

Relatively late

Relative Clause Syntax in Gregory of Tours' *Historia Francorum*

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Quid est «qui»?

Relative clauses from Proto-Italic to Proto-Romance

Lausanne, 1 July 2022

Structure

Guiding questions

Background: Gregory of Tours

The Latin of Gregory

Common RC patterns

Rarer RC patterns

Conclusions



Guiding questions

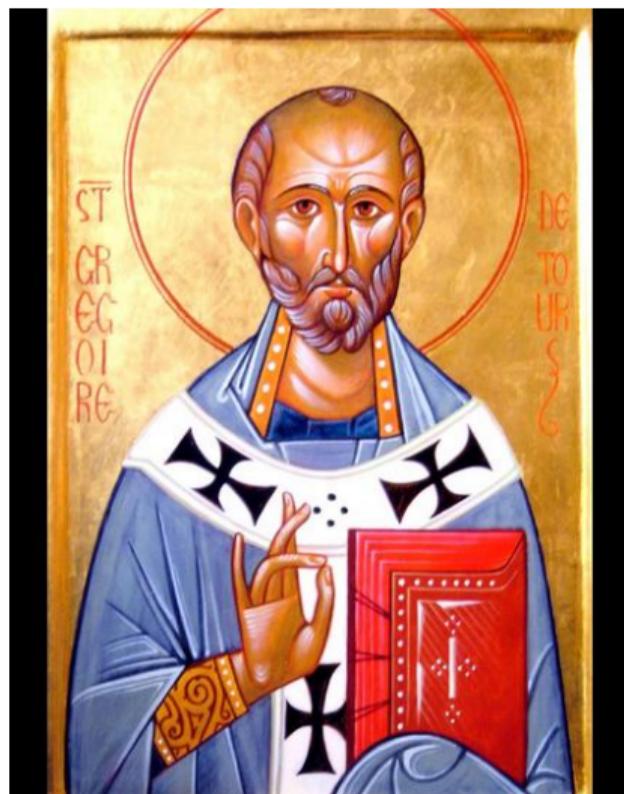
- ▶ Do relative clauses in the Latin of Gregory of Tours differ significantly from those in earlier (literary) Latin?
- ▶ Do they show tendencies later followed in the Romance languages?
- ▶ Do simplificatory changes (e.g. re *genus* or case) manifest in relative clauses as well?

More broadly:

- ▶ Have relative clauses in Late Latin changed or do they continue past patterns? (Cf. VINCENT 2016)

Background: Gregory of Tours

- ▶ born 538, died 593/594
- ▶ bishop of Tours, consecrated 573
- ▶ best known for his *Historia Francorum*
- ▶ a key witness for the understanding of Merovingian history and their relationships with other Frankish peoples
- ▶ writer of unadorned, ‘vehicular’ prose



The Latin of Gregory

*Ista etenim atque et his similia iugiter intuens dici, pro commemoratione praeteritorum, ut notitiam adtingerint venientum, **etsi incultu effatu**, nequivi tamen obtegere vel certamena flagitiosorum vel vitam recte viventium; et praesertim his inlicitus stimulis, quod a nostris fari plerumque miratus sum, quia: **‘Philosophantem rethorem intellegunt pauci, loquentem rusticum multi’** (I.0)*

“Hearing continually these complaints and others like them I have undertaken to commemorate the past, in order that it may come to the knowledge of the future; **and although my speech is rude**, I have been unable to be silent as to the struggles between the wicked and the upright; and I have been especially encouraged because, to my surprise, it has often been said by men of our day, that **few understand the learned words of the rhetorician but many the rude language of the common people.**”

(Cp. also BONNET 1890:4–5)

Non-classical elements

(1) **COMP-clauses without COMP:**

Quod credo Ø providentia Dei fecisset.

‘I believe that the providence of God did this.’ (VIII.20)

(2) **accusative absolutes:**

Ille vero porrectam dexteram iuravit ...

‘Chilperic stretched out his right hand and swore...’ (V.18)

(3) **decline of subjunctive use (e.g. in conditionals):**

si enim domus mea ... huic operi digna esset, praestare non abnuebam

‘‘if indeed my house were suitable for this work, I should not refuse to offer it’ (I.31)

(4) **unusual case usage (e.g. *abl. comp.* with *a, ab*):**

sapientioribus a te haec pandam, ut mihi consentiant

‘I will explain all this to people wiser than you, so that they agree with me’ (V.44)

(Cf. PINKSTER 2021:passim; BERTOCCHI AND MARALDI 2011:111; CUZZOLIN 2011:618)

Common RC patterns

C'est dans qui, quis et leurs composés qu'on peut constater les plus forts ravages. Dans la prononciation, il ne restait pas beaucoup plus, probablement, des formes monosyllabiques du pronom, que notre chétif qui et que, et l'on avait beaucoup de peine, en écrivant, à les distinguer: qui, quae (que) se prononçaient de façon très semblable, quem n'en différait guère. [...] L'équivalence de quae et qua, dans certains cas, et la ressemblance entre qua et quam avaient fait le reste pour mettre la confusion entre toutes les formes monosyllabiques de ce pronom. Cuius, quorum, quibus, et aussi cui, réussirent mieux à faire respecter leurs droits. (BONNET 1890:389–90)

- ▶ the phonetic proximity if not identity of these monosyllabic forms results in frequent misapplications of gendered forms
- ▶ other non-classical uses (e.g. as regards case) are due to other tendencies (simplification of the case system; cp. VÄÄNÄNEN 1981:110–115)

Agreement issues

- (5) *In quo aedificantes civitatem, turrem **qui** caelos adtengeret nituntur struere.*
 ‘There they built a city and made great efforts to construct a tower which should reach to the skies.’(I.6)
- (6) *Cumque haec agerent, libor inimici, **quae** semper est aemula sanctitate, conmovetur in femina ...*
 ‘As they were pursuing [the even tenor of their lives], the woman was filled with the Devil’s own malice, which is always hostile to holiness’ (I.44)
- (7) *Fuit igitur et Gundevachus rex Burgundionum ex genere Athanarici regis persecutoris, **cui** supra meminimus.*
 ‘The King of the Burgundes was called Gundioc: he was of the family of that King Athanaric who persecuted the Christians and about whom I have told you.’ (II.28)
- (8) *Habebat tamen secum virum inlustrem Aredium, strinum atque sapientem, **quem** ad se arcessitum, ait: ...*
 ‘He had with him a man of some distinction called Aridius. Aridius was astute and full of energy. Gundobad summoned this man to him and said: ...’ (II.32)

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Case issues

- ▶ almost all forms of the pronoun are actively used (exception: *quarum*)
- but certain case functions common in ‘Classical Latin’ have been replaced by others, e.g.:

- (9) *Ex quibus et ille primus Lugdunensis ecclesiae Photinus episcopus fuit...*
‘The first among these was Photinus, Bishop of the church of Lyons’ (I.29)
- (10) *Nam mulier, ad quam cubicularii eius vestimenta deferebant ad abluendum, quae sub specie religionis erat veste mutata, concepit et peperit.*
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Standard type I: postnominal

- ▶ a fully lexical or sentential antecedent is followed by the relative pronoun
- ▶ makes up for c. 55% of all cases (Corpus: *Historia Francorum* I–II; 491 tokens)

(11) *In loco ergo Gratiani Theodosius ille, qui totam spem in Deum posuerat, totum suscepit imperium.*

‘Theodosius, the man I have told you about, who placed all his hope in God, therefore took over the entire Empire in the place of Gratianus.’ (I.43)

(12) *Interea regina fidelis filium ad baptismum exhibet, adornare ecclesiam velis praecipit atque curtinis, quo facilius vel hoc misterio provocaretur ad credendum, qui flecti praedicationem non poterat.*

‘The Queen, who was true to her faith, brought her son to be baptized. She ordered the church to be decorated with hangings and curtains, in the hope that (= by which) the King, who remained stubborn in the face of argument, might be brought to the faith by ceremony.’ (II.29)

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- ▶ the relative pronoun refers to a nominal pivot in a previous sentence, introducing a main clause
- ▶ subtype: a phrasal antecedent may be referred to by the RP alone or by RP + RC-internal pivot
- ▶ makes up for c. 25% of all cases

(13) [Avitus enim unus ex senatoribus et ...] Sed impleto in itinere vitae cursu, obiit, [...]. **Cui** Martianus successit.

‘[The Senator Avitus,...] On the journey he died [...] Avitus was succeeded by Maiorianus.’(II.11)

(14) [Nam mulier, ad quam cubicularii eius vestimenta deferebant ad abluendum, quae sub specie religionis erat veste mutata, concepit et peperit.] **Qua** de re surrexit omnis populus Toronorum in ira ...

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Later connecting relatives

- ▶ The continuation of connecting relatives so late is, perhaps, unexpected.
 - ▶ There are clear indications, however, that this usage survived even into early varieties of Romance.
- (15) Old Italian (Domenico Cavalca (1270-1342), *Racconti Esemplari* 14):
*... la miglior che vi fosse e dielila. **La qual** quella gentil donna prese e menossela a casa*
 ‘[Teofilo let her choose] the best [woman] that was there and gave her to her. And that gentle lady took her and brought her home’
- (16) Old French (*Li Dialogue Gregoire lo Pape*, 12th c.)
***Cui** uoiz dunkes oit Theoprobus, mais nos la ueons, ki or sauons...*
 ‘That announcement/voice Theoprobus heard, but we discerned, who know...’

(Cf. GIACALONE RAMAT 2005; PRÍNCIPE CARDOSO 2010; SPEVAK 2018)

Standard type III: free RCs

- ▶ RCs without pivot, inherently maximalizing (cp. PROBERT 2015:79–80; 128–130 on Ancient Greek)
- ▶ makes up c. 9% of all cases

- (17) *Tunc ille armatus crucis vexillo ait: ‘Faciam quae hortaris’.*
 ‘Her husband crossed himself and said: ‘I will do what you ask.’ (I.47))
- (18) *Qui non intellegentes, putabant, eum loqui aliquid in extasi.*
 ‘Those who were present did not understand him, and they thought that he was wandering in his mind.’ (II.23)
- (19) *[Interea vidit duas personas se invicem venerabiliter salutantes sollicitusque de suis esse prosperetatibus.] Tunc qui erat senior ita exorsus est: ...*
 ‘Then he noticed two men who saluted each other with great respect and asked how the other was prospering in his affairs. The older of the two began as follows:...’ (II.7)

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- ▶ the pivot of the RC lies within
- ▶ these may be free (= maximalising) or have an implied previous referent
- ▶ this includes non-initial collocations like *qua de causa*, *qua re*, etc.

(20) *Honoricus vero post tantum facinus arreptus a daemone, qui diu de sanctorum sanguine pastus fuerat, propriis se morsibus laniabat, in **quo cruciatu** vitam indignam iusta morte finivit.*

‘After all the wrong which he had done Huneric was seized by the devil. Having glutted himself for so long on the blood of the saints, he tore himself to pieces with his own teeth and ended his unworthy life in this torment which was a befitting death.’ (II.3)

(21) *Nam facto mane cum ad locum populi accederent, invenerunt sepulchra pariter, quae longe inter se distare reliquerant, scilicet ut, **quos tenet socios** caelum, sepulcorum hic corporum non separet monumentum.*

‘This shows that when heaven unites two people the monument which covers their buried corpses cannot hold them apart.’ (I.47; or better predicative?)

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(22) *Super ripam vero eius non Babilonia, de qua supra miminimus, sed Babilonia civitas collocatur, in qua Ioseph horrea miro opere de lapidibus quadris et cimentum aedificavit, ita ut ad fundum capatiora, ad summa vero constricta sint, ut per parvolum foramen ibidem tritecum iacteretur, **quae** horrea usque hodie cernuntur.*

‘Beside the river stands the city of Babylon,³⁰ not the Babylon which I have described already, but the one where Joseph built granaries of wonderful workmanship made of square stones and cement.³¹ They are constructed in such a way that they are very broad at the base but narrow at the top, so that corn could be poured into them through a small aperture. These granaries are still to be seen to this day.’ (I.10; or connecting?)

Outliers

- ▶ there are a number of unusual outliers that bear mentioning

- (23) prenominal, light-headed, maximalising:

*Si quis me confessus fuerit coram hominibus, confitebor et ego eum coram Patre meo, qui est in caelis; **qui** autem negaverit me coram hominibus, negabo et ego eum coram Patre meo, qui est in caelis.*

‘Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.’ (II.34 – but: Mt. 10:32-3)

- (24) prenominal, light-headed, maximalising:

*Quando autem cum Siagrio pugnavit, hic Chararicus, evocatus ad solatium Chlodovechi, eminus stetit, neutre adiuvens parti; sed eventum rei expectans, ut **cui** evenerit victuriam, cum illo et hic amicitia conligaret.*

‘When Clovis was fighting against Syagrius, this Chararic, who had been summoned to his aid, remained neutral, giving help to neither side and awaiting the issue of the conflict, so that he might offer the hand of friendship to whichever leader was victorious.’ (II.41)

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- (25) discontinuous pivot / light-headed with internal pivot / ...:
Quod cernens ille nequam Arrianorum episcopus, vocatum ad se quendam hominem ab illo quo ipse vivebat errore, ait: ...
‘When the infamous bishop of the Arians saw this, he summoned to his presence a man who shared the same heresy which marred his own life.’ (II.3)

Conclusions

- ▶ allowing for the morphophonological changes common at the time, Gregory continues seamlessly the traditional syntax of Latin relative clauses
- ▶ there are no generalisable simplifications as regards case use or *genus* agreement
- ▶ Gregory has, however, restricted the use of RC patterns (with postnominal, connecting, and free the most common)
- ▶ prenominal RCs or those using resumptive pronouns are (essentially) not found
- ▶ there are, then, elements of both continuity and change (\neq innovation) in his use of relative clauses

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