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[TT]French Studies

[TT]Language and Linguistics

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[H2]1. General

The proceedings of the first *Congrès mondial de linguistique française*, held in Paris in July 2008, have been published online at http://www.linguistiquefrancaise.org/index.php?option+ toc&url=/articles/cmlf/abs/2008/01/contents/contents.html/. The 187 contributions are divided into thematic sections many of which will be of interest to readers. *FM*, special issue, *'Tendances actuelles de la linguistique française', 2008, 140 pp., includes contributions by C. Marchello-Nizia, F. Gadet, C. Blanche-Benveniste, and others. *Morin Vol.* contains a broad selection of fifteen contributions by J. Durand, F. Gadet, R. S. Kayne, B. Laks, A. Lodge, and others, covering the phonology and morphosyntax of standard and regional varieties (including North American), from diachronic, synchronic, and sociolinguistic perspectives.

[H2]2. History of the Language

Sociolinguistique historique du domaine gallo-roman: enjeux et méthodologies, ed. D. Aquino-Weber et al., Oxford, Lang, xiv + 335 pp., includes an introduction and 14 other contributions. S. Auroux, 'Instrumentos lingüísticos y políticas lingüísticas: la construcción del francés', *Revista argentina de historiografía lingüística*, 1:137–49, focuses on the policies and tools which underlay the 'construction' of Fr. and concludes that the historical milestones are more political and literary than linguistic, revolving around efforts to impose the monarch's variety as standard and the 'grammatization' of Fr. by the central power and civil society. *'Diachronie du français', part 2 of *Combettes Vol.*, touches on grammaticalization, prepositions, the position of the object, topicalization, and phrasal verbs. *Évolutions en français: études de linguistique diachronique* (Sciences pour la communication, 86), ed. B. Fagard et al., Oxford, Lang, 2008, viii + 477 pp., derives from the 2006 Paris colloquium 'Diachro 3: évolutions en français' and offers broad methodological and theoretical perspectives covering sociolinguistics, corpus linguistics, cognitive linguistics, grammaticalization, lexicalization, and generative grammar.
      E. Buckley, 'Phonetics and phonology in Gallo-Romance palatalisation', *TPS*, 107:31–65, argues that Gallo-Romance palatalization of /k, g/ before /a/ was initially conditioned by fronting to [æ] in stressed open syllables prior to merger with /ɛ, e/, and later extended to non-fronted /a/. R. Noske, *'Autonomous typological prosodic evolution versus the Germanic superstrate in diachronic French phonology', *Going Romance 2007*, 223–42, rejects the traditional idea that the Frankish superstrate had a major influence on the phonology of Early Fr. on the grounds that what we know about Old Frankish does not support the notion, and that the underlying phonetic concept (the distinction between 'expiratory' and 'melodic' languages) does not hold up, and opts instead for an approach centred on the evolution of the entire prosodic system and the distinction between syllable and word languages.
      Nicolas Mazziotta, *Ponctuation et syntaxe dans la langue française médiévale: étude d'un corpus de chartes originales écrites à Liège entre 1236 et 1291* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, 354), Tübingen, Max Niemeyer, xxxii + 388 pp., is based on a 60,000+

word corpus of official documents and considers the nature of the interdependence of punctuation and syntax in OF. D. L. Ranson, 'Variable subject expression in Old and Middle French prose texts: the role of verbal ambiguity', *RoQ*, 56:33–45, explores the correlation between the (potential) ambiguity of verb forms and the occurrence of overt (nominal or pronominal) or null subjects to see whether verbal ambiguity plays a role in the increasingly obligatory status of subjects in Fr., and shows that the picture is rather complex. H. Burnett and M. Tremblay, *'Variable-behavior Ps and the location of PATH in Old French', *Going Romance 2007*, 25–50, argue that the (aspectual or directional) interpretation of intransitive prepositions/particles in OF is determined by the syntactic configurations in which they occur (in particular the type of verb that they occur with), rather than lexical homophony. D. Arteaga, *'On the existence of null complementizers in Old French', *LSRL 37*, 19–36, argues from a Minimalist perspective that some examples of what is traditionally claimed to be parataxis (for example, alleged matrix subjunctive clauses which are clearly selected by the verb in the matrix) in fact involve hypotaxis (subordination and a null complementizer) with a lexically selected CP whose head C bears an EPP feature. J. Culbertson, *'The status of Old French clitics in the 12th century', *LSRL 37*, 89–104, sees 12th-c. OF clitics, not as proclitics on the finite verb, but rather as second-position elements, independent of the verb, and enclitic on the preceding element, and then proposes an analysis within an alignment approach, with clitics treated as instantiating agreement features and positioned post-syntactically. E. Mathieu, *'From local blocking to Cyclic Agree: the role and meaning of determiners in the history of French', Ghomeshi, *Determiners*, 123–58, shows that OF determiners were optional but correlated with discourse factors and phonological/metric needs, rather than argumenthood or referentiality. Id., 'On the Germanic properties of Old French', Crisma, *Syntax*, 344–58, shows that, in addition to being a V2 language, OF also had stylistic fronting, quirky subjects, object shift and transitive expletive constructions, and argues that this cluster of properties which is found in some Northern Germanic languages relies on a split EPP feature and the availability of a special Topic position above TP. C. Marchello-Nizia, *'L'ordre des constituants phrastiques en français: une évolution conduite par l'objet?', *Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki*, 77:33–54, looks closely at the role of direct objects, in particular changes to the syntax of nominal direct objects, in the shift from Lat. SOV to Fr. SVO.

[H2]3. Phonetics and Phonology

Phonologie, variation et accents du français (Traité Cognition et Traitement de l'Information, IC2), ed. J. Durand et al., Hermès–Science, 340 pp., is the much anticipated, first book-length collection to appear from the editors' major project *Phonologie du français contemporain: usages, variétés et structures* (PFC) covering a wide range of Fr. accents with original data collected using a common methodology. The core chapters follow the same pattern, with consideration of the sociolinguistics of the variety in question, a description of the phonological inventory, main allophonic variation and phonotactic constraints, schwa, liaison, as well as other noteworthy features. The individual chapters cover the accents of the Vaud canton (Switzerland), Belgium, the Ivory Coast (Africa), minority Canadian Fr. (south-west Ontario), Reunion, upper middle-class Paris, the Basque Country, Languedoc, Lacaune/Tarn, la Vendée. See also Svetlana Kaminskaïa, *La variation intonative dialectale en français: une approche phonologique* (LINCOM Studies in French Linguistics, 7), Munich, LINCOM, 132 pp., which compares and contrasts Fr. intonation in France and Quebec.

A. A. N. MacLeod and C. Stoel-Gammon, 'The use of voice onset time by early bilinguals to distinguish homorganic stops in Canadian English and Canadian French', *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 30:53–77, conclude that early bilinguals maintain monolingual-like phonemic

contrasts but exhibit more variation within categories than monolingual speakers. N. B. Abdelli-Beruh, 'Influence of place of articulation on some acoustic correlates of the stop voicing contrast in Parisian French', *JPh*, 37:66–78, shows a monotonic increase in average short-lag V(oice) O(nset) T(ime) [VOT] the more retracted the tongue in all contexts for /p, t, k/ and /b, d, g/ produced with interrupted voicing; labial closures systematically longer than alveolar and velar closures in all contexts for /b, d, g/ and /p, t, k/; average voiceless interval durations for /p, t, k/ invariant across places of occlusion; and no significant correlations between VOT and closure and between VOT and the voiceless interval durations. V. Delvaux examines the 'Perception du contraste de nasalité vocalique en français', *JFLS*, 19:25–59, on the basis of two perception experiments, one testing identification, the other focusing on discrimination; she shows that reduced F1/F3 spectral prominence and lower F2 frequency are necessary and sufficient conditions for nasal identification across the board. L. Ménard et al., *'Production and perception of French vowels by congenitally blind adults and sighted adults', *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, 126:1406–14, show that sighted speakers have repertories covering a wider vowel space than blind speakers, indicating the importance of visual clues in determining articulatory goals.

E. Russell Webb, 'Minimalism and French /ʀ/: phonological representations in phonetically based phonology', *JFLS*, 19:87–115, works within an Optimality Theoretic framework to argue that /ʀ/ has a minimal specification underlyingly (sonorance, continuance and place of articulation, but not manner of articulation), and that its phonetic variability is therefore expected in line with the differential ranking of constraints such as positional augmentation, effort reduction, and the preservation of input information. C. Gabriel and T. Meisenburg, 'Silent onsets? An Optimality-Theoretic approach to French *h aspiré* words', Kügler, *Variation*, 163–84, propose that *h aspiré* words contain an initial /ʔ/ segment (creaky glottal stop) and that speakers for whom *h aspiré* words *also* behave like regular vowel-initial words in fact have dual inputs.

A. Violin-Wigent, 'Encore *un*: variation dans la prononciation de *un* dans le sud-est de la France', *JFLS*, 19:117–34, identifies two (related?) factors favouring the use of [ə̃] over [œ̃], first, the number of syllables between *un* and the tonic accent (whereby the larger the number, the greater the likelihood of [ə̃]), and second, the internal structure of the nominal (whereby greater syntactic complexity between *un* and the head noun correlates with increased [ə̃] usage); she also notes some interesting sex/age correlations. B. E. Bullock and L. L. Eilderts, '*Prononcer mâle ou prononcer mal*: linguistic markers of effeminacy in Early Modern French', *FR*, 83:282–93, explore the sociophonetic perception of effeminacy in male speech and the stereotype, persistent despite the total lack of evidence, that gay men speak like women.

4. Morphology

Aperçus de morphologie du français (Sciences du langage), ed. B. Fradin et al., Saint-Denis, Vincennes U.P., 313 pp., considers a sample of issues relating to derivational morphology, for example, the shape of the root when adjectival suffixes apply to proper nouns and the unexpectedly narrow semantics of some deverbal nominal suffixes. A. Koehl, *'Are French *-ité* suffixed nouns property nouns?', *Proceedings of the Décembrettes*, 6:95–110, analyzes deadjectival *-ité* nouns (A-ité$_N$) — the most frequent deadjectival nouns found in Fr. dictionaries — from a lexematic point of view. Most commonly analysed as denoting properties, K.'s analysis of 499 A-ité$_N$ nouns shows that almost half can actually be described as 'relation nouns'. F. Rainer, 'Étude diachronique des adjectifs de relation anatomiques, tout spécialement de ceux en *-ien*', *RLiR*, 73:371–425, investigates the surprizing (in the Romance context at least) usage in Fr. of the *-ien* suffix for anatomic adjectives, and sees it as one way of dealing

with the problem posed by Lat. adjectives ending in -eus and -ius.

Kristel van Goethem, *L'Emploi préverbal des prépositions en français: typologie et grammaticalisation* (Champs linguistiques), Brussels, De Boeck–Duculot, 192 pp., combines theory and detailed description of the preverbal use of prepositions (as in <u>sur</u>voler, <u>contre</u>-attaquer ou <u>entre</u>voir) and concludes that, while neither syntax nor lexis can provide a full account, the dynamic nature of grammaticalization theory does offer a useful framework on the grounds that it can capture different stages of 'prefixization' (*YWMLS*, 70:37). See also G's *'L'Emploi "préfixal" des prépositions entre et tussen: analyse morphologique, sémantique et comparative', *Langages*, 173:114–34, which studies how the grammaticalization process by which prepositions — Fr. entre and its Dutch counterpart tussen — develop into prefixes interacts with word order, and whether the degree of grammaticalization of a bound preposition is influenced by the category it introduces (verb, noun, adjective, adverb), and her *'Choosing between A+N compounds and lexicalized A+N phrases: the position of French in comparison to Germanic languages', *Word Structure*, 2:241–53, which claims that Fr. is like English, which no longer has productive A+N compounding, and therefore prefers lexicalized A+N phrases, in contrast to German, where A+N compounding is relatively productive, and Dutch, which prefers A+N phrases even though A+N compounding is productive.

U. Detges, *'How useful is case morphology? The loss of the Old French two-case system within a theory of Preferred Argument Structure', Barðdal, *Case*, 93–120, suggests that the chronology of the loss of the OF two-case system follows a hierarchy of relative frequency driven by discourse preferences. J. Klausenburger, *'Aspects of Old and Modern French inflectional morphology: a Wurzelian analysis', Steinkrüger, *Inflection*, 125–40. C. Schwarze, *'The French i-conjugation from a diachronic perspective', *Proceedings of the Décembrettes*, 6:35–49, sketches how the Lat. suffix /sk/ developed into an inflectional stem-extension in Fr. and presents a corpus-based study of the evolution of the i-conjugation from OF to Modern Fr., showing that the combination of theme-vowel /i/ and stem-extension /s/ was already well established in OF and then showed continuous lexical growth and remarkable stability.

[H2]5. Syntax

Apothéloz, *Linguistiques*, includes discussion of various structures in medieval, classical, and modern Fr. (such as extraposition, left and right dislocation, doubling, sentence-initial discourse adverbials, pseudo-clefts) which involve discontinuous syntax, in writing and conversational speech, and from a synchronic, diachronic, and comparative perspective.

P. Hirschbühler and M. Labelle, 'French locatum verbs and incorporation', *Lingua*, 119:263–79, reject the idea that [de N] in *Jean a chargé le camion de briques* is semantically incorporated into the verb. J.-M. Authier and L. A. Reed, *'On the lack of transparency effects in French', *LSRL 37*, 37–49, argue that restructuring is irrelevant to en and y climbing or to long movement in 'easy to please' constructions. Id., 'French tough-movement revisited', *Probus*, 21:1–21, argue that Fr. predicates of the tough class embed not a verbal infinitive but rather a gerundive verbal noun, thereby explaining why Fr. tough-movement infinitives cannot be followed by complements that are disallowed in their corresponding argument-taking event nominals, are never selected by auxiliaries, and have suppressed external arguments. Theresa Biberauer et al., *Parametric variation: null subjects in Minimalist theory*, CUP, 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. B. Beale Fonseca-Greber, 'The Overt Pronoun Constraint in conversational Swiss French: implications for classroom learners', *FR*, 82:802–20, concludes from corpus data that subject clitics have been almost fully grammaticalized as bound verbal prefixes in this variety, suggesting that strong proforms are

now optional subjects, as in pro-drop languages, and finds further support from the differential readings of null and overt subject proforms. T. Grüter, 'A unified account of object clitics and referential null objects in French', *Syntax*, 12:215–41, explores the (common yet clearly marked) phenomenon of referential null objects in adult Fr. speech and writing, unexpected in the context of the theoretical premise that specific, referential objects cannot be null, and offers an alternative analysis in which the null object is the default realization of the accusative clitic head inserted if this head is underspecified for Case (*YWMLS*, 70:39). See also A. T. Pérez-Leroux et al., 'Bilingualism as a window into the language faculty: the acquisition of objects in French-speaking children in bilingual and monolingual contexts', *BLC*, 12:97–112, who examine the different patterns of direct-object omission among monolingual Fr. and bilingual Fr./English acquirers, and conclude that null objects are a default structural possibility, present in all languages, and that since the computation of lexical and syntactic transitivity depends on lexical acquisition, bilingual children retain default structures for aspects of syntactic development specifically linked to lexical development (such as objects).

V. Déprez, *'(Un)-interpretable features and grammaticalization', *ICHL 18*, 83–98, explains the diverse distribution of determiners in Fr.-lexifier creoles on the basis of a formal model of grammaticalization, that is, a change in the interpretability (= interface legibility) of one or more of the features of a lexical item turning it from an attractable element (GOAL) into an attractor (PROBE). Laurence Benetti, *L'article zéro en français contemporain: aspects syntaxiques et sémantiques* (Europäische Hochschulschriften, series 21: Linguistik, 307), Oxford, Lang, 2008, viii + 187 pp., is a revised Fribourg thesis addressing distributional and interpretative issues. F. Tayalati and M. Van Peteghem, *'Pour un traitement unitaire de l'assignation du datif en français', *LInv*, 32:99–123, argue that verbs and adjectives alike assign dative case (structurally, rather than semantically) to their second internal argument, provided this argument is situated in a higher position in the thematic hierarchy than the first internal argument.

Martin Elsig, *Grammatical variation across space and time: the French interrogative system* (Studies in Language Variation, 3), Amsterdam, Benjamins, xvi + 282 pp., focuses on interrogative clauses and the variation they show (especially in respect of subject–verb order, wh movement, and the use of overt interrogative markers), illustrates the diachronic (15th- to 20th-c.) and geographical (European and Quebec Fr.) variation, and identifies the relevant sociolinguistic factors conditioning variant choice before modeling the syntax of the variation within generative grammar and showing how the loss of subject–verb inversion mirrors the loss of verb movement. Id. and S. Poplack, *'Synchronic variation in diachronic perspective: question formation in Québec French', Dufter, *Variation*, 255–70, show how Québécois — unlike European Fr. — has conservatively retained the four yes–no interrogative structures originally imported. A. Morin, *'On the Quebec French interrogative particle *tu*', *Going Romance 2007*, 201–22, observes that the particle can only be used with definite subjects. See also Ruggero Druetta, *La Question en français parlé: étude distributionnelle*, Turin, Trauben, 2008, 301 pp.

Gilles Corminbœuf, *L'Expression de l'hypothèse en français: entre hypotaxe et parataxe* (Champs linguistiques), Brussels, De Boeck–Duculot, 383 pp., is a revision of a 2008 Neuchâtel thesis focusing on hypotheticals in modern Fr., not only with *si*, but also (and most significantly) without *si*. For unmarked paratactic hypotheticals such as *Un mot de plus et je m'en vais* C. explores the syntactic status of the would-be protasis and the semantic–pragmatic mechanism which results in the intended interpretation. For *si*-marked hypotheticals C. reconsiders their syntax and semantics. Id., *'L'antéposition des interrogatives indirectes totales en français contemporain', Apothéloz, *Linguistiques*, 203–16.

D. Valois et al., 'L'Ellipse du nom en français: le rôle des données de l'acquisition pour la théorie linguistique', *CanJL*, 54:339–66, are interested in structures like *Je veux le ___ bleu*,

and use acquisition data to argue that, rather than being the result of the syntactic licensing of an empty category, noun ellipsis is triggered semantically by a partitive determiner. M. L. Knittel, 'Le Statut des compléments du nom en [de NP]', *CanJL*, 54:255–90, distinguishes *chambre [d'enfant]* from *voiture [des voisins]* (possessive) and *maison [avec un jardin]* (regular PP) and argues that the *de NP* in the first example is a syntactic (rather than a lexical or a morphological) construct characterized by a deficient determiner, the absence of Number and non-referentiality akin to what is found with some quantifiers and in negative contexts. V. Sandberg and V. Egerland, 'La "Règle" grammaticale, l'usage at l'intuition: sur la référence du sujet implicite dans des constructions détachées en français et en italien', *NMi*, 110:31–44, explore the validity — in the face of usage and intuitions — of the supposed obligatory coreference between the implied subject of detached Fr. *-ant* and It. *-endo* forms and the subject of the matrix clause, and find that usage is in line with intuitions, but not with 20th-c. normative grammarians.

P. Hadermann et al., 'L'Emploi de *aussi* et de *si* en contexte négatif: alternance arbitraire ou motivée?', *FM*, 77:183–98, suggest that the selection between these adverbs is not arbitrary, with a complex set of factors involving scalarity and comparison. María Luisa Donaire, **La Place de l'adjectif dans les stratégies énonciatives* (Linguistique), Limoges, Lambert–Lucas, 174 pp. M. Achard analyses 'The distribution of French intransitive predicates', *Linguistics*, 47:513–58, in terms of semantic compatibility between the predicate and the construction it appears in (e.g. active impersonals, object raising with *faire*, and *croire* union), rather than being determined by the unaccusative/unergative contrast, an approach which poses problems for the unaccusativity hypothesis itself. *Faits de langue, 31–2, 2008:1–462, 'La Prédication', ed. J.-M. Merle.

[H2]6. Lexis

Deryle Lonsdale and Yvon Le Bras, **A frequency dictionary of French: core vocabulary for learners* (Routledge Frequency Dictionaries), Routledge, 310 pp., will be useful to linguists beyond its declared target audience.

LaF, 159, 2008:1–138, *'Points de vue sur "comme"', ed. E. Moline and N. Flaux, includes an introduction, a bibliography, and seven further articles on the simplex manner adverb, while *TrL*, 58:1–174, 'Études sur *comment*', ed. E. Moline, includes an introduction and seven further articles exploring the doubly marked (*com* + *-ment*) interrogative/relative/exclamative manner adverb. See also Id., *'La norme et l'usage: approche d'une évolution générationnelle: les exclamatives en *comment*', *Cahiers de l'Asdifle*, 20:94–105, and *'Les segments extraprédicatifs en *comme SN*', Apothéloz, *Linguistiques*, 377–88.

V. Lenepveu, *'Intégralement dans le champ des adverbes de complétude (*totalement*, *entièrement*, *complètement*, . . .)', *RevR*, 44:195–217, offers a semantic study of these Fr. adverbs of completeness which, when used quantitatively, can only modify telic predicates (**regarder totalement le tableau* vs *détruire totalement une ville*), but which also have a qualitative use which imposes no such constraint (*avoir totalement raison*).

Richard Huyghe, **Les Noms généraux d'espace en français: enquête linguistique sur la notion de lieu* (Champs linguistiques), Brussels, De Boeck–Duculot, 288 pp., compares and contrasts the syntax, semantics, and referential properties of general space nouns, especially *lieu*, *endroit*, and *place*, which despite being semantically impoverished are nonetheless not wholly synonymous, with *endroit* indicating a subspace within a larger space, *place* identifying the location of an independent entity, and *lieu* locating an event or a process. Aude Grezka, **La Polysémie des verbes de perception visuelle* (Sémantiques), L'Harmattan, 298 pp.

**Sentiment linguistique: discours spontanés sur le lexique* (Recherches linguistiques,

30), ed. G. Achard-Bayle and M. Lecolle, Metz, Université Paul Verlaine, 194 pp., includes an introduction and nine further articles. Dorit Herrmann, *Varietät über Grenzen hinaus: zum Französischen in der regionalen Tagespresse des französisch–schweizerischen Grenzgebietes* (Sprache, Mehrsprachigkeit und sozialer Wandel, 10), Oxford, Lang, xvi + 392 pp., is a qualitative study of the non-standard lexis of regional dailies in Eastern Fr. and Western Switzerland, as well as the attitudes of readers and editors.

[H2]7. Lexicography and Lexicology

C. Verreault and A. Galarneau, 'L'Inclusion des particularismes extra-Hexagonaux dans la dernière édition du Grand Robert: réalité ou mirage de la Francophonie?', *IJL*, 22:259–80, chart the origin and development of the dictionary's interest in Fr. from outside France, and what this has meant in theory and in practice.

[H2]8. Semantics

K.-U. Panther and L. L. Thornburg, *'Aspect and metonymy in the French *passé simple*', Panther, *Metonymy*, 177–95. E. Labeau, 'Le PS: cher disparu de la rubrique nécrologique?', *JFLS*, 19:61–86, notes that the use of the *passé simple* in newspaper obituaries declined from twenty per cent of finite verb forms in the mid 19th c. but has now stabilized at around ten per cent. M. Wilmet, 'Le *passé surcomposé* sous la loupe', *JFLS*, 19:381–99. Gerhard Schaden, *Composés et Surcomposés: le 'parfait' en français, allemand, anglais et espagnol* (Sémantiques), L'Harmattan, 278 pp., looks at semantics and pragmatics. S. Poplack and N. Dion, 'Prescription vs praxis: the evolution of future temporal reference in French', *Language*, 85:557–87, trace the evolution of prescriptive diktat with respect to one particular facet of Fr. grammar to identify evidence of variable usage and to clues about the conditioning of variant selection, and then demonstrates a near total lack of correspondence between the prescriptivists and actual usage, which is due to a number of strong (albeit unacknowledged) variable constraints. C. L. LeBlanc, 'Conditional morphology in *si*-clauses: a Canadian-French reanalysis', *CanJL*, 54:317–37, considers the (currently stigmatized but historically well attested) use of conditional verb forms in *si* clauses (*Si je saurais pourquoi*) instead of imperfect/pluperfect indicatives (*Si je savais pourquoi*), and shows that the selected paradigm is determined by modality.
    Représentations du sens linguistique III: actes du colloque international de Bruxelles (Champs linguistiques), ed. I. Evrard et al., Brussels, De Boeck–Duculot, 416 pp.

[H2]9. Regional French and Dialects

Sociolinguistique de la langue normande: pluralité, normes, représentations (Collection espaces discursifs), ed. M. C. Jones and T. Bulot, L'Harmattan, 185 pp., contains an introduction and nine further articles. Mari C. Jones, *The Guernsey Norman French translations of Thomas Martin: a linguistic study of an unpublished archive* (Orbis Supplementa, 31), Louvain, Peeters, 2008, xiv + 181 pp. G. Price, 'Bibliographie linguistique des dialectes normands insulaires', *SCL*, 59, 2008:527–34. Id., 'Writing and transcribing insular Norman French dialects', *Manoliu Vol.*, 294–305.
    Français du Canada, français de France VIII: actes du huitième Colloque international de Trèves, du 12 au 15 avril 2007 (Canadiana Romanica, 23), ed. B. Bagola with H.-J. Niederehe, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, vi + 282 pp., contains an introduction and 18 articles (covering phonetics and phonology, vocabulary and lexicography, word formation, history of the

Fr. language, and the history of (Fr.) place names in present-day Canada) derived from one of a regular series of international colloquia comparing European and Canadian Fr.

IJSL, 196–97: 1–227, 'Dialects in Western Europe', ed. R. Vandekerckhove and D. Britain, includes two relevant contributions: M. Francard, 'Regional languages in Romance Belgium: the point of no return?' (99–119), which considers the relationship between regional languages (whose disappearance is now probably unavoidable, despite initiatives to breathe life into them) and Fr., which has advanced spectacularly; and D. Hornsby, 'Dedialectalization in France: convergence and divergence' (157–80), which shows, within a broad picture of regional language loss and dialect leveling, the emergence of new regional varieties of the national language. Ammon, *Enzyklopädie*, contains contributions, not only on Fr., but also on AN, Channel Island Fr., Franco-Pr., Gaulish, Picard, Walloon, and also the immigrant languages of Fr. See also F. Gadet and M. C. Jones, *'Variation, contact and convergence in French spoken outside France', *Journal of Language Contact*, 2, 2008:238–48.

[H2]10. French in North America

The first colloquium on the theme of *Les Français d'ici: Acadie, Québec, Ontario, Ouest canadien* held at Queen's University (Kingston, Ontario) in 2006 has generated two collected volumes, both ed. F. Martineau et al., **Le Français d'ici: études linguistiques et sociolinguistiques sur la variation du français au Québec et en Ontario* (Theoria, 13), Toronto, Éditions du GREF, 240 pp., and *CanJL*, 54.3:433–564, 'Le Français au Canada', which contains an introduction and four articles based on the colloquium's plenary papers: A. Boudreau, 'La Construction des représentations linguistiques: le cas de l'Acadie' (439–59), uses newspaper editorials to examine how in a language-contact situation the minority Fr. speakers in New Brunswick constructed a linguistic representation of themselves in the light of dominant linguistic ideologies from the end of the 19th c. onwards at particular key points in Acadian history; Y. C. Morin, 'A propos de la fermeture des voyelles moyennes devant [r] dans le français du Québec' (461–510), takes issue with conclusions drawn by Malcah Yaeger-Dror et al. with respect to the correlation between length and vowel quality before [r], seeing instead a much richer array of contributory factors; S. Poplack and A. St-Amand, 'Les Récits du français québécois d'autrefois: reflet du parler vernaculaire du 19e siècle' (511–46), argue that this collection of tales, legends and interviews with speakers born in the second half of the 19th c. is representative of Québécois vernacular, with minimal English influence; M. T. Vinet, 'Quantification et microvariation: les adjectifs de dimension spatiale' (547–64), addresses the syntactic and semantic properties of the Quebec Fr. construction illustrated by *Elle a (pas) assez long de corde* and *(Il) y avait pas mal épais de neige*, as well as the constraints on the lexical noun which can be quantified in this way.

Carole Salmon, **Cent Ans de français cadien en Louisiane: étude sociolinguistique du parler des femmes* (Berkeley Insights in Linguistics and Semiotics, 72), Oxford, Lang, xvi + 123 pp. *Language matters: how Canadian voluntary associations manage French and English*, ed. D. Cameron and R. Simeon, Vancouver, British Columbia U.P., xv + 214 pp., contains an introduction and eight further chapters considering how associations respond to linguistic diversity and whether they are still paralyzed by internal linguistic conflict. A. Thibault, 'Français d'Amérique et créoles/français des Antilles: nouveaux témoignages', *RLiR*, 73:77–138, studies the lexical relations between Fr. as spoken in N. America and Fr.-lexifier creoles on the basis of systematic sound correspondences. L. Beaulieu and W. Cichocki, *'Patrons sociolinguistiques chez trois générations de locuteurs acadiens', *ICHL 18*, 211–22, explore the internal and external factors behind the generational shift in northeastern New Brunswick from the traditional Acadian 3PL verb suffix *-ont* /õ/ to the standard zero morpheme *-ent*: externally, the change is

conditioned by open social networks, while for closed-network speakers the change is being driven by younger males and older females; internally, the change is conditioned by verbs with a large number of distinct stems. B. Low et al., *'"Ch'us mon propre Bescherelle"*: challenges from the hip-hop nation to the Quebec nation', *JSoc*, 13: 59–82, examine how the Montreal hip-hop community — with their multilingual lyrics covering 'Bad Fr.', regional and class dialects, and European Fr., as well as other languages spoken by community members — have flattened and reordered the dominant language hierarchies established by government language-in-education policies.

[H2]11. French in Africa

Rebecca Mitchell, *A study in syntactic variation: mood usage in Gabonese French* (LINCOM Studies in French Linguistics, 8), Munich, LINCOM, 244 pp., focuses on the use of the subjunctive. M. Dassi, *Phrase française et francographie africaine: de l'influence de la socioculture* (LINCOM Studies in French Linguistics, 6), Munich, LINCOM, 431 pp.

[H2]12. Pidgins and Creoles

Arends Vol. includes: M.-C. Hazael-Massieux, 'Change in the possessive system of French Caribbean Creole languages' (113–28), which paints a picture of gradual development and stabilization (a shift away from the co-occurrence of two different possessive constructions in seemingly free variation to the stable selection of one of the two variants), and makes the more general point that creoles reassign grammatical functions to material borrowed from several sources and that, in grammatical terms, creoles are not descendants of their lexifiers; and W. Jennings, 'Demographic factors in the formation of French Guianese Creole' (373–87), which addresses the historical and demographic factors in creole genesis, examining early censuses and other archives describing Fr. Guiana in the late 17th c. and focusing on two principal areas in the sugar-plantation-based slave society at the time the creole arose: children and African languages.

Complex processes in new languages (Creole Language Library, 35), ed. E. O. Aboh and N. Smith, Amsterdam, Benjamins, vii + 409 pp., includes: T. Veenstra, 'Verb allomorphy and the syntax of phases' (99–113), which argues that the alternation found in several Fr.-related creoles between long and short forms of verbs is a reflex of Fr. inflectional morphology which started out as a phonological/prosodic phenomenon (as is still the case in Haitian Creole) and has survived the creolization process; and D. Guillemin, 'The Mauritian Creole determiner system: a historical overview' (173–200), which argues that the process of article incorporation early in the genesis of Mauritian Creole, resulting in the occurrence of bare nouns in argument position with ambiguous interpretations between (in)definite, singular, plural, and generic, triggered a shift in noun denotation from predicative to argumental, with the singular indefinite article *enn* and the plural marker *bann* serving to derive instances of kinds.

J.-A. S. Ferreira, 'The history and future of Patuá in Paria: report on initial language revitalization efforts for French Creole in Venezuela', *JPCL*, 24:139–58, is interested in the Venezuelan Fr. creole Patuá, a moribund variety with fewer than an estimated 100 (elderly) speakers, all bilingual with Spanish, the dominant variety within the wider community. F. charts the linguistic history of the area and the decline of Patuá due to political and economic developments, and a recent attempt to revive the variety. Pascal Marion, *Dictionnaire étymologique du créole réunionnais: mots d'origine asiatique*, Le Tampon (La Réunion), Carré du sucre, 304 pp.

[H2]13. Contact and Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistic variation in contemporary French (IMPACT Studies in Language and Society, 26), ed. K. Beeching et al., Amsterdam, Benjamins, xi + 257 pp., includes 16 articles divided into three sections (phonological variation and leveling; stylistic and syntactic variation; lexical variation and semantic change), each with its own introduction and a 'unifying theme of [. . .] the role of external sociolinguistic factors in both variation and change'.

Galazzi, *Les Français*, contains 16 articles in two sections (De La Norme à la variation and Représentations de la variation), topped and tailed by an 'Introduction' (1–5) by Galazzi and a 'Postface' (267–85) by D. Coste, and explores linguistic innovation in commercial radio and newspapers, the influence of migrant languages on Fr., youth language, and the linguistic fall-out of ICT.

Pierre Larrivée, **Les Français, les Québécois, et la Langue de l'autre* (Espaces discursifs), L'Harmattan, 250 pp., looks at what each of these two communities has to say about the language of the other and what this shows about their respective cultures. **Une Francophonie plurielle: langues, idées et cultures en mouvement* (Études romanes, 59), ed. L. Toft and L. Verstraete-Hansen, Copenhagen, Museum Tusculanum Press, 185 pp., includes articles of interest by J.-M. Klinkenberg, D. Maggetti, and F. Davaille. M. C. Jones, **'Identity planning in an obsolescent variety: the case of Jersey Norman French', *AnL*, 50, 2008:249–65, examines corpus and status planning initiatives prompted by the revitalization of obsolescent Jèrriais on the Channel Island of Jersey, which have yielded a somewhat paradoxical situation whereby the dialect is currently being fostered as a quintessential part of island identity, despite the fact that, at present, it is spoken only by some three per cent of the population.

*'Tu' ou 'vous': l'embarras du choix (Linguistique), ed. B. Peeters and N. Ramière, Limoges, Lambert–Lucas, 300 pp., considers the use of the two forms in spoken and written language, among native and non-native speakers, and as a definite and generic proform. L. Williams and R. A. van Compernolle, '*On* versus *tu* and *vous*: pronouns with indefinite reference in synchronous electronic French discourse', *LSc*, 31:409–27, undertake a VARBRUL analysis to show that the indefinite/generic use of these proforms is generally similar in both computer-mediated communication (CMC) and conversational spoken Fr, whereby factors influencing use include polarity, syntactic frame, discursive–pragmatic effect, event type, and *on* use is greater in CMC, possibly because of the absence of eye contact to disambiguate *tu/vous*. Id., 'Second-person pronoun use in French language discussion fora', *JFLS*, 19:363–80, discover from their 400,000-word corpus that, while *tu* is often preferred as an address form, its use is not systematic, and the use of *vous*.SG is not as low as it is in synchronous chat environments.

R. van Compernolle, **'What do women want? Linguistic equality and the feminization of job titles in contemporary France', *Gender and Language*, 3:33–52, examines young Fr. women's perceptions of the feminization of professional titles, using data collected during semi-guided one-to-one interviews and focusing on feminization as a move toward sexual equality and the role of the Fr. government in legislating linguistic change, and finds a complex set of sociocultural and linguistic factors at work. F. Baider, **'Lexical change, discourse practices and the French press: *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose?*', *ICLaVE 4*, 27–46, analyzes the content of a corpus of 2006 print media relating to the two main presidential candidates, Royal and Sarkozy, to test whether or not the spread in the use of feminizing professional nouns such as *la députée* 'deputy-FEM' or *la ministre* 'minister.FEM' has genuinely challenged traditional discourse about women politicians, and suggests that stereotypical expectations about who will be a typical member of a given category may still affect linguistic representation of female leadership, despite any achievement of congruency between referential and grammatical genders.

[H2]14. Discourse and Pragmatics

JFLS, 19.2:151–290, 'Relations de cohérence et fonctionnement des anaphores', ed. F. Cornish, brings together the fruit of three years of collaboration between teams at Toulouse II and Strasbourg II and contains a brief introduction by the editor and a further six contributions.

Dufter, *Focus*, includes J. Aptekman, *'Topicalization and focalization in French *si* clauses' (19–42) and C. Muller, 'Major constituent order, information packaging, and narrative structure in two Middle French texts' (239–80).

LaF, no. 161, *'Les Marqueurs d'attitude énonciative', ed. J.-C. Anscombre, focuses on the category of (often sentence-initial) adverbs which have a pragmatic/discourse value, such as *sincèrement*, *franchement*, and *honnêtement*, and includes an introduction and nine further articles. See also A. Celle, *'The intersubjective function of modal adverbs: a contrastive English–French study of adverbs in journalistic discourse', *Languages in Contrast*, 9:23–36, who contrasts near-synonymous Fr./English modal adverbs such as *évidemment*/*obviously* and *apparemment*/*apparently*: while *apparently*/*obviously* mark the speaker's identification with the addressee's point of view, *apparemment*/*évidemment* are able to express the speaker's evaluation whatever the speaker and addressee's common knowledge might be, and D. Amiot and N. Flaux, *'Critère prosodique et interprétation: le cas des adverbes de phrase en *-ment*', Apothéloz, *Linguistiques*, 21–32.

LaF, no. 162, *'La Notion de prise en charge en linguistique', ed. D. Coltier et al. (*YWMLS*, 70:50), includes an introduction and six further articles. C. Bolly and L. Degand, *'Quelle(s) Fonction(s) pour *donc* en français oral? Du connecteur conséquentiel au marqueur de structuration du discours', *LInv*, 32:1–32, investigate the multi-functional status of the Fr. connective *donc* 'so' showing on the basis of a corpus analysis that it is used to structure the discourse at different levels and has four main functions: consequential, recapitulating, reformulating, and discursive. S. Pellet, 'The pragmatics of the French discourse markers *donc* and *alors*', pp. 159–70 of *Little words: their history, phonology, syntax, semantics, pragmatics and acquisition* (Georgetown University Round Table on Language and Linguistics), ed. R. P. Leow et al., Washington, D.C., Georgetown U.P., xi + 246 pp., argues that *donc* and *alors* are not mutually exchangeable, despite what is often claimed, and that they have complementary distribution, with *donc* used mid-turn to assert the validity of the speaker's viewpoint, and *alors* used turn-initially to preface a reaction to new information.

[H2]15. Corpus Studies

R. A. van Compernolle, 'Emphatic *ne* in informal spoken French and implications for foreign language pedagogy', *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 19:47–65, uses a corpus to conclude that *ne* retention is highest in the context of prosodic features associated with emphasis. L. Williams, *'Sociolinguistic variation in French computer-mediated communication: a variable rule analysis of the negative particle *ne*', *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 14:467–91, analyzes *ne* retention/deletion in 2,459 negative clauses in a corpus of electronic Fr. discourse (including (non-)moderated chat and discussion fora) in order to demonstrate that although both non-moderated and moderated chat are essentially synchronous, they are at opposite ends of a continuum of Fr. sociolinguistic variation: in non-moderated chat *ne* is used productively as a discursive–pragmatic marker, while in moderated chat *ne* deletion rarely occurs, with discussion fora somewhere between the two types of chat (*YWMLS*, 70:47). F. Martineau, *'Modeling change: a historical sociolinguistics perspective on French negation', Kawaguchi, *Corpus analysis*, 159–78. *'De la phrase au discours', part 1 of *Combettes Vol.*,

contains corpus studies relating to punctuation, sentence macrosyntax and cataphora.

[H2]16. Contrastive Studies

A. Condamines, 'Expressions de la méronymie dans les petites annonces immobilières: comparaison français/anglais/espagnol', *JFLS*, 19:3–23, focuses on the use of *avec*, *con*, and *with* as short markers of proximity/adjunction with a particular highlighting function in view of their preference in favour of the (even shorter) potential alternative, ∅. R. Enghels, 'The syntactic position of the perceived participant as indicator of the internal structure of the Spanish and French infinitival complement', *Linguistics*, 47: 759–91, uses a corpus of 4000 Sp./Fr. examples to investigate the variable position of the perceived participant (YP) in the structure XP 'perceive' (YP) infinitive (YP), highlighting the relevance of the modality of perception, whereby auditory perception is eventive and propositional, while visual perception is objective and non-propositional. S. Heinold, 'Derivational morphology under the influence of language contact in French and German', *Journal of Language Contact – VARIA*, 2:68–84, provides a semantic and morphological analysis of the increasingly large number (over recent decades) of Fr./Ger. adoptions using the deverbal nominal suffix *-ing* which explains their co-existence with native forms.

M. Mossberg, *'Les Conjonctions concessives à valeur réelle: étude contrastive français–suédois', *RevR*, 44:218–77, compares the function and use of Fr. and Swedish concessive conjunctions (*bien que*, *quoique*, *encore que* vs *trots att*, *fast*, *fastän*) using a translation corpus, comprizing Fr. and Swedish fiction and non-fiction texts, and their translations into Swedish and Fr. respectively, and argues that the semantic variation observed in the data is the result of a general diachronic semantic change including the following steps: non-subjective > subjective > intersubjective. Id., 'Etude contrastive français–suédois des subordonnants conditionnels concessifs *même si* et *även om*', *SN*, 81:183–206.

Laure Lansari, **Linguistique contrastive et traduction: les périphrases verbales 'aller + infinitif' et 'be going to'*, Ophrys, 258 pp., is a revision of a 2006 Poitiers thesis. Id., *'The *be going to* periphrasis in *if* clauses: a comparison with the *aller* + infinitive periphrasis in French', *Languages in Contrast*, 9:202–24 (see also *YWMLS*, 70:50), which examines the use of the future periphrases *be going to* and *aller* + infinitive in conditional clauses introduced by *if* and *si* using both monolingual and translated data, and shows that the two periphrases are not equivalent in this environment: the sequence *if* + *be going to*, which is not truly conditional, is frequent in contemporary English, whereas *aller* + infinitive is only marginally compatible with conditionals. B. Defrancq and B. De Clerck, *'Intersubjective positioning in French and English: a contrastive analysis of *ça dépend* and *it depends*', *ib.*, 9:37–72, use extensive contextualized corpus data to explore the systematicity and frequency of *it depends* and *ça dépend* as markers of the speaker's intersubjective positioning, focusing on their functional and formal features and the extent to which they can be diagnosed as representative of ongoing intersubjectification processes.

P. A. M. Seuren, 'The clitics mechanism in French and Italian', *Probus*, 21:83–142, accounts for the composition, internal order, and placement of clitic-clusters in Fr. and It. using a top-down transformational system whereby clitics are canonical arguments/adverbials underlyingly, and, on basis of valued features [±animacy], [±dative] and [±reflexive], the rule feature CM, inducing clitic movement, is assigned to or withheld from non-focus, non-subject, pronominal arguments. CM-marked pronouns attach to the nearest verb form in ordered clusters. M.-B. Mosegaard Hansen and J. Visconti, *'On the diachrony of "reinforced" negation in French and Italian', Rossari, *Grammaticalization*, 137–71.

[H2]17. Orthography

Les Consonnes doubles: féminins et dérivés and *Le X final*, both ed. C. Gruaz (Le Débat orthographique), Limoges, Lambert–Lucas, 96 pp. and 74 pp. *Orthographe française: évolution et pratique* (Voix savantes), ed. A. Desrochers et al., 2008, Ottawa, Éditions David, 416 pp.