THE DEFINITE ARTICLE

MASTER OF ARTS (1967)   McMASTER UNIVERSITY
(Romance Languages)   Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: The Definite Article: Its Evolution in Late Latin

       and Its Usage in Old French

AUTHOR: Leonard Adams, B.A., London

SUPERVISOR: Dr. G. Laurion

NUMBER OF PAGES: iv, 84

SCOPE AND CONTENTS: A survey of demonstrative usage in

Classical Latin, an assessment of the syntactical significance

of _ille_ and _iste_ in Late Latin, together with conditions

favouring the evolution of the definite article, and an

examination of articular usage in Old French up to the

Chanson de Roland.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to express my profound and sincere gratitude to Professor Laurion of the Department of Romance Languages for his untiring help and direction, and his constant encouragement; to Professor Paul of the Department of Classics for his sympathetic aid in procuring certain sources on Vulgar Latin; to Professors Conlon, Stock and Jeeves for the interest they have shown in my work; also to Mrs. Margaret Belec for her patience and kindness manifested in preparing the typescript of this dissertation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

This essay is a study in linguistic evolution. In spite of the enormous amount written in the field of French syntax, there is still evidence that the last word has not been pronounced in many areas; most subjects continue to come up for discussion from time to time. Linguistic evolution is largely dependent on, and regulated by, human factors - the need for communication and a prime inner urge to simplify and make oneself understood. Syntax, in the modern sense, is thus conceived as a function of speech rather than a catalogue of rules to be followed. What early grammarians and phoneticians labelled simply as errors have now been acknowledged as powerful factors in the formation of modern language patterns. Broadly speaking, errors of the past have become practice of the present and it is likely that, if only among the less literate, this pattern will be perpetuated.[1] Even as the controversy rages back and forth, usage is inexorably coming into its own as the criterion for assessment of correctness. The tide of change is only partially stemmed by the durability of the written word.

It is not suprising, therefore, that during the period under study, so many significant changes occurred, coinciding

---

[1]It would seem that the diachronic explanation of linguistic phenomena has more than counter-balanced the bigotry of former years.

with a dearth of written texts, and that the discovery of printing in the Western World gave such an impetus to standardisation and "setting" of the language. Although unable to foster phonetic stabilisation, the written text could provide norms of syntax and grammar. Nevertheless, it could never wholly counteract the dynamism so characteristic of the spoken word, and must soon yield to the majority of its demands.

The evolution of the definite article in French still remains a problem, although its effective presence in the language is usually taken for granted, even by eminent modern grammarians. Scholars accept the fact that this frequently used lexeme had its morphological and functional origin in Latinity, but all do not agree on the precise time of its appearance or its generalisation. Having searched in vain for an exact counterpart to the definite article in written documents of the Classical period, linguists have had to turn elsewhere, - naturally, to the language of the rusticus, the ordinary Roman citizen, the Gallic farmer or the Frankish warrior, - only to be confronted with further complications.

The first obvious reason for the complexity of the problem lies in the fact that linguistic changes usually manifest themselves in writing - or in print - after their occurrence in the minds and speech of language users; even so, the written word is conservative. People who write as they speak belong to a rare class. Language patterns and stylistics

in speech and writing may converge very closely, as is reported in Voltaire's case,[2] but even then, we may speak only of approximation, not of coincidence. The scholar is therefore in pursit of an elusive ghost in his efforts to construct accurately the _sermo cotidianus_ of the Romans, by examining what they wrote. In fact, our study must needs be confined to certain "misuses" and lapses made in unguarded moments by literary figures, and a certain amount of enlightened speculation and theorising.

Another reason for the current dilemma is the scarcity of documents. Before the conquered can create literature of any value in their newly adopted tongue they must first understand its various shades of meaning, its delicate nuances. Comprehension has to be fostered through education. Historical records show that social and economic, ethnic and political factors were inimical to effective linguistic teaching in Gaul, and for that matter, in the whole of Romania, during the greater part of the period to be examined.[3] Successive invasions uprooted tribe after tribe, thereby contributing to extensive fragmentation. In the upheaval, the church emerged

---

[2]See T. Besterman, _Voltaire Essays and Another_, (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 85.

[3]See C. Seignobos, _Histoire sincère de la nation française_, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1946), pp. 1-142.

as the only potentially unifying agent; but its work was
rendered ineffective by repeated military intervention and the
thirst for conquest, characteristic of even some church
leaders. The educational exploits of ecclesiastics and the
teaching of Latin benefited only the upper crust of society.

A critical situation arose, in which administrators
and administrated kept so far apart that their means of
linguisitc communication followed diverging routes. They
could not understand each other. An overwhelming heed for
bridging the gap forced the "enlightened" few to adopt the
speech habits of the vast majority which had now created a
language of its own, having a syntax which, indeed, bore
some relation to the parent stock, but of which the bases
were simplification and mutual comprehension in a particular
context.[4] We do not know precisely when Vulgar Latin began
to show its greatest deviation from Cicero's language.
The exact moment where the vernacular was no longer Latin
is merely an academic question. However, drawing a parallel
with present experience in the behaviouristic patterns of
language in the mouths of speakers, we would dare to assert
that many of the phenomena found in Late Latin must have been
present in the "vulgar" language from the earliest times. We
remind ourselves that it was Vulgar Latin which evolved into
Romance and, in Gaul, Old French.

---

[4]Everyday language is largely a matter of functional
verbal communication and rests on these fundamental bases.

It is our general view that phenomena classified as "confusion" have always shown themselves in certain syntactical quarters. The need for clarity tends to militate against "nice" distinctions and encourages a movement toward contrast. In this respect, the Latin language as a whole is no exception, and the demonstrative system is of particular relevance. This is why we begin by taking a broad view of the system as it functions in classical literature. Throughout the study we have referred to the unstable character of "lower class" syntax, and thought it reasonable to multiply several times these instances of "confusion" when applying textual evidence to everyday speech.

For the sake of precision and greater concentration, we have narrowed down the field somewhat in Chapter II. Not that we consider the rest of the demonstrative system unimportant. In fact, the pronouns and adjectives left untreated are still open for much fruitful research, some of which has already been carried out, notably by Trager.[5] By narrowing down the field, we have endeavoured to keep our subject in focus; regardless of the limits imposed, ille, as the source of the definite article, is studied, not in a vacuum, but as part of a system, and frequent reference is made to hic, is, and ipse. This method is used in full agreement with the modern view of language as a "système où tout se tient".

---

[5] See G. L. Trager, The Latin Demonstratives, (New York: Institute of French Studies, 1932).

In Chapter III our aim is to explore some of the many usages of the definite article in Old French up to the beginning of the twelfth century,[6] and we have thought it useful to restrict our research to those functions which bear most relevance to practice in modern French. It must be admitted that such an approach may appear arbitrary and foster incompleteness. We hasten to point out, however, that temporal limitations and the obvious complexity of our problem have caused the entire study to rest on a selective rather than an exhaustive basis. If, within our present framework, we have succeeded in raising or underlining any interesting points of controversy, which might provoke discussion and lead to further research, we shall consider our investigation well worth the effort.

---

[6]Brunot sees generalisation of the definite article from the thirteenth century onward. See F. Brunot, La Pensée et la langue, 3e éd., (Paris: Masson Cie., 1953), p. 162.

CHAPTER I

DEMONSTRATIVES IN CLASSICAL LATIN

Classical Latin shows a variety of pronouns with pointing or emphatic qualities. In fact, quite apart from those pronouns which we now categorise as demonstratives, even the personal pronouns were used in special circumstances which coincided with a need for particular emphasis. It would be remembered that the verbs contained the suffixes (or signs) which distinguished between the first, second and third persons, and marked off the singular from the plural. Pronouns which standard works on Classical Latin Syntax group under such headings as determinants, demonstratives[1] and intensives had a "pointing-out" or distinguishing element which could vary according to the context of the statement or the purpose of the speaker.[2]

There existed, on the surface at least, a harmonious equilibrium in the pronoun structure which seemed to fit all

---

[1]
   Is was probably hybrid in function, acting both as personal pronoun of the third person and demonstrative. See W. von Wartburg, Problèmes et Méthodes de la linguistique, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1946), pp. 126-127.

[2]See A. Ernout et F. Thomas, Syntaxe Latine, (Paris: Klincksieck, 1953), pp. 187 sqq.

the linguistic needs of speakers and writers. Apparently,
there was a clear distinction between demonstrative pronouns
as such and other pronominal "identifiers". Grammarians have
seen a further classification among the demonstratives
themselves: hic, "this near me", iste, "that near you", and
ille, "that remote from both of us". Ernout makes the
distinctions abundantly clear in his well-known treatise on
Latin syntax:

> Hic est le démonstratif de l'objet le
> plus rapproché du sujet parlant, que ce soit
> dans l'espace, dans le temps ou dans la pensée;
> c'est celui de la 1re personne: "celui-ci
> près de moi... ."
> Iste désigne l'interlocuteur et, d'une
> manière plus large, tout ce qui en émane ou
> le concerne;. . . iste liber "le livre que
> tu tiens;" souvent uni à tuus: Pl. St., III:
> "ex istac tua sorore;. . ."
> Ille (ancien olle) est le démonstratif
> de l'objet éloigné: ille liber "le livre qui
> est là-bas," illa tempora "ces temps lointains. . ."[3]

Ille could also be used to express notoriety or
fame:[4]

Medea illa, "the famous Medea."[5]

---

[3]A. Ernout et F. Thomas, Syntaxe Latine, p. 187 sqq.

[4]There is no incompatibility between this usage and
the aforementioned. It is but an extension of the previous
one.

[5]Cic. Pomp., 22. In this example, ille denotes an
abstract distinction of rank, rather than one of space or
time. Medea is not singled out from other towns of the
same name. The distinction borders on the absolute.

Usage involving contrast was an important factor in maintaining the force of these pronouns, and it is significant that, in an effort to avoid doubt in statements of sharp spatial or temporal distinction, the Latin language had recourse to the two extremes <u>hic</u> and <u>ille</u>. Hence Cicero would write:

> <u>sed hoc commune vitium; illae Epicuri</u>
> <u>propriae ruinae:</u>. . .6 : "This error
> (which I have just pointed out) is
> common to them; these (which I shall
> now mention) are the ones which do ill
> to Epicurus. . ."

By extension <u>hic</u> . . . <u>ille</u> means "the latter. . .the former":

> <u>Haec non dico maiora fuerunt in Clodio quam</u>
> <u>in Milone, sed in illo maxima, nulla</u>
> <u>in hoc</u> 7

Context becomes important in some cases, where word order seems confusing:

> <u>melior</u>. . .<u>est certa pax quam sperata</u>
> <u>victoria; haec [i.e. pax] in tua, illa</u>
> <u>[i.e. victoria] in deorum manu est</u> 8

On the surface, then, demonstrative pronoun usage in Classical Latin gives the impression of a high degree

---

6Cic., <u>Fi.</u>, 1, 18.

7Cic., <u>Mi.</u>, 35. For the sake of brevity and clarity, we propose to attempt a translation only where contextual factors warrant one.

8Liv., xxx, 30, 19. In this example the speaker is obviously more concerned with <u>pax</u> (the present peace) than with <u>victoria</u> (a victory which is beyond man's jurisdiction); <u>pax</u> has, therefore, what may be termed a "mental presence".

of compartmentalisation and a highly developed society where
writers continue to make nice distinctions both on the
concrete and abstract planes. Yet, it is obvious that the
literary documents at our disposal do not and cannot show
the actual state of the spoken language. Our knowledge of how
language behaves is sufficient to convince us that the spoken
tongue of any people has its inherent weaknesses which
contribute toward instability and constant evolution; it is
evident that we do not write as we speak. A greater or
lesser degree of conservatism characterises the written word,
coloured as it is by reflection and thought. One should not
expect, therefore, that the spoken language of Cicero and
Caesar would coincide syntactically with their written output;
neither should we expect their literary works to show, to any
great extent, the amount of semantic shift and over-emphasis
which shaped the language of everyday life. Interaction
surely occurred between the literary tradition and the
vernacular, the former exerting a restraining influence on the
latter. However, the fact that so much slang and "vulgar"
terminology became the respectable stock-in-trade of modern
Romance shows that the literary influence might have been
comparatively small, perhaps smaller than it would be in a

modern context.[9]

We have already seen that all demonstratives were used where emphasis was required and some pointing or underlining force needed. May we suggest, further, that in this very fact lies the inherent weakness of this pronoun system? It would seem that in the multiplicity of forms, all having some notion of "demonstrativity" lay the potential for confusion, which, as is typical of linguistic phenomena, would result in a general attempt at differentiation by searching for further distinguishing marks.[10] Furthermore, it is not unreasonable to think that this search was accelerated in daily speech, where emotion and mental lapses play no small part.[11]

---

[9] There is need for a thorough investigation of the Roman school system. Only a carefully standardised and centralised educational system can guarantee a minimum of grammatical or syntactical correctness in speech on the part of language users. We may ask ourselves whether our knowledge of the qualifications of teachers in Romania is adequate enough to enable us to assess the level of instruction their pupils received. It would seem that the wider the area to be "civilised" the greater the difficulty in maintaining standards. Furthermore, the dissemination of knowledge was hampered by the absence of printing and paper.

[10] It should be emphasized that the language itself generally provides its own _fond_ from which substitutions and reinforcing elements are borrowed. Curiously enough, a large percentage of these substitions are either dialectal, or tend to originate in slang, cant and jargon. See W. von Wartburg, _op. cit._, pp. 123 sqq.

[11] See L. R. Palmer, _The Latin Language_, (London: Faber and Faber, [1954]), pp. 148-155.

Confusion did, in fact, occur:

> La répartition précédente ne dura qu'un
> temps, et, au cours du latin, ces différents
> termes se sont de plus en plus employés les
> uns pour les autres. La confusion commence
> à être particulièrement sensible chez
> Sénèque.[12]

In poetry _is_ loses ground before _hic_, probably for metrical reasons; but even in prose _hoc est_ repeatedly replaces _id est_.[13] Whether this is due to a weakening of _is_ or merely to confused thinking, we cannot say for sure; it may be a combination of both. What we are certain of is that these are marks of popular speech which continually shows a preference for more expressive utterance; Cicero's "lapses" may be just a faint indication of the synchronic state of the language in the mouth of the common man — the _rusticus_.

Seneca used _hic_ as a mere _pronom de renvoi_, replacing _is_:

---

[12]Ernout et Thomas, _op. cit._, p. 190. Given the conservatism of literary documents and the paucity of written examples of what is generally labelled "vulgar" Latin, the linguistic confusion observed in Seneca may have begun at a much earlier date. For the reasons mentioned (see above p. 10) we are still to find a text that is "ultra" vulgar.

[13]_Ibid._, p. 190.

hos. . .quos deus probat. . .exercet[14]

In such contexts there is a certain implied distinguishing element, but its vagueness does not warrant the use of one demonstrative as opposed to another. To put it another way, no distinction is intended between "these" whom God loves and "those" whom God loves.

Ille, even more frequently than hic, tends to be used anaphorically instead of is:[15]

---

[14]Sen., Prov., 4, 7. It would appear that only the best writers reserve is for use as a pronom de renvoi. Is being fundamentally weak in temporal and spatial identification, it would seem that replacing it by hic is an attempt to find a stronger term. However, the concept of weakness in such a context needs clarification. Is is relatively weak vis-à-vis hic. In the example quoted above hic should not be thought to have lost its emphatic strength. Yet, within the demonstrative framework, hic is weak i.e. it has lost its identity of meaning in the sense of "this near me" as contrasted with iste and ille. There is a loss of distinguishing rather than of emphatic force. The phenomenon appears to be qualitative rather than quantitative. Ernout does not clarify this point. For the morphology and original use of is, see A. Ernout, Morphologie historique du latin, 3e éd. (Paris: Klincksieck, 1953), pp. 79, 81; also Ernout et Thomas, Syntaxe latine, p. 189.

[15]The anaphora is here meant to be understood in its etymological sense, viz. "calling to mind". Cf. P. Oltramare's review in Revue Critique. . ., 13 jan., 1877, p. 30.

> bene volo ego illi [i.e. adulescenti] facere[16]
> "I wish to do him a good turn"
>
> postea quam vos me illi et mihi eum reddidistis[17]
> "after you had given me to him and him to me"

It is obvious from the context of the first example that ille

fulfils the primary function of is, since there is neither an

attempt at contrast nor at positioning mentally or spatially.

Ille is a mere pronom de renvoi. In the second example the

point becomes even clearer; both illi and eum refer back to

one and the same person; both are used anaphorically. This

type of confusion is an indication of the unsteady basis on

which is rested even among some of the best prose writers.

Ille, used in this sense (i.e. anaphorically), is

widespread from the first century A.D., so that Petronius

could write:

> habuit. . .oracularios servos qui illum
> pessum dederunt. . .18   "Slaves who led
> him to ruin". . .

Used here to refer back to the subject of habuit, illum is

the equivalent of eum.

Another example from Cicero quoted by W. von Wartburg

in Problèmes et méthodes is worthy of our attention:

---

[16]Pl., Tri., 328.

[17]Cic., Quir., 3.

[18]Petr., Sat., 43.6.

<u>Quam quisque norit artem, in hac se exerceat</u>[19]

The replacement of <u>ea</u> by <u>hac</u> appears to be due to a desire

on the speaker's part to place additional emphasis on the

object to which reference is made, viz. <u>artem</u>. But such

usage in itself attests to the relative weakness of <u>is</u>

which, says Ernout "n'a pas de nuance spéciale de sens, et

qui correspond en gros à l'article ou au pronom '<u>il</u>' du

français. . ."[20] Quite apart from the phonetic clash of <u>is</u>

as determinant and <u>is</u> as a pronoun of the third person

singular – an "intolerable" situation in the linguistic

system – <u>is</u> is found susceptible to replacement by <u>hic</u>,

especially in the oblique cases. This preference for <u>hic</u>

is probably due to its somewhat more bulky form. It would

also be realised that <u>hic</u>, used in similar contexts, shows a

loss of identity – what Von Wartburg calls an "<u>affaiblissement</u>

<u>sémantique</u>", explained thus: "l'essentiel ici est que <u>hic</u>

ait perdu sa relation avec la première personne."[21]

---

[19]W. von Wartburg, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 126. This example is
the Latin translation of a Greek proverb (cf. Aristophanes,
<u>Wasps</u>, 1431) quoted by Cicero in <u>Tusculanae Disputationes</u>,
i, 18, 41.

[20]A. Ernout, <u>Morphologie historique du latin</u>, p. 79.

[21]W. von Wartburg, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 126-127, note 1. To
our knowledge von Wartburg has come the nearest to complete
clarity in explaining weakness and dislocation of these
pronominal semantemes.

A combination of _iste_ with a first person possessive provides evidence of still another shift attested in Classical Latin; _iste meus_, and _iste noster_ are attested in Cicero, to quote but one relevant case.[22]

Somewhat curious combinations of a different nature are found in Virgil:

> _haec erat illa fames. . ._[23] "this then is that hunger. . ."

> _hunc illum poscere fata_[24] "that this is he whom fate demands".

T. E. Page views these constructions as attempts at precision and mental clarification: "the combination _hic ille_ is used when the connection between something past, distant or vaguely understood and something actually present is vividly realised."[25] Earlier texts are not exempt from similar turns of phrase; the following comes from Plautus:

> _O Venus venusta, haec illa est tempestas mea mihi quae modestiam omnem detexit, tectus qua fui._26 "O lovely queen of love! Here, here is the storm that stripped me of all my covering of modesty."

---

[22]See Cic., _Cat._, 11, 3; _Muren._, 21; _Balb._, 27; _Sex. Rosc._, 139.

[23]Virgil, _Aeneid_, vii, 128.

[24]_Ibid._, 272.

[25]_The Aeneid of Virgil_, ed. T. E. Page, (London: MacMillan, 1924) II, p. 158; see also p. 168. If Page's explanation is correct, then we are not very far removed from the demonstrative value of _ille_. However, it would seem that anaphoric _is_ is more "normal" in such contexts.

[26]Pl., _Mo._, 162.

It is difficult to assert with assurance whether <u>haec</u> or <u>illa</u> is uppermost in the speaker's mind here. The phrase <u>haec est tempestas mea</u> seems adequate to convey the meaning. <u>Illa</u>, therefore, may perform either of two functions: it may be an additional underlining particle, or it may be used in reference to a previously mentioned substantive - in this case <u>tempestas</u>. What is strange is the unusual juxtaposition of <u>haec</u> and <u>illa</u>; even more unusual is the link <u>illa. . .mea</u>. Used with concrete objects in spatial relationships, similar combinations, though unusual, take on a clearer significance, as in the following:

<u>placet ille meus mihi mendicus</u>[27] "that beggar of mine is a delight to me"

Expression of contrast <u>hic. . .ille</u> is often replaced by <u>hic. . .hic</u> and <u>ille. . .ille</u>,[28] thus providing further evidence that these pronouns did not always remain in water-tight semantic compartments.

We become aware, through a closer and more detailed examination of Classical Latin texts, that differences in syntactical usage are ever present and that observance of rules varies from one author to another, depending on personal preferences, as well as on the purpose and public in mind at

---

[27]Pl. <u>St.</u>, 133. <u>Ille</u> "situates" <u>mendicus</u> while <u>meus</u> replaces a clause denoting ownership, viz. "who belongs to me". There is no attempt, in the previous example, at spatial positioning; <u>illa</u> operates in somewhat abstract surroundings. It appears that demonstrative pronoun usage with abstract nouns is more elusive to rationalisation, and more likely to contribute towards confused thinking.

[28]See Pl., <u>Mo.</u>, 778; also Te., <u>Ph.</u>, 332.

the time of writing. According to Meillet:

> la comédie de Plaute, destinée au gros
> public, n'est pas comparable aux discours
> de Cicéron ni aux bulletins du puriste
> qu'était César. La langue de la poésie
> hellénisante n'est pas celle de la prose.
> Il y a aussi des différences d'un écrivain
> à l'autre.29

As an important sector of the linguistic structure, demonstrative
pronouns had their share of treatment and manipulation by
different authors; those who adhered to the strictest classical
traditions, whether poets, orators or historians, show a high
degree of conservatism. Despite the evidences we have found
of apparent confusion and semantic weakening, Virgil, Caesar,
Cicero and other writers of equal merit show a syntactical
usage that is generally indicative of the Latin grammar
taught in the best educational institutions of republican
Rome, and sporadic "lapses" only show what was possible even
in the "sermo urbanus". "Infringements" are more frequent
in Plautus who wrote almost a century prior to the classical
era, and whose language is usually cited as more approximate
to, and typical of, the "sermo vulgaris".

29A. Meillet, _La Méthode comparative en linguistique
historique_, (Oslo: Aschehoug and Co., 1925), p. 8. For full
comment on Plautus' use of the demonstratives see W. M. Lindsay,
Syntax of Plautus, (New York: Stechert and Co., 1936),
pp. 45-48.

Is not Plautus' use of the demonstratives explained, at least in part, by the comparatively greater instability of the Latin language during an earlier period of development? Significantly enough, the linguistic phenomena (labelled "errors" in some quarters) observed in his works re-assert themselves with greater frequency in late Latin authors, during the disintegration of the Roman social, political and educational systems; add to this the fact of a more diversified and heterogeneous linguistic substratum, which further complicates the issue. The grammatical rigidity of classical authors was difficult to maintain on any large scale after the fourth century. W. von Wartburg sees a wide gulf between the "sermo vulgaris" and the "sermo urbanus" at all times, as well as a chronological "softening up" of Augustan linguistic traditions.[30]

It is not surprising, then, that we find a great percentage of syntactical vagaries in the demonstrative system, not in "standardised" texts of Latin classicism, but rather in works of the early period. For further evidence bordering on the conclusive, we should next turn our attention to works of a later age, to poetry and prose literature produced at a time of instability and fragmentation

---

[30]See W. Von Wartburg, _Evolution et structure. . .,_ 4e éd., (Berne: Francke, 1950), p. 29.

in the Roman Empire. But, above all, we must strive to get
as close as possible to the spoken tongue in order to find
possible reasons for semantic weakening and shift. Grandgent's
comment on this point is noteworthy:

> The Latin language, like every living
> language, has always been in an unstable
> condition. The evidence of inscriptions
> and grammarians indicates that from the
> beginning to the end of Roman history
> speech was constantly changing, <u>the
> alteration being most rapid in the earliest
> and the latest periods</u>. Furthermore,
> there were at all times, but especially
> before the Social War, considerable
> local divergences. . .The Social War,
> however, had a levelling effect, and
> speech in Italy became more uniform; but
> there doubtless were still noticeable
> differences in pronunciation and even in
> vocabulary.[31]

It would be strange if the syntactical and morphological
structure of the Latin demonstratives did not undergo
significant changes beyond the frontiers of Italy, and, more
particularly, in Gaul, throughout the periods under
consideration.

---

[31] C. H. Grandgent, <u>An Introduction to Vulgar Latin</u>,
(Boston: Heath and Co., 1908), p. 2. Underlining supplied.

CHAPTER II

ILLE AND ISTE IN LATE LATIN

We shall now turn our attention to the complex
question of the emergence of the definite article in French
romance during the Late Latin period.[1] Here we are faced
once more with the problem of accurate interpretation of texts,
as well as arbitrary selection of what we consider to be
nearest textual approximations to the concept of "vulgarity".
The documents available constitute the work of the educated
upper crust of society, since living conditions of the
social layer which was largely responsible for linguistic
change hardly fostered the desire or provided the training
to write anything of note. Furthermore, not a few of the
intellectual elite were guided stylistically by Latin
rhetorical models, and could, therefore, not reflect even a
style analogous to that of the "popular" speech found in

---

[1]The term is here used in a special sense to embrace
the period stretching from the Germanic invasions (5th
century) to the appearance of the Serments de Strasbourg
(842). It will be seen that the period includes what
philologists generally refer to as Gallo-Roman. Convention
is our main guide for such clear-cut divisions; they are
unknown in linguistic evolution.

some modern novels.[2] Sermons by churchmen did not descend

to the level of the _rusticus_, and prayers of devout intellectuals

were addressed to the Deity, even as they are today, in what

was considered to be sublime and elevated language.

This is the context in which _ille_ had to evolve, and

we should constantly be aware of these social and educational

factors as we examine the texts. However, of one thing we

are certain: this is the period when _ille_ underwent its

most important change; and, if the texts do not adequately

show the transformation, we shall be forced to conclude that

educated writers of all sorts were relatively unimportant in

shaping the language that emerged in written form in the _Serments_

of 842.[3]

---

[2]Even the author of the _Peregrinatio_ should be
considered as ranking among the educated few, the clergy being
wholly responsible for education in the provinces throughout
the period under consideration. See H. Ramsden, _Weak Pronoun
Position in the Early Romance Languages_, (Manchester: University
Press, 1963), p. 54.

[3]It will be remembered that it was the clergymen who
were instructed to "condescend" to make themselves understood
by the _vulgus_. Vigorous evolution on one hand and conservatism
on the other created an ever-widening linguistic gulf between
the speech of the people and that of the church - to which
education and proselytizing were entrusted. To these conditions
we may add the restrictions existing between the social
classes, the political fragmentation of Gaul and the slow
and difficult media of communication. The results of these are
manifest in dialectal traits of the earliest Romance texts.
See G. Gougenheim, _Les Mots français dans l'histoire et dans
la vie_, (Paris: Picard, 1962), pp. 19 sqq. E. Auerbach,
Introduction aux études de philológie romane, 3e éd., (Frankfurt
am Main: Vittorio Klosterman, 1961), pp. 43-46.

Together with _ille_, _iste_ is the only demonstrative

leaving, in the earliest documents of French Romance, remnants

of one form or another which were important enough to form

the Demonstrative System of Modern French. It is therefore

reasonable for us to examine, in a comparative way, the

evolution of both these demonstratives in the general literary

output of Late Latin.

The following procedure will be followed: first we

shall examine the use of _ille_ as pronoun, and _iste_ as

pronoun and adjective, in their Late Latin usage, and attempt

to locate any movement away from normal classical syntax;

next we shall investigate the role that _ille_ played as an

adjective and as a basis for the transition to the function

of the definite article. We shall make, for the purpose of

this study, but brief reference to the other demonstratives,

and only as parts of a system in which one element affected

the others. Lastly, we shall comment briefly on the question

of duplication and the addition of deictic particles.

ILLE (pronoun) and ISTE (pronoun and adjective)

As a demonstrative pronoun, _ille_ seems to have at

least two functions in Late Latin. Firstly, it assumes

its classical function of pointing out and distinguishing;

in other words, it still means "that one yonder" and is

identified with the third person. This usage is found, as

would be expected, in the writings of classically-trained

scholars; it is also found in the _Peregrinatio_ and other works

of lesser writers; furthermore, _ille_ used in this manner is

attested textually throughout the period of Late Latin and

Early Romance. Akin to it is the anaphoric use in which _ille_

tends to replace _is_. However, Trager has shown that translation

of _ille_ exclusively by a personal pronoun in such contexts is

sometimes open to question and, in the long-run, may be a

matter of mere subjective interpretation.[4] In a number of

texts the pronominal use of _ille_ is considerable, in many

instances far outweighing its adjectival use. The descriptive

nature of the _Peregrinatio_[5] probably accounts for the reverse

trend. Yet, later documents suggest a change. Taylor's

examination of the _Liber Historiae Francorum_,[6] an anonymous

work of the eighth century in Northern France, shows that

ille was establishing itself progressively as a pronoun of

the third person replacing _is_. She categorically asserts

that "_ille_, _illa_, and _illi_ were regularly used as the personal

---

[4] See G. L. Trager, _The Usage of the Latin Demonstratives_, (New York: Institute of French Studies, 1932), pp. 1-7. We hereby express our indebtedness to this exhaustive study for much of the material found in the current chapter.

[5] See _Peregrinatio Aetheriae_ [Ethérie, _Journal de Voyage_], texte latin, introduction et traduction de Hélène Pétré, (Paris: Editions du Cerf, Sources Chrétiennes, no. 21, 1948).

[6] _Liber Historiae Francorum_, ed. B. Krusch in _Monumenta Germaniae Historiae_, Script. Rer. Meroving., II, pp. 215-238, Hanover, 1888.

pronoun subjects of the third person."[7] Being of greater

expressiveness and bulk, _ille_ replaced _is_ so frequently

that, by the time the earliest texts appear, it has

completely monopolised the function of the third person subject

pronoun. "Its use as a third person pronoun and article

brought about a loss of intensity - a contextual and

syntactical phenomenon."[8] Nevertheless, in its Late Latin

pronominal context _ille_ must not be understood to have

weakened entirely. The original identity it had with the third

person facilitated its adoption when _is_ was felt to be

colourless and insufficient; the latter may have disappeared

from popular speech long before the texts showed visible

signs of change. In fact, the texts reveal a numerical

---

[7] P. Taylor, _The Latinity of the Liber Historiae Franco-rum_, (New York: Columbia University thesis, 1924), p. 122. The ratio for _ille_ (pronoun): _ille_ (adjective) in the _Peregrinatio_, 50: 108, tends to render invalid the argument that the frequent use of _ille_ for _is_ in earlier texts, e.g. the _Cena Trimalchionis_ (ratio 118 pronouns: 20 adjectives), indicates that _is_ was on the way out. On the whole, the use of _ille_ for _is_ seems to be dependent on the style, purpose, regional and personal preference of authors. Saint Jerome uses it exclusively as a pronoun of the third person while still showing a preference for _is_. See Trager, _op. cit._, pp. 127 sqq., 187 sqq. For the demonstrative value of _is_, see A. Ernout, _Morphologie historique du Latin_, (Paris: Klincksieck, 1953), p. 81.

[8] C.-L. Barber, _The Story of Language_, (London: Pan Books, 1964), pp. 253-254. The universality of _ille_ as a third person subject pronoun suggests that Vulgar speech favoured it even before the disintegration of the Roman Empire.

superiority of <u>is</u> over <u>ille</u> throughout Late Latin.[9]

During the post-classical period <u>iste</u> generally appears
as a strong demonstrative of the second person; in most texts
it is confined to direct address, both as adjective and pronoun
- except in the <u>Peregrinatio</u> where the author restricts
herself to adjectival use. It still has its classical
connotations in St. Augustine's address to the Deity.

> <u>Sed falsa loquebantur, non de te tantum, qui
> vere es, sed etiam de istis elementis huius
> mundi creatura tua,. . .10</u>

> <u>At tu, amor meus, in quem deficio ut fortis
> sim, nec ista corpora es quae videmus,
> quanquam in caelo;. . ..11</u>

There are a few cases where it is confused with other

---

[9]See Trager, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 187-188. Löfstedt shows
that the cleavage between popular speech and written treatises,
sermons etc. became increasingly felt from the seventh
century - although it is difficult "to draw a sharp dividing
line." "In general the rule enunciated by Naberg is valid,
when in speaking of the Merovingian period in Gaul, which
is particularly well documented, he observes that before
600 the popular speech may be called Latin, after 600 Romance."
See E. Löfstedt, <u>Late Latin</u>, (Oslo: W. Nygaard, 1959), p. 2.
See also K. Strecker <u>Introduction à l'étude du latin mediéval</u>,
(Genève: Droz, 1948), pp. 17-18; C. Morhman, <u>Etudes sur le
latin des chrétiens</u>, (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura,
1961), pp. 94-99; M. Pei, <u>The Language of the Eighth Century
Texts in Northern France</u>, (New York: Columbia University
thesis, 1932), pp. 194 sqq.; M. Bonnet, <u>Le Latin de Grégoire
de Tours</u>, (Paris: Hachette, 1890), pp. 17, 18, 298.

[10]S. Aug., <u>Conf.</u>, iii, 6.

[11]<u>Ibid.</u>, iii, 6.

demonstratives and even replaces them; but, on the whole,

iste tends to disappear in narrative passages and to

reappear in conversation.

St. Avitus occasionally uses iste for is:

Et cogitet haereticus, utrum istud patris
gloriae adjungat, an filii?12

Istud, quod dixit,. . .13

Duo ista sunt, quorum aut Deus solus aut
homo solus utrumque non facerent 14

Most interesting is the use of iste for hic:

Iste mortem non timebat a iudicaturo,
cum ille vitam requirat a mortuo.15

Convenit veritati et prophetiae quia
ista peperit, quod illa concepit. 16

Goelzer sees these "lapses" in syntax as indications that

even a stylist "rompu à toutes les pratiques de la rhêtorique"

- as indeed St. Avitus otherwise shows himself to be - could

not escape the influence of popular linguistic evolution:

---

[12] S. Avit., Epist., 20, 26-27. The numbers refer
consecutively to the pages and lines of Peiper's edition.

[13] Ibid., 24, 18.

[14] Ibid., 26, 19-20.

[15] Ibid., 25, 27-28.

[16] Ibid., 114, 4-5.

"la tolérance dont il a fait preuve à leur égard montre combien elles [i.e. the so-called faults] étaient vivaces et à quel point elles s'imposaient à tous, aux lettrés aussi bien qu'aux ignorants."[17]

In his excellent treatise on the language of Grégoire de Tours, Bonnet has shown that _iste_ was also affected "adversely" - as were the other demonstratives; the following statement, however, shows that he has been fully aware of the role of interpretation in a judgement of syntactical usage:

> D'une manière plus générale on peut
> dire que les démonstratifs _hic_, _is_, _iste_,
> _ille_ s'emploient les uns pour les autres.
> Non qu'on ne puisse, le plus souvent, avec
> la bonne volonté et quelque subtilité,
> expliquer les textes de telle façon que
> leur emploi, dans leur acceptation propre,
> serait justifié. Mais l'usage de l'époque
> classique qui, dans une telle circonstance
> donne la préférence à tel pronom, n'est
> pas observé.

The final observation we shall make concerning _iste_ is its change of meaning from "that of yours" to "this", "this of yours".

After an exhaustive examination of Late Latin texts, Trager states that Tertullian (3rd century) already has the seeds for the later syntactical shift attested in the

---

[17]H. Goelzer, _La Latinité de saint-Avit_, (Paris: Alcan, 1909), p. 10.

[18]M. Bonnet, _op. cit._, p. 300.

Peregrinatio, but that, generally, hic, in its original sense of "this near me" is still very much alive. Iste does not seem to replace hic. It is used sparingly, usually confined to direct speech, and only to express strong emphasis, whereas hic is less forceful.[19] In some contexts, however, iste is "almost wholly unconnected with the second person":

> Iste igitur dei radius, ut retro semper
> praedicabatur, delapsus in virginem
> quandam, et in utero eius caro figuratus,
> nascitur homo dei mixtus. 20

> Omnis ista confessio illorum, qua se deos
> negant esse... .21

St. Jerome and St. Augustine (end of the fourth century) show sparing and rather correct use of iste; but a notable change appears in three sixth century authors:

> It is only here .[i.e. in Boethius,
> De consolatione philosophiae], in P [i.e.
> the Peregrinatio], and in St. Benedict's
> Regula (. . .) that such unmistakable
> uses of iste as an ordinary (i.e. without
> special reference to the second person)
> demonstrative occur; between the days
> of SA [St. Augustine] and SJ [St. Jerome]
> and the first quarter of the sixth century
> such a decided change in the meaning of
> iste must have occurred that even a Boethius

---

[19]Trager, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

[20]Tert., Apol., 21, 14. The third person implications in this example and in the following one are evident.

[21]Tert., op. cit., 24, 1. It may be argued that instances like these only reflect faintly the confusion that must have existed in the popular language. Their occurrence could easily be multiplied a hundredfold in the mouth of the unlettered citizen.

slips up in its use three out of five
times.22

What Trager calls "a decided change" may have been merely
the triumph of popular linguistic evolution over the conscious
and nostalgic attempts made by contemporary scholars to ape
classical models. In the three works mentioned _iste_ seems
to have, at times, very tenuous connections with the second
person:

> Tu fortunam putas erga te esse mutatam:
> erras. Hi semper eius mores sunt, ista
> natura.23 "These are always her habits,
> this her nature".

There is no reference to the second person in the following
example:

> Humanae quippe naturae ista conditio est,
> ut. . .24 "For the condition of human
> nature is such that. . ."

St. Benedict, showing greater preference for _hic_, uses _iste_
but sparingly; even so, reference to the second person is
noticeably absent. _Iste_ merely shows greater emphasis than
hic; it becomes what Trager terms "an emphatic 'nearer'
demonstrative":

22Trager, _op. cit._, p. 144.

23Boet., _Cons._, 21, 10.

24_Ibid._, 35, 29.

> *Privati autem a mensae consortio ista
> erit ratio, ut in oratorio psalmum,
> aut antiphonam non imponat, neque. . .25*
> "This shall be the mode of procedure of
> him who is deprived of coming to the
> table. . ."
>
> *Quod si nec isto modo sanatus fuerit,
> . . .26*
> "If he is not cured by this means. . ."

The following quotations from the *Peregrinatio* will serve to

illustrate further the syntactical change in *iste*:

> *Nam in isto colliculo, qui est medio vico
> positus, in summitatem ipsius fabricam
> quam vides ecclesia est, quae ecclesia
> hunc appellatur greco sermone opu
> Melchisedech. Nam hic est locus ubi. . .27*
> "Now on this hill. . .For this is the place
> . . ."
>
> *Ecce ista fundamenta in giro colliculo isto,
> quae videtis, hae sunt. . .28*
> "These foundations which you behold. . .
> these are. . ."
>
> *Nam haec aqua. . .quam videtis in isto
> vico. . .29*

In spite of an apparent connection with the second person,

it is obvious that, in the three preceding examples, *iste*

is in some way linked to the meaning of *hic* and merely

serves as a more potent emphasizer; it means an emphatic

"this".

---

[25] S. Benedict, *Reg.*, 24, 4.

[26] *Ibid.*, 28, 6.

[27] Ethéria, *op. cit.*, 13, 4.

[28] *Ibid.*, 14, 2.

[29] *Ibid.*, 15, 1.

Trager sums up, in the following words, his findings

on the usage of <u>iste</u> in Late Latin:

> <u>Iste</u>, very uncommon at all times, is found
> much more often in Christian writers than in
> the earlier pagan writers. It keeps its second
> person connotation until the sixth century,
> but shows tendencies in the direction of becoming
> a word for 'this' as early as Te [i.e. Tertullian],
> and has definitely changed its meaning to a strong
> 'this' after the fifth century, except in archaized
> language.30

ILLE as adjective and article

It was in its functions as an adjective that <u>ille</u>

was most susceptible of evolving into a definite article.

In this section we shall endeavour to determine, by the

examination of adjectival usage, whether Late Latin texts

show this tendency.

In his <u>Apologeticum</u> Tertullian uses <u>ille</u> twenty times

as an adjective, always emphatically and nowhere with the

function of a mere 'the':

> <u>Dicent ibidem: Ecquis ille Christus cum sua</u>
> <u>fabula</u>?31
> "Who is that Christ with his story?"

---

[30] Trager, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 184-185. For <u>iste</u> replacing
<u>hic</u>, see C. L. Meader, <u>The Latin Pronouns: Is: Hic: Iste:</u>
<u>Ipse</u>, (New York: Macmillan, 1901), pp. 111-161.

[31] Tert., <u>op. cit.</u>, 23, 12.

> Et hinc conceditis, opinor illum Deum
> iustitia praecellere,. . .32
> "that God" (of whom I have been speaking)

Side by side with the normal demonstrative use there are
rare instances of a function which ille was to assume later -
that of "a syntactic accent-mark":

> Igitur si est qui faciat deos, revertor ad
> causas examinandas faciendorum ex hominibus
> deorum, nec ullas invenio, nisi si ministeria
> et auxilia officiis desideravit ille magnus
> Deus.33

"It is immediately apparent [from the context] that ille here
is used not so much as a real demonstrative as to express a very
definite emphasis: 'that (one and only) great God', 'the
great God'."34

St. Caesarius makes frequent use of adjectival ille
in his sermons; along with the regular demonstrative connotations
we find usages like the following:

> Siluit stridor lugentium ille, soluta sunt
> onera catenarum. . .35
> "Silent was the noise of those wailing ones. . ."

Here the context does not imply that ille has more force than
that of a "syntactic accent".

---

[32] Tert., op. cit., 11, 10.

[33] Ibid., 11, 4.

[34] Trager, op. cit., p. 86.

[35] S. Caesarius, Hom., 1, 11, in Migne, Patrologiae. . .,
vol. LXVII, 1042-1089. (Paris: Garnier, 1878-90).

> Unus ex illis id unicum ac primum illud
> originale debitum sacri fontis unda
> vacuavit. Illud singulare delictum
> primi parentis interemit.36
> "One of them cleared away that unique
> and that first original debt by the
> waters of the sacred fountain. That
> single sin of the first parent he
> purchased."

It is in such cases of "over-emphatic pointing out" that _ille_

was abused. By the time that the _Peregrinatio_ appears we

find an increase in this emotional emphasizing, implied not

only by the frequent use of _ille_ itself, but also by a

multiplication of other demonstrative particles.[37] The

demonstratives, used sparingly - we may almost say carefully -

in unexcited narrative passages, fly thick and fast when

Etheria describes in detail her own doings.

> Activity, vivacity, and the need for
> demonstration have been accompanied by
> numerous demonstratives, while plain
> statement of fact, uncolored by emotion
> or action, have only the demonstratives
> normally needed. The demonstrative is,
> then, to repeat, a means of emphasis,
> even when, if one were translating, it

---

[36] S. Caesarius, _Hom._, 3, 25.

[37] Throughout the period _ipse_ offers, in this function,
stiff competition to _ille_. The preferences shown for the
latter in Gaul may be explained by an early linking of _ipse_ (in
its superlative form, _ipsimus_) in popular speech with _met_,
thereby giving it specialised connotations. Latin texts fail to
account for the disappearance of uncompounded _ipse_ in the
earliest Romance texts. Furthermore, the preponderance of
ipse in the _Peregrinatio_ may be one indication of the place
where the document originated, as well as of Hispanic linguistic
conservatism. See Trager, _op. cit._, pp. 187-188.

would be equal to a single definite
article.38

We notice, furthermore, that Etheria, in her search for a very

emphatic demonstative which would prevent any misunderstanding,

uses _iuxta istum_:

iuxta istum medianum "this middle one".39

Despite the ever-present difficulty of accurate

interpretation, two important tendencies emerge from our study

of the use of _ille_ in the _Peregrinatio_: firstly, in common

with the other demonstratives, its frequency increases with

a search for vividness; secondly, it is not yet a weakened

adjective, equal in function to the definite article. Trager

sums up the situation in this manner:

> At the same time her syntax is. . .,
> notably "progressive". . .; but most striking
> is the use of various reinforcing devices, such
> as compound prepositions and adverbs, and the
> constant repetition of demonstratives of all
> kinds; on analysis, it is seen that this great
> use of demonstratives, for the most part
> confined to a multiplication of _ille_ and _ipse_

38Trager, op. cit., pp. 23-24. For contrasting
circumstances which illustrate instances of his phenomenon,
see _Peregrinatio_, 2, 2-6; 52-8. See also chapters 4, 5 (which
may be contrasted with the calmer tempo of chapter 7 with its
comparatively smaller number of demonstratives), 19, and 20.
Almost every chapter illustrates the indiscriminate and
prolific use of _ille_, and the other demonstratives, in vivid
description.

Since the phenomenon discussed here is contextual, we
have thought it economical to refer to, rather than to quote,
long passages of text.

39_Peregrinatio_, 3, 8.

in their adjectival funtion, occurs in
those passages where there is need for
pointing out, physically or figuratively.40

He continues significantly:

These overworked demonstratives are
used to strengthen the effect of the sentence,
phrase or word; their continued use may lead
to a weakening in their strict meanings, and
result in constructions that at times are
exactly like those of languages having an
article, notably the various Romance Languages,
but this weakening will be a later result of
an originally reinforcing function. The
material for the definite article is here,
it would seem, but the creation of such an
article would appear to be due to a real
morphological and syntactical stressing, and
not to any need for analysis (. . .), or to
any already old weakened use of ille in
Latin dating from the archaic period.41

The period which elapsed between the Peregrinatio and

the appearance of the earliest French text is one of

deterioration in the school system:

Les écoles publiques, qui continuaient les
traditions de la belle Latinité disparaissent,
du moins en Gaule, dès la première partie du
Ve siècle. La ruine publique et l'invasion ne
leur permettent plus de subsister.42

40Trager, op. cit., pp. 48-49.

41Trager, op. cit., p. 49. Etheria's "speech", valid
as it is for our understanding of speech patterns in Vulgar
Latin, cannot be taken as a faithful mirror of everyday
language in sixth century Romania. Her educational back-
ground restricted her text to the portrayal of a mere tendency
which, if not characteristic of popular speech dating "from
the archaic period", may have pervaded the langage of the
illiterate early Roman settlers in Romania.

42F. Lot, "A quelle époque a-t-on cessé de parler
latin?" Bulletin du Cange, ALMA, VI-VII, 1931-32, p. 99.

Poor educational facilities are evidenced in the ever-widening
cleavage between ecclesiastical speech and popular jargon. In
the turmoil, clerics fail to make themselves understood from
the pulpit;[43] the sparse documents from the period are filled
with blunders:

> Un autre témoignage, et irrécusable, de
> l'ignorance du latin, c'est l'aspect que
> présente la langue des manuscrits des
> VIIe et VIIIe siècles. C'est un fourmillement
> de bévues, de fautes de tout genre. On y
> offense la morphologie et la syntaxe à
> chaque phrase.44

Ethnic and linguistic factors inherent in Roman expansion are
stressed by Meillet, who rightly maintains that evolution
of language forms is slower when language is transmitted from
one generation to another "dans un même milieu". He proceeds
to cite the case in point and its contrasting circumstances:

> Mais dans une langue qui se répand sur de grands
> domaines nouveaux et qui, pour la plupart des
> sujets, est nouvellement apprise, ces survivances
> tendent plus vite à s'éliminer. Le "latin
> vulgaire" a tendu à beaucoup simplifier
> l'ancienne grammaire.45

In their efforts to acquire the new tongue, the conquered
failed to seize the delicate nuances of the demonstratives in

---

[43] The Bishop of Noyon is said to have been chosen for
his post in 659 because of his ability to speak _roman_. See
G. Saintsbury, _A Short History of French Literature_ (3rd ed.;
Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889), p. 3.

[44] F. Lot, _op. cit._, p. 106.

[45] A. Meillet, _Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue
latine_, (Paris: Hachette, 1928), p. 255. See also pp. 236,
256.

a language not their mother tongue. They therefore simplified

the syntax, while showing preference for an expressive "doubling

up" and lavish use of demonstrative forms. Meillet continues:

"Un exemple remarquable de ces simplifications faites par le

latin vulgaire est fourni par les démonstratifs."[46]

This is the general picture of the milieu in which

ille had to develop, and, through constant abuse, it became

a mere underlining particle: "Ille, qui était un démonstratif,

n'est devenu un simple article que parce que le désir de

s'exprimer avec force en a fait un emploi abusif."[47]

The centuries between Etheria's travelogue (about the

fifth century) and the Serments de Strasbourg were therefore

most critical in the life of all demonstratives, and particularly

where ille was concerned. It is during this period that the

accelerated weakening of ille took place, occasioned by intense

linguistic abuse by speakers who have left little or no record

of what they said. This is the time when the balance swung

---

[46]Meillet, p. 255.

[47]Ibid., p. 256. H. F. Muller finds that "ille is
on the whole preferred" during the period. See H. F. Muller,
A Chronology of Vulgar Latin, (Halle: Z.F.R.P., 1929), pp. 75-
79. Both Pei and Muller date the "emploi abusif" – the
"pleonastic use of the pronoun, and principally ille", in the
second half of the eighth century. See Ibid., pp. 83-84; Pei,
Language of the Eighth Century Texts. . ., p. 196. Our belief
is that any document examined so far is conservative and
somewhat out of date when compared with the diachronic
development of the spoken tongue. We submit that few Gauls or
Franks ever spoke "grammatically correct" Latin; few used the
demonstratives "correctly" in daily speech. The textual upsurgence
of demonstrative "tool-words" (the term is used by M. K. Pope)

away from strong demonstrative notions to connotations of
the definite article. Used as a prefix, ille had moved from
a "that" meaning to a "the" meaning.

Another factor which must have accelerated the
generalisation of ille - and its subsequent abuse - is the
deterioration of the declension system, recognizable in Late
Latin. The resulting chaotic conditions in the linguistic
framework created a need for particularising the noun,
especially in cases where the dynamism of sound-laws brought
about phonetic approximation and confusion of genders. Textual
evidence of this phenomenon must be considered very inadequate
when one thinks of the intense substantival usage which
characterizes every day speech.[48] Frequent use of ille in
this respect led to a kind of "wearing-out" of its force,
which, it must be remembered, does not disappear entirely.
Constant use as a "syntactic accent" later welds ille to the
noun, and subsequent sentence stress rendered it atonic.[49]

---

[47] . . . . may easily be considered as a hesitant
clerical condescension for purposes of comprehension on the
part of readers. The propagation of ille was based on a
conscious or subconscious need for "definiteness". For an
enlightening discussion of linguistic evolution and its depend-
ence on psychological need, see A. Martinet, A Functional View
of Language, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), pp. 135 sqq.

[48] The inadequacy of available texts has already been
explicitly stated in this study; but we think it impossible
to over-emphasize such a fact in an essay of this nature.

[49] M. K. Pope, From Latin to Modern French. . ., (3rd
ed., Manchester: M.U.P., 1952), pp. 97, 302, 322; M. Pei,
The Story of Language, (New York: Mentor Books, 1964),
pp. 108-109; F. Lot, "A quelle époque. . .", pp. 106-107.

This weakened demonstrative which now accompanied the noun

with increasing frequency performed functions similar to, if

not identical with, those of the definite article as it appears

in early Old French.

Addition of deictic ECCE

Ille having been affected by the normal weakening

process inherent in too frequent usage, speakers found it

necessary to seek a replacement of relatively stronger

demonstrative function. The popular reinforcing tendency and

preference for bulky forms attested in the vulgar tongue

(e.g. metipsimus for ipse) shows its effect in the use of an

ille strengthened by the proclitic addition of deictic

particles: ecce ille becomes more and more generalised in

use as a demonstrative of the remote object. Analogy is

responsible for the later widespread use of ecce iste, since

iste had retained its force and connotations of the closer

object, until very late.[50]

---

[50]For a further discussion of this question, see Wartburg, Problèmes et Méthodes. . ., pp. 127-129; Pope, op. cit., p. 325; Pei, Studies in Romance Philology and Literature, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), pp. 17-21; W. Meyer-Lübke, Grammaire des langues romanes, (Paris: H. Welter, 1900), vol. III, 95 sqq. The rare appearance of ecce iste and ecce ille in Late Latin texts does not prove their non-existence in the spoken tongue. Their presence in Plautus (Merc., 434, Curc., 455, 615) strengthens the possibility of their existence throughout all phases of Latin; their frequency may have increased in Late Latin. Professor Pei's argument in favour of hic ille (instead of ecce ille) is not wholly convincing, (see Pei, Studies,...pp.17-21). His conclusions seem to be based on instances where hic is combined with iste, not with ille. The situation he cites can be interpreted in terms of our earlier observation, namely, that iste moved from a meaning "that" to a meaning "this". Hic iste merely seems to strengthen the argument concerning this semantic shift.

The Late Latin period provided fertile soil,
linguistically, ethnically and socially, for extensive
evolution of the demonstratives _ille_ and _iste_. Continual
search for emphasis and concreteness led, throughout Gaul,
to multiplication and pleonastic use of the former, giving
rise to natural erosion in expressivity, and attachment to the
substantive.[51] The resulting void was adequately filled by
the stronger _ecce ille_. Analogy probably played a very
important role in the fashioning of the third person personal
pronoun from an _ille_ which often replaced a colourless _is_
in anaphoric function;[52] indeed, the necessity of having

---

[51]We must re-emphasize our awareness of the difficulties
involved in interpretation and the tricky problem of
distinguishing between the adjectival use and the more
articular trend in the use of _ille_. On the whole, we are
inclined to agree with Professor Pei, when he states in _The
Language of the Eighth Century Texts. . ._, that "Generally
speaking, it is quite difficult to separate the adjective from
the article function of . . ._ille_. When referring to a noun
already mentioned, it is safer, for the most part, to assume
that the function is adjectival, and that the meaning is "the
aforesaid". When the noun that the pronoun accompanies has
not already been mentioned, the assumption that it is used with
the function of an article is fairly safe. It will be seen. . .
that the latter function appears far more clearly in the
documents of the latter part of the [eighth] century than in
the earlier ones, . . ." p. 196.

[52]See V. Väänänen, _Le Latin des inscriptions pompéiennes_,
(Helsinki: Académie des Sciences, 1937), p. 206.

subject pronouns was further hastened by the phonetic decay

of distinctive verb endings, as, for example, in the present

indicative of - er verbs. Iste, frequently "summed up" by

hic, and almost exclusively connected to direct address,[53]

shifted nearer the speaker, psychologically speaking; it was

under such circumstances that it held its ground in Romania;[54]

but by the middle of the ninth century it had succumed, at

least in Gaul, to the analogical influences which were to

transform it into Old French cist(<ecce iste).

On the whole, the texts are extremely important; in

fact, they are the sole legacy remaining from the period.

But they are only valid as indicators, in a relatively

slight manner, of syntactical trends, which should be studied

in the light of a practical knowledge of linguistic evolution.

What texts show in miniature should be magnified.several

times if we are to conceive of a picture which approximates

to the true condition of the demonstratives ille and iste

in particular, and, more generally, of the linguistic totality

which was to constitute the Old French language system. We

believe that the definite article was already a fait accompli

in popular speech when the Serments were pronounced in 842.

---

[53]Under such circumstances, iste, through showing
sporadic signs of confusion, could not offer ille serious
functional competition.

[54]Von Wartburg postulates the existence of a system
iste - ecc(u)-ille in Late Latin. See Problèmes et Méthodes
. . ., pp. 128-129.

CHAPTER III

THE DEFINITE ARTICLE IN OLD FRENCH TO

THE BEGINNING OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

The year 842 has always been recognised as a landmark
in the linguistic evolution of French. It was in this year
that the now famous <u>Serments de Strasbourg</u> were drawn up,
and, significantly enough, the notoriety of this document lies
in its complete break with the classical tradition, by assuming
a linguistic form inconsistent with the language of clerics
who were so much responsible for the teaching of formal
grammar. The <u>Serments</u> demonstrate, in written form, but only
partially, synchronic phenomena - syntactical and phonetic -
which are the result of centuries of continuous linguistic
erosion caused by the simplifying influences of ethnic factors
operating in Gaul. They provide evidence that French Romance
is moving progressively away from its Latin parent-stock and
showing mutliplied signs of independence. But the <u>Serments</u>
are only a sample, and a small one at that, of the many similar
documents that may have been drawn up at this period.
Unfortunately, we have little or no record of these; hence
we are left to speculate as to what were the syntactical bases
upon which ninth century French rested. However, all
indications point to the fact that early French syntax showed
striking differences from that of Latin.

Until the Chansons de Geste of the twelfth century,
few literary works make their appearance. Apart from dialectal
peculiarities, all available documents indicate in varying
degrees, a movement toward linguistic standardisation and the
formation of syntactical and analogical patterns. Writers who
decide to abandon Latin for a more pliable medium of expression
generally resort to the poetic line. Valuable as their works
are for an understanding of phonetic and grammatical facts,
they cannot reflect, to its fullest extent, the prosaic
character of normal speech. It would seem that even syntactical
norms can be sacrificed to the exigencies of the octosyllabic or
the decasyllabic line. The anonymity which characterises the
period further complicates matters, limiting, as it does, our
knowledge of the authors' educational and social background,
and hence our assessment of the parallelism, tenuous though
it be, which their written works have with the spoken language.
It is with these facts in mind that we proceed to examine the
syntax of the definite article in Old French.

For purposes of convenience and clarity, we shall
divide the period into two sections, the first dealing with the
most important literary productions prior to the twelfth
century (i.e. pre-epic literature), the second dedicated to
epic literature as represented by the Chansons de Geste,
generally recognised by scholars as the acme of medieval
literary tradition in France. Arbitrary as this division may
seem, its reasonableness can be argued on the basis of the

qualitative and quantitative differences which are present in the periods represented; it also corresponds to a demarcation line between a period of sparseness and one of productivity.[1]

The texts to be examined in Period One are:

1. The <u>Serments de Strasbourg</u>

2. The <u>Séquence de sainte Eulalie</u>

3. The <u>Passion du Christ</u>

4. The <u>Vie de saint Léger</u>

5. The <u>Vie de saint Alexis</u>

In Period Two we shall examine the <u>Chanson de Roland</u>, usually considered the best representative of its class.

We have already seen that morphological and phonetic evolutionary forces had so affected the classical Latin demonstrative system that, by the ninth century, when French Romance begins to appear in written documents, the marks of deterioration are in full evidence.[2]   <u>Ille</u>, reduced to <u>li</u>, <u>le</u>, <u>la</u>, along with other dialectal or

---

[1]Delimitation in linguistics must be arbitrary – sometimes dangerously so. We are not assuming that no written works existed apart from those to which we have had access. It should also be remembered that phonetic changes do not necessarily correspond to changes in syntactical usage. For the purpose of this study we are following, roughly, speaking, Pope's divisions into Old French I and II , see M. K. Pope, <u>From Latin to Modern French</u>, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1952), p. 9.   See also B. Woledge and H. P. Clive, <u>Répertoire des plus anciens textes en prose française</u>, (Genève: Droz, 1964), p. 11, n. 2.

[2]See above, pp. 32-40.

corrupted remnants, already functions as a definite article.
Unaccented and attached to the noun, these monosyllabic remnants
play an unmistakable role - a role that will continue to be
predominantly anaphoric.[3] The bulkier _cil_ had now become a
distinguishing particle, spatially and temporally, and _le_ (_la_),
joined to its noun, assumes wider functions, no less important,
which constitute the concern of the present chapter.

For the sake of consistency we shall follow the method
observed in the previous chapter, namely, an initial labelling
of the syntactical uses of the article followed by citation of
relevant examples in the texts mentioned. Continuity will be
aimed at by some attempt to draw parallels with, or point out
similarities to, models in Late Latin syntax. As in the
foregoing chapters of this study, our approach is to regard
syntax from a functional viewpoint, and we shall try to be as
objective as possible in our interpretation.

A study of the syntactical or functional use of the
definite article in Old French may be divided, broadly speaking,
into two categories, namely, use and non-use. Yet, it is only

---

[3]Brunot sees the definite article as a _fait accompli_
even prior to written Romance: "Cependant à la fin de la
période latine il y a déjà réellement un article." ,F. Brunot,
Histoire de la langue française, (Paris: A. Colin, 1933), I,
p. 97. We follow this view. For the etymological sense of
anaphoric see above, p. 13, note 15.

by regarding the use of the article as a fait accompli that we
can seriously discuss its omissions since non-use was the rule
rather than the exception in Latin - at least, in literary
Latin. It would be noted that we have already suggested the
great likelihood of a more-than-casual use, in the spoken
language, of the demonstrative adjective throughout Vulgar
Latin—a demonstrative which was to become the article in Old
French. We shall now proceed with our endeavour to discern any
functional patterns which may have existed in the use of the
article prior to the literary renaissance which occurred in
the twelfth century.[4]

The Serments de Strasbourg[5]

As a legal document, the Serments offer some opportunity
for the precision and over-stressing so common in Vulgar Latin.
The emphatic cist seems still very much alive in this document

---

[4]The majority of treatises on Old French syntax are
based on textual examples from the twelfth century and later.
See L. Foulet, Petite syntaxe de l'ancien français, (3e éd.;
Paris: Champion, 1930); Kr. Nyrop, Grammaire historique
de la langue française, (2e éd.; Copenhague: Gylendal, 1960),
vol. II; F. Brunot, La pensée et la langue, (3e éd.; Paris:
Masson et Cie., 1953); J. Anglade, Grammaire élémentaire de
la langue française, (Paris: A. Colin, 1933), vol. I.
From this date, a progressive standardisation seems to be at
work, but these treatises point to great syntactical freedom
throughout medieval times.

[5]We shall deal with the texts in the order followed
by K. Bartsch in his Chrestomathie, and follow a chronology
based on the accepted date of composition, rather than date
of appearance of the manuscript, which is of no relevance.

and the fact that it is used suggests that the parties

concerned tried to avoid any misunderstanding. Under such

circumstances, we are not too surprised to find that the

article is missing. It would seem that it has given way to

the much more precise, and stronger, iste (compounded). Latin

grammatical influence is still evident in the conservative

legal language, and the close-knit analytical structure of

preposition-plus-noun leaves no place for the definite

article. It is also evident that the Latin declension system,

although ruined by phonetic changes, was still very much alive

in the linguistic consciousness of both speaker and scribe -

if we believe that the scribe's textual representation is a

faithful report of what the bargaining parties did, in fact,

say.[6] Because of its conservative nature, syntactically

speaking, we would assert that the Serments is of little use

for our purpose. It is rather more valuable as morphological

and phonetic document than as a landmark in the evolution

of syntax.[7]

The Séquence de sainte Eulalie

From a general linguistic viewpoint, and, more

---

[6] It should be remembered that the manuscript appears
more than a century after the agreements were pronounced.

[7] With respect to the value of the Serments for a study
of the definite article Sneyders de Vogel makes the following
statement: "Dans les Serments de Strasbourg (842) on ne rencontre
pas une seule fois l'article, ce qui nous étonnerait, si nous
ne savions pas par ailleurs que ce texte ne représente nullement
le langage parlé". K.Sneyders de Vogel, Syntaxe historique
du français, (2e éd.; Groningue: Wolters, 1927), p. 6.

specifically, as far as our study is concerned, this document offers greater evidence of progressive syntactical evolution than the previous one. Composed about 880, the poem appears in manuscript before 900, thus minimising the possibility of wide differences between the original and the transmitted text. A comparison with the Homélie du prophète Jonas serves to show that there was by no means homogeneity of syntax or style in the literary expressions of the religious traditions in the same geographical region or district. It will be noted also that, although the Séquence is poetic in form, the metrical structure is sufficiently loose to allow use of the article wherever generalisation would warrant it.

The article appears twelve times: 3-1, 5-1, 10-2, 14-1, 15-1, 16-1, 19-1, 21-1, 22-1, 23-1, 28-1.[8]

In the majority of cases the article in its nominative or oblique forms is placed before concrete nouns previously mentioned, or nouns which one may assume to have designated objects or persons of common knowledge:

Voldrent la veintre li deo inimi (3)

Elle non eskoltet les mals conselliers (5)

La polle sempre non amast lo deo menestier (10)

---

[8]The number of the line is followed by the frequency of occurrence. For the text, see K. Bartsch, Chrestomathie de l'ancien français, 12e éd., (New York: Hafner, 1958), p. 4.

Enz enl fou <u>la getterent,com arde tost</u> (19)

A czo no s voldret concreidre li <u>rex pagiens</u> (21)

Ad une spede li roveret tolir lo <u>chief</u> (22)

La <u>domnizelle celle kose non contredist</u> (23)

The definite is also found with abstract nouns:

lo <u>deo menestier</u> (10)

qued elle fuiet lo <u>nom chrestiien</u> (14)

Ell'ent aduret lo <u>suon element</u> (15)

Melz <u>sostendreiet</u> les <u>empedementz</u> (16)

<u>Post</u> la <u>mort</u> (28)

But these nouns denote concepts of common knowledge.

It seems that the article has an individualising function in this poem since <u>li deo inimi</u> and <u>les mals conseilliers</u> could not refer to all enemies of God nor to all the wicked counsellors. In these expressions <u>li</u> and <u>les</u> perform a similar function of that of <u>la</u> in lines 10 and 23, namely, they help to point out a particular group of enemies and consellors. There is present a kind of limiting function.[9]

---

[9]Both Nyrop and Brunot recognise this limiting and/or individualising function. See Kr. Nyrop, <u>op. cit.</u>, V, 173; F. Brunot, <u>La Pensée et la langue</u>, (3e éd.; Paris: Masson et Cie., 1953), p. 162.

Nouns which are unique or "particular" in their own right are not accompanied by the definite article; hence <u>diaule</u> - 4, <u>ciel</u> - 6, 25, and <u>krist</u> - 24 stand alone.[10]

The part prepositions played in regulating the use of the definite article is not always clear. For instance, in line 7 <u>por</u> (combined with <u>ne</u>) governs no less than five nouns, both abstract and concrete,[11] without intervention of the article, while in lines 19 and 28 the article appears after <u>enz en</u> and <u>post</u>. In line 15 <u>lo suon element</u> (reminiscent of Latin <u>ille meus mendicus</u>) does not set a pattern for <u>souue clemntia</u> after <u>par</u> in (29). On a mere statistical count it is only apparent that prepositions are not usually followed by the definite article.

Transplanted wholesale from Latin, <u>rex</u> (12) could hardly be expected to have an accompanying definite article.

The vacillation of popular speech is probably responsible for the absence of the article before <u>corps</u> in (2), since this noun is in a determinative context.

It would appear, then, that there is some sort of general differentiation between determinate and indeterminate nouns in the <u>Séquence</u>, the article showing preference for the former. However, we have to be very careful about categorising; it is still too early to formulate a watertight syntactical

---

[10]Ecclesiastical influences may have had some part in retaining the "autonomy" of such words, until a time came when they could no longer resist the forces of analogy and generalisation. Clerical remnants usually show stiff opposition to linguistic change.

[11]Enumeration may be the operative factor here.

plan and try to compartmentalise, in an arbitrary manner,
the ninth century functions of the article. The most that
we can safely say is that a tendency toward generalisation
is apparent. At the same time, there is a distinction between
concepts of common currency and unique concepts, the former
taking the article and the latter dispensing with it. Where
the Latin substratum emerges to the surface the article is
absent, as is the case of _rex_ in line 12. The case for use
of the article with prepositions is not yet well-defined, but
certain "liberties" occur.[12]

The Passion du Christ

The _Passion du Christ_ is a religious poem of the
tenth century. It is composed in octosyllabic lines, and
assonanced. The portion to be examined comprises stanzas
30 to 89 of a text established by Gaston Paris and the
relevant section is to be found in the anthology of Karl
Bartsch.[13] The passage chosen represents a clear-cut episode
tracing Christ's sufferings from the Garden of Gethsemane
to his death on the cross and subsequent burial. Our choice
is based on the episodic character of this portion of the
text – and hence its completeness – as well as its varied

---

[12] Comparing the _Serments_ with the _Séquence_ in definite
article usage Sneyders de Vogel states: "Par contre dans la
Sainte Eulalie (fin IXe siècle) l'article est déjà plus
fréquent; on le trouve même dans les cas où plus tard, on
pouvait encore s'en passer, notamment après une préposition
. . ." Sneyders de Vogel, _op. cit._, p. 6.

[13] Karl Bartsch, _op. cit._, pp. 6-10.

character (both narrative and conversational aspects are
featured).[14] Finally, from a literary and religious stand-
point these stanzas represent the most important part of the
whole poem.

Despite the capricious nature of the assonance, the poem
seems, on the whole, better organized metrically than does
the Séquence de sainte Eulalie; it is therefore probable that,
in this document, more of the spontaneity of normal speech
has been sacrificed to the demands of poetry than in the
Séquence. The nature of the poem is of such as to give free
rein to the type of emphasis and emotional duplication we
witnessed in the Peregrinatio, despite the "second-hand" nature
of the tenth century poem. The small number of Latin words,
borrowed intact from the church, and the close links with
the biblical record suggest that the document originated
with a cleric; he is anxious to impress the faithful with
the fact of Christ's suffering.

In its determinative use the article still preserves
a kind of "definiteness" not normally as forceful in modern
usage:

Granz fu li dols, fort marrimenz (5)

Mais nemperro granz fu li dols (221)[15]

---

[14]We do not overlook the fact of convenience, Bartsch's
work having played no small part in making certain passages
so accessible for our use.

[15]Cf. (11), (12), (25), (55), (66), etc.

The reference is made is to a well-defined grief experienced by a well-known personage in the poem; here Christ is the sufferer.

All the proper nouns in the poem refer to popularly known figures. When these nouns are "determined" by attributive adjectives, the article accompanies the said adjectives:

li fel Judas ja s'aproismed (15)

Judas li fel ensenna fei (27)

Jhesus li bons nol refuded (31)

'Amicx', zo dis Jhesus lo bons (33)[16]

There is but one oblique case where the article does not feature; but this may be due to metrical reasons:

fellon Pilad lo retrames (104)

The author's sparse use of nouns denoting nationality does not permit us to draw definite conclusions: of the six cases the article appears in four:

ab gran compannie dels judeus (16)

Jhesus cum vidra los judeus (17)

Anna nomnavent le judeu (53)

ensems crident tuit li judeu (123)

---

[16]Cf. (45), (79), (93), (98), (102). This usage strikes us as being a generalisation of the Cicero, ille opulentissimus formula of the Latin period. For its modern counterpart, see M. Grevisse, Le Bon usage, 8e éd., (Gembloux: Duculot, 1964), pp. 256-57. Undetermined proper nouns do not take the article.

<u>judeu l'acusent, el se tais</u> (99)

<u>nol consentunt fellun judeu</u> (106)

The relevant context does not allow of a clear-cut distinction

and there is nothing to prove that <u>judeu</u> in (99) is not the

same group as <u>los judeus</u> in (17).

The article with the stressed form of the possessive

pronoun comes from a formula present since Plautus.[17] In this

episode it is found four times:

<u>Semper li tend</u> lo <u>son menton</u> (30)

la <u>soa mort mult demandant</u> (88)

<u>chi traverset per</u> lo <u>son cor</u> (222)

<u>La soa madre virge fu</u> (237)

Abstract nouns, nouns used in a general sense and

nouns which, by their very nature are unique dispense with

the article:

<u>en</u> caritad <u>toz es uniz</u> (160)

<u>tan durament</u> terra <u>crollet</u>
<u>roches fendient, chedent munt</u>
<u>sepulcra s'anz obrirent mult</u> (206-208)[18]

<u>ab me venras in paradis</u> (184)[19]

---

[17] See above, p. 17, note 27.

[18] Cf. (212) where <u>terra</u> refers to a particular spot,
thus necessitating use of <u>la</u>.

[19] Use of the article with <u>solelz</u> and <u>luna</u> (195) seems
to reflect popular speech.

The use of the article with prepositions does not
present a clear picture, and seems to be dependent on whether
the noun is in a determinative context rather than on the type
of preposition. Thus it is used after _a_ in (4), (42) and
ommitted in (11), (48). In (150) metrics are sacrificed to
use of the article after _davan_.

Two final points are worth noticing. Juxta-position
of the article to _spiritus_ (204) apparently reflects the
abuse of popular speech and certain encroachments upon
conservatism. We note, too, that the article could still be
used in the genitive:

    non es amics l'_emperedor_ (120)

Such instances justify the impression that there was a
period of some confusion which affected even the literary
language.

The _Vie de saint Léger_

This manuscript belongs to the religious tradition
of the tenth century. The portion to be examined comprises
the first 25 stanzas as they are found in the edition of
Bartsch.[20] It constitutes more than half of the text (40
stanzas) and deals with the main episode of the story. The
verse is octosyllabic. Nouns taken intact from Latin are
few in number, and are not accompanied by the definite
article. In fact, the only Latin word which takes a Romance

---

[20]See Bartsch, _op. cit._, pp. 10-12.

qualifier is _gratia_ which is preceded by unstressed _sa_ in
(47) and (88).

The author's preference for over-emphasis and
demonstrative usage in the name of clarity[21] seems to restrict
the use of the article.[22] In each case of articular usage
the noun is within well-defined limits:

> in su'amor cantomps dels sanz
> que por lui augrent granz aanz (3-4)

> Primos didrai vos dels honors
> que il auuret ab duos seniors (7-8)

> al rei lo duistrent soi parent,
> qui donc regnevet a ciel di (14-15)

> davant lo rei en fud laudiez (41)[23]

As can be seen from (7), abstract nouns take on concrete
connotations when particularised by a clause; it is for this
reason that they are then accompanied by the article.

There are further instances of the stressed pronoun
formula attested in the previous texts:

> que li suos corps susting si granz (10)

> mais lo sen fredre Theotri (58)

> quandius al suo consiel edrat (69)

---

[21] Cf. (49), (56), (80), etc.

[22] The article is used 13 times out of a possible 22
instances where it would normally be present. Our count
excludes articular use with the stressed possessive. Cf. (11),
(20), (49), (79), (105), (111), (139), (144).

[23] Cf. (75), (83), (90), (116), (132), (141).

Substantives used indefinitely do not have the article:

> don deu serviet por bona fied (24)
>
> Il lo presdrent tuit a conseil (61)
>
> et Evvrüins ot en gran dol (63)
>
> perfectus fud in caritet,
> fid aut il grand et veritiet,
> et in raizons bels oth sermons,
> humilitiet oth per trestoz. (33-36)

Reis [rex] used as a determinant before a proper noun dispenses with the definite article:

> Reis Chielperics tam bien en fist (67)
>
> Reis Chielperics cum il l'audit (85)[24]

The latent demonstrative function of the definite article is in evidence, though its use is restricted to one line of our text:

> vindrent parent' e lor amic
> li sanct Lethgier, li Evvrüi (117-118)

In spite of the conservative use of the article in this document, there seems to be a broad distinction between concrete and abstract nouns, as well as between those used in a general sense and those functioning in well-defined limits. The article appears in determinative circumstances and is absent in less clearly defined instances. Details of these broad categories are dependent to some degree on the poet who can, at times, omit the article for what seems to

---

[24]Cf. also (115). For an explanation of the appositional and determinative use of rei(s), see Sneyders de Vogel, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

be metrical reasons as in the following:

<u>pobl'et lo rei communiet</u> (83).[25]

^The <u>Vie de saint Alexis</u>

Our final pre-epic text is the <u>Vie de saint Alexis</u>,
"poème du XIe siècle".[26] Composed in the poetic style of
the twelfth century, and most probably by a churchman, this
document is still subject to some or all of the conservatism
which is characteristic of early Old French literature. Thus,
in spite of its chronological position, the <u>Saint Alexis</u>
should not be expected to bristle with drastic linguistic
changes, and whatever "progressive" features appear should be
viewed as part of the author's normal literary language. The
carefully arranged stanzas reflect the attention given by the
poet to rhyme and metric values. It would even seem that, in
this poem, a monosyllable like the article would be sacrificed,
where necessary, to the demands of the decasyllabic line.

The definite article is widely used in the <u>Saint Alexis</u>
as a determinant. The substantives in question are frequently
qualified by an additional epithet; abstract nouns used in

---

[25] However, it is evident that, although the poet has
a particular group of people in mind, <u>rei</u> is in a more
determinative context than <u>pobl'</u>.

[26] Gaston Paris dates it at about 1040. See <u>La Vie
de saint Alexis</u>, ed. C. Storey, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1958).

well-defined contexts are also accompanied by the article:

> Bons fut li secles al tens ancienur (1)

> [E]ufemiien - si out a num li pedre (16)

> La dreite vide nus funt tresoblier (619)[27]

The word emperere (and its variants) in the following examples refer to a well-known personage and is therefore "limited" by the article:

> Sur tuz ses pers l'amant li emperere (18)

> Puis vait li emfes l'emperethur servir (35)

> Le gunfanun l'emperedur porter (414)

The following use with abstract nouns comes shortly after a description of the mother's grief:

> Del duel s'assist le medre jus a terre (146)

> Mais la dolur ne pothent ublier (157)

In the following line del secle limits the scope of the meaning of honur; thus the article appears:

> E de l'honur del secle ne l'encumbrent (200)

A similar principle operates in what appears to be formulaic usages:

> Si fut uns sire de Rome la citét (13)

> Cil s'en repairent a Rome la citét (126)

> Tut le depart par Alsis la citét (92)[28]

---

[27]Cf. also (101), (106), (251), (263), (306), (314), etc.

[28]Of the 16 cases of citét only one does not take the definite article. It is found in (81) where the indefinite article is implied though not expressed.

Stereotyped expressions involving articular use are present. However, in each case, the limits are well defined by the context; in the following lines <u>rice</u> and <u>povre</u>, <u>grant</u> and <u>petit</u>, <u>or</u> and <u>argent</u> are particularised in the context; they do not embrace an entire class:

> <u>A lui repairent e li rice e li povre</u> (302)
>
> <u>Tuit i acorent, li grant e li petit</u> (510)
>
> <u>De lur tresors prenent l'or e l'argent</u> (526)

The article is present in two of the three clear-cut cases of nouns used in the superlative with <u>plus</u>:

> [<u>Mais as plus povres le dunet a manger</u>] (255)
>
> <u>Ed en cel altra la plus durable glorie</u> (624)

Its omission in (196)[29] may be due to the indefinite nature of

articular usage with verbal substantives:

> <u>Dreit a Lalice revint li sons edrers</u> (190)[30]
>
> <u>Ne poet estra altra, turnet el consirrer</u> (156)

---

[29] In the third example the attributive nature and the adverbial value of <u>pres</u> obviates the use of the article.

[30] The text contains only two examples of this Latin formula; cf. (415).

<u>Danz Alexis le met</u> el <u>consirrer</u> (244)

Articular use with <u>ciel</u> points to the fact that "determination" does not depend so much on the uniqueness of the noun as on the contextual meaning. Of the seven examples where <u>ciel</u> is used the article is absent only once (590) - where the word refers, not to the abode of God and the souls of men, but to the indefinite "heaven", "skies".[31]

Abstract nouns are treated as in previous documents, and where they refer to general concepts they stand alone:

> <u>Quer</u> feit <u>i ert e justice ed amur</u>
> <u>S'i ert</u> creance, dunt or n'i at nul prut (2-3)
>
> <u>El num la virgine ki portat</u> salvetét (89)[32]

The definite article could still be used with demonstrative pronominal force when the decasyllabic line imposes restrictions; but such examples are rare in the <u>Alexis</u>:[33]

> <u>Al tens Nöé ed al tens Abraham</u>
> <u>Ed al David, qui Deus par amat tant</u> (6-7)

Of the five pre-twelfth-century texts examined, the <u>Vie de saint Alexis</u>, if only by its bulk, offers the widest possibilities for a study of definite article function. A

---

[31]Cf. (53), (122), (179), (410), (550), (590), (606). <u>Paradis</u> modified by <u>Deu</u> also takes the article; cf. (544).

[32]Cf. also (142), (492), (64), (185), (438), (508), (599).

[33]Cf. <u>modern Spanish</u>, <u>el (la) de su padre</u>.

count of its uncompounded uses reveals that the frequency

ratio in the _Alexis_ is greater than that of the _Saint Léger_.[34]

The distinction between "definiteness" and "indefiniteness"

is evident as broad categories; with some difficulty, we can

even fit clichés into each group. It seems however, that

metrical demands and personal taste could have played some part

in deciding whether the article should appear. Its extension

to verbs and nouns (see above pp. 30-31) is probably indicative

of the greater liberties which it enjoyed in popular speech,

which was to transform it, in written documents, some centuries

later, into a "simple signe grammatical qui annonce un

substantif".[35] The fact that it could be used demonstratively

(cf. p. 32) shows that the force of the article had not yet

diminished entirely, to the point of becoming a mere _signe_.

The _Chanson de Roland_

The _Chanson de Roland_[36] belongs to the secular, but

crusade-inspired, literature of the twelfth century. It there-

fore differs in spirit and origin from the documents examined

---

[34]The ratio for the _Saint Léger_, based on a line-
count is less than 1:9; for the _Saint Alexis_ it is greater
than 1:3.

[35]Cf. L. Foulet, _Petite syntaxe de l'ancien français_,
3e éd. (Paris: Champion, 1930), p. 49.

[36]Cf. _La Chanson de Roland_, ed. F. Whitehead, (Oxford:
Blackwell, 1965). This edition is based on the M.S Digby 23
of the Bodleian Library.

heretofore. It is also the best known and the most lengthy work to be cited in this chapter.

The work comprises 4002 lines of decasyllabic verse recounting the heroic exploits of Charlemagne and his warriors, the death of Roland and the rout of the Arab invaders. As a representative of Old French literary tradition, the Chanson derives from the twelfth century linguistic context; because of its length, it gives wide scope for extensive sampling.

In the Chanson the article appears most commonly as an individualizer or determinant. This function is understood more clearly if we bear in mind that the work is mainly legendary and traditional, and that many substantives used denote items of common knowledge. We must ask ourselves, however, whether the determinative use is strictly adhered to, or whether the proclitic use of the article is due to some generalisation caused by popular influence.

The following are clear cases of determinative use:

Guenes. i vint ki la traïsun fist (178)

La bataille est merveilluse_e pesant (1412)

La rereguarde de la grant host Carlun (883)

Les castels pris, les citez violees (704)

In each case the noun "articularised" is either an item of common knowledge (e.g. traïsun) or defined in the

text (e.g. <u>de la grant host Carlun</u>). Examples are numerous.[37]
Cases of "implied common knowledge" pose some problems, since
it is not always easy to decide whether a noun mentioned in
the text for the first time, with the article attached to it,
has taken the article through particularisation, or through
generalisation and analogy.

Another example of determinative usage is seen when
a proper noun - name of a person, noun denoting nationality,
or geographical term - is "determined" by an adjective or
adjectival noun; the article attaches itself normally to the
determining adjective or noun:

<u>Carles</u> li <u>velz a la barbe flurie</u> (970)

<u>Que il ne sunt a Rollant</u> le <u>cataigne</u> (1846)

There are a few examples in which the article is attached to
the geographical name:

<u>Ki se cumbat as Sarrazins d'Espaigne</u> (1847)

El <u>Val Tenebrus la les vint ateignant</u> (2461)[38]

Some common nouns (and adjectives) could either be
qualificative, or appositional to proper nouns; in the latter

---

[37]Cf. (85), (178), (511), (642), (754), (771), (954),
(1149), etc. Individualisation was first applied to concrete
nouns. See Sneyders de Vogel, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 7.

[38]Use of the article in this example as well as its
position before the noun can be explained by the fact that
<u>Val</u> moved from a state where it was qualified as a common
noun to become proper. The article was likely to be attached
at all times to a noun thus determined; cf. (815).

case they invariably take the article:

> Li emperes Carles de France dulce (16)[39]
>
> Jo cornerai, si l'orrat li reis Karles   (1714)
>
> Li reis Marsilie i fist mult que traitre (201)

Nouns denoting nationality become "defined" when
reference is made to a single member or to a particular
group:

> E li Franceis i fierent cumunement (1416)
>
> Fors s'en eissirent li Sarrazins dedenz (1776)

These are references to specific groups under well-defined
circumstances. When Roland and Oliver single out their
adversaries the article again appears:

> Li quens Rollant parmi le champ chevalchet,
> Tient Durendal ki ben trenchet e taillet,
> Des Sarrazins lur fait mult grant damage.
> Ki lui veïst l'un geter mort su[r] l'altre, (1338-41)

When the opposing armies are taken together as classes, in-
definiteness steps in and the article disappears:

> La bataille est aduree endementres,
> Franc e paien merveilus colps i rendent,
> Fierent : li un, li altre se defendent. (1396-98)[40]

However, there are some instances which show that

---

[39]In this example Carles de France dulce acts as
"qualifier" for emperes. The two subsequent illustrations
are clearer indications of apposition. The article disappears
when the noun is qualificative; cf. Reis Corsalis,. . ., (885).

[40]Cf. also (1438-39), (1543-44), (1579), (1590), etc.

practice here was somewhat flexible. In referring to the
same group the author drops the article where we expect him
to use it:

> E li Franceis i fierent cumunement.
> Moerent, paien a milliers e a cent.
> Ki ne s'en fuit, de mort n'i ad guarent,
> . . . .
> Franceis   perdent lor meillors guarmemenz (1416-20)

> Oliver est desur un pui muntét,
> Or veit il ben d'Espaigne le regnét
> E Sarrazins ki tant sunt asemblez (1028-30)[41]

Foulet's observation concerning the omission of the
article with abstract nouns is generally correct.[42] However,
the rare cases of articular use with abstract nouns take in
a general sense show the inroads that popular speech was
making into the literary language; onur and deintét are
here generalised:

> Asez est melz qu'il i perdent le[s] chefs
> Que nus perduns l'onur ne la deintét

Elsewhere abstract nouns tend to take the article when placed

---

[41]The general picture shows that, with proper nouns,
the tendency is to omit the article. In the first 1200 lines
Franceis takes the article only four times out of thirty-two
usages; omission occurs even when specification and definition
are evident; cf. (177), (217), (701), (1180), (1187), etc. In
commenting on the use of the article with nouns of classification
Sneyders de Vogel makes the following assertion: "Il est souvent
impossible de dire pourquoi on a préféré telle ou telle
construction; le vieux français garde ici une grande liberté."
Sneyders de Vogel, op. cit., p. 13. We believe that this
"liberté" reflects popular usage.

[42]L. Foulet, op. cit., p. 49. See (85), (485), (489-90),
(698), (1467) for other examples of explicit particularisation.

in determinative contexts.[43]

Invariably, the article accompanies the stressed possessive pronoun-adjective in the <u>Chanson</u>; yet, the rare use of this formula probably explains why it never became generalised. We cite two examples of the six which occur in the first 1000 lines of text:

<u>Francs s'en irunt   en France, la lur tere</u> (50)

<u>Si recevrat la nostre lei plus salve</u> (189)[44]

Enumerated nouns offer clear instances of indefinite use. As with abstract nouns, the article does not appear. A rare exception is found in line (850).

<u>Or e argent, palies e ciclatuns,</u>
<u>Muls e chevals e cameilz e leüns,</u>
<u>Marsilies mandet d'Espaigne les baruns;</u>
<u>Cuntes, vezcuntes e dux e almaçurs,</u>
Les <u>amirafles e les filz as cumturs</u>. (846-50)

"Lapses" of this type would have been much more frequent in non-literary circles.

The latent demonstrative pronominal connotations of the article is clearly evident in a solitary example:

<u>Pur</u> la <u>Carlun dunt il oït parler</u> (3145)

Here, reference is made to Charlemagne's sword, the article taking the place of <u>l'espede</u>. Usage of this kind must have

---

[43]In the first 500 lines there are 27 clear cases where abstract nous would take the article in the modern sense. Of these cases, the noun takes the article only 8 times, six of which are cases of determinative usage.

[44]Cf. also (82), (389), (403), (917), (1444).

become less frequent when remnants of the two-case declension
system gave way to total analytical forms. Modern survivals
are from popular sources.

Even more interesting is the appearance of the
demonstratives where we would normally expect to find the
definite article. Although frequent throughout for Chanson
de Roland, this substitution occurs even more frequently in
vivid passages describing the battle; the nouns concerned
are found in specific or determinate contexts:

> Oliver est desur un pui muntét,
> Or veit il ben d'Espaigne le regnét
> E Sarrazins ki tant sunt asemblez.
> Luisent cil helme ki ad or sunt gemmez
> E cil escuz e cil osbercs safrez
> E cil espiez, cil gunfanun fermez;
> Sur les escheles ne poet il acuntez
> Tant en i ad que mesure n'en set (1028-35)
>
> Helmes laciez e blancs osbercs vestuz,
> Dreites cez hanstes, luisent cil espiét brun. (1642-43)
>
> La (la) b[at]aille est m[erv]eilluse e hastive,
> Franceis i ferent par vigur e par ire,
> Tre[nch]ent cez poinz, cez costez, cez eschines,
> Cez vestemenz entresque as chars vives (1661-64)
>
> Passent cez puis e cez roches plus haltes,
> E cez parfunz, cez destreiz anguisables,
> Issent des porz e de la tere guaste (3125-27)[45]

---

[45]Cf. also (1452-53), (1832-33), (3125), (3137), etc.
Similar piling-up of determinants is also evident in the
Peregrinatio; see above, p p. 34-36.

Such passages, where the demonstrative and the article stand on equal footing as determinants, are valuable illustrations of the confusion which existed in the literary usage of the article, and which must certainly have been more intense in popular speech. Moreover, this frequency of the demonstrative in vivid passages throws some light on the linguistic evolution of the article. It shows that compounded _ille_ has begun to follow the same path which the uncompounded demonstrative took in moving toward articular function, namely, a weakening through abuse and confusion.[46] Some centuries later an effort will be made to help the weakened forms of _ecce ille_ and _ecce iste_ to make their meaning clear: deictic particles will again come into play.

Obviously, there is still room for further and more detailed investigation of articular usage in the _Chanson de Roland_, which, we believe, presents a fairly composite picture of literary syntax at the beginning of the twelfth century. Our brief survey shows, nevertheless, that, as a general rule, authors, still conscious of the origin of the article, keep within two broad classifications: the article

---

[46]The appearance of the demonstrative in articular function is also mentioned by Anglade: "L'ancien français connaît aussi l'emploi du démonstratif. . .en fonction d'article; Cet emploi est même fréquent." J. Anglade, _Syntaxe élémentaire de l'ancien français_, 12e éd. (Paris: A. Colin, 1959), p. 180. However he fails to advance any possible reason for this frequent use. The statement quoted suggests that the phenomenon is not confined to the _Chanson de Roland_, but he cites no other sources.

appears when implicit or explicit determinative usage
warrants its presence as a kind of syntactical accent; it
is absent in indefinite contexts - indeterminate abstract
nouns, nouns denoting a class in general terms etc.[47]

What, then, is the value of the so-called "lapses"
to which we have drawn attention? It would seem that they
illustrate two important aspects of linguistic evolution.
Firstly, they show that use of the article is by no means
standardised, or based on strict literary grammatical norms.
Analogy is already operating in this syntactical domain,
preparing the ground for a later generalisation which was to
increase in scope from the thirteenth century and manifest
itself in written texts. There was nothing to prevent
this same generalisation from being much more advanced in
prosaic utterances of the populace. Secondly, the linguistic
"lapses", some rare, others more frequent, attested in the
Chanson de Roland, (namely, "doubling-up" of demonstratives,
and confusion of nuances)[48] are the result of the same
predilection for bulky forms, emphatic emotional pointing
and a measure of miscomprehension which surely characterized

---

[47] For the conservatism and determinate value of the
article in Old French, see Anglade, op. cit., p. 159.

[48] Cf. (1030-34), (1039-43). For similar phenomena
in other texts, see W. Meyer-Lübke, Grammaire des langues
romanes, (Paris: Welter, 1890-1906), III, 178 sqq.

popular speech during the entire period of Latin, pre-classical,

classical and post-classical. Syntactical development of

the article in progressive and continuous rather than sketchy

and intermittent. The <u>Chanson</u> is, therefore, not an isolated

case, but a link in the chain of linguistic events pointing

toward clarity and standardisation.

CONCLUSION

This study on the syntax of the demonstratives and

the definite article deals with an ideal example of

phenomena in linguistic evolution and the forces responsible

for this evolution. We have seen that, valuable and

indispensable as literature proves to be in controlling

linguistic "progress" and in providing an image of vertical[1]

and horizontal development of language, it invariably yields,

albeit reluctantly and in varying degrees, to the demands

and needs of everyday speech. This latter, with its criteria

of bulk, picturesque exaggerations and simplifications of

phonic elements and syntactical processes, has to bear a

heavy responsibility for the vogue or unpopularity, and

even the disappearance, of signs. It is believed that the

disappearance of _is_ was probably due to its small phonic

value, as well as to its weak, indeterminate syntactical

function; no reason that is wholly satisfactory has yet been

advanced for the absence of uncompounded _ipse_ in French

---

[1]"Vertical" is here used to apply to the movement of
terms from a popular context to one of literary respectability.
"Horizontal" differences are regional.

73

Romance. Popular attempts at mental clarification and vividness led to mis-use and abuse of all demonstratives in Latin;[2] but evidence of what occurred in popular speech is either sketchy or difficult to come by, in documents of the Classical era where the literary fabric was so well-knit.

Of the entire demonstrative system _ille_ proved the most productive element when Romance took on the definite shape which distinguished and separated it from its conservative parent. Indeed, a desperate struggle to preserve the integrity of classical ideals hastened the separation and widened the gulf which already existed between what intellectuals wrote and what constituted popular speech.

Linguistic processes are slow, spreading over several centuries. The sudden appearance of a definite article in Old French literature should not surprise us overmuch if we constantly bear in mind the fact that we are at a disadvantage, throughout the period under our review, due to the scarcity or absence of recorded popular speech patterns. We have to conclude that this missing link holds the answer to the problem of the definite article which, we believe, must

---

[2]We do not wish to imply that speakers did not understand each other. Comprehension depends, to a large extent on gestures and contextual factors.

have existed in speech long before it appeared in writing.

Documents up to the twelfth century reflect only faintly the flexibility of "vulgar" grammar; and it took the unifying influences of academic and linguistic forces, the development and spread of the art of printing, as well as various political and social factors of the thirteenth century and the Renaissance to introduce a measure of standardisation and stability in everyday speech. It is difficult to assess the extent to which these factors affected both _parole_ and _langue_. The archaic remnants of Old French definite article usage which we inherit come from an age when the _rusticus_ was, unconsciously, the chief grammarian, and, like his modern counterpart, a force to be reckoned with in sophisticated linguistic circles.

BIBLIOGRAPHY[1]

Dictionaries and Lexicons

Ernout, Alfred et A. Meillet. Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. 4e éd. rev. corr. et aug. d'un index. Paris: Klincksieck, 1959.

Godefroy, Frédéric. Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXe siècle. Paris, 1880. Reprinted by Scientific Periodicals establishment, Vaduz, Liechtenstein and Kraus Reprint Corporation, New York.

Lewis, C. T. and C. S. Short. A Latin Dictionary. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951.

Merguet, H. Lexicon zu den Reden des Cicero. 4 Bände. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagbuchhandlung, 1962.

Oorde, W. van. Lexicon Aetherianum. Hildesheim: Olms, 1963.

Books

Anglade, Joseph. Grammaire élémentaire de l'ancien français. 12e éd. Paris: Colin, 1959.

Auerbach, Erich. Introduction aux études de philologie romane. 3e éd. Frankfurt au Main: Vittorio Klosterman, 1961.

Barber, Charles. The Story of Language. London: Pan Books, 1964.

Besterman, Theodore. Voltaire Essays and Another. London: Oxford University Press, 1962.

Bonnet, Max. Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours. Paris: Hachette, 1890.

Bourciez, Edouard. Eléments de linguistique romane. 4e éd. Paris: Klincksieck, 1946.

---

[1]The bibliography includes all sources consulted in the preparation of this study.

--------. Précis de phonétique française. 8e éd. rev. et corr. Paris: Klincksieck, 1955.

Brunot, Ferndinand. Histoire de la langue française des origines à 1900. 12 vols. Paris: Colin, 1924-53.

--------. La Pensée et la langue. Paris: Masson, 1953.

Ernout, Alfred. Morphologie historique du latin. 3e éd. Paris: Klincksieck, 1953.

Ernout, Alfred et François Thomas. Syntaxe latine. 2e éd. rev. et aug. Paris: Klincksieck, 1953.

Ewart, Alfred. The French Language. 2nd. ed. London: Faber and Faber, 1953.

Foulet, Lucien. Petite syntaxe de l'ancien français. 3e éd. Paris: Champion, 1930.

Goelzer, Henri J. Le Latin de saint Avit, évêque de Vienne. (Université de Paris, Bibliothèque de la Faculté des lettres, xxvi.) Paris: Alcan, 1909.

Gougenheim, Georges. Les Mots français dans l'histoire et dans la vie. Paris: Picard, 1962.

Grandgent, Charles H. An Introduction to Vulgar Latin. Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1908.

Grevisse, Maurice. Le Bon Usage. 8e éd. rev. Gembloux: Duculot, 1964.

Guillaume, Gustave. Le Problème de l'article et sa solution dans la langue française. Paris: Hachette, 1919.

Haadsma, R. A. et J. Nuchelmans. Précis de latin vulgaire. Groningue: Wolters, 1963.

Lindsay, Wallace M. Syntax of Plautus. New York: Stechert and Co., 1936.

Lofstedt, Haimon E. Late Latin. Oslo: W. Nygaard, 1959.

Martinet, André. A Functional View of Language. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962.

Mathews, Charles E. CIST and CIL, a Syntactical Study. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Thesis, 1907.

78

Meader, Clarence L. The Latin Pronouns Is: Hic: Iste:
        Ipse. New York: Macmillan, 1901.

Meillet, Antoine. Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue latine.
        Paris: Hachette, 1928.

--------. Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues
        européennes. 8e éd. Preface by George C. Buck.
        Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1964.

--------. La Méthode comparative en linguistique historique.
        Oslo: Aschehoug and Co., 1925.

Meyer-Lübke, Wilhelm. Grammaire des langues romanes. Traduction
        française par E. Rabiet et al. 4 vols. Paris:
        H. Welter, 1890-1906.

Mohrmann, Christine. Etudes sur le latin des chrétiens.
        2 vols. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura,
        1961.

Muller, Henri F. A Chronology of Vulgar Latin. Halle:
        Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie,
        1929.

Nyrop, Kristoffer. Grammaire historique de la langue française.
        4e éd. Copenhague: Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk
        Forlag, 1899-1930.

Palmer, Leonard R. The Latin Language. London: Faber and
        Faber, [1954].

Pei, Mario A. Studies in Romance Philology and Literature.
        (UNCSRLL, 44). Chapel Hill: University of North
        Carolina Press, 1964.

--------. The Language of the Eighth Century Texts in
        Northern France. New York: Columbia University
        Thesis, 1932.

--------. The Story of Language. New York: Mentor Books,
        1964.

Pope, Mildred K. From Latin to Modern French with Especial
        Consideration of Anglo-Norman. 3rd. ed. Manchester:
        Manchester University Press, 1952.

Ramsden, Herbert. Weak-Pronoun Position in the early Romance
        Languages. Manchester: Manchester University Press,
        1963.

Saintsbury, George. A Short History of French Literature.
        3rd. ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889.

Seignobos, Charles. Histoire sincère de la nation française.
        Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1946.

Sneyders de Vogel, Kornelis. Syntaxe historique du français.
        2e éd. rev. et aug. Groningue: J.-B. Wolters, 1926.

Strecker, Karl. Introduction à l'étude du latin médiéval.
        Genève: Droz, 1948.

Taylor, Pauline. The Latinity of the Liber Historiae
        Francorum. New York: Columbia University Thesis,
        1924.

Trager, George L. The Usage of the Latin Demonstratives -
        especially ILLE and IPSE - to 600 A.D., as the Source
        of the Romance Article. New York: Institute of
        French Studies, 1932.

Väänänen, Veikko I. Introduction au latin vulgaire. Paris:
        Klincksieck, 1963.

--------. Le Latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes.
        Helsinki: [Suomalaisen Tiedakatemian toimituksia.
        sarja B. nid. 40, no. 2], 1937.

Wartburg, Walther von. Evolution et structure de la langue
        française. 4e éd. Berne: Francke, 1950.

--------. Problèmes et méthodes de la linguistique. Paris:
        Presses Universitaires de France, 1946.

Woledge, Brian and H. P. Clive. (éds.) Répertoire des plus
        anciens textes en prose française depuis 842 jusqu'aux
        premières années du XIIIe siècle. Genève: Droz, 1964.

Texts

Pre-classical and Classical

Cicero, M. Tullius. Pro Balbo. Recognovit G. Peterson in
        S.C.B.O., 1910.

--------. In Catilinam. Recognovit A. C. Clark in S.C.B.O.,
        1905.

--------. De finibus bonorum et malorum. N. Madvigius
        recensuit et enarravit. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1963.

————————. Pro Milone. Recognovit A. C. Clark in S.C.B.O., 1900.

————————. Pro Murena. Recognovit A. C. Clark in S.C.B.O., 1905.

————————. Pro lege Manilia. Recognovit A. C. Clark in. . . . S.C.B.O., 1905.

————————. Oratio and Quirites. Ed. T. E. Page in The Loeb Classical Library, Heinemann: London and New York,

————————. Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino. Recognovit A. C. Clark in S.C.B.O., 1905.

Livius, Titus. Ab Urbe Condita. Lib. xxx . Recognoverunt R. S. Conway et S. K. Johnson in S.C.B.O., 1935.

Petronius, Gaius. Cena Trimalchionis. ed. W. B. Sedgwick. 2nd. ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961.

Plautus, T. Maccius. Curculio. Recognovit W. M. Lindsay in S.C.B.O., 1903.

————————. Mercator. Recognovit W. M. Lindsay in S.C.B.O., 1903.

Plautus, T. Maccius. Mostellaria. Recognovit W. M. Lindsay in S.C.B.O., 1903.

————————. Stichus. Recognovit W. M. Lindsay in S.C.B.O., 1903.

————————. Trinummus. Recognovit W. M. Lindsay in S.C.B.O., 1903.

Seneca, Lucius Annaeus. De Providentia. Ed. T. Page in The Loeb Classical Library. Heinemann: London and New York, 1913-1961.

Terentius, Publius. Phormio. Ed. J. Bond and A. S. Walpole. Macmillan: London and New York, 1962.

Virgilius Maro, Publius. The Aeneid of Virgil. ed. T. E. Page London: McMillan, 1924. II (Bks. vii-xii).

Late Latin

S. Augustinus. S. Aureli Augustini Confessionum Libri
        Tredecim. éd. M. Skutella. (Bibliothèque
        Augustinienne, vol. XIII). Paris: Desclée de
        Brouwer, 1962.

S. Avitus. Alami Ecdicii Aviti Viennensis episcopi opera
        quae supersunt. Recensuit Rudolfus Peiper. Berolini
        apud Weidmannos, 1883.

S. Benedictus. Benedicti Regula. Recensuit Hanslik. (C.S.
        E.L., vol. LXXV). Vindobonae: Hoelder - Pichler -
        Tempsky, 1960.

Boethius, Anicius Manlius Severinus. Anicii Manlii Severini
        Boethii Philosophiae Consolationis Libri Quinque.
        Recensuit Guilelmus Weinberger. (C.S.E.L., vol. LXVII).
        Vindobonae: Hoelder - Pichler - Tempsky A. G.,
        1934.

S. Caesarius. Sancti Caesarii Episcopi Arelatensis Homiliae.
        Recensuit J.-P. Migne, Patrologiae Cursus Completus.
        vol. LXVII, 1042-1089. Paris: Garnier, 1878-90.

Liber Historiae Francorum. ed. B. Krusch in Monumenta
        Germaniae Historiae. Script. Rer. Meroving. Hanover,
        1888.

Peregrinatio Aetheriae [Ethérie, Journal de Voyage]. Texte
        latin, introduction et traduction de Hélène Pétré.
        Paris: Editions du Cerf, (Sources Chrétiennes, no.
        21), 1948.

Tertullianus, Quintus Septimus. Apologeticum. Edidit Hoppe
        (C.S.E.L., vol. LXIX). Vinobonae: Hoelder - Pichler
        - Tempsky, 1939.

Old French[2]

Serments de Strasbourg in Chrestomathie de l'ancien français
        par Karl Bartsch. 12e éd. New York: Hafner
        Publishing Company, 1958.

Séquence de sainte Eulalie in Ibid.

La Vie de saint Léger in Ibid.

---

[2]These texts are listed n chronological order of
origin.

<u>La Passion du Christ</u> in <u>Ibid.</u>

<u>La Vie de saint Alexis</u>. ed. C. Storey. Oxford: Blackwell, 1958.

<u>La Chanson de Roland</u>. ed. F. Whitehead. Oxford: Blackwell, 1965.

Articles

Henry, Albert. "Linguistique et stylistique à propos de l'article en français". <u>Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques</u>. Bruxelles: Académie Royale de Belgique, 1962. XLVIII, 312-322.

Lapesa, R. "Del demonstrative al artículo". <u>Nueva Revista de Filologia Hispanica</u>. XV, 23-44, 1961.

Lot, Ferdinand. "A quelle époque a-t-on cessé de parler latin?" <u>Bulletin du Cange</u>. VI-VII, 1931-32.

Oltramare, Paul. Review of Karl Brugman's <u>Ein Problem der Homerischen Textkritik. . .</u> Leipzig: Hirzel, 1876, in <u>Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Littérature</u>, 13 janvier, 1877.

Pottier, Bernard. "L'Absence d'article en français et sa motivation". <u>Revue de Linguistique Romane</u>. XXVI, 158-162, 1962.

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

Apol.	Apologeticum
Balb.	Pro Balbo
Boet.	Boethius, Anicius Manlius Severinus
Cat.	In Catalinam
Cic.	Cicero, M. Tullius
Conf.	Confessiones
Cons.	De Consolatione Philosophiae
C.S.E.L.	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
Curc.	Curculio
Epist.	Epistulae
Fi.	De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum
Hom.	Homiliae
Liv.	Livius, Titus
Merc.	Mercator
Mi.	Pro Milone
Mo.	Mostellaria
Muren.	Pro Murena
Petr.	Petronius, Gaius
Ph.	Phormio
Pl.	Plautus, T. Maccius
Pomp.	Pro lege Manilia de imperio Cu. Pompe:
Prov.	De Providentia

Quir.	Oratio ad Quirites
Sat.	Satyricon
Sen.	Seneca, Lucius Annaeus
Sex. Rosc.	Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino
St.	Stichus
S. Aug.	Sanctus Aurelius Augustinus
S. Avit.	Sanctus Alcimus Ecdicius Avitus
S. Benedict.	Santus Benedictus
S. Caes.	Sanctus Episcopus Arelatensis Caesarius
Te.	Terentius, Publius
Tert.	Tertullianus, Quintus Septimus
Tri.	Trinummus