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Bilingualism, Philology and the Cultural Nation: The Medieval Monolingual Imaginary
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BILINGUALISM, PHILOLOGY AND THE CULTURAL NATION: THE MEDIEVAL MONOLINGUAL IMAGINARY

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This study has two main focuses of investigation: (1) to explore how certain Catalan sociolinguists imagine the monolingual origins of the Catalan cultural nation; and (2) to give textual evidence of an intimate linguistic give-and-take (bilingualism) between various languages native to pre-modern Catalonia, which has been an ongoing occurrence ever since the emergence of documentation of the vernacular. Bilingualism in Catalonia (as well as diglossia) is often viewed as a by-product of modernity—the result of the modern Spanish political state, which exists in counterpoint to the older monolingual Catalan cultural nation.

The goal of a national philology and its more recent academic offspring, historical linguistics, is to buttress the modern political state with an earlier cultural nation. This retrofitting is viewed as legitimizing and foundational, and though done in crystal-clear hindsight, its practitioners are often treated as visionaries. I make no apology for the abundance of genealogical references in this study, for as Bernard Cerquiglini (76-77) writes: “la philologie est une pensée bourgeoise, paternaliste et hygiéniste de la famille, qui chérit la filiation, pourchasse l’adultère, s’effraie de la contamination. Pensée de la faute...qui fonde une méthodologie positive.”

Having participated in the 1928 Luxembourg Conference, Alexandre Galí, writing on bilingualism in Catalonia, claimed: “es donin en l’individu o en la col·lectivitat sotmesos o que parlen les dues llengües, fenòmens específics d’alteració o pertorbació lingüística... El bilingüisme queda, en certa forma, nociu, per definició” (43). Words such as “alteració,” “pertorbació,” and “nociu” clearly reveal his perspective: it is not “natural” or “healthy” for there to be two languages in Catalonia.

Implied in this statement is the notion that bilingualism is a result of historical decay and that the linguistic chronology of Catalonia is a cultural regression – from its idealized monolingual origins to a diglossic but non-bilingual modernity to its current post-modern bilingual, diglossic situation.

Thus Ninyoles’ observation that diglossia (without bilingualism)

"s'ha produït al nostre país durant els segles XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX" (1969, 45).¹ In surveys of Catalan sociolinguistics, for example Vallverdú (1980), one finds no mention of the linguistic state of the Catalan nation pre-16th century. Either it is the natural, monolingual *locus amoenus* which enabled the novelist and cultural critic Manuel de Pedrolo (131) to affirm that "el bilingüisme, lluny de ser natural, és estrictament oficial;" or it is discounted as part of the pre-modern condition: "la sociedad moderna industrial reclama la capacidad en el manejo del lenguaje, como una de las premisas de su organización" (Ninyoles 1977, 85).

However, there is something inherently contradictory in such an assertion. Ninyoles claims: "no serà inútil d'advertir que no hi ha canvi lingüístic sense bilingüisme" (1969, 91). Leaving aside for the moment the issue of the accuracy of such an assertion, it is linguistic commonplace that perhaps the most effective catalyst for language change is some kind of contact bilingualism (either among speakers of different dialects or of different social registers). Furthermore, subsequent linguistic evolution – the Catalan of 12th-century notarial documents is markedly different from the Catalan of *Tirant lo Blanc* – is also the result of some type of bilingual situation. The question remains: what was the linguistic landscape of pre-16th-century Catalonia? If dialects in contact (including different social registers within the same diasystem) are the prime cause of linguistic change, can we accept the notions of Dalmau and Pedrolo, who claim that bilingualism is a concept alien to Catalonia?²

Recourse to a pre-modern monolingual Catalonia is somewhat specious and chronologically limiting. In 1137 Ramiro II of Aragon abdicated, and when Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona married his daughter, Petronilla, the political destinies of Catalonia and Aragon were united. Heretofore, Catalonia has been a part of a multilingual political entity. The first indisputably Catalan text, *Les Homilies d'Organyà*, dates from this post-unification period. As an initializing cultural marker the *Homilies* have great metaphoric weight. The text is layered and heteroglossic, consisting of an intertextual vernacular glossing and exegesis of a Latin gospel reading. The vernacular stratum itself is further

¹ In their strictest sense, Ninyoles' observations apply to Valencia. However, in this historical period, the same may be said of Catalonia, with the main difference being the pacing of penetration by Castilian in each region. Valencia was Castilianized earlier than Catalonia and the participation of Valencian writers in Castilian letters was much more vigorous than that of Catalans in the 16th and 17th centuries. This is the anxiety of the *Decadència*; for further information, cf. Riquer and Resina.

² Though not a linguist in a strict sense, Pedrolo was an astute observer and commentator on linguistic issues. He writes: "el fet que molts catalans –ni que fossin tots– coneguin el castellà obligadament no autoritza a referir-se a Catalunya com un poble bilingüe en el sentit que li vol donar" (Pedrolo, 83).

layered with an uninflected Catalan noun system and coexists with trace elements from a case-sensitive Occitan. Romance echoes Latin: “*Si filius Dei es, dic ut lapides isti panes fiant* – Si tu és lo fil de Déu, di a les pedres qe.s tornen pa” ‘if you are the Son of God, tell these stones to turn into bread’ (Molho, 206); and Catalan and Occitan share an undefined linguistic space: “*ara podetz audir com és Diable mals e és ardidz, e com à gran poder : molt fo ardit qan el volia tentar aqel seinor qui és s<èiner> de tot lo món*” ‘now you can hear how the Devil is evil and strong, and how he has great power : he was strong when he wanted to tempt that Lord who is Lord of the whole world’ (Molho, 207).³

Using texts from a later period (late 14th century) that were written in Aragonese and produced at the behest of the Catalan counts-kings, I hope to demonstrate some of the linguistic give and take that occurred within the Kingdom of Aragon and which reflects the complicated linguistic landscape of pre-modern Catalonia.⁴ And while we must exercise caution in using written documents from a culture or era which can only be best described as marginally literate at best, we are left with little choice. The corpus examined for the present study originated in the fourteenth-century scriptorium of Juan Fernández de Heredia (c.1310-1396), Grand Master of the Knights Hospitaller. The largely historiographic text-base comprises both translations and compilations produced for the Count-King Pere IV (1336-1387) and his successor, Joan I (1387-1395). The translations include the *Flor de ystorias de orient* (*Flor*), *Marco Polo*, *Tucidedes*, *Rams de flors* or *Libro de las actoridades* (*Rams*), the *Tudense* of Lucas de Tuy, *Entropius*, the *Cronica troyana* (*Troyana*) of Guido de Colonna, *Secreto secretorum*, *Historia contra los paganos* (*Orosius*), *Libro de los emperadores*, and the *Cronica de Morea* (*Morea*); the compilations comprise both parts of the *Cronica delos conqueridores* (*Conquer*) and the first part of *La grant cronica de Espanya* (*Gran*).⁵ I have preserved the punctuation and spelling though I have deleted the various diplomatic signals and duplicate words. This text-base comprises about three quarters of the total number of folios in the corpus.⁶

³ *Mals*, *ardiz* and *s<èiner>* are clearly marked nominatives (cf. also the oblique *seinor*); *ardit*, though functioning as a nominative, is uninflected.

⁴ I call the language of the texts Aragonese for want of a better term. The language of the Heredian texts is in no way standardized or level (unlike the Castilian of the Alphonsine corpus). The texts show strong Castilian and Catalan influences. For the most thorough investigation of the language(s) of the corpus, consult af Geijerstam.

⁵ I refer to some of these texts by their abbreviated form, which I cite in parentheses.

⁶ I thank Professor John Nitti (University of Wisconsin/Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies) for making these texts available to me on machine-readable disks. Of course, responsibility for altering the transcriptions is mine.

At first glance there is a superficial resemblance between the Heredian corpus and that of Alfonso X. Both Heredia's and Alfonso's roles in the textual mediation process are uncertain and still remain a topic for discussion. However, the language of the Heredian texts is uneven, at times closely approximating Castilian at the one extreme and Catalan at the other. There is none of the hegemonic linguistic leveling that we normally ascribe to the Castilian of the Alphonsine project. There can be little doubt, and scholars such as af Geijerstam have made ample note to this effect, that the Heredian texts mirror and monumentalize a bilingual culture. My point is to show how one linguistic marker, the post-verbal negative element *pas*, functions in the texts and reflects an already fully bilingual readership. I shall demonstrate that postverbal *pas* was more than a simple lexical or syntactic borrowing from Gallo-romance (promoted because the texts were produced in Avignon); rather it is a fully integrated functional discourse marker, as it is in Catalan, with specific pragmatic parameters.

Postverbal negative markers are not a rare occurrence in Romance. In fact, we might be able to speak of a somewhat unified typological isogloss which extends from the *Països Catalans* in the west through France to the Gallo-Italian dialects of Northern Italy and Switzerland. Perhaps because of France's central geographical position and the strategic status of French as a national/hyper-national language, the presumed point of departure for studies of postverbal negation has customarily been French. The tendency to use French as a point of departure, however, has tended to gloss over significant lexical, structural, and functional manifestations of postverbal negation. First, since *pas*, the reflex of the Latin *passus* "step," is not the postverbal negative marker in all Gallo-Italian dialects, they are excluded from the present discussion. More important, however, is the fact that in the major Gallo-Romance dialects of France, French and Occitan, *pas* is structurally and functionally different than its trans-Pyrenean congeners.⁷ In the standard varieties of both these languages, *pas* is one member of a bipartite system of negation; in these dialects, it is the representation of simple negation:

- (1a) *Fr.* Pierre ne parle pas
 (1b) *Oc.* Peire no parla pas
 'Peter does not speak'

⁷ There is a geographic problem implied here. Though Catalan is spoken north of the Pyrenees in the area around Perpignan, postverbal *pas* in these Gallo-Catalan dialects functions much as it does in Occitan and French, most likely as the result of extended political confederation and subsequent linguistic contact.

In colloquial speech, there is a typological shift with simple negation being exclusively postverbal:

- (2a) *Fr.* Pierre parle pas
 (2b) *Oc.* Peire parla pas

In standard Catalan, postverbal negation with *pas* is bounded by a limiting set of discourse parameters: *pas* is used in a negative proposition if there is an expressed contradiction of an adjacent affirmative utterance. In these cases an adversative or exceptive relationship exists between the affirmative and negative propositions. At times the negative proposition may contain an explicit adversative or exceptive marker, the most common being *sinó* 'but rather, except':

- (3) *La Núria no partirà pas demà sinó demà passat*
 "Núria isn't leaving tomorrow but rather the day after"

Frequently, however, the scope of negation is not the entire predicate but the particular element within the proposition being contested, so that (3) may be restated in a more focused manner:

- (4) *La Núria partirà no pas demà sinó demà passat*

In cases where the negation occurs outside the scope of the predicate, the speaker may omit the adversative marker:

- (5) *sempre surto, no pas quan fa brut temps*
 "I always go out, {but not/however not/except} when the weather is bad"

In standard Catalan, a simple negative proposition with no contextualized adversity is formed with the simple preverbal *no*:

- (6) *La Núria no va anar al concert anit*
 "Núria did not go to the concert last night"

Thus, though French, Occitan and Catalan (and as we shall see, Aragonese) all share a common postverbal negative element, the discourse functions of these various *pas* vary. In short, if influence and communality is assumed, it is based only on lexical and structural similarities, and not on the functional, typological, and pragmatic levels.⁸

⁸ For further informations regarding postverbal negation in Romance, see Schwegler (1983-1988) and Posner, though both tend to gloss over data from beyond the Pyrenees.

Contemporary Aragonese does possess the postverbal negative marker *pas*. It is difficult, however, to ascertain from studies, be they descriptive, such as Haensch, or normative, such as Nagore, just what the discourse function of *pas* is. Thus if we observe Haensch's completely decontextualized example of postverbal *pas*,

- (7) *no u sé pas* (Haensch, 147)
 "I don't know"

we are in the dark as to its function, especially when we consider that simple negation in Aragonese is obtained by the unaccompanied preverbal *no*.⁹ The problem is compounded by the fact that the current state of Aragonese, now limited to several high central-Pyrenean valleys, is in flux, pressured from two intimately related contact speeches, Occitan and Catalan (not to mention Castilian), whose interpretation of the postverbal *pas* is completely different. My informal observations suggest that the intimacy of contact with these particular dialects determines the function of *pas*. Although it is doubtful that synchronic studies and evidence will reveal the *original* function of the postverbal negative marker in Aragonese, I submit that we can attempt to infer what the discourse parameters for negation with *pas* may have been, by examining data from medieval Aragonese. Since the Heredian texts represent the largest extant corpus of medieval Aragonese, despite their inherent linguistic polyvalence, they are a logical starting point. And because of their heterogeneity, they give us an all too rare glimpse at the landscape of medieval Catalan.

The most common manifestation of *no...pas* in the texts is along the lines of (4) in which there is an articulated contradiction linked by the adversative *mas* "but, but instead, rather." In these cases the positioning of *no pas* in the proposition limits the scope of negation. The following examples reveal this function:

- (8) *por la qual razon sdeuino que los tartres se tornaron todos desbaratados no pas por el poder delos enemigos mas por desauentura et por maluado consello* (Flor, 43R)

"for which reason it came to pass that the Tartars returned completely defeated, not because of the power of the enemies but because of bad luck and evil counsel"

- (9) *Et encara nos pareçe neçesaria cosa la habitaçion delos leontinos no pas por*

⁹ Not surprisingly considering the year it was produced, the most complete monographic study on Aragonese (Alvar) does not consider pragmatic strategies.

seruitut como propuso el saragoçano mas por dar empacho a los saragoçanos (*Tucidides*, 62R)

"and the stay of the Leontines still seems necessary to us not out of servitude as the Zaragozaan proposed but instead to give aid to the Zaragozaans"

(10) se fue apoderado dela dicha ciudad de atenas no pas por fuerça de armas mas los ateneses la desepararon (*Rams*, 232V)

"he took over the city of Athens not by force of arms but [because] the Athenians abandoned it"

(11) Et esto te embiamos a dezir non pas por tu curialidat mas dudando que non ayas mal de los tuyos et a nos sea dada la culpa. (*Conquer I*, 107V)

"we send you to say [this] not because of your courtly manner but [out of] fearing that you might incur harm from your own [people] and thus place the blame on us"

(12) assy como auemos dicho no pas que el negasse que no tuuiesse a cleopatra mas que no era su muller (*Conquer II*, 27v)

"thus as we stated, he does not deny that he had Cleopatra, rather that she was not his wife"

(13) &c çertas non pas aquel infant mas Amilcar su padre (*Gran*, 97r)

"and certainly not that prince but Hamilcar, his father"

(14) sabiendo que mi hermana enxiona, abiltada et abandonada en exilio, es detenida de un stranyo, non pas uiuendo con ella en fe et vnion de marido et de muller, mas en continua pollucion de peccado de turpe et uituperoso adulterio de luxuria (*Troyana*, 83r)

"knowing that my sister Exiona, debilitated and abandoned in exile, is held by a stranger, living with her not in faith and in the union of husband and wife, but in continuous pollution of the wicked and vile sin of lustful adultery"

There are times when the *no...pas* construction is intensified either with *solament* or *tan solament*:

(15) et quelo auian ordenado et dicho non pas solament emperador et duch dela guerra mas en todas las cosas (*Conquer I*, 130r)

"and they had designated and named him not only emperor and duke in war but in all things"

In addition to *mas*, other adversative markers can occur with *no pas*; among these are *si no* and *ante(s)*, "but, rather" or *no res menos* "instead, but rather":

(16) et le induzia que tomasse oro non pas por ninguna maldat si no sola ment por fazer le ondra (*Conquer I*, 107R)

"and he tempted him to take gold not out of any evil but instead to do him honor"

(17) et pirrus se giro enta aquel qui lo ferio el qual era de argos non pas gentil hombre antes fillo de una pobre uieia (*Conquer I*, 116V)
 "and Phyrus turned toward the one that wounded him, who was a native of Argos, not a nobleman but rather the son of a poor old woman"

(18) si anibal huuiesse ya passado las alpas et aquesto auian ellos fecho non tan solament pas por causa delas ancianas yras et malas uoluntades quellos auian contra los Romanos no res menos por que los Romanos auian de nueuo enuiado colonies enel campo delos gaules (*Conquer I*, 132V)
 "if Hannibal had already crossed the Alps and this they had done not only because of longstanding anger and grudges that they held against the Romans but rather (also) because the Romans had again sent colonists to the land of the Gauls"

In the examples we have seen, the negative proposition precedes the adversative. Less commonly, the negative clause can follow a proposition which contains contradictory information. In these examples

(19) et huuiessemos por enemigo a asdrubal et non pas a Anibal (*Conquer I*, 143V)
 "and we had Asdrubal as an enemy but not Hannibal"

(20) informaron a Anibal quelos dichos montanyeses guardauan el passo de dia & non pas de noche (*Gran*, 112V)
 "they informed Hannibal that these mountain-folk guarded the pass by day but not by night"

the conjunction *et* (and its allograph &) which joins the negative clause to the affirmative is semantically contaminated by the adjacent negative and can be logically interpreted as an adversative. The semantic reinterpretation of *et* as some type of adversative discourse marker in sentences with *no pas* instead of as a simple coordinating conjunction of equality will have great significance in propositions showing full predicate negation with *no* before the verb and *pas* after.

So far we have only seen examples in which *no pas* occurs outside the specific domain of the verb and instead narrows the scope to a particular predicate element. I shall now like to explore examples where *no* precedes the verb and *pas* follows it, as in (3). It is important to note that the type (4) construction occurs in more texts than the type (3), though in texts where they both occur, they are distributed nearly equally. Type (3) constructions do not occur in *Orosius*, *Cronica troyana*, *Tucidides*, *Flor de ystorias*, and *Libro de los emperadores*; type (4) constructions do.

Many cases of type (3) constructions accompany an explicit adversative marker as in examples (8)-(18) above:

(21) ella non auie pas coraçõ de fembra en fazer planto ni la hora en pensar como ella seria uengada. antes huuo coraçõ muyt esforçado et ardidõ
(*Conquer I, 47v*)

"she did not have a woman's heart while mourning nor later while planning how she would be avenged; but instead she had a very forceful and strong heart"

(22) no era pas dela partida brachina mas deuna otra partida contraria dela partida brachina (*Conquer I, 122v*)

"he was not from the Brachii party but rather from a rival party of the Brachii"

(23) no ha pas perseguido su camino derecho la region ante torno ala sinistra parte delos citastrios (*Conquer I, 137r*)

"he has not followed the direct road but rather turned to the left part of the Citastrii"

(24) non fue pas allexandre fillo de filippo macedonio...o por ventura fue allexandre tio del grant alexandre (*Rams de flors, 257r*)

"it was not Alexander, son of Philip of Macedonia...but by chance was Alexander, uncle of the great Alexander"

The majority of the examples in which *no...pas* sandwiches the verb shows a proposition initial adversative, such as *mas* or *ante*, in this case signifying something akin to the English "however," or some equivalent of "although" such as *ann* or *ya sea que*. While the following structures do not contain an explicit contradiction, they convey an implicit adversative semanticism:

(25) mas esta mouida non fue assin secreta a Anibal como fue aquella mouida otra (*Conquer I, 149v*)

"however, this move was not as secret for Hannibal as was that other move"

(26) et auia entre ellos mas palauras de argumentos et de tabustol et de Roydo que de uirtud de guerra mas los penyos ancianos enemigos dizien que ellos no son pas tales que de suso son dichos que por espacio de xxiii. annos ellos an estado nodridos enlas duras batallas todos dias (*Conquer I, 126v-127r*)

"and there were more argumentative words, bluster and noise among them about the virtue of war; however, the old Carthaginians, ancient enemies, said that they are not as disposed as those mentioned above were because during the space of 23 years they were nurtured in harsh battles every day"

(27) Et a cinco meses apres dela dicha presa el se mouio por yr en ytalia ya sea que aquesta scriptura non se acuerde pas bien conel tiempo del consulado de publico cornelio (*Conquer I, 126v*)

"and five months after the [afore]mentioned capture, he moved to go into Italy, although this writing does not actually concur with the period of Publius Cornelius' consulship"

(28) et aun pirrus non era pas de menos poderio que todos los otros reyes ni menos glorioso... el queria auer la gloria de achilles (*Conquer I*, 98r)
 "and though Phyrus was not less powerful nor less glorious than all the other kings... he wanted to possess the glory of Achilles"

Like examples (19)-(20), the occurrence of postverbal *pas* in a negative proposition probably affects the semanticism of an initial *et*. It most likely should be interpreted as an adversative conjunction rather than as a coordinator of equality:

(29) Et aquella ora anibal aguayto & uido quel tiempo era conuenible començo con ombres de africa a piet et con picos a derribar el muro et no era pas cosa deficil por que el muro era fecho de tierra et non pas de calç ni de piedra segunt la forma delos otros hedifiços (*Conquer I*, 124R)
 "and then Hannibal spied and saw that the time was ripe; he began with foot soldiers from Africa to break down the wall with picks; however, this was not a difficult thing because the wall was made of earth and not of limestone or stone like the other buildings"

(30) et non conuiene pas dar dubda dixo el mas buscar victoria (*Conquer I*, 145v)
 "'however, it does no good to be afraid,' he said, 'but instead seek victory'"

(31) Et por esto en si mismo el lexo mas fuegos en sus tiendas. Por fer los millor creer que el non quisiessse pas que su fuyda fuesse sabida assi como si quisiessse que los consules stiessen enel lugar entro tanto que el fuesse luent de alli assi como el anyo passado el auia decebido fabius ensemblant manera. (*Conquer I*, 160r)
 "However, he had his tents set on fire to make them really believe that he did not want his flight known; just as he wished that the consuls remained there while he went far away, just like last year when he had deceived Fabius in a similar manner"

(32) & con esto como sus caualleros non fuessen pas bien recreados dela fortuna dela mar. el ordeno iijC. hombres de cauallo esleydos. & los fizo conduzir & guayar por las gentes de marsella (*Gran*, 107v)
 "Though his knights were not rested from the tribulations of the sea, he ordered 300 cavalry chosen and had them led and guided towards the people of Marseilles"

(33) & como los gaules que conel eran en maneras ni en lenguages no fuessen pas mucho diuersos delos montanyeses & huuiesen faulado conellos et aiusto lur continencia. ellos informaron a Anibal quelos dichos montanyeses guardauan el passo de dia & non pas de noche. (*Gran*, 112r-v)
 "However, since the Gauls that were with him were not very different from the mountain folk in customs or in speech, they had spoken with them and he gained their reverence. They informed Hannibal that these mountain folk guarded the pass by day but not by night"

* * *

Cultural and literary critics are well aware of the bilingualism of the medieval Catalan cultural nation. For Martí de Riquer, the period known as the *Decadència*, the 16th-18th centuries in which there is a marked decline in the status of Catalan as a prestige-code, is a result of the bilingualism of the Kingdom of Aragon.¹⁰ However, rather than a simple Castilian-Catalan bilingualism, a political result of the dynastic succession of the Castilian house of Trastámara in Aragon (1412), bilingualism is witnessed early on in the Occitan compositions of the Catalan troubadours, in the heteroglossia of the first "Catalan" linguistic monument and in the Heredian texts, which were produced one literary generation before this dynastic shift. Joan Ramon Resina, in an incisive essay, directs us to a possible conclusion: "The question of why the Catalan-speaking people, the majority in the Catalan-Aragonese state, should have renounced their language without significant resistance is not disposed of by reference to Castilian monolingualism. More significant would seem to be the status of language in the Catalan-Aragonese state" (294).

The key to linguistic practice and situation is contained in the literary function of the Heredian corpus. These texts must have been produced for a community that felt comfortable operating with two linguistic systems. They were produced for a Catalan count-king as a culturally and politically legitimizing gesture, as grand, universalizing histories tend to be. Why were they produced in Aragonese? There was little tradition of universal history (as opposed to chronicle) in Catalan. Aragonese, with its close proximity to Castilian, could easily derive its *auctoritas* and literary genealogy from the same sources as the Alphonsine historical project.¹¹ Heredia's histories are an attempt to

¹⁰ Given its overseas holdings, perhaps "empire" would be a more apt designation of the Aragonese crown. Italian (in many of its varieties), Greek, and Sardinian were spoken in the Kingdom of Aragon in its broadest sense. We must also bear in mind the other languages common to the Iberian peninsula, namely Arabic and Hebrew. For Riquer, however, the main linguistic tension is between Castilian and Catalan. By the time the Heredian texts were written, Castilian had already made considerable headway in Aragon, especially in the western Aragonese plains which border Castile; this region contained the important political-cultural center of Zaragoza. Penetration into the highlands (Alto Aragón) was much slower. Rather than a simple geo-linguistic shift, however, Riquer is concerned with the influence of Castilian texts, whose enthusiastic reception in late-medieval Catalonia foreshadowed the later Castilian-centered *Decadència*.

¹¹ The Heredian corpus is in fact both the apex and swan song of literary Aragonese. Undoubtedly inspired by the Alphonsine project, Heredia creates an Aragonese literary monument whose very resemblance to the Castilian corpus, both structurally and linguistically, mirrors the ultimate absorption of Aragonese into Castilian.

unite rather than divide a bilingual society. The cases of negation with *pas* that we have observed would be perceived as normative and predictable –and I would add comforting– for a Catalan readership confronted with a text in a different (yet not foreign) language. As for the demographically smaller Aragonese reading public, one might be tempted to imagine a simple ignoring of *pas*, treating it as a superfluous or pleonastic element. But as the data suggest, *pas* can affect the semanticism of coordinating markers in the sentence; it simply cannot be dismissed.

All of this implies that by the late fourteenth century, the literate strata of Catalan-Aragonese society were profoundly bilingual, able to cope with a wide range of linguistic give-and-take and variation at the highest levels of linguistic representation. To imagine a monolingual, medieval Catalonia distorts a historical moment in which there was not a strong concept of the harmony of language and state. There was always in Catalonia a latent diglossia which dictated the relationship between language and genre. Just as Catalan poets through the fourteenth century were linguistically and culturally dependent on Occitan models, to envision a great historical project in the vernacular required the imitation of Castilian models.

This is not a radical concept. The linkage of language and state is ultimately an innovation of the Renaissance. In the Middle Ages, if there was an explicit bond, it was between language and genre. Dante codifies this concept in the *De Vulgaria Eloquentia* (I, x):

Quelibet enim partium largo testimonio se tuetur. Allegat ergo pro se lingua *oil*, quod propter sui faciliorem ac delectabiliorem vulgaritatem quicquid redactum sive inventum est ad vulgare prosaicum... Pro se vero argumentatur alia, scilicet *oc*, quod vulgares eloquentes in ea primitus poetati sunt, tanquam in perfectiori dulciorique loquela...

"Each of these [languages] maintains a long testimony. Thus, French [*oil*], being the easiest and most enjoyable, is most favored for all kinds of imaginable vernacular prose... And it may be argued that the other [language], Oc[citan], is the most perfect language for poetry, as it was the first for composing verse in the vernacular."

The linguistically hegemonizing resonance of Nebrija's "lengua compañera del imperio," so emblematic of Renaissance Castilian, could not have been articulated in the medieval or post-unification Kingdom of Aragon, trappings of empire notwithstanding.¹²

Critics such as Rubió i Balaguer and Resina claim that there was a resistance at all levels of Catalan culture to embrace the Renaissance,

¹² For the "lengua compañera del imperio" topos, see Asensio.

and the continuation of a medieval mindset persisted while the rest of the Iberian Peninsula began its dialog with modernity: "A simulacrum of continuity is essayed in the midst of the abruptest discontinuity" (Resina, 296).¹³ In light of this, we may intuit that the modern bilingual-diglossic condition of modern Catalonia existed well before the beginning of Castilian hegemony in the fifteenth century. It is ultimately that "simulacrum of continuity" of a medieval linguistic and cultural model in which there was no bind, real or imaginary, between those two disconcerting concepts, language and nation, which continues to unsettle both philologists and linguists working to inscribe the Catalan cultural nation to this very day.

Where does this unsettledness leave those of us trying to reconcile a linguistic past and present? I suggest two possible directions. Both require an expanded cooperation between sociolinguists and philologists. The Heredian texts contain a wealth of linguistic data. Philologists, however, recoil from the very variance which the Heredian texts seem to celebrate and are forever finding ways to explain away and level this polyvalence; confronting linguistic variation is the essence of sociolinguistics. On the other hand, when we attempt to investigate a linguistic past in which we cannot access native informants, we are blatantly text-dependent; philology's *raison d'être* is to provide stable texts. Each discipline must inform the other. The Heredian data on postverbal negation show how two linguistic varieties are woven together, and if these texts were ever to be read, the reading public must have been able to understand them. If philology is to appreciate the lesson of the "linguistic every-day," the public was clearly in control of two linguistic varieties: the textual heteroglossia is a reflection of this public and need not be "explained away." As for philology's contribution to sociolinguistics, the texts exist and as such represent an intelligible linguistic reality. They were destined for a bilingual reading community, in a bilingual kingdom, as an emphatic, culturally legitimizing gesture; they apparently contradict a medieval monolingual imaginary. It would serve both national schools of philology and linguistics well to learn each other's lesson: that both language and text, while maybe synonymous with an individual, are not always synonymous with the nation.

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¹³ Among other evidence, Resina (at times echoing Rubió i Balaguer) cites a persistence of the gothic, both in art and typography; a lack of books circulated in Catalonia about the voyages of discovery; and a nostalgic taste for chivalric romances, which continually celebrate the medieval.

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