# French studies: language and linguistics (2010)

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*Le Changement en français: études de linguistique diachronique*, ed. B. Combettes et al. (Sciences pour la communication, 89), Oxford, Lang, x+402 pp., contains an Introduction and 21 articles stemming from the 2008 Madrid Diachro 4: Le Français en diachronie conference covering themes ranging from (pre-)classical Fr., pragmatics/text linguistics, interrogatives and clefts. *The Anglo-Norman Language and its Contexts*, ed. R. Ingham, York Medieval Press, ix+184 pp., contains the proceedings of 2007 and 2008 workshops held at Birmingham City University, with an Introduction and 11 further contributions examining syntactic and lexical dimensions of the widespread retention, well into the late medieval period, of written AN, at a
time when descendants of the conquering AN speakers were no longer a distinct group and were not mother-tongue AN speakers. See also I. Short, ‘Verbatim et literatim: oral and written French in 12th-century Britain’, VR, 68, 2009:156–68, who shows how written Fr. used in Britain began to acquire a status previously enjoyed by Latin alone.

R. A. Lodge, ‘Standardisation, koinéisation et l’historiographie du français’, RLiR, 74(293–4):5–25, argues that historians of Fr. should pay more attention to koinéization alongside standardization. P. Swiggers, ‘La clarté du français: examen d’un “idéologème”’, ZRP, 126:443–59, charts the history of the notion of the clarity of Fr. as the cultural importance of Fr. has grown from the Middle Ages to the present day, as used by purists, grammarians, lexicographers et theoreticians. While the notion has been criticized in recent centuries, the ‘ideologeme’ at its core continues to be relevant. W. Ayres-Bennett, “Exactitude du stile”: les observations stylistiques chez les remarqueurs du XVIIe siècle’, Molinié Vol., 31–44.


[H2]3. Phonetics and Phonology

Nigel Armstrong and Tim Pooley, Social and Linguistic Change in European French, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, xvi+328 pp., is actually primarily a Labovian take on contemporary phonological variation. Y. Rose and C. dos Santos, ‘Stress domain effects in French phonology and phonological development’, LSRL 38, 89–104, argue that a formal distinction between phonological representation and phonetic implementation accounts not only for allophonic closed-syllable laxing in final (stressed) vowels in Québécois but also for the forms produced by an L1 European Fr. learner, who has an asymmetry in CVC and CVCV target (adult) forms. L. MacKenzie and G. Sankoff offer “A quantitative analysis of diphthongization in Montreal French’, University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics, 15:91–100, and demonstrate that four vowels show significant lowering and/or backing in the community, and that all long vowels show decreased diphthongization. A.-J. Villeneuve, “Word-
final cluster simplification in Vimeu French: a preliminary analysis', *ib.*, 133–44, examines word-final obstruent–liquid (OL) cluster simplification ([tab] table, [ot] autre) in Vimeu Fr. and shows that /l/ and /r/ can be deleted not only before consonants and pauses, but also in prevocalic contexts. C. Carignan and Z. Fagyal, "V-to-V assimilation in trisyllabic words in French: evidence for gradience and locality", *LSRL 39*, 25–42, investigate the extent of regressive V-to-V assimilation in trisyllabic words in Fr. and suggest that the phenomenon is a gradient and local effect of the final front stressed vowel on the vowel immediately adjacent to it.

[H2]4. Morphology


Rainer, *Variation*, includes: G. Dal and F. Namer, ‘French property nouns based on toponyms or ethnic adjectives: a case of base variation’ (53–74), which uses a web-extracted corpus to examine -ité-suffixed nouns characterizing places or those associated with places, showing coinages either from toponyms (portugalité), related ethnic adjectives (afrikanité), or both (belgicité/belgité), with the choice attributable to four formal competing (non-semantic) linguistic constraints; and E. Eggert, ‘Morphological variation in the construction of French names for inhabitants’ (75–88), which reviews the derivation of detoponymic adjectives, highly variable in terms of base (epenthesi s, allomorphy, suppletion) and suffix (constrained, but not fully determined, by the formal shape of the stem).

[H2]5. Syntax

Theresa Biberauer et al., *Parametric Variation: Null Subjects in Minimalist Theory*, CUP, vi+374 pp., contains I. Roberts’ ‘Varieties of French and the null subject parameter’ (303–27), with discussion of Fr., Franco-Provençal, Valdôtain, Veneto, and other Italian dialects. Richard Kayne, *Comparisons and Contrasts* (Oxford Studies in Comparative Syntax), OUP, xvi+272 pp., contains studies of Fr./It. definite articles and (with J.-Y. Pollock) Fr. hyper-complex inversion. See also K.&P.’s ‘“Notes on French and English demonstratives”, *Koster Vol.*’, 215–28. A. Dagnac, ‘Modal ellipsis in French, Spanish and Italian: evidence for a TP-deletion analysis’, *LSRL 38*, 157–70, argues that gaps found after root modals in Fr., Sp., and It. are indeed instances of PF deletion, i.e., ellipsis, but that differences to English VP ellipsis, e.g., regarding the kinds of remnant allowed, tolerance to voice mismatches, and constraints on subjects in Antecedent Contained Deletion, follow from the notion that it is TP which is ellipsed. J.-M. Authier and L. A. Reed, ‘Clausal complementation and the status of French àide ce que’, *Lingua*, 120:2193–210, argue for an analysis of these items as non-compositional elements of the C system, with de ce que occupying Force à and à ce que occupying Int à. M. Labelle and E. Doron, ‘Anticausative derivations (and other valency alternations) in French’, *Probus*,
22:303–16, explain the derivation of change-of-state verbs, movement verbs, and middle anticausative constructions on the basis of Voice and v heads. T. Nakamoto, 'Inalienable possession constructions in French', *Lingua*, 120: 74–102, considers how inalienable possessors are realized syntactically and the similarities between inalienable possession and obligatory control interpretations. N. Schapansky, 'Further aspects of negation in French', *Lingua*, 120:103–31, argues that *ne* is distinguished semantically from *ne . . . pas* in being non-quantified and unable to introduce an existential quantifier capable of binding an event/tense variable.

Emilia Hilgert, *Partition et constructions prépositionnelles en français* (Langue et cultures, 44), Droz, 448 pp. V. Conti and M.-J. Béguelin, 'Le status des concessives en avoir beau du français: considérations synchroniques et diachroniques', *JFLS*, 20: 271–88, show how the construction was originally autonomous but now overwhelmingly co-occurs with a following clause. L. Likhacheva, 'La construction détachée à gauche dans l’alternance des tours de parole', *JFLS*, 20: 171–88, looks at clitic left dislocation, associated with the topic-comment articulation, within dialogue and sees the phenomenon dependent on whether the speaker adopts a discourse strategy based on narration or elicitation.


RevR 45:1–15, deal with feminine nouns for countries, which often do not need the definite article, rejecting several morphological, lexical, and semantic explanations as unsatisfactory, and considering these nouns as a sub-class of a locative noun-class which includes common nouns.

[H2]6. Lexis


[H2]7. Lexicography and Lexicology

Le Nouveau Petit Robert de la langue française, ed. J. Rey-Debove and A. Rey, Le Robert, xiii+2837 pp., reflects orthographic reform (plural compounds with -s and without hyphen), uses usage data to determine the ordering of alternatives, and offers readers (e.g. etymological) explanations of variation. T. Städtler, ‘Die evolutive Lexikographie am Beispiel der Geschichte des Dictionnaire du moyen français’, ZFSL, 120:1–13, sketches the development of the DMF on the basis of Robert Martin’s principles of ‘lexicographie évolutive’, with dictionaries seen as being in ongoing development lending themselves to online rather than paper-based publication/consultation.

[H2]8. Semantics


Rothstein, *‘Mood’, includes W. De Mulder, ‘Mood in French’ (157–178). D. Apothéloz, ‘Le passé surcomposé et la valeur de parfait existentiel’, *JFLS*, 20:105–26, argues that one regional use of the verb form encodes an ‘existential perfect’ à la English *John has gone to America* (cf. *John has been to America*). F. Brisard, ‘Aspects of virtuality in the meaning of the French imperfect’, *Linguistics*, 48:487–524, argues that a unified account of the *imparfait* cannot be provided solely on the basis of the notions of past reference and imperfective aspect, suggesting that the notion of virtuality is important.

I. Charnavel, *‘Anaphoricity, logophoricity and intensification: the puzzling case of *son propre* in French’, *LSRL* 39, 187–202, explores the two interpretations of *son propre* depending on whether it is the possessor or the possessum which is contrasted with a set of contextually determined alternatives. L. Rouanne, *‘Intensité et délocutivité dans les adverbes en -ment’, *RevR*, 45:45–69, is a diachronic study of apparently denominal adverbs like *diablement*, *bigrement*, *fichtrément*, etc., whose intensifying function derives from a specific enunciative strategy employed by users of the corresponding interjections *Diablel!, Bigrel!, Fichtrel!, etc.* Languages in Contrast, 10:129–267, ‘Pragmatic Markers and Pragmaticalization: Lessons from False Friends’, ed. P. Lauwers et al., includes: K. Beeching, ‘Semantic change: evidence from false friends’ (139–65), which presents lexicographic and spoken synchronic data on two false friends in Fr. and English, *effectivement/effectively* and *finalement/finally*, and explores the cognitive processes involved in their recruitment for interactional functions; and T. Defour et al., *‘Degrees of pragmaticalization: the divergent histories of *actuellement* and *actuellement*’ (166–93), which traces the words’ semantic–pragmatic developments through an examination of the discursive contexts in which they occur from first attestations to the present day, laying bare subtle transitions in meaning. K. Lahousse, ‘Information structure and epistemic modality in adverbial clauses in French’, *StLa*, 34:298–326, uses new empirical evidence concerning the distribution of a clearly information structure-driven syntactic configuration, verb–subject word order in Fr., to argue that embedded adverbial clauses have an information structure independent of the main clause. J.-C. Anscombe, *‘États et propriétés dans les combinaisons *être*+adjectif’, *FM*, 78:186–205. *LaF*, 165, ‘La scalarité’, ed. P. Hadermann et al. Émilie Pauly, *‘La Polysémie: réflexion théorique, méthodologique et application à la lexicographie. L’exemple des verbes “aller”, “partir” et “tirer” en français contemporain’ (Linguistique Europe), L’Harmattan, 417 pp, is based on a 2009 thesis.

[H2]9. Regional French and Dialects


*Le Français en Afrique* continues its tradition of publishing surveys of African varieties of Fr. and other primarily sociolinguistic studies; vol. 24 (2009) is the single-authored Ladislas Nzessé, *‘Le Français au Cameroun: d’une crise sociopolitique à la vitalité de la langue française (1990–2008).* See also Valentin Feussi, *‘Parles-tu français? Ça dépend . . . : penser, agir, construire son français en contexte plurilingue: le cas de Douala au Cameroun’ (Espaces discursifs), L’Harmattan, 2008, 288 pp., while B. Mulo Farenkia, ‘Pragmatique de la néologie appellative en situation plurilingue: le cas camerounais’, *JP*, 42:477–500, observes that Fr. speakers in Cameroon have created forms of nominal address which do not exist in metropolitan Fr. and surveys the mechanisms used and the functions fulfilled. Jean-Alexis

M. Duval, *‘J’es, tu es, il est: un problème de dialectologie lorraine’*, *RLIR*, 74(295–6):341–414, describes the loss of the form *je suis* (of être) in Lorrain in favour of *j’es*, an unsurprising case of regularization by analogy were it not for its rarity and geographical specificity. C. Bougy, *‘Pratiques dialectales en Normandie’*, pp. 149–64 of M. C. Jones and T. Bulot ed., *Sociolinguistique de la langue normande: pluralité, normes, représentations* (Espaces discursifs), L’Harmattan, 2009, 184 pp. *LSRL 39* includes: J.-P. Y. Montreuil, *‘Multiple opacity in Eastern Regional French’* (153–66), which presents an analysis of the multiple over-application of several processes of lengthening, devoicing and epenthesis based on OT-CC, explaining in detail how valid candidate chains are constituted, why the valid chains not leading to the winner are eliminated, and how precedence constraints account for opacity; and H. Burnett, *‘Pitch accent, focus, and the interpretation of non-wh exclamatives in French’* (369–86), which examines exclamatives encoded by grammatical features such as f(ocus) marking, e.g., Québécois *J’ai vu un film ASSEZ bon!* ‘I saw SUCH a good film!’. C. LeBlanc, *‘Tracing a morphosyntactic change in Quebec French: the non-standard conditional in *si* clauses’*, *JFLS*, 20:151–69, shows how the phenomenon has become increasingly widespread, dominating since World War II, and can be deemed to be a change in progress, probably originating among working-class male speakers. M. Friesner, *‘Une prononciation “tsipèquement” québécoise? La diffusion de deux aspects stéréotypés du français canadien’*, *CanJL*, 55:27–53, considers affrication of d/t before a front (semi)vowel and lowering of close vowels in closed syllables, both of which have an unclear origin and distribution and are not found throughout Quebec. D. R. Grimm, *‘A real-time study of future temporal reference in spoken Ontarian French’*, *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics*, 16:83–92, examines the use of the periphrastic and inflected future in Hawkesbury, Ontario, by teenagers in Fr.-medium schools over 28 years, showing how the periphrastic has become the preferred variant of the middle class and has made significant gains into negative contexts. A. St. Pierre contrasts *‘Le Français parlé à Jay-Livermore Falls (Maine)’*, *FR*, 83:608–21, with the Québécois whence it developed.

Les Variétés du français parlé dans l’espace francophone: Ressources pour l’enseignement, ed. S. Detey et al., Ophrys, 295 pp. + DVD, derives from a sub-project of the *Phonologie du français contemporain* project focusing on teaching French (language and linguistics); the volume introduces the research programme and contains a number of geographically specific case studies, looking not just at phonological, but also lexical, grammatical and discourse variation.

### [H2]10. Contact and Sociolinguistics


**[H2]11. Discourse and Pragmatics**


*Discourses in Interaction*, ed. S.-K. Tanskanen et al. (Pragmatics and Beyond, new series, 203), Amsterdam, Benjamins, vii+315 pp., includes: L. R. Waugh, ‘Pronominal choice in French conversational interaction: indices of national identity in identity acts’ (81–100), which offers a fine-grained analysis of a conversation in Fr. between three monolingual Fr. speakers and one bilingual speaker of Fr. and (American) English and examines how national identities are co-constructed and can be the site for struggle in interaction, in particular, how they are affected by general socio-cultural patterns and ideologies, the topics under consideration, and the positioning of the interactants; and A. Smith, ‘Phatic expressions in French and German
telephone conversations’ (291–312), which on the basis of a mainly qualitative analysis of occurrences of Fr. *hein* and Ger. *ne(i)*ch attempts to refine a tentative definition of ‘phatic expressions’ (PhEs).

[H2] 12. Corpus Studies

*International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 15:151–316, ‘Corpus Studies in Contrastive Linguistics’, ed. S. Marzo et al., includes: B. Defrancq and G. De Sutter, ‘Contingency hedges in Dutch, French and English: a corpus-based contrastive analysis of the language-internal and -external properties of English *depend*, French *dépendre* and Dutch *afhangen, liggen* and *zie*n’ (183–213), which, while focusing on Dutch, presents a corpus-based/contrastive analysis of the syntactic, semantic, and functional properties of these verbs as markers of intersubjectivity, showing how they are semantically related to a conditional meaning of the verbs they are based on; A. Fetzer and M. Johansson, ‘Cognitive verbs in context: a contrastive analysis of English and French argumentative discourse’ (240–66), which examines 1.sg uses of *think/believe* and *penser/croire* in British English and Fr. political interviews and shows how their strength is open to negotiation and can be boosted/attenuated by co-occurrence with discourse connectives; and I. Kanté, ‘Mood and modality in finite noun complement clauses: a French–English contrastive study’ (267–90), which contrasts modality in English and Fr. finite noun complement clauses and shows that mood alternation in *que/que* noun complement clauses is determined by the modality type of the governing noun.

R. A. van Compernolle, ‘The (slightly more) productive use of *ne* in Montreal French chat’, *LSc*, 32:447–63, compares *ne* use in (a 100,000-word corpus of) online Montreal chat with other Fr. online use and spoken Canadian Fr., in particular the discourse-pragmatic function of *ne*, and shows that *ne* is used less in online Montreal chat than in European Fr. online chat, but more than in spoken Canadian Fr., while Id. and L. Williams, ‘Orthographic variation in electronic French: the case of *l’accent aigu*, *FR*, 83:820–33, focus on usage in chatrooms and discussion fora to explore contexts where the acute accent is most likely to occur synchronously, and consider the broader implications for diacritics as Internet use grows.

[H2] 13. Contrastive Studies


Breul, *Studies*, includes: K. Lambrecht, ‘Constraints on subject-focus mapping in French and English: a contrastive analysis’ (77–100), exploring the information-structure–syntax mapping in spoken Fr., which almost categorically excludes subject-focus mapping, and shows a near one-to-one mapping between focus structure and phrase structure, with topic expressions overwhelmingly preferring preverbal position and pronominal form, while focus expressions occur postverbally; and P. Boucher, ‘Wh-questions in French and English: mapping syntax to information structure’ (101–38), which views the four basic patterns of wh question – *Vous êtes allés où?, Où vous êtes allés?, Où est-ce que vous êtes allés?, Où êtes-


[H2]14. Orthography

*The place of publication of books is Paris unless otherwise stated.


*Going Romance 2008: Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2008: Selected papers from 'Going Romance' Groningen 2008*, ed. R. Bok-Bennema et al. (Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory, 2), Amsterdam, Benjamins, x+251 pp.


*LSRL 38: Romance Linguistics 2008. Interactions in Romance. Selected papers from the 38th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL), Urbana-Champaign, April 2008*, ed. Karlos Arregi et al. (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, 313), Amsterdam, Benjamins, vii+266 pp.


