

# Anthropology History of First Hispanic Romance Text

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## Summary

*In the anthropological history of the Hispanic romances there was a linguistic and cultural continuity, depending on the successive and diverse historical acculturations (Indo-European, Iberian, Fenopunic-Greek, Roman, Christian, Germanic, Visigothic and Islamic), with the assimilation of cultural elements and adaptation to a new sociocultural context. The processes of oral formation and written normalization of the romances were determined by the broad temporal, geographical and social context of the Romance speaking communities, based on the influence of the history of Roman law and the transcendental legacy of Jerome, as well as the Etymologies of Isidore of Seville, to the history of textual transmission and revision, with the appearance of glosses and glossaries. The interpretation of language as an entity containing separate syntactic, semantic and phonological components reflected the main divisions of current linguistic research, with much greater impact than the previous structural approach. The linguistic analyzes of the first Glosas Emilianenses y Glosas Silenses were insufficient for an anthropological history of the Hispanic romances, and we had to resort to the syntactic-semantic component of the Romance prayer, based on the communicative competence of the only multilingual glossator of the Rioja-speaking community.*

**Keywords:** Anthropological history, Speech community, Communicative competence, Written normalization, Hispanic romance text.

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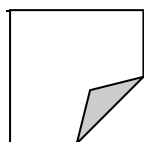
## I. Introduction

In the anthropological history of Hispanic romances there was a linguistic and cultural continuity, depending on the successive and diverse historical acculturations (Indo-European, Iberian, Phoenipunic-Greek, Roman, Christian, Germanic, Visigothic and Islamic), with the assimilation of cultural elements and the adaptation to a new sociocultural context. Since approximately 1970, the panorama of concern for space in the historiography relating to the Crown of Castile began to change. The entry of anthropology into history was one of the most significant historiographical data, and there was a deepening of the knowledge of the configuration of society, and especially its behaviors in relation to the land occupied (see J. A. García de Cortázar, 1985; F. Gimeno, 1995).

On the other hand, studies on linguistic and cultural contact in Europe did not enjoy broad coordination, although the precursors were European (W. Leopold, E. Haugen and U. Weinreich), nor had the relationship between them been properly defined. Anthropologists who investigated acculturation were pressed to include empirical linguistic evidence as indications of the overall process of acculturation, while linguists needed the help of anthropology to describe and analyze those factors that governed linguistic transfer, and were within of the field of culture. The sociocultural history of a bilingual speaking community involved the contact of different social groups and different languages, with the linguistic and cultural transfers that implied the social and cultural mixing of said groups.

1.1. The concept of philology was the subject of lively discussions, although most authors agreed that it should study language and literature, and for practical considerations it was divided into two branches (linguistic and literary). Language was not the only object of philology, since it proposed fixing, interpreting and commenting on the texts, and this first study led him to also deal with literary history and its institutions, based on the method that was his own, the Literary criticism. If it addressed linguistic issues, it was for the comparison of texts from different periods, either the determination of the particular language of each author, or the explanation of inscriptions written in an archaic language.

At the *I Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Lengua Española* (Cáceres, 1987), K. Baldinger (1988) presented to us in the "Inaugural Lecture" the "Misery and splendor of philology" with an outline of a typology of errors philological, an epilogue to the misery of philology and the micro-splendours of philology. And he commented that the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (20th ed., 1984) offered the meaning of



“Philology” as “Historical science that studied a culture, as it was manifested in its language and literature, mainly through the written texts.” However, this general aspect effectively encompassed all the manifestations of the human spirit, and this magnitude constituted both its greatness and the impossibility of knowing such a vast field in depth.

So the splendor of this field (so fascinating was philology) was continually threatened by the traps that awaited the philologist at every step, and if he managed to overcome or avoid three steps he would fall into the fourth. And there were even philologists who liked to fall from trap to trap. The splendor of philology was married to its misery. To illustrate its splendor, it was enough to remember a masterful work of primary importance such as the *Orígenes del español* by R. Menéndez Pidal (1926/1950).

It was not, therefore, the edition and study of the *Cantar de Mio Cid*, carried out by R. Menéndez Pidal (ed.) (1908-1911), which was a clear example of philological work, based on neogrammatical assumptions (see R. Menéndez Pidal, 1904/1940), but the *Orígenes del español* (1926/1950) which were the result of historical dialectological research.

The question was why the omission of the philological quote from the *Poema de Mio Cid* was due, although an incomprehensible contradiction could be assumed that the Spanish epic in its primitive stage lived several centuries in constant variation and a supposed latent state, in which there were no written texts, but limited oral texts on each occasion, since in the long process of written normalization of the Castilian romance (and in the specific one of the epic), within the ancient stage, the *Poema de Mio Cid* was inadmissible, through the oral transmission of the different minstrels who participated in the dissemination of the Poem (see M. Torreblanca, 2010, 2021, in press; J. F. Domene, 2021; F. Gimeno, 1988b, 1998, 2021, 2024a). Another underlying question was whether the meaning of philology supposed, in addition to historical science, an alternative application of change in the history of linguistics, although always within the models and their methodological coordinates (neogrammatical, dialectological, functionalist, pragmatic, generative and sociolinguistic). Indeed, the second meaning of “Philology” that the *DRAE* (23rd ed., 2014) included was that of “Technique that is applied to texts to reconstruct, fix and interpret them”.

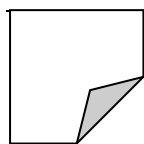
1.2. In 19th century linguistics, H. Arens (1969: 229-402) alluded to the fact that the first three decades constituted the most fruitful and great era for the history of linguistics, and the researcher W. von Humboldt (1767-1835) stood out, who combined extensive and deep linguistic knowledge with high reasoning in which for the first time the border between linguistics and philosophy of language was erased. Language, considered in its real nature, was always something fugitive. Until its normalization through the written record, it was only an incomplete conservation, requiring an attempt to make the neuronal connection sensible in it. It was not a result (*ergon*), but a cultural process of oral formation (*energeia*), and its true definition could only be genetic. Strictly speaking, this was the materialization of the Romance register, from the successive generational change of the different social groups, within the various speech communities.

In the second half of the 19th century, H. Steinthal, W. D. Whitney and W. Scherer took an important step forward, since they freed themselves from the philological interpretation of language considered as something literary fixed, and consequently of the letter. For them, language was (according to its origin) speaking and what was spoken, and it maintained a certain relationship of interdependence with the contemporary research of physiological phonetics, just as it gave linguistics (almost exclusively Indo-European) a decisive and above all fortunate impulse. The physiological orientation referred exclusively to the sounds considered as the material element of the language, and led to the “phonetic law.”

Psychological consideration focused on the phenomenon of analogy, which could ultimately offer an explanation of changes that were not understandable phonetically, as well as semantic change. Furthermore, they emphasized the fact that language was a social product that did not have to be separated from the general sphere of human life and penetrated a thick network of relationships and reactions, although a sociology of language did not arise from this as a specialty. However, the social factor was taken into greater consideration, both in the exact delimitation of certain phonetic facts, as well as in the treatment of professional, union and private languages.

It should be noted that H. Steinthal directed his observation to living language, since he was convinced that the creative act of language was constantly repeated, and that it was the same in primitive man, in the child and in anyone who spoke. From this fundamental identity, he came to observe the child in his progressive acquisition of linguistic statements. and to resort to the results of this observation in support of his theory on the origin of language, which consisted of seeing as its basis the reflex mimic and phonetic movements executed by the facial, vagus and hypoglossal nerves. Initially, according to him, it did not deprive the need for communication, but rather self-awareness, acquired by the perception of the effects on others. However, language only began with the conscious use of originally reflex articulations, and was only possible within a uniform community, and therefore animated by the same feelings.

After W. von Humboldt, the philosophy of language fell exclusively into philosophical dilettantism, since until recently there was no true psychology, and without it the philosophical study of language was pure



triviality. The capital error in the study of language consisted in considering it only as a means of social communication, and it was believed that man had representations and thoughts, as well as the ability to represent them in sound.

## **II. Componential Approach to Language**

The sociocultural origin of the oral record of languages has not ceased to concern linguists, anthropologists, anatomists, neuroscientists and paleontologists, without considering that the essential problem was to analyze the universal features in the phonological and syntactic structure of languages. The genesis of languages was obscure, and we did not know why or how this great invention began. However, one of the main characteristics that differentiated *Sapiens society* from animal groups consisted of knowing when and how the sounds used in languages began to be articulated in communication.

2.1. Furthermore, the greatest difference between languages and the language of animals was the intrinsic relationship between language, society and culture, which are essential coordinates in research on linguistic variation and change between different generational and social groups, within the various speech communities. It is well known that biologically or we share 98% of our genes with chimpanzees.

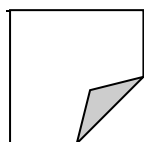
The oral record of languages was an excellent instrument of expression and communication of cognitive development in *Sapiens society*, within prehistoric speech communities. Cognitive control was manifested in the lateral prefrontal lobe of the brain, although it was connected to other areas. These processes contained many phases, and aroused the curiosity of numerous scientists. The most important contributions were the investigations into the general structure of languages, and the insistence on their most primitive forms and most general manifestations. Furthermore, it was undeniable that the most primitive structures (phonological and syllabic) were the simplest, and served as a prior basis for the most complicated ones. Simple structures were those that the child acquired first, during his learning of the variety of adults.

All languages and cultures of speech communities were the result of an inherited product, and human evolution was completed before the African diaspora in successive waves. The acquisition of language by a child before the age of seven was also subject to the combined action of nature and education, just as its innate character was the necessary basis for social and cultural diffusion and acculturation. The child could not begin to speak if he did not have contact with speakers, but as soon as that contact was established he acquired it, while any additional language could be learned during adolescence or adulthood. The social and cultural variation of languages was ancient, and was found in the subsequent social and cultural diffusion of languages, with the proliferation of the most superficial variants (phonology and morphology), where all change was carried out within their cultural traditions (see R. Jakobson 1962, 1970; F. Gimeno, 2023).

2.2. Structural linguistics remained based on the hypothesis that the design of the language was tripartite (see P. Bec, 1970; L. Rubio, 1971). Structuralists considered these parts as levels, and called them phonology, morphology and syntax. R. J. Di Pietro (1971: 71-8) proposed that this basic design had been modified in different ways, and alluded to K. Pike, who had interpreted each level in terms of three different manifestations, namely: units, sets of units and system that outlined the relationships of the units. Thus, for example, in phonology the units were phonemes, the sets represented the different ways in which phonemes were combined to form syllables and parts of syllables (diphthongs, consonant groups, etc.), finally, the system of relationships could be illustrated by vowel diagrams and consonant chart.

With the evolution of transformative-generative theories, the design of the language began to be defined in the so-called components. The general approach to language design is multidimensional, and comprised: a) separate components (semantics, syntax and phonology); b) two levels of structure, one deep and the other surface, interconnected through a series of intermediate rules, and c) expressible in generative terms of rules that predicted all possible sentences of the language and were not limited to a single corpus of sentences. This componential approach to language continues to be very practical, and we had to distinguish sociolinguistic competence and performance, as well as universal grammar and particular grammar.

Communicative competence is made up of four types of competences: grammatical, discursive, strategic and sociolinguistic. Firstly (according to H. López Morales, 1989: 32-3), the simultaneous inclusion of grammatical and sociolinguistic competence is surprising, since the first is at the base of the second, much broader one. The point of contact between sociolinguistics and the ethnography of communication is the diaphasic variation. Sociolinguistics analyzes in detail the linguistic features that distinguish some registers from others within each sociolect, as well as studies the motivation for such distinctions and discovers the social factors that drive change from one register to another. All this work is translated into a system of rules that reveals the sociolinguistic competence of a given speech community. The ethnography of communication has points of contact with discourse analysis, especially with discourse conversational (see D. Hymes, 1971a, 1971b; F. Gimeno and M. V. Gimeno, 2003: 65-99; F. Gimeno, 1987, 1988a, 1990, 1995, 2004, 2013, 2016, 2024b).



Universal grammar includes all the essential characteristics of languages, and particular grammar integrates the specific selections of each language. The interpretation of language as an entity containing separate syntactic, semantic and phonological components reflected the main divisions of current linguistic research, with much greater impact than the previous structural approach, which excluded semantics and distinguished between phonology and morphology. Because physical properties (sounds) could be studied using instruments, the phonological component is the most thoroughly investigated of the three.

Furthermore, the componential approach to language could be accepted without meeting the requirement that syntax be more basic than semantics or phonology. Instead of claiming that syntactic combination was what required certain semantic units (or even that syntactic combinations are determined by semantics), we simply observed that syntax and semantics are intimately connected, and that neither component can be analyzed profitably without reference to the other. Each language not only selects the semantic features that it considers useful, but also the syntactic combinations in which these features are found. Thus, for example, Arabic does not allow passive sentences to express agent, while English does. Of the three components, progress in the area of semantics is the slowest.

Many problems remain to be solved in the establishment of indisputable norms to separate, discover and unravel the linguist's use of semantics from that of the philosopher or logician. It is quite possible that contrasting the semantic fields of different languages will end up being the best way to approach the treatment of semantic features, since attempts to limit semantic analysis to one language are questionable and give rise to criticism. Changes in sociolinguistic performance are mere reflections of the changes that have taken place in the competence or knowledge of the language of each of the speakers (see C. P. Otero, 1971: 98).

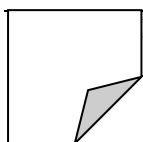
The phonological component includes all the features and processes that have to do with the realization of syntactic and semantic elements in sounds. Compared to the autonomous interpretation of phonemes as phonological units, the systematic phoneme has a clearly secondary importance, but it is convenient that we refer to phonemes as underlying segments that are used to designate or "spell" morphemes, that is, segments that contain the minimum number of specifications of distinctive features necessary to express the phonetic realization of morphemes. Therefore, just as the consideration of the autonomous phoneme was rejected, the notion of "word" as a basic unit in relation to semantics was also rejected. Each word constituted a complex of a number of semantic features (sometimes called "markers"), and for this reason, an analysis of the lexicon of a language had to be considered as a superficial realization of the semantic features.

H. López Morales (1974: 43-4) commented that every generative grammar consisted of three components (syntactic, semantic and phonological), and the syntactic component was the generative element, just as the other two were simply interpretive. The basis of the syntactic component provided all the information relevant to the unique semantic interpretation of each sentence. The function of the semantic component (according to the orthodox position of generative theory) was simply to assign interpretation of content to each internal structure, and therefore completely subordinated to the syntactic one. The phonological component was also interpretive and acted on external structures. The components of generative grammar, with their corresponding functions, tried to explain the processes followed by the speaker's competence to introduce sentences, which operated with a high degree of abstraction so that he was able to produce and understand all the possible sentences of a given language.

2.3. Language is a social and cultural product, and when we make an explicit statement about its elements, we must keep in mind that they represent only one solution to the problem of communication. If language is to be considered a system of arbitrary signs, it must be remembered that the arbitrariness derived from the fact that there are many solutions to the same communication problems, and it would be impossible if speakers could not agree on a limited number of syntactic combinations to order the semantic features. With the study of semantic projection, we face these problems and their possible solutions.

On the other hand, semantic features are convenient means of characterizing focal points of interest, as far as man's interpretation of his existence, speech community and universe is concerned. Under the heading of semantic projection we examined the ways in which these features interacted with syntax to form the surface structure of particular languages. It could be observed that each language interpreted the two universal categories of NAME and VERBOID in unique ways, and depended on the semantic features that "filled" them. It was convenient to consider verboids as verbs, that is, elements that determined the content of the sentence, and from there established the relationships between the nominal elements. One could gain insight into some of these relationships, and consider sentences that included the copula in their surface structures.

It should also be mentioned that the lexicon of a language was agglomerations of semantic features combined in a hierarchical manner. For these reasons, according to R. J. Di Pietro (1971: 123), it was useful to examine the following different functions of semantic features and to determine: 1) how they affected the rules of implementation of a language; 2) how they were projected into general syntactic categories, and 3) how each language created its lexicon. Each language, in its own specific way, extracted from the universal inventory of



semantic features in order to constitute its own set of lexical units or idiomatic expressions. Semantic complexes receive the technical name of *lexeme* and all lexemes make up the vocabulary of a language. Languages have different ways of grouping lexemes into general semantic categories, through semantic marking.

It would not be possible to examine lexical differences between languages if we did not implicitly accept the notion that there is an underlying universal matrix of semantic features and a set of universal selection rules that establish the basic patterns of human cognition. Anthropologists have been busy investigating sociologically and culturally how the different channels through which humans interpret and organize the material world will lead to the understanding of underlying universals. Lexemes as surface phenomena are restricted to the specific grammars of each language.

Each lexeme had to be considered as a set of semantic features generated through the secondary selection rules of the language in which it operated, and sensitive to the social and cultural communication needs of the speakers of that language. Because they were hidden units underlying the lexemes, the semantic features could not be directly observed. In order to understand these traits and the selection rules that operated on them, an appropriate procedure must be developed. Any postulate of universality of semantic features had to be formulated on a completely provisional basis, although the importance of the search for semantic universals was in no way diminished by procedural difficulties.

2.4. In the first half of the 20th century, the study of the history of language was very far from the analysis of linguistic variation and variety (in time, space and society), and from the anthropological and sociological considerations of the different social groups of speech communities. In the processes of formation and written normalization of the romances, not only was the internal evolution of Visigothic Latin itself involved, but the displacement of the romances by medieval Latin also appeared involved, which promoted the Carolingian reform.

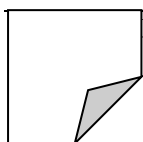
During the second half of the last century, great contributions had been accumulated to historical linguistics, which were far from being recognized by language historians, but which have meant great successes and technical solutions to hitherto inexplicable events. Thus, for example, linguistic change (ongoing and stable), acculturation, linguistic planning, social function, linguistic substitution, diglossia and linguistic conflict, etc.

The processes of oral formation and written normalization of the romances were determined by the broad temporal, geographical and social context of the Romance speaking communities, based on the influence of the history of Roman law and the transcendental legacy of Jerome to the history of textual transmission and revision, with the appearance of glosses and glossaries. Oral training and written standardization emerged in the Gallo-Romanesque-Germanic contact in northern Gaul. The first written standardization of the romances was therefore brought forward a few centuries until the second half of the 8th century.

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. However, a true success of diachronic functionalism was the recognition that the formation of the various Hispanic romances from the same Latin diasystem posed the insufficiency and simplification of the previous hypotheses based in isolation on linguistic systems (see A. Quilis, 1976).

The development of family language transmission involved a process of social and cultural diffusion and acculturation, as well as the intrinsic relationships between languages, societies and cultures. These are essential coordinates in current research on linguistic variation and change, between the different generations and social groups, within the various speech communities. Faced with descriptive, qualitative and autonomous hypotheses of linguistic change, we had to assume that the syntactic, semantic and phonological change implied a grammatical change in the communicative competencies of the successive generational and social groups of the speech community, through the reorganization of the vernacular language. The previous assumptions about the formation of romances prevented us from understanding and explaining the anthropological, sociological and legal coordinates of the social multilingualism of hybrid manuscripts.

The grammars of the different social groups of the speech community (vernacular and standard, depending on the domain of use) and the concept of 'speech community' itself (and not the idiolect) were the fundamental objective of sociolinguistic research. Furthermore, we had to take into account that the criticism of the research on languages in contact (U. Weinreich, 1953) focused on the myopia and marginality of the bilingual fact, since it presented the category of monolingual as the only natural and stable basis of interaction. social, and characterized bilingualism as a reflection of communication between monolingual groups. The linguistic analysis of bilingual communities therefore followed the analytical models derived from the study of monolingual communities. The descriptions of the L1 and L2 were abstract, normative and static, and ignored other elements involved (sociological, pragmatic, psychological...) (see U. Weinreich, W. Labov and M. I. Herzog, 1968: 187-8; J. A. Fishman, 1964/1968, 1971: 237-58; W. Labov, 1982; F. Gimeno and M..V. Gimeno, 2003: 30-1; F. Gimeno, 2008a: 255-60, 2008b).



### III. Formation of Romances

H. Lausberg (1956/1962, I: 51-94) wrote that it was a phenomenon due, on the one hand, to the relaxation of the external ties of the Roman Empire and the weakening of its cultural vitality, and on the other, to the new formation of "national" speech communities (emerged below), which independently re-assimilated and vivified the ancient cultural tradition. An in-depth study of the romances discovered numerous pre-Roman elements, which had infiltrated and amalgamated with the respective romances throughout history. Not only in terms of the impressive influence on the lexicon, but there were also various influences to be reckoned with on the phonology and syntax of the romances, although we hardly knew more than the name of most of the pre-Roman varieties, and it was difficult to determine the time when they disappeared.

3.1. In 1st century BC all the pre-Roman languages were still alive (with the exception of the Mediterranean varieties in Italy). It is possible that Gaulish had been preserved longer than any other language (in some parts of Switzerland perhaps until the 5th century). The pre-Roman languages that had been preserved to the present in their peripheral strongholds of Romania were: Basque in the western Pyrenean area and the Basque Country, Albanian in Albania and Greek in the southern extremities of Calabria (Bova next to Reggio) and Apulia (next to Otranto).

In the Roman Empire as a whole, the following elements played a decisive role in Romanization: the Roman administration, the military garrisons (in connection with them, the granting of the right of citizenship to provincial graduates), the Roman culture of urban centers and schools (especially in Spain and Gaul), commercial exchange and rural colonization. The acceptance of Latin by the inhabitants of the provinces was a process that developed without coercion of any kind, and only represented the linguistic impact of the political, commercial and cultural penetration of the empire. Nor was there a conscious will on the part of the inhabitants of the provinces to preserve their mother tongue, except in the aforementioned conservative strongholds. However, conservation and language shift implied a linguistic awareness and attitude (positive or negative, respectively).

Medieval Latin had a fundamental characteristic: it was a written (and on certain occasions even oral) register, when generally what was spoken was not Latin. It was, therefore, a language learned in monastic and episcopal schools, from the moment when the mother tongue of the different social groups was no longer Latin, but a different variety. It was not easy to determine when medieval Latin stopped being a vernacular variety of communication in the West (for some, the 6th or 7th century, and for others at the very beginning of the 8th century).

3.2. The linguistic consciousness of Romance arose in the Gallo-Romanesque-Germanic contact in the kingdom of the Franks, starting in the first half of the 8th century, and was fostered by the Gallo-Romanesque-Germanic bilingual consciousness of a multicultural Romanesque-Germanic community, less linked to the Latin-Roman tradition. In general, linguistic awareness was less clear and resolved in the Romance context than in the Germanic one, due to the lesser differentiation between medieval Latin and the Romances. The Romanesque world emerged from Gallo-Romanesque-Germanic contact in northern Gaul.

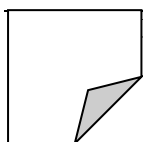
The real reason for the transition from the relative unity of colloquial Latin to the plurality of neo-Latin varieties, according to C. Tagliavini (1949/1969: 363-4), was in the concomitant influence of the three factors adduced by several authors (G. Gröber, C. Merlo and W. von Wartburg):

- a) the chronological discrepancy of the colonization of the various *provinciae* or regions;
- b) the difference of pre-Roman languages, and
- c) the divergent influences exerted over the centuries by peoples who overlapped the different social groups of the Romance-speaking communities.

There were multiple, therefore, the causes of the formation of romances and their progressive differentiation. As the links of unity weakened with the collapse of the Western Roman Empire, faced with the push of the Germanic peoples, we would witness a struggle between the old centripetal force and new centrifugal forces, and the new neo-Latin world would emerge. The reconstruction of the oral register (considerably different from the written one) of the various romances in the period of origins was sometimes impossible.

3.3. The first written manifestations of the romance were the glosses. Initially, the Greek terms *glossa* and *glossema* meant 'mouth organ', and later 'speech'. C. Tagliavini (1949/1969: 636-59) wrote that already in Aristotle they assumed the meaning of 'rare (or foreign) word that required explanation'. Like the Greek grammarians, the Latins took from the Greek *glossa* and *glossema* to designate an archaic, difficult or foreign word that needed explanation. Since the Romans also called *Glossae* the complications of explanations of rare and outdated words, *glossa* later came to mean not only the difficult word in need of explanation, but the explanation itself. In late Latin, the variant *glosa* also appeared next to *glossa*.

With the suffix *-arium* (which gives collective value) the term *glossarium* was constructed from imperial Latin to designate a compilation of glosses. Due to cultured influence, the *glossa* spelling was restored during the Middle Ages. Thus, glosses were explanations of difficult words, through synonyms, sometimes through periphrases



or authentic comments. It was obvious that any text not easily understandable due to its form or content lent itself to being glossed. In this way, during the Middle Ages, we found glosses on religious texts (Bible, works of the Fathers, etc.), on classics (especially poets), but also, very often, on legal texts (see F. Gimeno, 2019 : 276-80).

Even when we can determine with sufficient accuracy the oldest testimonies of each of the romances, we had to necessarily limit ourselves to the examination of the written texts, which were always after the formation of the romances as vernacular. After the fall of the Western Roman Empire, Latin became the official language of the Christian church, and continued to be written and spoken (more the former than the latter). The literary models were always the classic ones, and the greatest effort for medieval writers was to manage a language that was no longer spoken (at least, in the domain of family use).

3.4. Later, J. Herman (1975/1997: 137-47) opined that the end of the history of Latin ended with the 7th century and the first decades of the 8th century. In the course of the first half of the 8th century, the structural changes of the language produced in Gaul a communicative rupture between the mother tongue used throughout the world and the Latin inherited from the texts. However, this date would not necessarily be common to all Romanized territories, and would depend on the particularities of the evolution of the linguistic system in the different regions.

In Italy, the first evidence of a conscious differentiation between the regional language and the written practice of Latin came only from the second half of the 10th century. The differences in the date of the origin of the romances would be due to factors that were still determined. Thus it was likely that the early and radical character of certain evolutions in the variety of ancient Gaul (for example, the widespread drop of vowels in final syllables — except *a* — that occurred in Gallo-Romanesque between the 7th and 8th centuries) contributed to accelerate the transition in this region. The mechanism of the evolution of Latin towards the Romance stage and the interaction of “external” and “internal” factors were very far from being revealed, and from being described with the desirable precision and rigor.

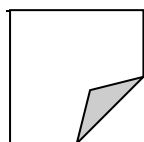
Likewise, the internal diversity (geographical, social and situational) of the Latin of the various regions of the empire could already be argued in imperial times. There were very solid reasons to suppose that Latin, since the time of the empire, had regional varieties, which mainly affected pronunciation and perhaps certain morphological elements, and in the later periods of its evolution it even had dialects. In a way, the different Romance varieties represented the medieval dialects of Latin: there was no solution of continuity.

Just as there are no rigid geographical boundaries between particular languages, the chronological boundaries between successive phases of language were a fiction of our minds, and there were — as among the best characterized geolects — intermediate or transitional varieties (see R. Penny, 2000: 45-56; F. Gimeno and E. Martínez Olmos, 2010). The process of transformation from Latin to Romance was related, therefore, to the linguistic diversification of Romania (due to the various historical, sociological, cultural and legal circumstances) and to the slow and continuous process of linguistic and social variation.

3.5. Regarding the origin of the romances, J. J. de Bustos Tovar (2004a: 258-68) believed that it would be a macroprocess that would lead to the dismemberment of Latin, as a result of the evolutionary interaction that affected all the components of the original system. There were two phenomena that decisively intervened in the initiation of changes that took centuries to complete. The first was the emergence of Christianity, which brought a new conception of the world in all its breadth. The second was the invasion of the Germanic peoples, who (although already Romanized for the most part) destroyed the political and cultural unity of the Roman world, and gave rise to large population movements and new territorial divisions, as well as an impoverishment of the classic culture. However, Roman culture survived as a model until well into the 7th century, and the use of Latin as the only language of communication. Strictly speaking, the proto-romances were the set of evolutionary tendencies, the existence of which had to be assumed to explain their generalization at the time of their origins, in the different peninsular romances, until the 8th century.

In the evolution of languages there would be, according to this author, two types of causes: internal and external. The first derived from the fact that the language was a system open to a tendency towards restructuring, with the production of a dynamic of change that had not yet reached a stable equilibrium. Thus, for example, it occurred when the Latin velar consonants, in contact with a palatal vowel, began an articulatory displacement until a new correlation beam was configured, based on palatality and not on velarity. Social and cultural factors (that favored the disappearance of a language and its language shift by others derived from it) were always related to major historical crises, since these caused ruptures in the internal cohesion of all the elements that determined social unity, political and cultural.

Among the limitations of diachronic functionalism of the last century were, on the one hand, the marginalization of anthropological, sociological and legal history, with the impact on the determinism of the diasystem (which implied an inadmissible opposition between linguistic structure and cultural tradition), and on the other, the perception that the results of the contact of some romances had not produced important



modifications of the phonological and syntactic structure (under the influence of social factors), without realizing that it was a limitation of their objectives and methodology (see F. Gimeno, 1995: 39-53).

One of the general principles of the study of linguistic change, according to U. Weinreich, W. Labov and M. I. Herzog (1968: 188), was that linguistic, social and cultural factors were directly related in the process of linguistic change, and the explanations those who limited themselves to one or other elements were wrong, since they had to take into account the regularities observed in empirical studies on linguistic behavior and the dimensions of social multilingualism. In other words, there was no linguistic change without ongoing variation (although all variation did not imply change) and without social and cultural variation, without linguistic components, nor historical, sociological, cultural and legal determinants of the various speech communities. The relationship between linguistic, social and cultural factors was revealed in the phonological transfer of the Iberian and Basque pentavocalic system in Castilian, and in the biblical transfer of the syntactic calque of the Semitic word order, in the process of oral formation of the romances (see F. Gimeno, 2019: 119-29).

3.6. Although linguistic planning was defined as the explicit activity of normalizing a normative spelling, syntax, and dictionary, the implicit reconstruction of written normalization of Hispanic romances allowed us to understand and explain the appearance of the first Romance lexical samples and the first Romanesque texts in the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries, in accordance with the influence of the history of Roman law and the prescriptions of Tours, together with the conservation of the peculiarity of the Hispano-Visigothic tradition.

From the second half of the 8th century, the first Romance texts of the manuscript documentation and the first Romance examples of the glosses could not be seen only as superficial innovations of the monks, but were inscribed within an implicit process of linguistic planning. Visigothic Spain was one of the last and most valuable manifestations of ancient culture. Isidoro de Sevilla (c. 560-636) laid the foundations of medieval culture, and was the bridge that linked Antiquity with the Middle Ages.

On the other hand, the hypothesis of the history of linguistics as a succession of paradigms was more appropriate to the linguistic facts and the continuity of history itself, than a replacement of models. One of the most assiduously held principles in historical linguistics has been the theory of the regularity of linguistic change. In the neogrammatical model, phonological change and analogy constituted the two basic elements of linguistic change. Phonological change acted independently of morphological, syntactic and semantic function, and analogy dealt precisely with the relationship between phonological and morphological structure.

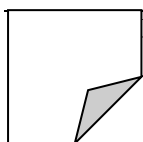
In this sense, we could differentiate two interpretations: 1) autonomous version of the assumption of phonological regularity, and 2) grammatical version of linguistic change. The hypothesis of the autonomy of linguistic levels was incompatible with the postgenerative theory of grammatical change, but some European functionalists have not recognized this incompatibility. The syntactic, semantic or phonological change implied a grammatical change in the communicative competences of the successive generational and social groups, within the speech community, through the reorganization of the vernacular with the generational change.

Likewise, there was a double starting strategy in the investigation of linguistic change: a) homogeneity, and b) structured heterogeneity. According to these interpretations that provided us with a double entry into the history of linguistics, there were the following models of linguistic change: a1) neogrammatical; b1) dialectological; a2) functionalist; b2) pragmatic, and a3) generative and b3) sociolinguistic. If all linguistic change implied ongoing variation (although all variation did not imply change), homogeneous models of linguistic change (neogrammatical, functionalist and generative) were unrealistic and inadequate.

The process of written normalization of the romances responded to an implicit application of linguistic planning, and our working hypothesis proposed two stages (proto-romance and ancient and medieval) and five periods with disparate and discontinuous social situations (unstable and stable) in the Romanesque West. That is, it comprised a proto-Romance stage (8th century-second half of the 11th century) and two periods (3rd and 5th) of unstable situations with restrictions and revisions to the use of the Romance text, compared to another stage (ancient and medieval) (late 11th century-end of the 15th century) and two periods (2nd and 4th) of stable normalization situations, favorable to the use of the romance text, with the statistical analysis of the process of written normalization of Hispanic romances (see F. Gimeno, 2019: 233-55, 364-419, 2024b: 74-8).

#### **IV. Towards a Philological Project**

In his latest contribution C. García Turza (2023: 17-27) has highlighted that the ultimate purpose of philology should be the maximum approximation to the correct understanding of the experiences and cognitive acts created by an author, and associated by him/herself in usual way to oral or written expressions, which we call texts or speeches. The monasteries of San Millán de la Cogolla and Santo Domingo de Silos were distinguished by the exceptional dedication of the monks of their respective desks to the activity of clarifying the meaning and meaning of many of the words, expressions and passages of the Latin texts, that (within the important codices of their respective libraries) contained some type of difficulty in understanding (see C. García Turza and J. García Turza, 2002; C. García Turza, 2004, 2011, 2013).





However, the text and discourse were not lexical glosses and marginal annotations, but rather the ordered set formed by an indeterminate series of sentences, endowed with coherence, meaning and completeness, and which responded as such to the syntactic-semantic component. The analyzes of the lexical glosses and marginal annotations had to be considered as a superficial performances of the semantic features, and could not be presented in an anthropological history of the *Glosas Emilianenses* and *Silenses*, but in the syntactic-semantic component of the Romance text, from the communicative competence of the multilingual glossator of the Rioja-speaking community (see B. Lavandera, 1985: 23-32).

4.1. The ultimate goal of the science of philological work, according to C. García Turza (27-86), should be the complete understanding of lexical glosses and marginal annotations, not only on the basis of knowledge of the language in which they were written, but also on the basis of familiarity with the material and spiritual culture within which those lexical units and notations had emerged. Even in the application of his method to the superficial achievements of the past the true meaning of his understanding had to be identified. Lexical glosses were not the object of interpretation, but of understanding, that is, the recognition of the real meaning of the terms at the time they were written. Now, within the notable philological and linguistic production of the Emilian monastery, the prayer (although indirect and expressed with a deprecative formula) on folio 72r of *Em 60* codex (misidentified as “glosa 89”) had to occupy the center of attention and study of proto-Ibero-Romance.

After these brief personal contributions on important features of the concept of philology, and the pressing current need for the cultivation of said science, the author has presented a sample of the implementation that he has developed with several *Glosas Emilianenses* and *Silenses*, with the inclusion of some marginal annotations of *Em 60* codex. Specifically, he has selected the study of the following six examples (four around five Emilianense and Silense Glosses, and two about Emilianense marginal annotations):

- 1) GIEmil [11] uix: **[f]ue[r]za**;
- 2) GIEmil [19] beneficia: **elos servicios** / GIEmil [20] beneficia: **abientja**;
- 3) GIEmil [112] (Videbis claritatem dei, sicut facie ad faciem., Non) *per speciem neque per uelamen*: **quemo enospillu noke non quemo eno uello**;
- 4) GILil [1] aut desinat aut deponatur: **aut desse poncat**;
- 5) *The marginal annotation*: + **et redet qui dominus**, and
- 6) *The marginal annotation of Em 60 codex* (fol. 26v, lines 9-11), *a sentence of the Desert Fathers*: “**Odie dimitte. cras / penitebis. / odie debemus penitere.**”.

4.2. With respect to the first lexical gloss, C. García Turza alluded to its extraordinary interpretive difficulty, based on the two totally different readings that had been given:

1) **ueiza**, with a majority opinion, headed by R. Menéndez Pidal (1926/1950), who was not entirely sure about its reliability, given the problems posed by the scriptural materiality of its transmission. Later, R. Menéndez Pidal, in his comment on the rarity of the compound adverb *fuerte mientras* (GISil [134]), limited himself to the ending *-za* if it was inexplicable and it was a typo. On the other hand, the *DCECH* of J. Corominas and J. A. Pascual (1980/1991) included *ueiza* as the first documentation of the adverb derived from *vix* 'barely, hardly'. While the *LPH* edited by M. Seco (2003) doubted of the etymology of Latin *vix*. In addition, it includes the opinions of M. Alvar and J. M. Ruiz Asencio.

2) **[f]ue[r]za**, a well-supported paleographic reading, towards which our author was inclined, although without sufficient overall evidence, and alluded to G. Hilty 's novel solution that “*ueiza* was the result of the combination of *hodie* with *iam*” with a temporal meaning of 'right now' that would link with the glossed Latin context, and would justify it with the phonetic evolution  $\zeta hodie iam > ueiza$ ? Indeed, his opinion was that the possibility of attributing a temporal meaning to the Latin adverb *vix* should be considered, together with the modal, more developed in Latin dictionaries. Furthermore, his consultation with early medieval glossaries (and specifically in the *Liber Glossarum*) observed that there were even more temporal meanings than modal ones.

In light of these testimonies, it seems clear to our author that the context of *Em 60* codex would authorize the modal semantic interpretation 'difficile' (= 'hardly', 'barely'). And, in any case, the scriptural materiality does not lead to a clear reading of the *ueiza* form. However, compared to the gloss of the *Em. 60* version, the interpretation of *vix* in the source (*Liber de uitis patrum*), much more complete, would have to be very different, and is confirmed by a copy of the same narrative that we find in the *Em. 13* of the RAH, codex from the 10th century, most likely prepared in the Emilian desk. In summary, the study of the first example GIEmil [11] *vix*: **[f]ue[r]za**, points, among several other cases, to the clearly deturped nature of the *Em 60* gloss, without delegitimizing other possible interpretations of the copyist that are not exempt from meaning.

4.3. Regarding the second lexical gloss, C. García Turza wrote that the Latin word (*beneficia*) was in the fol. 65v, sixth line. His first gloss (*elos serbicios*) was on the right margin, aligned somewhat below the fifth line, and was forced in its final part to be written in two lines (*elos servici/os*). While the second gloss (*abientja*) was

located on the left margin, but almost exactly on the seventh line (the one that included the noun *predas*). It was, therefore, the exceptional presence of two lexical glosses and two call signs on the same Latin word (*beneficia*) in *Em 60* codex. The color of the ink used in *abientja* is somewhat browner than in the other glosses, and it could be assumed that they would be introduced by two different glossators, compared to others who thought that a second glossator should be discarded, because the graphic analysis showed that we were faced with a single hand, which would not prevent us from arguing that the glosses would have been introduced at different times, depending mainly on the ink used. However, R. Menéndez Pidal (1926/1950: 4, n. 5) considered both glosses to be contemporary, although the romance glosses were not due to a single hand.

Given the preceding observations and clarifications, it seemed appropriate to state that a study with truly glossological pretensions should explain the reason for two glosses for the same term, the possible interrelation between them and, especially, the level of success of the glossators in their function as clarify the glossed word, as well as in the formal expression of the gloss itself. Within the framework of the majority assumed interpretation, which admitted in an axiomatic way that both glosses were originals of the person who wrote them, the gloss of *elos serbicios* it was perfectly proven that it was the first of the two, and it seemed clear that the hand of this gloss corresponded to the amanuensis of the majority of the remaining glosses of the Emilian manuscript. However, the glossator did not give any importance to the context of the glossed word, he knew its namesake *ueneficia* or *beneficia* as 'bitter brews', 'lethal drinks'.

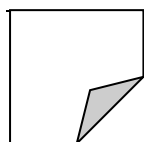
Now, the presence of a second gloss *abientja* 'possessions, property' for the same term could only be justified by correcting the previous gloss with a new one and by a different glossator. But it is not correct with the exact meaning of the word *beneficia*, and the chosen equivalence would be the Latin noun *absentja* 'bitter, evil drinks', although the faithful reading of what was written in *Em 60* codex was *abientja*, which would be a poor copy of the original *absentja*, written in a pre-existing model, by a second glossator who reflected a notable lack of knowledge for that time.

4.4. With respect to the sixth marginal annotation, C. García Turza alluded to the terminological problem posed by the correct naming of the content of this doctrinal note, and which properly corresponded to a sentence or apothegm. It was located on the left side of the end of the text transcribed on folio 26v, lines 1-12, whose content in turn closed the ninth chapter of the *Sententiae Patrum Aegyptiorum* by Martín de Braga. These "Sentences of the Fathers", in their Greek origin, were collections of ascetic and mystical instructions that followed an alphabetical order according to the names of the most venerable monks of those primitive communities of Egyptian monasticism. Later, in the 6th century, on the occasion of its transformation into Latin versions, the *Verba Seniorum* structured its content with the thematic arrangement of the name of a monastic virtue.

And its most important aspect was that these oral sentences of those elders became the living "rule" that took the place of the already written rules of monasteries such as those of Pancomio in the Thebaid. The present sentence was framed in a chapter of the *Apothegmata Patrum* in which the need for penance was emphasized, especially interior, as well as the general characteristics. In particular, the renunciation of personal desires and even of one's own will, which implied the practice of charity and opened the way to contemplation. divine. The shafts of *d* and *b* are especially high and end in a very pronounced lineola, which clearly distinguishes that hand from others, and are features to question the widespread belief that the same amanuensis was the author of both the lexical glosses and of grammatical and marginal notations.

Furthermore, the glossator-annotator must not have been (as in other marginal annotations) the author of the note, but rather limited himself to reproducing it from a codex that he had on the table (probably the same one that contained the pieces of Pascasio de Dumio and Pelagio), although he was inclined to think that it was not a copy of a pre-existing model or source, and the writing of the superficial annotation was carried out by a monk who retained it in his memory. The ideal of those monks was extreme penance, and that profound experience would satisfactorily explain the formation of the sentence as it was expressed in the Emilian codex, as a result of a historical, collective and anonymous reworking.

In fact, the fact of prioritizing and thus highlighting the importance and necessity of purification in monastic life justified the modifications that the Emilian text presented with respect to that included in Pascasio de Dumio and Seudo Rufino de Aquilea. On the one hand, maintained the autonomous past *Dimitte hodie et cras poenites* (or *poenitebis*, although without the coordination *et*) as the first part of its formal structure, with the function of facilitating the criticism and correction of the previously established priority of virtues, and thus proclaiming the subordination even of the habit virtuous of forgiveness to the most ardently desired virtue, that of penance. And on the other hand, the sequence *et cras Dei uoluntas* (or *voluntas Dei*) *fiat in nobis*, the second part meditated and, apparently created *ad hoc* by the *senex* questioned, was eliminated to imply that God's will could be fulfilled only in the monastic life, when the monk renounced himself and conquered his own will. In fact, even the spelling punctuation (a dot between *dimitte* and *cras*, a dot crossed by an oblique accent after *penitebis*) proves the existence of a single sentence, with its own message and intonation.



On the other hand, by virtue of its nature as a sentence, the monk who wrote it wanted the reader to always keep in mind the importance that it meant for the monk to have a penitent heart, which focused his attention, and put the greatest interest in the spiritual goal of practicing authentic penance. In short, the sentence contained an authentic perlocutionary act, in which the transmitter sought in the receiver a mental reaction consistent with said teaching.

## V. Hispanic Romance Text

We have already referred to the three volumes of the edition and study of the *Cantar de Mio Cid*, carried out by R. Menéndez Pidal (ed.) (1908-1911), which were a clear example of philological work, based on neogrammatical assumptions. However, in the neogrammatical model, phonological change and analogy constituted the two basic elements of linguistic change, and it was surpassed by the dialectological model of the historical research of the *Orígenes del español*, also by R. Menéndez Pidal (1926/1950). Philology has assumed other models in the investigation of change and variation in the history of linguistics, which have surpassed its assumptions by others (functional, pragmatic, generative and sociolinguistic), based on two interpretations (autonomous and grammatical version) and double strategy (homogeneity and heterogeneity structured).

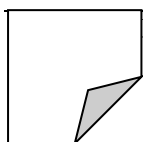
5.1. The lexical glosses of the *Em 60* codex of the Real Academia de la Historia and those of the *Add. 30853* codex of the British Library (although Emiliano by origin) were the first samples of Hispanic romances, where the process of written normalization appeared in a more relevant way and the first Hispanic testimony of an early linguistic awareness of the new Riojan romance, together with Visigothic Latin. The romance glosses responded to revisions and adaptations of the written texts to the temporal, geographical and social context of an implicit planning of the Rioja romance on the linguistic border of the Basque-speaking community, less linked to the Latin-Roman tradition, because of the historical, sociological, cultural and legal determinants.

The lexical glosses and marginal annotations should not have been the subject of linguistic comments recognizing the contextual meaning of the terms at that historical moment, since they were changes in the sociolinguistic performances of the glossator, and superficial implementations of the changes that had taken place in his multilingual communicative competence. Furthermore, the morphological and sequential (crosses and letters) annotations were also superficial, later and aliens to multilingual glossator. Each lexical gloss had to be considered as a set of semantic features, generated through the secondary selection rules of the language, and determined by the social and cultural implications of the coordinates of sociolinguistic research (time, space, society and situation). The intrinsic relationship between language, society and culture forced us to overcome the simplification of previous hypotheses based unilaterally on linguistic systems.

The linguistic analyzes of the first lexical glosses and marginal annotations were, therefore, insufficient for an anthropological history of the Hispanic romances, and we had to resort to the syntactic-semantic component of the Romance prayer, based on the communicative competence of the only glossator of the Riojan-speaking community, which was characterized by a shared knowledge of communicative restrictions and multilingual norms of social behavior. The Romance text configured a humble supplication (although indirect and expressed with a deprecative formula) in daily use in the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla. Indeed, within the notable philological and linguistic production of the Rioja-speaking community, proto-Ibero-Romance had to occupy the center of attention and study.

In order to analyze the exceptional role that the desk of the San Millán de la Cogolla played in the provision of documents for the study of the formation processes of Hispanic romances, C. García Turza offered an extensive commentary on the text of the folio 72r of *Em. 60* codex which witnessed a Rioja variety of the multilingual and multicultural speech community. As well as its linguistic system was one among many of those that constituted the Spanish diasystem. The first written text of the Rioja romance, which has been edited most of the time with many ecdotic deficiencies, presented the following paleographic edition: "Cono aLutorio. <de> nuest r <o> / dueno. dueno christo. dueno / salbatore. qual dueno / get ena honore. equal / duerno tienet. ela / mandatjone. cono / patre cono spiritu sancto / enos sieculos. delosiecu / los. facanos deus omnipotens / tal serbitjo fere. ke / denante ela sua face / gaudioso segamus. Amem".

5..2. It was not a lexical gloss, but a unitary discourse (culminated with the mandatory acclamation *amem*, ratifying the text) in daily use in the monastery. It was, therefore, the first testimony, in which a determined intention was expressed to write the syntax, lexicon and phonology of the oral Romance register, completely independent of Visigothic Latin. However, we were not unaware that many of the Emilian and Silense glosses, created or copied in both monasteries, without being satisfactorily identified, and for one reason or another we did not fully understand what linguistic forms they were or simply what they meant. Some were only partially understood, and many others had even been misinterpreted (see M. C. Díaz y Díaz, 1978, 1996; S. García Larragueta, 1984; H. J. Wolf, 1991; J. J. de Bustos Tovar, 2004b).



Thus, for example, after *de los siglos* there was a point (whose closest value to the current punctuation was that of a comma) and which consequently *facanos as* headed with an initial lowercase *f*. The explanations offered in relation to the phenomena of the text (corresponding to the different linguistic levels) were so many and so different, that it could be said that almost no word was free of serious difficulties when analyzing it. However, in the core issue of clarifying the typology to which this pious invocation belonged was where we had to talk about ignorance, rather than about interpretive problems and discrepancies. The three elements that had to be taken into account were: a) the Romance text in its entirety; b) its location on folio 72r, between the end of a homily or talk by Cesáreo de Arlés and the beginning of another by Saint Augustine, and c) the Latin text included on that same page.

5.3. An overall vision, according to C. García Turza, led us to think that we were not facing two parts of a different nature (as has always been said), but rather a single discourse and a unitary text, which formed a religious request or supplication (possibly commonly used), culminated with the mandatory acclamation *amem*. In effect, this wish closed the pious invocation, in line with the structure of any kind of prayer. Without the slightest hesitation, the interpretation of the text was shown to us (both in its structure and in its wording) as a superficial version originating from the communicative competence of the multilingual glossator of the Rioja-speaking community.

The first part began with a capital letter (*Cono...*), and the expression that headed the second part (*facanos*) with an initial lowercase *f* constituted the strongest argument when rejecting the widely accepted bi-member interpretation. The nature of this Romance discourse corresponded to that of a unitary text and laudatory supplication before omnipotent God, in order to bring a work or service to fruition, through the concrete and special help of Jesus Christ, who with the Father and the Spirit Saint was invested with glory and power. The main problem that this text contained, then, concerned the textual nature of that first part traditionally considered the doxology, which could be interpreted in two radically different ways.

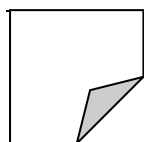
According to many specialists, it would be an exercise in translation and paraphrase of the Latin petition and a thoughtful amplification, which constituted an example widely used in the elaboration of the texts of the Christian liturgy. According to others, it would rather be a translation determined by the translator's own technical resources, which integrated several original Romance phrases. However, the doxological sequence did not serve any purpose of translation or exercise in learning Latin, due to the paleographic arguments presented.

The unitary text responded to a careful elaboration of the first part of the prayer (well known in the monastic field), in order to be channeled into a type of blessing made by the preacher on the faithful at the end of the sermon, and we were faced with an ecclesiastical ritual formula, and the first relatively extensive testimony of an oral register of Riojan (and the Castilian diasystem), where openly popular and innovative features coexisted, along with others of more restricted and conservative use, as well as Latin imports and calques. In the fourth period of the proto-romance stage, the *Glosas Emilianenses* (year 950) preceded the *Glosario Em. 46* (year 964), within the direct influence of the *Etymologies* of Isidoro de Sevilla (see C. García Turza and J. García Turza, 1997; J. García Turza, 2013; F. Gimeno, 2024a).

5.4. Development of family transmission of the language involved a process of social and cultural diffusion and acculturation, as well as the intrinsic relationships between language, society and culture. Faced with descriptive and autonomous hypotheses of linguistic change, we had to assume that the syntactic, semantic and phonological changes implied a grammatical change in the communicative competencies of successive generations and social groups of the Rioja-speaking community, through the reorganization of the vernacular. The previous assumptions about the formation of romances prevented us from understanding and explaining the anthropological, sociological and legal coordinates of the social multilingualism of hybrid manuscripts.

The Rioja text was the first testimony of the romance of medieval Hispania, in which a determined intention was expressed to materialize the syntactic-semantic and phonological component of the oral register, completely independent of Visigothic Latin. The first Hispanic romance text proposed, therefore, a complete discourse of cohesion and coherence. Its sociolinguistic characterization was evident: in the less superficial components, syntax and semantics were Romance, along with superficial Romance elements (morphological, lexical and phonological). Furthermore, the communicative competence of the only multilingual glossator of the Rioja-speaking community should be highlighted, with syntactic-semantic calques and lexical code-switching from Visigothic Latin and lexical glosses from Basque (GIEmil [31] izioqui dugu and GIEmil [42] guec ajutuez dugu (see R. Menéndez Pidal, 1926/1950: 1-24; M. T. Echenique, 1983, 2004, 2013).

This configuration of linguistic, social and cultural transfer represented a clear affiliation to the fourth proto-Romance period of written normalization of romances, and in particular to the mid-10th century (950). In this temporal, geographical and social context of implicit planning, the Latin calques were inscribed within the influence of the transcendental legacy of Jerome to the millenary history of cultural transmission, as well as the *Etymologies* of Isidoro de Sevilla. From the point of view of historical sociolinguistics, the lexical glosses and



marginal annotations of *Em 60* were originals of the only multilingual glossator of the Rioja-speaking community, as well as the first manifestations of Hispanic romances.

*Glosas Silenses* were largely Latin lexemes and phrases and the rest Romance, and almost all of them were in the lateral margins. The proportion of the Romance lexicon was higher than that used in the Emilienses. The comparison of the writing in the body of the codex and that used in the margins and interlines for the introduction of the glosses showed that there was a copyist, and the coincidences that occurred between the abbreviation systems used in the texts and glosses of both manuscripts (*Silense* and *Emilianense*), as well as in the use of the same Rioja variety in the Romance glosses of both manuscripts. The *Glosas Silenses* were copied and expanded also within the fourth period of the proto-Romance stage of linguistic normalization of the romances (from the first half of the 9th century to the first half of the 11th century). From the point of view of historical sociolinguistics, the *Glosas Silenses* were copies from the second half of the 10th century, in the desk of Suso de San Millán, at the request of the Silos monastery.

5.5. After the Muslim occupation of La Rioja, C. García Turza and J. García Turza (1997: 99-114) stated that the survival of the Emilian monastic community from the 8th century onwards was more difficult to demonstrate, although historians not only analyzed the ancient documents, but also archaeological remains, and they never gave up interpreting the facts. The continuity of the monastery until the first decades of the 10th century was one of the issues most extensively discussed by all the researchers who delved into the study of the monastery, but they considered as a first working hypothesis that Christian influence could have been maintained during the rule of Banu Qasi. Some oratories or cave churches that extended along the basins of the Rioja rivers assumed this.

Furthermore, it would be difficult to explain the rapidity with which monastic life grew in La Rioja after the reconquest, evident in the examples of the monasteries of San Martín de Albelda, San Millán de la Cogolla or San Prudencio de Monte Laturce. These tests were an indication of the condescension of the Banu Qasi and the role of obligatory intermediary that the Rioja space played between Arab and Christian culture. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that other monastic centers such as San Miguel de Pedroso, San Vicente del Valle or San Félix de Montes de Oca, closely linked to the Emilian monastery, showed obvious signs of having adapted to different times, and of having maintained a spiritual life throughout the early Middle Ages.

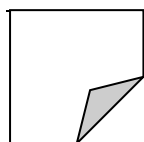
General aspects that favored the continuity of a heremitic or cenobitic life in San Millán de Suso were several, and there were eminently archaeological arguments, supported by several scholars. M. Gómez Moreno, among others, argued for the possible antiquity of the caves, and the clearly Mozarabic character of the origins of the church of Suso. Other authors supported different arguments to resolve the problem of the continuity of religious life in San Millán.

G. Martínez Díaz (1993) supported the thesis of the survival of the cult and memory of the saint's tomb between 714 and 923, although there was no reliable proof of the existence of a monastic community on the site during that same period of time. In fact, the first documentary news about the monastery of San Millán de Suso appeared in the 10th century. Thus, for example, *1007 B* codex (or *1729*) from the Archivo Histórico de Madrid seemed clearly Emilian, copied by Jimeno in San Millán in the year 933, that is, a decade after La Rioja was reconquered. Much more security was offered by *25* codex de la Real Academia de la Historia (a copy of the *Etymologies* of Isidoro de Sevilla), made by the same scribe in 946. The first mention of an authentic document about San Millán de la Cogolla corresponded to the year 942.

5.6. For the most part, the peninsular monasteries promoted to a greater or lesser extent the maintenance of a Latin culture, especially through ritual and religious readings. The royal protection that San Millán enjoyed gave it an aristocratic character, through which the kings of Pamplona or Castilla count became its benefactors. Consequently, the Emilian friars left the work of the land in the hands of other men, while they dedicated their efforts to intellectual work. This circumstance led to the formation of a library, perhaps not especially rich during the early Middle Ages, but rich enough to correspond to a monastery of the importance of the Emiliano (whose enclosure undoubtedly exceeded that which has been preserved to this day), with monastic-oriented texts and works dedicated to grammatical and philological training, as was the case of the glossaries that exceeded in number what was usual anywhere.

This desk was already functioning regularly in the second quarter of the 10th century, and with a policy of frank expansion of ecclesiastical literature with dense theological and moral content. Furthermore, due to its strategic location and its outstanding cultural development, the area (which included the dependent territories of Cardeña, Silos, San Martín de Albelda and of course San Millán) became a focus of permanent and enriching exchange of texts. In the library, copies from León and Castilla converged with others from Navarre, from the Ebro Valley and from Andalusia, without forgetting the news from beyond the Pyrenees, with the introduction of esmaragdós, glossaries, etc.

Relations with the centers Christian resistance the Pyrenees were equally intense, and explained certain cultural currents that linked La Rioja with the east of the Península. The conciliar codex of San Millán reflected the Pyrenean-Catalan influence, which sometimes overlapped or was confused with that of Narbonne or Septimania.



Another fundamental aspect in both areas (Catalonia and La Rioja) was the production of lexicographic content, much superior quantitatively and qualitatively to that of the rest of the peninsular territory.

Camino de Santiago played a prominent role in these cultural relations, and meant a new reality and a substantial cultural change for La Rioja. Between the years 780 and 820, the Church (which had been the institution most affected by Muslim penetration) consolidated its real and theoretical position in the nascent Asturian kingdom. Around the second decade of the 9th century, a circumstance that consolidated the situation of the ecclesiastical hierarchy (and the life of the kingdom itself) was the news of the discovery of the tomb of the apostle Santiago, on a mountain near the newly created headquarters of Iria Flavia. The place (called Compostela) immediately became a destination for pilgrimages, and at the beginning of the 12th century the apostle (whose remains were believed to be buried there) was erected as a symbol of Christian resistance against Islam.

Starting in the 10th century, the Camino de Santiago allowed the monarchs to organize a route (the "French Way") with certain services, although in its origin and rise the Christian church played a considerable role, and was part of the process of renewal of urban life, which all of Western Europe experienced simultaneously. A documented fact was that Godescalco (French bishop of Puy, on his pilgrimage to Compostela in the year 950) stopped at the monastery of Saint Martin of Albelda, in order to order a copy of the text *De Virginitate Beatae Mariae* of Ildefonso de Toledo, which allowed us to know the quality of the codices prepared in the desks of the Riojan monasteries, and the bibliographic agreement between the different monastic libraries (see C. García Turza and J. García Turza, 2000; C. García Turza and J. García Turza, 2001; C. García Turza and J. García Turza, 2004).

5.7. Both the unique glossistic production (glosses and glossaries) and the outstanding contribution to the creation and systematization of the Castilian alphabet were consequences of the constant interest of some monks from San Millán and Silos in clarifying the texts for their own use and, above all, for reveal its meaning to their less prepared brothers. The history of the desks (*Emilianense* and *Silense*) would be valued more correctly taking into account that commendable purpose among the monks of facilitating the understanding of the texts of their respective libraries: codices of biblical, theological, liturgical, humanistic content and, especially, those of spiritual and pastoral formation.

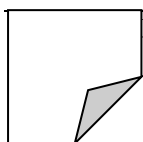
The first Romance samples of glosses and glossaries and legal documentation could not be explained only as superficial innovations by scribes, but rather had to be inscribed in the broad temporal, geographical and social context of a process of written normalization of Hispanic romances. The best contribution to the cartularies and documentary collections was the edition and the codicological and paleographic study of the *Becerro galicano de San Millán de la Cogolla*, carried out by F. García Andreva (2010a, 2010b). The diplomatic distribution in centuries was as follows: 2 diplomas from the 8th century, 2 from the 9th century, 62 from the 10th century, 564 from the 11th century and 161 from the 12th century, with a total of 791 diplomas. They ranged from the year 759 (the oldest) to 1194.

Regarding the circumstances that led to the creation of the first cartulary, J. A. García de Cortázar (1969) studied the donations and purchases of their repopulating work made by the Emiliano monastery, and revealed that the largest number of their acquisitions was achieved since the first quarter of the century. XI until the end of said century (see F. Gimeno, 2019: 355-69).

5.8. M. Alvar (1969) in the Rioja dialect alluded to the linguistic and social history of the Rioja monasteries. La Rioja was a transition region, and it was clearly divided into two geographical zones that conditioned its history. The fluctuation of La Rioja towards the center or towards the east of the Peninsula was a legacy from Roman and Visigothic times. La Rioja Alta (from Iregua to Logroño) gravitated towards Castilla, and the Camino de Santiago ran through there. La Rioja Baja tended towards Navarre and Aragon, and in which the diocese of Calahorra was suffragan of Zaragoza until 1574, and Alfaro always belonged to the bishopric of Tarazona.

In the 9th century, the Najerilla River was the limit of the Basque-speaking community, and the entire west of the province of Logroño did not speak Romance. Towns and monasterios such as Nájera, Berceo, San Millán de la Cogolla, Valbanera and Santo Domingo de la Calzada (later) would later rise in these lands. These facts explained the numerous Basque terms that we found in the Rioja documents and in the toponymic testimonies. Monasticism was very important in medieval La Rioja, especially in the west of the region, where the monasteries of Albelda, San Millán and Valbanera were focal points. of cultural irradiation (see J. García Turza, 1990, 2000). Without a doubt, San Millán was the most famous of the Rioja monasteries, and its origin dates back to the year 574, in which the hermit San Millán died. The monastery of San Millán de Suso was built on the oratory that he himself had built, and the saint's tomb enjoyed both abundant royal favors and the generosity of all kinds of donors.

The cenobitic flourishing allowed the Riojan monasteries to learn about European cultural currents. In the 10th century, according to this author, the monastery must have had a good library, and in the year 951 it already had a calligraphy school. Part of this library was copied in the monastery itself: Smaragdo's comments on *Regla* de san Benito, a collection of monastic lives and treatises, a compilation of councils and decrees, a bibliography of religious authors, some ecclesiastical histories and several legal repertoires. In addition, it had the works of any medieval



monastery: *Biblia, Etymologies* de Isidoro de Sevilla, collations of the Santos Padres, antiphony and “*liber ordinum*”.

As a cultural necessity, the reading of Latin texts led to the writing of the Rioja romance in the *Glosas Emilianenses*. They were notes and clarifications (commonly lexical), with Latin, Romance or Basque equivalents, which were written in the middle of the 10th century, and were added to a manuscript from the end of the 9th century or the beginning of the following century. However, the last lines of Saint Augustine's sermon (copied first) were no longer translated, but fully amplified in a prayer, which was the first testimony of peninsular romance. (see M. Alvar, 1989, 1996).

F. González Ollé (1970a) tried to give a definitive nature to the Navarrese romance, and to create awareness of its historical reality. Although it was difficult to precisely establish the linguistic modality of the *Glosas Emilianenses*, they can be considered the first manifestation of Navarrese. Although R. Menéndez Pidal stated that “in these *Glosas Emilianenses* we see the Riojan speech of the 10th century very impregnated with the Navarrese-Aragonese characters”, it is evident that the Riojan (sub)dialect could not be barely differentiated from the Navarrese dialect, especially if we take into account that La Rioja still belonged to the Navarrese kings. Now, given that there are hardly any philological studies on medieval Navarrese documentation, the usual way of naming the Romance speech of Navarre was the *Navarrese-Aragonese* compound, which was based on its identification (more admitted than in detail proven) with Aragonese (see F. González Ollé, 1970b, 2004, 2016).

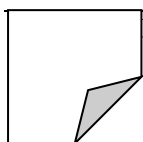
5.9. In the set of medieval documents, during the approximately five centuries they took into consideration (750-1250), B. Frank and J. Hartmann (1997) proposed that the most frequent descriptive configuration was that of a Romance production dominated by another language (generally Latin), within which the romances would often enjoy a quite marginal role, due to the very absence of the documentary tradition. Within many of the texts, the elements of the two languages alternated and were interspersed in such a way that it was difficult to find documents in Romance that did not have any Latin variable, or on the contrary Latin documents exempt from any Romance variable. The simultaneous presence of Romance and non-Romance linguistic elements within the same text frequently and descriptively posed problems regarding the linguistic attribution of the text in its entirety.

One of the most common names for these hybrid documents was “very corrupted or aromanized Latin” (either in the proto-Romance stage or in the ancient stage), which was an imprecise designation of the variety involved, since it was about the mere label of a clear process of linguistic transfer between the two varieties (Romance and medieval Latin, without sometimes forgetting the non-Romance vernacular involved, Basque), which intervened in the multilingual competence of the scribe. Furthermore, it had to be ruled out that the hybrid documents responded to a question of greater or lesser Latin competence of the scribes, whose legal training had been received through trivium in monastic and episcopal schools, and in accordance with the subjection to legal concepts of cause and consent on the part of the legal subjects of the legal acts.

Merovingian Latin and Visigothic Latin were transitional Romance varieties (more and less Latinized) of a long process of written normalization of Hispanic romances, which were alien to the communicative competencies of the successive generations of the different social groups, within the social multilingualism of Romance-speaking communities. The texts were hybrids of two varieties, in which the romance was underlying, which already consciously fulfilled the corresponding sociological and legal function, with the language shift of the Latin nominal inflection by the universal case and the syntactic calque of the Semitic word order, as well as with the appearance of glosses and glossaries. The samples and hybrid texts characterized, therefore, the process of written normalization of Hispanic romances, from the second half of the 8th century to the middle of the 12th century, in which the syntactic calque (Latin or romance) and the lexical and phonological importation (Latin or Romance) manifested the bilingual competence of the scribes.

The documentary reliability that was assumed in scientific research required a prior analysis of its textual fidelity, and had to take into account the nature of the texts that served as the object of study. In this sense, it should have been indicated whether the handwritten diplomas were originals or copies, and from the beginning, the need for maximum demand should be considered when warning about the condition of late transfers to the date of the original, in order to avoid statements and conclusions of a linguistic nature about certain chronological data. Historical anthropological analysis was the only valid criterion for dating a text, based on the analysis of the temporal, geographical and social context, whatever its register.

5.10. Regarding the peculiar position of French within Western Romania (from the circumstances of the Frankish Germanic invasion), W. von Wartburg (1950: 131-40) claimed to have proven the existence of a Franco-Gallo-Roman bilingualism in the Northern Gaul, from the time of the Merovingian king Clovis (5th century) until at least the 9th century, and in certain regions even later. Within the linguistic and cultural transfers of the Franks and Burgundians in Gaul, total Germanization occurred in the north, and was losing intensity from north to south, where not only was there a numerically smaller invasion and a second less powerful invasion, but also to the fact



that neo-Romanization (which already began in the 6th century in bilingual northern Gaul) reached them later and more slowly.

In this mutual relationship, Frankish policy was intentionally oriented from the beginning to create a situation of equality between the Romanesque and Germanic groups, and to attract both peoples in the same proportion to collaboration in the tasks of government. Therefore, a leading group emerged in the country with linguistic and cultural transfers, in which at the beginning the Germanic element still dominated, and it was decisive for the linguistic destiny of northern Gaul, since these transfers were propagated to the population of Gallo-Romans and Franks. Thus, the Franks were the ones who gave Merovingian Latin, north of the Loire, the essential features through which it came to have the first relevant peculiarities that were going to transform it into Old French (and the distinction from Occitan and Ibero-Romanesque), with the later language shift of Germanic (Frankish) in the 10th century. Medieval Latin began to cease to be vernacular from the first half of the 8th century in northern Gaul, and this social situation of strict diglossia was fostered by Gallo-Romanesque-Germanic contact, less linked to the Latin-Roman tradition.

In his response to the fractionation or unity of late Latin, A. Vârvaro (1968: 218-22; 1991) stated that most Romance phenomena, with few (although important) exceptions, were always documented in Latin texts. With this extensive collection of data, specialists built a linguistic variety, which was called "familiar Latin", and some even came to think of a colloquial Latin system that could be represented by a grammar. The method of relative chronology applied by G. Straka also had many weaknesses, and the hypothesis of a period of evolution common to all pre-Romanesque or late Latin was dismantled. The antiquity of local innovations and their contemporaneity with quite diffuse innovations were clear.

However, the facts proved the differentiation of the colloquial register according to the regions, and consequently the principles of individuation and formation of the various romances would date back to the 2nd century AD, if not earlier. Romanesque fragmentation would be nothing more than the delayed consequence of a profound restructuring of the linguistic and social variables involved in each speech community. The reconstruction of romance had to introduce social factors, in order to suggest the link from proto-romance to pre-romance (see M. T. Echenique, 2006: 148).

5.11. In the long process of implicit planning and written normalization of romances, within the proto-romance and ancient stages (with disparate and discontinuous social situations) the fundamental texts were:

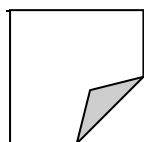
- 1) *Les Serments de Strasbourg* (842);
- 2) *La Séquence de Sainte Eulalie* (c. 880);
- 3) La "Plegaria romance riojana", f. 72r of the *Em 60* codex (c. 950);
- 4) *La vie de saint Alexis* (c. 1040);
- 5) *La Chanson de Roland* (c. 1100);
- 6) *El Fuero de Avilés* (1155);
- 7) El "Tratado de Cabrerros" (1206), and
- 8) *El Poema de Mio Cid* (1207).

In the second half of the 12th century, the temporal, geographical and social context of written normalization of romances determined the effective development of the implicit planning of romance of Castile, and in particular the general consolidation of its written normalization in the *Fuero de Avilés* (1155), by an Occitan author, and the *Poema de Mio Cid* could never have been written in the first half of that century. What's more, the *Fuero de Avilés* was the model for written normalization of the Castilian epic carried out by Per Abbat in the month of May 1207.

## VI. Linguistic Study of The Basic Latin Texts of The Glosas Emilianenses and Silenses

M. Pérez González (2023: 275-349) stated that his objective was the linguistic study of the *Glosas Emilianenses*, after the review of the sources and the previous new critical and paleographic edition of the basic texts. The linguistic study of the *Glosas Silenses* was postponed. H. J. Wolf (1991) stressed that the basic texts of the *Glosas Emilianenses* belonged to Pascasius of Dumio (6th century), Caesarius of Arles (6th century) and Saint Augustine (5th century), so they did not represent Hispanic Latin, margin that there had been modifications in the course of transmission. Regarding the Augustinian sermons, it could be said that the Mozarabic writers modified them, from which Wolf logically concluded that such texts should not be considered representatives of Hispanic Latinity, contrary to E. Wimmer's assertion. It was possible that neither H. J. Wolf's nor E. Wimmer's opinion had absolute value, and the hypothesis of independent analysis of the basic texts of the *Glosas Emilianenses* could shed light on the knowledge of the glosses.

6.1. Indeed, the Latin of the base texts of the glosses was quite far from normative and medieval Latin. The basic texts of the *Glosas Emilianenses* were preferably dated to the end of the 9th century or the beginning





of the 10th century, and came from Pascasius of Dumio (6th century), Caesarius of Arles (6th century) and Augustine of Hippo (5th century), although underwent modifications in the course of their transmission. Among such texts, the *Interrogatio de nobissimo* stood out, often considered to be of Hispanic origin due to its lexicon, as well as the presence of singular verbs with a neuter plural subject of collective meaning and the present for future.

For their part, the basic texts of the *Glosas Silenses* were found in a penitential preserved in the British Library in London (*Add.* 30853), and from the monastery of Silos, which was not the original, but a copy. Said penitential, which occupied the ff. 309r10-324v23, was a catalog of sins and their corresponding penances organized into fifteen chapters and 261 canons. His most important sources were the *Paenitentiale Vigilantium* (9th century, second half), the decretals of Popes Innocent I and Leo I (5th century), the epistula 15 of Simmaco (late 5th century-beginning 6th century) and the *Hispanic Canonical Collection*.

The study of the linguistic characteristics of the basic texts has been divided into the following seven sections: 1) graphic-phonetic study; 2) morphological characteristics; 3) nominal and pronominal syntax; 4) verbal syntax; 5) sentence syntax; 6) coordinating conjunctions, and 7) study of the lexicon. The spellings of the base texts of the *Glosas Emilianenses* used to be more correct and normative than in those of the *Glosas Silenses*. Their morphological characteristics differed little in terms of literary character. The nominal and pronominal syntax also coincided to a large extent, although in the base texts of the *Glosas Silenses* they presented some more medieval features. The verbal syntax offered clear differences in the expression of the prohibition, since in the base texts of the *Glosas Silenses* it was never expressed with *noli/nolite* + infinitive.

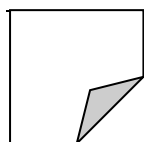
The substantive subordinate clauses, as a whole, could not be considered clearly medieval, given the scarcity of *ut* and *quod* compared to *quia*, the preference for the use of the indicative over the subjunctive and the absence of *quatenus*, *quoniam* and *qualiter*. Furthermore, in the base texts of the *Glosas Silenses*, half of the substantive subordinate clauses in “accusative with infinitive” required commentary. The copulative and disjunctive coordinating conjunctions had lost their classical values, with the preference of *et* over the other copulatives being striking and, conversely, the scarcity of the disjunctive *aut* over *uel*. Finally, the lexicon of the base texts of the *Glosas Emilianenses* contained fewer peculiarities than those of the *Glosas Silenses*, where Hellenisms were also constant.

In general, the basic texts of the *Glosas Silenses* were somewhat later in time than those of the *Glosas Emilianenses*, since they seemed more medieval, while further removed from normative Latin. This assertion could well be related to the sources of both texts. But the dates of the basic texts were not so disparate in time, and even less so in the case that R. Menéndez Pidal's opinion on his chronology for the *Glosas Silenses* was accepted. To completely delimit the language of the basic texts, it would be preferable to place it under the joint expressions of “low Latin” and “ecclesiastical Latin”, since together they always evoked simultaneous Latin or something after the entry of the Arabs into the Iberian Peninsula (see M. Pérez, 1985, 2017).

## VII. Conclusions

1. In the anthropological history of Hispanic romances there was a linguistic and cultural continuity, depending on the successive and diverse historical acculturations (Indo-European, Iberian, Fenopunic-Greek, Roman, Christian, Germanic, Visigothic and Islamic), with the assimilation of cultural elements and the adaptation to a new sociocultural context. On the other hand, studies on linguistic and cultural contact in Europe did not enjoy broad coordination, nor had the relationship between them been properly defined. Anthropologists who investigated acculturation were pressed to include empirical linguistic evidence as indications of the overall process of acculturation, while linguists needed the help of anthropology to describe and analyze those factors that governed linguistic transfer and were within of the field of culture. The sociocultural history of a bilingual speaking community involved the contact of different social groups and different languages, with the linguistic and cultural transfers that implied the social and cultural mixing of said groups. This paper claims the intrinsic relationship between Linguistic, Sociology and Anthropology.

2. The peninsular monasteries promoted to a greater or lesser extent the maintenance of a Latin culture, especially through ritual and religious readings. The royal protection that San Millán enjoyed gave it an aristocratic character, through which the kings of Pamplona or the Castilian count became its benefactors. Consequently, the Emilian friars left the work of the land in the hands of other men, while they dedicated their efforts to intellectual work. This circumstance led to the formation of a library, perhaps not especially rich during the early Middle Ages, but rich enough to correspond to a monastery of the importance of the Emilian, with monastic-oriented texts and works dedicated to grammatical and philological training, as was the case of the glossaries that exceeded in number what was usual anywhere.



3. This desk was already functioning regularly in the second quarter of the 10th century, and with a policy of frank expansion of ecclesiastical literature with dense theological and moral content. Furthermore, due to its strategic location and its outstanding cultural development, the area (which included the dependent territories of Cardena, Silos, San Martín de Albelda and of course San Millán) became a focus of permanent and enriching exchange of texts. In the library, copies from León and Castilla converged with others from Navarre, from the Ebro Valley and from Andalusia, without forgetting the news from beyond the Pyrenees, with the introduction of esmaragdos, glossaries, etc.

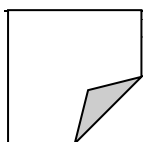
4. The first Romance examples of glosses and glossaries, as well as Romance legal documentation, could not be explained only as superficial innovations by the monks, but rather had to be inscribed in the broad temporal, geographical and social context of a process of written normalization of the Hispanic romances. The lexical glosses responded to revisions and adaptations of the written texts to the temporal, geographical and social context of an implicit planning of the Rioja romance on the linguistic frontier of the Basque-speaking community, less linked to the Latin-Roman tradition. The determinants were historical, sociological, cultural and legal. The best contribution to the cartularies and documentary collections was the edition and the codicological and paleographic study of the *Becerro aalicano de San Millán de la Cogolla*, carried out by F. García Andreva. The diplomatic distribution in centuries was as follows: 2 diplomas from the 8th century, 2 from the 9th century, 62 from the 10th century, 564 from the 11th century and 161 from the 12th century, with a total of 791 diplomas. They ranged from the year 759 (the oldest) until 1194.

5. The lexical glosses of the *Em. 60* codex of the Real Academia de la Historia and those of the *Add. 30853* codex from the British Library were the first samples of Hispanic romances. Indeed, the process of written normalization and of an early linguistic awareness of the new Riojan romance appeared in a more relevant way, along with Visigothic Latin. The *Glosas Emilianenses* and marginal annotations were changes in the sociolinguistic performance of the glossator, and superficial implementations of the changes that had taken place in his multilingual communicative competence. Furthermore, the morphological and sequential (crosses and letters) annotations were also superficial, later and aliens to only glossator. Each lexical gloss had to be considered as a set of semantic features, generated through the secondary selection rules of the language, and determined by the social and cultural implications of the coordinates of sociolinguistic research (time, space, society and situation).

6. The linguistic analyzes of the first lexical glosses and marginal annotations were insufficient for an anthropological history of the Hispanic romances, and we had to resort to the syntactic-semantic component of the romance prayer, based on the communicative competence of the only multilingual glossator of the Rioja-speaking community, which was characterized by a shared knowledge of communicative constraints and multilingual norms of social behavior. The Romance text configured a humble supplication (although indirect and expressed with a deprecative formula) in daily use in the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla. Indeed, within the notable philological and linguistic production of the Rioja-speaking community, proto-Ibero-Romance had to occupy the center of attention and study.

7. In order to analyze the exceptional role that the desk of the San Millán de la Cogolla played in the provision of documents for the study of the formation processes of Hispanic romances, C. García Turza offered an extensive commentary on the text of the folio 72r of the *Em. 60* codex which witnessed a Rioja variety of the multilingual and multicultural speech community. As well as its linguistic system was one among many of those that constituted the Spanish diasystem. The first written text of the Rioja romance, which has been edited most of the time with many ecdotic deficiencies, presented the following paleographic edition: The first written text of the Rioja romance, which has been edited most of the time with many ecdotic deficiencies, presented the following paleographic edition: "Cono aIutorio. <de> nustr <o> / dueno. dueno *christo*. dueno / salbatore. qual dueno / get ena honore. equal / duenno tienet. ela / mandatjone. cono / patre cono *spiritu sancto* / enos sieculos. delosiecu / los. facanos *deus omnipotens* / tal serbitjo fere. ke / delante ela sua face / gaudioso *segamus*. Amem".

8. Development of family transmission of the language involved a process of social and cultural difusión and acculturation, as well as the intrinsic relationships between language, society and culture. Faced with descriptive and autonomous hypotheses of linguistic change, we had to assume that the syntactic, semantic and phonological change implied a grammatical change in the communicative competencies of the successive generational and social groups of the Rioja-speaking community, through the reorganization of the vernacular language. The previous assumptions about the formation of romances prevented us from understanding and explaining the anthropological, sociological and legal coordinates of the social multilingualism of hybrid manuscripts.



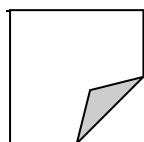
9. The Riojan text was the first testimony of the romance of medieval Hispania, in which a determined intention was expressed to materialize the syntactic-semantic and phonological component of the oral register, completely independent of Visigothic Latin. The first Hispanic romance text proposed, therefore, a complete discourse of cohesion and coherence. Its sociolinguistic characterization was evident: in the less superficial the components, syntax and semantics were Romance, along with superficial Romance elements (morphological, lexical and phonological). Furthermore, the lexical glosses and the marginal annotations were also superficial elements, as well as the morphological and sequential (crosses and letters) annotations were also superficial, later and aliens to glossator. The communicative competence of the only multilingual glossator of the Rioja-speaking community should be highlighted, with syntactic-semantic calques and lexical code changes from Visigothic Latin and with lexical glosses from Basque ( GIEmil [31] izioqui dugu and GIEmil [42] guec ajutuez dugu.

10. This configuration of linguistic, social and cultural transfer meant that the *Glosas Emilianenses* were clearly attached to the fourth proto-romance period of written normalization of romances, and in particular to the middle of the 10th century. In this temporal, geographical and social context of implicit planning, the Latin calques were inscribed within the influence of the transcendental legacy of Jerome to the millenary history of cultural transmission, as well as the *Etymologies* of Isidoro of Seville. The *Glosas Emilianenses* (year 950) preceded *Glosario Em. 46* (year 964), and both were made in the desk of Suso de San Millán, in the tradition and continuity of a cenobitic life. From the point of view of historical sociolinguistics, the lexical glosses and marginal annotations of *Em 60* codex were originals of the only multilingual glossator of the Rioja-speaking community.

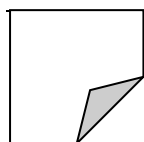
11. *Glosas Silenses* were largely Latin lexemes and phrases and the rest Romance, and almost all of them were in the lateral margins. The proportion of the Romance lexicon was higher than that used in *Glosas Emilianenses*. The comparison of the writing in the body of the codex and that used in the margins and interlines for the introduction of the glosses showed that there was a copyist, and the coincidences that occurred between the abbreviation systems used in the texts and glosses of both manuscripts (*Silense* and *Emilianense*), as well as in the use of the same Rioja variety in the Romance glosses of both manuscripts. The *Glosas Silenses* were copied and expanded also within the fourth period of the proto-Romance stage of linguistic normalization of the romances (from the first half of the 9th century to the first half of the 11th century). From the point of view of historical sociolinguistics, the *Glosas Silenses* were copies from the second half of the 10th century, in the desk of Suso de San Millán, at the request of the Silos monastery.

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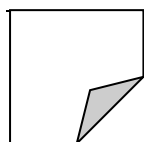
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