* or *tumbos*), according to the order in which they were organized in the cathedral or monastic archive.

The oldest testimony was the *Becerro de Cardeña*, made around 1086 (although the first 22 folios of the *Becerro gótico de Valpuesta* were older, dated to the mid-11th century), but its status as cartulary had to be qualified, in the sense that the project was not to copy all the documents from the archive into a codex, but to copy with good handwriting folios and notebooks with poor writing or in poor condition. Although no estimate was known in this regard, J. M. Ruiz Asencio believed that the preserved early medieval documents (in what was the crown of Castile) perhaps amounted to 80%, thanks to the cartularies.

The scribes in charge of preparing diplomatic codices, according to the authors, used to be experts who knew the world of documents, but they adopted personal attitudes that ranged from strict respect (as was the case of canon Juan Pérez, author of the *Tumbo de León*) to the alteration of parts of text and deletion of others considered useless (this was how Munio, the copyist of the *Becerro de Sahagún*, worked), and they even went so far as to alter the device of the diploma for fraudulent purposes. These problems in the earliest stage did not hinder the study of philologists. From the 13th century onwards, the texts were less useful, due to the general tendency of copyists to put the Visigothic language presented in the originals into good Latin, although toponymy, personal names, weights and measures could be used.

The other way that was proposed simultaneously with the diplomatic codices was the fair copy of old documents from the archive or in poor condition. If the copy was made in the 12th century with Carolina handwriting, there was no difficulty in realizing that it was a copy. The difficulty arose when the copy was made at the end of the 11th century of a document from the middle of the 11th century, with the use of Visigothic writing in both, since the previous bibliography tended to classify all documents in Visigothic script as originals. All these circumstances presented by the documents of the second half of the 11th century and the beginning of the 12th century caused serious failures and insecurity among scholars when it came to differentiating between originals and copies.

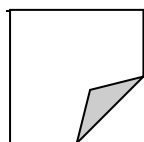
However, J. M. Ruiz Asencio *et al.* (2014) were limited to documentary collections, and there was no allusion to the different romance speaking communities, nor to the stages and periods of written normalization of Hispanic romances, depending on the social situations of restriction and revision to the use of the romance text, brought about by the Carolingian and Gregorian reforms. The temporal delimitations were not ideal to determine the stages and chronological periods, within the broad temporal, geographical and social context of the romance speaking communities.

In the breakdown of the documents from the Hispanic collections, attention was drawn to the increasing number of diplomas from the second half of the viii century (4 documents) to the second half of the 11th century (1138 documents), and the tremendous reduction of diplomas in the first half. Middle of the 12th century (586 documents), which could be explained by its own limitation to a simple secular periodization without prior hypothesis, and alien to a process of written normalization of Hispanic romances. There was, therefore, no historical, sociological and cultural reconstruction of the legal texts, nor the new anthropological coordinates of the romance speaking communities in the early middle ages.

6.4. The limitations of the past in historical linguistics have been overcome, to the extent that sociological analyzes of linguistic conservation and substitution have not been proposed. Nor the differentiation between social situations (stable or unstable) of written normalization of romances, based on more general theories about personal, social and cultural change (see J. A. Fishman, 1964/1968; F. Gimeno, 2003: 31-48, 81-90). Our general working hypothesis suggested more than twenty years ago that the process of written standardization of Hispanic romances responded to an implicit planning, since the romance needed written standardization, in order to fulfill its sociological and legal function. Indeed, the presence and abundance of Romanesque testimonies of the glossistic tradition and the diplomas that appeared in the Iberian Peninsula since the second half of the 8th century were understood and explained within the temporal, geographical and social context of a process of written normalization of Hispanic romances, determined by the influence of the history of roman law and the masterful legacy of Jerome to the history of textual transmission and revision.

This process included periods of unstable social situations within the proto-romance stage (promoted by the Carolingian and Gregorian reforms), with restrictions and revisions to the use of the written romance text, compared to other periods of stable situations of written normalization (within the proto-romance and ancient stages), favorable to the use and development of the romance text. Although in the two stages and five periods we observed samples and hybrid texts, where there was a transition of the varieties involved, we found in the stages and periods of stable situations a greater number of documents than in the periods of unstable situations (or linguistic conflict), within the proto-romance stage.

It was, therefore, a relationship between the quantity of legal documents preserved, depending on the stages and periods of the written normalization of Hispanic romances, with disparate and discontinuous social situations (unstable and stable). The dependent linguistic variables that were selected were two: a) the total number



of legal documents in unstable situations of linguistic conflict (DJSICL), and b) the total number of legal documents in stable situations of written normalization (DJSENE).

The independent social variables of the sample were the following diplomatic collections (three cartularies and two documentary collections) from different speech communities (La Rioja, Castile, Catalonia, Asturias and León), between the years 759 and 1199:

- 1) The *Becerro galicano de San Millán de la Cogolla*;
- 2) The *Becerro gótico y galicano de Valpuesta*;
- 3) The *Cartulario de Sant Cugat del Vallés (875-1199)*;
- 4) The *Colección de documentos de la catedral de Oviedo*, and
- 5) The *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún (857-1199)*.

The documents were materialized from the contextual coordinates (temporal, geographical and social), within the analysis and reconstruction of the written normalization of Hispanic romances, in which historical sociolinguistics had integrated the past contributions of historical dialectology and the new ones. Contributions of historical pragmatics, on the discursive traditions of written texts, based on their own characteristics (on the editing and chronological stripping of the documentary corpus of each of the diplomatic collections, see F. Gimeno, 2019: 365-416).

VII. Stages and Periods of Written Normalization

Our proposal assumed a working hypothesis that was empirically verifiable in the present, since any other assumption (no matter how contrived or brilliant) had to be confined to simple bookish speculation. We had to make clear the need to have the support of an interdisciplinary framework of social multilingualism, since it prevented us from moving in a pure nebula, and it was the only way to overcome the limitations of the past. Nowadays, through the isolation of the dependent variables of code switching and lexical calque, we had confirmed the initial hypothesis about a general configuration of linguistic change, about the various situations of language contact (see L. Valozic, 2015; F. Gimeno and M. V. Gimeno, 2003).

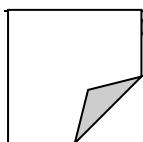
7. 1. The process of written normalization of romances in the Romanesque West required, therefore, a new history, with a concern for the anthropological and sociological considerations of the different social groups of the romance-speaking communities, based on new findings on the manuscripts. Visigoths of the 10th and 11th centuries. On the other hand, until now only paleographers talked about periods in the normalization of romances, depending on the characteristics of writing and typeface, and we had to make one point clear. From the isolated study of the type of writing or font, or the graphic similarity used in other documents, it is impossible to delimit the exact date on which a medieval text was written, without analyzing the temporal, geographical and social context.

R. Menéndez Pidal (1926/1950: VII-X) proposed a proto-romance and ancient period of Spanish of three centuries with two currents of romance and three periods in the notarial tradition, based on the romanced medieval Latin texts (together to medieval Latin texts). This resolution was insufficient, since it was not a question of an older current of romances, but of a process of written normalization of the romances, in the face of the reforms of Visigothic Latin, based on the first written texts (hybrids and romances), from the second half of the 8th century.

This process responded to an implicit application of linguistic planning, and our specific working hypothesis proposed two stages and five periods (see fig. 7.1), with disparate and discontinuous social situations (unstable and stable), in the Romanesque West. That is, the written normalization of romances included a stage (proto-romance) and two periods (3rd and 5th) of unstable situations with restrictions and revisions to the use of the written romance text, compared to another stage (ancient and medieval) and two periods of the previous stage (2nd and 4th) of stable normalization situations, favorable to the use of the romance text.

The written normalization of the romances and their differentiation from medieval Latin was gradual (starting in the second half of the 8th century), and the concern to delimit the continuous process of the written normalization of the romances was insufficient and inappropriate, based on the characteristics of hybrid manuscripts, through descriptive strategies of monolingual varieties. The first normalization of romances arose with the appearance of the first written texts (hybrids and romances), in the second half of the 8th century in northern Gaul.

From the first half of the 8th century, the temporal, geographical and social context of Gaul and the Romanesque West corresponded to a general situation of Romanesque diglossia (strict at first and broad later), in the first period of the proto-romance stage. The normalized variety was medieval Latin, used as a formal written and oral register, and the romances were the familiar and informal oral varieties (French, Occitan, Italian, Sardinian, Dalmatic, Catalan, Riojan, Navarrese, Aragonese, Asturian, Leonese, Castilian, Mozarabic and Galician). The school teaching of medieval Latin facilitated the displacement of the corresponding romance, along with social mobility. Thus, both processes (oral formation and written normalization of the romances) had to be clearly differentiated, since the first was prior to the second half of the 8th century, and we should never assume a last



generation of medieval Latin, nor a first generation of any romance, since it was not only a linguistic issue, but also a fact of linguistic awareness of the different social groups of the speech community.

FIGURE 7.1

*Stages and periods of the process of written normalization of romances,
within the Romanesque west*

1) PROTO-ROMANCE STAGE (8th century – second half of 11th century)

1st. period (first half of 8th century). *Strict diglossia situation:*

- 1) *standard*: medieval latin, and
- 2) *vernacular*: romances (French, Occitan, Italian, Sardinian, Dalmatic, Catalan, Riojan, Navarrese, Aragonese, Asturian, Leonese, Castilian, Mozarabic and Galician).

2nd period (second half of 8th century). *Situation of extensive diglossia and written normalization of the romances* (French, Occitan, Italian, Sardinian, Dalmatic, Catalan, Riojan, Navarrese, Aragonese, Asturian, Leonese, Castilian, Mozarabic and Galician):

- a) first text (French): *Parodie of Loi salique* (about 770),
- b) “*Laudes regiae*” by Soissons (around 784-789), and
- c) *Indovinello Veronese* (late 8th century).

3rd. period (early 9th century). *Linguistic conflict situation:*

- 1) Romances shift with medieval Latin, which was encouraged by the Carolingian reform, and
- 2) pastoral reaction: Council of Tours (813).

4th period (first half of 9th century – first half of 11th century). *Written normalization of romances* (French, Occitan, Italian, Sardinian, Dalmatic, Catalan, Riojan, Navarrese, Aragonese, Asturian, Leonese, Castilian, Mozarabic and Galician-Portuguese):

- d) *Serments de Strasbourg* (842),
- e) *Graffiti della catacomba di Commodilla* (around 850), and
- f) ecclesiastical ritual text (fol. 72r) of the *Em codex. 60* of RAH (950).

5th period (second half of the 11th century). *Linguistic conflict situation:*

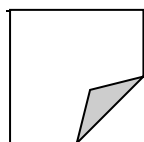
- 1) Romances shift with medieval Latin, which was encouraged for the Gregorian reform, and
- 2) except French (*Chanson de Roland*) and Occitan.

2) ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL STAGE (end of 11th century – end of 15th century).

Written normalization of romances (French, Occitan, Italian, Sardinian, Catalan, Navarrese, Aragonese, Asturian, Leonese, Castilian, Roman, Galician and Portuguese).

The process of formation of the Riojan romance did not arise as a process of creolization, but as the development of the differentiating dynamics (temporal, geographical, social and situational) of colloquial and Christian Latin (see A. Meillet, 1929: 73-82), used by the Asturian, Cantabrian and Basque peoples, and was raised on a diverse tradition materialized in contact with pre-roman languages, whose bases were formed on the linguistic borders.

Our specific working hypothesis was that the first written samples and the oldest historical-linguistic testimonies were the loss and readjustment of the Latin casual inflection (from the 1st century ad) and the syntactic calque of the semitic word order, as well as such as the appearance of glosses (especially legal, since the 3rd century), that is, superficial variants (morphological and lexical) of the pre-Romanesque derivation in colloquial and Christian Latin, in contact with the pre-roman vernaculars (see f. Gimeno, 2019: 87-166).



7. 2. In the first half of the 8th century, M. Banniard (1992: 287-303) did not admit any communicative break between the written Latin language and the vernacular, and assumed that the editors used both registers, without being aware of going from one system to another other. On the one hand, we found linguistic transfers from the vernacular in the Latin texts of Merovingian Gaul. Thus, for example, in the *Formulae Marculfi*, composed around 700, in which the monk Marculf distinguished the standard variety and the vernacular, and numerous Romance variants were incorporated into the text to make it more understandable. On the other hand, we observed adaptations of vernacular fragments to a latinizing written form. Thus, for example, in *La cantilène de saint Faron*, composed in the first half of the 8th century, a greater religious and political impact was intended. However, from the middle of that century, texts appeared in which romance was glimpsed with more precise contours, although in the consciousness of the literate we would not witness an autonomous variety (see B. Frank and J. Hartmann, 1997; M. Selig, 2001).

In this way, he revealed the writing of a document (classified as pre-romance) that was written in northern Gaul around the year 770: a parody of legal Latin (*Parodie de la Loi salique*). This text exposed an imitation of a vassalage oath ritual, and presented a linguistic mixture of Merovingian Latin and Romance, where it had not been possible to determine precisely if it was a short and obscure text of Romanized Latin, or if we were already in presence of a Latinized Romance text, since the Romance variants were clearly more numerous than the Latin characters. He established that the vocabulary, syntax and phrase were entirely Romance, while the spelling remained Latin, although it approached the phonic characteristics of Romance (see M. Banniard, 1992: 551). What's more, some modern analyzes had allowed it to be identified as a very old testimony of the Romance. However, his ultimate proposal of a monolingual Latinphony from the years 200 B.C. to the 5th century A.C. is an inadmissible hypothesis in current analyses of the dimension of social multilingualism (see M. Banniard, 2023: 112-3; F. Gimeno, 1981, 2024: 240-5; G. Kremnitz, 1990; F. Gimeno and M. V. Gimeno, 2003: 21-99; F. Gimeno and J. R. Gómez, 2007).

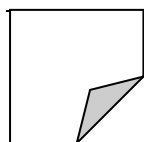
In the second half of the 8th century, the appearance of the first romance texts in France and Italy evidenced a stable situation of broad diglossia, within the second period of the proto-Romance stage, which fostered a first implicit planning of the romances, as well as some testimonies early linguistic awareness, favorable to the use and development of written text. In northern Gaul, driven by the bilingual Gallo-Romanesque-Germanic consciousness, the hybrid text of the legal parody was the first proto-Romance text. In effect, it presented a Romance syntax and lexicon in the less superficial components and Latin spelling in the more superficial ones.

At the end of the 8th century, the cultural reform of the carolingian court could never make the previous diglossia disappear in France, the counties of the Marca Hispánica and northern Italy, much less could it be thought that the Carolingian reform established diglossia. On the contrary, this reform destabilized the previous broad diglossia, and caused a situation of linguistic conflict with the Romances shift, without social mobility. Furthermore, this concept of 'linguistic conflict' had nothing to do with its use outside the sociology of language.

7.3. However, in order to instruct his parishioners in the Christian faith, the pastoral reaction promoted by canon 17 of the Council of Tours (813) favored the development of written romance samples, and again the implicit planning of the romances, from the first half of the 9th century to the first half of the 11th century, within the fourth period of the proto-romance stage. This rectification was addressed to the clerics themselves, who were encouraged to use medieval Latin on other occasions. Contrary to the assertion of M. Banniard (1992: 413), who collected W. von Wartburg's phrase, the second paragraph of canon 17 was not the "birth certificate of the Romances." Said paragraph provided the following: "And that each of them (the bishops) should endeavor to translate (in writing) clearly these same homilies into the Latin of the illiterate or into German, so that all without exception could more easily understand what was said to them". In this sense, h. Lausberg (1956/1962, i: 106) wrote that the Church she became bilingual: she was the bearer of literary Latin and at the same time of romances.

J. Bastardas (1989: 87-8) described R. Wright's (1982: 187) reading of the verb *transferre* in canon 17 as especially surprising, in the sense that it did not mean 'translate' from one language to another (in the case of German), but to change from one style to another, within the same language (in the case of Romance), with which the same verb would have different meanings within the same sentence, and in the second case the canon would prescribe that the homilies were read not according to the pronunciation of Carolingian Latin, but in a colloquial way. In the 8th century, the differences between Latin and the Romances did not consist only of differences in the phonological system, but also that it had not been sufficiently insisted that the translation of the homilies did not only reside in the fact that the bishop had to pronounce the homilies that had written, but they had to be transmitted in writing to the rural parishes.

With respect to the Hispanic romances of the 9th to 11th centuries, R. Lapesa (1942/1981: 154-5) pointed out that they were known thanks to notarial documents, which inserted through carelessness or the need to make themselves understood, forms, voices and constructions. In romance. Sometimes the Latin covering was very light, and the texts proved doubly valuable. In composing the glosses, the annotators handled a kind of Latin-romance dictionary. On the presence and abundance of the Romance testimonies of the glossistic tradition and of the notarial documents that appeared in the Iberian Peninsula, from the second half of the 8th century, the corpus of the *Léxico*



hispanico primitivo (siglos VIII al XII) (see R. Lapesa *et al.*, 2003) offered a good sample of testimonies and diplomas, not only from Catalonia, Aragón and Navarra, but also from Castilla, Asturias and Galicia, and even from possible Mozarabic authors originating from the south. However, M. Torreblanca (in press) has shown that the editors did not indicate the dates of the copies, and the forms used should not be assumed that the data used came from the original manuscripts, but from later copies (see M. Alvar, 1989, 1996).

VIII. Statistical Analysis of Written Normalization of Hispanic Romances

Statistical inference techniques currently have evident relevance for the better understanding and explanation of the data obtained, and quantitative analyzes of language contact situations and linguistic transfer processes are necessary, in a representative and significant sample. All sciences, including historical sciences, are quantitative (see f. Gimeno, 1995: 53-9). In our case, as we have said, we had started from the relationship between the number of legal documents preserved, depending on the stages and periods of written normalization of Hispanic romances, with disparate and discontinuous social situations (unstable and stable).

8.1. The samples analyzed were the three cartularies and two following documentary collections: *El Becerro galicano de Ssn Millán de la Cogolla*, *El Becerro gótico y galicano de Valpuesta*, *Cartulario de Sant Cugat del Vallés (875-1199)*, *Colección de documentos de la catedral de Oviedo* and *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún (857-1199)*. These legal documents corresponded to different speech communities (La Rioja, Castilla, Catalonia, Asturias and León). From them we obtained a comparative quantification to which we had applied the calculation of Pearson's X^2 distribution, in order to offer statistically significant interpretations of the data collected. The working null hypothesis postulated that the number of legal documents in diplomatic collections it was independent of the stages and periods of social situations.

First, we statistically analyze the practical X^2 distribution for the total of legal documents of unstable situations of linguistic conflict (DJSICL) and the total of legal documents of stable situations of written normalization (DJSENE), in all diplomatic collections in the sample. The significance level chosen was 95% for all calculations carried out, with a probability of error less than 1%. In this specific case, the practical X^2 took the value of 215.52, while the value of the theoretical X^2 (for 4 degrees of freedom) corresponded to 13.27 (see table 8.1). The value of the practical X^2 was much greater than the theoretical X^2 , so the null hypothesis of independence between the aforementioned factors was not met.

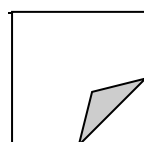
TABLE 8.1

Observed and expected frequencies of the total number of legal documents in situations of linguistic conflict and written normalization of Hispanic romances, in five diplomatic collections

	Total DJSICL	DJSENE Total	TOTAL
<i>BSMCogolla</i>	0 (110.81)	791 (680.18)	791
<i>Bvalpuesta</i>	24 (25.63)	159 (157.36)	183
<i>CSCVallés</i>	146 (165.16)	1.033 (1013.83)	1.179
<i>CCOviedo</i>	46 (27.59)	151 (169.40)	197
<i>CMSahagún</i>	327 (213.78)	1.199 (1,312.21)	1.526
TOTAL	543	3.333	3.876

The analysis of the general data suggested that in Oviedo and Sahagún a greater number of legal documents were found within unstable situations (46 and 327, respectively) than expected (27.59 and 213.78, respectively). In San Millán de la Cogolla, Valpuesta and San Cugat del Vallés the opposite occurred, that is, a lower number of legal documents in unstable situations (0, 24 and 146, respectively) than expected (110.81, 25.63 and 165, 16, respectively). In the case of stable situations of written normalization, in San Millán de la Cogolla, Valpuesta and San Cugat del Vallés a greater number of legal documents were found (791, 159 and 1033, respectively) than expected (680.18, 157.36 and 1013.83, respectively). In Oviedo and Sahagún the opposite occurred, that is, a lower number of legal documents (151 and 1199, respectively) than expected (169.40 and 1312.21, respectively). The total number of the sample analyzed was 3.876 legal documents.

8.2. With respect to the great disparity of the legal documents observed that had appeared in the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla, especially in unstable situations of linguistic conflict (0 diplomas) with respect to those expected (110.81), we had to refer to the opposition and resistance to the influence of Cluny and the Carolina letter until the 12th century, by a monastic community anchored in the monastery of Suso within the



Visigothic tradition, with the defense of its rich heritage, despite the fact that the first monks Cluniacs arrived at the Yuso monastery around the year 1050, which was ordered to be built by the Navarrese king García Sánchez III (1053-1057). The two monasteries coexisted in opposition at least until the year 1100. So the effect of the Gregorian reform did not manifest itself, nor did the restrictions and revisions to the use of the written romance text materialize, but rather the previous stable situation of written normalization continued, with the appearance of a large number of documents in the *Becerro galicano* (360 diplomas). Furthermore, it was not strange in a monastery that starred in the most brilliant testimony of written normalization of Hispanic romances, with the romance gloss of the ecclesiastical ritual text (fol. 72r) of the codex *Em. 60* in the previous period (see J. García Turza, 2013).

Therefore, from a mathematical statistical point of view, we could conclude that the number of legal documents in the diplomatic collections of the sample was dependent on the disparate social situations (unstable linguistic conflict and stable written normalization). There was, therefore, a statistically significant relationship between the stages and periods of social situations of linguistic normalization and the use and development of hybrid written texts, compared to the periods of unstable situations of linguistic conflict, according to the test of the χ^2 distribution. In situations of written normalization, legal documents were more abundant than in situations of linguistic conflict, and our specific working hypothesis was confirmed, regarding that the process of linguistic normalization of Hispanic romances responded to an implicit planning of disparate and discontinuous social situations.

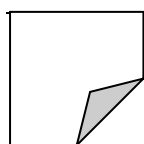
IX. Conclusions

1. The most general characteristic of romances during the processes of oral training and written normalization was the increasingly accentuated evidence that they were a natural means of communication, to the extent that the different social groups were the legal subjects of acts legal. The greatest Romanesque tradition of legal texts was attested in practically all regions of Romania (from the second half of the 8th century). This tradition primarily revealed the antecedents of the influence of roman law, in determining the sociological and legal function of romances. The process of written normalization of romance arose from the Gallo-Romanesque-Germanic contact, on the linguistic frontier of northern Gaul. In this sense, the *Serments de Strasbourg* were truly significant (842), which constituted one of the most relevant legal texts of the romance, and were written in two languages (Romanesque and Germanic), in order to make known and guarantee to each of the parties the alliance between Charles the Bald and Luis the Germanicus, against his brother Llothair. Furthermore, the different social situations of the processes of oral formation and written normalization of the romances were disparate and discontinuous, but unusual in the history of the language, and were constitutive of the anthropological history of the Hispanic romances.

2. The process of oral formation of the romances was in the previous and ancient periods of linguistic displacement of some pre-roman vernaculars (with social mobility) by medieval Latin, in the different speech communities, within social situations of strict diglossia. The anthropological history of Hispanic romances was the result of successive and diverse acculturations (Indo-European, Iberian, Fenopunic-Greek, Roman, Christian, Germanic, Visigothic and Islamic), which enriched the different Spanish-speaking communities. The intrinsic relationship between linguistic, social and cultural factors was revealed in the phonological transfer of the Iberian and Basque pentavocalic system in the Riojan romance. The Iberization and Semitic influence of Iberian vocalism and Basque in the historical phonology of Spanish were indisputable, since the most important transfer was the shift of Latin-colloquial vocalism by the calque of the phonological variants of the pentavocalic system, within Basque-Romance bilingualism of the different Basque-speaking social groups in the Basque-speaking community, less linked to the Latin-roman tradition.

3. Furthermore, the same Basque-Romance bilingualism of the Basque-speaking community also determined the dialects with diphthongization of the two open stressed vowels of colloquial latin (*e* and *o*), with the identification of their elements with the other vowels /*i*, *u*, *e*/, and the consummation of the process of dephonologization of said stressed vowels. Said Basque-Romance bilingualism was, therefore, at the basis of vocalism and diphthongization developed by successive generational groups of the different Riojan-speaking social groups, on the linguistic frontier, due to historical, sociological, cultural and legal determinants. For the first time, the multilingual monk from San Millán de la Cogolla promoted the written normalization of the romance diphthongization of the two open stressed vowels of colloquial Latin (*e* and *o*), consolidated it.

4. At the beginning of the 5th century, within the social diffusion of Christianization, Jerome configured the history of cultural transmission, for the next thousand years, with respect to the history of monasteries, codices and copyists, who translated, revised and constructed a universe in which written normalization permanently maintained a leading role. With the extension and rise of Christianization until the end of the 5th century, these relatively stable situations led (except in the case of Basque, Albanian and Greek) to linguistic conflicts, where



the shift of the pre-roman vernaculars took place (without modification of social condition) by colloquial and Christian Latin. In both periods (of extensive diglossia and conflict) there were corresponding commitments to linguistic transfers (interferences, code switches, calques and borrowings), within a complex process of social and cultural mixing, which understood and explained specific parameters of the romances.

5. One of the most important morphological restructurings in the evolution of Latin to romance was the pre-Romanesque variable of the loss and readjustment (semantic and syntactic) of the Latin casual inflection, from the 1st century ac, which constituted the first written manifestations of the romance formation process. This transformation, together with the semitic word order of biblical Latin, made it possible to make up for the absence of cases in the romances. The specific working hypothesis on the influence of the superficial word order of biblical translations on the syntax of the romances was confirmed, based on a representative and significant sample of the word orders (syntactic and pragmatic) in the *Vulgata*. The glosses (especially legal, since the 3rd century) were also part of these written manifestations of the processes of formation and written normalization of the romances.

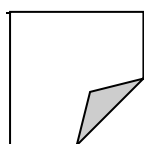
6. Visigothization and the creation of Visigothic law, as well as the conservation of the Visigothic reference in politics and culture, constituted one of the characteristic elements of the Hispano-Christian society in formation. The new compilations of the *Hispana* and the *Liber Iudiciorum* prolonged their validity during the early medieval centuries, as well as the great dissemination of the *Etymologiae* of Isidoro de Sevilla. In the first half of the 8th century, medieval Latin began to cease to be vernacular in northern Gaul. The Germans contributed effectively to the differentiation of the romances, and especially between the influences of the franks under the Merovingian and Carolingian dynasties, Germanization and the creation of a multicultural Romanesque-Germanic community had to be counted, less linked to the Latin-Roman tradition. Merovingian Latin and Visigothic Latin were written registers of superficial actions by scribes, which were historically determined by different multicultural communities of language contact, less linked to the Latin-roman tradition.

7. The broad temporal, geographical and social context of the Romanesque West corresponded to a stable situation of Romanesque diglossia (strict at first and broad later). The standardized variety was medieval Latin, used as a written and formal oral register, and romances were the familiar and informal varieties. The school teaching of medieval Latin facilitated the displacement of the corresponding romance, along with social mobility. Linguistic insecurity was one of the results of the reflexive use of a variety, and produced a purist attitude towards that variety, although it was necessary to differentiate the purism of the standard and that of the vernacular. In the case of medieval Latin, it provoked a double reaction: on the one hand, the reform of Visigothic Latin, and on the other, the written normalization of romances, within the determinants of historical, sociological, cultural and legal change in the second half of the 8th century and the Carolingian renaissance.

8. Teaching, culture in general and law in particular in the early middle ages were the exclusive heritage of the Church, which kept the Christian legacy alive in the west through monastic centers, with ecclesiastical authority in matters of knowledge, and had its translation in the Carolingian renaissance. The Latin notary and monasticism were the two most genuine creations of the Middle Ages, which contributed continuously to the transmission of culture and to the written testimonies of Visigothic Latin and the Romances. The cultural reform of the Carolingian court could never make the previous diglossia disappear in France, the counties of Marca Hispánica and northern Italy, since it only involved the revitalization and restoration of medieval Latin, at end of 8th century.

9. And much less could it be thought that the Carolingian reform established diglossia. Rather, this reform destabilized the previous broad diglossia, and caused a situation of linguistic conflict with the shift of romances, without social mobility. The pastoral reaction promoted by canon 17 of the council of tours (813) favored the development of written romance samples, from the first half of the 9th century, and the implicit planning of the romances. The religious history of the medieval west and the pastoral strategy of mandatory implementation of romance in the domain of ecclesiastical use did not know geopolitical borders, nor chronological staggering, due to Christianization with generalized approaches within the western church, and the cultural validity of a confessional community of faith and religious practices, before (and after) the 11th century.

10. The reconstruction of the process of written normalization of the romances was generally based on supposed intuitions foreign to the necessary empirical proposals for a theory of linguistic planning, and even some contrary to the alphabetic tendency of graphophonetic adaptation, since the first romance samples. The written normalization of the romances could never have been due to the simple imitation of the neighboring Celtic and Germanic varieties, since the social situations were totally different, as well as the proximity of medieval Latin. Linguistic consciousness of Romance arose from Gallo-Romanesque-Germanic contact within the kingdom of the



Franks, in the first half of the 8th century, due to historical, sociological, cultural and legal determinants, and the name *Romanz* appeared in northern Gaul.

11. Between the beginning of the 9th century and the middle of the 10th century, the valle del duero was occupied by a frontier society, which assimilated Islamization and the creation of a multicultural Romanesque-Islamic community, also less linked to the Latin-Roman tradition. The compatibility of contrary demands on the part of the same ecclesiastical managers favored the development of the written normalization of romance, and the progressive extension of said activity to different social groups and other speech communities of western Christian Europe, within a planning process implicit. It was only at the end of the 9th century, with *La cantilena de santa Eulalia*, and later in the 10th century (with a few tens documents), when the handwritten testimonies of the romances began to become more numerous and longer.

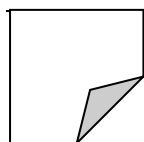
12. The Romanesque Glosses of the codex *Em. 60* of the Real Academia de la Historia and those of the codex *Silense add. 30853* from the British library (although Emiliano by origin) were the first examples of Hispanic romances. The process of written normalization appeared most relevantly, and they were the first Hispanic testimony of an early linguistic awareness of the new Riojan romance, along with Latin Visigothic. The romance glosses responded to revisions and adaptations of the written texts to the temporal, geographical and social context of a written normalization, on the linguistic border of the Basque-speaking community, less linked to the Latin-Roman tradition. In the middle of the 10th century, the *Glosas Emilianenses* (year 950) preceded the *Glosario Em. 46* (year 964), and both were made in the desk of Suso de San Millán, within the fourth period of the proto-romance stage of written normalization of romances. The *Glosas Silenses* were copied and expanded (with a correction) in the second half of the 10th century, in the same desk of Suso de San Millán, also within the fourth period of written normalization of the romances.

13. Starting in the second half of the 11th century, the Gregorian reform once again activated the previous linguistic conflict, where the shift of romances (except in the case of French and Occitan) with medieval Latin was carried out without objective social mobility. In this period, there were some coordinates of code-switching and borrowing between medieval Latin and the romances, and restrictions and revisions to the use and development of the written romance text were triggered, as well as greater public sanction for the innovation of medieval Latin and the radicalization of the linguistic and sociological differentiation of the varieties involved. However, the great historical, sociological, economic and cultural changes at the end of the 11th century and throughout the 12th century were what determined the authentic process of normalization of romances. The expansion of commercial activities and demographic growth in the new cities occurred in large areas of western Christendom, as well as the activity of urban schools.

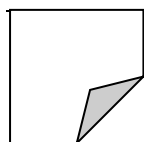
14. In the ancient and medieval stage (from the end of the 11th century to the end of the 15th century), general consolidation of romance written texts materialized. Languages and different social groups of the speech communities found themselves immersed in the gradual displacement of medieval Latin by the Romances, in written documentation. Role of medieval Latin as a language of culture and liturgy in western Europe was reinforced. This historical, sociological, cultural and legal change originated not only the greatest innovation of foral Latin, but also the written normalization of notarial and foral texts in Hispanic romances, and general introduction of romance writing. The *Fuero de Avilés* (around 1155) responded to the influence of the history of law and the need to assume the process of linguistic normalization of Hispanic romances. Excellent proof was the extraordinary increase in romance documents (approximately 98% since 1080), which arose from a literate lay group, which developed the use of writing in the most diverse areas, with the bankruptcy of the long secular monopoly on writing and reading, in the hands of a small clerical elite.

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