

Xanthos

*A Journal of Foreign
Literatures and Languages*

vol. 2

winter 2020

Joseph T. Snow

Six Galician-Portuguese Satires by Alfonso X, in English

Victoria Fendel

Taking Stock of Support-Verb Constructions in Journalistic French

Svetlana Yefimenko

Aestheticized History: Tolstoy's Homeric Inheritance



Editors-in-Chief

Svetlana Yefimenko
Celine Blaizeau

Editors

Benjamin Shears (Peer Reviewer Liaison)
Abdenour Bouich (Events Director)
Hui-Hua Lu (Communications Director)
Edward Mills (Design and Layout)

Xanthos is produced by postgraduate research students at the Department of Modern Languages and Cultures, University of Exeter (UK), and is supported by generous funding from the University's Doctoral College (through its Researcher-Led Initiative Awards scheme) and the College of Humanities (through the Activities Awards programme).



All articles in Issue 2 of *Xanthos* are released under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License. For more information, see <<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>>. If you have any additional queries, please do not hesitate to contact the editorial team at xanthos@exeter.ac.uk.

Xanthos

*A Journal of Foreign
Literatures and Languages*

Edward Mills

Welcome from the Editors

i

Joseph T. Snow

Six Galician-Portuguese Satires by Alfonso X, in English

1

Victoria Fendel

Taking Stock of Support-Verb Constructions in Journalistic French

13

Svetlana Yefimenko

Aestheticized History: Tolstoy's Homeric Inheritance

45

Notes on Contributors

63

Welcome from the Editors

The decision to learn a foreign language is to me an act of friendship. It is indeed a holding out of the hand. It's not just a route to negotiation. It's also to get to know you better, to draw closer to you and your culture, your social manners and your way of thinking.¹

John le Carré, who died as final edits were being made to the articles that appear in this issue of *Xanthos*, is best known as an author of spy fiction, born out of his own experiences in the British secret service. His death, however, also saw many members of the British modern languages community expressing their sorrow. Le Carré was a linguist, and had begun to learn German at the comparatively late age of 13, and in the days following his death, a quote from an address he gave at the German Embassy in 2017 found a second life on Twitter.² With the deadline for Brexit negotiations looming as this issue goes to press, certain British newspapers have been quick to apportion blame for their continuing difficulties to the perceived 'otherness' of Europe.³ Le Carré's view of Germany, on the other hand, offers a counterpoint to such a zero-sum view of cultures, in which cultural competency and a desire to celebrate cultural differences can bring nations closer together, rather than forcing them apart.

The three articles featured in this second issue of *Xanthos* reflect precisely this approach: one that sees engaging with foreign literatures and languages not merely for instrumentalist reasons (in Brexit trade deals or otherwise), but also for their own sake, and out of a desire to understand them — and others — better. They range in scope from the medieval to the present-day, and from short courtly poetry to lengthy Russian novels, but each of them engages with their subject matter from the same place of deliberate enquiry and careful reflection. However, they take very different approaches to achieve this same end, and we are very proud to include in the same issue both literary translation and syntactic analysis (the latter of which required an alternative citation style, in an interesting new challenge for the editorial team).

The issue was also, as readers will doubtless be aware, produced in unique and challenging circumstances shared by colleagues around the world. While the articles that

¹ John le Carré, 'Why we should learn German', *The Guardian* (2 July 2017) <<https://www.theguardian.com/education/2017/jul/02/why-we-should-learn-german-john-le-carre>> (accessed 18 December 2020).

² Many Tweets shared a screenshot from le Carré's 2017 *Guardian* article. The most popular was that of Wolfgang Blau, which was retweeted over 1000 times. Wolfgang Blau, 'Jean le Carré, a great European, on learning foreign languages:' (@wblau, 13 December 2020).

³ On the day of Le Carré's death, the British *Daily Mail* tabloid reported on Brexit negotiations by characterising Angela Merkel, the German Chancellor, as 'Frau Nein', with the columnist Douglas Murray claiming that she has 'completely failed to understand Great Britain'. 'How 'Frau Nein' blocked a Brexit deal: Top British officials blame clergyman's daughter Angela Merkel's 'Lutheran' distaste for 'libertine' Boris Johnson', *Mail Online* (12 December 2017) <<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-9047055/Officials-say-Angela-Merkels-distaste-libertine-Boris-Johnson-blocked-Brexit-deal.html>> (accessed 18 December 2020).

appear in this issue were largely written before the Covid-19 pandemic took hold, difficulties surrounding library access in particular made the tasks of reviewing, revising and editing submissions, key parts of our editorial work, problematic. These are under-appreciated endeavours, and we are very grateful to the authors who showed such willingness to engage with our revisions process. Likewise, we appreciate the work of the anonymous peer reviewers who provided such valuable feedback.

This second issue also marks a milestone for *Xanthos*, as many of the editorial team — among them Coline Blaizeau and Sveta Yefimenko, the two Editors-in-Chief, Ben Shears, Peer Reviewer Liaison, and myself — are moving on after coming to the end of our doctoral studies. We're excited to discover the new directions in which a new editorial team will take the journal, and are confident that future issues will be produced in the same spirit of friendship and enquiry that motivated our first two volumes.

I myself have been very fortunate over the past three years to have had a unique perspective on *Xanthos*, through my work on designing, typesetting and proofreading our first two issues. The role of design editor is an unusual one, incorporating endless wrestling with desktop publishing software, surprisingly in-depth discussions of referencing styles, and significant amounts of back-and-forth with other editors discussing the correct way to format an indented quote inside a footnote. Nevertheless, it's also been immensely rewarding, as I've had the opportunity to engage with some writing by several of the very best early-career researchers in the Modern Languages landscape. On behalf of all of the team, I'd like to extend a heartfelt thanks to all of the authors with whom we've been lucky enough to work over our first two issues, as well as to the many people who may not appear in the list of contributors, but who have played a key role in making sure that *Xanthos* is able to exist in its present form. The Doctoral College at the University of Exeter provided valuable funds to allow us to produce and host our website, xanthosjournal.com, which Gleb Severisky has maintained tirelessly since its launch. Further funding from the Humanities PGR Activities Awards scheme and support from the Department of Modern Languages and Cultures have also been invaluable, and we look forward to the exciting new areas in which a new team will take the journal in the years to come.

JOSEPH T. SNOW

Six Galician-Portuguese Satires by Alfonso X, in English

The purpose of these six translations of Galician-Portuguese satires by Alfonso X is to open a window onto the serious and sometimes ribald satires so popular in thirteenth-century Spain. Poets were also performers, even though other lesser caliber singers could perform them. The six satires include two debate poems where the poets compete even as the second speaker is required to produce the very meters and rhymes of the first speaker. Two more focus on poetic rivals, Alfonso X and Pero da Ponte. Alfonso satirizes Pero for having stolen his songs from another poet, thus 'burying him' while Pero parades about in pure arrogance. As king, Alfonso did battle with the remaining Moorish stronghold in Spain and several satires deal with soldier-vassals who proved to be cowards and one of those is translated here. In the final one Alfonso imagines the role of a highly discouraged military man whose sole desire is to go back to being what he had been before, a sailor.

Prologue

I am here presenting in English translation six satires in Galician-Portuguese composed by Alfonso X, king of Spain (1252-1284) and, in all probability, also originally performed by him. Spanish was used for epic poems, such as the *Poem of the Cid*, and for the erudite rhyming quatrains known as *cuaderna vía* as in the works of Gonzalo de Berceo (pre-1264). However, in Alfonso's thirteenth century, lyric poetry in the western two-thirds of the Peninsula was composed in Galician-Portuguese, while in the western third of the Iberian Peninsula, Catalan was the language of lyric poetry and prose.

In attendance at Alfonso's court, there was always an international cohort of poets who entertained: there were many Portuguese and Castilians performing in Galician-Portuguese — a few Catalans (Cerverí di Gerona was the best known of these) and several dozen Occitan poets such as Raimon de Tors, Sordel, Folquet de Lunel, N'At de Mons and Guiraut Riquier (who spent a full decade at Alfonso's court and collaborated with him).¹ In addition, there were Jewish and Muslim poets singing in their native languages. Taken together, these numerous poets formed a multilingual chorus, many of whose texts survive today. These texts are mainly available to scholars who study the medieval literature of these languages. Little by little, however, some are becoming better known to non-specialists, in modern translation.

¹ Recently published is my study, 'Guiraut Riquier and Alfonso X's Classification of Fellow Performers, High and Low, in their *Declaratio* (1275)', *Tenso*, 35 (2000), 47-63.

There were three main genres of secular poetry composed in Galician-Portuguese: (1) the *cantigas de amor*, love poems with a male voice that had their origins in the *fin amors* of the Midi poets who composed and sang in Occitan from the late eleventh century through the late thirteenth century; (2) the *cantigas d'amigo* (songs of a friend), brief poems voiced by a female—even if composed by male poets—and were native to the peninsula; and (3) the *cantigas d'escarnho e mal dizer*, satirical, offensive and even obscene, insulting poems aimed at a great variety of society's many individuals, both high and low, both men and women. This style of poetry had already enjoyed a centuries-long history with both Juvenalian (ludic and playful) and Horatian (harsh and serious) satires.

Alfonso X as poet, both religious and secular (profane)

Alfonso X adopted the persona of a troubadour poet who, seeking to earn his future salvation, compiled over his thirty-two year reign a repertoire of 420 Marian compositions known to us as the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. It contains 359 narrative poems celebrating miracles performed by the Virgin Mary through her intercession with God the Father (90%), 42 lyric poems celebrating her divine attributes in *loores* or songs of praise (10%), plus 19 additional *cantigas* in an appendix. All 420 have been made available in English.² The complete manuscript of T-I-1 of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, held in El Escorial (with 195 of its 200 compositions extant),³ is known as the *Códice Rico* (The Rich Codex) and it has been made available in Castilian translation, alongside the Galician-Portuguese originals.⁴ This manuscript contains as well music and sets of vignettes that retell in miniatures each of the *cantigas*, the narratives as well as the songs of praise.

The profane poetry in Galician-Portuguese, in the three genres described above, were collected in a sixteenth-century anthology compiled by A. Colocci. It contains 1,567 poems that have survived.⁵ Alfonso X is the author of 45 of these poems, most of which are satirical in nature and have only sporadically been translated into English. Eventually, my goal is to publish them all in English.

I recently translated into English and published seven satires by Alfonso X involving women and they are a reflection of the general misogyny of the Middle Ages.⁶ I now offer six additional satirical poems by Alfonso X to *Xanthos*. I do not attempt to reproduce rhymes or duplicate rhythms in these translations, instead I deal with meanings and the natural flow of English. The poems are printed in facing columns, with my translations on the right. I suggest reading each translation first and then the commentary I have provided following each one. I will offer some final comments in an Epilogue.

² *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X, the Wise: A Translation of the 'Cantigas de Santa Maria'*, trans. by Kathleen Kulp-Hill (Tempe: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000).

³ At some point the final folios with the last five *cantigas* went missing.

⁴ *Las 'Cantigas de Santa Maria': Códice Rico, Ms T-I-1*, ed. by Laura Fernandez Fernandez and Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza. 3 vols. (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 2011), i (ed. by Elvira Fidalgo Francisco).

⁵ Known as Colocci-Brancuti, Colocci's manuscript of 335 folios was rediscovered in 1878 in the library of Count Paolo Brancuti. Since 1924, it has been housed in the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (Lisbon).

⁶ J. T. Snow, 'The Seven Satires of Alfonso X Involving Women, in English Translation', *La Corónica. A Journal of Medieval Hispanic Languages, Literatures and Cultures*, 48.1 (2019), 129-154.

XXIII⁷

- 1 -Sinner, [...] us vein quer
un don que'm donez, si vos play:
que vul vostr' almiral seer
en cela vostra mar da lay;
- 5 e sy o faz, en bona fe
c'a tota[s] las naus que la son
eu les faray tal vent de me
or [...] totas [...-on].
- Don Arnaldo, pois tal poder
10 de vent' avedes, ben vos vai,
e dad' a vós devia seer
aqueste don. Mais digu'eu: ai,
por que nunca tal don deu Rei?
Pero non quer'eu galardón;
- 15 mais, pois vo-lo ja outroguei,
chamen-vos 'Almiral Sison'.
- Lo don vos dei molt merceiar
e l'ondrat nom que m'avez mes,
e d'aitan vos vul segurar
- 20 qu'an faray un ven tan cortes:
que mia dona, qu'es la melhor
del mond' e la plus a[vi]nent,
faray passar a la dolçor
del temps, cum filias alteras cent.
- 25 -Don Arnaldo, fostes errar,
por passardes con batarês
vossa senhor a Ultramar,
que non cuid'eu que i á três
no mundo de tan gran valor;
- 30 e [j]uro vos, par San Vicent[e],
que non é bon doneador
quen esto fezer a ciente.
- 'Sir, I come to ask of you
a gift you can grant, if it pleases you:
I wish to be your Admiral
of your far off sea; and
if granted, I will in good faith,
for all of the ships that harbor there,
provide them my own good wind
and they all [...]'*
- 'Don Arnold, since you possess
so strong a wind, it bodes well,
and I will grant you this
request. But I ask: Ayyy!
Has no other King granted such a gift?
I wish no thanks for what I do,
but, now I have granted you this,
let them address you as Admiral Bustard.'*
- 'I ought to thank you for this reward
and the honorable title you've given me,
I therefore wish to reassure you
that I will make a wind so courtly
that my lady, the best
and most gracious in the world
will sail along with the sweetness
of time, cum filias alteras cent.'*⁸
- 'Don Arnold, you have erred,
in taking with your winds
your lady to foreign shores,
for I think that no more than three
there be so fair in the world
and I swear to you by Saint Vincent
that he is not a courtly suitor
who would do this in good conscience.'*

⁷ The numbers of these five satires are those provided in the excellent edition of Juan Paredes Núñez: 'El cancionero profano de Alfonso X el Sabio; Edición crítica con introducción, notas y glosario', *Verba: Anuario Galego de Filoloxía*, anejo 66 (2010). The Galician-Portuguese texts are reproduced, with permission, from the *Base de datos da Lírica Provana Galego-Portuguesa (MedDB)*, version 3.6.2 (Santiago de Compostela: Cento Ramón para a Investigación en Humanidades) <<http://www.cirp.gal/meddb>>.

⁸ The translation reads: 'as have done [before] a hundred maidens (girls)'.

The four strophes are spoken in alternation, and the rhymes of the speaker in strophes 1 and 3 (Don Arnaldo) had to be replicated by the speaker in strophes 2 and 4 (Alfonso). This composition's metrical structure is based on an earlier composition by the Occitan poet, Bernart de Ventadorn: 'Can vei la lauzeta mover' (Paredes Nuñez, p. 171) and is a *cantiga de maestría*, a debate between two poets.

The granted request of Arnold is made into a mock reward: the title given by the King is clearly humorous, as the bustard is the heaviest of birds that fly, but it makes a sound that a medieval listener likens to the sound of farting. The strong wind in this and other satires is meant to be understood as farting (breaking wind). That Arnold will use this 'honor' to transport his lady to foreign shores is reprimanded by Alfonso (strophe 4) as lacking in dignity and inappropriate for a king's courtier. A smile is produced when the public recognized that the king asks for no gratitude for the honor bestowed, but that Arnold is swept away with his new admiralship, boasting of his 'courtly wind' (l. 20). The gratuitous attribution of farting to describe the winds that Don Arnaldo can command is at the heart of this satire.

XXVI

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| 1 | -Non me posso pagar tanto
do canto
das aves nen de seu son,
nen d'amor nen de mixon
nen d'armas -ca ei espanto,
por quanto
mui perigo[0]sas son-,
come dun bon galeon,
que m'alongue muit' aginha | <i>I cannot fully enjoy
the song
of the birds or their tunes,
nor of love nor of work
nor of arms – as I have fear
since all arms
are very treacherous:
like a good ship
to quickly get me away
from this cursed meadow
where the scorpions abide;
for deep in my heart
I have felt their thorny spikes!</i> |
| 10 | deste demo da campinha,
u os alacrães son;
ca dentro no coração
senti deles a espinha! | |
| 15 | E juro par Deus lo santo
que manto
non tragerei nen granhon,
nen terrei d'amor razon
nen d'armas, por que quebranto
e chanto | <i>And I swear by Holy God
that I'll not
wear mantle nor a beard
nor will I have ought to do with love
nor arms, as both heartbreak
and tears</i> |
| 20 | ven delas toda sazón;
mais tragerei un dormon,
e irei pela marinha
vendend' azeit' e farinha;
e fugirei do poçon | <i>accompany them always;
but I'll take a small craft
and go about the marina
selling oil and flour;
and there flee from the poison</i> |

- 25 do alacran, ca eu non
lhi sei outra meezinha.
- Nen de lançar a tavlado
pagado
non sōo, se Deus m'ampar,
30 adés, nen de bafordar;
e andar de noute armado,
sen grado
o faço, e a roldar;
ca mais me pago do mar
35 que de seer cavaleiro;
ca eu foi ja marinheiro
e quero-m'oi mais guardar
do alacran, e tornar
ao que me foi primeiro.
- 40 E direi-vos un recado:
pecado
nunca me pod'enganar
que me faça ja falar
en armas, ca non m'é dado
45 (doado
m'é de as eu razōar,
pois-las non ei a provar);
ante quer' andar sinlheiro
e ir come mercadeiro
50 algũa terra buscar,
u me non possan culpar
alacran negro nen veiro.
- of the scorpion, for I know it
has no other medicine.*
- Nor does throwing my lance
at targets
please me now, so God help me,
nor does taking part in tourneys;
and by night going about armed.
Unhappily
I do so, and make my rounds;
but the sea pleases me more
than being a knight:
for I was once a sailor
and I wish to avoid in future
the scorpion, and return
to being who I was before.*
- And I'll tell you this:
sin
can never deceive me
or make me speak
of arms, for it is not in me
('tis vain
of me to speak of arms
as I am never going to use them);
I want to go it alone
and become a merchant
seeking a new land,
where they cannot find me
the black or white scorpion.*

Though many scholars compare this poem with another by Alfonso, in which the speaker expresses a desire to leave the land behind and roam the seas ('Non me posso pagar tanto', Lapa 10), this poem seems not to be as much autobiographical as a composition in which this 'I' voice is not happy with what he is limited to doing and wishes only to begin a new life elsewhere. In this satire, the speaker assumes this role and his main enemy is contained in the metaphoric prickly and poisonous scorpion (*alacrán*) condemned at the conclusion of each strophe. Do these venomous scorpions signify repugnant duties and obligations forced upon him, depressing him so much that he thinks only of being far away from them?

These scorpion-enemies are multiple (l. 52) but in any case, they now represent a poison, a thorn piercing his heart, creating an unpleasant environment for living life as he so earnestly desires. There must be other places (l. 50) where he will never be thought to have participated in the required performances of a soldier-knight (ll. 2-4, 17-20 and 27-33) in which bearing arms or jousting with them is a principle and unwelcome duty.

He fantasizes, dreaming of owning a boat and selling simple goods (ll. 21-23) or even changing countries (ll. 8-10), but his current scorpion-infested land must belong to his past, while the unknown (ll. 48-50) seems more appealing. This satire presents the reader with a depressed and suffering soul, rejecting his soldierly life and lack of options, but various commentators, as I noted above, do not see the poetic voice as being that of Alfonso X.

XXXI

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1 Pero da Pont'á feito gran pecado
de seus cantares, que el foi furtar
a Coton, que, quanto el lazerado
ouve gran tempo, el x'os quer lograr,
5 e doutros muitos que non sei contar,
por que oj'anda vistido e onrado.</p> | <p><i>Pero da Ponte committed a big sin
in 'his' songs, which he stole
from Coton, for, despite treating
him ill a long time, he made them his,
and so many others, I cannot count:
now he is honored and wears finery.</i></p> |
| <p>E poren foi Coton mal dia nado,
pois Pero da Ponte erda seu trobar;
e mui mais lhi valera que trobado
10 nunca ouvess'el, assi Deus m'ampar,
pois que se de quant'el foi lazerar
serve Don Pedro e non lhi dá en grado.
E con dereito seer enforcado</p> | <p><i>Coton was born on an unlucky day,
as Pero da Ponte inherits his songs;
he had been better off never making
them, so help me God,
since for all his hard work on them
Pedro sings them, never thanking him.
By rights, Don Pedro should be hung</i></p> |
| <p>deve Don Pedro, por que foi filhar
15 a Coton, pois-lo ouve soterrado,
seus cantares, e non quis ende dar
ũu soldo pera sa alma quitar
sequer do que lhi avia emprestado.</p> | <p><i>by the neck, for having robbed
Coton, after he had 'buried' him,
of his songs, refusing to offer
one coin to save his soul, not even
for all he had 'borrowed' from him.</i></p> |
| <p>E porend' é gran traedor provado,
20 de que se ja nunca pode salvar
come quen a seu amigo jurado
bevendo con el, o foi matar:
todo polos cantares del levar,
con os quaes oj'anda arrufado.</p> | <p><i>Thus is he proven a great traitor
who can never be saved,
as one who invites a close friend,
drinks with him, then 'kills' him:
so that he could steal all his songs,
with which he now parades about proudly.</i></p> |
| <p>25 E pois non á quen no poren retar
queira, seerá oi-mais por min retado.</p> | <p><i>As no one wishes to be his accuser,
I will henceforth be his accuser.</i></p> |

Each verse is decasyllabic and the rhyme scheme has but two rhymes: *-ar* and *-ado*, each strophe repeating the rhymes of the previous strophe: *a b a b b a*. This satire by Alfonso is *ad hominem*, directed against a contemporary poet, Pero da Ponte, whom he reviles mercilessly. One voice only speaks and while it was perhaps rumored that Pero

da Ponte claimed some songs composed by Coton as his own, the king exaggerates by equating this act as a kind of murder. In effect, Pero ‘buries’ Coton, having tricked him, pretending to be a friend and then ‘stealing’ his songs with no acknowledgment or words of gratitude. In so doing, Alfonso predicts that Pero has lost his soul for the privilege of parading about arrogantly with songs composed by another. The satire directed against Pero da Ponte may possibly suggest that Coton was the better poet.

XXXIII

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| 1 | Pero da Ponte, paro-vos sinal
per ante o demo do fogo infernal,
por que con Deus, o padre spiritual,
minguar quisestes, mal per descreestes. | <i>Pero da Ponte, I summon you
before the devil of the infernal fire,
because God, the Spiritual Father,
him you failed, denying him gravely.</i> |
| 5 | E ben vej'ora que trovar vos fal,
pois vós tan louca razon cometestes. | <i>I see now you lack composing skill,
for so crazy an idea you defended.</i> |
| | E pois razon [a]tan descomunal
fostes filhar, e que tan pouco val,
pesar-m-á en, se vos pois a ben sal | <i>And since you pursued a
cause of so limited worth,
it will grieve me, if you fare well
with the devil whom you obeyed.</i> |
| 10 | ante o diaboo, a que obedecestes.
E ben vej'ora que trovar vos fal,
[pois vós tan louca razon cometestes]. | <i>I see now you lack composing skill,
for so crazy an idea you defended.</i> |
| | Vós non trobades come proençal,
mais come Bernaldo de Bonaval; | <i>You do not compose like a Provençal
but rather like Bernaldo de Bonaval;</i> |
| 15 | e poren non é trovar natural,
pois que o del e do dem'aprendestes.
E ben vej'ora que trovar vos fal,
[pois vós tan louca razon cometestes]. | <i>thus it isn't natural composing,
but learned from him and the devil.
I see now you lack composing skill,
for so crazy an idea you defended.</i> |
| | E poren, Don Pedr', en Villarreal, | <i>Therefore, Don Pedro, in Villarreal,</i> |
| 20 | en mao ponto vós tanto bevestes. | <i>you drank too much in a bad hour.</i> |

This second satire vilifying Pero da Ponte, can be dated after 1255, the establishing of Villarreal (l. 19) by Alfonso X (Paredes Nuñez, p. 233). This poem is constructed with three strophes and a refrain, repeating the same rhymes: *a a a b / a b*, once each to conclude the three strophes and with an echo-like closure in the final two verses using the same *a b* refrain rhymes. Note that Alfonso employs again decasyllabic verses but just two rhymes, as in his first satire of Pero da Ponte. This satire now places Pero in league with the devil, thus committing the greatest impiety: denying God. The ‘cause of so little worth’ (l. 8), the ‘crazy cause’ (ll. 6, 12, 18), is linked to his singing the songs of Coton and if, thanks to your union with the devil, you get away with this (ll. 9-10), I will be greatly saddened.

Worse, Pero's composing is not natural (l. 15), given that the devil is supporting him, a partner in his songs. Then there is the added negative comparison with an undistinguished Galician-Portuguese troubadour, Bernaldo de Bonaval (ll. 13-14), emphasizing the contrast between 'antinatural' and the more 'natural' lyrics of their admirable Provençal forerunners. Alfonso, we know, was a fervent admirer of the Occitan poets and that his respect for their poetic art underscores his biting satire of the 'unnatural' art of a fellow poet, Pero da Ponte and, by virtue of an additional insulting comparison with the failings of a poet of low esteem, Bernardo de Bonaval.

The *envoi* or final thrust of the satire (ll. 19-20), may refer to the previous satire of Pero da Ponte, who steals Coton's poems in a friendly drinking bout, thus 'burying' him.

XL

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| 1 | O que foi passar a serra
e non quis servir a terra,
e ora, entrant'a guerra
que faroneja? | <i>He who crossed the sierra
and refused to serve his country,
and now, with war all about,
how must he feel?</i> |
| 5 | Pois el agora tan muito erra,
maldito seja! | <i>Well now he errs so willfully,
damn him!</i> |
| 10 | O que levou os dinheiros
e non troux'os cavaleiros,
e por non ir nos primeiros
que faroneja?
Pois que ven conos prostumeiros,
maldito seja! | <i>He who accepted the funding
and did not bring his knights,
to avoid being in the vanguard,
how must he feel?
But he accompanies the rearguard,
damn him!</i> |
| 15 | O que filhou gran soldada
e nunca fez cavalgada,
e por non ir a Graada
que faroneja?
Se é ric'omen ou á mesnada,
maldita seja! | <i>He who took much money.
and never organized mounted troops
so as to avoid going to Granada,
how must he feel?
If he is wealthy or commands a batallion,
damn him!</i> |
| 20 | O que meteu una taleiga
pouc'aver e muita meiga,
e por non entrar na Veiga
que faroneja?
Pois [el] chus mol' é que manteiga,
maldito seja! | <i>He who filled his saddle bags with
little of value and lots of hypocrisy
so as not to enter the Vega of Granada,
how must he feel?
Such a one is softer than butter,
damn him!</i> |

Alfonso followed in his father's (Fernando III) footsteps in his attempts to recover and

repopulate with Christians those lands still under Muslim control.⁹ In this satire, Alfonso displays his ire four times in as many strophes for all cowardly men who avoided providing troops and joining him in the front line in his battle for Granada, the last strong outpost of Muslim rule in Spain. There is a built-in refrain in verses 4 and 6 of each strophe which build in force until the fourth and final ‘Damn him!’ The use of the singular includes all the so-called commanders of armed warriors who were specifically funded but failed either to show their faces, or ordered their soldiers to stay in the rearguard of Alfonso’s royal army instead of joining the battle in its vanguard. Alfonso takes on these leaders and their cowardice and their hypocrisy and damns them all! Their supposed battle readiness and valor were all a façade and Alfonso’s ire leads him to explode in this well-crafted satire, damning them all.

XLIII

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| 1 | -Rei Don Alfonso, se Deus vos pardon,
desto vos venho [aqui] preguntar;
[se]quer ora punhade de mi dar
tal recado, que seja con razon: | <i>‘Don Alfonso, may God forgive you,
for what I have come to ask of you;
at least try to give me such an
answer that it will be reasonable:</i> |
| 5 | Quen dá seu manto, que lho
guard’alguen,
e lho non dá tal qual o deu, poren,
que manda [end’] o Livro de Leon? | <i>He who gives his mantle to another
for safekeeping
and it is not returned as it was given,
what says the Book of León of this?’</i> |
| 10 | -Don Vaasco, eu fui ja
clerizon
e de grado soia estudar;
e nas escolas, u soia entrar,
dos maestros aprendi tal liçon:
que manto doutren non filhe per ren;
mais se o m’eu melhora, faço ben,
e non são, por aquesto, ladrón. | <i>‘Don Vasco, I was once apprentice to
a clergyman
and studied government decrees
and in the schools I would attend,
I got from my teachers this lesson:
not to accept a cloak from another;
but if I do and improve it, I do right,
and am not, therefore, a thief.’</i> |
| 15 | -Rei Don Alfonso, ladrón por atal
en nulha terra nunca chamar vi,
en vós, senhor, nono oistes a min,
ca, se o dissesse, diria mal;
ante tenho-o por trajeador | <i>‘Don Alfonso, for such a deed I
never heard anyone called a thief,
nor you, Milord, heard such from me,
were I to say so, I would be wrong;
I hold him to be a conjuror</i> |
| 20 | -;se Deus me valha!, nunca vi melhora
quen assi torna pelliza de cendal. | <i>(God help me, I never saw better
who returns a cloak, silk and fur-lined.’</i> |
| | -Don Vaasco, dizer-vos quer’eu al | <i>‘Don Vasco, I wish to tell you more</i> |

⁹ Fernando had, by 1248, reconquered Cordoba, Jaén, Murcia (with the help of Alfonso) and Seville. Alfonso, on his father’s deathbed, promised him that he would continue the recovery of Spanish lands still held by the Moors, thereby justifying his mocking satires of cowardly soldiers, his sworn vassals. Ours is one of several that take them to task.

	daqueste preito, que eu aprendi: oí dizer que trajeitou assi	<i>I learned about this matter: I heard that a king of Portugal</i>
25	ja ũa vez un rei en Portugal: ouve un dia de trajeitar sabor e, por se meter por mais sabedor, fez [...] cavaleiro de Espital.	<i>once made such magic work: one day he was pleased to cast a spell and thinking himself the cleverest, made [so and so] a Knight Hospitaller.'</i>

This is one more debate poem, a *cantiga de maestría*, and like XXXIII above, the speaker in strophes 1 and 3 (Don Vasco) requires the speaker in strophes 2 and 4 (king Alfonso) to use the same meters and rhymes he employs. Each strophe rhymes thus; *a b b a c c a*. It dates from 1252-1255 (Paredes Nuñez, p. 301), early in Alfonso's reign. The cloak at its center is involved in multiple circumstances. The query of Vasco involves the claim that Alfonso had borrowed a cloak but when he returned it, it seemed to be a new cloak, much improved. Taking up this situation, Don Vasco accuses the king of being a magician (l. 19), but not a thief who may have kept the borrowed cloak and substituted for it a different one.

Alfonso elaborates on things he learned as a student (ll. 10-11), one of which was that it is a positive act to return a borrowed item in better shape than it was when borrowed (l. 13). Not to do so would be the act of a thief (l. 14). Vasco is at great pain to claim his innocence in naming Alfonso anything other than a conjuror (ll. 15-19), and certainly not a thief.

Having been called a magician or conjuror (l. 19) by his interlocutor, Alfonso turns the tables on Don Vasco—who was, in fact, a documented Knight Hospitaller—by adding another tidbit he had learned. He then takes up the story of an unnamed king of Portugal who fancied himself a conjuror and practiced magic with pleasure. Believing himself to be the best, he placed a cloak on an unnamed (l. 28) person, thus making him a Knight Hospitaller. Is the unnamed Knight Hospitaller in fact Don Vasco?

The contest is that Vasco calls king Alfonso a conjuror through his replacing a borrowed cloak with a silk fur-lined version. Alfonso, knowing the past of his fellow debater, tells him of the conjuring act performed by a Portuguese king who took a cloak and draped it over the shoulders of a man (not named, but who must be the speaker, Don Vasco), a magical act that raised the man's social status to that of a knight. The two cloaks involved here are the hub of the contest, the query about one and its legal meaning (l. 7) proposed by Vasco in the initial strophe, and the one-upmanship displayed by Alfonso in the foreknowledge of the knight's cloak worn by his questioner.

Epilogue

There are many things these (and other) translations can provide readers, and in this instance, we mean readers of English. The first of these is getting to know better more authors from the rich European past. The second would be the acquisition of some knowledge of what themes interested them enough to express them in literary ways. In

the specific case of poetic satires, what points of comparison and contrast, of metaphor, of contradiction and exaggeration, of gross obscenities and sexual ambiguity provide some of the diverse means of defining the relationship of raucous humor that links the author-poets to the members of their society that laughed, smiled and applauded them in royal courts, public plazas and even marketplaces.

Many notions of humor we might think of as modern from our own reading of contemporary texts, although we then can, in reading older works in translation, come face-to-face with the fact that these notions of humor have been around for centuries. The Biblical adage *nihil novum sub sole* (Ecclesiastes 1:19) that simply states that ‘there is nothing new under the sun’ refers to one’s contemporary perceptions that much of what is learned—and which is new to the individuals involved—is in fact not ‘new’ but has been around far longer than one had realized.

Homer’s *Iliad*, the Greek and Latin classics, Dante’s *Divina Commedia*, Petrarch’s sonnets, and Cervantes’ *Don Quijote*, to name but a few famous literary giants, are widely studied both by specialists in the original language and by students and readers in modern translations. The great literary themes, ideas and situations—while not repeated exactly—instead present an infinite variety of expression which makes reading a variety of works so stimulating to the mind. Thus, comparison and contrast become essential tools of the analytic mind.

Prose works have been more often translated than poetical works. That does not lessen in any way the appeal of poetry; it merely alludes to the fact that poetry—and especially early poetry—contains meters and rhymes that rarely can be duplicated in a translation. My rendering of the six poetic satires of Alfonso X shows clearly the pros and cons of how far short of the originals English translations can be. What can most effectively be rendered is the content of each of them and the attempt to retain the intent (but not the sound or the scansion) of the jibes, the mocking in the *ad hominem* poems vilifying Pero da Ponte, the scorn shown those anonymous military men who failed in their obligations as the king’s vassals to help him in his reconquest of Muslim Granada, and his clever staging of his victories in the two debate poems. Time passes and languages and sensibilities in cultures evolve. Translations perform a valuable service, providing a window through which we can still see and appreciate older literary fictions, be they prose or poetry.

One of the chief aims of the Galician-Portuguese poets was impressing other poets with their skills and earning their admiration and, in all probability, this was as important to them as was entertaining their audiences. We have here but a small sampling of Alfonso’s 45 poems, but other respected contemporary poets in fact praised his poetry (Cerverí di Girona and Guiraut Riquier among them), and I can but hope that these few satires might create in my readers a desire for more of Alfonso X’s Galician-Portuguese secular poetry in English translation.

Bibliography

- Base de datos da Lírca Profana Galego-Portuguesa (MedDB)*, version 3.6.2 (Santiago de Compostela: Cento Ramón para a Investigación en Humanidades) <<http://www.cirp.gal/meddb>>
- Las 'Cantigas de Santa María': Códice Rico, Ms T-1-1*, ed. by Laura Fernández Fernández and Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza. 3 vols. (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 2011), i (ed. by Elvira Fidalgo Francisco)
- Paredes Núñez, Juan, 'El cancionero profano de Alfonso X el Sabio; Edición crítica con introducción, notas y glosario', *Verba: Anuario Galego de Filoloxía*, anejo 66 (2010)
- Snow, Joseph T., 'Guiraut Riquier and Alfonso X's Classification of Fellow Performers, High and Low, in their *Declaratio* (1275)', *Tenso*, 35 (2000), 47-63
- , 'The Seven Satires of Alfonso X Involving Women, in English Translation', *La Corónica. A Journal of Medieval Hispanic Languages, Literatures and Cultures*, 48.1 (Fall 2019), 129-154
- Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X, the Wise: A Translation of the Cantigas de Santa María*, trans. by Kathleen Kulp-Hill (Tempe: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000)

VICTORIA FENDEL

Taking Stock of Support-Verb Constructions in Journalistic French

This article takes a fresh look at support-verb constructions in journalistic French. It takes a novel approach by proposing a working definition that allows for an empirical data collection and thus captures the internal heterogeneity of this widely discussed group of constructions. The proposed working definition acknowledges that support-verb constructions, as many multi-word expressions, operate at the syntax-semantic interface by combining criteria relating to each domain. It also acknowledges that support verbs and predicative nouns can only be defined in relative terms, i.e. relative to the construction. The article assumes support-verb constructions to be a semi-productive pattern and an integral part of the French lexicon in line with Butt and Lahiri's findings on support verbs as well as Gross' influential Lexicon-Grammar framework. The article considers specifically the complementation patterns of support-verb constructions and their diachronic development through the lens of grammaticalisation. Grammaticalisation seems to affect the construction as a whole rather than only the support verb. The article shows that the support verb retains a crucial function and meaning in the construction, yet that the degree of its semantic and syntactic weight shifts relative to the combination of components in the construction.

I. Introduction

Support-verb constructions (SVCs henceforth) are pervasive in the lexicon, multi-faceted in their structure and finely nuanced in their meaning in many languages.¹ SVCs are a type of verbal multi-word expression (henceforth MWE) consisting of a verbal component, the support verb (henceforth SV), and a nominal component, the predicative noun (henceforth PN) or a prepositional phrase (henceforth PP), as in *prendre une décision* and *mettre en relief* (Dalrymple, Lowe & Mycock 2019: 346-52).

As in every MWE, there is a division of labour between the two components. While the SV has primarily syntactic functions (*prendre, mettre*), the PN or PP bears the main semantic weight (*décision, en relief*). The fact that the elements dominating at the syntactic and semantic levels differ results in problems when mapping these levels onto each other (Dalrymple, Lowe & Mycock 2019: 329-31).

Furthermore, the segmentation of components at each level can differ. This can com-

¹ Baños 2016 (on Latin), Butt 2010 (on Hindi), Cuervo 2010 (on Spanish), Jiménez López 2016 (on Greek), Gross 1984 (on French), Ronan 2019 (on Irish), Leech 2009: chap. 8 (on modern English), Storrer 2009 (on German).

pligate the mapping of one structure onto the other. Concretely, we usually have the PN filling the direct-object slot of the verb at the syntactic level, whereas the PN and the SV form the verbal element at the semantic level. Moreover, structures may be syntactically and / or semantically ambiguous, in that more than one analysis / interpretation is possible and only contextual implicature would (usually) resolve the issue in real life (Dalrymple, Lowe & Mycock 2019: 297).

In the context of the influential lexicon-grammar approach of the *Laboratoire d'Automatique Documentaire et Linguistique* (henceforth LADL), the lexicon-grammar of SVs (e.g. *to have*, *to make* in *n has an impact on n*, *n makes a certain impression on n*) was identified as one of the three main components of the French lexicon-grammar with the other two being the lexicon-grammar of free sentences (e.g. *to fall*, *to eat*, *to watch*) and the lexicon-grammar of idiomatic expressions (e.g. *n takes n into account*, *n raises a question*).² In his 1998 article, Gross turns specifically to the role of the SV in French, comparing SVs to operator verbs and ordinary verbs (Gross 1998). He concludes that, while SVs can be located on a continuum with operator verbs and ordinary verbs with regard to their semantics, SVs are syntactically distinct.³ Cross-linguistically and diachronically, this is confirmed by Butt and Lahiri (2013). Seiss (2009: 509) summarises the characteristics of SVs building on Butt's earlier work. Note that she uses the term *light verb* rather than *support verb*. This is a purely terminological difference.

1. Light verbs are always form identical to the corresponding main verb whereas auxiliaries are usually just form identical at the initial stage of reanalysis from verb to auxiliary.
2. Light verbs always span the entire verbal paradigm (are not restricted to appear with just one tense or aspect form).
3. Light verbs do not display a defective paradigm.
4. Light verbs exhibit subtle lexical semantic differences in terms of combinatorial possibilities with main verbs, are thus restricted in their combinations. Auxiliaries, on the other hand, are not restricted in their combinatorial possibilities, but do not have to combine with every main verb.

Point two may deserve further consideration on the basis of pairs such as *I am taking the decision* versus **I take the decision*. The issue is taken up briefly in Section IV, but an in-depth treatment lies beyond the scope of this article.

Syntactically speaking, three aspects of support-verb constructions have received significant attention, that is (1) the nature of the predicative element / the nominal element, (2) the degree of fusion of the SV and the nominal element and (3) the range of argument structures that many SVCs enter into (Langer 2005). The first issue ties in with the definitional uncertainty surrounding SVCs, whereas the other two issues are related to the synchronic and diachronic variability of support-verb constructions.

²The examples are taken from Gross 1984: 275-82.

³The Lexicon-Grammar approach has a strong semantic component, whereas the present article has a syntactic focus. However, since SVCs are MWEs that operate at the syntax-semantics interface and many semantic approaches to SVCs exist, we cannot completely ignore the semantic dimension.

The present article adopts a wide definition of SVCs in order to consider essential and marginal representatives of this internally heterogeneous group of constructions (Section II) and applies this to four case studies, that is SVCs with the PNs *raison*, *envie*, *peur* and *décision* (Section III). It discusses briefly the syntax of French SVCs (Section IV). Based on this discussion, the article considers their synchronic and diachronic variability and shows that we see in essence a syntactic change in progress (Section V). The article concludes with a brief summary of the results and some comments on the interplay between synchronic variability and diachronic change in French SVCs (Section VI).

II. Defining support-verb constructions

In the past, SVCs were defined by means of syntactic, semantic or lexical criteria (Laporte 2013: 23-27). This resulted in three fundamentally different definitions of SVCs (Gaatone 2004). These are discussed briefly below. The present article then takes a different approach in order to acknowledge two aspects: firstly, the relevant verbs and nouns cannot be defined in absolute but only in relative terms, that is relative to the construction (Butt & Lahiri 2013). Secondly, SVCs form an internally heterogeneous group of constructions (cf. Kamber 2008). Notably, Gross (1984) already included syntactically highly invariable and semantically idiomatic structures as well as syntactically variable and semantically transparent structures (e.g. *faire contre mauvaise fortune bon cœur* vs *faire attention*).

[II.1] Syntactic approaches (syntactic tests)

Syntactically speaking, SVCs are combinations of a verb, the SV, and a noun, the PN, which fills the direct-object slot of the verb. These two elements fuse tightly and form the verb phrase (VP henceforth) of a sentence. The syntactic environment of the SVC is largely determined by the SV (Alonso Ramos 1998: chap. 6).

The relative tightness of this fusion can be tested by means of syntactic transformations. Langer suggests assessing three general properties of SVCs by means of syntactic transformations, that is the referentiality of the PN phrase, the semantically reduced state of the SV, and the status of the complements (Langer 2004, 2005).

Firstly, the PN cannot have a point of reference that differs from the point of reference of the SV, that is the grammatical subject. The PN must be either co-referential with the grammatical subject or non-referential. The reason is that the noun in the direct-object slot is part of the VP in SVCs. Therefore, like any other VP, the noun has to refer to the actions of the grammatical subject. This can be achieved either by co-referentiality or by non-referentiality of the noun. In the latter case, the noun is then taken as referring to the actions of the grammatical subject by contextual inference. Relevant syntactic tests include the addition of determiner phrases (henceforth DPs) (Danlos 2009) and attribute phrases (henceforth ATTs).⁴ Secondly, the PN carries the semantic weight, with the SV

⁴ On syntactic and semantic differences entailed by the addition of DPs and ATTs, see Chaurand 1991, Heid 2004, and

fulfilling grammatical functions and contributing rather marginally to the semantics of the VP. Relevant syntactic tests include deletion and substitution of the SV and their effect on the construction. Thirdly, the SV and the PN form a VP and this VP can be complemented like any other VP. The difference is that, in a non-grammaticalised state, the PN still fills the direct-object slot of the SV, and thus complementation patterns differ from those of non-SVC VPs (see further Section V.3). Relevant syntactic transformations include the patterns of negation, that is the difference between *ne ... aucune* (e.g. *prendre DP décision*) and *ne ... pas* (e.g. *avoir peur*), and the addition of adverbial information, that is the difference between the addition of an adverbial phrase (henceforth ADV) and an adjective (henceforth ADJ). Both transformations show that some SVCs behave more like synthetic VPs (i.e. in calling for an ADV) and others more like analytic MWEs (i.e. in calling for an ADJ).

Syntactic tests are language-specific. For example, Langer (2005) presents a list of tests applicable to English, German and French. When testing for co-referentiality between the PN and the grammatical subject, DPs and ATTs added to the PN are considered pivotal. All three languages have a set of definite and indefinite articles as well as possessive articles and all allow for zero determination under certain circumstances. However, for languages that express referentiality of a noun in a different way, the tests proposed by Langer would have to be modified.

Crucially, the application of syntactic tests shows that constructions that are commonly identified as SVCs display different degrees of fixedness. We find largely invariable combinations of an SV and a PN such as *faire grâce* (e.g. **faire la grâce*, **faire grande grâce*, **faire des grâces*).⁵ These often allow for complementation by means of a complement clause.⁶ We also find more flexible combinations of an SV and a PN such as *faire peur* (**faire la peur*, **faire des peurs*), which is subject to syntactic constraints, and *prendre la / une décision*, which allows for a wide range of syntactic modifications and transformations; in these, the underlying structure of an SV with the PN in the direct-object slot is often still transparent, so that complements have to be added in the form of objective genitives and what are, strictly speaking, adverbial or attributive clauses.

[II.2] Semantic approaches (starting from the PN or the SV)

Semantically speaking, SVCs are combinations of a semantically light element, the SV, and a semantically heavy element, the PN. These two elements fuse tightly and form the predicate of a sentence. The semantic environment of the SVC is largely determined by the PN (Danlos 1992: 2). Therefore, Gross and Daladier even advocated a nominal conjugation in French, that is one in which the PN is conjugated by means of an SV (Gross 1993, Daladier 1996).

Giry-Schneider 2004. On DPs with PNs in French, see further Giry-Schneider 1987: 33-36.

⁵ Brunot 1927 (on *juxtaposés immuables*), Marchello-Nizia 1996 (on older stages of French); see also Dubois 1965, Wagner 1962, Guilbert 1975, Marchello-Nizia 1979.

⁶ Idiomatic SVCs are usually syntactically inflexible. This coincides with a high degree of semantic non-compositionality. However, A. Firenze and C. Fellbaum (2008) show for German *jmdm. Sand in die Augen streuen* ('to pull the wool over so.'s eyes') that modification of this idiomatic expression is permissible.

Semantic definitions of SVCs are based on the assumption that we can define a group of SVs and / or PNs in absolute terms. Several seminal works in the field took this approach. Giry-Schneider (1978), Labelle (1974), and Vives (1983) focused on select SVs. The choice of the candidates seems to depend on cross-linguistic comparison along with semantic scope and specificity. The SVs which they investigate are candidates that are common across languages, have a wide semantic scope and are thus semantically rather unspecific (i.e. *faire, avoir, prendre, perdre*). The nature of the PN is discussed insightfully by Radimsky (2011) and Mel'čuk (1996), who both seem to acknowledge a range of PNs that is wider than the often-assumed group of deverbal formations. Notably, even defining a group of deverbal formations is difficult. For example, do we define it etymologically (e.g. *espoir*), morphologically or semantically (Balvet, Barque & Marin 2010)? If semantically, do nouns have to refer to an action only or can they refer to a state too (cf. the polysemy of *espoir* and *décision*)?

Crucially, most verbs and nouns that function as SVs or PNs respectively in SVCs also appear in free sentences, to use Gross' terminology, or idiomatic expressions (Butt 2010, Butt & Lahiri 2013). This aligns with the general model of verb profiles. Most verbs can appear in more than one syntactic and semantic environment (see further Section V.2). Consequently, an absolute definition of SVs and PNs is impossible. Cross-linguistic comparison can only help to a certain extent since SVCs are collocations and collocations are language-specific. There are candidates for SVs and PNs that are common across languages but there is an even larger number of candidates that are language-specific.

[II.3] Lexical approaches

Lexically speaking, SVCs are combinations of a verbal and a nominal element. They are collocations rather than free combinations of a verb and a noun. However, opinions are divided on where to situate SVCs on the continuum ranging from collocations to idioms (Schutzeichel 2013: 15).

The lexical category of collocations is essentially based on the frequency of co-occurrence of two or more lexical items. Collocations are considered to be tighter when the frequency of co-occurrence is higher. This is often the case when a given lexical item appears only with a small range of other lexical items. Collocations are considered looser when the frequency of co-occurrence is lower. This is often the case when a given lexical item appears with a wide range of other lexical items. However, the frequency of co-occurrence is not sufficient as a criterion by itself (Langer 2004: section II.2.v).

We further consider the syntactic flexibility and the semantic compositionality of a collocation (Hollós 2010: 95). These are usually low and absent respectively in idiomatic expressions but high and present respectively in collocations. For example, de Pontonx with regard to semantically metaphorical SVCs, hence comparatively idiomatic SVCs, notes that deletion of the SV is not permissible (de Pontonx 2004: 270). If we delete the SV in (a) *La haine que Luc nourrit contre Jeanne* and (b) *La haine que Luc éprouve*

contre / envers Jeanne, we get *La haine de Luc contre Jeanne*. De Pontonx comments on the deletion of the SV *nourrir* in (a) that ‘la métaphore a été perdue ainsi que la nuance sémantique qu’elle apportait’ (de Pontonx 2004: 270). Conversely, deletion of *éprouver* in (b) does not impact semantically.

The continuum ranging from collocations to idioms is discussed in detail by Hollós (2010: 95). Some argue that SVCs are a lexical category situated at one point on this continuum (Bouveret 2008: 53, Danlos 1992: 7). Others argue that SVCs can be more or less idiomatic with regard to their semantics and syntax and consequently can rather be located on a part along this continuum (Langer 2005, Ronan 2012: 20-21).

This lexical definition of SVCs has been implemented in data collections in the sense that SVCs were seen as periphrastic, that is semantically equivalent to a base verb (BV henceforth). For instance, the SVC *prendre une décision* to a certain extent corresponds to the BV *décider*. This extension of the notion of periphrasis from the syntactic to the semantic plane is problematic by itself and complete semantic equivalence is unlikely to exist (Crystal 2008). Moreover, Storrer (2009) and Ronan (2019) have convincingly shown that there are distributional differences between SVCs and BVs. Finally, the correlation between an SVC and a BV is difficult to define. Should we rely on diachronic etymological links (e.g. *espoir* and *espérer*), synchronic derivation (e.g. *confier* and *confiance*), or on semantic relations (e.g. *avoir peur* and *craindre*)?

[II.4] Working definition

Section II.1 outlined how to apply syntactic tests to structures and showed that constructions with different syntactic properties form part of the group of SVCs (see e.g. *to take heart* vs **to take the/a heart*; *to hold one’s breath* vs **to hold the/a/∅ breath*; *to make a/thea good/the good suggestion*; *to give rise* vs **to give a/the rise*, **to give good rise*; *to keep an open mind* vs **to keep the open mind*, **to keep a narrow mind*). Section II.2 described the difficulty of defining PNs and SVs in absolute terms and thus questioned the viability of a semantic approach. Section II.3 drew attention to the fact that SVCs are an integral rather than a redundant part of the lexicon and that comparison with BVCs is not only difficult but also not feasible (cf. *to hold one’s breath*, *to take time* which could not be rephrased in the form of single-word-expression verbs).

Therefore, the present article proposes a different approach in order to assess the properties of the SV while acknowledging the internal heterogeneity of the group of constructions. We apply a working definition consisting of a syntactic and a semantic criterion to the corpus data:

1. The PN fills the direct-object slot of the SV.
2. The PN is co-referential with the grammatical subject (regarding both explicit morphological encoding and implicit contextual inference) or non-referential. Criterion 1 defines a basic range of constructions, that is verb-object construc-

tions.⁷ Criterion 2 helps us distinguish between generic verb-object constructions and SVCs (see Section II.1 for the syntactic issues and Section I for the issue of segmentation).

Given the scope of the working definition, we encountered a range of borderline cases. These pointed towards the most interesting aspects to be investigated. Two aspects need to be mentioned here already as they are crucial to the data collection presented in Section III. Firstly, sequences of PNs with the same SV are accepted provided that each PN in question can form an SVC with the SV so that we can assume deletion of the SV. The assumption is that the SV has been deleted in order to avoid repetition. However, strictly speaking, an in-depth analysis of the relevant PNs would be necessary in order to confirm that the PN is not only attested with the relevant SV but also that the relevant SV does not trigger a specific semantic nuance or register-related connotation. An example corroborating this view is:

- [1] *Et après une étreinte de passage qui ne lui a procuré qu'un plaisir minuscule, elle a le sentiment du devoir accompli et l'espoir d'avoir gagné quelques points concernant son accomplissement personnel.*

A covert SV seems especially likely here as asymmetrical coordination would usually be avoided in French (Grevisse 2011: paras. 265-66).⁸ Secondly, possessives and attributes with the PN that indicate co-referentiality with the grammatical subject are accepted (e.g. *Le groupe était encadré par des professionnels que je connais personnellement et auxquels je garde toute ma confiance*). The assumption is that possessives of this type do not impact on the feature of co-referentiality between the grammatical subject and the PN. Conversely, instances with a possessive or attribute that disrupts co-referentiality such as *il attire l'attention publique* are excluded.

This novel empirical approach takes seriously the fact that SVCs lie at the interface of syntax and semantics by combining criteria reflecting both layers. Throughout this article, we call the syntactic structure the argument structure and the semantic structure the participant structure. Arguments and adjuncts are syntactic elements, participants are semantic roles, as in *he suddenly took heart* where *he* is syntactically speaking an argument in the subject slot and semantically speaking the agent and *suddenly* is syntactically speaking an adjunct.⁹

⁷ Unlike in the function-verb construction tradition, which considers verb + PP expressions primary, the SVC line of research considers verb + object expressions primary (cf. Storrer 2009).

⁸ For the omission of functionally equivalent items in cases of symmetrical coordination and for the repetition of functionally equivalent items in cases of asymmetrical coordination, Grevisse lists exceptions and distinguishes between the rule established by grammarians and the situation in natural language.

⁹ Note that the exact definition of participant roles is a matter of debate (cf. Kroeger 2005, Næss 2007: 72). For our purposes, the segmentation at the two levels is more important than the exact definition of roles.

III. Case studies

The case studies presented here are an extract from the PN environments that my MPhil thesis looked at. They are chosen because they illustrate best the aspects of syntactic variability of the SV. One case omitted here, as it deserves a separate treatment, is PNs referring to concrete objects. In these, the SV not only verbalises but also reconceptualises the PN (Radimský 2011: 214-19, Mel'čuk 1996: 59-60). For example, in an SVC such as *prendre une photo* and *faire des photos*, the concrete noun *photo* is used to refer to the process that results in the concrete object rather than to the concrete object, a picture, itself.

[III.1] Corpus of texts

The select corpus of texts consists of 1,110,392 words from *Le Monde* 1998. Thus, the language of the corpus is journalism as regards the genre and varies in register depending on the exact topic treated.¹⁰ The corpus can be accessed on lextutor.ca.

[III.2] Data collection

For practical reasons, the data collection proceeded from the PN in the form of drawing concordances from a corpus of texts by means of concordance software. The working definition was then applied to this raw data sample.¹¹ Given that we are primarily interested in the role that the SV plays, we need a controlled environment in which we can observe what effect minimal changes to the component of interest have. By setting the PN as an absolute term, we create such an environment. Admittedly, this is only a case-study approach.¹² Concordances for select nouns were drawn from the corpus. The results for *envie*, *peur*, *raison* and *décision* are presented below. The PNs were searched for in their singular and plural forms. Note that the numbers of plural tokens for *envie* and *peur* are very small.

The nature of the corpus imposes limitations on the range of PNs that can be studied, because sample sizes for several nouns are too small and would skew the statistics. For instance, nouns commonly mentioned in the research literature on SVCs, such as *faim* and *soif*, are naturally rare due to the topics discussed. Therefore, *peur* and *envie* serve as our starting points as they are accepted as PNs even by those who apply a narrow syntactic definition of SVCs to their data. In addition, we look at one noun referring to

¹⁰ Describing the language of journalism in detail goes beyond the scope of the present article. A rich research literature exists, see e.g. Friedl 2009 (on linguistic innovation), Lüger 1977, Engel 1990: 8-13 (as an introductory overview), Wedler 2006: chaps. 5.2, 6.3.4 and p. 92, all with further references. The issue of nominalisation is widely discussed for titles (e.g. by Cecilia 2007), but less so for the text body. For several aspects of VPs in journalistic French, see Seppänen 2011 (on voice), Engel 1987 (on past tenses), Lefeuve 2005 (on nominal predicates). It is common opinion that the language of French journalism heavily relies on nominal constructions. However, to my knowledge no statistical comparisons between corpora of journalistic and, for instance, literary French have been undertaken.

¹¹ For the working definition applied to a corpus of texts (10,000 words of Classical Greek), see Fendel 2019.

¹² If our interest was primarily in the PN, the opposite approach would have been chosen.

an abstract concept (*raison*) and one noun referring to an action (*décision*). Naturally, the classification of nouns into semantic classes is not absolute.¹³ In essence, the semantic classification of nouns depends on which meaning of a noun one considers primary (e.g. the result or the process for *décision*). Most of the nouns selected here are polysemous and could consequently be subsumed under several semantic classes. Thus, our initial classification of nouns serves simply as a starting point.

Application of the working definition to the concordances drawn from the corpus was done manually, that is without relying on a pre-tagged corpus. The definition advanced here is significantly wider than definitions of SVCs in most research on French SVCs, so that marginal candidates of the group of SVCs, as here defined, would not be tagged as such in most corpora. All the instances were entered into a database built with the free software *Symphytum*. The database form contains fields for the SV and the PN as well as the sentence containing the SVC, apart from eight fields based on the syntactic tests suggested by Langer (2005). The complete database can be accessed on Apollo.¹⁴

[III.3] Application of the working definition

Initially, all the instances in which the noun fills the direct-object slot of a verb or appears within a PP in prepositional verbs (e.g. *participer à*) formed the pool of raw data. To this pool of data, the working definition was applied:

1. All the instances in which the noun appears within a PP were excluded. (cf. criterion 1)
2. All the remaining instances were analysed with regard to the referentiality of the noun. (cf. criterion 2)
 - a. Instances in which the noun is explicitly encoded as referring to an entity other than the grammatical subject (e.g. by a *de* XP phrase or by an adjective, as in *il attire l'attention publique*) were excluded.
 - b. Instances in which contextual implicature results in the noun having a point of reference other than the grammatical subject were excluded.

A difference was made between the grammatical subject witnessing an action and the grammatical subject taking part in the action (cf. *décision*, esp. in combination with *annuler*, *confirmer*, *critiquer*, *expliquer*, etc.). All those instances in which the grammatical subject was in essence a witness of an action and in which the noun consequently had an external point of reference were discarded.

¹³ Nouns could be classified based on criteria relating to their etymology. (Rubenbauer, Heine & Hofmann 1995: § 18 on classes of nouns in Latin), their morphology / word formation (Balvet, Barque & Marin 2010 on deverbal formations in French), or their semantics (cf. <http://atilf.atilf.fr/> for French).

¹⁴ See <https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.39599> for all the instances extracted from the corpus with complete analysis.

[III.4] Presentation of the data

In Section III.5, the entry for each noun is split into two parts. Part one investigates component compatibility in the form of a diagram and a table, [2].

[2] **Analytic table**

PN	Voice	Aspect	No. of arguments	Total	% of total
...

In the column ‘voice’, a binary distinction between active and passive is made for the SVC as a whole, based on its distribution of participant roles. That is to say, when the grammatical subject takes the participant role of a patient, the SVC is classified as ‘passive’, whereas, when the grammatical subject takes the participant role of an agent, the SVC is classified as ‘active’ (Danlos 2009). In the column ‘aspect’, a binary distinction is made between durative (state) and punctual (action). Aspect is further discussed in Section 4. In the column ‘number of arguments’, arguments of the SV are counted: subject = argument 1, PN = argument 2, further arguments = arguments 2+n.¹⁵

Part two considers the use of the relevant noun in the corpus, an aspect that influences the statistics for the noun functioning as a PN as compared to a non-PN noun.

[3] **Five-point questionnaire: Aspects that influence the quantitative data**

1. Which constructions are frequent but are not SVCs (e.g. *en raison de*)?
2. Which constructions may be SVCs but are excluded from the analysis (primarily because they consist of an SV and a PP)?
3. Which constructions are unclear?
4. Which phrases, etc. skew the statistics (e.g. the noun appearing in personal names)?
5. What is the semantic scope of the PN?

[III.5] Case studies

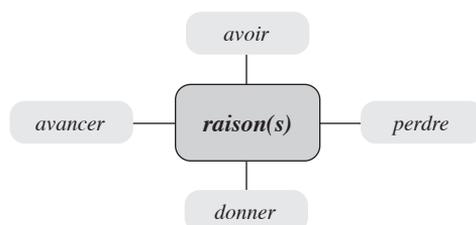
The following four subsections present four select PN environments.

¹⁵ Adjuncts are disregarded.

[III.5.i] Raison

The aspect of component compatibility for the PN *raison* in the singular and plural forms is illustrated graphically in [4], and quantitative details are tabulated in [5].

[4] Component compatibility: *raison(s)*



[5] Constructions with the PN *raison(s)*

	Voice	Aspect	No. of arguments	Total	% of total
<i>avoir</i>	passive	(see section V)	(see section V)	31	73
<i>donner</i>	active	punctual	3	10	23
<i>perdre</i>	passive	punctual	2	1	2
<i>avancer</i> ¹⁶	active	punctual	2	1	2
			(total)	43	

Idioms containing the PN *raison(s)* with SVs

1. *faire entendre raison à qqn.* ‘to make sb. listen to reason’

Raison(s) in the corpus

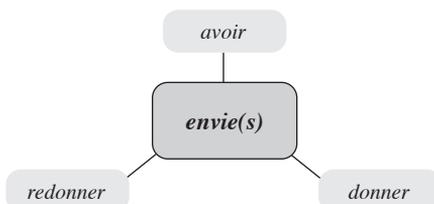
1. Which constructions are frequent but are not SVCs? *en raison de, à raison*
2. Which constructions may be SVCs but are excluded from the analysis? *ramener à la raison, amener à la raison, mener à la raison*
3. Which constructions are unclear? *céder à la raison*
4. Which phrases, etc. skew the statistics? [∅]
5. What is the semantic scope of the PN? *Raison* can refer to a concrete cause or a reason but also to the mental capacities of reasoning and / or judging things to be reasonable. In addition, *raison* has taken on a more abstract meaning with the sense of ‘right’ or ‘concession’ in *avoir raison* and *donner raison*.

¹⁶ Context: *M. Weygand a avancé une raison à son initiative.* The contextual inference is that M. Weygand put forward a reason which he himself had thought of. The construction is inchoative as regards aspect. Furthermore, the construction is not a variant of *donner raison*, since *donner raison* has lexicalised and has consequently taken on a very specific meaning. By contrast, *avancer DP raison* is syntactically flexible and semantically compositional. Note also that the meaning of *raison* here clearly differs from the meaning of *raison* in *avoir raison*, etc.

[III.5.ii] *Envie*

The aspect of component compatibility for the PN *envie* in the singular and plural forms is illustrated graphically in [6], and quantitative details are tabulated in [7].

[6] Component compatibility: *envie(s)*



[7] Constructions with the PN *raison(s)*

	Voice	Aspect	No. of arguments	Total	% of total
<i>avoir</i>	passive	durative	2	29	83
<i>donner</i>	active	punctual	3	5	14
<i>redonner</i>	active	punctual	3	1	3
			(total)	35	

Idioms containing the PN *envie(s)* with SVs

1. [∅]

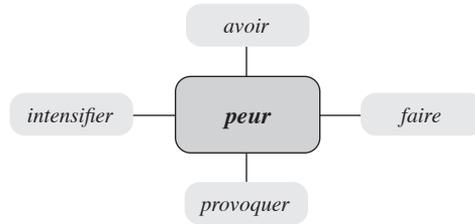
Envie(s) in the corpus

1. Which constructions are frequent but are not SVCs? [∅]
2. Which constructions may be SVCs but are excluded from the analysis? [∅]
3. Which constructions are unclear? [∅]
4. Which phrases, etc. skew the statistics? [∅]
5. What is the semantic scope of the PN? [∅]

[III.5.iii] *Peur*

The aspect of component compatibility for the PN *peur* in the singular and plural forms is illustrated graphically in [8], and quantitative details are tabulated in [9].

[8] Component compatibility: *peur(s)*



[9] Constructions with the PN *peur(s)*

	Voice	Aspect	No. of arguments	Total	% of total
<i>avoir</i>	passive	durative	2	22	68.75
<i>faire</i> ¹⁷	active	punctual	3	8	25
<i>provoquer</i>	active	punctual	3	1	3.125
<i>intensifier</i>	active	punctual	2	1	3.125
			(total)	32	

Idioms containing the PN *peur(s)* with SVs

1. [∅]

Peur(s) in the corpus

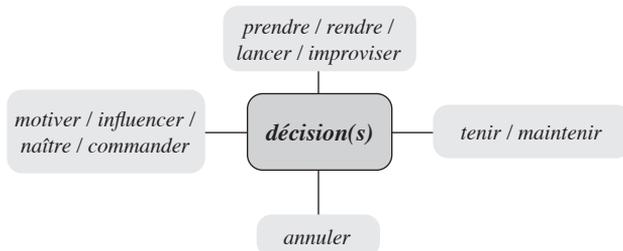
1. Which constructions are frequent but are not SVCs? *de peur de / de peur que, par peur*
2. Which constructions may be SVCs but are excluded from the analysis? *ramener à la peur*
3. Which constructions are unclear? [∅]
4. Which phrases, etc. skew the statistics? [∅]
5. What is the semantic scope of the PN? [∅]

¹⁷ The SV is twice reflexive, that is *se faire* rather than simple *faire*.

[III.5.iv] *Décision*

The aspect of component compatibility for the PN *décision* in the singular and plural forms is illustrated graphically in [10], and quantitative details are tabulated in [11].

[10] Component compatibility: *décision(s)*



[11] Constructions with the PN *décision(s)*

	Voice	Aspect	No. of arguments	Total	% of total
<i>prendre / rendre / lancer / improviser</i>	active	punctual	2	59	88
<i>tenir / maintenir</i>	passive	durative	2	2	3
<i>annuler</i>	active	punctual	2	1	2
<i>motiver / influencer / naître / commander</i>	active	punctual	2	5	7
			(total)	67	

Idioms containing the PN *décision(s)* with SVs

1. [∅]

Décision(s) in the corpus

1. Which constructions are frequent but are not SVCs? (cf. 5 below)
2. Which constructions may be SVCs but are excluded from the analysis? [∅]
3. Which constructions are unclear? [∅]
4. Which phrases, etc. skew the statistics? [∅]
5. What is the semantic scope of the PN? *Décision* refers on the one hand to the action of decision-making but on the other hand also to the result of this action. The latter meaning is commonly used in political contexts when commenting on documents which state decisions that have been taken (Radimský 2011: 223). Only when *décision* is referring to an action or the result of an action can it be a PN. When *décision* refers to an official document, it would have to be actualised by means of the SV, like the concrete nouns discussed below.

[III.6] Taking stock regarding the working definition

As the case studies show, the advantages of our working definition include the fact that it grasps the syntactic variability (e.g. pluralisation of the PN, the addition of DPs and ATTs to the PN), the fact that it grasps the collocational variability (e.g. high- and low-frequency combinations), and the fact that it grasps the semantic breadth (e.g. nuances with regard to aspect and voice conveyed by the substitution or deletion of the SV).¹⁸ In essence, the working definition assumes SVCs to be a semi-productive pattern in the French language, that is patterns that are subject to certain syntactic, semantic and lexical constraints but that are otherwise variable. By approaching the data in this empirical way, we acknowledge that SVCs are a group of constructions that is internally heterogeneous because we explore marginal and prototypical representatives of it and can consider critically where to draw the line between SVCs and verb-object constructions (cf. Kamber 2008).

IV. The syntax of support-verb constructions

The verb is the kernel of any clause. As such, the verb cannot be modified without effects on its structural and semantic environments. In the case of SVCs, as in other verbal MWEs, we have a VP consisting of multiple items, i.e. what is termed a complex predicate (Darlymple, Lowe & Mycock 2019: 346-52). Thus, we have to consider how each component can be modified and how this affects the whole construction and how the construction as a whole interacts with the syntactic environment.

Although we are primarily interested in the SV, we cannot ignore the PN as it forms part of the construction and modifications on it affect the construction as a whole. Giry-Schneider (1987: 2-3) in response to Brunot (1927) points out the optional extensions to the allegedly invariable *avoir tort*. These include the addition of an adjective as well as the addition of an indefinite article when the PN is pluralised. Noticeably, such modifications often go hand in hand with subtle semantic changes as Chaurand (1991), Heid (2004) and Giry-Schneider (2004) in particular show with regard to the use of definite and indefinite articles in SVCs. Moreover, the addition of a DP is sometimes warranted for syntactic reasons (Heid 2004). At other times, it is for reasons of discourse cohesion (Storrer 2009).

By way of example, we can think of an SVC that is highly frequent and constitutes a strong collocation, *prendre DP décision* (ATT), and allows for a range of syntactic operations to be carried out on it including passivisation, negation (*ne ... aucune*), relativization with the PN in the superordinate and the SV in the relative clause, and pluralisation of the PN, as well as for a range of complementation patterns to be attached to it including a range of prepositions as well as *de* INF.¹⁹ By contrast, *donner/redonner* (DP)

¹⁸ On collocational variability in Latin, see Baños 2014, 2015, 2016. On collocational variability in Old French, see Marchello-Nizia 1996.

¹⁹ E.g. '*Le "groupe restreint" mettra ensuite au point le budget qui sera présenté début février, et il préparera les grandes décisions qui devront être prises en avril ou mai*'.

envie is an SVC that is comparatively less frequent and constitutes a weak collocation. It allows for several syntactic operations to be carried out on it including pluralisation of the PN and addition of DPs as well as for a range of complementation patterns to be attached to it (*de* NP, *de* INF). Thus, syntactic flexibility is not *per se* paired with strong or weak collocations. Rather, as mentioned, syntactic inflexibility is often but not always, as we will see, paired with semantic non-transparency.

[IV.1] Encoding voice, mood, tense, and aspect

There are in essence three options for how the notions of voice, mood, tense and aspect can be indicated, that is morphologically, lexically and syntactically. Voice, mood, tense and aspect can be encoded on the verb by means of inflectional endings, or in the case of the passive an established verbal periphrasis. They can be encoded by means of substituting the SV by another SV as, for example, in the dyad of active *donner* and passive *recevoir*. They can be encoded outside the SV by means of adding modal verbs and adjuncts, such as adverbs or adverbial phrases. Due to our focus on the SV, we are interested in option one and tangentially in option two. Option three lies beyond the scope of the article.

Regarding voice, we have morphological encoding for the active and passive voices in French. Theoretically, we could posit a middle in that there are reflexive and reciprocal uses of many verbs, yet these are not encoded on the verb by means of an inflectional ending or by means of an auxiliary verb but by means of the addition of dedicated pronouns. The lexical encoding of voice in SVCs has been studied by Gross (1989) in what he called *constructions converses*, that is constructions which resemble passive constructions with regard to their distribution of participant roles. He focused on the interchange of *donner* and *recevoir*. Vivès (1993: 13) later studied the pair *faire* and *subir*.

In the case of mood, we distinguish between the indicative, subjunctive, and conditional moods. While all three have a variety of semantic nuances, these semantic subtleties are not morpho-syntactically encoded but rather pragmatically inferred. Therefore, we will not take these into account, but only consider the three morphologically encodable moods.

As concerns tense, we encode a range of present, past, and future tenses in French including most prominently *le présent*, *le futur simple*, *le futur antérieur*, *l'imparfait*, *le passé composé*, *le passé simple*, *le plus-que-parfait*, *le passé antérieur*.²⁰ These morpho-syntactic encodings are interwoven with the encoding of aspect, that is the reason there are no separate morphological aspect and tense markers in French, but morphological marking is multifunctional in indicating both aspect and tense.

Aspect has been described in different ways and several models are presented in Ayres-Bennett and Carruthers (2001). While the exact definition of aspect in French is debated, researchers by and large agree that aspect refers to the internal temporal struc-

²⁰ See Ayres-Bennett & Carruthers 2001: chap. 6 (on past tenses), Bres & Labeau 2015 (on periphrastic formations).

turing of an event. By contrast, tense determines the external temporal profile of an event. Wilmet (1997) provides a comprehensive theory of aspect in French from the semantic and morpho-syntactic perspectives. In the data collection, we focused on coarse-grained categories such as imperfective and perfective not only because unlike finer-grained categories these can be morphologically encoded but also because finer-grained categories are even more debated (Carruthers 2012, Marnette 1998).

Regarding the lexical encoding of aspect, Vivès (1993: 13) notes that applying aspectual modifications to SVCs is usually not done by adding a verb such as *commencer* (à) ‘to begin’ (inchoative aspect) to the SVC, but by substituting the SV in the SVC by an SV that already implies the aspect to be expressed. Furthermore, Vivès (1984) considered the aspectually distinguished pair *avoir* (durative aspect) and *perdre* (terminative aspect). These two constructions, while complementary in aspectual terms, differ in the morphosyntactic constraints that apply to them. We can add the distinction between *faire* and *avoir*, which is aspectual in that *faire* + PN usually encodes an action, whereas *avoir* + PN usually encodes a state (e.g. *avoir* DP *cœur* ADJ and *faire* *cœur* ADJ). We can also distinguish clearly between *perdre* + PN (terminative aspect, with the grammatical subject being a patient) and *ruiner* + PN (terminative aspect, with the grammatical subject being an agent), for instance in the case of the PN *espoir*.²¹

Ideally, we would test the difference between something like *I am taking the decision* and **I take the decision* in French in a study with human participants as constraints on the choice of tense, mood, voice and aspect seem to affect certain SVCs. However, the select corpus of texts is not only too small but also pragmatically too limited for this kind of test in that we have a range of reports and descriptions of past events. Thus, this aspect will have to await further research.

[IV.2] Encoding arguments and adjuncts

There are in essence two options to complement an SVC, that is we can have semantic objects and syntactic objects. Semantic objects are syntactically adjuncts, whereas syntactic objects are syntactically arguments.

[12] Les élus avaient peur de la drogue.
 ART.DEF S.ELECTED SV.HAVE PN.FEAR PRP.OF ART.DEF SUBSTANCE.SG

For example, the phrase *de la drogue* in [12] is semantically but not syntactically speaking the object of the verbal expression *avoir peur*.

In essence, given that the direct-object slot in SVCs is filled by the PN, the appearance of syntactic objects points towards the components of the SVC having fused to the extent that the SV and the PN can occupy the verb slot together as it were so that the

²¹ Aspectual variants of SVCs are discussed by Danlos 1992: 7-8, Alonso Ramos 1998, and Giry-Schneider (2004): inchoative (*prendre espoir*), durative (*garder l'espoir*), terminative (*perdre l'espoir*), iterative (*multiplier les agressions*), and neuter (*avoir espoir*).

direct-object slot is vacant and can be filled (see further Section V). In our data sample, the following four complementation patterns appear:

- Prepositional phrase (semantic object, adjunct)
- Objective genitive (semantic object, adjunct)
- Complement clause (syntactic object, argument)
- Direct object (syntactic object, argument)

Amongst our case studies, there is none that allows for a nominal direct object.²² However, object clauses appear in our data sample. These clausal syntactic objects could theoretically still be interpreted as adverbial or attributive clauses. In [13], the complement clause could be taken as an attribute clause attached to the antecedent *peur*.

[13] On avait peur qu' il s' essoufle.
 S.ONE SV.HAVE PN.FEAR CPL.THAT S.IT RFL.HIM V.LEAVE.OUT.OF.BREATH

Furthermore, in some instances with what seems to be a clausal complement, the issue arises of whether we have a syndetic or an asyndetic structure, that is whether the sentence-initial particle is subordinating or not. For example, is *que* in [13] a subordinator or a sentence-initial particle in an independent clause (Deulofeu 2008)? Lehmann maps the kinds of complements that can appear in the complement slot on a continuum ranging from nominality to sentiality (Lenham 1988: section III.1.iv). The sentiality end of the continuum raises the issue of subordination vs. coordination and insubordination (Cristofaro 2016, Mithun 2008). There are semantic / pragmatic, register-related and diachronic aspects to be considered in order to decide.²³ Thus, what looks like a straightforward complement clause may not be one and may hence not be as indicative towards the nature of the fusion between the PN and the SV as it may seem at first.

The indirect-object slot, for those SVs that subcategorise for an indirect object, is not affected in any way by the considerations above.

[14] Il fait peur aux enfants.
 S.HE SV.DO PN.FEAR PRP.TO ART.DEF CHILD.PL

In [14], the SV *faire* is used in its three-argument pattern, ‘to cause something to somebody’.

²² Direct objects are permissible with certain SVCs e.g. in Estonian, a Finnic language, which is agglutinative (Ronan 2012: 13); and in Coptic, a Semitic language, which is agglutinative (Fendel 2018: chap. 3).

²³ Günther 2000 (semantic / pragmatic issues around German *obwohl*); Debaisieux 2007, 2016 (on register-related issues around French *parce que*); Bentein 2015 (on diachronic issues around Greek *ὅτι*).

V. Explaining syntactic variability

This section discusses the synchronic and diachronic flexibility and variability of SVCs by looking at the interactions between the SVC as a VP with its environment (Section V.1) from a synchronic perspective as well as through the lens of grammaticalisation from a diachronic perspective (Section V.2). In essence, we see that French SVCs are a prime example of synchronic variation (Hopper's layering) reflecting a change in progress.

[V.1] *Varying environments*

Like other VPs, many SVCs combine with more than one syntactic and semantic pattern. A simple example of an SWE allowing for several patterns is the verb *to try* in English. We find *try to do*, *try and do*, and *try doing* with certain syntactic and semantic constraints applying (Gries and Stefanowitsch 2003, Hopper & Traugott 2003: 50-51). This combinatory flexibility of many VPs has been captured in the concept of verb profiles.²⁴

In Section II.1, we mentioned that SVCs can behave more like synthetic VPs (i.e. in calling for an ADV) and others more like analytic MWEs (i.e. in calling for an ADJ). A prime example is *avoir peur*. The options *avoir très peur* and *avoir grande peur* coexist. In the former case, the SVC is treated like a single-word expression VP in that an adverb is added to modify the entire SVC. By contrast, in *avoir grande peur*, the SVC is treated as an MWE in that an adjective is added to modify the PN.

Thus, unlike in other VPs, complementation patterns with SVCs vary on two axes. The SVC as a whole can appear with different complementation patterns in the sense of verb profiles and the SVC can be treated more like an analytic MWE or more like a synthetic VP and thus allow for one type of modification or another.

Two examples of varying syntactic environments are discussed in more detail. Both relate to SVCs that do not allow for variation within the construction, but enter into a range of syntactic environments, the first without a semantic change entailed, the second with a semantic change entailed.

[V.1.i] *avoir peur*

In combination with the SV *avoir*, the PN *peur* is never accompanied by either a DP or an ATT. The SVC appears in three syntactic configurations, as illustrated in [15] (cf. similarly *avoir raison*).

²⁴ Gross 1984 (for French); Hanks 1996, 2013 (on English); Hartmann, Haspelmath & Taylor 2013 (for German); Lazard 2002 (from a typological perspective).

[15] **Constructions with the PN *peur(s)***

Complement	Prospective complement		Factive complement		No complement
	<i>de</i> INF	<i>que</i> SVO ²⁵	<i>de</i> NP	(<i>ne ...</i>) rien	∅
<i>avoir peur</i>	5	3	6	2	6

Hence, despite not allowing for variation within the construction, *avoir peur* allows for a range of complementation patterns.

[V.1.ii] *avoir raison*

Chaurand (1991: 12) calls *avoir raison*, in the sense of *avoir une bonne raison* or *être dans le bon sens, dans le vrai*, a fixed construction. Yet, both the addition of ADJs to the PN (twice) and the addition of ADVs to the SVC (four times) are attested in the corpus and suggest that *avoir raison* is not completely inflexible syntactically speaking. In the corpus, *avoir raison* appears in three syntactic contexts, as illustrated in [16] to [18] (Labelle 1983).

[16] ***avoir raison*, ‘to be right’ (intransitive)**

Depuis sept ans qu’il en assume la direction, Marco Müller, globe-trotter polyglotte et cinéphile au cœur d’artichaut, entretient le doute, et il a raison.

[17] ***avoir raison de qqn.*, ‘to defeat’ (transitive, factive)**

Le règlement de comptes politique a eu raison de la “Madame Propre du RPR”.

[18] ***avoir raison de faire*, ‘to be right to do sth.’ (transitive, prospective²⁶)**

Certes, Michel Jeanneret a raison de mettre en garde contre les projections du présent sur le passé, les anachronismes, les analogies indues (...).

If we apply Hopper and Thomson’s (1980) criteria for transitivity to these three structures, the following differences emerge.²⁷ Hopper and Thompson’s list combines syntactic and semantic aspects.

²⁵ The verb is always in the subjunctive.

²⁶ The distinction between factive and prospective is a purely syntactic, rather than a semantic-pragmatic, one. Anaphoric complements are categorised as factive and non-anaphoric ones as prospective (cf. Schulz 2003).

²⁷ A discussion of the issue of transitivity goes beyond the scope of this article. See e.g. Bickel 2010, Comrie 1981, Haspelmath 2011, Lazard 2002, Witzlack-Makarevich 2011. Lazard in particular draws a clear line between morphosyntactic and semantic characteristics of a construction. Overall, the above-mentioned authors do not conceptualise transitivity as formally gradient but focus on valency patterns and their characteristics (cf. the notion of verb profiles mentioned above).

[19] **Hopper and Thompson's (1980: 252) Table 1, as applied to *avoir raison***

SVC	<i>avoir raison</i>	<i>avoir raison de qqn</i>	<i>avoir raison de faire qqch</i>
Participants	2	3	3
Kinesis	non-action	action	action
Aspect	atelic	telic	atelic ²⁸
Punctuality	non-punctual	punctual	punctual
Volitionality	volitional	volitional	volitional
Affirmation	affirmative	affirmative	affirmative
Mode	realis	realis	realis
Agency	A high in potency	A high in potency	A high in potency
Affectedness of O	n/a	O totally affected	O not affected
Individuation of O	n/a	O highly individuated	O non-individuated
Transitivity score	4 / 9	9 / 9	7 / 9

[19] illustrates that the three structures differ in their argument structure, their assignment of participant roles, their semantic value, and their lexical properties.

We know that ordinary verbs can subcategorise for several argument structures (Naess 2007). The same seems to apply to SVCs, as shown for the Spanish SVCs with the SV *dar* by Cuervo (2010). Cuervo distinguishes by means of syntactic tests between ditransitive and unaccusative structures. [20] and [21] are her introductory examples:

[20] **Ditransitive structure (Cuervo 2010: 139, no. 1)**

El plantel siempre le da apoyo al técnico.
 THE TEAM.NOM ALWAYS CL.DAT GIVES SUPPORT THE COACH.DAT
 'The team always supports the coach.'

[21] **Unaccusative structure (Cuervo 2010: 140, no. 2)**

Al técnico le dan rabia las protestas.
 THE COACH.DAT CL.DAT GIVE.PL FURY THE COMPLAINTS.NOM
 'The complaints make the coach furious.'

Cuervo shows that the SV *dar* in [20] functions as a ditransitive verb, syntactically speaking, and is bleached, semantically speaking. The dative 'to the coach' fills an argument slot of the SV. By contrast, the dative is not an argument of the VP in [21] (Cuervo 2010: 141-51). Rather, the SVC *dar rabia* resembles constructions with psychological predicates, such as *piacere* and *gustar*, as illustrated in [22] (Cuervo 2010: 147-48).

²⁸ While its constituent parts are atelic (*avoir raison*) and telic (*faire qqch*), the expression *avoir raison de faire qqch* as a whole is atelic.

[22] **Unaccusative structure (Cuervo 2010: 147, no. 24)**

Al técnico no le gustan las protestas.

THE COACH.DAT NEG CL.DAT LIKE.PL THE COMPLAINTS.NOM

‘The coach doesn’t like complaints.’

By and large, the combination of the SV and the PN seems to be tight enough in SVCs that the SVC as a whole, as a VP, can assume different meanings when entering into different syntactic contexts (Gries 2003, Gries & Stefanowitsch 2004).

[V.2] *The ravages of time*

Like other VPs, SVCs can undergo changes affecting their internal structure and consequently the way they integrate into the surrounding syntax and semantics. The two processes considered here are grammaticalisation and lexicalisation (Breban 2019, for a new approach; Marchello-Nizia 2006, specifically on French).

Grammaticalisation is the process by which an originally lexical item or MWE assumes a grammatical function.²⁹ This is one way of language change (Traugott & Trousdale 2010: 21, on change in different frameworks). This change is brought about through the mechanisms of reanalysis, a rule change on the syntagmatic level, and analogy, a generalisation of a rule at the paradigmatic level (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 52-55, 64).³⁰ Reanalysis may be preceded by ambiguity of a structure (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 52). The concrete changes that can take place include phonetic reduction, morphological and syntactic reanalysis, and semantic bleaching, but not all these changes have to occur.

When the mechanisms of reanalysis and analogy do not primarily affect the grammar but the lexicon, we speak of lexicalisation (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 58). Here, Hopper and Traugott (2003: 53) use very effectively the example of compounding as in *house+wife*. The grammatical status of *wife* does not change, that is the word is not reanalysed as a morpheme, but there is a change at the lexical level. In affecting its semantics, lexicalisation affects the register-related and genre-related applicability of the item or MWE, for example, contrast the contexts of usage for *prendre DP décision* and *rendre DP décision*.

Grammaticalisation and lexicalisation seem to be continuously ongoing processes of change in French SVCs. However, technically, these are processes that involve a very large number of successive discrete micro-step changes, this is what Traugott and Trousdale (2010: 31, 39) label gradualness.

We can imagine a line ranging from the free combination of a VP and a direct object to the completely fixed combination of an SV and a PN (forming a VP together) in the sense of Brunot’s (1927) *juxtaposés immuables*. Concretely, we initially have an NP filling the direct-object slot of a VP. If these two items co-occur frequently, the connection between them may become tighter (cf. collocations) so that they may fuse both seman-

²⁹ The opposite process is called conversion (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 58).

³⁰ An example at the morphological level is the French inflectional future.

tically and syntactically. When this happens, the SV undergoes grammaticalisation in that it turns from an independent lexical item into a dependent semantically reduced item. The resulting state is that the former VP and the former NP form a VP in the form of an SVC. The semantic and syntactic functions, that is the assignment of participant roles and of the argument structure, is then split between the two items forming the VP (the SV and the PN). Eventually, the fusion will be tight enough that the PN is no longer considered to occupy the direct-object slot and thus complementation by means of a direct object will be possible. Basically, what formerly had to be attached as an adjunct (semantic object) can then be attached as an argument (syntactic object). However, this is rare.

With regard to changes, we have to distinguish between the event of innovation and the gradual spread of this innovation throughout the linguistic system and the speaker community (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 46). Often, older and newer forms coexist for extended periods of time. This is what Hopper calls layering (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 49). Synchronically, a combination of an SV and a PN may appear in a more or less grammaticalised, or syntactically and semantically flexible, form as long as it is not completely fixed. Compare *avoir peur* with *avoir (DP) espoir*; while the former no longer allows for syntactic modification of the PN, syntactic modification is an available option in the latter. Yet, even *avoir peur* still allows for the addition of an ADJ to the PN (cf. *avoir grand peur*, literary) although it allows for the addition of the ADVs *si* and *très* as well. If the combination with an ADJ passes completely out of use, the SVC *avoir peur* will reach the extreme end of the above-mentioned line. In cases like *avoir peur*, syntactic tests, can then help us locate structures on the aforementioned line (cf. Section II.1), that is assess the fusion between the components.

Based on the above observations, it seems that grammaticalisation in French SVCs is an example of a syntactic change in progress with a period of variation preceding the actual change. Furthermore, it seems plausible to conceptualise grammaticalisation in French SVCs as a line or continuum on which SVCs can move up and down, diachronically speaking. Synchronically speaking, any SVC usually moves up and down on a part of this line or continuum.

[V.2.i] *avoir envie*

There appears to be a strong link between *envie* and the SV *avoir*. In two thirds of all attestations of *envie* in the corpus, we find the singular form *envie* in combination with *avoir*. This strong link between *envie* and *avoir* may indicate that the SVC has gone down the path of grammaticalisation to the degree that analyticity has been lost at least partially and / or syntactic flexibility is constrained.

In fact, the SVC *avoir envie* appears in two syntactic configurations, as illustrated in [23], and the PN *envie* is never accompanied by a DP or an ATT in the corpus.

[23] The syntax of *avoir envie*

	<i>de</i> INF	<i>de</i> NP
<i>avoir envie</i>	27	2

The *de* in these complementation patterns encodes an objective genitive (cf. similarly *espoir*). Thus, the fusion of components is not yet tight enough for the direct-object slot to be vacant.

[V.2.ii] *faire peur*

The SVC *faire peur* is syntactically highly inflexible, whereas the structure consisting of *provoquer* and the plural form *peurs*, which seems semantically equivalent to the *faire-peur* construction, shows extension by both a DP and an ATT on the PN.

- [24] *Autant dire que l'impuissance passagère et les "pannes" en tout genre **provoquent** des **peurs intenses, obsessionnelles**.*

The structure in [24] is causative like the *faire-peur* construction, with a phrase à XP 'to XP' omitted in [24]. There may be a semantic difference between the singular PN *peur* in *faire peur* and the plural PN *peurs* in *provoquer* DP *peurs*, in that the singular seems to be non-referential, whereas the plural is referential. Furthermore, in order to add the nuance of intensity that is highlighted by the ADJs *intenses* and *obsessionnelles* in [24], these would have to be converted into adverbs if the *faire-peur* construction was to be used. The resulting sentence would be syntactically correct but semantically nonsensical as well as unidiomatic. Thus, an alternative to the grammaticalised *faire-peur* construction may have to be selected whenever specific extensions are to be added.

Another alternative to the *faire-peur* construction is [25]. Yet, here the nuance of intensification is expressed by means of substituting the SV.

- [25] *La crise asiatique, en menaçant certaines des économies les plus fortes au monde, **intensifie ces peurs**.*

The PN is again in the plural form and is accompanied by a DP, unlike in the grammaticalized *faire-peur* construction. However, unlike in [24], the substitution of *intensifier* as the SV has a clear semantic impact and thus syntactic reasons alone cannot account for the choice of the construction in [25] over the grammaticalised *faire-peur* construction.

VI. Summary and conclusion

Section I provided an introduction to various issues around SVCs including the issues of segmentation at the syntactic and semantic levels and mapping of these two levels onto each other. Section II dove into the crucial question of how to define SVCs and proposed a novel approach in the form of a working definition that brings together semantic and syntactic criteria and thus acknowledges that SVCs operate at the interface of syntax and semantics and that their components can only be defined in relative terms, that is relative to the construction. Section III presented the results of applying the working definition to a select number of noun environments and thus showed its value as an empirical approach that allows us to explore the margins of this internally heterogeneous group of constructions. Section IV shone some light on the syntax of SVCs by considering the modifications encoded on the SV as well as the interactions of an SVC with its syntactic and semantic environments. Section V showed how the concept of verb profiles applies to SVCs and how SVCs go beyond single-word expression VPs in their variability, in that they can behave more like analytic MWEs or more like synthetic VPs with regard to their environment. Furthermore, Section V showed how this synchronic variability correlates with diachronic changes through the lens of grammaticalisation.

In conclusion, French SVCs show a high level of synchronic variation (layering) and diachronically a tendency towards the tighter fusion of the two components involved. This suggests that what we see is a syntactic change in progress in the sense of Hopper's layering and socio-linguistic approaches.

The jury is still out on the precise status of SVCs in French, and on several questions that have been raised in — but go beyond the scope of — this article, such as the use of SVCs to encode subtle semantic, pragmatic and register-related nuances. For example, Christophe Léon's novel *Désobéis!* uses *prendre la relève*, *avoir la trouille* (for *avoir très peur*), *emboîter le pas à qqn* and *faire gaffe (à)* (for *faire attention (à)*) in quick succession over just nine pages. Thus, there is ample scope for further research into SVCs in French.

Bibliography

- Alonso Ramos, M. 1998. 'Étude sémantico-syntaxique des constructions à verbe support' (unpublished PhD thesis, Université de Montréal)
- Ayres-Bennett, W., and J. Carruthers. 2001. *Problems and Perspectives: Studies in the Modern French Language*, Longman Linguistics Library (Harlow: Longman)
- Balvet, A., L. Barque, and R. Marin. 2010. 'Building a Lexicon of French Deverbal Nouns from a Semantically Annotated Corpus', in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC'10)*, ed. by Nicoletta Calzolari, and others (Valetta, Malta: European

- Language Resources Association), pp. 1408–13
- Baños, J. 2014. 'Consilium (*habere, capere, dare*): Un sustantivo hecho predicado', in *Philologia, Universitas, Vita. Trabajos En Honor de Tomás González Rolán*, ed. by A. López Fonseca, J. Baños, M. del Barrio Vega, and M. Callejas Berdonés (Madrid: Escolar y Mayo), pp. 103–114
- . 2015. 'Bellum gerere y proelium facere: Sobre las construcciones con verbo soporte en latín (y en griego)', in *Miscellanea Latina*, ed. by M. Muñoz and L. Carrasco (Madrid: Sociedad de Estudios Latinos), pp. 227–234
- . 2016. 'Las Construcciones Con Verbo Soporte En Latín: Sintaxis y Semántica', in '*Omnia mutantur*': *Canvi, transformació i pervivència en la cultura clàssica, en les seves llengües i en el seu llegat*, ed. by E. Borrell Vidal and O. de la Cruz Palma (Barcelona: Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona), ii, 3–27
- Bentein, K. 2015. 'Minor Complementation Patterns in Post-Classical Greek (I–VI AD): A Socio-Historical Analysis of a Corpus of Documentary Papyri', *Symbolae Osloenses*, 89.1: 104–47 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/00397679.2015.1095012>>
- Bickel, B. 2010. 'Grammatical Relations Typology', in *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Typology*, ed. by J. Jung Song (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 399–444
- Bouveret, M. 2008. 'GIVE Verb-Object Constructions in French: From Grammar to Idioms', *Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 34.1: 49–60 <<https://doi.org/10.3765/bls.v34i1.3556>>
- Breban, T. 2019. 'Diagnosing Grammatical Change in English' (presentation at the LAGB (Linguistics Association of Great Britain) Annual Meeting, London) <<http://www.lagb.org.uk/resources/Documents/Breban.pdf>>
- Bres, J., and E. Labeau. 2015. 'Venir de (+ infinitive): An Immediate Anteriority Marker in French', *Diachronica*, 32.4: 530–570
- Brunot, F. 1927. *Histoire de la langue française des origines à 1900. Tome II, Le seizième siècle*, 2e édition revue et corrigée (Paris: A. Colin)
- Butt, M. 2010. 'The Light Verb Jungle: Still Hacking Away', in *Complex Predicates: Cross-Linguistic Perspectives on Event Structure*, ed. by M. Amberger, B. Baker, and M. Harvey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 48–78
- Butt, M., and A. Lahiri. 2013. 'Diachronic Pertinacity of Light Verbs', *Lingua*, 135: 7–29
- Carruthers, J. 2012. 'Discourse and Text', in *The Oxford Handbook of Tense and Aspect*, ed. by R. Binnick (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 306–334
- Cecilia, J. 2007. 'Syntaxe, sémantique et pragmatique des titres des nouvelles de la presse française construits en forme de phrase nominale ou averbale: aspects cognitifs et communicatifs', in *Littérature, langages et arts: rencontres et création*, ed. by Dominique Bonnet, Maria Jose Chaves Garcia, and Nadia Duchene, *Collectanea*, 112 (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva), pp. 97–108

- Chaurand, J. 1991. 'Verbes supports et emploi ou absence de l'article', *Langages*, 25.102: 7–22 <<https://doi.org/10.3406/lgge.1991.1596>>
- Comrie, B. 1981. *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology: Syntax and Morphology* (Oxford: Blackwell)
- Cristofaro, S. 2016. 'Routes to Insubordination', in *Insubordination*, ed. by N. Evans and H. Watanbe, *Typological Studies in Language*, 116 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins), pp. 393–422
- Crystal, D. 2008. *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, Language Library, 6th edition (Malden, MA: Blackwell)
- Cuervo, M. 2010. 'Two Types of (Apparently) Ditransitive Light Verb Constructions', in *Romance Linguistics 2008: Interactions in Romance. Selected Papers from the 38th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL), Urbana-Champaign, April 2008*, *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, 313 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins), pp. 139–155
- Daladier, A. 1996. 'Le rôle des verbes supports dans un système de conjugaison nominale et l'existence d'une voix nominale en français', *Langages*, 30.121: 35–53 <<https://doi.org/10.3406/lgge.1996.1739>>
- Dalrymple, M., J. Lowe, and L. Mycock. 2019. *The Oxford Reference Guide to Lexical Functional Grammar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- Danlos, L. 1992. 'Support Verb Constructions: Linguistic Properties, Representation, Translation*', *Journal of French Language Studies*, 2.1: 1–32 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0959269500001137>>
- . 2009. 'Extension de la notion de verbe support' <<http://www.linguist.univ-paris-diderot.fr/~danlos/Dossier%20publis/Vsup-CRL.pdf>>
- Debaisieux, J. 2007. 'La distinction entre dépendance grammaticale et dépendance macrosyntaxique comme moyen de résoudre les paradoxes de la subordination', *Faits de Langues*, 28: 119–32
- . 2016. 'Toward a Global Approach to Discourse Uses of Conjunctions in Spoken French', *Language Sciences*, 58, pp. 79–94 <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langsci.2016.04.001>>
- Deulofeu, J. 2008. 'Quel statut pour l'élément QUE en français contemporain?', *Langue française*, 158.2: 29–52
- Dubois, J. 1965. *Grammaire structurale du français* (Paris: Larousse)
- Engel, D. 1987. *The 'passé simple' — 'passé composé' Dichotomy in Modern Journalistic Usage* (Wetherby: British Library Document Supply Centre)
- . 1990. *Tense and Text: A Study of French Past Tenses*, Croom Helm Romance Linguistics Series (London: Routledge)
- Fendel, V. 2018. 'Coptic Interference in the Syntax of Greek Letters from Egypt' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Oxford)
- . 2019. 'Support-Verb Constructions in Greek: Methodology and Data Collection' (presentation at the New Ways of Analysing Ancient Greek conference, Göttingen)

- Firenze, A., and C. Fellbaum. 2008. 'Analyse sur corpus d'expressions figées verbales de l'allemand', *Linguisticae Investigationes*, 31.2: 158–72 <<https://doi.org/10.1075/li.31.2.03fir>>
- Friedl, I. 2009. 'Le reflet de la langue parlée dans la presse écrite française et allemande' (unpublished PhD thesis, Université de la Sorbonne nouvelle - Paris III)
- Gaatoone, D. 2004. 'Ces insupportables verbes supports: le cas des verbes événementiels', *Linguisticae Investigationes*, 27.2: 239–51 <<https://doi.org/10.1075/li.27.2.07gaa>>
- Giry-Schneider, J. 1978. *Les Nominalisations en français: l'opérateur 'faire' dans le lexique*, Langue & cultures, 9 (Geneva: Droz)
- . 1987. *Les prédicats nominaux en français: les phrases simples à verbe support*, Langue & cultures, 18 (Geneva: Droz)
- . 2004. 'Les noms épistémiques et leurs verbes supports', *Linguisticae Investigationes*, 27.2.: 219–38 <<https://doi.org/10.1075/li.27.2.06gir>>
- Grevisse, M. 2011. *Le bon usage: grammaire française*, 15th edn. (Brussels: De Boeck)
- Gries, S. 2003. *Multifactorial Analysis in Corpus Linguistics: A Study of Particle Placement*, Open Linguistics Series (London: Continuum)
- Gries, S., and A. Stefanowitsch. 2004. 'Extending Collostructional Analysis', *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 9.1: 97–129
- Gross, M. 1984. 'Lexicon-Grammar and the Syntactic Analysis of French', in *Proceedings of the 10th International Conference on Computational Linguistics, COLING '84* (Stroudsburg, PA, USA: Association for Computational Linguistics), pp. 275–282 <<https://doi.org/10.3115/980431.980549>>
- . 1989. *Les constructions converses du français*, Langue & cultures, 22 (Geneva: Droz)
- . 1993. 'Trois applications de la notion de verbe support', *L'information grammaticale*, 59.1: 16–22 <<https://doi.org/10.3406/igram.1993.3137>>
- . 1998. 'La fonction sémantique des verbes supports', *Travaux de linguistique : Revue internationale de linguistique française*, 37.1., 25–46
- Guilbert, L. 1975. *La créativité lexicale*, Langue et langage (Paris: Larousse, 1975)
- Günther, S. 2000. 'From Concessive Connector to Discourse Marker: The Use of *Obwohl* in Everyday German Interaction', in *Cause, Condition, Concession, Contrast: Cognitive and Discourse Perspectives*, ed. by Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen and Bernd Kortmann, Topics in English Linguistics, 33 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter), pp. 439–369
- Hanks, P. 1996. 'Contextual Dependency and Lexical Sets', *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 1.1: 75–98
- . 2013. *Lexical Analysis: Norms and Exploitations* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press)
- Hartmann, I., M. Haspelmath, and B. Taylor. 2013. 'Valency Patterns Leipzig'

- (Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology) <<http://www.valpal.info/>> [accessed 20 September 2019]
- Haspelmath, M. 2011. 'On S, A, P, T, and R as Comparative Concepts for Alignment Typology', *Linguistic Typology*, 15.3: 535–567 <<https://doi.org/10.1515/LITY.2011.035>>
- Heid, U. 2004. 'Spécificités morpho-syntaxiques des constructions à verbe support en allemand: analyse de corpus', *Linguisticae Investigationes*, 27.2: 309–25 <<https://doi.org/10.1075/li.27.2.12hei>>
- Hollós, Z. 2010. 'Auf Dem Schmalen Grad Zwischen Kollokationen Und Festen Wortverbindungen', in *Feste Wortverbindungen Und LexikographieKolloquium Zur Lexikographie Und Wörterbuchforschung*, ed. by Peter Ďurčo (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter) <<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110234060.85>>
- Hopper, P., and S. Thompson. 1980. 'Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse', *Language*, 56.2: 251–99 <<https://doi.org/10.2307/413757>>
- Hopper, P., and E. Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization, Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- Jiménez López, M. 2016. 'On Support Verb Constructions in Ancient Greek', *Archivio Glottologico Italiano*, 51.2: 180–204
- Kamber, A. 2008. *Funktionsverbgefüge - empirisch: eine korpusbasierte Untersuchung zu den nominalen Prädikaten des Deutschen*, Reihe Germanistische Linguistik, 281 (Tübingen: Niemeyer)
- Kroeger, P. 2005. *Analyzing Grammar: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- Labelle, J. 1974. 'Étude de constructions avec opérateur avoir (nominalisations et extensions)' (unpublished PhD thesis, Université Paris 7)
- . 1983. 'Verbes supports et opérateurs dans les constructions en avoir à un ou deux compléments', *Linguisticae Investigationes*, 7.2: 237–60 <<https://doi.org/10.1075/li.7.2.04lab>>
- Langer, S. 2005. 'A Linguistic Test Battery for Support Verb Constructions', *Linguisticae Investigationes*, 27.2: 171–84 <<https://doi.org/10.1075/li.27.2.03lan>>
- . 2005. 'A Formal Specification of Support Verb Constructions', in *Semantik Im Lexikon*, ed. by D. Schnorbusch and S. Langer (Tübingen: Gunter Narr), pp. 179–202
- Laporte, E.. 2018. 'Choosing Features for Classifying Multiword Expressions', in *Multiword Expressions: Insights from a Multilingual Perspective*, ed. by Manfred Sailer and Stella Markantonatou (Berlin: Language Science Press), pp. 143–186
- Laporte, E., E. Ranchhod, and A. Yannacopoulou. 2003. 'Syntactic Variation of Support Verb Constructions', *Linguisticae Investigationes*, 31.2: 173–85 <<https://doi.org/10.1075/li.31.2.04lap>>
- Lazard, G. 2002. 'Transitivity Revisited as an Example of a More Strict Approach

- in Typological Research', *Folia Linguistica*, 36.3–4: 141–190 <<https://doi.org/10.1515/flin.2002.36.3-4.141>>
- Leech, G. 2009. *Change in Contemporary English: A Grammatical Study*, Studies in English Language (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- Lefeuve, F. 2005. 'Le prédicat nominal dans des articles de presse', *Syntaxe et sémantique*, 6.1: 181–98
- Lehmann, C. 1988. 'Towards a Typology of Clause Linkage', in *Clause Combining in Grammar and Discourse*, ed. by John Haiman and Sandra Thompson (Amsterdam: John Benjamins), pp. 181–225 <<https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.18.09leh>>
- Lüger, H. 1977. 'Journalistische Darstellungsformen aus linguistischer Sicht: Untersuchungen zur Sprache der französischen Presse mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des "Parisien libéré"' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Freiburg)
- Marchello-Nizia, C. 1979. *Histoire de la langue française aux XIVe et XVe siècles*, Collection Études (Paris: Bordas)
- . 2006. *Grammaticalisation et changement linguistique* (Brussels: De Boeck & Larcier) <<https://doi.org/10.3917/dbu.march.2009.01>>
- . 1996. 'Les verbes supports en diachronie : le cas du français', *Langages*, 30.121: 91–98 <<https://doi.org/10.3406/lgge.1996.1742>>
- Marnette, S. 1998. *Narrateur et points de vue dans la littérature française médiévale: une approche linguistique* (Bern: Peter Lang)
- Mel'čuk, I. 1996. 'Lexical Functions: A Tool for the Description of Lexical Relations in a Lexicon', in *Lexical Functions in Lexicography and Natural Language Processing*, ed. by Leo Wanner (Amsterdam: John Benjamins), pp. 37–102
- Mithun, M. 2008. 'The Extension of Dependency Beyond the Sentence', *Language*, 84.1: 69–119
- Næss, A. 2007. *Prototypical Transitivity*, Typological Studies in Language, 72 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins)
- de Pontonx, S. 2004. 'Les verbes supports métaphoriques', *Linguisticæ Investigationes*, 27.2: 265–82 <<https://doi.org/10.1075/li.27.2.09pon>>
- Radimský, J. 2011. 'Noms prédicatifs, noms de résultat et noms concrets dans les constructions à verbe support', *Linguisticæ Investigationes*, 34.2: 204–27 <<https://doi.org/10.1075/li.34.2.02rad>>
- Ronan, P. 2012. *Make Peace and Take Victory: Support Verb Constructions in Old English in Comparison with Old Irish, North-Western European Language Evolution* (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark)
- . 2019. 'Simple versus Light Verb Constructions in Late Modern Irish English Correspondence: A Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis', *Studia Neophilologica*, 91.1: 31–48 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/00393274.2019.1578182>>
- Rubenbauer, H., R. Heine, and J. Hofmann. 1995. *Lateinische Grammatik*, 12th edn. (Munich: Buchner Lindauer Oldenburg)

- Schulz, P. 2003. *Factivity: Its Nature and Acquisition* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer)
- Schutzeichel, M. 2013. 'Indogermanische Funktionsverbgefüge' (unpublished PhD thesis, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität)
- Seiss, M. 2009. 'On the Difference Between Auxiliaries, Serial Verbs and Light Verbs', in *On-Line Proceedings of the LFG2009 Conference*, ed. by M. Butt and T. King (Stanford: CSLI Publications), pp. 501–519 <<http://web.stanford.edu/group/cslipublications/cslipublications/LFG/14>>
- Seppänen, A. 2011. 'La polyphonie linguistique dans le discours journalistique: Le case de France Télécom' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Jyväskylä)
- Storrer, A. 2009. 'Corpus Based Investigations on German Support Verb Constructions', in *Idioms and Collocations: Corpus-Based Linguistic and Lexicographic Studies*, Research in Corpus and Discourse (London: Continuum), pp. 164–187)
- Traugott, E., and G. Trousdale. 2010. *Gradience, Gradualness and Grammaticalization*, Typological Studies in Language, 90 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2010)
- Vivès, R. 1983. 'Avoir, prendre, perdre: Constructions à verbe support et extensions aspectuelles' (unpublished Thèse de 3e cycle, Université Paris 8, 1983)
- . 1984. 'Perdre, extension aspectuelle du verbe support avoir', *Revue québécoise de linguistique*, 13.2: 13–57 <<https://doi.org/10.7202/602513ar>>
- . 1993. 'La prédication nominale et l'analyse par verbes supports', *L'information grammaticale*, 59.1: 8–15 <<https://doi.org/10.3406/igram.1993.3136>>
- Wagner, R. 1962. *Grammaire du français classique et moderne* (Paris: Hachette)
- Wedler, F. 2006. *Pressemitteilungen Deutscher und Französischer Unternehmen im Internet: Eine Empirisch-Linguistische Analyse* (Stuttgart: ibidem)
- Wilmet, M. 1997. *Grammaire critique du français*, Hachette université (Paris: Hachette)
- Witzlack-Makarevich, A. 2011. 'Typological Variation in Grammatical Relations' (unpublished PhD thesis, Universität Leipzig)

VII. List of abbreviations

A	Agent
ADJ	Adjective
ADV	Adverbial Phrase
ATT	Attribute Phrase (incl. adjectives, prepositional phrases with de)
BNC	British National Corpus
BV	Base Verb
BVC	Base-Verb Construction
CVS	Construction à Verbe Support
DEC	Dictionnaire Explicatif et Combinatoire
DP	Determiner Phrase
FV	Function Verb
FVC	Function-Verb Construction
IE	Indo-European
IND	Indicative
INF	Infinitive
LV	Light Verb
LVC	Light-Verb Construction
MWE	Multi-Word Expression
NPL	Natural Language Processing
NP	Noun Phrase
NV	Nominal Verb
NVC	Nominal-Verb Construction
O	Object
pl	Plural
PN	Predicative Noun (in an SVC)
POSS	Possessive Phrases (i.e. possessive pronouns, possessive de phrases)
PP	Prepositional Phrase
SBJ	Subjunctive
sg	Singular
SLA	Second-Language Acquisition
SV	Support Verb
SVC	Support-Verb Construction
SVO	Subject Verb Object (word order pattern)
VP	Verb Phrase
XP	Verb Phrase or Noun Phrase

SVETLANA YEFIMENKO

Aestheticized History: Tolstoy's Homeric Inheritance

This inquiry aligns Lev Tolstoy's *War and Peace* with Homer's *Iliad* from a historiographical and philosophical perspective in light of the intellectual category Tolstoy developed and termed *istoriia-iskusstvo*, or 'history-art'. By examining Tolstoy's diaries, notebooks, letters, and novel drafts, I intend to show how Tolstoy regarded Homeric epic as participating in the category of history-art, and investigate the reasons for and methods by which Tolstoy utilized Homeric epic in his own masterpiece. After proposing a Tolstoyan definition of epic, I will consider how Tolstoy's appropriation of Homeric material legitimized his historical revisionism in spite of its inconsistency with historical facts, enabling it to both achieve the authoritative scope of epic and pass into collective memory.

In 1852, the 24-year-old Tolstoy made the following notation in his journal: 'Составить истинную правдивую Историю Европы нынешн[его] века. Вот цель на всю жизнь.'¹ More than a decade before he began *War and Peace*, the author was dreaming of a history of Europe that is истинная, правдивая – true, faithful. In the first days of the year 1863, in his first entry for that year, Tolstoy writes, 'Эпический род мне становится один естественен.'² Then, ten days later: 'В Кремле... воспоминания войны и молодости и силы. Полководец — римский нос, сухой, и только успех дела и никаких других соображений.'³ These reflections, appearing just before Tolstoy began work on *War and Peace*, demonstrate two things: first, by 1863, Tolstoy felt himself master of the epic genre. Second, Tolstoy linked war, youth, and strength in memory. Whether his memory or not, whether impetus for the novel or not, Tolstoy nostalgically and positively recollects a warlike vitality, personifying it in a mysterious general for whom success in battle is the sole preoccupation. That these reflections appear directly before he begins *War and Peace* is significant. Despite his aspirations at 24, the elder Tolstoy did not produce a true, faithful history; instead, he produced an epic.

¹ 'To compile a true, faithful history of Europe in this century. Now that is the aim of a lifetime.' *Lev Tolstoi: Polnoe Sobranie Sochinenii (Lev Tolstoy: The Collected Works)*, 90 vols. (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia Literatura, 1935-1965), xlvii (1952), p. 304. Hereafter, references to the text will be shortened to *PSS*. All translations, unless otherwise indicated, are my own. Throughout this paper I have employed the Library of Congress transliteration standards excepting well-known personal names, for which I apply the common English spelling: Tolstoy instead of Tolstoi, Gogol instead of Gogol, and Alexander instead of Aleksandr.

² 'The epic mode has become the only natural one for me.' *PSS* (vol. 48), p. 48.

³ 'In the Kremlin... memories of war, youth, and strength. A general – Roman nose, stiff, only success in battle and no other thoughts.' *PSS* (vol. 48), p. 50.

History as art: an overview

We begin with a question: if what Tolstoy sought was a true, faithful history, why did he choose to write a novel instead of a historical account? If we can answer this, we will gain a profound insight into the meaning *War and Peace* had for the author.

Tolstoy was adamant on one point: *War and Peace* is *not* a novel. In an 1865 letter to his editor, Tolstoy stipulates: '[С]очинение это не есть роман и не есть повесть и не имеет такой завязки, что с развязкой у нее [уничтожается] интерес. Это я пишу вам к тому, чтобы просить вас в оглавлении и, может быть, в объявлении не называть моего сочинения романом. Это для меня очень важно, и потому очень прошу вас об этом.'⁴ Although, for us, *War and Peace* is certainly a novel, I will comply with Tolstoy's wishes and refrain from calling it that. One of possible translations for сочинение, which is what Tolstoy terms his work, is composition, from the Latin *compono*, to put together. Today, a composition is also a work of art, though typically of music or of poetry. If Tolstoy has 'put together' disparate elements into a work of art which must not be regarded as a novel, it is partly because it must not be regarded as *merely* a novel – after all, novels are fiction. Fiction is full of frivolous things like завязки and развязки – knots and their unraveling.

Although, by the 1860s, Tolstoy has seemingly dispensed with the dream of writing history, he has not dispensed with the desire for truth. An early draft of *War and Peace* begins with his uncertainty as to the category of the work, but ends with a return to his youthful commitment to истинна, truth:

Я боялся писать не тем языком, которым пишут все, боялся, что мое писанье не подойдет ни под какую форму, ни романа, ни повести, ни поэмы, ни истории, я боялся, что необходимость описывать значительных лиц 12-го года заставит меня руководиться историческими документами, а не истиной.⁵

Tolstoy does not wish to write novels. He also does not wish to write poetry or history. The rejection of the last category is crucial. For Tolstoy, historical documents cannot relate truth. Such documents are limited to facts, individuals, and perspectives which are relative, myopic, contradictory, or altogether in error. To begin to answer the question 'Why did Tolstoy not write a history?' we must consider that, for Tolstoy, histories are as fictional as novels. Tolstoy was after something truer than fiction and greater than history, and he articulated a category for it in his notebook: история-искусство, or history-art, which is something altogether different from история-наука, history-science.

⁴ 'This composition is not a romance and it is not a novel and it does not have that knot which, once unraveled, destroys interest. I am writing this to you to ask that in the table of contents and, maybe, in the announcement, for you *not to call my composition a novel*. This is very important for me, and that is why I ask you for this.' *PSS* (vol. 61), p. 67.

⁵ 'I was fearful of not writing in the language in which everyone else writes; fearful that my writing will not fit any existing form, neither romance, nor novel, nor poetry, nor history; fearful that the necessity of describing the significant personages of the year of 1812 will force me to be guided by historical documents and not truth.' *PSS* (vol. 13), p. 53.

We will now examine at length a passage in Tolstoy's notebook from 1870 and refer to it often in the sections that follow. Capturing the dynamic and nuanced multiplicity of life is beyond the ability of traditional history, Tolstoy writes, dedicated as it is to lifeless facts:

История хочет описать жизнь народа — миллионов людей. Но тот, кто не только сам описывал даже жизнь одного человека, но хотя бы понял период жизни не только народа, но человека, из описания, тот знает, как много для этого нужно.⁶

The complexity of human life can be communicated only through art, which is not limited to facts. Yet it is not enough to merely aestheticize history. Perhaps surprisingly, especially when considered in an academic context, Tolstoy says that one must also have love: love for the past. The past must not be simply critiqued and evaluated from a place of complacent presentism, privileging the current historical moment. The past must be experienced, it must be *felt*:

Нужно знание всех подробностей жизни, нужно искусство — дар художественности, нужна любовь...
Искусства нет и не нужно, говорят, нужна наука...
Любви нет и не нужно, говорят. Напротив, нужно доказывать прогресс, что прежде всё было хуже.
Как же тут быть? А надо писать историю. Такие истории писали и пишут, а такие истории называются: — наука.
Как же тут быть?!⁷

Deeply troubled by history's inability to communicate human experience, Tolstoy proposes art and love as antidotes. This is no bohemian dismissal of rigor, however, and art must be tempered by commitment to truth and faithfulness. Perhaps the formulation is something like this: love attaches us to the past, art empowers that past to speak, yet history is what art must speak about. Tolstoy outlines the mistake of a history which selects monumental figures and events and leaves out the discontinuities, ruptures, and trifles that connect them:

Остается одно: в необъятной, неизмеримой скале явлений прошедшей жизни не останавливаться ни на чем, а от тех редких, на необъятном пространстве отстоящих друг от друга памятниках — веках протягивать искусственным, ничего не выражающим языком воздушные, воображаемые линии, не прерывающиеся и на веках...

⁶ 'History seeks to describe the life of a nation – millions of people. But anyone who has not only described the life of even one person but has also understood the life period of not only the nation but also that person by means of such writing, he knows how much is required for this task.' *PSS* (vol. 48), p. 125.

⁷ 'What is needed is knowledge of *all* the details of life, art is needed – the gift of artistry, what is needed is love ... There is no art and no need for it, they say, what is needed is science [...] There is not love and no need for it, they say. On the contrary, we must demonstrate that there is progress, that everything in the past was much worse. What is to be done? But it is necessary to write history. Such histories have and will be written, and they are called – *science*. What is to be done?' *PSS* (vol. 48), p. 125.

Но искусство это состоит только во внешнем: в употреблении бесцветного языка и в сглаживании тех различий, к[оторые] существуют между живыми памятниками и своими вымыслами. Надо уничтожить живость редких памятников, доведя их до безличности своих предположений. Чтобы всё было ровно и гладко...⁸

The academic, colourless language of history-science strips the past of truthfulness, Tolstoy argues. First, this is because an insular, jargon-filled, carefully unenthusiastic academic language is искусственный, artificial: nobody who is real communicates like that. Second, such language is ничего не выражающий, it does not *express* anything, least of all the contradictions, discontinuities, and deformations which constitute the живость, liveliness, of historical personalities. Academic history, in other words, dehumanizes, sterilizes, and ossifies the past. For this reason, Tolstoy insists that poetic language is so essential to historical work. It is not enough to recollect the past in facts. The past must be resurrected in language. This is an epistemic position because it contends that art is the means by which history comes to know itself. Indeed, we can regard *istoriia-iskusstvo* as a way of knowing.

In the same notebook entry, Tolstoy asks:

Что делать истории? [...] Браться описывать то, что она может описать, и то, что она знает — знает посредством искусства. Ибо история, долженствующая говорить необъятное, есть высшее искусство. Как всякое искусство, первым условием истории должна быть ясность, простота, утвердительность, а не предположительность. Но зато *история-искусство* не имеет той связанности и невыполнимой цели, к[оторую] имеет история-наука. *Ист[ория]-иск[усство]*, как и всякое искусство, идет не в ширь, а в глубь, и предмет ее может быть описание жизни всей Европы и описание месяца жизни одного мужика в XVI веке.⁹

Here, we see that Tolstoy revert to his intention of producing a history of Europe. Gary Saul Morson has analysed the juxtaposition of art and history in Tolstoy's work in terms of the particular and the universal: history conveys grand narratives while the poet focuses on details. The poet is the better historian for it because concrete particulars are more real than general abstractions: 'History, as Tolstoy understood it, is shaped by the sum of nongeneralizable incidents.'¹⁰ The critical point of Tolstoy's reflection in his notebook

⁸ 'There is only one thing left: on the vast, immeasurable cliff of past life phenomena, to stop at nothing, and from those occasional monuments, standing far apart in an immense space, those milestones, to reach out with an *artificial language that expresses nothing*, those airy, imaginary lines which are not interrupted even when describing milestones [...] But this art consists only of appearance: in the use of a *colourless* language and the smoothing out of those contradictions which exist between living monuments and their fiction. It's necessary to destroy the aliveness of these rare monuments, to lead them to the same absence of personality. So that everything is even and smooth...' *PSS* (vol. 48), p. 125. (Italics mine.)

⁹ 'What should history do? [...] Describe that which it is capable of describing; that which [history] knows, it knows only by means of art. For history, which must communicate the immeasurable, is the highest artform. As all art, the first condition of history must be clarity, simplicity, and assertion rather than presumption. But history-art lacks that connectedness and unachievable goal which history-science has. History-art, like all art, follows not width but depth, and its subject can be the description of the life of all Europe, or the description of one month in the life of a 16th-century peasant.' *PSS* (vol. 48), p. 125.

¹⁰ Gary Saul Morson, *Hidden in Plain View: Narrative and Creative Potentials in 'War and Peace'* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), p. 145.

is that history is unsayable. Presumably, as Morson points out, this is because of the unimaginable number of concrete incidents it contains. However, history can come to know the unsayable and convey it by means of art. Within *istoria-iskusstvo*, the historical and the poetic are no longer juxtaposed. For Tolstoy, a work like *War and Peace* is not an example of poetry-opposed-to-history but is rather an instance of a unique way of grasping the past.

In an 1868 notebook entry, just after jotting down the ultimate goal of history ('знание движения человечества,'¹¹ naturally), Tolstoy asks, 'Где законы?' – 'where are the laws?' If we infer, as I think we should, from the preceding statement that Tolstoy is asking about the whereabouts of *historical* laws, then the answer he provides to his own question is another instance of the notion of *istoriia-iskusstvo*:

Где законы? —: Или мистическое движение вперед, или художе[ственное] воспроизведение воспоминаний.¹²

Here, Hegelian forward motion, which is representative of mystical progress wherein everything in the past was much worse, is contrasted with the *aesthetic reproduction of memories*. This latter process is at the heart of what Tolstoy regards as the function of epic, and here it will be helpful to define what this literary category meant for the author.

The epic: history and poetry

Typically, epic is approached as a literary form grounded in both history and everyday reality, a panorama of the great and the trifling which orients the reader's (or hearer's) present to their past. Paul Merchant defines epic as 'a chronicle, a "book of the tribe", a vital record of custom and tradition, and at the same time a story-book for general entertainment [...] [E]pic itself may have originated in the need for an established history.'¹³

The European epic tradition begins with Greek oral poetry, which is the only traditional heroic poetry that receives its message from transmitting deities.¹⁴ It is the Muses who favour the *oidos*, singer, with access to the narrative of the past, and both Homeric and Hesiodic¹⁵ epic calls upon the Muses to supply its content. Significantly, the nine Muses are the daughters of Memory, and epic poetry acts as a sort of remembering which is formed by the poet into theatre: 'The poets' tales are of course presumed true – after all the past is real – but the muses are less an archive than divinities presiding at a performance.'¹⁶ The past, then, is not merely summarized and bulleted – it is aestheticized. An oft-quoted passage from Hesiod's *Theogony* allows insight into this process:

¹¹ 'The knowledge of what moves humanity.' *PSS* (vol. 48), p. 87.

¹² 'Where are the laws? Either we have mystical forward progress, or the aesthetic reproduction of memories.' *PSS* (vol. 48), p. 87.

¹³ Paul Merchant, *The Epic* (London: Cox & Wyman, Ltd, 1971), p. 2.

¹⁴ Andrew Ford, *Homer: The Poetry of the Past* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), p. 31.

¹⁵ While Hesiod is not quite contemporaneous with Homer, likely writing a bit later, it is not misleading to analyse them together since the poets are dated to around the same time, located in the same genre, and incorporate the same elements (such as invocation to the Muses).

¹⁶ Ford, *Poetry of the Past*, p. 6.

Happy is he whom the Muses love
 Sweet flows the voice from his mouth.
 For if someone has pain and fresh grief from his soul
 and his heart is withered by anguish, when the poet,
 the servant of the Muses, chants the fames of men of former times
 and blessed gods who hold Olympus,
 then straightaway he forgets his sad thoughts and thinks not of his grief,
 but the gifts of the gods quickly turn him away from these.¹⁷

Memory has a double function here, facilitating forgetfulness by remembering. Listeners forget their sorrows to recollect those who lived before and who must not be forgotten by hearkening to the sweet voice of the chanting, Muse-beloved poet. The spell works because the recovery of the past is poetic; it is an aesthetic act which establishes distance between the hearer and the self while collapsing distance between the hearer and the past. As an aesthetic experience facilitated by divine (rather than ordinary) memory, the past recovered by means of pleasure does not serve a solely didactic purpose. It also reorients the audience to the past by remaking it for the present as the present responds by being remade in turn. Andrew Ford writes:

The function of this memory is not simply preservation of the past but a psychological experience, to change the present frame of awareness [...] [S]acred memory moves us [...] not 'back' but elsewhere [...] This effect has been variously named as a sense of 'participation' [...] but I prefer to take a name out of Homer, via the Greek literary critics, *to enarges*, 'vividness.'¹⁸

Epic, then, is a privileged means of recovering the past by invoking aesthetic vividness which prompts self-estrangement, thereby altering the course of the present.

By considering passages from Tolstoy's journals and early fiction, I have arrived at a relatively comprehensive Tolstoyan definition of epic. Long before beginning work on *War and Peace*, Tolstoy found what he explicitly regarded as epic among the Terek Cossacks, during his military service in the Caucasus. In 1856, he writes in his diary that he began to cry 'when reciting the Cossack song. I'm beginning to like the epic legendary manner. I'll try and make a poem out of the Cossack song.'¹⁹ It is revelatory that this aim, which later developed into Tolstoy's first novel, *The Cossacks*, is a poem begotten by a song that brings its listener to tears. The subject matter of the Cossack song that affected Tolstoy so much and which he describes as 'epic' and 'legendary' is likely similar to the content of a song in the novel with which Eroshka, a Cossack, regales the protagonist Olenin; the narrator specifies that Eroshka's song is representative of 'authentic'²⁰ Cossack songs. The song is a lament, a sorrowful retelling of war and loss. The themes of battle, death, and nature are prevalent among the songs of those Terek Cossacks the narrator describes and among whom Tolstoy lived.²¹

¹⁷ Hesiod, *Theogony*, ed. and trans. by H.G. Evelyn-White (London: Heinemann, 1914), ll. 96-103.

¹⁸ Ford, *Poetry of the Past*, p. 54.

¹⁹ PSS (vol. 47), p. 82.

²⁰ PSS (vol. 6), p. 108.

²¹ Below are two excerpts from traditional Terek Cossack songs, such as Tolstoy is likely to have encountered:

Near the end of the novel, a group of doomed Chechen warriors sing a similar lament: ‘Suddenly from the Chechens arose the sound of a mournful song, something like Daddy Eroshka’s “Ay day, dalalay.” The Chechens knew that they could not escape, and to prevent themselves from being tempted to take flight they had strapped themselves together, knee to knee, had got their guns ready, and were singing their death-song.’²² Since this song is described as similar to Eroshka’s, it, too, is likely to be a grieving eulogy for past events. The song helps the Chechens accept their fate because it facilitates forgetfulness of the personal through communion with the collective.

Such songs are sorrowful and they bring Eroshka to tears just as they brought the young Tolstoy to tears. They weep partly because the song is deeply moving, of course, but it achieves this poignancy because it is a disclosure of past events through aesthetic vividness. Eroshka and Tolstoy are not privy to a mere preservation or recitation of a past they can still recall, but to its reincarnation as they relive it. For the youthful Tolstoy of 1856, this vivid experience is germane to the epic genre. By 1865, he notes: ‘План истории Напо[леона] и Алек[сандра] не ослабел. Поэма, героем к[оторо] й б[ыл] бы по праву человек, около к[отор]ого все группируется, и герой — этот человек.’²³ Whether the latter sentence is intended to be a summary of the work that will ultimately become *War and Peace* (if so, then it ought to be noted that the text started out as a poem), or a description of how epic ought to function more generally, is not important here.

First, what is relevant for our purposes is that Tolstoy describes epic as a поэма, poem, especially when considered in light of his earlier description of epic as song. Regardless of whether it is recited or sung, for Tolstoy, epic has a distinct, aesthetic form. That both Tolstoy’s journal entries and *The Cossacks* associate epic with performance is significant. While it is, of course, a rhetorical and unsystematic association, it nevertheless anticipates (by nearly a century) the work of Milman Parry and Albert Lord in Yugoslavia in the 1930s, when they recorded traditional South Slavic songs and situated epic poetry within the context of oral traditions. The Parry-Lord theory of Homeric composition identifies epic poetry with the singing of stories by the means of remembered formulas; each song is spontaneously adapted to the individual performance context, taking into account both audience and occasion.

Не орел под облаками / Высоко летает, / Там стандарт над казаками / Гордо, гордо развевает ...
It’s no eagle flying high / Beneath the clouds, / It’s a standard above the Cossacks / Proudly, proudly waving ...

And:

Как на горе жито, / Под горою быто, / Под белою под березой / Казачок убитый. / У этого казаченьки / Нет отца, ни матери, / Некому по нем жалковати, / Головку связати ...
As lived on the mountain / Is life beneath the mountain, / Beneath the white, beneath the birch / Lies the Cossack – killed. / This little Cossack / Has no father or mother, / No-one to lament for him, / Or tie up his head ...

Pesni Tereka: Pesni Grebenskikh i Sunzhenskikh Kazakov, ed. by B.N. Putilov (Grozniy: Checheno-Ingushskoe Knizhnoe Izdatel’stvo, 1974), p. 30.

²² *PSS* (vol. 6), p. 144.

²³ ‘The plan for the history of Napoleon and Alexander hasn’t lost its appeal. An epic poem, the hero of which should by rights be a person round whom everything is grouped, and the hero should be that person.’ *PSS* (vol. 48), p. 61.

Second, in terms of content, Tolstoy regards the epic poem as grounded in history, hearkening back to Hesiod's description of epic as conveying 'the fames of men of former times.' Yet the author does not intend to directly recite the facts about Napoleon or present them in a straightforward manner – he intends to write a poem, not a history. Like the bard of epic, Tolstoy seeks for the truth of the past to be carried by aesthetic force. Tolstoy regards epic, then, as prompting intense affect by means of estrangement and vividness. Linking this quality to Tolstoy's description of epic poetry as related to true past events that have been reconstructed aesthetically, we arrive at a definition of epic which, whether deliberately or not, resonates substantially with that which Hesiod developed nearly three thousand years ago.

We gather that *War and Peace* was intended to be an epic from Tolstoy's self-analysis that the epic has become for him the only 'natural' mode just as he begins writing it, and that it was intended to be specifically a Homeric epic from his later claim that it is 'like the Iliad.'²⁴ It follows, then, that Tolstoy must have located Homeric epic in the category of istoriia-iskusstvo. Tolstoy reflected:

Древние были сильнее и умнее нас, потому что всё то, что мы называем философией, историей, юриспруденцией, богословием, они называли ораторским искусством. Первое есть признание возможности объективных выводов, второе — один субъективный взгляд.
Объективна только форма.
Всё субъективное, и одно субъективное имеет содержание.²⁵

Ancient authors, according to Tolstoy, had grasped the importance of the power of language in conveying what we later, weaker types term history. This is because they knew that objective history, and history-scientific conclusions, are simply not possible. For Tolstoy's ancients, the only possible history is one elevated to oratorical magnificence through субъективный взгляд, the subjective view. This simply means that history is humanized and grounded by and within a particular subject, both the poet and the poet's audience, whence it acquires substance and meaning.

In 1865, after reading Trollope, Tolstoy temporarily breaks with his rejection of novelistic writing to arrange such writing into four categories:

Есть поэзия романиста: 1) в интересе сочетания событий — Braddon, мои казаки, будущее; 2) в картине нравов, построенных на историческом событии — Одиссея, Илиада, 1805 год; 3) в красоте и веселости положений — Пиквик — Отъезжее поле, и 4) в характерах людей — Гамлет — мои будущие.²⁶

²⁴ Quoted by Maxim Gorkii in *Reminiscences of Tolstoy, Chekhov and Andreyev*, trans. by Katherine Mansfield, S.S. Koteliansky, and Leonard Woolf (London: Hogarth Press, 1948), p. 57.

²⁵ 'The ancients were stronger and more intelligent than us, because everything that we call philosophy, *history*, jurisprudence, theology, they called oratorical art. The first is the acknowledgment of the possibility of objective conclusions, the second – only of the subjective view. Only the form is objective. Everything is subjective, and only that which is subjective possesses substance'. *PSS* (vol. 48), p. 111. (Italics mine.)

²⁶ 'The poetry of the novelist consists in: 1. The interest of events – Braddon, my Cossacks, my future work; 2. The representation of customs built on historical events – the Odyssey, the Iliad, 1805; 3. In the beauty and humour of situations – Pickwick – A Distant Field; 4. The characters of people – Hamlet – my future work.' *PSS* (vol. 48), p. 64.

1805, or *War and Peace*, is here classified with Homer's *Odyssey* and *Iliad*. We see, once again, that Tolstoy regarded his composition as Homeric, which means, as he makes explicit in this notebook entry, that it is historical. There is an almost anthropological quality to Tolstoy's description here: works such as Homer's are not only historically faithful, they are also a representation of the customs or mores of a particular historical moment.

We can try to catch Tolstoy on a word and point out that in this passage, he has acquiesced to being a novelist, after all. However, given his consistent rejection of the genre in his journals, notebooks, and letters, it is more likely that Tolstoy jotted the phrase поэзия романиста, the poetry of the novelist, without giving it much thought, which is precisely the type of automatic categorization that he wishes his work to escape. The poetry he intends is an evocative картина, representation, which does not derive its substance primarily from plot, pleasure, or character, but from resurrection of the past. In some sense, the association of Homeric epic with Tolstoyan epic anticipates Mikhail Bakhtin's famous argument that contemporary writing necessarily 'novelizes' all other genres, including that of epic poetry, since a strict adherence to any other genre can function only as satire. Novelized epic is, perhaps, another term for Tolstoy's composition, since it retains the features typically associated with epic while making use of novelistic techniques. While its allegiance is to a historical event, its evocation of that event is aesthetic and literary, which means it necessarily includes plot, character, and, crucially, pleasure.

The narrator opens the third section of the third volume of *War and Peace* with Zeno's paradox. *Istoriia-nauka* parses the movement of history into arbitrary units, just like the ancients had done with the distance passed by Achilles and the tortoise, with the same irrational results: 'Историческая наука в движении своем постоянно принимает всё меньшие и меньшие единицы для рассмотрения и этим путем стремится приблизиться к истине.'²⁷ However, the truth is not in the events themselves but in the spaces between them, which are nothing other than movement. For Tolstoy, what is special about *istoriia-iskusstvo* like Homer's is that it supplies the sense of continuity to historical events. The organic flow which unites what Tolstoy referred to as 'the description of the life of all Europe, or the description of one month in the life of a 16th-century peasant' is made possible through art.

Inevitably, because the work is an aesthetic production, it takes liberties with events (perhaps it is more appropriate to say that the work became an aesthetic production in the first place precisely because it permitted Tolstoy to take liberties with events). Since the events did happen, it will be a subject of critique and possibly ridicule. Such commentary comes not from literary critics, but from the representatives of *istoriia-nauka* and from those who lived through the events it describes. Both groups approach the work not as poetry but as *istoriia-nauka*, reading it the way one might read a newspaper, objecting to lack of consistency with facts and their own experience. Military reviewers were deeply critical of Tolstoy's interpretation of history.²⁸ Lieutenant-General M. I. Bogdanovich

²⁷ 'Historical science in its movement constantly takes smaller and smaller particles for observation and by this path attempts to approach truth.' *PSS* (vol. 11), p. 267.

²⁸ Donna Tussing Orwin, 'War and Peace from the Military Point of View', in *Tolstoy on War: Narrative Art and Historical Truth in 'War and Peace'*, ed. by Rick McPeak and Donna T. Orwin (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), pp. 98-110 (pp. 99-100).

and Colonel A. N. Vitmer, both professional historians, objected to the methods, the theories, and the facts Tolstoy employed. General Mikhail Dragomirov went so far as to say that Tolstoy did not understand basic history.²⁹ Contemporary historians tend to agree with the original assessments. Dominic Lieven's recent book demonstrates that Tolstoy's version of the War of 1812 greatly undermines the significance of Russia's achievement: 'The popular or 'Tolstoyan' Russian interpretation of the war fits rather well with foreign accounts that play down the role of Russia's army and government in the victory over Napoleon.'³⁰

Since Tolstoy's composition is not history and is not beholden to the terms of *istoriia-nauka*, these criticisms simply do not matter. Instead of asking whether Tolstoy's description of events is accurate, the work compels us to ask what such a description of events is able to accomplish. In other words, in undermining the historical account, how does Tolstoy's work alter the meaning of the war? By de-emphasizing government and military leaders, Tolstoy's aesthetic rendering of the war created a radically different sort of patriotism. It privileged the ordinary Russian soldier and peasant as embodiments of the artless, populist ethos of *narod*, the people. I suggest that it is precisely Tolstoy's elevation of *narod* that motivates his invocation of Homer as aesthetic model and moral mentor.

Strategies of legitimacy: popular voice and authority

Tolstoy chose to associate his composition with Homer's *Iliad* for three reasons: first, for Tolstoy, Homeric material was an authentic, unmediated expression of the people. Second, Tolstoy genuinely regarded the *Iliad* as one of the greatest productions of literature.³¹ Finally, as we saw earlier, Tolstoy classed the epic into that special category of composition which has the power to resurrect the past. The second two reasons have much to do with authority, both historical and literary, which canonical antiquity has traditionally supplied. Yet it is the first reason, curiously removed from notions of authority, which made Homer's epic and not, for example, Vergil's, the precursor to *War and Peace*.

In the years immediately preceding work on *War and Peace*, from 1860 to 1863, Tolstoy published several pedagogical articles. Once again critiquing the Hegelian notion of historical progress, he contrasts elite scholars and ordinary people, deciding to take the 'side' of the *narod*, the people:

[Я] должен склониться на сторону народа, на том основании, что, 1-е, народа больше,

²⁹ Dominic Lieven, 'Tolstoy on War, Russia, and Empire' in *Tolstoy on War*, ed. by McPeak and Orwin, pp. 12-25 (p. 12)..

³⁰ Dominic Lieven. *Russia Against Napoleon: The Battle for Europe, 1807-1814* (London, Penguin, 2010), p. 10.

³¹ See letter 88 to A.A. Tolstaya on August 18, 1857 in *PSS* (vol. 60), p. 222; the first paragraphs of Прогресс и Определение Образования, in *PSS* (vol. 8), p. 326; the journal entry for 23 August, 1857, in *PSS* (vol. 47), p. 153; the journal entry for 21 July 1870, in *PSS* (vol. 48), p. 128; the letter 321 to Fet in January 1871, in *PSS* (vol. 61), p. 247; the letter 17 to P.D. Golokhvastov in April 1873, in *PSS* (vol. 62), p. 22; the quote attributed to Rousseau in *Krug Chtenia* for February 1, 1905, in *PSS* (vol. 41), p. 76. Note that when one of the epics is mentioned, it is almost always the *Iliad* given as literary example rather than the *Odyssey*.

чем общества, и что потому должно предположить, что большая доля правды на стороне народа; 2-е и главное — потому, что народ без общества прогрессистов мог бы жить и удовлетворять всем своим человеческим потребностям, как-то: трудиться, веселиться, любить, мыслить и творить художественные произведения. (Илиады, русские песни.)³²

We see here that Tolstoy associates the *Iliad* not with elite culture but with practical, everyday wisdom which ordinary people have always possessed. Tolstoy is clearly certain that Homer's epic, like Russian folk songs, is the sort of artistic expression that springs from 'below,' and has no need of educational institutions or patronage. There is a handwritten addition to the above passage, immediately after художественные произведения, artistic works, wherein we see that the *Iliad* is associated not only with folk music, but also Greek sculpture and, even more surprisingly, the Bible: '(Венера Милосская, Библия, Илиада, русскія пѣсни ...).'³³

The link between Homer and popular expression is reiterated in another such article: 'Без Библии немыслимо в нашем обществе, так же, как не могло быть мыслимо без Гомера в греческом обществе, развитие ребенка и человека.'³⁴ For Tolstoy, Homeric epic constituted part of the essential moral education of ancient society, combining the immanent and the transcendent in powerful but accessible language. Tolstoy's perception of the *Iliad* as unmediated and authentic cannot be overemphasized. We know that the production of *War and Peace* owes something to the novels of writers such as Dickens, Thackeray, and perhaps most particularly, Stendhal's *Charterhouse of Parma*. However, none of these other works can offer to Tolstoy what the *Iliad* can in terms of its immediacy and authenticity, reflecting not the mind of a single, educated aristocrat, but the consciousness of the common people. Of course, associating Homeric poetry with the public is not unique to Tolstoy, and was a popular notion in 19th-century Russia. During the turbulent epoch, many thinkers and writers – the Decembrists among them – privileged Greek over Roman antiquity³⁵ because it came to be associated with democratic and decentralized social structures rather than imperialistic ambition, prompting writers such as Gogol and Belinskii to argue that Vergil was inferior to Homer.³⁶

The *Iliad*, Tolstoy tells us, was for the Greeks. *War and Peace*, however, is for Russians. This exclusionary intention is made apparent in the first few lines of the text, when Prince Vasilii speaks: 'Он говорил на том изысканном французском языке, на котором не только говорили, но и думали наши деды.'³⁷ This specification im-

³² 'I must take the side of the people on the basis that 1, there are more people than high society, and this must suggest that there is a bigger portion of truth on the side of the people; and the most important 2 – because the people even without progressive society could live and somehow satisfy all their human needs: work, make merry, love, think and create artistic works (Iliads, Russian folk songs). *PSS* (vol. 8), p. 346.

³³ 'Venus de Milo, the Bible, the Iliad, Russian folk songs ...' *PSS* (vol. 8), p. 453.

³⁴ 'The development of the child and the human is incomprehensible in our society without the Bible, just as it was incomprehensible in Greek society without Homer.' *PSS* (vol. 8), p. 89.

³⁵ G. S. Knabe, *Russkaia Antichnost' [Russian Antiquity]* (Moscow: Russian State University for the Humanities, 1999), p. 135.

³⁶ Robert Maguire, *Exploring Gogol* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), p. 300.

³⁷ 'He spoke that exquisite French language which our grandfathers not only spoke, but in which they thought.' *PSS* (vol. 9), p. 4.

mediately identifies the intended readers of the text and renders them complicit in the narrative and with the narrator – *our* grandfathers, the narrator's and the reader's. Of course, only a tiny percentage of the population spoke exquisite French, or any kind of French, thereby alerting the reader that although the narrative is about Russians, they are the elite kind. As someone almost pathologically self-reflective, Tolstoy attempts to justify why his narrative focuses on aristocrats in one of the composition's early drafts. That this was never published implies that the justification was aimed at himself rather than his audience. He finds there are three reasons: the first circumstantial, the second personal, the final literary.

Tolstoy explains that the only primary accounts of the Napoleonic Wars are contained in the letters, journals, and memoirs of educated elites.³⁸ This poverty of data, of course, can only serve to strengthen a suspicion of *istoriia-nauka*. Speaking frankly, Tolstoy does not find the middle strata of society – composed of merchants and coach drivers – either interesting or beautiful.³⁹ This reason serves to show that Tolstoy's priorities, while clearly classist, are primarily aesthetic: he seeks to narrate that which is interesting rather than that which is representative.

Although these first two reasons for writing about elites seem to contradict Tolstoy's aim of recreating true life, they in fact do not. This is due to the third reason. Tolstoy writes that he does not focus on the lower classes because he is proud to be an aristocrat: 'Я аристократ потому, что воспитан с детства в любви и уважении к высшим сословиям и в любви к изящному, выражающемуся не только в Гомере, Бахе и Рафаэле, но и во всех мелочах жизни.'⁴⁰ Whether Tolstoy was aware of it or not, referencing Homer at this moment, while justifying his literary choices, is deeply significant. Tolstoy's linking Homer to aristocracy motivates at least some of the reason for focusing on that social class. However, we have seen that Homer is, for Tolstoy, the unmediated expression of the *narod*, the common people, spontaneous and authentic. Yet Homeric epic is also the height of elegance and sophistication, representative not only of an art form associated with the likes of Bach and Raphael, but also with a refined and privileged way of life. Finally, Homeric epic is *also* historic, a reflection on past events.

The *Iliad* focuses almost exclusively on an elite class of warriors rather than merchants and craftsmen, yet the story is regarded by Tolstoy as flowing organically from the common people, through the mouth of an illiterate bard. The stories of Achilles and Agamemnon, whom everyone has heard of, are exciting for the public to hear and to share. This is a unique juxtaposition of form and content wherein accessible form conveys elite content while remaining faithful to history. In other words, to compose *istoriia-iskusstvo* – which means to compose faithfully, to include everything, while remaining pleasing and interesting – is to compose Homerically. The Homeric ethos is precisely

³⁸ PSS (vol. 13), p. 239.

³⁹ '[Ж]изнь купцов, кучеров, семинаристов, каторжников и мужиков для меня представляется однообразною, скучною... жизнь этих людей некрасива.' 'The life of merchants, coachmen, seminarians, convicts and peasants seems to me monotonous and dull... the life of these people is not beautiful.' PSS (vol. 13), p. 239.

⁴⁰ 'I am an aristocrat because since childhood I have been raised to love and respect the upper classes and to love that which is graceful, which is reflected not only in Homer, Bach, and Raphael, but in all the details of life.' PSS (vol. 13), p. 239.

what enables Tolstoy to focus on elites without guilt: it is a narrative of aristocrats, this is true, but that is partly what renders it pleasing. It is pleasing because kings are typically more exciting to hear about than merchants, and also because kings are accessible to historical memory – everyone in Russia had heard the names of Kutuzov and the particularly beloved Alexander.⁴¹ Accessible content conveyed in pleasing form achieves the scope, truth-value, and authentic immediacy of Homer – or the Bible.

There is another nuance to the text's exclusionary reference to 'our grandfathers': it did not start out only referencing French speakers. In the second draft for the introduction, explaining yet again why *War and Peace* is not a novel, Tolstoy reflects: 'Мы, русские, вообще не умеем писать романов в том смысле, в котором понимают этот род сочинений в Европе.'⁴² The seventh draft begins with, 'Пишу о том времени, которое еще цепью живых воспоминаний связано с нашим, которого запах и звук еще слышны нам.'⁴³ These varied beginnings signify only the Russian reader as the intended reader – мы, русские; we, Russians – who partakes in a shared history. These Russian readers may or may not be the aristocratic descendants of French-speaking grandfathers. The earlier versions of the introduction imply that the purpose of the exclusion is to distance from the text not the lower classes, but foreigners.

This nationalistic tendency may be partly attributed to the fact that Tolstoy's Homeric *istoriia-iskusstvo* emerged at a time when the country's need for a uniquely Russian literature and history was paramount. Griffiths and Rabinowitz write:

Once Napoleon was beaten, writers in Russia sought to forge an independent literature that would not only celebrate the country's new status as a world power but also allow Europe to read its own destiny. For prophets, the wit or sentimentality of the novel, the bourgeois fantasy that sold books in Paris or London, was no fit medium [...] Russian writers aimed to take the genre beyond itself by making it something greater, more public, and more primary – in a word, by making it monumental, that is, epic.⁴⁴

The need for national literature – for epic – is not very much different from the need for national myth. If *War and Peace* is part of this myth in Russia – and it certainly is – it blossomed not in the organic, spontaneous, bottom-up fashion that Tolstoy imagines Homeric myth to have done. It is, instead, a deliberate and contrived narrative reflecting the unique historical vision of a single, well-educated, aristocratic man. The history Tolstoy produced was of necessity a distortion, aligned less with what the still-stricken country may or may not have needed, and more with what Tolstoy himself needed his country's history to have been. However, to achieve legitimacy for his work, he had to present

⁴¹ See, for example, Lieven's description of Alexander's visit to Moscow in July 1812: 'When Alexander emerged [...] outside his Kremlin palace [...] he was greeted by an immense crowd [...] The emperor was greeted with the ringing of the bells of all the Kremlin churches and wave after wave of cheers from the crowd. The ordinary people pressed forward to touch him and implored him to lead them against the enemy.' Lieven, *Russia Against Napoleon*, p. 237.

⁴² 'We Russians generally are not capable of writing novels in the same sense that these compositions are understood in Europe.' *PSS* (vol. 13), p. 54.

⁴³ 'I am writing of that time which by the chain of still living memory is linked to ours, the scent and sound of which is still accessible to us.' *PSS* (vol. 13), p. 70.

⁴⁴ Frederick T. Griffiths and Stanely J. Rabinowitz, *Epic and the Russian Novel: From Gogol to Pasternak* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2011), p. 12.

the material *as if it were* the unmediated expression of the *narod*, emanating from an authentically Russian consciousness. This helps explain why Homeric epic, regarded by Tolstoy as an authentic and popular expression, was so important to the formation of *War and Peace*. Tolstoy can be said to have attained the authority of unmediated popular expression with every critic who describes Tolstoy's literary achievement as representative of artless naturalism: Isaac Babel regarded Tolstoy's fiction as 'the world writing itself'⁴⁵ and Matthew Arnold called it a 'piece of life'.⁴⁶ It is the use of what Morson terms 'absolute language' that lends *War and Peace* its quality of unmediated truth. The features of absolute language Morson presents – commands, proverbs, logical propositions, laws of nature and human nature, metaphysical assertions – which are unattributable to a particular narrator and therefore seem to arise from beyond history⁴⁷ characterize Homeric epic.

The *Iliad* begins with an invocation to the Muses which guarantees that the voice of the subsequent narration is not the singer's own, but is timeless and absolute: 'The invocation promises an ethos that is well enough summed up by the old term 'epic objectivity': once it is over, we will not expect to hear the voice of the poet as poet [...] the poet's individual personality is submerged.'⁴⁸ It is not Homer who tells his audience what occurred at Troy – he is merely a mouthpiece for divine knowledge. Before listing the ships and commanders who sailed to Troy, the poet requests aid:

Tell me now, you Muses who have your homes on Olympos.
For you, who are goddesses, are there, and you know all things,
and we have heard only the rumour of it and know nothing [...]
I could not tell over the multitude of them nor name them,
not if I had ten tongues and ten mouths, not if I had
a voice never to be broken and a heart of bronze within me.⁴⁹

This passage is similar to Tolstoy's lamentation above that history seeks to describe the lives of millions of people. Even more so, the Homeric invocation finds resonance in Tolstoy's attempt to describe a day of his life, entitled *A History of Yesterday*:

Бог один знает, сколько разнообразных, занимательных впечатлений и мыслей, которые возбуждают эти впечатления, хотя темных, неясных, но [не] менее того понятных душе нашей, проходит в один день. Ежели бы можно было рассказать их так, чтобы сам бы легко читал себя и другие могли читать меня, как и я сам, вышла бы очень поучительная и занимательная книга, и такая, что недостало бы чернил на свете написать ее и типографщиков напечатать.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Cited in A. K. Zholkovskii, 'Metaportrait of the Artist as a Young Man', in *Babel*, ed. by A. K. Zholkovskii and M. B. Iampol'skii (Moscow: Carte Blanche, 1994), pp. 15-56 (p. 33).

⁴⁶ Clinton Machann, *Matthew Arnold: A Literary Life* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), p. 158.

⁴⁷ Morson, *Hidden in Plain View*, p. 15.

⁴⁸ Ford, *Poetry of the Past*, p. 26.

⁴⁹ *The 'Iliad' of Homer*, trans. by Richmond Lattimore (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), Book 2 (ll. 484-90).

⁵⁰ 'God alone knows how many variable, absorbing impressions and thoughts, which provoke these impressions, although dark, unclear, but nevertheless comprehensible to our soul, occur each day. If it were possible to describe them so that I can easily read myself and others can read me as I can, a very instructive and absorbing book would result, a book for which there is not enough ink on earth to write it and typographers to type it.' *PSS* (vol. 1), p. 279.

The multiplicity of details that constitute a single historical moment is known to God alone – or the Muses. The ten tongues and ten mouths Homer lacks is repeated (and adapted to a writing culture) in Tolstoy's call for all the ink and all the typographers in the world. Yet somehow, both Homer and Tolstoy summon their respective tongues and typographers and manage to say the unsayable. How is this performative contradiction possible? It is possible because Homer and Tolstoy communicate a history in terms of that *ораторское искусство*, oratorical art, for which Tolstoy admired the ancients. Art does not have enough ink to grasp infinite complexity, but it comes the closest: 'Whatever the Muses give the poet, they withhold the all; there is an inevitable reduction from divine knowledge to *kleos*, which may be poetry or rumour or hearsay but never vision. The true account is still the total account.'⁵¹

Tolstoy recognizes that calling upon the Muses as evidence of authority, just like the use of absolute language, is a rhetorical trick, a literary device characteristic of the art of oratory prevalent in epic. So Tolstoy notes in 1870: 'Одно искусство не знает ни условий времени, ни пространства, ни движения.'⁵² It is not the Muses but Homer's and Tolstoy's grasp of linguistic art that enables them to overcome the limitations of time and space. The poet is unconstrained not only in relation to the historian, but more importantly, in relation to the very history he describes. In a draft of *War and Peace*, reflecting on the impotence of historical figures, Tolstoy wrote: 'Только Ньютон, Сократ, Гомер действуют сознательно и независимо, и только у тех людей есть тот произвол, который против всех доказательств о нервах доказывает моя, сейчас поднятая и опущенная рука.'⁵³ This is nothing less than astonishing. Neither historians nor the figures they describe have free will, a notion reiterated again and again in *War and Peace*. Napoleons and Alexanders are buffeted about by forces beyond their comprehension. Yet the likes of Newton, Socrates, and *Homer* – the singer-poet who is master of that which transcends the limitations of time and space – possess the necessary freedom to step outside history and reflect accurately upon the world. More to the point, this supernatural freedom can be demonstrated by Tolstoy's own uplifted hand. The conclusion we are invited to draw is that if Homer steps beyond time and space, so does Tolstoy.

Justin Weir describes Tolstoy's tendency to falsify and re-imagine the past, a tendency the author gives to his narrator and characters, as well: 'Characters, and sometimes Tolstoy himself, compose new or ideal identities by repeating a false past [...] falsehood is incorporated into being through a sort of false repetition – for example a memory that recapitulates an event that never happened.'⁵⁴ This false past is precisely what military critics like Dragomirov complained of. However, these distortions are not a historical error. For Tolstoy, to falsify history is the reason for invoking history in the first place. His motivation for falsifying has been examined by scholars;⁵⁵ whether it was arrogance, insecurity, the desire for mastery, political rebellion, or visionary genius that prompted falsification, Tolstoy knew from reading Homer that if a falsification is strong enough

⁵¹ Ford, *Poetry of the Past*, p. 86.

⁵² 'Art alone is not limited by conditions of time, space, or motion.' *PSS* (vol. 48), p. 118.

⁵³ Only Newton, Socrates, and Homer act consciously and independently, and only such people have the will which, despite all proofs regarding nerves, is proven by my now raised and lowered hand. *PSS* (vol. 14), p. 60.

⁵⁴ Justin Weir, *Leo Tolstoy and the Alibi of Narrative* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 64.

⁵⁵ Morson, *Hidden in Plain View*, p. 23.

– in other words, if it achieves the aesthetic and historical heights of *istoriia-iskusstvo* – it will pass into collective memory as history, not literature. This is the reason Tolstoy describes the *Iliad* as a historical narrative. After passage into history occurs, the text is safely beyond the reach of the first generation of critics who know it to be a fabrication: ‘Whether it is history or imagination is not insignificant, but it is less significant than one might think. As one repeats a repetition, whether the first articulation is true seems to matter less and less.’⁵⁶ The repetition itself, upon each re-reading or re-hearing of the narrative, is quite enough to pass for truth.

More importantly, it is quite enough for *Russian* readers, each generation of which inevitably has associations with Napoleon’s invasion which shapes reception of the text as personally significant history. It is unlikely that Tolstoy wished *War and Peace* to be read only by Russians, yet he sought to present it as though he wished it to be read only by Russians. This creates an air of authenticity because of its assumed exclusiveness and intimacy. ‘This is just what *we Russians* think of and remember war,’ both the published and unpublished introductions casually suggest, as though unconcerned with how Europe remembers Napoleon’s invasion. Of course, influencing how Europe remembers has been Tolstoy’s motivation since he was a 24-year-old dreaming of writing a true, authentic history of Europe. Here, a problem of effectualness arises: if Tolstoy’s work is a specifically Russian recollection, it lacks general legitimacy. Tolstoy solved the problem by grounding his unique, contrived, deliberate *istoriia-iskusstvo* with the generally acknowledged weight of Homeric epic so respected and celebrated in European literature. *War and Peace* is presented as a Russian work for Russians, yet it is also ‘like’ the Greek *Iliad* – not only due to plot and style, but also because it must achieve the same authority and lasting power.

Could Tolstoy have written *War and Peace* without Homer? It is very likely. Would *War and Peace* have become historical memory without Homer? Probably not. True, authentic history is not a matter of what happened, it is a matter of what should have happened. For Tolstoy, this reconstruction requires the trustworthy form of Homeric epic because it combines the voices of Russian *narod* and sophisticated Western elites. Homeric epic achieved immortality partly because it achieved authority. It was able to do so because its material encompasses the essentials of Greek identity. Gregory Nagy writes: ‘The *Iliad* purports to say everything that is worth saying about the Greeks [...] It is as if the *Iliad*, in mirroring for the Greeks of the present an archetypal image of themselves in the past, served as an autobiography of a people.’⁵⁷ Yet it says everything from a position of alleged neutrality. The identity of the poet is inscrutable, giving away nothing of itself, not taking sides with the Greeks or the Trojans, or if taking sides, doing it so subtly that it is difficult for readers to be certain of it and even more difficult to prove. This silence in regard to an authorial identity constitutes much of the epics’ power. Barbara Graziosi describes the epics as addressed to a universal audience, remaining ‘equidistant from all possible listeners [...] anonymity is their marker.’⁵⁸ In a certain sense, the entirety of Homeric epic takes the form of absolute language, unattributable and therefore universally

⁵⁶ Weir, *Tolstoy and the Alibi of Narrative*, p. 66.

⁵⁷ Gregory Nagy, *The Ancient Greek Hero in 24 Hours* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2013), p. 18.

⁵⁸ Barbara Graziosi, ‘The Ancient Reception of Homer’, in *The Blackwell Companion to Classical Receptions*, ed. by Lorna Hardwick and C. Stray (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 26–37 (p. 28).

valid. Ruth Scodel writes: 'Though he pretends to be a neutral reporter, Homer manages his material ruthlessly [...] [Homer] presupposes that the audience knows the larger story, but it also asks them to forget all that happened [...] The scope of Homer's narratives gives them immense authority.'⁵⁹

Achieving authority by prompting an audience to forget what happened and replacing memory with his own curated version of events is precisely Tolstoy's aim. He achieves it for the same reasons Homer did, and only a stubborn Dragomirov would fail to be convinced. Historical facts are not important and whether Dragomirov was right or wrong has ultimately been irrelevant to the afterlife of the text.

Bibliography

- Babel, I. E., *Avtobiografija. Odesskie Rasskazi. Stat'i. Vistuplenia* [Autobiography, Odessa Stories, Articles, Plays] (Direct Media)
- Ford, Andrew, *Homer: The Poetry of the Past* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992)
- Gorkii, Maxim, *Reminiscences of Tolstoy, Chekhov and Andreyev*, trans. by Katherine Mansfield, S.S. Koteliansky, and Leonard Woolf (London: Hogarth Press, 1948)
- Graziosi, Barbara, 'The Ancient Reception of Homer', in *The Blackwell Companion to Classical Receptions*, ed. by Lorna Hardwick and C. Stray (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 26-37
- Griffiths, Frederick T., and Stanely J. Rabinowitz, *Epic and the Russian Novel: From Gogol to Pasternak* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2011)
- Hesiod, *Theogony*, ed. and trans. by H.G. Evelyn-White (London: Heinemann, 1914)
- Knabe, G. S., *Russkaia Antichnost' [Russian Antiquity]* (Moscow: Russian State University for the Humanities, 1999)
- Lieven, Dominic, *Russia Against Napoleon: The Battle for Europe, 1807-1814* (London, Penguin, 2010)
- — —, 'Tolstoy on War, Russia, and Empire', in *Tolstoy on War: Narrative Art and Historical Truth in 'War and Peace'*, ed. by Rick McPeak and Donna T. Orwin (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), pp. 12-25
- Machann, Clinton, *Matthew Arnold: A Literary Life* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998)
- Maguire, Robert, *Exploring Gogol* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994)
- Morson, Gary Saul, *Hidden in Plain View: Narrative and Creative Potentials in 'War and Peace'* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987)

⁵⁹ Ruth Scodel, 'The Story-Teller and his Audience', in *The Cambridge Companion to Homer*, ed. by Robert Fowler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 45-56 (p. 55).

- Merchant, Paul, *The Epic* (London: Cox & Wyman, Ltd, 1971)
- Nagy, Gregory, *The Ancient Greek Hero in 24 Hours* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2013)
- Orwin, Donna Tussing, 'War and Peace from the Military Point of View', in *Tolstoy on War: Narrative Art and Historical Truth in 'War and Peace'*, ed. by Rick McPeak and Donna T. Orwin (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), pp. 98-110
- Pesni Tereka: Pesni Grebenskikh i Sunzhenskikh Kazakov*, ed. by B.N. Putilov (Grozniy: Checheno-Ingushskoe Knizhnoe Izdatel'stvo, 1974)
- Scodel, Ruth, 'The Story-Teller and his Audience', in *The Cambridge Companion to Homer*, ed. by Robert Fowler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 45-56
- The 'Iliad' of Homer*, trans. by Richmond Lattimore (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011)
- Tolstoi, Lev, *Polnoe Sobranie Sochinenii* (Lev Tolstoy: The Collected Works), 90 vols. (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia Literatura, 1935-1965)
- Weir, Justin, *Leo Tolstoy and the Alibi of Narrative* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011)
- Zholkovskii, A. K., 'Metaportrait of the Artist as a Young Man', in *Babel*, ed. by A. K. Zholkovskii and M. B. Iampol'skii (Moscow: Carte Blanche, 1994), pp. 15-56

Notes on Contributors

Joseph T. Snow was born and reared in New Jersey and was educated in the USA, receiving in 1972 his doctorate at the University of Wisconsin, with a dissertation on Alfonso X's religious poems (the 42 loores or songs of praise) in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. He taught at the Universities of Minnesota (1970-1972), Georgia (1973-1991), and Michigan State (1991-2006). In 1977, he founded the journal *Celestinesca* and edited it for 26 years until retirement and then handed it over to colleagues in Valencia. His many conference presentations have included those for the International Courtly Literature Society (ICLS) (of which he is an honorary president), the International Association of Hispanists (IAH), the International Medieval Congress in Kalamazoo, Michigan, and the Association of Hispanists of the Literature of Medieval Spain (AHLM). Other conferences have taken him to Argentina, Mexico, Canada, the U. K., Spain, France, Germany, Portugal, and Italy. He retired from Michigan State University in 2006 and moved to Madrid so as to be able to continue his research in the literatures of medieval Spain and Portugal in Madrid's National Library. He has also published annotated bibliographies on both *Celestina* and the poetry of Alfonso X, the two anchors of his CV.

Victoria Beatrix Fendel completed an MA in Classical Greek and Ancient Near East Studies at the University of Basel before moving to the University of Oxford (Lady Margaret Hall) for her DPhil on language contact between post-classical Greek and Coptic. Subsequently, she undertook an MPhil in Theoretical and Applied Linguistics at the University of Cambridge (Peterhouse) with a focus on French linguistics. She teaches Classical Philology at Cambridge and Classical Literature at Oxford and tutors modern languages. In November 2020, she took up a Leverhulme Early Career Fellowship at the University of Oxford.

Svetlana Yefimenko is a PhD researcher working in classical reception in modern literature and philosophy at the University of Exeter. Generously funded by the university's Doctoral College, her research focuses on Tolstoy's diachronic reception of Homer's epics approached in terms of Nietzschean aesthetics. Svetlana worked as a copywriter and copy editor while completing a Master of Humanities degree, with distinction, in Philosophy and Theory at the University of Colorado Denver in 2017. She has served as an assistant editor for the journal *Ex Historia* and a peer reviewer for *Exclamat!on*. Her poetry, short fiction, and academic articles have appeared in literary and scholarly journals, and she teaches Russian literature and culture at undergraduate level.

