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Deictics and Endophors in the Diachrony of Latin¹

Michèle FRUYT
(University of Paris IV – Sorbonne)
michele.fruyt@gmail.com

RESUME EN FRANÇAIS

Le système des lexèmes déictiques et endophoriques en latin et son évolution

Nous étudions ici les fonctions et les évolutions des lexèmes latins *ipse*, *hic*, *iste*, *ille* afin de mettre en valeur les prémices en latin des changements attestés dans les langues romanes, dans un premier temps pour *ipse*, puis pour *hic*, *iste*, *ille*.

Pour tenter d'expliquer comment on arrive en ancien-français à un système à deux termes (anc.-fr. *cist* < lat. *ecce istum* vs *cil* < lat. *ecce illum*), on décrit le système à trois termes du latin archaïque et classique selon deux oppositions, où *hic* joue successivement deux rôles. Dans la première opposition, *hic* s'oppose à *ille*, comme "ce qui relève de *ego* et de *tu*" (les deux protagonistes définissant la situation d'énonciation) pour *hic* par opposition au "reste du monde" pour *ille*. La seconde opposition est de moindre envergure et se situe à l'intérieur de la première : elle oppose *hic* comme "ce qui relève de la sphère du locuteur (*ego*)" à *iste* comme "ce qui relève de la sphère de l'interlocuteur (*tu*)".

En latin tardif, la spécificité de la fonction déictique de *hic* s'était affaiblie en corollaire à la montée de ses emplois endophoriques. Par contre-coup et pour remplir ce créneau dans des conditions claires pour les sujets parlants, *iste*, dont la fonction déictique était nette puisqu'elle était la seule portée par ce lexème, commença à assurer petit à petit la déixis des deux protagonistes de l'énonciation (*ego* + *tu*). Comme cet élargissement fonctionnel de *iste* apparut dans des situations concrètes où locuteur (*ego*) et allocutaire(s) (*tu*, *uos*) se trouvaient au même endroit au même moment devant le même spectacle, le type particulier de déixis assuré par *iste* est celui d'une déixis visuelle.

¹ This article has been developed from a paper originally read at the Romance Linguistic Seminar, Cambridge, Trinity Hall, 3-4th January 2008, with the title: "Latin Antecedents of some Romance Linguistic Phenomena. Deictics and Endophorics".

We would like to analyse here some examples from Latin that have a diachronic relationship with some Romance linguistic phenomena, mainly French, in the field of deixis and endophor. We will focus mainly on Latin *ipse* and *iste*, and we will try to show that their French continuations may be explained *a posteriori* by Latin data.

But in looking at *ipse* and *iste*, we have to take into account all of the Latin system used to express deixis and endophor (anaphor and cataphor), since the lexemes within this system are interdependent. If one of them decreases in a particular function, the gap it leaves has to be filled by another word, and there is a renewal in the morphological and lexical encoding of this function. We will therefore also have to mention the functions and fate of *is*, *hic*, *ille*, *īdem*, which also belong to the category of grammatical lexemes, as shown by some specific inflectional features and their very high frequency in Latin texts.

1. FUNCTIONS AND EVOLUTION OF *IPSE*

1.1. Origin and grammaticalization of *ipse*

Latin *ipse*, used as an adjective (a determiner) or as a pronoun, is etymologically a re-inforced endophor constituted by the agglutination of the endophor *is*, plus the re-inforcing enclitic particle *-pse*, sometimes considered as a focalizer². A literal translation would thus be “precisely this”, or “this which I have just mentioned” where *ipse* is an endophor, just like *is*, and not a deictic.

But later on, this formation of *ipse* was de-motivated, the *-pse* particle was grammaticalized and the inflectional ending shifted from the first element³ to the end of the word (*ea-pse*, nomin. F. sg. still documented

² Phonetically, the sequence **is-pse* (with *is* in the nomin. M. sg.) would probably not have been pronounced with a group of three consonants [sps] around the syllable and morpheme boundary (see below note 3). If *ipse* was the phonetic result of this sequence, following the usual phonetic tendencies, the initial *i* vowel should have been lengthened, giving *īpse* (after a compensatory lengthening due to the first *s*).

³ The inflectional ending could not stay at the end of the first element, since phonetically the nomin. M. sg. and the nomin.-acc. Nt. sg. would have merged into a single form **īpse* (from **is-pse* M. and **id-pse* Nt.) (see above note 2). Moreover, Latin avoids the pronunciation of a group of three consonants in a row at the syllable and morpheme boundaries; this sequence is usually reduced to two consonants (after the assimilation of the second or eventually first consonant); in this precise case, there has probably been a pronunciation [ss] of the [sps] group (in Suetonius, *Aug.* 88, the spelling <*ixi*>, condemned by Augustus, could be the transcription of a pronunciation [ss]; cf. also *CIL* 4,148; 10,1568).

in Plautus, then *ips-a; eum-pse* acc. M. sg., then *ips-um*⁴), so that the previous syntactic sequence of two lexemes was then treated as a single lexeme and became morphologically regular with the inflection at the end of the word (*ips-e, ips-a, ips-um*, etc.).

1.2. Cyclic renewals

This phenomenon of re-inforcement was reproduced later on in Archaic, Classical and Late Latin - a cyclic renewal - since *ipse* itself could be re-inforced by another enclitic particle *-met* in *ipse-met*. Since this particle *-met* was also used to re-inforce a personal pronoun (as in *ego-met* Plautus *Trinummus* 937), this particle and a personal pronoun may occur in the same sequence, such as *ipse ego-met* (Plautus *Trinummus* 929).

These three-word sequences were free combinations of morphemes in Archaic, Classical and post-Classical Latin, but became frozen in the spoken colloquial language in very Late Latin, and they gave birth to Fr. *même* and its Romance cognates. In these frozen sequences of "personal pronoun + *met* + *ipse* (or *ipsum*)", there occurred an agglutination of *-met* and *ipse* into a single word (*-metipse* or *-metipsum*) and a morpheme boundary was only maintained between the personal pronoun and the final element, agglutinated from the two last elements. Therefore, from Lat. *mē--met-ipsum, tē--met-ipsum, sē--met-ipsum* (with the paradigm of the personal pronoun in the first place) there was detached a new lexical item **met-ipsum* or, with the superlative of *ipse*, **met-ipsimus*⁵. The item **met-ipsum* is found in Prov. *medeis, meteis*, Cat. *mateix*, Occ. *medeis*, while the superlative **met-ipsimum* or **met-ipsissimum* is found in O.-Prov. *medesme*, Sp. *mismo*, Port. *mesmo/mismo*, O.-Fr. *medesme* (> It. *medesimo*), *meesme, meïsme*, Fr. *même*. The French lexeme *même*, among other uses, is the equivalent of Engl. *-self* in *I did it myself, Peter did it himself*, which is what E. König (2001) called an *intensifier*.

1.3. A Latin sequence

This sequence of three words ("personal pronoun+ *met* +*ipse*") is already attested in Cicero, e.g., *nos-met ipsi* "ourselves" (Cic. *nat.* 2, 32),

⁴ This recent Latin origin explains Nt. sg. *ips-um* instead of **ipsud* with a *-d*, which is the usual pronominal Nt. sg. nomin.-acc. inflectional ending, occurring in *illud* from *ille*, *istud* from *iste*, *hoc* (< **hod-ce*) from *hic*, *id* from *is*. *Ipsum* was built according to the productive adjectival pattern of *bon-us* M. sg., *bon-a* F. sg., *bon-um* Nt. sg. But the nomin. -acc. Nt. sg. *ipsum*, that was regular within the adjectival category of *bonus*, was irregular within the grammatical category of deitics and endophors, since the Nt. sg. ended with a *-d* consonant in *id, istud, illud*. This explains the re-creation of the analogical form *ipsud* in Egeria (*Itin.* 7,6).

⁵ VÄÄNÄNEN (1981: 123, § 279).

which is sometimes in a contrastive focalization with *nostrī* "our people, our countrymen", e.g.:

Cic. *diu.* 2, 148 : *Multum enim et NOBISMET IPSIS et **nostris** profuturi uidebamus, si eam funditus sustulissemus ,*

"For I thought that I should be rendering a great service both to MYSELF and to my countrymen if I could tear this superstition up to the roots" (translation by W. Armistead Falconer, Cambridge – London, 1971, Loeb collection).

And later on, in Late Latin, especially in Christian authors such as Tertullian and Gregory the Great, it is even to be found with the reflexive pronoun *sē* (*sē-met-ipsam*):

Greg. -M., *Mor.* 5, 34, 44: *Omnis quippe creatura quia ex nihilo facta est, et per semetipsam ad nihilum tendit, non stare habet.*

Fr.: "Toute créature, parce qu'elle sort du néant et que par elle-même elle tend vers le néant, ne peut exister solidement."

"All creatures, since they were made from nothing and since they naturally tend to nothing, can have no solid existence".

1.4. *Ipse* denoting identity

Another function of *ipse* in spoken Late Latin was to replace *īdem*, which meant "the same (one)". This use of *ipse* for identity is the antecedent of Fr. *le même* and this evolution of *ipse* from an intensifier to an identity lexeme is already documented in Late Latin.

Idem had the same kind of origin as *ipse*: the endophoric *is* plus a reinforcing inherited particle *-em*, that became *-dem* in Latin after a shift of the morpheme boundary⁶. The synchronic morphological analysis is *ī-dem* (< **is-dem*), *eum-dem* "the same", with the bound morpheme *-dem*, which was still a semantic significant unit meaning identity, as shown by *ibi-dem* "in that same place" vs. *ibi* "in that place".

Since the inflection stayed at the end of the first element and was not shifted to the end of the whole word, *īdem* is less grammaticalized than *ipse*.

1.5. *Ipse* and the definite article in Egeria, *Itinerarium*

Our second point about *ipse* is that it gave the definite article in Oriental Catalan and Sardinian, and one of the demonstratives (the second one) in Spanish.

⁶ The bound morpheme *-dem* comes from a re-analysis and shift of the morpheme boundary in *id-em* nomin.-acc. Nt. sg., with *id* (Nt. sg.) and *-em*, from I.-E. **-e/om* (cf. Sk. *-am*).

Ipsa had various uses in Late Latin, but showed no grammaticalized function as a definite article. The best text for this kind of data is Egeria, *Itinerarium* (end of 4th century A.D.), where *ipsa* has an extremely high frequency that cannot be random, and it is used in various functions: a) for the denotation of the most important entity in a precise passage of the narration, b) as an intensifier (in the sense of E. König 2001), c) as a re-inforced anaphor, d) as a memory deictic, e) as an identity morpheme.

1.5.1. *Ipsa* referring to the most important entity in Egeria's narration

At the beginning of a paragraph, *ipsa* is used by Egeria for "the most important entity, the entity we are speaking about", for example when the author is going to describe the valley that she has just mentioned at the end of the previous paragraph. This valley, which is the main entity in this passage, is designated by *ipsa*, here as an adjective and determiner of *uallis*:

Eger. *Itin.* 2, 1: Vallis autem ipsa ingens est ualde...
 "This valley is absolutely immense ...".

with an immediate anaphor referring to the end of the previous sentence:

Eger. *Itin.* 1, 2: ... per ualle illa, quam dixi ingens.
 "through this valley, about which I have said that it was immense".

In the next paragraph, Egeria is going to describe Mount Sinai itself: the mountain, which is now the main entity in the narration, is presented in the same way with adjectival *ipsa* (which is in this case also anaphoric):

Eger. *Itin.* 2, 5: Mons autem ipsa per giro quidem unus esse uidetur
 "The mountain, seen from the surroundings, seems to be just one and the same mountain".

1.5.2. *Ipsa* as an intensifier in Egeria

A comparison between *in ipso loco* "on that very spot" (Fr. *sur le lieu même*) and *ibi* "there" (similar to *in eo loco* "in this place") shows that the expression containing *ipsa* is a marked one and *ipsa* here is an intensifier:

Eger. *Itin.* 2,2: nam lapis grandis ibi fixus stat in ipso loco.
 "a big stone stands there, planted (in the ground) at that very spot".

1.5.3. Several functions for *ipsa* in Egeria

In Egeria's narration, there can be several occurrences of *ipsa* in a row with different functions. In the following passage, *ipsa* is successively a standard or re-inforced anaphor, an intensifier, denotes the main entity

(Mount Sinai: twice) and is an intensifier again for the fruit that seems to grow on rocks and stones:

Egeria, Itin. 3, 6: dederunt nobis presbyteri loci IPSIVS eulogias, id est de pomis, quae in IPSO monte nascuntur. Nam cum IPSE mons sanctus Syna totus petrinus sit, ita ut nec fruticem habeat, tamen deorsum prope radicem montium IPSORVM ...modica terrola est; statim sancti monachi ... arbusculas ponunt et pomariola instituunt et arationes et iuxta sibi monasteria, quasi ex IPSIVS montis terra aliquos fructus capiant, quos tamen manibus suis elaborasse uideantur.

"the priests of this place (= re-inforced or standard anaphor) gave us offerings, i.e. some fruit that grew on the mountain (itself) (= intensifier). While the sacred mount Sinai (= main entity) was entirely covered with stones so that it did not even have a bush, nevertheless down near the bottom of these mountains (= main entity) ... there was a little bit of soil; immediately the holy monks planted small trees and created orchards and cultivated fields even next to the monasteries, so that it looked as if they were taking fruit from the soil of the mountain (itself) (= intensifier), but actually they had created it with their own hands".

1.5.4. *Ipse* with intensification and memory reference in Egeria

In the following sentence, *ipse* is not an anaphor; it is an intensifier and, at the same time, introduces a memory reference for the precise passage of the Bible which is being read on the very place where the biblical events took place. We would mention here that memory reference is also one of the uses of the French definite article.

Eger. Itin. 4, 3 Fecimus... orationem .., et lectus est IPSE locus de libro regnorum: id enim.. ego desideraueram semper, ut ubicumque uenissemus, semper IPSE locus de libro legeretur.

"We said a prayer and we read the corresponding passage of the Liber regnorum. I always wanted, wherever we came to, that the corresponding passage of the Bible would be read".

1.5.5. *Ipse* with anaphor, correlation and definiteness in Egeria

In the following example, *ipse* expresses anaphor and definiteness and it is the correlative of a postposed restrictive relative clause; in its second occurrence, it is an intensifier meaning identity and it is, precisely, from this kind of example that *ipse* replaced *idem* for identity.

Eger. *Itin.* 4, 5 : *et adhuc nobis superabant milia tria, ut perexiremus montes IPSOS⁷, quos ingressi fueramur pridie sera ; sed non IPSA parte exire habebamus qua intraueramus*

"et il nous restait encore trois milles à faire pour sortir complètement de CES montagnes où nous nous étions engagés la veille au soir. Mais nous ne devons pas sortir du côté où nous étions entrés ..."
(Translation by P. Maraval, Paris, 1982, collection Sources chrétiennes).

"We had three more miles to go in order to leave behind us THESE mountains that we had entered the previous day in the evening. But it was not possible for us to come out on the SAME side that we had gone in".

1.6. *Ipse* in other Late Latin authors

Anaphoric *ipse* is attested in other Late Latin authors, especially in their works that use a lower level of language, such as Augustine's *Sermones*, where we may often hesitate between a standard anaphor or a re-inforced anaphor:

Aug. *Serm.* 264, 31: *Necessarius fuit infirmus infirmo, necessarius erit fortis forti. Quia et tu deponere habes IPSAM infirmitatem, iuxta quod audisti in apostolo.*

Fr. "Il était nécessaire que je sois faible pour toi qui étais faible ; il sera nécessaire que je sois fort pour toi qui seras fort. Aussi bien tu dois quitter CETTE faiblesse, selon ce que tu as entendu de l'apôtre".

"It was necessary for me to be weak for you who were weak; it will be necessary for me to be strong for you who will be strong. You must leave off THIS weakness, just as the apostle has told you".

1.7. Origin of the functions of *ipse* in Late Latin

1.7.1. *Ipse* as an anaphor

The re-inforced anaphoric uses of *ipse* in Late Latin may be due to the formation and origin of *ipse* itself, since it is a re-inforced anaphor. It could be the preservation of an old function that was maintained at some levels of language and diatopic variations, even if it is not documented in the Classical Latin texts.

1.7.2. *Ipse* as an intensifier

⁷ We notice that *ipse* is postposed to the noun and situated between the noun and the relative pronoun, just as memorial *ille* announcing a restrictive relative clause in Egeria: see below note 17.

The uses of *ipse* as an intensifier may be related to the fact that *ipse* presupposes a hierarchy and is used for the most important entity in a group⁸. In Petronius (*Sat.* 63, 3; 75, 11 – 76, 1), a freedman - at a very low level of speech and almost using slang - calls his previous master and master's wife *ipsimus* and *ipsima* with the superlative of *ipse* ("the boss"): the words have the same denotation as *dominus* "master" for a slave and *domina* "master's wife", but the connotation is very different.

Ipse has the same use with groups of animals: *ipse* in Vergil is said of the ram by opposition to the rest of the flock (Verg. *B.* 95: *ipse aries*) and in Seneca of the "king" of the bees by opposition to the bees (Sen. *clem.* 1, 19, 3: *rex ipse*). Plautus uses *ipse* in order to distinguish the real genetic mother from the wet-nurse (Pl. *Men. Prol.* 16-21). Inside a human being, *ipse* denotes the most important part, the physical body of someone by opposition to his attributes, which could be his name (Liu. 23, 3, 5-14), his accounts (if he is an accountant: Cic. *Att.* 15, 20, 4, 1), his actions, letters, etc. A letter by Cicero, written after Caesar's assassination, opposes Caesar's actions, writings, words, promises and thoughts to the physical body of Caesar when he was still alive (Cic. *Att.* 14, 10, 1).

The same opposition is found until Late Antiquity: Hieronymus (beginning of the 5th c. A.D.) displays an opposition between the physical presence of someone and her letters:

Hier. *Ep.* 26, 54, 1 : *Nuper, ..., non per epistulam, ut ante consueueras, sed praesens ipsa quaesisti*

Fr. : "Récemment, ... tu as demandé non par une lettre, comme tu en avais l'habitude auparavant, mais en étant toi-même présente, ...".

"Recently, you asked not by letter, as you used to, but by being present there yourself..."

This use of Lat. *ipse* as an intensifier in a hierarchy - in Archaic, Classical and still in Late Latin texts - is the antecedent of Fr. *même* as an intensifier in Fr. *lui-même, moi-même, toi-même*. Therefore, the *significant* (i.e. the formal sequence) has been renewed by the re-inforcement of *ipse* (see above § 1.2.), but the function is similar between Latin and French.

2. FUNCTIONS AND EVOLUTION OF *ISTE*

Latin *iste* seems to have undergone a functional change in the deictic system of Old-French compared to Classical Latin.

Old-French has a binary spatial opposition between *cist* and *cil*, respectively "this" (here) and "that" (over there)⁹. O.-Fr. *cist* comes from

⁸ FRUYT forthcoming-a.

⁹ This opposition is lost in Modern French.

the frozen sequence of the two Latin words *ecce iste* (*ecce istum*), and *cil* from Latin *ecce ille* (*ecce illum*).

Cist is already attested in the first document written in Old-French - which is also the first document written in a Romance language - the *Strasburg Oaths* in 842 A.D., at the beginning of the part written in *lingua romana*¹⁰:

*Pro deo amur et pro christian poblo et nostro commun salvament, d'ist di in avant, in quant Deus savir et podir me dunat, si salvarai eo **cist meon fradre Karlo**; et ab Ludher nul plaid nunquam prindrai qui meon vol **cist meon fradre Karle** in damno sit.*

Fr. : "Pour l'amour de Dieu et pour le commun salut du peuple chrétien et le nôtre, à partir de **ce** jour, pour autant que Dieu me donne savoir et pouvoir, je soutiendrai **ce** mien frère Charles...; et avec Lothaire je ne prendrai jamais aucun accord qui, par ma volonté, soit au détriment de **ce** mien frère Charles".

In this text, *cist meon fradre Karlo* and *cist meon fradre Karle* (where *cist* is next to the possessive adjective of the 1st person) are usually translated as "my (= *meon*) brother Charles here present (= *cist*)".

But while there were two lexemes in Old-French, there were three lexemes in Latin: *hic*, *iste* and *ille*.

3. TWO DEICTIC OPPOSITIONS IN LATIN

In order to describe the deictic uses of *hic*, *iste*, *ille* in Latin, we propose to use E. Benveniste's concept of "the speaker's sphere" (Fr. *la sphère du locuteur*) developed in an article (1946 and 1966) where he distinguished two oppositions. The first one is an opposition between the two protagonists of the dialogue as a whole, the couple *ego* + *tū*, the speaker and the addressee, versus the rest of the world¹¹, that is to say the 1st and 2nd persons together as opposed to the 3rd person. The second one is an opposition¹² between the 1st person and 2nd person only, between *ego* and *tū*.

There is an internal hierarchy which shows a major opposition between *hic* and *ille*, and a narrower opposition between *hic* and *iste*.

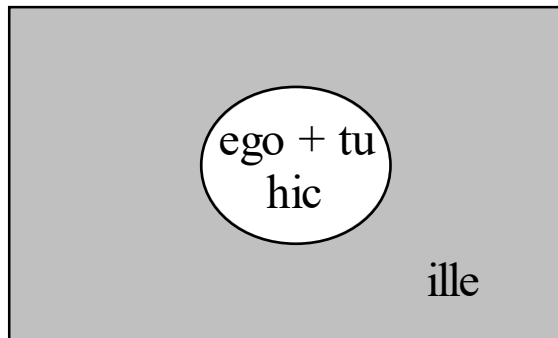
4. THE FIRST OPPOSITION: THE SPEAKER'S SPHERE (*EGO* + *TŪ*) VS THE REST OF THE WORLD

¹⁰ According to BEC 1971, 39.

¹¹ BENVENISTE 1946 called it *corrélacion de personnalité*.

¹² BENVENISTE 1946 called it *corrélacion de subjectivité*.

In the first opposition, the two participants within the dialogue are the persons designated by *ego* and *tū*, that is to say the speaker and the addressee; they define the speech situation (which is represented in the white circle in the following figure). They are opposed to the rest of the world (in grey colour in the following figure), and especially to anybody else, i.e. those persons that are neither speaker nor addressee and that do not belong to the speech situation: they are designated by *ille*:



This opposition between *hic* and *ille* is clearly exemplified in Plautus in the comedy of the Archaic period (end of the 3rd century B.C.) and Terentius (beginning of the 2nd century B.C.). The speaker uses *hic* for everything that belongs to his sphere, any entity with which he has any kind of relationship, either an inalienable or occasional possession. The central point and reference point of the speaker is himself; he sets himself in the middle of the “speaker’s sphere” on the stage.

4.1. *Hic* for “the place when I am at the moment”

In the following passage, the speaker uses *hic* (here the adverb *hūc* “towards here”) in order to designate the place where he stands:

Pl. *Rud.* 707: *Huc respice*
 “Look at me (= here towards me)”.

4.2. *Hic* for “any entity situated in my spatial sphere on the stage”

The speaker also uses *hic* for any entity which is near him on the stage and, more precisely, for anyone who is within hearing distance of him, while if someone is beyond his hearing distance, the speaker will designate him by *ille*.

When a character is still in the background on the stage, the speaker designates him with *ille*; when this *ille* person comes forward towards *ego*

and arrives near him, he becomes a *hic* person, since the conversation with him is now possible.

Therefore, the communication between the characters is a fundamental criterion for the organisation of the deictic categories: a person is designated by *hic* if he is near enough so that the speaker can speak to him. On the contrary, the speaker uses *ille* for anyone who is outside the speech situation - whether he is visible or not, on the stage or off the stage¹³.

In the following example, the speaker uses *ille* for a man that he sees far away on the stage; when the man approaches, at a shorter distance, the speaker recognises him:

Pl. *Truc.* 122: *Diniarchusne illic est? Atque is est*
 "Is that Diniarchus over there? Yes, it is."

In Pl. *Bacch.* 239-242, the same man is designated first by *ille* when he is still far away on the stage, and later on by *hic* when he is near enough to be considered by the speaker as being in his spatial sphere and therefore as being a potential addressee. The speaker then decides to go forward towards the newcomer and to start the conversation with him:

Pl. *Bacch.* 239-242:
Extexam ego illum pulchre iam, si di uolunt. /
Haud dormitandumst; opus est chryso Chrysalo./
Adibo hunc quem quidem ego hodie faciam hic arietem/ Phrix<i>.
 Fr. : "Moi, je vais tromper CET homme (là-bas) de la belle manière, si les dieux le veulent bien. Il ne faut pas s'endormir ; Chrysale a besoin d'or. Je vais aborder CET homme (ici près de moi) et, assurément, maintenant et ICI, j'en ferai un bélier de Phrixus".
 "I am going to deceive THAT man (over there) in a beautiful way, if the Gods so wish (agree). I must not sleep; Chrysalus needs some gold. I am going to approach THIS man (here) and, surely, right HERE and now, I will make him a 'Phrixus's ram'".

A man who just had a conversation with the speaker on the stage, but who is leaving and is now beyond hearing distance, is called *ille* (more precisely here *illi-c* with a short *i*, from **ille-ce* with the nomin. M. sg. *ille*) by the speaker: the adverb *hinc* "from here" shows that he started his departure from the speaker's area:

Pl. *Epid.* 81: *Illic hinc abiit*
 "He is gone".

¹³ If he is visible on the stage, the speaker may also use the deictic bound morpheme *-ce*, postposed to *ille*. This *-ce* morpheme is also a constituent of the deictic adverb *ecce* "here it is", used in the frozen sequence leading to O.-Fr. *cist* (<*ecce istum*>), *cil* (<*ecce illum*>), as we have seen.

An indirect proof of this is the comic effect due to the use of *ille* by the speaker when he does not see a man who is actually on the stage next to him, but the audience can see him. The speaker is not aware of the presence of his master and the slave says about his master "I will join him (*ille*) wherever he is":

Pl. *Mi.* 1379: *Ego nam conueniam illum, ubi ubi gentium*
 "Well, I will join him, wherever he is on earth".

In this kind of deixis, it is quite impossible to separate what is relevant for personal deixis from what is relevant for spatial or temporal deixis, and it would be a mistake to do so. They are inextricably mixed.

4.3. *Hic* for any inalienable or occasional relationship with *ego*

Many things belong to the speaker's sphere and are designated by *hic*. Within the category of inalienable possessions, we find: body parts (head: *fugit hoc libertas caput* Pl. *Stich.* 751: "Liberty goes away from me (= my head)"; and also, finger, eye, etc.), the master when the speaker is the slave and the slave when the speaker is the master¹⁴, the state or city, and fellow citizens of the speaker (*in hac ciuitate* "in our city"; *his ciuibus meis* "my fellow citizens"). Possession may be emphasized by the joint use of *hic* and the possessive adjective of the 1st person singular *meus*¹⁵:

Pl. *Bacch.* 226: *dum quidem hoc ualebit pectus perfidia meum*
 "for as long as my heart is full of treachery".

Hic is also used by the speaker in order to designate things with which he has only an occasional, temporary, accidental relationship: a ring, some tablets or letter, a certain amount of money that he is carrying for somebody else, a bag that he is passing on to the addressee:

Pl. *Epid.* 345: *Accipe hoc sis*
 "Take this, please" (a bag).

The actions of the speaker are also designated by himself with *hic*, e.g., a lash of whip given by the speaker to a slave:

Pl. *Most.* 910: *Em, hocine uolebas?*
 "Is this what you wanted?".

¹⁴ FRUYT forthcoming-c.

¹⁵ This reminds us of the *Strasburg Oaths* for "my brother Charles" with the concomitant use of the deictic and the possessive adjective.

The speaker also designates with *hic* what he has just said or written. In Cicero's letters, for example, some occurrences of *hoc* "this" in the neuter sg. are anaphoric in a parenthetical clause. This is an interesting use, since the *designatum* of *hic* is a linguistic unit or sequence; the linguistic resources of the language are then used in order to designate a linguistic entity, in a meta-enunciative (meta-linguistic) use¹⁶, the speaker's comment on what he just said:

Cic. Att. 15, 21, 1 : *Scribit autem Staius illum cum patre habitare uelle (hoc uero mirum)*

"Staius writes that he (= the boy) wants to live with his father (this is actually surprising)".

Cic. Att. 1, 10, 1: *Cum essem in Tusculano (erit hoc tibi pro illo tuo: 'cum essem in Ceramicus') uerum tamen cum ibi essem, ...*

"While I was in my property of Tusculum (this will be for you the equivalent of your (previous) 'while I was in (the) Ceramicus'), so while I was there ...".

4.4. *Ille* for spatial and temporal deixis

Ille is used by the speaker for anything outside of his sphere and especially, as we have seen, for any person situated too far from him to be able to hear him and speak to him. The two extreme distances referred to by *ille* are illustrated in the following examples. In the first examples, the distance is the smallest possible, e.g., the house is on the stage, just in the background:

Pl. Cas. 35-36 : *Is una cum patre in illisce habitat aedibus.*

"He lives with his father in that house over there".

Pl. Pseud. 890: *Em illic ego habito*

"Well, I live over there".

In the following example, the distance is maximised: the adverb *hic* "here, in the city where I live and where we are" is opposed to the adverb *illuc* "over there, in the far away country you come from":

Pl. Capt. 261: *Vt uos hic, itidem illic apud uos meus seruatur filius*

"just as you are prisoners here (in my country), so my son is a prisoner there in your country".

Ille may also be used for a place situated outside of the stage and outside of the town, but in the neighbourhood (*proxima*):

¹⁶ For this parenthetical use of *hic*, see FRUYT 2010, 452.

Pl. *Rud.* 33-35 : **Illic** habitat Daemones/
In agro atque uilla proxima propter mare, /
Senex qui huc Athenis exul uenit

Fr. : "Là-bas habite Daemones à la campagne et dans une ferme toute proche près de la mer, un vieillard qui est venu ici d'Athènes en exil".
 "Over there lives Daemones, on a farm in the country very close by, near the sea, an old man who came here in exile from Athens".

Pl. *Capt.* 60: *Foris illic extra scaenam fient proelia*

Fr. "C'est là-bas au loin, hors de la scène, qu'auront lieu les combats".
 "The fights will take place over there, in the distance, far from the stage".

or inside the town, away from the stage, e.g., in the market:

Pl. *Aul* 373-377:

373: *Venio ad macellum, rogito piscis .../*

377 : *Abeo iratus illinc, quoniam nihil est qui emam*

Fr. "J'arrive au marché, je demande (le prix des) poissons ... Je m'en vais furieux de là-bas puisque je n'ai pas de quoi acheter quoi que ce soit".

"I arrive in the market, I ask for (the price of) fish ... I leave THAT place furious, since I do not have enough money to buy (these things)".

Ille is also used by the speaker for temporal deixis, for something situated far from him in time, e.g., for remote past events as opposed to present events. When two periods of the history of a country are opposed, the reference point of the speech situation is not only the speaker, but also his contemporary fellow citizens. Therefore, the possessive adjective linked with *hic* is rather *noster* "our" plural than *meus* "my" singular; we often have an opposition between past and present, such as: *antiquo illo more* "in that ancient way" vs *hoc nostro more* "in our present way".

4.5. Other uses of *ille*

Another use of *ille* as a morpheme denoting a certain distance is the designation of the second entity after mentioning a first one: "the other one, the second one". *Ille* is used for the addressee when he starts replying to a previous speech and himself becomes a speaker: "the other one answers" (Caes. *BC* 2, 34, 5; 2, 35, 2) and *illī* in the plural in Caesar designates the enemies "the ones on the other side" (Caes. *BC* 4, 33, 2).

Sometimes, *hic* denotes the "good" entity, the one which is in the *ego's* sphere and affection, while *ille* is used for the "bad" one, the one which is situated at a certain distance from the speaker. The soldier uses *hic* for his new girlfriend, the one he likes, and *ille* for the old one, the one he wants to get rid of:

Pl. Mi. 1094-1096:

*Quid nunc mihi es auctor ut faciam, Palaestrio, /
De concubina? Nam nullo pacto potest /
Prius haec in aedis recipi quam illam amiserim*

Fr. : "Et maintenant, Palestrion, à ton avis, que dois-je faire à propos de ma concubine ? Car il n'est pas possible de recevoir dans la maison la nouvelle avant d'avoir renvoyé l'ancienne".

"Now, what do you suggest I should do, Palaestrio, about my concubine? It is not possible that I should receive the new one (*haec*) in my house before I have dismissed the old one (*illa*)"

"In no way, the new one (= *haec*) can be received in my house before I have dismissed the old one (*illa*)".

In a well-known passage used by linguists in order to show the antecedents of the Romance definite article, *ille* is used in a meta-linguistic or meta-enunciative remark and correction (in contrast with *sorbet*) as a determiner of the verbal form *stertit* "he snores, he is snoring" with the meaning "the word *stertit*":

Pl. Mi. 818-819 : LV. *Sorbet dormiens*. PA. *Quid, sorbet?* PV. ***Illud*** 'stertit' uolui dicere

"Lurcio: - He is drinking while sleeping. Palaestrio: - What? is he drinking? - No, I meant to say rather 'he is snoring'".

This use of adjectival *ille* in *illud stertit* may be analysed as "this other word *stertit*" ("it is the other word, *stertit*, that I meant to say") or "another word *stertit*" ("it is another word, *stertit*, that I meant to say"). Anyway, the verbal form *stertit* could not be used on its own in such a sentence and needed a determiner in order to be able to fulfil the syntactic function of direct object.

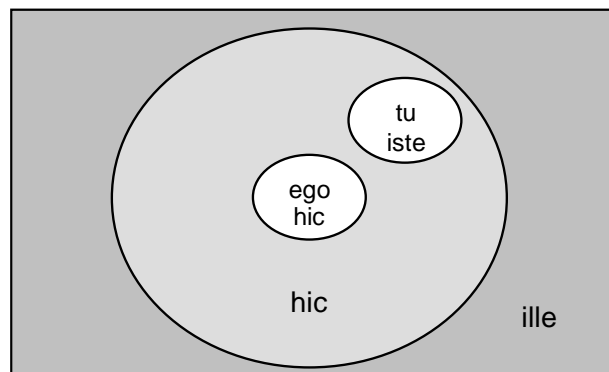
The usual example for memory deixis is *ille Socrates* "Socrates that you know well, the well-known Socrates" on the basis of a common knowledge shared by the speaker and the addressee(s). This use of *ille* was probably one of the important elements in the transition to the definite article. Using *ille* in this function, Cicero in a letter, for security reasons, avoids mentioning the name of the man he is speaking about. But the reference of *ille* is clear for the addressee:

Cic. *Fam.* 2, 9, 1: *ego ILLE ipse factus sum (scis quem dicam)*
"I was transformed into HIM himself (you know who I mean)".

5. THE SECOND OPPOSITION: *EGO* VS *TŪ*

The second opposition we will look at is the deictic opposition between *hic* and *iste*, between the 1st and the 2nd person. This is important for our purpose, since we would like to explain the circumstances in which *iste* took over the functions previously assumed by *hic*.

Inside the speech situation, in this second and narrower opposition, we now have a contrast between *hic* for the speaker's sphere and *iste* for the addressee's sphere, as illustrated in the following figure.



The figure shows that inside the space designated by *hic* according to our first opposition, we now have two sub-divisions: a) what is relevant only for *ego*, which is again expressed by *hic*, and b) what is relevant only for *tū*, which is expressed by *iste*. Therefore, *hic* plays two semantico-referential roles, one in the first opposition (*hic vs ille*) and one in the second opposition (*hic vs iste*). *Ille* is not concerned with this second opposition and keeps the role assigned to it in the first opposition as "what is outside of the speech situation".

This second opposition is based on a strong contrast between the "speaker's sphere" and the "addressee's sphere".

The addressee's sphere can be illustrated by the same kind of examples as the speaker's sphere that we have mentioned above (see §4.3.): property, relationship, near the speaker on the stage (but far from the speaker in a letter). *Iste* is used by the speaker in order to designate everything that is related to the addressee, for example in the category of inalienable possession¹⁷:

a) the body parts of the addressee ("your tongue": Pl. *Mi.* 318: *istam linguam*; "your age": *Mi.* 618: *istuc aetatis*; "your overall appearance": *Stich.* 770: *istoc uorsu*),

b) the members of his family (kinship: *ista* "your sister»), his slaves or his master in the master-slave relationship (Pl. *Curc.* 521: *sequere istum* "Follow your master". *Men.* 436: *Abduc istos* "take your men away"),

c) his house (*Curc.* 209: *in domo istac*),

¹⁷ Since it is linked to the 2nd person, *iste* may be used next to the possessive adjective *tuus*, just as *hic* may be used with *meus* (see above § 4.3.).

d) his arms (Pl. *Truc.* 627: *istam machaeram longiorem habes quam haec est* "Your sword is longer than mine"),

e) his clothing, gestures, actions, sayings, etc.

Iste is also used for occasional possession or relationship for bags, clothes, etc. (Pl. *Rud.* 578: *Tu istaec mihi dato*: "give me your clothes").

This second opposition *hic* vs *iste* is well illustrated by the example of the door the speaker is knocking on. It is somebody else's door, but since the speaker is knocking on it (he is touching it and the door is near him), he uses *hic*. When the other character replies, she uses *iste* because it is then "the door you are knocking on":

Pl. *Most.* 988 : PI. *Heus uos, ecquis hasce aperit?* PH. *Quid istas pultas, ubi nemo intus est?*

Fr. : Pinacio (frappant à grands coups dans la porte) : - "Holà, vous ! est-ce que quelqu'un ouvre cette porte (= *hic* : que je frappe) ?".

Phaniscus: - "Pourquoi frappes-tu à grands coups cette porte (= *iste*: que tu frappes), là où il n'y a personne à l'intérieur?".

Pinacio (knocking on the door): - «Hey you! Is someone going to open this (= *hic*) door?». Phaniscus: - "Why are you knocking on this (= *iste*) door, when there is nobody inside?".

In the Nt. sg., the pronoun *hoc* "what I want" is opposed to *istuc* "what you want, what you just said":

Pl. *Poen.* 1197: AG. *At enim hoc agas uolo.* HA. *At enim ago istuc.*

Agorastocles: "Well, I want you to do this". Hanno: "All right, I will do it".

Just as in the previous passage, *istud* in the next examples means "what you just said", referring to the words pronounced by the addressee:

Pl. *Mi.* 827: PA. *Qui lubitum est illi condormiscere?* LV. *Oculis, opinor. PA. Non te istuc rogo, scelus.*

"Pa.: - How does he like to sleep? Lu.: - With his eyes, I think. Pa.: - That is not what I am asking you, scoundrel."

Ter. *Hecyr.* 354: Pam.: - *Meliuscula est.* Sost.: - *Vtinam istuc ita di faxint!*

Pamphilus: "- She is a little better. Sostrata: May the Gods do as you say!".

Since *iste* in Archaic and Classical Latin occurs only in this second opposition, it has a very specific function and is a marked term; every occurrence of *iste* has its own specific justification in Archaic and Classical Latin. It follows that its frequency in the Latin texts is much smaller than that of *hic* or *ille*.

6. *HIC* AND *ILLE* AS ENDOPHORS

While *iste*, as we have just seen, is only a deictic, *hic* and *ille* are deictics and endophors, as can be seen from the following passages (where we show only some of the productive and most frequent endophoric uses of *hic*, *ille*). Firstly, *ille* replaces *is* as a standard anaphor in post-Classical Latin:

Sen. *clem.* 1,5,5: *Magnam fortunam magnus animus decet, qui, nisi se ad illam extulit et altior stetit, illam quoque infra ad terram deducit*

Fr. "à une grande fortune sied une grande âme qui, si elle ne s'est pas élevée vers elle et placée plus haut, l'entraîne aussi vers le bas jusqu'à terre".

"A lofty spirit befits a lofty station, and if it does not rise to the level of its station and even stand above it, the other, too, is dragged downward to the ground" (translation by J. W. Basore, Cambridge – London, 1970, Loeb collection).

Secondly, *hic* has a cataphoric use in all periods of Latin:

Pl. *As.* 166 : *Semper tibi promissum habeto hac lege, dum superes datis*

Fr. : "Tu auras pour toujours à toi ce qu'on t'a promis, à condition que tu sois le plus généreux".

"You will always have for yours what has been promised to you, on the condition that you are the most generous in your gifts" / you will give the largest gifts.

Sen. *clem.* 1, 4: *...hoc ipsum cogitantem: "Occidere contra legem nemo non potest, seruare nemo praeter me"*

"... having this following thought itself: 'There is nobody that cannot kill against the law, but nobody except myself can save against the law' ".

Thirdly, *hic* may be a transphrastic anaphor, a common use in Caesar:

Caes. *BC* 2, 25, 1: *HOC explorato LOCO Curio castra Vari conspicit.*
"Having explored the place, Curio watches Varus's camp".

or a resumptive anaphor at the beginning of a new paragraph in Caesar (*Haec..* "These events ...") or elsewhere:

Sen. *clem.* 1,5,3: *quid enim maius aut fortius quam malam fortunam retundere? HAEC tamen magnanimitas in bona fortuna laxiorem locum habet.*

Fr. "En effet, quoi de plus grand et de plus courageux que d'émousser les coups de la mauvaise fortune ? Pourtant CETTE grandeur d'âme trouve un champ plus large dans la bonne fortune".

“For what is greater or braver than to beat down infortune? Yet THIS greatness of soul has freer play under circumstances of good fortune” (translation by J. W. Basore, Cambridge – London, 1970, Loeb collection).

Hic may cumulate several roles in the same occurrence. *Hic* is at the same time a deictic operator for “the person I speak about” and the correlative of the following relative pronoun in a cataphoric way in:

Cic. *Verr.* 2,5,160: *Gaius HIC QVEM dico Consanus, cum in ILLO numero ciuium Romanorum ab ISTO in uincla coniectus esset ...*

“This Gaius from Compsa that I am speaking about, while he had been thrown into prison by Verres among this number of Roman citizens ...”

The opposition *hic* vs *ille* is usually used anaphorically, *hic* referring to the nearer word in the preceding textual sequence and *ille* to the one further away: *in illo superiore genere ...*, *in hoc...* (Cic.) “in that first category ..., in this one ...”, *haec posterior ...*, *illa ...* (Cic.) “this second one ..., that one ...”. But in some other cases, the use of *hic* and *ille* does not depend on the textual distance: in the following passage of Cicero’s *Cato maior (De senectute)*, the old man is the hero of the work and he is compared to the young man:

Cic. *sen.* 68: *At senex est eo meliore condicione quam **adulescens** cum id quod **ille** sperat, hic consecutus est: **ille** uolt diu uiuere, hic diu uixit.*

“But the old man is in such a better situation than **the young man** in that what **the young man** (*ille*) hopes for, the old man (*hic*) has already obtained: **the young man** (*ille*) wants to live long, the old man (*hic*) has already lived long.”

Here *ille* refers anaphorically to the young man (*adulescens*), although *adulescens* is the nearer noun to *ille*, while *hic* refers to the old man (*senex*), although *senex* is further from *hic* than *adulescens*. The criterion for the use of *hic* and *ille* here is the hierarchy between the two entities: the young man, who is the less important person, gets *ille*, while the old man, who is the most important person, gets *hic*.

7. WHY *ISTE* REPLACED *HIC* IN ITS DEICTIC USE

A consequence of these various uses of *hic* and *ille* was an increase in their frequency and a decrease in their specificity. On the other hand, *iste* kept its specificity as a deictic, which is probably the strongest reason why *iste* replaced deictic *hic*. The more specific and less usual lexeme took over

the more frequent and functionally less specific one, following a type of evolution which we often observe elsewhere.

Moreover, in dialogue (which is the most important situation in all spoken languages) there is a reversibility between *hic* and *iste* and a converse relationship between the referential value of *ego / hic* and *tū / iste*. The entity designated by *hic* in the first sentence pronounced by the first character is the same entity as that which is designated by *iste* in the second sentence pronounced by the second character, as we can see in the following examples where the same place is designated successively by the adverbs *hic* and *istīc*:

Pl. *Stich.* 92-93: PAM. - *Adside hic, pater.* AN. - *Non sedeo istic.*
 "Sit here (next to me), father". - "I won't sit next to you".

Therefore, in the dialogue, *hic* and *iste* have the same referential value: there is an identity of referent and *designatum* for the two lexemes. Thus, in Late Latin, an identical referential value has evolved into an identical semantic value as when *iste* replaces *hic* in a deictic function.

8. THE PEJORATIVE USE OF *ISTE*

We will leave aside the problem of the pejorative connotation of *iste* in some passages, since it probably derives from the deixis of the second person when the speaker disagrees with the addressee, as can be seen in the following passage from Cicero:

Cic. *Fam.* 3, 7, 5: *Cum ea consecutus nondum eram, quae sunt hominum opinionibus amplissima, tamen ista uestra nomina numquam sum admiratus*

"Even before I had attained the honours which are most magnificent in the eyes of men, even then those titles of yours never excited my admiration".

9. GENERAL EVOLUTION OF THE LATIN SYSTEM

9.1. Decreasing use of *is*

In order to fully explain the expression of deixis and endophor in Old-French and Romance, it would also be necessary to describe thoroughly the general evolution of the deictic and endophoric system in Late Latin, and especially the fact that *is*, which used to be the prototypical endophor, disappeared as an adjective and determiner.

This is important since adjectival *is* was an anaphor and also a cataphor when used as the correlative of the relative pronoun. These uses are taken by the definite article in the Romance languages. When adjectival

is disappeared, the gap had to be filled by other words already having endophoric functions: *ille* and *hic* mainly used as adjectives.

In Late Latin, *is* survived only in restrictive circumstances: only as a pronoun, in disyllabic forms like the genitive sg *eius*, and when situated close to the verb or the relative pronoun, so that it could then have had a tendency to become a clitic. Adjectival *is* survived only in frozen sequences (such as *eō locō*, *eā horā*, *id est*, *eō-modō*) and only two such adverbs have made their way into French (*ibi* > Fr. *y*; *inde* > Fr. *en*).

9.2. Development of *ille* and *hic* in endophoric functions

In order to fill the gap left by *is*, *ille* was more and more used as a standard anaphoric and especially as an adjective (see above §6 in Seneca). This use can already be seen in the 1st century A.D. in the Pompeian inscriptions and, later on, in Petronius. It is well attested in Augustine's *Sermones*, which are closer to the colloquial language than his other works:

Aug. *Serm.* 231, 3 line 72 : *ipse dicit non ego et tamen uerum dicit; et ideo dico et ego. Quare illud dico et ego?*

"It is he (*ipse*) who says that, not me, and he tells the truth; therefore, I say it too. Why do I say it (*illud*) as well?"

One of the last authors writing in Late Latin, Fredegar in the 7th century A.D., shows a high frequency of *ille* for standard anaphors, but also still some occurrences of *is* as a pronoun. We also notice in the following passage an occurrence of *ipse* alternating with *is* as a standard or re-inforced anaphor:

Fredegar 4, 9 : *Tunc illa respondit: "... Si conuersi christiani sicut et ego sum efficiuntur, tunc eis respondebo."* ... *"Se uir meus uoluerit fieri christianus et baptismi gratiam accipere, libenter ad eum reuertar, nam paenitus aliter ad ipso non repedabo"*.

"Alors elle répondit : "... S'ils se convertissent et deviennent chrétiens, tout comme moi je le suis, alors je leur répondrai." ... "Quand mon époux aura bien voulu devenir chrétien et recevoir la grâce du baptême, je retournerai volontiers auprès de lui, car à aucune autre condition je ne reviendrai à ses côtés" (translation by O. Devillers & J. Meyers, 2001, *Frédégaire. Chronique des temps mérovingiens*, Turnhout, Brepols).

"Then she answered: "... If they become Christians, like me, then I will reply to them." ... "When my husband has agreed to become a Christian and to receive the grace of baptism, then I will willingly go back to him; but I will not go back to him again on any other condition".

Another important fact for the development of *ille* is that *ille* replaced *is* as the correlative of the relative pronoun (especially in the word sequences *ille N qui ...* or *ille qui ...*). This is a fundamental element since these relative clauses are always restrictive and definite:

Petron. *Sat.* 61, 2: "... Oro te, sic felicem me uideas, narra illud quod tibi usu uenit

"Please, if you want to please me, tell (us) the (=that) story that happened to you".

In the preceding example, *illud* has two roles: it is an anaphor and at the same time the cataphoric correlative of the relative pronoun.

9.3. Stability of some uses of *hic* and *ille*

However, in Late Latin, some important uses of *hic* and *ille* (cataphor, spatial and temporal deixis, memory reference) were maintained from the Classical period:

a) *Hic* as a cataphor (see above § 6):

Aug., *Serm.* 154A, 31: Hoc tibi habebat dicere homo: qui uestrum uicerit, accipiet hoc.

Fr. "L'homme avait à te dire la chose suivante : celui d'entre vous qui aura vaincu recevra ceci".

"The man was instructed to tell you the following: he among you who wins will receive this".

b) The deictic opposition between *hic* and *ille* is still productive in Late Latin (see above §6), and this is important since it is precisely this use of *ille* that will give the Old-French *cil* in a contrast between "distant" and "near". In the following passage, the adverb *hic* "here" means "in your mortal life" by opposition to "in heaven":

Aug., *Serm.* 39, 66: Si quasi in somnis hic uiuis, euigilaturus es quando morieris.

Fr.: "Si tu vis ici comme dans un songe, tu te réveilleras quand tu mourras".

"If you live here (=in your mortal life) as in a dream, you will wake up when you die".

Aug. *Conf.* 1, 12: Hanc ergo aetatem, domine, quam me uixisse non memini, ... piget me adnumerare huic uitae meae, quam uiuo in hoc saeculo. Quantum enim attinet ad obliuionis meae tenebras, par illi est quam uixi in matris utero

Fr. : "Mais cette époque, Seigneur, que je ne me souviens pas avoir vécu, ... il me coûte de la compter dans ma vie présente, que je mène dans ce siècle-ci (ici-bas). Or, pour ce qui est des ténèbres de mon oubli, elle est identique à la vie lointaine que j'ai passée dans le ventre de ma mère".

“But this period, my Lord, that I don’t remember having lived, I feel reluctant to count it as part of my present life, that I live in our world. As far as the darkness of my forgetfulness is concerned, it is identical to the life I lived in my mother’s womb”.

c) In Late Latin, *ille* is also still quite productive as a memory deictic (cf. above §4.5.). Egeria (*Itinerarium*) has interesting passages using the deictic adjectival *ille* for Biblical events which were well known to the Christian community and to her addressees. *Ille* introduces a relative pronoun, and is situated next to this relative pronoun¹⁸ (*ille N qui ... / N ille qui ...*). There is no doubt that this situation, combining at the same time a definite restrictive relative clause and a memory deictic, must have been fundamental in the development of the definite article. We have an occurrence of mere memory deixis (without anaphor) in:

Eger. *Itin.* 37, 1: *ad columnnam illam ad quem flagellatus est Dominus*
“near the column against which the Lord was scourged”.

Eger. *Itin.* 37, 3: *cornu illud de quo reges unguebantur*
“the ampulla from which the kings were anointed”.

and an occurrence of memory deixis with anaphor in:

Eger. *Itin.* 30, 3 : *ubi est spelunca illa in qua docebat Dominus*
“where is the cave where the Lord was preaching”.

The memory deixis value of *ille* by itself (without a relative clause) is also well attested in Late Latin:

Aug. *ciu.* 15, 9: ... *ante illud nobile diffamatumque diluuium*
Fr. : “... avant cette catastrophe bien connue et célèbre, le déluge”.
“ ...before that well-known and famous disaster, the deluge”

Eger., *Itin.* 5, 3 : *Monstrauerunt etiam locum ubi factus est uitulus ille;*
5, 4: Moyses uidit filios Israhel ... his diebus qua fecerant uitulum.
“They also showed us the place where the calf was made.... Moses saw ... the sons of Israel when they had made the calf”.

This last example by Egeria even shows an occurrence of a definite noun *uitulum* which is alone, without a determiner, but still has an anaphoric and deictic value¹⁹.

¹⁸ See above note 6 regarding *ipse*.

¹⁹ This was not a rare situation in Latin.

10. THE EVOLUTION OF *ISTE*

We now arrive at the main point for the antecedents of Old-French *cist*: the evolution of *iste*. In Late Latin, *iste* slowly replaces *hic* in endophoric and deictic functions. But there sometimes remains a difference between *iste* and *hic*, especially in the Christian texts.

10.1. *Iste* as an anaphor replacing *hic* in Late Latin

In Late Latin texts written in a low level of language, *iste* is sometimes a kind of anaphor, an equivalent of anaphoric *hic* "this thing precisely that I am speaking about". *Iste* is used instead of *hic* or *is* as an anaphor in:

Aug., *Serm.* 328, 37 : *Rogemus dominum nostrum Iesum Christum et ipse nobis soluet istam quaestionem. Vnde habet illam nobis soluere? De euangelio.*

Fr. : "Interrogeons notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ et lui-même résoudra pour nous cette question. A partir de quoi la résoudra-t-il pour nous ? A partir de l'évangile".

"Let us ask our Lord Jesus Christ and he himself will solve this question for us. From what will he solve it for us? From the Gospel."

10.2. *Iste* vs *hic* in Late Latin

Iste is also used in deictic functions as an equivalent of *hic*, but sometimes it is different from *hic*: the differences can be seen with the expressions *ista uita* "this mortal life", *ista caro* "this mortal flesh", as opposed to *in hoc saeculo* "in this earthly life" (as opposed to heaven). In the following text, in its second occurrence in *uerba ista*, *iste* replaces *hic*: *uerba ista quae dicimus uobis* Fr. "ces paroles que nous vous disons", Engl. "the words we are saying to you":

Aug., *Serm.* 59, 78: *Cum autem uita **ista** transierit, nec panem **illum** quaeremus quem quaerit fames; nec sacramentum altaris habemus accipere, quia **ibi** erimus cum Christo, cuius corpus accipimus; nec uerba **ista** nobis dici habent, quae dicimus uobis, nec codex legendus est, quando ipsum uidebimus quod est uerbum dei, per quem facta sunt omnia...*

"Mais après **cette** vie, nous ne chercherons plus le pain que réclament les besoins du corps ; nous n'aurons pas non plus à recevoir le sacrement de l'autel, puisque nous serons (**là**) avec le Christ dont maintenant nous recevons la chair sacrée ; il ne faudra plus enfin nous adresser des paroles comme nous vous en disons, ni lire aucun livre, puisque nous verrons le Verbe même de Dieu, par qui tout a été fait..." (translation by Raulx 1866, VI, p. 281).

But in its first occurrence in this text, *iste* in *uita ista* with the meaning “this mortal life, this earthly life” seems to be a free syntagm in contrast to the use of *hic* in the lexicalized word sequence *in hoc saeculo* “in this earthly life”, which is quite usual in the texts of the Christian authors:

Caes.-Arel., *Serm.* 202, 1, 17: *Erubescant ergo nobiles et potentes sanctis et peregrinis abluere pedes in hoc saeculo: sed si se non correxerint, plus habent erubescere et dolere, cum ab illorum consortio separati fuerint in futuro.*

“Noble and powerful people are ashamed of washing the feet of the saints and travellers in this earthly life; but, if they don’t correct their ways, they will be more ashamed and will suffer more when they are separated from their group in the future.”

Therefore, *hic* seems to be maintained here only in the lexicalized sequence *in hoc saeculo*, while *iste* shows a free and productive use in *ista uita* (*uita ista*), *ista caro* and is used in a more concrete, physical and perceptive context:

Aug. *Serm.* 264, 38: *Numquid carnem habent angeli? Sed hoc interest, quia ista caro resurget, ista ipsa quae sepelitur, quae moritur; ista quae uidetur, quae palpatur, cui opus est manducare et bibere, ut possit durare; quae aegrotat, quae dolores patitur, ipsa habet resurgere*

Fr. : “Est-ce que par hasard les anges ont une chair ? Mais il faut faire une distinction : en effet, c’est cette chair physique d’ici-bas qui ressuscitera, c’est cette chair précisément qui est ensevelie, qui meurt; celle que l’on voit, que l’on touche, qui a besoin de manger et de boire pour pouvoir perdurer; celle qui est malade, qui souffre les douleurs, c’est celle-ci précisément qui est destinée à ressusciter.”

“Do angels by any chance have flesh? But we must make the following distinction: it is this mortal and earthly flesh that will resuscitate, the very same flesh that is buried and that dies; this flesh that we see, that we touch, and which must eat and drink in order to survive; the flesh that is ill, that suffers pain, this is precisely the flesh that is destined to resuscitate”.

10.3. Evolution of the deictic function of *iste* in Late Latin

The clue that can explain the evolution of the deictic function of *iste* in Late Latin is given by Egeria:

Eger. *Itin.* 14, 2-3: *cum ergo descendissemus, ut superius dixi, de ecclesia deorsum, ait nobis ipse sanctus presbyter: “**ECCE ISTA fundamenta** in giro **colliculo ISTO**, quae **VIDETIS**, hae sunt de*

*palatio regis Melchisedech. Nam inde adhuc sic si quis subito iuxta sibi uult facere domum et fundamenta inde continget, aliquotiens et de argento et heramento modica frustella ibi inuenit. 3. Nam **ECCE ISTA uia, quam VIDETIS** transire inter fluuium Iordanem et **uicum ISTVM**, haec est qua uia regressus est sanctus Abraam de cede Quodollagomor regis gentium reuertens in Sodomis, qua ei occurrit sanctus Melchisedech rex Salem."*

"Donc, lorsque nous fûmes descendus, comme je l'ai dit plus haut, de l'église au bas de la colline, ce saint prêtre nous dit : "**CES fondations que VOUS VOYEZ** autour de **CETTE petite colline**, ce sont celles du palais du roi Melchisédech. De là vient qu'aujourd'hui encore, lorsque quelqu'un veut faire une maison juste à côté et en touche les fondations, il y trouve parfois de menus fragments d'argent ou de bronze. 3. Et **CETTE route que VOUS VOYEZ** passer entre le fleuve du Jourdain et **CE village**, c'est celle par laquelle saint Abraham, retournant à Sodome, est revenu après avoir tué Quodollagomor, roi des nations, et où saint Melchisédech, roi de Salem, est venu à sa rencontre."

"these foundations that you see around this small hill", "this road that you see between the river Jordan and this village, that is the road by which saint Abraham returned ...".

Eger. *Itin.* 15, 1: *requisiui de eo, quam longe esset ipse locus. Tunc ait ille sanctus presbyter: "Ecce hic est in ducentis passibus. Nam si uis, ecce modo pedibus duco uos ibi. Nam haec aqua tam grandis et tam pura, quam VIDETIS in ISTO uico, de ipso fonte uenit".*

"Alors ce saint prêtre nous a dit : 'Eh bien, c'est à deux cents pas. Si tu le veux, je vous y conduis tout de suite à pied : l'eau si abondante et si pure **que VOUS VOYEZ dans CE village** vient de cette fontaine'" (Translation by P. Maraval 1982, Paris, Sources chrétiennes).

Eger. *Itin.* 13, 4: "**Nam in ISTO colliculo**, qui est medio uico positus, in summitatem ipsius fabricam, quam VIDES, ecclesia est".

"On this small hill, which is in the middle of the village, on the top of it, the building that you see is a church".

We can find the same phenomenon in some other authors in Late Latin:

Caes-Arel., *Serm.* 142, 2, 13: *Sed modo uidere habetis arborem, quae surrexit de ista radice.*

"But you will see a tree that grew from this root".

From these passages, we see that the occurrences of *iste* are to be found in very specific contexts:

- a) *iste* is found only in direct speech, thus reflecting the colloquial spoken language of the time;
- b) *iste* is always an adjective or determiner;

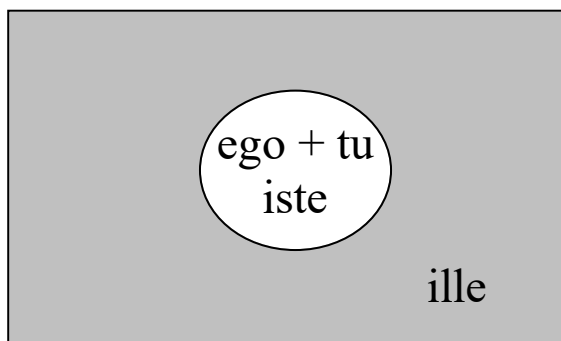
c) *iste* is often situated behind the deictic adverb *ecce* “here is ...”, which is precisely the origin of O.-Fr. *cist* (< *ecce istum*);

c) *iste* is always used next to the verb “to see” *uidēre* in the 2nd pers. pl. or sg.

Therefore, *iste* means literally: “this or that entity that you see, which is in your eyesight”. Moreover, since the speaker and the addressee are standing next to each other, in the same place at the same moment, “what you see” is also “what I see”, and “what we see”. Thus, in such concrete circumstances, *hic* for “what I see” and *iste* for “what you see” have the same reference, the same *designatum*. The consequence was then that they also acquired the same meaning.

This deictic spatial function of *iste* is based on the fact that the entity is visible for both the speaker and the addressee, no matter whether the entity is far away (such as the church on the top of the hill) or if it is near (such as the water). The relevant criterion is that it is visible. *Iste* is not limited to just a small space around the speaker (as it was in Plautus with *hic*), but it extends to everything visible for *ego* and *tū*.

This brings us back to the first opposition between the couple “speaker + addressee” versus the rest of the world, anybody else. In this use in Egeria, the first part of the opposition, instead of having two words *hic* and *iste* (with an internal opposition between the speaker and the addressee), now has only one word: *iste*, which has kept its previous uses, but has also added the ones that *hic* used to have in spatial deixis. This can be summarized in the formula: (*hic* + *iste*) vs *ille* => (*iste*) vs *ille* and in the following figure:



Some other criteria could be added in order to explain that *hic* disappeared in Old-French in this specific use. Firstly, as we have seen, *hic* had a high frequency, correlated with a plurality of functions; the deictic function was, therefore, no longer specific to *hic*, while *iste* distinctively kept its deictic function. Secondly, in a phonetic perspective, *hic* was monosyllabic, which means fragile, while dissyllabic *iste* had more phonic substance.

11. RETURNING TO OLD-FRENCH

These Latin data explain the Old-French opposition *cist* vs. *cil*, i.e.: *ecce iste* vs. *ecce ille*, where we see the preservation of the distant deictic value of *ille* and the replacement of *hic* by *iste*. But they also explain some more marginal aspects of Old-French which were remarked on by Ch. Marchello-Nizia (2003, 2004, 2007), who uses the concept of “subjectivity” for *cist* and illustrates it by the following example. The king (Charlemagne) says to a knight:

Ami et Amile 753 : “Se voz de **ceste** ne voz poéz oster, Je voz ferai **celle teste** coper”.

Fr. : “Si vous ne pouvez vous éloigner d'elle (= de ma fille), je vous ferai cette tête (= votre tête) couper”.

“If you cannot leave her (= my daughter) alone, I will have your head (lit. “that head”) cut off”.

In this sentence, the pronoun *ceste* refers to the speaker’s daughter, while *celle teste* refers to the addressee’s head. The knight (the addressee) is present in the speech situation and he is within hearing distance of the speaker. Therefore, this use of *cil* seems to contradict the function of this word for the denotation of a distant entity. But according to Ch. Marchello-Nizia, *cil* is used here for a person considered by the speaker as his enemy: we could compare it to Caesar's use of *illī* “the enemies” that we have seen above. Ch. Marchello-Nizia extends this explanation to the *Strasburg Oaths*, suggesting that *cist meon fradre* is not to be understood as “my brother here present”, as is usually thought. “My brother” would be the translation here of *meon fradre*, and *cist* would simply designate the personal relationship existing between the speaker and his brother. According to what we have seen in Latin, we could add that the two persons have inalienable kinship relationships and that they are both allies “on the same side” in the speech situation. So, *cist* may simply reinforce the possessive adjective *meon*, just as in Plautus, *hic* (the deictic of the 1st person singular) reinforced *meus*, the possessive adjective of the 1st person singular.

Thus, despite the lexical and morphological changes between Latin and Old-French in the field of deixis and endophor, we see that some data show a real continuity from earliest Latin into Romance.

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