On the Development of Latin *ille* and *ipse* into Definite Articles and Personal Pronouns

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Introduction

- *Ille* and *Ipse* in the *Itinerarium Egeriae* (late fourth / early fifth century)
- Classical Latin:
  - *Ille* is a distal demonstrative
  - *Ipse* is an intensifier (‘himself, the very’)
- *Ille* in the *Itinerarium Egeriae*:
  - Distal demonstrative
  - Definite article
  - Third person personal pronoun
- *Ipse* in the *Itinerarium Egeriae*:
  - Definite article
  - Third person personal pronoun
  - Intensifier
Questions

• How should *ille* and *ipse* be analyzed syntactically in each of their uses?
• Which syntactic changes have *ille* and *ipse* gone through when they have become definite articles and third person pronouns?
• How did the changes occur?
The Syntactic Analysis of Intensifier *ipse*

- Adnominal *ipse* functions as an ADJ(unct):
  - [...] *quibus angustiis ipse Caesar a Venetiis prematur [...]* (Caes. Gal. 3,16,4)
  - ’by what difficulties Caesar himself was harassed’
• F-(unctional) structure of *Caesar ipse*:
• *Ipse* without a cooccurring noun or pronoun can be an ADJ to a null element or an argument of the verb (SUBJ, OBJ etc.):

– *Id opus inter se Petreius atque Afranius partiuntur ipsique perficiundi operis causa longius progrediuntur* (Caes. Civ. 1,73,4)

’Petreius atque Afranius divided the task between themselves, and went in person farther (sc. from their camp) for the purpose of accomplishing the task.’
• Arguments in favour of an ADJ analysis:
  – *Ipse needs to modify something
    • Intensifiers ”never replace NPs”, but ”are always in association with an NP with which they show agreement” (Siemund 2000: 9)
    • *He himself did it – * himself did it
  – Possibility of supplying a specific noun (Dryer 2004):

    *Ipse Oricum reuertitur (Caes. Civ. 3,16) -> *Caesar *ipse Oricum reuertitur

    *Ipse Oricum reuertitur (Caes. Civ. 3,16) -> Caesar *ipse Oricum reuertitur
– Occurrence in functional control sentences:

*Galba constituit cohortes duas in Nantuatibus conlocare et ipse [...] in uico Veragrorum hiemare*(Caes. Gal 3,1)

’Galba decided to station two cohorts among the Nantuates and to winter himself in a village of the Veragri’

– Agreement in gender and number
• The f-structure of *ipsi progrediuntur*:

```
PRED  'progredi <(↑ SUBJ)>'
TENSE  PRES
SUBJ  PRED  'PRO'
PERS  3
NUM  PL
ADJ  { PRED  'ipse'
      { NUM  PL
      GEND  MASC }
```
The Syntactic Analysis of Definite Articles

• Do not have semantic content, and therefore no grammatical function in f-structure
• Only represented by the feature [DEF +]
• F-structure of the book:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{PRED} & \text{‘book’} \\
\text{DEF} & + \\
\text{NUM} & \text{SG}
\end{array}
\]
The Syntactic Analysis of Demonstratives

• Demonstratives do have semantic content:
  – *ille liber; that book* = ’that of the books’
  – They occur alone: *ille; that*

• Having semantic content, demonstratives occupy grammatical functions

• An adnominal demonstrative functions as a DET dependent on a noun

• A pronominal demonstrative occupies one of the argument functions of the verb (SUBJ, OBJ etc.)
• F-structure of *ille liber*, ’that book’:

```
[ PRED  ‘liber’
  NUM  SG
  SPEC  DET  [ PRED  ‘ille’
    DEF  +
    DEM  + ] ]
```

• F-structure of *ille*, ’that’:

```
[ SUBJ  [ PRED  ‘ille’
  DEF  +
  DEM  + ] ]
```
The Syntactic Analysis of Personal Pronouns

• A personal pronoun has semantic content and occupies one of the argument functions of the verb (SUBJ, OBJ etc.)

• Conventionally represented as ’PRO’ in the f-structure

• F-structure of ego, ’I’:

```
   SUBJ  [PRED  ‘PRO’
   NUM    SG
   PERS    1
   DEF     +
```
Ille: From Adnominal Demonstrative to Definite Article
• Syntactic reanalysis is a plausible mechanism behind the change

• Reanalysis:
  – changes the underlying structure of a syntactic pattern without changing the surface structure (Harris & Campbell 1995)
  – The possibility of more than one analysis of a syntactic pattern is essential (Harris & Campbell 1995: 70-72)
Reanalysis Possible Already in Classical Latin

• *Ille* with generally known referents (‘familiar’ referents, Gundel et al. 1993) is ambiguous:

  *decurritur ad illum extremum atque ultimum senatus consultum quo [...] numquam ante descensum est* (Caes. Civ. 1,5,3)

  ’recourse was made to that/the rigid and ultimate decree which had never been used earlier’

• Familiar referents can be referred to either by a definite article / zero or by a distal demonstrative (Gundel et al. 1993)

• Demonstrative only when there is good reason for it

• When is there a ”good reason” for explicitly signalling familiarity?
• Once reanalyzed, the new use of *ille* is extended to new contexts
• The *Itinerarium Egeriae*: *ille* used anaphorically with highly accessible referents:

  [...] columna ipsa iam non paret [...] columna autem ipsa dicitur mari mortuo fuisse cooperta [...] iam aliquot anni essent, a quo non pareret columna illa [...] de Segor forsitan sexto miliario ipse locus est, ubi stetit columna illa [...] (Itin. XII,7)

  ’the pillar itself cannot be seen [...] the pillar seems to have been covered by the Dead Sea [...] it is now some years since the pillar could be seen [...] the spot where the pillar stood is about six miles from Segor [...]’
Ille: From Pronominal Demonstrative to Personal Pronoun

SUBJ

PRED  'ille'
DEF    +
DEM    +

SUBJ

PRED  'PRO'
NUM    SG
PERS    3
DEF    +
*Ipse*: From Adnominal Intensifier to Definite Article

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Two Possible Pathways of Change

• Intensifier > definite article (e.g. Vincent 1997, 1998)
• Intensifier > demonstrative > definite article (e.g. Aebischer 1948)
• No need for *ipse* to pass through a demonstrative stage
• Intensifiers and definite articles in fact resemble each other:
  – *The book*: the book as opposed to e.g. the movie
  – *The book itself*: the book itself as opposed to e.g. the movie
  – *That book*: the book as opposed to some other book
Again: Reanalysis Possible in Classical Latin

• *Ipse* is rare with common nouns, but some examples do exist:

> Si *ipsa res publica tibi narrare posset, quomodo sese haberet, non facilius ex ea cognoscere posses, quam ex liberto tuo Phania:

(Cic. Fam. 3,1)

‘Could the Republic itself speak and tell you of its state, you would not learn it more easily from its own lips than from your freedman Phania’
In the *Itinerarium Egeriae ipse* is extended to new contexts and is used anaphorically with highly accessible referents, without any emphatic effect: *Qui montes cum infinito labore ascenduntur, quoniam non eos subis lente et lente per girum, [...] sed totum ad directum subis ac si per parietem et ad directum descendi necesse est singulos ipsos montes [...]*

‘These mountains are ascended with infinite toil, for you cannot go up gently by a spiral track, but you climb straight up the whole way, as if up a wall, and you must come straight down each mountain’ (*Itin.* XIX.11)
Ipse: From Intensifier to Personal Pronoun

PRED: ‘progredi <(↑ SUBJ)>
TENSE: PRES
SUBJ

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SUBJ

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• Possibly reanalysis in passages of indirect speech in Classical Latin:

\[\ldots sic belli rationem esse divisam, ut illi classe naves auxiliaque sua impedirent, ipse ut aqua terraque eos prohiberet. \ (Caes. Civ. 3.17)\]

‘[Caesar said that] the balance of war was so arranged that they interfered with his ships and support with their fleet, and he (himself) prevented them from obtaining water and coming into land.’

• *Ipse* does not modify an overt noun/pronoun and can be reanalyzed as the subject
Later, *ipse* is extended to contexts other than indirect speech:

Qui tamen sanctus episcopus nobis Ramessen occurrere dignatus est; [...] *ipse* ergo cum se dignatus fuisset uexare et ibi nobis occurrere, [...] ‘This holy bishop deigned to meet us at Rameses; He, after deigning to give himself the trouble of meeting us ...’ (Itin. VIII.4-5)
Summing Up

- The change of *ille* into definite article is a change from a DET to an element represented only by the feature [DEF +]
- The change of *ille* into personal pronoun involves no syntactic change
- The change of *ipse* into definite article is a change from an ADJ to an element represented only by the feature [DEF +]
- The change of *ipse* into personal pronoun is a change from an ADJ of a null argument to an element occupying argument functions
- In all cases there are examples that allow for reanalysis to take place already in Classical Latin