

Demonstratives in the charters of St. Gall

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ABSTRACT

The main scope of the present study is the semantic and syntactic analysis of the use of the Latin demonstratives based on quantitative and qualitative data from the volumes I, II, CXVIII of the *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores* (ChLA). These volumes contain original parchment charters between the 7th century and 801, written in St. Gall or in its vicinity. For the current analysis, 133 private legal documents were selected. The underlying principle of the examination is concerned with the ‘genre’ of the legal documents, namely the formulas, i.e. the strict set of words embedded in the tradition of charter composition that can only be changed when difficulties in understanding emerge and prevail. Therefore, anomalies presented 3–4 times in the *corpus* are evaluated, if they differ in the identity of the scribe, in the place and time of the composition, although, statistically, they could be excluded from the examination as outliers. Thus, the analysis focuses on the following anomalies: determiner multiplication, substitution, additional metalinguistic participles and *articuloide* cases.

KEYWORDS

demonstratives, formulas, charters, determiner multiplication, determiner substitution, additional metalinguistic participles, *articuloide* cases

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I. PRELIMINARY: CORPUS, CHARTER STRUCTURE, METHODOLOGY

The definite articles of the Romance languages emerged from demonstratives in the 8th century.¹ This process can be described as a competition between *ille* and *ipse*. There are regions where the derivatives of *ille* or – to a lesser extent – the derivatives of *ipse* prevail.² The article development cannot be described linearly, for instance, in Southern-France, *ipse*-derivatives had been more ubiquitously attested in the charters, however, at the end of the process, *ipse* gave way to *ille* and became the minority.³ The same results, the dominance of *ille*-derived articles can be seen in Switzerland, the area I have examined in this study. The Rumantsch articles are the following: *igl/igls*, the masc. sg./pl. and *la/las*, the fem. sg./pl.⁴ Thus, it is no surprise that the article development is intertwined with the change of the demonstrative system.⁵

The systemic change has been researched in depth, especially in the *Itinerary of Egeria* while other genres and texts were given less attention (as the summary of Ledgeway⁶ shows). Therefore, the focus of this article is the syntactic and semantic analysis of the demonstratives in the charters of St. Gall based on the edition of the *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores I–II* and *CXVIII*, henceforth *ChLA*.⁷ The main goal of the examination is to elaborate and develop the linguistic methods and categories used in previous charter analysis by implementing the textual characteristics, namely the genre of the text, that is the highly formulaic language of the charters.

In the first chapter, I intend to (1) describe my *corpus* in general, then (2) show the style and the typical charter structure composed in St. Gall and the problems it imposes, (3) introduce the methods of the examination and the newly implemented approach and (4) briefly describe the overlap and the difference between demonstratives and articles.

1.1. The *corpus* of the *ChLA* I–II and *CXVIII*

The volumes of *ChLA* I–II and *CXVIII* contain Vulgar Latin parchment charters from the 7th century to 801 related to St. Gall or to its vicinity.⁸ At the beginning of the first volume, there are late antique papyri fragments that were excluded from the analysis due to their dates. Parchment fragments (mostly containing a few words) were also left out, even if they contained determiners/demonstratives since the referents of the demonstratives could not be identified (*ChLA* I 1a,b–39, *ChLA* II 178). At the end of the second volume, letters (*ChLA* II 171–177) and vows can

¹VÄÄNÄNEN (1981) 122.

²TAMÁS (1983) 116–117; SELIG (1992) 177–181; CARLIER–DE MULDER (2010) 241; LEDGEWAY (2012) 89.

³AEBISCHER (1948); LEDGEWAY (2012) 100–105: Catalan: *es/sa* and Logudorese Sardinian: *su/sa*.

⁴ANDERSON (2016) 174, 178–179.

⁵VÄÄNÄNEN (1981) 120–122.

⁶LEDGEWAY (2012) 89–96.

⁷Previous in-depth examinations of legal documents that are concerned with the demonstratives: CALBOLI (1999, 2006): *tabulae Sulpiciorum*; CICCARELLI (2017): *ChLA* L–LII; PŁOCHARZ (2020): *Codice Diplomatico Gaetano / Amalfitano / Verginiano / Longobardo* and *ChLA* (Salerno); SELIG (1992): *Fontes Iuris Romani Antiqui, Tabellae Ceratae, Tablettes Albertini, Ravennatische Papyri, Codice Diplomatico Longobardo, Diplômes Originaux des Mérovingiens*.

⁸Vulgar Latin tendencies are manifested in hypercorrection (*ChLA* I 61.3: *ad ipsam superius nominatam aecclesiam*; *ChLA* II 113. 8: *Hactum in Scercingas villa publice*) and Old-High German words: *frischinga* = sucking-pig (*MLLM*: 455). For more details: ZELLER (2021) 162–172.



be found differing from the general type of the documents, from the donations and *precaria*. This volume also includes charters written in the chancellery of Charlemagne (*ChLA* II 157–158: these documents also have Vulgar Latin tendencies). In order to create a homogeneous *corpus*, it was necessary to exclude these peculiar documents on the basis of different style or different place of origin. On the other hand, the *ChLA* CXVIII is a supplement edition, therefore, there are several charters in it not just from St. Gall. For the aforementioned reason, only the documents of St. Gall were included in the examination (*ChLA* CXVIII 22, 24, 27, 39). Copies, even from the 9th century, were excluded on account of the stated time-span (*ChLA* I 42, 47, 53; *ChLA* II 129, 137, 160; *ChLA* CXVIII 1–21, 23, 25–26, 28–38, 40–46). That way, a homogenous *corpus* of 133 charters was created, consisting of mainly donations and *precaria*.⁹

1.2. The common structure of the charters of the ChLA

In this paragraph, first, I intend to define what a formula is, then to describe the structure of the legal documents of the *ChLA*.

Due to the rigid wording of the charters, formulas can manifest themselves in short syntagmas (*ad ipsum monasterium, in ea vero ratione, id est*) forming sentences containing special legal terms (*dono, transfundo, commutatio/concambium, proservire, precaria, visus sum habere*). Apart from technical terms, there are several redundant elements to specify and identify the important entities mentioned previously in the charter and to avoid misunderstanding: frequently used adnominal demonstratives forming direct/indirect anaphoric chains, repetitive sentence compositions resulting in textual framing. Therefore, special syntagmas and the rigid wording of sentences establish the distinct structure of the texts and create four main parts: *clausula donationis* ending with *census*, *clausula poenalis*, *clausula firmationis*, finally, the closing unit containing the signatures, the date and place of the composition, the scribe's name.¹⁰ Thus, under the name formula, actually different units of the text can be understood: syntagmas, clauses and the sentence itself as a result of the combination of these clauses and syntagmas.

Now, turning to the analysis of the charters' structure, *ChLA* I 46 will serve as an example. In the *clausula donationis*, the donor's name (D), the granted possession and its localization. The beneficiary's name (*recipiens* = R), i.e. the name of the monastery is given by using the name of its abbot, stating its saints and location. Christian faith motivates the donor, therefore in these parts, *pia causa* (PC) can be found, too.

(PC) *In Christi nomine.*

(R) *Domino sancto et in Christo venerabile patri Audomaro abbati Durgaugensi seo de monastirio sancti Gallonis.*

(D) *Ego Cauzpertus domamus*¹¹

⁹In the volumes of the *ChLA*, there are two different editorial methods present. In the *ChLA* I–II, no line numbers are given. Therefore, I assigned numbers to every line of the paleographical transcripts. In volume CXVIII, these transcripts are divided into bigger units. I have given numbers to the lines of these units, as well, therefore two different types of citation can be found in this study. One further note: the paleographical transcripts resolve the abbreviations of the original text marked by italics, but e caudata was preserved, I have transcribed it into ae, for it is also an abbreviation.

¹⁰I would like to express my gratitude to dr. Szilvia Nemes, for providing me information on the legal terms of the units and introducing me to some legal aspects of the documents during the seminar given by her and Béla Adamik.

¹¹*domamus* = *donamus*.



(R) *ad monasterium vestrum ad ecclesia sancti Gallonis, ubi corpus ipsius requiescit,*

(PC) *pro mercede anime meae facultaticula mea recipere deberetis post discessum meum;*

(R) **dono vobis donatumque in perpetuo ut permaneat esse volo,**

(list of properties) *hoc est in pago Brisegaugense, in vila, qui dicitur Uuarbinach et in Artiouinia et in Minsilido et in Adaghilinisuuillare, quid in istas villas visus sum habere, picuniis, casas, casalis, mancippiis, agra, prada, silvis, pascuis, aquis aquarumque decursibus, tam movele, quam inmovele, omnia ex omnibus parte mea ex integra, que mihi inter fratres meos avenit, a die presente **trado***

(R) *ad ecclesia sancti Gallonis et ad monachis ibidem servientibus,*

As it can be seen, the act of donation is expressed three times, the beneficiary is mentioned four times. Precision is achieved through determiners (*in vila ... in istas villas*) or repetition (*ad ecclesia sancti Gallonis*). The listed possession is expressed through an explicative *hoc est*.

The donation is usually *precaria*, a type of tenure when the granted property belongs to the beneficiary, the monastery, but the right of the land's cultivation and the usufruct remains by the donor.¹² Because of that, the *census*, the rent is set:

*et pro istas res proservire volo annis singulis, ho (sic) est soledum unum, et si mihi infans natus fuerit, in ipso servitio permaneat, et si femena mihi nata fuerit, **ipsas res medias**¹³ possedeat, proserviat **ipsum servitium, quod super scriptum est, et illa media pars de ipsas res stet ad subradictum monestirium,** et si **ita proservire noluerint, nula exinde habeant potestate et ipsa facultaticula mea permaneat ad supradictum monastirium,** ut quidquid exinde pars monastirii facere voluerit, libera ha firmissima in dei nomine in omnibus habeat potestate.*

The referential chain is maintained via demonstratives as the text in bold shows it. To avoid misunderstanding and misinterpretation, the heirs of both genders are stated separately so that they would fall under the conditions of the contract. Double determination can also be seen that is a noun phrase containing a noun and a demonstrative modified by a relative clause.¹⁴

The *clausula poenalis* contains the severance pay. The text in bold is a common variant of the formula.

Siquis ego aut heredis mei aut ulla opposita persona, qui contra hanc donatione ista venire temptaverit, tunc inferat parte custodiende dobla repetitione, et a fisco auri liberas duas et argenti pondera tres,

Then, the *clausula firmationis* follows to provide the document's validity and effectiveness.

*et nihilhomenus presens donatio istic **omni tempore firma et stabilis permaneat cum stipulatione subnexa.***

In respect of *presens donatio istic*, the formula has variants in which *iste* or *hic* alone or combined with *praesens* is able to express closeness in space and time. On the other hand,

¹²WOOD (1995) 45.

¹³*medias = meas.*

¹⁴SELIG (1992) 126–127.



stipulatione subnixa is a rigid phrase that also lost its original form and meaning, nevertheless it is commonly used by scribes due to the strict tradition of charter composition.¹⁵

Finally, the document ends with the signatures of witnesses and of the scribe, naming the time and place of the composition.

Actum ad monastirium sancti Gallonis publice. Signum Cauzperti, qui hanc donationem fieri rocavit. Thiotones testes. Annones testes. Fruochonolfi testes. Liutheranni testes. Uulfperti testes. Starcfreti testes. Potichones testes. Ego Liutfritus presbiter SS VI. kalendas novembris, ano tercio, renante domnum nostrum Pippinum regem.

From this description, it can be seen that the wording of charters differs from the classical norm not just in the legal terms and repetition but in the special, frequent use of demonstratives marking the referential chain in order to avoid misunderstanding. Due to the rigidity of the formulas, the question arises how it is possible to conduct the research. Precisely, this fossilised language and its demonstrative-specific syntagmas help to assess the standard form (past tradition) of each formula and when comparing them to the deviations (innovations), the outliers manifested in determiner multiplication, change or additional metalinguistic participles, the differences give the result. This means that the standard form of a formula can be compared 1) to its variations or 2) to formulas containing the same determiner.

Another important thing to keep in mind: the charters of St. Gall have only a few *narrationes*, liberal parts. What I can call “liberal parts”, are actually closer to rare (erroneous?) variants of certain formulas. For instance, one could stipulate that the *pia causa* or any expressions describing the motivation of the donator can be a target for free composition. However, even if a variety of expressions is available, these can be reduced to certain realisations:

(1) *Ego in dei nomine Uuiterichus cogitavi dei intuitum vel aeternam retributionem; propterea trado res meas pro remedium anime meae* (ChLA I 90. 2-3)

(2) *In Christi nomine. Unicuique perpedrandum est, quod evangelica vox admonit: Date et dabitur vobis, sicut et ego Anshelm in dei nomine itaque drado* (ChLA II 113. 1-2)

(3) *Perpetrandum est unicuique, quod evangelica vox admonet dicens: Date et dabitur vobis. Igitur ego Rihpertus et coniuux mea Kebasinda tractantes pro dei timore vel remedium anime nostrae vel pro aeterne retributione...* (ChLA I 125. 1-3)

(4) *Ego quidam Appo cogitavi dei induidum vel divinam retributionem, ut mihi in fuduro mercis boni oberis (= merces boni operis) adgrescat, et adgrevit mihi dei voluntas, ut terra iures mei ... trado* (ChLA II 156. 1-3)

(5) *Ego quidam Petto cogitavi dei induidum vel divina retributionem vel pecadis (= peccatis) meis veniam promirere, et ut mihi in fuduro mercis boni obiris (= merces boni operis) adgrescat.* (ChLA II 161. 1-2)

(6) *Perpetrandum est unicuique, quod euuangelica vox admonet dicens: Date elymosinam et omnia munda sunt vobis. Igitur ego Petto cogitans de innumerabilibus peccatis meis, propterea trado...* (ChLA II 118. 1-2)

And a special one:

¹⁵Rio (2009) 204.



(7) *Gebalinga, filia Maginberti. Canonica scriptura et antiqua legum auctoritas vel principum decreta sanxerunt, ut unusquis dum manet in corpore de propria, quam possedit facultatem, voluntatem suam litteris inserat, ut perennis temporibus inviolata permaneat, quia nihil valet cuiquam lux fugitiva, nisi quantum poterit de presentia mercari aeterna. Ideo ego iam dicta Gebalinda cogitavi aeternam retributionem, dono...* (ChLA II 168. 3–6)

As it can be seen, the *pia causa* is mostly composed with the help of short syntagmas and whole clauses. The Biblical passages are introduced in the same way and only a few of them are cited in the charters. Variety is achieved by combining syntagmas with clauses of Biblical citation and by using more/less syntagmas with different sequence. The last one is a peculiar case, because it inserts the reason behind testament writing into the *pia causa*. This insertion is actually a *narratio*, however, these parts occur scarcely.¹⁶

To show what I regarded as a presumably erroneous formula, the formula labelled as *sanctus* can fulfil this purpose. This is the *ubi*-clause that describes the beneficiary at the beginning of the *clausula donationis*. Three major forms can be detected:

- 1) *ubi eius/ipsius sacrus requiescit corpus* (in Christo)¹⁷
- 2) *ubi ipse in corpore requiescit*¹⁸
- 3) *ubi ipse sanctus in corpore requiescit* (ChLA I 90. 1) and *ubi ipsi domnus in corpore requiescit* (ChLA I 84. 1)

In all examples, *eius/ipsius, ipse* (*sanctus/domnus*) refers to Saint Gall. The first type (example 1; Σ 19) contains *eius* (Σ 17; 5 of the total stands after the word *corpus*) and rarely *ipsius* (Σ 2; 1 standing before, 1 standing after the noun).¹⁹ Regarding the second variant (example 2), all the ten occurrences have the same structure. The two anomalies are shown in the last example. All of them can be valid forms of formulas, however, the rarity of ChLA I 90. 1 and ChLA I 84. 1 can also suggest either contamination of the first form (*sacrus*) with the second one (*ipse in corpore*) or other, unknown origin. Whatever is the cause, the demonstratives have different linguistic features in each type.²⁰

1.3. Methods applied to categorise and assess the data

The following determiners are examined in this paper: *is, hic, iste, ille, ipse, idem* and meta-linguistic participles (*supradictus* etc.) on account of their functional overlap. To gain information from the charters, there are two main ways to categorise the data.

1.3.1. Linguistic classification. The linguistic categorisation is the general approach based on function and semantics:

¹⁶Other narrations: ChLA I 87. 1–3, 15–16; I 91. 15–18; I 101. 1–8; ChLA II 131. 13–15. Comparing it to the more than 1800 lines of the charters, narrations are almost non-existent.

¹⁷ChLA I 46. 2; 52. 7; 55. 2; 57. 1; 59. 2; 61. 2; 62. 1; 65. 1; 67. 1; 69. 1; 73. 3; 74. 1; 80. 2; 91. 1; II 114. 2; 119. 4; 159. 1; 167. 1; 169. 1.

¹⁸ChLA I 48. 4; 49. 4; 56. 3; 76. 2; 78. 2; ChLA II 124. 2; 126. 1; 127. 1; 134. 1; 160. 1.

¹⁹ Σ = total.

²⁰The other rare variants are discussed during the analysis.



- 1) Type of the pronoun/determiner
- 2) Ad- or pronominality
- 3) Exo- or endophoricity
- 4) Functional categories: anaphoric, cataphoric, deictic, explicative (solely for the lexicalized-grammaticalized form of *id est* and *hoc est*), intensifying (for textual focalising *ipse*), possessive and third person (pronominal demonstratives expressing animacy). These labels were given based on the closest context and sometimes a second label as well, when the broader context made it necessary. Furthermore, there are categories which intertwine, for instance, many third person and possessive usages of demonstratives usually express anaphoricity.
- 5) Determiner multiplications and double determination were also marked together with its syntactic structure.

I.3.2. Formulaic method. Another approach, the formulaic method was introduced due to the features of the charters' genre, namely formulas. In the previous paragraph (I.2) it was illustrated that formulas are composed from (in)variable syntagmas forming (in)variable clauses that result in variable (sic!) sentences. This combinable structure entails two consequences: 1) The more syntagmas/clauses a formulaic sentence has, the variety of its wording becomes more complicated. 2) With the formulas' growing size, the contaminations of formulas grow, as well. Due to these consequences, the size of formulas should be rationalised, limited, otherwise it would render the analysis impossible. Since the minimum acceptable formula size is the syntagma and the clause, the examination's formula categories are based on them. In this study, I do not intend to examine the complex interrelations of formulas, whether the word determines its demonstrative or the structure of the sentence, since it would need the analysis of its own and the results might be as complex as the manifestation of the formulas.

Now, let me turn to the major labels applied in this paper:

1) **monasterium**: It contains short, almost fossilised syntagmas with a high determiner-specificity: *ad ipsum monasterium, ad monachos ipsius monasterii*, in which *monasterium* can be replaced with *ecclesia, sanctus locus, casa*. This label denotes the beneficiary that always appears in the charters in dative case or more often in its Vulgar Latin counterpart, *ad+accusative/dative*. This form can occur in every part of the charter depending on the sentence structure, however, it is compulsory in the *clausula donationis* and at the end of the charter, before the signatures if the donation took place in St. Gall. Denoting the place of execution, the *ad+accusative* form can be substituted with *in+accusative/ablative*. (For more details, see chapter IV.)

2) **res**: It is an umbrella category, i.e. it entails many diverse formulas (syntagmas and clauses) that describe the granted possessions. These formulas mainly appear in the *clausula donationis*, after the *pia causa* and the description of the beneficiary. What makes it reasonable to handle them as one, is that all of them are connected cataphorically or anaphorically to the property list which includes all (im)movables the donated land can have. Of course, there are exceptions when only serfs are granted, however, some kind of list is necessary in these cases, as well.

The formula introducing the property list unexclusively: *Hoc est, quod dono* (ChLA I 59. 2).

After naming the lands or after ending the property list, such sentences can follow: *in ipsas fines vel marcas ... visus sum habere* (ChLA II 142. 5) which are usually the closing part of the frame starting with something like *quidquid ibidem visus sum habere*. (ChLA I 90. 4)



A variant before setting the *census*: *Pro istas res proservire volo* (I 46) or another one: *censum solvamus et hoc per precariam habeamus* (ChLA I 91. 7).

They can appear after the *census*: *quamdiu ipsum censum solvant, illas res possideant* (ChLA I 97. 6).

The usual part of the *clausula poenalis* in case of breaching the contract: *ipsas res sine ulla maricione ad ipsum monasterium revertantur* (ChLA I 65. 4)

There are also linguistic reasons behind this umbrella category. The usage of certain determiners and demonstratives are not arbitrary. (Further details in chapter V.)

3) *charta*: It denotes the contract and the actual act of donation. Apart from *charta*, usually (*in*)*strumentum*, *factum*, *donatio* appear. Although the category includes pronominal anaphoric demonstratives, *charta* usually denotes *hic et nunc* deixis occurring almost exclusively with adnominal *hic* and/or *iste*. It is also a category that mainly occurs within or after the *clausula poenalis*. (See also chapter VI.)

Other formulas will be discussed in their respective chapters.

The question arises, what use the second, the formulaic type of pronoun classification has in the analysis. Since formulas have rigid wording to provide validity and effectiveness, they tend to be repetitive. But, when difficulties in understanding emerge and prevail, they can be changed resulting in demonstrative multiplications, change and additional metalinguistic participles. In most cases, these tendencies are rare compared to the prevalence of the standard form, therefore they are usually statistically excluded from the analysis as outliers. However, by taking into account how charter composition works, these outliers occurring at least 3–4 times should be analysed, if they differ in time and place of the composition and in the person of the scribe. Therefore, variants of the same formulas (inter-formulaic method), formulas containing the same determiner(s) and sometimes rare variants are contrasted with each other. Thus, the analysis is heterogeneous: the simultaneous application of formulaic and linguistic methods. Since the charters of the ChLA I–II and CXVIII are over-formulaic, i.e. the number of text that can be interpreted as *narratio* is rare, the comparison to rare formula variants is performed when possible and necessary.

1.4. Reference of the definite article and the demonstratives

To describe the process from demonstratives into articles, many hypotheses have covered different aspects of it. To name a few: grammaticalization, semantic bleaching,²¹ intersubjectification²² and defocalisation.²³ However, these theories are hard to apply in languages without native speakers like (Vulgar) Latin, since semantics of an adnominal demonstrative or grammaticality of a sentence/syntagma cannot be determined with personal feelings about it, only indirect conclusions can be made. This is even harder, since definite articles originated from

²¹SELIG (1992) 80–81; CARLIER–DE MULDER (2010) 246–250 citing HAWKINS (2004).

²²CARLIER–DE MULDER (2010) 262–264.

²³SELIG (1992) 183–185.



demonstratives and the same morphology covers a set of different semantics.²⁴ Both of them are part of the same category (determiners), can be used in deixis, ana- and cataphoras with semantic difference and can fulfil the role of the third person pronoun.²⁵

In the evaluation of *articuloïde* cases, the following criteria had been set: first mention use,²⁶ obligatory usage,²⁷ the entity marked by the definite article is part of the society's or the humanity's broader knowledge. Therefore, the analysis of anaphoras can be of help in the determination of (in)directness. The more indirect it is, the more abstract is the connection between referent and anaphor. I applied the four categories of Skrzypek et al.²⁸ The first one (1) is the deictic role, the immediate situational use when the referent is present (in the actual space and/or in the text). In the previously described charter, its equivalent is *presens donatio istic*. (2) Direct anaphora: the word after first mention is retrieved through additional demonstratives: *in vila ... quid in istas villas visus sum habere*. (3) As regards indirect/associative anaphora, the antecedent is not spelled out, the context, entities of the discourse serve as an anchor. Therefore, the trigger is not necessarily a nominal phrase. For instance, a meronymic (whole-part) type: *omnes facultates suas per cartam traditionis firmavit ... (list of monks et priest) ... diebus vitae suae annis singulis inde census solvat de ipsa terra, in loco, qui dicitur (ChLA I 55. 1–5)*. It is worth noting that modern languages which have articles, prefer and use articles in this case.²⁹ (4) The larger situational use depends on the knowledge of a society or humanity and expresses uniqueness (the Queen, the sun).

Before the analysis, for a better understanding, the methodological frames of each embedded analysis will be outlined. After chapter II, in which a brief comparison is given between the data of the *ChLA* and the *Fontes Iuris Antiqui [FIRA] II*, chapter III deals with the reduction of *is*. It is based on both formulaic (high number of *id est* before lists) and linguistic notions (the disappearing neuter). The formulaic method is introduced within this frame. In chapter IV, the semantics of *ipse* is examined in all formulas that are not as complex as *res* or have so little *ipse* in them as *charta*. Again, the linguistic categories (anaphora, intensity) set the frame of the investigation for the formulas and rare variants. However, the frame changes in chapter V and VI. In chapter V, the umbrella category, *res* is analysed separately due to its complexity. The textual functions of several determiners (*hic, iste, ipse, ille*) are examined within the formulas, thus, the linguistic method is embedded into the formulaic one while further formulaic elaboration shed light to the nuanced 'behaviour' of the demonstratives. Chapter VI follows the structure of chapter V, although, with less complexity. Chapter VII is the syntactic evaluation of demonstratives in formulas, rare variants and also *narrationes*. Chapter VIII examines article-like cases. Again, linguistic methods are simultaneously applied with the formulaic one.

²⁴For example, in German, the article *der, die, das* morphologically overlaps with the demonstrative *der, die, das*, they differ only in genitive: *des, der, des* (article) and *dessen, deren, dessen* (demonstrative). For example: *Das hab' ich nicht gesagt.* = I didn't say that. French: *Il est arrivé le douze mai.* = He/It arrived on the 12th of May. *La chatte miaule, je vais la nourrir.* = The cat meows, I'll feed her. Italian: *Mangialo!* = Eat it! *Sì, la voglio.* = Yes, I want it/her./Yes, I do.

²⁵RENZI (1997) 8–9.

²⁶SELIG (1992) 123–124.

²⁷HERMAN (2000) 85.

²⁸SKRZYPEK ET AL. (2021) 13–25.

²⁹For demonstrative NPs as (in)direct anaphors, see for instance APOTHÉLOZ–REICHLER–BÉGUELIN (1999).



II. SYSTEMIC CHANGE OF DEMONSTRATIVES

Systemic changes in the demonstratives are estimated to have started around the 3rd century.³⁰ In terms of *hic-iste-ille*, their spatiotemporal features have altered. Although, *hic* was able to preserve its meaning referring to entities of a certain spatiotemporal closeness, *iste* has started to lose its original semantics (pointing to entities close to the hearer) and to take over the functions of *hic* expressing situational and textual *hic et nunc* deixis.³¹ *Ille* expressing distance from both hearer and speaker has undergone semantic bleaching so much that it can replace cataphoric *is*, nevertheless, it can still maintain the anaphoric chain.³² But the most conspicuous is the case of *ipse*. *Ipse* as an exclusive/inclusive intensifier³³ that also expresses identity have become the most frequent adnominal anaphoric determiner, surpassing even *ille*.³⁴ What is more, it has taken over the role of *idem*. During these semantic shifts, the definite article emerged.³⁵

To illustrate the difference between the demonstrative system of the 2nd and the 8th century, the data of the *ChLA* were contrasted to the data of Selig³⁶ based on the *FIRA II*. Since there are no earlier *corpus* of legal documents from Switzerland, temporal aspects bore the highest importance in the selection, namely, the *corpus* for comparison should be dated before the systemic changes of demonstratives. Apart from that, *FIRA II* contains locally heterogen documents, from the Iberian Peninsula (*lex metalli Vipascensis, tabulae novae Ursonenses*) to Transylvania (*tabulae ceratae in metallis aurariis Transsilvanicis prope Verespatak*) which helps to counterbalance the problem of local features. However, it should be noted that the comparative *corpus* has different types of legal texts, not just donations, but regulations, *laudationes funebres* etc. With that in mind, the comparison should be considered (Tables 1 and 2) (Figs 1 and 2).

It is clear from the pie-chart of the *FIRA II* that *is* surpasses all other pronouns being more than three quarters of the distribution. The second largest portion is taken by *hic* at 16%. Whereas *ille*, *ipse* and *iste* representing only 1 and zero percent are almost non-existent. On the other hand, the circle graph of the *ChLA* demonstrates a completely different distribution. *Is* has decreased to 22%, not even a quarter of the graph, whereas *ipse* and *hic* represent the largest portions, 29% and 26%, each being more than a quarter. *Ille* and *iste* have grown by 5% and 6%, while *idem* has become almost insignificant.³⁷

³⁰SELIG (1992) 154.

³¹HOFMANN–SZANTYR (1972) 184; VÄÄNÄNEN (1981) 120–121.

³²SELIG (1992) 127–129.

³³BERTOCCHI (2000).

³⁴SELIG (1992) 133.

³⁵HOFMANN – SZANTYR (1972) 173–190; VÄÄNÄNEN (1981) 120–122; SELIG (1992) 128–138.

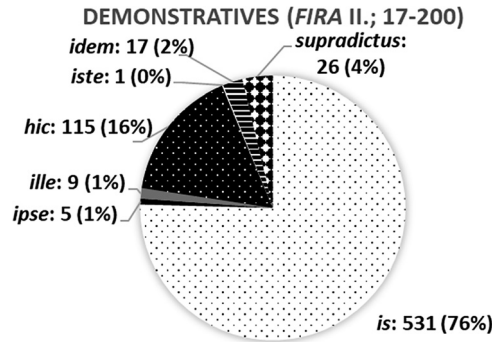
³⁶SELIG (1992) 36–38.

³⁷CALBOLI (2006) 160: The determiners of the *TPSulp* (1st century AD): *is* (Σ 93; 64%); *hic* (Σ 12; 8%); *iste* and *ille* (Σ 0; 0%); *ipse* (Σ 10; 7%); *idem* (Σ 9; 6%); *suus* (Σ 21; 15%).

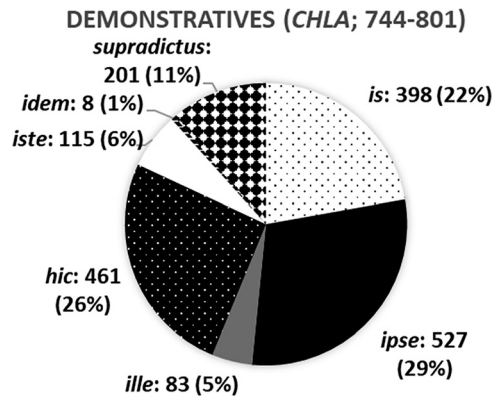


Table 1. Demonstratives (*FIRA II*)

<i>FIRA II</i> (17–200)	Number of demonstratives (Σ 845)
<i>is</i>	531
<i>ipse</i>	5
<i>ille</i>	9
<i>hic</i>	115
<i>iste</i>	1
<i>idem</i>	17
<i>supradictus</i>	26

Fig. 1. Demonstratives (*FIRA II*)Table 2. Demonstratives (*ChLA*)

<i>ChLA</i> (744–801)	Number of demonstratives (Σ 1978)
<i>is</i>	398
<i>ipse</i>	527
<i>ille</i>	83
<i>hic</i>	461
<i>iste</i>	115
<i>idem</i>	8
<i>supradictus</i>	201

Fig. 2. Demonstratives (*ChLA*)

III. WHAT HAPPENED TO *IS*?

After seeing the charts, the question emerges, how this great reduction of *is* can be explained? In this chapter, I intend to analyse and interpret the decrease of it.

In the earlier Classical Latin charters, *is* had been the general anaphoric referent. However, in the *ChLA*, it is mainly confined to be a third person pronoun or a conjunctive in the form of *id est* (*ChLA* I 69. 3: *censum eis exinde solvam, id est per singulos annos unam saicam*). General



anaphoricity and third person usage can be detected either in strict formulas without or with a few variants, such as

- 1) *eam ... infringere voluerit* (ChLA I 59. 8; I 62. 4; I 76.10...),
- 2) *in ea vero ratione, ut* (ChLA I 71. 5...),
- 3) *ei non liceat* (ChLA I 59. 9...).

In 1), *eam* refers to the previously mentioned document, the *charta*. In 3), third person usage is demonstrated. As for 2), *ea* is an adnominal cataphor. The high number of explicative *id est*³⁸ indicated that this pronoun should be examined by genus-categories. The categories were not solely established according to grammatical gender, morphological aspects were taken into account, too. Therefore, I assigned *eius* and *ei* (dat.) to separate categories since their inflection is not determined by grammatical gender. Moreover, in cases when genders morphologically overlap, the context was also considered. If it indicated a certain gender, the pronoun was assigned to its genus, otherwise, its gender was labelled with an ambiguous category (Table 3) (Fig. 3).

Table 3. Distribution of *is*

	<i>is</i> (Σ 398)	%
masc.	60	15
fem.	85	21
neutr.	113	29
neutr./masc.	4	1
<i>ei</i> (dat.)	23	6
<i>eius</i>	113	28

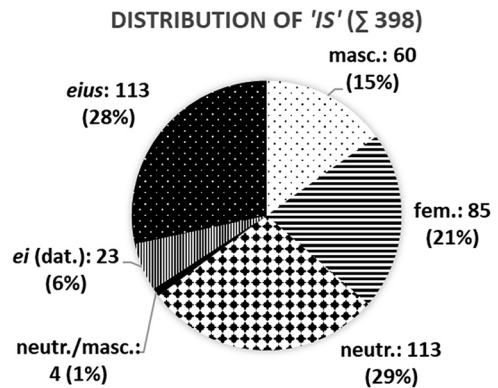


Fig. 3. Distribution of *is*

³⁸*Id est* in the *clausula donationis* (1), describing the *census* (2) and the *poena* (3):

(1) *trado ad monasterium sancti Gallonis quicquid mihi pater meus moriens in hereditatem succedendo in villa nuncupata Tantina dimisit, id est terris, domibus, edificiis, pratis, pascuis, silvis, aquis aquarumque decursibus, cultis et incultis vel quicquid in predicta villa cedente paternica hereditate ego iam dictus Adalmam possessor esse videor, omnia ... trado* (ChLA II 148. 2-5).

(2) *censum ad ipsa eclesia sancti Galloni vel rectores eius exsolvere debias, id est trigenta siclas cirvisa et quaranta panis, friscincas tremisale et pullus duos* (ChLA II 165. 5-6).

(3) *partibus fische multa componant, id est auri solido uno e targenti solidos II coactus exsolvat* (ChLA I 105. 5-6). In two cases, *id est* is written as one word: *idest* (ChLA II 109. 3; II 118. 4).



However, to assess the actual number of non-grammaticalized *id*, the number of *id est* was subtracted from the neuter *is*. The results are compelling: almost all neuter *is*, 108 out of 113 are represented by the grammaticalized-lexicalized form of *id est*, in which *id* has lost its original meaning and together with *est*, has gained another one and functions as an explicative conjunctive. The other five *id*-pronouns express (direct/resumptive) anaphoricity and refer to the *census*, to the rent:³⁹

- (1) *hoc id ipsum faciat* (ChLA I 54. 4)
- (2) *id ipsud faciat* (ChLA I 83. 8)
- (3) *id ipsud faciant* (ChLA I 85. 5)
- (4) *id ipsud facere voluerit* (ChLA II 169. 11)
- (5) *id ipsum faciat* (ChLA CXVIII 27. 11)

However, as the examples attest, pronoun *id* never stands alone and always appears with *ipse*, and in one instance, even with *hic*. How can that be interpreted? Considering the amount of the *id est*, the anaphoric *id* only occurring together with *ipse* which is a strong anaphor in the charters of the ChLA and the fact that the neuter was disappearing in the 8th century,⁴⁰ the functional weakening and the semantic loss of the neuter *id* can be concluded.

But what happens with the other genders?

In terms of feminine (Table 4), the strict formula, *in ea (vero) ratione* represents more than half of the total (Σ 48; 57%). *Eam infringere*, another even stricter formula is nearly a third (Σ 24; 28%). Non-formulaic, free expressions (Σ 13) consist only 15% of the whole. It is even smaller considering the masculine (Table 5): non-formulaic expressions are at 8% (Σ 5). More than two thirds of the masculine are *eorum* (Σ 42, 70%), compared to that, even the third person usage is lagging behind (Σ 13; 22%). From the data, it is clear that the higher numbers of feminine and masculine can be attributed either to the highly strict language of the charters, the formulas, as in the cases of *eam infringere* and of *in ea (vero) ratione*, or to longer forms, so that *eorum* can prevail. Apart from its longer form, irregularity plays a role in the maintenance of *eius*. Although, *ei* (dat.) is short, it scarcely occurs in the documents due to the strict formula, *ei non liceat*.

Table 4. Feminine *is*

	Femininum (Σ 85)	%
<i>in ea (vero) ratione</i>	48	57%
<i>eam infringere</i>	24	28%
other	13	15%

³⁹Three instances are direct anaphoric (ChLA I 85. 5; II 169. 11; CXVIII 27. 11); the other two (ChLA I 54. 4; I 83. 8) are resumptive anaphoric, their antecedent is the whole clause describing the amount of census: *exinde census solvat, id est per singulos annos XX siglas de cervisa et maltra de pane, et frischinca saiga valente* (ChLA I 54. 3–4).

⁴⁰HERMAN (2000) 65–67.



Table 5. Masculine *is*

	Masculinum (Σ 60)	%
<i>eorum</i>	42	70%
3rd person	13	22%
other	5	8%

However, since there is no evidence for the substitution of *ei* (dat.) with *ipsi/illi*, its weakening cannot be stated.⁴¹

Before ending the analysis, another problem should be solved, the occurrence of *hoc* in the *id ipsum* phrase. If, as I stated, *ipse* as a strong anaphor is enough to compensate the functional weakening of *is* and therefore, *is* with *ipse* can maintain the referential chain, *hoc* is not necessary. The formulas provide the answer. Explicative *id est* (Σ 108) can be replaced with *hoc est* (Σ 70). Both of them function as a conjunctive here in the sense of *scilicet*. With that in mind, it is not surprising that *hoc est* can be found 1) in the *clausula donationis* (example 1), 2) in the formula of the *census* (example 2), however, it cannot be found in the *clausula poenalis* where *id est* is the only variant.

- (1) *hoc sunt casis, casalis, mancipiis, peculii, campis, pratis, viniis, silvis, aquis aquarumque decursibus mobilibus et immobilibus, quecumque habuit apud se ipso ad ipsos sanctos tradidit* (ChLA I 51. 4–5)
 (2) *pro istas res proservire volo annis singulis, ho est soledum unum* (ChLA I 46. 7)

What is more, *hic* apart from *ille* has gained the upper hand even as a cataphor at the expense of *is* since many relative clauses take pronominal neuter *hoc* as an antecedent, 41 out of 48 cataphoric *hic* stand in phrases like *hoc (est), quod dono / trado / dedi*. However, these roles are maintained by the formulas, since the weakening of anaphoric *hic* has set forth, too, marked by the determiner multiplication of *hoc id ipsum faciat* and *hoc ipsud faciat* (ChLA I 68. 6). These two cases do not provide sufficient basis for the anaphoric weakening of *hic*, especially, when formulas labelled as *census* appear without determiner multiplication, but in chapter V–VI, further analysis strengthens this notion.⁴²

To recapitulate, what has been said, the weakening of anaphoric *is* can be observed on account of the determiner multiplications of *id* and the high number of the grammaticalized-lexicalized *id est*. In terms of *eius* and *eorum*, irregularity and/or longer forms contribute to their maintenance. The weakening of *is* is followed closely by the weakening of *hic*.

IV. SEMANTICS OF *IPSE* IN DIFFERENT FORMULAS

In the previous chapter, the decrease of *is* could be perceived. The original function of *is*, the adnominal anaphora had been taken by *ipse*, therefore, this demonstrative consists the main portion of the distribution in the ChLA.

⁴¹I would like to thank the peer reviewer for pointing me out that the weakening of pronominal *ei* (dat.) can only be concluded, if dative is expressed by *illi/ipsi*.

⁴²The standard form of the *census*: *hoc faciat* (ChLA I 101. 5).



Adnominal *ipse* is usually described by four semantic categories:

- 1) anaphora
- 2) identity (something like *idem*)
- 3) exclusion (no one/nothing else than)
- 4) intensifier (the very...; itself etc.)

However, it should be noted that each function can overlap with the anaphoric one (see IV.3.), even if the latter plays only a secondary role.

IV.1. *Ipse* as the general anaphor

In this section, the main function of *ipse*, its adnominal anaphoricity will be examined. The determiner *ipse* is well-attested in the text in different formulas,⁴³ most strikingly in the formulas labelled as *monasterium*, for they can directly retrieve the beneficiary of the donations, the monastery of St. Gall wherever it stands in the text:

At the beginning of the *clausula donationis*:

Dono itaque adque trado ad ipsum monasterium sancti Gallonis (ChLA I 76. 2–3)

In the *clausula poenalis*:

id est tantum et alium tantum, quantum cartula ista continet, ad ipsum superius nominatum monasterium restituat (ChLA I 71. 10)

At the end, to mark the place of execution:

Actum in ipso monasterio sancti Gallonis (ChLA II 144. 11)

As it can be seen in Table 6, the formulas labelled as *monasterium* are rigid in their demonstrative usage as they are highly *ipse*-specific. In these formulas, demonstratives act as adnominal possessives (Σ 27: Σ 24 *eius*; Σ 2 *suus*; Σ 1 *ipsius*) and as anaphoric determiners (Σ 230, only 3 of them are pronominal containing *is*, *hic*, *ille*, therefore their presence is almost non-existent). To retrieve the referent, adnominal metalinguistic participles also play an important role. Based on the data, it can be concluded that *ipse* and *supradictus* can retrieve the referent regardless of distance.

However, multiplication occurs in these formulas, as well. It can be found 19 times in my *corpus*, its general structure is either *D supradictus N* (Σ 15; 14 of them contain *ipse*, one, on the other hand, has *hic*) or *ipse N supradictus* (Σ 4).⁴⁴ How can this be interpreted? If it is correct that *supradictus* and *ipse* have the same anaphoric function, three explanations can be given: 1) *ipse*'s anaphoric strength has undergone weakening and it is strengthened with the help of an additional *supradictus*; 2) *ipse* functions here as an identity (or intensity?) determiner, so its

⁴³The formulas regarding the bestowed property labelled as *res* are handled separately, since they have more varied formulas in respect of their determiner use (even if their main adnominal determiner expressing direct anaphoricity is *ipse*) and attest differences in textual proximity depending on the determiner (*hic*, *iste*, *ille* or *ipse*).

⁴⁴ChLA I 75. 6: *ad ipsum superius nominatum monasterium*; ChLA I 60. 8: *ipsa casa sancti Gallonis supernominata*.



Table 6. Determiners of the formula *monasterium*

Determiners	Monasterium (Σ 257)
<i>ipse</i>	177
<i>supradictus</i>	47
<i>is</i>	25
<i>ille</i>	3
<i>hic</i>	2
<i>suus</i>	2
<i>iste</i>	1

anaphoricity is secondary, therefore additional *supradictus* does not result in functional accumulation; 3) *ipse* is slowly developing *hic*-like deictic features,⁴⁵ so *supradictus* does not endanger its anaphoric strength (for further information, see V.1 and VI.2).

Considering the strengthening anaphoric force of *ipse* in the cases of *id ipsum*, and the fact that the other strong anaphoric determiner, *ille* do not occur in combination with *ipse* (**ipse+ille+N*) to stabilise its function, the second and third option seem more feasible.

IV.2. The problem of intensity and exclusion

Since exclusion is a subcategory of intensity with extended semantics ('no other than'), I examine them together. Before the analysis, it should be understood how intensification works. Intensification is regarded as the opposition between focus (the object marked by *ipse*) and periphery where the contrastive force is established by *ipse*.

IV.2.1. Exclusion. After the anaphoric analysis of IV.1 the question emerges whether adnominal *ipse* can have exclusive function in the formula labelled as *monasterium*. Therefore, let me start the examination with it.

In respect of the formulas labelled as monastery, two possibilities emerge, one on the textual and the other on the material/real-world level. 1) If the charter listed the pool of churches, but only one of them got the donation, the beneficiary could be focalised by *ipse*. 2) If beyond the written charter, there is a pool of churches (in the real world) and each is a possible beneficiary of the bestowment, but only one of them receives the donation and only the receiver is mentioned in the text. The first case is a mere hypothesis, the second one is in the *ChLA*. But both of them require the adnominal first mention use of *ipse*. However, what can be seen in these documents, there is no first mention *ipse* in the formulas of *monasterium*. So exclusive *ipse* can be ruled out.

Other exclusive instances of first mention adnominal *ipse*:

- (1) *Perpetrandum est unicuique ... quod ipse Dominus ore suo locutus est dicens: Date et dabitur vobis, et iterum: Date helimosinam et omnia munda sunt vobis. (ChLA CXVIII 24. 1. 1–2)*

⁴⁵The word deictic means here that *ipse* provides higher focus than *supradictus*, therefore *ipse* displays the characteristic of proximal demonstratives (cf. STRAUSS (2002) 134–135). However, *ipse* can also act as a deictic (see VI.2.).



(2) *Ego ipse in dei nomine Bernegarius indignus vocatus presbiter scripsi et subscripsi.* (ChLA II 143. 21)

The first example (1) is part of the *pia causa*, although it is a rarity, since instead of *evangelica vox dicens, ipse Dominus* appears. Since there is no higher authority to follow for a Christian than the *Altissimus*,⁴⁶ it is easily conceived that *ipse* denotes exclusion in this case. The other example (2) is also a rarity, because adnominal *ipse* does not occur before the scribe's name, especially that scribes are only named once in the charters, before or after the signatures of the witnesses.⁴⁶ *Ipse ... Bernegarius* is a first mention adnominal usage, however, in this charter, the *donator* has the same name as the scribe. In order to mark the different identities of *donator* and *scriba*, opposition can be achieved with the help of *ipse* conveying the meaning like 'I, not the *donator* Bernegarius, but the scribe Bernegarius wrote...', therefore the *donator* Bernegarius is excluded.

IV.2.2. Inclusive intensity. In the previous section, instances of exclusion were analysed. However, other examples suggest that adnominal *ipse* can be an inclusive intensifier, too. According to Bertocchi,⁴⁷ inclusive intensity (with scalar value) is evoked in an affirmative sentence when *ipse* marks the least expected and the most remarkable that way, establishing contrast between focus and periphery. Note, that likelihood was not the question in cases of exclusion. For instance, instead of *ipse Dominus, evangelica vox* could also serve the purpose of the *pia causa*.

The most preserved and salient formula is the beginning of the *clausula poenalis*:

Si ego ipse aut aliquis de heredibus vel proheredibus meis vel quicumque contra hanc tradicionem venire aut eam infringere voluerit, inprimis iram et penas infirmi experire pertimiscat et insuper sociante fisco ... multa conponat (ChLA II 153. 13–15)

The *ego ipse* phrase is anaphoric since the *donator* is named at least for the second time here, however, it can be also interpreted as an inclusive intensifier, because the *donator* is the most unlikely, therefore the most remarkable person, who would breach the agreement made by her/himself. But this intensifying function only works in comparison with the (hypothetical/implicit) periphery, the successors and any other person who does not consent to this contract, therefore there is a higher chance of breaching it.⁴⁸

This contrast is also achieved in some cases of *servitium* when not only property is given, but the *donator* grant her/himself as well:

servo meo Gheruino cum hoba sua et omne peguliere eius, et me ipsum Teotfridum ad ipsum monastirium in servitium trado usque ad diem mortis (ChLA I 61. 4–5)

It is usual to donate servants/serfs, however, it is somewhat rare that the *donator* offers himself, too. Therefore, *ipse* marks the focus as unexpected and most remarkable in contrast with the periphery, the serf.⁴⁹

⁴⁶What is more, when the scribe writes his name, after *ego*, usually *enim/itaque* follows or no additional word is inserted.

⁴⁷BERTOCCHI (2000) 19.

⁴⁸On the other hand, there are four instances when the *ego ipse* phrase drops *ipse* (ChLA I 45; I 58. 8; I 90; I 97). It can be a scribal error and of course, even without *ipse*, the phrase is grammatical.

⁴⁹The charters' *ego ipse* phrase repeats the same structure: *ego ipse Teotfridus* (ChLA I 61. 5).



IV.3. Overlap of anaphora and intensity

Et si ipse nepos meus Gisalbertus heredem habuerit, id ipsum faciat, et qui de eo generati fuerint. Si autem heredem non habuerit, ipse res ad saepe dictum monasterium revertantur... (ChLA CXVIII 27. 11–14)

The *donator's* grandchild appears here for the second time. He and his heirs become the usufructuary after the death of the *donator*. The phrase in bold implicitly entails that only the heirs of Gisalbertus can hold this right, even if the *donator* has other grandchildren, they are excluded from the usufruct along with their descendants. Therefore, *ipse* can function as an exclusive intensifier, even in second mention. However, this *ipse* also can be interpreted either as a direct anaphor retrieving *nepos meus filius Hartperti nomine Gisalbertus* (ChLA CXVIII 27. 9–10) or as an identity marker.

Signum ipsius Adalmani, qui hanc cartam fieri rogavit (ChLA II 148. 14)

After the *donator's* (Adalman's) signature, the witnesses' follow. It is the only variant of the formula where adnominal *ipse* stands before the name of the *donator*, therefore the likelihood that *ipse* was triggered by *qui*, is quite low. Inclusive intensity can also be questioned, since it is not remarkable or unexpected that the *donator* signs the document. The contrast between Adalman and the periphery (witnesses and scribe) can also be ruled out: there is no same/similar name. The only reason to label it as intensifying, if he – unlike most of the *donators* – can actually write down his name. Nevertheless, there is another explanation, the anaphoric retrieval of the referent with(out) the function of identity. This notion is strengthened since his name occurs at the end of the *clausula donationis* like that: *quicquid in predicta villa ... ego iam dictus Adalman possessor esse videor*.⁵⁰ Therefore, one has to be cautious especially around second mention names.

After the analysis, it is obvious that *ipse* regardless of its place (before nouns or after pronouns) can be an intensifier since *ipse* itself and its emphatic value trigger this function even if the periphery is not explicitly expressed in the text, only hypothetically established. Therefore, it is easier to conceive logically that *ipse* acts as an intensifier than as an anaphoric/identity determiner. Nevertheless, the examination of rare variants (*ipse Dominus, Ego ipse ... Bernegarius*) suggests that intensifying *ipse* preserved its Classical Latin features while establishing the adnominal direct anaphoric one represented predominantly in the formulas of *monasterium*.

V. DEMONSTRATIVES IN THE FORMULAS CONCERNING THE DONATED ENTITIES (RES)

Ille as the demonstrative of the temporospatial distance fulfilled the roles of ana- and cataphoric *is*, too.⁵¹ In the formulas describing property (*res*), the dominance of *ipse* is observed in anaphoras (*ille*: 36; *ipse* 163; *hic*: 32; *supradictus*: 30; *is*: 3; *iste*: 10), but in cataphoras, *ille* has gained the

⁵⁰Another case from a different scribe: ChLA II 161. 5–6: *Ideo ego iam dicta Gebalinda*. See also: *Et illi bresbitero donat illo Herigero* (ChLA II 131. 13); *iste Cunzo* (ChLA I 101. 7).

⁵¹SELIG (1992) 160–171.



upper hand (*ille*: 20; *ipse*: 3; *hic*: 6; *supradictus*: 2; *is*: 2; *iste*: 9). Another demonstrative appears in these formulas: *iste* which used to point to entities close to the hearer.

The co-occurrence of *is*, *hic*, *iste*, *ille* and *ipse* can be detected in the same, second mention phrases usually appearing within the generic property list or after it:

- (1) (generic list) ... *haec omnia ex integro trado ... ad monasterium sancti Galli ... illas res possideant* (ChLA II 109. 6-7)
- (2) (generic list) ... *reliqua vero omnia ... volumus esse donata ... ut quando nostra voluntas fuerit eas res ad nos recipere* (ChLA II 141. 6)
- (3) *Chrodhochus et coniu su Raginsuuinda tradiderunt in villa, qui dicitur Baldinga, in pago, qui dicitur Adalhartespara ... in ipsa villa Baldinga et in ipsa marcha* ... (generic list) (ChLA I 68. 2-4)
- (4) (generic list) ... *omnia ex omnibus ... trado atque transfondo ... ipsas res redemere vuleremus* (ChLA I 90. 8)
- (5) (generic list) ... *omnia ex omnibus parte mea ex integra ... trado ... pro istas res proservire volo* (ChLA I 46. 6-7)
- (6) *hoc est in pago Brisegaugense, in villa, qui dicitur Uuarbinbach et in Artiouinia et in Minsilido et Adaghilinisuuillare, quid in istas villas visus sum habere...* (generic list) (ChLA I 46. 3-4)
- (7) *in villa Ailingas, et in alio loco, qui dicitur Scuzna, quidquid in hiis (sic!) duobus locis ... vestitus sum* (ChLA I 72. 2-3)

As it can be seen, *hic*, *ille*, *ipse* and *iste* can act as anaphors without restriction to retrieve the referent, the whole property (*res*) or parts of the possession (*villa*, *marcha* etc.). However, taking a closer look will enable to see the subtle differences in the demonstrative usages. The following table shows the number of determiners/metalinguistic participles (*supradictus* etc.) and their occurrences in syntagmas of the word *res* or of other words describing the bestowed entities of the property:

Table 7. Adnominal determiners/metalinguistic participles occurring in syntagmas together with the word *res* (R) or other entities (O: *marcha*, *villa*, *hoba* etc.) of the property

Adnominal determiners/metalinguistic participles occurring in syntagmas together with the word <i>res</i> (R) or other entities (O: <i>marcha</i> , <i>villa</i> , <i>hoba</i> etc.) of the property													
<i>ipse</i>		<i>ille</i>		<i>supradictus</i>		<i>hic</i>		<i>iste</i>		<i>is</i>		<i>suus</i>	
R	O	R	O	R	O	R	O	R	O	R	O	R	O
103	58	33	12	4	18	0	9	2	4	1	34	3	47

Table 7 represents not just ana- and cataphoras, but possessives too, therefore the number of *is* and *suus* are remarkably higher. The number of *suus* is mainly attributed to the phrase *cum hoba sua* (Σ 21) that denotes the land of the serf since both of them are part of the bestowed possession. As it can be seen from the table *ipse* takes the upper hand in expressions containing the word *res* while other entities are also expressed with the help of different determiners, metalinguistic participles.



V.1. Textual functions of *ipse* and *ille*

The following citation represents the general structure of the *clausula donationis*. The text in bold marks the formulas concerning the donated property:

Et hoc est, quod donamus in villa, qui dicitur Meresusira, omnia quidquid ibidem visi sumus habere, ... in villa, qui dicitur Maghingas, Odaluuinus cum oba sua, et in villa, qui dicitur Hasiaha, quod ibidem habemus, et in villa Uentilinga silva, quod pater meus reliquid mihi, et omnia, quod supra diximus traditio [= trado], que in hac die presenti [visi sumus habere], hoc est terris, viniis, campis, pratis, pascuis, viis, aquis aquarumque decursibus et mancipias Uuicharioet Hetilino et Uuillilta et Suuasa, hec omnia ex integro ad ipsum suberius nominatum monasterium trado adque transfundo; in ea rationem, ut tempus vitae meae ipsas res₁ per beneficium [recipiam]... (ChLA II 104. 2–8)⁵²

The other excerpt from the same charter pertains originally to the *clausula donationis*. It describes additional conditions. The text in bold only represents formula parts regarding property:

Et post nostrum discessionem ipsas res₂ cum omni integritate sine ulla marricione ad ipsum monasterium revertantur, et quidquid rectoris ipsius monasterii de ipsas res₃ facere voluerint in omnibus firmissimam habeant potestatem. (ChLA II 104. 9–11)

The first excerpt illustrates the general structure of the *clausula donationis* resulting in *census* after the word [recipiam]: usually, it has a preliminary part (*hoc est, quod donamus*), contains framing rooted from the repetition of (in)variable formula clauses (*quidquid ibidem visi sumus habere; quod ibidem visi sumus habere; que in hac die presenti [visi sumus habere]*); and a generic list of the items of the land that can be expanded by adding more personal entities, in this case, the names of serfs. The list usually ends in resumptive anaphora (*hec omnia*) and the whole clause including the bestowed items are mainly retrieved in the charter with the help of *ipsas res*. It is easily observed that *ipsas res₂₋₃* can be interpreted as the direct anaphora of *ipsas res₁*, however *ipsas res₁* is either the direct anaphora of *haec omnia* or the resumptive anaphora of the bestowed entities, the constituents of the generic list.

- (1) *Propterea donamus atque transfundimus pratum unum ad carradas XII in pago, qui dicitur Purihdinga in villa Dirboheim et in alia villa, qui dicitur Speichingas, de terraturio nostro solum unum et iurnales XII et mancipiis III. his nominibus: Reginfrid, Uro, Uuinburcad ad monasterium sancti Gallonis ... ipsas res possedendo census solvere liceat (ChLA II 125. 3–7)*
- (2) *Et hoc est, quod dono in Linzgaui, situm in Gaerrinberg, in loco nuncupante Hounsteti, id est casa cum curte clausa vel quicquid deinceps elaborare potuero in ipso loco trado ad monasterium sancti Galloni confessoris seu monachis ibidem deo deservientibus, habeant, teneant atque possedeant ... in ea vero ratione, ut tempus vite meae ipsas res ad me recipiam. (ChLA II 119. 4–8)*

⁵²Insertions in square brackets are mine. They are based on formulas. In the first case, a scribal error can be seen, when instead of the formula specific verb, its noun counterpart was used. [visi sumus habere] and [recipiam(us)] are the usual ending of the formulas, however the scribe left them out. On the other hand, due to the hyper-formulaic charters, such fragmentary cases are easy to complete, since only a few words can evoke the whole clause.



The resumptive anaphoric role of *ipsas res* is strengthened in the examples above where there is no *haec omnia* to summarise the components of the generic list.⁵³ Therefore *ipse+N* competes with *hic* whose resumptive anaphoric function is mainly preserved in the short syntagma *haec omnia* (Σ 27).⁵⁴

Although *ille* is excluded from the resumptive anaphoric encapsulation, it can maintain the referential chain regardless of distance as well as *ipse*. However, anaphoric *ille* is surpassed by *ipse* (Σ 36: Σ 163).⁵⁵

V.2. Functional overlap between *hic* and *iste*

The main domain of *hic* that *iste* infiltrates, is the resumptive anaphoric one. The formulas labelled as *res* attest that *iste* always stays close to its referent (I had 9 occurrences, but I reduced the number of the total to 6, since 4 of them was written by the same scribe and therefore, all these occurrences were taken into account as one in order to exclude personal style).⁵⁶

... qui sunt in Egauinsse in villa, que dicitur Slat seu et in Mulinusa vel in Heginas eciam et in Uuiteringasnecon et in Uualasingas vel in Gundihhinhoua eciam et in Usa, quicquid **in ista loca superius nominata** tibi in precaria prestare deberemus, quod ita et fecimus, ut dum advivis, ipsas res in precaria habere debeas. (ChLA II 115. 2–5)

Iste replaces *hic* again in resumptive anaphoras following closely the list:

Donat igitur Agyloolfus ... id est Baltfritus et Achilmunt cum omnes adpertenentias eorum ex omnibus] ex integrum. **Istud, que superius scripsimus, confirmarunt et donarunt** ... (list in 5 lines) ... Quantum ad nos pertinet in omnibus convenientiae nostrae adque rogidi vel sublimis pedimus, hec omnia, que superius diximus ad monasterium sancti Gallonis tradimus. (ChLA I 87. 4–14)⁵⁷

⁵³Whether *ipsas res* can be understood as anaphoric encapsulation, is a relevant question. This type of anaphora is mostly achieved via proximal demonstratives and generic nouns; cf. CONTE (1996) 1–4. PECORARI (2014) 176–177 defines it as follows: ‘the objectification of a textual portion, syntactically realised by one or more clauses/sentences, into a single referential object, syntactically realised by a (lexical or pronominal) noun phrase. This property allows the speaker to establish a new discourse referent and to predicate something about it from that moment on’. The definition of Pecorari would allow it, but anaphoric encapsulation is usually established *stricto sensu* by a higher level word phrase, i.e. thing, fact, possibility etc. The question is how the word *res* is interpreted. The word *res* (lit. things) can refer to the elements of the list and to the whole text describing the property. The latter is proven in charters where the phrase *ipsam rem* denotes the complex list containing locations, generic list and serfs: ChLA II 128. 4; 136. 10; 143. 12; 153. 7, 9, 10, 11. Therefore, *ipsas res* can be a type of anaphoric encapsulation. The importance of this notion lays in its consequences: the functions of *ipse+N* overlaps with *hic*.

⁵⁴*Hic* as a resumptive anaphor is well-attested in the Classical Period; cf. FRUYT (2003) 117. Other resumptive anaphoric instances of *ipse* without (*haec*) *omnia* after the list and without *res meas* etc. in the preliminary part of the *clausula donationis*: ChLA I 54. 5; 97. 4; II 139. 11; 143. 12; 151. 4; 165. 3; 169. 6; 170. 8. *Ille* does not act as a resumptive anaphor. As regards *haec omnia* several times only *omnia* (Σ 37), one time even *ista omnia supra dicta* occur.

⁵⁵There are 10 instances when adnominal *ipse* together with *supradictus* act as a direct anaphor (ChLA I 41. 16; 49. 11; 50. 7; 80. 8; 99. 4; 104. 6; II 109. 6: 2 occurrences; 115. 6; 167. 5: in *ipsum superdictum locum*), in the other 153 instances, there is no additional metalinguistic participle. *Ille* never can be found with additional metalinguistic participles.

⁵⁶From the same scribe: ChLA I 46. 4 and 7; ChLA II 163. 5 and 7; the others: ChLA I 66. 5; I 87. 8; II 111. 5; II 115. 4; II 136. 6.

⁵⁷*Iste* (as *hic*) also occurs together with metalinguistic participles, therefore its position as a proximal anaphor is emerging, but not completely solid.



In the previous part (V.1.) it was mentioned that *hic* as a resumptive anaphor occurs mainly in the fossilised form of *haec omnia* (Σ 27). However, it should be also noted that *hic* never appears alone when functioning as an adnominal anaphor (Σ 7). It is either followed by metalinguistic participles (Σ 5; *ChLA* I 41. 13; I 107. 7; II 132. 8; II 138. 4; II 159. 9) or with numbers (Σ 1; *ChLA* I 72. 2–3)⁵⁸ and in one instance, even with *idem* (Σ 1; *ChLA* II 146. 3: *haec idem loca*). This feature can be interpreted two ways: 1) *hic* as an anaphor has undergone weakening, therefore its anaphoric role should be reenforced or 2) *hic* acts as a deictic, therefore the anaphoric functions are expressed with the help of *supradictus* etc. In chapter VI, the deictic weakening of *hic* can be observed, therefore the second option can be excluded. Only the anaphoric weakening of *hic* has been left which is somewhat attested in this chapter, since *iste* and *ipse(+N)* start to fulfil the resumptive anaphoric roles. This conclusion also entails that the additional metalinguistic participles are the signs of the evolving, but not fully established textual functions of *iste* (and in some cases, of *ipse*), as well.

To sum it up, *iste*, *ille*, *ipse* and *hic* co-occur in phrases concerning properties. However, regarding *ille* and *ipse*, distance from the referent is irrelevant, as for *hic* and *iste*, closeness to the referent is observed. Moreover, *ipse* is two-fold, it shows similarities with *ille* regarding direct anaphora, while in the phrase *ipsas res*, it starts to infiltrate the resumptive anaphoric functions of *hic*.

VI. DEMONSTRATIVES IN THE FORMULAS REGARDING THE MANIFESTATION OF THE DONATION (*CHARTA, TRADITION ETC.*)

In this chapter, the formulas regarding the charter or the subject of the charter (donation, *precaria*) are analysed. These formulas (*eam infringere voluerit; contra (hanc) / (praesentem) donationem (istam); qui hanc chartam fieri rogavit*) contain the majority of adnominal *hic* and *iste* functioning as situational and textual proximal deictics.

VI.1. The case of *hic* and *iste*

The data in Table 8 show that the majority of anaphor and all pronominal cases are attributed to *is* in the formula: *eam infringere voluerit*. Opposed to the weakening of *id*, there are no pronoun multiplications in this formula, even though the word-final *-m* was not pronounced. The other two anaphoric cases (both in *ChLA* II 128. 1–5) refer to donations of the past whose contracts are changed from the donations to *precaria*. However, in this case, *ipse* can also maintain the anaphoric chain as usual, since these occurrences are second mention.⁵⁹ Spatiotemporal distance is expressed via *ille* referring to past and future donations, too.⁶⁰

⁵⁸*Hic+number* alone does not serve as a proof for anaphoric weakening, for it is also attested in Classical Latin.

⁵⁹*ChLA* I 122. 8–9: *contra hanc cartam venire aut eam infringere voluerit; ChLA* II 128. 1–5: *Dum cognitum est, quod tu rem tuam ad monasterium sancti Gallonis tradedisti et per cartam firmitatem fecisti ... et postea inter nos conplacuit, ut nos tibi ipsam tradicionem ad usum fructuarium prestare deberemus ... ipsa tradico.*

⁶⁰*ChLA* I 83. 2–5: *dono... (list of lands) ... et illud, quod est in Cantrichestuulare et in Pachinuueidu de meis, cum quibus dotavimus Heresindam ad suum tempus, post illius decessum sit similiter in illa traditione, sicut et cetera.* In this example, *illud* refers to the granted properties of the past, while the phrase *in illa traditione* refers to the future. The donator, the father of Heresinda gave dowry (land) to his daughter that should be donated to the same church after her death.



Table 8. Determiners in the formulas *charta*

	Total (Σ 395)	Deictic	Anaphoric	Cataphoric
<i>Hic</i> (ad)	216	216	0	0
<i>Iste</i> (ad)	92	92	0	0
<i>Praesens</i> (ad)	54	54	0	0
<i>Ipse</i> (ad)	8	6	2	0
<i>Ille</i> (ad)	1	0	0	1
<i>Is</i> (pro)	24	0	24	0

The formulas of *contra hanc donationem* and *qui hanc chartam fieri rogavit* are evaluated together on the basis of their similarities expressing *hic et nunc* deixis, both situational and textual. Since both of them contain determiner duplications, the structure of the phrases are shown in Table 9:

The majority of duplications is represented by *hic+iste+N* regardless of their order (29/Σ 76), then *hic+praesens+N* follows (27/Σ 76). But the presence of *iste+praesens+N* is also prominent (20/Σ 76). Furthermore, there are two triplexes: *praesens hic N iste* (ChLA II 112. 12) and *hic praesens N iste* (ChLA I 76. 11).

The occurrence of *temporal adjectives* can be detected in formulas indicating the day of the contract: *ab (hac) die (praesenti)* (Σ 42). The dominant variant is *praesens+N / N+praesens* (Σ 25; 60%). The form *hic+N* is one fifth of the whole (Σ 8, 19%). The remaining 21% is the combination *hic+N+praesens* (Σ 9). In this formula, it can be observed that *hic* alone cannot act as the reference of temporally close events, since *praesens* or combination with it surpasses *hic* and the Romance outcome is the disappearance of it.⁶¹ Considering that *iste* starts to take over the roles of *hic* referring to spatially close entities in the formulas labelled as *res*, the deictic weakening of *hic* can be concluded.

Table 9. Multiplications in the formulas *charta*

	Multiplications (Σ 76)
<i>hic iste N</i>	1
<i>hic N iste</i>	28
<i>hic praesens N</i>	21
<i>N hic praesens</i>	1
<i>praesens hic N</i>	4
<i>praesens N hic</i>	1
<i>praesens N iste</i>	20

⁶¹The data of the hyper-formulaic *Tablettes Albertini* (= *TabAlb*; 5th century, Africa) attest that there is no additional temporal adjective in the formula *ab (hac) die (praesenti)*. In the *TabAlb* the form *ex hac die* (Σ 37) can be found, variants are not evidenced. (Data are mine.)



Therefore, it is not a surprise that *hic* is giving way to *iste* in the formulas labelled as *charta*, too. After subtracting the number of cases containing determiner duplication from the total while also considering triplexes accordingly, the distribution is the following: *hic+N* (157/282; 55,7%); *iste+N* (42/282; 14,9%); *praesens+N* (5/282; 1,8%); duplexes and triplexes (78/282; 27,6%). The distribution is dynamic, the majority of variants is represented by *hic*, however, it is reinforced by *praesens* or *iste* in less than half of the cases. Between *iste* and *praesens*, there is only a little difference in favour of *iste*. As *praesens N iste* suggests, the pointing value of *hic* has weakened and is transferred to *iste* while *praesens* expresses temporal proximity. Apart from *hic N iste*, *praesens N iste* also shows that *iste* is not fully developed to completely replace *hic*. The weakening of *hic* has morphological roots, silent *h-* at the beginning and disappearing *-c* from the end of the word. On top of that, *ae-e-i* fusions contribute to being confused with the weak *is*.

VI.2. Deictic *ipse*

In the *ChLA*, 6 occurrences of *ipse* can be interpreted as deictic. The first two cases stem from the contamination of two formulas.⁶²

- (1) *Ut si me placuerit ipsam tradicionem redemere, tunc liceat mihi cum X solidis redemere* (*ChLA* II 136. 8–9)
- (2) *Et si hoc mihi conplacuit, quod ipsam tradicionem redemere voluero* (*ChLA* II 140. 8)

The original word, *traditio* standing with *hic/iste*, expresses situational and textual *hic et nunc* deixis. In these cases (1–2), *ipse* substitutes *iste*, however the situation (the act of real-word donation and the document itself) is unchanged, therefore *ipse* is deictic.

The following two instances are rare formulas in which the donator guarantees that (s)he will not sue for the bestowed property:

- (3) *ego nec heredis mei nec nulla oposita persona de ipsa commutacione nihil dicere nec repedire dibiamus, sed commutacio istic omni tempore firma et stabilis permaneat stibulacione subnexa* (*ChLA* II 117. 6)
- (4) *ego nec nullus de generatione mea nec nulla opposita persona de ipsa tradicionem nihil dicere nec repetire non debeamus* (*ChLA* II 127. 7–8)

As it can be seen, these phrases start with the *ego ipse* phrase of the *clausula poenalis* and result in the *clausula firmationis*. In both of them, the type of transaction usually stands with *hic/iste*⁶³ suggesting that the situation is deictic where *commutatio* and *traditio* have both situational (the legal act and the ritual around it) and textual connotations.

⁶²The first type: *si aliquando ipsas res redemere voluero*; (*ChLA* I 107. 10), other occurrences: I 90. 7–8; I 94. 5–6; I 107. 12; II 136. 9–10; II 138. 9; II 144. 7; II 148. 8; II 132. 11; II 132. 12; and the other formula with two occurrences: *ut illud redimam, cum XXX solidis illas res vel ista traditione redimam* (*ChLA* I 89. 6, and the other one: *ChLA* I 76. 6).

⁶³*ChLA* II 121. 8–10: *ego ipse aut ullus heredum meorum vel postheredum, qui contra hanc donationem a me factam venire presumpserit ... sed haec epistula omni tempore firma et stabilis permaneat cum stibulacione subnexa*



(5) *solvat dublum tantum, quantum in ipsa donatione insertum est* (ChLA I 90. 11)

Example (5) is a rare variant to set the penalty, which is usually expressed by adnominal *iste*.⁶⁴

In all examples (1–5), the deictic value of *ipse* can be deduced from its environment: *ipse* emerges in formulas and in contexts, where *hic* or *iste* is preferred. It has to be also noted that all the instances above are from different scribes who denote the manifestation of the legal procedure (the documents and the types of agreements) with the help of *hic* and *iste* in the same charters. However, it also has to be mentioned that the most substantial evidence is absent: determiner multiplication preferably among the formulas of *charta* (**hic+ipse+N*).

The last example is actually an overlap between intensifying and deictic *ipse*:

(6) *In ipsa casa (= ecclesia sancti Galli) fuit ipsa carta levata.* (ChLA I 110. 10)

This sentence alludes to the symbolic legal act when the *donator* picks up the *charta* placed on the earth and hands it over to the scribe to write down the text on it. *Ipse* can express exclusion,⁶⁵ since other objects establishing the periphery (ink-well, pen) can also lie on the earth to give them to the scribe, however mentioning only the charter is enough for the execution.⁶⁶ On the other hand, *ipse* can have deictic value, since this phrase describes the transaction itself preceding the composition of the text. Therefore, situational deictic and intensifying *ipse* overlaps.

What could be seen in the analysis, is the slow decrease of *hic* due to its phonetic, semantic and functional weakening in favour of *iste* and *praesens*. Although the distribution is diverse, the strict tradition of fossilised formulas cannot maintain the role of *hic*. Apart from that, there are cases of *ipse* (Σ 6) expressing textual and situational deixis, however the evidence is only secondary due to the lack of determiner multiplications in deictic formulas. The reason why it is mentioned, stems from the observation of chapter III and V.1. where *ipse(+N)* occurred in the role of resumptive anaphoric *hic* suggesting that the two demonstratives share similar properties.⁶⁷ The forming deictic shade of *ipse* is also important in understanding the additional metalinguistic participles (*suprascriptus* etc.) occurring in direct anaphoric instances (chapter IV.1.), since this feature shows close similarities with *hic* and *iste* both occurring with additional metalinguistic participles when (resumptive) anaphora is expressed. The similarities yet point to different evaluations: while *hic* is weakening, the deictic value of *iste* and somewhat of *ipse* is evolving.

⁶⁴ChLA I 62. 5: *quantum cartula ista ... continet*; II 125. 11–12; II 142. 9; II 143. 18; II 147. 8; II 151. 8.

⁶⁵In this type of exclusion, the entity focalised by *ipse* can be a weaker/stronger alternative than the entities of the periphery. See BERTOCCHI (2000) 26–27.

⁶⁶ChLA II, Introduction, p. XII. *MLLM*: 600, *levare* 5 (to pick up the charter from the ground) and 7 (to write the charter).

⁶⁷There are two cases of resumptive anaphoric *ipse* in *census* (ChLA I 54. 4: *hoc id ipsum faciat*; I 83. 8: *id ipsud faciat*), 5 instances of anaphoric encapsulation in the category *res* (ChLA I 54. 5; 97. 4; II 139. 11; 143. 12; 151. 4; 165. 3; 169. 6; 170. 8); and additional metalinguistic participles (*monasterium* Σ 19; *res* Σ 10, for the latter, see footnote 55).



VII. SYNTACTIC EVALUATIONS

The syntactic evaluation is divided into two parts. The first part is concerned with adnominal demonstratives without possessive functions (*ipsius monasterii* where *ipsius* is direct anaphoric and shows case agreement) while the other part is focused on possessives (*suus, eius/ipsius/illius* alone). The division may seem arbitrary but actually, in the charters, *ipsius monasterii* can be resolved as *de ipso monasterio*, while *monachis eius/ipsius* cannot be found as **monachis de eo/ea/ipso/ipsa*.⁶⁸

VII.1. Adnominal demonstratives without possessive functions

Table 10 represents the main formulas appearing in the present study. A (= ante) denotes the syntactic position before nouns/pronouns, P (= post) denotes the syntactic position after nouns/pronouns. As it can be seen, *ipse* apart from one instance stands before nouns and after pronouns (just like *idem* and *is*, although with considerably less occurrences). *Hic* also prefers the prenominal position, however the place of *ille* and *iste* is less restricted, the latter is mainly postnominal.

But strict positions can be maintained due to the rigid wording of the formulas. Therefore, the analysis had to be expanded on rare variants of formulas and non-formulaic, free parts of the charters. The results are listed here:

Ipse:

- (1) *ipsi dominus in corpore requiescit* (ChLA I 84. 1)
- (2) *ipse sanctus in corpore requiescit* (ChLA I 90. 1)
- (3) *ipse Uuigant mortuus fuerit* (ChLA II 144. 10)
- (4) *ipse Dominus* (ChLA CXVIII 24. 1. 1)

Table 10. Syntax of adnominal demonstratives in the main formulas

Syntax of adnominal demonstratives in the main formulas												
	<i>ipse</i>		<i>ille</i>		<i>hic</i>		<i>iste</i>		<i>is</i>		<i>idem</i>	
	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P
<i>monasterium</i>	227	1	3	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	-	-
<i>res</i>	160	0	43	6	9	0	6	0	2	0	5	0
<i>ego ipse</i>	0	61	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>charta</i>	6	0	1	0	214	2	7	85	-	-	-	-
Total	393	62	47	6	224	2	14	85	2	0	5	0

⁶⁸ChLA II 157. 8–9: *de ipso monasthrio partibus (=partibus ipsius monasterii) in censum ... persolvere deberent.*



- (5) *ipse nepos meus* (ChLA CXVIII 27. 11)
- (6) *misso ipsius Geralti comitis* (ChLA CXVIII 39. 4)
- (7) *de ipsu agru* (ChLA II 155. 3)
- (8) *quicumque habuit apud se ipso ad ipsos sanctos tradidit* (ChLA I 51. 5)
- (9) *me ipsum Teotfridum* (ChLA I 61. 4)
- (10) *me ipso* (ChLA I 88. 4)
- (11) *quicquid ibidem tu ipsic et frater tuus per cartam tradicionem ad monasterio sancti Galluni fecistis* (ChLA II 165. 3)

It can be observed that *ipse* is prenominal (1–7), but always stands after personal pronouns (8–11). What is more, these findings also give an explanation to the structure of the *id-ipsum*. So, the general structure for nouns is *ipse+N*, for pronouns is *D+ipse*.

The other demonstratives appearing in rare variants and *narrationibus*:

- (12) *illi pagesis cumiatum habeant* (ChLA I 55. 7)
- (13) *illi hominis vestri* (ChLA I 95. 15)
- (14) *Et illi bresbitero donat illo Herigero* (ChLA II 131. 13)
- (15) *hanc licentiam redemendi non habeat* (ChLA II 144. 9)
- (16) *isti homines sunt secularii adscripti* (ChLA I 92. 8)
- (17) *iste Cunzo* (ChLA I 101. 7)
- (18) *seculum istum derelinquam* (ChLA II 143. 10)
- (19) *pro beneficiis eiusdem feminae* (ChLA I 100. 3)

Examples (12–14) represent instances of *ille*, all of them prenominal, although, the number of occurrences is low just like in the cases of *hic* (15) and *idem* (19). Both of them correspond to their syntactic behaviour of the formulas. In the freer parts, the position of *iste* (16–18) is free just like in the formulas. It can be concluded that the syntax of freer parts converges to their formulas. When determiners multiply in a syntagma, the determiner reinforcing the original function stands after the weakened one (see Table 9 for *iste* and chapter III for *ipse*).

VII.2. Demonstratives as possessives

The formula labelled as *sanctus* was analysed in depth in chapter I.3. The other occurrences (Table 11) mainly belong to 1) the property list when serfs are given together with their land and family and 2) the not compulsory description of the kinship of the *donator*. In the narration, only one case was found: *a sociis ipsius* (ChLA II 161. 5). It attests for the postposition of *ipsius* found both in the formula *sanctus* and in other parts of the charters. *Illius*, although less frequent, prefers standing before the noun. *Eius* prefers prenominal positions, however, it is also attested after nouns. Its proportion 3:1 is almost the same in *sanctus* as in the freer parts. On the other hand, *suus* are somewhat closer to *ipsius* due to its frequent postnominal occurrence. What can be stated: *eius* even in the same formula of *sanctus* does not influence the position of *ipsius*. In fact, the position of *ipsius* is similar to *suus*.



Table 11. Syntax of possessives

Syntax of possessives								
	<i>ipsius</i>		<i>illius</i>		<i>eius</i>		<i>suus</i>	
	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P
<i>sanctus</i>	1	1	-	-	13	4	-	-
other	0	10	2	0	98	40	7	91

To recapitulate the main features of the demonstratives' syntactic position, non-formulaic parts follow the positions of their respective formulas. However, the small amount of *illius* and of *is* makes the comparison insufficient. On the other hand, *ipsius* deviates from *ipse* preferring the postposition, while the position of *ipse* is restricted standing after pronouns and before nouns. *Iste* alternates freely, however, when appearing together with adnominal *hic*, it is placed after *hic* or after the noun following *hic*. Interestingly, in determiner multiplication, the compensating determiner always occurs after the weakened one.⁶⁹

VIII. ARTICULOÏDE CASES?

In this chapter, I intend to analyse suspected *articuloïde*, article-like cases. The following aspects of the examination had been set before: first mention use, shared knowledge and obligatory usage. The last one cannot be examined first of all due to the formulaic language which impedes its natural inventiveness. Moreover, the language of the documents is (Vulgar) Latin, therefore Late Latin and proto-Roman tendencies such as the article usage are rare. Finally, as with other cases of demonstrative usages evidenced in the *ChLA*, Classical and Vulgar Latin tendencies are manifested simultaneously in the charters. With these in mind, no one can decide if an adnominal determiner is *articuloïde* or not on the sole basis of statistics. Therefore, each case should be considered, even if they are outliers.

VIII.1. Agreement changing charters

In the *ChLA*, first-mention *ille* mainly occurs in the contract/agreement changing charters in which the previous agreement, the donation without tenure is modified to *precaria*.⁷⁰

⁶⁹Except one case: *hoc id ipsum* (*ChLA* I 54. 4) in which *hoc* can be interpreted as an additional reinforcing determiner resulting from contamination of formula variants.

⁷⁰Agreement changing charters: *ChLA* I 50, 82, 85, 92, 93, 100, 102; II 132, 144, 146, 165, 169. In charters I 50; II 165; II 169, there are no *illas res*. I 50 tries to avoid even the mentioning of *res* (pronominal pronouns do not appear, either). II 165 is a case, where the phrase *ipsas res* summarises the *quidquid*-clause (*ChLA* II 165. 2–4: *Cognitum est, quod villam sancti Galluni noncupante Zozinuillare, sita in paco Durgauia, quicquid ibidem tu ipsi et frater tuus per cartam traditione ad monasterio sancii Galluni fecistis, ipsas res sub usufructuario tibi prestavimus*) while II 169 asks one servant back.



Convenit nobis una cum fratribus nostris monachis ipsius monasterii, ut illas res, quas ibidem Graloh tradidit in pago Durgauuia, id est omnia quidquid habuit, ut ipsas res Theotbaldo filio eius per hanc precariam repretare deberemus (ChLA I 85. 1–3)

Ego in dei nomine Iohannes, dei dono vocans episcopus sive abbas monasterio sancti Galli. Ato et uxor sua Herosta ad nos venimus petivit pregariam de res illas, quas nobis tradedit in pago Linzgaugainse in villa, qui dicitur Permodingas, et nos daliter plaguit adque convenit una cum consensu fratrum nostrorum... (ChLA I 93. 1–3)

In all cases, the donated possession is regarded as *illas res* (those things) modified by a relative clause describing the past act of the previous donation. In what follows, I intend to argue that the *illas res, quas... tradidit* formula fulfils the linguistic criteria of demonstratives of recognitional use while establishing the (cultural) context of the agreement changing charters.

Regarding recognitional use, first time mention adnominal demonstratives (in case of Latin, it is *ille*) can be used to retrieve shared knowledge between hearer and speaker. Additional information conveyed by relative clauses can also be present in the discourse, however, it is not compulsory.⁷¹ Three criteria are to be fulfilled in these cases: the information should be new to the discourse (first time mention), old to the hearer and private.⁷² It is irrelevant, whether the actual referent can be seen or it (re)appears only in the mental representation of both parties.⁷³

How can contract changing charters meet the linguistic requirements? It is known that charters have more copies.⁷⁴ At least two copies should be made: one for the beneficiary, the other for the *rogator/donator*. That way disputes over ownership or shares can be solved with the help of these documents or by the summoning of the witnesses whose signatures the charter contains.⁷⁵ Since it is unlikely that the monastery would give the right of usufructuary to a *nescio quis*, charters are the legal basis of any claims intended to modify the original agreement. Donations mostly contain additional clauses for repurchase or for the future usufructuary of the *precaria*. These rights can be inherited, when stated in the charter.⁷⁶ That way,

⁷¹CARLIER-DE MULDER (2010) 263–264; CORNISH (2010) 219–221: applying the term anadeixis; DIESEL (1999) 103–106; PIERONI (2010) 465.

⁷²DIESEL (1999) 106: “Private information is information that speaker and hearer share due to common experience in the past. It is distinguished from general cultural information shared by all members of the speech community.”

⁷³CARLIER-DE MULDER (2010) 263–264; DIESEL (1999) 106.

⁷⁴In the *ChLA*, charter I 92 and charter I 93, the second example above are the same, both of them are stated to be epigraphically original.

⁷⁵For instance, *ChLA* II 171. 6–7 after the list of witnesses: *Et hoc isti cum sacramento testificati sunt, quod supradictas res ad sanctum Gallonem legibus pertinere deberent.*

⁷⁶*ChLA* I 89. 5–6: *Et si mihi aliquando aptum videtur, ut illud redimam, cum XXX solidis illas res vel ista traditione redimam.* Or *ChLA* I 90. 5–8: *omnia ex omnibus, quidquid ibidem visus sum abere, trado atque transfondo ad supradictum locum sanctum; in ea vero rationem, ut annis singulis censum solvam ego et agnatio mea post me, hoc est ... (census). Et si ego aut heredis mei ipsas res redemere volueremus, cum viginti soledus redemamus.*



the donator's (grand)children can ask for *precaria* or repurchase, too, even if the whole inheritance was granted.⁷⁷ To conclude: the charters were preserved in the monastery, as well, therefore both *rogator* and the monastery share the same knowledge of the past transaction and what it entails. The fact that the contents of the charters are known are proven with charters containing no location at all, only *illas res*.⁷⁸ It is obvious that the examples above show first mention adnominal *ille* modified by relative clauses. After establishing the cultural context with the help of actual charters, it can be also conceived that the past donation is known for both parties. Therefore, the conditions, new to the text, old to the hearer (to the *rogator*) are fulfilled. The charters of the *ChLA* I–II and CXVIII are private legal documents, as it is stated in I.1. The content of the agreements is known to the parties (and presumably to their acquaintances), but not publicly disclosed to Raetia. Therefore, the linguistic conditions are satisfied.⁷⁹

Lastly, it is hard to decide whether *illas res, quas* is a Vulgar Latin innovation or a Classical Latin inheritance, because previous charter examinations of demonstratives do not distinguish between recognitional use of adnominal *ille* modified by a relative clause and cataphoric *ille*, therefore recognitional use of *ille* is hidden among the cataphoric cases. With that in mind, these cases alluding to previous legal agreements are certainly not *articuloïde*.

VIII.2. *Articuloïde ipse?*

The text in question is a list of ecclesiastic properties:

Eclesia, que est in Hunichinuuilare et ipsa terra salica ... inter salika terra et hopas XL iurnales
(*ChLA* I 43. 1–6)

The church that is in Hinwil and in the Salic/paternal land (and not somewhere else) ... between the Salic land and the socages of 40 diurnalis.

⁷⁷Apart from the example above (*ChLA* I 85; *ChLA* I 100. 1–4: *Dum pluribus non est incognitum, sed omnimodis divulgatum, qualiter nos cum confratre nostro Uuedone abbate ipsius monasterii atque ceteris fratribus convenit, ut illas res, quas in vico Perahtmuatingas de traditione cuiusdam feminae Herostanis habemus, ut ipsas res pro beneficio eiusdem femine genero, nomine Hupertio, in censum prestare deberemus, quod et ita fecimus.*

⁷⁸*ChLA* I 82. 1–3: *Homo aliquis nomine Bato ad nobis veniens sugessit nobis, ut illas res, quas sancti Gallone tradidit, ut eas per precariam accipisset. Et nos taliter convenit una cum consensu fratrum nostrorum, ut hoc post se accipisset et annis singulis exinde censum solvat, hoc est...*

⁷⁹In the agreement changing charters, the phrase *illas res* covers all (im)movables, even if the location of the granted items is not indicated in the contract changing charter. As it was mentioned in chapter V, in the charters of *donatio*, the property is mostly described with a generic list. Since this list is usually (resumptive/direct) anaphorically retrieved with the help of *ipsas res*, this term denotes every item (previously) given in the contract changing charters, as well. However, instead of *ipse*, adnominal *ille* can be found 1) either because recognitional use are expressed with distance demonstratives and as it was shown *ipse* acts similarly not just to *ille*, but to *hic*, too, therefore, *ipse* cannot be used in such cases or 2) because *ille* denotes the past transaction (*tradidisti*) which is the opposite of the usual present tense of the *donatio* (*dono, trado, transfundo*) or 3) due to the relative clause. The phrase *illas res* that way evokes the generic list of the donations, therefore, there is no need to cite it with all of the locations, personal items mentioned in the charter of *donatio*. This assumption is proven by agreement changing charters containing no details of the possession's location (see the previous footnote). Another, secondary explanation can be found among the *notae dorsales*, i.e. (mostly later) archive marks suggesting that documents were registered according to the *donator's* name together with one (not all!) location of the granted (im)movables.



The church – as usual – is defined by a relative clause describing the location. *Ipse* appears before the Salic land first, however a few lines later, it does not occur in the same phrase, although its reappearance would be stipulated for the maintenance of the anaphoric chain. As I mentioned in chapter IV, adnominal *ipse* can be an exclusive intensifier, especially if it appears at first mention. It cannot be stated whether *ipse* is an article or a demonstrative, since its exclusive intensifying semantic cannot be ruled out. However, the lack of *ipse* at second mention (which can be also understood as a scribal error), before the same noun contradicts the assumption that first mention *ipse* is an article here, since the referent is not precisely retained. Therefore, it is very likely that *ipse* acts as a demonstrative here.

VIII.3. *Exceptum* phrases

(II)... *propterea trado res meas ... quidquid in Alpegauia in villa noncupante Uuizia, quidquid ibidem visus sum abere, exceptum illas res ecclesie (= exceptis rebus ecclesiae), hoc est ... (listed properties) ... omnia ex omnibus, quidquid ibidem visus sum abere, trado atque transfundo ad supradictum locum sanctum (ChLA I 90. 2–5)*

... therefore, I give my properties, whatever (is) in Albgau, in Weizen, whatever is in my possession, except the/those (well-known) properties of the church... that is... I give and donate everything from everything that is in my possession at present, to the aforementioned saint place...⁸⁰

When *illas res ecclesie* is contrasted to other *exceptum* phrases, it turns out that only one case seems to correspond to this one:

hoc est, quod dono in pago ... in his locis denominatis, id est in ville qui dicitur Tunningas, quicquid ibidem visi sum abere, excepte de illa ecclesia portionem (= excepta portione illius ecclesiae), quicquid mihi legitime obtingit, id est ... (names of places) ... in his locis supra nominatis dono atque trado ad ipsum supradictum monasterium... (property list) (ChLA I 107. 4–8)

De illa ecclesia portionem suggests the same possessive interpretation, however *ille* stands before *ecclesia* referring directly to the same monastery that is the beneficiary of the contract. When contrasting the two phrases, *ille* can be interpreted three ways: 1) scribal error that placed *ille* before *res* and not before *ecclesia*; 2) *ille* expressing opposition between the donated property of the charter marked by *ipsas res* and the previously acquired possession of the monastery marked by *ille*;⁸¹ 3) *articuloïde*. Since the third possibility can only be proven with more

⁸⁰Note, that the translation does not serve as a proof for article-like demonstratives, since English is a language that distinguishes between determiners, between demonstratives and definite articles. Even if it is a position that expresses definiteness, in Latin it is up to the speaker/writer to use a bare noun or a noun with demonstrative.

⁸¹The referential chain of the bestowed property is always maintained by *ipsas res* (ChLA I 90. 8 and 9).



contrastive evidence and first and second explanations cannot be ruled out completely, it is unlikely that *ille* is *articuloide* here.⁸²

IX. CONCLUSIONS

In the present paper, a heterogenous method was presented using both linguistic and formulaic aspects in the examination of the demonstratives used in the charters of St. Gall. The formulaic method was introduced due to the hyper-formularity of the *ChLA*, the almost non-existent number of narrations. To combat this problem, the highest emphasis was placed on positive data extracted from the comparison of the variants of the same formulas (inter-formulaic analysis). This way determiner multiplications provided absolute evidence for functional weakening (*id ipsud, haec ista*) while additional metalinguistic participles were also taken into account with high, but not absolute importance (*ipse supradictus, hic praesens*). In case of formulas with more variants containing different demonstratives (*census: hoc faciant* instead of *id ipsud faciant; traditio ista* instead of *ipsa traditio*), the alternatives were mentioned and actively applied in the argument, if it could also be detected elsewhere (*id est, hoc est; haec omnia, resumptive ipsas res*). Formulas with variants both containing demonstratives and lacking demonstratives (*omnia* instead of *haec omnia; ego* instead of *ego ipse*) were recognized, but did not play a role in the evaluation. This endeavour is still in its infancy. However, in order to precisely understand the data of the charter analyses, one has to recognize the importance of formulas and their consequences. Formulas manipulate statistical data. They present an overwhelming amount of demonstratives in order to avoid repetition and misunderstanding.⁸³ While preserving Classical Latin features, they develop new ones mainly occurring among outliers. If demonstrative usage highly depends on formulaic tradition, one has to raise the question, how comparisons such as the one presented in chapter II can be interpreted.

In the examination, the following results were achieved:

- 1) The anaphoric weakening of *id* has been evidenced.
- 2) *Ipsa* acts not only as a direct anaphor and an intensifier, but as a resumptive anaphor in the form of *ipsa(+N)* and sometimes as a deictic.
- 3) For the resumptive anaphoric function *iste* and *ipse(+N)* compete with the weakening *hic*. In these cases, *ille(+N)* never can be found.

⁸²Actually, *ille* can be interpreted as a recognitional use without a relative clause. However, what makes this case problematic, is the inaccessibility of the referent. It can only be resolved if *ille* really refers to the property of the *ecclesia* opposed to the donated property marked by adnominal *ipse*. Another case of first mention *ille+N* as the head of a relative clause: *trado ... quicquid de meo iure in Sehim visus sum habere, id est terris, domibus, edificis, pratis, viis, aquis aquarumque decursibus, ingressus et egressus, omnia et ex integro; in ea vero r[atione, u]t tempus vite meae ipsas res ad me recipiam, excepto unum pratum ex carrarum et illam silvam, qui ei proxima est (ChLA II 122. 1–3)*. Stricto sensu *illam silvam, qui* is a cataphora. However, taking into account the broader context, the description of the property, it suggests that both *unum pratum* and *illam silvam, qui* have the same location as the donated property, i.e. they are parts of the whole property marked by the *quidquid* phrase, the list and the resumptive anaphoric *omnia*, therefore they are indirect anaphoric, too.

⁸³Avoiding misunderstanding and repetition are also the two main reasons for applying indirect anaphoric demonstrative NPs in modern languages (APOTHÉLOZ–REICHLER–BÉGUELIN (1999) 391).



- 4) The deictic force of *hic* has undergone weakening and its role is slowly being taken over by *iste*.
- 5) *Ipse* is establishing new semantics characteristic of the proximal demonstratives while maintaining anaphoric chains (additional *supradictus* in anaphoric phrases of *ipse*, *iste* and *hic*, but never of *ille*).

Two methodological concerns were raised:

- 1) It is easier to confirm the intensifying function of *ipse* based on the (hypothetical) periphery in cases when anaphoric and intensifying functions overlap. Nonetheless, the rare intensifying cases suggest that *ipse* is as much an intensifier in these charters as in Classical Latin.
- 2) Recognitional uses should be categorised separately from cataphoras.

Finally, let me compare the results of the present study with previous articles on the demonstratives of the charters. The conclusions drawn from the *ChLA* correspond with them in the following aspects: (1) apart from *id est*, *hoc est* can act as a conjunctive meaning *scilicet*;⁸⁴ (2) there is an overlap between the functions of *hic* and *iste*; (3) the deictic and anaphoric use of *iste* are observed;⁸⁵ (4) the dominance of *ipse* compared to *ille* is concluded;⁸⁶ (5) *ipse* is the common adnominal anaphor;⁸⁷ (6) functional overlap between *ille* and *ipse*;⁸⁸ (7) *idem* becomes insignificant.⁸⁹

As for the syntactic analysis, the position of *ipse* has become fixed while other demonstratives have less restricted localization in the phrase (the position of *hic* is less variable compared to *ille*). *Iste* alternates freely preferring the postnominal position. However, the syntagma structure of the freer parts and formulas converges.

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⁸⁴ CICCARELLI (2017) 197–198.

⁸⁵ SELIG (1992) 171–176; CICCARELLI (2017) 182–185.

⁸⁶ AEBISCHER (1948) 191–192, 196; SELIG (1992) 153; CICCARELLI (2017) 179; PŁOCHARZ (2020) 407.

⁸⁷ SELIG (1992) 153, 161; CICCARELLI (2017) 179, 188–196.

⁸⁸ AEBISCHER (1948) 203; SELIG (1992) 161.

⁸⁹ CICCARELLI (2017) 198–201.



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