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Abstract

This text aims to describe the evolution of the semantics of the French "complex" demonstratives *ce N-ci* 'this' and *ce N-là* 'that' from their first occurrences onwards. We will look in particular into the semantics of the elements *–ci* and *–là*, hypothesizing that the semantics of the simple demonstrative (*ce*), which has been extensively described in the literature, has remained unchanged in the complex forms. After an analysis of the uses of *ce N-ci* and *ce N-là* in a corpus of Middle French texts, we will verify whether these complex forms have taken over the distribution of the semantics of the Old French paradigms *cist* and *cil*.

1 Introduction

According to Marchello-Nizia (1995, 170-171), the French complex demonstratives CE N-CI and CE N-LA[1] have replaced in the 15th century the so-called "long" or "very long" versions of the demonstrative determiner, which had a prefix i- (ICIST / ICIL, etc.). These Old French forms carried a tonic accent and were used as marked determiners, to thematize or focalize. When the tonic accent was lost, the doubly accentuated phrases such as *icestui chevalier* 'this knight' or *icele table* 'that table' disappeared and were replaced by phrases that only carried an accent on the final particle: *ce-chevalier-cì* 'this knight', *cette table-là* 'that table', etc.[2] Whereas the essentials of the phonetic and morphological evolution of the complex demonstrative *ce N-ci* 'this' / *ce N-là* 'that' thus seem to be clear, their semantic evolution still remains to be described. This article aims to offer at least some elements to fill up that lacuna.

The demonstrative discontinuous determiner was initially composed of forms of the paradigms CIST, CIL or CE on the one hand (henceforth DEM) and the adverbial particles –CI and –LA on the other. The determiners CIST or CIL seem to have lost their respectively proximal and distal deictic meaning, as is suggested by the existence of forms such as CIL N-CI 'that N-here' and CIST N-LA 'this N-there' that can be found since at least 1350 (Dees 1971, 71). This might explain why *ce*, the singular masculine determiner that has always been neuter with respect to the deictic differences, has ousted the other forms. Thus the subject case *cist* 'this' disappeared from the middle of the 13th century on, and *cil* 'that' disappeared nearly two centuries later.[3] The second component of the discontinuous determiner corresponded to the adverbs *(i)ci* 'here' and *la* 'there' of Old French, as is confirmed by the fact that that one still finds the form DEM N *ici* around the same time.[4] These observations also suggest that in Middle French, the discontinuous determiner was not as unified as in Modern French and that the components –CI and –LA were grammaticalized in the following centuries. This process of

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[1] Demonstrative determiners in small capitals refer to the entire paradigm and not only to the forms quoted in the text. N stands for "noun", NP for "noun phrase".

[2] This substitution has not been instantaneous, though: Dees (1971, 72) shows that the combinations *ce + ci* / *ce + là* were already sporadically used before the 15th century. Moreover, as pointed out by Dees (1971) and Marchello-Nizia (1995, 124), the postponed adverbs and suffixes *ci* and *là* were already used in the pronominal forms *ceus-ci* and *ceus-la* since the 13th century.

[3] This evolution is also directly related to morpho-syntactic factors and to the specialization of the forms that is characteristic for French. It can be observed moreover that before its disappearance from the system, *cil* 'this' was used more frequently as a pronoun than as an adverb. Other forms of the CIST and CIL paradigms have continued to be used. For a more detailed presentation of the evolution of the French demonstratives, cf. Marchello-Nizia (1995, 157-172).

[4] In Middle French the morpheme *icy* was not linked to the noun by a hyphen. In the critical editions we used the segmentation in words, and also of written forms, are chosen by the editor and only partially reflect the data in the medieval manuscripts.

grammaticalization consisted in a "paradigmaticalization" (Lehmann 2002, 120-121) of the paradigm of demonstratives, the number of forms being reduced to *ce / cet / cette / ces* on the one hand, and to –CI and –LA on the other. In this evolution, the adverbial particles also lost their autonomy and progressively turned into suffixes, which can be seen as an increase in bondedness (Lehmann 2002).

In our analysis of the semantics of these forms, we will adopt as a starting point the hypothesis that the demonstrative determiner (CIST / CIL / CE) has kept its token-reflexive meaning and thus conveys the instruction to identify the referent of the NP by using elements present in the context of use of the demonstrative token.[5] The adverbial particles –CI and –LA can then be said to add the following supplementary information:

(i) –CI signals that the referent of the NP has to be identified on the basis of particular elements of its context of enunciation, to wit, the location of the demonstrative token or other, non spatial, elements associated with it, such as the speaker and the time;
(ii) –LA signals that the referent is to be identified starting from elements of a situation other than its context of use in the strict sense, a situation that can contain the addressee, but also other elements.[6] In its spatial use, –LA thus signals that the place where the referent of the NP is to be found is not part of the context of use – an indication that may imply that the use of –LA signals a disjunction with respect to the context:

> (1)   De quele pays esties vous ? Ou fuistes vous nee ? Mon sire, je su de Henoude. Que dea, vous esties un Englois donques ! Nonil dea, mais nous aymons bien <u>les Engloys</u> a cause que les plus vaillantz seignours de **ceste pais la** sont de nostre linage. (*Manières de langage* 1396, p. 23)
>
> De quel pays êtes-vous ? Ou êtes-vous né ? Mon seigneur, je suis de Henoude. Que diable, vous êtes donc un Anglais ! Certes non, mais nous aimons bien les Anglais parce que les plus vaillants seigneurs de ce pays-là sont de notre lignage
>
> Which country do you come from? Where were you born? My lord, I'm from Henoude. Goodness, you're an Englishman then! Not at all, but we like the English well because the worthiest lords of that country are our kinsmen.

In the following, we will show that the most frequent uses, in which –CI and –LA do not express purely spatial relations, can be explained on the basis of these definitions of their semantics.

Our definitions can be seen as a continuation of those advanced by Perret (1988, 41) for the adverbs CI and LA in Middle French: "*ci* désigne le lieu de sa propre occurrence, *la*, tout autre lieu, du moment que ce n'est pas celui de la présente occurrence du mot *la*" ('*ci* designates the place of its own occurrence, *la* every other place, as long as it is not that of the present occurrence of *la*'). This continuity is justified by the fact that in the first stage of the evolution leading to the formation of the complex demonstratives, phrases of the type CIST / CIL / CE N were "completed" by adding the adverbs CI and LA, which were not attached formally to the nouns involved:

> (2)   Nous appelons, en **ce païs icy**, sainctz tous ceulx qui nous font du bien. (Commynes, vol. III, p. 57)
>
> Nous appelons saints, en ce pays où nous sommes, tous ceux qui nous font du bien
>
> In this country, we call all those who do good for us saints.

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[5] Cf. Kleiber (1986) and De Mulder (1997) for more details.
[6] This definition is based, amongst other things, on Maes (1991, 179-188), who formulates comparable hypotheses with respect to *deze* and *die*, the Dutch equivalents of (respectively) CE ...-CI 'deze' and CE ...-LA 'that'.

We will begin our contribution by studying the occurrences of –CI and –LA in a corpus consisting of 15 texts written between 1305 and 1546, mostly narrative (novels, romances, historical texts, brief stories) and generally in prose. In order to introduce the necessary diversification in the data, we have also decided to include in the corpus two short didactic works on French (the *Manières de Langage* of 1396 and 1399), as well as a drama text (the *Farce de maître Pathelin*, written between 1456 and 1469). Since this part of our study is also concerned with Middle French, we further included some data from the first part of the 16th century, more in particular from the *Tiers Livre* of Rabelais (1546). In the table below, these texts are subdivided in four periods of time; the share of the 14th century is smaller than that of the 15th, as the attested uses of complex demonstratives are rare in the 14th century and mainly become more frequent in the 15th.[7]

14th century	1st half of the 15th century (until 1456)	2nd half of the 15th century	16th century
Mémoires of Joinville (between 1305 and 1309)	*Quinze joies de mariage* (around 1400)	*Roman du comte d'Artois* (around 1453-1467)	*Tiers Livre* de Rabelais (1546)
Manières de langage de 1396	*Chronique* de Monstrelet, book I (vers 1425-1440)	*Cent nouvelles nouvelles* anonymus (1456-1467)	
Griseldis (1395)	*Cligès en prose* (1454)	*Farce de maître Pierre Pathelin* (1456-1469)	
Manières de langage de 1399	*Jean de Saintré* d'Antoine de la Sale (1456)	*Roman de Jehan de Paris* (1494)	

After the analysis of the uses of CE N-CI and CE N-LA, we will verify whether the discontinuous determiners CE...- CI and CE...-LA have taken over the semantics of Old French CIST 'this' and CIL 'that', adopting as a starting point the hypotheses advanced by Kleiber (1985, 1987, 1991) and Marchello-Nizia (1992, 1995, 2003, 2004) on the meaning of these demonstratives in Old and very Old French.

2 CI and LA in Middle French

2.1 The uses of CI[8]

In our corpus, CI is used

(i) with nouns designating parts of space, to signal that they contain the location of the token of CI:

> (3) Et puis qu'il vous convient tout dire, meschant et lasche bonhomme que vous estes, et aultre ne fustes oncques, pensez vous qu'en **ce monde cy** soit medicine qui plus puisse aider et susciter la maladie [...] (*Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, p. 516)
>
> Et puisqu'il faut tout vous dire, méchant et lâche bonhomme que vous êtes, vous qui n'avez jamais été autre, pensez-vous qu'en ce monde-ci il y ait une médecine qui puisse favoriser et susciter la maladie…
>
> And since I've got to spell it out for you, wicked and cowardly little man that you are and always

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have been, do you think that in this world there is any medicine which could help and inflame the illness any more [...]

(ii) with nouns designating a temporal entity, to signal that it contains the moment of enunciation of the demonstrative or that it must be identified through the moment of enunciation:

(4)   Il fault bien necessairement que **ceste annee icy** advienne quelque grand cas (*Pronostication nouvelle pour l'an 1560*, f.A3r)

        Il faut bien nécessairement que cette année-ci arrive quelque grand événement

        It is very necessary that during this year a great event should occur

(iii) with nouns designating persons or objects, in order to signal that these have to be identified through the context of enunciation of the token of CI ; in that case, the demonstrative can be accompanied by a pointing gesture:

(5)   […] a part lui dist : « Beaus hostes, en ceste ville a il nul gentil homme ou bourgois de la forme de **cest grant escuier cy** ? » et lui monstra un de ses gens. (*Jehan de Saintré*, p. 290)

        il lui dit en privé : « Cher hôte, y a –t-il dans cette ville un homme noble ou bourgeois de la stature de ce grand écuyer-ci ? », et il lui montra un de ses serviteurs

        Aside, he said to him: 'Good host, is there any nobleman or other citizen in this town the size of this squire here?' and pointed one of his servants out to him.

(6)   Il vint a l'heure accoustumée veoir cest oeil malade, et quand il l'eut descouvert fist bien de l'esbahy : « Comment ! dit il, je ne vis oncques tel mal ; **cest oeil cy** est plus mal qu'il y a XV jours. » (*Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, p. 504)

        Il vint à l'heure habituelle voir cet œil malade et quand il l'eut découvert, il fit mine de s'ébahir : « Comment ! dit-il, je n'ai jamais vu une telle maladie ; cet œil-ci va plus mal qu'il y a quinze jours. »

        He came at the usual time to see the sick eye, and when he had looked at it he appeared very shocked: 'Goodness,' he said, 'I've never seen a sickness like it: this eye is worse now than it was a fortnight ago.'

These examples confirm the definition proposed in the introduction, according to which CI signals that the referent of the NP must be identified starting from elements of the context of its enunciation.[9] This definition does not seem to explain the use of CE N CI in the following passage, though:

(7)   Et, pour parler d'Allemaigne en general, il y a tant de fortes places et tant de gens enclins à mal faire et à piller et robber et qui usent de force et violence les ungs contre les autres pour petite occasion, que c'est chose merveilleuse ; car ung homme qui n'aura que luy et son varlet desfiera ung grosse cité et ung duc, pour myeulx povoir robber avec le port de quelque petit chasteau rochier, où il se sera retiré, ouquel il y aura vingt ou trente hommes à cheval. **Ces gens icy** ne sont guaires de foiz pugniz des princes d'Alemaigne [...] (Commynes, vol. II, p. 210)

        Et, pour parler d'Allemagne en général, il y a tant de places fortes et tant de gens enclins à faire le mal, piller et voler, et qui usent de force et de violence les uns contre les autres à la moindre occasion, que c'en est chose étonnante ; car un homme qui […]. Ces gens dont il est question ici sont rarement punis par les princes d'Allemagne

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[9] Interestingly, Maes (1991, 172) has advanced a comparable hypothesis to describe the semantics of the Dutch proximal demonstrative *deze* 'this': "A dezeNP expresses the association of the underlying referent with one or more coordination point(s) of the deictic reference domain (DRD) of the discourse involved".

And, speaking of Germany in general, there are so many strongholds and so many people inclined to do evil things and to pillage and steal and who use force and violence against each other on the slightest of pretexts that one can only wonder at it; for a man who [...]. These people are rarely punished by the German princes.

In this case, the function of *icy* seems to be to attract attention to the part of the text where the adverb can be found (or to the moment where it is actualized by the reading of the text) and to signal that *ces gens* refers to an entity that is present in the mind of the speaker (and in that of the addressee / the reader). Although the presence of this referent in the mind of the speaker (and of the addressee) can be justified on the basis of information that was given in the context immediately preceding the demonstrative NP, it is presented as "the one that is present or given "here", independently of what may have been said about it before. As a consequence, it is isolated from the context; for this reason, CE N CI can be used to refer to an entity that is situated outside of the main line of the narrative, as in example (8):

(8)   […] ordonnèrent plusieurs mandemens pour rompre une très excessive taille et cruelle, que nouvellement il avoit mise sus par le conseil de monsr des Cordes, son lieutenant en Picardye, pour entretenir vingt mil hommes de pied tousjours paiéz et deux mil cinq cens pyonniers (et s'appelloyent **ces gens icy** les gens du camp) et ordonna avec eulx quinze cens hommes [...] (Commynes vol. II, 284)

ils ordonnèrent plusieurs dispositions pour rompre une taille très excessive et cruelle, qu'il avait récemment imposée sur le conseil de monseigneur des Cordes, son lieutenant en Picardie, pour entretenir vingt mille hommes de pied toujours payés et deux mille cinq cent terrassiers (et les gens dont il est question ici s'appelaient les gens du camp) et ordonna […].

They ordered several measures to be taken to abolish a cruel and very excessive tallage [land tax], which he had newly levied on the advice of my lord des Cordes, his lieutenant in Picardy, to support twenty thousand paid infantry and two thousand five hundred labourers (and these men were called gens de camp) and he ordered fifteen hundred men with them [...].

The function of *icy* is still the same in (9): it attracts attention to the place where its token is located and in this way, it prompts the reader to find a referent for *cette année* that is associated with that place. But this time, this referent cannot be found through information given before (since nothing can be classified as being "a year") and the reader consequently identifies the referent with what follows:

(9)   […] Et puis leur sembloit qu'on ne leur pourroit charger d'avoir fait venir le roy en Ytalie, veü qu'ilz ne luy en avoient donné conseil ne aide, comme apparoissoit par la responce qu'ilz avoient faict audit Peron de Bache. En **ceste année icy** M CCCC IIIIxx XIII, tira le roy vers Lion, pour entendre [...] (Commynes, vol. III, p. 29)

Et puis il leur semblait qu'on ne pourrait les accuser d'avoir fait venir le roi en Italie, vu qu'ils ne le lui avaient pas conseillé et ne l'avaient pas aidé à le faire, comme cela apparaissait au travers de la réponse qu'ils avaient faite audit Peron de Bache. En cette année-ci 1493 le roi alla jusqu'à Lyon…

And then it seemed to them that they could not be accused of making the king come to Italy, since they had given him neither advice nor assistance, as was apparent from the reply that they gave to the said Peron de Bache. In this year 1493, the king went to Lyons, to hear...

Briefly put, these examples show that CI is used to signal that the referent must be identified through elements of the context of the token of CI and, consequently, that the referent is not to be found in continuity with the preceding discursive context.

2.2 The uses of LA

As we have proposed in the introduction, LA signals that the referent of the NP must not be identified through elements associated with its enunciation.[10] Consequently, the referent will frequently be identified through information associated with a situation different from the context of enunciation; this explains why LA frequently has an anaphoric value. It can be used

(i) with nouns designating a part of space:

(10)   […] car a la paroy du cloistre ou le roy mangoit, qui estoit environné de chevaliers et de serjans qui tenoient grant espace, mangoient a une table .XX. que evesques que arcevesques ; et encore aprés les evesques et les arcevesques mangoit encoste cele table la royne Blanche, sa mere, au chief du cloistre, de **celle part la** ou le roy ne mangoit pas. (Jean de Joinville, p. 48)

Car vers le mur du cloître où mangeait le roi, qui était environné de chevaliers et de serviteurs qui prenaient beaucoup de place, 20 évêques et archevêques mangeaient à une table. Et encore après les évêques et les archevêques, la reine Blanche, sa mère, mangeait à côté de cette table au bout du cloitre, du côté où le roi ne mangeait pas

For near the wall of the cloister where that king was eating, surrounded by knights and servants who took up a lot of space, 20 bishops and archbishops were eating at a table. And beyond the bishops and archbishops, Queen Blanche, his mother, was eating next to this table, at the end of the cloister, on the side where the king was not eating.

In this example, the referent is identified through the information given by the relative phrase, whose content is integrated in the whole of the narrative. It thus is the narrative, and not the context of use, that furnishes the situation allowing the identification of the referent. The referent of *cel pays la* in the following example is also identified by using information given by the narrative:

(11)   […] Jadys i avoit en Burgoyne une dame bone, gentele et sage que passoit toutz lez autres dames de **cel pays la** auxi bien de bealté com de bontee. (*Manières de langage* 1396, p. 13)

Il y avait jadis en Bourgogne une dame bonne, noble et sage qui surpassait toutes les autres dames de ce pays-là aussi bien en beauté qu'en bonté.

There was once in Burgundy a good lady, kind and wise, who surpassed all the other ladies of that land both in beauty and in goodness.

By substituting *cel pays la* by *ce pays-ci* it can be shown that the referent of the phrase accompanied by LA is identified relative to a situation that is not identical to its context of enunciation.

(ii) with nouns designating temporal entities, in order to signal that the referent is a moment in time implied by the narrative:

(12)   Li contes monta a ceval et se departi de la Sale a petite gens, mais casquns se mist a voie apriés li. Qant il vint ou marchiet de Valenchiennes, il i avoit gardes qui gettoient au berrefroi ; si dist tout hault : « Sonnés, sonnés les cloces ! Esmouvés la ville ! » On fist son conmandement, les cloces furent sonnees a esfort ; toutes gens sallirent sus sans ordenance, car on avoit mervelles quel cose ce voloit estre a **celle heure la**, et alerent as armes, et se traist casquns ou marchiet. (Froissart, p. 353)

Le comte monta à cheval et quitta [l'hôtel de] la Sale avec quelques personnes, mais chacun se mit en chemin après lui. Quand il arriva au marché de Valenciennes, il y avait des gardes qui faisaient le guet sur le beffroi ; il dit d'une voix forte : « Sonnez, sonnez les cloches ! Remuez la ville ! On

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[10] This might be more evident in Middle French than in Modern French, since a sentence such as *je suis là* (to say 'I am here') was not acceptable in Middle French (cf. Perret 1988, 59). It should be clear that the definition we propose implies that LA is always a token-reflexive expression, since in order to find the referent, it is necessary to start from the particular token of *la*.

obéit à son ordre, les cloches furent sonnées à toute force ; tout le monde se leva dans le désordre car on se demandait avec étonnement quelle chose ce pouvait être à cette heure-là, et …

The count mounted his horse and left [the hotel of] la Sale with a small group, but the others set out after him. When he reached the marketplace in Valenciennes, there were sentries looking out from the watch-tower; he said out loud: "Ring the bells ! Get the town's people moving!" His order was carried out; the bells were rung loudly; everyone scrambled to their feet in confusion, for they wondered what could be happening at that time of night.

(iii) with nouns designating persons or other entities; thus the army designated by *ceste armée là* in (13), is the one that was described before in this passage; it must not be identified relative to the context of use of LA:

(13)   […] Entre les autres y estoit le conte de Dunoys, fort estimé en toutes choses, le mareschal de Lohehac, le conte de Dampmartin, le seigneur de Bueil et maintz autres, et estoient partyz de l'ordonnance du roy et bien cinq cens hommes d'armes qui tous s'estoient retyréz vers le duc de Bretaigne, dont tous estoient subjectz, et néz de son pays, qui estoyent la fleur de **ceste armée là**. (Commynes, vol. I, p. 20)

Parmi les autres il y avait le conte de Dunoys, très estimé en toute chose, le maréchal de Lohehac, le conte de Dampmartin, le seigneur de Bueil et beaucoup d'autres, qui avaient quitté la maison du roi, et bien cinq cent hommes d'armes, qui tous s'étaient retirés du côté du duc de Bretagne, dont tous étaient les sujets – ils étaient issus de son pays – qui étaient la fleur de cette armée-là.

Among others, there was the count of Dunoys, well respected in all things, the marshall of Lohehac, the count of Dampmartin, the lord of Bueil and many others, all of whom had left the service of the king, and five hundred men-at-arms who had all joined the duke of Brittany, as they were all his subjects and born in his land, and they were the flower of that army.

(iv) with abstract nouns, as in the following passage, where LA again demands that the referent be linked to elements that are not part of its context of enunciation:

(14)   Et disoient aussi que ledit duc de Calabre avoit envoyé homme exprès à Venise pour empoisonner les citernes, au moins celles où il pourroit joindre, car plusieurs sont fermées à clef ; mais audit lieu ne usent de nulle aultre eaue, car ilz sont de touts poincts assis en la mer, et est l'eaue très bonne, et en ay beü huyt moys, pour ung voyage seul, et esté une autre foiz depuis, en la saison dont je parle. Mais leur principalle raison ne venoit point de **ces raisons là**, mais pour ce que les dessusdits les gardoient d'acroistre à leur povoir, tant en Ytalie que en Grèce (Commynes, vol. III, p. 29)

Ils disaient aussi que ledit duc de Calabre avait envoyé un homme exprès à Venise pour empoisonner les citernes, au moins celles qu'il pourrait atteindre, car plusieurs sont fermées à clé ; mais dans ledit lieu ils n'utilisent aucune autre eau, car ils sont totalement environnés par la mer, et l'eau est très bonne, j'en ai bu pendant huit mois au cours d'un seul voyage, et j'y ai séjourné une autre fois depuis, pendant la saison dont je parle. Mais leur motif principal ne tenait pas à ces raisons-là, mais à ce que les dessus dits les empêchaient d'étendre leur pouvoir…

And they were also saying that the duke of Calabria had sent a man to Venice to poison the cisterns; at least those he could reach, as several are locked. But in the said place, they use no other water, for they are surrounded by the sea on all sides and the water is very good, and I have drunk it for eight months during a single voyage, and I have been there once since, in the season of which I was speaking. But their main motive was not to do with those reasons, but was because the aforementioned men prevented them from increasing their power, in Italy as well as in Greece.

LA gets in a lot of these uses a quasi anaphoric interpretation, in conformity with what can be expected from its basic value. This idea is again confirmed by the following example:

(15)   […] portes de Paris, où estoient dedans monsr de Nantouillet, grant maistre, qui bien y servit, comme j'ay dit ailleurs, et le mareschal Joachin. Le peuple se veit espoventé et d'aucuns autres

estatz eussent voulu les seigneurs dedans, jugeans à leur advis ceste entreprinse bonne et profitable pour le royaulme. Autres en y avoit de leurs seigneuries et se meslans de leurs affaires, esperans que par leurs moyens pourroient parvenir à quelques offices ou estatz, qui sont plus desiréz en **ceste cité là** que en nulle autre du monde. Car ceulx qui les ont les [...] (Commynes, vol. I, p. 51)

Portes de Paris, où étaient monseigneur de Nantouillet […] il y en avait d'autres appartenant à leurs seigneuries et se mêlant de leurs affaires, espérant que grâce à eux ils pourraient parvenir à quelques offices ou états qui sont plus désirés en cette cité-là qu'en aucune autre au monde.

[...] gates of Paris, and within them was my lord of Nantouillet [...] Others were there from their estates or involved with their affairs, hoping that through them they could obtain office or land, which are more desirable in that city than in any other anywhere else in the world.

The referent of *ceste cite là* is indeed identified by using information that was given before in the text (the mention of *Paris*), but the relative ("qui sont plus desiréz en ceste cite là que en nulle autre du monde") is justified by knowledge that is presumed to be shared by the speaker and the interlocutor, and not by elements related to the context of enunciation, as would be signalled by CI, which would also present the referent from the point of view of the speaker.

2.3 Provisional conclusion

In Middle French, an NP of the type DEM N CI / LA identifies its referent by combining information coming from its three composing parts:

- The demonstrative determiner of CE / CIST / CIL (where the last two forms no longer imply the semantic opposition that is traditionally defined in terms of distance (but see section § 3.2.3.)) has its habitual token-reflexive semantics: it signals that the referent is to be identified starting from the context of use of the demonstrative;
- The postponed adverbs, and later suffixes, CI and LA are also token-reflexive, as they give the instruction that the referent is to be identified starting from their occurrence, but whereas CI signals that the referent is to be linked to an element of its context of enunciation, such as the speaker, the moment and the location of enunciation, etc., LA signals that the referent is to be identified by using elements that are not directly associated with its enunciation.[11]
- The noun furnishes a classification of the referent, which makes it possible, amongst other things, to decide whether the final interpretation of the demonstrative determiner is spatial, temporal or other.

3 The semantics of CIST and CIL in Old French

It has been pointed out above that phrases of the type DEM N CI / LA have been used since the 15th century to take over the functions of the phrases of ICIL / ICIST N. This raises the question whether the Old French demonstrative determiners ICIL N / ICIST N[12] had the same value as those defined above for DEM N CI/LA. In order to answer this query, we will look into Kleiber's (1985, 1987, 1991) analysis of the functioning of the Old French demonstratives CIST and CIL. We will show (i) that Kleiber's approach can be completed by the definitions advanced above, and (ii) that it can be combined with the functioning of CIST and CIL in very Old French presented in Marchello-Nizia (2003, 2005, 2006a/b).

3.1 A question of contiguously saturated referential matching or not

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[11] In the spatial domain, this means that the referent is "distant" with respect to the occurrence of the demonstrative determiner; in the non spatial domains, this means that the referent is "rejected" out of the context of enunciation of the demonstrative.

[12] As we already pointed out, ICIST and ICIL are long versions of CIST and CIL ; the studies on the opposition between the different paradigms of the demonstratives mainly concern the short forms, but can of course be extended to cover the long forms too.

After a critical presentation of earlier analyses of the functioning of CIST and CIL, Kleiber (1985, 1987, 1991) defines the difference in meaning between the two forms on the basis of the role of the immediate context of the demonstrative token. This context is double: (i) since the use of an expression is a spatio-temporal event, each token has a spatio-temporal context; (ii) as a linguistic expression, it also has a discursive environment. According to Kleiber, CIST indicates that the referent that must be matched with the NP is entirely identified by information present in this double environment (Kleiber 1987, 19-20; this will be called "contiguous saturation"); CIL, on the contrary, signals that the referent cannot be entirely identified by using information contained in the double environment of its token (Kleiber 1987, 22). He proposes, moreover, to combine this semantic distinction with a difference in markedness, considering CIL to be the unmarked term with respect to CIST, and thus implying that in certain contexts, CIL does not imply the absence of "contiguous saturation", whereas in others, it gets the same interpretation as CIST. These definitions can be illustrated by example (16):

(16)   Tuit dient : « Ja ne passera
         Cist jorz, se vos feites que sage,
         Qu'ainz n'aiez fet le mariage
         que molt est fos qui se demore
         de son prue feire une seule ore.
         (*Le chevalier au lion* 2134-2138)

         *Ce sera donc **aujourd'hui même**, lui répondent-ils,*
         si vous voulez agir sagement,
         que vous conclurez le mariage ;
         car celui qui tarde, une heure ou un instant,
         à faire son profit commet une grande sottise.
         (traduction Hult, 1994)

         All said: "Before this day is through, if you're wise, you'll have concluded the marriage, for anyone who delays even a single hour in acting for his own benefit is a fool."

Cist indicates here that the referent of the NP has to be identified on the basis of information contained in the double environment of the demonstrative. The discursive context does not contain any indication that might lead to the identification of the referent, but the spatio-temporal environment of the utterance does, since the referent can be matched with the day on which the token of *cist jorz* is pronounced (Kleiber 1987, 21).[13] This basic value also makes it possible to explain the spatial uses of these demonstratives, as exemplified by (17):

(17)   Or tien, fet il, **cest mantel gris**
         (*Guillaume de Dole* 723)

         Tiens donc, dit-il, ce manteau gris

         "Now," he said, "take this grey cloak."

In this case, the immediate spatio-temporal environment can contain an ostensive gesture that contributes to finding the referent. The idea that CIST expresses spatio-temporal proximity can thus be seen as a contextual effect of the basic meaning as defined above. Consequently, this basic meaning makes it possible to explain uses which a theory formulated in terms of proximity or distance cannot explain, such as those implying non spatial (and non temporal) entities, such as (18):

(18)   Asez savum de la lance parler,

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[13] Note that the noun also contributes to the identification of the referent, as it signals that it is a temporal entity.

Dunt Nostre Sire fut en la cruiz nasfret ;
Carles en ad la mure, mercit Dieu ;
En l'oret punt l'ad faite manuvrer.
Pur **ceste honur** e pur **ceste bontet**,
Li nums Joiuse l'espee fut dunet.
(*La chanson de Roland* 2503-08)

Nous savons très bien parler de la lance
dont Notre Seigneur fut blessé sur la croix ;
Charles en a la pointe, grâce à Dieu ;
il l'a fait enchâsser dans le pommeau d'or.
*C'est à cause de **cet honneur** et de **cette grâce**,*
que le nom de Joyeuse fut donné à l'épée.
(traduction Moignet, 1969)

We know well the story of the lance with which Our Lord was wounded on the cross; Charles has its tip, thanks be to God; he has had it fitted in a gilded handle. Because of this honour and grace, Joyous was the name given to the sword.

In order to explain these uses, some have proposed to replace the notion of spatial proximity by that of proximity of interest. Kleiber (1987, 11-12) has shown, however, that this notion is too vague and has proposed an analysis of the use of CIST based on the idea that the demonstrative indicates that the information necessary to identify the referent is "close" to its occurrence" (Kleiber 1987, 22). It is clear, indeed, that these SN resume the events narrated before by qualifying them as "honur" and "bontet".[14]

As the demonstrative CIL has been analyzed as the unmarked term of the pair CIST / CIL, it can get in context (i) an interpretation opposed to that of CIST, to wit, (- contiguous saturation), but also (ii) a neuter interpretation (ø contiguous saturation) and even (iii) an interpretation that is identical to that of CIST (+ contiguous saturation).The first possibility can be illustrated by (19):

(19)   Por **cel apostre qu'en quiert en Noiron pré** (*Le Charroi de Nîmes* 279, Kleiber 1987, 23)

Au nom de l'apôtre qu'on vénère dans les jardins de Néron

In the name of that apostle who is revered in Nero's gardens.

Of course, in this example, the information necessary for finding the referent is present in the immediate environment of the demonstrative token; nevertheless, CIST is not used in these contexts because the addressee (or the reader) is invited to relate the referent to previous knowledge (which is based on the shared knowledge that the apostle in question is Peter).[15]

However, as a pronoun, CIL can also appear in contexts where the notion of (- contiguous saturation) does not apply, such as (20):

(20)   Tant li fu la chose celee
qu'il avint une matinee,
la ou il jurent an un lit,
qu'il orent eü maint delit ;
boche a boche antre braz gisoient,

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[14] This is in fact the only example given by Kleiber where the use of *cist* must be justified with respect to the discursive environment and thus seems to be "anaphoric" (also see Debruyn 1992, 11).
[15] This is also the case in the Old French uses of the demonstrative known as "demonstrative of notoriety", which also demand that the reader use extra-discursive knowledge and is only used to refer to stereotypical scenes describing battles, springtime, etc. See Kleiber (1991) and Guillot (2010) for more details.

come cil qui molt s'antre amoient.
Cil dormi et **cele** veilla.
(*Erec et Enide* 2469-2475, Kleiber 1987, 27),

Le secret fut gardé
jusqu'au jour où, un matin,
ils étaient couchés dans leur lit
après y avoir connu maints plaisirs ;
ils étaient étendus, bouche à bouche,
dans les bras l'un de l'autre, en amoureux passionés.
Il *dormait,* ***elle*** *était éveillée.*
(traduction Fritz, 1994)

The secret was kept until one morning they lay down in the bed where they had known many pleasures; they were lying in each other's arms, mouths together, as do those who love each other very much. He slept and she was awake.

CIL can also be used in contexts where it refers to entities that are entirely identified by the spatio-temporal environment of their occurrence:

(21)   car set homes molt forz et granz
         i covandroit au descovrir,
         qui la tonbe voldroit ovrir,
         qu'ele est d'une lame coverte.
         Et sachiez que c'est chose certe
         qu'au lever covandroit set homes
         plus forz que moi et vos ne somes.
         Et letres escrites i a
         Qui dïent : « Cil qui levera
         cele lanme seus par son cors […]
         (*Le chevalier de la Charrette* 1892-901, Kleiber 1987, 29)

         Il faudrait sept hommes très grands
         et très forts pour qu'on le découvre,
         si on voulait ouvrir la tombe,
         car elle est recouverte d'une dalle,
         qui, sachez-le comme une chose sûre,
         pour être levée exigerait sept hommes
         plus forts que vous et moi ne le sommes.
         Sur elle sont inscrites des lettres
         disant : Celui qui levera
         cette dalle *par lui seul [...]*
         (traduction Méla, 1994)

         for seven very large and strong men would be needed to find it by anyone wanting to open the tomb, as it is covered by a flat stone. And know this for certain: seven men would be needed to lift it, stronger than me or any of you. On it letters were inscribed, which read: "He who lifts this stone by his own might..."

In these uses, CIL has the same interpretation as CIST, which explains that it can be combined with *ci*, as can be seen in the following example:

(22)   […], il est bon que nous dions après en **cel chapitre ci** des essoines et des contremans […]
         (Philippe de Beaumanoir, p. 62)

         Il est bon que nous parlions ci-après en ce chapitre des excuses et empêchements de comparaître…

         It is right that we speak later in this chapter about pleas for delay and essoin…

Although Kleiber's analysis clearly presents some advantages as compared to the earlier ones, it also raises further questions, concerning (i) the notion of contiguity, (ii) the role of markedness and (iii) the "scope" of the proposed definitions: can they be applied as such to all attestations of CIL and CIST in Old French? We will now look into these three questions in the order as indicated.

3.2 Questions

3.2.1 The notion of contiguity[16]

Kleiber's definitions of CIST and CIL are formulated in terms of contiguity with the spatio-temporal or the discursive environment of the demonstrative. But whereas the idea of contiguity seems clear with respect to the spatio-temporal environment of the demonstrative token, is it also clear with respect to the discursive environment? In view of the considerable number of verses that sometimes separates demonstrative tokens from their antecedent, it is clear that the notion of contiguity cannot be defined in exclusively spatial terms and that it will probably be necessary to appeal to other factors as well. These may be cognitive factors that determine the accessibility of the referent and that take into account, for instance, the thematic status of the demonstrative NP. The relevance of the thematic status for the use of CIST seems to be confirmed by Moignet (1976, 112), who notes that in the *Queste del Saint Graal*, "la "Quête" est généralement évoquée par *ceste Queste*, tout au long du roman" ('the "quest" is generally evoked by *ceste Queste* ('this quest') all through the romance'). It is thus probably necessary to define the notion of "contiguity" more precisely, but the preceding observations confirm, in our view, that CIST N signals that the referent should be identified through the spatio-temporal context in which the demonstrative token has been used or with one of its elements, such as, in this case, the speaker and the on-going discourse.[17]

Besides the reservations already formulated with respect to the exact definition and the limits of the notion of contiguity, Kleiber's definition also encounters problems to explain the use of *cil* in (23), which exemplifies a kind of use that was relatively frequent throughout the Middle Ages and has been well noted by the grammarians:

(23)   Dont commande li rois que li esquiers viengne devant lui, et **cil** i vient tout maintenant. (*Tristan en prose*, I, 175, 10)

         *Alors le roi ordonne que l'écuyer se présente devant lui, et **l'autre** se présente aussitôt.*

         Then the king commanded that the squire come before him, and the latter came right away.

In this kind of uses, the pronoun (singular or plural) in the subject case indicates a change of syntactic subject, but also a change of role in an interaction between two characters, most frequently a scene of verbal exchange. *Cil* then refers in general to the addressee of the preceding words, and above all to the utterer of the following words. As can be seen in this example, there can be complete discursive contiguity between the source (*li esquiers*) and the anaphorically used demonstrative. Moreover, both referents are co-present in the same situation of utterance. If it does not come as a surprise that *cil*, the unmarked term of the system, can be used in this context, why is that *cist* is never used?[18]

3.2.2 Marked / unmarked

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[16] Cf. Debruyn (1992, 15) for comparable critical remarks.

[17] This last element shows that our formulation of the meaning of CIST is situated in continuity with that of Kleiber. CIST would from that point of view be comparable to the Dutch demonstratives *deze / dit*, which correspond to *celui-ci* (cf. Maes 1991, 172).

[18] Also see Guillot (to appear) for a more extensive discussion of this kind of uses.

As we already explained above, Kleiber holds that CIL is the unmarked form of the pair CIST/CIL.[19] As a consequence, if CIL signals in (19) that the referent has to be linked to knowledge that is supposed to be shared by the addressee (or reader), the demonstrative gets this interpretation in context. However, if CIL is indeed only unmarked with respect to contiguous saturation (cf. 3.2.1.), it is not clear what prevents it from signalling in (19) that the information necessary to identify the referent is available in its immediate environment. As noted by Kleiber (1987, 22), the use of CIL brings about a difference in meaning, that becomes clear when one compares *cil apostre qui N* with *cist apostre qui N* et *l'apostre qui N* : only the SN introduced by by CIL requires that the referent be linked to knowledge outside of the situation of enunciation. We propose, then, that this is exactly what CIL expresses: that the identification of the referent requires that it be linked to a situation other than the context in which its token appears.

This idea does not stop CIL from being used in contexts such as (20) and (21): it is clear that in (20), the referent is not linked to the context of enunciation, but to the reference points of the narrative, whereas (21) shows that it is not spatial proximity as such that is relevant, but the way the referent is given. Even if *cele lanme* refers to a blade that is present in the scene, the use of CIL has the effect of presenting the blade as mythical, of signalling that it is known from elsewhere, that it has already been the object of other tales, etc. Briefly put, the use of CIL signals that the blade is linked to knowledge that does not have to be related to the context of enunciation of the demonstrative, which comprises the speaker, the moment and the place of enunciation and the immediate environment of the demonstrative NP. It seems to us, moreover, that if CIL can be used in a context such as (21), where the intended referent is present, this might explain the confusion between CIST and CIL that appears according to Dees from 1350 onwards. Starting from that moment, one finds not only occurrences of CIL + CI, but also of CIST + LA.

3.2.3 Very Old French: a "personal" system

Marchello-Nizia (2003, 2005, 2006a and b) proposes to explain the use of demonstratives in very Old French without using the notions of markedness or contiguity. She advances the hypothesis that in the first French texts, CIST signals that the referent of the NP must be situated in the personal sphere of the speaker, which includes everything that is close to the speaker, but also everything that in some sense "belongs" to him (including the words he just spoke) (Marchello-Nizia 2006b, 107). CIL, on the other hand, signals that the referent of the NP is to be situated outside of this sphere. Thus in the following examples, *ceste meschinne* refers to the wife of the speaker when he talks about their common happiness, whereas he uses *celle* later on in his story to refer to his wife after she has left him:

(24)   « Li roi meïzmez qui France a a baillier / M'i ot donné Lubias a moillier, / **Ceste meschinne** au gent cors afaitié » (*Ami et Amile*, 2200, cité par Marchello-Nizia 2006b, 109)

        « Le roi lui-même, qui gouverne la France, m'a donné Lubias comme épouse, cette belle jeune fille au corps élégant »

        "The king himself, who rules all France, had given me Lubias to be my wife, this beautiful young maiden with her elegant, fine body. "

(25)   « **Celle** me faut qui me deüst amer. » (*Ami et Amile*, 2444, cité par Marchello-Nizia 2006b, 109)[20]

        « Celle qui aurait dû m'aimer me trahit. »

        "She who ought to love me failed me."

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[19] He refers to McCool (1981) for that idea.

[20] This hypothesis also suggests that by using CIL in (21), the speaker excludes the referent from his personal sphere. Does it follow that there are still "traces" of the older opposition in the French language of the 12th and 13th centuries? More extensive research is needed to confirm that conclusion.

3.2.4 A second provisional conclusion

We thus propose that the meaning of demonstrative has undergone in Old French an evolution in which three stages can be distinguished:

1) In very Old French, CIST locates the referent in the personal sphere of the speaker whereas CIL excludes it from this sphere.
2) Subsequently, CIST signals that the referent must be found through an element of the context of enunciation, comprising the speaker, but also the moment or place of enunciation, or the text or discourse being produced; CIL signals that the referent is to be located outside of this context.[21]
3) Finally, the form *cist* rarefies progressively from the middle of the 13th century onwards and *cil* approximatively two centuries later, in favour of the undifferenciated forms *ce* and *ces*, whereas other forms of the demonstrative paradigms, such as *cet*, *cette*, *celle* and *celui* continue to be used.

These are not neatly separated stages, however, and it is not always clear which "rules" one needs to explain the use of certain forms. Moreover, there is continuity between the "rules". When ICIST N and ICIL N are replaced by CE / CIST / CIL N-CI/LA, their use can be explained by the definition under 2). In the following section, we will verify whether this "rule" is still the one that explains their use in Modern French.

4 -CI and -LA in Modern French

The great majority of uses of CE N-CI and CE N-LA in Modern French seems to respect the definition proposed above: -CI signals that the referent must be identified through the context of enunciation and its elements, to wit, the speaker, the place and the moment of enunciation, and the text / discourse produced; -LA on the other hand signals that the referent has to be identified through reference points that are not contained in the context of enunciation. This definition is best illustrated by NPs containing temporal nouns: when CE N-CI contains a temporal noun, the NP cannot be used anaphorically:

(26)   J'ai reçu votre lettre le mardi 19 janvier. C'est d'ailleurs justement [*ce jour-ci/ OK ce jour-là] que Jean-Paul est rentré d'Amérique. (Debruyn 1992, 32)

   I received your letter on Tuesday, January 19. It was [on this day / on that day] exactly that Jean-Paul came back from America.

The referent of the NP must obligatorily be identified through the context of enunciation:

(27)   – […] On ferme.
   – Comment, on ferme ? A **cette heure-ci** ? (Queneau 1942, 26, cité dans Debruyn 1992, 32)

    "We're closing."
   "What do you mean, 'you're closing?' At this time?"

Even if the referent is situated outside of the context of enunciation, it is initially identified through this context:

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[21] This does not mean that the idea of token-reflexivity is no longer valid: the referent still has to be identified starting from the occurrence, or the token, of CE N CI/LA, but CI and LA signal on top of that whether or not the element leading to the referent is part of the context of enunciation of the demonstrative token.

(28)   En 1988, pendant **ce mois-ci**, il y avait de la neige. (Debruyn 1992, 34)

         There was snow in this month in 1988.

As formulated by Debruyn (1992, 34), -CI has the preceding noun in its scope.

It can be seen in (26) that anaphoric uses are easier with -LA than with -CI. This is not surprising, if -LA indeed signals that the referent must be identified with respect to a situation which is not the context of enunciation and can thus be given by the narrative. We believe that this analysis also makes it possible to explain the use of CE N-LA when the noun refers to a concrete entity (29), an abstract entity (30), or an localizing entity (31):

(29)   […] de l'ombre du couloir, deux hommes avaient surgi. Tarrou eut à peine le temps d'entendre son compagnon demander ce que pouvaient bien vouloir **ces deux oiseaux-là** (Camus, 1962, 1447, cité dans Debruyn 1992, 20)

         […] from the shadow of the corridor, two men had burst forward. Tarrou barely had time to hear his companion ask what those two nutters could possibly want.

(30)   – Vous avez pensé tuer votre femme et à vous tuer ensuite ?
         – C'est romantique, n'est-ce pas ? Cependant, l'homme le plus intelligent a eu **cette tentation-là** au moins une fois dans sa vie. (Simenon, 1948, 184, cité dans Debruyn 1992, 29)

         "You thought about killing your wife and then yourself?"
         "Romantic, isn't it? But even the cleverest man has had that urge at least once in his life."

(31)   Des noyaux de curieux se tenaient çà et là ; de temps à autre, la police les faisait rouler, et ils s'arrêtaient un peu plus loin. Au coin de l'avenue de la porte d'Argenteuil, ça n'avait pas brûlé. On discutait ferme de **ce côté-là**. Mais on ne savait pas grand-chose. (Queneau 1942, 138, cité dans Debruyn 1992, 42)

         Small groups of curious onlookers were hanging around here and there; from time to time the police moved them on, and they stopped again a bit further away. At the corner of avenue de la porte d'Argenteuil, nothing had burned. A lively argument was going on over there. But nobody knew much.

If CE N-LA is used deictically, the referent is situated at a place other than the context of enunciation in a strict sense:

(32)   Pierre, tu veux bien me passer **ce livre-là** ? (Debruyn 1992, 21)

         Pierre, can you give me that book?

(33)   (en voyant deux personnes s'embrasser dans la rue)
         – **Cet amour-là** me va droit au cœur. (Debruyn 1992, 29)

         That kind of love really touches me.

(34)   (en montrant du doigt un endroit particulier)
         – C'est à **cet endroit-là** qu'il y avait autrefois la sculpture de la Sainte Vierge. (Debruyn 1992, 43)

         It's over there that there used to be the statue of the Virgin.

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The most problematic uses are then those that contain an anaphorically used -CI, such as (35), (36) and (37):

(35)   – « C'est bien », dit-elle. Il monta l'escalier. Ça le démangeait de se remettre à écrire. Et il se félicitait à l'idée que **ce roman-ci** ne serait pas édifiant pour un sou : il n'avait encore aucune idée précise de ce qu'il allait faire ; sa seule consigne, c'était de s'amuser gratuitement à être sincère. (Simone de Beauvoir 1954, 119, cité dans Debruyn 1992, 20)

"It's fine," she said. He went upstairs. He was itching to get back to writing. And he was pleased by the idea that this book wouldn't be the slightest bit enlightening: he still had no clear idea of what he was going to do. The only requirement was to enjoy being gratuitously frank.

(36)   Michael Smith avait dû encaisser beaucoup de refus dans sa vie, mais **ce refus-ci** lui alla droit au cœur. (Debruyn 1992, 28)

Michael Smith must have had to deal with many refusals in his life, but this one really affected him.

(37)   Hier, le comte et la comtesse ont fait la visite de Bruxelles et c'est **cette ville-ci** qu'ils ont trouvé la plus belle, bien qu'ils aient aussi visité Bruges et Anvers. (Debruyn 1992, 41)

Yesterday, the count and countess visited Brussels, and this was the city they found the most attractive, even though they had also been to Bruges and Anvers.

Indeed, it is not evident that -CI is used anaphorically, if it signals that the referent must be identified through an element of the context of enunciation. Nevertheless, our definition seems capable of explaining the use of *ce roman-ci* in (35): this expression refers to an element in the mind of the character designated by *il*, who thus functions as an instance having a point of view.

The demonstrative NP suggests moreover that the referent is contrasted with other referents of the same category, especially in (36) and (37). This effect should not to be wholly attributed to the particle –CI, however: Corblin (1987) and Kleiber (1986) have already shown that this is a characteristic effect of using a demonstrative determiner. Indeed, if this determiner signals that the referent must be identified starting from elements of the context of enunciation, its use also implies that the preceding context is at least back-grounded. Since the particle -CI signals in this context that the referent must be identified using the context surrounding the token of the demonstrative NP, it reinforces this effect. This can be shown by replacing *ce refus-ci* in (36) by *ce refus-là*: -LA requires that the referent be associated with knowledge situated outside of the context of enunciation (in this case knowledge supposed to be known), whereas the use of –CI has the effect of blocking this appeal to a larger context and to incite the addressee (or the reader) to identify the referent starting from the immediate context. But since in this context, the only information that makes it possible to find the referent are the noun, who expresses a classification, and the demonstrative determiner, who requires that the NP be matched with a particular referent and conveys the idea of an opposition that is internal to the category designated by the noun, the result is a contrastive interpretation, which is confirmed by the context as this makes it possible to oppose the refusal referred to by *ce refus-ci* to other refusals.

5 Conclusion

The particles –CI and -LA have since their creation the meanings that we have assigned them above:

(i)   –CI signals that the referent must be identified through an element of the context of enunciation, which contains the speaker, the moment and the place of enunciation, and the discourse that accompanies the demonstrative token;

(ii)   -LA signals that the referent must be identified through elements that are not part of the context of enunciation.

Our study also confirms that (i) CE N-CI and CE N-LA progressively replace the Old French long forms of the demonstratives ICIST and ICIL, and (ii) that in doing so, they take over the semantics of Old French CIST and CIL. The grammaticalization involved in this evolution consists on the one hand in a paradigmatization by reducing the number of forms and on the other in a transformation of the adverbs *ci* and *là* into suffixes, thus creating more unified or "bonded" forms.

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Annexe

The following table contains the number of occurrences of CE N CI and CE N LA in each text of the corpus.

Textes	Nombre total d'occurrences-mots	Nombre d'occurrences de CE N CI	Nombre d'occurrences de CE N LA
Mémoires de Joinville	75629	0	6
Griseldis	16243	0	1
Manières de langage de 1396	15494	5	2
Manières de langage de 1399	4788	0	0
Chroniques de Froissart	216518	5	9
Quinze joies de mariage (vers 1400)	34680	0	0
Chronique de Monstrelet	29165	0	0
Cligès en prose	31759	0	0
Roman du comte d'Artois	45806	0	1
Jean de Saintré d'Antoine de la Sale	89892	2	0
Cent nouvelles nouvelles anonymes	151925	3	0
Farce de maître Pierre Pathelin	10674	4	2
Roman de Jehan de Paris	25094	0	0
Mémoires de Commynes	204 646	12	32
Tiers Livre de Rabelais	54472	2	1