

A PHENOMENON OF PROVENÇAL SYNTAX: PARTS OF A SENTENCE WITHOUT REFERENCE TO ITS GRAMMATICAL SUBJECT

I. PRELIMINARY NOTE

In his *Advanced English Syntax*, 5th ed., London 1929, C. T. Onions cautions against sentences such as: «After fighting the flames for several hours the ship was abandoned» (§ 186) and «Calling upon him last summer, he kindly offered me his copy» (§ 61b). In the first case, we have a gerundial construction, in the second, a participial one. Either construction lacks a subject of its own, and referred to its grammatical subject, makes nonsense. What is missing in Onion's book is examples where it is an adverbial adjunct (preposition + noun) that cannot be referred to the grammatical subject of the sentence, like the following (formed by myself): «Theseus cursed his son without guilt». And yet, Provençal sentences like this are found in great numbers.

II. FIRST EXAMPLES OF SUCH FAULTY REFERENCES

They occurred to me in the romance of *Jaufre*. There I found the following three examples, which I quoted in my review of Breuer's edition of that romance:¹

1. «Que prenga² de la vilania
qu'en sa cort fes³ *sens desfisansa*,
A son plazer dreit e venjansa.»
(l. 6189.)

1. *ZRPh*, 48 (1928), 581 ff.

2. Sc. *lo reis*.

3. Sc. *Taulat*.

2. «E contatz li⁴ la desmesura
que fasia³ *sentz forfachura*
az aquel cavalier souffrir.»
(l. 6192.)
3. «Que a peccat me tol^s mon dreitz
ez a tort e *senes forfaichura.*»
(l. 8035.)

None of the three cases of *ses* + noun refers to its grammatical subject, which is 'he' (=Taulat) in Nos. 1 and 2 and the villain in No. 3, while the alleged, but denied, offenses, *desfisansa* and *forfachura*, are supposed to proceed from the innocent victims.

In the same review, I had called attention to two passages of *Jaufre* where the preposition *ses* is connected with an infinitive :

4. «El⁶ a Estot lo mal vencut...
e'l servent mort, que'l pas garava
on om *sen raubar* non passava.»
(l. 8082.)

Here, too, the subject of *sen raubar* is not the same as that of the sentence, which is *om*, but the phrase is used in an absolute sense : «without robbery taking place».

5. «Per que donna, se s'amor dona
ses querre, non es tant honrada
con es cella que n'es pregada.»
(l. 7551.)

Grammatically speaking the subject of *ses querre* should be *donna* (l. 7550), but the real subject is not named ; it is an undefined person : «(the lady gives her love) without (anybody's) asking (for it)».

Breuer, the first editor of *Jaufre*, had conceived of these infinitives as being used with a passive meaning. I objected to this opinion, and still do, as the above explanations will have borne out. My interpretation was later approved of by Schultz-Gora in an article published in *ZRPh*, 50 (1930), 296-308 : «Freie Verwendung von *ses* + Substantiv oder Infinitiv».

III. «*Ses* + NOUN OR INFINITIVE»

In his article, Schultz-Gora gives a great number of examples which he had collected over the years. Since the phrase «*ses* + noun or infinitive»

4. Sc. *al rei*.
5. Sc. a certain villain.
6. Sc. *Jaufre*.

forms an essential part of this paper, we have to illustrate its use by examples in addition to those few quoted in section II. For this reason, we do not consider it appropriate simply to refer the reader to Schultz-Gora's article nor to reproduce here all or some of his findings. Instead, we are going to offer a number of new quotations, which, in connection with the preposition *ses*, show none of those nouns and infinitives occurring in the late provençalist's material.

I. *ses* + noun

We start with what we think to be the oldest of the pertinent examples (eleventh century):

6. «Suspira·l gentz per tal affan
que·ll vedon durar *sens engan*.⁷»
(*Sainte Foy*, ed. HOEPFFNER, l. 381.)
7. «Et ilh *ses tort*⁸ me repren!»
(*GUIR. BORN.*, P.-C. 242.48, ed. KOLSEN, No. 24, l. 23.)
8. Qu'en la crotz fo mes entre dos lairos,
quan *ses colpa*⁹ l'auciron li Juzieu.»
(*AIM. PEG.*, P.-C. 10.11, ed. CHAMBERS, p. 85, II, 4.)
9. «E qui *sens tort* dechai¹⁰
«zo qe deu plus car tener
granz peçatz li'n deu eschazer.»
(*PISTOLETA*, P.-C. 372.4b, ed. NIESTROY, No. 4, IV, 8.)
10. «Aissi con hom que senher ochaizona
ses tort,¹¹ dompna, quan l'a en son poder,
e·l quer merce, e no la'n vol aver...»
(*GUILL. MAGRET* [?], P.-C. 47.2, ed. NAUDIETH,
p. 141, l. 2.)
11. «Que ja, si·us platz, no m'aucijatz *ses tort*!»
(*PEIRE ESPANHOL*, P.-C. 342.2, ed. APPEL, *Inédita*,
p. 235, IV, 5.)

7. Hoepffner equates *ses engan* with *sens tot forfait* (l. 345) and renders *ses engan* by: «sans qu'elle se soit rendue coupable de fraude, de tromperie».

8. Translation: «ohne mein Verschulden».

9. The translation «for no fault» replaces *ses* by a causal preposition, thus making the original illogical phrase, fit into the context.

10. Translation: «Und wer, ohne dass es gefehlt hat, das zerstört, was...».

11. Translation: «ein Mann ohne Schuld». — *ses tort* does not qualify *hom* (l. 1); it belongs in the relative clause starting with *que* (l. 1).

12. «Amors, mes m'avetz en afan...
e fai peccat qui'l sieu costrenh
ses naleg ni vas luy si fenh.¹²»
(DAUDE [Bernart?] DE PRADAS, P.-C. 65.3, ed. SCHUTZ,
p. 86, l. 16.)
13. «E per aquel espazi que ieu t'ai mentagut
ses vista ni *sauçada* ieu ay aysi viscut.»
(S. Marie Madeleine, l. 976, RLR, 25, 182.)¹³
14. «Aines, tu dises ques a mort
aquei angels mon fil *sens tort*
quar non li vole onor portar,
anz vole lo tieu blastemar.»
(Sainte Agnès, ed. JEANROY, l. 730.)

Schultz-Gora (*l.c.*, p. 300) points out that, in all his examples, the nouns preceded by *ses* are abstract nouns, a fact that is confirmed by the examples which I have just added to his. He is of the opinion that using a concrete noun in the illogical way we are dealing with here may more easily lead to misunderstandings than is the case with abstract nouns. I do not share his opinion, nor can I see much of a proof in the German example he has formed himself for lack of an original Provençal one. It is indeed difficult to explain why there are no examples for the different handling of the two kinds of nouns. The only thing I could suggest is this: Nearly all of those abstract nouns are of an emotional character (*prec, reprocha, afan, desfisansa, forfachura, engan, colpa, naleg*). They fit better into similarly tuned sentences and the reader's or listener's mind can more easily make the necessary adjustment of references than in the case of concrete nouns with their matter-of-fact nature and precisely defined meanings.

2. *ses* + infinitive

15. «Molt am selieys que m'a conquis. —
Et elha me? — Oc, so l'au dir. —
Creirai son dig *senes plevir*?¹⁴»
(PIÈRE ROGIER, P.-C. 356.3, ed. APPEL, No. 7, l. 21.)

12. Translation: «qui fait violence à son serviteur sans reproche». But *naleg* is not «reproche» nor a qualifier to «son serviteur». The expression *ses naleg* is without reference to the subject *qui* (= *Amor*) and literally means «without (there being) a fault (on the part of Love's servant)».

13. Quoted by LEVY, *PSW*, VIII, 801, No. 9: *ses vista*, «ungesehen». Translation: «ohne dass man mich sah und von mir wusste». What interests us here is the fact that those two adverbial adjuncts introduced by *ses* do not refer to the subject of the sentence, which is *ieu*, but to an undefined «one».

14. «Without (her) pledging (her word).»

16. « ... si'l plagues qe'm laisses en son servizi metre
cill cui hom liges sui *ses dar e ses prometre*.¹⁵»
(GUILL. DE S. DIDIER, P.-C. 234.16, ed. SAKARI,
No. 13, l. 6.)
17. «Anz s'en ri dolzamen,
quant li dic que mais l'am de re ;
c'om¹⁶ plus lo'il jur, e meinz m'en cre ;
mas se mon cor sabia,
senz jurar m'en creiria.¹⁷»
(PISTOLETA, P.-C. 327.4a, ed. NIESTROY, No. 3, IV, 8.)
18. «E totz oms pros grazitz
*ses trop prejar*¹⁸
fa manhs bels dos, quan es sos agradatges.»
(GUIR. DE CAL., P.-C. 243.7, ed. ERNST, RF, 40,
307, II, 14.)
19. «Ed un'autra, q'es ben atretan pros,
ses tot preiar s'abellis tan de vos
que:us autreia e:us dona s'amistat.»
(GUILL. DE LA TOR-IMBERT, ed. BLASI, No. 12, I, 14.)
20. «Lauzors fa son lausat
conoisser *ses vezer*.¹⁹»
(AT DE MONS, ed. BERNHARDT, I, 9.)
21. «Dona, quar sobre l'enveia
m'aves fait dejuns estar
ses tot joi sentir.²⁰
(GUIR. D'ESPANHA, P.-C. 244.6, ed. HOBY,
No. 8, II, 9.)
22. «... una douza dolors
m'en venc el cor, que doler
mi faci *senes mal aver*.²¹»
(BON. CALVO, ed. BRANCIFORTI, No. 3, l. 16.)
23. «Ni res no'm pot far vallenga
ni conort ni abeillir
*ses vezer ...*²²»
(BON. CALVO, ed. BRANCIFORTI, No. 19, l. 41.)

15. «Without (her) giving or promising (me anything).»

16. Text: *com*.

17. Subject of *creiria* is the lady, of *jurar* the lover.

18. Subject to *prejar* is some unnamed supplicants.

19. «Without (people) seeing (him).»

20. The subject of the sentence is in *aves* (sc., *vos = la dona*), the subject of *ses sentir* is «I», sc., the poet.

21. The subject of the relative clause is *que* (sc., *dolors*), that of *senes aver* is the poet.

22. Subject is *res*, subject of *ses vezer* the poet.

24. «E pus no val ab Amor re preyar,
nom d'Amor pert, si's dona *ses preyar*.²³»
(CÈRVERI, ed. RIGUER, No. 49, l. 14.)
25. «Dona, no-us puc dir ne far²⁴ lo desir
ne'l cossir ne'l martir
ne com la nit e'l jorn per vos sospir ;
pero *sens dir*²⁵ podetz auzir²⁶
e *sens tir*²⁷ per albir lo martir ses falir.»
(The same, ed. RIGUER, No. 22, l. 30.)
26. «Mas aqela idola sopleges
tot om al son de la trompa,
e se non, fora en colpa :
*ses far*²⁸ d'el nulha enquesta,
mantenen perdes la testa.»
(CRESCAS DU CAYLAR, *Esther*, ed. NEUBAUER-MEYER,
R. 21, 194, l. 19.)

IV. «*Ses + noun + que ... non*»

In the article mentioned above, Schultz-Gora justly remarks that the use of *ses + noun* or infinitive appears less free where the sentence contains a personal pronoun in an oblique case (dative or accusative) or a possessive adjective which at least gives an indication of the subject of our *ses*-combination.²⁹ But even then, he adds, this syntagme may lead to misunderstandings. This danger of being misunderstood may have induced writers to add to the noun a relative clause which makes it clear what subject «*ses + noun*» is to be referred to. Here, we think, lies the origin of the frequently used, but repeatedly misunderstood, phrase «*ses + noun + que ... non*.» It is the equivalent of French *sans que*, German *ohne dass*, and English *without + gerund*. Levy, *PSW VII*, 593, No. 8, gives some examples, of which we are reproducing here the one from *Crois. Albig.*, l. 2771 :

23. By translating *ses preyar* by «sin ser suplicado» the editor avoids the incorrect reference of the original.

24. *far* «to describe».

25. «Without (my) telling (you).» Subject is *vos* in *podetz*.

26. *auzir* is used for perceptions other than those through the ears. Cf. «E critz e plors e braitz e dols corals | Poirem auzir e per plans e per vals | E mainz destriers pres ses dar e ses vendre», AICART DEL FOS., P.-C. 7.1, ed. MAHN, *Werke*, III, 273, III, 7.

27. *sens tir* = «immediately» (?); see editor's note p. 61.

28. Subject of the sentence is *om*, that of *far* the unnamed judges or executioners.

29. Cf. our examples Nos. 6, 7, 8, 11, 15, 17, 19, 21 and 23.

27. «Li clergue e·ls Frances volon deseretar
lo comte mon cunhat e de terra gitar
ses tort e senes colpa *que om no·l pot comtar.*»

Here the relative clause makes it clear that *ses tort e senes colpa* are to be referred to the object of the principal clause *lo comte*, not to its subject *li clergue e·ls Frances*.

I am adding some examples which are not in Levy's *PSW* :

28. «Mas de la dolor sui clamans
que·m fai traire trastotz mos ans
ses colp'e ses tort *qu'ieu no l'ai.*³⁰»
(P. VIDAL, ed. ANGLADE, No. 3, l. 4.)
29. «Son bel cors cortes e gai
m'an fait lauzengier
estrang, qe·m son gerrier
ses tort *que no lor ai.*»
(RAIM. DE MIRAVAL, P.-C. 406.4I, ed. KOLSEN,
AR, 2I, 3I3, II, 4.)
30. «Que vostr'amors me vol aucire
senz colpa *q'eu no l'ai.*»
(PISTOLETA, P.-C. 372.4b, ed. NIESTROY,
No. 4, IV, 7.)
31. «Ses dezir et ses razo
*que non ai don sia gais*³¹
mi ven e mon cor e·m nais
us doutz volers, que·m somo
q'ieu chan e fassa chanso.»
(UC DE S. CIRC, ed. JEANROY-SALVERDA, No. II, l. 2.)
32. «E qui no·ls³² met en soan
si eis destrui e galia ;
q'uns m'en volc traïr ugan
ses colpas *q'ieu non avia.*»
(ARN. CATALAN, P.-C. 27.6, ed. BLASI, *AR*, XVI,
119, V, 8.)
33. «Juzieu l'an pres ses tort *que no avia.*³³»
(*Complaint of Saint Mary*, ed. APPEL, *Chrest.*,
No. 103, l. 18a.)

30. This passage was already quoted by Stimming in his first edition of *Bertran de Born* p. 258, note 36.

31. The editors have not recognized our construction ; they put l. 2 between dashes and render it by : «car je n'ai aucune raison d'être gai».

32. ·ls = los = los lauzengiers.

33. V = lo = Christ.

34. «Que anc en trastot mon vivent
nun fetz om tan onrat present
con vos en tan pauc de sason
m'avetz fait senes guisardon
que de me nun avet agut.³⁴»

(*Jaufre*, ed. BRUNEL, l. 10193.)

35. «Ieu t'en laisserai annar sout
senz mal que non auras de me.»

(*ib.*, l. 9043.)

Further examples are found in the same romance ll. 4691, 4757, 6236-37, 10132.

36. «Si la molher mor prumier que'l marid senes hered que no haian
de lor matrimoni...»

(*Cout. Condom*, § 67³⁵)

37. «... vivon³⁶ el bosc e nos obezeysson ses mal que no lor jam
ni elas a nos.»

(*Philomena*, ed. SCHNEEGANS, p. 214.)

Some remarks would seem appropriate concerning the foregoing quotations (Nos. 27-37):

1. The *que* of the *que*-clause is a relative pronoun — indeed, I would not know what else it might be — and appears in the accusative. This relative clause serves to indicate that the phrase «*ses* + noun» does not refer to the subject of the principal clause in which it stands, and to show and set off the real subject to which the phrase belongs. This subject could hardly be expected to be the nominative of the relative pronoun referring to the noun itself; it generally and naturally is expressed by a special word or implied in the form of the verb of the relative clause. We have indeed found only two examples where the *que* stands for the nominative of the relative pronoun:³⁷

38. «Amduy s'e[n] van ses paria
que non anec decosta lor.»

(*Guillem de la Barra*, ed. PAUL MEYER, l. 5125.)

34. The above lines are uttered by King Arthur to thank for the beautiful hunting bird that *Jaufre* had given him.

35. Quoted by LEVY, *PSW*, VI, 556, s. v. *prumier*. In this case, the *que*-clause seems to have been added because *senes hered* does not only refer to the subject *la molher* but also concerns the husband, as is indicated by the plural *haian*.

36. Sc., the wild animals.

37. *Que* for *qui* is quite common in Provençal. We never met with *qui* in connection with the grammatical phenomenon we are dealing with here.

Here *que* refers to *ses paria* and, at the same time, is the subject of the relative clause. This narrative poem was composed in the fourteenth century. At that time, the real syntactic value of «*ses + noun + que ... no*» can be supposed to have been forgotten.

39. «Doncs, per qu'es nulhs hom duptos
 que'l verays Salvaire
 non pogues filh traire
 d'un verge cors precios
 ses assag *que* fagz no'i fos
 d'ome? ...»

(GUILL. DE SAINT-DIDIER [?], P.-C. 234.2,
 ed. SAKARI, No. 14, l. 35.)

The religious poem from which the above lines are taken is probably not by Guillem and may also have been composed at a late period of troubadour poetry.³⁸

2. The negation *non* in the *que*-clause is, of course, pleonastic. We find a similar *non* very frequently in subordinate causes whose principal clauses contain verbs which, besides having a negative semantic shade in themselves, are accompanied by *non*. Cf., the following quotation from *Flamenca*, ll. 283-4: «No's pot tener que no'il preses | La ma e non la l'estreisses».

3. While the nouns preceded by *ses* of Section III are all abstract nouns (Nos. 6-14), there seem to be some rare exceptions in the phrase «*ses + noun + que no*». As the first of them, we may name the just quoted passage from *Guillem de la Barra* (No. 38), unless one regards *paria* as an abstract noun without thinking of the persons that constitute the companionship.

In his *PSW*, VII 593, Levy quotes the following passage from *Deux Manuscrits*, BIII, 272 :

40. «Ven³⁹ gazanhan e fay bona mezura
 ses tot *denier* que no'y vuelhas d'ezura.»

In this case, too, some doubt seems justified. *Denier* is the name of a coin and, consequently, a concrete noun. But here it is only used as an expression of non-value; the noun really negated is *ezura* 'usury', and we must understand: «*ses ezura*» — not even to the amount of a *denier* — «*que no'y vuelhas*».

38. See SAKARI, p. 19-20. He translates ll. 34-36: «... d'un corps précieux et vierge qui n'eût connu l'homme».

39. *Ven* is an imperative.

In the following two examples, the first of which already has been quoted by Levy, we find a personal pronoun instead of a noun :

41. «E vos remanretz ins el fanh
ses *mi* que ja no:us en trairay.»
(RAIMON VIDAL, *So fo*, l. 690.)

42. «De totz, bes agram frachura
ses *tu*⁴⁰ que non⁴¹ vals ab Dieu.»
(GUIR. RIQUIER, P.-C. 248.73, MAHN, *Werke*, IV,
100, l. 22.)

The noun-*ersatz* in the last two quotations has influenced the original construction of our phrase inasmuch as the first person *mi* and the second person *tu* have caused the verbs of the relative clauses to adopt the respective forms, the first person *trairay* in No. 41, the second person *vols* in No. 42. In connection with this innovation, the relative pronoun appears in the nominative — here again *que*, not *qui* (see note 37) — and in this respect, examples Nos. 41-42 might join the other two where we found the relative pronoun to be in the nominative (Nos. 38 and 39). When judging this *degeneration* of an original phrase, one must not forget that Raimon Vidal was Catalan and Guiraut Riquer, the *last troubadour*, lived in the second half of the thirteenth century.

A last passage to be discussed in this connection is one from *Crois. Alb.* (ed. Paul Meyer) l. 277. It seems to offer another example of a concrete noun depending on *ses*, but, in my opinion, is to be explained differently :

43. «... E ges tro la vesprada
no:us auria retrait ni tro a la maitinada
aisels que de Proensa vengro a la cruzada
estiers la outra gent que i era amasada,
que per home del mon no pot eser aesmada,
ses *la cavalaria* que ja no i er contada
que amenon li Frances.»

Here *ses* has the same sense as *estiers* in l. 275, sc., that of German 'ausser' or English 'besides'. Meyer renders l. 275 literally by: «sans la cavalerie innombrable», while Martin-Chabot's translation «sans parler de la multitude innombrable» would seem to make the real meaning of *ses la*

40. Sc., the Holy Virgin.

41. Read *no n[s]*: «without your helping us?».

cavalaria more obvious. One could even put *que ja no'i er contada* between commas.

So we may say that, despite the — even doubtful — exception of the five cases just discussed (Nos. 38 and 40-43), the nouns which the *que*-clauses refer to are abstract nouns like those of Section III where there is no such clause. Not infrequently they even are the same words.

4. The authors of the examples given in Section III were rather negligent in composing their sentences. Not adding the explanatory *que*-clause, they left it to the reader or listener to establish the necessary references. More careful were those who, in a kind of afterthought, availed themselves of those clauses in order to prevent misunderstandings. This tendency toward clearness may have caused hyperconscientious writers to use such relative clauses even where they are not needed because «*ses* + noun» clearly refer to the subject of the sentence. Take the following two passages quoted by Levy (*PSW*, VII, 593):

44. «Homes adretz e bos
vezem mantas sazoz
que⁴² prendo mal e dan
ses colpa *que non an.*»
(*AT DE MONS*, l. 49.)

Ses colpa unmistakably refers to the subject, which is either *que* = *qui* (see note 42) or the 'they' implied in *prendo*; the relative clause *que non an*, therefore, is quite unnecessary.

45. «... Senher, nos em
del rey poderos de la Serra,
que'l conqueric per fait de guerra
ses autre dreit *que no'y avia.*»
(*Guilh. de la Barra*, l. 4731.)

Ses autre dreit, just as the other adverbial adjunct *per fait de guerra*, refers to the subject, which is either *que* (l. 4730) = *qui* or 'he' in *conqueric*.

Here we might repeat our quotation No. 38 from the same narrative poem, where *ses paria* does not need the relative clause to indicate the subject which it is to be referred to: *amduy*.

In a *tenson* between Guillem and Lanfranc, the former admits that his adversary has well debated his part, but without sense. Lanfranc replies:

42. This *que* is either the conjunction «that» depending on *vezem* or the nom. pl. of the relative pronoun referring to *homes*.

46. «Guillem, pois ieu vos hai vencut
ses saber *q'ieu non hai agut*,
s'ieu agues pron d'ensegnamen,
gardatz co'us vencera corren.»

(P.-C. 201.8, ed. BRANCIFORTI, l. 78.)

Ses saber clearly refers to the subject *ieu* in the first line.⁴³

An abundance of such superfluous relative clauses in connection with «*ses + noun*» is found in Brunel's two volumes *Les plus anciennes chartes en langue provençale* (Paris 1926 and 1952). We are going to reproduce here only a few from among the earliest examples of the first volume:

47. «Bernartz de Virag donet la carta part ... senes tota reteguda⁴⁴
que non i fetz.»
(No. 27, 2; about 1135.)
48. «Guillem de S. e Peire, sos fraire, meiro em pens⁴⁵ ... lo dreitz ...
senes reteguda *que non i fero* ...»
(No. 55, 8; about 1148.)
49. «Eu ... per bona voluntat e ssas engan do ... per aras e per jasse
e ssas retenguda *que non i faz* ... tota lur tenenza ...»
(No. 74, 3; 1155.)
50. «Totas aquestas honors..., sas retenemein⁴⁶ *que non i fam*, ... nos
tuig ... vendem ...»
(No. 163, 11; 1178.)

These examples could be multiplied. On the otherhand, it is interesting to see that, in those deeds, the same nouns (*retenguda* and *retenemen*), when preceded by *ses*, do not always have that explanatory relative clause, although in the majority of cases it is there. Cf., the following examples:

51. «... don e gig⁴⁷ sancto Privato la gleisa del Boisson, *sans retenement.*»
(No. 13, 24; ca 1108.)
52. «... que eu ... do totas las dreitures que eu avia ... *sas tot retenemeinz.*»
(No. 47; 1148.)

43. Incidentally, neither Branciforti nor Bertoni, who had edited the poem before (*Trovatori d'Italia*, p. 409) have recognized the phrase «*ses + noun + que ... no*».

44. *Reteguda* or *retenguda* «retenue, chose réservée» (BRUNEL), «Vorbehalt, Einschränkung» (LEVY, PSW, VII, 289), «réserve, restriction» (LEVY, *Pet. Dict.*).

45. *pens* «gage» (BRUNEL).

46. *retenemein* = *retenguda*.

47. *gig* = *g^{lc}*. 1st pers. pres. of *gequir*.

53. «Eu Nizez de B., ab bona fe e ses engan ... done ... tota la mia drechura ... *senes tota retenguda ...*»
(No. 99, 4; 1161.)
54. «[...] do] a Deu ... lo bosc del Batut, *senes tota retenguda ...*»
(No. 129, 8; about 1170.)

To sum up, we may say this. If one compares the passages Nos. 51-54, where a *que*-clause is missing, *because* it is not necessary, with the passages Nos. 44-50, where it is used, *although* it is not necessary, one comes to the conclusion that the combination of «*ses*+noun» with the *que*-clause is only a loose one, not an organic one. From this it would seem to follow that the *que*-clause, even where it appears justified (Nos. 28-37), i. e., in the frequently used expression «*ses*+noun+*que* ... *no*», has originated as a kind of afterthought, in order to avoid misunderstandings. As such it is only an incidental addition to the sentence, contrary to French *sans que* and German *ohne dass*. These latter expressions introduce real conjunctive clauses, which, together with their principal clauses, form syntactical and conceptual units.

V. OTHER PREPOSITIONAL ADJUNCTS WITH INCORRECT REFERENCES

In his above-mentioned article, Schultz-Gora only deals with the inadequate use of «*ses*+noun or infinitive». But *ses*, although it provides the greatest quantity of cases, has no privilege in this respect; other prepositions are as guilty. The following quotations will show that.

I. *per*.

a) *per* + noun.

55. «Si'm sal Deus, senher, me pareis
de domna qu'enten en valer
que ja non falha *per aver*⁴⁸
ni de rei ni d'emperador
non fassa ja son amador.»

(GUIR. DE BORN. - KING OF ARAGON,
ed. KOLSEN, No. 59, l. 19.)

48. Here *aver* is a noun; the wealth is that of the lover.

A knight of the Round Table, master in witchcraft, transforms himself into a kind of dragon and carrying away King Arthur, seems to endanger the latter's life. Gawain shouts :

56. «Tuit serem per traitors tengutz
se·l rêi es *per socors*⁴⁹ perdutoz.»
(*Jaufre*, ed. BRUNEL, l. 292.)

Brunissen is meditating on her love of Jaufre :

57. «Non ai qe far de la⁵⁰ ricor,
ja no voil aqesta lausor
c'om diga q'eu am *per riqesa*,
mas lo voil amar *per proesa*.⁵¹»
(*ib.*, ll. 3773 and 3774.)
58. «Pero, si vostr'auzels si paura⁵²
per vetz, per graisa o *per aura*...⁵³»
(DAUDE DE PRADAS, *Auzels Cass.*, ed. SCHUTZ, l. 1088.)
59. «*Per febre* lo⁵⁴ sol hom sancnar.»
(*ib.*, l. 3235.)
60. «*Per mal* de febre trenca s'ill.⁵⁵»
(*ib.*, l. 3251.)
61. «Desotz el pe un'atra⁵⁶ n'a
que *per batige*·s⁵⁷ trencara.»
(*ib.*, l. 3254.)
62. «E dereires, sobre·l talo,
n'a un'atra,⁵⁸ que·ill fai gran pro
cant hom *per gota* sanc l'en trai.⁵⁹»
(*ib.*, l. 3257.)

49. *per socors* does not refer to the subject of the clause, which is *lo rei*. Breuer, in his edition, translates «aus Mangel an Hilfe», which renders the sense but does not reflect the grammatical nature of the phrase.

50. MS B reads *sa* for *la*, which would seem preferable.

51. *per riqesa* and *per proesa*, of course, refer to Jaufre.

52. *si paura* = *si pauza*.

53. Here, too, we might render *per* by «from want of (breath)»; see note No. 49.

54. *lo* = the bird.

55. *ill* = the feather. SCHUTZ reads *sill*, but see LEVY's review of MONACI's edition in *LbGRPh*, XI (1890), 345.

56. *un'atra*; sc., *vena*.

57. *batige* «palpitation of the heart».

58. *un'atra* again = *vena* (see note No. 56).

59. *gota* «gout». In the passages Nos. 59-62 from *Auzels Cass.* one might render *per* by «for the treatment of».

b) *per* + infinitive.

Of Guillem de Nivers it says :

63. «Ancar d'amor no s'entremes
per so que lo ver en saupes ;
*per dir*⁶⁰ saup ben que fon amors,
cant legit ac totz los auctors
que d'amor parlon e si feinon.»
(*Flamenca*, ed. PAUL MEYER, first edition, l. 1771.)
64. «Regardan la vey gensor
e pensan la truep melhor :
qu'amar si fai e grazir
per vezer e per auzir.⁶¹»
(AIM. DE BEL., P.-C. 9.15, ed. DUMITRESCU
No. 7, l. 31.)
65. «Car anc no'ill dis — tan tem vas lei faillir —
com s'es en lieis aturatz mos volers ;
mas derenan no m'o tolra temers,
qu'eu sai que'l fuocs s'abrassa *per cobrir*.⁶²»
(FOLQ. DE MARS., P.-C. 155.6, ed. STRONSKI,
No. 6, l. 22.)
66. «E s'anc Dieus *per repentir*
perdonet a peccador,
ja per aquesta faillida
m'arma no sera delida.⁶³»
(JAUSB. DE PUYC., P.-C. 173.8, ed. SHEPARD,
p. 25, IV, 3.)
67. «Qui *per ben far*⁶⁴ vol son segnor trahir
ja Deu non don sa fe ni sa creenza.»
(PISTOLETA - BLACATZ, P.-C. 372.6^a, ed. NIESTROY,
No. 11, IV, 7.)
68. «Hom deu lauzar son amic
cant fai be *per mielhs ben far*.⁶⁵»
(GUILL. OLIV. D'ARLE, P.-C. 246.28, ed. SCHULTZ-GORA,
Prov. Studien, I, 56, No. 73, l. 2.)

60. Sc., what others have said.

61. D. translates : «par son aspect et par ses paroles». I understand «if one sees her and if one hears (others speak) of her». Cf. AIM. DE BEL., P.-C. 9.3, ed. DUMITRESCU, No. 1, ll. 33-34 : «Als no puese far, mas lai on puese auzir | De lieys parlar m'en tornarai corren».

62. STRONSKI renders *per cobrir* by «quand on le couvre».63. *per repentir* refers to the dative *a pescador*, not to the subject *Dieus*.

64. NIESTROY translates : «Wer (als Dank) für Wohltaten seinen Herrn verraten will».

65. Editor's translation (note p. 80) : «... damit er (sc., der Freund) in höherem Grade Gutes tue».

69. «E s'a merce no'm vol prendre
quon er? — Estai! Qu'ieu ai vist
fort castelh pres *per atendre*
e mout pros vassalh conquist.»
(GUILL. DE BIARS, P.-C. 211.1, ed. APPEL, *Ined.*,
p. 126, II, 3.)
70. «Degratz mi faire⁶⁶ honransa
per miels souffrir mon turmen,
plazen dona, en cuy enten.»
(GUIR. DE SALIGNAC, P.-C. 249.5,
ed. STREMPÉL, p. 70, V, 2.)

2. *ab*.a) *ab* + noun.

71. «Ar m'es⁶⁷ lauzengeira
sus totz amadors ;
a[b] pauc de *pregueira*⁶⁸
m'a fait gent socors.»
(PEIROL, P.-C. 366.18, ed. ASTON, No. 25, II, 7.)
72. «D'una ren fan domnas nescies :
c'ab lonc enquerre fan lur joi conoissen.⁶⁹»
(GUILL. DE SAINT DIDIER, P.-C. 234.15,
ed. SAKARI, No. 12, I, 42.)

b) *ab* + infinitive.

73. «E s'*ab prejar* en vos merces no nais,
fora'm, so'm par, mieils que fossetz a naisser.⁷⁰»
(AIM. DE PEG., P.-C. 10.47, ed. CHAMBERS, p. 222, V, 7.)
74. «Mas sel que manens es
e promet son aver
per grat o *ab querer*⁷¹
deu sa promessa dar,
que no's deu escuzar
ab non-poder per re.»
(GUIR. RIQUIER, ed. MAHN, *Werke*, IV, 121, l. 148.)

66. Text according to MS C.

67. Subject is *Amors*.68. I changed *a* to *ab*. ASTON renders the line by «with little entreaty», thus keeping the incorrect reference of the original.69. Subject is *domnas*, but those who entreat are the lovers. The infinitive *enquerre* is substantivized.70. CHAMBERS translates *ab prejar* by «with my prayer», but there is no possessive adjective in the original. *Que fossetz a naisser* is supposed to mean «that you were still unborn».71. *Grat* proceeds from the subject *sel*, *querer* from an unnamed supplicant.

75. «De soudadieira coind' e pro
vuoill qe'm don *ab pauc de querer*⁷²
tot so c'Amors vol a jazer.»
(DAUDE DE PRAD., P.-C. 124.2, ed. SCHUTZ,
No. 14, VI, 2.)

3. *de*.a) *de* + noun.

76. «S'ieu, per alegransa
vuoill cantar e rire
d'un joi que m'enansa
don ieu sui jauzire,
ja, dompna, doptansa
non aiatz *del dire*⁷³
qu'ieu fassa semblansa
que de vos cossire.»
(PEIROL, P.-C. 366.15, ed. ASTON, No. 5, V, 6.)
77. «No'm dey del tot desesperar
qu'ieu enquer midons non remir ;
qu'aisselh qui la m'a fag gequir
a ben poder *del recobrar*.⁷⁴»
(P. BREM. LO TORT [?], P.-C. 331.1, ed. APPEL, *Chrest.*,
No. 21, IV, 4.)

Sant Caprasis to Sant Magonz, who does not want to accept the dignity of archbishop :

78. «Ar pren la sancta gleisa e:l luec en mantenensa,
qu'ieu t'en fac mandament *en dreg d'obediensa*.⁷⁵»
(*Honorat*, ed. SUWE, 1. 1946.)

72. SCHUTZ translates *ab pauc de querer* by «sans trop de résistance», which shifts the action from the «lover» to the *soudadieira*.

73. The infinitive is substantivized. ASTON translates : «that in the recital I should appear to think of you». Literally : «Lady, do not be afraid of my saying that...».

74. Here, too, the infinitive is substantivized. *Aisselh* in the third line of the quotation is God, for whose sake the poet has taken part in a crusade, thus separating from his lady. The act of recovering is the poet's, with God's help, of course.

75. SUWE (note p. 196) explains : «avec le droit d'être obéi». But the obedience is on the part of Sant Magonz, and a literal translation would be : «on the ground of obedience».

b) *de* + infinitive.

79. «Mas eu tri un de mil,
pero no l'aus nomnar
per paor *d'encuzar*⁷⁶
que lh dreisses lo coissi.»
(GUIR. DE BORN., P.-C. 242.45, ed. KOLSEN,
No. 48, VII, 3.)
80. «D'ayci n'as fait cels d'oltra mar delir
ab fals ditz, per que as merit *d'aucir*.⁷⁷»
(CERVERI, ed. RIQUER, No. 75, l. 24.)

Simon de Montfort asks a messenger from Toulouse whether his wife and the other ladies still are in the *Castel Narbones* (fortification of Toulouse), menaced by the inhabitants of the town:

81. «Estan dins las comtessas? — Senher, oc ben, estar,
e tristas e marridas, complidas de plorar;
paor an e temensa *d'aucir e de desfar*.⁷⁸»
(*Crois. Albige.*, ed. PAUL MEYER, l. 6161.)

In his fight with the *sirven*, Jaufre ponders on what to do; he fears that the *sirven* might kill his horse.

82. «Mais nos vol trop sobr'el gitar,
car paür a gran *de nafrar*⁷⁹
sun caval mais qe d'autra ren.»
(*Jaufre*, ed. BRUNEL, l. 1766.)

A young man named Galian, natural son of Olivier and Baracla, who took care of him during his infancy, tells Charlemagne the story of his life.

83. «Gent m'a noirit tro al temps *de parlar*.⁸⁰»
(*Ransasvals*, ed. ROQUES, R., 58, 1 ff., l. 869.)

76. The subject of the sentence is *eu*, that of *encuzar* is *un de mil*. For *dreissar lo coissi a alcun*, «to insinuate oneself into a person's good graces», see KOLSEN's edition, II, 89.

77. *d'aucir* «that one kills you». RIQUER renders *aucir* by «morir»; but *aucir* means «to kill».

78. Translation «craignant la mort et les supplices». Cf., note No. 77.

79. Subject of the sentence is Jaufre, that of *nafrar* the *sirven*. Cf., the explanation TOBLER gives of an almost identical Old French passage in *Verm. Beiträge*, I, 2nd ed., p. 91.

80. The infinitive *parlar*, of course, refers to the narrator, not his mother, who is the subject of the sentence.

4. *a.*

84. «Tant fo batuda que'il n'ac obs a *portar*.⁸¹»
(*Daurel et Beton*, ed. PAUL MEYER, l. 935.)

For another example, see No. 101 and note 87.

5. *en.*

85. «Per qu'ieu d'amic volria
c'ames de cor enaissi, per semblansa
en pauretat co fay *en aondansa*.⁸²»
(BERTR. CARBONEL, P.-C. 82.69,
ed. JEANROY, *AdM*, 25, 155, l. 7.)

VI. GERUND NOT REFERRING TO THE SUBJECT OF THE SENTENCE.

This verbal form, having no subject of its own, should, like the prepositional adjunct, logically refer to the subject of the sentence, and so it does in a majority of cases. Cf., the following examples :

86. «Que tans sospirs n'ai gitatz
per que'l jorn e'l ser
pert, *sospiran*, mon poder.»
(FOLQ. DE MARS., P.-C. 155.27,
ed. STRONSKI, No. 4, l. 68.)
87. «Que mal viu qui *deziran* mor.»
(GUIR. DE BORN., P.-C. 242.3,
ed. KOLSEN, No. 2, l. 64.)

Also with the preposition *en* preceding the gerund :

88. «Ara cove que'm conort *en chantan*
del mal c'amors me fai sufrir et traire.»
(GAUC. FAIDIT, P.-C. 167.7, ed. APPEL, *Chrest.*, No. 28, l. 1.)

81. The *n'* = *en* before *ac* belongs to *portar*, *en ... portar* being equivalent to Mod. French *emporter*. Translation : «... that it became necessary for her (that people had) to carry (her) away». *Aver ops* + infinitive with *a* seems rare. Another example would be «Leu cansonet'e vil | M'auria obs a far», GUIR. BORN., ed. KOLSEN, No. 48, l. 2 (text according to II, p. 88). See also LEVY, *PSW*, V, 502, No. 18 (quotation from *Crois. Alb.*, l. 3686).

82. If I understand the above lines correctly, they say that a friend should love (the person whose friend he is) heartily whether (that other one may live) in poverty or in abundance.

89. «Tot quant es de lai m'agensa,
si que, quan n'aug ben retraire,
eu m'o escut *en rizen.*»
(PEIRE VIDAL, P.-C. 364.I, ed. APPEL, *l.c.*, No. 23, l. 5.)

With an object depending on the gerund :

90. «Quar, *perden leis*, gazanhei me.»
PEIRE CARD., P.-C. 335.II, ed. LAVAUD, No. 2, l. 34.)
91. «Anat ai cum cauz' enversa
lone temps, *sercan vals et tertres.*»
(RAÏMB. D'AUR., P.-C. 389.16, ed. APPEL, *l.c.*,
No. 19, l. 34.)

But not infrequently, the gerund does not refer to the subject :

1. The gerund refers to an accusative :⁸³

92. «Esterlis e tornes *chamjan*,
tolen e meten e donan
veirem dels dos reis anz d'un an
lo mens cruoi segon mon semblan.»
(BERTR. DE BORN [?], P.-C. 80.22, STIMMING, 3rd ed.,
No. III, ll. 17-20.)
93. «Si non es tortz ni nescies
so qu'*en chantan m'auzetz* comtar.»
(The same, P.-C. 80.45, *l.c.*, No. 22, l. 10.)
94. «Qu'aisselh que si mezeis desmen
del be qu'a dig, no m'es parven,
des qu'es trobatz ben dizen fals,
que'l dej'om creire *dizen mals.*»
(AIM. DE PEGULH., P.-C. 10.17, ed. CHAMBERS,
No. 17, l. 8.)
95. «E si Merces *merceyan* no'm defen,⁸⁴
endreg d'Amor pretz pauc *merceyamen.*»
(The same, P.-C. 10.21, *l.c.*, No. 21, l. 9.)
96. «Mas tan a vas me cor fello
que no vol dire oc ni no
que nulla re qu'ieu li deman,
et aissi auc'i *m deziran.*»
(JAUSB. DE PUYCIBOT, P.-C. 173.9, ed. SHEPARD,
p. 28, III, 8.)

83. SCHULTZ-GORA mentions this fact in his *Altprovenzalisches Elementarbuch*, 5th ed. (Heidelberg 1936), 131.

84. CHAMBERS translates : «And if Mercy, seeking mercy, does not defend me...». In my opinion, it would have been clearer to put «seeking mercy» after «defend me».

97. «... que anc merce *queren*
non fetz Mercés *home* tan jauzen
com eu fora si Mercés mi valgues.»
(DAUDE DE PRAD. [?], P.-C. 124.9, ed. SCHUTZ,
p. 91, VI, 7-8.)
98. «Que set ans *m'a* tengut pres⁸⁵ greus mal[s] *soferian*
ab perylhos turmens, e *languen* e *penan*.»
(CERVERI, ed. RIQUER, No. 9, ll. 10-11.)
99. «*C'aman*, *penan* e *languen*, ses amor
c'anc far no·m volc,⁸⁶ *m'a* fait lonc temps amor.»
(The same, *l.c.*, No. 49, ll. 4-5.)

2. The gerund refers to a dative.

100. «Be for'oimais sazos,
bela domna e pros,
que·m fos datz a rescos
en baizan guidardos.»
(BERN. DE VENT., P.-C. 70.28, ed. APPEL,
No. 28, l. 52.)
101. «C'al traire de son gan
sa bella man *baisan*
m'intret tan aquel bais
qe'l cor del cors mi trais.⁸⁷»
(AIM. DE PEG., P.-C. 10.46, ed. CHAMBERS,
No. 46, ll. 34-35.)

85. The caesura in this alexandrine verse should be after *tengut*, but the real pause is after *pres*.

86. The editor puts *c'anc far no·m volc* between dashes, not recognizing the phrase «ses + noun + que ... non» = French *sans que* (see above section IV). *Ses amor c'anc far no·m volc* is to be rendered by «without her (sc., the lady's) ever making love to me».

87. CHAMBERS renders *al traire de son gan* by «as I drew off her glove». But it would have been an unheard-of audacity on the part of a lover to draw off the glove from his lady's hand. Cf., the passages concerning such a glove quoted by Kolsen in the second volume (p. 282) of his edition of Guiraut de Bornelh, especially that from Aimeric de Belenoi: «Que can trais la man de son gan, | Frais del cor la serradura». The situation is still more obvious in another passage from the same poet (ed. DUMITRESCU, No. X, l. 16): «En vos se mes» (sc., the poet's heart) e de mi se partic, | Quan vos traisses la blanca man del guan, | E remas lai mos cors, don', en lian». Here *traisses* is the 2nd person pl. (= *traissetz*) and addressed to the lady. So, in our passage, we have three actions: that of *traire*, that of *baisan*, and that of *intret*. The subject of *traire* is the lady, although she is not mentioned at all in the sentence. In this respect, we here face an exemple of *a* + infinitive, without reference to the subject (cf., our quotation No. 84). The subject of the gerund *baisan* is hinted at by *m'* (= *me*) of *m'intret* and is in the dative, because *intrar* is an intransitive verb. This, then, would be an approximately literal translation of the above,

102. «*En chantan m'aven a membrar
so que cug chantan oblidar.*»
(FOLQ. DE MARS., P.-C. 155.8, ed. STRONSKI,
No. 5, l. 1.)
103. «E non qier don ni esmenda
ni mais no'm platz q'ieu atenda
acort ni dura merce
ni plazer ni joi ni be
que *sofren* amors *mi* renda.⁸⁸»
(UC DE S. CIRC, P.-C. 457.15, ed. JEANROY - SALVERDA
DE GRAVE, No. 12, l. 9.)
104. «E pus le Rey amors destreyn e art
ab malavey *c'aman* li fair sofrir,
dire li dey com pusca'l mal gandar.»
(CERVÈRI, ed. RIQUER, No. 84, l. 5.)

3. The gerund may be used in an absolute manner without reference to any part of the sentence.

105. «Farai un vers de dreit rien :
non er de mi ni d'autra gen,
non er d'amor ni de joven
ni de ren au,
qu'enans fo trobatz *en durmen*
sobre cheveu.⁸⁹»
(GUILL. IX, P.-C. 187.3, ed. JEANROY, No. 4, l. 5.)
106. «Et *en dormen* sotz cobertors
es lai ab lieis mos esperitz.⁹⁰»
(JAUFRE RUDEL, P.-C. 262.4, ed. JEANROY,
No. 3, l. 35.)

grammatically rather complicated, four lines : «As, on (her) drawing off her glove, I kissed her beautiful hand, that kiss went down to me (to my inner self) so forcibly that it drew my heart out of my body». Mark the parallelism of the drawing off of the lady's glove and that of the poet's heart.

88. Translation (very free) : «... que pourrait me procurer la patience en amour». Note p. 190 : «Le gérondif *sofren* est pris absolument : grâce à ma patience».

89. JEANROY translates : «...je viens de le composer en dormant, sur un cheval», thus introducing a «je» as the subject of the sentence, whereas in the original the subject is *vers*.

90. Translation : «Quand je dors sous mes couvertures, mon esprit est là-bas auprès d'elle». According to the Provençal text, it would be the spirit that is sleeping, not the poet, which is, of course, absurd.

107. «Pero Esperars fai las flors
tornar frug, e de midons pes
qu'esperan la vensa Merces.⁹¹»
(FOLQ. DE MARS., P.-C. 155.14, ed. STROŃSKI,
No. 8, l. 30.)
108. «Asatz val mais e es plus d'avinen
dons ses qerre que qant es datz *queren*.⁹²»
(AIM. DE SARLAT, P.-C. 11.14, ed. BERTONI,
StFR, VIII, 443, III, 8.)
109. «Que outra mar aug dir que Antecrist renha,
c'ap los seus ve, que totz sels ausiran
que no's volran covertir *prezican*.⁹³»
(GRANET = BERTR. D'ALAM., P.-C. 76.14, ed. SALVERDA
DE GRAVE, No. 19, l. 7.)
110. «Si prelatz, reys, comtes, marques ...
pogues hom trobar acordatz ...
e fosson tot li tort rendut,
e passesson de bon talan,
tost foron Sarrazin vencut
o *combaten* o *prezican*.»
(GUIR. RIQUIER, P.-C. 248.48, ed. MAHN,
Werke, IV, 38, VII, 8.)
111. «*Donan, meten,*
 plazers fazen
 es valors acampada
 e malvestatz tolen.⁹⁴»
(PEIRE CARD., P.-C. 335.46, ed. LAVAUD,
No. 68, ll. 21-24.)
112. «E sas douças paraulas m'aucion gen *parlan*.⁹⁵»
(CERVERI, ed. RIQUIER, No. 9, l. 15.)

91. By translating «... quant à ma dame, je pense qu'espérant elle sera vaincue par la Grâce», STROŃSKI changed the active construction of the Provençal to a passive one, keeping, even in French, the wrong reference of *esperan*, whose subject is the «I» of the poet, not «elle», the lady.

92. The subject of *queren* is the unnamed suppliant.

93. Translation: «... tous ceux qui ne voudront pas se laisser convertir par la parole».

94. *Tolen* is coordinate to, though separated from, the other gerunds *donan*, *meten*, and *fazen*. Translating «C'est en donnant, en dépensant ... que s'ammasse la valeur», LAVAUD keeps the syntactic incorrectness of the original.

95. Only the lady, not the *douças paraulas* can be the subject of *parlan*; but the lady is not named in the sentence.

113. «Pus vey⁹⁶ que pretz prenda
destric *justan*⁹⁷ ricor,
no'm tenra non estenda
preziç ...»
(The same, No. 56, l. 26.)
114. «Norant' e tres jorns dura, dreg *comtan*,
e vint e tres horas vers ...⁹⁸»
(The same, No. 110, l. 7.)
115. «Setanta e ueit jorns dura, 'l ver *trian*,⁹⁹
e vint e tres horas lo temps d'ivern.»
(*Ib.*, l. 19.)

The villain Taulat tortures a prisoner by having him climb a hill while his servants are lashing their victim with thongs till the blood comes out :

116. «E Taulat es aisi vengutz,
que'l¹⁰⁰ fai a sos quossos liar
e puis fai'l aqel puig poiar
*baten*¹⁰¹ ab unas corregadas.»
Jaufre, ed. BRUNEL, l. 5045.)
117. «... qe fan gran dol
per lo seignor que Taulat
vol far pojar l'engarda *baten*.»
(*Ib.*, l. 5991.)

Similarly, ll. 6443, 6598, 6675, 10926, all passages referring to the same torture.

96. The subjunctive *veya* would not seem to make sense here. Read *vei ja*?

97. The editor renders *justar ricor* by «contender con la riqueza»; but *justar* «to fight» is an intransitive verb and cannot be followed by *ricor* as its object. Transitive *justar* or *jostar* means «to assemble, to accumulate». It is amazing that neither LEVY'S *PSW* nor his *Pet. Dict.* lists this sense of *jostar*, although RAYNOUARD'S *Lex. Rom.* offers four examples of it (III, 592 a and b). Cerveri uses *jostar* «to accumulate» in several others of his poems : «Ez eu fora atretals (sc., rich), si no fos Amors, que'm fetz metre 'l cor e 'l poder | En justar chans gays en locs d'autr'aver» (No. 76, l. 6) ; «En loc de blat e de vi just razos» (*ib.*, l. 13) ; «E can Deus fay mirales e vertutz | Dels rics malvatz qui donon als menutz | Ço c'an justat ab croys faitz vil-tengutz | M'es bel, que 'l temps qu'eu volie's (read : *vqli'es*) vengutz» (No. 37, l. 11). In all these three passages the editor's translation is correct. Cf., Old French *joster* TOBLER-LOMMATZSCH, IV, 1805 ff. In our case, then, we have to render *justan ricor* by «through accumulating riches».

98. *Dreg comtan* «if one counts correctly»; *vers*, in the second line, is «spring-time».

99. 'l ver *trian* «if one wants to discern the truth».

100. 'l = lo, the prisoner.

101. *baten* «under blows»; Taulat, the subject of the sentence, does not do the beating himself.

VII. CONCLUSION.

The present article is based, not on occasional imperfections of individual writers but on a substantial number of examples for each of the syntactical phenomena dealt with in it. The article, therefore, may be considered a contribution to what has been called *La grammaire des fautes* (Henri Frei, 1929). Since most of the quotations collected here stem from poetical compositions which were destined to reach the public by oral transmission, it is amazing how well trained the listeners' ears and minds must have been enabling them to make the necessary syntactical adjustments during the quickly passing sequence of words sung or recited. We find here the same alertness on the part of the public as when they can follow and evaluate, simply by listening, the frequently winding paths of troubadour versification with its manifold stanza structures and their often intricate sequence of more or less difficult rhymes.

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