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Servientia servanda. A functionalist and quantitative approach to the survival of grammatical aspect in the language of Gregory of Tours

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Introduction

Aspect in Latin: a diachronic overview

In studies of the Latin verbal system, grammatical aspect has always been a disputed category.⁽¹⁾ While some classicists have found, in Latin texts, many of the aspectual meanings described in Ancient Greek linguistics,⁽²⁾ their findings have been contested by other Latinists, often with reason. One frequent problem is the limited definition of the aspectual opposition perfectivity/imperfectivity: representing a state of affairs (hence: SoA) as (un)terminated is not the same as presenting it with a global/partial view or as adopting a viewpoint from without/within.⁽³⁾ Another issue can be research methodology: quantitative data based on an automated search in a large digital corpus for occurrences of a certain lexico-grammatical phenomenon⁽⁴⁾ may easily provide information about many different texts and periods, but less so about the general productivity of that phenomenon in the lexico-grammar at large.

Moreover, if the expression of an aspectual meaning such as ‘terminated’ was available, as a semantic choice, to a native speaker of Latin, they would also have had the option of ‘unterminated’ or maybe even an unmarked option. In general, the lexico-grammatical systems of languages usually involve such choice networks whereby an (often unconscious) series of functional choices between *signifiés* (on the paradigmatic axis) finally results in one specific

(1) For an overview, see AERTS, 2018, p. 109-117.

(2) E.g. OLDSJÖ, 2001; HAVERLING, 2010.

(3) BOOGAART, 2004; COSERIU, 1980; AERTS, 2018, p. 117-125. An SoA is represented as ‘terminated’ if it terminates at story-time, i.e. if its conclusion is required for the storyline to continue in a sensible way (BOOGAART, 2004, p. 1173-1174). ‘Global view’, then, refers to the presentation of an SoA as “one complete, indivisible whole” (DIK, 1997, p. 221), whereas SoAs presented with a ‘partial view’ accompany, frame, explain, etc. one or several of such globally viewed events, extending beyond them. ‘Viewpoint’, finally, concerns the point of view adopted towards the story, either ‘from without’, i.e. from a certain distance, with overview and a mediated narration, or ‘from within’, i.e. through the experience of a story-internal consciousness such as a character (BOOGAART, 2004, p. 1174).

(4) E.g. *tacui* in the ingressive sense of classical *conticui* (and the like, HAVERLING, 2003).

lexico-grammatical *signifiant* (on the syntagmatic axis).⁽⁵⁾ Since aspectual meanings are typically expressed morphologically by the predicate, as are temporal meanings, it is important to map the aspectual choice network in relation to the temporal choice network if we want to determine the role of grammatical aspect in the verbal system.

Given the linguistic ancestry of Latin in Proto-Indo-European, where an opposition between perfectivity and imperfectivity is likely to have existed,⁽⁶⁾ it is possible that some aspectual meanings were part of the choice network related to the verbal system at least in earlier stages of Latin. Unfortunately, early primary sources for a large corpus study of aspect, particularly narratives with past time reference, are scarce. Suitable texts from the Classical period (roughly 100 BCE - 100 CE) are more readily available but offer insights only into a relatively late phase of that evolution.

Nevertheless, aspectual meanings encountered in a randomly constituted corpus, combined with quantitative information about their paradigmatic relation to alternatives in a choice network, may offer important insights in the diachrony of Latin aspectuality. The morphological innovation *deletum habere(ba)t*, for instance, said to have gradually come to replace *deleuit/deleverat* in the expression of resultativity,⁽⁷⁾ can already be occasionally observed in Livy's language as 'on the way in'. Likewise, the innovation *deletus fuerat* had pushed out the old pluperfect *deletus erat* for the expression of anteriority by the 6th century, while the latter had specialized in resultativity.⁽⁸⁾ Conversely, *deletus fuit* was still finding its way in Gregory's tense system.

In earlier studies approaching tense and aspect as categories with a multidimensional semantic potential, scholars have described the verbal systems of English,⁽⁹⁾ Romance languages,⁽¹⁰⁾ Ancient Greek⁽¹¹⁾ and Latin⁽¹²⁾ as considerably rich systems involving seemingly complex paradigmatic choices available to speakers depending on context, cotext and communicative intentions.⁽¹³⁾ For Livy, I found that aspectual meanings such as (non)termination and ingressivity (see below) independently and decisively contributed to verb tense choice for at least 20% of relevant data points.⁽¹⁴⁾ In addition, the opposition between a 'viewpoint from without' and a 'viewpoint from within', together with similar temporal values, contributes to the expression of narrative perspectives, which bring Livy to select a specific verb

(5) HALLIDAY, MATTHIESSEN, 2014, p. 21-24.

(6) CLACKSON, 2007, p. 133-136

(7) E.g. PINKSTER, 1987; ȚĂRA, 2014; HAVERLING, 2016.

(8) Cf. KISS, 1982, p. 18-19.

(9) BACHE, 2008, p. 108-114.

(10) COSERIU, 1976, p. 91-118.

(11) BENTEIN, 2015; 2016; AERTS, 2014.

(12) AERTS, 2018; 2019b; forthcoming.

(13) 'Cotext' is used in this paper to refer to the surrounding discourse, while 'context' refers to the extra-textual reality that pertains to the act of communication.

(14) AERTS, forthcoming. Only perfect and imperfect indicative tense forms were considered relevant for this number (OLDSJÖ, 2001, p. 68; PINKSTER, 2015, p. 383); the present indicative is regarded as aspectually neutral (HAVERLING, 2010, p. 474), while absolute-relative temporal meanings are considered dominant for the pluperfect and future perfect indicative (OLDSJÖ, 2001, p. 124; HAVERLING, 2015, p. 194) and for the tenses in the subjunctive paradigm (OLDSJÖ, 2001, p. 60; PINKSTER, 2015, p. 481-482).

tense (perfect, imperfect or present indicative) in about 50% of relevant data points.

Therefore, even if grammatical aspect was ‘on the way out’ in Livy’s verbal system, that evolution can hardly be said to be nearing completion in his language. Furthermore, as late as six centuries later, Gregory of Tours seemed to have a very similar aspecto-temporal meaning potential at his disposal, despite the apparent differences in wielding that potential. In the sections below, the findings of our analysis of Gregory’s narrative are compared to the data presented in my earlier paper on Livy’s language,⁽¹⁵⁾ shedding light on the survival of grammatical aspect in later Latin.

The language of Gregory of Tours

It should be noted that the data and conclusions presented in this paper only pertain to our sample of historiographic episodes from Gregory of Tours’ *Decem libri historiarum*.⁽¹⁶⁾ Although any extrapolations towards Late Latin in general should therefore be made with caution, the methodology and results presented here may prove fruitful for further research of Late and/or Medieval Latin, and ultimately the Early Romance languages.

As has often been rightly noted⁽¹⁷⁾, Gregory’s language betrays a proper education, as befits a member of the Gallo-Roman upper class and despite what seems to have been traditional topical claims of modesty when it came to his own proficiency of Latin. However, “[i]t is one thing to rank among the cultivated men of his age and another to write exactly as a few centuries before. Gregory’s is a language that has evolved. Putting aside what is only spelling, and attributable to scribes, one may find in his language just about all the traits that the studies of late and Merovingian Latin have discerned. No traits of his, or very few, are not found elsewhere; only the proportions change.” Bourgain’s first point may seem obvious to some,⁽¹⁸⁾ but making it remains necessary: devaluating Gregory of Tours’ 6th-century writings based on the comparison with Ciceronian Latin is about as meaningful as assessing J.K. Rowling’s proficiency of English based on standards set by Shakespeare.

Moreover, statements such as the above highlight two important points concerning Gregory’s language. First, his language – educated but also meant to be understood by an audience wider than merely the elite – is likely to quite accurately represent the actual diachronic stage of Latin in 6th-century Gaul. Second, as Bourgain concludes in her account of the composition and the manuscript tradition of the *Decem libri historiarum*,⁽¹⁹⁾ Gregory’s original language (especially spelling) is forever lost to us, due to editors’ political intentions and later copyists’ lack of knowledge of 6th-century Latin. In addition, even the author’s original might not have fully reflected Gregory’s own spelling proficiency, since he probably dictated most of his work to one or more secretaries who wrote down his spoken language according to their own spelling habits.

(15) AERTS, forthcoming.

(16) On the history of the title of Gregory’s *opus maius*, see Murray (2015, p. 68).

(17) E.g. BONNET, 1890, p. 48; AUERBACH, 1965, p. 109; BOURGAIN, 2015, p. 161.

(18) BOURGAIN, 2015, p. 161.

(19) BOURGAIN, 2015, p. 152-158.

Nevertheless, a semantic study of the verb tenses such as ours is only mildly affected by matters related to spelling and alternative readings in the manuscripts. Out of our sample's 1,202 annotated data points, there was a remark (of any kind) in the *apparatus criticus* for 491 (41%) verbs, but in only 97 cases (8%) the alternative readings were considered sufficiently relevant.⁽²⁰⁾ Apart from these, 100 data points featured a spelling that resulted in an ambiguous reading due to the widely attested phonetic changes in Late Latin (e.g. *refecerent*: *reficerent* vs. *refecerint*).⁽²¹⁾ For about 84% of data points, therefore, we can be certain enough of the tense intended by Gregory; the disputable forms were not included in the quantitative analysis of our data. Quite often though, the systemic choice network described in this paper and supported by that 84% of data points could be used by text editors in problematic cases to help them decide which of the alternative readings is more likely to be more original. In (1), for instance, the present tense of *hauriunt* does not seem to make any sense, since the clearly external perspective excludes the use of the 'historic present' here (see below).⁽²²⁾

- (1) Igitur Gundovaldus, (...) Garonnam cum Sagittario episcopo (...) transivit, Convenas petentes. Est enim urbs in cacumine montes sita nullique monti contigua. Fons magnus ad radicem montes erumpens, circumdatus torre tutissima; ad quem per cuniculum discendentes ex urbe, latenter latices **hauriunt**.⁽²³⁾ (Greg. Tur. *Franc.* VII, 34)

And so Gundovald (...) crossed the Garonne with Bishop Sagittarius (...), making for Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges. The town of Comminges is situated on the top of a high hill, with no other elevated spot near. At the foot of the hill a great spring gushes forth, enclosed by a strongly fortified tower: going from the town to the spring by a covered way, the inhabitants **draw water** while hidden from sight.⁽²⁴⁾

In addition, while the geographic description of Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges can be perfectly understood as a timeless truth, the specific way its inhabitants drew water is a thing from Gregory's past: after the destruction of the town at the end of this episode, the site remained uninhabited for five

(20) Irrelevant alternative readings were, for example, forms in the same mood and tense but with a different prefix or with a very similar verb: in such cases, the semantic analysis of the use of the tense would be exactly the same.

(21) See VÄÄNÄNEN, 1981, p. 29-38, 137-144.

(22) In this and all other examples quoted in this paper, the forms (and their translations) most central to the discussion at hand are marked in **boldface**. Words to which we come back at a later point or which are otherwise only indirectly relevant, are underlined for the reader's convenience.

(23) Excerpts from Gregory of Tours' *Decem libri historiarum* quoted in this paper were taken from Krusch' edition (KRUSCH, LEVISON, 1951); excerpts from Livy's *Ab urbe condita* were quoted from the corresponding edition of the Oxford Classical Texts, consulted online at <https://www.oxfordscholarlyeditions.com>. In both cases, orthographic customs were taken over from these editions (e.g. the vowel /u(:)/ and the semiconsonant /w/ are both represented by the grapheme <u> in our examples from Livy, while examples from Gregory have both <u> and <v>).

(24) Translations of excerpts from Gregory's text are based on Thorpe's English translation (Gregorius Turonensis, 1974); translations of passages from Livy are based on the corresponding Loeb-editions. Whenever beneficial to our argumentation, these translations were adapted to correspond more closely to the Latin syntax.

centuries.⁽²⁵⁾ Therefore, the alternative reading *abuerunt* in Krusch's *AI* manuscript is the more sensible one:⁽²⁶⁾ the perfect indicative of *habeo* results in the sense 'they had water at their disposal, they had access to water', i.e. a past, terminated state of affairs that is presented from an external perspective (see below).

Aims, scope and structure

As mentioned before, the current paper aims to contrast quantitative data gathered from a randomly selected corpus of episodes from Gregory of Tours' *Decem libri historiarum* to data from Livy's narrative presented in my work on Livy⁽²⁷⁾. Both studies describe the uses of the narrative tenses from a functionalist point of view: assuming that the three aspectual oppositions posited in studies of general linguistics (see Section 1.1) potentially exist in a language as complex as Latin, and assuming an association between the narrative tenses and the perspectives available to the historiographer,⁽²⁸⁾ a number of episodes were subjected to a close-reading aimed at an assessment of each of these semantic categories for each relevant predicate. Certain combinations of 'meanings' resulted in a number of 'usage labels' for the narrative tenses, some of which are well established (e.g. 'narrative perfect'), while others highlight one or more of the added values of our framework (e.g. 'perfect of success'). More generally, the various possible uses of the narrative tenses were found to comply with a systematic categorization in terms of the different dimensions of tense and aspect.

These uses, as far as they were attested in our corpus of Gregory's text, are presented in Section 2. Its subsections are meant to contrast small sets of 'uses' that share a central similarity: Section 2.1 revolves around the (plu) perfect tenses, Section 2.2 deals with nonnarrative discourse, Section 2.3 is concerned with simultaneous background, and Section 2.4 discusses aspecto-temporal methods of foregrounding. In Section 3, then, we zoom in on those uses of the tenses that reveal the presence of marked aspectual meanings in Gregory's tense system.

To sum up, the aims of this paper are (a) to highlight the advantages of a three-dimensional interpretation of tense and aspect for a systematic categorization of the uses of the Latin narrative tenses; (b) to ascertain to what extent morphological innovations had taken hold in Gregory's tense system; and (c) to show why and how grammatical aspectual meanings were still part of the semantic potential of his narrative tenses. In addition, our findings and methodology might (i) help text editors to decide between alternative readings in the manuscripts and (ii) serve future researchers of tense systems in both ancient and modern languages.

(25) See <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges> (last accessed 07/09/2020).

(26) KRUSCH, LEVISON, 1951, p. 354.

(27) AERTS, forthcoming.

(28) AERTS, 2019a.

(Dis)continuities in the Late Latin verbal system: Livy vs. Gregory of Tours

In this section, a number of diachronic tendencies with regard to tense usage will be discussed, comparing quantitative data gathered from passages of Gregory of Tours' *Decem libri historiarum* with the data gathered in my paper on Livy's language.⁽²⁹⁾ For the latter study, a dataset of 1,213 relevant data points was retained from a corpus of 13,850 words, while the current study is based on 981 data points found in a corpus of 11,834 words. Both datasets were assembled randomly, with the only requirements being that selected episodes (a) had a graphically depictable main content (e.g. a city fire, a siege, saintly miracles) and (b) were analysed in full.

Anteriors and resultatives

Most readily associated with the (old) pluperfect tense in Classical Latin (e.g. active *constiterat* 'he had taken position, he stood', passive *deletus erat* 'it had been destroyed, it was destroyed'), past anteriors (in the broad sense) and past resultatives underwent some changes in later Latin in terms of the association with their *signifiants*.⁽³⁰⁾ These diachronic discontinuities are confirmed by our data, as illustrated in this subsection.

First, the widely attested tendency of the perfect indicative to gain ground at the expense of the pluperfect, both in the indicative and the subjunctive, was evaluated. Consider (2), where Gregory tells us what happened to the Longobards who had, and to those who had not, paid heed to Saint Hospicius' warnings.

- (2) Duo vero duces, qui eum **audierunt**, incolomes patriae redditi sunt; qui vero **contempserunt** praeceptum eius, miserabiliter in ipsa provintia sunt defuncti. (Greg. Tur. *Franc.* VI, 6)

Two of their leaders, who **had listened** to what he said, returned home to their country safe and sound. But those who **had scorned** his warnings, died miserably in Provence.

Figure 1 shows the difference in distribution of the relevant tenses between Livy and Gregory for those 'past anterior events' that serve as background to an established temporal anchor, or 'reference point'; usually, they occur in an informative subordinate clause (e.g. a relative clause, as in (2)) or a main clause introduced by the explanatory *nam* or *enim* (causal 'for'). Here and in other Figures, the tenses highlighted in black involve the most conspicuous discontinuities.

As illustrated in (2) and Figure 1, regular past anterior background events occur most often in clauses with the indicative mood, with the preference for the (old) pluperfect over the (old) perfect tense shifting from almost absolute (34 against 1) to nearly nonexistent (19 against 17) between Livy's and Gregory's texts. To the morphological innovations (i.e. *deletus fuit/fuerit*, *deletus fuerat/fuisset*) I will return shortly.

(29) AERTS, forthcoming.

(30) KISS, 1982; ȚĂRA, 2014; HAVERLING, 2016.

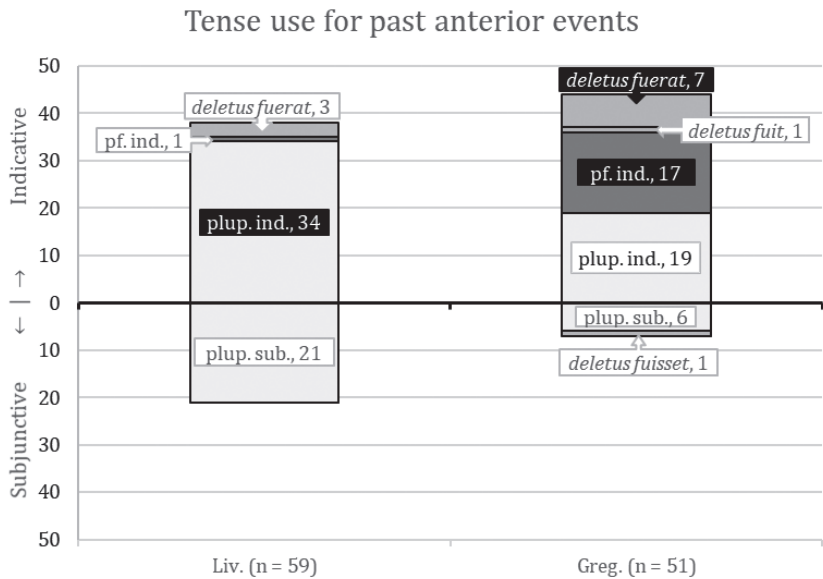


Figure 1: Distribution of tense usage for ‘past anterior events’.

Past anterior events can also have a more framing function, establishing a new temporal *locus* and setting the scene for what is to come.⁽³¹⁾ These ‘past anterior *circumstantial* events’⁽³²⁾ often occur in main clauses, usually at the beginning of a new scene, as with *vidit* in (3), where Gregory sets the new temporal locus for the narration of a second of two subsequent stories of visionary nuns at the nunnery in Poitiers. Apart from main clauses, circumstantials feature most often in temporal subordinate clauses, where *cum historicum* is the most common subordinator, as with *commotum fuisset* in (4); here, the *cum*-clause effectuates a leap in time from the moment when a certain recluse let herself be locked up in isolation to the beginning of the rebellion at the nunnery of Poitiers. Sometimes, as with *commotum fuisset*, these past anterior circumstantial events are also part of the narrative timeline (i.e. foreground), happening in sequence with the subsequent main clause event.

- (3) Nam et alia puella huius monastirii visum **vidit**, quod sororibus retulit. (Greg. Tur. *Franc.* VI, 29)
For another woman in this nunnery also **had seen** a vision, which she described to her sisters.
- (4) Et ingressa est in cellolam. Cum autem hoc scandalum **commotum fuisset** et Chrodielis a Gunthchramno rege regressa esset, haec, disrupto nocturnis

(31) Cf. VAN GILS, KROON’S (2018, p. 196, note 19): “fade in”, i.e. “the phenomenon of turning the camera to an event or situation that has already started while the camera was still at a different location.”

(32) See CHAUSSERIE-LAPRÉE (1969, p. 370) for the label. Cf. also MELLET’S (1988, p. 143) “imparfait d’ouverture”.

horis osteo cellolae, egressa est a monasterium (...). (Greg. Tur. *Franc.* IX, 40)
 And so, she entered the cell. But when the scandal **had been started** and
 Clotild was back from King Guntram, she broke down the door of her cell in
 the middle of the night and left the nunnery (...).

As shown in Figure 2, Livy already used perfect indicatives such as *vidit* in (3) instead of the pluperfect indicative more often with this subtype of past anterior (e.g. with *ubi temporale* or *postquam*; 27 against 11) than with regular, i.e. noncircumstantial, past anterior events (cf. Figure 1; 1 against 34).

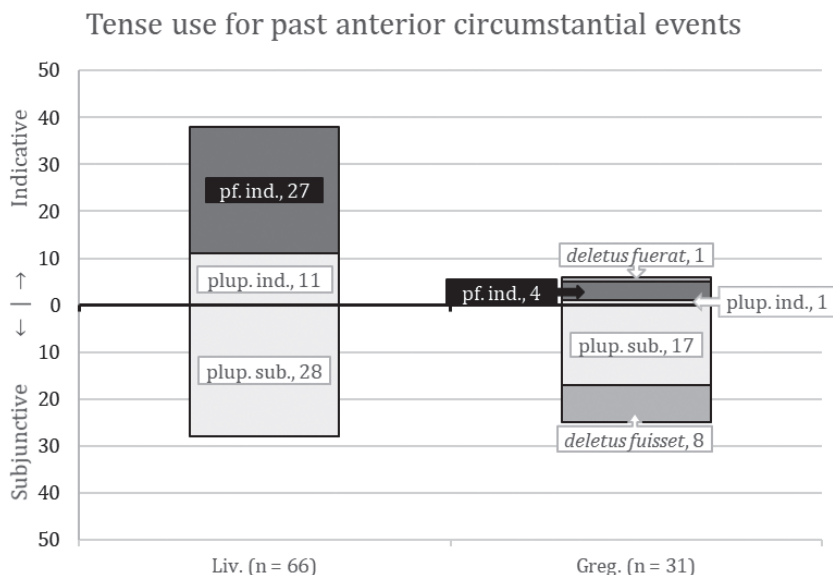


Figure 2: Distribution of tense usage for ‘past anterior circumstantial events’.

Figure 2 also shows that in Gregory’s language, past anterior circumstantial events were found almost exclusively in subordinate clauses where the subjunctive is obligatory (e.g. *cum historicum*; 25 subj. against 6 ind.), while Livy used subordinators with the indicative (e.g. *ubi temporale*) slightly more often (28 subj. against 38 ind.). Within the indicative mood (nL = 38, nG = 6),⁽³³⁾ Gregory used the perfect tense four times out of six (e.g. *vidit* in (3)).

Apart from the increased use of the perfect tense ‘*pro plusquamperfecto*’, Figure 1 and Figure 2 also indicate a considerably increased use of the innovation *deletus fuerat* for predicates with the default values of the pluperfect. However, since that new formation only concerns passive forms (including deponentia), the data for active and nonactive forms should be compared separately.

In the framing *cum*-clause in (4), quoted above, Gregory’s juxtaposition of the new and old forms of the pluperfect subjunctive suggests that for him,

(33) The abbreviations ‘nL’ and ‘nG’ refer to the number of attestations in our samples of Livy’s and Gregory’s texts, respectively.

there was a semantic distinction: *commotum fuisset* represents a past anterior (circumstantial) event, while *regressa esset* is structurally identical to a past simultaneous (circumstantial) situation (see below), commonly expressed by the imperfect. Giving rise to that meaning is the old pluperfect's semantic potential, especially in the nonactive paradigm, to profile the state ('she was back') that resulted from a previously completed action ('she had returned'). Figures 3, 4 and 5 represent the relevant data for this specialization in our sample.

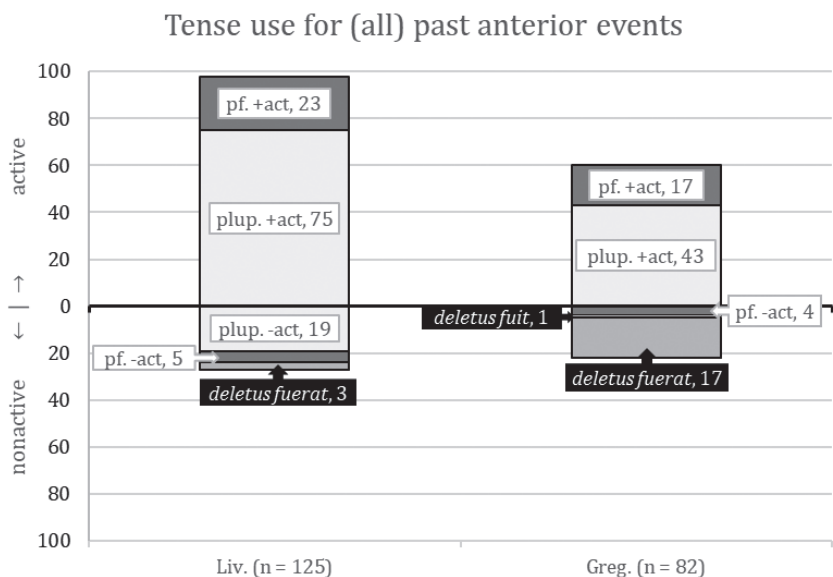


Figure 3: Distribution of tense usage for 'past anterior events' (circumstantial and noncircumstantial).

According to the data in Figure 3, past anterior events with a nonactive form were usually expressed by the old pluperfect in Livy's language, with only a few attestations of the innovation *deletus fuerat* (3 out of 27 data points).⁽³⁴⁾ About six centuries later, that innovation had completely taken over the expression of past anterior events from the old pluperfect.

However, it seems that the parallel development for the perfect forms had not reached the same level of progression: *deletus fuit* had taken much less ground in the competition with the old perfect tense in its different uses. In Figure 3, for example, where the instances of the perfect tense all fit the broad label *perfectum pro plusquamperfecto*, the innovation occurs only once against 4 nonactive forms of the old perfect. Considering, in addition, that not one instance of the new perfect tense occurred in our random sample of Livy's narrative, our data suggests that the innovation *deletus fuit* was still 'on the way in' in Gregory's language.

(34) *ictus fuerat* (Liv. XXII, 49, 1); *pulsi fuerant* (Liv. XXVI, 46, 8); *repetitae fuerant* (Liv. IX, 1, 4).

Still, all noncontestable occurrences of the new perfect form in our sample also confirm the specialization of the innovation with *fuit/fuerat* towards indicating anteriority, as illustrated by the future anterior event expressed by *fuerit interfectus* in (5), where King Guntram reprimands his generals for the losses suffered in the Septimanian campaign.

- (5) ‘Qualiter nos hoc tempore victuriam obtinere possumus, quia ea quae patres nostri secuti sunt non custodimus? Illi vero aeclesias aedificantes, (...) victurias obtinerunt gentesque adversas (...) in ense et parma saepius subdiderunt. (...) Erit enim documentum omni exercitu, cum unus de prioribus **fuerit interfectus.**’ (Greg. Tur. *Franc.* VIII, 30)

‘How can we expect to win a victory nowadays, when we no longer keep to the conventions our forefathers followed? Building churches, (...) they won victories and often conquered hostile peoples with sword and shield (...). It will be an example to the whole army if one of its leaders **will have been executed.**’

Figure 4, then, shows the distribution of tense usage for present and past resultatives (nL = 36, nG = 27).

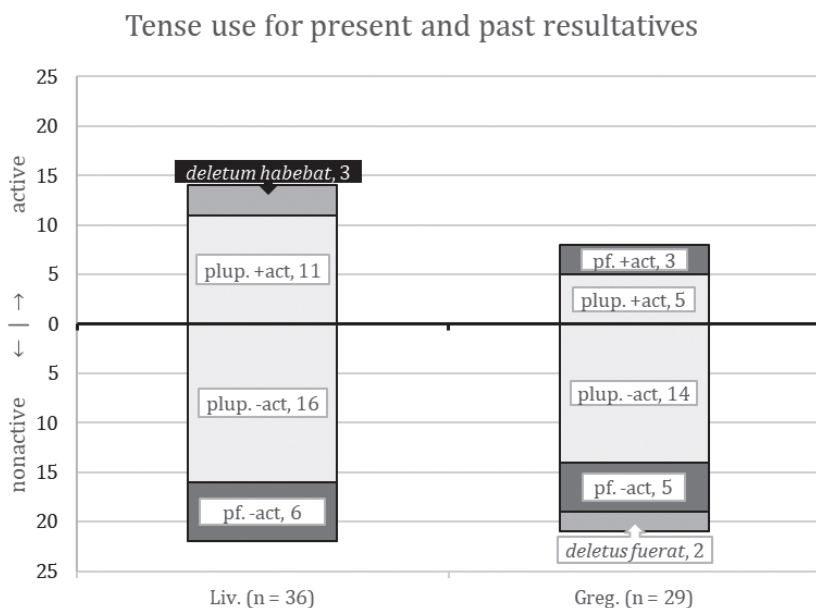


Figure 4: Distribution of tense usage for present and past resultatives.

In the active voice, the periphrastic innovation *deletum habebat* was found 3 times in our random sample of Livy’s language (e.g. *derectas habebant* in (6)), against 11 old pluperfect forms. A present resultative with active meaning occurred only once in the new periphrastic form (*exactam habet* in (7)), but the data point was excluded from the count because according to the *apparatus criticus*, the text is uncertain – even if only slightly.

- (6) Ab regiis sinistra cornu quod ab alto **obiectum erat** Hannibal, dextro Apollonius purpuratorum unus **praeerat**, et iam in frontem **derectas habebant** naues. (Liv. XXXVII, 23, 7)

In the king's fleet Hannibal commanded the left wing, which was on the side of the open sea, and Apollonius, one of the king's courtiers, was in command of the right; and they now **had** their vessels **drawn up** facing forward in line.

- (7) "Ad urbem unam oppugnandam si quis uos adductos credit, is magis operis uestri quam emolumenti rationem **exactam**⁽³⁵⁾, milites, **habet**." (Liv. XXVI, 43, 3)

"If any man believes that you have been brought here to besiege a single city, he **has** the weight **determined** [i.e. is considering the weight] of your labour, soldiers, rather than of profit."

In the sentence in (6), a description is given of the enemy's fleet at the start of the naval battle at Side. The three SoAs all describe simultaneous situations, setting the scene for the onslaught. Notably, three different tenses are used for that same meaning of simultaneous background: the imperfect *praeerat*, the old (passive) pluperfect *obiectum erat* and the new (active) pluperfect *derectas habebant*. For the latter two, it is the profiled resultative meaning that allows for the presentation of these telic SoAs ('to set up facing X' and 'to draw up', respectively) as simultaneous background situations rather than as anterior background events.⁽³⁶⁾ In (7), the innovative construction *exactam habet* seems to have been used with present time reference in direct speech, but the phrase appears quite formulaic. For both *derectas habebant* in (6) and *exactam habet* in (7), the inflectional agreement of the participle with the direct object (*naues* and *rationem*, respectively) indicates that the construction is still very much 'on the way in' in Livy's time.⁽³⁷⁾

However, even though research confirms it does occur in Gregory's text,⁽³⁸⁾ *deletum habe(ba)t* was not found at all in our randomly constituted sample, whereas Gregory did still use the old active (plu)perfect tense for resultativity 8 times, as with *advenerat* in (8).⁽³⁹⁾

(35) *exactam A²JXYZ.ald. Frob. 1. 2: om. K: exactam urbem W* (CONWAY, JOHNSON, 1935, p. 81).

(36) Famously categorized by VENDLER (1957), lexical aspect (or Aktionsart) involves three binary distinctions resulting in four main classes of SoAs. *States* are nondynamic, durative and atelic: they require no input of energy and simply continue to exist unless they are actively stopped (e.g. *being hungry*). *Activities* are dynamic, durative and atelic: they need to be actively continued or they cease to exist (e.g. *walking in the park*). *Accomplishments* are dynamic, durative and telic: they lead up towards an inherent endpoint ('telos'), beyond which they cannot continue as before (e.g. *walking to the office*). *Achievements* are dynamic, nondurative and telic: they are all culmination and involve an instantaneous change of state (e.g. *arriving at the office*).

(37) Cf. ȚĂRA, 2014, p. 47-48.

(38) E.g. ȚĂRA, 2014.

(39) The other 7 are *obsederat* (Greg. Tur. *Franc.* IX, 41), *conceperat* and *tumuisset* (X, 15), and *defecissent* (IV, 31) for past resultatives, and *cognovi* (X, 15), *remansit* (VII, 36), and *nusti* (VII, 38) for present resultatives. The latter one (CL *nosti*, the syncopated form of *nouisti*), however, was already «petrified» as a present resultative in Classical Latin (see PINKSTER, 1983, p. 291).

- (8) (...) et sic tradedit spiritum. Et ecce quidam inerguminus, qui tunc ad beati Crucis gloriam mundandus **advenerat**, adreptam manibus caesariem, conlisit se in terram (...). (Greg. Tur. *Franc.* VI, 29)
 (...) And so, she passed away. A man possessed of a devil, who **was there at that time** to be cured by the wondrous relic of the True Cross, dragged at his hair and collapsed on the ground (...).

The temporal adverbial *tunc*, meaning ‘at that time’, should be regarded as locating the (prolonged) situation of the possessed man being in the nunnery to be cured as *simultaneous* with the last hours of the nun Disciola, rather than as locating the event of his arrival at the nunnery as somehow (immediately) *anterior* to her last breath.⁽⁴⁰⁾

Therefore, and despite two additional attestations of the formula *habetur insertum* ‘it is inserted’ in our sample, our findings seem to confirm Țăra’s conclusion that the periphrasis *habeo* + past participle was not available as a fully grammaticalized linguistic means to Gregory of Tours. With passive and deponent forms, as shown in Figure 4, the old – already periphrastic – perfect and pluperfect tenses remained dominant, with a few exceptions for past resultatives (i.e. 2 new pluperfects against 14 old pluperfects).⁽⁴¹⁾ Nevertheless, in some cases, as in (4), the juxtaposition of these two morphological variants suggests that for Gregory, their semantic value was mostly quite distinct.

Finally, Figure 5 shows how often the old perfect and pluperfect tenses expressed anteriority as opposed to resultativity in our sample. The graph contains the data for anteriors of *all* temporal orientations (i.e. past, present and the one future anterior in (5); nL = 193, nG = 170) in comparison to past and present resultatives (nL = 33, nG = 27). Please note that (a) also anterior *situations* have now been included (e.g. *After he had been sick for a while, ...*) and (b) the graph does not separate the data for the perfect tense between its ‘regular use’ (present anteriors) and its ‘*pro plusquamperfecto*’ use (past anteriors).

As expected,⁽⁴²⁾ the active perfect tense was never found with resultative meaning in our sample from Livy’s text, whereas he did use its passive – periphrastic – counterpart to denote (present) resultativity 6 times, as with *natus est* and *sunt iuncti* in (9).⁽⁴³⁾

- (9) Duae ad Luceriam ferebant vias, altera (...), altera per Furculas Caudinas, breuior; sed ita **natus** locus **est**: saltus duo alti angusti siluosique **sunt** montibus circa perpetuis inter se **iuncti**. Iacet inter eos satis patens clausus in medio campus herbidus aquosusque, per quem medium iter est. (Liv. IX, 2, 6-7)
 There were two roads to Luceria, one (...), the other through the Caudine

(40) If Gregory *had* meant to say that the man had just arrived at that very moment, he most likely would have added a word such as *modo* or *nuper*.

(41) These nonactive forms of the new pluperfect with apparent resultative meaning are *fuerant adgregati* (Greg. Tur. *Franc.* IX, 41) and *repletum fuerat* (VIII, 33). The (exceptional) use of the new pluperfect form for past resultativity could be explained by the recently increased productivity of the construction: while it appears to have been evident for Gregory that the old pluperfect had become incompatible with anteriority in the passive, the range of functionalities of the new alternative might still have been less clearly delineated.

(42) PINKSTER, 2015, p. 447.

(43) The other 4 are *versa est*, *sita est* and *condita est* (Liv. XXVI, 46, 6-8) and *oblatae estis* (Liv. XXVI, 49, 15).

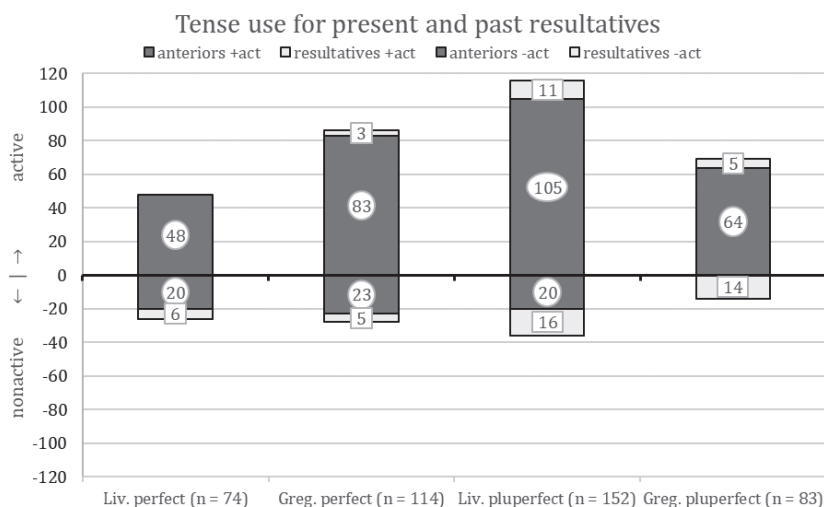


Figure 5: Distribution of signification (anterior vs. resultative) for the old perfect and pluperfect tenses.

Forks, shorter. But the place **is formed** like this: two deep defiles, narrow and wooded, **are connected** by an unbroken range of mountains on either hand. Shut in between them lies a rather extensive plain, grassy and well-watered, in the middle of which runs the road.

Similarly to what we have seen in (6), the resultative (rather than anterior) meaning of *natus est* and *sunt iuncti* is apparent from (a) the descriptive nature of the text and (b) the structural similarity to the (general present) situations *iacet* and *est* in the immediate cotext.

In our sample of Gregory's language, we did find two or three present resultatives in the old *active* perfect tense (see note 18), against three occurrences in the nonactive paradigm.⁽⁴⁴⁾ In addition to the latter, we found 2 occurrences in the old passive perfect tense that signified past, rather than present, resultativity, as with *expulsus est* in (10).⁽⁴⁵⁾

- (10) Post haec (...) contra Godigisilo fratrem suum exercitum conmovet eumque apud Viennam civitatem inclusum obsidit. Verum ubi minori populo alimenta deficere coeperunt, timens Godigiselus, ne ad se usque fames extenderetur, iussit expelli minoris populi ab urbe. Quo facto, **expulsus est** inter ceteros artifex ille, cui de aquaeducto cura manebat. Ille vero (...) ad Gundobadum furibundus vadit, indicans, qualiter civitatem inrumpens ultionem exerceret in fratre. (Greg. Tur. *Franc.* II, 33)

Later on, [Gundobad] marched his army against his brother Godigisel and besieged him inside his city of Vienne. Once provisions began to run short among the common people, Godigisel – fearing that the lack of food might extend to him also – ordered the common people to be driven out of the town.

(44) These are *suspensae sumus* (Greg. Tur. *Franc.* IX, 43), *concessa est* and *disrupta sunt* (X, 16).

(45) The other past resultative with an old passive perfect morphology is *progressae sunt* (Greg. Tur. *Franc.* X, 16).

When this had been done, the engineer who was in charge of the aqueduct **was expelled** along with them. (...) He went in a rage to Gundobad and revealed to him how he might break into the city and take vengeance on his brother.

The ablative absolute construction *quo facto* situates the expulsion of the common people as anterior to the situation where currently also the *artifex* finds himself expelled from the city. The choice for the perfect rather than the pluperfect tense seems to be related to the use of the eyewitness perspective, as suggested by the historic present *vadit* (see below).

The overall low frequency of present resultatives in historiographic texts should not surprise us, since they are mostly limited to character's speech or authorial discourse (e.g. timeless geographic descriptions). As concerns the old pluperfect tense, on the other hand, resultativity seems to have been the *only* meaning Gregory saw in its nonactive forms. Similarly, our sample of Livy already shows resultativity (rather than anteriority) with the *nonactive* old pluperfect (16 out of 36 times) much more often than with the *active* old pluperfect (11 out of 116 times), even though the new competitor for the expression of anteriority (*deletus fuerat*) only occurred 3 times (see Figure 3 and note 15). In fact, *deletus fuerat* probably still felt nondefault to Livy for the expression of anteriority and therefore did not significantly encroach on the old pluperfect's 'anteriority' domain yet. Nevertheless, the almost equal distribution of the use of *deletus erat* between the more commonly expressed anteriority and the less commonly required meaning of resultativity suggests that the specialization of the nonactive old pluperfect towards indicating resultativity started earlier than the integration of *deletus fuerat* in the tense system.

In the active formation, however, the old pluperfect tense still expressed resultativity almost as often in Gregory's language (7.2%) as in Livy's text (9.5%). Combined with the lack of examples of its competitor *deletum habebat* in our sample of Gregory – a form we did encounter in Livy's narrative three times (see Figure 4) –, we can tentatively conclude that the shift in the active paradigm involving the innovation *deletum habe(ba)t* occurred much later than the shift in the passive paradigm involving *deletus fuerat*.⁽⁴⁶⁾

Character's discourse and authorial discourse

Let us now turn to those parts of historiographical narrative that are not part of the main storyline. On the one hand, authorial discourse constitutes all those SoAs that have a direct relationship with the communicative situation rather than with the story itself; on the other hand, character's discourse refers to all reported speech or thought, in the form of either direct discourse, indirect discourse or free indirect discourse. In that matter, Gregory of Tours is known for his use of direct discourse for lively effect, often in a more dialogical than monological form,⁽⁴⁷⁾ while Livy is still closer to the classical historiographical tradition of the great speeches.⁽⁴⁸⁾

(46) Note that some margin should be calculated when comparing the absolute numbers describing the uses of each tense: depending on its content, it would be perfectly normal for any episode to require the *signifié* 'resultative' more often than other episodes.

(47) PIZARRO, 2015, p. 343-348.

(48) WALSH, 1961, p. 219-244.

Character's and authorial discourse both represent the direct vantage point of a specific individual, as opposed to the 'narrator', whose existence is tied to the narrative. In a number of speeches in both samples, a story-internal character talks about events in his past, without any particular current relevance. On the one hand, these SoAs can be individually anchored as past to the character-reporter's present, as with the "absolute past habits" *secuti sunt*, *obtinerunt* and *subdiderunt* in (5). On the other hand, a character-narrator can weave together past SoAs in a narrative structure of foreground and background, as in (11) and (12)).

- (11) 'Ante hos enim annos, cum Gunthchramnus Boso Constantinopolim *abissit* et ego (...) diligenter *rimarem*, **cognovi**, generationem nostram valde adtinuatam (...). Gunthchramnus frater meus filius non *habebat*; Childeberthus nepus noster menime fortis *erat*. Tunc Gunthchramnus Boso, haec mihi diligenter exposita, **invitavit** me (...). At ego, datis ei multis muneribus, per duodecim loca sancta ab eo suscipio sacramenta, ut securus in hoc regnum *accederim*. **Veni** enim Massilia, ibique me episcopus summa benigntate **suscepit**; *habebat* enim scripta seniorum regni nepotis mei.' (Greg. Tur. *Franc.* VII, 36) 'A few years ago, when Guntram Boso *had come* to Constantinople and I *was questioning* him closely (...) I **learned** that our line had almost died out (...). My brother Guntram *had* no sons; my nephew Childebert *was* very weak. Guntram Boso, having told me all this in detail, **invited** me (...). And I, having rewarded him richly, took oaths from him in twelve sacred places, so that I *would arrive* safe in this realm. And so I **landed** in Marseilles, and there the Bishop **welcomed** me very warmly. For he *had* letters from the leaders of my nephew's kingdom.'

In (11), the words in **boldface** represent SoAs on the foreground of the story told by Gundovald to his besiegers about how he was misled to come back to claim his family's throne. The foreground events are invariably in the perfect indicative, following each other in his story in the order in which Gundovald pronounces them ('iconic order'), while the imperfect and pluperfect tenses (both indicative and subjunctive) are used for background situations and events (in *italics*). This use of the narrative tenses, where the expression of foreground vs. background dominates any expression of perspective, reflects Gundovald's intention to have his *apologia* appear as neutrally narrated as possible – or rather, Gregory's aim to have Gundovald's intention appear as such (see below, Section 3.3).

In other character's narratives, however, there is a clear intention to mediate their stories in order to influence their audiences. In (12), for example, the use of the 'narratorial perfect' contributes to a reading of Theodoricus' story, meant to incite his people to war, from his external perspective.

- (12) 'Qui, datis obsidibus pacem cum his inire **voluerunt**, sed ille obsedes ipsus diversis mortibus **peremerunt** et inruentes super parentes nostros, omnem substantiam **abstulerunt**, pueros per nervos femorum ad arbores appendentes, puellas amplius ducentas crudeli nece **interfecerunt**, ita ut, legatis brachiis super equorum cervicibus, ipsique acerrimo moti stimulo per diversa petentes, diversis in partibus feminas **diviserunt**. Aliis vero super urbitas viarum extensis, sudibusque in terra confixis, plastra desuper onerata transire **fecerunt**, confractisque ossibus, canibus avibusque eas in cibaria

dederunt. Nunc autem Herminefredus quod mihi pollicitus est fefellit (...).’ (Greg. Tur. *Franc.* III, 7)

‘[Our fathers], after exchanging hostages, wanted to make peace with [the Thuringians], but *they murdered* the hostages in all sorts of different ways, and attacking our fathers, **carried off** all their possessions; and hanging our young men up in the trees by the muscles of their thighs, they **killed** more than two hundred of our young women cruelly, in such a way that - having tied their arms around the necks of their horses, and stampeding these animals in all directions by prodding them with goads - they **tore** the girls to pieces. Others still - having stretched them out over the ruts of their roads, and having attached their arms and legs to the ground with stakes - they **made** heavily-laden carts run over, again and again; and their bones having been broken, they **gave** them to the dogs and birds to feed on. And now, Hermanfrid has denied me what he promised to me (...).’

Significantly, not all the events in the story told by Theodoricus in (12) necessarily occur in the same iconic order as in (11): *diviserunt* is a specific realization of *interfecerunt*, as is *fecerunt*. Together with Theodoricus’ own colouring of the events with evaluative commentary (e.g. *crudeli nece*) and with self-provided information (*Qui ... pacem cum his inire voluerunt*, a background situation for which Gregory also opted for the perfect indicative; see below, Section 2.3), this indicates the character-narrator’s own external perspective on, and mediation of, his story.

Finally, note Gundovald’s unexpected and singular use of the present indicative in (11): the authorial present *suscipio* refers to the central moment in his *apologia* and is meant to highlight his own role, well-intentioned but tragic, in the events which have led him there.⁽⁴⁹⁾

However, a considerable number of data points within direct speech are not part of a character-narrator’s story about the past, but rather refer to a character-reporter’s past in a simple way. In such cases, the most basic aspecto-temporal dimension (i.e. (non)termination or the expression of pastness) is much more critical in the choice process related to the verb tense, as with *secuti sunt*, *obtinuerunt* and *subdiderunt* in (5). Despite the fact that these ‘past habits’ were no doubt ‘unterminated’ at the moment they refer to, i.e. the time of King Guntram’s ancestors, preference was given to the perfect indicative. Aspectual meanings such as termination do not, indeed, play a role in such nonnarrative discourse.⁽⁵⁰⁾ For examples of ‘(simple) past habits’ in the *imperfect* tense, we have to venture into authorial discourse, i.e. discourse involving any kind of commentary or story-external information where the voice of the real-life author, i.e. Gregory of Tours, is directly observed. Consider the past habits *celebrabant*, *adficiebantur* and *truncabantur* in (13), where Gregory explains why Tours was without a bishop for a certain time.

- (13) Nam qui christiani eo tempore videbantur, occultae et per latebras divinum offitium **celebrabant**. Nam si qui a paganis repperti fuissent christiani, aut **adficiebantur** verberibus aut gladio **truncabantur**. (Greg. Tur. *Franc.* I, 48)
For in those days those who were seen as Christians **celebrated** the divine

(49) For this use of the *praesens pro praeterito*, see NIJK, 2019, p. 23.

(50) ADEMA, 2019, p. 249; PINKSTER, 2015, p. 383.

office secretly and in hidden places. For if any had been discovered by the pagans to be Christians, they **were** either **beaten** severely or **decapitated** with the sword.

Again, the difference underlying the choice for the perfect indicative in (5) and the imperfect indicative in (13) does not seem to be aspectual, since all past habits are intrinsically unterminated at the time they refer to. Nor does the perspective seem to play a role, since (5) is not part of a narrative while the external, authorial perspective in (13) - if decisive - would rather have triggered the perfect tense.⁽⁵¹⁾ Instead, with all instances of past habits or iteratives we found in our sample of Gregory's language, the imperfect tense was used if a past anchor or reference point was 'given'⁽⁵²⁾ (nG = 6), while the perfect tense was used if such a past R still had to be established, i.e. by the predicate itself (nG = 4).

These data are in line with two of Pinkster's hypotheses: first, any aspectual notions in Latin, regardless of how they originate, only occur with the imperfect and perfect indicative tenses in *strictly narrative* discourse, and do not play a role elsewhere, as in the direct discourse in (5); second, in such nonnarrative texts, the imperfect indicative requires a 'past orientation moment', either established in the cotext (e.g. an absolute tense form or an adverbial temporal expression), or evident from the context.⁽⁵³⁾

In our sample from Livy's narrative, however, the only past habit that was found in character's or authorial discourse *does* seem to rely on the aspectual meaning of 'nontermination' for the tense choice. In (14), where Livy comments on the consequences of Marcellus' deportation of the Syracusean art, *uisebantur* leaps back in time from *uertit* without any deictic anchoring other than its own temporal value as an absolute past tense.

- (14) ceterum inde primum initium (...) licentiaeque hinc sacra profanaque omnia uolgo spoliandi factum est, quae postremo in (...) templum id ipsum primum quod a Marcello eximie ornatum est, uertit. **Visebantur** enim ab externis ad portam Capenam dedicata a M. Marcello templa propter excellentia eius generis ornamenta, quorum perexigua pars comparet. (Liv. XXV, 40, 3)
 Still, from that came first (...) and hence the license to despoil everything both sacred and profane, which in the end turned against (...) that very temple that had been so splendidly decorated by Marcellus. For the temples dedicated by M. Marcellus near the Porta Capena **used to be visited** even by foreigners on account of their outstanding decorations of this kind, of which only the smallest part remains to be seen.

(51) See CHAUSSERIE-LAPRÉE, 1969, p. 371: "Le *parfait* exprime, inversement, une séparation: le procès évoqué est un *objet* par rapport auquel je prends mes distances. Celui-ci, bien délimité, est jugé par moi, du présent où je m'installe, comme passé: il ne fait point partie de mon vécu immédiat."

(52) Broadly speaking, 'givenness' refers to the extent to which a certain element is cognitively accessible to the audience, either because it has been mentioned in the preceding discourse or because it is otherwise inferable (e.g. from context). For a more detailed description, see GUNDEL, 2003.

(53) PINKSTER, 1983, p. 277. By contrast, both the imperfect and perfect indicative tenses are regarded as absolute tenses in aspectual theory (e.g. HAVERLING, 2010, p. 406).

Table 1 summarizes the data points occurring in character-reporter's or authorial discourse, insofar as they are neither the events on some foreground nor the background to such a foreground or to a main clause predicate.

Tense	Label	# Liv.	# Greg.
perfect	present anterior	40	84
	authorial perfect	39	46
	present resultative	6	6
	absolute past event	0	4
imperfect (Liv.) perfect (Greg.)	absolute past situation	1	4
imperfect	absolute-relative past situation	0	6
present	actual present	5	14
	general present	53	20
	Total	144	184

Table 1: Nonnarrative uses of the tenses in character-reporter's and authorial discourse.

Note that under the label 'present anteriors', both anterior events (e.g. *pollicitus est* and *fefellit* in (12)) and anterior situations are counted; the latter include both terminated situations (as in (15)) and unterminated situations (as in (16)). These types of SoAs were found with the perfect tense and occasionally with its innovative competitor for the expression of present anteriority (*deletus fuit*), indicating again that aspect has no role to play in the tense selection process in nonnarrative discourse: the decisive *signifié* of the perfect tense is temporal, i.e. anteriority to the speech moment ('current relevance').

- (15) 'Merito haec patior, quia **peccavi** in sanctum Dei et eum delerum et amentem saepe **vocavi**; cuius videns virtutes non **credidi**'. (Greg. Tur. *Franc.* II, 1)
Deservedly I am suffering these trials, because **I have sinned** against a holy many of God and **I have** often **called** him a madman and a lunatic. Even though I saw his miracles, **I have not had faith**.'
- (16) 'Voluntas', inquit, 'mea erat ignota cognoscere. Nam quae sit lux ignoro. Unum tantum scio, quod ab omnibus conlaudatur; ego autem ab inicio aetatis meae usque nunc videre **non merui**'. (Greg. Tur. *Franc.* VI, 6)
'It was my wish to learn about things unknown,' he answered. 'For I do not know what light is. One thing I do know, that it is praised by all. As for me, from the beginning of my life until now **I have not deserved** to see.'

From Table 1, we can conclude that in our samples of nonnarrative discourse, the choice for the perfect, imperfect or present tense is motivated almost exclusively by *temporal* meanings, both for Livy and for Gregory of Tours. Most significantly, the perfect tense situated an SoA as anterior to the speech moment, either as an absolute past, with current relevance or with focus on the present state resulting from the previously completed SoA. The imperfect tense, on the other hand, was only found in such discourse a handful of times, with results suggesting a shift from aspectual meaning to temporal meaning between Livy's and Gregory's narratives. We should not, however, boldly jump from these limited data to conclusions about nonnarrative discourse in general, or even about the Latin tense system as a whole.

Simultaneous background

A much more frequent use of the imperfect tense is the depiction of the simultaneous background against a certain foreground.⁽⁵⁴⁾ A simultaneous background situation can describe an already introduced setting or it can introduce a new ‘stage’ as a past circumstantial situation (see note 13). Leaving aside past resultatives, which have been discussed above, as well as the subjunctive mood, the division of labour between the perfect, imperfect and present indicative tenses is represented in Figure 6.

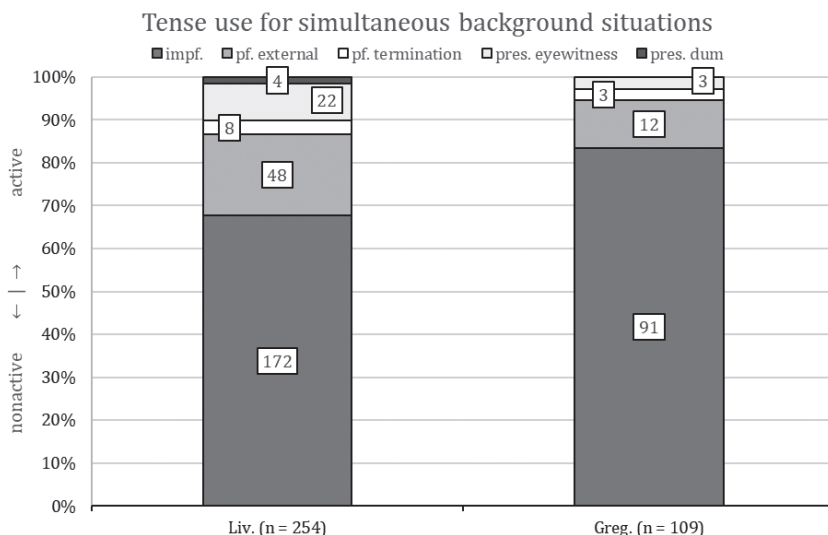


Figure 6: Distribution of tense use (and triggers for deviations) for past simultaneous background situations.

The imperfect is clearly the default tense, while a marked interpersonal meaning is a common reason to opt for either the perfect tense (the external perspective) or the present tense (an eyewitness perspective). Sometimes, an added value of termination can tip the scale towards the perfect tense (as in (17)), whereas the reason for the present tense was sometimes simply that the SoA occurred in a *dum*-clause.

- (17) *Populis autem rogantibus, ut quis esset pater interrogaret, ait sacerdos: ‘Non est hoc meum. Quod ad me **pertinuit**, sollicitus **fui**.’* (Greg. Tur. *Franc.* II, 1)
When the people begged Brictius to ask who the father was, he said: ‘That is not for me to do. I **was** only concerned insofar as the matter **affected** me.’

In (17), an *infans* has just acquitted Saint Brictius from the crime of being its father, when the angry mob implores him to ask the baby further questions. Brictius refuses, and says that the only reason why he had asked the child if he was the father, had been the fact that he was facing the accusation of

(54) Included in simultaneous (and anterior) background are background situations and events occurring in subordinate clauses in nonnarrative discourse, i.e. the uses of the imperfect and pluperfect tenses in such discourse that were excluded from Table 1.

the mob. *Fui* should therefore be seen as the simultaneous background to his prior action, inferable from the context, while *pertinuit* is the same to *fui*. If it had not been for the aspectual emphasis on termination (i.e. *I do not care anymore*), the imperfect tense would have been chosen.⁽⁵⁵⁾ While imposing termination on otherwise unbounded and simultaneous situations is rare, the perfect's potential to do so seems to have survived into Gregory's language.⁽⁵⁶⁾

Foregrounded events and situations

For the narration of the foreground, it is usually believed that 'events' are most eligible;⁽⁵⁷⁾ in particular, telic SoAs function naturally as events (see note 17). Unsurprisingly, therefore, the most common use of the perfect indicative as 'narrative perfect' (*perfectum historicum*) occurs only with telic SoAs (nL = 122, nG = 159, e.g. *advenit* in (18)). However, as noted in Aerts (forthcoming, Ch. 2.1), the Latin perfect is also found with atelic SoAs. In such cases, it uses its potential to impose a global view on otherwise atelic situations to *present* them as events ('complexive perfect', nL = 23, nG = 7), as with *exegerunt* in (18).

- (18) Sed et de alia parte Adovarius cum exercitu advenit. Ingressique urbem Arelatinsim, sacramenta pro parte Sigiberthi regis **exegerunt**. Quod cum Gunthchramnus rex conperisset, Celsum patricium cum exercitu illuc dirigit. (Greg. Tur. *Franc.* IV, 30)

But from the opposite direction Audovarius arrived with his army. Having entered Aries, they **exacted** oaths of fealty in the name of King Sigibert. When King Guntram had heard of this, he in his turn sent the patrician Celsus thence with an army.

While 'exacting an oath' is a telic event, pluralizing the direct object results in an iteration that is structurally similar to an atelic situation.⁽⁵⁸⁾ A communicative intention to zoom in on the many iterations of forcing individual inhabitants to swear loyalty to King Sigibert, thereby slowing down the narrative pace, would have been indicative of a compassionate 'viewpoint from within'. However, Gregory's language remains neutral and the narrative

(55) Since the sentence *Quod ad me pertinuit, sollicitus fui* appears in Briccius' direct discourse, which begins with the 'actual present' *Non est hoc meum*, a pertinent question would be why aspectual meanings suddenly do occur outside strictly narrative discourse. Two distinct points can be made here. First, our three-dimensional model for the analysis of SoAs works at clause level rather than discourse level: since each clause has its own predicate with its own tense, the interpretation of SoAs in terms of perspective and type of discourse can change, in theory, from one clause to the next. More commonly, though, larger clusters of SoAs with the same interpretation occur, if only to facilitate cognitive processing. Second, the classification of clauses as strictly narrative discourse vs. authorial/character-reporter's discourse relies, for the former, on the relationship with other story events as either foreground or background (as in (17)), and on the direct relationship to the speech moment for the latter (cf. SMITH, 2003, p. 13). Taken together, these principles clarify why the second of these sentences in Briccius' reply was reckoned among strictly narrative discourse.

(56) Compare to AERTS (forthcoming, Ch. 3), who illustrates the relevance of aspect in Livy's narrative with *adflxit* and *fuit* (Liv. XXVI, 41, 21).

(57) HOPPER, 1979, p. 215; SMITH, 2003, p. 35.

(58) CROFT, 2012, p. 149.

pace high; the aspectual *signifié* of ‘global view’ conglomerates the iterations and presents the SoA neutrally and as one, terminated, indivisible whole in sequence with *advenit* and *dirigit*.

On the other hand, with telic SoAs in a strictly narrative context, using the perfect tense might sometimes feel unnecessary or even undesired: since the narrative perfect involves a marked signification of both ‘pastness’ and a strictly iconic sequencing of the foregrounded events,⁽⁵⁹⁾ the more neutral ‘annalistic present’ can be used if the narrator merely aims to state simple facts or events in a more dry, annalistic way (nL = 24, nG = 11; e.g. *conmovet* and *obsidit* in (10)). Recall that the present tense does not express aspectual meanings; the foreground status of events in the annalistic present is a *de facto* result of their (natural) telicity. In addition, there is no marking of termination on such events: in (10), the march on Vienna (*conmovet*) is completed because the next SoA involves laying siege to it, but the siege itself (*obsidit*) lasts beyond the expulsion of the *artifex*.

In some cases, however, atelic situations did occur as foreground events without an imposition of a global view. On the one hand, the imperfect tense was found with iterative situations where it *was* the narrator’s intention to zoom in on the individual iterations in order to establish a ‘viewpoint from within’, as with *ferebantur*, *tepiscebant* and *clamabat* in (19), where during the fire in Paris in 585 a man and woman refuse to leave the oratory of St Martin he built.

- (19) Adpropinquante enim illuc incendium, **ferebantur** validi globi flammaram, qui percutientes parietem oraturii, protinus **tepiscebant**. **Clamabat** autem populus viro ac muliere: ‘Fugite, miseri (...)’. (Greg. Tur. *Franc.* VIII, 33)

For while the fire was approaching thence, great gobbets of fire **were borne** on the wind, but as they struck against the oratory walls they immediately **lost their heat**. The townsfolk **shouted** to the man and his wife: ‘Run, poor wretches (...)’.

With such situations, the telic core of the iterative situation allows for the status of foreground event if it does, indeed, trigger an advancement of the plot: in the singular, one gobbet of fire striking against the oratory walls and then losing its heat, followed by the shout of one Parisian would have been a regular foreground. The reason for the imperfect, however, is to stress the nontermination of, and overlap between, the iterative foreground situations (nL = 15, nG = 19).

By zooming in on the (repeated) individual events, Gregory creates the sense of recurring cycles of events⁽⁶⁰⁾ that happen ‘all at once and all around’ an internal observer such as a scenic camera-eye (see below).⁽⁶¹⁾

(59) See MELLET, JOFFRE, SERBAT, 1994, p. 83.

(60) AERTS, 2014, p. 5.

(61) Cf. ALLAN, 2018, p. 141-142 on the Ancient Greek imperfect: “They serve to portray the scene from an internal viewpoint, suggesting that one is looking at the scene while it is unfolding before one’s eyes.” See also CHAUSSERIE-LAPRÉE, 1969, p. 338: “attitude pathétique”, similar to our ‘internal perspective’: “La fonction des formes d’imparfait est ici de faire voir au lecteur ce combat par les yeux mêmes des héros; c’est leur point de vue qui est adopté et autour duquel s’organise la saisie interne des procès. La focalisation narrative est donc un des moyens stylistiques utilisés par Tite-Live pour créer le courant de

With noniterative situations, on the other hand, the present indicative was used. In such cases, (non)termination plays no role and the foreground status is established by the usual temporal value of the *praesens pro praeterito*, i.e. sequence in the past ($nL = 5$, $nG = 4$). In (20), the activity of ‘watching over the body of St Martin’ is placed in sequence with the falling of the night and with the closing of the doors.

- (20) His ergo litigantibus, sol ruente nox clauditur, corpusque in medio positum, firmatis serra uesteis, ab utroque populo **costoditur**, futurum ut mane facto a Pectavensibus per violentiam aufereretur. (Greg. Tur. *Franc.* I, 48)

While they were arguing, and as the sun was sinking, night closed in; when the body had been placed in the middle of the room and the doors had been locked, he **was watched over** by the two groups. The men of Poitiers planned to carry off the body as soon as morning came.

Conversely, with some stative verbs (e.g. *tenet* ‘he holds (a position)’, *haeret* ‘he is stuck’), the event-like status required for foregroundedness can be induced by the perfect’s potential to express ‘ingressivity’, i.e. to profile the event of ‘entering into’ that state (e.g. *tenuit* ‘he took (a position)’, *haesit* ‘he got stuck’⁽⁶²⁾), as in (21).

- (21) Quem ille promptissime colligens secum **retinuit**. Erat enim iocundus in fabulis, strinuns in consiliis, iustus in iuditiis et in comisso fidelis. (Greg. Tur. *Franc.* II, 32)

Accepting him promptly, Clovis **took** Aridius by his side. For he was a wonderful raconteur, full of good advice, sound in judgement and apparently trustworthy.

Both *colligens* and *erat* require a foreground to be simultaneous to: *colligens* as a present participle, and *erat* as the explanation (*enim*) for Clovis’ decision.⁽⁶³⁾ The most straightforward interpretation of *retinuit* is, therefore, not the situation of keeping Aridius by his side, but the event of deciding or starting to do so. However, such an ingressive reading did not occur frequently during our analysis, and with an even more limited number

sympathie ...; elle contribue aussi à la dramatisation du récit.” (MELLET, 1988, p. 175). More in line with the scenic camera-eye perspective, see CHAUSSERIE-LAPRÉE, 1969, p. 370–71: “picturesque”, or descriptive imperfect, “qui, renforçant les qualités picturales d’une scène, la fait revivre sous nos yeux dans son devenir.”

(62) See HAVERLING, 2010, p. 301.

(63) As Bourgain (2015, p. 165) notes, the present participle in Gregory’s language can, at times, also convey an action that precedes the main clause predicate. If such was Gregory’s intention here, however, it would still be impossible for *retinuit* to be simultaneous to *colligens*.

of *lemmata* only.⁽⁶⁴⁾ According to Pinkster,⁽⁶⁵⁾ “although in some cases one might be tempted to use an ingressive translation, there was no productive use of the perfect in an ingressive sense, and convincing instances where an ingressive interpretation is likely are not attested before Late Latin.” While our data does support Pinkster’s first conclusion about the nonproductivity of the ingressive use in Classical Latin as well as in Late Latin, both of the examples mentioned here and many of the examples contested by Pinkster are more convincing than he appears to contend. For one, “contextual signals favouring an ingressive interpretation” such as *subito (sunt Haedui visi)* (Caes. *Gal.* VII, 50, 1) do not in themselves cause an ingressive reading; rather, they explicitate the conversion of a stative situation, by the perfect tense, into an event through the profiling of the initial change of state.

Important to note, however, is the condition that the derived event-like meaning is not part of the lexical potential of the predicate. Verbs like *uideo* have both an atelic (e.g. *to see, to look at*) and a telic meaning (e.g. *to discern, to spot*)⁽⁶⁶⁾ included in their lexical potential, rendering Pinkster’s example irrelevant to the discussion of ingressivity.⁽⁶⁷⁾ For *teneo*, on the other hand, the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* s.v. (n. 7) does not mention ‘take (a city)’, but merely ‘hold (a city)’. About *tenuit* (Caes. *Civ.* III, 43, 1), Pinkster claims that “it is used for the same reason as the perfect *communiit* (the preferred reading) in the coordinated clause.”⁽⁶⁸⁾ One is led to assume that that reason is the function of the narrative perfect, as indeed the sequencing adverbs in the subsequent discourse suggest ([*colles*] *primum praesidiis tenuit castellaque ibi communiit. Inde ... circumvallare Pompeium instituit*). However, for that to work, some conversion into a (globally viewed) event must take place, through either the complexive use or the ingressive use of the perfect. The

(64) The other two instances of ‘past ingressives’ in our sample of Gregory’s narrative are *adfuat* (*Chrodieldis*) and *adfuat* (*Reovalis*) (Greg. *Tur. Franc.* X, 15). Both do not indicate ‘being present’ at the trial against Clotild and Basina, but ‘stepping forward’ (e.g. to the center of the room) to testify – though the phrase is possibly somewhat formulaic. The four noncontestable instances in Livy’s narrative are *tenuit* (Liv. XXII, 46, 7), *obstitit* (Liv. X, 36, 7), *haesere* (Liv. X, 36, 13), *tenuerunt* (Liv. X, 36, 16); three other data points have alternative readings in the manuscripts and were, for that reason, left out of the count: *tenuerunt* (Liv. XXII, 45, 7), *tenuere* (Liv. XXII, 45, 8) and *haesit* (Liv. XXX, 5, 7). With *haereo*, however, one additional instance was found in the pluperfect subjunctive (Liv. II, 10, 10): “Quae cum in obiecto cuncta scuto *haesissent*, neque ille minus obstinatus ingenti pontem obtineret gradu, iam impetu conabantur detrudere uirum (...).”

(65) PINKSTER, 2015, p. 449.

(66) See PINKSTER, 2018, s.v. (n. II.1), consulted online at <https://www.latijnnederlands.nl> (last accessed 07/09/2020).

(67) Note that Pinkster (2015, p. 449) aims to refute Oldsjö’s (2001, p. 247) ingressive reading of *uisi sunt* here. Although Oldsjö (2001, p. 242–51) defends a – contextually dependent – ingressive use of the Latin perfect, most of his examples are irrelevant to the discussion because they involve so-called ‘inceptive states’ such as *uideo*, *sentio* and *audio* (CROFT, 2012, p. 38): “[P]erception and cognition predicates (...) have an aspectual potential to be construed as either a state or an achievement in the appropriate semantic and grammatical context. (...) We will call the class of predicates that have the aspectual potential of states or achievements that result in the state inceptive states.” For these verbs, both the stative interpretation (e.g. *to see, to know, to be aware of*) and the reading as achievement (e.g. *to discern, to realize, to perceive*) are part of the inherent, lexical potential of the predicate as described in dictionaries.

(68) PINKSTER, 2015, p. 449.

former would present the original state of ‘holding the hills’ as an indivisible whole, but that state would clearly extend much further, overlapping with the actions (*communiit* and *instituit*) undertaken while he was in possession of the hills. The only remaining explanation is, therefore, the conversion of the state ‘holding the hills’ into the event of ‘seizing the hills’ by the ingressive use of the perfect.

Another important factor involved in the tense selection process for foreground SoAs is the expression of a perspective. Quite often, for example, the external perspective of the narrator allows him to intervene and to mediate the narrated events, adding story-external information and commentary and disrupting the natural, iconic order of events (*narratorial perfect*, nL = 20, nG = 40).⁽⁶⁹⁾ Alternatively, the present tense is often used for visually rich accounts of various conflicts and miracles, in order to trigger a virtual eyewitness experience on the part of the audience (*historic present*, nL = 91, nG = 67).⁽⁷⁰⁾

Table 2 provides a quantitative overview of the potential of the narrative tenses to express foreground events.

Tense	Label	# Liv.	# Greg.
perfect	narrative perfect	122	159
	complexive perfect	23	7
	past ingressive	4	3
	narratorial perfect	20	40
present	annalistic present	24	11
	foreground situation	5	4
	historic present	91	67
imperfect	iterative foreground situation	15	19
	Total	193	203

Table 2: Overview of tense usage for the expression of foreground.

The place of aspect in Gregory of Tours’ tense system

Given the significance of aspect in Livy’s tense system (Aerts forthcoming, Ch. 3), it has been the purpose of this paper to ascertain to what extent the aspectual meaning potential of the Latin perfect and imperfect indicative had survived in the language of Gregory of Tours, about six centuries later. So far,

(69) Note that 10 out of 40 concern a character-narrator rather than the main narrator most readily associated with Gregory of Tours.

(70) See CHAUSSERIE-LAPRÉE, 1969, p. 371: “Le *présent* suppose que je ne me détache pas de lui, que, loin de le poser hors de moi, en un tout constitué dans son unité, je l’intègre totalement à mon expérience actuelle. D’où une saisie vive et animée du fait historique.” Whereas our data of Livy includes an additional 29 background situations in the historic present (AERTS, forthcoming, Ch. 2.3), in line with the common observation that the *praesens pro praeterito* sometimes occurs with the default values of the imperfect as well (e.g. PINKSTER, 2015, p. 408), such a combination only occurred 3 times in our sample of Gregory’s text (see above, Figure 6).

we have established that resultative and ingressive meanings can be found, as the most straightforward interpretation of a given SoA, in Livy's narrative as well as in Gregory's. Both *signifiés* involve a marked conversion of one type of SoA into another. On the one hand, with telic SoAs the resulting state can be profiled, yielding a background situation rather than a foreground event. On the other hand, profiling the 'entering into' a stative SoA effects the opposite. However, given their association with both the perfect and pluperfect tenses, in the indicative as well as the subjunctive mood, ingressivity and resultativity should be considered as separate from the main discussion of aspect in this paper.

Ingressivity and resultativity

As Pinkster rightly states,⁽⁷¹⁾ the ingressive use of the perfect is not productive in Classical Latin, while resultativity "may be" the interpretation of telic SoAs. Haverling confirms the nonproductivity of the ingressive in Early and Classical Latin,⁽⁷²⁾ and goes on to claim that ingressivity became more productive in later centuries, in line with the natural aspectual cline proposed by Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca.⁽⁷³⁾ As support, however, she only refers to a 6th-century translation of Josephus' *Jewish War*; in earlier work, too, illustrations of an increasingly productive ingressive sense of the unprefixed perfect tense are all related to translations of originally Greek or Hebrew texts.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Of the two possible explanations for the translation of the aorists with the Latin perfect, i.e. either the translator's interpretation of the aorist as ingressive or a perceived compatibility of the Latin perfect tense with stative verbs, Haverling seems to favour the second,⁽⁷⁵⁾ despite her subsequent claim that in Late Latin, "the imperfect tense was the less ambiguous choice in the description of a non-dynamic situations." Nevertheless, she does report even earlier examples of ingressivity (e.g. in Ammianus and Symmachus) with the perfect of *taceo*. However, the accuracy of Haverling's methodology of searching for forms of an apparently limited number of verbs could be called into question: Livy's complete text, for example, features only one perfect form of *taceo* (Liv. XL, 38, 1), and no imperfect form whatsoever.

In my view, this evidence suggests a relatively late influence from the Greek aorist rather than a natural development in the Late Latin tense system. Given the fact that it was found as marginally in our sample of Gregory as it was found in Livy's narrative, one could imagine ingressivity to be a phenomenon on the way out – already in Livy's tense system – rather than on the way in.

In a very early, largely undocumented, stage of Latin, the Indo-European perfect and aorist stems merged into the *perfectum* stem, probably due to a semantic assimilation between the main semantic functions of the two stems.⁽⁷⁶⁾ However, the IE perfect and aorist might have brought less central functions with them, resulting in an association of the perfect and pluperfect

(71) PINKSTER, 2015, p. 446-450.

(72) HAVERLING, 2010, p. 462.

(73) BYBEE, PERKINS, PAGLIUCA, 1994, p. 91-95.

(74) HAVERLING, 2003, p. 129.

(75) HAVERLING, 2003, p. 129.

(76) CLACKSON, HORROCKS, 2007, p. 19-20.

tenses, both based on the new *perfectum* stem, with the residual meanings of ingressivity and resultativity.⁽⁷⁷⁾

An interpretation of these *signifiés* as ‘on the way out’ rather than ‘on the way in’ explains why a new formation in the active paradigm (*deletum habet*) was already required in quite early texts to explicitate resultative meaning.⁽⁷⁸⁾ In the passive, however, it is probably the structural similarity between ‘past participle + auxiliary *sum*’ and ‘adjective + stative copula *sum*’ that resulted in an increasingly strong, rather than weak, association with resultativity; a new formation (*deletus fuit*) was therefore required to explicitate anteriority instead. As concerns ingressivity, Romance tense systems reveal that at some point, the perfect must have regained its potential to profile the ‘entering into’ a state.⁽⁷⁹⁾ However, as with the construction *deletum habet*, evidence of natural productivity before the last originally Latin texts written by native speakers is currently unconvincing.

Termination and view

The focus of our analysis has been, however, on the three main binary distinctions related to grammatical aspect: terminated vs. unterminated, global vs. partial view, and viewpoint from without vs. from within. Concerning the first two dimensions, we have already provided our quantitative data concerning (a) the potential of the perfect indicative to markedly present an otherwise atelic situation as one, indivisible whole (‘complexive perfect’, nG = 7) and (b) the potential of the perfect and imperfect indicative to express the termination of atelic background situations (nG = 3) and the nontermination of dynamic foreground situations (nG = 19), respectively. In addition to these, termination was found to be decisive in the tense choice process with 17 foreground events where the historic present was overruled by the perfect tense despite a marked eyewitness perspective (‘perfect of success’, nL = 39, nG = 17),⁽⁸⁰⁾ as with *aperti sunt* in (22).

- (22) Tunc cum oleo benedicto super oculus eius crucem sanctam faciens, ait: ‘In nomine Iesu Christi redemptores nostri aperiantur oculi tui’. Et statim **aperti sunt** oculi eius, et erat admirans cernensque magnalia Dei, quae in hoc mundo videbat. (Greg. Tur. *Franc.* VI, 6)

Then, making the sign of the Cross over his eyes with consecrated oil, he said: ‘May your eyes open in the name of Jesus Christ our Redeemer.’ The man’s eyes **were opened** immediately, and he admired and gazed upon the wonderful works of God which he saw in this world.

Indicative of the eyewitness perspective in (22), which comes after (16) in Gregory’s narration of the wonders of St Hospicius, is the descriptive ‘showing’

(77) Compare to WEISS (2009, p. 452-454), who considers resultativity to be an archaic usage of the perfect tense. For the resultative meaning potential of the future perfect in archaic Latin, see DE MELO, 2007, p. 43.

(78) See HAVERLING, 2016. As WEISS (2009, p. 454) notes, resultatives easily developed into simple pasts in many languages: the synthetic active (plu)perfect in Latin did so first and was replaced by the construction with *habeo* + past participle, the descendants of which ultimately came to signify past actions themselves in the Romance languages.

(79) HAVERLING, 2010, p. 479.

(80) AERTS, forthcoming, Ch. 2.1.

of the story-events (e.g. the blessing gesture) combined with dialogue and a slow narrative pace. However, more dominant than signalling the already obvious eyewitness perspective, which would have resulted in the historic present tense, was the perfect's potential to stress the successful termination of the miraculous healing.

Conversely, the imperfect tense may be used to emphasize that a certain telic foreground event does *not* terminate at story-time ('progressive imperfect', nL = 8, nG = 7).

- (23) [Gundovaldus] locutus est civibus, dicens: '(...)'. Haec illis credentibus, quaecumque habere potuerunt collocantes in urbe, **praeparabant** se ad resistendum. Eo tempore Gunthchramnus rex misit litteras ad Gundovaldum ex nomine Brunichildis reginae (...) Igitur cummorante eo apud urbem Convenas, locutus est incolis, dicens: '(...) egrediemini ad resistendum'. Quibus egredientibus, hii occupantes portas adque claudentes, excluso foris populo cum episcopo loci, cuncta quae in urbe invenire potuerant suis dicionibus subdiderunt. (Greg. Tur. *Franc.* VII, 34)

Gundovald addressed the townsfolk and said: '(...)'. Believing what he said, and moving all that they could carry inside the town, they **prepared** themselves to resist. At that time, King Guntram sent a letter to Gundovald in the name of Queen Brunhild, (...). Remaining in Comminges, Gundovald addressed the inhabitants and said: '(...) You must sally forth and resist.' When they marched out, Gundovald's men seized and shut the gates, shut out the people of Comminges and their Bishop and took possession of everything which they could find in the town.

In (23), the imperfect is used (*praeparabant*) to narrate the (positive) reaction of the townspeople to Gundovald's call to arms. Preparing oneself for war is, however, a time-consuming action that was not finished when Guntram sent a letter to Gundovald to ask him to surrender. It is only finished when Gundovald responds negatively to Guntram's request and the inhabitants move out to do battle in the subsequent discourse.

Note that an explanation for the imperfect tense of *praeparabant* in terms of (relative) tense is problematic, since there is no past reference point, on either of the three dimensions, to which this foreground event can be regarded as simultaneous. On the one hand, the people's action of preparing themselves for the battle, an accomplishment, occurs in Gregory's past independently ('absolute past tense'), i.e. after Gundovald's speech (*locutus est*) and before King Guntram's sending of the letter (*misit*).⁽⁸¹⁾ On the other hand, *praeparabant* does not fit the label 'past circumstantial situation' because it does not serve as an introductory frame to *misit*, as indicated by the temporal separation expressed by *eo tempore*, but rather constitutes the reaction of the people to the preceding *locutus est*. In addition, there is no significant indication of either the scenic camera-eye perspective or the internal perspective of one of the characters (or group of characters).

(81) The *ablativus absolutus* construction *illis credentibus* is not considered to express any temporal value, while the construction with *collocantes* is accompanying *praeparabant* as a simultaneous (sub)action rather than the other way around.

Of all data points involving the perfect or imperfect indicative in strictly narrative discourse in our random sample of Gregory's text (nG = 408), at least 13% requires aspect to be part of these tenses' semantic potential in order to be correctly accounted for. In comparison to our data from Livy's text, where that percentage was 20%,⁽⁸²⁾ a certain decline in the relevance of grammatical aspect can thus be observed. However, subjecting both Livy's and Gregory of Tours' use of the narrative tenses to the same three-dimensional analysis resulted in the observation that, although grammatical aspect may have already been merely residually involved in the Classical Latin tense system, it still had not yet disappeared completely from the system by the 6th century CE.

Viewpoint and perspective

Concerning the interpersonal dimension of aspect, the five perspectives posited by in earlier work⁽⁸³⁾ were hypothesized to be associated at least partly with the binary distinction in viewpoint. In the scenic camera-eye perspective, for example, the audience is shown the story-events as if transmitted by a neutral, internal observer, e.g. a camera-eye that floats among the characters and conveys their actions, perils and distress ('viewpoint from within'). In the distanced eyewitness perspective, on the other hand, the narrator virtually takes the audience to the scene, but they remain on the sideline, from where the narrator comments on the ongoing action, providing his opinion and insights ('viewpoint from without'). In the immersive eyewitness perspective, however, the audience feels immersed into the story, experiencing the events themselves ('viewpoint from within'); by *showing*, rather than *telling*, what happened, the narrator leads his audience to pass judgement in a more indirect, subtle way.

Based on cognitive and functional studies of narrative stylistics, I have described and verified statistically a systematic correlation between a number of 'cotextual cues' and these two viewpoints.⁽⁸⁴⁾ Commentary, story-external information or other signs of a certain overview of the story-world are linked to a viewpoint from without, while the complete lack of mediation together with an appeal to the psychology and perceptive senses of a directly observing consciousness are associated with a viewpoint from within. In addition, concerning interpersonal tense, (i) cotextual cues related to a deictic approximation of the story-world ('proximal deixis', e.g. *here*, *now*) are indicative of the 'temporal illusion of proximity' involved in the historic present, while (ii) signs of deictic distancing ('distal deixis', e.g. *there*, *then*) are linked to the 'vantage point in the speech moment' involved in the authorial perfect.

Applying the same statistical procedure to our data gathered from Gregory's text resulted in a confirmation that the same correlations between cotextual cues and both the narrative tenses and the perspectives are still largely significant in Gregory's language. A full report of the statistical tests and results of their significance would lead us too far here; it should suffice

(82) AERTS, forthcoming, Ch. 3.

(83) AERTS, 2019b.

(84) AERTS, 2019a.

to say that no statistically significant conflicts were encountered that would dissuade us from associating the narrative tenses with the same interpersonal values, in terms of both aspect and tense. Moreover, Gregory's conception of those associations seems to have been so profound that he was able to create a tension between his audience's expectations, based on his telling of the story, and the final tense choice. In (24), Gregory concludes his story about the siege of Comminges with the betrayal of Gundovald, who had been falsely lured back to claim the throne, by his trustees.

- (24) Haec cum dixisset, consignans se cruce dominica, abire coepit cum hominibus supradictis. Cumque a porta elongassint, sicut est circa urbem vallis tota in praecipitio, impulsus ab Ollone **caecidit**, illo quoque clamante: 'En vobis Ballomerem vestrum, qui se regis et fratrem dicit et filium'. Et inmissa lancia **voluit** eum transfigere, sed repulsa a circulis luricae nihil **nocuit**. Denique cum elevatus ad montem regredi niteretur, Boso, emisso lapide, capud eius **libravat**. Qui **caecidit** et **mortuus est**. **Venit**que omne vulgus, et defixis in eo lanceis, pedes eius fune legantes, per omnia exercituum castra **traxerunt**; evellentesque caesariem ac barbam eius, insepultum ipso quo interfectus fuerat loco reliquerunt. (Greg. Tur. *Franc.* VII, 38)

As he said this, he crossed himself and then proceeded on his way with the men mentioned above. When they had gone some distance from the city gate, they came to the steep ravine which surrounds Comminges on all sides. Pushed by Ullo, Gundovald fell over and, while the Count shouted: 'There goes your Ballomer, who calls himself the son of one king and the brother of another.' And thrusting his lance at Gundovald, he **wanted** to transfix him, but the rings of Gundovald's hauberk withstood the lance and it **hurt** nothing. Finally, having got up, when he was trying to scramble to the top of the cliff, Boso threw a rock at him and **hit** him full in the head. Gundovald **fell** and **died**. The mob **came** and prodded him with their spears. They tied his feet together with a rope and **dragged** him through the whole army encampment. They pulled out his hair and his beard. Then they **left** his body unburied on the spot where he had been killed.

As suggested by the visually rich language, the very slow narrative pace, the direct speech and the shocking malice involved in the death of Gundovald, Gregory wants his audience to see and judge for themselves, as immersed eyewitnesses, the sad and dramatic ending of this 'pretender' (or 'usurper'): as Pizarro notes,⁽⁸⁵⁾ Gregory's often sympathetic narration of Gundovald's story has led many scholars to believe that he believed his claims. Alternatively, Gregory's apparent sympathy for the usurper may stem from his downright aversion to the atrocities performed by the more legitimate rulers in their handling of the conflict. Nevertheless, Pizarro remarks that Gregory's aim is to stay impartial throughout the story, since neither side deserves his, or his audience's, full consent. Precisely that conflict between sympathy and impartiality is here reflected in Gregory's marked insistence on the narrative perfect, associated with the neutral perspective, instead of the historic present.

Important to note in the matter of viewpoint is the proportional difference in Gregory's wielding of the perspectives in his narration of contemporary

(85) PIZARRO, 2015, p. 365, 372.

events as opposed to events that happened long before his time.⁽⁸⁶⁾ As noted by Murray,⁽⁸⁷⁾ Gregory's appointment as Bishop of Tours concurs with the final events of the fourth book of the *Histoires*. In much of what happened before that point in his work, he had played no part at all, but in contemporary events he was often involved (as in the story of the *Nuns of Poitiers*); concerning other events he might have wanted to be careful to voice his opinion too strongly.

Perspective use in Gregory's narrative

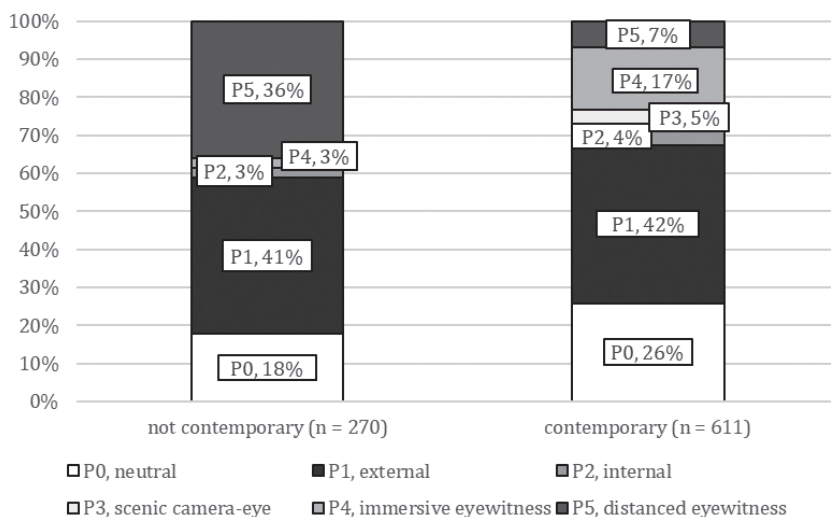


Figure 7: Distribution of perspectives in noncontemporary (*Franc.* 1-4) and contemporary events (*Franc.* 5-10)

Apart from the quite common external perspective, amounting to about 40% of relevant data points in both subsets (e.g. (13)), the difference in distribution of the perspectives shown in Figure 7 is especially concerned with Gregory's greater reluctance to use the distanced eyewitness perspective when narrating contemporary events (7% vs. 36%; e.g. (20)). Instead, he prefers to reduce the impression of his mediation by resorting to either the immersive eyewitness perspective (17% vs. 3%; e.g. (24)), the scenic camera-eye perspective (5% vs. 0%; e.g. (19)) or an even more neutral way of storytelling (26% vs. 18%; e.g. (18)).

(86) Cf. AERTS, 2019b, Ch. 4.

(87) MURRAY, 2015, p. 64.

Conclusions

As we have shown in this paper, grammatical aspect remained an important part of the Latin tense system, at least in Gregory of Tours' use of the narrative tenses. While our data confirmed Pinkster's argument that aspectual notions only occur in strictly narrative discourse and only with the perfect and imperfect indicative tenses, their role in the tense selection process is not rarely both decisive and independent from temporal notions. In our view, aspect as a grammatical category expressed by the verb stems lingered on in Early and Classical Latin after the merger of the Indo-European perfect and aorist stems into the *perfectum* stem at a very early stage of the language.

On the one hand, although data on resultativity and ingressivity confirms that these aspectual meanings were not productive in Classical and Late Latin, native speakers were most likely still somehow aware of these options, specifically with certain verbs. Gradually, however, and especially in the nonactive paradigm, morphological innovations (*deletus fuerat*) gained solid ground in the tense system, illuminating the specialization of the old nonactive pluperfect towards indicating resultativity; in the active paradigm, our data confirms that *deletum habe(ba)t* gained a foothold only much later.

On the other hand, we have shown that for Gregory, the perfect and imperfect indicative tenses could still be used to emphasize the termination (e.g. 'perfect of success' and example (17)) or ongoingness (e.g. 'iterative foreground situation', 'progressive imperfect') of a state of affairs, respectively. In addition, as confirmed by the rich cotextual cues in his language, the viewpoints associated with both tenses still play a major role in the way Gregory influences – or refuses to influence – his audience in their understanding of historic events.

Understandably, a methodology as the one used in our research would benefit from close-readings of randomly selected full texts on an even larger scale, involving native speakers from different diachronic stages of Latin and from different regions of the latinized world. Nevertheless, the current study already offers some important insights into the diachrony of the Latin tense system, either by reconfirming earlier conclusions with new data or by challenging existing beliefs with a novel approach. Specifically, our attestations of the relevance of grammatical aspect in Gregory's language might call into question statements that aspect had already disappeared as a grammatical category from the tense system by the time of Classical Latin. In any case, one principle of functional linguistics emerges from our data on the uses of the Latin narrative tenses and related morphological innovations: in natural language systems, only what serves their users will be preserved over time.

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SUMMARY

Interpreting grammatical aspect as a category that conveys meaning on three dimensions might serve to better understand and appreciate the semantic potential of the narrative tenses in Latin historiography. Similarly to Livy's, Gregory of Tours' language features a number of 'tense uses' where aspect plays a decisive role. However, the rise of morphological innovations (e.g. *deletus fuerat*) reveals processes of specialization of the old (plu)perfect tenses regarding residual aspectual meanings such as resultativity. On the whole, a quantitative comparison with data from Livy indicates a slight decline in the relevance of grammatical aspect over the course of six centuries, suggesting that grammatical aspect was disappearing, if only gradually, from the semantic potential of the narrative tenses. In any case, plenty of Late Latin illustrations of the relevance of aspect confirm that at an earlier (Classical) stage of that diachronic evolution, aspect should not be denied its role in the tense system.

Late Latin — Gregory of Tours — tense and aspect — narrative tenses — perspective — functional linguistics

SAMENVATTING

Als we grammaticaal aspect interpreteren als een categorie die betekenis overdraagt op drie dimensies, kunnen we het betekenispotentieel van de verhalende tijden in Latijnse geschiedschrijving beter begrijpen. Net zoals bij Livius omvat de taal van Gregorius van Tours een aantal 'gebruikswijzen' van de tijden waarbij aspect een doorslaggevende rol speelt. Het opkomen van morfologische innovaties (bv. *deletus fuerat*) legt echter processen bloot waarbij het oude (plusquam)perfectum zich in sommige vormen specialiseert in het uitdrukken van resultativiteit. Over het algemeen wijst een kwantitatieve vergelijking met Livius op een lichte daling van het belang van grammaticaal aspect over de eeuwen heen. Deze data suggereren dat grammaticaal aspect geleidelijk aan verdween uit het betekenispotentieel van de narratieve tijden. In elk geval zijn er voldoende Laatlatijnse voorbeelden die bevestigen dat aspect in een eerder stadium van die diachrone ontwikkeling een plaats verdient in het tijdensysteem.

Laatlatijn — Gregorius van Tours — tempus en aspect — verhalende tijden — perspectief — functionele taalkunde

RÉSUMÉ

L'interprétation de l'aspect grammatical en tant que catégorie porteuse de sens tridimensionnel peut permettre de mieux saisir le potentiel sémantique des temps du récit dans l'historiographie latine. La langue de Grégoire de Tours, tout comme celle de Tite-Live, contient certains emplois des temps dans lesquels l'aspect joue un rôle décisif. Toutefois, avec l'arrivée d'innovations morphologiques (p.ex. *deletus fuerat*), le (plus-que-)parfait semble avoir subi des procédés de spécialisation en termes de significations aspectuelles résiduelles, comme la résultativité. De manière générale, une comparaison quantitative avec les données de Tite-Live révèle un léger déclin de la pertinence de l'aspect grammatical, ce qui semble pointer vers un retrait (quoique graduel) de l'aspect au sein du potentiel sémantique offert par les temps narratifs. Quoi qu'il en soit, nombreux sont les emplois qui attestent, en latin tardif, de la

pertinence de l'aspect et qui confirment l'idée que déjà en latin classique, l'aspect mérite d'avoir sa place dans le système verbal.

latin tardif — Grégoire de Tours — temps et aspect — temps du récit — perspective — linguistique fonctionnelle

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