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Part III

Latin and Romance in the Iberian Peninsula and Italy (950-1320)

There are currently two starkly contrasting views as to the metalinguistic situation in the Iberian Peninsula (outside Frankish Catalonia) before the advent of the French Ecclesiastical Reformers in the late eleventh century. Perhaps even as late as that, people envisaged their spoken-written continuum as being still just one language; on the other hand, Menéndez Pidal may have been right to envisage a bipartite or even tripartite distinction in the earlier centuries (Latin, Vulgar Latin, and Romance). This contrast of perspectives invites us to consider whether Leonese texts from before 1080 are to be interpreted, according to the first view, as being 'written Romance' (as modern written French is the written variety of French, rather than being a separate language entirely from spoken French), or on the other hand, according to the second view, as being 'barbarous Latin', or 'Leonese Vulgar Latin' (accepting that the writers learnt Latin as a separate language from their ordinary Romance, and then tried, and often failed, to write that other language). Pensado's minutely and carefully argued chapter treats this as an empirical issue, concluding from a wealth of statistics concerning mis-spellings that on balance the first view seems more likely, that here were writers trying to write acceptably the Romance language they had. Walsh, on the other hand, cannot accept the monolingual interpretation, using similar data to suggest that in many respects Romance was more different from Latin than we tend to realize, exemplifying his case here with the fricativization of secondary voiced consonants, which he argues was already phonemicized in the tenth century. Stengaard accepts the 'monolingual' view for the sake of argument, investigating whether such a perspective helps us understand the whole complex of the different kinds of gloss appended to the famous San Millán MS 60 and concluding that some were phonetic promptings, and others 'silent'

aids, to reading aloud. Stengard's implication that individual lexical items in the text could be read aloud as more readily intelligible synonyms, without this being a case of interlingual translation, is made explicit in two chapters. Blake proposes this in passing, while arguing that the syntactic traits of surviving documents are not counter-evidence to the monolingual view. Emiliano studies thirteenth-century legal texts from the León-Portugal border area to show that the gradual emergence of unmistakably Romance writing is merely a process of gradual removal of the traditional veneer from spellings that had existed for centuries. These five Iberian chapters collectively represent a considerable advance in the field, without reaching a consensus other than a desire to consider the data from more plausible perspectives than hitherto.

The final chapter in this part, by Danesi, returns to Italy (already considered extensively by Varvaro and Cravens in Part I) to reassess the contribution made by Dante to Romance philology, in the light of modern developments in the field. He concludes that the *De vulgari eloquentia* is essentially a synchronic classification of vernaculars made on lexical criteria, without the diachronic implications modern scholars have anachronistically tended to glimpse there. In short, in the mid-Medieval Iberian Peninsula and Italy, as in ninth-century France (and probably later), it seems that metalinguistic distinctions which we now take for granted took a long time to emerge.

14 The combination of glosses in the *Códice Emilianense 60 (Glosas Emilianenses)*

Birte Stengard

The *Glosas Emilianenses* are usually associated with the Romance glosses which, together with a few Basque glosses, adorn certain folios of the codex called *Códice Emilianense 60*. They were published by Menéndez Pidal (1926: 1-9), together with a few scraps of the basic Latin text.

However, most of the glossed folios contain several kinds of glosses and notes. The facsimile edition of the codex (*Glosas* 1977) and the edition by García Larragueta (1984) have facilitated the study of all the *Glosas Emilianenses*. In this chapter I try to show that information can be extracted from the lesser-known glosses, and from the combination of glosses where several kinds are present.

For the sake of convenience, I will call all additions to the basic text glosses. In the following pages, text and glosses quoted will be referred to mostly by their MP and GL numbers, MP referring to Menéndez Pidal (1926: 1-9), GL to García Larragueta (1984: 47-69), who also quotes the MP numbers.

From a formal point of view, the different sets of glosses can be divided into those consisting of words and those consisting of single letters. The latter are alphabetical sequences, preceded by the sign + which marks the initiation of a sequence. The longest sequence seems to be +a b c d e f g h i.

These glosses form a separate section in García Larragueta (1984: 71-7), where they are classified as 'glosas gramaticales'. They are not included in his edition of the text. Fortachn Piedraña (1980) includes them among his morphosyntactic glosses. For the present purpose, I will refer to the signs +abc etc. as alphabetical glosses. They appear over words or phrases, and their obvious function is to mark word order; 'el orden lógico de las palabras', according to Menéndez Pidal (1926: 3).

The glosses consisting of words may, in their turn, be classified according to language, as in García Larragueta (1984: 45) under the heading 'Glosas latinas, romances y vascas'. These are the glosses published with the Latin text in his edition.

The Romance and Basque glosses correspond roughly to those published by Menéndez Pidal (1926: 3-9). The Latin glosses are of at least two clearly distinct types. One consists of what may be called meaningful words. They make sense as lexical items, normally within the context of the basic Latin text. In this group I include the cases where personal pronouns and nouns are added, mostly to make a subject explicit. The other group of Latin glosses is classified by Fortacín Piedrafitra (1980) as morphosyntactic, together with the alphabetical glosses. These are forms of the Latin relative pronoun *qui*, sometimes combined with a preposition. I will call these glosses grammatical to distinguish them from the other sets of glosses mentioned.

The grammatical glosses have seven basic forms; *qui*, *k(e)*, *cui*, *quibus*, *cuius*, *quorum/corum*, and *quarum*. As one can see, there are no gender markers except the genitive plural, nor are there number markers in the nominative and 'accusative' cases. The ablative case is missing. Combined with a preposition, most frequently *de*, *ad*, and *in*, the form *ke*, shortened *k*, is invariably used. Fortacín Piedrafitra (1980: 75) has pointed out that this reduced set of forms is the result of an attempt to create a sort of universal case-function paradigm. A very general description of it may read as follows:

cui marks any subject;

ke marks direct objects;

cui and *quibus* mark indirect objects;

cuius, *quorum/corum*, *quarum* mark nominal genitives;

de ke, *ad ke*, etc. mark the use of the prepositions *de*, *ad*, etc.

(For further detail, see Fortacín Piedrafitra (1980: 72-5).)

Fortacín argues, convincingly, that the system is based on a didactic practice, well known since classical times, for the teaching of the Latin case system. From this, however, he has drawn the conclusion that the individual or individuals who marked the text in this manner were engaged in the process of learning Latin, that they were schoolboys struggling to cope with Latin nominal declension, trying to put their master's explanations into practice. Here he is close to Menéndez Pidal's view (1926: 382) and in agreement with Díaz y Díaz (1978: 26-32). These authors also seem to presume that

the alphabetical glosses have the same didactic function as the grammatical glosses.

For various reasons, I find it rather difficult to accept the grammar-class theory. The grammatical glosses as a system may have their roots in the classroom, but that does not automatically confine the uses of such a system to that space. A person who has once been taught Latin in this way will, for the rest of his life, have access to the technique whenever he needs it. Furthermore, he will not be the only one who is familiar with it; he will share this knowledge with all other learners of Latin, trainees or trained.

Another argument against the grammar class is that the paradigm itself seems rather inadequate for learning the Latin case system. As I have mentioned, the paradigm lacks several forms, and all prepositions are invariably followed by the direct-object marker *ke*, as in (1) and (2):

(1) *cum angelis [ke cum]* (GL 413)

(2) *de fructibus [ke]* (GL 450)

The glossers, presuming they are several, did not need to know whether the subjects, direct objects, and nouns in prepositional complements were one or several, feminine, masculine, or neuter, but they apparently needed such distinctions in other cases. They were capable of making glosses like (3) and (4), but used markers like *qui*, *cui*, and *cuius* to understand their own correct use of the Latin cases, or for some other purpose.

(3) *Dixit qui diabolus cui ebreo* (GL 77)

(4) ... *dicebit qui angel[us] cuius Domini* (GL 325)

(5) *de ke/ fructibus*
ex / *ipsis* (GL 453)

Having glossed *de fructibus [ke]* as in (2), why did they then add the correct *fructibus* to *ipsis* in (5) instead of their *ke*-case *fructus*? Probably because they knew this to be correct.

Not everything is correct, though; there are errors and mistakes, but apprentices are not the only persons who make mistakes. The grammatical glosses cannot have been designed in order to produce future masters of Latin. Díaz y Díaz (1978: 29) almost seems to indicate that his schoolmaster was teaching, not Latin, but something close to Spanish: 'a nuestro entender ya supone una fase de la enseñanza muy romancesada'.

The alphabetical glosses certainly indicate romanizing. What is being romanized is the text's word order; finite verbs are moved to

precede non-finite forms, possessive adjectives are placed before the determined noun (cf. (13) and (14)), OV order is changed to VO, etc. We may conclude that this procedure adapts the basic Latin text to more vernacular habits, but I cannot see why a student of Latin should be the only possible beneficiary of this, and I find it difficult to explain what help he would find in the rather frequent inversion of SV order to VS, as exemplified by (6) (cf. (3), (4), and (13)):

- (6) qui
+Tunc b'anima 'n'munda *dic't (GL 783)

This inversion, though perhaps romanizing in character, cannot be described as obeying grammatical criteria (Díaz y Díaz 1978: 29, n. 54). It is rather a question of style, as is the case with quite a few other alphabetical glossings as well.

The alphabetical and grammatical glosses can serve the same purpose only if we specify the purpose of the grammatical glosses, not as a means primarily for learning case declension, but as a tool for understanding what the different cases mean; 'who does what to whom' instead of 'how to say what about whom'. The difference between the two definitions may not seem significant. The point is, however, that if the grammatical glosses are a tool for understanding the Latin text, the glosses have been created on the basis of Romance grammar, and their purpose is primarily to romanize Latin. A theoretical desired effect of this romanizing could have been to latinize some Romance-speaking group or individual, but the situation is not necessarily the classroom, and grammar is not the only possible subject.

As a technique for romanizing, the grammatical glosses make more sense as a system. They provide a functional analysis of the text from the point of view of a user's language different from the Latin language of the basic text.

That would mean that the alphabetical glosses and the grammatical glosses serve the same purpose and are parts of the same system. It also means that these glosses probably have the same function as all the rest of the glosses.

If we can regard the alphabetical glosses as a documentation of the habit of turning Latin word order around to adapt it to the grammatical and stylistic habits of the vernacular (and what else can they be?), then it may be very convenient to have signs marking important syntactic functions for the reader, who is jumping back and forth in the text.

The use of a pronominal paradigm to indicate case represented a

well-known practice for any literate person going through or having gone through the process of learning Latin. Here this practice has been adapted to suit its purpose, and the paradigm has been reduced to the forms needed. The system is not perfect, as we shall see, but its creator must nevertheless have been quite clever. We can also note variety in its use along the way, and this can be explained, I think, by the experimental character of these procedures.

The following analysis of the grammatical glosses is rather sketchy and generalized, as this volume is not the forum for a detailed study: *Qui* indicates where to look for the subject in a clause, but it is not necessary to explain its gender or number once located. The opposition *qui/ke* distinguishes clearly between subject and direct object, for instance not to confuse a post-verbal subject and a direct object. As to the importance of this particular distinction, Fortach Piedraña (1980: 72) remarks, speaking about the gloss *ke* and the graphical means by which the functions subject and direct object are indicated: 'Llama poderosamente la atención la gran diferenciación gráfica obtenida entre este signo y el anterior, eliminando cualquier posibilidad de confusión.'

The isolated *ke* normally marks a direct object. In addition, it can be described as marking an element as following some other element; the direct object in a VO or VSO sequence, the noun following the preposition, the non-finite form of a verb following a finite form, etc. This view is supported by the alphabetical glosses.

The glosses being persons trained in Latin grammar, it would be natural to distinguish the indirect object and the possessive nominal genitives from the prepositional complements glossed by *ad ke* and *de ke* respectively. It would also be practical, as these syntactic functions sometimes obey different morphological and word-order rules. In the dative and genitive cases the markers simply echo the number and gender of the glossed element. What is important is to mark these elements as indirect objects and genitive phrases respectively, and to mark them as distinct from the *ke* case.

From a Romance point of view, the ablative as a functional form has, of course, no relevance, and thus it is not included in the system. This would be one reason why we find *quibus* but not **de quibus*.

We could, perhaps, demand perfect consistency and require a single sign for the indirect object and the genitive, e.g. *cui* and *cuius*, but I think we should not expect such strictness. Although the system is based on a traditional practice, it gives the impression of

being of a more experimental character than a generally used tool would be. The reductions already mentioned are one case in point; another one is the use of the relative pronoun instead of the traditional demonstrative *hic*. Fortacin Piedrafitra (1980: 78-89) goes to some length to explain the substitution, and he concludes that this is what we should expect at this time and place.

The combinations *propositio* + *ke* have four variants: *de ke*, *ke de*, *de ke de*, *ke*. They all reflect exactly the same procedure, differing only in the way the basic text is incorporated into the gloss and vice versa. Putting the gloss between square brackets, this may be illustrated as follows:

<i>de ke</i> : <i>de[de ke?]</i> :	canticis -no incorporation
<i>ke</i> : <i>de [ke?]</i> :	canticis -text incorporated into gloss
<i>de ke de</i> : <i>de [de ke?]</i> :	canticis -gloss incorporated into text
<i>ke de</i> : <i>de[ke?]</i> :	canticis -text incorporated into gloss and vice versa.

The latter type is documented quite clearly in (14) below by the split *ke / in* in lines 5-6. I interpret this variety as due to what I call the private character of the act of glossing, and not as Fortacin Piedrafitra (1980: 75), who sees the repeated preposition 'como indicio de la seguridad en la determinación del *complemento*'.

The particular system may have been created by one person, as this does not exclude other persons from benefiting from it. The grammatical glosses do not need to have been put there by a group, nor does the person adding the alphabetical glosses have to be the same as the grammatical glosser in order to take advantage of these glosses. The grammatical glosses may represent a local 'school', or the invention of an individual, or both. The point is that the system is sufficiently private to show changes, minor inconsistencies and errors, and it is sufficiently general to be used for its original purpose by several persons, contemporaries or not, who have felt the need to add, correct, and explain.

Díaz y Díaz (1978: 27-8) thinks the alphabetical glosses were introduced together with the grammatical glosses. Fortacin Piedrafitra (1980: 89) thinks the latter came first; on several occasions a cross or letter marks a gloss. The meaningful words in Latin, Romance, and Basque seem to have been put there at different times, and some may be contemporary with the grammatical and alphabetical ones (Díaz y Díaz 1978: 28-9).

Wright (1986) has suggested that the Romance and Basque glosses may have some connection to reading the texts aloud. I

believe the alphabetical and grammatical glosses may serve the same purpose. I also believe that if the glossers were apprentices, their subject was the art of preaching.

The alphabetical and grammatical glosses would then be silent glosses, meaning that you would never hear the gloss, only its effect (e.g. word order, verbal agreement, prepositions). The other glosses may have been included in the oral version, making them audible glosses.

Some of the audible glosses which adorn the pages already dotted with silent glosses, may have been introduced in order to correct erroneous silent glosses, or to facilitate the reading of complicated passages. One passage which seems to illustrate such conditions is transcribed in (7) with alphabetical glosses:

(7) ho. * ad ke	ho. ad ke
-qui ^a adulterium ^a non facit, *qui ^b ad aelae/ [*fornicationem]	
siam ^a frequentius uenit . . .	

(MP 46; GL 444-8)

The erroneous grammatical gloss *ad ke* to *adulterium* is one of two such errors evoked by Fortacin Piedrafitra (1980: 85) to refute the idea that the glosser knew enough Latin to be a preacher, as has been suggested by Prado (*apud* Olarte Ruiz 1977: 18-19). Such a person would know a word like *adulterium*, Fortacin Piedrafitra argues. I agree with him, but I do not see innocence and ignorance as the only reason for adding a wrong *ad ke* to *adulterium*; such an error may be made by any tired or careless person. As one can see, the end of line 8 has a correct *ad ke* to *ad aelae/siam*; I suggest the first *ad ke* was put over *adulterium* by mistake and was originally intended for *ad aelae/siam*. If we follow the alphabetical glosses, after having read *frequentius uenit* in line 9, we have to jump back to line 8 to find the prepositional complement. The gloss *fornicationem* in the right margin may have been put there to sort out the confusion created by the two *ad ke*. It should also be noted that it represents a change of meaning, substituting an excluding member of a semantic opposition by an including one. After all, we are dealing with a monastic community.

The second error referred to is a rather similar case: (GL 606) *iniuste* is erroneously glossed *in ke*, and, by coincidence (?), at the beginning of the following line there is a correct *in ke* to the phrase *in festiuitatibus* (GL 608). Here as well we have a gloss in the right margin; (MP 74; GL 607) *transornare*, invisible in *Glosas* (1977: fol. 71r), but obviously intended for the word *subuerrere*, making

oris, as would be the order in *Sp. de su boca*.

As an illustration of how the glosses may be used to transform the text, I have chosen a rather straightforward passage, fol. 75r-v, 17-7, transcribed with glosses in (14). After a few comments on this passage, I present my rephrased version in (16):

- (14) qui angeli ke de cuius
 17 *Et cantent illi de canticis David //
 [obe] [parescent] [ena felicitudine]
 qui angeli ke
 1 ubi manifestat beatitudinem
 cuius ke in cuius qui angeli
 2 anime. Intrañtes in domo Domini dicunt.
 [*O Domine] [hominem] [quem hominem]
 tu es tu tu
 3 Benedictus quem elegisti et adsum
 [qui ipse homo]
 +O ke
 4 isti. Domine. inhabitavit in taber
 [*nosemplinosamus] O domine nos ke
 5 naculis tuis. Et replemur in
 in cuius
 6 bonis domus tue. sanctum est templum
 [est qui tuum templum]
 qui ke in
 7 tuum. mirabile in equitate.
 (MP 121-4, GL 946-72)

The alphabetical glosses reverse Latin word order in lines 4-5; *tabernaculis tuis* > *tuis tabernaculis*, 6; *domus tue* > *tue domus*, and 6-7; *templum tuum* > *tuum templum*, the latter repeated in the gloss to line 7. As mentioned above, the VS sequence in line 17, *cantent illi*, represents a frequent word order in the glossed text (see example (6)). In this sample one can note that the glosses *qui angeli* (lines 17, 1, and 2), and *qui ipse homo* (line 4) are all placed towards the end of the verb.

The combinations *preposition + ke* are of the type *ke + preposition*, except in line 4 where the gloss is *ke*. This order is typical for this part of the text.

The partitive *de* in the gloss to line 17, *de canticis*, should not be considered as a mere repetition of Latin syntax, as illustrated by (15):

- (15) de ke de

+Et potestates mul / ti verunt (GL 207)

In connection with (11)-(13) above I have commented on the location and possible interpretation of *cuius* (lines 17, 2, and 6). The relation between alphabetical and grammatical glosses is also illustrated by the location of *qui* to (*templum*) *tuum* in line 7.

In line 17 *angeli* is separated from *qui* and is put over *illi*, signifying, I presume, that *angeli* is an audible gloss; *cantent illi* <*angeli*>.

The atypical concordance error made in line 1, *qui angeli*, could be due to fatigue or carelessness. *Angeli* has been a very frequent subject in this sermon and it is the subject of *cantent* in the main clause. The glosser has then inadvertently read *manifestant*; at least, a transitive verb is indicated by *ke* to *beatitudinem*.

The error may also be intentional. The glosser may have found it more suitable to continue to speak about 'angels' instead of introducing 'David' as a subject at this point. Thus he changes the meaning, but only slightly; singing the song, the angels will manifest what the song manifests, and, thus, what David wrote.

In my view, the Romance glosser has taken advantage of the wrong numerus in the gloss *qui angeli*, changing the text completely, making a new clause; *obe parescent* <*angeli*> *ena felicitudine*. He has not let his imagination run wild; as we can see, his inspiration is close at hand: *parescent* is semantically close to *manifestat*, and the distance is not far between *felicitudine* and *beatitudinem*. The way this passage is quoted in Menéndez Pidal (1926: 8), it looks as if the Romance glosser fetched the third person plural out of thin air, translating directly *manifestat* [*parescent*] and *beatitudinem* [*ena felicitudine*]. Even if the Romance glosser did not understand the construction *manifestat beatitudinem*, which I think he did, he could have consulted the grammatical gloss to the accusative, which marks it as a direct object.

Using the glosses for improvisations is not uncommon, and can be related, I think, to the technique of preaching, where the point is not to translate the text, but to transfer it into another linguistic context, as illustrated by the *Jonas* fragment quoted above in (8).

In (14) another change of meaning is represented by the glosses to the clause in lines 3-4 which add to it the phrase *O Domine, tu benedictus es*. This change seems an obvious embellishment.

Expansions of the text like line 3 *Benedictus quem [hominem] [tu] elegisti et [quem hominem] [tu] adsumisti* and the repetition of

subject and verb in line 7, *mirauile [est tuum templum] in equitate* seem to me to adapt the text to the oral medium, making it easier for the listener to follow the spoken words.

Quem instead of *ke* in line 3 is, as far as I know, the only occurrence of *quem* in these glosses. This *quem* is probably meant as an audible gloss, and thus distinguished from the silent *ke*. It could, perhaps, be read **qual huane* or **elo huane ke*, forms attested in the Romance glosses (MP 68, 89; GL 578, 689) except for the relative *ke*, attested as a grammatical gloss and as the homophonous conjunction *ke* in (MP 89; GL 689).

The following 'reading' of the text in (14) is based on the arguments and comments presented above. Apart from the substitution *de* (+*art.*) for *cuius*, and the change of the following nouns to denasalized accusatives, I have not attempted to romanize the Latin forms not attested as such in (14), as this would need a much ampler commentary than I have been able to present here.

- (16) Et carent illi [angeli] de canticis <de> David // ubi manifesta<n> <t [angeli] beatitudinem <de> anim<a>. (var.: [obe parentem [angeli] ena felicitudine].) Intrantes in domo <de> Domin<u> dicunt [angeli]: [O Domine tu] benedictus [es]. Benedictus quem [hominem tu] elegisti et [quem hominem tu] adsumisti. [O] Domine; inhabitavit [ipse homo] in tuis tabernaculis. [O] Domine nos emploramus] in bonis <de> tu<a> dom<u>. Est sanctum tuum templum! Mirauile [est tuum templum] in equitate!

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15 How was Leonese Vulgar Latin read?*

Carmen Pensado

(a) mere errors which may be psycholinguistically significant but are irrelevant to the historical linguist: e.g. *quomodo* 'quomodo', *OD* doc. 42 (1001); (b) errors stemming from a mismatch between the spelling system and the spoken language: e.g. *sibit* 'sive', *OD* doc. 42 (1001); and (c) errors due to changes in progress: e.g. *flauinicz*, *flaurici*, *OD* doc. 39 (1001) with loss of final -e, still a variable process in thirteenth-century Spanish. Both the second and the third kind of errors will be relevant for our purposes.

Spelling deviations from the classical norm in Late Latin texts may be alternatively interpreted as either the result of Romance interference, if we start from the 2L hypothesis, or as simple misspellings, if we presuppose an archaically spelled language (SL hypothesis; see Figure 15.1).

2L hypothesis:

(a) Latin → spelling

(b) Romance → latinization rules → spelling

SL hypothesis:

Romance → spelling rules → spelling

Figure 15.1 Alternative hypotheses for spelling deviations

I shall speak of Latin and Romance as convenient labels without any *a priori* commitment to the 2L hypothesis. According to the 2L hypothesis scribes either wrote in Latin (a), or they strove to latinize Romance words (b). According to the SL hypothesis, scribes spelled their native Romance following highly elaborate spelling rules. Both the hypothetical latinization rules and the spelling rules were more or less equivalent. For instance, Sp. *lado* would be latinized by changing -o into the appropriate case suffix and -d- into -t- and read as e.g. /latus/. Alternatively, if the SL hypothesis were true, Sp. *lado* would be spelled e.g. *latus* and read /ládo/.² Unfortunately, we can expect similar errors under both hypotheses. For instance, by rule over-application: *atrianum*, which involves a false generalization starting from the equivalence Sp. *lado* = Lat. *latum*, can be alternatively interpreted as spoken /atriánium/ according to the 2L hypothesis, or as /adriáno/ according to the SL hypothesis.

But there is a great difference in the predictions made by the two hypotheses regarding the treatment of non-Romance elements. If the SL hypothesis were true, non-inherited Latin words would be subject to the same kind of orthographic rules as Romance ones.

It is a highly debatable issue whether Medieval Latin and Early Romance were – as traditionally considered – two independent entities (I will refer to this as the 2L hypothesis) or were instead a single entity (Early Romance) with an archaic spelling and two different registers, as contended by Wright (1982). I will refer to the latter position as the SL hypothesis. It may actually boil down to the *vexata quaestio* of how different must language varieties become in order to be considered independent. Unfortunately, this can have more than one answer. Our contribution to this controversy intends to be mostly methodological, i.e., we will try to devise a procedure to test both alternative hypotheses. Our conclusions will only be tentative. As we shall see, the picture drawn by the data is extremely complicated. I shall be concerned with misspellings involving phonological innovations and completely ignore morphological phenomena. Our study is based on a corpus of misspellings involving intervocalic obstruent voicing in documents in Visigothic script mostly from the Leonese area.¹

Leonese Vulgar Latin (LVL) – as Menéndez Pidal labelled the barbarous Latin that was written in León and Portugal in the tenth and the eleventh centuries – is an excellent case in favour of Wright's (1982) SL hypothesis. The number and quality of errors is such that Menéndez Pidal (1950: section 95) was forced to admit that those texts could not possibly be read as Classical Latin. As Wright (1982: 165–73) has shown, Menéndez Pidal's alternative explanation – viz. that LVL was not contemporary Romance, but an archaic preservation by Mozarabic notaries of the language spoken in the fifth or sixth centuries – is completely unnecessary. However, as will become apparent later on, LVL cannot be equated with the spoken language.

To begin with, we may classify misspellings into three categories:

Conversely, if the spelling system fit the pronunciation (2L hypothesis), then purely Latin words did not have to pass through any deliberate orthographic filters. In our case, this hypothesis predicts that, while in Romance words which are latinized both voicing and hypercorrect devoicing should occur, in those Latin words which were not preserved in Romance, we should expect at most hypercorrect devoicing, but never voicing. In spite of this, we do find instances of voicing in our data (see Table 15.1).

Table 15.1 Some instances of voicing in Latin words

 for <p>	abut, cribidine, nun(c)ubata, obfiscis, partitibum, probe, probinquis, prosabia;
<d> for <t>	adrium, comudare, condide, Dadan, -dur < -rur, -ider < -iter, ida, leicidum, perpedim, postendas, podestatem, prodidore, quader, quodidie, sciudi, anagorids;
<g> for <c>	aplignavimus, caroligorum, celiga, degrebi, edifigata, indigatum, iurigabit, obsegrannus, pauperiagula, sigudi, spiragulum, veridigum;
<v> for <t>	amplivicavit, edivicia, iurivicavi, opivitem, pontivice, prolvigare, salmograbus, verivgo.

In our corpus 393 instances of voicing in Latin words occur in 94 different lexical types, i.e. 15.1 per cent of all the tokens showing voicing (2,604) and 26.85 per cent of all the lexical types (350). At first sight, the low frequency of voicing in non-inherited Latin words relative to that in Romance words would seem to argue for the 2L hypothesis. However, on closer inspection, we observe that non-inherited words occur only in formulae, while voicing, like all other mis-spellings, is most frequent in non-formulaic passages: e.g. proper names alone account for 131 types (37.42 per cent of all the voiced types) and 868 tokens (33.33 per cent of all the voiced tokens). Leaving out proper names, voicing in non-inherited words goes up to 42.92 per cent of the types and 22.63 per cent of the tokens. Given the approximate running-text frequency of non-inherited words (15.50 per cent of the total of lexical items), we conclude that the treatment of Latin and Romance words is very much the same after all. It was this Romance 'favouring' of Latin which forced Menéndez Pidal (1950: section 45.6) to admit that these texts could not possibly reflect a Classical Latin pronunciation.

Now let us turn to a phenomenon of a different kind. In our sample we also find attested voicing and hypercorrect devoicing of post-consonantal obstruents, even though obstruents in this context

Table 15.2 Voicing in post-consonantal position

2(a) Hypercorrections	
concampio, -ianus, -iavi, -iata, -ionis	Source Crr. 265, 266 (1121 2 x), Sm. 171, (1050 4 x), Elz. 73 (1080), 80 (3 x), 81 (1089), Vc. 85 (1078), OD 44 (1007), 49, 50 (1002 2 x), Sg. 227 (1015), 228 (1015 3 x) DEPA I 160 (854) OD 53 (1003) Vc. 105 (1085) Sg. 52 (933) Vg. 5 (946) Sm. 168 (836) Sg. 80 (941) COV. 217 (1075)
2(b) Abnormal voicing	
predido	Br. 219 (964) OD 62 (1008)
spondania	Sg. 233 (965 2 x)
aquadudiles	Sg. 351 (996)
facultate	Sg. 240 (1026)
Gundina	Sg. 351 (996)
ingendi	Sg. 268 (973)
podestatem	Sg. 341 (989), 264 (971)
sebtendro(n)	Vc. 32 (1028)
arbusgula	Sg. 351 (996)
episgopi	Od. 19 (1011)
Liengres	Vp. 322 (940)
porciungula	DEPA II 45 (SMilian 869)
propiungis	

were not affected by the diachronic process of voicing (see Table 15.2).

Once again, the 2L hypothesis is at odds with such data. In order to account for the abnormal voicing of /p, t, k, b/ (in Table 15.2b), Menéndez Pidal (1950: sections 45, 6, 55) is forced to postulate – against the evidence of present-day Leonese – that post-consonantal voicing was a feature of LVL. He tried to relate this phenomenon to the voicing of obstruents after continuants in Basque and Aragonese and explained the case of *aquadudiles* < DUCTILES as a specific development of LVL. Mis-spellings with <p, t, c, b> (Table 15.2a) would be hypercorrections due to syncope (1950: section 45, 6–7, 110, 2). It is true that contexts of syncope favour hypercorrection: cf. *Melcare*, Sg. 260 (972), *Adca*, Vc. 134 (1103), *Secutiz*, Br. 246 (1102), *Secudus*, Sg. 227 (1015) < sISEBUTUS. But this explanation

is unnecessarily complicated and has to have recourse to *ad hoc* phonological changes. An explanation in terms of graphic phenomena is both more likely and economical.

Hypercorrect <p, t, c, f> (in Table 15.2a) are not problematic for the SL hypothesis: the intervocalic voiced value of <p, t, c, f> has been overgeneralized. On the other hand, the SL hypothesis cannot account for post-consonantal <b, d, g, v> in place of <p, t, c, f> in (Table 15.2b) any better than the 2L hypothesis: if <b, d, g, v> never stood for voiceless obstruents in voicing contexts, why use them to spell /p, t, k, f/?³ Notice that if we admit that, at least sporadically, intervocalic <p, t, c, f> could still be read as voiceless obstruents, we have an explanation for the complete confusion of orthographic <p, t, c, f> and <b, d, g, v>. If intervocalically both series of letters could represent phonetic /p, t, k, f/ as well as /b, d, g, v/, then they could be taken as fully equivalent symbols. That this orthographic equivalence had no effect on reading can be inferred from instances of confusion between <c, qu, k> and <g> before front vowels (see Table 15.3).

Table 15.3 Some instances of confusion between <c, qu> and <g> before front vowels

<g> = /ts/	<i>iudigio</i> , <i>Shg.</i> 264 (971), <i>indigetis</i> , <i>Shg.</i> 264 (971), <i>saiges</i> , <i>DEPA II</i> Liébana 86 (873), <i>Giprianus</i> (for <i>Ciprianus</i>);
<qu> = /dʒ/	<i>quermanas</i> (for <i>germanas</i>), <i>Vc.</i> 292 (1200), 291 (1200, 4 times), <i>subroquia</i> COv170 (1046);
<c> = /dʒ/	<i>Eucenius</i> DEPA Liébana 166 (827, fourteenth-century copy).

It is highly unlikely that these forms were read as /dʒudidʒo/, /kermanos/, or /tsermanos/. The mis-spellings only imply that <gc>, <ce>, and <que> were misinterpreted as equivalent orthographic symbols for the same set of values, much in the same way as in the equivalence between <k>, <c>, and <qu>.

For a parallel, consider the case of present-day Gran Canaria Spanish, where a variable process of voicing of intervocalic /p, t, k, tʃ/ has been detected (Ofedal 1985). Symptomatically, Lecuona's (1987) corpus provides instances of mis-spelled obstruents not only intervocalically, but also post-consonantically (see Table 15.4).

Children who pronounce orthographic *bonita* either /bonita/ with /t/ as in *toro* or /bonída/ with /d/ as in *dónde*, are led to interpret <t> and <d> as equivalent graphemes, and then generalize this equivalence to other environments, where there is no phonological

Table 15.4 Mis-spelled obstruents by eleven-year-old children in Gran Canaria

4a Mis-spellings indicative of intervocalic voicing

 for <p> abacera 'aparcera', abarceros, abbacero 'aparcero', -s'
<d> for <t> bonidas, contandode, escondide
<g> for <c> aganchas 'canchas', chiguo 'chico', bicigleta

4b Hypercorrect spellings

<p> for gapón 'jabón', pueplo, tampián
<t> for <d> catetral, cuatro, recoto
<c> for <g> amicos, gucar, dico, recresamos, soca, vertico

4c Orthographic confusion in post-consonantal position

 for <p> embiesa, conbra, culba
<d> for <t> gende, tarda, divierdo, vido 'visto'
<g> for <c> blangura, esgapa

4d Hypercorrect spellings in post-consonantal position

<t> for <d> grante, cuanto, deste
<c> for <g> ponco, puca 'pulga', salco, salca

variation.⁴ Thus – contrary to Menéndez Pidal's interpretation – there is no reason for postulating *ad hoc* phonetic phenomena in order to account for the above-mentioned mis-spellings in LVL. In my judgement, in the case of Gran Canaria Spanish the key factor is the fact that both voiceless and voiced obstruents actually occur as synchronic variants so that <p, t, c, f> and <b, d, g, v> are misinterpreted as fully equivalent.⁵ But can we postulate such a situation for eleventh-century Leonese?

Table 15.5 Some instances of geminate- and cluster-reduction

geminate reduction	vaka, sica, uacas, ata, metemus, mata
cluster reduction	fico, fiquo, autoricare, netibus, setember

To be sure, we find in the latter some instances of <p, t, c> in intervocalic position standing unambiguously for /p, t, k/, i.e. those resulting from geminate or cluster reduction (see Table 15.5). There are also hypercorrections which are to be interpreted as representing voiceless pronunciations rather than as a telescoping of the equivalences <d> = <tt> = <tt>, e.g.: *quodque* 'quoque', *adput* 'apud', *dupplada*, *trippata* 'triplata', *commite*. We can thus admit that – in case orthographic awareness includes the possibility of mis-

spellings – intervocalic <p, t, c> could actually represent both a voiced and a voiceless pronunciation.

All this would be indirect evidence for a voiceless value of intervocalic <p, t, c>. But we can even find instances where intervocalic <b, d, g> stand for voiceless sounds, thus showing that, in fact, there was phonetic variation. This is what we can infer from the half-learned words shown in Table 15.6. All these words preserve voiceless consonants in their modern forms. We cannot explain them away as loans from Latin after the Carolingian Renaissance because they show Romance developments. The spellings in Table 15.6 imply that such words could have voiced variants. But it is obvious that voiceless forms must have coexisted with them in order to account for the modern results. And if this is the case in half-learned words, how can we deny the possibility that there was in fact a wavering between voiced and voiceless pronunciations in the Latin words we saw in Table 15.1?

Table 15.6 Voicing in half-learned forms (number of tokens)

	14	
episcopus, -i, -o, -orum (cf. MnSp. obispo)	<i>Crr., COv., Shg., Vc., Vg.</i>	
probitum, -o, -a, -as, -ium, -ilis (cf. MnSp. propio)	27	<i>OD, Br., Crr., DEPA II León, Vg., Elz., Shg., Vc., DEPA Huerta An., COv., Py.</i>
abostoli (cf. MnSp. apóstoli)	1	<i>Shg.</i>

Wright's (1982) solution to this problem is lexical diffusion. Being at the end of the diffusion queue, learned words would have preserved their voiceless obstruents. Lexical diffusion seems to be a satisfactory explanation for many of the problems connected with half-learned forms (see also Pensado 1983: 188–92). Differences in the distribution of phonological changes between medieval and modern forms are not a serious problem for a diffusionist interpretation: each word must have passed through a variation stage. In our case we must admit that, in fact, intervocalic voiceless obstruents were produced in some words, at least in reading styles. But is it possible for voicing to be a variable process as late as the eleventh century? And, given that voicing is just one of the many processes that show variation in these texts, are we to suppose that all those processes were still alive? This is, in fact, what the traditional interpretation postulates. Variation in spelling would mirror a similar variation in the spoken language (Menéndez Pidal

1950: sections 107–8). This idea is hardly surprising. After all, historical linguists are used to finding changes in progress in misspellings. This would be the third type of mis-spelling we mentioned above (p. 191).

Now we have completed the whole circle. One of the conclusions of the SL hypothesis is that variation in Late Latin texts must not be taken as a clue for linguistic change. The intention of writing correct Latin deprives archaisms of any value and so, *a priori*, it precludes any significant generalization based on orthographic variation. We started by dismissing variation as only apparent and we have ended up conceding that it is genuine. But let us try to see whether our orthographic variation shows any of the characteristics of a change in progress. I shall start with the purely phonological aspects and then go on to lexical diffusion.

Even though there are wide divergences among scholars as to its dating, our first attestations of voicing reach back to the first century AD. No author seems to date it later than the seventh century (cf. Pensado 1984: 202–4). At any rate it would be much earlier than the eleventh century. It is doubtful whether changes with a century-long implementation can qualify as genuine sound changes, or are rather of an analogical nature (cf. Hock 1986: 651–2). But even if they were genuine, for purely internal reasons voicing could not be one of them. Once geminate reduction took place (at the latest in the eighth century; cf. Pensado 1984: 214–15), a new series of voiceless intervocalic obstruents arose, to which voicing was never applied. This implies that either voicing no longer existed, or – less probably at such a late stage – that degemination and voicing applied in counterfeeding order.

In order to strengthen our viewpoint, let us check whether we can discover any of the characteristics of a living phonological change in our data. Although our texts represent the most formal style, if a living phonological change shows a uniform distribution across styles, as claimed by Labov (1981: 296), we should still be able to reconstruct its diffusion pattern. It has been repeatedly observed that /k/ is more prone to voicing than the other obstruents both in Late Latin (see already Richter 1934: 136) and in the Romance languages (see Otfedal 1985 for the higher voicing rate of -k- in Gran Canaria Spanish). We could expect to find a consistent difference in relative voicing rates across documents.

But the data do not meet our expectations. We can see (Table 15.7) that relative voicing rates do not keep constant; this fact is enough to show that they cannot be interpreted as an effect of the

spoken language. Leaving aside corpora where the relevant items are few, we see that, when the number of errors is large enough to yield statistically significant results, relative voicing rates tend to coincide with the relative frequency of intervocalic voiceless obstruents as shown on Table 15.8.

However, in some corpora there seems to be a preference for the voicing of *-k-*, and in others for *-t-*. There can be non-phonological factors for the high voicing rate of *-k-* in spite of its being much less frequent than *-t-*. First, orthographic rules involving /k/ and /g/ were intrinsically more complex due both to the existence of three symbols for /k/ (i.e. <k, c, qu>) and to the fact that <c, g> were also used for the outcomes of palatalization. Second, the high frequency of *-t-* is due to its occurring in many inflectional and derivational suffixes. Apparently, highly frequent suffixes tend to be

Table 15.7 Relative voicing rates (total number of tokens in parentheses)

Relative voicing rate	Collection	% v	% b	% d	% g
t > p > k > f	Crr.	2.12	25.53	51.06	21.27
t > k > p > f	OD	2.07	15.02	52.84	30.05
	Br.	7.35	8.088	57.35	34.55
	Stg. (251)	6.77	7.96	50.19	35.05
	Vc. (596)	3.35	11.57	53.85	31.20
k > t > p > f	Shg. (327)	4.28	8.56	24.77	62.38
	Elz. (104)	0.96	8.65	20.19	70.19
	COv. (439)	4.32	9.79	15.03	63.26
	Vg. (88)	6.81	3.40	15.90	73.86
	Bim. (44)	0	9.09	34.09	56.81
k > t > f > p	Crr. (35)	14.28	0	5.71	80
k > f > t	On. (32)	12.5	0	56.25	31.25
t > k > f	Vp. (24)	12.5	0	37.5	50
k > t > f	Cñ. (21)	0	14.28	76.19	9.52
t > p > k	Plv. (9)	0	33.33	22.22	44.44
k > p > t	Cñ. (2)	0	50	50	0
t, p					

Table 15.8 Estimated frequency for intervocalic voiceless obstruents*

estimated frequency for -f-	2.52%
estimated frequency for -p-	12.45%
estimated frequency for -t-	65.69%
estimated frequency for -k-	19.32%

* Based on their average frequency in Crr., OD, and Br.

correctly spelled, as I infer from Lecuona's (1987) corpus. This is confirmed by our data: while suffixes account for an estimated 54 per cent of all occurrences of *-t-*, only 29.15 per cent of the instances of <d> for <t> occur in suffixes. Third, and more important, each specific school of scribes has its own spelling habits. If we compare original documents signed by the same notary, we observe a high consistency in mis-spellings: e.g. mis-spelled *Stevanus* and *artigulo* are characteristic of Stevanus (Br. docs 8 and 11); Vermudus (Crr. docs 13 and 18) spells VERMUDUS; Velasco (Crr. docs 5, 7, 12, 17, and 18) writes *episcobo* and *domidio* <DOMITU>; and Cidi (OD docs 48, 49, and 50) writes *probria*. This tendency to standardization is most apparent in large corpora: in COv, out of a total of 311 tokens of voicing of *-k-*, 50 correspond to *eglesia*, 20 to *sexiga* <SESSICA>, and 45 to *deganea* <DECANEA>. In Shg. out of 204 tokens, 101 correspond to *eglesia*. This specific spelling is so frequent (215 instances in our corpus) that we can consider it as an alternative orthographic norm.

Variation in relative voicing rates and the tendency to standardization imply that spelling does not correspond to any systematic phonological variation in speech. Therefore our data do not confirm the productivity of voicing.

Let us now consider lexical diffusion. Even though consonant lenition typically diffuses with neogrammarian regularity (see Labov 1981: 302), once restructuring has begun, change in lexical entries will obviously take place word by word (see Labov 1981: 276, and especially 1987: 150-5). Since our indexes for lack of voicing are only indirect, we cannot ascertain which words *did not* voice. It is still possible to analyse those words that *do* voice and see whether they show any of the characteristics suggestive of anticipated evolution.

In the first place, we should expect a given lexical item to exhibit a consistent behaviour across texts. What we find instead is a complete lack of consistency: while the lexicon remains fairly stable across corpora, up to 56 per cent of the mis-spelled words show voicing only in one source. This suggests that the distribution of voicing errors across the lexicon is not significant.

Regarding specific lexical items, it can be safely assumed that restructuring will take place first in the most common words which are subject to strong phonetic erosion. We will try now to re-examine our data taking word frequency into consideration. A frequency count based on the number of occurrences of these words in our texts would not be significant, due to their formulaic nature.

We have had recourse to Sala (1988) as a means of indirectly calculating their probable frequency in actual speech. Out of 350 lexical types which show voicing only 55 (15.71 per cent) appear on Sala's list. And, what is more important, some of the most basic lexical items (*pater*, *mater*) never show voicing. This further corroborates our conclusion that mis-spellings involving voicing are just that: simple mis-spellings.

Of course, this does not imply that lexical diffusion never occurred or that half-learned words are not to be explained as a result of lexical diffusion, but only that the variation which we have inferred from our texts does not seem to result from a change in progress. Most probably, voicing was already restructured by that time, although some words were able to change class again. We have arrived again at Wright's (1982) conclusions, but at the expense of having no explanation for the variation in voiceless stops.

The only possible explanation would be to suppose that even if, for instance, intervocalic <t> was regularly pronounced as /d/, its etymological value could have been recoverable for literates. The spelling system provided speakers with clues for inferring a 'basic' (and etymological) value of letters. Those persons who were able to read may have captured the 'correct' values of letters by a default rule. On the one hand, Latin <t> was still read /t/ word-initially and after a consonant. On the other hand, there was also a specific letter <d> to cover the voiced value. All this could lead literates to the 'etymological' reasoning that /t/ was the 'true value' for <t> even in intervocalic position. That is, variation might have been due to spelling pronunciation. For instance, even if <v> may sound in various ways in English (*tea* [t], *action* [ʃ], *future* [f]), and even Am. Eng. *better* [t]), literate speakers still have the feeling that /t/ is its proper value. Spelling pronunciation is directly proportional to the degree of phonetic inadequacy of a spelling system (see Wells 1982: 106-9 for English). That /t/ was considered as the primary value for intervocalic <t> in LVL is shown by the high degree of consistency in writing /p, t, k/ resulting from geminates or clusters as <p, t, k>, as we have earlier observed. If this were true, at least some words could have variable pronunciations due to the influence of spelling. This implies that at least some half-learned forms may be just inherited forms reshaped by the influence of an archaic spelling.

Only the small minority who was able to read and write could be influenced by spelling, but these forms could be borrowed by other speakers for reasons of prestige. Supposing that all people who used

Latinisms were literate would be as ill founded as deducing that nowadays people who use English loanwords or calques in other languages have some knowledge of English. The influence of writing upon the spoken language has been observed even in mostly illiterate societies (see Goody 1987: 268).

But the presence of spelling pronunciations presupposes consciousness of the superiority of the written norm, and this is hardly compatible with deliberate vulgarization. Obviously, whether scribes were doing their best or they were trying to vulgarize, will always be a highly controversial issue. But let me add a brief argument in favour of the first hypothesis. The reader who is confronted for the first time with these documents is surprised by their lack of coherence. The technique of writing involved copying formulae from a repertoire, but the notaries' mastery of the written language was not enough to enable them to conjoin formulae in a meaningful way. 'Ideo placuit nobis adque contentit . . . which implies a rhetoric preamble (as in *Formulae Wisigothicae* X; see Zeuner 1886), is systematically used after the initial formula. Some notaries were not even able to substitute shifters consequently (formulae repertoires give only third persons). At the same time formulae were degenerate to the point of becoming nonsensical: e.g. 'nullus quoque gentis' or 'nullus quoque agentis imperio, nec suadentis articulo', which is a corruption of 'nulli coagentis imperio' as in *Cartae senonicae* or 'nulli cogenti imperio' in *Formulae Marculfi* II, 20; Zeuner (1886). Its correct version is not even attested in corpora such as Br., OD, and Crr. *Nec per vin nec per metum* becomes 'nec per vinum nec per metum' in, e.g., Br. doc. 12. *Claro animo et spontanea mea voluntate* becomes 'caro animo . . . in, e.g., Crr. doc. 21. These are obvious signs that scribes could not fully understand their models. But they show even more about their attitude to their texts. If they intended to be faithful to their models and to stylistic elegance to the point of producing incoherent and even meaningless texts, it is plain that their main intention was not that of vulgarizing (as assumed by Wright 1982: 62), but to be as conservative as possible.

Now I come to my conclusions. According to the evidence provided by obtrusive mis-spellings, LVL was most probably read as Romance. But this does not imply that no awareness of a distinction between spoken Romance and the written norm was felt. Both initial hypotheses are partly true: LVL was read as Romance, but it was probably felt as Latin.

ABBREVIATIONS

Unless otherwise stated numbers refer to pages. Dates are in parentheses:

- Bim. A. C. Floriano Cumbreño (1960) *Colección diplomática del Monasterio de Belmonte*, Oviedo: IDEA.
- Br. J. M. Fernández Catón (1973) 'Documentos leoneses en escritura visigótica. Fondo M. Bravo del Archivo Histórico Diocesano de León', in *León y su Historia, Miscelánea Histórica 2*, León: Fuentes y Estudios de Historia Leonesa: 203-95.
- Cdñ. L. Serrano (1910) *Fuentes para la historia de Castilla. III. Becerro gótico de Cardaña*, Valladolid: Tipografía y Casa Editorial Cuesta.
- ci. J. Guallart (1946) 'Documentos para el estudio de la condición jurídica de la mujer leonesa hace mil años', *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 6: 154-71.
- COV. S. García Larragueta (1962) *Colección de documentos de la Catedral de Oviedo*, Oviedo: IDEA.
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NOTES

- * I wish to dedicate this paper to my father, José Luis Pensado, who first called my attention to the peculiarities of voicing in Leonese Vulgar Latin. My thanks go also to Julián Méndez Dosuna for his encouragement and his help with the manuscript, and to Jorge Guitart who made helpful comments on an earlier version and checked my English style.
- 1 All sources will be cited in abbreviated form (see Abbreviations list).
- 2 Slashes indicate a broad phonetic transcription. I presuppose for eleventh-century Leonese a phonological system with a single series of voiced obstruents (see Pensado 1984: 183-8).
- 3 Although evidence is scant, Romance /b, d, g, v/ were probably devoiced in word-final position. Since mis-spellings conditioned by syllable- or word-final neutralization processes do not seem to spread to syllable-initial position (e.g. Castilian Sp. *salud* 'salud' does not generalize to **zato* 'dato'), it does not seem probable that final devoicing contributed to the use of <b, d, g, v> for voiceless obstruents in syllable-initial position.
- 4 Notice that orthographic errors occur in spite of the fact that there is a phonetic difference between primary voiced obstruents, which are fricatives or continuants, and secondary voiced consonants, which are stops. This shows that our argumentation for LVL would also obtain in the case that LVL had two series of voiced obstruents (see n. 2).
- 5 If, against our contention, there was no variation between voiced and voiceless intervocalic plosives, our mis-spellings would involve the

unexpected error of misusing unambiguous signs (i.e. <b, d, g> binarily representing /b, d, g/). Such errors do not seem to occur. At first sight, z standing for /k/ in OD doc. 53 (1008), *zlaa, arizalo, zanis* and *Shg*, doc. 261 (971), *fruziosos, magnivizaras*, could seem to be such a case. But a free variation between /k/ and /ts/ is attested at least in the words *mili, mili* which show both the expected velar variants (*miquit*) and affricate ones (cf. *mizi Shg*, doc. 257 (970), *mizc(i) OD* doc. 36 (1000)).

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16 Spelling lapses in early medieval Latin documents and the reconstruction of primitive Romance phonology

Thomas J. Walsh

The central thesis of Roger Wright's 1982 book, *Late Latin and Early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France*, stated succinctly in the opening sentence, was 'that "Latin", as we have known it for the last thousand years, is an invention of the Carolingian Renaissance. Prior to the end of the eighth century in France and the end of the eleventh century in Spain (when Roman liturgy replaced the Visigothic), according to Wright, no conscious distinction was drawn between Latin and Romance. Latin was regarded as the written mode of the spoken vernacular of each locale. Accordingly, the literate, when reading, gave each Latin word its vernacular pronunciation, much as English speakers today articulate *knighr* as [najt] or as Francophones reproduce *dougt* 'finger' as [dwaj]. Wright flatly rejected the possibility of distinct Latin and vernacular pronunciation norms, whose existence had been taken for granted by many Romanists, including some of the giants of our discipline.

While I admire Wright for the originality and boldness of his stance and, in fact, agree with many of his interpretations, I suspect that, perhaps out of a desire to take a position diametrically opposed to the traditional one, he pushed the point a little too far, at times even ignoring the thrust of his own evidence. True, one can almost imagine some of the legal and notarial documents he cited, along with numerous others of the period, being read with vernacular phonetics and being understood even by illiterate speakers as a slightly pompous form of their own dialect. By way of illustration, consider the following sentence, which appears in a mid-eleventh-century document from Toro (prov. Zamora):

Et quando dedit domno Migeael Citiz illa cafa ad illo abate, ille jacente in suo lectu, venit filio de Rodrigo Moniz et juo ua[[allo et prendiderunt juo clerigo ad juo uarra et jovarunt illum et

jactarunt eum in terra ad te [uof] pedes de illo abbate.

(Menéndez Pidal 1950: 26)

A word-for-word rendition even into Modern Spanish, such as the following, would, with minor morphological adjustments, be largely comprehensible to any native speaker:

Y cuando dio dueño Miguel Cidez la casa al abad, él yacente en su lecho, vino el hijo de Rodrigo Moniz y su vasallo y prendieron su clérigo a su barba y sobáronlo y echáronlo en tierra ante (?) los pies del abad.

Few sentences, however, even in the most humdrum legal charters lend themselves quite so smoothly to literal vernacular paraphrases. But the idea that writers of such sentences deemed them the written versions of strings they might well utter in informal conversation hardly exceeds the bounds of the conceivable. By contrast, consider the following sentence, excerpted at random from a perfectly ordinary ninth-century manuscript from the monastery of San Millán – a manuscript which, by chance, forms part of the same codex as the one containing the famous glosses:

Quoniam necdum homines sciunt quod soror mea es, parum de uia secede donec transeat. Et post transgressos illos, vocat eam: Eamus, soror, uiam nostram. Illa autem non respondente perquirens inuenit eam mortuam et vestigia pedum eius plena sanguine.

(García Larragueta 1984: 97)

I contend that, even if read with vernacular pronunciation, such a passage would have been indecipherable to the native speaker of tenth-century Hispano-Romance who lacked specialized training in Latin. Even the simplest everyday notions were habitually expressed in writing in such a way as to be incomprehensible to the unlettered. It seems safe to speculate that 'Let us enter the house, he said' was, in tenth-century north-central Spain, uttered as [entrémóz en (e)la káza, dífo]. None the less, in that same unremarkable manuscript, one reads, 'Ingrediamur, inquit, domum' (García Larragueta 1984: 100). Even if one conjectures – as seems altogether probable – that such a sentence were read [engredjámor, inkið, dómu], it would still have been unfathomable to the untrained listener. If, on the other hand, 'Ingrediamur, inquit, domum' was rendered orally as [entrémóz en (e)la káza, dífo], then we shall have to admit that the reader simply translated from Latin into vernacular, an act which

itself presupposes the awareness of distinct codes.

In short, I fully agree with Wright that vernacular phonetics must have been employed in the reading of Latin in pre-Carolingian times. In a certain sense, it could not have been otherwise, since speakers of the period, unlike us, had no access to first-century BC pronunciation of Latin. But even we, who can easily consult the work of fellow twentieth-century linguists who have reconstructed Classical Latin phonology, persist in pronouncing Latin through our native systems. I have no doubt but that Latin as articulated by the average English, French, or Spanish university student (or, for that matter, professor) bears far more resemblance, on the strictly phonological level, to English, French, or Spanish than to Vergil's pronunciation of the classical tongue. But we must not forget that Latin pronounced with English, French, or Spanish phonetics is still Latin, and not English, French, or Spanish. The exception, of course, is Latin so faulty as to exhibit outright predominance of vernacular morphology, syntax, and lexicon over strictly Latin elements. Wright generalized from that sort of Latin to all levels – an unjustifiable leap, in my judgement (see Walsh 1986: 212).

Two types of Latinity were, broadly speaking, current in the period under discussion, as presumably also in subsequent centuries, namely notarial and ecclesiastical. The former was used by legal practitioners who required a smattering of Latin grammar and vocabulary – largely stock phrases – to draw up the documents for which they were daily responsible. Such individuals were perhaps never exposed to correct Latin, say, in literary works or scripture. They must have relied largely on memory, rather than on reference books, for their grammar, a risky approach even for those of us with advanced degrees in Romance philology. Dependence on memory as chief resource in matters of vocabulary would also explain the presence of numerous strictly vernacular words in such documents. With Wright, I can easily envision such individuals feeling that Latin – their brand of Latin, to be sure – was an elaboration on their spoken vernacular.

Monks living and working in monasteries, however, must have enjoyed an altogether different experience of Latin. To begin with, they would have come into daily contact with works composed centuries before, such as scriptural, patristic, liturgical, and hagiographic writings, which, while perhaps never exhibiting the stylistic polish and refinement of the great classical authors, were nevertheless couched in respectable Low Latin. Certain monks may even have glimpsed the great classics of the Augustan Age.

Exposure to such ancient texts must have caused those monks to realize that the language in which they were composed was equally ancient – one that pertained to another time and place. If Dante's notion of Latin as a sort of koine artificially created to facilitate communication among scholars from different parts of the world was original with him, then the conventional thinking must have been that Latin was an ancient language, quite distinct from the vernaculars current in the various parts of ROMANIA. Moreover, the famous list of cheeses (transcribed in Menéndez Pidal 1950: 24–5, and discussed in some detail in Wright 1982: 173–5), if written out by a monk, i.e., someone who presumably knew that the accusative plural of 'cheeses' was spelled *caseos* or *casea* in Latin, bears witness to the perception by at least some members of the literate community that Latin and vernacular were distinct languages. While that document is by no means a phonetic transcription, it may come fairly close to being a phonemic one.

Wright was justified in doubting that Classical Latin was ever employed alongside vernacular as a normal medium of informal discourse in monasteries, as some scholars had believed (though even Menéndez Pidal alluded to a 'romance corriente... habladopor todos en su conversación diaria' (1950: 454)). But while accepting Wright's argument, we may still assume that literate clerics were at least subliminally conscious of speaking one language and writing another. Spoken Latin in this period was probably limited mainly to liturgical celebrations. In those instances, processes of speakers' native phonology would surely have impinged on their pronunciation of Latin, just as they do today. But frequent non-vernacular lexical items, inflections, and word order would still have made all but the most dreadful Latin bewildering to the uninitiated. With all due respect for Wright's originality and impressive ability to marshal evidence in support of his opinions, I feel that he swept certain serious problems under the rug by claiming, e.g., that 'Outdated word order is of no consequence' (1982: 168). His suggestion (1982: 168–70) that Latin inflections were considered silent letters like the *g*h in Eng. *knigh*t and never pronounced overlooks the fact that if fairly correct Latin is read aloud without declensional suffixes, it promptly becomes gibberish, since, as everyone knows, those endings signal the relationship of nouns to other nouns and also to verbs in any given sentence. Under the assumption that monks who had spent years studying Latin knew what those endings meant, it simply makes no sense to think that they should not have pronounced them when reading.

Having made those general observations regarding the status of Latin in the Early Middle Ages, I wish now to focus attention on a hypothetical language – or, rather, register – postulated by Menéndez Pidal (1950: 454–60), whose thinking on the subject was submitted to a searching critical assessment by Wright (1982: 165–77), namely 'Leonese Vulgar Latin'. The great Spanish scholar, in his study of tenth- and eleventh-century documents from Leon, identified two sharply distinguishable strains of Latin. Certain documents – the vast majority – were couched in what one might label 'standard scholastic Low Latin', of the sort current throughout western Europe in the High Middle Ages. Such documents, which routinely exhibit a sprinkling of grammatical errors and orthographic lapses of various sorts, were written for the most part in fairly correct Latin. Another, smaller, group of documents offers a Latinity so shot through with vernacular features that one is inclined, with Wright, to interpret it as the written mode of local vernacular, with the thinnest veneer of Latinity superimposed. Documents belonging to the latter group are invariably legal/notarial – never ecclesiastical – in content. The most baffling feature of such documents is that, despite the pervasive orthographic slips, which seem to betoken an advanced state of phonetic evolution, numerous archaic (i.e., correct Latin) morphological features are preserved; e.g., synthetic passive (*cirgidur* for *CINGITUR*, 'it is surrounded'), future participle (*avidura* for *HABITURA*, 'having' (fut.)), case endings, and many vocabulary items – both lexical and grammatical – that had doubtless fallen out of spoken usage centuries earlier.

To account for the unusual language of such documents, with no known parallels in other parts of Spain, Menéndez Pidal postulated a spoken register intermediate between scholastic Low Latin and vernacular. For him, pervasive orthographic blunders denoted not a low level of Latinity, but rather a deliberate decision by certain scribes to write in a more spontaneous, less artificial, and less solemn language than that which characterized liturgy and official state chronicles. That language was said to represent a 'precious survival' of the spoken Latin current in all of ROMANIA in the closing centuries of the Roman Empire – a language which, though quite advanced on the phonetic level, none the less preserved certain morphological and syntactic features of the classical tongue. The existence of a similar brand of Latinity in Merovingian France simply confirmed its wide currency as a spoken language in the late Empire. As for why such a language, doomed in France by the

Carolingian Reforms, should still have been written by a minority in León in the tenth and eleventh centuries, Menéndez Pidal conjectured that the group at issue was constituted by Mozarabic immigrants who, owing to isolation after the Islamic conquest, perpetuated the written usage of the Late Empire and very early Middle Ages. Elsewhere in Spain, according to him, such a register, which would have continued to serve as a means of oral communication among the cultivated, was no longer employed for writing. With the decline of Mozarabic influence in León in the late eleventh century and the suppression of the Mozarabic liturgy, such a language came to be felt as inappropriate for writing. But even after its demise as a written medium, it remained in spoken use, supplying the numerous semi-learned words observable in the earliest Romance documents.

Wright's explanation (1982: 165-73) for the poor Latinity of those documents is far simpler and, to my way of thinking, infinitely more plausible: as the vernacular evolved ever farther away from the classical model, and as educational standards – especially for the laity – declined, many scribes simply failed to achieve proficiency in Latin. If we view the learning of a language closely related to one's own as consisting largely in mastering, through the exercise of memory, contrasts between the native and target codes, we may infer that the scribes who wrote in Leonese Vulgar Latin had not, for whatever reason, spent the time necessary to accomplish that task. Otherwise stated, their errors merely betray gaps in their knowledge of written Latin, stemming, no doubt, from educational deficiencies.

While accepting Wright's view that some of those documents may have been read aloud as vernacular and were felt by their authors to represent spoken vernacular, I also believe that he overstated his criticism of Menéndez Pidal, in some respects staking out for himself a position every bit as naive as the Spanish master's had been. Reproaching Menéndez Pidal for interpreting such texts as phonetic transcriptions of their writers' speech, Wright insisted that 'We have no direct access to the nature of tenth-century Old Leonese speech' and that 'Surviving texts tell us little about speech' (1982: 166). He argued further that 'The practical purpose of writing words on a page is to indicate the right lexical item to the reader; originally semi-phonetic spellings can achieve this even if they have in time become distant from evolved phonetics' (1982: 168). Since the written form of a word served only to signal that lexical item to the reader, a word's spelling (or mis-spelling) bears, according to

Wright, no more relation to its pronunciation than the English orthographic sequence *knight* does to [náit] or the French sequence *chantent* does to [šát].

While I grant that such texts must not be analysed as straightforward phonetic transcriptions of speech, I believe that they afford us direct access at least to certain aspects of tenth-century Leonese speech and that, in general, they reveal a great deal about the vernacular phonology of those who wrote them. If we assume – as common sense dictates – that those writers were not intentionally composing in a barbaric style, but rather that their target was correct scholastic Low Latin, then errors should systematically reflect divergences between the target language and writers' native linguistic systems. Careful analysis of those errors should yield detailed information on – in the present case – tenth-century Leonese Romance.

Before scrutinizing those charters with an eye to extracting specific information regarding tenth-century Leonese vernacular phonology, it is worth asking why scribes who had a passing knowledge of Classical Latin morphology and syntax and who routinely used terms (albeit often mis-spelt) that had almost surely fallen into desuetude centuries before (e.g., *pulchritudo* 'beauty', *amaritudo* 'bitterness', *pontifex* 'high priest, pope', *secus* 'following', *sicut* 'as'; see Menéndez Pidal 1950: 247) should have been such poor spellers. Their writings leave the odd impression that the grammatical and lexical sophistication of a university student and the spelling ability of a child in the third year of elementary school have been combined in a single individual.

The only credible explanation which suggests itself to me for such a paradoxical state of affairs is that those individuals' study of Latin must have been almost entirely oral. After learning the general phonetic value of the letters of the Roman alphabet, they must have assimilated morphology and lexicon through auditory, rather than visual, stimulation. Their language-learning experience must have consisted largely of rote repetition of paradigms and word lists. The predictable result was a far stronger auditory than visual image, something which would have caused few problems were not the chasm separating Latin orthography from Old Leonese phonology so wide. When in doubt about the spelling of a particular word, given the likely unavailability of dictionaries, the only solution was to attempt to 'sound it out', something you may recall being forced to do in elementary school, with predictably poor results, at least for those of us who were raised in an Anglophone context. Those words

that we now know how to spell, we have largely memorized, by dint of seeing them in written form hundreds of times, an experience doubtless denied to people living outside monasteries in the tenth century.

When speakers of a modern tongue attempt the pronunciation of a 'dead' language for which native-speaker models are in principle unavailable, one anticipates that they will fall back on their own phonological patterns. Specifically, two broad categories of processes will come into play, both operating, of course, at the subconscious level. First, learners will apply the allophonic rules and phonotactic constraints peculiar to their native speech. Thus, in pronouncing Latin, English speakers will predictably aspirate pretonic voiceless stops, pronounce simple vowels as falling diphthongs, and reduce certain unstressed vowels to schwa. French speakers may decline to observe the Latin stress rule, preferring to follow their own native rule of word- or phrase-final stress. Hispanophones will spirantize postvocalic voiced stops, pronounce -m as [n] or [ŋ], and render R- as a trill.

Second, and far more importantly for our purposes, such learners will almost never reproduce phonemic contrasts characteristic of the target language but alien to their native parlance. Thus, while Italians – at least those hailing from south of the La Spezia-Rimini line – are quite adept at enunciating Latin geminate consonants, Anglo-, Franco-, and Hispanophones virtually never distinguish Latin geminates from their simple counterparts. Spanish speakers, when pronouncing Latin routinely equate B with consonantal V, pronouncing both as stops or fricatives according to phonetic environment. We Americans, often chided by speakers of a certain insular dialect of English for confounding intervocalic /t/ and /d/ (e.g., *latter* and *ladder* are homophones) in our futile efforts to speak their language, may fall prey to that same vice when pronouncing Latin, equating, e.g., CREDAM 'I shall believe' with CRETAM 'grown' (fem. acc. sg.) or even CRETAM 'Crete' (acc. sg.). Finally, in no country that I know of are Latin vowel-quantity distinctions consistently observed, even by classical scholars, who are free to check the length of any orthographic vowel in Ernout and Meillet's etymological dictionary, the most reliable guide on this point. There is no reason to believe that speakers in tenth-century Leon – or anywhere else for that matter – should have succeeded where we consistently fail.

Of interest in the present context is the effect that this apparent

inability of speakers to reproduce target-language phonemic distinctions absent from the native system may have on their efforts to write in the target language, in this case Latin. In highly literate cultures such as ours, those foreign phonemic distinctions will be reinterpreted as orthographic quirks to be committed to memory, under pain of receiving a D or even an F on a midterm or final examination. Given our ready access to all manner of textbooks, bilingual dictionaries, and literally hundreds of editions of the classics, we simply have no excuse for forgetting that, say, [murejē] 'to send' is written with two /r/ rather than one, that [vīra] 'life' contains a /r/ rather than a /d/, or that [memōrijam] 'memory' ends in -AM rather than -UM.

Those tenth-century Leonese notaries, who no doubt pronounced Latin through the prism of their own phonological system, differed from us in having little, if any, access to the materials just enumerated, let alone to a Latin spell-checker on floppy disk – something which I understand will soon be available. The point is that many, if not most, of their orthographic gaffes resulted from phonemic mergers and deletions that had taken place during the millennium separating them from Cicero and thus provide us with precise information on both their native phonemic pattern and the distribution of phonemes in lexical items.

Restricting our attention for the moment to the four short documents from late tenth- and eleventh-century Leon transcribed by Menéndez Pidal (1950: 24–9), we find strong evidence for the following changes:

- 1 Raising of /a/ to /e/ by influence of yod: *kejos* for CASEOS 'cheeses'; *lexauit* for LAXAUIT 'he left'; *benefectia* for BENEFACTORIA (recorded in Late Latin of Spain) 'free town'.
- 2 Monophthongization of /ej/ and /ow/: *kesos*, *lexauit*, *ouifit* for HABUIT 'you had'.
- 3 /o/ > /u/ by influence of /w/: *puferon* for POSUERUNT 'they put'.
- 4 Raising of /e/ to /i/ (or /j/) in hiatus: *vinia* (alongside *uenia*) for VINEA 'vineyard'.
- 5 /i/ > /e/: *Felej* for FELIX (anthroponym), *entreguade* for INTEGRATE 'soundness', *tue* for TIBI 'to you'.
- 6 Monophthongization of /aj/ and /aw/: *hec* for HAEC 'this', *etate* for AETATE 'age'; hypercorrect *adie* for HODIE.
- 7 Diphthongization of /s/: *puabio* for POPULO 'district'.
- 8 Prothetic /e-/: *escr[i]psi* for SCRIPSI 'I wrote'.
- 9 Syncope: *cadraio* for CATENATUM 'padlock', *cargatura* for

CARRICATURA 'load', *domno* for DOMINO 'lord', *-ebis* for -IBILES 'able', *benefectria* for (Low Latin) BENEFACTORIA.

10 Merger of /b/ and /w/: *lebaron* for LEUARUNT 'they raised', *yalbatore* for SALVATORE 'saviour', *cauallo* for CABALLU 'horse', *ceuata* 'barley' (deriv. of CIBUS), *uaria* for BARBA 'beard', *tiui-e* for -TIBI, *uouis* for VOBIS 'to you (pl.)', *nouis* for NOBIS 'to us', *autiacione* for HABITATIONE 'dwelling'; *uocauatur* for UOCABATUR 'he was called', *migrabit* for MIGRAUIT 'he migrated'.

11 /-nt/ > /-n/: *lebaron*, *talieron* 'they cut'.

12 Merger of /-t/ and /-d/: *aput* for APUD 'at', *aliut* for ALIUD 'other'.

13 Merger through palatalization of /tj/ and /kj/: *uendiciones* for UENDITIONES 'sales', *porcione* for PORTIONE 'part', *donacionis* for DONATIONIS 'of giving', *populacione* for POPULATIONE 'population'.

14 Deletion of intervocalic /d/: *Freinandici* 'Fernández', deriv. of *Fredinando* (anthroponym).

15 Deletion of /g/ before /j/: *Lejone* for LEGIONE 'Leon'.

16 Deletion of /h/: *abuimus* for HABUIMUS 'we had', *abeatis* for HABEATIS 'you might have', *autiacione* for HABITATIONE, *eredi-tauerunt* for HEREDITAUERUNT 'they inherited'.

17 Deletion of /-m/: dozens of examples throughout documents.

18 Deletion of /n/ before /s/: *leonefis* for LEONENSIS 'Leonese'.

19 Replacement of intervocalic *p*, *t*, *c* by *b*, *d*, *g*: *abidura* for HABITURA 'having (fut.)', *abut* for APUD 'at', *acebit* for ACCEBIT 'he took', *artigulo* for ARTICULO 'article', *ederna* for ETERNA 'eternal', *episcobus* for EPISCOPUS 'bishop', *eredidade* for HEREDITATE 'inheritance', *excomunigatus* for EXCOMMUNICATUS 'excommunicated', *exido* for EXITO 'gone away', *mader* for MATER 'mother', *nebores* for NEPOTES 'grandchildren', *nodicia* for NOTICIA 'notice', *pacifigas* for PACIFICAS 'you pacify', *plaguit* for PLACUIT 'it pleased', *prado* for PRATO 'meadow', *probria* for PROPRIA 'own', *rodundo* for ROTUNDO 'round', *confirmada* for CONFIRMATA 'confirmed', *semedarium* for SEMETARIUM 'of footpath', *Sebano* for STEPHANO 'Stephen', *suber* for SUPER 'above', *subra* for SUPRA 'above', *teridario* for TERRITORIO 'territory', *tidulus* for TITULUS 'title', *undigare* for VINDICARE 'to venge oneself', and *uoluntade* for VOLUNTATE 'will'.

I hope through the foregoing enumeration of features to have demonstrated that even if we do not take those documents as phonetic transcriptions, we may still extract from them a wealth of information directly relevant to the synchronic phonology of tenth-

and eleventh-century Leonese. Moreover, they may also help us to establish the absolute chronology of certain important sound changes. Thus, while Hispanists may not be thrilled to find evidence for, say, loss of /h/ and /-m/, monophthongization of Lat. /aj/, merger of /b/ and /w/, etc., changes known to have occurred centuries – if not a full millennium – earlier, they may well be tickled to chance upon – in a Leonese document dated 980 – definitive evidence for metathesis of /s/ and /j/, closing of /a/ in contact with tautosyllabic /j/, and monophthongization of /ej/ (*kefoj* for CASEOS).

I wish to devote the remainder of this paper to the last feature cited in the above list, namely pervasive replacement of letters representing the Latin voiceless stop phonemes by their voiced counterparts. Curiously enough, on the interpretation of this feature at least, Wright seems to have been in complete agreement with Menéndez Pidal, for whom recurrent use of *b*, *d*, or *g* in lieu of correct *p*, *t*, or *c* was a sure sign that intervocalic voicing was under way in León by the late tenth century. Though Wright declined to address the issue directly, his transcriptions (1982: 167) of *salutem*, *placuit*, *probria*, *suber*, *domniga*, *iloco*, *rrodundo*, *abut*, *ludigare*, *potestatem*, and *dubpiata*, from an early tenth-century Leonese document as [salúde], [plógo], [próbrja], [sóbre], [doníga], [λwégo], [rodóndo], [ábo], [zulgáre], [podestáde], and [ðobláda] make his adherence to Menéndez Pidal's position explicit. To my way of thinking, however, such mis-spellings suggest more than just voicing.

To understand why this should be so, we must keep two important considerations in mind. The first, hinted at above, is that, while non-contrastive use of previously discrete graphemes constitutes all but conclusive proof of phonemic merger, strictly allophonic changes will not as a rule be represented in writing (see Penzl 1957: 200–1; 1971: 23; and 1982; and Puentes Romay 1986). This important principle follows logically from Sapir's observation (1933) that speakers are not consciously aware of allophonic alternations in their native systems; the only distinctions they 'hear' are those with contrastive value in their own phonemic systems. If speakers fail to 'hear' and are not cognizant of subphonemic variation, a necessary consequence is that such variation will not be reflected in orthography.

The second consideration, specific to the history of Hispano-Romance, is that prior to voicing of intervocalic surds, intervocalic voiced stops were spirantized and – in some instances – deleted. Spirantization of /b/ and that phoneme's subsequent merger with

/w/, datable on epigraphic evidence to the early Empire (see Grandgent 1908: 134-5), are reflected in all Romance languages, while evidence for spirantization of /d/ and /g/, which probably occurred a century or two later, is present in all Neo-Latin tongues save Rumanian and, perhaps, Tuscan Italian. There can be no doubt, in the light of such misspellings as *peones* for PEDONES 'splay-foot', *Diago* for DIDACUS (anthroponym), *Araon* 'Aragon', and *pao* for PAGO 'country district', that spirantization (and deletion) pre-dated the documents studied by Menéndez Pidal.

The key is that mere voicing of intervocalic /p/, /t/, and /k/ would have occasioned no phonemic merger, in so far as voiced stop phonemes in that same position would invariably have been pronounced as spirants at that time. Otherwise stated, the phonemic distinction of voiceless vs voiced stop would have been realized phonetically as voiced stop vs voiced spirant. In this scenario, speakers would have been completely unaware of such voicing and would consequently have had no conceivable motivation for writing /p/, /t/, and /k/ as *b*, *d*, and *g*.

What I am proposing is that massive confusion of the Latin voiceless with voiced stop graphemes constitutes unassailable proof that the corresponding phonemes had merged prior to the composition of the documents in Leonese Vulgar Latin. To put it in another way, the transition from the Classical Latin three-term system of occlusive contrasts (i.e., geminate voiceless vs simple voiceless vs voiced stop phonemes) to the two-term system characteristic of Modern Spanish, whose voiceless stop phonemes contrast only with voiced stop phonemes (realized as spirants in postvocalic position), had been fully accomplished – at least in Leon – prior to AD 980. The precise phonetic mechanism responsible for the merger must have been a second round of spirantization, this time affecting phonetic voiced stops derived from 'underlying' voiceless ones by the voicing rule. Schematically represented, the relative chronology is as follows:

- 1 spirantization of Latin voiced stops;
- 2 voicing of Latin voiceless stops;
- 3 spirantization of voiced allophones of Latin voiceless stops (i.e., the output of 2 above).

If this analysis is correct, then we may suppose, with Alarcos Llorach (1965: 264), that the phonemic contrast of voiced stop vs voiced spirant, assumed by many historians of Spanish (see, e.g., A. Alonso 1967: 63) to have persisted throughout the medieval period,

had in fact been lost before the appearance of the earliest vernacular documents. In fact, that merger may have pre-dated the debut of Hispano-Romance written vernaculars by a margin of centuries, given the two instances of 'voicing' (*felgarias* < *FILICARIA* 'covered with ferns' and *sebaratus* for *SEPARATUS* 'severed') present in the earliest original Asturian document studied by Menéndez Pidal (1950: 240-1), traceable to AD 775. The earliest reliable evidence from other parts of Spain dates from roughly a century before (see Menéndez Pidal 1950: 253-6; and Castellani 1955, who discredited Carnoy's attribution of IMDAUR to the second century AD).

Finally, we recall that Menéndez Pidal's prime motivation for viewing Leonese Vulgar Latin as a 'precious survival' from the remote Middle Ages was the prior attestation of a similar brand of Latin in Merovingian France. Consulting Menéndez Pidal's source of information on Merovingian Latin, namely J. Pirson's 1909 study, we read the following descriptions of the treatment of intervocalic stops: 'Entre deux voyelles, *b* et *p* sont transcrits par *v*' (p. 892); 'Entre deux voyelles... la dentale sonore prend souvent la place de la dentale sourde' (p. 896); 'Les scribes ne font pas plus de distinction entre les explosives palatales [i.e., 'velar'] intervocaliques qu'ils ne font entre les dentales' (900); and, finally, 'Les copistes de l'époque mérovingienne et carolingienne font de la dentale sonore et de la dentale sourde un emploi tout à fait arbitraire, sans aucun rapport avec la prononciation de l'époque' (897). Unlike Pirson, I maintain that such orthographic anarchy has everything to do with the (vernacular) pronunciation of the period. As in Leon, such confusion provides conclusive evidence of merger of the Classical Latin simple voiceless and voiced stop series. We are thus free to interpret spelling lapses characterizing both Merovingian and Leonese Vulgar Latin as the effects on orthographic usage of similar developments in the respective vernacular phonological systems, predictable during periods of relatively low educational standards.

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17 Syntactic aspects of Latinate texts of the Early Middle Ages

Robert Blake

In 1982, Wright published *Late Latin and Early Romance*, in which he claimed, among other things, that the Latinate forms of many Peninsular writings before the eleventh century belie their actual purpose of representing one or more registers of Hispano-Romance. According to Wright, the abrupt appearance of Romance-looking documents after the eleventh century resulted from a new adherence to a Carolingian orthographic principle of one letter to one sound, which was part of a greater educational reform designed to improve the Latin skills of the day.

For writings before the eleventh century, Wright posits a series of correspondences for reading aloud: for example, intervocalic voiceless stops become voiced fricatives, as in *vita* > [biða]; tonic mid vowels are realized as falling diphthongs, as in *terra* > [tjera]; or an accusative ending such as *-um* is pronounced [o], as in *manum* > [mano]. In order to read materials written in these older, more traditional spellings, only simple word-recognition was required.

While these types of modifications when reading aloud rely on simple word-recognition, syntactic reprocessing is another matter. Archaic syntactic patterns present the reader with a more formidable cognitive task which significantly complicates, if not makes altogether impossible, a successful reading performance.

And reading aloud is the key issue when considering the Peninsular documents that are available from the eighth to the eleventh century. In the main, they are Church records whose legalistic nature leaves little doubt that they were intended to be read aloud and understood by literate and illiterate citizens alike.¹ The performance aspect is often explicitly acknowledged in the text, as the following late ninth-century fragment clearly shows (Ubieta Arteta 1976: 12): 'Ego Vitulus, cum fratre meo Erbigio legente, audivimus.'

If Peninsular Latin documents are, in fact, a textual representation of some (presumably, high) register of Hispano-Romance clothed in traditional spellings, as Wright has claimed, then the syntactic patterns should, at the very minimum, closely parallel those of Medieval Spanish. In accordance with this assumption, the present study seeks to add more weight to Wright's thesis by examining the word order of a small sample of Peninsular documents from the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. But first some idea of Spanish word order is required.

Modern Spanish word order has traditionally been described as SVO, having evolved from Latin, a non-rigid SOV language (Wanner 1987: 380).² In spoken Spanish, however, there is little doubt that VSO – or, more simply, VO, with an unexpressed Subject – is the most common pattern, for both Modern (Green 1976: 10) and Medieval Spanish (England 1980, 1983, 1984; Bosson 1984).³

Theoretical analyses of Modern Spanish word order increasingly stress a base structure which is also VO in nature. The VSO order is preferred by those who use Greenberg's typological approach (Greenberg 1963; Green 1976), while a VOS order is assumed by the generativists who adhere to a strict interpretation of VP-constituency (Contreras 1987; Westphal 1986; Groos and Bok-Bennema 1986).⁴ Despite formal differences, both these theoretical accounts would interpret the traditionally championed SVO pattern as merely one manifestation (granted, the most frequent one) of several possible preverbal, topicalized constructions in Modern Spanish, as outlined in (1):⁵

- (1) Topicalized Structures in Modern Spanish
 - a. Unmarked order: V(S)O
Le escribe (Juan) la carta a Lola.
 - b. Topicalized subject: SVO
Juan le escribe la carta a Lola.
 - c. Topicalized direct object: O₁V(S)O₂
La carta se la escribe (Juan) a Lola.
 - d. Topicalized indirect object: O₂V(S)O₁
A Lola le escribe (Juan) la carta.

Returning again to the point of departure, many scholars seem to agree that Latin was originally an SOV language. Whatever the actual mechanism, then, which induced the shift from Latin SOV to Romance VO (cf. Harris 1976; Green 1976; Vincent 1976; Wanner 1987), a rather radical syntactic change did occur and should

manifest itself at some point in the written tradition. But if England's (1980, 1983, 1984) results are correct, there is no discernible Peninsular word-order development between twelfth and fifteenth century which might testify to an OV-VO switch. In other words, Spanish has always exhibited a basic VO pattern ever since its sudden textual appearance in the eleventh century. What about the word order of texts written before the eleventh century? If Latin writing represents Romance speech, then a dominant VO pattern should also surface in these earlier texts.

Following this line of reasoning, the present study will examine the syntactic patterns found in the ninth-, tenth-, and eleventh-century documents from the *Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla* (Ubieta Arieta 1976). Notwithstanding the obvious formulaic portions of these legalistic charters, their basic syntactic nature will be shown to reflect that of Hispano-Romance.

This particular chartulary was chosen because the famous eleventh-century *Glossa Emilianenses*, one of the first known examples of distinctly phonetic writing in Hispano-Romance, was produced at San Millán.⁷ The *Cartulario* itself is also one of the best-preserved corpora of Peninsular writings from the period in question. It offers the researcher a fairly uniform linguistic domain of legal transactions, bills of sale, property donations, depositions, and minor charters of privileges, as transacted and overseen by the clerics at San Millán. In other words, the *Cartulario* provides a fixed slate of scribal parameters.

In a previous study (Blake 1987), I briefly examined the grammatical 'errors' (i.e. deviations from the norms of Classical Latin) contained in eleventh-, twelfth-, and thirteenth-century documents from another Castilian chartulary, *El Cartulario de San Pedro de Arlanza* (Serrano 1925). For manuscripts before the eleventh century, this type of comparative approach is best exemplified by Bastardas y Parera's (1953) meticulous study of Early Medieval Peninsular Latin. With respect to case endings, for instance, Bastardas y Parera (1953: 16) states 'de una simple lectura de nuestros documentos [del VIII al XI] parece deducirse que los escribas usan cualquier caso en cualquier función'.

The morphological confusions described by Bastardas y Parera are well known to Hispanic philologists and, traditionally, have been cited as proof that *bajo latín* was actually spoken by at least part of the Castilian speech community. In other words, a segment of the community was diglossic, speaking a degenerate form of Latin known as *bajo latín* (or *latín bárbaro*) alongside a Hispano-

vernacular, for which there is no written record until around the eleventh century.⁸ The logical implication is that these early Latin texts provide phonetic transcriptions for the *baso latin* that coexisted with the Romance vernacular.

This traditional interpretation runs contrary to two linguistic facts: first, that few writing systems are strictly phonetic representations of speech (because phonetics is only marginally necessary for reading and tradition often plays a more influential role in determining scribal conventions); and second, that true diglossic speech communities, as described by Ferguson (1959), are relatively uncommon.

These contradictions can be avoided, however, by supposing that these Latin texts were meant all along to convey at least one register of the vernacular using the only available literary tools of the day, an archaic morphological and orthographic system loosely based on Latin conventions. This interpretation concurs well with what Hoenigswald (1960: 7) has described as 'the conservatism of an uninterrupted scribal tradition ... [where] language continues to be represented as though it had not changed'. Deviant spellings then become important indications of attempts to readapt the script to the changed state of the spoken language (Hoenigswald 1960: 8). This new interpretation of Latin writing not only squarely addresses the problem of spelling evolution and morphological confusions, but also obviates the need to imagine a diglossic community in Spain during the early medieval period. This interpretation in no way rules out the existence of different registers within the Medieval Castilian speech community located along a normal sociolinguistic continuum.

There are some precedents for this new viewpoint. Many philologists have been struck by the similarities between these early texts and Old Spanish, although they have been unable to make that final deductive leap that these scribes were actually writing in Romance using Latin conventions. For example, Jennings (1940: 314) describes the documents from the *Cartulario de San Vicente de Oviedo* in the following terms:

In the phonology only one characteristic is almost completely lacking: diphthongization of *e* and *o*. In the morphology we see clear signs of Romance endings in the nouns and adjectives. In the syntax of the cases, the prepositions, the demonstratives, and the verbs, we see what Old Spanish is *to be*. (my emphasis)

Bastardas y Parera (1953: xxv) has a similar impression as a result

of his study of other documents from this same period: 'Se admite en ellos [los documentos], por ignorancia o por una decidida intención de acercarse al lenguaje corriente, gran abundancia de construcciones correspondientes al romance coetáneo'.

Phonological and morphological evidence has primarily fuelled this debate; word order is rarely referred to. Syntax, however, as I have previously explained, cannot be manipulated or reconstructed as easily while reading aloud and, therefore, would serve well in the task of evaluating the linguistic status of these early medieval texts.

The present study must begin, however, by looking at Latin word order as found in the writings from Plautus (second century BC) to the *Peregrinatio ad loca sancta* (fourth century AD). Although different research methods make comparisons difficult, I offer a summary distilled from Wanner (1987) and Adams (1976, 1977) in Table 17.1, which lists the proportional VO patterning for Latin prose found in main clauses.⁹

Table 17.1 VO order in main clauses of Latin texts^{*}

Source (by centuries)	Wanner (% VO)	Adams (% VO)
-II		
-II		
I		
II		
III		
IV		
Twelve Tables		0
Plautus		38
Cena Trimalchionis	49	
Terentianus	85	74
Italia	87	
Peregrinatio	75	82

^{*} The symbol '-' means results are unavailable.

The results from Table 17.1 make it strikingly clear that VO was the favoured syntactic pattern for whatever was being spoken (Vulgar Latin?) by the fourth century. After the *Peregrinatio*, researchers generally jump to the post-eleventh-century documents, which are remarkably similar to the syntactic patterns of Modern Spanish, as discussed above (England 1980, 1983, 1984).

The gap I wish to fill lies in between the eighth and the eleventh century. Compare the results of Table 17.1 with those of Table 17.2 derived from the present study of the *Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla*. In Table 17.2, the percentages have been computed from documents concerned with small legal transactions, excluding royal decrees and charters where the style tends to be excessively ceremonial. Tables 17.1 and 17.2 can only indicate gross trends, but

Table 17.2 Word-order patterns in the *Cartulario**

Word order	IX	X	XI
% SOV	12	19	13
% OV(S)O	6	1	11
% SVO	38	38	45
% V(S)O	44	37	38
Total % VO	82	75	83

Source: Ubieta Arce (1976).

* Royal charters not included.

even so, the percentage of VO sentences in the early medieval period is not significantly different from the basic patterns found in the *Peregrinatio*.

Yet there certainly are major differences in the vocabulary and phraseology between a fourth-century Latin text, such as the *Peregrinatio*, and ninth-century one, such as the fragment from the *Cartulario* given in (2). In order to read (2) successfully as Hispano-Romance, the reader must occasionally perform a few low-order syntactic operations, such as inserting functor words like articles or possessive markers, but nothing more.

(2) No. 19 (899-912)¹⁰

- a. Ego Oveco Nunnuz trado ad ipsa regula in valle
(Yo Ovego Muñoz doy a esa regla en el Valle)
- b. de Fridas una vinea, latus de Val Nuni
(de Frías una viña, lado [sito] del Valle de Muñoz)
- c. Ego Alburia et uxor mea Gutina tradimus
(Yo Alburia y mi mujer Gudina damos)
- d. ad ipsa regula de salceto uno agro in Salgoa,
(a esa regla de Salcedo un campo in Salgoa.)
- e. ad VI modis seminatura
(a [cambio de] 6 moyos [de sembradura].)
- f. Comite Monnio Nunnuz in Castilla.
(Conde Muñoz Núñez en Castilla.)

The text, from a syntactic point of view, appears very readable to contemporary speakers of Spanish. The few unfamiliar words, such as *agro*, *uxor*, *tradere*, and *regula*, do not contradict this statement. In fact, it becomes even more recognizable as Romance after having applied a few of Wright's correspondences. For example, the *r* of *seminatura* (2e) is voiced; and the nasals, brought into contact

through syncope, dissimilate and strengthen to [m-br], the expected result in Castilian (e.g. *nomine* [nom-bre]).

Romance syntactic patterns, like those of (2), tend to cluster in the main body of each document in the *Cartulario*. Other portions of the text, especially the beginnings and ends, are often crafted in petified Latin phrases, similar to the examples given in (3). These formulae are repeated over and over again throughout the different legal transactions recorded in the *Cartulario*.

(3)

a. No. 10 (871: first two lines)

In nomine ingenite, prolisque ac procedentis, conexa unitus
semper natura Deitatis.

b. No. 13 (872?)

Si quis vero homo extraneare voluerit, sit anathematizatus et
percussus et infernum voragine sit dimersus, amen.

Sections like (3) tend to be highly formulaic, as befits the opening or closing of a public ceremony, and help create the overall impression that the text was actually read aloud to the populace in some form of Late Latin. But even highly formulaic sections seem to follow a Romance word order in some *Cartulario* documents. Compare the OV syntax of (3b) above with that of (4) below, written a century later:

(4) No. 139 (1009)

Si quis homo voluerit trare de hac regula, de Domino Deo sit
excommunicatus et confusus, anathematatus permaneat cum Iuda
traditore in inferno inferiori, amen.

The syntactic pattern of (4) is clearly V(S)O and can be read easily with the aid of a few Old Spanish glosses: *voluerit* from *velle* 'querer', *tra(h)ere* 'retardar', *permanere* 'permanecer'.

Without question, some scribes were more adept than others in writing not only true Latin prose but also Latin prose, especially if royal parties were involved, as shown by (5), a document drafted by the royal scribe of King García Sánchez I.

(5) No. 30 (943)

Igitur divina inspirante clemencia, qui sepe gratis beneficium prestat
indignis, de bonis quod ipse nobis benigne largitus est, ad laudem
nominis eiusdem creatoris et ob honorem sanctissimi Emiliani,
presbiteri et confessoris, offerimus et concedimus ex toto corde et
totia voluntate villam in confinium Naele positam, antiquo usu

Villar de Torre dictam, integra et sana, cum omnibus hominibus, terris, vineis, ortis, pomariis, molinis, domibus, cum exitu et regressu, et pascuis, cum montibus ac defesis, cum omnibus mobilibus et immobilibus, quicquid ad eandem villam pertinet vel aliquando pertinuit ... (emphasis mine)

The complex single sentence shown in (5) is a run on, which begins with a formulaic invocation and ends with a detailed list of personal property. Nevertheless, the declarative parts of it are still VO.

The same VO pattern holds true for the example given in (6), written by a tenth-century scribe who scrupulously maintains Latin case markers and avoids the use of prepositions to assign Case. The text can still be read aloud in Romance in a straightforward manner with only a basic knowledge of Latin case endings. In fact, the reader does not really need to possess even this basic morphological knowledge since fixed word order and semantic features (e.g. [=animate]) carry the major burden of determining the grammatical roles. Consequently, a modern reader has no trouble assigning the role of 'indirect object' to *Deo* or that of 'direct object' to *villam*.

(6) No. 110 (996)
damus et confirmamus *Deo* et *Sancto Emiliano*, Christi confessori, et tibi patri spirituali Ferrutio abbati ceterisque fratribus ibidem *Deo* regulariter servientibus, *unam villam* que dicitur Terrero que est sita inter ... (emphasis mine)

For other non-royal texts, the level of writing skill is understandably less impressive. In this case, differences in writing skill show up in small degrees. Compare the fragments given in (7) and (8). The scribe in (7) seems to command a slightly surer hand with case endings than his contemporary. Still, both texts can be read, without special syntactic modifications, by the modern reader versed in Wright's phonetic algorithms and familiarity with a few vocabulary items such as *poniferis* 'frutales' or *ferragine* 'herrerón'.

(7) No. 18 (912)
Ego Apre presbiter sic me trado, pro remedio anime mee, cum omnibus rebus meis et que ad me pertinent, ad ecclesia Sancti Emeteri et Celedoni et tibi abbati Sisenando, presbitero de Taranco, illa quarta racione in terras, in mazanares, in omnibus poniferis, in casares, una cetera hereditate, de illo Arco usque ad agro de Venze malo, et iuxta termino de Lieto; de alia pars, termino de Senioredo presbitero; in Lizinio, in illa ferragine, inter ambas vias, illa quarta racion.

(8) No. 21 (932?)

Ego Eita Hoco de Salinas dono ad Sancti Felicis quatuor eras. Et ego donna Momadona de Cereso, quatuor eras que comparavi de ita Hacurio, et alias quatuor eras de Mer Nunnu. Et alias tres eras comparatas de Mer Galindo iuxta de Oveco Manero.

Finally, the passages given below in (9)–(13) all mix Latin morphology with a thoroughly Romance word order, complete with clitic pronouns and prepositions. The example given in (10) is particularly striking in its similarity to Modern Spanish.¹¹

(9) No. 11 (872?)

Hanc ergo nos hedicavimus hunc atrium Sancti Martini, fecimus domus et exalidavimus ecclesias per manibus nostris. ... Istam totas rem iam dicta ego Paulus abba et Iohannes presbiter et Nunno clerico nos illa tradimus ad *patrono nostro sancti Martini episcopi* pro remedio animarum nostrarum in ipsa regula deservientium. (emphasis mine)

(10) No. 99 (986)

Ego Ionti presbiter de Sancti Felicis de Auca illo die quando *me saccaron* de capivitate de terra de mozlemes, abbates et fratres de Sancti Felicis dederunt in mea redemptione C.L. solidos argenti. Et ego Ionti presbiter sic roboro duos meos agros in territorio de villa Domino Assur ad *Sancti Felicis*. Uno agro est iuxta villa, latus serna de Sancti Felicis; de alia pars, carrera. Alio agro in lombia, iuxta limite de Amuna. (emphasis mine)

(11) No. 197 (1032)

Placuit nobis et vendimus ad vos germanos Oveco Belascoz et Citi Belascoz vinea nostra propria qui est in viniarum de Granione: ... Et dedistis precium quantum [sic] *nobis placuit*, id est quinquaginta III solidos de argento; in roboratione, XXV panes, et argenzata et media de vino, et uno ariete, et tozino. Et nos accepimus totum. ... (emphasis mine)

(12) No. 198 (1033)

... et crepantavi oculum *at meum congermanum* de Aquilare, et proinde debebam calumniam. Similiter habebam in ortu meo puteum aque, et cecidit in eum unus puer, et mortuus est; et *tenebant me* pro illo homicidio, et non potui pacare tam grande calumniam, et pactavi pro me domna Oneca CCCC solidos; et *solvit me* de isto pecto. Unde ego *mito illam* et corrobore totam meam hereditatem quam habeo in Ecclesiastena, tam domos quam etiam terras et vineas et quantum invenire potuerit meo pertunente, totum ab integro, et *confirmo illud sibi* et filiis suis, quietum et sine ulla

inquietudine possidendum in perpetuum. (emphasis mine)

(13) No. 217 (1040)

Et accipi de te in precio caballo castaneo, valente D solidos, Pesigna nominato, illo qui fuit que tibi dedi comite Friedinando Munioz, et abeo illam apud me, et nichil contra te remanet precium. (emphasis mine)

Looking at these five examples as a whole, I find it disconcerting that they exhibit no dramatic orthographic evolution from the ninth to the eleventh century. In fact, the tenth-century document shown in (10) strikes me as slightly more Romance-looking than (11) or (12), both eleventh-century documents. If this writing were to reflect a *bajo latín* spoken in a diglossic speech community, according to the traditional view, it must have been a very stable speech community indeed, judging from samples like (9)–(13). But why should such a stable diglossia, maintained for over three centuries, die out so rapidly, in a textual sense, after the implementation of Carolingian writing practices? Moreover, it seems implausible to say, on the one hand, that scribes used phonetic principles to write *bajo latín*, but, on the other, needed over three centuries to learn how to accomplish the same trick with the Romance vernacular. Why should scribes take so long to consolidate Romance orthographic conventions after the eleventh century, if phonetic writing were already commonplace? The variety among Old Spanish registers and dialects alone cannot explain the variations that plagued the first attempts to write Romance, including the glosses of San Millán and Silos. These quandaries, in conjunction with the aberrant case morphology already widely observed by philologists (Bastardas y Pàrrera 1953), make the traditional interpretation of these Latin texts unsatisfactory.

If phonetic writing was, however, an entirely new enterprise spurred on by the Carolingian reforms, no further explanation is necessary. A variety of Hispano-Romance registers would provide the common element lurking beneath these earlier documents from the *Cartulario*. The more proficient the scribe was, of course, the greater variety of written forms he could pen and later read aloud at public ceremonies – from styles that were ornately Latin to semi-Latin. That is what literacy must have meant in the Peninsular context during this early medieval period: different individual proficiencies in Latin and Latin writing, which would account for the divergent forms found throughout the *Cartulario* as a whole.

If diglossia – Latin (High) and Hispano-Romance vernacular (Low) – did exist at some former moment in time, perhaps at the end of the Roman Empire, surely it had faded away by the early medieval period in question. Ferguson (1959: 339) describes the fate of all H dialects that do not become the standard as becoming 'a learned or liturgical language studied only by scholars or specialists and not used actively in the community'. In the Peninsular case, the Latin orthographic practices used by scribes into the eleventh century and beyond simply obfuscated the reality of the linguistic situation in the community.

The intent of this study, then, is not to deny that some early medieval scribes on certain occasions wrote impeccable Latin – this is self-evident, and examples abound – but, rather, to show that Latin texts like those of the *Cartulario* were read aloud and understood by people who only spoke Hispano-Romance.¹² If the chartulary's orthographic appearance does not immediately alert us to the vernacular base, I have endeavoured to show that their consistent VO syntactic patterning should. A crude attempt was begun here to develop new syntactic tests that can be used to determine whether a particular text is Latin in substance or merely Latin in appearance. Admittedly, the study of syntax enjoins special difficulties, which might explain its minor role up to now as a diagnostic tool in Romance philological studies. Nevertheless, syntactic analysis can help focus scholarly attention on a largely unexploited body of literature from the eighth to the eleventh century and, in turn, make a valuable contribution to the history of the Spanish language.

NOTES

- 1 There are no Latin documents ('textos vulgares') in Spanish before the eighth century, according to Bastardas y Pàrrera (1953: xxv).
- 2 Wanner (1987: 378) seems to recognize implicitly the relevance of a VSO typology for Spanish, but only as part of its evolution: 'If Latin is of the SOV type, then Romance is SVO, perhaps closer to VSO in Old Romance, but definitely of a different type from the Latin base'. Wanner (*ibid.*) also asserts that VSO in Classical Latin was a stylistically marked type used for verbal emphasis and contrast, a fact which might explain its origin and eventual implementation in Hispano-Romance.
- 3 Green (1976: 9) states that morphology has an inherent bias towards VSO order since, even when S is dropped, the verb morphology indicates S in verbal-final position.
- 4 Remember that Greenberg himself (1966: 79) predicted that VSO

languages will have an SVO stylistic alternative, but the reverse is not true.

5 Note that only one preverbal topicalized NP is allowed in Spanish. The term 'topicalization' is used here in the strictly grammatical sense. Pragmatic topicalization – such as theme/rheme or old/new information contrasts – are discussed by Silva-Corvalán (1981). Her data suggest that SVO order is strongly favoured in discourse when S maintains the same reference (i.e. old information). According to Silva-Corvalán, preverbal subjects are especially favoured by intransitive verbs.

6 In Medieval Spanish, the indirect object occurs preverbally less frequently than does the direct object (cf. England 1983). This observation was confirmed in the present study as well.

7 The dating of the *Glosas Emilianenses* and *Glosas Silenses* remains somewhat controversial. See Wright (1986) for a brief discussion of this question.

8 Menéndez Pidal (1926: para. 95) postulates a trilingual situation for the kingdom of León: the Romance vernacular, *bajo latín*, and *latín popular leonés*.

9 I have tried to limit the data to main clauses to avoid the syntactic complications introduced by subordinate clauses. For instance, VO order is obligatory in relative clauses: e.g. *El hombre (que vio a Jorge) que a Jorge vio ya salió* 'The man who saw George already left'. The numbering is that used in Ubieta Arista's edition of the *Cartulario* (1976). The document's date is given in parentheses, followed by a question mark when a precise date is unavailable.

10 With a few of the eleventh-century documents, the Latin face seems to crumble almost completely, as in the case of the following example (no. 231, 1044). The case morphology is restricted to the accusative, with the genitive function being supplanted by the preposition *de*; digraphs such as *nn*, *gn*, and *gg* are employed for the corresponding palatal sounds of the vernacular; the sequence *in illa* has assimilated to the common vernacular form *enna*; there are occasional lapses in verb morphology (*ficiesse* without *-t*), and *matod* with a hypercorrected *d* at the end; main-clause word order is strictly SVO, and pronominal verbs like *irse* (e.g. *et ibat se*) have also appeared.

In Aventinus habent duas defesas: una de los labrados usque ad semdero qui exit per serum et vadit ad Valleziello. . . . Et si fillaren aliquem de Villa Gundissalvo facientem ligna, pro asino duos arienzos donet; et pro homine, uno arienzo. . . . Et in diebus regis Garsie si ganato ficiesse dannum in sernas aut in vineas de rege, aut de Sancti Emilian, por bovem uno argenzo; et si non, apreciatura. . . . Et in dias de rege Garsia, Sancho Lopez fuit custiero, et in serna de rege matod I puerco de Villa Gunzalo. Et rex Garsia mandavit peggare et serna apreciari et peggare. Et in dias de rege Garsia enna villa ubi uno germano aut tres ovieset uno alzariez mano por facendera; et alteros ibant se ubi volebant. Et si non abiet que alzasset manum, dimitebat totam suam hereditatem, et ibat se.

12 A good example from the *Cartulario* of Latin prose comes from text no. 361 (1067), composed at the Council of Bishops at Nájera. The

audience is a select group of highly educated clerics. This type of text clearly lies outside of the scope of the present study.

Quidam episcoporum nostre provincie contra nos insurrexerunt, census et tertias non sibi debitas ab ecclesiis nostris accipere voluerunt, quos omnes episcopos, nos ostensis privilegiis nostris et canonicis sententiis in generalibus conciliis, superavimus, et nostrum monasterium ab omni episcopali censu liberavimus.

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18 Latin or Romance? Graphemic variation and scripto-linguistic change in medieval Spain

António Emiliano

To L. F. Lindley Cintra

Examination of the mixed spelling of twelfth- and early thirteenth-century notarial Latin texts from Spain such as the long legal codes known as *Foros* or *Costumes* (Sp. *Fueros extensos*), and comparison of their varying Latin character with the fully romanized orthography of later Romance versions, raise two interesting questions:

- 1 Is the language represented in those texts Latin or Romance? And what is the exact nature of the apparent language mixture?
- 2 Was the change from Notarial Latin to Romance in the thirteenth-century Romance versions of the *Foros* a matter of translation or of orthographical change?

The first question, concerning the general problem of the degree of Latinity or Romanicity of notarial texts, has been traditionally put in terms of correctness, as the depreciatory expression *Latim bárbaro* (Ptg.)/*Latim bárbaro* (Sp.), still current among philologists and historians, eloquently shows; it refers to the supposed ignorance and 'unletteredness' of medieval notaries. If we ignore this traditional and culturally biased view, which can no longer be seriously considered, we can identify two basic approaches to Notarial Latin:

- 1 Notarial Latin is Latin: i.e., it is a vernacularized variety of Medieval Latin, 'latín arromanzado' (Menéndez Pidal 1980: 458; Lapesa 1981: 160), written with an admixture of vulgar forms (Vasconcellos 1966: 15).
- 2 Notarial Latin is Romance: i.e., it is a vernacular tradition of writing on which a 'camouflage of Latin' (Elcock 1975: 424) or a 'veneer of Latinity' (Wright 1982: 240) was superimposed.

Both these concepts of a *romanized Latin* or a *latinized Romance*

are ambiguous and misleading, in that they suggest or imply the existence of an established autonomous Romance tradition of writing that the scribes knew and used, but consciously and obstinately tried to disguise.

As regards the translation of the *Foros* into Romance in the thirteenth century, this question was never considered as a problem by traditional philologists (see Cintra 1959: xcvi), given the two-norm conception of the relation of Latin and Romance throughout the Middle Ages.

I would like to propose a strictly graphematic and scripto-linguistic approach to these questions, by considering Notarial Latin as a complex system for the written representation of a Romance Vernacular. Its mixed character results from the coexistence and interaction of different principles of graphemic mapping; these principles define different sets of Latin and Romance written forms within the orthographical repertoire. Variation between Latin and Romance indicates that Latin and Romance spellings were synchronically and functionally equivalent and that the predominant Latin element could be easily converted (at all levels of graphemic representation) into vernacular phonetics, morphology, and lexis.

I will first present a brief outline of the development of Romance Writing in relation to the Latin tradition. Second, I will consider the phenomena of graphemic variation and alternation, referring to data from a group of genetically related Leonese *Foros*.

LATIN ORTHOGRAPHICAL TRADITION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROMANCE WRITING

The existence of Latin orthography as the sole available tradition of writing throughout the Early Middle Ages is the single most important fact in the early history of Romance writing. The beginnings of a romanized tradition of writing lie ultimately in the complex scripto-linguistic situation of Medieval Romance-speaking nations, where the conservative orthography of Latin served as the basis for the written representation of the vernaculars.

As a consequence of its conservatism, Latin spelling, which was originally a phonographic system of writing, became increasingly opaque and logographic: morphological categories which had become obsolete in the spoken language were fully represented and preserved in the written code; the same happened to word forms, idioms, and formulae that survived only in their written form. In other words, Latin spelling, which had been conceived as an

orthography based on grapheme-phoneme correspondence (GPC), had by Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages become a mixed system, where some sequences of graphemes could relate directly to morphemes and meaning, rather than being mapped to an intermediate phonic level.

The processes of conversion involved in the transcription of spoken utterances and in the oralization of written texts became complex and difficult to master. Medieval notaries faced their most demanding and challenging problems when they had to transcribe vernacular items that did not have an accepted written form within Latin tradition, and particularly, when reading a document aloud, they had to oralize archaic written forms; i.e. spellings that were phonologically, morphologically, and even lexically outdated had to be converted into vernacular phonetics, morphology, and lexis. It was especially in situations such as these that innovations, deviations, and re-elaborations were likely to arise, leading to the development, as Sabatini has put it, of 'una tradizione di lingua scritta intermedia, che costituisce un vero preannuncio delle scriptae romanze' (Sabatini 1968: 349).

The basic principle behind the creation and development of Romance Writing, as opposed to unreformed Latin tradition, was phonemicization. Romance spellings aimed at transparency and consistency of grapheme-phoneme (GP) mapping; they were based on simple 'romanizing' rules such as:

- 1 avoid 'silent' letters;
- 2 avoid unpredictable GP-mappings;
- 3 reduce and restrict multiple choice in GP-mapping.

The scripto-linguistic change from Latin to Romance which came about in the Iberian Peninsula in the thirteenth-century involved a general extension of regular and transparent GP-mapping and the drastic reduction of inconsistent phonography and logography: it consisted in a gradual process of *de-latinitization*.

GRAPHEMIC VARIATION, SCRIPTO-LINGUISTIC CHANGE AND THE EMERGENCE OF ROMANCE ORTHOGRAPHY: THE EVIDENCE OF THIRTEENTH-CENTURY LEONESE FOROS

The following discussion is based on data from a group of four genetically related Leonese legal codes known collectively as the *Foros de Riba-de-Coa*, from a north-eastern area of Portugal which was part of the kingdom of León.¹ Two are written in 'Foral' Latin

– the *Foros de Alfaiates* (FA), from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century and the *Foros de Castelo Bom* (FCB), from the mid-thirteenth century; and the other two in Romance – the *Foros de Castelo Rodrigo* (FCR) and the *Foros de Castelo Melhor* (FCM) (both from the late thirteenth century). These texts illustrate different stages in the evolution of Romance writing in the thirteenth century, by presenting diverse orthographical solutions for the adaptation of the same textual material.

The peculiar and inextricable mixture of Latin and Romance in twelfth- and thirteenth-century texts like the Latin *Foros* can be better described and interpreted in terms of a varying and changing orthography rather than as a mixture of two orthographies or of two languages: this mixture results from graphemic variation and intra-textual graphemic alternation between Latin and Romance variants. Notarial Latin was not a different language from Romance, but a way of writing Romance before vernacular orthography was available. Consequently, the replacement of Latin by Romance in late thirteenth-century versions of the *Foros* can be explained as a change in spelling rather than as translation of Latin into Romance. This is borne out by the fact that patterns of cross-textual substitutions of Romance for Latin are very similar, if not identical, to patterns of intra-textual graphemic variation found in the Latin *Foros*: both cases are instances of romanization *qua* orthographical change.

Graphemic variation means that when writing the scribes were able to switch between different sets of orthographical forms: the writing system allowed them to use in the same text (sometimes in the same line) different interchangeable forms with an equivalent representational content. In this perspective Latin and Romance are no more than orthographical labels with no relation whatsoever to the degree of 'Latinity' or 'Romanicity' of the language of the text. Variation could occur at all levels of graphemic representation, and a single written word-form could exhibit variation at several levels. Three types of variation can be found in Notarial Latin:

- 1 *grapho-phonemic variation*: alternations in the written representation of phonemes, e.g. <iudicare> : iudgare> → [dʒulgar];
- 2 *grapho-morphemic variation*: alternations in the written representation of morphemes (see Table 18.1), e.g. <andaueit> : andaret : andare> → [andár];
- 3 *grapho-lexemic variation*: alternations in the written representation of lexemes (see Table 18.2), e.g. <percussit> : ferrit> → [frité].

Alternations and substitutions at the latter level have traditionally been treated as instances of lexical conversion or translation, justifying implicitly or explicitly a two-norm theory of Latin and Romance as conceptually distinct languages and orthographies in pre-thirteenth-century Spain.

A good example of a grapho-morphemic variable with Latin and Romance allographic variants is the written representation of the future subjunctive third person singular, which is overwhelmingly the most frequent verbal category in the *Foros* (due to their prescriptive character). Table 18.1 shows the Latin (LAT) and Romance (ROM) variants of the Leonese verbs *mandar*, *fazer*, and *auer*. In the last two verbs there is also grapho-phonemic variation in the written representation of the root. The Romance *Foros* present of course no LAT-variants.

The perfect and free interchangeability of Latin and Romance forms, as a matter of pure orthographical choice, is shown in examples (1–4) below, where different variants (italicized) of the same verb occur side by side in the same paragraph:

- (1) FA 54 Totus homo qui infermare et *mandare* pro sua anima et post alia uice *mandauerit*, ipsa manda postemera ualeat.
- (2) FA 465 Per tota nemiga aut forzia que *fezieren*, aut aueres que se enprestarent aut habuerint ad dare, si in las ferias fuerit facto, respondent illos qui lo *fecerint*.
- (3) FCB 220 Totus iudeus qui pescado *comparare* in uermes pectet I morabituim a los alcaldes: et si christi-anus *comparauerit* pora iudeus, pectet I morabituim a los alcaldes.
- (4) FCB 229 Qvolibet homo qui pignus *reuelaret* in uilla aud in aldea . . . Hoc est dictum, si *reuelauerit* pignus a los andadores et qui *reuelare* pignus a los VY^{er} pectet III morabituos. . .

The fact that the Romance versions show only ROM-variants means that LAT-variants were cross-textually replaced by corresponding romanized forms. Examples (5)–(9) illustrate the replacement of forms with LAT-endings:

- (5) FA 59 Manda que *mandauerit* uir mulieri sue aut mulier uiro suo usque ad medietatem cum ipsa manda et

alias mandas preste; et lo demais non prester.

FCR 12iv Manda que *mandare* marido a moller ou moller a marido, fasta la meetad preste; e de mas non preste.

(6) FA 102 Qui dampno *fecerit* in lino per la entrada pectet I solidum et por quanto dampno *fecerit* adprecienlo quasi sano et pectet alius tanto.

FCR 22i Qvi dano *fezere* [FCM *feziere*] en lino, porla entrada peyte I soldo e quanto dano *fezere* [FCM *feziere*], aprecienno assi como sano e peyte ouro tanto.

(7) FA 32 Qvi ad morador *habuerit* a firmare, firmet cum moradores aut cum uignos quales *habuerit*.

FCR 24ii Qvi a morador *ouer* [FCM *ouier*] a firmar, firme con moradores o con uizinos, quaes *ouer* [FCM *ouier*].

An important fact here is that, when autonomous Romance orthography emerged in the thirteenth century, ROM-forms were already available in the Notarial Latin tradition; they were not created from scratch expressly for writing documents in a completely vernacular fashion.

Moreover the change from Latin to Romance seems to have involved no more than a change in the number and type of graphemic variants: the use of ROM-variants was extended, while LAT-variants were simply dropped. Complete romanization was achieved by a gradual and protracted process of de-latinization. Perhaps the real discovery or invention in the development of Romance orthography was the possibility of dropping LAT-variants altogether, and that if LAT-variants were dropped, the written language of documents would look very different from traditional Latin writing and could perhaps be regarded as functionally and conceptually distinct.

The gradual reduction of the Latin element is found in the different incidence of LAT-variants in Latin *Foros* written with an interval of some decades. Comparison of the percentual incidence of LAT- and ROM-variants in FA and FCB reveals a significant decrease of Latin and increase of Romance in FCB (see Figure 18.1). FCB is more romanized than FA but still more latinized than FCR. Latinity and Romanicity *qua* orthographical labels are not fixed discrete points in a scale, but rather overlapping categories whose balance within a scribal tradition changes with time.

But reduction of LAT-variants is not only found between texts

	FA	FCB	FCR	FCM	phonetic transcription
mandar	LAT: <mandauerit> ROM: <mandaret> <mandar(c)>	LAT: <mandauerit> ROM: <mandaret> <mandar(c)>	-----	-----	[mandâr]
fazer	LAT: <fecerit> ROM: <fezier(e)> <fizier(c)>	LAT: <fecerit> ROM: <fezier(e)> <fizier(c)>	-----	-----	[fâdzîer]
auer	LAT: <habuerit> ROM: <ouier(c)> <habuerit>	LAT: <habuerit> ROM: <ouier(c)> <habuerit>	-----	-----	[ovîer]

Table 18.1 Intra-textual alternations and cross-textual substitutions of grapho-morphemic and grapho-phonemic variants in the *Foros de Riba-de-Coa* (thirteenth century)

Table 18.1 Intra-textual alternations and cross-textual substitutions of grapho-morphemic and grapho-phonemic variants in the

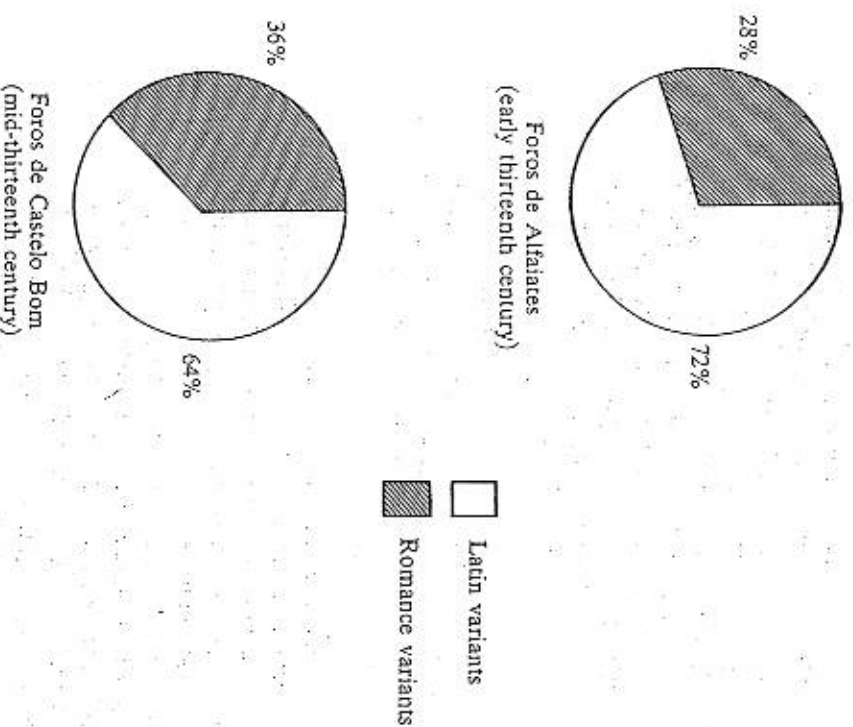


Figure 18.1 Graphemic variable: future subjunctive. Foros de Alfaiates vs Foros de Castelo Bom

written at different dates, but also, and perhaps more revealingly, between different textual zones of the same text. In fact, a pattern of intra-textual reduction of Latin variants clearly emerges when the rubrics and paragraphs of FA and FCB are considered separately. Each paragraph is headed by a rubric which contains either a transcription or an adaptation of the first words of the corresponding paragraph. The rubrics were a kind of a quick and easy reference system inside the text. Not surprisingly, rubrics show a greater degree of romanization than the paragraphs; in some cases this involves substitutions just like in the Romance texts, as examples (8)–(11) show:

- (8) FA 50 rubric: *Qui demandar adforciadura*
 para: *Oui demandaueri aforciadura de muliere*

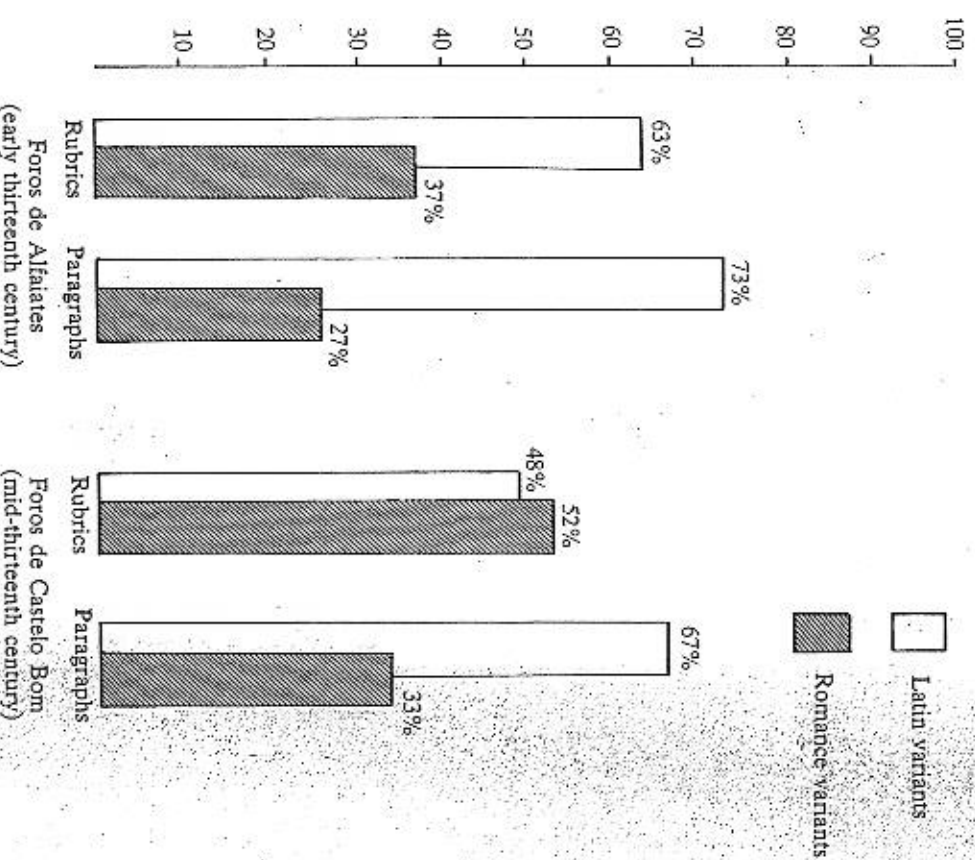


Figure 18.2 Graphemic variable: future subjunctive. Rubrics vs paragraphs

- (9) FA 414 rubric: *Quando uideri el rege a la uilla*
 para: *Quando ueneri el rege a la uilla*
 (10) FCB 89 rubric: *Qui cogiere uias in uinea*
 para: *Oui colligeret uias in uinea*
 (11) FCB 127 rubric: *Qui intrare cum alio*
 para: *Totus homo qui intraueri cum alio*

These substitutions are particularly interesting, because they occur in the same textual and orthographical environment and within the same text. The rubrics exhibit a significant increase of ROM-variants and decrease of LAT-variants (see Figure 18.2),

particularly in FCB with a remarkable difference of 20 points. These cases of intra-textual orthographical vernacularization mirror in all respects the process of cross-textual substitutions referred to above, and are also instances of ongoing scripto-linguistic change.

That Latin forms like <mandauerit>, <fecerit>, and <habuerit> in Table 18.1, were easily converted into vernacular [mandár], [fidzér], and [ovíér] when read aloud, is indicated by the high occurrence values of the LAT-variants, the existence of phonemically transparent and functionally equivalent ROM-variants, and the universal replacement in Romance texts by forms that are structurally identical to intra-textual ROM-variants.

Phonemic and morphemic conversion of Latinate spellings seems relatively straightforward when there is a historical link between the written forms of Latin and the spoken forms of Romance vernaculars.

On the other hand, phonemic conversion of Latin written forms with no lexical equivalents in Romance, and with no romanized variants, presented different and more complex problems. Reading aloud obsolete forms like, for instance, <uoluerit> or <occiderit> by using letter-to-sound correspondences would result in nonsense words to the majority of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Leonese speakers.

Only for those few people acquainted with *litterae*, was orthography a way of relating sounds to letters and letters to sounds in a linear and consistent fashion, at least in principle (Wright 1982: 105 *et passim*). Only for people trained in the 'New Latin' of the Roman Liturgy would straight grapho-phonemic conversion of Latin forms make any sense. But this in turn meant that reading aloud Notarial Latin as if it were Medieval Latin would result in a strange and nonsensical mixture of scholarly Latin and Romance forms from various historical stages.

Oralization in the context of unreformed Latin and Notarial Latin was more than matching vernacular phonetics to outdated spellings. Reading aloud of texts was not just a matter of applying GPC-rules, but of giving to the written signs possible vernacular significs. If not, there is no reason why <uoluerit> or <occiderit> could not have had a Romance pronunciation. But as it is, if written forms like <uoluerit> and <occiderit> have no romanized variants in the *Foros* and notarial documents in general, it is because there was no phonetic input to generate phonemically transparent forms.

The absence of grapho-phonemic variants of opaque Latin forms supports the view that these would have to be oralized via *rules of*

grapho-lexemic conversion, i.e. they would have to be read aloud like logograms through *letter-to-meaning correspondences*, where sequences of letters would bear no meaningful relation to sequences of sounds. <uoluerit> would be read as [kizíér], <noluerit> as [no(n) kizíér], and <occiderit> as [matár].

Although this may seem a bit farfetched, especially to a modern user of a GPC-based orthography, Latin opaque forms *did* occur in patterns of intra-textual variation and cross-textual substitution alongside more transparent but totally unrelated variants, a fact that bears the above interpretation out. Examples (12)–(14) show some alternations and substitutions of this type in FA, FCB, and FCR:

- (12) FA 64 ... Et postquam acceperit hoc et id *dimiserit* uel
maritum *acceperit* de lo duplato.
FCB 69 ... Et postquam acceperit hoc et lo *delexauerit* aut
uirum *acceperit* de lo duplado.
FCR 8iv ... E de poyz que tome aquesto e sio *lexare* e
marido *tomare* delo dublado.
(13) FA 27 rubric: Qui *pèrcusserit* aut messauerit
para: Qui *percusserit* aut messauerit uicinum ...
FCB 40 rubric: Qui messare aut *ferir*
para: Qui *percusserit* aut messauerit ad uicinum
...
FCR 2iiv rubric: Qui *firir* uizino
para: Qui *firir* o mesare a uizino ...
(14) FA 271 Alcaides qui a ad bolta aut baraiia uenirent et *ferire*
aut messare et lo uiderint alcaide sua pesquisa de
alcaide sit hata V morabitos et pectet ille qui
percusserit aut messauerit ...
FCB 268 Alcaides o uozeros que a bolta o a baraiia super-
uenerint et uiderint *ferir* o messare e lo uiere alcaide
o uozero firme usque V morabitos et pectet el
que *ferire* o el que messare ...
FCR 11viii Alcaides o iurados que a bolta o baralla sobre-
ueneren e uiren *ferir* o mesare e lo uiere alcaide o
iurado firme fasta en V morabitos e payte el que
ferire o messare ...

Cases of cross-textual substitutions like these in the Romance *Foros* could at first sight be considered as instances of translation of Latin into Romance, were it not for the fact that similar patterns of substitution and alternation also occur intra-textually, as examples (13) and (14) show, and in texts written down prior to the

emergence and generalized use of Romance orthography. The relation of synchronic equivalence in Notarial Latin between <perussent> and <ferit> is the same as between <fecerit> and <feziere> with the difference that the latter are diachronically related. <perussent> and <ferit>, as their free interchangeability in Latin texts tells, are *grapho-lexemic variants* with the same representational status. The excerpt in example (13) would then be pronounced as something like [ki fríer o mesár a vidíno], regardless of the more or less latinized character of its written representation.

This means that replacement of Latin opaque forms by more transparent ones involved only substitution of orthographical variants, without entailing translation (see the list of grapho-lexemic variants in Table 18.2). <uoluerit> and <occiderit> would be simply regarded as written representations of [kizíer] and [matár], and would be equivalent to <quesierit> and <mactauerit>, and to <quisier(e)> and <matar(e)>. As for the ROM-variants, they did not form an autonomous orthographical system before complete de-latinization was achieved; Romance forms were as much part of the scribal tradition as the Latin forms, from which they were not conceptually distinct. The way to translation, resulting from a clear separation between Latin and Romance, was paved by the gradual reduction of Latin forms. When Latin forms ceased to be interchangeable with Romance variants in the same text, they could be considered as belonging to another system, not only a writing system but a distinct linguistic reality.

The grapho-lexemic correspondences in Table 18.2 look very much like a fragment of a lost Medieval Latin-Romance Glossary. Such a glossary, whose existence Ramón Menéndez Pidal assumed as the basis for the *Glosas Emilianenses* and the *Glosas Silenses*, existed only in the scripto-linguistic competence of medieval scribes, as a list of equivalent heterographs. The correspondences do, in fact, resemble many of the glosses in the *Glosas Silenses* (one or two are identical). A graphemic assessment of the *Glosas* in the light of patterns of alternation shown by the legal codes might provide an interesting insight to their still controversial function and purpose.

To conclude, the adoption of Hispanic orthographies in notarial texts did not necessarily involve at first a process of language substitution, a change from Latin to Romance: Latin and Romance had existed side by side for centuries in the notarial written

Table 18.2 Intra-textual alternations and cross-textual substitutions of grapho-lexemic variants in the *Foros de Ribade-Coa* (thirteenth century)

Latin	FA	FCB	FCR	FCM
ACCEPERIT	accepit tomaenit tomaret tomar(e)	accepit tomar(e)	tomar(e)	tomar(e)
DIMISERIT	dimiserit delaxare lexare	dimiserit delexauent laxaret dexare	dexar(e) lexar(e) leyxar(e)	leygar leyxar
EIECERIT	eiecerit iactauent iactaret iactare iectar	eiecerit iactaret iectaret iectare	echare geytar(e)	echar(e) geytar(e) ieytare
INUENERIT	inuenerit falaret falare	inuenerit falare	achar(e)	fallar(e)
OBIERIT	obierit moriert moriere morit(e) murit(e) murir(e)	obierit moriert moriere morie	moriere morit(e)	monere
OCCIDERIT	occidit mactauent mactare matar(e)	occiderit maret mactare matare	matar(e)	matar(e)
PERCUSSEIT	percussit feriet feriere ferir(e) frir(e) frire	percussit ferire	ferire frir(e)	ferier(e) ferire
UOLUERIT (UOLUERIT)	uoluerit quesient quisier(e) quesier	uoluerit quisiere	quesier(e)	queser quesier quesier quisier(e)

tradition, which was like an *orthographical palimpsest* where forms relating to diverse scripto-linguistic layers could exist simultaneously in the same 'scripto-graphic synchrony'.

The 'coscienza linguistica del volgare', to use Sabatini's expression, probably did not arise before the completion of a complex and protracted process of orthographical restructuring and experimentation, which finally gave the vernaculars a distinct written appearance. The introduction of Medieval Latin in Spain contributed from the late eleventh century on to this process of vernacularization of the written code, accelerating the establishment of the awareness of the vernacular and consequently the distinction between Latin and Romance as different languages, each with its own written medium. When the vernacular orthographies emerge Notarial Latin disappears: only pure Latin and pure Romance orthographies exist.

NOTE

1. The codes are preserved in single copies in thirteenth-century codices kept at the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo in Lisbon, and belong to the family of *Foros* granted by Alfonso IX of León (1188-1230). This group of municipal legal codes includes the *Foros* from Riba-de-Coa (now Riba-Coa), a north-eastern area of Portugal which was repopulated by Alfonso IX and his father, Fernando II (1157-88), and was part of Leonese Extremadura until 1296, when it was annexed by Portugal. This family of *Foros* (studied in Cintra 1959), which includes three other Leonese *Foros*, the *Foros de Cáceres*, the *Foros de Coria*, and the *Foros de Usagre*, had as its source a lost Latin archetype, which can be identified with certainty with the lost *Foros de Ciudad Rodrigo* (Cintra 1959: lxxxv). The *Foros de Riba-de-Coa* were published in the documental collection *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica*. The *Foros de Castelo Rodrigo* were the object of a diplomatic edition and linguistic study in Cintra 1959.

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19 Latin vs Romance in the Middle Ages: Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia* revisited

Marcel Danesi

INTRODUCTION

A common tendency among authors of textbooks in historical linguistics, especially among those working in the Romance field, is to trace the origins of their craft to Dante Alighieri's intriguing 1305 treatise, the *De vulgari eloquentia* (*DVE*). I quote from Robins (1967: 100) as an illustrative case in point: 'The serious study of the neo-Latin (Romance) languages can be said to have been instituted by Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia* in the early fourteenth century.' If the notions of genetic relationship and of evolutionary change form the basis upon which the scientific study of language change is implanted, then, from the perspective of our post-Darwinian mind-set, it would indeed seem that Dante did put forward observations that fall within the perimeter of this conceptual model of language evolution: i.e. of change which is analysable in genetic terms and which is perceived as being adaptive to environmental flux and influence.

The purpose of the present study is to call into question this mind-set, given that it is based on a textual exegesis of a specific excerpt in the *DVE* (I, 8). The relevant points in the controversial passage are the following ones (see Chiappelli 1965: 661-2): (1) Dante briefly surveys the speech of Europe and establishes a tripartite division of languages (essentially the Greek, Germanic, and Romance families), using the term *ydroma tripharium*. (2) He then alludes to a further tripartite division – a lower-scale *ydroma tripharium* – to account for the observed lexical similarities in speakers of Italian (*Latini*), French (*Franci*), and Provençal (whom he calls *Yspani*). This division is based on the different lexicalizations of the particle of affirmation: 'Totum autem quod in Europa resiat ab istis, tertium tenuit ydioma, licet nunc tripharium videatur; nam

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alii oc, alii ol, alii si affirmando locuntur; ut puta Yspani, Franci et Latini.' (3) These languages contain lexical cognates: 'Signum autem quod ab uno eodemque ydionate istarum trium gentium preegreditur vulgaria, in promptu est, quia multa per eadem vocabula nominare videntur, ut Deum, celum, amorem, mare, terram, est, vivit, moritur, amat, alia fere omnia.'

It is Dante's utilization of the term *ydroma tripharium* that leads historical linguists to see in the *DVE* a blueprint of a genetic theory for the origins of the Romance languages. But it can be legitimately asked if we are not really reading the *DVE* through the conceptual lens of a model of language change that we have inherited from the nineteenth century: i.e. a model based on an arboreal image of linguistic parentage and genealogy. Certainly no one prior to the previous century has interpreted the *DVE* in such a way. And there exists no documentary evidence to suggest that anyone writing in the Late Middle Ages – including one of the greatest poets of all time – was aware of the conceptual distinction between Latin and Romance.

The modern interpretations of the *DVE* can be categorized in terms of three general hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Dante was aware of the Latin vs Romance distinction.
Hypothesis 2: Dante may not have been aware of this distinction, but he did understand the genetic relationship among languages.
Hypothesis 3: Dante's *ydroma tripharium* reflects no more than an attempt at classification, in line with the scholastic practices prevalent in the Middle Ages.

Clearly, each hypothesis is derived from a reading of the same text – a chronologically determined and culturally embedded artifact. Therefore, the method for examining each hypothesis that immediately suggests itself is the one which may be characterized as 'philological semiotics'. The main procedure is to evaluate the hypothesis in the light of the cultural context in which the *DVE* was written.

THE CONCEPT OF GENETIC KINSHIP IN HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS

Before examining each hypothesis, it is crucial to the analytical task at hand to locate the historical origins of the concept of genetic kinship in the scientific study of languages. The idea that change in language is the process responsible for what may be called the

'genetic splitting up' of a single language into filial languages surfaces tentatively in the revitalized intellectual *Zeitgeist* of the Renaissance. Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459) and Leonardi Bruni (1370-1444), for instance, saw in the Romance languages a pattern of descent from a spoken, or popular, version of Latin (e.g. Hall 1974: 231). But it is not at all clear, from the historiographical evidence, that the full-fledged notion of genetic kinship, as we know it today, had crystallized in the mentality of pre-Darwinian linguistic science, despite the fascination for etymology shown by ancient, medieval, and Renaissance philosophers and grammarians. As Robins (1967: 7) perceptively suggests, this 'may be linked with the failure of ancient historians to envisage the fact of change as no more than the revelation of what was innately present at the time in a political system or in a person's character'.

This does not mean that pre-Darwinian scholars were not aware of language filiation; but, rather, that they had not struck upon the idea of language change as analogical to adaptive change in biological organisms. It is the Darwinian nineteenth-century that awaits the formulation of this powerful metaphor.

Actually, the stage was set at the end of the eighteenth century when the historical approach to language study became the dominant one, being enriched by insights coming out of the biological sciences. It is also at this time, of course, that the discovery of Sanskrit, and of ancient scholarship on this language, came forward to transform the scientific study of language in a permanent way. Shortly thereafter, in 1860, Augustus Schleicher introduced the tree diagram into linguistics. This iconic device became the crucial conceptual *Gestalt* that made the notion of genetic kinship and evolutionary descent a firmly entrenched one in the *modus operandi* of historical linguistics, shaping all subsequent thinking in the field.

Tree-like representation is, needless to say, one of the oldest graphic techniques known in western culture. Medieval scholastic philosophers, for instance, continually devised tree diagrams to model all kinds of taxonomies. But never before Schleicher was this device used to represent a genetic relationship among languages. As Stewart (1976: 15) has astutely observed, ever since Schleicher linguists have invariably tended to portray, and thus to understand, the notion of genetic relationship in accordance with his graphic suggestion. The semiotic features of this iconic technique are explained by Stewart as follows:

The vertical dimension represents time - 'real' time, that is, historical time, time through which change occurs. Units for the vertical axis are therefore things that occupy the same time, that are not mutually exclusive with respect to time. Conversely, units on the horizontal axis are things that occupy the same time, that are not mutually exclusive with respect to time. To put units on the same horizontal axis says of them nothing more than that they do not succeed each other directly.

There is some disagreement as to whether or not Schleicher was directly influenced by Darwin (e.g. Greenberg 1957: 56-65; Hoenigswald 1963; Maher 1966). Actually, it was Schleicher himself - taken by the *Origin of Species* - who drew a parallel between biological and linguistic evolution. As Harris and Taylor (1989: 166) have recently remarked, there is no doubt that the 'arrival of Darwinism on the linguistic scene was announced by the publication in 1863 of August Schleicher's *Die Darwinische Theorie*, in which sound change is held to take place in accordance with fixed laws, which are assimilated to natural laws'. This analogy became a powerful one indeed, spawning neogrammarian theories of regular change and providing a conceptual framework for developing glottochronological and lexico-statistical techniques in this century. Schleicher also made liberal use of the tree diagrams that had been employed in human genealogy for centuries before. Terms like *mother*, *daughter*, and *sister* languages figure prominently in the development of Schleicher's theories.

The Darwinian mind-set, portrayed iconically by Schleicherian tree diagrams, has become the conceptual template through which the *DVE* is interpreted by those who subscribe to the first two hypotheses *vis-à-vis* the *DVE*. Thus it is that both can essentially be seen to be victims of a mind-set, and anachronistic with respect to the culturally embedded concepts of language that prevailed in the Middle Ages.

HYPOTHESIS 1

The hypothesis that Dante was aware of the Latin vs Romance distinction (H1) is the least plausible of the three. A typical articulation of H1 is the one by Mario Pei (1976: 226):

Dante Alighieri's *De Vulgari Eloquentia* of 1305 marked, on the one hand, the beginning of Romance philology in the narrow sense (specific study and comparison of the Romance languages).

It also marked the beginning of modern linguistic thought.

According to this hypothesis, the *DVE* constitutes the first conscious attempt at language derivation and comparison, tracing the origins of Italian, French, and Provençal to a Latin source. It also holds that, in correctly enumerating and classifying the Italian dialects, the *DVE* gets linguistic geography off to an early start.

Nothing reflects the projection of a post-Darwinian and post-Schleicherian mode of thinking onto textual interpretation more than does H1. It is, of course, true that Dante's statements in the *DVE*, if taken at face value, can be made to fit the Schleicherian conceptual grid. But in so doing such an interpretation ignores the ideological and cultural context which furnished the themes of the *DVE*. Among other things, it behoves the proponents of H1 to show that Dante was consciously aware of the Latin vs Romance (or Vulgar Latin) dichotomy. The available evidence suggests that he was not. A conceptual understanding of this dichotomy would mean that Dante saw a horizontal genetic link among the three *volgari* that pointed vertically towards Vulgar Latin. This, in turn, would imply that Dante would have had the extraordinary insight and foresight to separate Vulgar Latin from its ordinary speech contexts and to put it into a conceptual frame that would allow readers of the *DVE* to see it as 'the ancestral speech out of which the Romance languages developed,' to use Hall's (1963: 8) accurate characterization of Vulgar Latin. (On the term *Vulgar Latin* see the excellent discussions by Lloyd 1979 and Holms 1987.) But Dante did no such thing. If Dante had indeed developed such an insight, then he would have been rather explicit in pointing out to his audience the nature of the historical continuity between Latin and the Romance languages in his text, given the privilege and authority accorded to Latin in the Middle Ages. This would have made Dante's argument in favour of the use of 'vulgar' tongues for literary purposes – the theme of the *DVE* – an even more persuasive one.

The main piece of evidence used in making the case for H1 is Dante's use of the ambiguous term *ydïoma tripharium* to relate the lexical similarities found in the three *volgari*. But is Dante's term really to be understood as a kind of medieval synonym for the nineteenth-century concept of *Ursprache*? Joseph Crémóna (1965: 155), a staunch supporter of H1, thinks that it is: Dante's *ydïoma tripharium* 'is the direct ancestor of what we now call the Romance languages'. But, given that Dante never equates his *ydïoma tripharium* to any version of Latin in the *DVE*, there really is no textual reason for reaching such a conclusion. It is more likely that

Dante was describing what was felt to be a conventionalized, common koiné that manifested itself differentially (i.e. as Italian, French, or Provençal) as it moved along a geopolitical axis. The words of Maurizio Viale (1978: 19) are germane to this point:

Occorre notare che alla nozione di *ydïoma tripharium*, che non è da Dante identificato con il latino grammaticale, che resta nella concezione del *De Vulgari Eloquentia* tuttavia lingua di creazione convenzionale, è sottintesa l'idea acutamente intuita da Dante, di 'comune linguistica'... secondo la quale si spiega la stretta affinità e parentela, la sostanziale unità di lingue concretamente e storicamente differenziate.

In a nutshell, there is nothing in the *DVE* to suggest that Dante saw a connection between Latin and what he calls an *ydïoma tripharium*. The evidence in other texts suggests the opposite. As Cecil Grayson (1965: 112) points out, in the *Vita nuova*, it can be seen that Dante 'non vede tra loro nessun rapporto se non quello di maggior e minor antichità e riputazione; presenta latino e volgare come due entità separate, quasi statiche, e non fa nessun accenno a dipendenza o ad affinità linguistica'. This is also true of the *Convivio*. As Pagani (1982: 112) perceptively remarks, the view that Dante saw a diachronic relation among the three *volgari*, as descendants of a proto-language, is a modern one. As such it had no conceptual locus in the medieval mind-set. As she aptly puts it, such a view unconsciously projects 'i termini danteschi nel grafico di analisi della linguistica moderna'.

HYPOTHESIS 2

The second hypothesis (H2) holds that Dante may not have conceived of a specific parentage between the three *volgari* and Latin, but he did understand the genetic nature of linguistic change. So, it is claimed, Dante may not have been the father of Romance philology, but he was the father of historical linguistics. One of the staunchest supporters of H2 is Antonino Pagliaro (1947: 490), who attributes to Dante the notion of the 'modificarsi delle lingue nel tempo'. Pagliaro admits that Dante's *ydïoma tripharium* is not equatable to Latin, but it does allude to the 'elemento genetico comune alle tre lingue romanze, considerato in rapporto al latino letterario'.

H2 is clearly as untenable as H1 for virtually the same reasons. There is nothing in the text of the *DVE* to lead one to extrapolate

from it, as does Cremona (1965: 156-7), a precursory genetic theory of change: 'Dante had a clear conception of the genealogical or family-tree view of the origin and genesis of language, very similar to the one current among nineteenth-century linguists.' As Hall (1974: 228) appropriately remarks, the 'intellectual basis of Dante's theories was primarily mediaeval theological speculation concerning language'. And, indeed, the *DVE* starts off with an abstract scholarly discussion of the nature of language and of the history of its development as set forth in the Old Testament. The crux of Dante's linguistic epistemology is the existence of a fundamental dichotomy: (1) a *locutio vulgaris naturalis*, which Dante describes as an abstract, universal, noble code given to humans directly by God; and (2) a *locutio secundaria artificialis*, which Dante envisages to be a specific, concrete artifact, made by humans. Not surprisingly, he identifies Hebrew as the human *Ursprache*. This is, of course, completely in line with medieval theology. It is hard indeed to see in this characteristic medieval philosophical scenario anything to suggest a Schleicherian-type theory of linguistic change.

The question of why the *DVE* is seen by many to be a precursory text in historical linguistics is an intriguing one. Perhaps the only way to explain H1 and H2 is in terms of a kind of philological Heisenberg's principle: i.e. the modern reader of the *DVE* tends to interpret it through the conceptual lens of a post-Schleicherian mentality.

It is interesting to note that in his study of Darwin's early notebooks (1837-40), Howard Gruber (1974) discovered the constant use of a tree image as an analogue for evolution. He concludes that Darwin needed this iconic *Gestalt* in order to comprehend the nature of change in organisms. But once such a device is made available to cognition it starts to exert a powerful influence on perception as a thematic organizer. This is why Schleicherian trees have become fixtures in any discussion of change in linguistics. Supporters of H1 and H2 seem to be unconsciously projecting such conceptual fixtures onto the reading of the *DVE*. In interpreting the *DVE* in essentially Schleicherian terms, these scholars have unconsciously translated Dante's words into patterns of thought that fit in with their stored Schleicherian notions. As Cole (1984: 67) aptly puts it, 'what we learn to see is culturally conditioned'. (A detailed discussion of the cognitive role played by models and metaphors in mental organization can be found in Hoffman 1980.)

HYPOTHESIS 3

The hypothesis that Dante is attempting no more than a suitable classification of vulgar tongues, on the basis of which he can argue for a *vulgare illustre* (H3), is the only really plausible and contextually synchronized one. In fact, the theme of the *DVE* is about rhetorical matters, as Marigo (1957: xxii) accurately observes:

Al vanto di sommo poeta morale, vuole aggiungere quello di primo teorizzatore dell'arte del dire in volgare. . . . E si presenta come maestro che . . . movendo dalla dottrina tradizionale e da una raffinata esperienza di lingua, di stile, di verso e, in modo speciale, di tecnica strofica, può esprimere una compiuta teorica di eloquenza volgare.

Dante's classification of French, Italian, and Provençal under the single category of *ydionia tripharium* reflects the scholastic practice of taxonomic description. The *DVE* is, in effect, a *summa linguistica*; i.e. a synthesis of all that was known about language in the Middle Ages. The criterion Dante uses for classifying his *vulgari* under the same rubric is that of lexical similarity. All three vernaculars use the same etyma for certain basic concepts - DEUM, CELUM, AMOREM, MARE, TERRAM, EST, VIVIT, MORITUR, AMAT. The main point of his argument is that these *vulgari*, as manifestations of a *locutio vulgaris naturalis*, are more suitable for literary expression than Latin - an example of a *locutio secundaria artificialis*. His argument is, essentially, that Latin is a static code that cannot possibly express the feelings of an emerging new society. As Nardi (1922: 227) wrote during the early part of this century, 'Il latino è, per Dante poeta, una lingua morta e incapace, per ciò stesso, di esprimere adeguatamente i sentimenti sempre nuovi ed originali che fremevano nell'anima di un popolo nuovo.' Of the three *vulgari*, he selects Italian as the superior one, because of what he sees as its grammatical proximity to Latin (see also Vinay 1959 and Pazzaglia 1967 on this point).

Then, turning to his specific situation, he argues for the need of a *vulgare illustre*. He does this, essentially, in a way that foreshadows modern geographical dialectology. Dante may not have been the first historical linguist; but a strong case can be made that he anticipated the synchronic study of dialects. For instance, he accurately describes Lombard as having words ending in consonants, Sardinian as being too conservative, and Veronese as having truncated nouns and participles (see also Gensini 1982: 171). He

ends up listing fourteen dialects which he discards as being unfit for literary usage. Therefore, he does not locate his *volgare illustre* in any one of the local dialects of Italy, but over and above all of them. In his view this *volgare* must be 'illustre, cardinale, aulico et curiale . . . quod omnis laice civitatis est et nullus esse videtur, et quo municipalia vulgaria omnia Latinorum mensurantur et ponderantur et comparantur' (*DVE*, I, 6). The rhetorical characteristics of this *volgare* are summarized concisely by Migliorini (1966: 173):

Illustre lo chiama Dante, cioè fulgido perché sublimato per magistero d'arte, e atto a commuovere col suo potere; *cardinale*, perché intorno ad esso, come la porta sul suo cardine, si muovono i dialetti; *aulico*, perché degno della reggia, se l'Italia avesse una reggia; *curiale*, perché degno di supremo tribunale, se anche questo l'avessimo.

H3 is the most plausible one, because it fits in with Dante's stated purpose in the *DVE* and with the specific cultural modes of thinking and writing which are characteristic of the Middle Ages. Specifically, Dante intended to argue for the use of vulgar tongues for literary purposes. His method was to classify and synthesize the existing knowledge on language in general and on vulgar tongues in particular. This scholastic technique became the ideological platform on which he constructed his rhetorical model of an appropriate language of poetry, which he called *illustre*. What we have in the *DVE* is not a proto-textbook in Romance philology (H1) or historical linguistics (H2), but an 'eloquently' argued treatise (and appropriately in Latin) on poetic language. It is a book that both reflects the medieval mentality, but also looks forward to current literary theories on the relationship between form and content in poetic expression. As such, it is an isolated monument. That most of his contemporaries probably did not understand it, is borne out by the fact that there are no contemporary discussions of Dante's thesis.

CONCLUSION

If nothing else, this exercise in philological semiotics has proven to be an instructive one on what can only be characterized as the mind-set of post-Schleierman linguists. The modern linguist, like any scientist, works within a specific cultural system of thought. This system becomes a powerful shaper of the linguist's perceptions. Those who support H1 and H2 are really reading the *DVE* with a

modern mind-set. The lesson to be learned from such an exercise in self-analysis is an obvious one. Authors of textbooks of Romance philology and of historical linguistics who trace the origins of their science to the *DVE* will have to rethink this historiographical practice.

By way of conclusion, it is interesting to note that Dante's conceptual separation of the vernacular languages from Latin was based on his observation that *grammatica*, as Wright (1982: 262) aptly portrays it, 'was an invented international language'. As modern work on the nature of grammatical systems has shown, Dante was absolutely right. The *Latin vs Romance* dichotomy is, actually, at the core of a vigorous debate on the meaning of the *DVE* – a debate, incidentally, which started only in this century in the 1930s (see Pagani 1982 for a detailed assessment of this debate). But the greatness of the *DVE* lies not in any one of its separate thematic components. Like Euclid's *Elements*, or Saint Thomas' *Summa Theologica*, the *DVE* puts forward a catalogue of ideas which can be arranged in infinite ways to generate continually new insights, and to chart new ideological landscapes. As Alberto Varvaro (1968: 17) appropriately characterizes it:

Così, mentre per la sua impostazione retorico-stilistica l'opera tocca solo in parte temi propriamente linguistici, d'altro canto l'ampiezza della prospettiva e l'acutezza fuori del comune dell'autore ne fanno il libro più originale che in questo campo ci abbia dato il medioevo.

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