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Summary

The intention was to compile a collection of texts, which was representative of both 'standard French' and *argot* from 1865 to 1895. It was decided at the outset that the corpus would contain only written texts. The literary component of the corpus was compiled using random selection procedures from a bibliographical list. Since there was no readily available list of electronic literary texts published between 1865 and 1895, it was necessary to compile one using a number of library and academic text archive sites. The use of random sampling ensured that all texts in the population had a chance of being selected, and thus removed the possibility of their being any subjectivity or personal bias involved in the selected process. In addition to random sampling, another method of sampling was used in the construction of the corpus: stratified sampling. First, two subgroups within the population were identified: time and genre. Second, each of those strata was sampled using random techniques. The corpus consisted of twenty three complete texts. The decision was made to use complete texts sampled from a population of complete texts, rather than using samples of a specified size taken from complete texts given Sinclair's (1991, p.19) view that 'the study of collocation and concordance require the use of very large corpora'. To this end, WordSmith Tools, an integrated suite of programmes was used to carry out a detailed analysis of words in the corpus. Of the six tools in this integrated suite of programmes, Wordlist and Concord were the most useful in terms of **hypothesis 2**.

Furthermore, a Xerox Incremental Parser (XIP) was used to grammatically tag texts in the corpus. The tagging scheme used was 98.84% reliable. It was detected during the pilot study that the morphological analyser and part-of-speech disambiguator treated some compound words and fixed locutions as independent morpho-syntactic words and, therefore, did not recognise them as having the semantic coherence of single lexical items. Consequently, the decision was taken to perform manual post-editing in order to correct these ambiguities. The decision to use XIP as a mechanism for assigning grammatical parts of speech to words in the corpus was motivated by **hypothesis 1**.

Chapter 4 presented the results of the study in terms of **hypothesis 1**. Accordingly, it was concluded that there was evidence available to reject the null hypothesis (i.e. the proportion of 'standard French' words and *argot* was equal in the respective parts of speech in all authors and poets in the corpus), and accept the alternative hypothesis (i.e. the proportion of 'standard French' words was greater than the proportion of *argot* in the respective parts of speech in all authors and poets in the corpus).

Chapter 5 presented the results of the study in terms of **hypothesis 2**. On the basis of the results of the qualitative analysis of patterns of collocation, it was possible to conclude that there was evidence to support the supposition that the contextual use of *argot* by authors and poets in the sub-corpus reflected the

extension of the stylistic function of this lexis during the period from 1865 to 1895, as documented by lexicographers.

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Introduction

As indicated in the title of the study, 'Elucidating the relationship between linguistic form and literary function in a corpus of French literary texts from the second half of the nineteenth century using text analysis software', the aim is to examine the stylistic use of *argot* in a corpus of 23 French literary texts during a thirty year period from 1865 to 1895.

The term linguistic form describes the two varieties of language under observation in the texts: 'standard French' and *argot*. Chapter 1 is devoted to a fuller discussion of the principal characteristics of these linguistic phenomena. The term literary function implies the use of choice in determining the stylistic function of language. That is to say, a writer or poet may choose to use a particular lexical form by virtue of its stylistic effect, or depending on the impression he wants to create. Chapter 4 provides an in-depth analysis of the marked preferences or tendencies of authors and poets in the corpus to use either *argot* or 'standard French' in their literary works. The concept literary stylistics describes the relationship between linguistic form and literary function. In Toolan's (1998, p.viii) words, the 'use of language in literature'. Chapter 3 presents the theoretical underpinnings of the research project in the field of literary stylistics.

The term corpus as it is used in corpus-based studies designates a body of written text or transcribed speech which is maximally representative of a

language or language variety (Kennedy 1998, p.1; McEnery & Wilson 2001, p.30). Chapter 2 describes in detail how the intention was to compile a collection of texts which was representative of both 'standard French' and *argot* from 1865 to 1895, and mentions the factors underpinning the decision made at the outset to include only written texts.

The issue of representativeness in corpus design is dealt with in Chapter 2. It is defined by Biber (1993, p.242) as 'the extent to which a sample includes the full range of variability in a population'. In the case of the corpus, the population was defined as all French literary texts from 1865 to 1895 available in electronic form. Moreover, the literary component of the corpus was compiled using random selection procedures from a bibliographical list. Since there was no readily available list of electronic literary texts published between 1865 and 1895, it was necessary to compile one using a number of library and academic text archive sites. **Appendix 2** lists the different websites used for this purpose. In addition, it can be seen from **Appendix 2** that there are a number of gaps due to either the unavailability or inaccessibility of electronic literary texts. There is a one year gap in 1870, 1888, 1890, 1893, and a two year gap in 1866 and 1867, and in 1879 and 1880.

The choice of the time frame from 1865 to 1895 is interesting for two reasons. Firstly, in terms of the unprecedented increase in lexicographic material published during this thirty year period. From 1866 to 1896, ten dictionaries of *argot* were published. **Appendix 1** provides a full list of *dictionnaires d'argot*

published between 1862 and 1901. This period can be said to have copperfastened the marked change in focus, heralded by the publication of Francisque Michel's *Etudes de philologie sur l'argot et sur les idiomes analogues parlés en Europe et en Asie* ten years earlier. Henceforth, documentary evidence relating to *argot* came from interpretations and dictionaries, rather than from trial proceedings, or from those who were closely associated with thieves, rogues and vagabonds. Reference to this shift is made in Chapter 1.

Secondly, during the second half of the nineteenth century, French society experienced a number of social changes which influenced the evolution of *argot*. The demolition of insalubrious districts, the closing of prisons and the removal of social networks brought about the gradual popularisation of *argot*. Up to this point, *argot* was spoken predominantly by thieves and vagabonds. When the latter ceased to be the sole users of this *langue spéciale*, *argot* lost its individuality and the vast majority of this vocabulary spilled over into *le français populaire*. The **Glossary of key terms and linguistic notions** provides a full explanation of terms and linguistic notions mentioned in the study. Henceforth, it is referenced as **Glossary of key terms and linguistic notions discussed in the main body of the dissertation**, together with relevant page numbers.

Two types of text analysis software are used in the study. In the first instance, a Xerox Incremental Parser is used to enhance the corpus with part-of-speech

annotation. This process is also known as tagging and involves the attachment of special codes to words in order to indicate particular features. The codes which are assigned to words are known as tags. Chapter 2 outlines the merits of this software, and the rationale behind choosing it as opposed to opting for another less expensive model. The tagset of 37 different word-class label or tags is described in detail in **Appendix 7**.

The decision to use XIP as a mechanism for assigning grammatical parts of speech to words in the corpus was motivated by the purpose of the study. Thus, **hypothesis 1** posits that the authors and poets in the corpus are true *argotiers* (c.f. **Glossary of key terms and linguistic notions discussed in the main body of the dissertation**, p.346) because they allow for at least fifty per cent 'standard French' and a comparable number of argotic words. This supposition is based on Larchey's (1872, reprinted 1985, p.15) viewpoint:

> L'argot des classes dangereuses ne se parle pas en réalité comme on s'est plu à l'écrire jusqu'ici. Beaucoup de romanciers ont fait parlé à leurs personnages un *argot* trop complet en ce sens qu'il n'y entre assez de mots de la langue usuelle. Nos argotiers ne sont pas si exclusifs, et tout en forgeant des mots de convention, leurs phrases admettent encore 50 pour cent de français intelligible'

Every hypothesis test contains two hypotheses: the null hypothesis Ho and the alternative hypothesis Ha. The null hypothesis states that the proportion of 'standard French' and *argot* is equal in the respective parts of speech in all authors and poets in the corpus. The alternative hypothesis states that the proportion of 'standard French' is greater that the proportion of *argot* in the respective parts off speech in all authors and poets in the corpus. This research

hypothesis is based on the assertion of another linguist, Casciani (1895, pp.39-40) that the proportion of 'standard French' can often be greater than fifty per cent:

> Les phrases qu'on lit quelquefois dans les romans et qui sont uniquement composées de mots d'argot ne doivent être regardées que comme des exercices ou des fantaisies littéraires. Dans le véritable argot des classes dangereuses tel qu'on le parle, il entre au moins la moitié des mots de la langue commune et souvent bien davantage' (**Glossary of key terms and linguistic notions discussed in the main body of the dissertation**, p.344).

In order to test this hypothesis, it was necessary to measure the frequency distribution of 'standard French' and *argot* in each of the eight parts of speech across all twenty three texts. This represents the quantitative aspect of the study and the results are presented and discussed in tabular and chart form in Chapter 4.

The second type of software, WordSmith Tools is an integrated suite of programmes for looking at how words behave in texts, and so can be used to carry out a detailed analysis of the linguistic environment of words in the corpus. Of the six tools in this software programme, Wordlist and Concord are most advantageous for such an analysis. The Wordlist Tool generates word lists. In terms of analysing words in the corpus, the Wordlist Tool is particularly useful because the argotic content, previously identified during the grammatical tagging phase can be isolated, and particular instances of a word can be further examined contextually using the Concord programme. The latter is a computer programme which makes a concordance using specified text files. It operates in two stages. First, a search word or key word is

specified which Concord seeks in the text files. It then presents a concordance display. A concordance can be defined as 'a collection of occurrences of a word, each in its own textual environment (Sinclair 1991, p.32).

Moreover, the use of a concordance programme allowed for the behaviour of individual occurrences of keywords in their original contexts in texts in the corpus to be assessed. The study of the linguistic environment of words is a central part of **hypothesis 2**. This second hypothesis posits that the contextual use of *argot* by authors and poets in the sub-corpus should reflect the extension of the stylistic function of this lexis during the period, as documented by lexicographers. The sub-corpus is described in **Appendix 11**. From 1865 to 1895, the traditional usage of *argot* was extended by lexicographers to account for the gradual popularisation of this informal variety of language. Accordingly, they used a number of style labels or *marques d'usage*, which can be placed on a continuum, ranging from *argot des voleurs*, *argot du peuple*, *français populaire* to *français familier*. Chapter 2 explains how the hypothesis is shaped by references in the literature to stylistic appropriateness, with particular emphasis placed on Wise's viewpoint that assigning an item to a specific category is not straightforward. Special mention is made of the fact that what some dictionaries consider *familier* and others *populaire*, are elsewhere classified as *argotique*. Hence, the importance of viewing register variation as a continuum. Chapter 5 presents and discusses the results of the qualitative aspect of the study.

The stylistic analysis of the corpus of twenty three literary texts combines both quantitative and qualitative approaches because as argued by Schmied (1993, p.95), 'the qualitative analysis will never be sufficiently systematic and the quantitative one never delicate enough to replace the other completely'.

Chapter Outline:

Chapter 1 explores the linguistic phenomenon of *argot*.

Chapter 2 describes and discusses a number of methodological considerations related to the creation and analysis of the corpus.

Chapter 3 introduces and discusses some recurrent themes of research on literary stylistics.

Chapter 4 presents and discusses the results of the stylostatistical aspect of the study in terms of **hypothesis 1**.

Chapter 5 presents and discusses the results of the qualitative analysis of **hypothesis 2**.

Chapter 1

Exploring the linguistic phenomenon of *argot*.

1.1 Introduction.

As already stated in the Introduction, the purpose of this stylostatistical study of a corpus of 23 literary texts, dating from 1865 to 1895, is to provide a quantitative and a qualitative analysis of how authors and poets use *argot* in their respective literary works. Chapter 1 explores the linguistic phenomenon of *argot*. It consists of eight sections. Section 1.2 traces the etymology of *argot*, including lexical diffusion from dialects. Section 1.3 charts the chronological development of *argot*. Section 1.4 examines the relationship between *argot* and other varieties of informal French, namely *le français populaire* and *le français familier*. Moreover, this section includes an overview of the socio-historical background to the evolution of *argot*. Section 1.5 enumerates and briefly describes seven creative processes which have proved to be especially productive in terms of argotic word creation. Section 1.6 considers different descriptions of the linguistic norm which have emerged from the research literature. Section 1.7 examines two principles adopted by lexicographers in non-standard French dictionaries. Section 1.8 provides a concluding summary of the chapter.

1.2 Etymology of *argot*.

This section discusses the etymology of *argot*, including lexical diffusion from dialects.

The etymology of the word *argot* is problematic for two reasons. In the first instance, the term etymology is ambiguous because 'it has tended to mean entirely different things to successive generations of scholars and laymen alike, from Antiquity to the concluding years of the twentieth century' (Malkiel 1993, p.1). Notwithstanding this variation, etymology has fundamentally always meant something approximating the paraphrase 'original meaning of a given lexical unit' (Malkiel 1993, p.1). This definition is consistent with that proposed by Guiraud (1972, p.6), 'l'étymologie a pour premier objectif d'établir la généalogie ou origine du mot-souche, à la date où il est entré dans la langue'. It is this definition which is used here to refer to etymology.

The second problem relates to the fact that linguists and etymologists working in the field of *argot* have not been able to reach a consensus on the etymology of this word. Consequently, there are, according to Guiraud (1972, p.48), over twenty suggested etymologies of *argot*. The focus of this section now turns to providing a brief survey of previous attempts to trace the etymology of *argot*. As noted by Guiraud (1972, pp.49-50), the earliest of these etymologies were fanciful because they were not based on any historical fact. For example, *La Response et Complaincte du Grand Coesre sur le Jargon de l'Argot réformé*

(1630) traced the word *argot* to the destruction of Troyes, when *la truche* (i.e. *begging*) was called *l'art des Goths.*[1]

In 1725, Nicolas Ragot (also known as Granval) published a lyrical poem entitled *Le Vice puni ou Cartouche*, in which he described the provenance of *argot* as being from the Greek city of Argos. Interestingly, Granval referred to *argot* as *une belle langue*. This association of the word *argot* with *une langue* has been used by other etymologists in their explanations of the origin of *argot*. In the seventeenth century, Ménage (cited in Guiraud 1972, p.51) linked the word *argot* to the Greek word *argos* (i.e. idle, lazy) because he claimed that 'le jargon a emprunté beaucoup au grec'. This claim has been dismissed by Guiraud (1972, p.51) on the grounds that it is incorrect to associate *argot* with the idea of *une langue*, because the original meaning of the word was the name given to the fellowship of rogues and vagabonds who made up *le royaume de l'Argot.* It was by metonymic transfer that the *jargon* of this group came to be known as *l'argot* (Spence 1986, p.257). In the nineteenth century, the linguist, Le Duchat (cited in Guiraud 1972, p.51) described *argot* as 'la langue en RG (ère, gue)' because according to his viewpoint, this language could be characterised by speakers who lengthened each syllable by adding two more syllables, the first of which was dominated by the letter *r*, and the second with the letter *g*. Once again, Guiraud (1972, p.51) has found this etymology to be

[1] *La Response et Complaincte du Grand Coesre sur le Jargon de l'Argot réformé* (1630) was contemporaneous with *Le Jargon de l'Argot réformé, comme il est à présent en usage parmi les bons pauvres.* The second edition is dated 1628 (Sainéan, L. 1912. *Les Sources de l'argot ancien.* Tome 1. Paris: Champion, p.12).

questionable because of the association of *argot* with *langue*. [2]

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the lexicographer, Lorédan Larchey (1881, reprinted 1982, pp.i-ii) suggested that the word *argot* did not come from the Greek word *argos*, but was instead a diminutive of the old French word *argu* meaning *injure* (i.e. insult), *ruse* (i.e. ruse), *subtilité* (i.e. subtlety). From the sixteenth century onwards, the word *hargoter* was used to describe the act of jesting or talking nonsense. Similarly, the term *bigorne*, a synonym of *argot* was, according to Larchey (1881, reprinted 1982, pp.i-ii), a substantivised form of the old French word *biguer*: to exchange or to swap. Thus, the expression *parler bigorne ou argot* was semantically equivalent to the expression *parler un langage troqué, changé.*

According to Guiraud (1972, p.52), the twentieth century heralded the emergence of more convincing descriptions of the source of *argot* from three linguists in particular: Sainéan, Dauzat and Esnault. Sainéan (1912, p.273), in the etymological glossary appended to the second volume of *Les Sources de l'argot ancien*, suggests that *argot* was derived from *ergot*, meaning spur or *griffe* (i.e. singular claw on the back of the leg of a cock). This word, first

[2] It should, however, be noted that the term *langue* has been used by novelists and linguists such as Hugo and Cellard to refer to *argot*. Victor Hugo in *Le Dernier jour d'un condamné* (1829, reprinted 1998, pp.41) describes *argot* as 'toute une langue entée sur la langue générale comme une espèce d'excroissance hideuse'. This viewpoint was echoed by Cellard (1985, p.6) who maintains that argot 'n'est pas « toute une langue », ni même une langue au sens strict et savant du mot. L'argot est une langue particulière greffée sur la langue générale'. Moreover, it can be inferred from their assertions that the term *langue* is used in these contexts to describe *argot* in terms of 'un instrument de communication, un système de signes vocaux spécifiques aux membres d'une même communauté' (Dubois et al. 1973, p.276).

attested in the twelfth century had been used figuratively to describe both the fellowship of thieves and the art of stealing. He adds, moreover, that his explanation of the origin of the word *argot* is plausible because the notion *griffe* and its synonymous expression *croc* have motivated a large number of argotic words through metaphorical extension (Sainéan 1907, p.37). Guiraud (1972, p.53), however, does not agree with Sainéan's rationale and maintains that 'historiquement son étymologie est très fragile car l'argotier n'est pas un voleur.'

Dauzat (1946, p.12), like Guiraud notes how erroneous etymologies have been suggested for the word *argot*.[3] He mentions two in particular: the first refers to Marcel Schwob's assertion that the word *argot* represented a parasitic suffixation of the word *Arabie*. This is implausible because *argot ancien* completely ignored this type of suffix (cf. **Glossary of key terms and linguistic notions discussed in the main body of the dissertation**, p.344). The second hypothesis was by Sainéan (1912, p.273), in which he posited that *argot* could be derived from *ergot*. Dauzat (1946, p.12) discounts this suggestion because the original meaning of *argot* was to describe the fraternity of wretched people or beggars rather than thieves.[4] He maintains that *argot* was derived from an old Provençal word *argaut*. This word was first used to describe an item of clothing. Its meaning subsequently changed. Henceforth, it denoted an old piece of clothing, and finally rags and tatters. Thus, *le royaume de l'argot* was synonymous with *le royaume de la guenille*.

[3] First published in 1929. Complete reference is given in the Bibliography.
[4] First published in 1929. Complete reference is given in the Bibliography.

Moreover, Dauzat (1946, p.13) argues that it is perfectly natural that the word 'rags' should have been used to symbolise the beggar or wretched person.[5] However, Guiraud (1972, p.53) has challenged this etymology on the basis that not all *argotiers* were ragamuffins (cf. **Glossary of key terms and linguistic notions discussed in the main body of the dissertation**, p.346).

Esnault (1965, p.16) in his *Dictionnaire historique des argots français* postulated that *argot* might be a diminutive of *argue*, a technical word derived from the Latin *organum*. The latter term was the name given to describe the instrument (i.e. capstan) used to extract precious metals including gold and silver. Thus, *argotiers* or *mendiants* were known as pullers in so far as they extracted gold, while *argue* referred to the process whereby precious metals were rough-hewed. By metaphorical extension, *argoter* described how gold was extracted or stolen from foolish people. Guiraud (1972, p.55) was not convinced by Esnault's hypothesis. Instead he proposed his own etymology of the word *argotier*. He posited that this word might be derived from the Lorraine dialectal form *argotier*. This family of words includes *aricotier* (i.e. a small hardworking farmer), *arcandier* (i.e. a bad worker), and *alcotier* (i.e. a small street pedlar). In other words, the French word *argotier* is synonymous with the dialectal words *alcotier* and *argotier*. However, similar to previous etymologies, Guiraud (1972, p.54) readily admits that the chronological aspect of his etymology is questionable because the dialectal words underpinning his hypothesis were first attested at the end of the eighteenth century. It is,

[5] First published in 1929. Complete reference is given in the Bibliography.

therefore, highly improbable that they would have existed at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

In sum, no consensus on the etymology of the word *argot* has emerged from the research literature. The problematic nature of the etymology of *argot* should not be viewed in isolation because it is closely associated with the question of the origin of argotic words. Guiraud (1971, p.105) believes that the majority of argotic words, probably in the region of eighty to ninety per cent are dialectal in origin. He explains this dialectal influence in socio-historic terms. That is, words were brought from provincial France by individuals who were engaged in various professions and trades.

Dauzat (1912, pp.130-131) describes how different geographical regions in France contributed to the stock of argotic vocabulary. From the sixteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was an influx of words from the Provençal dialect. This dialectal intake coincided with the establishment of prisons (i.e. known as *bagnes*) in Marseille and Toulon. During periods of detention in prisons in the region of Provence, criminals heard words form the Provençal dialect and gradually incorporated them into their lexical repertoires. Lexical diffusion or borrowing from other dialects including Poitevin, Normand, Picard, and Lorrain was much less voluminous. Finally, lexical diffusion was practically nonexistent from central and south-western regions of France.

Dauzat (1912, p.132) has also questioned the veracity of Sainéan's (1907, pp.263-267) contention that words such as *artois* (i.e. *pain*), *bastringue* (i.e. *bruit*), *eau-d'affe* (i.e. *eau-de-vie*), *boutanche* (i.e. *boutique*), and *trimarder* (i.e. *cheminer*) have a dialectal origin. Instead, Dauzat (1912, p.132) considers these words to have been borrowed by *le patois* from *argot* (cf. **Glossary of key term and linguistic notions discussed in the main body of the dissertation**, p.349). They are, according to his viewpoint, representative of the influence wielded by the city on the countryside, a pattern which was established at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Dauzat 1946, p.170).[6] The next section considers the chronological development of *argot*.

1.3 Chronological development of *argot*.

This section provides an overview of the different sources used to document the chronological development of *argot* from the thirteenth century to the early part of the nineteenth century.

As already stated in section 1.2 of this chapter, *argot* came to describe the *jargon* or language spoken by rogues and vagabonds. Although there is a penury of documents referring explicitly to this *argot des malfaiteurs* prior to the fifteenth century, there are isolated traces of its use in the thirteenth century. It can be found, for instance, in Hugues Faidit's Treatise on Provençal grammar, known as *Donats provensals* in the form *gergons, vulgare trutannorum* which means *langage des voleurs* (Sainéan 1912 Tome 1, pp.1-2).

[6] First published in 1929. Complete reference is given in the Bibliography.

However, it was really only from the fifteenth century onwards that documentary evidence of *jargon* became more prevalent. In 1455, the Trial of the *Compagnons de la Coquille* took place in Dijon. This infamous group of thieves, cheats, crooks, and money forgers had operated for many years in Burgundy. During the Trial, a close associate of the Coquillards, Perrenet le Fournier revealed to the authorities the names of the principal members and elements of their language, known as *jobelin* or *jargon jobelin* (Guiraud 1969, p.11). Indeed, this glossary has been used to elucidate some of the words in Villon's *Ballades*. This, in turn, has led some linguists including Dauzat (1946, p.34) to draw the following conclusion: 'Il est hors de doute que Villon, grand poète avait eu d'étroits rapports avec les Coquillards, dont les noms et les tristes exploits reviennent fréquemment dans ses ballades jargonnesques'.[7]

Sainéan's (1912 Tome 1, p.17) argument is more nuanced in so far as he maintains that Villon's language is similar to the *jargon* spoken by the *Coquillards*, though he does make explicit reference to the fact that Villon had close contacts with two *Coquillards* in particular, Regnier de Montigny and Colin de Cayeux. Furthermore, the word *jobelin* was used concurrently with the word *jargon* in the title *Recueil des ballades argotiques de Villon* (*Jargon et jobelin*), published in 1489 by Pierre Levet (Dauzat 1946, p.10).[8]

Unlike *argot*, the etymology of the word *jobelin* is unambiguous. According to Sainéan (1907, p.109), it was derived from *job* and was used to mean fool,

[7] First published in 1929. Complete reference is given in the Bibliography.
[8] First published in 1929. Complete reference is given in the Bibliography.

idiot, simpleton. In other words, rogues and vagabonds pretended to be simple-minded in order to dupe their innocent victims (Calvet 1994, p.3).

Almost one hundred years later, in 1596, Pechon de Ruby published *La Vie gnereuse des Mercelots, Gueuz et Boesmiens, contenans leur façon de vivre, subtilitez et Gergon.*[9] A dictionary of *blesquin* was attached to this opuscule to explain the language spoken by three classes of vagabonds at the end of the sixteenth century. The latter consisted of small street pedlars (i.e. *mercelots*), beggars (i.e. *gueux*), and rogues (i.e. *bohémiens*) (Sainéan 1912 Tome 1, pp.44-45). As far as the etymology of the word *blesquin* is concerned, it is agreed among linguists that it is a derivative of *blesque*, a Norman-Picard dialectal form of *blesche*. The latter term was the name given to describe street pedlars (Dauzat 1946, p.10; Sainéan 1912 Tome 1, p.33). In sum, *le langage blesquin* was the name given to describe the modifications which had been made to the *jargon*, spoken by thieving beggars and pedlars alike during this period.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, another synonymous term for *argot* appeared called *narquois*. The only documentary evidence of this *jargon* is *Les Premières Oeuvres poétiques* published by Capitan Lasphrise in 1597. Moreover, the term *narquois* was used to describe the language spoken by both thieving soldiers and beggars which was intelligible only to them. According to Sainéan (1912 Tome 2, p.275), *narquois* is a variant of *narquin* or its

[9] Pechon de Ruby is a pseudonym. The real identity of the person who wrote this opuscule has never been revealed (Dauzat, A., 1946. *Les Argots: Caractères, évolution, influence*. Paris: Delagrave, p.35). First published in 1929. Complete reference is given in the Bibliography.

original form *arquin*. The latter originally had the same meaning as the word *archer*. This word, in turn, first described thieving soldiers who were prevalent during the Religious Wars and the Thirty Years War. Subsequently it was used to refer to their language. Thus, for Sainéan (1912 Tome 1, p.300), the term *narquois* is representative of 'une déformation argotique d'*Archer*'.

In 1628, the second edition of *Le Jargon de l'Argot réformé* was published.[10] According to Casciani (1986, p.28), this *jargon* was a synonymous term for *le langage blesquin* which had undergone numerous changes in order to perplex those outsiders who were beginning to understand numerous expressions of this secret language. Moreover, the book provides an insight into the hierarchical structure of the *Cour des Miracles*, more commonly described as 'cité étrange située entre la rue Montorgueil, la rue Saint-Saveur et le couvent des Filles-Dieu' (Casciani 1986, p.14). It was here that novices (also called *Péchons, Blesches, Coesmes*) were taught how to beg and steal. They lived under the authority of the *grand Coësre*, the supreme chief who was elected on an annual basis by the Estates General of the body. The two remaining ranks were occupied by the *Cagous* and the *Archisuppôts* respectively. The former were in charge of police and counterintelligence. The latter were highly educated individuals: doctors, priests, experts. They had a dual role: to teach jargon to followers; and to create new words or to modify them as soon as they became known to the uninitiated. Indeed the title of *Le Jargon de l'Argot*

[10] The first edition of this opuscule has never been found (Calvet, L-J., 1994. *L'Argot*. Paris: PUF, p.18).

réformé is indicattive of the need to make these lexical changes. For example, the word *calle*, ussed to describe *la tête* was replaced with *tronche*. Similarly, *trottins*, used to denote *pieds* was changed to *pasturons*. Thirdly, the word *volant*, used to refer to *manteau* was replaced with *tabar* or *tabarin*. Finally, the word *plant*, ussed to denote *chapeau* was changed to *comble* (Sainéan 1907, p.4).

There were several editions of *Le Jargon de l'Argot réformé* dating from 1628 to 1849. The publication of successive editions had two effects. First, errors in the form of erroneous transcriptions were replicated from one edition to a subsequent one. Second, the number of words contained therein increased to the extent that the final one had 685 words compared to 216 in the second edition (1628). Furthermore, by contrast to previous documents on *argot*, *Le Jargon de l'Argot réformé* was the principal source of inspiration for authors, including Nicolas Ragot and Vidocq. In 1725, Nicolas Ragot (also known as Granval) appended an *argot-français* glossary to his lyrical poem entitled *Le Vice puni ou Cartouche*. It is generally accepted that Granval relied heavily on *Le Jargon de l'Argot réformé* for its lexical store of argotic words (Calvet 1994, pp.21-22; Sainéan 1907, p.9). In a similar vein, it is believed that Vidocq took great inspiration from *Le Jargon de l'Argot réformé* when compiling a glossary of more than 1,500 argotic words spoken in prisons which

was appended to his work entitled *Les Voleurs,* published in 1837 (Sainéan 1907, p.9).[11]

Up to the middle of the nineteenth century, documentary evidence relating to *argot* in all its different forms came from trial proceedings or from those who were closely associated with thieves, rogues, and vagabonds. The situation, however, changed in 1856, when Francisque Michel published his *Etudes de philologie sur l'argot et sur les idiomes analogues parlés en Europe et en Asie.* Henceforth, argot became a subject of analysis and interpretation in its own right (cited in Calvet 1994, p.29). Lexicographers became increasingly interested in documenting this essentially oral phenomenon (cf. **Appendix 1**).

This does not mean that *dictionnaires d'argot* did not exist prior to the Second Empire (1852-1870). Indeed, one of the earliest dictionaries to document the low-level speech used by different strata of society dates from 1808. It was entitled *Dictionnaire du bas-langage ou des manières de parler usitées parmi le peuple* and published by D'Hautel. According to the preface (1808, p.iv), the aim of this dictionary was to 'bannir ces termes libres et obscènes qui portent de si cruelles atteintes à la pudeur et à la vertu'. This language was reminiscent of *Vaugelas* (1585-1650) and his mentor, François de Sales, who recommended the removal of all vulgarity from language (Judge 1993, p.12).

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[11] It has been argued that Saint-Edme was the real author of *Les Voleurs* rather than Vidocq (Prigniel, M., 1974. 'Argot « abadie », « abadis »'. In *Le Français Moderne*, No.3 July 1974, p.237).

In 1827, another *dictionnaire d'argot* was written anonymously, (by a *Monsieur comme il faut*), namely *Le Dictionnaire d'argot ou Guide des gens du monde.* As indicated in the preface (1827, pp.viii-ix), this dictionary was intended to provide an insight into the language spoken by thieves, crooks, informers, prostitutes, thereby protecting the uninitiated from 'les habitants des galères et autres endroits de société plus ou moins aimables'.

Two years later, in 1829, another dictionary was published entitled *Nouveau Dictionnaire d'argot par un Ex-Chef de brigade sous M. Vidocq.* Given its title, it would appear that this reference work was directly inspired by Vidocq's *Mémoires*, published in 1828 (Gatet 1991, p.235). The latter already contained numerous argotic expressions, including *polisson* (i.e. kid), *rosser* (i.e. hit/beat), *goussset* (i.e. armpit) (Vidocq 1828, pp.24-25). Vidocq was a reformed criminal who had become *chef de la police de sureté*, a position he held until 1827.

1844 saw the publication of another *dctionnaire d'argot*, entitled *Dictionnaire complet de l'argot employé dans Les Mystères de Paris.* The exact identity of the author of this collection is unknown, all that is given are the initials M. D. However, its veracity is authenticated by the fact that the information was provided by two individuals who would have been familiar with the language spoken by crooks, thieves, and cheats: 'un ex-surveillant de la Roquette et un ancien garde chiourme du bagne de Brest' (1844, p.i).

While these dictionaries are important in lexicographic terms, they are outside the scope of the present study and, therefore, have not been included in **Appendix 1**. **Appendix 1** provides a list of dictionaries of *argot* from 1862 to 1901.

In 1862, Emile Colombey attached *un dictionnaire d'argot* to his literary work, *L'Esprit des voleurs*. This dictionary was a repository of argotic words spoken by thieves. In 1866, Alfred Delvau published a dictionary called *Dictionnaire de la langue verte*. Its publication was to become the source of much controversy when another lexicographer, Lorédan Larchey accused Delvau of plagiarism and forced him to modify the second edition of his dictionary which appeared in 1867. According to Delvau (1867, reprinted 1972, p.xv), the term *langue verte* is a label used to describe words which are not written, but spoken by different strata of society, ranging from academics to workers, artists and thieves.

From 1858 to 1865, Lorédan Larchey published revised editions of a book called *Les Excentricités du langage*. In these publications, Larchey showed that his principal lexicographical interest was in documenting another type of language which was distinct from *l'argot des classes dangereuses*. He coined the term *argot social* (cf. **Glossary of key terms and linguistic notions discussed in the main body of the dissertation**, p.345) to describe the extension of *argot* to include other possible varieties of language spoken by different strata of society: 'Véritable protée, l'argot social a, sous des formes

successivement variables, plus ou moins cours dans toutes les classes de la société, sans excepter les plus hautes' (Larchey 1862, cited in Duneton 1985, p.iv).

In 1872, he publlished the sixth edition of *Les Excentricités du langage* under the title *Dictiomnaire historique, étymologique et anecdotique de l'argot parisien*. Though, Larchey dispensed with the term *argot social*, opting instead to use the term *argot* in the title, it would appear that both terms describe the same linguistic motion: 'Beaucoup s'imaginent que l'argot n'est que le langage des voleurs. La vérité est que son domaine est beaucoup plus grand' (Duneton 1985, p.vii).

In 1881, Larchey published the ninth edition of *Les Excentricités du langage* under the title *Dictionnaire historique d'argot* to which he appended a supplement. He justified this appendage in terms of the eighteen month time frame it took to print the new edition. Accordingly, the supplement contained new words or words and examples which had been previously omitted.

In 1883, Gustave Fustier prepared a supplement to the third edition of Delvau's *Dictionnaire de la langue verte* to account for new expressions and words between 1867 and 1883. According to Fustier's methodology, his material was sourced from Naturalist novels and newspaper articles. Moreover, he states in the foreword to the third edition, 'nous nous sommes attachés à choisir parmi ces irréguliers du langage, ceux-là seulement qui ne figurent dans aucun dictionnaire d'argot' (Fustier 1883, p.492).

In 1886, Charles Toubin published his *Dictionnaire étymologique et explicatif de la langue française et spécialement du langage populaire.* In the introduction, Toubin (1886, pp.x-xi) provides examples of terms from both *le langage populaire* and *argot* which were derived from the following languages: Celtic (e.g. *claquer*, *croquemort*, *gosse*), Latin (e.g. *abouler*, *arsouille*, *riboter*), Greek (e.g. *cocasse*, *filou*, *ripaille*), and Sanskrit (e.g. *boulotter*, *clique*, *gauper*).

1888 saw the publication of Lucien Rigaud's *Dictionnaire d'argot moderne: nouvelle édition avec supplément.* According to Ollendorff (1888, p.i), the editor of this volume, Rigaud had intended to add a preface to his dictionary in an effort to explain to this readers that this work was a linguistic endeavour, designed to provide an insight into the language spoken in different milieux. To demonstrate, for instance, that those strange and often colourful terms were spoken in workshops, publishing houses, the theatre, army barracks, bars, in the street, among prostitutes, in brothels, and prisons. He would also have implored his readers not to take offence at the boldness, coarseness, and crudeness of some of the expressions listed in the dictionary.

In 1889, Larchey published his *Nouveau supplément du Dictionnaire d'argot.* In the preface to this supplement, Larchey (1889, p.xviii) states that he carefully studied various glossaries of *argot*, three of which were handwritten by Gustave Macé, M. le Dr Lambin, and Eugène Demarquay.

In 1895, Jean La Rue published his *Dictionnaire d'argot et des principales locutions populaires* but did not attach a preface. The following year, 1896, Georges Delesalle published his *Dictionnaire argot-français & français-argot.* In his preface to the dictionary, Jean Richepin (1896, p.vii) describes *argot* as a living organism, continuously altered or modified and, therefore, is essentially unstable. Moreover, it changes quicker than standard French. Given its fluid and ephemeral nature, the snapshot taken today is no longer valid for tomorrow.

In the introduction to their *Dictionnaire thématique français-argot: suivi d'un index argot-français*, Jules Lermina and Henri Lévêque (1897, reprinted 1991, pp.i-ii) explain that *argot* is the most difficult language to learn and to speak because of its elusive and ever changing nature. They cite *argot des voleurs* as an example. Thus, even though a few expressions may have persisted, the fact that this criminal *argot* became known to the police facilitated its modification into a *jargon* used to refer to everyday practical issues. Furthermore, the authors point out that everybody, from the most naïve child to the most accomplished of artists use *argot*, but that not everyone can speak it correctly. They present their dictionary as a corrective tool for those who want to 'parler purement et hardiment cette langue qu'ils balbutient à peine et qu'ils déparent par de cruelles erreurs' (1897, reprinted 1991, p.x).

It was followed four years later in 1901 by Aristide Bruant's *L'Argot au XXe siècle: Dictionnaire français-argot.* Bruant, however, did not make any

prefatory remarks. The next section considers the relationship between *argot* and other varieties of informal French.

1.4 Relationship between *argot* and *le français populaire* and *le français familier*.

This section examines the socio-historical background to the evolving nature of the relationship between *argot* and other varieties of informal French. From the early part of the nineteenth century, *argot* was no longer a cause of embarrassment, rather it was perceived to be a rallying point for respectable things and individuals. This viewpoint was encapsulated by Gillé (1825, cited in Larchey 1889, p.ix) in the following extract from his book entitled *Ma Robe de Chambre*:

> J'ouvre le dictionnaire de l'Académie et j'y trouve la definition suivante du mot argot: « Certain langage des gueux et des filous qui n'est intelligible qu'entre eux. » Combien de nos jours, on a donné l'extension à ce mot! Il s'est élevé de l'espèce d'abjection qui le couvrait jusqu'aux professions honnêtes qui semblaient autrefois le proscrire; on ne peut pas dire qu'il se soit anobli entièrement, mais on ne rougit plus pour le prononcer, et il sert comme de point de ralliement pour des choses et des individus d'ailleurs fort honorables.

In other words, the tone had changed in relation to *argot*. Vidocq (cited in Larchey 1872, reprinted 1985, p.16) echoed this renewed optimism in his work *Les Voleurs,* published in 1837. He acknowledged that *argot* was no longer spoken exclusively in inns and other undesirable places, but was also spoken in theatrical productions, and soon, he believed it would be allowed in *les salons*. The extension of *argot* was further advocated in the latter part of the nineteenth

century. Littré, for example, widened its definition to encompass what can be termed professional *argot*. The latter was defined by Littré (1878, p.192) as, 'une phraséologie particulière, plus ou moins technique, plus ou moins riche, plus ou moins pittoresque, dont se servent entre eux les gens exerçant le même art ou la même profession'. For example, railway workers, marblers, bargemen, fairground workers, soldiers, actors, lawyers, stockbrokers, ministers, journalists, students, shopkeepers all have their own *argot* (Casciani 1895, p.38). *Argot*, therefore, is conceived to be a special vocabulary used by the members of a given trade, profession or other cohesive social group (Spence 1986, p.257).

Moreover, twentieth century linguists such as Carco (1936, p.vii) and Gadet (1992, p.103) argue that social change in nineteenth century France brought about the gradual popularisation of *argot*. Carco (1936, p.vii), for example, attributes the gradual fusion of *argot* with *le langage populaire* to a number of social factors:

> Vers la moitié du XIXe siècle, l'argot s'est en effet sensiblement décoquiné; il a évolué selon un rythme sage, quasi bourgeois, et habilement flirté avec les usages fort honnêtes qu'une série de facteurs sociaux, tels que les chemins de fer, le service militaire obligatoire, le travail à l'usine, lui ont permis d'assimiler. Argot et langage populaire ont donc fusionné peu à peu.

Similarly, Gadet (1992, p.103) identifies specific social changes which she believes brought about the popularisation of *argot* in the nineteenth century:

Dans le courant du XIXe siècle, avec la démolition des quartiers insalubres de la Cité, la suppression des bagnes, la fin de l'isolement social de la pègre, l'argot des malfaiteurs s'est progressivement mêlé à la langue du peuple, puis s'est étendu aux provinces.

The demolition of old districts, developments in communication and infrastructure, changes in work practices, and the removal of social networks meant that the fraternity of thieves and vagabonds ceased to be a closed milieu. Consequently, the milieu became more involved in city life and started to integrate into the working classes. *Argot*, subsequently lost is individuality and the vast majority of its vocabulary spilled over into *le français populaire*. For example, words and expressions such as *cafard* (i.e. *fumeron*), *en avoir soupé* (i.e. *en être excedé*), and *jusqu'à la gauche* (i.e. *complètement, jusqu'au bout)* were assimilated into the popular lexis, having once been labelled *argotique*. According to Gadet (1992, p.103), these words originally belonged to *l'argot des soldats*, but were assimilated into the popular lexis as a result of the linguistic borrowing which took place following the removal of hermetic and closely knit social networks.[12] She uses the term *argot commun* to describe the fusion of *l'argot des malfaiteurs* with *la langue du peuple* (cf. **Glossary of key terms and linguistic notions discussed in the main body of the dissertation**, p.344). Moreover, she states that this lexis was composed of borrowings from *argot* which was spoken by soldiers, sailors, workers, professional gamblers, street pedlars, rag dealers, prostitutes, and pimps (Gadet 1992, pp.103-104).

[12] According to Jacques-Philippe Saint-Gérand, Jacques Dubois in a paper entitled 'Argot en usage au bagne de Brest en 1821'. In *Le Français Moderne*, No. 28, 1961, pp.279-288, provides an interesting insight into *argot* spoken by thieves imprisoned in Brest around 1820. Moreover, it gives an indication of the hermetic nature of the fraternity. This information is available on www.chass.utoronto.ca/epc/langue/XIX.

Furthermore, the fusion of *l'argot des classes dangereuses* with *l'argot de la rue* was copperfastened by the merging of lower social classes to such an extent that the thief and prostitute walked alongside the honest man and woman in the street. Similarly, *l'ouvrier du faubourg* may have unwittingly had a drink at the same table in a *cabaret* as a thief or a murderer. Alternatively, after the show, a prostitute may have sat beside a respectable hardworking young lady (Casciani 1895, p.36).

Notwithstanding the fusion of *jargon des malfaiteurs* with *le langage populaire parisien* in the second half of the nineteenth century, lexicographers such as Bauche (1920, p.18) are keen to point out that *le langage populaire* must not be confused with *argot*. In theory, he draws a clear distinction between the two notions. According to his viewpoint, *le langage populaire* is widely and naturally spoken by the working class, whereas *argot* is an artificial language which allows for communication between groups and which is incomprehensible to the uninitiated. In practice, however, he concedes that *l'argot des malfaiteurs* and *l'argot des prisons* have an important role to play in the formation of *le langage populaire*. He suggests that the principal reason for this significance is that crime often arises from necessity and is born out of the misery endured by the lower social classes in Paris. Consequently, there are a lot of words relating to criminal *argot* in *le français populaire*. Examples of this phenomenon include *galette* (i.e. *argent volé*), *grinche* (i.e. *voleur*), and *mioche* (i.e. *enfant de voleur*) (Bauche 1920, pp.235-249).

Guiraud (1978, p.8) makes a similar attempt to differentiate *le français populaire* from *argot* by maintaining that it is not restricted to a particular profession or to a closed group, but instead is the preserve of a wide part of the population. He concedes, however, that it is clearly enriched by certain professions (i.e small business and artisan trades) and is closely linked to *argot des malfaiteurs* (cf. **Glossary of key terms and linguistic notions discussed in the main body of the dissertation**, p.344). It can, therefore, be seen why it is inherently difficult to clearly demarcate the boundaries between *le français populaire* and *argot*.

This problem is compounded by the fact that linguists working in the field have not been able to reach a consensus on what constitutes *le français populaire*. While Bauche (1920, p.18) bases his definition on class distinction, other experts such as Battye and Hintze, and Gadet maintain that it is no longer tenable to define this notion on the basis of class. Battye and Hintze (1992, p.349) argue that the label *populaire* is unsatisfactory for two reasons. First, they have reservations about the feasibility of being able to identify *le peuple*: a homogeneous group whose linguistic usage sets it apart from the rest of French society. Second, they believe that such a label has negative connotations, induced by a purist attitude which sees this form of language as an attack on the idealised perception of the standard. The standard or norm is discussed in detail in section 1.6 of this chapter. Consequently, this negative reaction means that less status or value is accorded to the typical features of this language variety by society as a whole.

Gadet (1992, pp.24-27) remarks that the term *français populaire* is fraught with problems whether it is defined on a sociological or a linguistic basis. From a sociological perspective, previous attempts by speakers and grammarians alike to describe those who speak *la langue populaire* have tended to be vague. Examples include *les gens sans éducation, sans culture, les gens du peuple, les gens des bas-fonds.* Similarly, a linguistic definition of *le français populaire* is problematic because the majority of features that can be used to distinguish *français populaire* from other language varieties can also be used in more informal communicative situations by speakers who would not be sociologically classified as *populaire.*

The remainder of this section examines the relationship between *le français populaire* and *le français familier* (cf. **Glossary of key terms and linguistic notions discussed in the main body of the dissertation**, p.347). Bauche (1920, p.21) describes *le français familier* as 'le langage courant de la conversation qui diffère du langage écrit et littéraire par un grand nombre de mots, d'expressions, de tours de phrases et par la prononciation'. While the boundary between the two *niveaux de langue* is largely indeterminate, a certain amount of variation is ensured by the fact that the various social classes perceive some words to be part of their *familier* repertoire while others do not belong to this register. For example, cultivated Parisians may use certain words such as *moche* (i.e. *laid*), *godasse* (i.e. *chaussure*), and *pinard* (i.e *vin*) in conversation in an ironic or joking fashion, fully aware of the fact that they are not speaking properly. In the case of working class people (i.e. *le peuple)* this

lexis embodies for them *le vrai français*. Similarly, Bauche (1920, p.22) argues that words such as *daim* (i.e. *niais*), *foutaise* (i.e. *chose ou propos sans valeur*), and *mannezingue* (i.e. *marchand de vin*) are part of the colloquial French spoken by the upper echelons of Parisian society, whereas the same words would hardly ever be used by *le peuple*. The specific relevance of the notion of register to the study is discussed in section 2.6 of Chapter 2 and section 3.5 of Chapter 3. The next section describes the different creative processes of *argot* which have been identified in the research literature.

1.5 Creative processes of *argot*.

This section enumerates and briefly describes seven processes which have been used to modify both the form and function of *argot*.

Wise (1997, pp.210-212) identifies two morphological processes which have proved especially productive: clipping (also known as abbreviation) and suffixation. The use of clipping involves the removal of either the initial syllable of a word (e.g. *ricain* from *américain*, *pitaine* from *capitaine*), or more usually the final syllable or syllables (e.g. *apparte* from *appartement*, *mob* from *mobylette*). The technical terms for these processes are aphesis and apocope respectively (Wales 2001, pp.25-26). Clipping may also combine with reduplication; hence *jojo* from *joli*, *mimi* from *mignon*. Sometimes entire words are reduplicated, provided they are monosyllabic, as in *dur-dur* and *gai-gai* (Wise 1997, p.211).

In terms of the process of suffixation, Wise (1997, p.210) notes that many of the suffixes associated with *argot*, such as *aille, asse*, *ard* have pejorative overtones. Moreover, she maintains that the latter is the most productive, as in *soiffard* (i.e. boozer), *chauffard* (i.e. road hog), *motard* (i.e. biker). This formal process has been the subject of much research interest by linguists such as Casciani and Calvet. Casciani (1986, p.45) explains that a suffix can be added to the end of a word, as in *préfectanche* instead of *préfecture*. Alternatively, a suffix may be added to the end of an argotic word. There are three principal reasons for doing so. First, to make a word even more incomprehensible (e.g. *trimancher* from *trimer* meaning to walk). Second, augmentative suffixes such as *asse* (e.g. *connasse*) and *aille* (e.g *lopaille*) can be used to add emphasis. Finally, diminutive suffixes such as *ette* (e.g *lopette*) and *ot* (e.g. *bouricot*) can be deprecatory and so carry negative overtones.[13] Casciani (1986, p.45) describes how two or more suffixes may be added to a word. An example would be *mouchique*, originally *mal* before the final syllable *al* was removed and replaced with the suffix *ouche*. Then a second suffix *ique* was grafted onto the first one.

Calvet (1994, pp.55-56) adopts a different approach to the study of suffixation from Casciani in so far as he maintains that this process often takes place immediately after the elision or omission of the final phoneme or syllable at the end of a word (i.e. apocope). He lists the following examples: *clodo* from *clochard*, *jalmince* from *jaloux*, *alboche* from *Allemand*, *morbaque* from

[13] Examples are taken from Guiraud, P., 1969: *L'Argot*. 5th Edition. Paris: PUF, p.83.

morpion, and *matos* from *matériel*. Calvet (1994, p.56) does, however, point out that these suffixes are specific to *argot* and, therefore, are not productive in standard French.

In a similar vein, Georges Delesalle (1896, p.xxii) lists the following as examples of the most commonly occurring suffixes in *argot*: *mar, anche, inche, ingue, o, orgue, aille, ière, uche, mont, oque, égue*, *igue*. Guiraud (1969, p.83) identifies another type of suffix known as an iterative suffix. This verbal suffix indicates a repetition of the action. Examples are *aille* (e.g. *lichailler*) and *ouille* (e.g. *cafouiller*).

All the afore-mentioned examples of suffixation are variable and are not word specific. That is, there are no rules governing their attachment to a word. By contrast, there are other formalised processes used to transform a word. These are referred to by Calvet (1994, p.57) as *les argots à clef*. The latter consist of a process, whereby a word is disguised either by inverting letters and syllables, or by introducing and subsequently substituting letters according to a defined set of rules which hold the key to unlocking the cryptological process. One example is the code known as *loucherbem* or *argot* used by the butchers of *La Villette* in Paris. It consists of replacing the initial consonant with the letter *l*, which is then placed at the end of the word, followed by a suffix such as *ique*, *em* or *uche*. For example, *loucherbem* from *boucher*. According to Guiraud (1969, p.67), *loucherbem* represents the more complex form of the code *largonji*, which was first introduced into French *argot* by Vidocq. It involved

replacing the initial consonant with the letter *l,* which was then placed at the end of the word. However, unlike *loucherbem,* no suffix was added. Hence, *largonji* from *jargon.* The final element *ji* is the phonic form rather than the written form of the initial *j*: a distinction which highlights the oral nature of this code.

In addition to using clipping, suffixation, and secret codes as a means of changing the formal properties of a word, thereby rendering it irrecognisable, it is also possible to change the meaning of a word. As noted by Wise (1997, p.207), argotic words are frequently formed by 'the simple expedient of taking an existing word and giving it a very different meaning'. She identifies two processes in particular which can transform the meaning of a lexical item to such an extent that it takes some effort of the imagination to retrace the connection involved. The first one, metonymy describes a 'referential strategy where a speaker refers to an entity by naming something associated with it' (Saeed 1997, p.78). For example, *tremblante* for *fièvre*, *pleurant* for *oignon* and *raide* for *eau-de-vie*.[14] Second, metaphor refers to 'a particular set of linguistic processes whereby aspects of one object are 'carried over' or transferred to another object, so that the second object is spoken of as if it were the first' (Hawkes 1972, p.1). Examples include *rouge* for *sang*, *palpitant* for *coeur* and *boule* for *tête*.[15]

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[14] Examples are taken from Casciani, C., 1986: 'Histoire de l'Argot'. In La Rue, J., 1986. *Dictionnaire d'argot et des principales locutions populaires. Nouvelle Edition.* Paris: Flammarion, p.47.

[15] Examples are taken from Casciani, C., 1986: 'Histoire de l'Argot'. In La Rue, J., 1986. *Dictionnaire d'argot et des principales locutions populaires. Nouvelle Edition.* Paris: Flammarion, p.47.

Wise (1997, p.208) adds that since much of *argot* is aggressive and contemptuous and since people seem to have a traditionally negative view of animals, words for animals, or parts of them, are often used metaphorically of humans. For instance, *pattes* is used to mean both arms and legs, *gueule* and *bec* to mean mouth. Furthermore, Guiraud (1969, p.56) describes another process known as synonymic susbstitution, whereby a series of metaphors which are based on a semantic theme accumulate. It is as if one image triggers others on the basis of the same shared features, like the long established range of images for the head as fruit: *poire*, *pomme*, *cassis*, *fraise*, *citron*, *tomate*, *patate*. Similarly, another synonymic series can be derived from the word *pot*: *bouillotte*, *fiole*, *théière*, *cafetière*, *terrine*, *carafe*, *carafon*, *potiche*.

A fourth semantic process to be identified by Casciani (1986, p.48) is analogy. There are three specific types of substitution by analogy: material, vegetal, and animal. Examples of material series are *capsule* and *tuyau de poèle* meaning hat (i.e. *chapeau*), *fourchette* and *cuiller* meaning hand (i.e. *main*). Examples of vegetal series are *le gazon* for *la perruque* (i.e. wig) or *la chevelure* (i.e. hair), *un coeur d'artichaut* (i.e. inconstant or fickle). Finally, in terms of animal analogies, *imbécile* or *niais* (i.e. fool or idiot) is denoted by the series: *daim*, *buse*, *dindon*, *serin*, *huître*, *mollusque*. Illustrative examples of these morphological and semantic processes from the works of poets in the sub-corpus are discussed in section 5.3.2 of Chapter 5. The next section focuses on

different descriptions of the linguistic norm which have emerged from the research literature.

1.6 The linguistic norm.

This section focuses in particular on four different conceptions of the linguistic norm which are prevalent in the research literature: individual, statistic, prescriptive, and register.

The notion of a linguistic norm is relevant to the study because it occupies an important place in the first hypothesis. **Hypothesis 1** posits that the authors and poets in the corpus are true *argotiers* (cf. **Glossary of key terms and linguistic notions discussed in the main body of the dissertation**, p.346) because they allow for at least fifty per cent 'standard French' words and a comparable number of argotic words. **Hypothesis 1** is discussed in more detail in section 2.5.3 of Chapter 2. Furthermore, as noted by Müller (1985, p. 271), a plethora of terms have been advanced to describe the norm, including *bon français*, *français standard*, *langue zéro*, *français de référence*, *français référentiel*, *français commun*, *norme du français*. The multitude of terms used to denote this concept is confusing because, in practice, this terminology has been used to refer to three distinct conceptions of the norm: individual, statistic and prescriptive. Müller (1985, p.273) characterises the individual norm in the following manner:

La norme individuelle prend en considération les faits de langue que l'individu, pour s'exprimer, choisit parmi les possibilitiés du macrosystème; il pose ces faits de langue, quel que soit son but, ou il les réalise habituellement sans se soucier des normes sociales, jusqu'à former des régularités qui lui sont spécifiques. Autrement dit, une norme individuelle est une norme prescriptive ou statistique relative à un individu et qui définit un comportement linguistique purement personnel.

In other words, an individual is in linguistic conformity with a set of rules which he has chosen for his own personal usage. While this description may be consistent with a more generalised definition of the norm, the distinguishing factor here is that the individual chooses these rules against a background of stablising forces induced by societal norms.[16] An illustrative example is the individual norm of a writer. As Müller (1985, p.274) cogently argues, the personal style of a writer can be characterised by his use of individual linguistic choices which diverge from social convention: 'Ils parlent sans doute la langue de la communauté à laquelle ils appartiennent, mais ils dovient leur rang littéraire, pour une grande part, à des options linguistiques individuelles, aux licences poétiques, à leur style personnel'. Examples of an individual norm adopted by poets in the sub-corpus are provided in section 5.3.2 of Chapter 5.

In contrast to the individual norm, the statistical norm or *norme d'usage* can be defined as 'une forme de la langue qui se régularise d'elle-même, que la

[16] Müller, B., 1985. *Le Français d'aujourd'hui*. Paris: Klincksieck, p.263 provides the following generalised definition of the norm: 'Une prescription, une règle ou l'application prévisible d'une décision qui peut prétender à être universellement reconnue. Un fait, une chose, un comportement, correspondant à des prescriptions, à des règles ou à des applications de ce genre'.

plupart des locuteurs pratiquent ou du moins reconnaissent comme le moyen de communication normale' (Müller 1985, p.277). The important element in this description is the unanimity about the value of this norm. Indeed, the concept of the statistical norm pinpoints an interesting characteristic, shared by the different conceptions of the norm. That is, a certain amount of subjectivity is attached to any discussion of the norm in so far as a given linguistic expression is subject to the elaboration of a value system. Hence, a form is deemed to be prestigious because it is used by a dominant social group and not because of its linguistic merits (Gadet 1989, p.15).

The statistical norm is generally referred to by the following terms: *français commun*, *français usuel*, *langue moyenne*. In sum, this type of norm presents a synchronic view of language: it describes language as it is. Thus, the statistical norm is in marked contrast to the third conception of the norm to be discussed: the prescriptive norm. The latter presents a diachronic view of language: it takes as its base, a linguistic model from the past with a view to correcting the present language. It, therefore, represents an idealised form of language as it should be, or as it could be. A number of labels including *bon usage*, *langue zéro*, *langue de référence*, *français référentiel* were used to refer to this type of norm until the 1960s when they were replaced by the generic term *français standard* which was in turn replaced by the following terms: *norme du français*, *norme grammaticale*, *norme lexicale*, *normalisation*, *langage normalisé* (Müller 1985, p.281).

However, despite the change in terminology, Müller (1985, p.281) insists that a considerable number of French people still conceive the notion of a linguistic norm as being equivalent to the prescriptive norm. This perception can be attributed to the various attempts made by French authorities to impose linguistic uniformity (Sanders 1993, p.1). These include the Edit de Villers-Cotterêts in 1539 which established that all administrative documents would be in French. The effects of the new decree were very rapid: from 1549 there were no traces of the local vernaculars in texts, even in isolated areas (Judge 1993. p.9). Indeed, Gadet (1989, pp.15-16) describes how social and political factors associated with the imposition of French as the national language led to the norm being unequivocally imposed as the dominant form. It was socially motivated or in Gadet's words, 'l'apanage des groupes sociaux dominants parmi lesquels se trouvent les locuteurs légitimes'.

In addition, this prescriptive attitude would appear to be evident in the following descriptions of standard French. According to Hawkins (1993, pp.55-56), standard French can best be described in the following manner:

> Standard French is the official language of France; its grammatical forms, vocabulary and pronunciation are described in text books (grammars, dictionaries and manuals of phonetics); it is the linguistic variety taught in French schools, and the variety which native speakers of other languages usually learn when they learn French as a foreign language.

Similarly, Lodge et al. (1997, p.14), defines standard French in the following terms: 'A set of rules or norms prescribing what is and what is not correct in all

aspects of language—pronunciation, spelling, grammar and vocabulary. The standard form of French is what is taught to foreign learners, in the initial stages at least'.

However, according to Müller (1985, p.279), the notion of the prescriptive norm is no longer valid for two reasons. First, it is no longer tenable to associate this norm with a specific social class as was the case in the seventeenth century when *le bon usage* reflected the linguistic usage of an influential aristocractic minority. Second, it is no longer pertinent that the prescriptive norm should classify thousands of words from *francais familier*, *argot*, *français populaire*, *français vulgaire* (cf. **Glossary of key terms and linguistic notions discussed in the main body of the dissertation**, pp.344-350) as belonging to low-level speech given that they are used so frequently both in speech and writing. Instead, they belong to another type of norm, called *normes de registres*. The latter can be considered as specific norms which relate to different registers, namely *le français familier*, *le français populaire*, and technical languages. In other words, they determine the type of language spoken and the linguistic choices made by speakers in a particular situational context, and are, therefore, outside the scope of *la norme absolue* (Müller 1985, p.270). *La norme absolue*, by contrast, pertains to an entire nation or linguistic community, thereby guaranteeing the majority of speakers a temporally stable network of inter-communication, applicable in a large number of situations and covering a vast geographical and social area (Müller

1985, p.265). The import of the notion of register to the study is discussed in greater detail in section 2.6 of Chapter 2 and section 3.5 of Chapter 3.

Müller (1985, p.279) concludes his discussion of the concept of *la norme* by stating emphatically that future descriptions of the prescriptive norm must be based on language that is either used or accepted by a majority of speakers. He supports his viewpoint by highlighting the fact that no French language dictionary can solely list words which strictly adhere to the prescriptive norm. A dictionary of this nature must also list those words which may be qualitatively inferior but which have a high statistical frequency. This reiterates the essence of his argument: 'La norme statistique va devenir le paramètre de la norme prescriptive' (Müller 1985, p.293). The term 'standard French' as it is used to refer to words in the corpus is operationally defined in section 4.2.1 of Chapter 4. The next section examines the historical principles adopted by lexicographers in non-standard French dictionaries.

1.7 Lexicographic principles of non-standard French dictionaries.

This section concentrates on two specific historical principles of lexicography which have been exploited by lexicographers in non-standard French dictionaries from 1862 to 1901 (cf. **Appendix 1**).

As already mentioned in section 1.3 of this chapter, 1856 marked a turning point in the history of *argot* in so far as lexicographers became increasingly interested in documenting this linguistic phenomenon. The first principle to be

used by lexicographers during the period from 1862 to 1901 involved the excerption of citations from printed literary sources.

It can be suggested that Emile Colombey did not use quotations in his *Dictionnaire d'argot* (1862) because the nature of his lexicographic enterprise differed from that of subsequent lexicographers in so far as he sought to contextualise the mindset and language spoken by thieves in his literary work, *L'Esprit des voleurs*, to which he appended this dictionary (Colombey 1862, p.14). Alfred Delvau, by contrast, in his *Dictionnaire de la langue verte* (1867, reprinted in 1972) provided illustrative examples of how poets, novelists, and dramatists such as Rabelais, Sorel, Dumas, Balzac, Sue, and Hugo used *la langue verte* in their literary works (cf. **Glossary of key terms and linguistic notions discussed in the main body of the dissertation**, p.348). These quotations constitute an integral part of Delvau's lexicographic enterprise in so far as they support and confirm the definitions, while adding a contextual dimension of their own (Burchfield 1986, p.19).

Lorédan Larchey in his *Dictionnaire historique, étymologique et anecdotique de l'argot parisien* (1872) followed Delvau's practice of using quotations. To this end, Larchey (1872, reprinted 1985, p.13) stated that the use of examples in his dictionary served to contextualise the words, hence demonstrating that word meanings are never totally isolable or exclusive. Furthermore, he noted that examples were also used as a means of excluding words which were not argotic. Larchey (1872, reprinted 1985, p.13) reiterated the primary purpose of

including examples in his dictionary: 'L'exemple nous a paru le meilleur moyen de contrôle et de justification, le passeport de tout néologisme'. He cited among his copious examples, quotations from Vidocq, Balzac, Barbey d'Aurevilly, Sue, and Hugo.

Larchey adopted a similar lexicographic approach in his 1881 *Dictionnaire historique d'argot* though he added to his previous collection of authors by using attributed citations from others including Léon Bienvenu, Cavaille, Giraudeau, Jouvin, Lemoine, and Zola. Similarly, Fustier in his supplement to Delvau's *Dictionnaire de la langue verte* (1883) continued the tradition by excerpting citations from authors such as De Goncourt, Huysmans, Humbert, and Vallès.

Charles Toubin in his *Dictionnaire étymologique et explicatif de la langue française et spécialement du langage populaire* (1886) used citations from other etymologists and lexicographers such as Brachet, Scheler, Delvau, and Larchey.

Lucien Rigaud in his *Dictionnaire d'argot moderne: nouvelle édition avec supplément* (1888) included quotations from Balzac, Poulot, Hugo, and Huysmans. Larchey in his *Nouveau supplément du Dictionnaire d'argot* (1889) made copious use of quotations from authors such as Vidocq, Macé, Poulot, and Zola, and poets such as Richepin and Tostain.

In contrast to his contemporaries, Jean La Rue in his *Dictionnaire d'argot et des principales locutions populaires* (1895) did not use quotations from literary sources. Georges Delesalle, in his *Dictionnaire argot-français & français-argot* (1896) provided illustrative quotations from literary sources including works by Dumas, Sue, Hugo, Richepin, and Zola.

Jules Lermina and Henri Lévêque in their *Dictionnaire thématique français-argot: suivi d'un index argot-français* (1897) did not use quotations from literary sources. By contrast, Aristide Bruant in his dictionary entitled *L'Argot au XXe siècle: Dictionnaire français-argot* (1901) gave contextualised examples of how poets such as Rictus and Richepin, and novelists such as Balzac and Hugo used *argot*.

Another possible explanation for this reliance on attributed quotations from literary sources by lexicographers during this period is that given the uncertain and approximate nature of much of the oral documentary evidence on *argot*, based on memory and auditory skills, lexicographers may have recognised the importance of using literary sources as a means of providing real evidence from authors and poets alike. Accordingly, contextualised examples would seek to corroborate or correct what had been heard in an oral medium. Moreover, it would confirm the lexicographical principle which states, 'seuls les termes attestés à l'écrit ont droit de cité dans les dictionnaires' (Geiger 1990, p.xvi).

The second principle to be adopted by lexicographers from 1862 to 1901 concerned the use of style labels. The latter were used as a means of labelling linguistic informality. Furthermore, the lexicographic use of stylistic labels represents a central part of **hypothesis 2**. This second hypothesis posits that the contextual use of *argot* by authors and poets in the sub-corpus will reflect the extension of the stylistic function of this lexis during the period from 1865 to 1895 as documented by lexicographers. This hypothesis is discussed in greater detail in section 2.6 of Chapter 2.

Colombey did not make use of any form of style label in his *Dictionnaire d'argot* (1862), nor did he provide any justification for his actions, apart from reiterating in the form of a prefatory remark (Colombey 1862, p.269) that his focus in the dictionary was on *l'argot des voleurs*:

> Les voleurs, en créant une langue à part, ont voulu pouvoir s'entendre entre eux sans être compris des autres, et s'isoler ainsi de la société dans laquelle ils vivent en l'exploitant. Apprendre leur argot au public, lui expliquer le sens mystérieux de chacun des mots du métier, c'est jeter une clarté salutaire dans les arcanes du crime.

Delvau, by contrast, in his *Dictionnaire de la langue verte* (1867, reprinted in 1972) assigned words, where possible, to particular argotic categories in order to document the origin of these words. Where it was not possible to assign a word, he adopted the approach of leaving it unclassified. Moreover, he added nuances to highlight the specialised nature of certain expressions (cf. **Glossary of key terms and linguistic notions discussed in the main body of the**

dissertation, p.346). In the preface (Delvau 1867, reprinted 1972, p.xxii), he explained his rationale as follows:

Mes attributions ne sont pas arbitraires, pas plus que les nuances que j'y ai introduites et qui n'échapperont pas aux lecteurs perspicaces. Si je dis *argot du peuple* et non *argot des bourgeois*, c'est que l'expression est plus familière au peuple qu'à la bourgeoisie et que je l'ai entendue plus souvent dans la rue que dans la boutique. Lorsque je mets après un mot *argot des voyous* au lieu d'*argot des voleurs*, c'est que ce mot, quoique ayant appartenu peut-être à la langue des prisons, est d'un usage plus fréquent sur les lèvres des voyous que dans la bouche des voleurs. De même pour *l'argot des faubouriens*, qui n'est pas *l'argot des ouvriers*, quoique les ouvriers habitent ordinairement les faubourgs de Paris. De même pour *l'argot des filles*, qui n'est pas *l'argot des petites dames* ou de *Breda-Street*, quoique les unes et les autres exercent la même profession—avec un public différent.

In the main body of the dictionary, Delvau attached other style labels to individual dictionary entries. These included *argot des gens de lettres*, *argot des polytechniciens*, *argot des coulisses*, *argot des marins*, *argot des troupiers*, *argot des francs-maçons*, *argot des soldats*, *argot des cochers*, *argot des carrossiers*, and *argot des enfants*. Larchey adopted a different approach to that of Delvau in so far as he did not use specific style labels. In the introduction to his *Dictionnaire historique, étymologique et anecdotique de l'argot parisien*, Larchey (1872, reprinted 1985, p.14) justified his methodological approach in the following manner:

Je n'ai pas voulu non plus spécialiser, c'est-à-dire borner l'usage de tel mot à une classe plutôt qu'à une autre. Il en est, et c'est le plus grand nombre, qui sortent de toutes les bouches et qu'on ne saurait attribuer aux unes plutôt qu'aux autres. —Où, pour citer un example, entre cent, ne dit-on pas *blague* et *blaguer*? Où ne dit-on pas *chic*? D'autres portent avec eux un cachet d'origine suffisant. Tel mot sent l'armée, comme tel autre sent le voleur ou l'artiste. Il n'est pas besoin d'annoncer que *blaireauter* (peindre avec trop de fini) vient d'un atelier de peinture, et qu'*accrocher* (consigner) sort de la caserne, —cela va de soi, —tandis que *faire le poivrer* (voler un ivrogne) sent son *grinche* d'une lieue.

In 1881, Larchey made the same prefatory remarks in his *Dictionnaire historique d'argot*. The only difference between the two publications was a change made to the dictionary proper. He added the following important information: 'Tous les mots suivis des noms de Grandval, Halbert, Vidocq, Colombey, Moreau Christophe, Rabasse appartiennent à l'argot ancien ou nouveau des classes dangereuses'.

In 1883, Fustier in his supplement to the third edition of Delvau's *Dictionnaire de la langue verte* adopted the same principle of using stylistic labels as Delvau had done in the second edition of his *Dictionnaire de la langue verte*. To this end, Fustier (1883, pp.494-504) made use of labels such as *argot de cercle*, *argot du peuple*, *argot des malfaiteurs, argot théâtral*, *argot militaire*, *argot des voyous*, and *argot des écoles*.

Toubin did not use style labels in his *Dictionnaire étymologique et explicatif de la langue française et spécialement du langage populaire* (1886). Given that Rigaud's *Dictionnaire d'argot moderne* (1888) was published posthumously, it was not possible for him to attach prefatory matter in order to explain and justify his use of the following labels: *jargon des piliers de café*, *jargon des joueurs de baccarat*, *jargon des ouvriers*, *jargon des soldats de cavalerie*, *jargon du peuple*, *jargon des filles galantes*, *jargon des voleurs*.

Larchey (1889, p.xvii) in the preface to his *Nouveau supplément du Dictionnaire d'argot* explained his methodological priorities in the following terms:

> J'ai cherché du moins à compléter ce qui concerne l'argot des classes dangereuses. D'abord parce que son étude pouvait rendre des services au point de vue légal. Puis, parce que becaucoup d'autres argots en dérivent sans en avoir l'air. Le *pouf* du banquier ne fut d'abord que la fuite du rôdeur quittant son garni sans payer. L'innocente demoiselle qui parle d'aller *persiller* en famille au Bois de Boulogne, rougirait de honte si on lui disait que *persil* ne se disait, il y a quarante ans, que de l'argent gagné par la raccrocheuse.

However, it would appear that Larchey was somewhat inconsistent in his lexicographic approach to attaching style labels. For some entries, he would attach the specific style label and mention the source, while for others he would provide only the style label. Examples include ***s'aborgner*** *argot de voleurs* (Rigaud), **agobille** *jargon de voleurs* (A. Pierre), **agrément** *argot théâtral* (Bouchard), **aller au trot** *argot des filles* (Delvau), **allonger la ficelle** *argot de caserne* (Merlin), **allumette (avoir son)** *argot des mécaniciens* (Poulot), **as: numéro 1** *argot des restaurants et des cafés* (no source), **ernest** *argot de journaliste* (no source), and **molécule** *argot des écoles* (no source).

Jean La Rue did not make use of style labels in his *Dictionnaire d'argot et des principales locutions populaires* (1895). Delesalle in his *Dictionnaire argot-français & français-argot* (1896) attached three style labels to individual dictionary entries. First, *argot des malfaiteurs* was denoted by a black circle. Second, *langage populaire* was denoted by a crossed white circle. Finally, *langage populaire* was denoted by a plain white circle. Jules Lermina and

Henri Lévêque did not use any style labels in their *Dictionnaire thématique français-argot: suivi d'un index argot-français* (1897). Similarly, Bruant did not use any style labels in his *Dictionnaire français-argot* (1901).

Figure 1 (over page) illustrates the usage of style labels by lexicographers from 1862 to 1901. While the ten *mots d'argot* listed in alphabetical order in **Figure 1** were randomly selected, there is some inevitable overlap with words classified as *argot* in the corpus. The words concerned are *claquer*, *gueuse*, *jean-jean*, *mioche*, and *pochard*. The meanings of these words are provided in **Appendix 10**. In addition, the pattern of stylistic variation involving the word *claquer* is referenced on pages 445 and 477 of **Appendix 10**. It can be seen from the entries on pages 452 and 468 of **Appendix 10** that the lexical item *gueuse* was not involved in a pattern of register variation. By contrast, the patterns of stylistic variation involving the word *jean-jean* is referenced on page 452 of **Appendix 10**. Similarly, the shift in register variation involving the word *mioche* is referenced on pages 454, 466, and 469 of **Appendix 10**. The final word *pochard* is referenced on pages 457 and 481 of **Appendix 10**. The symbol O is used to denote the non use of a specific style label. The symbol ___ is used to denote that the term is not listed in a given dictionary. **Appendix 3** provides a list of abbreviations for dictionaries of *argot* from 1862 to 1901. The following abbreviations also apply to style labels: *anc. argot* = *ancien argot*, *arg. des classes dang.* = *argot des classes dangereuses*, *arg. des faub.* = *argot des faubouriens*, *arg. des malf.* = *argot des malfaiteurs*, *arg. des vol.* = *argot des voleurs*, *lang. fam.* = *langage familier*, *lang. pop.* = *langage*

populaire. A 'standard French' translation of each word is given in parenthesis.

Figure 1 Usage of style labels by lexicographers from 1862 to 1886.

	DA Col 1862	*DLV Del 1867*	*DH Lar 1872*	*DHA Lar 1881*	*DS Fus 1883*	*DLP Tou 1886*
Bacler (fermer)	**O**	**Arg. des vol.**	**Vieux mot**	**Arg. des classes dang.**	___	**O**
Claquer (mourir)	**O**	**Arg. des faub.**	**O**	**O**	___	**O**
Douille (argent)	**O**	**Arg. des vol. et des faub.**	**O**	**O**	___	**O**
Faucher (couper)	**O**	**Arg. des vol.**	**O**	**O**	___	___
Gueuse (fille publique)	___	**O**	**O**	**O**	___	___
Icicaille (ici)	**O**	**Arg. des vol.**	**O**	**O**	___	___
Jean-Jean (niais)	___	**Arg. du peuple**	**O**	**O**	___	**O**
Mioche (enfant)	___	**Arg. du peuple**	**O**	**O**	___	___
	DA Col 1862	*DLV Del 1867*	*DH Lar 1872*	*DHA Lar 1881*	*DS Fus 1883*	*DLP Tou 1886*
Pochard (ivrogne)	**O**	**O**	**O**	**O**	___	**O**
Salade (pêle-mêle)	**O**	___	___	**O**	___	___

Figure 1 Usage of style labels by lexicographers from 1888 to 1901.

	DAM Rig 1888	*NS Lar 1889*	*DALP Rue 1895*	*DAF Del 1896*	*DT L&L 1897*	*DFA Bru 1901*
Bacler (fermer)	___	___	___	___	**O**	___
Claquer (mourir)	**O**	___	**O**	**Lang. pop.**	___	___
Douille (argent)	**O**	___	**O**	**Arg. des malf.**	___	___
Faucher (couper)	**O**	___	**O**	**O**	**O**	___
Gueuse (fille publique)	**O**	___	**O**	**Lang. fam.**	**O**	**O**
Icicaille (ici)	**O**	___	**O**	**Arg. des malf.**	**O**	**O**
Jean-Jean (niais)	**O**	**O**	___	**Lang. fam.**	___	___
Mioche (enfant)	**O**	**O**	___	**Lang. pop.**	___	___
Pochard (ivrogne)	**O**	___	**O**	**Lang. pop.**	___	___
Salade (pêle-mêle)	**O**	**O**	**O**	**Lang. pop.**	___	___

It can be noted from **Figure 1** above that the usage of style labels or *marques d'usage* by the afore-mentioned lexicographers in the period from 1862 to

1901 was variable. Indeed, the patterns of stylistic variation as revealed by this table would seem to corroborate the viewpoints shared by Müller (1985, p.232) and Wise (1997, p.180) who provide examples of the complexity of assigning *marques d'usage* to words. Their specific relevance to the study is discussed in section 2.6 of Chapter 2.

Notwithstanding this complexity, three patterns of usage emerge from **Figure 1**. First, words such as *claquer*, *jean-jean* and *mioche* demonstrate a shift in register. In the case of *claquer*, this shift is from *argot des faubouriens* to *langage populaire*. In the case of *jean-jean*, the shift is from *argot du peuple* to *langage familier*. In the third example of *mioche*, the shift is from *argot du peuple* to *langage populaire*. Second, words such as *icicaille*, *bacler* and *douille* would indicate the absence of stylistic variation during the period as these words remained the preserve of *argot des voleurs* or *argot des malfaiteurs* or *argot des classes dangereuses*.

1.8 Concluding Summary.

The foregoing discussion has had both a theoretical and an empirical focus. From a theoretical point of view, it has explored the linguistic phenomenon of *argot*. From an empirical perspective, it has sought to contextualise *argot* in terms of its specific relevance to the study. Section 1.2 traced the etymology of *argot* and reached the conclusion that no consensus on the etymology of the word *argot* has emerged from the research literature. Section 1.3 provided an overview of the different sources used to document the chronological

development of *argot* from the thirteenth century to the early part of the nineteenth century. Section 1.4 examined the socio-historical background to the evolving nature of the relationship between *argot* and other varieties of informal French, namely *le français populaire* and *le français familier.* Interestingly, this section highlighted how the difficulty of demarcating the boundaries between *le français populaire* and *argot* has been copperfastened by the inability of linguists to reach a consensus on what constitutes *le français populaire.* Moreover, it mentioned that the boundary between *le français populaire* and another *niveau de langue*, namely *le français familier* was largely indeterminate, but that a certain amount of variation was ensured by the fact that the various social classes perceived some words to be part of their *familier* repertoire while others were deemed not to belong to this register.

Section 1.5 briefly described seven processes which have been pinpointed in the research literature to be especially productive in terms of argotic word creation: clipping (also known as abbreviation), suffixation, *argots à clef*, metonymy, metaphor, synonymic substitution, and analogy. Section 1.6 explored the notion of a linguistic norm, concentrating in particular on the importance of the notion of a linguistic norm in terms of **hypothesis 1** of the study. This first hypothesis is discussed in greater detail in section 2.5.3 of Chapter 2. Finally, section 1.7 discussed two historical principles of lexicography which had been exploited by lexicographers in non-standard French dictionaries from 1862 to 1901. The first principle to be used involved the excerption of citations from printed literary sources. The second principle

concerned the use of style labels used as a means of labelling linguistic informality. Moreover, the lexicographic use of stylistic labels represents a central part of **hypothesis 2** which, in turn, is discussed in greater detail in section 2.6 of Chapter 2. The section concluded with an illustrative table, **Figure 1**, showing how the use of style labels during the period covered by the corpus was not constant. Chapter 2 focuses on the design and construction of the machine-readable corpus and the relevant methodological considerations underpinning this enterprise.

Chapter 2

Methodological considerations underpinning the creation of the corpus.

2.1 Introduction.

This chapter describes and discusses a number of methodological considerations related to the creation and analysis of the corpus. The chapter follows a stepwise approach and has seven sections. This introduction is followed by section 2.2 which describes three fundamental constraints said to play a pivotal role in the task of building a linguistic corpus. Section 2.3 considers criteria for determining the text selection. Section 2.4 outlines how the selected texts can be acquired in computer-readable form. Section 2.5 provides a detailed description of the software used to enhance the corpus with part-of-speech annotation. This process is also known as tagging and involves the attachment of special codes to words in order to indicate particular features. The codes which are assigned to words are known as tags. Section 2.6 describes in detail the software programme, WordSmith Tools used to analyse texts in the corpus. This is an integrated suite of programmes for looking at how words behave in texts. Section 2.7 provides a concluding summary of the chapter.

2.2 Fundamental constraints for corpus-building.

This section describes three fundamental constraints which were considered before the design and construction phase of the corpus-building process was

initiated. The objective of the study, available resources, and copyright issues proved critical in determining the nature, size, and feasibility of conducting the study.

2.2.1 Objective of the study.

One of the first decisions to be taken was to define the objective of the study. In so doing, the research project was given a theoretical framework within which the hypotheses could be tested. This approach is consistent with that advocated by researchers in the field of corpus linguistics. For example, Engwall (1994, p.50) states that 'the objective guides the planned research. In the design phase, the objective defines the category or categories to be examined'. Similarly, Sinclair (1991, p.13) maintains that 'the decisions that are taken about what is to be in the corpus control almost everything that happens subsequently. The first consideration is the aim of the activity of corpus creation'. Accordingly, the primary purpose of the study was to examine the stylistic use of *argot* in a corpus of French literary texts from the second half of the nineteenth century. Literary stylistics can be defined as 'the analysis of language in literature' (Toolan, 1998, p.viii). Thus, the aim of the corpus creation was to provide stylisticians and linguists with information in the following areas: relative proportion of 'standard French' words compared with *argot*, relative frequency of particular types of word class, concordance, collocation, register variation, and stylistic appropriateness. Decisions relating to the period covered by the corpus and to the type of language to be included in the corpus are discussed in sections 2.3.3 and 2.3.4 respectively.

2.2.2. Available resources.

The second constraint for the construction of the corpus concerns the availability of resources to the research project. In the light of the decision to use the computer both in data collection and as a language analysis tool, it was necessary to look at the cost and time factors involved in conducting the study.

The cost factor relates both to the collection of texts and the software needed to analyse them. In the text collection stage of the process, a number of decisions had to be made. In the first instance, it was necessary to decide whether or not it was cost effective to pay a subscription in order to access certain websites. Frantext, for example, was accessible only upon payment of a subscription.[1] However, given that the majority of websites containing French electronic texts were freely accessible, it was decided not to pay any subscriptions.[2]

The second decision deals with the cost of purchasing software needed to analyse the raw data. First, WordSmith Tools text analysis software was purchased from Oxford University Press, Electronic Publishing, Walton Street,

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[1] http://frantext.inalf.fr. Frantext, developed by the *Institut national de la langue française*, is a corpus of over 3,500 mainly literary texts from the 16th to the 20th century.

[2] http://abu.cnam.fr ; http://alalettre.com/Hugo-intro.htm;
http://un2sg4.unige.ch/athena/html/francaut.html;
http://clicnet.swarthmore.edu/litterature/litterature.html; http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/fr-on.html;
http://gallica.bnf.fr ; http://www.julesferry.com/biblio.html
http://pierre.leoutre.free.fr/LITTERATURE.html;
http://perso.wanadoo.fr/sevillane/siteslitt.html; http://poesie.webnet.fr.

Oxford OX2 6 DP, UK at a cost of 50 pound sterling. The WordSmith Tools are a set of easy-to-use Microsoft Windows programmes for generating word frequency listings and concordancers.[3] Section 2.6 of this chapter discusses the use of these tools in analysing the corpus. Second, the decision was taken to purchase a research licence from the Xerox Research Centre Europe, 6 chemin de Maupertuis, 38240 Meylan, France for a Xerox Incremental Parser (XIP) at a cost of 2000 euro. Although expensive, it was deemed to be most the efficient and reliable of the tagging software commercially available. The merits and reliability of this software are discussed further in section 2.5 of this chapter.

The time factor refers to the amount of time devoted to collecting the texts. Taking into consideration the amount of time which could be devoted to this process, it was decided from the outset to restrict the data capture to texts available in computer-readable form rather than those in book format. This involved searching library and academic text archive sites in order to compile a list of electronic literary texts in the period from 1865 to 1895.[4]

In addition, it was necessary to consider the amount of time to be spent on adapting this material already in electronic form. Section 2.4 discusses this procedure in more detail. In sum, the cost and time factors determine what is

[3] http://www.comp.lancs.ac.uk /computing/ucrel/tools.html.
[4] http://www.julesferry.com; http://abu.cnam.fr; http://poesie.webnet.fr.

feasible, restricting the size and scope of the intended corpus (Engwall 1994, p.50; Renouf 1984, p.15). Considerations relating to the size of samples in the corpus are discussed in section 2.3.2.

2.2.3 Copyright issues.

The final consideration to exert a constraining influence on the building of the corpus was the issue of copyright. According to Engwall (1994, p.54), this practical problem is compounded by the fact that 'every text is produced by an individual or a group with the right, if not legal at least moral, to decide upon its use for a certain period of time'. Thus, it was necessary to carefully check each text prior to its inclusion in the corpus. In the case of the texts obtained from the above-mentioned electronic library and academic text archives, the question of copyright and permitted use had already been dealt with by those who established their respective sites and, therefore, did not present any problems.[5]

Having discussed the practical problems associated with the first stage in the process of constructing the corpus, it is now possible to consider the criteria for determining the selection of texts. The intention was to compile a collection of texts, which was representative of both 'standard French' and *argot* from 1865 to 1895. It was decided at the outset that the corpus would contain only written

[5] http://julesferry.com/droitauteurs.html; http://abu.cnam.fr/cgi-bin/donner-html; http://poesie.webnet.fr.

texts. The decision to exclude spoken discourses was underpinned by two factors. First, the lack of availability of spoken transcriptions containing both 'standard French' and *argot* for the period in question. Second, given the problems associated with creating a corpus of spoken discourse, it was decided to opt for written texts. These problems relate to the methodology of transcription. Crowdy (1993, p.259) states that 'the practical difficulties of transcribing sufficiently large quantities of text have prevented the construction of a spoken corpus of over one million words'. This viewpoint is shared by Kennedy (1998, p.20) who maintains that 'it is much slower and more difficult to make spoken corpora because transcription, ideally involving complex phonetic and prosodic features, is much more time consuming and expensive to undertake'.

Notwithstanding these inherent difficulties, there are a number of corpus studies which have used both spoken and written language in their corpora. Examples include the London-Lund Corpus (LLC) of half a million words, the Lancaster/IBM Spoken English Corpus (SEC) of 52,600 words, the Corpus of Spoken American English (CSAE) of one million words, the Map Task Corpus of 147,000 words, the Wellington Corpus of Spoken New Zealand English of one million words (Kennedy 1998, pp.31-38).

2.3 Criteria for text selection.

This section addresses five important methodological issues in the text selection process. The sampling procedure, the size of corpus samples, the

period, diversity of language and subject matter, and different textual genres underpinned the principle of representativeness in the corpus design. The term corpus as it is used in corpus-based studies designates a body of written text or transcribed speech which is maximally representative of a language or language variety (Kennedy 1998, p.1; McEnery & Wilson 2001, p.30). The important word in this definition is maximally because the process of compiling a linguistic corpus entails the building of a sample of that language or language variety. Indeed, Biber (1993, p.242) defines representativeness in corpus design as 'the extent to which a sample includes the full range of variability in a population'. However, Kennedy (1998, p.21) argues that 'the extent to which a corpus can ever be considered to represent a language in general is currently a matter of some contention'. Despite these reservations, there are ways of ensuring that texts are carefully selected in accordance with certain criteria to achieve a maximally representative corpus. The selectional criteria for texts in the corpus are examined in the next sub-section.

2.3.1 Sampling procedure.

According to Biber (1993, p.243), an assessment of the representativeness of any selection of texts depends on a 'prior full definition of the population that the sample is intended to represent, and the techniques used to select the sample from that population'. In the case of the corpus, the population was defined as all French literary texts from 1865 to 1895 available in electronic form. This definition is consistent with those underlying the Brown Corpus, the Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus (LOB), the Longman/Lancaster English

Language Corpus (LLELC), and the British National Corpus (BNC).[6] In relation to the techniques used to select the sample, the literary component of the corpus was compiled by random selection procedures from a bibliographical list. Since there was no readily available list of electronic literary texts published between 1865 and 1895, it was necessary to compile one using a number of library and academic text archive sites. **Appendix 2** lists the different websites used for this process. The reliability of this list was verified using the *Dictionnaire des Littératures de langue française A-Z* (de Beaumarchais et al. 1984) and the *Guide to French Literature 1789 to the present* (Levi, 1992). Moreover, given the importance of reliability, it was decided at the outset that a text would be included in the list on the basis that it was found in both sources. This additional criterion was used because it was established that works by other major poets of the period, including Hérédia, Leconte de Lisle, Mallarmé and Verlaine were available on the websites listed in **Appendix 2,** but were only listed in *Dictionnaire des Littératures de langue française A-Z* and not in the *Guide to French Literature 1789 to the present.*[7]

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[6] Brown: all published English texts printed in 1961 in the United States; LOB: all published English texts printed in 1961 in the United Kingdom; LLELC: British, American and other major varieties of native speaker 20th Century English; BNC: contemporary written and spoken British English from 1991 to 1995 (Kennedy, G. 1998. *An Introduction to Corpus Linguistics*. London: Longman, pp.24-31).

[7] 115 poems from José Maria de Hérédia's collection *Les Trophées* (1893) was available on poesie.webnet.fr. 19 poems from Charles Marie René Leconte de Lisle's collection *Poèmes tragiques* (1884) was available on poesie.webnet.fr. Stéphane Mallarmé's *L'Après-midi d'un faune* (1876), *Album de vers et de prose* (1887), *Poésies* (1887), and *Pages* (1891) were available on poesie.webnet.fr. The collection entitled *Poésies* (1887) was also available on abu.cnam.fr. Finally, poems from Paul Verlaine's collections *Poèmes saturniens* (1866), *Fêtes galantes* (1869), *La Bonne chanson* (1870), *Romances sans paroles* (1874), *Sagesse* (1880), *Jadis et Naguère* (1881), *Amour* (1888), *Parallèlement* (1889), *Dédicaces* (1890), *Bonheur* (1891), *Chansons pour elle* (1891), *Odes en son honneur* (1893) were available on poesie.webnet.fr.

Admittedly, had they been included in the corpus the results would have been very different.

The use of random sampling ensured that all texts in the population had an equal chance of being selected and, thus removed the possibility of there being any subjectivity or personal bias involved in the selection process. In addition to random sampling, another method of sampling was used in the construction of the corpus: stratified sampling. This method proceeded in two stages. First, two subgroups within the population were identified: time and genre. In relation to the time subgroup, every attempt was made to find an electronic text to correspond with each consecutive year in the thirty year time frame. However, there were a number of gaps due to either the unavailability or inaccessibility of electronic literary texts .[8] There was a one year gap in 1870, 1888, 1890 and 1893, and a two year gap in 1866 and 1867, and in 1879 and 1880. Similarly, at the level of genre categories, it was decided to focus exclusively on poetry and prose since it was anticipated that the majority of literary texts would fall into these two text genres.[9] Indeed, this proved to be the case (cf. **Appendix 2**). Second, each of those strata was sampled using random techniques. Biber (1993, p.244) maintains that this approach 'has the advantage of guaranteeing that all strata are adequately represented while at the same time selecting a non-biased sample within each stratum'.

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[8] *Le Rêve* (1888) and *La Bête humaine* (1890) were only available in Picture Document Format on http://gallica.bnf.fr.

[9] Dramatic texts Hervieu had been removed from http://clicnet.swarthmore.edu in 2000. Dramatic texts by Dumas fils, Pailleron, Sardou, Scribe and Hervieu were inaccessible on http://gallica.bnf.fr due to their Picture Document Format.

2.3.2 Size of corpus samples.

The corpus consisted of twenty three complete texts. The decision was made to use complete texts sampled from a population of complete texts, rather than using samples of a specified size taken from complete texts given Sinclair's argument that the study of collocation and concordance require the use of very large corpora (Sinclair 1991, p.19). The total number of words in the corpus was one million, four hundred and ninety one thousand.

Furthermore, the decision to use complete texts was influenced by the debate between Oostdijk and Biber. In a critique of corpus-based approaches to linguistic variation, Oostdijk (1988, p.14-19), argues that 'previous research has so far failed to make a substantial contribution to the development of a descriptive theory of linguistic variation', primarily because 'the corpora that were used were not suited for studying linguistic variation'. Furthermore, Oostdijk (1998, p.19) states that existing corpora are inadequate because 'their samples are too small'. Here he is referring to the text selection process used in the Survey of English Usage (SEU), where samples of 5,000 words each were taken from all varieties of English usage. Similarly, random samples of 2,000 words each were selected from a wide range of texts for both the Brown Corpus and the LOB Corpus.

Oostdijk (1988, p.20) maintains that 'the individual samples of the corpus must be large enough to be representative of a particular variety' and that 'samples of 20,000 words each are sufficiently large in order to yield reliable information about the frequency of occurrence of most syntactic structures'.

This view concurs with de Haan (1989, pp.50-51) who showed that 'samples of 20,000 are sufficiently large to yield statistically reliable results on frequency and distribution'. Biber (1990, pp.258-269) counter's Oostdijk's criticism through empirical analyses of the distribution of linguistic features in a corpus of texts. The results of this empirical research would seem to indicate that 'the existing corpora are adequate for many studies of linguistic variation across texts' (Biber 1990, p.258). In sum, the nature of the study necessitated the use of complete texts.

2.3.3 The period 1865-1895.

The choice of this period was motivated by two factors. Firstly, it is interesting in terms of the unprecedented increase in lexicographic material published during this thirty year period. From 1866 to 1896, ten dictionaries of *argot* were published. Thus, this period can be said to have copperfastened the marked change in focus, heralded by the publication of Francisque Michel's *Etudes de philologie sur l'argot et sur les idiomes analogues parlés en Europe et en Asie* ten years earlier (cited in Calvet 1994, p.29). Henceforth, documentary evidence relating to *argot* came from interpretations and dictionaries, rather than from trial proceedings, or from those who were closely associated with thieves, rogues, and vagabonds. Reference to this shift was made in section 1.3 of Chapter 1.

The second motive for choosing the period in question was for socio-historical

reasons. During the second half of the nineteenth century, French society experienced a number of social changes which influenced the evolution of *argot*. The demolition of insalubrious districts, the closing of prisons, and the removal of social networks brought about the gradual popularisation of *argot*. Up to this point, *argot* was spoken predominantly by thieves and vagabonds. When the latter ceased to be the sole users of this *langue spéciale*, *argot* lost its individuality and the vast majority of its vocabulary spilled over into *le français populaire* (cf. **Glossary of key terms and linguistic notions discussed in the main body of the dissertation**, p.347). For example, words such as *plumard, pépin, bricheton* and *goguenot* were assimilated into the popular lexis, having once been labelled *argotique* (Gadet 1992, p.103). Similarly, **hypothesis 2** of the study explores the stylistic evolution of the argotic lexis during the thirty year period covered by the corpus. This hypothesis is discussed in detail in section 2.6 of this chapter.

2.3.4 Diversity of language and subject matter.

The usefulness of the corpus as a research tool can be measured in terms of the variety of registers and diversity of subject matter (Biber et al. 1998, p. 248; Garside et al. 1997, p.2). Section 3.5 of Chapter 3 examines the different terminology used in the literature to describe the notion of register. Register can be defined as 'the degree of formality or informality which a speaker accords to the listener' (Batchelor & Offord 1993, p.3). Moreover, it is used to refer to the linguistic characteristics of both spoken and written modes of communication. There is consensus among linguists who have studied this

form of stylistic variation that it is best envisaged as a continuum ranging from extreme informality at one end to extreme formality at the other, with different shades of formality in between (Batchelor & Offord 1993, p.6; Battye & Hintze 1992, p.332).

Similarly, the texts in the corpus are representative of these varying degrees of formality and informality. At the formal end of the scale, words are marked as 'standard'.[10] At the other end of the scale, words are described as *argotique* or *populaire*. In between these two poles, words are labelled *familier*.

Diversity of subject matter was also an important consideration. According to Biber et al. (1998, p.248), 'the frequency of many words varies with the subject matter'. Hence, the predominant themes represented in texts in the corpus are misery, prostitution, sex, social redemption, poverty, death, love, family, nature, religion, alcoholism, politics, science, money, and the destruction of human life.

Furthermore, the frequency distribution of 'standard French' and *argot* in all eight parts of speech in each of the twenty three texts in the corpus is presented in chart and tabular form in section 4.3 of Chapter 4.

[10] The term 'standard' is explained in section 4.2.1 of Chapter 4.

2.4 Computer-readable form.

This section describes the process whereby computer-readable versions of texts in the corpus were acquired from different library and academic text archive websites. In section 2.3, it was described how the term corpus designates a finite, maximally representative sample of a language or language variety. Moreover, the term corpus implies that this body of texts is stored electronically on computer (Garside et al. 1997, p.viii). Indeed, the advent of the computer in corpus-based studies has facilitated the compilation and analysis of very large corpora. For example, the Bank of English has over 300 million words, the British National Corpus has about 100 million words, the Longman/Lancaster English Language Corpus has about 50 million words.[11] There are three principal methods of inputting text into electronic form: adaptation of material already in electronic form, conversion by scanning and optical character recognition, and conversion by keyboarding (Sinclair 1991, p.14). Since the corpus did not contain either handwritten material or transcriptions of spoken language, key-boarding was not used. Furthermore, given the number of available literary texts in book format from 1865 to 1895, conversion by scanning and optical character recognition was not practical. Therefore, it was decided to use material already in electronic form and to adapt it accordingly.

[11] These figures were accurate as of 1997 but may have increased or decreased since that time. They are based on reports acquired by Kennedy (1998, pp.47-50).

Appendix 2 contains a list of twenty three electronic texts and the respective websites from which they were sourced. While these sites were freely accessible, thirteen of the texts were presented in PDF format. PDF is an acronym for Portable Document Format. It is the de facto standard for the secure and reliable distribution, and exchange of electronic documents and form around the world, with a ten year track record.[12] PDF is a universal file format that preserves the fonts, images, graphics, and layout of any source document, regardless of the application and platform used to create it. In order to be able to view files in this format, Adobe Acrobat Reader is needed. Thus, prior to downloading the texts to disk format, Adobe Acrobat Reader 6.0 was installed on the computer. This free software was downloaded from Adobe Reader home page.[13] While Adobe Acrobat Reader allows PDF files to be viewed and printed, it does not allow them to be modified in any way. It was, therefore, necessary to find a way of converting them to text format to allow for possible modifications. To this end, the text select tool on the Adobe Acrobat Reader toolbar was used to highlight large portions of the text which were subsequently copied and saved as a text document. The reason why this format was chosen is discussed in section 2.5.2 of this chapter.

The remaining ten texts did not require any adaptation because they were presented in HTML format. HTML is also referred to as Hypertext Mark-up Language and is a simple way of marking up an electronic text so that it can be

[12] http://www.adobe.com/products/acrobat/adobepdf.html.
[13] http://www.adobe.com/products/acrobat/readermain.html.

placed on the internet (Wichmann et al 1997, p.324). The texts in this format were saved as text files. The twenty three texts in the corpus were then proof-read to ensure there were no orthographical or typographical errors in the electronic versions. This was a slow, but necessary process because one concern in creating an electronic corpus is 'the reliability of the corpus representation of the original texts' (Engwall 1994, p.53). In other words, to what extent can all the elements of a specific text sample be included in the electronic text version. This pertains in particular to content words, grammatical words, paragraphs, lower and upper case markings, and punctuation marks.

Indeed, it was decided that the electronic text should as far as possible be identical to the original text because any discrepancies may affect the types of linguistic analysis to be undertaken on the data. This concern was particularly relevant to the corpus analysis because it was annotated or enhanced with various types of linguistic information (McEnery & Wilson 2001, p.32). The particular form of linguistic annotation which was used in the corpus was part-of-speech. However, the accuracy of this information, made explicit through annotation was dependent on the rate of accuracy achieved in creating the electronic texts. The next section discusses the part-of-speech annotation of the corpus in more detail.

2.5 Part-of-speech tagging.

The first part of this section explains the rationale behind the decision to use a Xerox Incremental Parser (XIP) to grammatically tag texts in the corpus as opposed to opting for another less expensive model. This decision was based on accessibility and reliability. First, it was possible to purchase a research licence directly from the Xerox Research Centre in France. However, before purchasing the software, a tagged text sample was requested from the centre to ensure that it was accurate. Upon close inspection of the text, it was confirmed that the tagging scheme used was 98.84% reliable. This level of reliability concords with the rate stated in a paper written by Ait-Mokhtar et al. (2002, p.138), 'the overall precision rate of the disambiguation module is above 98%'.[14] In addition, an assurance was provided from Xerox that technical support would be available upon receipt of the software.

There were other freely downloadable part-of-speech (POS) taggers such as Brill's transformation-based learning tagger and the IMS Stuttgart tagger, but both of these alternatives proved problematic. The first major problem with the Brill POS tagger was that it first had to be trained. This would have necessitated the compilation of a list of the most common tag for each word in the training corpus (Brill 1992, p.153). The second problem related to the error rate of the POS tagger which was approximately 4.5% (Brill 1992, p.154). In other words, it was 95.5% reliable. However, the precision rate for XIP was

[14] Ait-Mokhtar, S., J-P. Chanod & C. Roux are researchers at the Xerox Research Centre Europe, 6 chemin de Maupertuis, 38240 Meylan, France.

higher. Given that the time constraint was a determining factor in the study, it was decided not to download the Brill tagger for use on Microsoft Windows 98.[15]

The other alternative would have been to download the TreeTagger—a language independent part-of-speech tagger which comes complete with parameter files for English, German, French, Italian, and Old French. [16] However, the decision was taken not to download the software because it could only be used on SunSolaris or Linux operating systems and not on Microsoft Windows. In the light of this operational constraint, it was decided not to proceed since the reliability of the software could not be attested and, therefore, it would not have been cost efficient to purchase Linux software before being confident of the rate of accuracy for this POS tagger.

The third option would have been to purchase a research licence for the Connexor Machinese Phrase Tagger for French from Helsinki in Finland, at a cost of 750 euro. This type of tagger is a fast, light parser that enriches the base forms and tags for part of speech, morphology, and basic meaningful entities.[17] Although less expensive than the XIP software, it was observed upon closer examination of an online demonstration that the tagging scheme used was not as clearly presented as the one in XIP. Having considered the

[15] http://jupiter.inalf.cnrs.fr/cgi-bin/mep.exe?HTML=mep_wibrill.txt?CRITERE=ENG...
[16] http://www.ims.uni-stuttgart.de/projekte/corplex/TreeTagger/DecisionTreeTagger.html.
[17] http://www.connexor.com/m_tagger.html.

shortfalls of three alternative readily available taggers, it was decided to purchase the XIP software. This software is described in detail in sub-section 2.5.2 of this chapter. The next sub-section examines some preliminary issues concerning the use of XIP in POS tagging.

2.5.1 Preliminary issues.

This section begins with an outline of different definitions of the word concept which have emerged from the research literature. It then proceeds to operationally define this notion as it is used in the context of XIP. This is followed by sub-section 2.5.2 which discusses the use of XIP in POS tagging. The final part of this section describes the XIP tagset and the use of manual post-editing in relation to POS tagging.

Previous attempts to formulate a clear and precise definition of what constitutes a word have proved problematic. First, a word can be defined on the basis of orthographic properties, whereby it is conceived of as 'les segments que l'écriture isole par des blancs' (Picoche 1992, p.13). However, an orthographic definition is problematic because it does not address speech in so far as these spaces do not correspond to pauses in speech. A further limitation inherent in this approach lies in the fact that not all languages mark word boundaries. Examples include Chinese and Japanese (Singleton 2000, p.7). Another possible definition of a word is that it 'will not have more than one stressed syllable' (Carter 1998, p.6). Thus, *heureux*, *formidable*, *tableau* are unambiguously words. However, the argument does not hold in relation to

other units that are recognized as words but do not actually take stress in ordinary speech. Examples include *par, le, et, si*).

In marked contrast to the afore-mentioned approaches, Wise (1997, p.2) adopts a semantico-syntactic perspective on the definition of the word. She maintains that words 'are usually identifiable as freely mobile units, able to occur in a wide variety of environments and carrying a relatively stable meaning'. She concedes, however, that some elements traditionally thought of as words are limited in their patterns of distribution. She (1997, p.2) cites the example of pronouns (e.g. *je*, *se*, *le*) which are closely associated with verbs and which in some ways 'behave more like appendages or affixes rather than independent words'. Another area of ambiguity is that of compound words such as *grand-parents* and *bonhomme* which are semantically and distributionally single units, although they consist of elements which can themselves function independently as words (Wise 1997, p.2).

In the light of the problematic nature of providing a suitable definition of what is meant by a word, it was decided to use the grammatical versus lexical distinction when referring to the term in relation to the POS tagging of texts in the corpus. Grammatical words comprise a small and finite class of words which includes pronouns (e.g. *je*, *tu*), determiners (e.g. *le*, *un*), auxiliary verbs (e.g. *être*, *avoir*), prepositions (e.g. *dans*, *sur*), and conjunctions (e.g. *mais*, *et*). Grammatical words are variously known as 'functional words, functors, empty words' (Carter 1998, p.8). By contrast, lexical words include nouns (e.g.

chien, *homme*), adjectives (e.g. *beau*, *petit*), verbs (e.g. *trouver*, *vouloir*), and adverbs *(heureusement*, *rapidement*). They are variously known as 'full words or content words' (Carter 1998, p.8).

However, this working definition of the word was problematic in itself in so far as it was pragmatically constrained by the NTM (Normalisation, Tokenisation, Morphology) and HMM (Hidden Markov Model) modules of the XIP system. It was detected during the pilot study that the morphological analyser and part-of-speech disambiguator treated some compound words and fixed locutions as independent morpho-syntactic words and, therefore, did not recognise them as having the semantic coherence of single lexical items. Consequently, the decision was taken to perform manual post-editing in order to correct these ambiguities. The list of words requiring correction is provided in **Appendix 4**.

Furthermore, this manual process represents one of five separate stages of the CLAWS (the Constituent Likelihood Automatic Word-tagging System), tagging system, developed by the Unit for Computer Research on the English Language (UCREL) at the University of Lancaster, England in the 1980s. The first version of this system, CLAWS 1 (1981-1983) was designed to assign a grammatical tag to each of the million words in the LOB Corpus. After the LOB Corpus had been processed by CLAWS 1, it was manually post-edited, whereby erroneous tagging decisions by the computer were corrected (Garside 1987, pp.30-33). The use of manual post-editing in relation to the POS tagging of the corpus is discussed in sub-section 2.5.3 of this chapter. The next sub-

section describes the process of grammatically tagging texts in the corpus using the XIP software.

2.5.2 Use of XIP in POS tagging.

This sub-section provides an overview of the XIP system used to grammatically tag the twenty three texts in the corpus, focusing in particular on the following aspects: the two pre-processing modules (NTM and HMM), acceptable input to XIP, and the command language procedure required to activate the modules. In the User's Guide (XRCE 2001, p.7), the Xerox Incremental Parser (XIP) is described as a 'parser which takes as input plain or processed text, which it transforms and analyses'. Moreover, it states that 'XIP can disambiguate lexical input, segment sequences of linguistic units, and extract dependencies'. While the XIP system is composed of three core modules and two optional pre-processing modules, the processing modules alone were deemed sufficient for the assignment of tags to words. The first pre-processing module (Normalisation, Tokenisation and Morphology) provides 'the normalised form and all potential lexical information for each word identified' (XRCE 2001, p.7). That is, when the tokeniser is activated, it reads the input and outputs a token whenever it has read far enough to be sure that a token is detected. Similarly, the morphological analyser contains a 'transducer lexicon which maps the inflected form of the same word to the same canonical dictionary form' (Karttunen et al. 1992, p.142). Words not found in the lexicon are analysed by a separate finite-state transducer, the guesser. The latter is based on the 'general assumption that neologisms and

uncommon words tend to follow regular inflectional patters. The guesser is thus based on productive endings' (e.g. *ment* for adverbs, *ible* for adjectives, *er* for verbs) (Chanod & Tapanainen 1995, p.149).

As far as the second pre-processing module is concerned, the HMM (Hidden Markov Model), disambiguator uses 'the hidden Markov model algorithm to find the most probable grammatical category of a word according to its context' (XRCE 2001, p.7). In this form of Markov model, the sequence of words is directly observable, whereas the sequence of tags is hidden from the observer of the text; hence the term hidden Markov model (Garside & Smith 1997, p.104). Moreover, it has been successfully used in statistical approaches to automatic part-of-speech tagging by Garside et al. (1987, p.21), and by Cutting et al. (1992, p.138). Garside et al. (1987, p.21) made the following comments in relation to the probabilistic tagger, CLAWS: 'this system is spectacularly successful. Currently, CLAWS is running at a rate of between 96% and 97% of words of authentic text correctly tagged, and we believe this figure can be further improved'.

Similarly, Cutting et al. (1992, p.138) reported that '96 % of word instances were assigned the correct tag'. These statistical methods provide the capability of resolving lexical ambiguity on the basis of the most likely interpretation

(Cutting et al. 1992, p.133). Once the model has been trained[18] (i.e. the parameters of the model estimated), 'a sentence can be automatically tagged by assigning it the tag sequence which is assigned the highest probability by the statistical model' (Brill 1992, p.152). Thus, the HMM Tagger is capable of capturing both lexical and contextual information.

As already mentioned, XIP can take as input plain or processed text. This means that XIP can take the following kinds of linguistic objects as input: raw ASCII text, a sequence of tokenised and morphologically analysed words, a sequence of disambiguated words, a sequence of constituent structures such as NP (i.e. noun phrase), PP (i.e. prepositional phrase) and VP (i.e. verb phrase), and XML (Extensible Markup Language) input (XRCE 2001, p.8).[19] ASCII (American Standard Code for Information Interchange) is a numerical coding system for computerised text. When a computer document is said to be in ASCII, it means that it consists only of the characters that fall within the near-universally adopted lower range of ASCII codes, 1-127, which cover Latin characters, roman numerals, and a basic range of punctuation. Such files which may also be referred to as text only, present far fewer problems than

[18] Cutting et al (1992. 'A Practical Part-of-Speech Tagger'. In *Proceedings of the Third Conference on Applied Natural Language Processing*. Trento: Italy, pp.133-134) identify two forms: a first-order model which assumes that a word's category depends only on the immediately preceding word's category; and a second-order model which assumes that a word's category depends solely on the categories of the preceding two words.

[19] XML is a restricted, but conformant, form of SGML (Standard Generalised Markup Language), which in turn is a simple, clear and formally rigorous form of document markup (McEnery, T. & A. Wilson, 2001. *Corpus Linguistics: An Introduction.* Second Edition. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp.35-38).

formatted word processor files when it comes to manipulating data with different types of software (Wichmann et al. 1997, p.323).

Furthermore, all machine-readable files in the corpus were saved as ASCII text files. A sample text file is presented in **Appendix 5**. The next stage in the POS tagging of the twenty three texts in the corpus was to write a command language procedure using the MS-DOS Command Prompt. After lengthy consultations with the Xerox Research Centre Europe in Grenoble, France, the following command was written in order to initialise the NTM and HMM modules of XIP:

```
nhxipdos –grm ..\data\French.grm –f –text bonheur.txt –tr –tagger –feat >
result.txt.
```

The next sub-section discusses the tagset used in the XIP system and the final phase of the POS tagging of the corpus: manual post-editing.

2.5.3 XIP tagset and manual post-editing.

The tagset used in XIP is broadly similar to that used in the Xerox part-of-speech tagger, described in Chanod & Tapanainen (1995, pp.155-156). This was a statistical tagger made at the Xerox Palo Alto Research Center, California, USA. There are four differences between Chanod & Tapanainen (1995) and XRCE (2001). First, in Chanod & Tapanainen, the tag CONN (i.e. connector) covered both coordinating conjunctions and subordinating conjunctions, whereas in XRCE, there are three separate tags: CONJQUE,

COORD, CONJSUB. Second, in Chanod & Tapanainen, there was a separate tag CM (i.e. comma), whereas in XRCE, there is only one tag (PUNCT) to cover all forms of punctuation. Third, the tag HEURE used to represent time and the tag MISC used to cover miscellaneous words in Chanod & Tapanainen are absent from XRCE. Finally, in Chanod & Tapanainen, the tag COMME was reserved for all instances of the word *comme*, whereas in XRCE, *comme* is included under the tag *CONJSUB*. The principal reason for the absence of these tags from XRCE is because the XIP tagging system 'took advantage of the richer linguistic form available in the form of features lists' (Ait-Mokhtar et al. 2002, p.18). **Appendix 6** provides a list of these features. The tagset of 37 different word-class labels or tags is described in detail in **Appendix 7**. A tagset can be defined as 'a set of grammatical word-class labels' (Leech 1993, p.276). The focus of this sub-section now turns to consider in more detail the grammatical categories included in the above-mentioned tagset.[20]

The first category is the determiner. These can be defined as 'a variety of forms that serve to introduce the noun, and which in some cases, also indicate the gender and number of the noun' (Price 2003, p.18). L'Huillier (1999, pp.7-10) identifies seven classes of determiners: article, demonstrative, possessive, interrogative and exclamative, relative, numeral, and indefinite. An article marks the gender and the number of the noun it determines. There are three

[20] This description follows the traditional approach adopted by Morton (1997. *English Grammar for Students of French*. Fourth Edition. Michigan: The Olivia and Hill Press); L'Huillier (1999. *Advanced French Grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); and Price (2003. *A Comprehensive French Grammar*. Fifth Edition. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

kinds of article: definite (e.g. *le*, *la*, *les*), indefinite (e.g. *un*, *une*, *des*), and partitive (e.g. *du*, *de la*, *des*). Demonstrative adjectives can be either simple (e.g. *ce*, *cette*, *ces*) or compound (e.g. *–ci*, *-là*). Possessive adjectives agree in gender and number with the element possessed, and in person with the possessor (e.g. *les livres de **Marie**: **ses** livres*). Examples include *mon*, *ma*, *mes*, *son*, *sa*, *ses*, *votre*, *vos*. The interrogative adjectives are *quel*, *quelle*, *quels*, *quelles* enable one to ask a question about the noun (e.g. ***quelle** personne demandez-vous?*) Conversely, exclamative determiners are used to express surprise, indignation, joy. Their forms are the same as those of the interrogative determiner: *quel*, *quelle*, *quels*, *quelles*. Relative adectives are constructed with *quel*, preceded by the definite article (e.g. *lequel*, *laquelle*, *lesquels*, *lesquelles*). Numeral adjectives are used before nouns which refer to elements that can be counted, to specify the number or quantity of elements (e.g. *il y avait **cent dix** personnes à cette conférence*). They are also known as cardinal numerals because 'they express numerical quantity (e.g. *un*, *deux*, *trois*) (Price 2003, p.125). The final type are indefinite adjectives which as determiners generally imply a certain quantity of elements, which may be countable or uncountable (e.g. ***quelques** personnes viennent d'arriver*). In the tagset, the tag DET-SG covers masculine as well as feminine forms (e.g. *le chien*, *la cuisine*). Similarly, the tag DET-PL covers both masculine and feminine forms (e.g. *les tables*, *ces livres*). In the tagset, the tag NUM is used to cover the cardinal numerals (e.g. *dix livres*, *19 personnes*). Although a separate tag is used to grammatically classify the cardinal numerals, section

4.2.2 of Chapter 4 explains the rationale behind including all words tagged as NUM within the grammatical category of determiner.

The next part of speech is the qualifying adjective.[21] A qualifying adjective is described by L'Huillier (1999, p.410), as 'expressing a particular quality, a characteristic (essential or accidental) of the 'substance' represented by the noun or the pronoun'. It agrees in gender and number with the noun (e.g *un livre* **intéressant**), or the pronoun (e.g. *elle est* **gentille**) it refers to. Adjectives are used either attributively (e.g. *une* **belle** *maison*), or predicatively (e.g. *ce livre est* **intéressant**) (Price 2003, p.100). In addition, L'Huillier (1999, p.411) notes that 'there are two types of adjectives which do not qualify the noun in the same way as ordinary qualifying adjectives'. They are relational adjectives (e.g. *la frontière* **italienne**) which are always placed after the noun, and short common adjectives (e.g. *un* **gros** *homme*) which are generally placed before the noun. The tag ADJ-INV denotes that an adjective is invariant in number (e.g. *le chien est* **heureux** *quand les enfants sont* **heureux**). The tag ADJ-SG covers both masculine singular and feminine singular adjectives (e.g. *gentil*, *ouverte*). The tag ADJ-PL covers masculine plural as well as feminine plural adjectives (e.g. *bons*, *petites*).

[21] According to L'Huillier (1999. *Advanced French Grammar.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.410), adjectives, other than qualifying adjectives are classed as determiners, alongside articles. They are demonstrative, possessive, numeral, interrogative, exclamative, relative and indefinite.

The third grammatical classification is the noun. Traditionally, the noun is described as 'representing a person, place, animal, thing, abstract notion, or action' (L'Huillier 1999, p.5). Price (2003, pp.14-17) extrapolates on this traditional definition. Accordingly, the noun is described as the subject (e.g. **Mes amis** *travaillent bien*), the complement of the subject after the verb **être**, or another linking verb (i.e *devenir*, *sembler*, *paraître*, *rester*) (e.g. *Il est* **médecin**), the direct object (e.g. *Le garçon lit* **un livre**), the indirect object (e.g. *J'envoie un livre* **à mon frère**), and the complement of a preposition (e.g. *avec* **ses amis**). The tag NOUN-INV denotes a noun invariant in number (e.g. *souris*, *taux*). The tag NOUN-SG covers both masculine singular and feminine singular nouns (e.g. *chien*, *fleur*). Similarly, the tag NOUN-PL covers both masculine plural and feminine plural nouns (e.g. *livres*, *perfections*). A proper noun is 'the name of a specific person, place, animal, thing, event or activity' (Morton 1997, p.4). In the tagset, the tag NOUN-PROPER denotes a proper noun (e.g. *Jacqueline*, *Paris*). Finally, in the tagset, the tag GUESSEDNOUN-PROPER covers proper nouns which are not found in the XIP lexicon, but which are guessed by the morphological analyser (e.g. *Frik*, *Julianges*).

The next grammatical category is the verb. According to L'Huillier (1999, p.65), the traditional definition of verbs are described in the following terms: 'verbs express actions (e.g. *marcher*), states (e.g. *être*), or transformations (e.g. *jaunir*)'. In the tagset there are 14 tags corresponding to different verbal formations. Although **Appendix 7** provides explanations and illustrative examples of their individual meaning, it was necessary to define some of the

recurrent grammatical terms behind these formations. The infinitive form 'is the name of the verb shown by the last two or three letters of the verb' (Morton 1997, p.21). Examples include *danser*, *finir*, *vendre*. An auxiliary verb of which there are only two in French (i.e. *avoir* and *être*) are used to change the tense of the main verb (Morton 1997, p.39). In the following example, the auxiliary verb is ***être*** and the main verb is ***rester***: *je* ***suis resté*** *à la maison.* The tense of a verb 'indicates when the action of the verb takes places: at the present time, in the past, or in the future' (Morton 1997, p.49). According to L'Huillier (1999, p.224), the present participle as a verb has a number of meanings. For example, it can be used to express the cause, the reason for something (e.g. ***ayant réussi*** *à réparer la voiture, ils ont pu repartir*). Alternatively, it can be used to express an action taking place immediately before the main verb (e.g. ***prenant*** *son parapluie, il est sorti*). In contrast, the past participle as a verb 'is used in the construction of all compound tenses, whereby the verbal form is made up of the auxiliary *être* or *avoir* and the past participle of conjugated verb' (L'Huillier 1999, p.73). For example, *ai fini*, *avons mangé*, *est venu*.

The fifth grammatical categorisation relates to the adverb, which can be defined as 'a word that describes a verb, an adjective or another adverb. It indicates manner, degree, time, and place' (Morton 1997, p.97). Adverbs of manner indicate manner and generally, but not invariably end in *ment* (e.g. *simplement*, *mal*). Adverbs of degree define words in terms of quantity (e.g. *assez*, *beaucoup*). Adverbs of time provide a temporal indication (e.g.

aujourd'hui, *souvent*). Finally, adverbs of place indicate location (e.g. *là*, *partout*). In the tagset, the tag ADV covers all four types of adverb. In addition to the afore-mentioned types of adverbs, there is another kind, called adverb of negation. Negative adverbs turn an affirmative sentence into the negative. Examples include *ne pas*, *ne point*, *ne plus*, *ne jamais*, *ne guère* (L'Huillier 1999, p.621). In the tagset, the label NEG covers these negative adverbs. Although a separate tag is used to grammatically classify the negative adverbs, section 4.2.2 of Chapter 4 explains the rationale behind including all words tagged as NEG within the grammatical category of adverb.

The next part-of-speech is the pronoun. A pronoun is 'a word used in place of one of more nouns. It may, therefore, stand for a person, animal, place, thing, event, or idea' (Morton 1997, p.27). L'Huillier (1999, pp.12-14) identifies four major classes of pronouns: personal and impersonal, demonstrative, possessive and interrogative. In the tagset, the tag PRON-P1P2 covers the first or second person pronoun (e.g. *je*, *toi*, *vous*). The tag PRON covers the third person pronoun, both personal and impersonal (e.g. *il*, *le*, *ils*). The tag PRONDEM covers the two types of demonstrative pronoun: simple (e.g. *celui*, *ceux*, *ce*) and compound (e.g. *celle-ci*, *celles-là*). Like possessive determiners, possessive pronouns agree in gender and number with the element possessed, and in person and number with the possessor (e.g. *le sien*, *la nôtre*, *les vôtres*). Finally, the tag PRONREL covers both the simple (e.g. *qui*, *dont*, *où*) and compound (e.g. *à laquelle*, *duquel)* forms of the relative pronoun. Finally, the

forms of the interrogative pronouns are based on those of the relative pronouns (e.g. *qui*, *que*, *lequel*).

The seventh grammatical class is the preposition. A preposition can be described as 'a word that shows the relationship of one word (normally a noun or pronoun) to another word (usually another noun or pronoun) in the sentence' (Morton 1997, p.102). Prepositions are of two types: simple and compound. Simple prepositions consist of a single word (e.g. *sur*, *en*). Compound prepositions are formed of two or more words and usually end in *à* or *de* (e.g. *grâce à*, *à côté de*).[22] In the tagset, the tag PREP covers both simple and compound prepositions.

The final grammatical category is the conjunction. Conjunctions 'serve as linking or conjoining elements' (Price 2003, p.535). Three types of conjunction are represented in the tagset. First, the tag CONJQUE is reserved for all instances of the conjunction *que*. Second, the tag COORD covers coordinating conjunctions which 'join like to like, namely a noun to a noun, an adjective to an adjective, a verb in the indicative to a verb in the indicative'(Morton 1997, p.100). For example *mais*, *ou*. Third, the remaining tag CONJSUB covers subordinating conjunctions. Subordinating conjunctions 'join a main clause to a dependent clause; it subordinates one clause to another'

[22] There are a number of exceptions: *d'après*, *à travers*, *par derrière*, *par-dessous*, *par-dessus* (Price, G., 1993. *A Comprehensive French Grammar*. Fourth Edition. Oxford: Blackwell, p.501).

(Morton 1997, p.100). Examples are *sinon*, *comme*. Section 4.2.2 of Chapter 4 explains the reason why it was necessary to collapse these separate tags into the one grammatical category of conjunction.

The decision to use XIP as a mechanism for assigning grammatical parts of speech to words in the corpus was motivated by the purpose of the study. Thus, **hypothesis 1** posits that the authors and poets in the corpus are true *argotiers* (cf. **Glossary of key terms and linguistic notions discussed in the main body of the dissertation**, p.346) because they allow for at least fifty per cent 'standard French' words and a comparable number of argotic words. This supposition is based on Larchey's (1872, reprinted 1985, p.15) viewpoint:

> L'argot des classes dangereuses ne se parle pas en réalité comme on s'est plu à l'écrire jusqu'ici. Beaucoup de romanciers ont fait parlé à leurs personnages un *argot* trop complet en ce sens qu'il n'y entre assez de mots de la langue usuelle. Nos argotiers ne sont pas si exclusifs, et tout en forgeant des mots de convention, leurs phrases admettent encore 50 pour cent de français intelligible'

Every hypothesis test contains two hypotheses: the null hypothesis Ho and the alternative hypothesis Ha. The null hypothesis states that the proportion of 'standard French' and *argot* is equal in the respective parts of speech in all authors and poets in the corpus. The alternative hypothesis states that the proportion of 'standard French' is greater that the proportion of *argot* in the respective parts of speech in all authors and poets in the corpus. This research hypothesis is based on the assertion of another linguist, Casciani (1895, pp.39-

40) that the proportion of 'standard French' can often be greater than fifty per cent:

> Les phrases qu'on lit quelquefois dans les romans et qui sont uniquement composées de mots d'argot ne doivent être regardées que comme des exercices ou des fantaisies littéraires. Dans le véritable argot des classes dangereuses tel qu'on le parle, il entre au moins la moitié des mots de la langue commune et souvent bien davantage' (**Glossary of key terms and linguistic notions discussed in the main body of the dissertation**, p.344).

In order to test this hypothesis, it was necessary to measure the frequency distribution of 'standard French' and *argot* in each of the eight parts of speech across all twenty three texts. The results are presented in tabular and chart form in sections 4.2.2 and 4.3 of Chapter 4. The output from the XIP tagging system is a tagged text. A sample text, annotated with part-of-speech information is presented in **Appendix 8**. All 23 texts annotated with part-of-speech information are saved on a compact disk.

The remainder of this sub-section is devoted to a discussion of how a number of lexical ambiguities were resolved during the manual post-editing phase of the tagging process. As already mentioned in section 2.5.1 of this chapter, the pilot study highlighted the fact that some lexical units were assigned two tags even though there are semantically single units and are only given one dictionary entry. This assertion is based on lexical entries in the dictionaries of *argot* listed in **Appendix 1**. The list of words concerned is given in **Appendix 4**. In addition, the relevant grammatical information provided by the dictionaries is noted. The first pattern to emerge from the list concerns fixed locutions which were listed as single morpho-syntactic units in the dictionaries

and grammatically classified as verbs. Fixed locutions can be defined as 'des groupes de mots où les mots qui le(s) composent perdent toute signification, et l'ensemble seul en a une' (Grossmann & Tutin 2003, p.7). The label (v.) was used to denote this grammatical category. Examples from the corpus include **'chiera du poivre'** (*L'Assommoir*, p.342), **'se piquait pas le nez'** (*Aux Bat. D'Af.* in *Dans la Rue* Volume 2), and **'a fichu le camp'** (*Ferdinand* in *A se tordre*, p.44).[23]

Similarly, it would appear from **Appendix 4** that a number of compound words were given single morpho-syntatic entries in the dictionaries and additional grammatical information was provided as to the gender of these compound nouns. A compound may be defined as 'a word which has other words as its components' (Leech 1997, p.22). Examples from the corpus include **'casse-poitrine'** (*De la Terre à la Lune,* p.37), **'les jours de sainte-touche'** (*L'Assommoir*, p.344), and **'croque-mort'** (*L'Assommoir*, p.348).[24]

The third pattern evident from **Appendix 4** relates to expressions that were grammatically classified in the dictionaries as nouns. Examples from the corpus include **'avait la flemme'** (s.f) (*L'Asssomoir*, p.52), **'faire la noce'**

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[23] Page number references are to Zola, E., 1999. *L'Assommoir*. Paris: Hachette; Allais, A., 2002. *A se tordre*. Paris: Flammarion.

[23] Page number references are to Verne, J., 1966. *De la Terre à la Lune*. Paris: Hachette; Zola, E., 1999. *L'Assommoir*. Paris: Hachette.

[24] Page number references are to Zola, E., 1999. *L'Assommoir*. Paris: Hachette.

(s.f.) (*L'Assommoir*, p.387), and **'ne fais pas four'** (s.m.) (*Autre sonnet bigorne* in *La Chanson des Gueux*).[25]

The final category of words are those cases that were not grammatically classified in the dictionaries, but were nevertheless treated as single morpho-syntactic words. Examples from **Appendix 4** include **'fiche-moi la paix'** (no label) (*Un moyen comme un autre* in *A se tordre*, p.49), **'fait chibis'** (no label) (*Autre sonnet bigorne* in *La Chanson des Gueux*), and **'rond comme une balle'** (no label) (*Amoureux* in *Dans la Rue*, Volume 1).[26]

Furthermore, these examples are indicative of a problem inherent in grammatical tagging systems, that is, how to deal with fixed locutions and compounds which deviate from the one-to-one correspondence between orthographic and morpho-syntactic words (Garside et al. 1987, p.31; Leech & Smith 1997, p.104). An orthographic word is 'recognisable on the page by the white space preceding and following—but not necessarily interrupting it' (Leech 1997, p.21). A morpho-syntactic word can be defined as 'the unit requiring identification for the purposes of grammatical tagging' (Leech 1997, p.21). This problem was resolved by using manual post-editing after the corpus had been processed by the Xerox Incremental Parser. This final phase of the tagging process consisted of firstly, isolating the words in the specific literary works, and then making the necessary corrections both in terms of the

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[26] Page number references are to Allais, A., 2002. *A se tordre*. Paris: Flammarion.

tagged text and the arithmetical counts. The next section looks at WordSmith Tools, the second type of text analysis software to be used on the corpus.

2.6 WordSmith Tools text analysis software.

As already mentioned in section 2.2.2 of this chapter, it was decided to purchase WordSmith Tools software in order to carry out a detailed analysis of words in the corpus. Of the six tools in this integrated suite of programmes, Wordlist and Concord are the most advantageous for such an analysis.

The Wordlist Tool generates word lists based on one or more ASCII or ANSI text files.[27] As already mentioned in section 2.5.2 of this chapter, all texts in the corpus were saved as ASCII text files. Furthermore, the word lists are automatically generated in both alphabetical and frequency order.[28] The alphabetical word list brings together words which begin with similar sets of letters (Barnbrook 1996, p.47). In contrast, when words are sorted into frequency order, the most frequent word appears first (Hockey 1998, p.115).

In terms of analysing words in the corpus, the Wordlist Tool was particularly useful because the argotic content, previously identified during the POS phase could be isolated, and particular instances of a word could be further examined contextually using the Concord programme. The latter is a computer programme which makes a concordance using specified text files. It operates

[27] http://wwww.oup.co.uk
[28] http://www.oup.com/elt/global/lisbon/6890

in two stages. First, a search word, or keyword is specified which Concord seeks in the text files. It then presents a concordance display. A concordance can be defined as 'a collection of occurrences of a word, each in its own textual environment' (Sinclair 1991, p.32). In other words, each occurrence of a word, surrounded by some words of context is presented. The Keyword in context format (KWIC) is the standard display option in many general purpose concordance packages, including the Concord programme in WordSmithTools. This type of concordance displays a chosen keyword or search-word in all its occurrences with a set number of words or characters either side of the keyword (McCarthy 1990, p.74). The main advantage of this format is the ease with which it can be read and with which changes in the context can be detected due to the fact that the keywords are aligned down the middle of the screen or page (Barnbrook 1996, p.69). A click on one line of context can expand the context to some other amount of text (e.g. 5 lines).

Various options permit the retrieval of search words. The simplest is to input the exact word itself. The query may also include wild card symbols. These anything characters provide the ability to search for multiple forms of a word. (Barnbrook 1996, pp.70-72; Hockey 2000, p.56). The search word syntax in Concord allows the following symbols to be used as wild cards. An asterik (*) can be used to denote any number of characters in so far as the symbol is interpreted by the software as meaning any other character or characters. The query *m*e* finds any word beginning with *m* and ending with *e*, including *mère*,

moustache, *marbre*, *mousse*, *mille*.[29] The symbol *?* may denote any single character including punctuation. The query *mouchard?* finds *mouchard*, *moucharde*. The symbol ^ may denote any single letter of the alphabet. The query *noce^* finds *noce*. Finally, the symbol / can be used to separate alternative search words. It is possible to specify up to fifteen alternatives within an 80-character overall limit. The query *gosse/gosses* finds *gosse* and *gosses*.

Moreover, the use of a concordance programme allowed the behaviour of individual occurrences of keywords in their original contexts in the corpus to be assessed. The study of the linguistic environment of words was a central part of **hypothesis 2**. This second hypothesis posits that the contextual use of *argot* by authors and poets in the sub-corpus should reflect the extension of the stylistic function of this lexis during the period, as documented by lexicographers. The sub-corpus is presented in **Appendix 11**. From 1865 to 1895, the traditional usage of *argot* was extended by lexicographers to account for the gradual popularisation of this informal variety of language. Accordingly, they used a number of style labels or *marques d'usage*, which can be placed on a continuum, ranging from *argot des voleurs, argot du peuple, français populaire* to *français familier*. This hypothesis is shaped by references in the literature to stylistic appropriateness. For instance, Wise (1997, p.180) maintains that lexical labels such as *littéraire*, *soutenu*, *soigné*,

[29] These words were generated by Concord using the ten texts in the sub-corpus as the selected texts.

familier, *argotique*, *populaire*, and *vulgaire* are used in dictionaries to give some indication of the field, register or sociolect to which particular words or phrases are appropriate. She adds, however, that what some dictionaries consider *familier* and others *populaire*, are elsewhere classed as *argotique*. Examples of this phenomenon as instanced by Müller (1985, p.232) are provided in section 3.5 of Chapter 3. Given this stylistic complexity, it was decided to examine the use of these style labels contextually. The results of this analysis are presented in section 5.5.2 of Chapter 5. It is an opportune time to acknowledge the circular nature of the evidence presented. Thus, there is said to be dictionary evidence that the use of argot by authors and poets in the sub-corpus reflects a register shift that takes place during the thirty year period in question, but of course much of the dictionary evidence is based on the use of these lexical items by these authors and poets, as the only written attestation that exists.

2.7 Concluding Summary.

This chapter has discussed the primary methodological considerations of a corpus-based approach to the study of literary stylistics. Section 2.2 described how during the design phase of the corpus construction project, due consideration had to be given to the objective of the study, time and cost factors, and obtaining copyright permissions. Each of these issues had a constraining influence on the scope and feasibility of building this corpus of twenty three literary texts. Section 2.3 discussed five important methodological considerations, designed to ensure that this corpus was

representative of literary French from the second half of the nineteenth century, in both standard and non-standard form. This was followed by section 2.4 which outlined how the selected texts were acquired in machine-readable form from a number of different library and academic text archive sites. It also outlined the procedure by which thirteen of the twenty three texts were converted from PDF into text format using Adobe Acrobat Reader. Section 2.5 provided a detailed description of the Xerox Incremental Parsing system used to assign to each word in the texts an unambiguous indication of the grammatical class to which the word belonged in that specific context, and was divided into three sub-sections. Section 2.5.1 sought to elucidate the problematic nature of defining the word concept, and then adopted a working definition of the notion to be used in relation to the POS tagging of texts in the corpus. This section also highlighted that despite the high rate of accuracy, 98.84%, the NTM and HMM pre-processing modules in XIP made some erroneous tagging decisions which required subsequent correction during the manual post-editing phase of the process. Section 2.5.2 described the mechanism by which texts were grammatically tagged, focusing in particular on the two pre-processing modules (NTM and HMM), acceptable input to XIP, and the MS-DOS command language procedure which had to be written in order to activate the modules. The final sub-section 2.5.3 provided an overview of the tagset used in XIP and the grammatical categories contained therein. Moreover, it explained the rationale behind using XIP and how the measurement of the frequency distribution of 'standard French' and *argot* in the respective parts of speech in all twenty three texts was an integral part of

hypothesis 1. This sub-section concluded with a discussion of how lexical ambiguities were manually corrected. Finally, section 2.6 explored the use of Wordlist and Concord computer programmes as a means of analysing language in the texts. Wordlist was a particularly powerful tool in the selection of words for further investigation through concordance listings. To this end, the programme Concord was used to assess the behaviour of individual occurrences of keywords in their original contexts in the corpus. Furthermore, it was noted how the examination of the use and behaviour of words was a central part of **hypothesis 2**. The results of this analysis are presented in section 5.5.2 of Chapter 5. Chapter 3 is devoted to a presentation of the theoretical underpinnings of the research project in the field of literary stylistics.

Chapter 3

Some recurrent themes of research on literary stylistics.

3.1 Introduction.

Reference has already been made to the notion of literary stylistics. In section 2.2.1 of Chapter 2, it was defined as 'the analysis of language in literature' (Toolan 1998, p.viii). Furthermore, it was explained that the particular emphasis of the study is on the stylistic use of *argot* in a corpus of French literary texts from the second half of the nineteenth century. The aim of this chapter is to introduce and discuss some recurrent themes of research on literary stylistics in an attempt to contextualise the study within a historio-theoretical framework. Results of the study are presented and discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. Chapter 3 has eight sections. Section 3.2 explores the primary methodological approaches to stylistics in the research literature during the course of the twentieth century. Section 3.3 looks at the similarities and differences between Riffaterre's theory on reader response mechanisms, and that developed by Fish in the field of affective stylistics. Section 3.4 describes the shift in research focus away from emotive elements and onto expressive features of language. Section 3.5 examines the different terminology used to describe register in the literature. Section 3.6 discusses different trends in the study of the language of dialogue in the research literature. Section 3.7 surveys a number of studies previously undertaken in the

field of statistical stylistics or stylostatistics. Section 3.8 provides a concluding summary of the chapter.

3.2 Methodological approaches to stylistics.

This section describes how six linguistic traditions have developed different approaches to the study of stylistics.

3.2.1 Spitzer's philological circle.

Spitzer embraced an 'idealist' notion of literary stylistics (Guiraud 1972, p.71). In other words, he tried to find the ideas underlying the surface of linguistic expression (Enkvist 1973, p.29). To this end, he conducted a series of stylistic analyses of individual authors, including Cervantes, Claudel, Diderot and Racine. Indeed, it was through these style studies that he gradually evolved his own method, the so-called philological circle (Ullmann 1964, p.122).

Spitzer (1948, pp.19-20) characterized the principle of the philological circle as a 'to-and-fro voyage from certain outward details to the inner centre and back again to other series of details'. That is, the reader has to first make an observation about some linguistic trait of the writer's style. He subsequently looks for a psychological explanation for this feature, what is called in Spitzerian terms, a 'pseudo-objective motivation' (Spitzer 1948, p.13). Finally, the reader goes back to all the other groups of observations to verify that this was indeed the element of

his inspiration (Spitzer 1948, p.19). Spitzer's method was in marked contrast to the approach adopted by Mukarovsky and the Prague School of Linguistics.

3.2.2 Mukarovsky and the Prague Linguistic Circle.

Mukarovsky and the Prague Linguistic Circle sought to establish a firm theoretical basis for their characterisation of literary style as representing a deviation from the norm. According to Mukarovsky (1964, pp.26-27) 'the very essence of poetic language (i.e. literary language) is the distortion of the norm of the standard and it is improper to ask poetic language to abide by this norm'. He justifies this viewpoint by arguing that literary language is a different form of language because it serves a different function from that of the standard. The function of poetic language consists in the maximum of foregrounding of the utterance (Mukarovsky 1964, p.19). This means that certain aspects or features of a poetic text can be made to stand out, be foregrounded (Malmkjaer 1991, p.441). In addition, it is posited that this form of linguistic highlighting can be used to explain in qualitative terms the degree of markedness in a number of poetic texts in the sub-corpus. The specific relevance of the notion of foregrounding to the study is discussed in section 5.3.2 of Chapter 5. The next sub-section describes how the assumptions underlying both Spitzer's and Mukarovsky's linguistic approaches to literary stylistics have been questioned by other stylisticians such as Bruneau, Riffaterre, and Arrivé.

3.2.3 Challenges to the Spitzerian circle and to Mukarovsky's theory of deviance.

Bruneau's (1951, p.11) main criticism of Spitzer's stylistic method is that it is not scientific and, therefore, cannot be proven. Bruneau (1951, p.11) attributes this lack of scientific basis to the fact that intuition which lies at the heart of Spitzer's method is an ambiguous notion. According to Spitzer's inductive-deductive theory, intuition has three core components: talent, experience and faith (Spitzer 1948, p.27). However, Bruneau (1951, p.11) maintains that linguists only recognise one of these components: experience, 'l'expérience est une notion familière aux linguistes, mais le talent n'est pas sans nous inquiéter, et plus encore la foi'.

Riffaterre, by contrast, identified two methodological shortcomings inherent in Mukarovsky's style as difference school of thought. First, Riffaterre (1960-61, p.217) asserts that defining style in terms of the linguistic norm is problematic because stylisticians are unable to either situate or prove the validity of the notion of overall norm. Second, Riffaterre (1959, p.168) argues that the linguistic norm is irrelevant because the readers base their judgments (and the authors their devices), not on an ideal norm, but on their individual concepts of what is the accepted norm (i.e. what the reader 'would have said' in the author's place).

Instead of defining literary style as a departure from the linguistic norm, Riffaterre (1959, p.169) proposed to replace the notion of the norm with that of stylistic

context, and to study stylistic devices in relation to this context. He cogently argues that a stylistic context is not associative, it is not the verbal context which reduces polysemy or adds a connotation to a word. It should be defined rather as 'a linguistic pattern suddenly broken by an element which was unpredictable, and the contrast resulting from the interference is the stylistic stimulus' (Riffaterre 1959, 171). The stylistic value of the contrast results in the relationship it establishes between the two clashing elements; no effect would occur without their association in a sequence. According to Riffaterre (1964, p.318), this concept of context has over the norm 'the advantage of being automatically relevant'. This means that it is variable and constitutes a series of contrasts for the successive stylistic devices. He argues, moreover, that only this variability can explain why the same linguistic item acquires, changes, or loses its stylistic effect according to its position and also why deviation from the norm does not necessarily coincide with style (1960, p.207).[1]

Moreover, Riffaterre (1959, p.170) used the concept of stylistic context as a criterion and as a corrective to his Average Reader's shortcomings. He coined the term Average Reader (AR) to describe a group of informants who are capable of perceiving the specific character of style through their reactions to linguistic features of text in terms of their stylistic value (Wales 2001, p.37).

[1] According to Riffaterre's 'Criteria for Style Analysis' (1959, p.155), style is 'understood as an emphasis (expressive, affective or aesthetic) added to the information conveyed by the linguistic structure, without alteration of meaning'.

Furthermore, Riffaterre (1959, p.170) maintains that the application of the context as a criterion and as a corrective to the AR's shortcomings is easy because if the hypothetical stylistic device and its context do not present any discrepancy, such as a difference of social level between words, entailing conflicting connotations, or a different word-order, then it can be assumed that there was on the part of the AR an over-response to the text, or an error by addition. In that case, the initial clue can be dismissed. The category of error by addition is characterised by Riffaterre (1959, p.166) as follows: 'normal, hence irrelevant linguistic elements of a past state of the language look like stylistic units (e.g. archaisms), because they have disappeared from the language system used by the readers and therefore strike them as abnormal'. In section 3.3, Riffaterre's Average Reader construct is discussed in more detail.

Similarly, the methodology advanced by the Prague structuralists was criticised by Arrivé. Arrivé (1969, p.12) argued that the hypothesis 'que les éléments du texte qui comportent des écarts sont susceptibles d'être pertinents au niveau du système de connotation' was flawed on two accounts. First, the identification of deviance presupposes the formulation of a precise definition of a norm. But what are the criteria for establishing such a norm? Second, some units may be pertinent (i.e. foregrounded) without representing a deviation. He cites the example of three words taken form the literary work *Ubu Roi* by Alfred Jarry. Two of the words, *merdre* and *phynance* are graphically and phonologically deviant, whereas the

third word, *physique* is not deviant, but was still found to be distinctive in the text (Arrivé 1969, p.12). The next sub-section considers the stylistic approach adopted by the London school of linguistics.

3.2.4 The Neo-Firthian linguistic approach to stylistics.

The London or Neo-Firthian school of linguistics believed that language, including literary language cannot be viewed apart from its context of situation (Freeman 1970, p.9). This implies that language must be seen as the exchange of meanings in interpersonal contexts and is, therefore, subject to two types of variation: variation according to user, and variation according to use (Malmkjaer 1991, p.160). The first type of variation is in accent and dialect, whereas the second type refers to register variation. Both types of variation are relevant to the study. In section 1.2 of Chapter 1, it was described how a number of dialects were a source of lexical diffusion for *argot*. In section 2.3.4 of Chapter 2, it was suggested that the usefulness of the corpus as a research tool can be measured in terms of the variety of registers contained therein. These range from extreme informality at one end to extreme formality at the other, with different shades of formality in between. Furthermore, in section 3.5 of this chapter, the different terminology used to describe register is examined. The next sub-section discusses the contribution made by the literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin to stylistics, focusing in particular on the concepts of polyphony and heteroglossia and on his assertion for the need for a sociological stylistics.

3.2.5 Mikhail Bakhtin and sociological stylistics.

The term polyphony comes from the Greek word *polifonia* and means many-voicedness. According to Roberts (1994, p.249), it is used by Bakhtin 'primarily to describe Dostoevsky's multi-voiced novels, whereby author's and heroes' discourses interact on equal terms'.[2] Moreover, it demonstrates and celebrates the dialogic nature of society by presenting a vision of human society dominated by the dialogue and play between voices and utterances. Thus, the polyphonic novel can be said to present a world in which all characters, and even the narrator him-or herself, are possessed of their own discursive consciousnesses, rather than an objective, authorial voice presenting the relations and dialogues between characters (Allen 2000, p.23).

In a later and crucially important essay 'Discourse in the Novel' Bakhtin introduces another concept heteroglossia.[3] Given that *hetero* stems from the Greek word meaning 'other' and that *glot* stems from the Greek for 'tongue' or 'voice', heteroglossia can, according to Allen (2000, p.29), be defined as 'language's ability to contain within it many voices, one's own and other voices'. Furthermore, Bakhtin (1981, p.262-263) argues that a distinguishing feature of the novel as a genre compared to poetry is that it readily incorporates heteroglossia as

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[2] *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* was first published in Russian in 1929.

[3] The essay 'Discourse in the Novel' was first published in 1935. All page references here are to Bakhtin, M.M. 1981. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. Edited by Michael Holquist. Translated by C. Emerson and M. Holquist. Austin : University of Texas Press.

a principle of its structure. It is described by him (1981, pp.262-263) in these terms:

> The novel can be defined as a diversity of social speech types and a diversity of individual voices, artistically organized. The internal stratification of any single national language into social dialects, characteristic group behaviour, professional jargons, generic languages, languages of generations and age groups, tendentious languages, language of the authorities, of various circles and of passing fashions...is the indispensable prerequisite for the novel as a genre. The novel orchestrates all its themes, the totality of the world of objects and ideas depicted and expressed in it, by means of the social diversity of speech types and by the differing individual voices that flourish under such conditions. Authorial speech, the speeches of narrators, inserted genres, the speech of characters are merely those fundamental compositional unities with whose help heteroglossia can enter the novel; each of them permits a multiplicity of social voices and wide variety of their links and interrelationships.

For Bakhtin, it is precisely this diversity of voices and heteroglossia that constitute the distinguishing feature of the novel as a genre. He points out, however, that traditional stylistics has no method for approaching the distinctive social dialogue among languages present in the novel. Therefore, he asserts the need for a sociological stylistics, which he characterises as 'the internal social dialogism of novelistic discourse requiring the concrete social context of discourse to be exposed, to be revealed as the force that determines its entire stylistic structure, its form and its context, determining it not from without, but from within' (Bakhtin 1981, p.300). This stylistics is, in his opinion, capable of dealing with the distinctiveness of the novel as a genre.

Bakhtin (1981, pp.301-324) outlines four compositional forms for incorporating and organising heteroglossia in the novel: the comic novel, the posited author, the language used by characters, and incorporated genres. In terms of the study, the most relevant form is character speech. Section 4.4.2 of Chapter 4 discusses in greater detail how heteroglossia enters the novels in the sub-corpus primarily in the *argot* used by characters. In addition, attention is focused on the double-voice of free indirect speech used by Alphonse Allais, Jules Renard, and Emile Zola in novels in the the sub-corpus, because as Bakhtin (1981, p.324) writes:

> Heteroglossia, once incorporated into the novel is another's speech in another's language, serving to express authorial intentions but in a refracted way. Such speech constitutes a special type of double-voiced discourse. It serves two speakers at the same time and expresses simultaneously two different intentions: the direct intention of the character who is speaking, and the refracted intention of the author. In such discourse there are two voices, two meanings and two expressions.

The final part of this section concentrates on an alternative method of stylistic analysis which can be characterised as a set of categories to be included in the practical application of investigating literary style.

3.2.6 Two grammars of style.

Marouzeau (1969, pp.19-20) in his *Précis de stylistique française* explained how stylistic analyses include all five traditional levels of linguistic description. The starting point for his empirical method of stylistics is to examine the phonological qualities of a specific stylistic device. This is followed by an analysis of its

graphic forms. The third step in the process is to look at different linguistic properties of words, including morphological, semantic and lexicographic aspects. The next stage focuses on various syntactic considerations such as grammatical categories, sentence construction, and word-order. Indeed, Marouzeau's method represented a significant departure from traditional stylistics which sought to expound the notion of *le bon usage* because at each level of analysis, the stylistician will have to consider two questions: what was the author's intention and what will be the reader's/listener's reaction ? (Marouzeau 1969, p.20). In so doing, it copperfastened the importance of reader response theories which had been developed by Riffaterre some years earlier.

Similarly, Cressot (1971, p.2) in *Le Style et ses techniques: Précis d'analyse stylistique* outlined his method of stylistic analysis. He proposes to concentrate on the expressive and esthetic factors used to determine a language user's choice of lexis, grammar, syntax, and phonetics. Expressiveness refers to the force and dynamism of the utterance. Esthetics describes the artistic means used by the writer to trigger a positive response from the reader: 'Toute l'esthétique qu'y fait rentrer l'écrivain n'est en définitive qu'un moyen de gagner plus sûrement l'adhésion du lecteur' (Cressot 1971, p.3). Thus, for Cressot, a literary work represents a communicative process in which both the writer and reader are engaged. It is this understanding of the function of literary expression that differentiates Cressot's stylistic method from that of Bally. While Bally (1951,

p.19) may have extended his original conception of expressiveness, he still maintained that literary expression should be excluded from stylistics:

> Pour le littérateur, les conditions sont toutes différentes: il fait de la langue un emploi volontaire et conscient; en second lieu et surtout, il emploie la langue dans une intention esthétique; il veut faire de la beauté avec les mots comme le peintre en fait avec les couleurs et le musicien avec les sons. Or cette intention, qui est presque toujours celle de l'artiste, n'est presque jamais celle du sujet qui parle spontanément sa langue maternelle.

In section 3.4, Bally's transition from his original emphasis on the study of emotive elements to concentrate on expressive features of language is discussed. The next section explores the similarities and differences between Riffaterre's theory on reader response mechanisms, and that developed by Fish.

3.3 Reader response criticism.

As already mentioned in section 3.2.3 of this chapter, Riffaterre (1959, p.165) coined the term Average Reader to refer to 'the group of informants used for each stimulus or for a whole stylistic sequence'. In 'Criteria for Style Analysis', Riffaterre (1959, p.162) describes how the reader's ability to locate stylistic data in the literary discourse is the main advantage of using the decoder in the analysis of style. For Riffaterre (1959, p.158), stylistic study is the study of SD's or stylistic devices which are defined as those mechanisms in the text which, 'prevent the reader from inferring or predicting any important feature. For predictability may result in superficial reading; unpredictability will compel attention: the intensity of

reception will correspond to the intensity of the message'. In other words, talking about style then is talking about moments in the reading experience when attention is compelled because an expectation has been disappointed by the appearance of an unpredictable element (Fish 1970, p.155). In an effort to redefine the idea of deviation from the norm, this echoes the Prague School's contention that a work with esthetic intent is characterised by the foregrounding of some part of its language, the occurrence of verbal forms which call attention to themselves. As already mentioned in section 3.2.2 of this chapter, a detailed description of the stylistic use of foregrounding or linguistic highlighting by poets in the sub-corpus is provided in section 5.3.2 of Chapter 5.

Moreover, Riffaterre (1959, p.162) contends that the reader is 'the consciously selected target of the author; the SD is so contrived that the reader cannot overlook it or even read without being guided by it to the essentials'. According to Riffaterre's (1959, p.162) analytic procedure, the value judgments of the reader are caused by some stimulus within the text. It follows that stylistic investigation will have to use informants. The latter will provide style analysts who react to the text: for instance, a native will read the text and the stylistician will draw from him his reactions. The segments of the text which cause his reactions, the informant will call in turn beautiful or unaesthetic, well or poorly written, expressive or flavour-less; but the analyst will use these characteristics only as clues to the elements of the relevant structure.

Riffaterrre (1959, p.163) points out that these responses will not detract from the objective nature of the procedure because they will be recorded only as signals of what causes them. That is, the content of their value judgments will not be taken into consideration. Riffaterre's composite reader-figure is comparable to Fish's informed reader. In an essay entitled 'What is Stylistics and Why Are They Saying Such Terrible Things About It?' Fish (1973, pp.111-129), presents a broad critique of a range of previous scholarship in the field of stylistics. He questions the purely quantitative approach of Milic, the generative stylistic method adopted by Ohmann and Thorne, and recent British (Neo-Firthian) efforts of Halliday. He argues that none of these take proper account of the reading process itself. He firmly believes that the reader should be conceived as giving meaning to a text rather than extracting it: collaborating in the creative process. To this end, he calls for a new kind of stylistics, called affective stylistics to bring the reader into the theoretical picture in a more genuine way.

The basis of this method of analysis is a consideration of the temporal flow of the reading experience, and it is assumed that the reader responds in terms of that flow and not to the whole utterance (Fish 1970, p.127). Fish (1970, p.128), moreover, argues that the method slows down the reading experience so that events which are not noticed in normal time, but which do occur, are brought to the reader's analytical attention. Thus, the idea of meaning is conceived as an event, something that is happening between the words and in the reader's mind.

According to Fish's reader response theory, the reader is defined as an informed reader. This construct represents someone who is a competent speaker of the language out of which the text is built up; is in full possession of the semantic knowledge that a mature listener brings to his task of comprehension; and has literary competence (Fish 1970, p.145). That is, he is sufficiently experienced as a reader to have internalised the properties of literary discourses, including everything from the most local of devices (e.g. figures of speech) to whole genres.

While both Riffaterre and Fish are concerned with the reader's developing responses, there is one important element which differentiates their theories.[4] Once Riffaterre's AR has reported on his experience of the reading process, it is no longer considered relevant. The reader's experience is only relevant at those points where it becomes unusual or effortful. In Riffaterre's (1959, p.163) words, the reader's task is simply to locate the field of analysis:

> I hold that the stimulus referred to and which prompted the reaction is indeed present: but it must be considered independently of the reaction once the reaction has helped to delimit it. Stripped of its formulation in terms of value, the secondary response becomes an objective criterion for the existence of its stylistic stimulus.

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[4] Riffaterre in a later work, entitled *Semiotics of Poetry* (1978, pp.4-6) revises his average reader or super reader concept by developing a theory of reading which has two levels or stages. The decoding process begins with a first reading stage. The second stage is where the reader remembers what he has just read and modifies his understanding of it in the light of what he is now decoding. Similarly, Fish in a subsequent essay, entitled 'Is There a Text in This Class ?' (1980, p.304) renounces his informed reader model in favour of interpretative communities, a shared system of rules that speakers of a language have internalised. This concept holds that the reading experience results from a set of interpretative assumptions a certain community may share.

Similarly, in a later article entitled 'Describing Poetic Structures: Two Approaches to Baudelaire's "Les Chats", Riffaterre (1966, reprinted 1972, p.373) is critical of Jakobson and Lévi-Strauss's reading of Baudelaire's "Les Chats" because they 'rebuild the sonnet into a "superpoem", inaccessible to the normal reader, and yet the structures described do not explain what establishes contact between poetry and the reader'. Riffaterre (1966, reprinted 1972, p.373) insists that the proper object of analysis is the whole act of communication. The message and the addressee—the reader—are the only features involved in this communication. The reader, or to use the term coined by Riffaterre (1966, reprinted 1972, p.374) super reader does not in any way distort this act of communication, just simply explores it more thoroughly by performing it over and over again. It has, according to this theoretical viewpoint, 'the enormous advantage of following exactly the normal reading process, of perceiving the poem as its linguistic shape dictates, along the sentence, starting at the beginning' (Riffaterre 1966, reprinted 1972, p.374).

However, similar to Riffaterre's average reader construct, two precautions must be taken in relation to the objective analysis of this super reader's responses. First, the response should be emptied of its content. This allows the analyst to use all forms of reaction to the text, including idiosyncrasy-oriented responses (i.e. positive or negative according to the reader's culture, era, ethics, personality) and goal-oriented responses (i.e. those of the reader with non-literary intent, who may be using the poem as a historical document, for purposes of linguistic analysis:

such a reader will rationalise his responses to fit into his sphere of interest and its technical terminology). Second, the response should be multiplied to guard against physical interference with contact, such as the reader's fatigue or the evolving of the language since the time the poem was encoded.

In sum, according to Riffaterre's theory, once the composite reader figure (i.e. either the average reader or the super reader) has reported on his experiences of the reading process, he is no longer deemed relevant. That is, the SDs, once they have been located by the informer-reader, remain static. By contrast, according to Fish's conception of the reader response relationship, the informed reader is perceived as an actively mediating response in so far as his assumptions, conclusions, expectations and attitudes are fully taken into account as the shape of the process continually changes. That is, unlike Riffaterre, Fish's informed reader is not dismissed once he has performed the mechanical task of locating the field of analysis. The next section focuses on Bally's definition of stylistics, thereby creating a historical perspective within which the study can be placed.

3.4 Bally's transition from affectivity to expressivity.

Bally (1951, p.16) in his *Traité de stylistique française*, defined stylistics as the study of 'les faits d'expression du langage organisé au point de vue de leur contenu affectif, c'est-à-dire l'expression des faits de la sensibilité par le langage

et l'action des faits de langage sur la sensibilité'.[5] The term *fait d'expresssion* is used by Bally to denote a word, an expression, a technical term, a literary expression, or a feature of pronunciation (1951, p.204).

Bally is primarily interested in the stylistic value of a *fait d'expression*. According to Guiraud (1972, p.42), the notion of stylistic value posits that there are several ways of expressing the same idea. By implication, this means that the particular way which is chosen to express the same notion is expressed as a stylistic variant. Furthermore, the stylistic value of a *fait d'expression* may be either affective or impressive. Affective values relate to the speaker's feelings, emotions, desires, temperament, personality, or social situation. By contrast, impressive values reflect the speaker's intentions vis-à-vis the impression he wants to create. It would appear from Bally's definition of stylistics that he is only concerned with the affective value of *faits d'expression*. To this end, he examines the affective characteristics of two types of stylistic effect: natural and evocative. Bally (1951, p.204) draws a distinction between natural effects (i.e. *effets naturels*) and evocative effects (i.e. *effets par évocation*). Thus, natural effects are inseparable from their meaning. That is, there is a direct relationship between language and thought. By contrast, evocative effects are symbolic or representative. In other words, they evoke a particular lifestyle, activity or social milieu.

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[5] Bally, C., 1951. *Traité de stylistic française*. Volume 1. Third Edition. Geneva: Librairie Georg & Cie.

Guiraud (1972, p.45) argues that this distinction is similar to that which exists in semantics between denotation and connotation. Denotation can be defined as 'the relation between entities that we want to talk about in our experience of the world' (Jackson 1988, p.50). For example, we say that the word *rabbit* denotes a particular kind of animal. However, as Saeed (1997, p.23) points out, semanticists such as Lyons (1977, pp.396-409) make a further distinction within denotation itself. Accordingly, Lyons (1977, pp.396-409) uses the term 'denote' to describe the relationship between a linguistic expression and the world. The term 'refer' is used by him to describe the action of a speaker in picking out entities in the world. Thus, in the utterance: *a red breasted robin landed on the windowsill*, *robin* and *windowsill* refer to things in the world, while the nouns *robin* and *windowsill* denote certain classes of items.

Bally (1951, p.167) provides numerous examples of natural affective characteristics of *faits d'expression*. He argues, for instance, that a direct or natural effect is produced when upon hearing a word being pronounced, a listener is left with a pleasant or unpleasant feeling. Even subsequent reflection does not alter in any significant way his first impression. He cites as an example, the affective nuances of the diminutive suffix *ette*. The word *masionnette* meaning *une jolie petitie maison* is laudatory and, therefore, is characteristic of a pleasant feeling. The word *femelette*, is on the contrary derogatory and, therefore, creates

an unpleasant feeling. There are, of course, examples such as *omelette* which would be neutral.

Another example of a natural effect, according to Bally (1951, p.167) is where a *fait d'expression* allows a listener to feel the affective intensity of the given expression. In other words, he feels that the particular expression is more emotive than a corresponding synonymous expression. The emotive content is more weighted in the former rather than in the latter. For example, the difference in intensity between the words *étonné* and *ébahi*, or between *maigre* and *fluet*.

In semantics, the term connotation relates to the 'associations a word has over and above its denotation' (Jackson 1988, p.58). For example, the word *candle* denotes a stick or block of wax, burned to produce light, but it may also have religious connotations or romantic associations. The particular significance of negative and positive connotations of argotic words in the sub-corpus is discussed in section 5.5.2 of Chapter 5. Jackson (1988, p.58) makes an important point in his discussion of connotation, namely 'the associations that a word carries for a whole language community or at least for a defined group within a language community are linguistically significant'. Indeed, it can be suggested that this linguistic viewpoint was stylistically echoed by Bally (1951, p.204) in the following description of his *effets par évocation*:

De même un fait d'expression, p.ex. un mot, une tournure, un terme technique, une expression littéraire, voire même un détail de prononciation peuvent être conçus comme faisant partie des habitudes et de la vie d'un groupe, pourvu que ces faits soient très usuels dans ce groupe et très peu employés dans les autres. Ils arrivent de la sorte à symboliser, à évoquer ce groupe avec sa manière d'être ou les formes de son activité.

Bally (1951, p.218) contextualises the notion of a social group by situating it within a wider concept, that of *un milieu*. The latter is used by him to describe two constitutive elements of a social group. First, a social group is comprised of people and their associated daily needs. Second, these people are engaged in particular activities which may be related to an occupation, a profession, a trade, or a sport. Through their involvement in these activities, they are likely to develop a distinctive lexis (Wise 1997, p.202). Furthermore, these activities create a feeling of solidarity among their members. It follows that certain expressions are more appropriate than others in a given milieu. Indeed, a *fait d'expression* will shock, amuse, or disgust a listener when it is used in an inappropriate milieu. Bally (1951, pp.226-227) cites examples from two categories of evocative effects: written language and *argot*. In the first case, he contrasts a chat with a friend and a meeting with a superior. Bally argues that in the former, the identity of the milieu allows the speaker to use *une expression familière* (i.e. a colloquial expression). In the latter, the difference in milieu highlights the fact that the conversation is taking place in a higher *niveau de langue* (i.e. register). The notion of register occupies a prominent place in the study given that it is central to **hypothesis 2**. This notion is discussed in detail in the next section. In the case of

examples of *argot*, Bally (1951, p.227) asserts that the evocative value of an argotic word is reinforced by the fact that in certain milieux it is perceived to be a social taboo and, therefore, its use is frowned upon.[6]

With regard to Bally's transition from affectivity to expressiveness, it can be said that his views evolved over a period of time. In a later work, entitled *Le Langage et la vie*, Bally (1965, p.75) dismisses the assumption that every *fait d'expression* is expressive because it is associated with an emotion. He argues, instead, that expressive language is broader than the simple evocation of an emotion because it includes a number of factors, ranging from the speaker's own linguistic repertoire, extra-linguistic features such as gestures, the inappropriate use of words to the situation in which the utterance is enunciated. This example would seem to suggest that Bally's emphasis had shifted away from emotive elements of *faits d'expression* and onto expressive elements.

Bally's use of the term *expressivité* (i.e. expressiveness) can be traced back to 1926. In the preface to the first edition of *Le Langage et la vie* (1926), Bally stated that his essay entitled 'Mécanisme de l'expressivité linguistique' had hitherto been unpublished.[7] This would seem to suggest that he had not previously used the term. This suggestion is supported by the fact that in his *Traité de stylistique française*, Bally used terms such as *expression* or *expressif* to refer to

[6] First date of publication was 1909. Complete refernce given in Bibliography.
[7] Bally, C., 1926. *Le Langage et la vie*. First Edition. Paris: Payot.

stylistic values of *faits de langage*, but did not explicitly use the word *expressivité*.[8] Indeed, it was not included as an entry in the index.

Bally (1926, pp.155-156) defines linguistic expressiveness in the following manner:

> Le langage, intellectuel dans sa racine, ne peut traduire l'émotion qu'en la transposant par le jeu d'asssociations implicites....les associations s'attachent soit au signifiant, de manière à en faire jaillir une impression sensorielle, soit au signifié, de manière à transformer le concept en représentation imaginative. Ces associations se chargent d'expressivité ou la perception sensorielle ou la représentation imaginative concorde avec le contenu émotif de la pensée.

Thus, in terms of Bally's definition, the interjections *ououou!* and *crac!* can be substituted for the arbitrary *signifiants* (i.e. signifier), *j'ai mal* and *quelque chose se casse*. Bally (1965, p.84) argues that they are expressive because they stimulate perceptions corresponding to ideas. Similarly, in terms of Bally's definition, the expression *c'était un clou qui m'entrait dans la dent* is an example of an implicit association with a *signifié* (i.e. signified).[9] In this instance, there is an association between an idea of pain being inflicted and the underlying emotive content of the utterance.

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[8] Bally, C., 1951. *Traité de stylistique française*. Volume 1. Third Edition. Geneva : Librairie Georg & Cie S.A.

[9] According to the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, the language system is seen as a system of signs. By sign, Saussure means the relationship between a concept, the signified, and some acoustic noise or graphic form which stands for the concept, namely the signifier (Malmkjaer, K., 1991. *The Linguistics Encyclopedia*. London: Routledge, p.3).

Notwithstanding these examples, Bally (1965, p.85) concedes that there are cases of substitution which cannot be classified as stylistic devices. A case in point is the expression *front économique unique*. Its expressiveness can be attributed to two elements: its metaphorical resonance and military terminology. That is, the economic struggle is compared to a war. In addition, the image of combat is evoked by assuming the same speech style as that adopted by those engaged in war. Bally (1965, pp.85-86) uses the term *évocation du milieu* to describe this category of assocations. Like all associations, they are attached either to the *signifiant* or to the *signifié*, or as much to one as to the other. For example, if an utterance is pronounced with an English accent as in *Il a cassé son paèpe* instead of a French accent as in *Il a cassé sa pipe*, it immediately assumes a distinctly foreign colour. This is due to the English accent (i.e. *signifiant*). These examples illustrate how Bally's use of the notion of linguistic expressiveness should be viewed as a progression of his thoughts on stylistics. In other words, although his viewpoint on *évocation du milieu* was the same as that enunciated in his *Traité de stylistique française*, it can be argued that he broadened his definition of affectivity to include other categories of implicit associations. Notwithstanding this extension of his original definition of stylistics, Bally still maintained that the esthetic intention behind literary expression remained the purview of style as distinct from stylistics (Bally 1951, p.19). The next section discusses in more detail the concept of style and how it is linked to register variation.

3.5 Register.

Register variation has already been briefly referred to in section 3.2.4 of this chapter. This section examines the different terminology used in the literature to describe the notion of register.

From the 1960s onwards, the notion of register attracted research interest among stylisticians, linguists and sociolinguists. Moreover, the study of register during this period is illustrative of how researchers have used different terms to explain the same phenomenon.

Halliday et al. (1964, p.87) describe register as 'the name of a variety of a language distinguished according to its use'. They classify registers along three dimensions, each representing an aspect of the situation in which language operates and the part played by language in them. The first dimension is field of discourse. According to Halliday et al. (1964, p.90), this dimension refers to 'what is going on: to the area of operation of the language activity'. For example, in an essay, the field of discourse would be the subject matter.

The second dimension is mode of discourse. This refers to 'the medium or mode of the language activity' (Halliday et al. 1964, p.91). Any discussion of the medium or mode of languages incorporates the distinction between spoken and written language. As Sanders (1993, p.27) notes, 'a major difference between

French and English is the way in which spoken French has come to diverge from written French'. In addition to this formal differentiation, Halliday et al. (1964, p.92) remark that 'the classification of modes of discourse is variable in its delicacy'. For instance, what is first recognised as the register of journalism may be further subclassified into reportage, editorial comment, and feature writing.

The third dimension expounded by the Hallidayan viewpoint on register is style of the discourse. This refers to relations among the participants. Like mode of discourse, it is best envisaged as a continuum with varying degrees of permanence. At the most temporary end of the scale, it would be possible to situate participants who are at a party or who have met on a train. At the permanent end of the scale are relations between parents and children. In between it would be possible to place other socially defined relations, as between teacher and student, or employer and employee (Halliday et al. 1964, p.93).

In a subsequent publication entitled *Language, Context, and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective*, Halliday (1989, p.38) does not explicitly use the term style of discourse in his definition of the notion of a register. Instead, he uses the term tenor of discourse which he describes as 'the nature of the personal relationship between the participants'. Halliday's preference for the term tenor rather than his earlier term style is indicative of the

evolving nature of the research in the area of register. Halliday and his co-authors were primarily interested in studying the semantic concept of register in relation to the English language. The concept, however, has also been included in a number of books on the French language.[10]

Désirat and Hordé (1976, pp.36-37) use the term *niveaux de langue* to describe *'l'ensemble complexe des formes linguistiques que l'informateur est capable d'émettre ou de recevoir dans différentes circonstances'*. That is, a speaker may use a more standardised form of language when dealing with administrative matters. By contrast, the same speaker may use technical terms or *argot de métier* both in a professional capacity and in his normal daily discourse.

Moreover, Désirat and Hordé (1976, pp.42-47) demonstrate the imprecise and transient nature of the notion of *niveau*. In so doing, they refute the assertion that it is possible to describe differences in *niveaux de langue* as representing deviations from the norm. They conclude that language usage allows for the continuous mixing of *niveaux*, thereby making the idea of a norm redundant (Désirat & Hordé 1976, p.47).

Batchelor and Offord's use of the term register highlights a number of theoretical inconsistencies in their description of the phenomenon. They refer to register as

[10] Sanders (1993, pp.31-37) provides an overview of the presentation of register in reference books between 1975 and 1992.

'one of the essential factors constituting a variety of language', and as 'the relationship of formality/informality existing between the participants in a conversation or any other situation in which language is used' (Batchelor & Offord 1982, p.5). Furthermore, while they acknowledge that the most accurate way of representing register would be to envisage it as a scale extending from extreme informality at one end to extreme formality at the other, with a multitude of different shades of formality in between, they state that for ease of reference and use, their scale is divided into three distinct sections, each of which will cover a third of the scale of formality. This three-part register system is divided into R1, R2, and R3 (1982, p.6). At the level of extreme informality, R1, there is very informal, casual, colloquial, familiar language, including slang expressions and vulgarisms. R2 includes standard, polite, educated language. R3 is situated at the other extreme and includes formal, literary, official language with a somewhat archaic ring.

In the light of this obvious oversimplification of the linguistic reality, Batchelor and Offord (1982, p.6) emphasise that these sections are 'the result of an artificial division and that the reality behind them consists of subtle, perceptible shifts, not of rigidly defined categories'. Interestingly, this point has been further developed by Müller (1985, pp.230-231). He studied register from a sociological point of view and concluded that it is no longer feasible to classify *niveaux de langue* according to absolute values, on a scale ranging from good to bad. Instead these

niveaux qualitatifs should be placed on a relative scale due to the fact that each communicative situation requires an appropriate *niveau*.

Furthermore, according to Müller (1985, p.231), this evolution has tended to remove boundaries between the different registers. To illustrate this point, Müller (1985, p.232) instances the different categorisations of the term *pot* (i.e luck) as *familier* in *Logos,* in *Le Grand Dictionnaire de la langue française* (1976), in *Le Petit Robert* (1977), in *Le Dictionnaire du français vivant* (1979), as *argotique* in *Le Grand Dictionnaire encyclopédique Larousse* (1982), and as *populaire* in *Le Dictionnaire du français contemporain* (1966), in *Le Grand Larousse de la langue française* (1971-1978), in *Lexis, Le Dictionnaire de la langue française* (1975), in *Le Dictionnaire Hachette de la langue française* (1980), and in *Le Petit Larousse* (1982). Thus, even lexicographers are not absolutely certain of the finer value of a term (Ager 1990, p.216).

Battye and Hintze (1992, p.326) marked a new departure in research on register because they subsumed the concepts of stylistic variety and register under the broad dimension of style. The latter is defined by them as 'the way in which native speakers manipulate and adapt the resources and alternatives that the language has to offer according to circumstances' (Battye & Hintze 1992, p.326). Moreover, they maintain that all native speakers of a language can be observed to adopt different styles of speaking or writing. In other words, they can be seen to

control a range of stylistic varieties using particular structures, lexical items and even modifying their pronunciation according to subject matter, the medium of communication, the speaker's intentions, and the relationship that exists between the user of the language and the person(s) being addressed. Thus, a register is characterised by Battye and Hintze (1992, p.327) as 'a variety of a language which is tied to a particular communicative situation and stylistically appropriate to the context'. However, as Sanders (1993, p.36) points out, it is not clear in this description what differentiates register from stylistic variation. The latter is described in the following terms: 'variation that manifests itself in the speakers responding to the level of formality or informality of a communicative situation, as they perceive it, by selecting the appropriate variety or style and altering their behaviour accordingly' (1992, p.327).[11]

Lodge et al.'s (1997, pp.25-26) use of the term style is consistent with the viewpoint adopted by linguistics on the subject. Accordingly, the term is used to refer to the varying levels of formality of the language variety. Moreover, they list the conventional labels used by dictionaries to indicate differing degrees of formality and informality. These range from *vulgaire*, *argotique*, *populaire*, *familier*, *courant* to *cultivé*.

[11] In the second edition of The French Language Today, Hintze and Rowlett (2000, p.283) omit their previous definition of register, opting instead to differentiate between inter-speaker variation (i.e. variation according to user) and intra-speaker variation (i.e. variation according to use). Reference has already been made in section 3.2.4 of this chapter to the relevance of both types of variation to the study.

Notwithstanding these ambiguities which are inherent in the description of any area of linguistics, it would appear that researchers have reached a consensus in so far as they agree that register is best envisaged as a continuum. However, Sanders (1993, p.29) argues that dividing registers into different levels is not in itself sufficient. That is, style labels such as *littéraire*, *soutenu*, *courant*, *familier*, *populaire*, *vulgaire*, and *grossier* do not provide any information about connotation or patterns of collocation. Hence, this is one of the main reasons why the study seeks to examine the use of these style labels contextually. The results of this qualitative analysis are discussed in section 5.5.2 of Chapter 5.

The afore-mentioned descriptions of style and register are underpinned by the implication that the language user's individual linguistic choices are representative of the speaker's awareness of social and situational requirements (i.e. stylistic appropriateness) which might impose certain choices on him (Ager 1990, p.216).

Similarly, poets and authors in the sub-corpus have their own distinctive styles, reflected in their selection of different phonetic, prosodic, morpho-syntactic, and lexical alternatives. In particular, they have exploited for stylistic purposes the salient features of *le style oralisé littéraire*. Section 4.4.1 of Chapter 4 provides illustrative examples of the ways in which distinctive features of this literary construct have been used by poets and authors in the sub-corpus. The next section introduces the notion of *le style oralisé littéraire*, focusing in particular on its

definition and characteristic phonetic, prosodic, morpho-syntactic, and lexical elements.

3.6 *Le Style Oralisé Littéraire.*

The term *le style oralisé littéraire* was coined by Luzzati (1987, p.15) to describe the phenomenon, whereby writers use distinctive phonetic, prosodic, morpho-syntactic, and lexical features as markers of spontaneous speech, but which in effect create an abstract form of spoken discourse. Thus, this literary construct can be said to represent a deviation from both written French and the spoken language. According to Durrer (1996, p.65), 'tous les écrivains qui ont pratiqué cette forme d'écriture ont souligné à quel point le style oralisé n'est pas un produit naturel mais le résultat d'un travail'. In so doing, they acknowledge that *le style oralisé* is a subtle compromise between spoken language and literary language.

Phonetic markers that are characteristic of *le style oralisé littéraire* include the use of a phonetic orthography and elision of initial, medial or final sounds. Luzzati (1987, p.17) argues that the use of a phonetic orthography must be systematic if *le style oralisé* is to be a true reflection of spontaneous speech. Examples include *keksekça, doukipudonktan, skeutadittaleur.* Durrer (1999, p.26), however, points out that this type of orthography can create decoding problems, thereby rendering an utterance unintelligible.

The second characteristic element, elision is less problematic. It involves a process, whereby sounds are elided or omitted. The technical terms for the different types of elision come from rhetoric. Thus, aphesis is used for the elision of an initial phoneme or syllable (e.g. *'l* instead of *il*, *troquet* instead of *mastroquet*). Medial elision is technically termed syncope (e.g. *v'là* for *voilà*, *main'nant* for *maintenant*). Apocope is the term for the omission of a final phoneme or syllable at the end of a word (Calvet 1993, p.17). Examples include *off* from *official*, *mat* from *matin*).

Elision is frequently marked by the use of an apostrophe in writing (Blanche-Benveniste 1997, p.26). Moreover, elisions can be said to reflect the natural omission of unstressed vowels in colloquial speech. For example, *le français courant* (cf. **Glossary of key terms and linguistic notions discussed in the main body of the dissertation**, p.346) frequently omits mute *e* (Durrer 1999, p.26). The latter is described by Martinet (1974, p.210) in the following terms: 'tout e (sans accent) de la graphie qui ne fait pas partie de diagraphs ou de trigraphes reconnus (p.ex. *en*, *ein*, *eau*, *eu*) et qui ne se prononce ni [ɛ] comme dans *fer*, ni [a] come dans *femme*, ni [e] comme on peut l'entendre dans la première syllable de *terrible*'.

In addition to providing this brief description of the phenomenon, Martinet (1974, p.210) shows, by means of illustrative example the vocalic environment of mute *e*

in the written medium. It occurs either before the vowel (e.g. *eu*, *eut*, *seoir*), or after the vowels *é*, *i*, *u* (e.g. *armée*, *boue*, *lie*). It is very frequent at the end of polysyllabic words such as *patte*, *porte*, *sable*. It can also be found at the end of monosyllabic words, including *ce*, *de*, *je*, *le*, *me*, *ne*, *se*, *te*. Finally, when mute *e* is the vowel of the first syllable of a word, it is never in the initial position, rather it is preceded either by a consonant (e.g. *meringue*, *repos*, *semelle*), or by a consonant followed by the letter *r* (e.g. *brebis*, *crever*, *premier*).

Calvet (1994, pp.78-79) notes that poets such as Jehan Rictus use elision (marked by the use of apostrophe), vocalic variation (e.g. *ceuss*, *borgeois*), and consonantal omission (e.g. *pus*, *plaind'*) in order to convey a certain type of pronunciation. The use of elision in literary texts induces the reader to rely on the cotext to comprehend the meaning of an utterance. This reliance is particularly evident where a word is expressly omitted. For instance, in the expression *mais lui faudrait*, the pronoun *il* is omitted (Durrer 1999, p.27).

Prosodic markers of *le style oralisé littéraire* include the use of exclamation marks, question marks, and suspension points—all signs of punctuation—to denote tone, rising and falling intonation, pausing and hesitation in speech. These supra-segmental features function over longer stretches of speech than phonemes. For example, in the line **'De quoi donc ?...'** from Bruant's monologue

Philosophe in the first volume of *Dans la Rue: Chansons et monologues*, the question mark denotes rising intonation.

Morpho-syntactic markers of *le style oralisé littéraire* involve the use of a number of distinctive features. First, the oral form of the demonstrative pronoun *ça* is used rather than the standard written form *cela*. Second, the negative *ne* is omitted. Third, the pronoun *on* is preferred to *nous*. Fourth, traditional interrogative structures are modified through the use of *est-ce que* instead of inversion, and *qu'est-ce que* instead of *ce que* in indirect questions. Finally, syntactic structures such as dislocation and reduplication are frequently used in speech, whereas they are rarely used in writing. Hence, *le style oralisé littéraire* seeks to highlight their presence in the oral medium. In Flaubert's *L'Education sentimentale*, the construction 'Moi, ce que je reproche à Louis-Philippe, c'est d'abandonner les Polonais' is an example of dislocation and reduplication.[12]

Writers may also choose specific lexical markers to connote spontaneous oral utterances. The subsequent oral effect is achieved by interweaving a colloquial, or even an argotic lexis with a standard literary vocabulary. The literary context

[12] Quotation from Darbeau, B., 2000. *L'Education sentimentale*. Rosny: Bréal, p.161

makes the unusual words stand out. The following excerpt from *Sapho* is a good example.[13]

> Il fallait voir l'air excédé de Rosa dès qu'il racontait quelque chose, de quel ton méprisant elle lui imposait silence ; et renchérissant sur sa fille, Pilar ne manquait jamais d'ajouter d'un accent convaincu :
> « Foute-nous la paix, mon garçon. »

In addition to a more informal lexis, writers may also use exclamations, interjections, and swearwords in their literary texts to reinforce the notion of *le style oralisé littéraire*. Emile Zola uses a swearword followed by an exclamation for stylistic effect in *L'Assommoir*, 'Merde ! Oui, pas davantage, c'est mon opinion !'.[14]

In the light of these phonetic, prosodic, morpho-syntactic, and lexical characteristics of the literary construct, it is important to ascertain the extent to which writers and poets are successful in creating a mimetic link between spoken language as it is spoken and spoken language as it is written. To this end, Durrer (1999, p.25) proposes two methods of measuring the effectiveness of these linguistic features. In the first instance, the style of the sequence of the dialogue is compared to the linguistic properties of authentic oral communication. As already mentioned in section 2.2.3 of Chapter 2, the decision was taken for practical and methodological reasons to exclude spoken discourses from the corpus. Therefore,

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[13] Quotation from Daudet, A., 1999. *Sapho*. Paris: Phénix Editions, p.65.
[14] Quotation from Zola, E., 1999: *L'Assommoir*. Paris: Hachette, p.281.

it was not feasible to compile a corpus of spoken language for comparative purposes.

According to the second method, the style of the sequence of dialogue is contrasted with other narrative sequences. The practical application of this method to the ten literary texts in the sub-corpus is discussed in section 4.4.2 of Chapter 4. The notion of establishing a contrast between sequences in dialogue and narrative raises the question of whether *le style oralisé littéraire* is restricted to the direct speech used by characters in a dialogue, or if it is extended to the whole text.

Durrer (1996, p.63) traces the historical evolution of *le style oralisé*. Prior to the nineteenth century, this phenomenon was confined to direct speech in the novel, whereas the narrative voice adhered to the written norm. However, the situation changed during the course of the nineteenth century. Henceforth, *le style oralisé* was no longer solely restricted to sequences of dialogue in the novel, it was also extended to narrative sequences. This development reflects the growing realisation among linguists and literary theorists alike, that it is not possible to establish a rigid distinction between *discours* and *récit*.

The term *discours* was advanced by Benveniste (1971, p.209) to refer to the subjective mode of a stretch of speech after which there is silence, thereby highlighting the present moment, while simultaneously indicating the act of

énonciation and the speaker, the hearer, and their situation. Benveniste (1971, pp.206-207) distinguished the physical act of producing an utterance within a given context in time and space from the objective mode of an utterance, *histoire*, which is concerned with the narration of events in the past. Genette (1972, p.72), however, was dissatisfied with this opposition and, therefore, introduced his own term, *récit* to describe the actual verbal representation in the text, while using the term *histoire* to refer to the act of narration or narrating.

Molinié (1993, pp.21-22) enumerates the different linguistic features, characteristic of *récit* and *discours*. Accordingly, the *récit* is characterised by the presence of third person verbal inflections, the establishment of a narrative system, whereby the past historic is used to narrate events which happened in the past, whereas the imperfect provides commentaries about these narrated events. The perfect is used to provide historical or geographical information, but is not part of the narrative structure. Similarly, the present tense is used for descriptive purposes or for moral judgments. In addition, sentences are in the declarative mood.

Discours, by contrast, is characterised by explicit markers of locution and interlocution, including first and second person personal pronouns, and verbal inflection, future and present tenses indicating the moment of the locutionary act. Furthermore, the perfect is used to emphasise the notion that the moment of the locutinary act is a continuum. Other distinctive markers of *discours* are

apostrophes, exclamations, suspension points, and interrogative sentences (Molinié 1993, p.22). One variant of *discours* is dialogue.

Notwithstanding the fact that these markers are taken to be distinctive of both *discours* and *récit*, Molinié (1993, p.23) concedes that it is sometimes problematic to categorise these markers as belonging to one or other as they tend to overlap. Similarly, Maingueneau (2000, pp.40-41) argues that narrative texts often combine elements of *discours* with those of *récit*. For example, the presence of the narrator may be marked by parenthesis, or characters may use direct speech. The use of free indirect speech and the demonstrative pronoun *ça* in the *récit* further serve to distort the boundaries between these two linguistic concepts in so far as these features have traditionally been used in the *discours* rather than in the *récit* (Rouayrenc 1996, p.37).

As already mentioned, section 4.4.1 of Chapter 4 seeks to isolate characteristic elements of *le style oralisé littéraire* in dialogue and narrative to examine the extent to which these distinctive linguistic markers tend to overlap. The definition of a sequence of dialogue is consistent with Durrer's (1999, p.6) description, 'une échange de répliques entre deux ou plusieurs personnages'. In addition, this verbal exchange between characters is not restricted to direct speech. As Mylne (1994, p.9) argues, 'un romancier peut écrire beaucoup de dialogues pour ses personnages sans pour autant faire un grand usage du discours direct.' She mentions three

other modes of discourse, namely indirect speech, free indirect speech, and narrated speech (Mylne 1994, pp.15-26). All four types are included in the examination of sequences of dialogue in section 4.4.2 of Chapter 4. The next section provides a historical overview of the different methods used to quantify features of style.

3.7 Stylostatistics.

This section gives a brief account of a number of statistical studies of style undertaken during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They illustrate the application of statistical methods to literary material. Moreover, a range of statistical techniques have been used in these studies to solve disputes about chronology and authorship attribution.

In order to settle the disputed chronology of Plato's dialogues, Lewis Campbell in his 1867 edition of the *Sophist and Politicus*, described a battery of stylistic tests which he believed to be indicators of relative date, word order, rhythm, the avoidance of hiatus, and originality of vocabulary, as measured by the frequency of hapax legomena or once-occurring words. These style features were counted and based on these results, he concluded that the *Sophist and Politicus* belonged to a late period in Plato's life, after the *Republic* and close to the *Laws* (Kenny 1982, p.3). Hence, Campbell was primarily concerned with measuring quantifiable

variations of style as an indicator of the specific order of composition of the works of a given author (Bailey 1969, p.227).

In addition to problems about chronology, there have been disputes about authorship. During the 1880s, Mendenhall, through his use of stylistic statistics hoped to offer a scientific solution to authorship attribution problems in English. He examined the word-length distribution in a number of texts, namely Dickens, Mill, Shakespeare, Bacon, Marlowe to test the hypothesis that word-length might be a distinctive characteristic of writers (Enkvist 1973, p.130).

The work of G. K. Zipf has been influential in the twentieth century in so far as it focused on statistical universals. In other words, it sought to find those statistical patterns that are common to large samples of text. One of his findings was that the length of words tends to have an inverse relationship to their frequency. Thus, common words are shorter whereas rare words tend to be longer (Enkvist 1973, p.130). Zipf also claimed that a list of word-types ranked in order of frequency will show a constant decrease in the frequency with which they appear (Bailey 1969, p.220).

Zipf's rank frequency law was challenged by another statistician, G. U. Yule because he was not convinced that it held a satisfactory degree of precision. Instead Yule developed a mathematical characteristic, K which is inversely related

to the diversity of vocabulary used by the writer and is almost independent of the size of the sample (Williams 1970, p.10). He used this measure of vocabulary richness to answer the question whether the Latin medieval classic, *The Imitation of Christ* was written by Thomas à Kempis or Jean Gerson. On the basis of these statistical comparisons, he concluded that à Kempis was more likely to have been the author (Kenny 1982, p.4).

In 1962, Alvar Ellegard, a Swedish literary historian published the conclusions of his study into the authorship of *The Junius Letters*. Ellegard's method was two-fold. First, he compiled a list of nearly 500 words and expressions which he had found to be characteristic of *Junius*. This list was then coupled with an examination of the choices made by *Junius* between 50 pairs or triplets of approximate synonyms to calculate the characteristics shared with each of the candidates for authorship (Kenny 1982, p.7). He concluded that Sir Philip Francis was the most likely author.

Ellegard's method of analysing synonym choices has been used by other researchers, such as A.Q. Morton, as indicators of authorship. In addition, Morton developed new techniques by studying the position and immediate context of word-occurrences. Such features as the proportion of occurrences of 'the' preceded by 'of', or the number of times 'and' occurs as the first word of the

sentence can be used to settle the attribution of even quite short samples of text (Kenny 1982, p.11).

The quantification of style features has not been restricted to Greek or English. The French language has also been the subject of much research interest for the literary statistician. For example, Guiraud during the 1950s set up a formula for the calculation of vocabulary richness. This measure could be calculated by dividing the number of different words used by an author (V) by the square root of the total number of words in a text (N) (Cressot 1996, p.287). Guiraud added two further concepts to his understanding of frequency: theme words and key words. Theme words are those words that appear most frequently in a writer's text. Key words, by contrast, are those words in the text whose frequencies significantly differ from their frequencies in the norm (Enkvist 1973, p.132). Moreover, the establishment of theme words and key words in a text can provide information about the different semantic and stylistic patterns used by the writer in question.

The advent of the computer has greatly facilitated the use of statistical methods in the quantification of vocabulary studies. According to Mitterand (1985, p.ii), Etienne Brunet in his 1985 study of the structure and evolution of Emile Zola's vocabulary in the Rougon-Macquart series, used the computer to produce lists, by grammatical class of words used by Zola, either more frequently or less frequently, in comparison to other contemporaneous authors.

Moreover, Brunet (1985, pp.25-26) used different variations of the formula N/V to test the hypothesis that Zola's measure of lexical richness could exceed that of Proust, Giraudoux, and Chateaubriand. On the basis of these results, he concluded that Zola's lexis is not as rich as those of contemporaneous authors. Brunet (1985, pp.67-71) adopted empirical methods to measure lexical growth across Zola's Rougon-Macquart series. His results suggest that lexical renewal is statistically significant in *Le Rêve*, *L'Assommoir*, *Le Ventre de Paris*, *L'Oeuvre*, *L'Argent*, and *Germinal*. The case of *L'Assommoir* is particularly interesting given that its level of vocabulary richness is average (i.e. it is ranked 14th), whereas its lexical renewal is considerably greater (i.e. it is ranked 2nd).

Brunet (1985, p.103) relied on classical methods of lexical statistics (i.e. *la lexicométrie*) to give counts for sentence-lengths from Zola's series of novels. Similarly, he calculated the average frequency of words in Zola's corpus, ranging from 2 letters to 19 letters (Brunet 1985, p.129).

Finally, Brunet (1985, p.329) adopted the multivariate statistical technique of factor analysis to examine variation in Zola's reference to parts of the body across his series of novels. Brunet's factor analysis demonstrates how major parts of the body occur in two thirds of the texts. By contrast, less common parts such as *la jambe*, *le corps*, *le ventre* are present in only 4 of the texts: *La Débâcle*, *La Terre*, *Germinal*, and *L'Oeuvre*. The second distinguishing factor in this analysis is the

tone inferred by the various names for the different parts of the body. The more elevated forms are to be found in *La Fortune*, *La Faute*, *La Curée*, and *Le Rêve*. More coarser terms are used in *L'Assommoir*, *La Terre*, *Germinal*, *Le Ventre*, and *Nana*. As noted by Oakes (1998, pp.105-106), 'factor analysis is used in corpus linguistics to determine empirically which linguistic features tend to occur together in the texts'.

Brunet's analysis of Zola's vocabulary in the *Rougon-Macquart* series is relevant to the study because the corpus includes 4 of the same novels, namely *La Fortune des Rougon*, *La Curée*, *La Faute de l'abbé Mouret*, and *L'Assommoir*.

The corpus analysis combines both quantitative and qualitative research approaches because as argued by Schmied (1993, p.95), 'the qualitative analysis will never be sufficiently systematic and the quantitative one never delicate enough to replace the other completely'. The results of the quantitative analysis of the corpus are presented and discussed in Chapter 4, while the qualitative analysis of the stylistic evolution of *argot* is discussed in Chapter 5.

3.8 Concluding Summary.

The foregoing discussion has examined a number of recurrent themes to have emerged from research on literary stylistics during the course of the twentieth century. Moreover, this historio-theoretical framework proved a suitable

background to situate the study. Accordingly, in each section, an attempt was made to demonstrate the extent to which the specific foci of the study were underpinned by previous research. Against the background of the Spitzerian circle and theories expounded by Bruneau, Riffaterre, and Arrivé, section 3.2 discussed the concept of foregrounding, one of the central tenets of the Prague Structuralists, and highlighted its particular importance for the study. The specific relevance of this notion is described in detail in section 5.3.2 of Chapter 5. Section 3.2 established a further link between the Neo-Firthian linguistic approach to stylistics and the study. In this instance, a parallel was drawn between the theoretical viewpoint that language is subject to variation according to both user and use, and how the study has integrated both types of variation. Thus, in section 1.2 of Chapter 1, it was described how a number of dialects were a source of lexical diffusion for *argot*. In section 2.3.4 of Chapter 2, it was suggested that the usefulness of the corpus as a research tool can be measured in terms of the variety of registers contained therein.

Section 3.2.5 discussed the concepts of polyphony and heteroglossia associated with the work of Mikhail Bakhtin. In terms of their relevance to the study, it suggested that character speech was the most pertinent form for incorporating heteroglossia into the novels in the sub-corpus. Section 4.4.2 of Chapter 4 expands further on how heteroglossia enters the novels in the sub-corpus primarily through *argot* spoken by characters in dialogue. In addition, attention is focused

on the double-voice of free indirect speech used by Alphonse Allais in *A se tordre*, Jules Renard in *Poil de Carotte*, and Emile Zola, in *L'Assommoir*.

In addition to describing the similarities and differences between Riffiaterre and Fish's reader response theories, section 3.3 made further reference to the notion of foregrounding. It suggested that Riffaterre's effort to redefine the idea of deviation from the norm by talking about moments in the reading experience when attention is compelled because an expectation has been disappointed by the appearance of an unpredictable element echoed the Prague School's contention, that a work with esthetic intent was characterised by the foregrounding of some part of its language, the occurrence of verbal forms which call attention to themselves. Section 3.4 summarised Bally's contribution to stylistics, focusing in particular on his distinction between natural effects and evocative effects. Adopting Guiraud's (1972, p.45) view that this distinction was similar to that which exists in semantics between denotation and connotation, it described how section 5.5.2 of Chapter 5 deals with the particular significance of negative and positive connotations of argotic words in the sub-corpus. Furthermore, reference was made in this section to how the notion of register occupied a prominent place in the study given that it was central to **hypothesis 2**. The notion of register was expanded upon further in section 3.5 which examined the different terms used in the literature to describe register variation, and how since the 1960s, stylisticians, linguists and sociolinguists have tried to reach a consensus on what constitutes this

notion. It acknowledged that a consensus would appear to have been reached that register is best envisaged as a continuum. In addition, it drew attention to the argument put forward by Sanders that dividing registers into different levels is not in itself sufficient because style labels do not provide any information about connotation or patterns of collocation. It stated that in the light of this research, the study sought to examine the use of style labels contextually and the results of this qualitative analysis are discussed in section 5.5.2 of Chapter 5.

Section 3.6 first defined the notion of *le style oralisé littéraire*, and then proceeded to describe its characteristic features. Similarly, section 4.4.1 of Chapter 4 provides illustrative examples of the ways in which distinctive features of this literary construct have been used by poets and authors in the sub-corpus. In addition, section 3.6 discussed two methods advanced by Durrer (1999, p.25) to measure the effectiveness of these linguistic features. The first compared the style of the sequence of dialogue to the linguistic properties of authentic oral communication. According to the second method, the style of the sequence of dialogue was contrasted with other narrative sequences. The practical application of this method to a number of literary texts in the sub-corpus is discussed in section 4.4.2 of Chapter 4. The final part of section 3.6 dealt with the complex issue of establishing a distinction between *discours* and *récit*, and how linguists and literary theorists have come to the realisation that a rigid distinction is not possible. As already mentioned, section 4.4.1 of Chapter 4 seeks to isolate

characteristic elements of *le style oralisé littéraire* in dialogue and narrative in the literary texts in the sub-corpus in order to examine the extent to which these distinctive linguistic markers tend to overlap.

The concluding reference to the literature related to the four modes of discourse previously identified by Mylne (1994, pp.15-26) to characterise the verbal exchange between characters. Based on this research perspective, it was stated that direct speech, indirect speech, free indirect speech, and narrated speech were included in the examination of sequences of dialogue in section 4.4.2 of Chapter 4. Finally, section 3.7 of this chapter gave a brief account of a number of statistical studies of style aimed at solving disputes about chronology and authorship attribution. Specific reference was made to the relevance to the study of Etienne Brunet's 1985 analysis of the structure and evolution of Emile Zola's vocabulary in the Rougon-Macquart series. The corpus includes 4 of the same novels, namely *La Fortune des Rougon*, *La Curée*, *La Faute de l'abbé Mouret*, and *L'Assommoir*. Chapter 4 presents and discusses the results of the quantitative analysis of the study in terms of **hypothesis 1**.

Chapter 4

Presentation and discussion of results of Hypothesis 1.

4.1 Introduction.

As already mentioned in section 3.7 of Chapter 3, the stylistic analysis of the corpus of twenty three literary texts combines both quantitative and qualitative approaches. Chapter 4 presents and discusses the results of the stylostatistical aspect of the study in terms of **hypothesis 1**. As described in section 2.5.3 of Chapter 2, this first hypothesis posits that the authors and poets in the corpus are true *argotiers* (cf. **Glossary of key terms and linguistic notions discussed in the main body of the dissertation**, p.346) because they allow for at least fifty per cent 'standard French' words and a comparable number of argotic words. The null hypothesis Ho states that the proportion of 'standard French' and *argot* is equal in the respective parts of speech in all authors and poets in the corpus. The alternative hypothesis Ha states that the proportion of 'standard French' is greater than the proportion of *argot* in the respective parts of speech in all authors and poets in the corpus. Chapter 4 has six sections. Section 4.2 presents and discusses the results in terms of **hypothesis 1**. It is divided into two sub-sections. Section 4.2.1 outlines the methodology used in the data analysis. Section 4.2.2 presents in chart form the frequency distribution of *argot* in the corpus. Section 4.3 presents in tabular and chart form the frequency distribution of 'standard French' and *argot* in each of the twenty three texts in the corpus. Section 4.4 makes a sub-corpus from the larger corpus on the basis that only those texts containing instances of *argot* are

retained. **Appendix 11** provides a list of the texts in the sub-corpus. Section 4.4 is divided into two sections. Sub-section 4.4.1 seeks, in the first instance, to isolate characteristic phonetic, prosodic, morpho-syntactic, and lexical elements of *le style oralisé littéraire*, and subsequently to show how they are used stylistically by poets and authors in the sub-corpus. The second sub-section 4.4.2 looks at the way in which authors in the sub-corpus use an argotic lexis within the four modes of speech presentation in the dialogue. That is to say, it examines the stylistic use of *argot* in the dialogue as an explicit marker of spoken discourse. Incorporated into this examination is a description of the multi-stranded role played by the use of *argot* by nineteenth century authors. Section 4.5 presents a concluding summary of the chapter.

4.2 Presentation and discussion of results of **hypothesis 1**.

This section presents and discusses the results of the study in terms of **hypothesis 1**. It is divided into two sections.

4.2.1 Methodology used in the data analysis.

The first sub-section outlines the methodology used in the data analysis in terms of distinguishing between words classified as 'standard French' and those labelled as *argot* in the corpus.

In relation to the charts and tables presented in this chapter, it should be noted that a word was identified as *argot* on the basis that it was listed in one of the dictionaries in **Appendix 1**. This process proceeded in three stages. First, each

literary work was read. Second, all potential argotic words were underlined. Third, this list of words was subsequently checked against the list of *dictionnaires d'argot.* The dictionaries were used in two ways: first, contemporaneous to see if a word was classified as *argot* at a specific interval during the time period, and second, each word was checked in all the dictionaries to see how usage evolved over the time period. This point was particularly relevant for **hypothesis 2** and will be dealt with in greater detail in section 5.5.1 of Chapter 5.

In relation to the description of words in the corpus, the term 'standard French' refers to those words which were listed as stylistically unmarked in three French dictionaries dating from 1878 to 1900. For example, in the first dictionary, *le Dictionnaire de la langue française*, published by Littré in 1878, the word *acheminement* is listed as follows. First, grammatical information relating to pronunciation and part of speech is given. This is followed by a succinct definition of the word. Third, historical information is provided. The final part of the listing concerns the etymology of the word.

ACHEMINEMENT (a-che-mi-ne-man), *s. m.*
Ce qui est voie, chemin d'une chose. Toute la vie est un acheminement vers la mort. Cela était un acheminement au consulat. Ce premier crime fut un acheminement à un autre. Cette manière de vivre est un merveilleux acheminement à la passion, PASC. *édit. Cous.* La venue des faux prophètes semblait être un acheminement à la dernière ruine, BOSS. *Hist.* II, 9. J'ai cru que, pourvu que nous conservassions les effets de l'histoire, toutes les circonstances [de la tragédie] ou, comme je viens de les nommer, les acheminements étaient en notre pouvoir, CORN. *Ex de Rodog.*
- ÉTYM. *Acheminer.*

Similarly, the entry for the word *étincelant, ante* may be described in the following manner. First, information relating to pronunciation is given in parenthesis. This is followed by identification of its grammatical classification. Third, different meanings of the word are given, interspersed with examples excerpted from literary sources, including Corneille, Racine, Régnier. The final part of the entry covers historical information about the word.

ÉTINCELANT, ANTE (é-tin-se-lan, lan-t'), *adj* .
‖ **1°** Qui étincelle. L'opale étincelante, CORN. *Tois. d'or,* II, 3. J'ignore si de Dieu l'ange se dévoilant Est venu lui montrer un glaive étincelant, RAC. *Athal.* II, 2. Quand le soleil brûlant Embrasait de ses feux le sable étincelant, DUCIS, *Abufar,* I, 3. ‖ **2°** Il se dit des regards, des yeux qui semblent jeter des étincelles. 5. Porter partout la terreur et étonner de ses regards étincelants ceux qui échappaient à ses coups, BOSS. *Louis de Bourbon.* Ou tel que d'Apollon le ministre terrible, Impatient du Dieu dont le soufle invincible Agite tous ses sens, Les yeux étincelants, la tête échevelée ... **J**. J. ROUSS. *Ode au comte de Luc.* Les yeux étincelants d'une barbare joie, SAURIN, *Spartac.* II, 1. ‖ On le dit aussi des personnes mêmes. Rapportez à mes yeux son image sanglante, D'amour et de fureur encore étincelante, CORN. *Rodog.* III, 3. Et Lacus aussitôt étincelant de rage, ID. *Othon,* v, 8. Mathan près d'Athalie étincelant de rage, RAC. *Athal.* v, 2. ‖ **3°** Fig. Qui jette un vif éclat, en parlant de ce qui brille moralement, littérairement. Tes vers étincelants et de lumière et d'art, RÉGNIER, *Sat.* v. Il roule, pour ainsi dire, un torrent d'images sublimes, de métaphores hardies, de pensées fortes et de maximes étincelantes de lumière, BARTHÉL. *Anach.* chap. 34. Substantivement. Un vif, une sorte d'étincelant autour d'eux les distinguait malgré qu'ils en eussent, ST-SIM. t. IX, p. 123, édit. CHÉRUEL. ‖ **4°** Terme de blason. Se dit des charbons dont sortent des étincelles.
— HIST. XVI s. Voici Henri qui s'avance, Qui d'un fer estincelant Le chef lui va martelant, DU BELOY, II, 39, *recto.*

A third example from this dictionary is the word *contenter.* The first part of the entry provides information about the pronunciation and part of speech categorisation of the word. This is followed by a lengthy explanation of the different meanings of the word together with illustrative examples. Thereafter,

there is a section on historical information pertaining to the word. Finally, its etymology is given.

CONTENTER (kon-tan-té), *v. a.*
‖ **1°** Rendre content. Parbleu, dit le meunier, est bien fou du cerveau. Qui prétend contenter tout le monde et son père, LA FONT. *Fabl.* III, 1. Rien ne la contentait, rien n'était comme il faut: On se levait trop tard, on se levait trop tôt; Puis du blauc, puis du noir, puis encore autre chose, LA FONT. *Fabl.* VII, 2. Ils contentent le monde en permettant les actions, et ils satisfont à l'Evangile en purifiant les intentions, PASC. *Prov.* 7. En parlant des choses. Contentant ses désirs, punis son parricide, CORN. *Cinna,* IV, 2. ‖ **2°** Apaiser quelqu'un en lui accordant une chose. Cet homme ira se plaindre en partout si on ne le contente pas. Faites-vous contenter par ce couple céleste, LA FONT. *Fabl.* I, 14. ‖ **3°** Plaire à. Cette musique ne contente pas l'oreille. Pendant qu'elle contentait le monde et se contentait elle-même, la princesse Palatine n'était pas heureuse, et le vide des choses humaines se faisait sentir à son cœur, BOSS. *Anne de Gonz.* ‖ **4°** Se contenter, *v. réfl.* Satisfaire son envie, ses désirs. Il ya longtemps que je désire acheter cela, il faut enfin que je me contente. Cherchez...Contentez-vous; suivez votre humeur inquiète, LA FONT. *Fabl.* VII, 12.
—HIST. XV s. Leur fit departir moult de florins, tant qu'ils s'en contenterent, FROISS. liv. IV, p. 328, dans LACURNE. XVI s. Les plus parfaicts se sont bien contentez d'y aspirer, MONT. l, 70.
—ÉTYM. Content.

The second dictionary used in the data analysis is *le Dictionnaire général de la langue française du XVII siècle jusqu'à nos jours* compiled by Hatzfeld, Darmesteter, and Thomas. This work was published over a ten year period from 1880 to 1890. For example, the word *barque* is listed as follows. First, information relating to the pronunication and grammatical category of the word is provided. This is followed by detailed etymological information which traces the historical development of the word. Finally, the word is succinctly defined and its use is illustrated by means of example.

BARQUE [bàrk'] *s. f.*
[ÉTYM. Emprunté de l'ital. barca, *m. s.* § 12, bas lat. barca, variante de barga. *(Cf.* barge.) ‖ XVIe S.J. LE MAIRE, dans DELB. *Rec.]* ‖ Petite embarcation dont on se sert principalement sur la mer, et qu'on manœuvre soit à la rame, soit à la voile. Une —de pêcheur. Descartes et César faillirent périr l'un dans un bateau, sur l'Elbe, l'autre dans une —, sur laquelle il passait d'Épire en Italie, THOMAS, *Éloge de Descartes,* note 3. (Mythol.) La — de Caron, la — infernale, la barque où Caron passait les âmes qui traversaient le Styx. *Poét.* Je vois déjà la rame et la — fatale, RAC. *IPH.* préf. *(Syn.* bateau.) *Fig.* Bien conduire sa **—,** diriger habilement ses affaires.

In conformity with the earlier dictionary entry, the word *gagnant, gagnante* is again described, first in terms of pronunciation and part of speech. This is followed by a detailed etymological section. The final part of the entry is concerned with providing a generic definition of the word. In this instance, however, it is not supported by illustrative examples.

GAGNANT, *GAGNANTE [gá-ñan, -ñānt') *adj.*
[ÉTYM. Adj. particip. de gagner, § 47. ‖ XIIIe s. Anfanz ... sages et bien gueaignanz, *Établissem. de St Louis,* **I,** 143, Viollet. Admis ACAD. 1718.) ‖ Qui gagne (au jeu, dans une loterie, une cours.). La carte gagnante. Le billet, le numéro —. La personne gagnante, et, *substantivement.* Le —, la gagnante, celui, celle qui gagne.

A third example from this dictionary is the word *préscrire.* Similar to the two previous entries, the word *préscrire* is first described according to its pronunciation and part of speech. Next, a detailed etymological explanation is given in parenthesis. This is followed by a double entry designed to cover two distinct meanings of the word: the first, generic the second, legal, and both are illustrated by means of example.

PRESCRIRE [pres'-krir] *v. tr.*
[ÉTYM. Emprunté du lat. class. praescribere, formuler d'avance, rendu par prescrire, d'après écrire, § 503. ‖ 1411. Prescripre le droit l'un de l'autre, Cout. d'Anjou, dans DELB. Rec.]
I. Ordonner par une formule expresse. Ce que prescrit la morale. Un remède que le médecin a prescrit. Quel temps à mon exil, quel lieu prescrivez-vous ? RAC. Phèd. IV, 1. Avant le temps prescrit.
II. (Droit.) ‖ **1.** Abroger par prescription. Une dette, une condamnation prescrite. ‖ Fig. Il y a si longtemps, cela est prescrit, LES. Turcar. III, 6. ‖
2. *Absolt.* S'autoriser de la prescription. Quelque temps qu'ait duré un schisme, il ne prescrira jamais contre la vérité, BOSS. *Polit.* VII, III, 7.

The third dictionary to be consulted is *le Dictionnaire de la langue française, abrégé du Dictionnaire de E. Littré, de l'Académie française avec un supplément d'histoire et de géographie par* A. Beaujean, published in 1886. The title of this dictionary is indicative of the entries contained therein, in so far as it represents an abridged form of Littré. For example, in the case of *abaissement*, only the grammatical classification is given. This is followed by a short description of its different meanings.

ABAISSEMENT, s. m.
Action d'abaisser ou de s'abaisser; état de ce qui est abaissé. ‖ Fig. Abaissement de la voix. ‖ Diminution. Abaissement du prix des denrées ‖ Au moral, l'abaissement des caractères. ‖ Action de faire déchoir; état de déchéance. ‖ En blas. Abaissement, addition dans un écu de quelque pièce qui en abaisse la valeur.

Similarly, the word *paresseux, euse* is first, grammatically categorised, and then briefly defined. Thereafter, examples are given of its different meanings.

PARESSEUX, EUSE, *adj.*
Qui évite l'action, le travail. Un écolier paresseux. Ce cheval est paresseux. ‖ Paresseux à. Il est paresseux à remplir ses devoirs. ‖ Paresseux de. Quoiqu'il ne soit point paresseux d'écrire, SEV. ‖ En méd. Estomac paresseux, estomac qui fait lentement ses fonctions ‖ S. m. et f. Un paresseux. Une paresseuse. ‖ S. m. Paresseux, l'unau et l'aï .

A third example from this dictionary is the word *soulever*. In contrast to the two previous entries, this one is much longer because much more attention is given to the figurative use of the word. Thus, the literal meaning of its different senses is followed by their figurative meaning.

SOULEVER (lat sublevare), *v.a.*
Lever quelque chose de lourd à une petite hauleur. Soulever un fardeau. ǁ Fig. J'ai été effrayé de ces questions; c'est un poids immense que je ne puis porter; pourrai-je au moins le soulever? VOLT ǁ Soulever un malade, lever un peu le haut du corps d'un malade étendu dans son lit. ǁ La marée soulève les navires qui sont sur la vase, elle les met à flot. ǁ Il se dit, en géologie, des forces centrales du globe qui exhaussent les montagnes, les continents. ǁ Agiter , en parlant des flots. ǁ La tempête soulève les flots. Soulever la poussière, la faire voler en tourbillon. ǁ Ecarter en partie. Soulever un voile, un rideau. ǁ Fig. Soulever le voile qui cache l'avenir. ǁ Fig. Donner de la considération, mettre dans le grand ton. Il n'y a rien qui mette plus subitement un homme à la mode, et qui le soulève davantage que le grand jeu, LA BRUY. ǁ Fig. Exciter à la révolte. ǁ Exciter des sentiments d'irritation contre quelqu'un, avec un nom de personne pour sujet. J'irai ... Soulever contre toi les hommes et les dieux, CORN. ǁ Soulever contre soi ou simplement soulever, s'attirer la colère, le ressentiment de. ǁ Soulever pour, exciter des sentiments favorables à quelqu'un. ǁ Exciter l'indignation, la colère, avec un nom de chose pour sujet. Son insolence souleva tout le monde. ǁ Provoquer un léger mouvement d'emportement. ǁ Fig. Soulever une question, la proposer, en provoquer la discussion. ǁ Soulever le cœur, provoquer des nausées. ǁ V.n. Le cœur lui soulève, il a envie de vomir. on dit de même: Cela fait soulever le cœur. Et le cœur me soulevait à ce seul souvenir, J. J. ROUSS. ǁ Fig. Cela fait soulever le cœur, cela cause du dégoût. ǁ Se soulever, *v. r.* Etre soulevé. ǁ Se lever, s'élever avec effort. Il ne peut se soulever. ǁ Il se dit de la mer, des vents qui s'agitent. ǁ Se mettre en insurrection, en hostilité. ǁ Avec ellipse du pronom personnel. Il m'ôtera l'ardeur qui me fait soulever, CORN.

Although it has been well documented by Matoré (1968, pp.120-126) that Littré had published his *Dictionnaire* in 1872, followed by a *Supplément* in 1877, and that Larousse had published le *Grand Dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle* from 1866 to 1876, these specific dictionaries were not readily available and, therefore, did not feature in the data analysis.

In sum, the three dictionaries consulted can be said to reflect the normative tradition adopted by the majority of French dictionaries. This point was first highlighted by Matoré (1968, p.200): 'Leur but véritable n'est pas de présenter un tableau fidèle et authentique du français à une certaine époque, mais de constituer un recueil de mots acceptés, «fixés», l'omission d'un mot étant, dans la pensée de beaucoup de lexicographes, une condamnation implicite'.

Following on from this preliminary discussion of the criteria used to identify both 'standard French' words and *argot* in the corpus, the next sub-section focuses on the results of the data analysis. In terms of the following analyses, it should be noted that differences between non-standard registers have been suspended for practical purposes and, therefore, non-standard lexical items are classified under the heading *argot*.

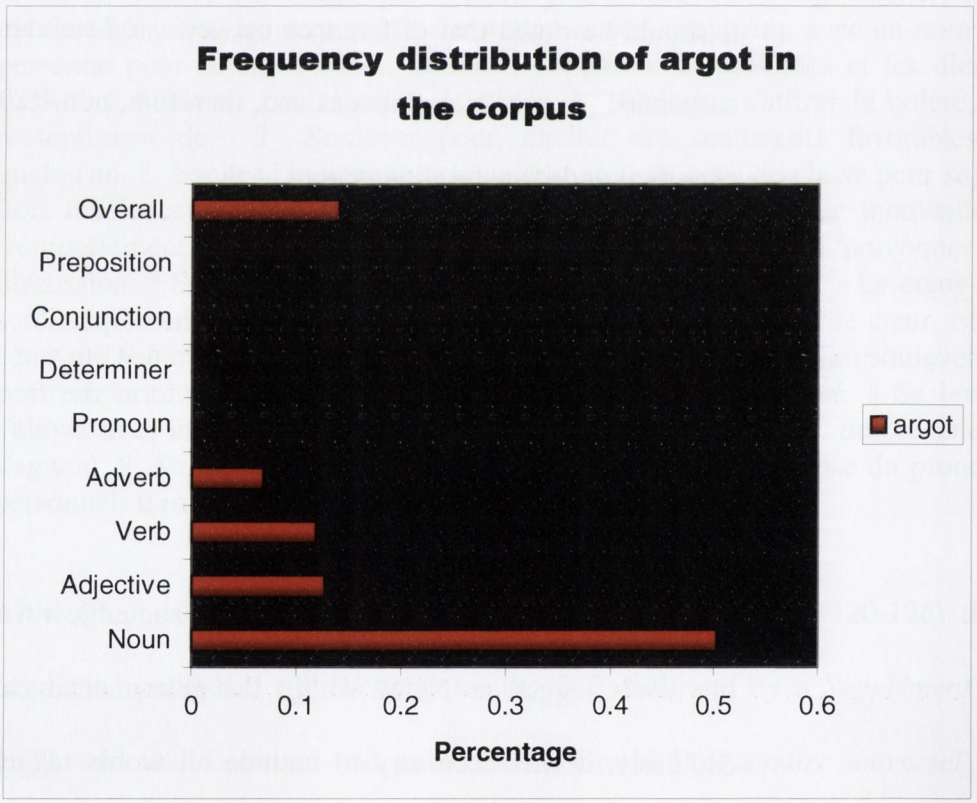
4.2.2 Frequency distribution of *argot* in the corpus.

The second sub-section presents in chart form the frequency distribution of *argot* in the corpus.

As already mentioned in section 2.5.3 of Chapter 2, it was necessary to include all words tagged as NUM within the grammatical category of determiner. Similarly, it was necessary to include all words tagged as NEG within the category of adverb. Third, it was decided to collapse the separate tags, CONJQUE, COORD, CONJSUB into one grammatical category called conjunction. The reason why this approach was chosen was to facilitate the

data analysis process in so far as it would be easier and more correct to include these tags within their respective grammatical categories, rather than creating a miscellaneous category for them that would not be grammatical in the traditional sense of the word. Furthermore, it was explained in section 2.5.3 of Chapter 2, that the grammatical classification of words was based on the traditional approach, adopted by L'Huillier, Morton, and Price in their respective grammars.

Bar Chart 1 Frequency distribution of *argot* in the corpus. This chart shows the percentage of *argot* in 8 parts of speech and the overall percentage of *argot* in the corpus, e.g. 0.5% of all nouns are *argot*.



Although the hypotheses were not tested for statistical significance, it would appear from the results of **Bar Chart 1** that there is evidence available to reject

the null hypothesis, and accept the alternative hypothesis that the proportion of 'standard French' was greater than the proportion of *argot* in the eight parts of speech in all authors and poets in the corpus. The overall percentage of *argot* was less than 1 (0.14%). The distribution of *argot* in each part of speech was as follows: 0.5% of all nouns were *argot*, 0.1% of all adjectives were *argot*, 0.1% of all verbs were *argot*, 0.06% of all adverbs were *argot*, 0.0005% of all pronouns were *argot*. The percentage for the pronoun category was too small to be displayed in the chart. There was no *argot* in the determiner, conjunction, or preposition word classes. The non-occurrence of *argot* in these specific parts of speech can be attributed to the fact that there were no determiners, conjunctions or prepositions labelled as *argot* in the list of dictionaries included in **Appendix 1**. There were, however, a number of personal pronouns listed in the dictionaries to which the labels *argot des voleurs*, *jargon des voleurs*, *argot des malfaiteurs*, *langage populaire* were variably attached. **Appendix 9** provides a list of these pronouns and the relevant dictionaries.

The results would suggest that the authors and poets in the corpus made a conscious decision to use *argot*, essentially a spoken lexis, for stylistic purposes. That is to say, they wanted to foreground, or make more prominent an argotic word or expression against the background of 'standard French', both written and spoken. In addition, it can be said that the specific sub-genre chosen to represent both standard French and *argot*, whether in the form of the novel, novella, poem, monologue, or song contributes to the process of

drawing attention to the esthetic function. For example, within the modes of direct speech and free indirect speech presentation in dialogue, authors may use an informal lexis to create the impression that their characters have a distinctive speech style. Similarly, poets may use *argot* in a poem, monologue, or song to recreate an original oral form of poetry with many of the same characteristics, including rhyme, rhythm, and dramatic presentation. Sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.2 of this chapter discuss in greater detail these stylistic uses of *argot* together with illustrative examples.

4.3 Frequency distribution of 'standard French' and *argot* in each of the 23 texts in the corpus.

This section presents in tabular and chart form the frequency of 'standard French' and *argot* in all eight parts of speech in each of twenty three texts in the corpus. This approach is consistent with aims of the corpus building project as stated in section 2.2.1 of Chapter 2: 'to provide stylsticians and linguistics with information in the following areas: relative proportion of 'standard French' words compared with *argot*, relative frequency of particular types of words class'. In an effort to be as comprehensive as possible, frequencies are presented in each case for all eights of speech, either in tabular or in chart form. Where appropriate, the effect of a particular distribution pattern in a specific work is futher discussed.

Table 1 Frequency distribution of 'standard French' and *argot* in 8 parts of speech in *De la Terre à la Lune* (1865). This table shows the occurrences of 'standard French' and *argot* in each part of speech in *De la Terre à la Lune*.

Part of Speech	Standard French	Argot
Noun	13350	3
Determiner	9156	0
Verb	8391	0
Preposition	7813	0
Pronoun	4735	0
Adverb	3851	0
Adjective	3389	1
Conjunction	2593	0

The results from **Table 1** would seem to indicate the presence of *argot* in *De la Terre à la Lune*. It may be suggested that Jules Verne used 4 instances of *argot* to inject an ironic humour into his *récit*, where he engaged in a degree of playfulness with the reader.[1] He punctuated the narrative with *argot* to make the implausible journey of two Americans (i.e. Impey Barbicane, Captain Nicholl), and a Frenchman (i.e. Michel Ardan) to the moon seem to the reader all the more plausible:

[1] List of word types of *argot* together with dictionary listings are provided in **Appendix 10**.

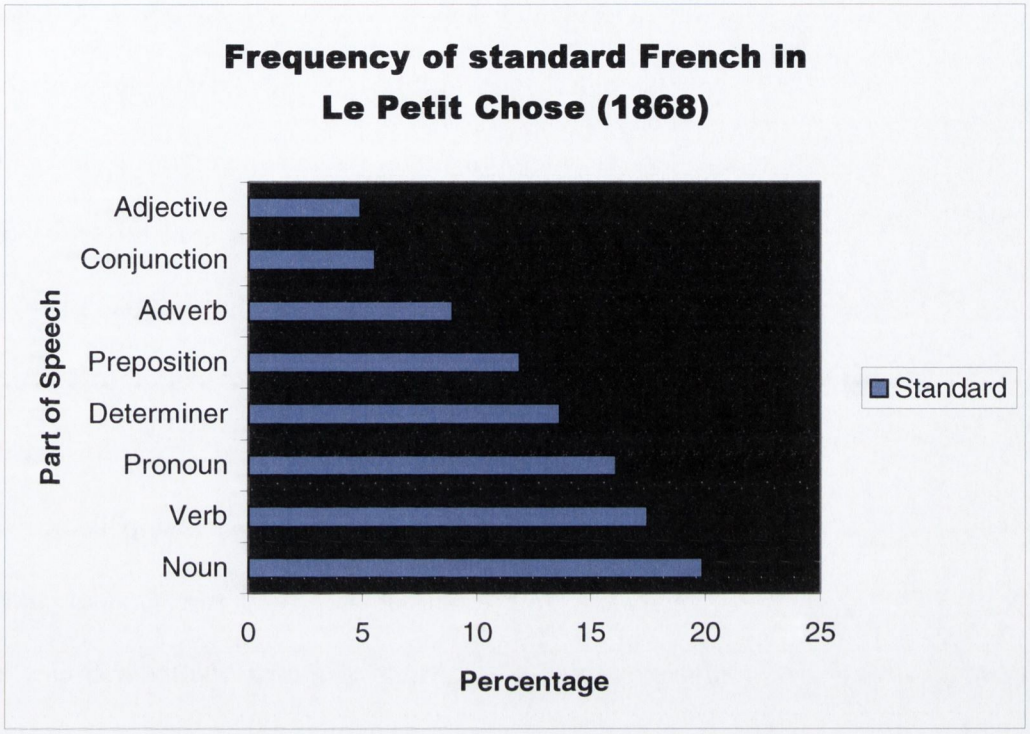
Les bar-rooms sont des espèces de cafés.], jusqu'au waterman qui se grisait de « casse-poitrine [Boisson effrayante du bas peuple. Littéralement, en anglais: thorough knock me down.] » dans les sombres tavernes du Fells-Point.[2]

It can be said that he created a literary genre, the 'scientific novel'. Further, *argot* was used to enliven the narrative when it threatened to become overloaded with meticulous scientific detail:

Ainsi se termina la première séance du Comité; la question du projectile était définitivement résolue, et J.-T. Maston se réjouit fort de la pensée d'envoyer un boulet d'aluminium aux Sélénites, «ce qui leur donnerait une crâne idée des habitants de la Terre» ! [3]

[2] Quotation from Verne, J., 1966. *De la Terre à la Lune*. Paris: Hachette, p.37.
[3] Quotation from Verne, J., 1966. *De la Terre à la Lune*. Paris: Hachette, p.95.

Bar Chart 2 Frequency distribution of 'standard French' in *Le Petit Chose* (1868). This chart shows the percentage of parts of speech in all the 'standard French' in *Le Petit Chose*, e.g. 17% of all 'standard French' words are verbs.



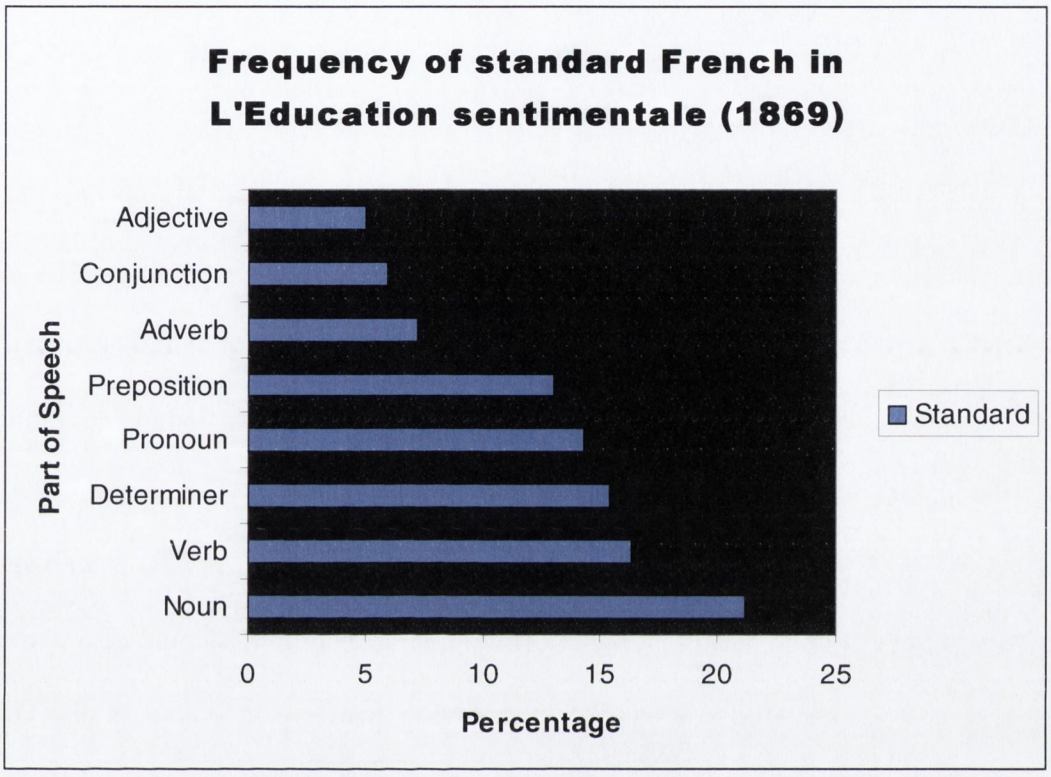
It should be noted that the percentage total was 98.44. The reason why it did not sum to 100% can be attributed to the presence of multi-word units that are only given one dictionary entry. Examples include *maître d'études* (s.m.), *au pied de* (prep.), *à perte de vue* (adv.), *coup de poing* (s.m.), *n'est-ce-pas* (adv.), *au bout de* (prep.), *chemin de fer* (s.m.).

The results from **Bar Chart 2** would suggest that Alphonse Daudet chose not to use *argot* in his first novel, *Le Petit Chose*, published in 1868. His exclusion of *argot* is in marked contrast to the pattern emergent from a later novel, *Sapho* (1884), according to the frequency distribution of 'standard French' and *argot* presented in **Table 4** (198).

Moreover, it would appear from **Bar Chart 2** that the most frequent parts of speech were the noun (19%), verb (17%), and pronoun (16%). These frequencies would seem to concur with the quasi-autobiographical nature of the work. In the first part of the novel, Daudet shares with the reader his childhood and teenage memories, and in so doing, can be said to have adapted his own experiences to suit those of his hero, Daniel Eyssette. Similarities include the meridional setting of the story, the failure of his father's silk business, the sale of the factory, the family's imposed relocation to Lyon, his searing memories of his school days *'au collège de Lyon'*, where as an impoverished child, in receipt of *'une bourse d'externe'*, he was compelled to wear *'une petite blouse à carreaux'*.[4] Further financial strain saw Daudet, like Daniel leave formal education and take up the position of *'maître d'études'* in the Provençal town of Alès, called Sarlande in the novel.[5] The first part concludes with Daniel's abrupt departure from Sarlande and his decision to join his brother Jacques in Paris. Apart from the opening chapters of the second part of the novel which resemble Daudet's own experience upon his arrival in Paris in 1857, the remainder of the novel is not autobiographical.

[4] Quotations from Daudet, A., 1977. *Le Petit Chose*. Paris: Gallimard, p.38
[5] Quotation from Daudet, A., 1977. *Le Petit Chose*. Paris: Gallimard, p.56.

Bar Chart 3 Frequency distribution of 'standard French' in *L'Education sentimentale* (1869). This chart shows the percentage of parts of speech in all the 'standard French' in *L'Education sentimentale*, e.g. 21% of all 'standard French' words are nouns.



It should be noted that the percentage total was 98.51. The reason why it did not sum to 100% can be attributed to the presence of multi-word units that are only given one dictionary entry. Examples include *jet d'eau* (s.m.), *à droite* (adv.), *au bas de* (prep.), *Cour d'Assises* (n.f.), *en cachette* (adv.), *à l'exemple de* (prep.).

It would appear from **Bar Chart 3** that Gustave Flaubert did not use *argot* in his novel *L'Education sentimentale*. Further, the pattern of distribution would suggest that the noun was the most frequently occurring part of speech, accounting for 21% of all 'standard French' words in the text. The results of a

frequency wordlist would seem to corroborate this supposition.[6] Upon closer analysis of the afore-mentioned frequency wordlist, it is apparent that the following nouns occur in descending order of frequency: *coeur* (80), *ami* (72), *Paris* (68), *amour* (48), *fortune* (48), *bourgeois* (44), *amis* (43), *foule* (42), *citoyen* (41), *fleurs* (39), *Louis* (37), *l'argent* (33), *bonheur* (35), *joie* (35), *Nogent* (25), *arbres* (23), *histoire* (21), *révolution* (17), *rêves* (13), *roi* (12), *armes* (11), *citoyens* (11), *patriote* (11), *capitaine* (10), *démocratie* (10), *soldat* (10). Interestingly, these nouns may be grouped into the following thematic clusters: love, friendship, Paris, money, nature, revolution/politics. It can be inferred from the frequency word list generated that they represented frequently occurring themes in this *Histoire d'un jeune homme*.[7] Frédéric Moreau is the central character in this account of an emotional apprenticeship, the education of a young man in the school of the Paris society during the turbulent period leading up to the 1848 Revolution. In keeping with the German *Bildungsroman* tradition, or the French *roman d'apprentissage*, Flaubert sought to chart a young man's initiation into emerging adulthood.[8] His succession of failures, from a sentimental, social, artistic. and political perspective symbolised that of a generation of men who had experienced the 1848 Revolution, but who had achieved nothing.

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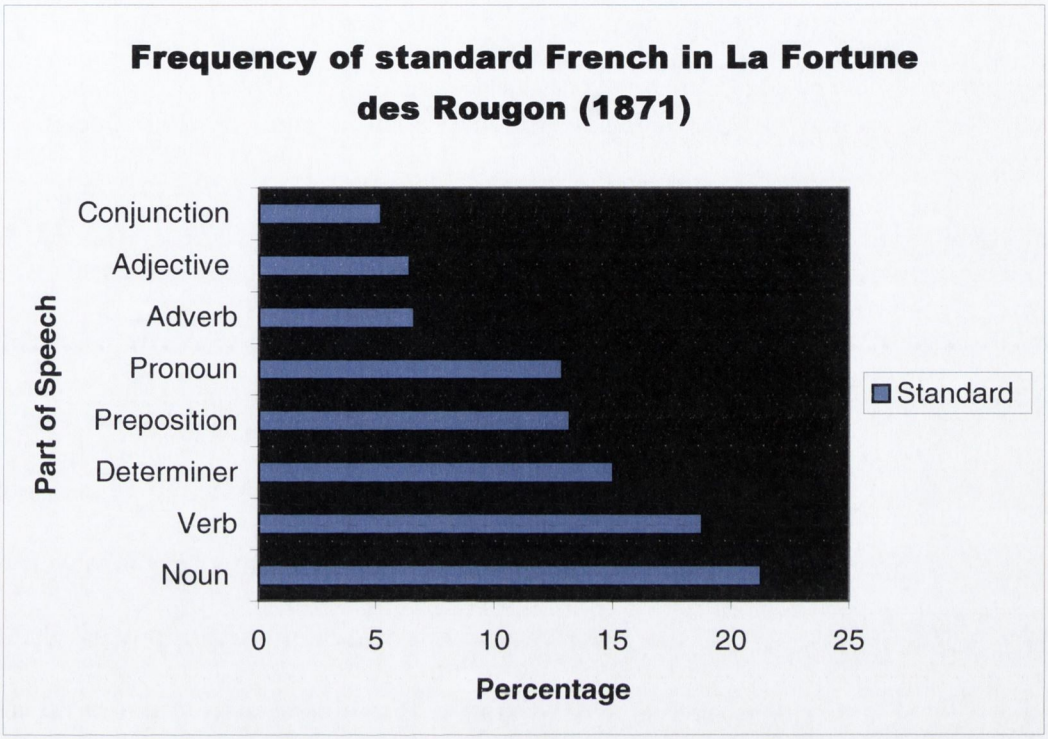
[6] The frequency word list was generated using the Wordlist tool in WordSmith Tools Version 3.0.

[7] This is the subtitle of the novel.

[8] Examples include *Les Années d'apprentissage de Wilhelm Meister* by Goethe, *La Vie de Marianne* by Marivaux, *Candide* by Voltaire, and later *Bel-Ami* by Maupassant (Darbeau, B., 2000. *L'Education sentimentale*. Rosny: Bréal, p.23.

Bar Chart 4 Frequency distribution of 'standard French' and *argot* in *La Fortune des Rougon* (1871). This chart shows the percentage of parts of speech in all the 'standard French' in *La Fortune des Rougon*, e.g. 6% of all 'standard French' words are adjectives.



It should be noted that the percentage total was 99.38. The reason why it did not sum to 100% can be attributed to the presence of multi-word units that are only given one dictionary entry. Examples include *pierre tombale* (n.f.), *dans l'air* (adv.), *au dessus de* (prep.).

The results from **Bar Chart 4** would suggest that Emile Zola did not make use of *argot* in *La Fortune des Rougon*, the first novel in the Rougon-Macquart series. Instead, he decided to present the first episode in his detailed portrait of

'l'histoire naturelle et sociale d'une famille sous le Second Empire'.[9] In terms of frequency, the noun would appear to be the most important constituent of Zola's lexis, accounting for 21% of all 'standard French' words in the novel.

The account of the 'coup d'Etat' of 2nd December 1851, provides the framework for a number of flash-backs in time supplying information about the family, beginning with Adélaïde or tante Dide as she was affectionately known by her grandson Silvère. She had one legitimate son from her marriage to Rougon called Pierre and two lovechildren from her relationship with *'ce gueux de Macquart'*, Antoine and Ursule.[10] When Pierre Rougon succeeds in becoming the sole beneficiary of his mother's legacy, it represents the first step for the legitimate branch of the family in a process that would see them in the ascendancy. Similarly, Pierre's decision to marry the ambitious Félicié Puech is a move which would prove to be instrumental to him in becoming one of the notables of the Bonaparte regime. They had three boys: Eugène who was interested in politics and power, while Aristide loved money. He married Angèle and they had two children, Maxime and Clotilde. The other son, Pascal who studied medicine was *'un de ces cas fréquents qui font mentir les lois de l'hérédité'*.[11]

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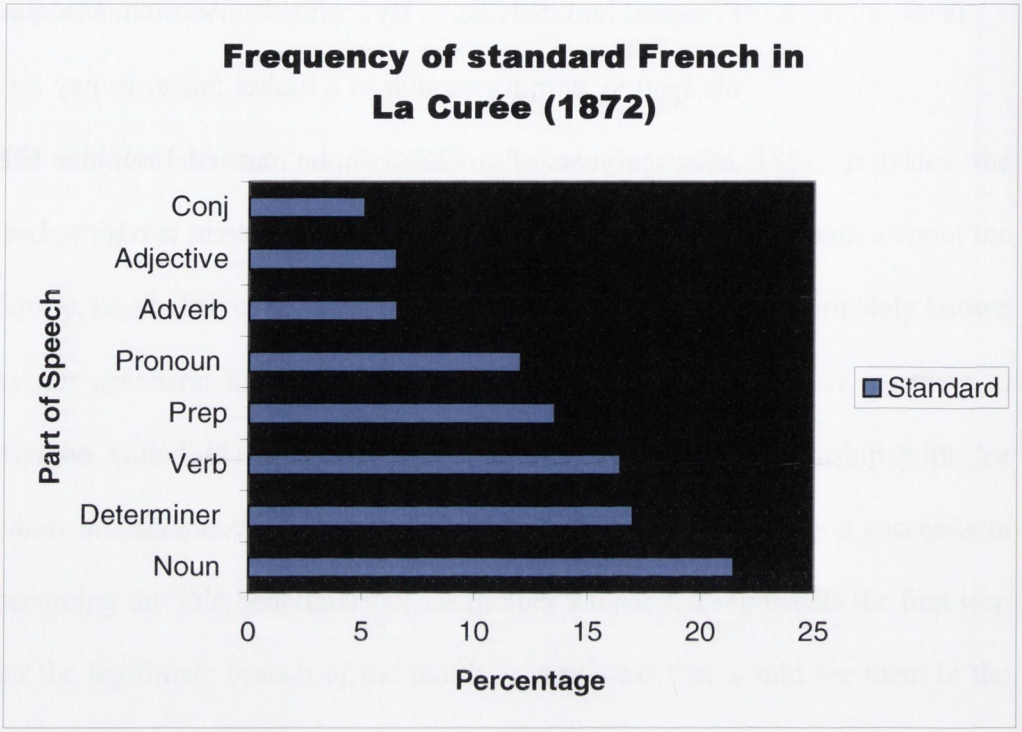
[9] Quotation from the preface to Zola, E., 1871. *La Fortune des Rougon*. Reprinted in Zola, E., 1966. *La Fortune des Rougon*. Paris: Fasquelle, p.8.
[10] Quotation from Zola, E., 1966. *La Fortune des Rougon*. Paris: Fasquelle, p.61.
11 Quotation from Zola, E., 1966. *La Fortune des Rougon*. Paris: Fasquelle, p.93.

However, in relation to the illegitimate branch of the family, Ursule Macquart married the local hatter and had three children: a girl, Hélène, and two boys, François and Silvère. By contrast, Antoine Macquart led a life of idle dissipation, earning enough as a basket maker to pay for his drinking sessions. After ten years of this lifestyle, he married Joséphine Gavaudan, affectionately known as Fine and they had three children: two girls, Lisa and Gervaise, and a boy called Jean.[12]

[12] Gervaise is the heroine of *L'Assommoir*.

Bar Chart 5 Frequency distribution of 'standard French' in *La Curée* (1872). This chart shows the percentage of parts of speech in all the 'standard French' in *La Curée*, e.g. 17% of all 'standard French' words are determiners.



It should be noted that the percentage total was 98.84. The reason why it did not sum to 100% can be attributed to the presence of multi-word units that are only given one dictionary entry. Examples include *coup de baguette* (n.m.), *de distance en distance* (adv.), *au courant de* (prep.), *cabinet d'affaires* (n.m.), *de haut* (adv.), *en tête de* (prep.).

Bar Chart 5 would suggest that there was no *argot* in Emile Zola's *La Curée*. The pattern emergent from the **Bar Chart** shows that determiners (17%) were more frequent than verbs (16%). This difference between the two categories would appear to be consistent with the frequency of nouns (21%) given that the

function of the determiner word class is to introduce the noun.[13]

In this novel about financial speculation, the second in the Rougon-Macquart series, Emile Zola seeks to portray a society consumed by a quest for tremendous financial gain and sexual pleasures. In the preface to the first edition, he states that *La Curée* 'est la note de l'or et de la chair'.[14] They represent the guiding themes of the novel. Antoine Saccard and his business partners are driven by a desire to amass large sums of money through financial speculation, while at the same time reducing Paris to *'un nuage de plâtre'*.[15]

The second fundamental theme of the novel is Renée's incestuous desire for her husband's son, Maxime. She too falls victim to the power of money, and is forced to take a lover to finance her lifestyle to which she has grown accustomed. In the end, she is left totally dispossessed, *'mise nue'*.[16]

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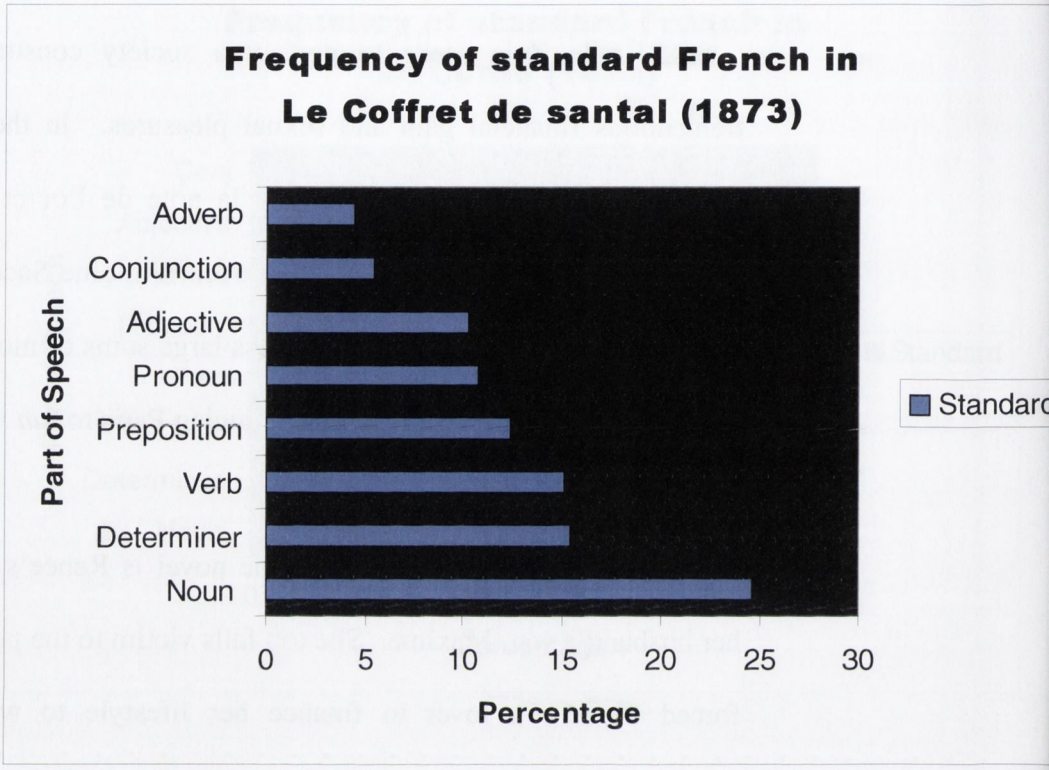
[13] In section 2.5.3 of Chapter 2, the determiner was described as 'a variety of forms that serve to introduce the noun' (Price, G, 2003. *A Comprehensive French Grammar.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, p.18).

[14] Quotation from the preface to Zola, E., 1871. *La Curée.* Reprinted in Zola, E., 1986. *La Curée.* Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, p.389.

[15] Quotation from Zola, E., 1986. *La Curée.* Paris: Lettres Françaises, p.154.

[16] Quotation from Zola, E., 1986. *La Curée.* Paris: Lettres Françaises, pp.395-396.

Bar Chart 6 Frequency distribution of 'standard French' in *Le Coffret de santal* (1873). This chart shows the percentage of parts of speech in all the 'standard French' in *Le Coffret de santal*, e.g. 15% of all 'standard French' words are nouns.



It should be noted that the percentage total of 98.85 concurs with the reliability rate of the tagging scheme at 98.84%.

The results from **Bar Chart 6** would seem to suggest that in *Le Coffret de santal*, Charles Cros decided not to add new dimensions to the traditional poetic vocabulary (e.g. *vers*, *strophes*, *poésie*) by using *argot*.[17] Instead, he

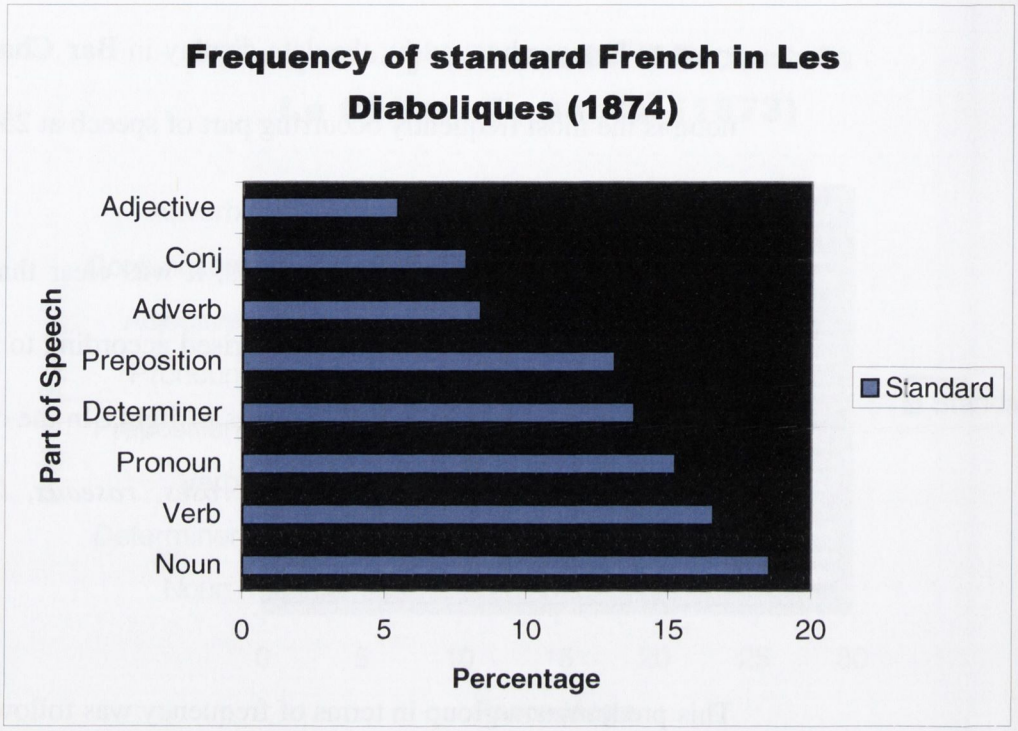
[17] There are twenty six poems by Charles Cros in the corpus. When *Le Coffret de santal* was published in 1873, it comprised 74 poems, divided into 8 sections: Divinations; 7 Portraits; Printemps, Eté, Automne; Débris; 7 Sonnets; Ecole buissonnière (taken from Forrestier, L., 1979. *Le Coffret de santal, Le Collier de griffes*. Paris: Garnier –Flammarion). 26 of the poems on the *poesie.webnet.fr* website were from the 1873 edition of *Le Coffret de santal*.

favoured the repeated use of a number of expressions which can be said to be characteristic of his writing. The part of speech which most noticeably manifests this tendency is the substantive. Further, this supposition would seem to be corroborated by the data display in **Bar Chart 6** showing that the noun is the most frequently occurring part of speech at 25%.

Upon careful reading of the 26 poems, it was clear that the most frequently recurring substantives could be categorised according to three groups: flowers, precious stones and metals, and sources of light. In the case of the first group, the noun *fleur* or a synonym (e.g. *roses*, *roseaux*, *lys*, *églantier*, *bleuet*) appeared in eleven poems.

This predominant group in terms of frequency was followed by precious stones and metals. Thus, the substantives *or*, *argent*, *diamant*, *perle*, *saphir*, *émeraude* appeared in seven poems. The final category in descending frequency order was sources of light, which were represented by *soleil* in three poems and *lune* in one poem.

Bar Chart 7 Frequency distribution of 'standard French' in *Les Diaboliques* (1874). This chart shows the percentage of parts of speech in all the 'standard French' in *Les Diaboliques*, e.g. 13% of all 'standard French' words are prepositions.



It should be noted that the percentage total was 98.92. The reason why it did not sum to 100% can be attributed to the presence of multi-word units that are given only one dictionary entry. Examples include *champ de bataille* (s.m.), *de face* (adj.), *au gallop* (adv.), *au moment où* (conj.), *en fait de* (prep).

The results from **Bar Chart 7** would suggest that Barbey d'Aurevilly did not use *argot* in his collection of six novellas, entitled *Les Diaboliques*.[18] Further, it would appear from the chart, that after the noun (18%) and verb (16%) categories which give movement and life to the material content of the work,

[18] Edition: d'Aurevilly, B., 1967. *Les Diaboliques*. Paris: Garnier-Flammarion.

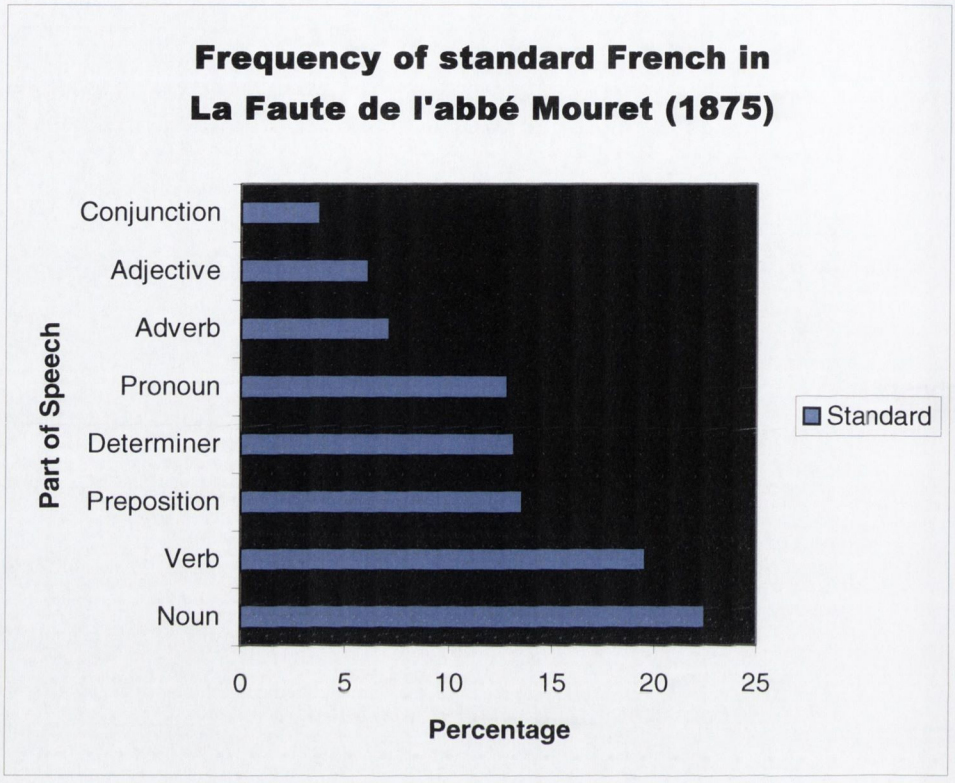
the pronoun category is the third most frequent at 15%. This pronominal distribution may be attributed to Barbey's decision to use the framing narrative or *récit parlé* in five of the six stories in this collection.

Therefore, in the opening pages of *Le Rideau cramoisi*, *Le Plus Bel Amour de Don Juan*, *Le Bonheur dans le crime*, *Le Dessous de cartes d'une partie de whist*, and *La Vengeance d'une femme*, the repeated use of the pronoun *je* of the first person narrator gives the reader the impression that the author is about to relate a story that happened to him personally. In particular, the conversational tone is sustained in line 10 of *Le Rideau cramoisi* when he makes a direct appeal to his readers, *'je vous demanderai la permission'*, thereby making them complicit in the spoken narration, and in the process converting them from readers into listeners.[19]

He makes a similar attempt to incorporate the reader into his story *Le Bonheur dans le crime* when in line 21, he asks them a direct question, *'L'avez-vous quelquefois rencontré, le docteur Torty ?'*, fully recognisant of the fact that the reader cannot respond.[20]

[19] Quotation from d'Aurevilly, B., 1967: *Les Diaboliques*. Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, p.45.
[20] Quotation from d'Aurevilly, B., 1967. *Les Diaboliques*. Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, p.121.

Bar Chart 8 Frequency distribution of 'standard French' in *La Faute de l'abbé Mouret* (1875). This chart shows the percentage of parts of speech in all the 'standard French' in *La Faute de l'abbé Mouret*, e.g. 12% of all 'standard French' words are pronouns.



It should be noted that the percentage total was 98.60. The reason why it did not sum to 100% can be attributed to the presence of multi-word units that are given only one dictionary entry. Examples include *coup de vent* (s.m.), *de travers* (adj.), *par terre* (adv.), *au bas de* (prep.), *éclat de rire* (s.m.), *à bout* (adv.), *au bout de* (prep.), *à moins que* (conj.).

The results from **Bar Chart 8** would seem to suggest that Emile Zola did not use *argot* in *La Faute de l'abbé Mouret*, the fifth novel in the Rougon-Macquart series. It would appear from the chart that the noun was the most

frequent part of speech, accounting for 22% of all 'standard French' words in the text. The importance of this constituent of vocabulary for Zola may be indicative of his desire in this novel to study the constant struggle between religion and life, church and nature, darkness and light. A classification of the nouns in a frequency wordlist would seem to support this view.[21]

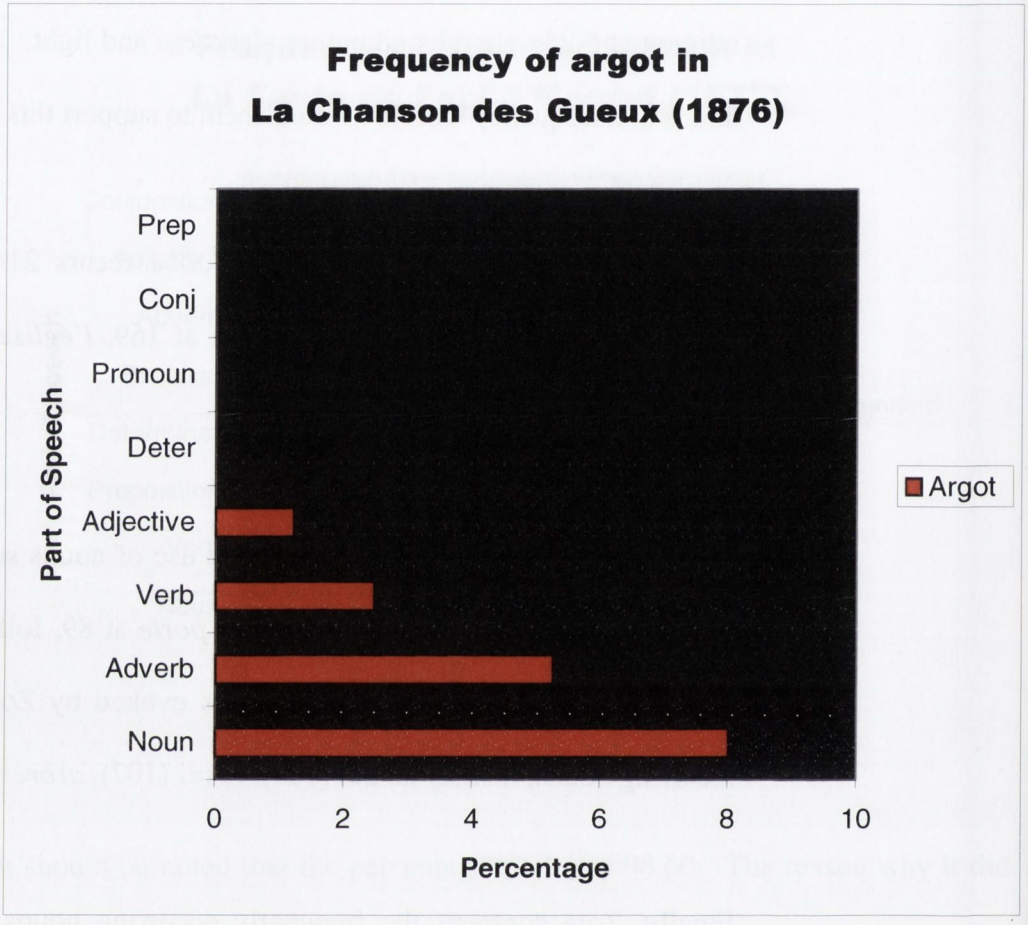
Under the religious/church category, *l'abbé* recurs 214 times, followed by *prêtre* at a frequency of 191, with *dieu* at 169, *l'église* at 132, *curé* at 117, *l'autel* at 72, and *jésus* at 59.

The theme of life is characterised by the use of nouns such as *frère* occurring 159 times, *vie* with a frequency of 109, *porte* at 89, followed by *heures* (81), *femme* (78), and *monde* (67). Nature is evoked by Zola through the use of recurring nouns, namely *jardin* (117), *roses* (107), *arbres* and *fleurs* (100).

Finally, Zola contrasts the frequently occurring nouns *soleil* (203), *lumière* (43), and *lune* (21) with *fond* (119), *nuit* (68), and *l'ombre* (49).

[21] The frequency word list was generated using the Wordlist tool in WordSmith Tools Version 3.0.

Bar Chart 9 Frequency distribution of *argot* in *La Chanson des Gueux* (1876). This chart shows the percentage of nouns, adverbs, verbs, adjectives, determiners, pronouns, conjunctions, and prepositions that are *argot*, e.g. 8% of all nouns are *argot*.



Bar Chart 9 would suggest that Jean Richepin made a judicious use of *argot* in *La Chanson des Gueux*. [22] Apart from his prefatory poem, *Ballade du roi des gueux*, his two sonnets: *Sonnet bigorne* and *Autre sonnet bigorne*, and poems such as *Pas frileux*, *Dab*, and *Doche*, this collection of verse comprised what he described in the foreword to his *glossaire argotique* as ' vers, élaborés à la façon des vers latins qu'on fait au collège'. 8% of all nouns are *argot*, 5.2% of

[22] 23 poems were downloaded from the poésie.webnet.fr website. There were a total of 111 poems in the 1978 edition of *La Chanson des Gueux*. Paris: Société des Gens de Lettres.

all adverbs are *argot*, 2.4% of all verbs are *argot*, and 1.2% of all adjectives are *argot*.

As already noted in the commentary on **Bar Chart 1** in section 4.2.2 of Chapter 4, there were no determiners, conjunctions or prepositions labelled as *argot* in the list of dictionaries included in **Apppendix 1**. In addition, there were no occurrences in *La Chanson des Gueux* of the pronouns listed as *argot* in **Appendix 9**. Furthermore, phonetic markers of *le style oralisé littéraire* involving determiners (e.g. *l'* for *le*) and pronouns (e.g. *j'* for *je*) were not listed in the *dictionnaires d'argot* in **Appendix 1**. From a methodological point of view, the items listed in **Table 6** of section 4.4.1 of this chapter are not represented in **Bar Chart 9** beacause a word was identified as *argot* on the basis that it was listed in one of the dictionaries in **Appendix 1**.

In *Ballade du roi des gueux*, Richepin assumes the persona of a *roi* who would champion the cause of those beggars (i.e. **claquepatins**), ragamuffins (i.e. **loqueteux**), loafers (i.e. **clampins**), idlers (i.e. **loupeurs**), urchins (i.e. **marmousets**, **marmousettes**), tramps (i.e. **traîne-cul-les-housettes**), vagabonds (i.e. **hurlubiers**), prostitutes (i.e. **gouges**), and young children (i.e. **momignards**) living in misery in the city and the countryside.

In *Sonnet Bigorne*, Richepin presents a tramp who intercepts a pretty girl passing through the woods. The subtitle *argot classique* is important in so far as it reads like an accumulation of argotic words, only intelligible with the aid

of his *glossaire argotique*, appended to the volume. Richepin justified his decision to embed a sample of *argot classique* into the sonnet structure by maintaining that this type of *argot* flourished during the time of Cartouche (1725) and lasted until Vidocq (1837). Examples from the time of Cartouche include *trimard* (i.e. *chemin*), *le dardant* (i.e. *amour*), *abouler* (i.e. *venir*).[23] Examples from Vidocq's *Dictionnaire argot-français* appended to *Les Voleurs* include *mézigo* (i.e. *moi), estampiller* (i.e. *marquer*), *luysard* (i.e. *lune*), *sabri* (i.e. *forêt, bois*), *guichemard* (i.e. *guichetier*).[24]

The second sonnet entitled *Autre sonnet bigorne* presents a police character who has escaped from Paris and disguised himself by dressing like a peasant. The language in this sonnet is in marked contrast to that found in the first *Sonnet bigorne* in so far as it was classified by Richepin as belonging to *argot moderne*. In other words, the argotic words and expressions used by Richepin date from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards. This assumption is supported by dictionary evidence.[25]

Richepin adopted a different perspective whilst defending his use of *argot* in the sub-section entitled *Au pays de largonji* (i.e. *argot*). That is, in poems such as *Pas frileux*, *Dab*, and *Doche*, Richepin tried to weave *argot* into their internal fabric, having got his inspiration from frequent visits to places where this language was spoken. In the foreword to his *glossaire argotique*, he

[23] Source: Calvet, L-J., 1994. *L'Argot*. Paris: PUF, pp.20-21.
[24] Source: Laffont, R., 1998. *Eugène-François Vidocq: Mémoires: Les Voleurs*. Paris : Editions Robert Laffont, S.A, pp.701-836.
[25] List of word types of *argot* together with dictionary listings are provided in **Appendix 10.**

summarises his use in the following terms: 'elles sont venues au monde telles quelles, costumées à la mode de leur pays, avec leur défroque originale, sans que j'eusse besoin de les rhabiller au décrochez-moi ça des dictionnaires'. Hence, they are a true reflection of the kind of people who lived in abject poverty in the slums, or those devious and cunning characters of the underworld who engaged in illegal occupations.

The poem *Pas frileux* is a poem in praise of poor people who struggle in everyday life, where courage and perseverance is more important than money. The speaker is a courageous, warm hearted, hard working person:

'J'ai d' la moelle;
('moelle' means *'courageux')*
J'ai froid null' part, surtout aux yeux,
Quand qu'on a du coeur sous la peau ?
J' su' quand j turbine'.
('turbine' means *'travaille')*

who expresses his disdain for the rigid, pompous bourgeois, sitting upright in carriages, dressed in tight-fitting uncomfortable clothes:

J' rigol' quand j'vois les gens d' la haute
('haute' means *'le grand monde')*
L' cou engoncé comme des bossus'.

The poems *Dab* and *Doche* depict the heartlessness, harshness and treachery of the underworld. *Dab* voices the annoyance of a pimp when he learns that the woman, upon whose earnings he depends, is going to present him with offspring. He has the audacity to express surprise at the news:

'Paraît que j' suis dab ! ça m'esbloque'.
('dab' means *'père', 'esbloque'* means *'étonne')*

Further, he claims that it is not his concern: **'Un gluant, ça n' f'rait pas mon blot'**. However, the harsh reality is that he needs the mother of his child to work, or else he will have to resort to other criminal occupations such as stealing:

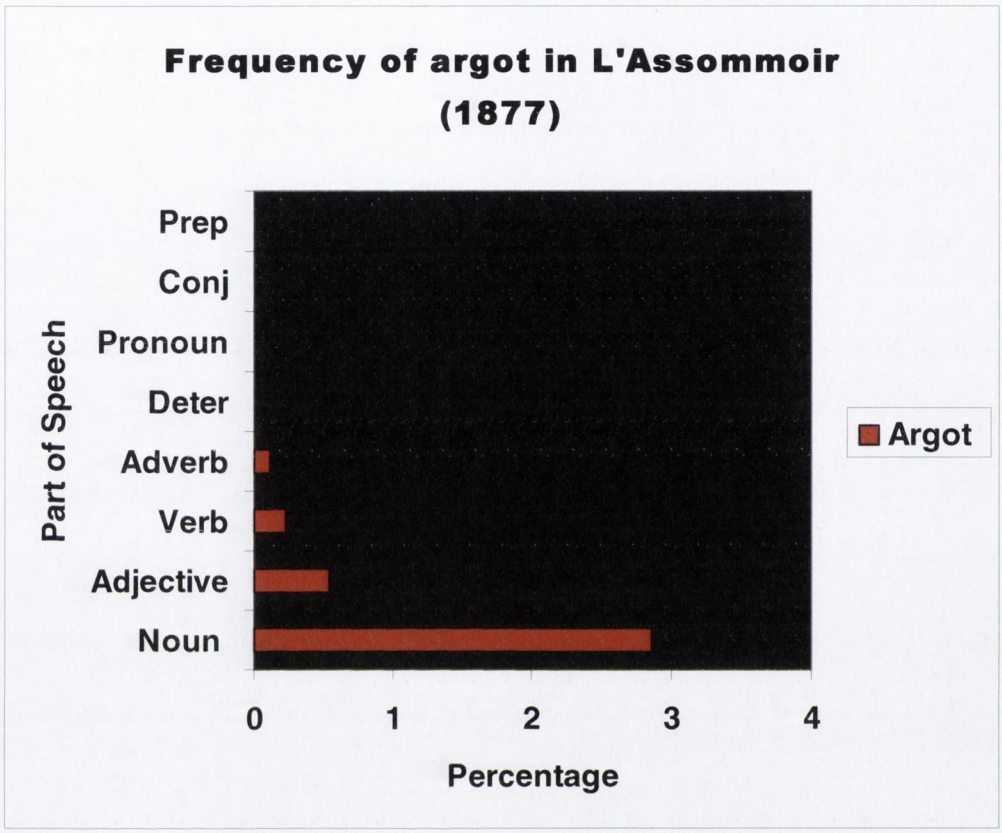
'Moi, j'ai besoin qu' ma Louis turbine.
Sans ça j' tire encore un congé.
J' devins grinch' quand j'ai pas mangé'.
('grinche' means *'voleur')*

Finally, the poem *Doche* reproduces the mumblings of an old mother who insists her daughter must engage in prostitution, like she herself did when she was younger:

'Au truc !... Mezig, dans l' temps!
('truc' means *'ruse', 'mezig'* means *'moi')*
Qui qu'a massé pou t' foutr' au monde?'
('masser' means *'travailler', 'foutre'* means *'mettre')*

She accuses her daughter of not loving her: **'Alors, ta doch', tu la gob' pas ?'** She reminds her of her obligation to feed the family as this is their only source of income: **'Tout d' meme, dis pas niort au persil. Sans lui, bonsoir la bagu'naud' ronde !'** Finally, since it is her daughter's first time to solicit in the streets, she gives her the following advice: **'Sois rien mariolle et à la sonde !'**

Bar Chart 10 Frequency distribution of *argot* in *L'Assommoir* (1877). This chart shows the percentage of nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, determiners, pronouns, conjunctions, and prepositions that are *argot*, e.g. 2.8% of all nouns are *argot*.



The results from **Bar Chart 10** would suggest that Emile Zola made a limited use of *argot* in *L'Assommoir*: 2.8% of all nouns were *argot*, 0.5% of all adjectives were *argot*, 0.2% of all verbs were *argot*, and 0.1% of all adverbs were *argot*. This observed frequency distribution can be said to characterise Zola's initiation with *argot* in the Rougon-Macquart series.[26]

[26] List of word types of *argot* together with dictionary listings are provided in **Appendix 10**.

While Zola may have drawn on his experience and knowledge of *la langue verte*, he drew on two secondary sources to enrich this own lexical stock.[27] The first of which, was a volume of sociological analysis entitled *Question sociale, Le Sublime, ou le travailleur comme il est en 1870 et ce qu'il peut être*, written by a former worker, Denis Poulot.

In the first part of the book, Poulot presents a typology of Parisian workers, divided into eight different types, five of which can be subsumed under the 'sublime' category of alcoholics who are invariably called *Cadet Cassis*, *Bec-Salé, dit Boit-sans-Soif*, *Mes-Bottes*, and *Bibi-la-Grillade*.[28]

Similarly, in Chapter 2 of *L'Assommoir*, Zola reveals that Coupeau's nickname is *Cadet Cassis*.[29] In the same chapter, Coupeau's idle alcoholic friends are introduced for the first time in the novel as *Bibi-la-Grillade* and *Mes-Bottes*. The final part of the trio, *Bec-Salé, dit Bois-sans-Soif* is introduced in Chapter 6.

Further, in Chapter 8 of *L'Assommoir*, Zola uses a number of *mots d'argot* borrowed from Poulot to show how these 'sublime' characters, Coupeau, Bibi-la-Grillade and Mes-Bottes, instead of working, engage in idle dissipation,

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[27] Mitterrand, H., 1961. 'Petit glossaire argotique et populaire de L'Assommoir'. In Zola, E., 1961. *Les Rougon-Maquart: Histoire naturelle et sociale d'une famille sous le Second Empire II*. Paris: Gallimard, p.1599.

[28] Quotations from Poulot, D., 1870. *Le Sublime ou le travailleur comme il est en 1870 et ce qu'il peut être*. Paris: Maspero, pp.164,187,229,.231.

[29] Henceforth, characters' names and chapter numbers are from Zola, E., 1999. *L'Assommoir*. Paris: Hachette.

drinking whisky (**'tournées de vitriol'**). These **'cheulards'** (i.e. *ivrognes*, *soulards*, *soiffards*) despise **'le singe'** (i.e. *le patron*) who is constantly supervising their work in the **'sale boîte'** (i.e. *atelier*). When *Bec-Salé, dit Bois-sans-Soif* joins his friends, **'la bordée'** (i.e. *noce*) begins in earnest.[30]

Similary in Chapter 8, Zola uses *argot* from *Le Sublime* to depict the destructive effects of alcoholism in a working class district of Paris. In the middle of the card game, *Bec-Salé, dit Bois-sans-Soif* comments that Badinguet who was **'éméché'** (i.e *commencé à se soûler*) the other evening, started hitting **'sa bourgeoise'** (i.e. *sa femme*).[31] The card game between Coupeau and *Mes-Bottes* is punctuated by sporadic cries for joy. For example, when Coupeau has **'une tierce à l'égout'** (i.e. *une tierce au neuf*) and **'trois colombes'** (i.e. *trois dames*). Subsequently, Mes-Bottes wins the game when he gets **'la révolution'** (i.e. *quatre-vingt-treize*), **'quinte mangeuse, portent son point dans l'herbe à la vache'** (i.e. *quinte majeure portent son point en trèfle*, **'tierce major dans les vitriers'** (i.e. *tierce majeure en carreau*), **'trois boeufs'** (i.e. *trois rois*), **'trois larbins'** (i.e. *trois valets*), **'trois borgnes'** (i.e. *trois as*).[32]

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[30] Quotations from Zola, E., 1999. *L'Assommoir*. Paris: Hachette, pp. 275, 276, 280.
[31] Quotations from Zola, E., 1999. *L'Assommoir*. Paris: Hachette, p.281.
[32] The expressions used by Zola in Chapter 8 of *L'Assommoir* (pp.282-283) belong to *argot des cartes* and are explained by Poulot in *Le Sublime*, pp.166, 213. Edition: Zola, E., 1999. *L'Assommoir*. Paris: Hachette.

In addition to the *mots d'argot* taken from Poulot's *Le Sublime*, Zola added to his lexis by using *argot* from Alfred Delvau's *Dictionnaire de la langue verte*. In *L'Assommoir*, Zola uses this *langue du peuple* to create a vivid impression in the reader's mind of the overbearing influence of the 'milieu empesté de nos faubourgs' on the daily lives of his characters. In Chapter 1 of the novel, in the public context of the communal wash-house, Gervaise confronts Virginie, the sister of the woman Lantier has taken up with, and a furious fight takes place. The two women engage in a coarse and vulgar verbal battle with Virginie hurling insults at Gervaise, repeatedly calling her '**chameau**' (i.e. *femme qui a renoncé depuis longtemps au respect des hommes*) and **'rouchie'** (i.e. *femme de mauvaise vie*).[33] Virginie then announces that Lantier left Gervaise with her bastard children, **'mômes'** (i.e. *enfants*) because he had tired of her **'carcasse'** (i.e. *corps humain*). A trembling Gervaise screams: **'Salope ! Salope ! Salope !'** (i.e. *femme de mauvaise vie*).[34] The barrage of insults continue with Virginie who calls Gervaise a '**rosse**' (i.e. *femme sans pudeur*), and then a '**gadoue**' (i.e. *femme de mauvaise vie*), followed by **'la carne'** (i.e. *femme de mauvaise vie*). Gervaise responds by screaming that she will triumph by educating the **'grande morue'** (i.e. *femme sale*).[35] The brawl is stopped when the other

[33] Quotations from Zola, E., 1999. *L'Assommoir*. Paris: Hachette, pp. 31-32.
[34] Quotations from Zola, E., 1999. *L'Assommoir*. Paris: Hachette, p.32.
[35] Quotations from Zola, E., 1999. *L'Assommoir*. Paris: Hachette, p.32.
[36] Quotations from Zola, E., 1999. *L'Assommoir*. Paris: Hachette, p.34.

washerwomen call for a halt to the entertainment because they feel that these **'guenons'** (i.e. *femme laide*) will kill each other.[36]

Zola in *L'Assommoir* uses *la langue verte* to present to the reader an accurate portrayal of the urban environment. For example, in Chapter 2, the reader is given an insight into the eating habits of the worker who would either eat **'un ordinaire'** (i.e. *menu composé de soupe et de boeuf*) in *Veau à deux têtes* or would go to **'gargotes'** (i.e. *petit restaurant où l'on mange à bon marché et mal*).[37] The **gargot** is an integral part of everyday life, to the extent that at the beginning of Chapter 3, the reader is informed that even Gervaise is willing to go to the **'premier gargot venu'** to celebrate her wedding.[38] In Chapter 9, Zola underscores the moral degradation to which Gervaise has gradually succumbed, coupled with her impending financial ruin through his repeated use of **'crotte'** (i.e. *misère*) and **'cambuse'** (i.e. *taudis*).[39]

In Chapter 3, Zola introduces the reader to Gervaise's nickname, the onomatopeic **'Banban'** (i.e. *boiteux ou bancal*).[40] Gervaise has a permanent physical disability due to the fact that she was conceived during a violent drunken stupor, referred to by Mme Lerat in the same chapter as **'une quille d'amour'**.[41] Despite her disability, Gervaise is depicted by Zola as a strong character who carries on with her daily routine, until she too yields to the ever-

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[37] Quotation from Zola, E., 1999. *L'Assommoir*. Paris: Hachette, p.46.
[38] Quotation from Zola, E., 1999. *L'Assommoir*. Paris: Hachette, p.75.
[39] Quotations from Zola, E., 1999. *L'Assommoir*. Paris: Hachette, pp.302-304.
[40] Quotation from Zola, E., 1999. *L'Assommoir*. Paris: Hachette, p.85.
[41] Quotation from Zola, E., 1999. *L'Assommoir*. Paris: Hachette, p.85.

present temptation of alcohol, culminating in the emotive image in Chapter 13 of her **'gigue'** (i.e. *jambe*) trailing behind her.[42]

In *L'Assommoir*, Zola presents a causal relationship between alcohol and violence. For example, in Chapter 6, when Gervaise returns home, she finds *la maison* in disarray, and is told by Clémence that a very drunk père Bijard is in the process of assaulting his wife: **'flanque une roulée à sa femme'**, in front of their two young children, Lalie and Henriette.[43] Interestingly, the verb *assommer* is used to describe the vicious attack on his wife because it is possible to draw a parallelism between his aggressive drunken state and père Colombe's distillery called *l'Assommoir*. This establishment distills whisky or *le vitriol* which becomes the catalyst for Bijard's desire to inflict serious harm on his wife, leading to her premature death. In Chapter 10, the reader learns that the drunkard Bijard has continued to inflict physical suffering on his daughter, Lalie: **'des tripotées** (i.e. *coups*) and **des trepignées'** (i.e. *coups*). When Gervaise intervened to stop an onslaught of abuse, she would invariably receive **'quelque torgnole'** (i.e. *soufflet*).[44]

It should be noted that if the frequency distribution for *argot* in *L'Assommoir* is measured using the four parts of speech (i.e. noun, verb, adjective and adverb), where there are definitely occurrences of *argot*, the overall percentage of *argot* in the novel would be 1.3%. This result, in turn, would seem to concur with

[42] Quotation from Zola, E., 1999. *L'Assommoir*. Paris: Hachette, p.448.
[43] Quotation from Zola, E., 1999. *L'Assommoir*. Paris: Hachette, p.206.
[44] Quotation from Zola, E., 1999. *L'Assommoir*. Paris: Hachette, pp.350-351.

the results in **Bar Chart 1** in section 4.2.2 of this chapter which stated that 'there was evidence available to reject the null hypothesis, and accept the alternative hypothesis that the proportion of 'standard French' was greater than the proportion of *argot*'.

Table 2 Frequency distribution of 'standard French' and *argot* in 8 parts of speech in *Les Cinq cents millions de la Bégum* (1878). This table shows the occurrences of 'standard French' and *argot* in each part of speech in *Les Cinq cents millions de la Bégum.*

Part of Speech	**Standard French**	**Argot**
Noun	12155	7
Verb	8827	1
Determiner	8058	0
Preposition	7446	0
Pronoun	5522	0
Adverb	3815	0
Adjective	3608	1
Conjunction	3016	0

The results from **Table 2** (over page) would suggest the presence of *argot* in *Les Cinq cents millions de la Bégum*, another novel in Jules Verne's long series of 'Voyages extraordinaires'. [45]

In contrast to his earlier work where he only placed two argotic expressions (i.e. **casse-poitrine** and **fumisterie**) in inverted commas, 5 of the 9 words identified as *argot* in the novel are in inverted commas. Verne may have used inverted commas in *Les Cinq cents millions de la Bégum* in order to impress on his readers that he was conscious of the need to maintain an element of literary correctness in his work, thereby recognising the importance of not offending or shocking his primarily family oriented audience of readers. This may have been a particular concern of his given that these words were either not listed or were stylistically unmarked in all three dictionaries used in the study. For example, « *pistonné* » was not listed in either Littré (1878, 1886), or in Hatzfeld, Darmestester & Thomas (1880-1890). The word « *gommeux* » was described in Hatzfeld et al. as a neologism and was not listed in either edition of Littré (1878 or 1886). The term « *coco* » was defined in both Littré (1878, 1886) and Hatzfeld et al. (1880-1890) as a refreshing drink or a fruit. The word « *dominos* » was described in all three dictionaries, in terms of either a piece of clothing or a game. While the final word « *canards* » had the same meaning as in Verne's novel, it was stylistically marked in Littré (1878, 1886) as *populairement*. Therefore, Verne may have decided it was necessary to put

[45] The word types of *argot* together with dictionary listings are provided in **Appendix 10.**

the words in inverted commas, and in so doing, placing a certain distance between himself as writer and a particular argotic word.

Table 3 Frequency distribution of 'standard French' and *argot* in *La Maison Tellier* (1881). This table shows the occurrences of 'standard French' and *argot* in each part of speech in *La Maison Tellier.*

Part of Speech	**Standard**	**Argot**
Noun	2379	15
Determiner	1599	0
Verb	1515	2
Preposition	1352	0
Pronoun	901	0
Adjective	738	2
Adverb	593	1
Conjunction	561	0

Table 3 would seem to indicate the presence of *argot* in *La Maison Tellier.*[46] Furthermore, it can be argued that Maupassant's use of *argot* in *La Maison Tellier* was designed to highlight a number of counterpoints in the *nouvelle.*

[46] List of word types of *argot* together with dictionary listings are provided in **Appendix 10**.

For example, in the opening sentences, the brothel is depicted as an aimable and sociable place, similar to a *café*, where respectable men, merchants, and younger men of Fécamp drink their Chartreuse. These men are not **'noceurs'** (i.e. *débauchés*).[47]

By contrast, two of the girls who worked in the brothel are characterised in terms of their profession. Raphaël is described as **'une roulure'** (i.e. *prostituée*), whereas Rosa is **'la Rosse'** (i.e. *mauvais cheval*). Carrying on this animal analogy, she has **'pattes'** instead of *pieds*.[48] This use of *argot* is consistent with the strong commercial overtones throughout the novella, where the five girls are portrayed as commercial objects rather than people. Their world revolves around *La Maison Tellier*. Even during their train journey to Virville, they are reminded of their profession by the presumptuous garter-salesman. Their vulgarity and inappropriate behaviour during the journey prompt an old couple to remark that the five girls must be **'traînées'** (i.e. *coureuses/filles des rues*).[49]

They are never really free of their working environment. After the communion festivities, much to the delight and amusement of Rosa, Fernande, and Raphaël, a very drunk (i.e. **'pochard'**) Joseph Rivet tries to have his way with Rosa. His attempts, however, are in vain because he is restrained by the two

[47] Quotation from Maupassant, G., 1973. *Boule de suif, La Maison Tellier, suivi de Madame Baptise et de Le Port*. Paris: Gallimard, p.75.
[48] Quotations from Maupassant, G., 1973. *Boule de suif, La Maison Tellier, suivi de Madame Baptise et de Le Port*. Paris: Gallimard, pp. 78-79.
[49] Quotation from Maupassant, G., 1973. *Boule de suif, La Maison Tellier, suivi de Madame Baptise et de Le Port*. Paris: Gallimard, p.87.

girls Louise and Flora, affectionally known as **'les deux Pompes'**.[50] They are shocked by such a scene coming after the morning's ceremony where the girls were moved to tears, overcome with memories of their own first communion. In order to hide his embarrassment, he calls her a **'salope'** (i.e. *femme peu recommendable par ses moeurs, ses actes, son comportement*).[51]

Immediately after their return to Fécamp from Virville, they return to work in their habitual environment. There is a renewed gaiety and excitement among the regular visitors to *La Maison Tellier.* M. Tournevau, the fish curer expresses his heightened sense of enjoyment by exclaiming, « **Bigre**, rien que ça de luxe ! » (i.e. *juron*). From time to time, the dancing couples stop to down (i.e. **'lamper'**) a glass of champagne, acting as if there were at a ball, rather than in the upstairs room of a brothel.[52]

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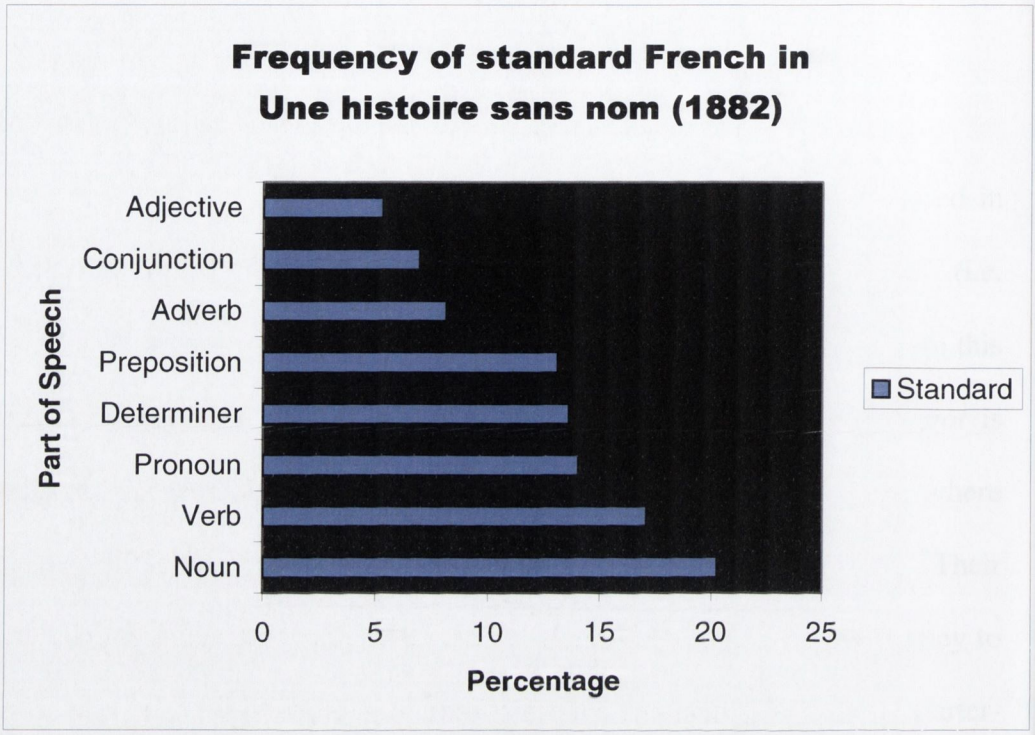
[50] Quotations from Maupassant, G., 1973. *Boule de suif, La Maison Tellier, suivi de Madame Baptise et de Le Port.* Paris: Gallimard, p.99.
[51] Quotations from Maupassant, G., 1973. *Boule de suif, La Maison Tellier, suivi de Madame Baptise et de Le Port.* Paris: Gallimard, p.100.
[52] Quotations from Maupassant, G., 1973. *Boule de suif, La Maison Tellier, suivi de Madame Baptise et de Le Port.* Paris: Gallimard, p.105.

Bar Chart 11 Frequency distribution of 'standard French' in *Une histoire sans nom* (1882). This chart shows the percentage of parts of speech in all the 'standard French' in *Une histoire sans nom*, e.g. 20% of all 'standard French' words are nouns.



It should be noted that the percentage total was 98.42. The reason why it did not sum to 100% can be attributed to the presence of multi-word units that are given only one dictionary entry. Examples include *coup de talon* (s.m.), *tête-à-tête* (s.m.), *au bas de* (prep.), *au dessus de* (prep.).

The results from the **Bar Chart 11** would suggest that Barbey d'Aurevilly's fictional work *Une histoire sans nom* did not contain any *argot*. Further, the chart would seem to indicate that noun was the most frequently occurring part of speech at 20%. An enumeration of the nouns in the opening lines of the

novel would seem to corroborate this frequency.[53] Here an eloquent descriptive passage sets the scene and the tone: *'une petite bourgade du Forez'*, completely encircled by mountains which form a *'cône renversé'* around it.[54] The only point of access to this *'abîme'* is by a circular *'chemin à pic'*, symbolising the vertiginous path by which Lasthénie and her mother Mme de Ferjol descend into *'un abîme de l'Enfer'*.[55] When Lasthénie commits suicide to escape her mother's tyranny, she dies without revealing her secret, which was like *'un cancer qui vous mange le coeur'*.[56]

The inhabitants of this *'bourgade'* are compared to an unfortunate fly who has fallen into the depths of a *'gouffre'*.[57] Similarly, for Lasthénie and her mother, there is no escape, no release from the mounting tension they feel. Her mother cannot accept her daughter's continued refusal to divulge the identity of the father of her unborn child. A growing sense of isolation pervades, with both of them internalising their feelings and emotions.

Their departure to Olonde in Normandy does not bring any respite in so far as they wish to bury themselves beneath the ground *'comme des taupes, ces deux*

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[53] There was a total of 46 Nouns, 19 Adjectives, 28 Verbs and 11 Adverbs in the first 27 lines of *Une histoire sans nom*. Edition: d'Aurevilly, B., 1972. *Une histoire sans nom suivi de trois nouvelles*. Paris: Gallimard.

[54] Quotations from d'Aurevilly, B., 1972. *Une histoire sans nom, suivi de trois nouvelles*. Paris: Gallimard, p.1.

[55] Quotations from d'Aurevilly, B., 1972. *Une histoire sans nom, suivi de trois nouvelles*. Paris: Gallimard, p.91.

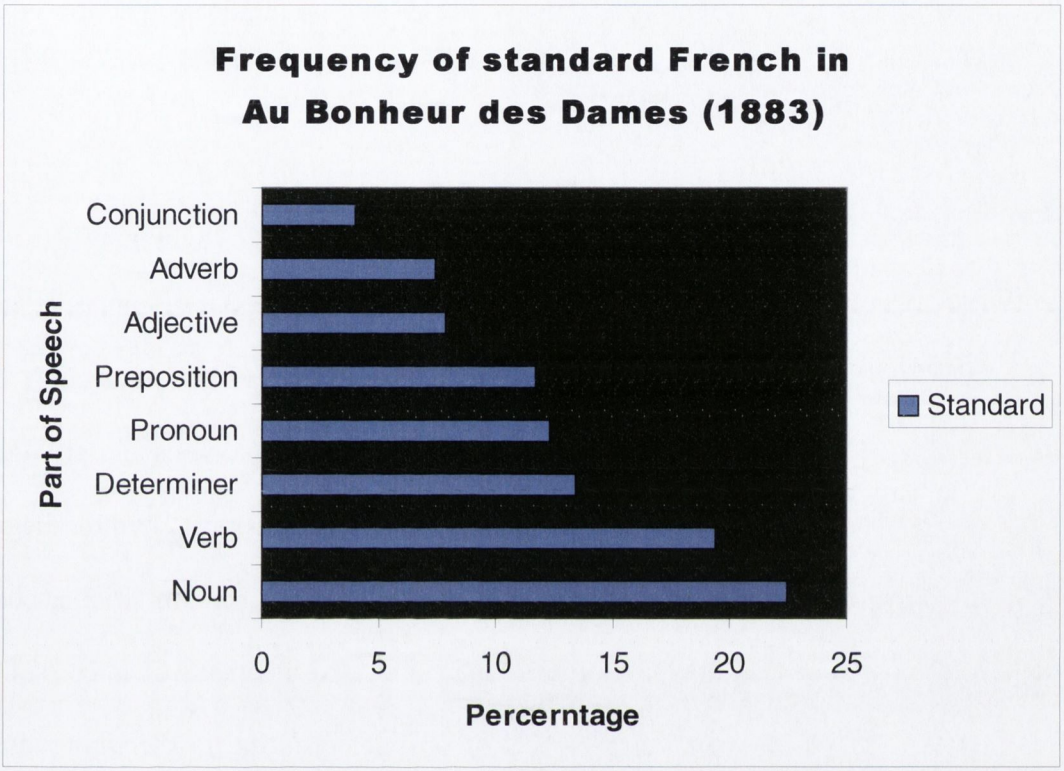
[56] Quotation from d'Aurevilly, B., 1972. *Une histoire sans nom, suivi de trois nouvelles*. Paris: Gallimard, p.134.

[57] Quotation from d'Aurevilly, B., 1972. *Une histoire sans nom, suivi de trois nouvelles*. Paris: Gallimard, p.1.

Hontes'.[58] While they are impervious to the outside world, internally a venomous hatred begins to filter through their love for each other. The contrast between their deliberate emprisonment and the Normandy landscape is all the more striking given that the gaiety and splendour of a winter's sun should have been able to liberate them, but instead envelops them, similar to the *'ceinture de montagnes boisées'* of the Cévennes.[59]

[58] Quotation from d'Aurevilly, B., 1972. *Une histoire sans nom, suivi de trois nouvelles*. Paris: Gallimard, p.105.
[59] Quotation from d'Aurevilly, B., 1972. *Une histoire sans nom, suivi de trois nouvelles*. Paris: Gallimard, p.1.

Bar Chart 12 Frequency distribution of 'standard French' in *Au Bonheur des Dames*. This chart shows the percentage of parts of speech in all the 'standard French' in *Au Bonheur des Dames*, e.g. 12% of all 'standard French' words are pronouns.



It should be noted that the percentage total was 98.55. The reason why it did not sum to 100% can be attributed to the presence of multi-word units that are given only one dictionary entry. Examples include *bec de gaz* (s.m.), *au courant* (adj.), *n'est-ce-pas* (adv.), *au pied de* (prep.), *au bout de* (prep.), *battre en brèche* (v.), *coup de fortune* (s.m.), *toile d'araignée* (n.f.).

Bar Chart 12 would seem to indicate the absence of *argot* in Emile Zola's eleventh novel in the Rougon-Macquart series, *Au Bonheur des Dames*. In terms of the distribution pattern of 'standard French', the noun and verb were

the most frequent types of word class, at 22% and 19% respectively. The high incidence of nouns and verbs in the novel may be said to reflect Zola's intentions to 'faire le poème de l'activité moderne... En un mot, aller avec le siècle, exprimer le siècle, qui est un siècle d'action et de conquête, d'efforts dans tous les sens'.[60]

Beginning in October 1864 and ending in February 1869, Zola sought to portray the evolving nature of the Parisian commerical landscape, where over a period of fifty years, large *magasins de nouveautés* continuously replaced smaller *boutiques*. He charts the harmonious and prodigious growth of Octave Mouret's *Au Bonheur des Dames*, from its humble beginnings as the modest *boutique* founded by the Deleuze brothers, in 1822, encompassing the financial support of Baron Hartmann, the positive influence of Denise Baudu, and the beneficial aspects of change, resulting in the improvement of conditions for employees. These social reforms are characterised by Zola as *'l'embryon des vastes sociétés ouvrières du vingtième siècle'*.[61]

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[60] Mitterrand, H., 1961. 'Au Bonheur des Dames: Etude: La Préparation'. In Zola, E., 1961. *Les Rougon-Maquart: Histoire naturelle et sociale d'une famille sous le Second Empire II.* Paris: Gallimard, p.1680.

[61] Quotation from Zola, E., 1971. *Au Bonheur des Dames.* Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, p.371.

Table 4 Frequency distribution of 'standard French' and *argot* in *Sapho* (1884). This table shows the occurrences of 'standard French' and *argot* in each part of speech in *Sapho*.

Part of Speech	Standard French	Argot
Noun	12619	34
Verb	8633	5
Determiner	8473	0
Preposition	8304	0
Pronoun	7511	0
Adjective	4058	3
Adverb	3986	0
Conjunction	3647	0

The results from **Table 4** would indicate the presence of *argot* in *Sapho*. Further, it can be suggested that Daudet made a limited use of *argot* to highlight the tension between tragedy and irony in this *roman de moeurs parisiens*.[62]

Daudet paints a tragic picture of Fanny Legrand whose father was a **'rouleur'** (i.e. *vagabond*), who after remarrying, became involved with a **'gaupe'** (i.e.

[62] List of word types of *argot* together with dictionary listings are provided in **Appendix 10**.

femme de mauvaise vie).[63] In addition, she had many failed **'collages'** (i.e. *liaisons difficiles à rompre*) with different members of the Parisian artworld, including La Gournerie (poet), Caoudal (sculptor), Déjoie (novelist), and Flamant (engraver).[64]

However, this **collage** between Fanny Legrand (i.e. alias Sapho in the artistic milieu) and a young student, Jean Gaussin from a noble family was atypical in so far as both lovers became encircled, trapped in a situation from which there was no escape. In Chapter 6, when Jean realises the hold Fanny has over him, he writes to her explaining his family's worsening financial situation and how it would be best to end their liaison. She responds by finding employment as the manageress of a private hotel and the concomitant semi-rupture is eventually restored.

Daudet's ironical tone comes to the fore in Chapter 7, when Jean Gaussin and his mistress, Fanny Legrand are invited to lunch at Enghien by her employer, Rosario Sanchès. Rosario, a former Chariot Racer at the Hippodrome had been notorious in the world of **'noce'** (i.e. *débauche*) for her **'coups de gueule'** (i.e *mauvaise langue*).[65] Among the invitees are her three friends, described as three **'cocottes'** (i.e. *femmes galantes*), three ageing **'roulures'** (*prostituées de bas étage*), her mother Mamma Pilar, and her lover, de Potter, a celebrated

[63] Quotations from Dauet, A., 1999. *Sapho*. Paris: Phénix Editions, p.45.
[64] Quotation from Dauet, A., 1999. *Sapho*. Paris: Phénix Editions, p.26.
[65] Quotations from Dauet, A., 1999. *Sapho*. Paris: Phénix Editions, p.59.

composer.[66] During the meal, Rosario or Rosa jokes with Fanny about their guests at the boarding house, commenting in particular about the **'jobarderie'** (i.e. *niaiserie/bêtise*) of those **'rastaquouères'** (i.e. *hommes qui vit du jeu et des femmes*) who could think that Fanny was **'une femme du monde tombée dans le malheur'**, when Rosa herself had first introduced Fanny to the life of a coutesan.[67] Similarly, at the end of the luncheon and the boat excursion on the lake, Rosa abruptly reminds Fanny of her professional commitments, and how it is time she went back to **'la boîte'** (i.e. *établissement quelconque*).[68]

In Chapter 9, Daudet shows the tragic aspect of *le collage*, where the cynical **'noceur'** (i.e. *homme qui a érigé la noce en système*), Déchelette whose philosophy had been **'pas de lendemain, pas de collage'** falls madly in love (i.e *s'est toqué*) with Alice Doré, an ice-skating girl, and sets up home with her.[69] They openly deny their liaison constituted a **'collage'**, preferring instead to view it as a pact they had made to spend a few months together, and when the time was up, they would part with no heartache or astonishment.[70] This, however, does not happen because on the day Déchelette is due to leave Paris, Alice commits suicide. Unable to cope with his feelings of remorse and guilt, Déchelette commits suicide. Following Déchelette's suicide, Jean feels even

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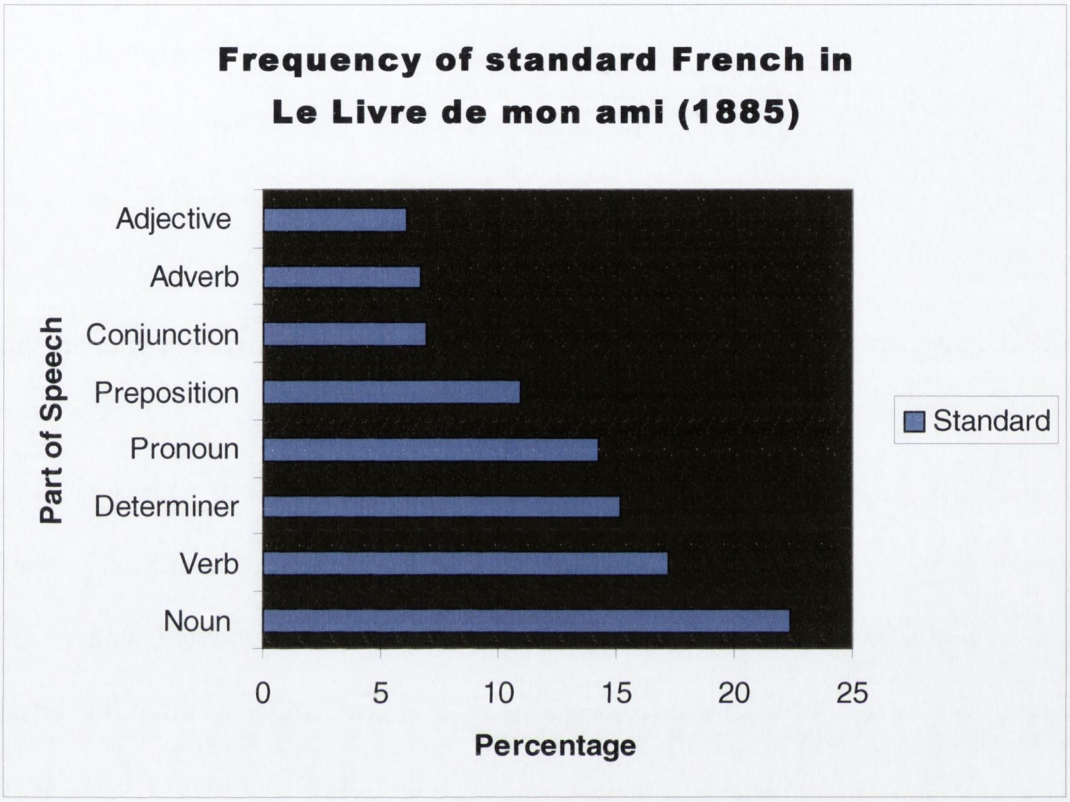
[66] Quotations from Daudet, A., 1999. *Sapho*. Paris: Phénix Editions, p.63.
[67] Quotation from Daudet, A., 1999. *Sapho*. Paris: Phénix Editions, p.65.
[68] Quotation from Daudet, A., 1999. *Sapho*. Paris: Phénix Editions, p.69.
[69] Quotation from Daudet, A., 1999. *Sapho*. Paris: Phénix Editions, p.83.
[70] Quotation from Daudet, A., 1999. *Sapho*. Paris: Phénix Editions, p.87.

more imprisoned by his liaison with Fanny because he fears that should he leave her, she would follow the example set by Alice and Déchelettte.

In Chapter 11, Jean's uncle, Césaire Gaussin D'Armandy who was a little **'toqué'** (i.e. *à moitié fou*) arrives in Paris to help Jean break free of Fanny, whom he describes as a **'crampon'** (i.e. *maîtresse trop fidèle qui se cramponne*).[71] The use of *argot* here is ironic because in the end, Jean is the one who is unable to make a complete rupture from Fanny, despite abandoning his marriage to Irene Bouchereau and his father's subsequent disownment. His father's parting words to him, **'pars avec ta gueuse** (i.e. *prostituée*) are ironic because Fanny refuses to go to Africa with Jean, opting instead to stay with Flamant and his son, Joseph.[72]

[71] Quotations from Daudet, A., 1999. *Sapho*. Paris: Phénix Editions, p.39 and p.97.
[72] Quotation from Daudet, A., 1999. *Sapho*. Paris: Phénix Editions, p.126.

Bar Chart 13 Frequency distribution of 'standard French' in *Le Livre de mon ami* (1885). This chart shows the percentage of parts of speech in all the 'standard French' in *Le Livre de mon ami*, e.g. 17% of all 'standard French' words are verbs.



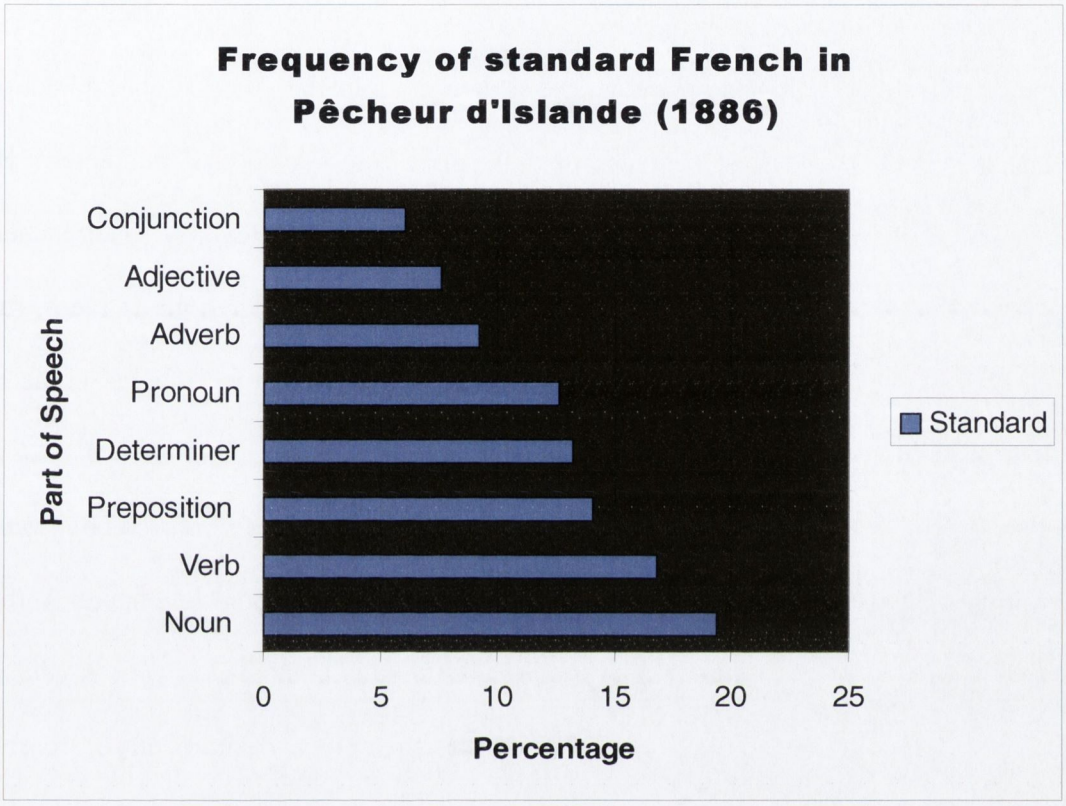
It should be noted that the percentage total was 99.70. The reason why it did not sum to 100% can be attributed to the presence of multi-word units that are given only one dictionary entry. Examples include *coup de couteau* (s.m.), *à table* (adv.), *au milieu de* (prep.).

Bar Chart 13 would seem to suggest that there was no *argot* in Anatole France's *Le Livre de mon ami*. Further, the chart shows that the pronoun category (14%) was the fourth most frequent part of speech after the noun (22%), verb (17%), and determiner (15%). This pattern of distribution may be indicative of the autobiographical form in which the novel was written. In the

opening lines of *Le Livre de mon ami*, the reader's attention is arrested by the quick succession of the first person pronomial form *je*. This use of the autobiographical *je* is sustained throughout the first part of the story recounting his childhood memories, awkward moments in his adolescence, and his early adulthood. Similarly, in the second part where France portrayed himself as a father trying to explain his young daughter's early years, the use of *je* is prominent. It is only towards the end of the book, when it becomes less personal and the narrative is replaced by dialogue that the use of *je* diminishes.

In order to add further emphasis to the personal tone of the book, France makes consistent use of two other pronouns, the personal pronouns *me* and *moi*. The latter is either used in isolation or coupled with *je* to form the pronominal construction, *moi, je*. It may be suggested that this repeated use of *je*, *me*, and *moi* was designed to remind the reader that *Le Livre de mon ami* is a collection of childhood reminiscences about events and people that left an indelible mark on the young Anatole France.

Bar Chart 14 Frequency distribution of 'standard French' in *Pêcheur d'Islande* (1886). This chart shows the percentage of parts of speech in all the 'standard French' words in *Pêcheur d'Islande*, e.g. 9 % of all 'standard French' words are adverbs.



It should be noted that the percentage total was 99.05. The reason why it did not sum to 100% can be attributed to the presence of multi-word units that are given only one dictionary entry. Examples include *coup de queue* (s.m.), *par terre* (adv.), *autour de* (prep.).

Bar Chart 14 would seem to indicate that Pierre Loti did not use *argot* in his novel *Pêcheur d'Islande*. Moreover, the distribution pattern would suggest that the nominal groups of parts of speech, namely the noun (19%), adjective (7%),

and pronoun (12%) were more frequent than the verbal groups of parts of speech, namely the verb (16%) and adverb (9%).

These frequency differences may be attributed to Pierre Loti's interest in description and situation rather than movement and action.[73] In the novel, the sea is accorded the same importance as a character. He portrays the whole range of the sea's moods and, particularly, its treacherous instability. The opening chapters take the reader through all of them, from a calm and gentle beauty to the violence of the storm. In Chapter 1, the sea is characterised as being silent *'avec ces grands silences de la mer qu'on devinait autour d'eux'*.[74] In addition, its serenity and beauty are reinforced by *'tous les miroirs de la mer reflétaient en vagues traînées roses...'*.[75] In Chapter 4, the sea is personified as *'la grande nourrice et la grande dévorante de* ces *générations vigoureuses'*.[76] Finally, in Chapter 6, there is a definite air of foreboding implicit in the language used by Loti to describe the weather in the Icelandic seas: *'le calme blanc'*.[77] This calmness contrasts sharply with the force of the storm, where the sea is portrayed as a monster with frightening powers of destruction: *'toute cette agitation d'à présent, inconsciente, inutile, qui s'était faite si vite. Dans quel but tout cela ?... Quel mystère de destruction aveugle !...'*.[78]

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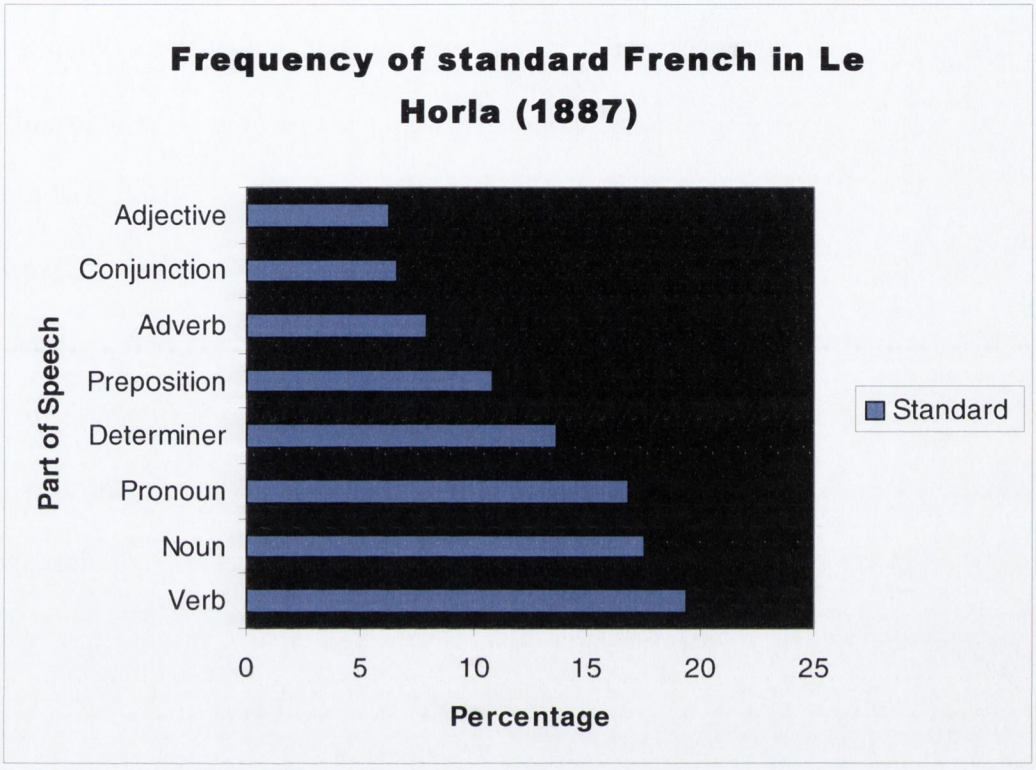
[73] Pierre Loti was the pseudonym of Louis Marie Julien Viaud. Baines, W.P. 1961. *Pierre Loti: Iceland Fisherman*. London: JM Dent & Sons Ltd.
[74] Quotation from Loti, P., 1988. *Pêcheur d'Islande*. Paris: Librairie Générale Française, p.18.
[75] Quotation from Loti, P., 1988. *Pêcheur d'Islande*. Paris: Librairie Générale Française, p.20.
[76] Quotation from Loti, P., 1988. *Pêcheur d'Islande*. Paris: Librairie Générale Française, p.40.
[77] Quotation from Loti, P., 1988. *Pêcheur d'Islande*. Paris: Librairie Générale Française, p.56.
[78] Quotation from Loti, P., 1988. *Pêcheur d'Islande*. Paris: Librairie Générale Française, p.66.

Bar Chart 15 Frequency disctibution of 'standard French' in *Le Horla* (1887). This chart shows the percentage of parts of speech in all the 'standard French' in *Le Horla*, e.g. 6% of all 'standard French' words are adjectives.

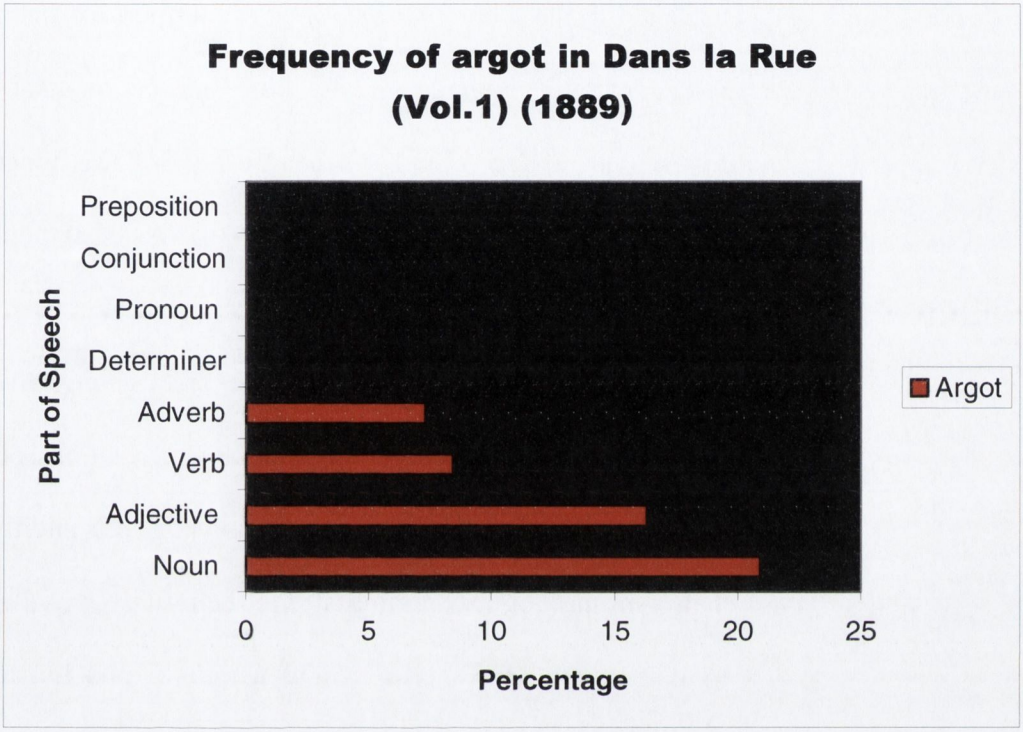


It should be noted that the percentage total was 98.89. The reason why it did not sum to 100% can be attributed to the presence of multi-word units that are given only one dictionary entry. Examples include *chaise longue* (s.f.), *à gauche* (adv.), *au bout de* (prep.).

The results from **Bar Chart 15** suggest that there was no *argot* in Guy de Maupassant's *Le Horla*. In addition, it would appear from the chart that the verb was the most frequently occurring part of speech at 19%. The reason why Maupassant chose this frequency distribution may be attributed to the structure of the *nouvelle* version of *Le Horla*, presented in diary form. Beginning on 8

May, the protagonist recounts in the first person narrative how on specific dates he spent his leisure time, describing his mental and physical state, thereby incorporating his sudden mood changes, premonitions, constant state of fear and mental distress, nightmares, his visit to the Mont St. Michel, the period of remission, his relapse and subsequent state of delirium, his visit to Paris, and the pervasive presence of the invisible *le Horla.* The rapid succession of verbs of movement and perception (i.e. *viennent, descends*, *rentre*, *passant*, *rencontrons*, *retournai*, *tourner*, *tomber*, *venu*, *partis*, *revins*, *sens*, *frôlant*, *voyons*, *regarder*, *frôlons*, *toucher*, *palper*, *apercevoir*, *toucher*, *vis*) from 12 May onwards heighten his emotional state of anxiety, unrelenting suffering, terror, thoughts of madness, and mental agitation, while giving the *récit* movement and life.

Bar Chart 16 Frequency distribution of *argot* in *Dans la Rue* (Vol.1) (1889). This chart shows the percentage of nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, determiners, pronouns, conjunctions, and prepositions that are *argot*, e.g. 20% of all nouns are *argot*.



The pattern emergent form **Bar Chart 16** would suggest that Aristide Bruant readily used *argot* in his first collection of songs and monologues, entitled *Dans la Rue*, published in 1889.[79] 20% of all nouns are *argot*, 16% of all adjectives are *argot*, 8% of all verbs are *argot*, and 7% of all adverbs are *argot*.

As already noted in the commentary on **Bar Chart 1** in section 4.2.2 of Chapter 4, there were no determiners, conjunctions or prepositions labelled as *argot* in the list of dictionaries included in **Apppendix 1**. In addition, there

[79] There are 5 chansons and 8 monologues by Bruant (*Dans la Rue Volume 1*) in the corpus, downloaded from the poésie.webnet.fr website. According to the Seghers 1976 reprinted edition of Bruant's *Dans la Rue Volume 1*, there were in total 18 chansons and 13 monologues.

were no occurrences in *Dans la Rue* (Volume 1) of the pronouns listed as *argot* in **Appendix 9**. Furthermore, phonetic markers of *le style oralisé littéraire* involving determiners (e.g. *eun'* for *un*) and pronouns (e.g. *alle* for *elle*) were not listed in the *dictionnaires d'argot* in **Appendix 1**. From a methodological point of view, the items listed in **Table 7** in section 4.4.1 of this chapter are not represented in **Bar Chart 9** beacause a word was identified as *argot* on the basis that it was listed in one of the dictionaries in **Appendix 1**.

It can be posited that Bruant made use of this *langue verte* (cf. **Glossary**) to convey his anger and contempt for those in positions of power, who by their actions, caused further distress to the downtrodden and the homeless.[80] Even a change in the political regime did not help those who had nowhere to sleep at night, freezing and starving: **' On n'nous a pus foutu qu'du vent'** (*A La Chapelle*). **'J' m'ai toujours connu dans la peine, Sans un pélot, sans un radis...'** (*Grelottueux*). **J'étais ben pus chouett' sous l'empire... Ça m'emmerdait pas l' jour de l'an**' (*Bonne Année*).

Against this background of social and economic misery, young girls according to Bruant were enticed into prostitution:

(*A La Bastille*)
'Pour eun' thune, a' r'tir' son chapeau,
(*'eun'* means *'une'*).
Pour deux thun' a' r'tir' son manteau,
(*'thune'* means *pièce de monnaie)*
Pour un sigue on la déshabille'
(*'sigue'* means *'pièce de vingt francs')*

[80] List of word types of *argot* together with dictionary listings are provided in **Appendix 10**.

When these girls were no longer needed by their pimps, they found comfort in alcohol: **'En vieillissant e gobait l'vin!'** (*A Montpernasse*).

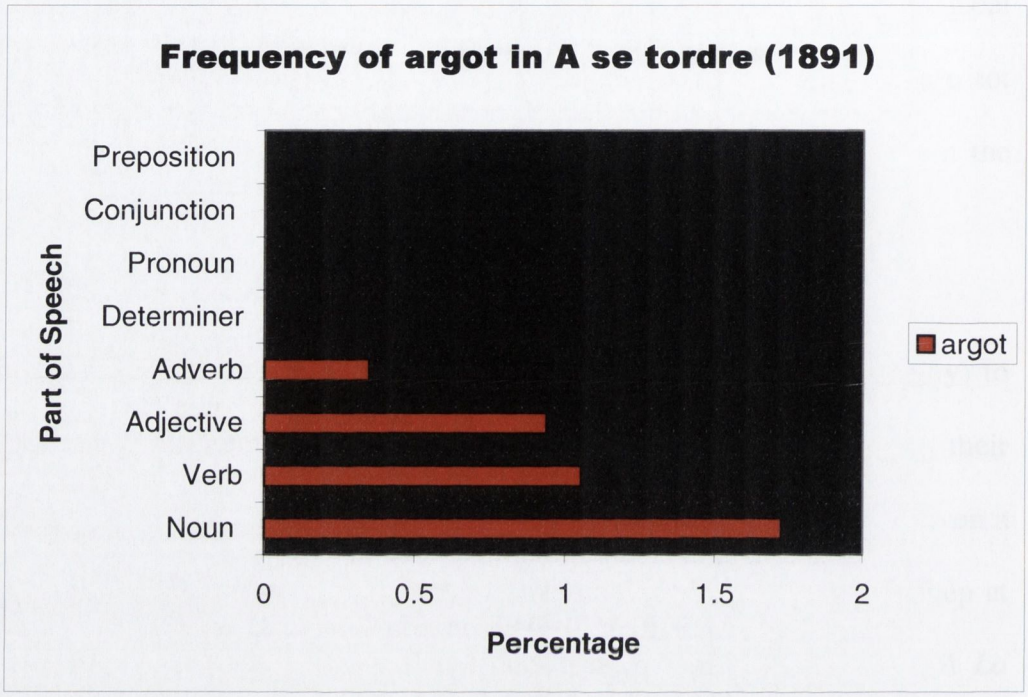
Furthermore, Bruant used the colourful and expressive nature of *argot* to highlight the coarseness and crudeness associated with the distinctive lifestyle and habits of drunks, pimps, and prostitutes:

(*Amoureux*)
'H'u!... nom de Dieu! me v'là cinglé.
Et j' suis rond...mais rond comme eun' balle;
(*'rond'* means *'ivre'*)
D'abord, ej' suis rond comme un disque;
Dame, ej' suis raid' comm' l'obélisque'.

(A Batignolles)
'Ses appas étaient pas ben gros,
(*'appas'* means *'seins')*
Mais je m'disais: Quand on est dos,
(*'dos'* means *'souteneur')*
On peut nager avec eun' sole'.

(*A Montpernasse*)
'En la voyant on ne savait pas
Si c'était d' la viande ou du gras
Qui ballotait su' sa surface'.

Bar Chart 17 Frequency distribution of *argot* in *A se tordre* (1891). This chart shows the percentage of nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, determiners, pronouns, conjunctions, and prepositions that are *argot*, e.g. 1.1% of all verbs are *argot*.



The results from **Bar Chart 17** would suggest that Alphonse Allais made a limited use of *argot* in *A se tordre*: 1.7 % of all nouns were *argot*, 1.1% of all verbs were *argot*, 0.9% of all adjectives were *argot*, and 0.3% of all adverbs were *argot*.

It can be suggested that Allais in this collection of 44 *contes* used *argot* to heighten the comic effect.[81] For example, in *Ferdinand*, the duck's escape is characterised by the cook in the following terms: **'il a fichu le camp'**, after

[81] There was no *argot* in *Moeurs de ce temps-ci*, *Le Criminel précautionneux* and *Une invention*.

having eaten (**'boulotté'**) the large quantity of peas (**'une bonne platée'**), intended to be served with the duck.[82] Similarly, in *Un moyen comme un autre*, after having recounted the story of how a nephew caused his uncle to die through laughter (**'les grandes rigolades'**), the storyteller is accused of being a **'fumiste'** (i.e. *mauvais plaisant*).[83] In *En bordée*, the argotic word **'blagues'** is justaposed with the name of the artillery sergeant, Raoul de Montcocasse (i.e. funny, comical).[84] The comic effect is sustained by Allais in the elliptical title of another story, *Une bien bonne*. The missing word in the title is *blague* and is the guiding theme of a story about how the young narrator and his cousin enjoyed being practical jokers. The boy played practical jokes on his teachers and on his supervisors (**'pions'**), while his cousin Rigouillard intended playing one last **'bonne blague'** on archaeologists.[85]

It may be suggested that Allais extended his use of *argot* to encompass what may be termed fantasy stories. For example, in *Truc canaille*, the narrator recounts how in the year 187... or 1888... he wrote completely loony (**'loufoques'**) columns for a big stupid student (**'une espèce de grand serin'**).

Against the background of this preoccupation, he was only a little (**'un tantinet'**) worried about the payment date of his rent.[86]

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[82] Quotation from Allais, A. 2002. *A se tordre*. Paris: Flammarion, p.44.
[83] Quotation from Allais, A. 2002. *A se tordre*. Paris: Flammarion, p.50.
[84] Quotation from Allais, A. 2002. *A se tordre*. Paris: Flammarion, p. 46.
[85] Quotation from Allais, A. 2002. *A se tordre*. Paris: Flammarion, pp.110-111.
[86] Quotation from Allais, A. 2002. *A se tordre*. Paris: Flammarion, pp.112-113.

Further, Allais emphasised the ludic use of *argot* by creating a number of puns. The humorous effect of his play on words can be seen from the following examples. In *Un philosophe*, there is an obvious pun on the word **cocu** (i.e. *mari trompé*). The custom's official admitted that his wife had given birth to seven children, only one of whom was his. He called this child '**le Cocu**'.[87] In *Collage*, Allais plays on the argotic meaning of the word **collage** (i.e. *union illégitime*). The husband Dr. Joris-Abraham-W. Snowdrop) avenges his wife's (Miss Bertha) adultery with his young assistant, (George Arthurson) by gluing the two of them together. The doctor concludes by addressing his once lawful wife, who is now united with her lover for better or for worse, and not through marriage vows. There is a similar play on the argotic meaning of the word **'chameau'** (i.e. *femme de mauvaise vie*) in *Le Palmier.* Despite the unnamed central character's brief liaisons with countless **'chameaux'**, the palm tree did not wither because it remained in its habitual environment.[88]

The cabaret sketches in *A se tordre* provided the platform for Allais to mock the medical and pharmaceutical professions. Argotic words and expressions such as **avoir du toupet** (i.e. *audace*) and **veine** (i.e. *chance*) are recurrent. For example, in *Le Médecin*, doctors are described by the narrator as being extremely audacious professionals. Hence, the word **toupet** is repeated, once as part of the phrasal construction **'avoir du toupet'** and, twice substantively, **'un toupet'** and **'le plus de toupet'** to add emphasis. This emphasis is

[87] Quotation from Allais, A. 2002. *A se tordre*. Paris: Flammarion, p.41.
[88] Quotations from Allais, A. 2002. *A se tordre*. Paris: Flammarion, p.80.

sustained by the use of five verbs in *argot*: **'je l'ai balancé'**, **'tu peux te fouiller'**, **'j'ai fichu'**, **'j'ai flanqué'**, **je les ai flanqués'**.[89] The choice of this energetic and vigorous language that is full of movement underscores his own reaction to his doctor's audacity. Further, the repeated use of the pronoun *je* would appear to bear testimony to his attempts to capture fragments of reality, despite its incoherent and transient nature.

Similarly, in *Boisflambard*, a practicing doctor relays to his friend how as a young struggling medical student, he discovered an amazing ruse (**'truc épatant'**) to become a qualified doctor. He admits that medicine is not a matter of science, but instead is **'une affaire de veine'**.[90] Here Allais used the word *veine* to mock the serious nature of the medical profession. In *Le Comble de Darwinisme*, Allais turns his satire onto the pharmaceutical profession. He recounts the time when he worked in a pharmacy, unsupervised, and how a well off old fool (**'une espèce de vieux serin'**) used to spend most afternoons discussing pseudo-scientific discussion, while he neglected to dispense prescriptions in a careful and professional manner, resulting in producing what one customer described as **'cette cochonnerie-là'** (i.e. *saleté*).[91]

In keeping with the pharmaceutical theme, Allais in *Simple Malentendu*, used *argot* to show the contrasting fortunes of two individuals, one the son of a rich pharmacist from Amsterdam, Van Deyck-Lister, and the narrator who lived in

[89] Quotation from Allais, A. 2002. *A se tordre*. Paris: Flammarion, pp.62-63.
[90] Quotations from Allais, A. 2002. *A se tordre*. Paris: Flammarion, p.68.
[91] Quotations from Allais, A. 2002. *A se tordre*. Paris: Flammarion, p.72.

penury with his mistress, Angéline **'dans une purée visqueuse'** (i.e. *misérable*).[92] Further, the rich pharmacist's son thought that he had the right to make fun of his friend (**'me blaguer'**), and so decided to enter into a wager with him. When the narrator recounts this conversation to Angéline, she exclaims that his friend has a cheek: '**Eh bien ! il a du toupet, ton ami !'** [93] Her words are ironic because in the end, the reader learns that by agreeing to sleep with Van Deyck-Lister in return for money, Angéline has the most nerve.

Finally, in *Un petit « fin de siècle »*, under the guise of irony and humour, Allais gives the reader a clear indication that these *contes* are connected with the weekly humourous paper *Le Chat Noir*, started by Rodolphe Salis in 1882 to promote his cabaret of the same name. This would seem to concur with Jakovsky's (1955, p. 17) view that: 'Les deux premiers volumes d'Allais, *A se tordre* et *Vive la vie*, sont composés uniquement avec les contes parus dans le journal du *Chat Noir*'. The narrator, a young boy, seven years of age wants his uncle to help him get a story he has written about how a **'gosse'** (i.e *enfant*) used to enjoy playing pranks (**'blagues'**) printed in *Le Chat Noir*, and to sign his own name. In return for his help, he agrees to share **'la galette'** (i.e. *argent*) with him.[94]

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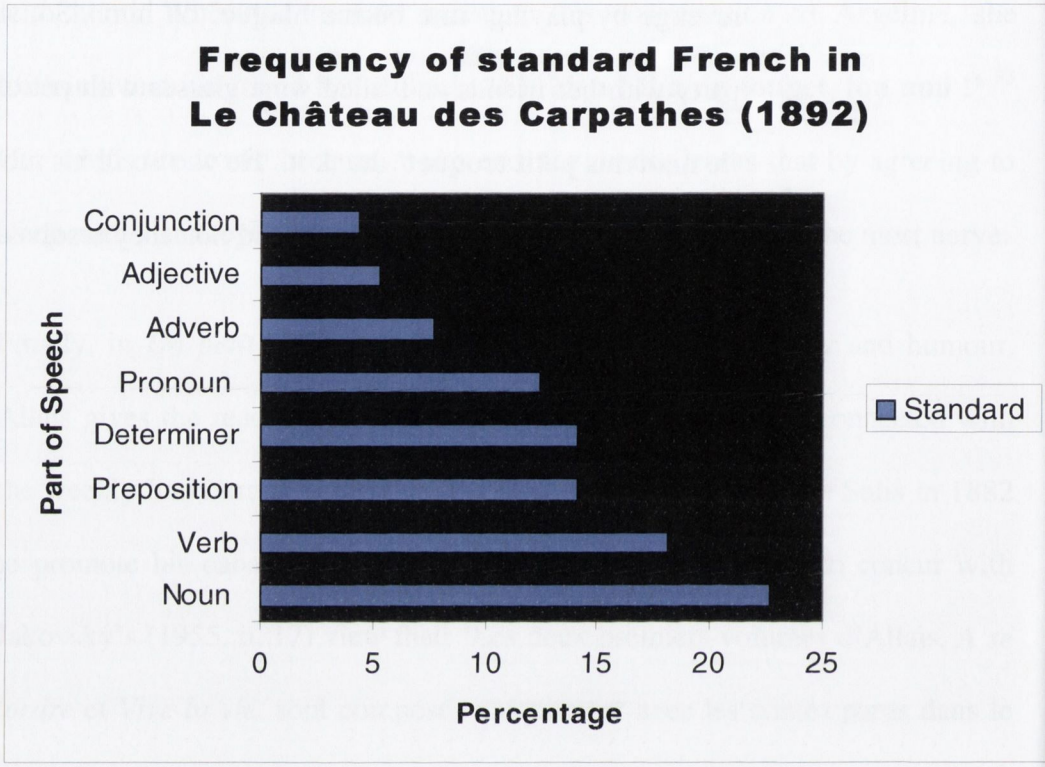
[92] Quotations from Allais, A. 2002. *A se tordre*. Paris: Flammarion, pp.102-103.
[93] Quotations from Allais, A. 2002. *A se tordre*. Paris: Flammarion, pp.102-103.
[94] Quotations from Allais, A. 2002. *A se tordre*. Paris: Flammarion, p.122.

The story can be summarised as follows: this little **'troquet'** (i.e. *mastroquet*), the son of the wine merchant used to delight in annoying (**'embêtait'**) one neighbour in particular, the daughter of a light merchant. She decided to seek revenge by playing **'une bonne blague'** on him. So, she organised a dinner party with her friends and filled wine glasses with petrol instead of wine, and **'le mauvais petit troquet'** drank it. He was so ill his mother thought he would die (**'claquerait'**). Fortunately, he did not, they resolved their differences and later married.[95]

[95] Quotations from Allais, A. 2002. *A se tordre*. Paris: Flammarion, pp.122-124.

Bar Chart 18 Frequency distribution of 'standard French' in *Le Château des Carpathes* (1892). This chart shows the percentage of parts of speech in all the 'standard French' in *Le Château des Carpathes*, e.g. 18% of all 'standard French' words are verbs.



It should be noted that the percentage total was 98.77. The reason why it did not sum to 100% can be attributed to the presence of multi-word units that are given only one dictionary entry. Examples include *chemin de fer* (s.m.), *au total* (adv.), *à la condition que* (conj.), *à bout de* (prep.).

The results of the **Bar Chart 18** would seem to indicate that Verne chose not to use *argot* in *Le Château des Carpathes*. This absence of *argot* contrasts sharply with the patterns emergent from his two earlier novels: *De la Terre à la Lune* and *Les Cinq cents millions de la Bégum* (cf. **Table 1** and **Table 2**).

Verne's decision may be explained by his deliberate blending of an eighteenth century art-form, the Gothic story into science-fiction. He assembled inherent gothic elements in the *récit* by using a series of recurrent nouns and adjectives to describe the evocative scenery: thick forests, wild mountains, a mysterious and haunted castle, and the temptuous Nyad.

The gothic overtones are maintained through references to light and darkness and to the supernatural beliefs of the people of Werst, culminating in explicable voices and white-clad female figures. Having kept the reader waiting for an equivocal and delightful dénouement, Verne explains that there is a perfectly rational and scientific explanation. The evil hero, Baron de Gortz relied on his companion's scientific inventions in the form of the telephone cable, the projector, and the gramophone to spread terror among the population of Werst through the inexplicable voices, while simultaneously recreating the image and reconstituting the voice of La Stilla as a means of luring Franz de Télek into the haunted castle.

Table 5 Frequency distribution of 'standard French' and *argot* in *Poil de Carotte* (1894). This chart shows the occurrences of 'standard French' and *argot* in each part of speech in *Poil de Carotte*.

Part of Speech	Standard French	Argot
Noun	7166	31
Verb	6150	18
Pronoun	5570	0
Determiner	3978	0
Preposition	3263	0
Adverb	2910	0
Conjunction	2279	0
Adjective	1701	0

It can be inferred from the frequency distribution in **Table 5** that Jules Renard chose to punctuate this collection of 48 individual stories with *argot* in order to portray to the reader, the conflicting qualities of a young boy's personality, in terms of how he has to contend with numerous difficulties, and how on occasion, they engender a series of poignant tragedies.[96]

[96] List of word types of *argot* together with dictionary listings are provided in **Appendix 10**.

Thus, in an early story, *C'est le chien*, the narrator draws the reader's attention to the significance of Poil de Carotte having shirked his responsibility of patrolling the chicken coup to make sure no harm comes to them after dark, and how one day he will be caught: **'un jour il se fera pincer'**.[97] In a later story, *Le coffre-fort*, the reader is invited to witness Poil de Carotte's naughty and deceptive behaviour in attempting to bribe the innocent Mathilde with a false secret **'Lustucru'** (i.e. *niais*) into letting him touch her.[98]

Similarly, in another story, *Les joues rouges I*, when Poil de Carotte suspects his friend Marseau of having behaved in an inappropriate manner with the master of studies, Violone he first, insults him by repeatedly calling him **'Pistolet ! Pistolet'**, then confronts him, and makes the comment: **'C'est du propre'** (i.e. *vilain*), punning on the metaphorical meaning of the word.[99]

In addition, Renard's uses the emotive power of a number of argotic words and expressions to garner the reader's sympathy for this innocent young boy who is constantly reprimanded and harshly rebuked by his mother, Mme Lepic. For example, in *Les Perdrix*, even after Poil de Carotte has expended great effort in killing the partridges his father has wounded, his mother remarks: **'Est-ce assez cochonné ?'**, thereby questioning his competency.[100] In *Le pot III*, she is depicted as continuing to undermine Poil de Carotte's self-esteem. At nightime, Mme Lepic leaves him a candle, but no matches, locks the door and,

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[97] Quotation from Renard, J., 1988. *Poil de Carotte*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, p.77.
[98] Quotation from Renard, J., 1988. *Poil de Carotte*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, p.207.
[99] Quotation from Renard, J., 1988. *Poil de Carotte*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, p.155.
[100] Quotation from Renard, J., 1988. *Poil de Carotte*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, p.75.

invariably forgets to make sure there is a chamber pot under his bed. In the case of any accidents during the night, she hurriedly slips the chamber pot into the correct place, insisting it was there all the time. And so a bewildered Poil de Carotte becomes resigned to his mother's malice because he doesn't have the audacity (**' il aurait du toupet'**) to challenge the status quo.[101]

La pioche recounts the time when Poil de Carotte was digging beside his brother, grand frère Felix with his own home-made spade and suddenly receives an ugly blow to the forehead. His father jokingly remarks: **'Tu t'es joliment fait moucher'** (i.e. *te faire rembarrer*), while his mother blaims him for his brother's indisposition.[102] In *La luzerne*, grand frère Felix is shown to take advantage of Poil de Carotte's innocent nature. His words have an ironic resonance: **'Blague à part, veux-tu parier ?'** (i.e. *plaisenterie*) because at the end of the story, the reader is told that grand frère Felix only pretended to eat the clover, while Poil de Carotte swallowed it whole.[103] In the story *Mathilde*, grand frère Felix makes fun of Poil de Carotte and Mathilde's reticence to kiss each other after having exchanged vows in a mock wedding ceremony. He repeatedly calls on them to **'bichez-vous, bichez-vous, on se biche'**. Finally he decides to kiss (**'biche'**) Mathilde to set an example for them.[104] When they both blush with embarrassment, grand frère Felix continues to poke fun at them: **'Soleil ! soleil !'** (i.e. *piquer un soleil*), questioning their intelligence:

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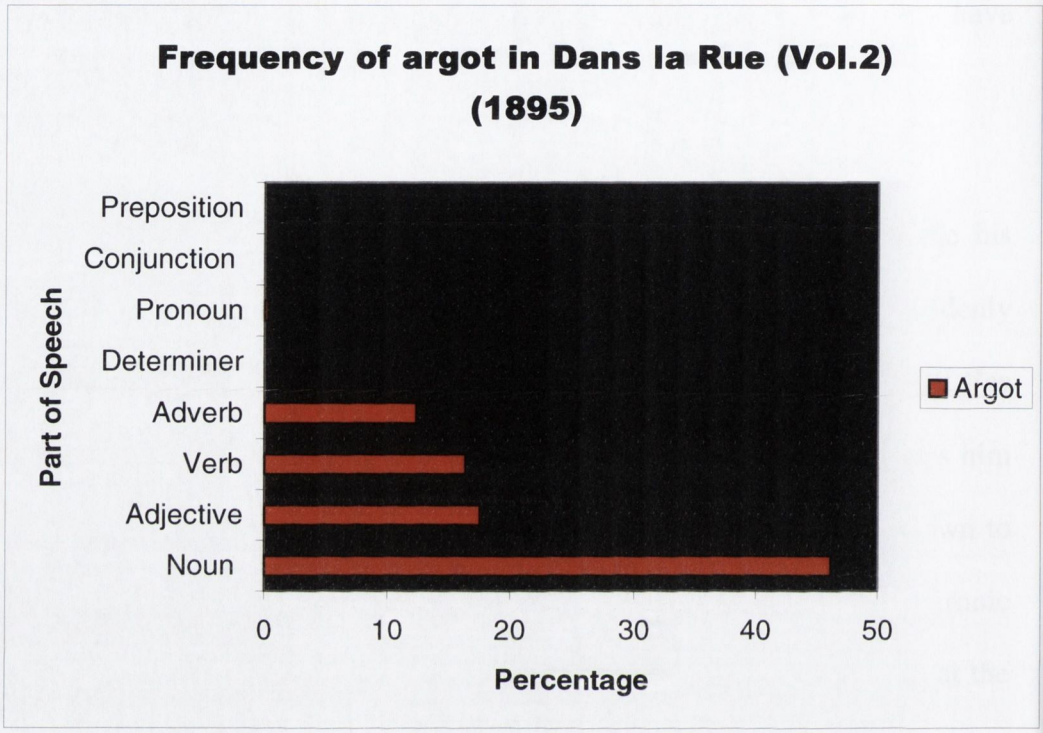
[101] Quotation from Renard, J., 1988. *Poil de Carotte*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, p.89.
[102] Quotation from Renard, J., 1988. *Poil de Carotte*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, p.92.
[103] Quotation from Renard, J., 1988. *Poil de Carotte*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, p.101.
[104] Quotation from Renard, J., 1988. *Poil de Carotte*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, p.200.

'Sont-ils buses !' (i.e. *inintelligent*, *obtus*).[105] Poil de Carotte immediately defends himself by retorting **'je ne pique pas de soleil'**.[106] Similarly, when his mother arrives to admonish his behaviour, he finds an inner strength and exclaims: **'Qu'est-ce que ça fait, pourvu qu'on rigole'** (i.e. *on rit*).[107]

[105] Quotations from Renard, J., 1988. *Poil de Carotte*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, p.203.
[106] Quotations from Renard, J., 1988. *Poil de Carotte*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, p.203.
[107] Quotation from Renard, J., 1988. *Poil de Carotte*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, p.204.

Bar Chart 19 Frequency distribution of *argot* in *Dans la Rue* (Vol.2) (1895). This chart shows the percentage of nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, determiners, pronouns, conjunctions, and prepositions that are *argot*, e.g. 46% of all nouns are *argot*.



Bar Chart 19 would seem to indicate that in the second volume of *Dans la Rue*, published in 1895, a significantly greater proportion of nouns (46%), verbs (16%), and adverbs (12%) were *argot* compared to the first volume.[108]

This marked increase in the use of *argot* may be attributed, in part to his intention to recreate the atmosphere of a Paris in the latter part of the nineteenth century where thieves, murderers, pimps, and prostitutes gathered in sleazy bars, and lived in constant fear of the police and the guillotine:

[108] List of word types of *argot* together with dictionary listings are provided in **Appendix 10**.

(*Dans la rue*).
'Les moeurs l'ont fourré au ballon.
(*'ballon'* means *'prison'*)
Et viv'nt les aminches !
Viv'nt les escarp' et viv'nt les grinches !
(*'escarpes'* means *'assassins'*, *'grinches'* means *'voleurs'*)
Pour voir ma gueule en raccourci'
(*'gueule'* means *'visage'*, *'raccourci'* means *'guillotiné'*)

(*Les Petits Joyeux*).
'Nous chauffons les morlingu' aux bons passants en riolle.
(*'chauffer'* means *'aller bien'*, *'morlingue'* means *'porte-monnaie'*, '
'riolle' means *'ruisseau'*)
Pendant qu'nos p'tit's marmit's vid'nt les bours's des michés'
(*'marmite'* means *'maîtresse'* , *'miché'* means *'amant'*)

(*Conasse*).
'Mais les lapins, mais les bécants,
(*'lapin'* means *'homme solide'*)
Ceux avec qui qu'ya pas d'affure,
(*'afffure'* means *'profit'*)
Les emmerdeurs et les croquants,
(*'emmerdeur'* means *personnage ennuyeux'*, *'croquant'* means *'homme de rien'*)
On les dégringole à la dure'
(*'dégringoler'* means *'voler'*, *à la dure'* means *'avec voies de fait'*)

In addition, Bruant used robust, bold and racy argotic words and expressions to depict the central characters in his songs and monologues in a truthful, clear, sincere, and colourful manner. In so doing, he was conscious of the desired effect this would have on his audience in his cabaret *Le Mirliton*. He wanted to create a complicity with his audience by allowing them to imagine themselves in touch with the dangerous life of the streets. His muse was *la rue*. The following lines

(*A Saint-Ouen*)

'C'est un métier d'purotin, (*'purotin'* means *'misérable'*)

Faut trimarder dans Pantin' (*'trimarder'* means *'marcher'*, *'Pantin'* means *'Paris'*)

(*Pilon*)

'Merd !... V'là un sergot... Faut m'trotter...'

(*'sergot'* means *'sergent de ville'*, *'trotter'* means *'s'en aller'*)

'J'en connais des tas... des peinards

(*'peinard'* means *'vieillard'*) (*Pilon*)

'Qui s'font casquer par leur lesbombe' (*Coquette*)

(*'casquer'* means *'payer'*, *'lesbombe'* means *'fille publique'*)

'Ça m' fait flasquer d'voir eun' pétasse' (*Conasse*)

(*'pétasse'* means *'prostituée'*)

'Mon vieux frangin, tu viens d' bouffer d' la case' (*Aux Bat. D'Af.*)

(*'frangin'* means *'frère'*, *'bouffer de la case'* means *'faire de la prison'*)

give movement, rhythm and meaning to his stories about an impoverished and miserable childhood, a homeless beggar, the volatile relationship between a prostitute and her pimp, and the causality between misfortune and incarceration.

In terms of the pattern of frequency distribution represented in **Bar Chart 19**, it can be suggested that there was one occurrence of the pronoun *mézigue* (*moi*)

listed as *argot* in **Appendix 9**. It should also be noted that there were no determiners, conjunctions or prepositions labelled as *argot* in the list of dictionaries included in **Apppendix 1**. Furthermore, phonetic markers of le style oralisé littéraire involving determiners (e.g. *el'* for *le*) and pronouns (e.g. *leur-z-y* for *leur*) were not listed in the *dictionnaires d'argot* in **Appendix 1**. From a methodological point of view, the items listed in **Table 8** in section 4.4.1 of this chapter are not represented in **Bar Chart 19** because a word was identified as *argot* on the basis that it was listed in one of the dictionaries in **Appendix 1**.

Section 4.4 Composition of the sub-corpus.

It can be concluded from the results presented in the previous section that the following poets and authors used varying proportions of *argot* in their literary productions: Jean Richepin in *La Chanson des Gueux*, Aristide Bruant in *Dans la Rue: Chansons et monologues* (Volumes 1 and 2), Jules Verne in *De la Terre à la Lune* and in *Les Cinq cents millions de la Bégum*, Emile Zola in *L'Assommoir*, Guy de Maupassant in *La Maison Tellier*, Alphonse Daudet in *Sapho*, Alphonse Allais in *A se tordre*, and Jules Renard in *Poil de Carotte*.[109] Using this sub-corpus as the basis for illustrative examples, this section examines the written representation of *argot*, an essentially oral phenomenon. The first sub-section 4.4.1 seeks to isolate characteristic elements of *le style oralisé littéraire*, and then to discuss their stylistic use by poets and authors in the sub-corpus. The second sub-section 4.4.2 focuses in particular on

[109] A detailed description of the content of the sub-corpus is provided in **Appendix 11**.

occurrences of *argot* in sequences of dialogue and examines its stylistic use by authors in the sub-corpus as an explicit marker of spoken discourse. It also considers the multi-stranded role played by the use of *argot* by nineteenth century authors.

Section 4.4.1 Stylistic use of *le style oralisé littéraire.*

Reference has already been made in section 3.6 of Chapter 3 to the literary construct, *le style oralisé littéraire*, and how it represents a subtle compromise between spoken language and written language. The aim of this section is to discuss the stylistic use of a number of distinctive phonetic, prosodic, morpho-syntactic, and lexical features used by poets and authors in the sub-corpus in order to determine whether they have succeeded in reproducing speech, or in fact have created an abstract form of spoken discourse, as argued by Luzzati (1987, p.15).

Beginning with the poets in chronological order in the sub-corpus, there is Jean Richepin with his collection of verse *La Chanson des Gueux* (1876), followed by Aristide Bruant with his collection of songs and monologues *Dans la Rue* (1889) and (1895).

Table 6: Use of phonetic, prosodic, morpho-syntactic, and lexical markers of *le style oralisé* in *La Chanson des Gueux*.

Phonetic	**Prosodic**	**Morpho-syntactic**	**Lexical**
Elision (often marked by an apostrophe). Examples: *l'* (le), *j'* (je), *d'* (de), *t'as* (tu as), *ch'lipote* (chelipote), *ling'* (linge), *p'tit* (petit), *grinch'* (grinche), *ben* (bien), *vas* (vais).	Rising intonation. Examples: *vivant ? Quoi ? tu veux rentiffer ?*	Reduplication: *moi, j'ai, moi j', ça, c'est.*	Argotic vigour. Examples: *foutrai, bouffrais, emboucanner.*
Vocalic variation. Examples: *ceuss* (ceux), *qué que* (qu'est-ce que).		Pronoun: *on* Demonstrative pronoun: *ça*	Argotic imagery. Examples: *batt' la berloque, Louis, palpitant.*
Consonantal omission Examples: *pa'* (pas), *êt'* (être), *aut's* (autres), *batt'* (battre).		Interrrogative form: *Est-ce que*	Pragmatic particles. Examples: *ben, alors, mais, vrai, bon, quoi, allons.*
Deletion. Example: *faut* (il faut).			

The illustrative examples taken from *La Chanson des Gueux* and presented in **Table 6** would suggest that Jean Richepin used elision (e.g. *j'*, *p'tit*), vocalic variation (e.g. *ceuss, qué*), consonantal omission (e.g. *pa' êt'*), and deletion of the third person pronoun *il* (e.g. *faut*) in order to create an impression in the

reader's mind that those people whom he intended to defend, namely poor people, pimps, and prostitutes had their own idiosyncratic manner of pronouncing words. Hence, these orthographic changes in the normative written code allowed Richepin to reflect their speech habits in a true and convincing way by providing the reader with an insight into how they spoke.

In terms of prosody, he demonstrated that the use of rising intonation, denoted by a question mark at the end of an utterance was a feature of their speech style. Richepin's decision to use intonation as a characteristic marker of the interrogative may have been motivated by his wish to convey to the reader the mixed emotions, ranging from uncertainty to surprise felt, for example, by a pimp or a retired prostitute.

From a morpho-syntactic point of view, Richepin continued to emphasise the oral tone implicit in their speech patterns by using reduplication in the form of *moi, j'ai* and *ça, c'est*, a frequently occurring syntactic structure in speech, but rarely used in writing. Similarly, he showed a marked tendency to use the oral forms of the pronouns *ça* and *on* instead of the written forms, *cela* and *nous*. Finally, he modified traditional interrogative structures by using the simplified structure *est-ce que* instead of inversion.

In addition to drawing attention to the esthetic function made explicit by using an argotic lexis which was both vigorous and colourful in terms of imagery, Richepin added words such as *donc*, *mais*, *ben*, *alors*, *bon*, *vrai, aussi*, *puis*,

and *quoi* to punctuate their speech (e.g. *bon, mais quoi ? vrai*), or to demarcate a pause, or a change in intonation (e.g. *allons, quoi ? quoi donc*). These words are regularly used as pragmatic particles in everyday spoken language, and may be omitted, without altering the meaning of an utterance.[110]

[110] The term *appuis du discours* is borrowed from Luzzati F & D., 1987. 'Oral et familier: Le style oralisé'. In *L'Informatique grammaticale*. Vol. 34, June 1987, p.16.

Table 7: Use of phonetic, prosodic, morpho-syntactic, and lexical markers of *le style oralisé littéraire* in *Dans la Rue: Chansons et monologues* (Volume 1).

Phonetic	**Prosodic**	**Morpho-syntactic**	**Lexical**
Elision. Examples: *j'* (je), *appell'* (appelle), *d'* (de), *p'tit* (petit), *vas* (vais), *ben* (bien).	Suspension points *(… …)*.	Reduplication. Examples: *moi, j'ai, moi, je, tu, toi, nous, nous.*	*Des fois* (quelquefois)
Inverted or reversed mute *e*. Examples: *ej'* (je), *ed'* (de).		Omission of the *ne* morpheme.	Bitter and violent *argot.* Examples: *m'emmerde, foutent, casser la gueule.*
Consonantal omission. Examples: *pus* (plus), *i'* (il), *quéqu'un* (quelqu'un).		Pronoun: *on* Demonstrative pronoun: *ça*	Pragmatic particles. Examples: *va donc, quoi donc, vrai, allons bon, v'là.*
Deletion. Examples: *paraît* (il paraît), *faut* (il faut).		Use of the spoken construction *c'est + que.*	
Phonetic transcription Examples: *Alle* (elle), *eune* (une), *eun'* (une), *j'ay'* (j'ai), *leur-z-y* (leur), *çui* (celui),			

Table 8: Use of phonetic, prosodic, morpho-syntactic, and lexical features of *le style oralisé littéraire* in *Dans la Rue: Chansons et monologues* (Volume 2).

Phonetic	**Prosodic**	**Morpho-syntactic**	**Lexical**
Elision. Examples: *j'* (je), *noc'* (noce), *qu'* (que), *ben* (bien), *vas* (vais).	Suspension points *(… …)*.	Reduplication. Examples: *moi je*, *moi j'ai*.	Swearwords. Example: *Merd'!* Insults. Example: *chameau*.
Inverted or reversed mute *e*. Examples: *ej'* (je), *ed'* (de), *el'* (le).		Omission of the *ne* morpheme.	Argotic robustness. Examples: *rousse*, *fout la frousse*, *escarpes*, *grinches*.
Consonantal omission. Examples: *pus* (plus), *su'* (sur).		Pronoun: *on*. Demonstrative pronoun: *ça*.	Pragmatic particles. Examples: *ben oui*, *vois*, *quoi donc*, *eh! bien! vrai*.
Deletion. Example: *va falloir* (il va falloir).			
Phonetic transcription. Examples: *alle* (elle), *lieur* (lieu), *leur-z-y* (leur), *estérieur* (extérieur), *eun'* (une), *y* (lui), *ménuit* (minuit), *oùsque* (où).			

In contrast to Richepin, it would appear from **Tables 7** and **8** above that Aristide Bruant in *Dans la Rue: Chansons et monologues* (Volumes 1 and 2), made use of additional phonetic, morpho-syntactic, and lexical features of *le style oralisé littéraire* because he wanted the reader to interpret these songs and monologues in the context of their being performed in his cabaret *Le Mirliton.*

From a phonetic point of view, he sought to portray the distinctive speech style associated with his characters, ranging from down-and-outs, to pimps and prostitutes. Thus, these social outcasts can be said to pronounce a mute *e* which is inverted or reversed (e.g. *ej'*, *el'*). Similarly, his use of a phonetic transcription (e.g. *alle*, *lieur*, *y*) allows the reader to appreciate the variation inherent in their pronunciation.

His marked predilection for using suspension points as a way of indicating certain prosodic features of their speech utterances is further evidence of his conscious decision to recreate the rhythmic flow of the spoken language with its rising intonation (e.g. **De quoi donc ?...** *Philosophe*), pauses (e.g. **pas ben exigeant !...** *A Batignolles*), hesitations (e.g. **Je pourrais pas... J'ai jamais appris...** *Dans la rue*), and interruptions (e.g. **Merd' !... V'là un sergot... Faut m'trotter...** *Pilon*).

Bruant's use of the spoken construction *c'est + que* as a morpho-syntactic marker of *le style oralisé* in Volume 1 of *Dans la Rue* further serves to differentiate his representation of speech from that of Richepin in *La Chanson*

des Gueux. It may be suggested that Bruant used this construction to add further emphasis to the underlying conversational tone of his monologues. This supposition is supported by the fact that when the construction *c'est + que* is used, it is accompanied either by an inverted or reversed mute *e*, or by suspension points (e.g. **'C'est qu'il a du mal, el' trottoir'** *Bonne Année*, **Alors, i' pleut pas... c'est que je pisse'** *Soulaud*).

Another differentiating morpho-syntactic feature between Richepin and Bruant is Bruant's marked tendency to omit the *ne* morpheme, as a way of highlighting the oral tone of his songs and monologues. Although he used this stylistic marker 66 times (i.e. 45 in Volume 1 and 21 in Volume 2), his usage was variable, thus making it difficult to establish a definite pattern. For example, there were 8 occurrences in both *A Batignolles* (*chanson*) and *Grelotteux* (*monologue*).

Moreover, Bruant's choice of lexis is different to that used by Richepin in so far as Bruant chose to substitute oral forms such as *des fois* for *parfois*, while at the same time combining swearwords such as *Merde !* and insults such as *chameau !* with an argotic lexis that was bitter, violent, and robust coming as it did from the street. It was in Zévaès' (1943, p.47) words: 'C'est du Richepin de la *Chanson des Gueux* avec moins d'Ecole normale supérieure et moins de lexique'.

Having contrasted the use of phonetic, prosodic, morpho-syntactic, and lexical aspects of *le style oralisé littéraire* in poetic works by Jean Richepin and Aristide Bruant, the remainder of this sub-section is devoted to a contrastive analysis of *le style oralisé littéraire* in prose works by six authors from the sub-corpus. **Appendix 11** provides details of the contents of the sub-corpus. Of all the authors in the sub-corpus, only Emile Zola in *L'Assommoir* used phonetic markers of *le style oralisé littéraire*. This tendency among one of the authors would appear to be in sharp contrast with poetic usage in the sub-corpus.

Table 9: Use of prosodic, morpho-syntactic, and lexical features of *le style oralisé littéraire* in *De la Terre à la Lune*.

Prosodic	**Morpho-syntactic**	**Lexical**
Suspension points *(… …)*.	Pronoun: *on*	Pragmatic particles. Examples: *Eh bien ! donc, alors, mais alors, bon, oui mais, tel que.*
		Argot

Table 9 would suggest that Jules Verne used a limited number of prosodic, morpho-syntactic, and lexical markers of *le style oralisé* in his novel *De la Terre à la Lune*. This restricted use was reflected by the pattern in which he employed suspension points in 31 sequences of dialogue and 1 narrative sequence. His use of suspension points in dialogue was designed to capture the

pauses, hesitations, and interruptions inherent in spoken utterances. In addition, he may have wanted to create the impression that the reader was a witness to this spontaneous discourse between characters, rather than something that was prefabricated. Further, his use of suspension points in the narrative sequence (*'Ils avaient des vivres pour un an. Mais après?... Les coeurs les plus insensibles palpitaient à cette terrible question'*) may be indicative of his wish to dispel any doubts that his readers may have had about the veracity of the scientific enterprise they had just witnessed. He does so by directly appealing to their emotions, while at the same time keeping them in a state of animated suspense.[111]

Morpho-syntactically, in terms of the distribution of the pronoun *on*, the reverse pattern would appear to be evident with 53 occurrences in dialogue and 112 in narrative. This usage may be suggestive of his wish to draw the reader's attention to the conversational tone implied by the use of *on* in the narrative voice. Interestingly, the use of the pronoun *nous* was restricted to dialogue. However, the authenticity of this form of oral communication was compromised in so far as there were 8 occurrences of inversion: 6 in dialogue and 2 in narrative.

The final element refers to Verne's use of lexical markers of *le style oralisé*, namely *argot* and pragmatic particles. Verne's stylistic motivation for using *argot* in the narrative has been discussed in **Bar Chart 2** in section 4.3 of this

[111] Quotation from Verne, J., 1966: *De la Terre à la Lune*. Paris: Hachette, p.361.

chapter. Further, he extended the prosodic function of two types of pragmatic particles, *donc* and *mais alors* by placing them at the beginning of 10 narrative sequences, and in so doing, succeeded in punctuating the narrative voice, while simultaneously arresting the reader's attention, by juxtaposing these spoken elements with a predominantly literary vocabulary.

Table 10: Use of prosodic, morpho-syntactic, and lexical features of *le style oralisé littéraire* in *Les Cinq cents millions de la Bégum.*

Prosodic	**Morpho-syntactic**	**Lexical**
Suspension points *(… …).*	Pronoun: *on.*	Pragmatic particles. Examples: *Eh bien ! donc, allons, alors.*
	Use of the spoken construction *c'est + que.*	*Argot.*

It would appear from **Table 10** that Jules Verne in a later novel, entitled *Les Cinq cents millions de la Bégum* (1878) adopted a broadly similar pattern of usage to his earlier novel *De la Terre à la Lune* (1865), particularly in his use of the pronoun *on* (i.e. 36 in dialogue and 93 in narrative). In addition, the pronoun *nous* was exclusively restricted to dialogue. His use of suspension was somewhat similar, though it would appear that their occurrence in narrative sequences was more frequent in *Les Cinq cents millions de la Bégum* (i.e. 105 in dialogue and 30 in narrative).

A comparative study of **Tables 9** and **10** would suggest that Verne in his later novel, added the spoken construction *c'est + que* to his repertoire of morpho-syntactic markers of *le style oralisé* in 8 narrative sequences, as a means of underscoring the conversational style of the narrative.[112]

A further contrastive feature between the two novels would appear to be Verne's use of *argot*. Reference has already been made to how his use of an argotic lexis was restricted to the narrative in *De la Terre à la Lune*. By contrast, in *Les Cinq cents millions de la Bégum*, there was an equal distribution of *argot* between dialogue and narrative: 4 in dialogue and 4 in narrative). Interestingly, from a stylistic point of view, Verne chose not to place argotic words spoken by his characters in inverted commas, whereas he felt compelled to use inverted commas for *argot* used in the narrative. This stylistic choice may have been influenced by the need to maintain an element of literary correctness in his work. Reference has already been made to this point in **Table 2** in section 4.3 of this chapter.

In addition, the two novels can be differentiated in terms of Verne's use of pragmatic particles. It has already been mentioned that he extended the use of *donc* and *mais alors* to narrative sequences in *De la Terre à la Lune*. By contrast, in *Les Cinq cents millions de la Bégum*, he restricted the use of *eh bien*, *donc*, *allons*, and *alors* to dialogue.

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[112] There were 3 examples of the spoken construction in dialogue, pp.121, 158, 233 respectively. Verne, J., 1979. *Les Cinq cents millions de la Bégum*. Paris: Livre de Poche.

Table 11: Use of phonetic, prosodic, morpho-syntactic, and lexical features of *le style oralisé littéraire* in *L'Assommoir.*

Phonetic	**Prosodic**	**Morpho-syntactic**	**Lexical**
Elision. Examples: *vas* (vais), *t'es* (tu es), *t'as* (tu as), *t'est* (tu est), *v'là* (v'là).	Suspension points *(... ...).*	Reduplication. Examples: *ça c'est, je...moi, moi je, j', moi, moi, me...moi.*	Pragmatic particles Examples: *vrai, hein, quoi, quoi donc, tu vois, eh bien ! allez, dis donc, vous savez, mais enfin.*
Deletion. Examples: *faut* (il faut), *fallait* (il fallait).		Omission of the *ne* morpheme. Pronoun: *on.* Demonstrative pronoun: *ça.*	*Langue du peuple.*

As already mentioned, Emile Zola is the only author in the sub-corpus to have used phonetic markers of *le style oralisé littéraire* in *L'Assommoir.* It may be suggested that Zola used elision (e.g. *t'es, v'là, vas*) and deletion of the third person pronoun *il* (e.g. *faut, fallait*) to impress on the reader that his characters' speech was phonetically marked and, therefore, was different from 'standard French' pronunciation. This supposition would appear to be supported by the fact that Zola's use of elision was restricted to 25 sequences of dialogue. His deletion of the third person pronoun *il* was more variable, in so far as there were 19 occurences in dialogue compared with 3 in the *récit.*

Table 11 would suggest that Zola's morpho-syntactic usage may further differentiate him from other authors in the sub-corpus to the extent that he chose to omit the *ne* morpheme in 5 sequences of dialogue. This decision may

be indicative of his wish to create the impression that on occasion, his characters' speech style was grammatically marked. This distinctive characteristic can be attributed to Mes-Bottes (e.g. *'faut pas blaguer'*), Coupeau (e.g. *'faut pas te démolir'*), and Nana (e.g. *'fallait pas me donner l'exemple'*).[113]

Second, Zola's use of reduplication in 52 sequences of dialogue may be considered a further distinguishing feature of his *style oralisé littéraire* by comparison with other authors in the sub-corpus. For instance, in one sequence, the spoken construction *ça c'est* is repeated six times, interpolated with suspension points to break the monotony, thereby creating a more rthymic flow to the discourse:

« Ça c'est pour toi, ça c'est pour ta soeur, ça c'est pour Lantier... Quand tu les verras, tu leur donneras ça... Attention ! je recommence. Ça c'est pour Lantier, ça c'est pour ta soeur, ça c'est pour toi... Pan ! pan ! Margot au lavoir... Pan ! pan ! à coups de battoir... »[114]

Similarly, Zola restricted his use of suspension points to 453 sequences of dialogue. This represents the second largest number after Alphonse Daudet in *Sapho* (i.e. 539 in dialogue and 162 in narrative). The differentiating characteristic of Zola's use of suspension points is that they were restricted to dialogue. This usage pattern would suggest that his attention was firmly focused on hightlighting the prosodic features of his characters' speech, in an attempt to create the effect of spoken discourse.

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[113] Quotations from Zola, E., 1999. *L'Assommoir*. Paris: Hachette, pp.100, 116, 406.
[114] Quotation from Zola, E., 1999. *L'Assommoir*. Paris: Hachette, p.37.

The distribution pattern emergent from the use of the spoken form *ça* as opposed to the written form *cela* is more variable in so far as there were 225 instances of *ça* in sequences of dialogue with 325 in narrative sequences. The number of occurrences of *cela* was in sharp contrast with 2 in dialogue and 27 in narrative.

Zola's use of the pronouns, *on* and *nous* may further serve as a comparative and contrastive feature. Accordingly, there were 466 ocurrrences of *on* in narrative sequences with 198 in dialogue. These figures would suggest that Zola was the only author to have displayed such a marked predilection for using the spoken form *on* in the narrative. This usage may be indicative of his wish to highlight the force and strength of the collective *on* in the narrative voice. Further reference is made to this point in the next sub-section. Similar to Verne in *De la Terre à la Lune* (1865) and in *Les Cinq cents million de la Bégum* (1878), Zola restricted the use of the written form *nous* to dialogue (i.e. 140 occurrences).

In terms of Zola's use of *la langue du peuple* to characterise the speech of working class people in the *faubourgs* of Paris during the Second Empire, his words in the preface to the 1877 edition of the novel would suggest that he was aware of the amount of work and effort, needed to fulfil his realist ambition of painting an accurate portrayal of a family's life during this period:

L'Assommoir est à coup sûr le plus chaste de mes romans. Souvent j'ai dû toucher à des plaies autrement épouvantables. La forme seule a effaré. On s'est fâché contre les mots. Mon crime est d'avoir eu la curiosité littéraire de ramasser et de couler dans un moule très travaillé la langue du peuple.[115]

With regard to the distribution of *la langue du peule* between dialogue and narrative, there were 387 instances of *argot* in dialogue and 277 in narrative. This distribution would suggest that Zola had a marked tendency to use *argot* in dialogue rather than in the narrative.

Finally, it may be suggested that Zola's use of pragmatic particles was similar to Jules Verne in *De la Terre à la Lune* (1865) and Alphonse Allais in *A se tordre* (1891). That is to say, Zola extended the use of *eh bien*, *hein*, *vrai*, *quoi*, and *mais enfin* to 58 narrative sequences. This extension was designed to create the impression of a certain degree of overlapping between dialogue and narrative. Interveaving these spoken forms into the *récit* may have served to further heighten the oral tone implicit in the narrative voice. The remainder of pragmatic particles (e.g. *dis donc*, *quoi donc*, *vous savez*, *tu vois*, *allez*) were restricted to sequence of dialogue.

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[115] Quotation from the preface to Zola, E., 1877. *L'Assommoir.* Reprinted in Zola, E., 1961. *Les Rougon-Maquart: Histoire naturelle et sociale d'une famille sous le Second Empire II.* Paris: Gallimard, pp.373-374).

Table 12: Use of morpho-syntactic and lexical features of *le style oralisé littéraire* in *La Maison Tellier*.

Morpho-syntactic	**Lexical**
Reduplication. Examples: *toi, tu, ça, c'est.*	Pragmatic particles. Examples: *donc, alors, allons, tiens.*
Pronoun *on.*	*Argot.*

In contrast to Jules Verne in *De la Terre à la Lune* and *Les Cinq cents millions de la Bégum*, **Table 12** would suggest that Guy de Maupassant did not use any prosodic markers in *La Maison Tellier.* Instead, he favoured the use of reduplication in 2 sequences of dialogue: *toi, tu, ça, c'est* as further characterisation of the modes of speech of two of his characters, Mme Tellier and her brother Joseph Rivet. Similarly, Maupasssant's usage pattern of the pronoun *on* was different from that employed by Verne in both *De la Terre à la Lune* and *Les Cinq cents millions de la Bégum.* Hence, Maupassant largely restricted its usage to the narrative, with 61 in narrative compared to 4 in dialogue. This reliance on the use of *on* in the narrative may have been devised by Maupassant as a strategy to compensate for his non use of prosodic markers.

His choice of lexical markers can be said to further differentiate his *style oralisé* from that adopted by Verne in so far as he did not extend his use of pragmatic particles from dialogue to the narrative, preferring instead to introduce variety into the tone of the narration with his use of *argot* in 13

narrative sequences compared to 6 in dialogue. The stylistic function of *argot* in dialogue is discussed further in the next sub-section.

Table 13: Use of prosodic, morpho-syntactic, and lexical markers of *le style oralisé littéraire* in *Sapho*.

Prosodic	**Morpho-syntactic**	**Lexical**
Suspension points *(... ...)*.	Reduplication. Examples: *moi, j'ai, moi, je, toi, tu, te mêles-tu, toi.*	Pragmatic particles. Examples: *hein, tout de même, écoute, voyez, dis donc, donc, va, alors.*
	Pronoun *on*. Demonstrative pronoun *ça*.	*Argot*.

The pattern emerging from **Table 13** would suggest that in contrast to Emile Zola in *L'Assommoir*, Alphonse Daudet made a consistent use of the demonstrative pronoun *ça* in his novel *Sapho*. Indeed, the occurrences of *ça* (72 in dialogue and 5 in narrative) compared to *cela* (44 occurrences: 12 in dialogue and 32 in narrative) would suggest that he had a marked preference for using *ça* in dialogue. In addition, he extended its use, where appropriate to the narrative, in an effort to sustain the oral effect of this spoken form.

It would appear that he adopted a similar style in his use of suspension points in so far as he used 539 in dialogue and 162 in narrative. This usage pattern may have been aimed at recreating the impression of spontaneous speech

delivered through the reproduction of certain prosodic features of speech utterances, namely pauses, hestitations, and interruptions.

Moreover, from the distribution pattern of the pronoun *on* (i.e. 54 in dialogue and 133 in narrative), it would appear that while Daudet intended to integrate this spoken form into the narrative, thereby drawing attention to the implicit conversational tone, he did not exclude the use of the normative *nous* from the narrative, like Verne had done in his respective novels. However, he restricted his use of reduplication to the dialogue with 12 occurrences. For example

« Après tout, dit Fanny sur un ton philosophe, c'est un peu ça dans toutes les familles, on n'en est pas responsable... moi, j'ai mon père Legrand ; toi, tu as ton oncle Césaire. »[116]

Table 13 shows that Daudet's used pragmatic particles and *argot* as lexical markers of *le style oralisé littéraire* in *Sapho*. While he may have restricted his use of pragmatic particles to dialogue, he sought by means of two forms in particular, *hein* and *dis donc* to impress on the reader that his characters' speech style reflected spoken discourse and, therefore, was not prefabricated. By contrast, his use of *argot* encompassed both dialogue and narrative. Thus, there were 21 occurrences in dialogue and 12 in the narrative. Further, his choice to use more argotic words and phrases in dialogue rather than in the narrative, may be attributed to his decision to use this predominantly spoken

[116] Quotation from Daudet, A., 1999: *Sapho*. Paris: Phénix Editions, pp.45-46.

lexis as a means of connoting his character's speech. This point is discussed in greater detail in the next sub-section.

Table 14: Use of prosodic, morpho-syntactic, and lexical markers of *le style oralisé littéraire* in *A se tordre*.

Prosodic	**Morpho-syntactic**	**Lexical**
Suspension points (… …).	Reduplication. Examples: *moi, je, toi, tu, tu, toi, lui, il, me…à moi, mon…à moi…me/m', te…à toi,*	Pragmatic particles. Examples: *dis donc, dites donc, eh ben, eh bien, tiens, tenez, tu vois, voyez, tu sais, vous savez, quoi, quoi donc.*
	Pronoun *on.* Demonstrative pronoun *ça.*	*Argot.*

The examples in **Table 14** would appear to be indicative of the prosodic, morpho-syntactic, and lexical markers used by Alphonse Allais in *A se tordre*. For instance, there were 137 instances of suspension points in dialogue and 44 in the narrative. This pattern of usage may be suggestive of his wish to create the impression of sustaining a spoken form of discourse throughout the *récit*, whereby the narrator addresses fictious interolocuteurs, who in turn speak and tell anecdotes. The overall effect of the use of these suspension points is to convey a spoken discourse that is delivered in an elliptical and lacunary style.

Similar to Jules Verne, Emile Zola, and Alphonse Daudet, Alphonse Allais used the pronoun *on* as a marker of *le style oralisé littéraire* in both dialogue (28) and narrative (113). The use of this spoken form may be indicative of his attempt to reinforce in the reader's mind the sense of collusion that these *récits* try to establish between the narrator and reader, thereby drawing the reader into his world, forcing him to be complicit in the telling of the story. The conversational tone of the *contes* is further emphasised, from a morpho-syntactic point of view, through the use of the demonstrative pronoun *ça* and reduplication. The distribution of the oral form *ça* (60 in dialogue and 36 in narrative) compared to the written form *cela* (8 in dialogue and 15 in narrative) would suggest that Allais favoured the use of *ça* instead of *cela* as a means of underscoring the oral nature of these *contes*. This point was further emphasised through reduplication, with 7 occurrences in dialogue and 12 in narrative.

It can be suggested that Allais's use of pragmatic particles was similar to Jules Verne in *De la Terre à la Lune* in so far as he extended the use of *eh bien*, *quoi*, *quoi donc*, *vous savez* to the *récit* (i.e. 10 occurrences) as a means of reproducing certain prosodic features of spoken utterances, including pausing and rhythm.

His use of *argot* was not systematic, and was used both in dialogue and narrative, when appropriate. Thus there were 97 occurrences in the dialogue and 87 in the *récit*. Further, it can be suggested that the high number of

instances of *argot* in the *récit* may be attributed to his wish to empower the narrator with a predominantly spoken lexis, which in turn, would serve to distance the author from a narrative esthetic that was too rigid. Perhaps by puctuating the narrative with these lexical markers of spoken discourse, Allais wanted to surprise the reader, who without warning or justification, would come to the realisation that they were an integral part of the narrative voice.

Table 15: Prosodic, morpho-syntactic, and lexical markers of *le style oralisé littéraire* in *Poil de Carotte*.

Prosodic	**Morpho-syntactic**	**Lexical**
Suspension points (... ...)	Reduplication. Examples: *moi, je, moi, j'ai, mes...à moi, à moi...me/je m'*	Pragmatic particles. Examples: *donc, alors, tiens, hein, eh bien.*
	Pronoun *on.* Demonstrative pronoun *ça.*	*Argot.*

A closer examination of the frequency distribution of prosodic, morpho-syntactic, and lexical markers of *le style oralisé littéraire* identified in **Table 15** would suggest that Jules Renard's usage was variable in *Poil de Carotte.*

For example, his use of suspension points was limited to 10 sequences of dialogue and 3 narrative sequences. Further, his use of suspension points in dialogue may have been designed to demarcate the different speech styles

associated with his characters. Hence, Poil de Carotte's speech is hestitant and uncertain, whereas his mother's discourse is punctuated with pauses and silences. Perhaps by extending the use of suspension points to the *récit*, Renard wanted to add an oral element to the narrative.

By contrast, it would appear that his tendency to use reduplication is more marked, with 37 occurrences in dialogue. His decision to use this oral form may have been motivated by his wish to create an impression for the reader that his characters used a simplified syntax. He showed a similar predilection for using the spoken form of the demonstrative pronoun *ça* (54 in dialogic and 7 in narrative sequences), in favour of the written form cela (5 in dialogue and 4 in narrative). However, from a morpho-syntactic point of view, his use of the pronoun *on* differed from that of *ça*, in terms of its distribution across dialogue and narrative. There were 60 occurrences of *on* in dialogue compared with 83 in the *récit*. The frequency of occurrence of *on* in the narrative may have been used by Renard, as a means of making explict for the reader, the conversational tone implicit in the narrative voice.

In addition, Renard restricted his use of a limited number of pragmatic particles such as *donc*, *alors*, *tiens*, *eh bien*, and *hein* to sequences of dialogue. By contrast, it would appear he used a limited number of argotic words and phrases in both dialogue and narrative (34 in dialogue and 14 in narrative). Similar to Alphonse Daudet in *Sapho*, Renard's marked predilection for using *argot* in the dialogue compared to the *récit* may be said to be a distinctive

feature of his style in *Poil de Carotte*. That is, he may have wanted to use *argot* to add a certain colour to his character's speech styles.

It can be concluded from the foregoing discussion of the stylistic use of distinctive markers of *le style oralisé littéraire* that Richepin and Bruant succeeded to a greater extent than Verne, Zola, Maupassant, Allais, and Renard in their attempts to reproduce speech, or at least to create an impression for the reader of having done so. In terms of establishing a mimetic link between an oralised literary style of spoken discourse and naturally occurring speech, the poets would seem to have achieved a more limited success than the writers, principally due to differences in genre. That is to say, Richepin's collection of verse, entitled *Les Chansons des Gueux* and Bruant's two collections of songs and monologues, *Dans la Rue* allowed them more freedom to recreate the original oral form of poety, with many of the same characteristics, including rhyme, rhythm, and dramatic presentation. The use of *argot* in dialogue is discussed in greater detail in the next sub-section.

Section 4.4.2 Literary function of *argot* in the sub-corpus.

Reference has already been made in section 3.6 of Chapter 3 to the different choices authors have available to represent character speech, namely direct speech, indirect speech, free indirect speech, and narrated speech. In addition, within these modes, authors may use an informal lexis to create the impression that their characters have a distinctive speech style. This final sub-section explores the stylistic use of *argot* by authors of the sub-corpus as an explicit

marker of spoken discourse. Upon close examination of the modes of speech presentation used in dialogue in the sub-corpus, two patterns of usage would appear to emerge. First, Zola used a combination of different modes of speech presentation, namely direct speech, indirect speech, free indirect speech, and narrated speech in dialogue in *L'Assommoir*. His use of *argot* within these modes of speech is discussed later in the section. Second, the pattern of usage among the remaining authors in the sub-corpus would suggest that their use of *argot* in the dialogue was more limited.

As already mentioned in section 3.2.5 of Chapter 3, the concept of heteroglossia introduced by Bakhtin is pertinent to the study. In keeping with Bakhtinian thought, it was suggested that the most relevant form for incorporating and organising heteroglossia into the novels in the sub-corpus was through the language used by characters, more specifically in the *argot* used by them in dialogue. In the following illustrative examples bold font is used to highlight *argot*.

In *Les Cinq cents millions de la Bégum*, there are 4 occurrences of *argot* in the dialogue, all of which are in direct speech, attributed to four different characters:

« Mais... si c'est vrai, c'est absolument **renversant** !... Sais-tu qu'un demi-milliard, c'est une fortune énorme ? » (DS) (Octave).

« Pour un homme qui n'est pas de la partie vous **n'avez pas froid aux yeux**, disait le contremaître (DS) (Supervisor Seligmann).

« Est-il bête, avec tout son esprit, ce **mâtin**-là ! » se disait il parfois ....
(DS) (Herr Schultz).

« Soit un homme gardé à vue par des gaillards sans scrupules, individuellement plus forts que lui, et de plus armés jusque aux dents. Il s'agit d'abord, pour cet homme, d'échapper à la vigilance de ses **argousins**. Ce premier point acquis il lui reste à sortir d'une place forte dont tous les abords sont rigoureusement surveillés... » (DS) (Marcel).

Verne's use of a non-standard lexis in a limited number of individual sequences of dialogue, designed to relay what are vouched to be a character's actual speech, is interesting, in so far as it may explain how he maintained a degree of literary correctness, without using inverted commas. That is, his use of these lexical forms may have conveyed to the reader the impression that since they deviate from the norm of the author's own standard language they, therefore, serve to dissociate the author from offering any value judgements on this informal vocabulary. Thus, it can be argued that these instances of *argot* in direct speech refract authorial intentions and consequently may to a certain degree constitute a second language for the author. This echoes Allen's (2000, p.29) view that in the polyphonic novel, 'the speech of individual characters is always heteroglot, double-voiced'.

In *La Maison Tellier*, there are 6 occurrences of *argot* in the dialogue, all of which are in direct speech, attributed to a number of different characters.

Les vieux descendirent à Motteville, avec leur panier, leurs canards et leur parapluie ; et l'on entendit la femme dire à son homme en s'éloignant : « C'est des **traînées** qui s'en vont encore à ce satané Paris » (DS) (Husband and wife).

L'homme furieux, la face rouge, tout débraillé, secouant en des efforts violents les deux femmes cramponnées à lui, tirait de toutes ses forces sur la jupe de Rosa en bredouillant : « **Salope**, tu ne veux pas ? » (DS) (Joseph Rivet).

« Ça, c'est **tapé** ! » déclara Rivet, allumé par la cadence; et Rosa aussitôt continua : (DS) (Joseph Rivet).

« C'est dommage que vous partiez, on aurait bien **rigolé** » (DS) (Joseph Rivet).

- Non, vraiment! et de miens **appas**, seule, à quinze ans, j'appris l'usage.
Car, la nuit, je ne dormais pas » (DS) (Rosa).

Puis, comme on lui tendait un verre, il le vida d'un trait en murmurant: « **Bigre**, rien que ça de luxe ! » (DS) (M. Tournevau).

It can be suggested from these examples that Maupassant wanted his readers to interpret his characters' speech in these sequences of dialogue as being authentic. Thus, Maupassant can be said to have fused a predominantly spoken lexis (e.g. *traînées*, *salope*, *tapé*, *rigolé*, *appas*, *bigre*) with a number of syntactic features characteristic of spoken discourse, such as absence of inversion as a marker of the interrogative (replaced in this instance by rising intonation followed by a question mark), no plural agreement with *c'est*, reduplication, the pronomial *on*, and the demonstrative pronoun *ça*. Further, Maupassant used personal (e.g. *je*, *tu*, *on*) and spatial (e.g. *ça*) deictic markers to refer to persons and items in the immediate situational context in terms of the distance from the speaker. In so doing, he sought to invite his readers to imagine an appropriate situation.

Furthermore, in four of the six sequences, it can be observed that heteroglossia is diffused throughout the authorial speech that surrounds the characters. This creates what Bakhtin (1981, p.316) calls 'character zones' or a character's

sphere of influence on the authorial context surrounding him, and in this way introduces into the dialogue stratification and speech diversity.

Reference has already been made in the previous sub-section to how Daudet in his novel *Sapho* chose to connote his characters' speech by using *argot* in the dialogue. There are 19 occurrences of *argot* in sequences of dialogue in *Sapho*, 18 of which are in direct speech and 1 in indirect speech.

« Est-ce assez **rasant** ce que je vous raconte là... Mais si, mais si, je vous assomme... Ah ! **nom d'un chien**... c'est bête d'être vieux... » (DS) (Caoudal).

«...On s'est tout dit, tout donné. On a pris des habitudes, des façons d'être, de parler, même des traits l'un de l'autre. On se tient de la tête aux pieds... Le **collage** enfin !... Puis brusquement on se quitte, on s'arrache... comment font-ils ?... » (DS) (Déchelette).

- Jamais... » dit le Fénat, ajoutant avec un sourire malin, froncé jusqu'aux tempes, qu'il avait été un peu **toqué** dans sa jeunesse... (IS) (Narrator).

- C'était ma belle-mère... Elle avait été si bonne pour moi quand j'étais petite ; je la prenais pour l'arracher à son gueux de mari qui, après lui avoir mangé tout son bien, la rouait de coups, l'obligeait à servir une **gaupe** avec laquelle il vivait... Comme il se laisse aller sans elle, le vieux gredin ! était-il sale ! quelle mine de **rouleur**! il n'y a que son fouet... as-tu vu comme il le tenait droit ?... » (DS) (Fanny Legrand).

« D'abord, tu sais, si tu pars, moi je lui écris à ton **cocu**... Je l'avertis... ah mais !... » (DS) (Fanny Legrand).

« Crois-tu que c'est **sciant** !... dit Fanny. Je les ai sur le dos, elle ou sa mère, deux fois la semaine... La mère est encore plus terrible, plus **pingre**... Il faut que je t'aime, va, pour durer dans cette **baraque**... » (DS) (Fanny Legrand).

« Faut-il qu'elle soit **chienne**, cette Rosario!... Du reste, j'aime mieux manger là ; je n'ai pas besoin de parler et je relis tes lettres qui me tiennent compagnie » (DS) (Fanny Legrand).

« Et c'est la vérité, mon cher... Déchelette en arrivant **s'est toqué** d'une fille de skating, Alice Doré ...C'est égal, dis donc, le philosophe avec ses théories... Pas de lendemain, pas de **collage**... Ah ! je l'ai joliment **blagué**! » (DS) (Fanny Legrand).

Pilar ne manquait jamais d'ajouter d'un accent convaincu :
« **Foute-nous la paix**, mon garçon » (DS) (Pilar).

«... J'en ai assez de tes yeux de merlan frit, et des, trois cheveux qui te restent... Va les porter à ta **dinde**, il n'est que temps !... » (DS) (Rosario Sanchès)

«...Et voilà maintenant ce sale **voyou** qui voulait pas de moi sur cette motive de ma laideur ; et je avais pas de quoi seulement me le payer pour une nuit » (DS) (English girl).

«...En voilà assez... d'abord il est tard, il faut que Fanny rentre à la **boîte**... » (DS) (Rosario Sanchès).

«...ce que c'est bon de tirer son fauteuil au coin du feu, d'allumer une pipe, en buvant son café arrosé d'un caramel à l'eau-de-vie, et de **piquer un chien** en face l'un de l'autre, pendant que le verglas dégouline sur les vitres... Oh !un tout petit chien, le temps de laisser passer le gros de la digestion... Après on dessine un moment, la femme dessert; fait son petit train-train,la couverture, le moine, et quand elle est couchée, la place chaude,on tombe dans le tas, et ça vous fait par tout le corps une chaleur comme si l'on entrait tout entier dans la paille de ses sabots...» (DS) (M Hettéma).

« Tiens ! un **gosse** !... tu dois être contente ... Toi qui n'as jamais pu en décrocher un » (DS) (Père Legrand).

« Et c'est alors qu'on vous les donne, tas de **jobards**... Une ingénue !... (DS) (Mme Hettéma).

« Tu as vu, ajouta-t-il d'un air modeste, ils m'ont nommé président... Mon idée de submersion bouleverse le Midi... Et dire que c'est moi, le Fénat, qui suis en train de sauver les vins de France !... Il n'y a que les **toqués,** vois-tu » (DS) (Césaire)

« Prends donc ! prends donc !... c'est ma fierté de pouvoir rendre au fils un peu de ce que le père a fait pour moi... D'ailleurs, Divonne le veut ainsi. Elle est au courant de l'affaire, et si contente que tu penses à te marier, à secouer ton vieux **crampon** ! » (DS) (Césaire).

« ... Le soir, en sortant de chez sa future, il allait chercher la chanteuse à son **beuglant**, et la reconduisait chez elle. Tu me diras que ça n'est pas très régulier ni bien loyal non plus. Mais quand on n'aime pas les scènes, et avec des femmes terribles comme Paola Mornas !... Il y avait près de dix ans que ce

grand beau garçon tremblait devant cette petite **moricaude**. Pour le décrochage, il fallait ruser, manoeuvrer... » (DS) (Césaire).

« Va-t'en, pars avec ta **gueuse**, tu es mort pour nous !... » (DS) (M Gaussin).

Based on the sequences of dialogue above, it can be suggested that Daudet wanted to give the reader the impression that his characters' style of speaking was credible and consistent. While these sequences represent the articulated speech of eleven characters, it would appear that Daudet focused his attention on three in particular: Fanny Legrand, Rosario Sanchès, and Césaire. Fanny Legrand's idiolect is marked by non-standard lexical items, pausing, interruptions, repetition, and recurrent use of pragmatic particles. Thus, Daudet sought to highlight these particular features of her speech utterances in an attempt to create an atmosphere of dialogic realism in his novel, thereby persuading his readers to imagine the situational context in which such verbal exchanges could take place.

By contrast, Rosario's words of direct speech are used by Daudet as a reflection of her abrupt manner. In both instances, he draws the readers' attention to her staccato like speech style, denoted by non-standard lexical items, punctuated with suspension points.

Finally, Césaire's speech is marked by a number of linguistic features designed to give the impression that this character is speaking directly for himself. The fact that he repeatedly uses pronominal deictic markers (e.g. *tu*, *moi*) allows

him, to establish the speaker/listener relationship, thereby inferring that he is responsible as the speaker for engaging the listener in a meaningful verbal exchange. Second, exclamation marks point to his heightened emotional state, and how this is reflected in his speech. In addition, the recurrent use of suspension points indicates an interrupted flow of speech, echoed by frequent pausing. Fourth, his use of a non-standard lexis serves to further highlight the conversational tone implicit in his style of speaking.

From a stylistic point of view, it would appear that in sixteen of the nineteen utterances in direct speech, Daudet chose to omit an accompanying reporting clause or tag, containing a reference to the speaker and a speech act verb (e.g. *il déclara*, *dit-elle*, *elle s'écria*), relying instead on the use of quotation marks as the only visible marker of dialogue. This usage may be suggestive of his wish to render these sequences more striking and dramatic, and in so doing, attempting to convince the reader of their inherent spontaneity.

It can be concluded from the foregoing commentary that every character in the dialogic novel has as Allen (2000. p.23) puts it: 'A specific, in some senses unique, personality. This 'personality' involves that character's world-view, typical mode of speech, ideological and social positioning, all of which are expressed through the character's words'. Furthermore, the sequence in indirect speech is interesting in so far as it reinforces the argument that the polyphonic novel can be said to present a world in which all characters, and

even the narrator him-or-herself, are possessed of their own discursive consciousnesses (Allen 2000, p.23).

The distribution of *argot* in the sequences of dialogue in *A se tordre* can be summarised as follows: 82 in direct speech, 7 in indirect speech, and 1 in free indirect speech. A closer examination of the individual sequences within each mode would suggest a certain degree of internal variation with respect to how the dialogue was used by Alphonse Allais as a form of characterisation. The greater variation would appear to have been in direct speech dialogue where there was a cline of specificity in terms of explicitly identifying a character's speech. At one end of the continuum, characters to whom the words in direct speech are attributed, are described in general terms, either by profession or family links (e.g. cook, young butcher boy, owner, uncle). At the other end, characters are named (e.g. Pascal, Dr. Snowdrop, Marie, Angéline, Blanche).

While it may be argued that Allais's frequent use of a reporting clause in his direct speech dialogue lessened the impact for the reader, his consistent use of *argot* in these sequences served to reinforce in the reader's mind the inherently informal and spoken nature of these verbal exchanges.

- Ma foi ! non ; je ne suis qu'un simple **gabelou**, mais ça n'empêche pas d'admirer la nature. (DS) (Pascal).

- Non, je l'appelle le **Cocu**, c'est plus gentil. (DS) (Pascal).

- Tout le monde va bien, monsieur, je vous remercie. Le **Cocu** a eu la rougeole cet hiver, mais il est tout à fait guéri maintenant... (DS) (Norwegian).

Ferdinand, lui lia les pattes en murmurant : « Bah ! à la casserole, avec une bonne **platée** de petits pois ! ... » (DS) (Cook).

- Madame ! Madame ! Ferdinand qui **a fichu le camp** ! (DS) (Cook).

- Madame ! Madame ! Imaginez-vous qu'avant de partir, ce cochon-là **a boulotté** tous les petits pois qu'on devait lui mettre avec ! (DS) (Cook).
- Pas de **blagues**, maintenant ! commande Montcocasse plein de dignité, nous voilà en ville (DS) (Raoul de Montcocasse).

Les petites femmes se faisaient expliquer le mécanisme de l'engin meurtrier, et même Blanche, du D'Harcourt, eut à ce propos une réflexion que devraient bien méditer les monarques belliqueux :
- Faut-il que les hommes soient bêtes de fabriquer des machines comme ça, pour se tuer... comme si on ne **claquait** pas assez vite tout seul ! (DS) (Blanche).

- Tu **m'embêtes**... Si tu m'interromps tout le temps, je ne pourrai pas continuer mon histoire (DS) (Uncle).

- **Fiche-moi la paix** ! Tu m'empêches de te raconter l'histoire (DS) (Uncle).

- Le neveu, lui, n'avait pas le sou, et ça l'**embêtait** énormément... (DS) (Uncle).

- Peut-être qu'il était **saoul** (DS) (Nephew).

- Non, et tu ne le seras jamais. Tu n'as pas une nature à ça. Alors le neveu avait remarqué que surtout les grandes **rigolades** rendaient son oncle malade, et même une fois il avait failli mourir à la suite d'un éclat de rire trop prolongé (DS) (Uncle).

- **Fumiste**, va ! (DS) (Nephew).

Et, souriant finement, le docteur ajouta :
- C'est ce que les Français appellent un **collage** (DS) (Dr. Snowdrop).

- Eh **ben**, quoi donc ? fis-je. (DS)

- C'est très joli, reprit l'homme ; comme vous avez été bien gentille, je vais vous jouer un petit air de guitare, après quoi nous **ferons** tous un beau **dodo**. L'homme me charma avec sa guitare (DS) (Man's voice).

Quand je dis que je les **ai flanqués** par la fenêtre, j'exagère (IS) (Narrator).

- Quelques jours avant mon examen, je **piochais** ferme avec un vieux docteur dont c'est la spécialité, et puis... et puis... j'avais découvert un **truc** pour être reçu (DS) (Maurice Boisflambard).

- Un **truc** ? (DS).

- Un **truc épatant**, mon cher, simple et bien humain. Ecoute plutôt... (DS) (Maurice Boisflambard).

...Pas de **veine** en vérité... ce mot terrible que je ne connais pas, c'était les lois d'Ohm. Dois-je ajouter que je fus impitoyablement **recalé** ?... (DS) (Maurice Boisflambard).

... Tu me croiras si tu veux, j'ai vu un vieux **dur-à-cuire** de professeur essuyer une larme à la vue de mon minable complet (DS) (Maurice Boisflambard).

- La médecine, mon cher, n'est pas une affaire de science : c'est une affaire de **veine** (DS) (Maurice Boisflambard).

- **Nom d'un chien** ! disait-il, la belle fille ! (DS).

- Tant mieux, ajouta-t-il, je commençais à en être sérieusement **toqué** (DS).

Il étouffa un soupir et murmura :
Quel dommage que ce soit une **grue** ! (DS).

- Vous avez beau dire, criait le vieux **serin**, c'est la Providence qui crée tel ou tel organe pour telle ou telle fonction ! (DS).

- Ça va beaucoup mieux, fit-il, mais, **nom d'un chien** ! c'est effrayant ce que ça poisse les cheveux, cette **cochonnerie**-là ! Et ce que ça arrange les chapeaux ! (DS).

Un beau jour, Black éprouva des démangeaisons, et le vieux **serin** me demanda ce qu'on pourrait bien faire contre cet inconvénient (IS) (Narrator).

Le vieux **serin** s'écriait : « Veux-tu **fiche le camp**, sale bête ! Black, Black, psst ! » (DS).

Le vieux **serin** me demanda si, par hasard, je ne **me fichais** pas de lui, et il partit sans attendre la réponse (IS) (Narrator).

- C'est pourtant comme ça... Et puis, tu **m'embêtes** avec tes jalousies continuelles (DS) (Marie).

- Parbleu ! dit-elle de sa voix la plus triviale, ça n'est pas étonnant. Tous ces **chameaux** que tu as amenés ici, pendant que je n'y étais pas (DS) (Marie).
- Qui diable est-ce, ce bonhomme-là ? monologuait Vincent. Dans tous les cas, il a une sale **gueule** (DS) (Vincent Desflemmes).

- Tu ne peux pas t'en faire une idée, **mon vieux** ! Ah ! oui, qu'elle est gentille !

Et drôle donc ! Imagine-toi un front et des yeux à la façon des vierges de Botticelli, un petit nez spirituel, bon garçon, **rigolo** (DS) (Vincent Desflemmes).

- Vieux **cochon** ! (DS) (Vincent Desflemmes).

- Comment, **espèce de saligaud**, Paris ne vous suffit donc plus ? (DS) (Vincent Desflemmes).

.... je vous prie de croire que je ne **m'**y **embêtais** pas, tout à l'heure, pendant votre petite séance d'artillerie (DS) (Blagsmith).

Raoul, un beau soir, en entendant Marguerite chanter la jolie romance du colonel Henry d'Erville :
Le bois, il est comme **Nini**. (DS) (Marguerite).

- Quand tu auras assez vu Grosclaude, **grincha** Raoul, tu me le diras (DS) (Raoul).

- Et toi, vitupéra Marguerite, quand tu connaîtras Mlle Moreno par coeur, tu me passeras la **lorgnette** (DS) (Marguerite).

C'est **épatant** ce que le monde deviennent **rosse** depuis quelque temps ! (FIS).

- Depuis longtemps le patron se doutait de quelque chose. Avant-hier, la nuit, en revenant du marché de Beaumont, il est monté dans sa chambre, et il l'a trouvée couchée avec le premier garçon, tous les deux **saouls comme des grives**. Alors, il les **a fichus** à la porte (DS) (Young butcher boy).

- Eh bien ! il **a du toupet**, ton ami ! (DS) (Angéline).

- **Mâtin** ! (DS) (Angéline).

- Dis plutôt que nous sommes dans une **purée** visqueuse (DS).

- Tu n'as donc pas compris, **espèce de dinde**, hurlai-je, que puisque ce sale Hollandais a couché avec toi, c'est moi qui lui dois cinquante louis ? (DS).

- Et toi, me disait mon cousin, as-tu fait des **blagues** à tes **pions**, aujourd'hui ? Hélas, si j'en faisais ! C'était une dominante préoccupation (J'en rougis encore), et une journée passée sans que j'eusse berné un **pion** ou un professeur me paraissait une journée perdue (DS) (Rigouillard).

Et je me demandai quelle bien bonne **blague** mon cousin pouvait réserver aux Archéologues (IS).

- Si, je sais ce que je dis, je vais mourir, mais en mourant je veux faire une **blague** aux archéologues, une bonne **blague** ! (DS) (Rigouillard).

- Quand je serai **claqué**, tu mettras mon corps dans la grande armure chinoise qui est dans le vestibule en bas, celle qui te faisait si peur quand tu étais petit (DS) (Rigouillard).

- Dans cinq ou six cents ans, quand les archéologues du temps me déterreront, crois-tu qu'ils en **feront une gueule**, hein ! Un guerrier chinois avec des pièces grecques dans un cercueil gallo-romain ? (DS) (Rigouillard).

- Voulez-vous vous dépêcher de **f... le camp** de chez moi ! (DS) (Owner).

- Je vous en fais cadeau, mais, de grâce, **f... le camp**, vous et votre... (DS) (Owner).

- **F... le camp ! ... F... le camp** ! (DS) (Owner).

Chaque fois, il se disait :
- **Mâtin** !... voilà une femme avec laquelle on ne doit pas **s'embêter** ! (DS) (M Surgeon).

Chaque fois, elle se disait :
- **Mâtin** !... voilà un homme avec lequel on ne doit pas **s'embêter** ! (DS) (M Surgeon).

- Oui... Eh **ben**, tu me ferais mettre un article dans Le Chat noir (DS)

- Eh **ben**, me faire imprimer une histoire que j'ai faite, pardi ! (DS).

- Prétentieux ?... Prétentieux parce qu'on se croit aussi malin que monsieur !... Oh ! la, la, ce que tu te **gobes**, **mon vieux** ! (DS) (Uncle).

...Toi, tu la signeras, mais nous partagerons la **galette**. (DS).

Le petit **troquet** a dit à ses parents qu'il s'était **fichu** par terre, et que c'est pour ça qu'il saignait du nez (IS) (Narrator).

Alors, voilà la petite lampiste qui se met en colère et qui se demande comment elle ferait pour faire une bonne **blague** au mauvais petit **troquet** (IS) (Narrator).

- Très intéressante, mais ta jeune lampiste me fait l'effet d'être une jolie petite **rosse** (DS) (Uncle).

- Vous auriez voulu une femme **saoule**, quoi ! repartit timidement l'artiste (DS) (Artist).

- **Saoule**, non pas ! mais... comment dirais-je donc ?... allumée (DS) (Art lover).

- Mais allume-toi donc, **nom d'un chien** ! ... C'est à croire que tu es un modèle de la régie (DS) (Artist).

- **Nom d'un chien** ! cria-t-il, ça y est ! (DS) (Artist).

- Comment ! c'est vous le gros major ? reprit Guy au comble de l'étonnement. Eh bien ! il faut que vous me le disiez vous-même pour que je le croie. Vous n'êtes pas gros du tout... et vous avez l'air si peu major ! Quand on me parlait du gros major, ce mot évoquait dans mon esprit une manière de futaille galonnée. J'arrive, et qu'est-ce que je trouve ?... une **espèce d'échalas** civil (DS) (Viscount Guy de La Hurlotte).

- Allons, conclut-il, passe-moi ton sac et ton **flingot**, et surtout ne sois pas en retard (DS) (Baudru).

- Oui, mon garçon, allez toujours. Je sais bien que ce n'est pas le **toupet** qui vous manque, mais celle-là est décidément trop **raide** ! (DS) (Captain Lemballeur).

- Mais enfin, docteur, tonitruait le capitaine, vous ne me ferez jamais croire que ce pétard de Dieu de clairon ne **s'**est pas **f...** de moi dans les grandes largeurs ! (DS) (Captain Lemballeur).

- Aphasie... aphasie ! Je t'en **f....** moi, de l'aphasie... avec huit jours de boîte ! (DS) (Captain Lemballeur).

- Prends bien garde de te **faire piger**, mon vieux vicomte (DS) (Jumet).

- Voilà qu'il sonne aux sergents, maintenant ! Mais il est **saoul** comme un cochon, ce pétard de Dieu-là ! (DS) (Captain Lemballeur).

- C'est très curieux, ce qui m'a pris hier. Le capitaine Lemballeur m'a commandé de sonner aux consignés, et je n'ai pas été **foutu** de me rappeler l'air (DS) (Jumet).

- J'ai une soeur un peu **maboul**, répondit Jumet, et un oncle complètement **loufoque** (DS) (Jumet).

Le soir même, je vis Johanson qui me dit que c'était de la **blague** (IS) (Narrator).

- Si je me trompe en rendant la monnaie, tu ne me **ficheras** pas des coups ? (DS) (Clara).

- Est-ce que je t'ai jamais **fichu** des coups ? (DS)

Alors, quand mes amis me **blaguaient**, disant : « Il n'est pas si **épatant** que ça, ton nain ! » (DS).

- Comment, pas de quoi rire ? Eh **ben**, qu'est-ce qu'il te faut à toi ?... Grosse bête, tu ne vas pas être jaloux d'un nain anglais ? C'était pour voir, voilà tout. Tu n'as pas idée... (DS) (Clara).

- Oh ! non, il était habillé. Alors tous ces petits **polissons**, qui voulaient faire réveillon comme des grandes personnes (DS).

- Comme le veau cru est très difficile à digérer, tous ces petits **polissons** ont été très malades le lendemain. Heureusement que le médecin est venu ! (DS).

- Le petit garçon..., il **s'**en **fiche** pas mal (DS).

- L'homme est une **andouille**, la dernière des **andouilles** (DS) (Laflemme).

- Vil débauché, d'où viens-tu ? Du **tripot**, sans doute, ou de quelque endroit pire encore ! (DS).

- Quelles **moules** ! (DS) (Ribeyrou).

- Bonsoir, **mon vieux** (DS).

Moreover, the use of *argot* in direct speech, indirect speech, and free indirect speech sequences in *A se tordre* underpin what Bakhtin (1981, p.263) calls the 'fundamental compositional unities with whose help heteroglossia can enter the novel'. That is to say, the speech of characters, the speeches of narrators and authorial speech permit a multiplicity of social voices to interact.

There are 33 sequences of dialogue with *argot* in *Poil de Carotte*, 32 of which are in direct speech with 1 in free indirect speech.

- Il était temps de les lui arracher, dit-elle. Est-ce assez **cochonné** ? (DS) (Mme Lepic)

Je regarde cette mare qui **dégouline** de la cheminée, Honorine. Elle va faire du propre (DS) (Mme Lepic).

Je **la trouve raide**, ma parole! (DS) (Mme Lepic).

- Tiens, dit Mme Lepic, pour qui te prends-tu, **pierrot**? (DS) (Mme Lepic).
Non, mais regardez-moi la **touche** de Poil de Carotte Brutus ! Espèce de petite brute, va! (DS) (Mme Lepic).

- Il est comme moi, sans malice, plus bête que méchant et trop **cul de plomb** pour inventer la poudre (DS) (Mme Lepic).

- Est-ce que j'ai besoin de tes ordres, **pierrot** ? (DS) (Mme Lepic).

M. Lepic lui a dit:
- Tu **t'**es joliment **fait moucher**! Et sa soeur Ernestine, qui a pansé la blessure: (DS) (M Lepic).

- Je pense que tu ne **reviendras** pas **bredouille**, dit grand frère Félix (DS) (grand frère Félix).

- Ça y est, dit-il, maintenant vous êtes mariés, **bichez-**vous.
Comme ils hésitent:
- Eh bien! quoi! **bichez-**vous. Quand on est marié on se **biche**. Faites-vous la cour, une déclaration (DS) (grand frère Félix).

- **Soleil ! soleil !** (DS) (grand frère Félix).

- Sont-ils **buses** ! ils croient que c'est arrivé! (DS) (grand frère Félix).

- Gare les **calottes**, dit grand frère Félix (DS) (grand frère Félix).

- Ça vous **la coupe**, dit Poil de Carotte, dès qu'Agathe et lui se trouvent seuls dans la cuisine. Ne vous découragez pas, vous en verrez d'autres (DS) (Poil de Carotte).

...il dit à Marseau, le torse hors du lit, le souffle ardent:
- **Pistolet ! Pistolet !** On ne lui répond rien. Poil de Carotte se met sur les genoux, saisit le bras de Marseau, et, le secouant avec force:
- Entends-tu ? **Pistolet !** (DS) (Poil de Carotte).

Pistolet ne semble pas entendre; Poil de Carotte exaspéré reprend:
- **C'est du propre**!... Tu crois que je ne vous ai pas vus. Dis voir un peu qu'il ne fait pas embrassé! dis-le voir un peu que tu n'es pas son **Pistolet** (DS) (Poil de Carotte).

Il l'insulte de nouveau, les dents serrées sur les syllabes sifflantes.

- **Pistolet ! Pistolet !** (DS) (Poil de Carotte).

Compte sur moi, papa. Je t'accorde que je me suis un peu laissé aller l'année dernière. Cette fois, je me sens la bonne volonté de **bûcher** ferme (DS) (Poil de Carotte).

Impossible de les dégoter; mais je veux, - écoute, mon papa, - je veux, en composition française, bientôt **tenir la corde** et la garder, et si malgré mes efforts elle m'échappe, du moins je n'aurai rien à me reprocher, et je pourrai m'écrier fièrement comme Brutus: Ô vertu! tu n'es qu'un nom (DS) (Poil de Carotte).

- Ce n'est pas de la **blague**, dit-il, je me marierais bien avec toi (DS) (Poil de Carotte).

- D'abord, dit Poil de Carotte, je ne **pique** pas de **soleil**, et puis ricane, ricane, ce n'est pas toi qui m'empêcheras de me marier avec Mathilde, si maman veut (DS) (Poil de Carotte).

il a l'orgueil de s'écrier:
- Qu'est-ce que ça fait, pourvu qu'on **rigole** ! (DS) (Poil de Carotte).

- Écoute, Mathilde, tu n'as rien deviné du tout.
Mais je me contente de ta parole d'honneur. Le mot que papa pronounce avant d'ouvrir son coffre-fort, c'est « **Lustucru** ». A présent, je peux toucher où je veux (DS) (Poil de Carotte).

Je jouais, mon vieux Pierre. Je voulais attraper la petite. **Lustucru** est un faux nom que j'ai inventé (DS) (Poil de Carotte).

C'est facile à dire, **mon vieux**. D'ailleurs il vaut toujours mieux rester sur sa faim (DS) (Poil de Carotte).

En méditation près de l'horloge. Qu'est-ce que je veux, moi ? Éviter les **calottes**. Papa m'en donne moins que maman. J'ai fait le calcul. Tant pire pour lui ! (FIS).

- Il me dit de l'attendre, murmure Poil de Carotte, et il faut que je coure après lui, maintenant. Une journée qui commence mal finit mal. Trotte et sue, papa, éreinte le chien, courbature-moi, c'est comme si on s'asseyait. Nous **rentrerons bredouilles**, ce soir (DS) (Poil de Carotte).

Je me garde de m'en prendre à toi. Certainement je n'aurais qu'à **moucharder**, tu me protégerais (DS) (Poil de Carotte).

Papa, mon frère est heureux, ma soeur est heureuse, et si maman n'éprouve aucun plaisir à me taquiner, comme tu dis, je **donne ma langue au chat** (DS) (Poil de Carotte).

Je **m'**en **fiche** bien de ton mot. (DS) (Mathilde).

- **Lustucru ! Lustucru !** dit Mathilde, qui recule avec le plaisir de connaître un secret et la peur qu'il ne vaille rien. Vraiment, tu ne t'amuses pas de moi ? (DS) (Mathilde).

Tranquillise-toi, Poil de Carotte, je me moque de **Lustucru** et je n'en parlerai pas à ta mère (DS) (Pierre).

On en redemande, **bêta** (DS) (Parrain).

It would appear from the sequences cited above that Jules Renard used dialogue in *Poil de Carotte*, to present the speech of seven characters, focusing in particular, on Mme Lepic, grand frère Félix, Poil de Carotte. and Mathilde. Further, Renard's style in dialogue can be best summarised in terms of his variable use of hyphens as a typographical marker of dialogue. That is, in 10 instances he omitted to use hyphens, and chose instead to present his characters' speech in an even more direct form, by dispensing with the need to mark off their speech from the rest of the narrative.

Renard attempted to impress on the reader that Mme Lepic had a direct no-nonsense, conversational style by blending together pronominal deictic markers (e.g. *je*, *te*, *tu*, *moi*), non-standard lexical items, and a variable use of an interrogative grammar, alternating between the more formal inversion, followed by a question mark, and the spoken construction *est-ce que* with the question mark at the end of the utterance. In addition, exclamation marks are

used for two of her utterances, thereby inferring that she actually said those words, when in an emotive state.

Renard would appear to have adopted a different style in respect of grand frère Félix's speech. Four of the five sequences in direct speech attributed to grand frère Félix are presented as a series of exchanges, in which Félix engages in conversation with Mathilde and Poil de Carotte. Notwithstanding the use of a non-standard lexis coupled with exclamation marks and pragmatic particles, the credibility of those exchanges is somewhat diminished due to the fact that only Poil de Carotte responds, (albeit in an informal tone, marked by the use of non-standard lexical items), and it falls to the narrator to inform the reader of Mathilde's reaction. In addition, the conversation is diluted on two occasions, when the narrator adds a sentence by way of description: *'Comme ils hésitent; Il se frotte deux doigts l'un contre l'autre et trépigne, des bousilles aux lèvres'*.[117] The simultaneous combination of character speech and narratorial speech in these sequences is an example of polyphony or many-voicedness in the novel.

Renard depicts Poil de Carotte engaging in verbal exchanges with eight other characters and presents his words in direct speech dialogue. While he may have shown a marked predilection for using the hyphen as a typographical marker of dialogue in ten of the sixteen utterances, he opted to omit its use in the remaining utterances, as a way of varying the style of the dialogue. That is,

[117] Quotation from Renard, J., 1988. *Poil de Carotte*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, p.203.

his non use of hyphens may have been designed to create the impression that his character's words were more spontaneous and, therefore, more natural. This supposition is supported by the fact that on three separate occasions, in the sequences of dialogue marked by a hyphen, the narrator interrups the flow of speech, by adding elements of description such as *'dès qu'Agathe et lui se trouvent seuls dans la cuisine; le torse hors du lit, le souffle ardent; On ne lui répond rien. Poil de Carotte se met sur les genoux, saisit le bras de Marseau, et, le secouant avec force'*.[118] This example of double-voiced discourse highlights the inherently dialogic nature of Renard's novel. Finally, the presence of non-standard lexical items in Poil de Carotte's direct speech would seem to confer a relatively informal character to the dialogue.

The examples of Mathilde's direct speech cited above are another illustration of how Renard attempted to collapse an informal lexis and emotive markers (i.e. exclamation marks), to make them fit into his overall plan to render in writing, the characteristics of conversational discourse.

The use of *argot* in the free indirect speech sequence in *Poil de Carotte* demonstrates how discourse in the novel is heterogeneous and interactive, and how voices of characters and narrator are interwoven.

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[118] Quotations from Renard, J., 1988. *Poil de Carotte*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, pp.136, 155.

As already discussed in the introduction to this section, Zola in *L'Assommoir* used *argot* in direct speech, indirect speech, free indirect speech, and narrated speech. **Appendix 12** provides illustrative examples of Zola's use of *argot* within these four modes of speech presentation. Accordingly, there are 353 occurrences of *argot* in dialogue: 214 in direct speech, 28 in indirect speech, 94 in free indirect speech, and 17 in narrated speech.

While it may be interesting to view the number of instances of *argot* in direct speech as an indicator of Zola's desire to confer on his characters the vitality, gusto, and, expressiveness associated with *la langue du peuple*, the number of occurrences of *argot* in free indirect speech is more significant, from a stylistic point of view.[119] In other words, Zola's originality lies in the fact that he does not restrict the use of *argot* to the dialogue, but rather extends it to the *récit*, through the use of free indirect speech (FIS). As a narrative mode, FIS allows a character to express himself freely and tell the story in his own words. This in turn, leads the reader to believe that every statement or observation, written in the imperfect tense and composed of argotic words are in free indirect speech. Indeed, it can be said to blur traditional boundaries between dialogue and *récit* in so far as it allows the author to fuse the narrative voice with his characters' speech. Thus, it becomes more difficult to determine who is speaking, from the narrator, the character to the collective voice *on*. Zola's use of free indirect speech, often marked by *la langue verte* enables him to

[119] Hence, 28 sequences in indirect speech and 17 in narrated speech are not discussed in this sub-section.

transform the narration into a form of spoken discourse. The narrator speaks the same language as the characters. Furthermore, his ability to combine exclamations, questions, expressive words, and swearwords together at key moments in the novel ensures that the free indirect speech is perceived by the reader to be instances, where the character verbalises his or her own thoughts and feelings.

A cursory glance at the examples of the free indirect speech sequences in **Appendix 12** would suggest that there is an interaction, a tension between two languages and two belief systems in the novel. As Baguley (1992, pp.86-87) cogently argues 'the different levels of language, the different styles of narration, the different voices, may also be seen as contending forms, with the language of the people, in particular, subverting the authority of authorial narration'. Thus, this speech diversity and stratification means that languge in *L'Assommoir* is essentially heteroglot.

4.5 Concluding Summary.

The foregoing discussion presented and discussed the results of the study in terms of **hypothesis 1**. Section 4.1 briefly summarised the hypothesis. This first hypothesis posited that the authors and poets in the corpus were true *argotiers* because they allowed for at least 50% 'standard French' words and a comparable number of argotic words. The null hypothesis stated that the proportion of 'standard French' words and *argot* was equal in the respective parts of speech in all authors and poets in the corpus. The alternative

hypothesis stated that the proportion of 'standard French' words was greater than the proportion of *argot* in the respective parts of speech in all authors and poets in the corpus. Section 4.2 was divided into two sub-sections. Section 4.2.1 outlined the methodology used in the data analysis in terms of distinguishing between words classified as 'standard French' and those labelled as *argot*. A word was identified as *argot* on the basis that it was listed in one of the dictionaries included in **Appendix 1**. The term 'standard French' referred to those words which were stylistically unmarked in three dictionaries from 1878 to 1900.

Section 4.2.2 presented in chart form the frequency distribution of *argot* in the corpus. This chart showed the percentage of *argot* in all 8 parts of speech, and the overall percentage of *argot* in the corpus. On the basis of the results of the **Bar Chart 1**, it was possible to conclude that there was evidence available to reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis. In addition, it was suggested that authors and poets in the corpus made a conscious decision to use *argot*, essentially a spoken lexis, for stylistic purposes. That is to say, they wanted to foreground, or make more prominent an argotic word or expression against the background of 'standard French', both written and spoken.

Section 4.3 presented in tabular and chart form the frequency distribution of 'standard French' and *argot* in each of the 23 texts in the corpus. The results of **Tables 1**, **2**, **3**, **4**, and **5** indicated the presence of *argot* in *De la Terre à la*

Lune, *Les Cinq cents millions de la Bégum*, *La Maison Tellier*, *Sapho*, and *Poil de Carotte*.

The results of **Bar Charts 2**, **3**, **4**, **5**, **6**, **7**, **8**, **11**, **12**, **13**, **14**, **15**, and **18** indicated the absence of *argot* in *Le Petit Chose*, *L'Education sentimentale*, *La Fortune des Rougon*, *La Curée*, *Le Coffret de santal*, *Les Diaboliques*, *La Faute de l'abbé Mouret*, *Une histoire sans nom*, *Au Bonheur des Dames*, *Le Livre de mon ami*, *Pêcheur d'Islande*, *Le Horla*, and *Le Château des Carpathes*.

The results of **Bar Chart 9** suggested that Jean Richepin made a judicious use of *argot* in *La Chanson des Gueux*. The results of **Bart Chart 10** suggested that Emile Zola made a limited use of *argot* in *L'Assommoir*. The results of **Bar Chart 16** suggested that Aristide Bruant readily used *argot* in the first volume of *Dans la Rue: Chansons et monologues*. The results of **Bar Chart 17** suggested that Alphone Allais made a limited use of *argot* in *A se tordre*. Finally, the results of **Bar Chart 19** indicated that a significantly greater proportion of nouns, verbs, and adverbs were *argot* in the second volume of *Dans la Rue: Chansons et monologues* compared to the first.

Section 4.4 oultined the criterion used to compose the sub-corpus. Only those texts containing instances of argot were retained. Full details of the sub-corpus were provided in **Appendix 11**. It was divided into two sub-sections. Sub-section 4.4.1 sought, in the first instance, to isolate characteristic elements of *le style oralisé littéraire*, and then to discuss their stylistic use by poets and

authors in the sub-corpus. Two contrastive analyses were performed: first, between Richepin and Bruant, and secondly, between Verne, Zola, Maupassant, Daudet, Allais, and Renard. The results of the first analysis suggested that, in contrast, to Richepin, Bruant used additional phonetic, morpho-syntactic, and lexical markers because he wanted the reader to interpret his songs and monologues in the context of their being performed in his cabaret *Le Mirliton*. The results of the second analysis indicated that Emile Zola in *L'Assommoir* was the only author to have used phonetic markers of *le style oralisé littéraire*. In terms of determining whether or not poets and authors in the sub-corpus succeeded in reproducing speech, or in fact created an abstract form of spoken discourse, it was concluded from the discussion in section 4.4.1 of the stylistic use of markers of *le style oralisé littéraire* that Richepin and Bruant succeeded to a greater extent than Verne, Zola, Maupassant, Allais, and Renard, principally due to differences in genre.

Finally, section 4.4.2 explored the stylistic use of *argot* by authors in the sub-corpus as an explicit marker of spoken discourse. Upon close examination of the modes of speech presentation used in the dialogue, it was observed that two patterns of usage emerged. First, Zola used a combination of different modes of speech presentation, namely direct speech, indirect speech, free indirect speech, and narrated speech in sequences of dialogue in *L'Assommoir*. Accordingly, there were 353 occurrences of *argot* in dialogue: 214 in direct speech, 28 in indirect speech, 94 in free indirect speech, and 17 in narrated speech. Second, the pattern of usage among the remaining five authors in the

sub-corpus suggested that their use of *argot* in the dialogue was more limited. For example, all four occurrences of *argot* in dialogue in Jules Verne's *Les Cinq cents million de la Bégum* were in direct speech. Similarly, all six occurrences of *argot* in dialogue in Guy de Maupasssant's *La Maison Tellier* were in direct speech. There was one occurrence of *argot* in an indirect speech sequence in Alphonse Daudet's Sapho and in Jules Renard's *Poil de Carotte*. Finally, Alphonse Allais's use of *argot* in dialogic sequences in *A se tordre* was different in so far as there were seven in indirect speech, and one in free indirect speech.

Furthermore, section 4.4.2 looked at how the Bakhtinian concept of heteroglossia could be incorporated and organised into the novels in the sub-corpus through the language used by characters, more specifically in the *argot* spoken by them in dialogue. Thus, the occurrences of *argot* in direct speech, indirect speech and free indirect speech sequences across the authors in the sub-corpus were examined. It was concluded on the basis of individual examples that the speech of characters, the speeches of narrators and authorial speech permit a multiplicity of social voices to interact within the novel because they are as Bakhtin (1981, p.263) remarks, 'the fundamental compositional unities with whose help heteroglossia can enter the novel'. Chapter 5 presents and discusses the results of the qualitative aspect of the study in terms of **hypothesis 2**.

Chapter 5

Presentation and discussion of results of Hypothesis 2.

5.1 Introduction.

Chapter 4 presented and discussed the results of the quantitative analysis of **hypothesis 1**. This chapter seeks to present and discuss the results of the qualitative analysis of **hypothesis 2**. As described in section 2.6 of Chapter 2, the second hypothesis posits that the contextual use of *argot* by authors and poets in the sub-corpus should reflect the extension of the stylistic function of this lexis during the period from 1865 to 1895, as documented by lexicographers. This chapter comprises six sections. The introduction is followed by section 5.2 which explores the notion of context in terms of its relationship with register. Section 5.3 focuses on how the context of literary communication may influence the choice of register in poetic texts in the sub-corpus. It is divided into two sections. The first sub-section 5.3.1 provides a survey of previous research on the concept of a context of literary communication. The second sub-section 5.3.2 focuses on specific examples as to illustrate and explicate how the context of literary communication can be said to influence the poet's choice of register within selected poetic texts from the sub-corpus. In other words, this sub-section explores the use of poetic foregrounding. Section 5.4 looks at the extension of the stylistic function of *argot* by lexicographers in the *dictionnaires d'argot* listed in **Appendix 1**. Section 5.5 looks at how WordSmith Tools can be used to examine the usage and behaviour of words in context. It is divided into two sub-sections. Section

5.5.1 considers methodological issues involved in using the Concord programme. Section 5.5.2 provides an analysis of patterns of collocation involving word types of *argot*, previously identified in **Appendix 10**.

Reference has already been made in the Introduction, in section 2.6 of Chapter 2, and in section 3.5 of Chapter 3 to the complex nature of assigning lexical items to a register category. Special mention was made of the viewpoints adopted by Ager (1990, p.216), Müller (1985, p.232), and Wise (1997, p.180) in relation to how lexicographers approach the delicacy of assigning a lexical item to a register category. In addition, the importance of viewing register variation as a continuum was emphasised. Notwithstanding this stylistic complexity, it should be noted in terms of the analysis in section 5.4 of this chapter that it was deemed appropriate to establish a working definition of the distinctions between the style labels or *marques d'usage* used by lexicographers between 1865 and 1895. Accordingly, the definitions used for the style continuum, extending from *argot des voleurs*, *argot du peuple*, *français populaire* to *français familier* are described in the **Glossary of key terms and linguistic notions discussed in the main body of the dissertation**, pp.344-350).

Section 5.2 The concept of context.

This section concentrates on the concept of context in terms of its relationship with register. Reference has already been made in section 3.5 of Chapter 3 to the ambiguities in the descriptions of register in the literature. The concept of

context is similarly ambiguous and elusive, in terms of arriving at an agreed definition of what constitutes this notion.

According to Widdowson (2004, p.36), the term context can be traced back to Malinowski, who 'invoked the notion of context to account for the way language was used among the Trobriand Islanders in the Western Pacific'. In addition, he coined a more specific term, context of situation to express the total environment, including the verbal environment of the text and the situation in which the text was uttered (Malinowski 1923, p.306). Beginning with non-literate communities, he provided examples of how utterance and situation were inextricably linked to each other and how the context of situation was indispensable for the understanding of the words. Further, he stated that 'in the reality of a spoken living tongue, the utterance has no meaning except in the context of situation' (Malinowski 1923, p.307). By context of situation, he meant the environment of the text.

On the basis of observations made on a very interesting transaction which took place in a lagoon village of the Trobriands between the coastal fishermen and the inland gardeners, Malinowski (1923, pp.304-305) concluded that 'language is essentially rooted in the reality of the culture, the tribal life and customs of a people, and that it cannot be explained without constant reference to these broader contexts of verbal utterance'. In other words, he realised that 'the study of any language, spoken by a people who live under conditions different from our own and possess a different culture, must be carried out in

conjunction with the study of their culture and their environment' (Malinowski 1923, p.306). Hence he considered that the two notions which he called context of culture and context of situation were necessary for the adequate understanding of the text. Furthermore, the notion of context of culture is invoked in section 5.3.2 of this chapter to substantiate the claim that *argot* is in itself an agent of foregrounding, its unpredictable value in the literary context coming from the existence of social taboos.

Widdowson (2004, p.38) provides a critique of Malinowski's statement. In this assessment, Widdowson argues that Malinowski overstates the case by implying that meaning is not only context-dependent but context-determined. Rather it should be recognised that the relationship between code and context is one of bilateral interdependency. When a form is used in a context, it eliminates the meanings possible to that context other than those the form can signal. Widdowson's viewpoint echoes that of Hymes: 'The context eliminates the meaning possible to the form other than those the context can support' (1968, p.105).

Indeed, Malinowski's notion of context of situation was further developed by Firth in the 1950s. Since the latter felt that Malinowski's concept of context was too specific, as it was designed to elucidate and expound the meaning of particular instances of language use, Firth established his own framework for the description of the context of situation that could be built into a general linguistic theory. According to Firth's description (1957, p.182), a context of

situation brings into relation the following categories: the participants in the situation: persons and personalities; the action of the participants: both verbal and non-verbal; other relevant features of the situation; and the effects of the verbal action. He sees the notion of a context of situation within the over-arching concept of context of culture playing a particularly important role in shaping linguistics:

> We can only arrive at some understanding at how language works, if we establish with certainty that the facts of speech we are studying can be observed or regarded in actual patterns of behaviour. We must take our facts from speech sequences, verbally complete in themselves and operating in contexts of situation which are typical, recurrent, and repeatedly observable. Such contexts of situation should themselves be placed in categories of some sort, sociological and linguistic, within the wider context of culture (Firth 1957, p.35).

Widdowson (2004, p.40) criticises Firth's schematic construct on the basis that there was no demonstration of how it operates on actually occurring language.

Moreover, the notion of context of situation was taken up by Halliday. His attempt to arrive at a definition of this concept can best be summarised as follows:

> The context of situation, the context in which the text unfolds is encapsulated in the text through a systematic relationship between the social environment, on the one hand, and the functional organisation of language, on the other (Halliday 1989, p.11).

Halliday (1989, p.29) proposes to interpret this notion by means of a conceptual framework using the terms: field of discourse, tenor of discourse, and mode of discourse. The field of discourse refers to what is happening, to the nature of the social interaction that is taking place. The tenor of discourse

refers to who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles. Finally, the mode of discourse refers to what part the language is playing, what it is the participants are expecting the language to do for them in that situation.

It can be concluded from the foregoing discussion that the context of situation as a concept is invoked when talking about language in use. Thus, it can be inferred that context of situation and register are inter-related. This inference may be supported by the fact that Halliday et al. (1964, p.87) used the same headings of field, mode, and style of discourse to describe the 'name of variety of language according to its use'.[1] Furthermore, in the descriptions of register in section 3.5 of Chapter 3, researchers consistently refer to the communicative situation as influencing choice of register, thereby implying that certain registers are appropriate to certain contexts. This point is explored further in the next section.

5.3 The context of literary communication and register use.

This section examines the degree to which the context of literary communication can be said to influence the poet's choice of lexical variation in selected poetic texts from the sub-corpus. It is divided into two parts. The first sub-section 5.3.1 considers, from a research perspective, what is meant by a context of literary communication. The second sub-section 5.3.2 focuses on specific

[1] The term style of discourse was later replaced by tenor of discourse in a publication by Halliday, M.A.K. & R. Hasan, 1989. *Language, Context, and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

examples excerpted from the sub-corpus to illustrate and explicate how context influences the poet's choice of register within these poems.

5.3.1 Towards a description of a context of literary communication.

Communication is the process of exchanging information or messages (Wales 2001, p.69). The two distinct parties in any verbal act of communication are the addresser and the addressee.[2] Verbal communication involves language. In addition, there are two primary media for verbal communication: speech and writing (Fabb 1997, p.10). The addresser is normally the speaker/writer and sender of the message; the addressee, the person spoken/written to and receiver of the message. Durrer (1999, p.9) further expands on the nature of verbal communication by stating that it makes use of two channels: phonic (sound) and graphic (writing). The term channel refers to the route along which a signal or message or code is transmitted from sender to receiver (Wales 2001, p. 51).

Moreover, verbal communication can be classified in terms of register variation. That is to say, when the addresser engages in the communicative process with the addressee, the register of language used is adapted to suit the channel, situation, and intention. As argued by Simpson (1997, p.10), the concept of register is a useful tool in making comparisons between literary

[2] Other equivalent terms include communicator and communicatee (Fabb, N., 1997. *Linguistics and Literature: Language in the Verbal Arts of the World.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., p.10); *locuteur* and *allocutaire* (Maingueneau, D., 2000. *Eléments de linguistique pour le texte littéraire.* Paris: Nathan, p.6).

texts and other genres of language because it links variation in language with variation in use.

Against the background of previous research into the nature of literary communication, Simpson (1997, p.18) argues that the context of literary communication allows unlimited variation in linguistic style. This significant feature of literary texts was first identified by Brumfit & Carter who made the following assertion (1986, pp.8-9):

> Literature is not a language variety. This can be demonstrated by pointing out that literary text is almost the only 'context' where different varieties of language can be mixed and still admitted. Any deviation from norms of lexis and syntax in legal documents would be inadmissible...any non-literary linguistic form can be pressed into literary service. Writers will exclude no language from a literary function.

Brumfit and Carter's assertion that 'writers will exclude no language from a literary function' is pertinent in a discussion about literariness in literary discourses, or, more accurately, language used for literary purposes (Herman 1983, p.99). The predictability of the language of a text together with its function may help the reader evaluate the literary dimension of a text. As already inferred from the discussion in section 3.2 of Chapter 3, the text, the reader and, the writer are necessary elements in any discourse about literary value.

Cognitive psychology and information theory have suggested that what draws a reader's attention to an event is the degree of its unpredictability. The unpredictable factor has led Riffaterre (1959, p.158) to affirm that

'predictability may result in superficial reading, unpredictability will compel attention. Can it, therefore, be concluded that the more unpredictable the language of a text is to a reader, the more literary it is? This conclusion would appear to be supported in part by Sinclair (1991, p.113), who maintains that non-literary texts undergo progressive delexicalisation. Their language becomes predictable. The reader pays less attention to the language itself. On the contrary, literary texts tend towards lexicalisation and, therefore, more attention is given to the language that constitutes the text.

The theories formulated by Russian linguist Roman Jakobson, a prominent Formalist were in marked contrast to those espoused by Riffaterre and Sinclair in terms of the link between predictability and literariness. According to Jakobson (1960, p.358), 'the poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection to the axis of combination'. Jakobson's definition of poetic literariness departs from the fact that all words can be classified and categorised. What he claims is that 'poetry, like all other language use, not only constantly selects items from long lists of words that are in one way or another equivalent to each other, but also selects to create equivalences between the words it chooses' (Bertens 2001, p.48).

In a paper entitled 'Jakobson's Poetic Analyses', Culler (2002, p.81) takes up Jakobson's definition of the poetic function and signal a change in orientation by proposing to start from data about the effects of poetic language and attempt to formulate hypotheses which would account for these effects rather than

attempting to use linguistic analysis as a technique for discovering patterns in a text. This means that it is no longer the key to a method of analysis as it becomes a hypothesis about the conventions of poetry as an institution and in particular about the kind of attention to language which poets and readers are allowed to assume.

The second factor that may shape the reader's perception of the literary quality of text is the function of literary language. While it has been argued by Carter & Nash (1983, p.124), Brumfit & Carter (1986, p.6), and Simpson (1997, p.7) that 'there is no such thing as literary language', language can be used in ways that can be distinguished as literary.[3] Thus, literary value can be defined as 'the function of a dialectic between the text and its construction through reading' (Easthope 1991, p.55). The reader is placed in an active interactional role in working with and making sense of the language of a text. Carter & Nash (1990, p.35) reiterate that one of the crucial determinants of text's literariness is whether the reader chooses to read it as a literary text. This implies that what is specifically literary about a text may be influenced by the disposition adopted by a reader towards the text. In other words, how a reader responds to a text may be sociological.

[3] Their argument is that it is impossible to isolate any single work or special property of language which is exclusive to a literary work.

5.3.2 Illustrative examples of how the context of literary communication can influence choice of register.

Reference has already been made in the previous sub-section to Simpson's (1997, p.18) assertion that 'the context of literary communication allows unlimited variation in style'. This means that unlike registers such as legal language or the language of instructions where there is a neat fit between language form and specific function, the literary channel of communication allows the author or poet more freedom to use language for other purposes. Therefore, an author or poet may break with both text and social convention by using a range of informal varieties of language that are unusual in a particular type of discourse in order to attract a reader's attention and persuade him to a particular view of things. Section 4.4.2 of Chapter 4 provided an analysis of how authors used *argot* in dialogue as an explicit marker of spoken discourse.

In terms of poetry, poets can use two stylistic devices: deviation and parallelism to make certain linguistic features stand out, be foregrounded. The term foregrounding was introduced into literature in the West by Garvin (1964, p.viii) as a translation of the Czech 'aktualisace', employed in the works of several Prague scholars including Mukarovsky.[4] Reference was made in 3.2.2 of Chapter 3 to Mukarovsky's conception of the term and its specific relevance to the study. It was posited that this form of linguistic highlighting can be used

[4] Acccording to Garvin, (P., 1964. 'Introduction'. In *A Prague School Reader on Esthetics, Literary Structure and Style*. Washington, D.C: Georgetown University Press, p. viii), *aktualisace* refers to a stumulus not culturally expected in a social situation and hence capable of provoking special attention. *Automatization*, by contrast, refers to the stimulus normally expected in a social situation.

to explain in qualitative terms the degree of markedness in a number of poetic texts in the sub-corpus. This does not imply that foregrounding is absent in longer literary works such as the novel, but given the length involved, instances of foregrounding may appear in a more diluted form, and so would be more difficult to analyse.[5]

The poetry texts included in the following analysis of poetic foregrounding are from Richepin's collection of verse, entitled *La Chanson des Gueux* (1876). As already explained in **Bar Chart 9** in Section 4.3 of Chapter 4, *Ballade du roi des gueux*, *Sonnet bigorne*, *Autre sonnet bigorne*, *Pas frileux*, *Dab*, and *Doche* are the only poems where the presence of *argot* can be identified.[6] The other poetic texts are extracted from Bruant's collection of songs and monologues, *Dans la Rue* (Volumes 1 and 2). A complete set of texts is presented in **Appendix 13**.

The first device that poets can use to produce linguistic foregrounding is deviation. As a linguistic phenomenon, deviation can occur at different levels: lexis, grammar, phonology, graphology, semantics, register, and historical period (Leech 1969, p.42).

Lexical deviation occurs when a poet exceeds the normal resources of the language through neologism or the invention of new words. As argued by

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[5] This viewpoint was shared by Van Peer (W., 1986. *Stylistics and Psychology: Investigations of Foregrounding*. London: Croom Helm Ltd, pp.59-60).

[6] As already mentioned as a footnote to **Bar Chart 9** in section 4.3 of Chapter 4, 23 poems were downloaded from the poésie.webnet.fr website. There were a total of 111 poems in the 1978 edition of *La Chanson des Gueux*. Paris: Société des Gens de Lettres.

Leech (1969, p.42), 'it is misleading to suggest that neologism is a violation of lexical rule; a more correct explanation is that an existing rule of word-formation is applied with greater generality that is customary: that the usual restrictions on its operation are waived in a given instance'. Section 1.5 of Chapter 1 enumerated and briefly described the processes of suffixation and secret codes that have proved especially productive in changing the formal properties of a word, thereby rendering it unrecognisable. Similarly, suffixation and secret codes can be used by the poet in a creative and lexically innovative manner.

Grammatical deviation allows the poet to deviate from the norm of the standard language by varying the way in which words pattern within sentences. For example, inverting the word-order sequencing in the example *les vertes allées* would constitute a deviation from the grammatical norm of generally placing an adjective that confers a distinctive quality on a noun after that specific noun.

Phonological deviation in poetry is most obvious in the process called elision, involving the removal of either the initial, medial, or final phoneme (s) or syllable (s) from a word. Reference has already been made to this creative process in sections 1.5 of Chapter 1, 3.6 of Chapter 3, and 4.4.1 of Chapter 4.

Graphological deviation is a method by which the poet can break with the characteristic line-by-line arrangement of poetry on the printed page, with irregular right-hand margins and lines beginning with capital letters.

Semantic deviation in poetry can be achieved through the use of metaphor. This is the process whereby 'literal absurdity leads the mind to comprehension on a figurative plane' (Leech 1969, p.48). Reference was made in section 1.5 of Chapter 1 to this creative process.

Deviation of register is produced when the poet borrows language from other, non-poetic registers such as everyday spoken discourse, and at the same time uses in the same text features characteristic of different registers. The capacity of the literary channel of communication to assimilate other registers has already been highlighted in the previous sub-section.

Deviation of historical period means that the poet has 'the freedom of the language' (Leech 1969, p.51), and so is not restricted to the language of his own period. For example, he can use an archaic or an archaistic lexis. The subtle distinction between the two adjectives is reflected in the definition of archaism, as 'the survival of the language of the past into the language of the present' and linguistic anachronism, as the 'conscious and calculated resurrection of language belonging to a bygone age' (Leech 1969, p.52).

All the words in bold font are explained in **Appendix 10**. Based on the afore-mentioned descriptions of linguistic deviation, it would appear that in *Ballade du roi des gueux*, lexical deviation and deviation of register give rise to foregrounding. That is to say, the use of *argot* makes parts of this poem stand out. For example, it can be suggested that Richepin makes limited use of

lexical deviation by creating two neologisms **claquepatins** and **traîne-cul-les-housettes**, which in turn are incorporated into the second type of linguistic deviation, deviation of register. His use of register mixing is more striking in terms of how he combines a series of lexical items, borrowed from a non-poetic register with standard French. In this case, *argot* spoken by more marginalised sections of society is represented by nouns such as **claquepatins**, **loqueteux**, **clampins**, **loupeurs**, **catins**, **marmousets**, **marmousettes,** and **traîne-cul-les-housettes**. The lexical deviance in the first stanza has an important psychological effect on the reader in so far as the lexis becomes especially noticeable, or in Short's (1996, p.11) words 'perceptually prominent'. The foregrounded figure is the lexical deviance and the background is the standard language.

In *Sonnet bigorne*, Richepin would appear to use another kind of deviation: deviation of historical period. Reference was made earlier in this sub-section to the subtle distinction between archaism and linguistic anachronism. Once again the use of *argot* makes the lexis especially noticeable. The occurrences of words such as **luysard**, **estampillait**, **plombes**, **mezigo**, **trimard**, **dardant** in the opening lines of the poem would perhaps suggest that Richepin was more interested in imitation, or revival of a former era associated with either Vidocq (1837) or Cartouche (1725). The subtitle *argot classique* would seem to confirm this supposition. Furthermore, there is documentary evidence to support this view. The items *luysard* (i.e *soleil,* p.768), *estampiller* (i.e. *marquer,* p.736), *plombe* (i.e. *heure,* p.785), *mésigo* (i.e. *moi,* p.771), and

dardant (i.e. *amour,* p.726) were listed in Vidocq's *Dictionnaire Argot-Français* appended to his work *Les Voleurs*, published in 1837.[7] Sainéan (1912, Tome 1, p.337) attributes the the remaining word *trimard* (i.e. *chemin*, p.337) to *Le Vice puni ou Cartouche*, published in 1725. Reference has already been made to this lyrical poem in section 1.2 of Chapter 1.[8]

In the second sonnet *Autre sonnet bigorne*, lexical deviation is most evident. There are four instances in the poem where argotic suffixes (i.e. *ancier*, *o*, *uche*) have been added to a word, following the omission of a final phoneme or syllable (e.g. **garno**, **préfectancier**, **Ménilmuche**, **Montparno**). Furthermore, the locution **lampagne du cam** is created through a variation of the code *largonji*.[9] The transformation of the standard French word *campagne* is brought about by replacing the initial consonant with the letter *l*, and placing the first syllable *cam* after the word, interpolated by the word *du*. The five examples of linguistic creativity in this poem would suggest that Richepin may have wanted to draw the reader's attention to a deviant lexis that was foregrounded. This is further evidence to support the assertion that *argot* in itself acts as an agent of foregrounding in making lexical features of the poem perceptually prominent.

The remaining poems *Pas frileux*, *Dab*, and *Doche* can be discussed as a unit in so far as they share similarities in terms of the kinds of deviation they illustrate.

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[7] Page references are from Vidocq, F., 1998. *Les Voleurs/Eugène François Vidocq; édition établie par Francis Lacassin*. Paris: Editions Robert Laffont.
[8] Sainéan, L., 1912. *Les Sources de l'argot ancien*. Tome 1. Paris: Champion, p.337.
[9] A description of this code was provided in section 1.5 of Chapter 1.

Reference has already been made in section 4.4.1 of Chapter 4 to Richepin's use of elision as a marker of an idiosyncratic manner of pronunciation. Hence, it can be suggested that the instances of phonological deviation, apparent in the consistent use of apostrophe would not have surprised the reader since it would have been in keeping with the oral tradition of *chanson*.

Conversely, there are examples of lexical and semantic deviation which can be said to give rise to foregrounding. Indeed it is the use of *argot* in the poems *Pas frileux*, *Dab*, and *Doche* that allows the poet to foreground parts of them. In *Pas frileux*, there are two examples where a pejorative suffix (i.e. *asse*, *ard*) has been added to a word after the omission of a final syllable (e.g. **limace**, **douillard**). There are two examples of suffixation in *Dab*. The first concerns the word **salaud** which is composed of two words, *sale* and the argotic suffix *aud*. The second **surbine** is formed by adding the suffix *bine* after the omission of the final two syllables of the word *surveillance*. There are two further examples of argotic suffixation in *Doche*, with **conobrer** (from *connaître*) and **doche** (from *dab*). The pronoun **nib** is a truncated form of *nibergue*.

The most obvious examples of semantic deviation in the poems concern the metaphoric use of words such as *turbine* (*Pas frileux* and *Dab*) and *palpitant* (*Doche*). The metaphoric sense of the verb **turbine** is derived from the analogy between *turbine* and *travail* which is based on the perceived similarity of the

physical nature of the process. The noun **palpitant** is a metaphor for the word *coeur* which is based on the image of the beating function of the heart.

Upon a closer examination of Bruant's use of linguistic deviation in his collection of monologues (1889 and 1895), it would appear that he deliberately used lexical deviation, semantic deviation, and deviation of register to encourage the reader to interpret them in the context of their being performed in front of an audience. Consequently, Bruant's use of apostrophe to denote elision in the monologues should not be viewed as a form of phonological deviation since this particular stylistic use is to be expected when delivered through the medium of spoken language. From the point of linguistic deviation, the most interesting monologues from the first volume of *Dans la Rue* are *Amoureux*, *Casseur de Gueules*, and *Grelotteux*.

In the monologue *Amoureux*, the expressions **'rond comme eun' balle'**, **'rond comme un disque**, and **raid' comm' l'obélisque'** are metaphoric. In figurative language, the adjectives *rond* and *raide* denote the state of being *ivre* because a person who is drunk rolls around like a round object, unable to find the right direction. These are examples of a process, whereby the poet substitutes the familiar adjectival phrases with semantically odd ones, and in so doing, attempts to foreground the particular items concerned. As noted in section 5.2 of this chapter, Malinowski's concept of context of culture can be used to account for the unpredictable value of *argot* in the literary context. The

subject of alcohol was taboo in nineteenth century France and informal diction is used here euphemistically to avoid breaking a social taboo.

The final example of semantic deviation **'j'en ai soupé du'** involves the metaphoric use of the verb *souper*. Here the analogy is based on the image of having one's fill of something. These are examples of how the poet uses *argot* to linguistically highlight parts of the monologue *Amoureux*.

In *Casseur de Gueules*, it can be suggested that Bruant produces foregrounding through deviation of register, lexical, and semantic deviation. The use of *argot* allows him to make parts of the monologue stand out. For example, by using deviation of register, he seeks to highlight the informal tone of the monologue in taking coarse *mots d'argot* (i.e. **foutre** and **casser la gueule**) and inserting them in a poetic context, along with standard French words. Furthermore, the notion of context of culture can be usefully invoked here to explain the unpredictable value of *argot* in the literary context in so far as the taboo words **foutre** and **gueule** are used as dysphemisms, or terms which are intentionally offensive. Moreover, it may be suggested that their use represents a display of courage and aggression on the part of the speaker, and thus is the perfect vehicle for insult.

This linguistic highlighting is sustained through lexical deviation, whereby a number of lexical items undergo a formal process of transformation. Once again, it is the use of *argot* that acts as an agent of foregrounding. For

example, the argotic word **proprios** is formed, first through apocope or omission of the final phoneme and syllable of the standard French word *propriétaire*, and then by adding the suffix *o*. The word **galtouze** is formed in the same manner, first through apocope of the argotic word *galette*, and then by suffixation. The word **meule** is an abbreviated form of *meulé*.

There is one example of semantic deviation in *Casseur de Gueules*, where the adjective *rond* is a metaphor for the word *sou*. Here the substitution is based on the shared shape and size of the object and the coin. Interestingly, this metaphor which originated in the time of *La Vie généreuse des Mercelots* in 1596 was still in use in a poetic context in the latter part of the nineteenth century. This would seem to provide evidence in support of Leech's (1969, p.150) assertion that 'metaphor is so central to our notion of poetic creation'. Furthermore, it can be suggested that it is Bruant's use of *argot* that allows him to foreground this part of the monologue.

Similarly, it would appear that Bruant's use of *argot* in the monologue *Grelotteux* allows him to make parts of the monologue stand out. For example, it contains one instance of apocope ***soc'***, the truncated form of *société*. In addition, there is one example of semantic deviation in the metaphoric use of the noun **radis**, where the transference is based on the shared shape and size of the coin and the vegetable.

Interestingly, this monologue demonstrates that linguistic deviation is not the only mechanism of linguistic foregrounding. The effect of some part of the message being thrust into the foreground of attention may be attained by other means. A pun, for instance, is a type of foregrounding. There are two instances in the monologue where the reader's attention is focused upon the phonological equivalence of *dauphin* and *dos fin*, and *culbute* and *culotte*.[10]

The most interesting monologues in the second volume of *Dans la Rue* are *Pilon*, *Coquette*, and *Conasse*. Here again, it is the use of *argot* that foregrounds parts of the monologues. In *Pilon*, there are three examples of lexical deviation involving suffixation. The words **sergot** and **mendigot** are formed, first by omission of the final syllables, and then adding the suffix *ot*. The word **rousse** is the truncated form of *roussin*.

Bruant is more creative in his use of deviation in the monologue *Coquette*. For example, there are four examples of lexical deviation and two of semantic deviation. Similar to Richepin in *Autre sonnet bigorne*, Bruant uses the secret code *largonji* to create the word **loubé** (i.e. *bébé*). There are two examples of apocope: **mac** from *maquereau* and **blaire** from *blaireau*. The word **peinard** is formed by apocope and the addition of the suffix *ard*.

Furthermore, there are two examples of metaphoric use of language in *Coquette*. In the expression **'tomber les châtaignes'**, the transference from

[10] In the example of *culbute*, the suffix *ant* is added to form *culbutant*.

châtaigne to *coup* is based on the perceived similarity between the shape of a chestnut and a physical blow. In the second example, the noun **torchon** represents a paradox in so far as a cloth is necessary to cleanse *une fille malpropre*, which in the monologue is described in argotic terms as **'un torchon'**.

The final monologue, *Conasse* is interesting for its lexical and semantic deviation. There are three examples of apocope: **condisse** from *condition*, **douce** from *douceur*, **artiche** from *artichaut*. The words *pétasse* and *conasse* carry pejorative overtones which can be attributed to the suffix *asse*. The word **larantequet** (i.e. *quarante*) is created from the code *largonji*, where the initial consonant *q* is replaced with the letter *l* and placed at the end of the word.

Furthermore, there are two examples in *Conasse* where metaphoric use is made of a standard French word. In the first example, the noun **radis** is a metaphor for money because the substitution is based on the shared shape and size of the coin and the vegetable. In the second example, the noun **purée** is a metaphor for *misère*. The analogy is based on the image of a smooth thick food substance.

It would appear that Bruant's use of lexical deviation was not restricted to monologues in Volumes 1 and 2 of *Dans la Rue*. It can be suggested that the use of *argot* allows him to make parts of the *chansons* perceptually prominent. There are examples of apocope and suffixation in his second volume of

chansons, namely *Aux Bat. D'Af.* and *A Saint-Ouen*. The words in the title of the song **Aux Bat. D'Af**. represent a double apocope of *bataillons d'Afrique*. The abbreviated form is repeated six times, each one in the first line of the refrain. The repetition of the word makes it stand out. As Short (1996, p.14) remarks, 'simple repetition is a relatively restricted method of producing foregrounding. A much more interesting method is that of parallelism, where some features are held constant (usually structural features) while others (usually lexical items) are varied'.

Examples of parallelism are provided later in this sub-section. The word **loccase** is a further example of apocope from *occasion*. Bruant uses the semantic process of metaphor to foreground semantically odd elements in *Aux Bat. D'Af.*, most notably in the metaphoric use of the adjective **sec**. Here the analogy between *sec* and *mort* is based on the perceived similarity of deprivation and isolation.

The examples of lexical deviation in *A Saint-Ouen* vary somewhat from those identified in *Aux Bat. D'Af.* in so far as Bruant places more emphasis on the process of suffixation in the former song than in the latter. Hence, the word **purotin** is derived from the argotic *purée* (i.e. *misère*) with the added suffix *otin*. Similarly, the word **trottiner** is derived from the verb *trotter* with the added suffix *iner*. There is one example of apocope, with **fortifs** being the truncated form of *fortifications*. Finally, there is one example of semantic

deviation through metaphor. Here the word **pattes** which originally referred to animals is used metaphorically of humans to mean both arms and legs.

As already mentioned, repetition represents a restricted method of producing foregrounding. There are two examples of repetition in *La Chanson des Gueux*.[11] In *Ballade du roi des gueux*, the last line of the first stanza **'Le poète est le roi des Gueux'** is repeated at the end of every other stanza, including the *envoi*. This repetition may be designed to draw attention to a characteristic feature of the ballad. There is similar repetition in *Doche*, where the sentence **'Qui qu'a massé pou' t' fout' au monde'** is repeated at the end of each stanza for the purpose of highlighting the speaker's insistence that her daughter must obey her wishes and engage in prostitution. In addition, the repetition draws attention to her intensity of feeling on the subject. Indeed the concept of the context of culture can be used here to explain the unpredictable value of *argot* in the literary context. That is to say, the use of the taboo word **foutre** is intentionally offensive or dysphemistic and the breaking of the taboo provides a powerful emotional release for the speaker.

Similarly, there are examples of line repetition in the first and second volumes of Bruant's collection of songs and monologues *Dans la Rue*. For instance, the title is repeated at the end of the final couplet of each quatrain in *A Batignolles*

[11] This analysis only pertains to the poems where the presence of *argot* can be identified. A fuller justification of this standpoint was provided in **Bar Chart 9** in section 4.3 of Chapter 4.

(1889), *A la Bastille* (1889), *Dans la rue* (1895), and *A Saint-Ouen* (1895). This repetition emphasises the musical quality of the *chanson*.

There is one example of anaphora in *Aux Bat. D'Af.* where the word *Dis* is repeated at the beginning of three successive lines:

'Dis ben des chos's à tous les barbillons,

('barbillon' means *'jeune souteneur de filles')*

Dis au daron qu'i' n'oubli' pas d' m'écrire,

('daron' means *'père')*

Dis à Fernand qu' a ne' me fass' pas d' paillons' .

('paillon' means *infidélité en amour')*

Here repetition is used as a way to underline the speaker's feelings of anxiety and powerlessness to determine his future.

There would appear to be a similar pattern of line repetition evident in Bruant's monologues. For example, in *Philosophe* (1889), the line of the first stanza **'T'es dans la ru', va, t'es chez toi'** is repeated at the end of every other stanza. Similarly, in *Grelotteux* (1889), the final line of the first stanza **'C'est-I' la fièvre ou ben la faim?'** is repeated at the end of every other stanza. There is further repetition in *A Montpernasse* (1889), where the title of the monologue is repeated at the end of the final couplet of each quatrain.

In *Pilon* (1895), there is a variation of the use of repetition to produce foregrounding, where the last two lines of each stanza is repeated four times:

'Pourtant j'fais du tort à personne:
Ej' pilonne' *('pilonne'* means *'mendie)*

As already mentioned, the second way in which poets can foreground elements of their poems is through parallelism. There are seven examples of this method in *Dans la Rue*. In the example from the *chanson A la Bastille* (1889):

'Pour eun' thune a' r' tir' son chapeau,
(*'eun' means 'une')*
Pour deux thun' a' r' tir' son manteau'
(*'thune' means 'pièce de monnaie', 'pièce de cinq francs'*)

the structure and some of the words in the first line are repeated in the words of the second line, giving a parallel structure which is a repetition of **'Pour — elle retire son — '.** In addition to their perceptual prominence, parallel structures can be said to invite the reader to search for meaning connections between the parallel structures, in particular, in terms of the parts that are varied. Short (1996, p.14) calls this 'the parallelism rule' for interpretation. In the example above, the argotic **thune** is intended to be viewed as semantically linked to the standard French words *manteau* and *chapeau*. That is to say, in exchange for financial remuneration, the girl in the song will first remove her hat, and then her coat.

The second *chanson* to demonstrate parallelism is *Dans la rue* (1895). The two lines

'Il ay' jamais connu ma mère
Qu'a jamais connun mon daron' *('daron'* means *'père')*

are parallel lines in so far as they have the same grammatical structure: *Pron + Verb + Adv + Verb + Det + Noun*, with only one word being varied—*mère* for **daron** (i.e. *père*). This parallel pair contains an opposition because *mère* and *père* are antonyms. It can be suggested that this paralleled and contrasted structure may help the reader to infer the meaning of the second word that is argotic.

There are two further examples of parallelism in *Dans la rue*. The first parallel structure '**pas vu... pas pris...**' is elliptic, and so can be said to contribute to heightening the reader's expectations about what information the next line will reveal. Similarly, the pair of lines **'Viv'nt les aminches, Viv'nt les escarp' et viv'nt les grinches'** are parallel to each other. The syntactic structure of *Verb + Det + Noun* remains constant, the only variation is with the lexical items: **'aminches**, **escarp'**, **grinches**'. It can be suggested in this example that the parallel meaning, promoted by the parallel structure may invite the reader to make meaning connections between the words that are paralleled. This in turn may involve the reader in construing new aspects of meaning for the words concerned, or in searching among the possible connotations that a word might have for the one that is most appropriate in the particular structure. Thus, the

reader may arrive at the conclusion that these words are argotic and the suffix *che* carries negative overtones.

There are three more examples of parallelism in Bruant's monologues. In *Amoureux* (1889), the four lines in two pairs of two:

'ej' suis rond comme un disque
('rond' means *'ivre')*
J' m'arrondirai pas pus'

'ej' suis raid' comm' l'obélisque,
('raide' means *complètement ivre/gris')*
ej' me raidirai pas pus'

are all parallel to each other grammatically and can be interpreted as having the same meaning. The reader is invited to construe a relation of parallel meaning between each pair based on the metaphors contained in the first line of each pair. The metaphorical use of language was discussed earlier in this sub-section. In *Grelotteux* (1889), the parallelism within the line **'Sans un pélot, sans un radis'** is a little less exact, the only repeated word being '*sans*'.

The final example of parallelism is from the monologue *Pilon* (1895). In the line **'J'ai pus d' dents, pus d' cheveux, pus d' yeux'**, the syntactic structure remains constant, while the lexical items are varied. It can be suggested this parallel structure highlights the speaker's desperation at his current state of penury.

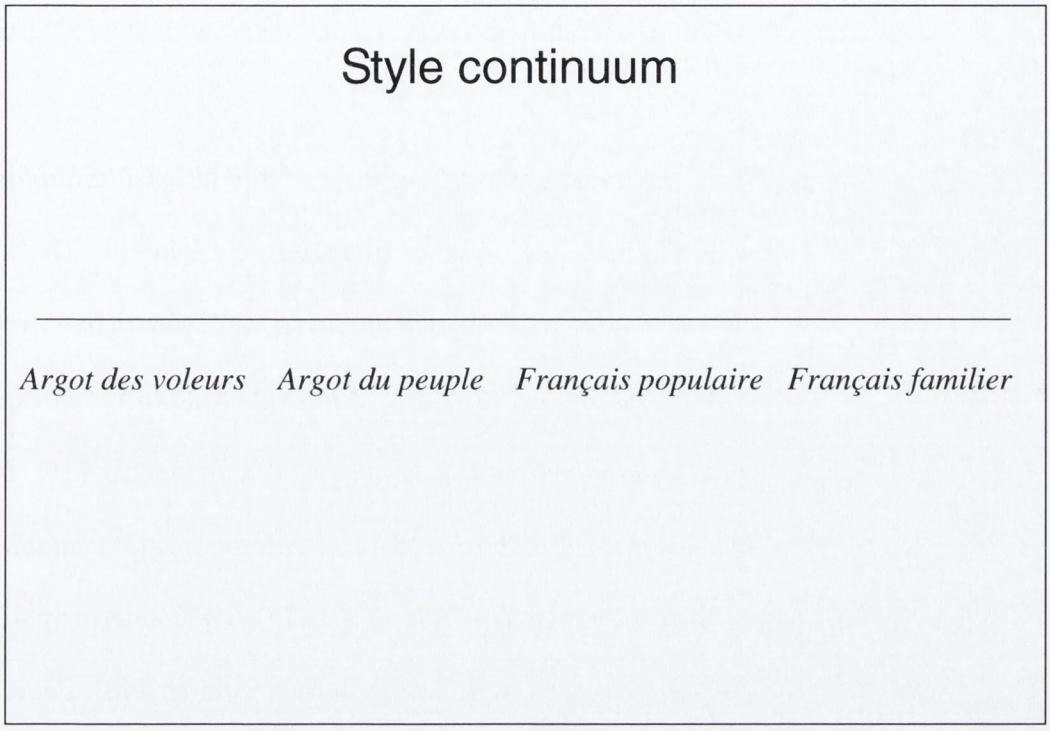
The foregoing discussion has described by means of illustrative example how Richepin (*La Chanson des Gueux*) and Bruant (*Dans la Rue* Volumes 1 and 2) have used the stylistic devices of deviation and parallelism to foreground elements of their poetic texts. This descriptive analysis would, moreover, seem to support the supposition that foregrounding can be used to explain in qualitative terms the degree of markedness in a poetic text. That is to say, the afore-mentioned examples demonstrate the extent to which poets in the sub-corpus used examples of lexical deviation, deviation of register, deviation of historical period, and lexical and grammatical parallelism to draw the reader's attention to perceptually prominent and unusual (i.e. stylistically marked) lexical items. In a forensic analogy, it may be suggested that these examples of foregrounding can be described as a writer's stylistic fingerprints. Further, it may be said that the use of individual linguistic choices which diverge from social convention by a poet can characterise his personal style or individual linguistic norm. This point has already been mentioned in section 1.6 of Chapter 1. In addition, the concept of context of culture coined by the anthropologist Malinowski can be usefully invoked to explain the unpredictable value of *argot* in the literary text coming from the existence of social taboos.

5.4 Extension of the stylistic function of *argot* by lexicographers.

This section focuses on the use of style labels by lexicographers in the *dictionnaires d'argot* included in **Appendix 1**, and examines the degree to which their usage can be said to reflect some degree of consistency. This is

important because as already illustrated in **Figure 1** of section 1.7 of Chapter 1, their usage of these sociolinguistic markers would appear to be variable. Furthermore, in section 2.6 of Chapter 2, reference was made to the extension of the stylistic function of *argot* by lexicographers. From 1865 to 1895, the traditional use of *argot* was extended to account for the gradual popularisation of this informal variety of language. Accordingly, they used a number of style labels or *marques d'usage*, which can be placed on a continuum, ranging from *argot des voleurs*, *argot du peuple*, *français populaire* to *français familier*. It is illustrated in **Figure 2** (over page). In addition, it should be acknowledged that there is a difficulty with the fact that the change over time is mostly documented by different dictionaries, thus raising the question of whether the register level has indeed shifted, or whether there is inconsistency in the way in which the dictionaries classify. This point has already been referred to in the Introduction and in section 2.6 of Chapter 2. Furthermore, it was stated in section 2.6 of Chapter 2 that in the light of this stylistic complexity, it was decided to examine the use of these style labels contextually. The results of this analysis are presented in section 5.5.2 of this chapter.

Figure 2



Appendix 10 provides an alphabetical listing of word types from literary works in the sub-corpus. First, each word is defined. Second, words involved in one of the patterns of style variation is referenced by page number to a specific edition of the relevant prose work. In the case of works of poetry, the name of the particular poem, monologue, or *chanson* is given. Fourth, information regarding information regarding the relevant grammatical classification of a word and stylistic label is given in parenthesis, together with the lexicographer's name and date of publication. The corresponding list of dictionaries of *argot* is presented in **Appendix 1**.

On the basis of the information contained in **Appendix 10**, the lexicographic usage of style labels would appear to be variable, and within this variation, it is possible to identify ten patterns that occur with some degree of consistency.

First, the transition from *argot du peuple* in 1867 to *langage populaire* in 1896 would indicate the presence of a stylistic evolution. The word types concerned are *andouille* (p.439), *assommoir* (p.439), s'*asticoter* (p.439), *être d'attaque* (p.440), *badigoinces* (p.440), *baffre* (p.440), *battre le briquette* (p.483), *beigne* (p.441), *bouffer* (p.442), *boule* (p.442), *briffer* (p.431), *brûle-gueule* (p.443), *bûcher* (p.443), *caboche* (p.443), *calotte* (p.443), *canulant* (p.443), *carcasse* (p.444), *carne* (p.444), *chipie* (p.477), *cochonnerie* (p.477), *collage* (p.443), *conjungo* (p.445), *couenne* (p.446), *crotte* (p.446), *cuite* (p.446), *débagouler* (p.446), *décaniller* (p.446), *décrochez-moi-ça* (p.446), *dinde* (p.447), *drolichon* (p.447), *embobiner* (p.447), *escoffier* (p.448), *farce* (p.448), *ficelle* (p.448), *fil-en-quatre* (p.449), *fripe* (p.450), *n'avoir pas froid aux yeux* (p.433), *galfatre* (p.450), *gouge* (p.433), *giries* (p.451), *grappin* (p.452), *gueulardise* (p.452), *lascar* (p.453), *lavement* (p.453), *macchabée* (p.473), *mastoc* (p.454), *merlan* (p.454), *meurt-de-faim* (p.454), *mioche* (p.454), *moutard* (p.455), *noce* (p.455), *peinard* (p.490), *pif* (p.436), *platée* (p.481), *pomper* (p.458), *pouf* (p.458), *riflard* (p.459), *ripopée* (p.460), *rogomme* (p.460), *rouleuse* (p.460), *sapin* (p.461), *sécot* (p.462), *Thomas* (p.463), *torgnole* (p.463), *touché* (p.484), *traînée* (p.464), *tripotée* (p.464), *troufignon* (p.464), *tuile* (p.482).

There is a variation concerning the entry *se foutre* (p.450), with the addition in 1886 of the label *variante grossière de se ficher.* There is a further variation with the word *bastringue* (p.441) whose dictionary definition is given as a place that is frequented by *le populaire.* A final variation concerns the word *casse-poitrine* (p.444) which is the only word in the list to be labelled as *peuple* in successive dictionaries: 1867, 1872, and 1881.

The second pattern involves the shift from *argot du peuple* in 1867 to *langage familier* in 1896. The word types involved are *balancer* (p.440), *bedon/bidon* (p.441), *se démancher* (p.447), *dépuceleur de nourrices* (p.447), *à la douce* (p.487), *fla-fla* (p.449), *gouine* (p.451), *gourgandine* (p.451), *illico* (p.480), *jean-jean* (p.452), *lambin* (p.452), *lapin* (p.473), *magot* (p.453), *à la papa* (p.456), *particulier* (p.456), *avoir un poil dans sa main* (p.457), *pompette* (p.458), *renversant* (p.466), *schnick* (p.462), *tignasse* (p.463), *toqué* (p.470), *trac* (p.464), *turlupiner* (p.465), *veine* (p.475). There is a further variation involving the entry *gosse* (p.), with the addition of the label *jargon du peuple* in 1888.

Three more entries (i.e. *chienne* (p.468), *se piquer le nez* (p.457), *potin* (p.491)) are involved in another type of variation on the pattern of *argot du peuple.* Here each lexical item is included in the transition from *argot du peuple* in 1867 to both *langage familier* and *langage populaire* in 1896.

As Delvau (1867, reprinted 1972, p.xxii) pointed out in the preface to the second edition of his *Dictionnaire de la langue verte*, there are subtle distinctions to be made within the different levels of register variation.[12] Accordingly, the fourth pattern underlines the distinction drawn by Delvau between *argot du peuple* and *argot des faubouriens*. Consequently, it provides for the shift from *argot des faubouriens* in 1867 to *langage populaire* in 1896. The word types involved in the transition are *ahuri de Chaillot* (p.439), *aileron* (p.439), *arpion* (p.485), *baver* (p.441), *béquiller* (p.441), *berdouille* (p.441), *brindezingues* (p.443), *bringue* (p.443), *camaro* (p.443), *carapater* (p.444), *cavaler* (p.444), *chelinguer* (p.444), *coco* (p.445), *cric* (p.446), *débine* (p.432), *dégelée* (p.446), *dégouliner* (p.483), *dégueulas* (p.432), *s'enfiler* (p.471), *s'esbigner* (p.448), *flemme* (p.449), *flopée* (p.449), *frigousse* (p.450), *gadoue* (p.450), *garno* (p.433), *gouape* (p.451), *guimbarde* (p.452), *loupiat* (p.453), *mac* (p.488), *se manger le nez* (p.453), *mannezingue* (p.453), *mariolle* (p.435), *marlou* (p.489), *mécaniser* (p.454), *morue* (p.455), *négresse* (p.455), *nettoyé* (p.455), *occase* (p.490), *paf* (p.456), *Pantin* (p.490), *pelure* (p.456), *plan* (p.457), *plomber* (p.436), *poivre* (p.457), *quille* (p.458), *quinquets* (p.458), *radis* (p.459), *remoucher* (p.437), *riboui* (p.491), *se rincer la dalle* (p.459), *ripaton* (p.459), *rond* (adj.) (p.474), *roulée* (p.460), *roulure* (p.460), *sciant* (p.470), *soiffard* (p.462), *tannant* (p.462), *tatouille* (p.463), *tire-jus* (p.463), *tord-boyaux* (p.463), *tortillard* (p.464), *trognon* (p.464), *turne* (p.465), *va-te-laver* (p.465), *voirie* (p.465), *zig/zigue* (p.465). There is one variation

[12] Reference was made to Delvau's viewpoint in section 1.7 of Chapter 1.

concerning the entry *mastroquet* (p.454), with the addition of the label *argot parisien* in 1886.

The fifth pattern encompasses the evolution from *argot des faubouriens* in 1867 to *langage familier* in 1896 (i.e. *corbeau* (p.445), *culotte* (p.446), *démolir* (p.447), *giroflée à cinq feuillles* (p.451), *n'en mener pas large* (p.480), *avoir sa pointe* (p.457), *schloffer* (p.461), *serin* (p.462)), with two further variations. The label *argot populaire* was added to the entry *tu peux te fouiller* (p.449) in 1886. The pattern *argot des faubouriens* is subject to internal variation in so far as the entry *piquer un chien* (v.) (p.469) can evolve to be classified as both *langage familier* and *langage populaire*.

Moreover, it is possible to categorise other types of variation according to eight different professions. For instance, there are two entries, where the label *argot des domestiques* is used in 1867, and changes in 1896 to either *langage populaire* (i.e. *bourgeoise*, p.442) or *langage familier* (i.e. *baraque*, p.440). There are ten entries (i.e. *bordée* (p.442), *châtaigne* (p.486), *chenu* (p.431), *femelle* (p.448), *flânocher* (p.449), *masser* (p.435), *ordinaire* (p.456), *pichenet* (p.456), *pot-bouille* (p.458), *riquiqui* (p.460)) involved in the transition from *argot des ouvriers* (1867) to *langage populaire* (1896). The pattern *argot des ouvriers* is subject to further internal variation where three entries (i.e. *chouette* (p.432), *sainte-touche* (p.461), *taper au pognon* (p.492)) are first labelled as *argot des ouvriers* in 1867 and change to *langage familier* in 1896. There is one entry (i.e. *baguenaude* p.430) involved in the variation from *argot des*

marbiers (1867) to *langage populaire* (1896). The entry *canard* (p.465) is involved in the transition from *argot des journalistes* in 1867 to *langage familier* in 1896. The entry *faire four* (p.433) evolves from being classified as *argot des petits journaux* in 1867 to *langage populaire* in 1896. The label *argot des franc-maçons* is attached to the word *canon* (p.443) in 1867 and later in 1896, another label *langage populaire* is used. The entry *singe* (p.438) is labelled as *argot des charpentiers* in 1896 and later becomes *langage populaire* in 1896. There is one example of *argot des soldats* (i.e. *esbloquer* p.432) in 1867 which later changes to *langage populaire* (1896). The second largest category relates to prostitution. The entries *bassin* (p.440), *braise* (p.442), *persil* (p.436) are first labelled as *argot des filles* (1867) and later as *langage populaire* (1896). The pattern is subject to further variation in so far as the word *persil* is also labelled as *argot des souteneurs* (1867). In addition, two more entries *miché* (p.489) and *michet* (p.473) change from being *an argot des filles* in 1867 to *langage familier* in 1896. In addition, the word *marmite* (p.473) is labelled as *argot des souteneurs* in 1867 and later as *langage familier* (1896). Furthermore, a more specific label is attached to three more entries. The first word *bath* (p.431) is described as *argot de Breda-Street* (1867) and then as *langage populaire* (1896). The second word *bec* (p.441) is described as *argot des petites dames* (1867) and then as *langage populaire* (1896). The word *tante* (p.463) is first labelled as *argot des petites dames* (1867) and later as *langage familier* (1896).

The sixth pattern has two further variations. For instance, there are two entries, where the label *argot des ouvriers* is used in 1867, and later in 1896 changes to either *langage populaire* (i.e. *môme* p.435), or *langage familier/langage populaire* (i.e. *piquer un soleil* (v.) (p.484)). A similar example is the word *palper* (p.481) which in 1867 is described as an *argot des employés*, then in 1888 is described as *terme de bureaucrate,* and subsequently in 1896 as belonging to *langage familier.*

A number of entries can be grouped under the theme of school. The entries *balthazar* (p.440), *écoper* (p.478), *piocher* (p.481), *pion* (p.481) follow the pattern of beginning as *argot* (1867) and later shifting to *langage familier.* There are two exceptions *recalé* (adj.) (p.481) and *beuglant* (p.467). In the first example, the dictionary entry for *recalé* (adj.) dates from 1886 and is accompanied by the label *argot des lycées.* In 1896, another style label *langage populaire* is used to describe this lexical item. In the second example, the word *beuglant* is labelled as characteristic of *argot des étudiants* and the label *langage populaire* is added in 1896. There is a further variation concerning the entries *bobo* (p.442), *patoches* (p.456), and *peton* (p.456) which are labelled as *argot des enfants* and later in 1896, the label *enfantin* is attached.

The eight variation involves the transition from *argot des voyous* in 1867 to *langage populaire* in 1896. Five word types are involved: *abouler* (p.430), *broches* (p.485), *claquer* (p.445), *guichemard* (p.434), *rond* (s.m.) (p.474).

There is one further variation. The entry *estampiller* (p.433) is given a more specific label *argot des prisons* in 1867, later making the transition to *langage populaire* in 1896.

The ninth variation is based on the transition from *argot des voleurs* in 1867 to *langage populaire* in 1896. There are eight word types involved: *chopper* (p.486), *culbute* (p.446), *décarrer* (p.446), *frangin* (p.487), *gironde* (p.433), *gonce* (p.472), *loufoque* (p.480), *maquiller* (p.435), *raccourcir* (p.491), *rousse* (p.492), *taf* (p.492). There are two variations concerning the entries *haute* (p.434) and *lansquine* (p.434) which are described in 1867 as *argot des voleurs*, changing in 1896 to *langage familier.*

The tenth and final type of variation involves those entries which would appear to confirm the absence of any stylistic evolution. The labels *argot des voleurs* and *argot des malfaiteurs* used to denote the register of words such as *affure* (p.485), *bonir* (p.431), *butte* (p.485), *conobrer* (p.432), *dab* (p.432), *dardant* (p.432), *daron* (p.486), *goinfre* (p.451), *grive* (p.479), *gy* (p.434), *lartif* (p.488), *larton* (p.434), *limace* (p.434), *nib* (p.435), *palpitant* (p.436), *pellard* (p.436), *pince-sans-rire* (p.457), *pive* (p.474), *plombe* (s.m.) (p.436), *rif* (p.491), *riolle* (p.491), *rivancher* (p.437), *sabri* (p.437), *surbine* (p.438), *thune* (p.475), *trimard* (p.438), *truquer* (p.438) remain constant. There is one variation concerning the entries *escarpe* (p.487) and *saigner* (p.492) which are described in 1867 as belonging to *argot des prisons.*

While it may be argued that the ten patterns of *marquers d'usage* identified and exemplified above were used with some degree of consistency by the ten lexicographers in **Appendix 1**, it is important to note Sanders' (1993, p.29) assertion that dividing registers into different levels is not in itself sufficient because it does not provide any information about connotation or patterns of collocation. As already mentioned in section 3.5 of Chapter 3, this is the main reason why it is necessary to contextually examine the use of these style labels as indicators of stylistic appropriateness. Furthermore, reference was made in section 2.6 of Chapter 2 to the Wordlist and Concord tools. The next section discusses the use of the Concord programme in making concordances or in Sinclair's (1991, p.32) words, 'collections of occurrences of words, each in their own textual environment'.

5.5 Using WordSmith Tools to examine the usage and behaviour of words in context.

This section looks at how WordSmith Tools can be used to generate concordances and collocates with the aim of looking at how words behave in context and the company a word keeps. It is divided into two sub-sections.

5.5.1 The Concord programme.

The first sub-section considers methodological issues involved in using the Concord programme.

The first step in using Concord was to select texts. All the texts in the sub-corpus were selected. The second step was to type the word or phrase to be

searched for when making the concordance, including wild card symbols (i.e. * ? ^ /). The next step in the process was to adjust the collocate horizons in the Concord settings. The collocate horizons represent the number of collocates Concord will find to the left and right of the search word.[13] It was decided to use the default settings of 5, 5 (5 to the left and 5 to the right). The decision to opt for a span of 5 words on either side of the node was taken in the light of Scott and Tribble's (2006, p.35) opinion: 'it is likely that co-occurrence of collocates beyond the span of four or five words from the node will cause useful information to drown in a sea of noise'. Furthermore, in their practical examples they use a span of 5 words left and right.

Fixing the span at five words either side of the node meant that it was possible to consider the scope of 'a context'. Sinclair (1991, 175) defines the span 'as the measurement in words of the co-text of a word selected for study. A span of –4, +4 means that four words on either side of the node word will be taken to be its relevant verbal environment. Furthermore, the co-text of a selected word or phrase consists of the other words on either side of it. According to Scott & Tribble (2006, p.8) 'considering a few words, three or four on either side of the term we are interested in (the node) is the smallest context and often it may be sufficient to enable discussion of meaning'.

[13] Sinclair, J., 1991. *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.175 defines the node word in a collocation as 'the one whose lexical behaviour is under examination'.

5.5.2 Analysis of collocation patterns.

The second sub-section provides an analysis of patterns of collocation involving word types of *argot*, previously identified in **Appendix 10**. Before a preliminary analysis of the concordance lines could be carried out, an attempt was made to distinguish between a collocation and a fixed locution or idiom. This subject has been much discussed and debated among linguists and lexicographers because they both involve the selection of two or more words (Landau 2001, p.309; Sinclair 1991, p. 172). Following the distinction drawn by Grossmann & Tutin (2003, pp.7-8), collocations were defined as 'expressions semi-figées binaries, constituées de deux expressions.[14] L'un des éléments, appelé base conserve son sens habituel. L'élément associé, ou collocatif, est selectionné en function de la base pour exprimer un sens donné'. Conversely, fixed locutions were defined as 'des groupes de mots où les mots qui le(s) composent perdent toute signification, et l'ensemble seul en a une' (Grossmann & Tutin 2003, p.7).[15]

In the following qualitative analysis of the patterns of collocation, the decision was taken not to use any statistical measures such as mutual information (MI) scores in the process of identifying collocations. This decision was based on the observation that the minimum frequency for any item to be considered for

[14] The remainder of the quotation: 'La collocation peut dépasser deux mots' (Grossmann, F & A.Tutin, 2003. 'Quelques pistes pour le traitement des collocations'. In Grossmann, F & A. Tutin (eds), Les Collocations: analyse et traitement. Travaux et recherches en linguistique appliqué, Série E-No.1, p.8).

[15] This definition was already given in section 2.5.3 of Chapter 2.

[16] 215 terms occurred once, twice or three times, and 41 terms had a frequency greater than 4.

the mutual information calculation was 4, and since the majority of items occurred only less frequently, it was considered that the mutual information was unlikely to be informative.[16]

The first style variation to be explored using concordance lines was *argot du peuple* to *langage populaire*. 69 different word types were involved in the pattern, with a further 3 words in the respective variations. Based on a preliminary analysis of the set of concordance lines produced, it was decided to compute the collocates for the following words: *assommoir*, *bûcher*, *carcasse*, *collage*, *dinde*, *n'avoir pas froid aux yeux, mastoc*, *peinard*, *platée*. **Appendix 14** contains the set of concordances produced for each pattern.

It would appear that the collocation *coup d'assommoir* is marked because it is used in a metaphoric sense in *L'Assommoir* with the connotation that this *cabaret de bas étage* has the capacity to deal a deadly blow to those who drink *le vitriol*. Thus, its connotative meaning suggests that this collocation has currency among *le peuple*, and so is stylistically appropriate in the verbal context in which it is used.

The collocation *bûcher ferme* is unusual in *Poil de Carotte* in so far as it is the only example where a non-standard verb co-occurs with a standard adverb.[17] It has positive connotations because it connotes hard work, devotion, and energy.

[17] The name of the story is *Comme Brutus*.

In addition, the co-text would suggest that it reflects an evolution in the lexicographic usage of style labels to the extent that it has shifted from being associated with *le peuple* to connoting a register of language that is shared by a larger proportion of the population, hence the designation *langage populaire*.

The collocation *grande carcasse* is marked in *L'Assommoir* due to the co-occurrence of a non-standard noun and a standard adjective, connotating a negative attitude towards women. The collocational pairs *grande dinde*, *grosse dinde*, and *gros mastoc* are further examples of where a standard adjective collocates with a non-standard noun to convey negative associations of both male and female sexes.

Conversely, the collocation *bonne platée* in *A se tordre* is interesting because the collocating adjective *bonne* is used qualitatively to reflect the maid's point of view on an essentially quantitative issue, the size of the plate of peas.[18] Furthermore, the co-text would suggest that the label used to denote this non-standard register has evolved from once being classified as an *argot du peuple* to *langage populaire*, thereby no longer being restricted to a certain section of the population.

The collocation *pour cause de collage* is striking in *Sapho* because it is unexpected in the linguistic environment of the node word *collage*. The typical

[18] The name of the story is *Ferdinand*.

collocation *pour cause de maladie* is replaced by *pour cause de collage*, carrying with it ironic overtones.

The concordance lines would suggest that the collocation *n'avoir pas froid aux yeux* has a variable word order. For example, in *De la Terre à la Lune* the collocating item *yeux* is interpolated with two adverbs *pas and même*. Similarly, in *La Chanson des Gueux* the standard negation *ne pas* is replaced with *nulle part.*[19] This variable word order serves to add emphasis to the collocating items and illustrates how words can be chosen in groups which are not necessarily adjacent. Furthermore, the verbal environment in *Pas frileux* suggests that the label *argot du peuple* is stylistically appropriate in the context in which it is used.

The final collocation in this variation is *faire le peinard.* The co-occurrence of faire with *le peinard* in *Dans la Rue* (Volume 2) is interesting because the verbal context would suggest that the generally pejorative suffix *ard* does not , in this instance, have a negative or a positive connotation.[20] This change in stylistic value is reflected in the concomitant use of a lexis that is more socially mobile, graduating from *an argot du peuple* to *le langage populaire*.

[19] The name of the poem is *Pas frileux*.
[20] The name of the song is *Les Petits Joyeux*.

Upon a careful examination of the set of concordance lines for the second variation from *argot du peuple* to *langage familier*, collocations were computed for the following words: *toqué, trac, veine, gosse.*

The word *toqué* collocates with *vieux* in *Sapho.* The collocation is marked because it reflects Jean's opinion of his uncle Césaire and connotes a corresponding negative attitude.

The collocation *avoir le trac* in *Poil de Carotte* carries associations of fear and danger.[21] Moreover, this example illustrates how words can be chosen in groups which are not necessarily adjacent, because the adverb *vaguement* is interpolated between the verb and the nominal group of determiner and noun. In addition, the neighbourhood collocates of *mère* and *papa* would suggest that it has shifted from being associated with *le peuple* to characterise *le langage familier* (cf. page 482 of **Appendix 10**). Hence, it can be interpreted as forming the spoken language of all social classes, including that of a middle class family.

It can be seen from the collocation pattern on page 564 of **Appendix 14** that the word *veine* collocates with the noun *affaire* to form the collocation *affaire de veine* in *A se tordre.*[22] Furthermore, it can be suggested that this collocation is stylistically appropriate in the context in which it is used in so far as it

[21] The name of the story is *La mie de pain.*
[22] The name of the story is *Boisflambard.*

connotes an informal register used by all social classes, including the educated student doctor. Hitherto, it had been used to denote a register of language spoken exclusively by *le peuple*.

The final example of a collocational pair in this variation is *sale* and *gosse* in *A se tordre*.[23] Here the collocating adjective *sale* is understood in its denotative sense of *mauvais*. This collocation is strong in connotation in so far as it carries a negative value judgement towards the wine merchant's son, with neighbourhood collocate *blague* further suggesting an informal use of language.

There were no collocations of any interest in terms of connotation or register variation in the third pattern from *argot du peuple* to both *langage familier* and *langage populaire*.

The fourth variation was more interesting in terms of patterns of collocation. Collocations were computed for the following words: *bringue*, *flemme*, *gouape*, *mariolle*, *morue*, *radis*, *se rincer la dalle*, *rond* (adj.), *zig*.

The first collocation is *grande bringue*. Interestingly, the collocational pair *grande* and *bringue* are listed together in Delvau's *Dictionnaire de la langue verte* (1867, reprinted 1972, p.54), and Delesalle's *Dictionnaire argot-français & français-argot* (1896, p.48) as items that frequently co-occur. In

[23] The name of the story is *Un petit « fin de siècle »*.

L'Assommoir, the collocation *grande bringue* has a negative connotation in so far as it reflects a negative and disparaging attitude towards women, in particular towards Adèle and Virginie. The same negative connotation can be extended to another collocational pair *grande* and *morue* in *L'Assommoir*, where it was uttered by a screaming Gervaise in response to a barrage of insults from Virginie and Gervaise in the communal wash-house. The use of the adjective *grande* is important in this context because it reinforces the vulgar nature of their verbal battle which by that juncture had reached a climax.

The collocation *avoir la flemme* has style connotations in *L'Assommoir* because the verbal context in which the expression is used suggests that it connotes a level of language that is appropriate to *le peuple*.

In *L'Assommoir*, the adjective *mauvaises* combines with *gouapes* to form the collocation *mauvaises gouapes*. It carries a negative attitude as well as connoting a marked level of informality. Conversely, the combination of the adjective *bon* with *zig/zigue* in *L'Assommoir* suggests a more positive connotation for the word.

In *Dans la Rue* (Volume 2), *faire* is combined with *mariolle* to form the collocation *faire notre mariolle*.[24] It is marked in terms of the informal register of level it connotes. Moreover, the co-text would suggest that the use of this

[24] The name of the song is *Les Petits Joyeux*.

collocation reflects the evolution in the lexicographic usage of style labels from *argot des faubouriens* to *langage populaire*.

In the next collocational pattern, the noun *radis* combines with both *sans un* and *pas un*. Interestingly, these collocational relationships are listed in Delvau's *Dictionnaire de la langue verte* (1867, reprinted 1972, p.382), and in Delesalle's *Dictionnaire argot-français & français-argot* (1896, p.287). These collocating items are marked in both *Dans la Rue* (Volumes 1 and 2) and *L'Assommoir* in so far as they are used in a metaphoric sense.[25]

According to the listings in both Delvau's *Dictionnaire de la langue verte* (1867, reprinted 1972, p.399), and in Delesalle's *Dictionnaire argot-français & français-argot* (1896, p.252), the collocation *se rincer la dalle* is variable, and *le bec*, *la corne*, *la dalle*, *le fusil*, *la gargoine*, *le tube* are all items which can be said to frequently co-occur with *se rincer*. The collocation *se rincer la dalle* is used in *L'Assommoir* with the connotation that it is spoken by *les faubouriens*.

Similarly, the adjective *rond* combines with the nouns *balle* and *disque* to form the comparisons *rond comme une balle* and *rond comme un disque*. In *L'Asssommoir*, it can be suggested from the co-text that this collocation is heard most frequently in workshops. Furthermore, the collocational links with *balle* and *disque* in *Dans la Rue* (Volume 1) would suggest that it represents a shift in the usage of style labels from *argot des faubouriens* to *langage*

[25] The names of the monologues are *Grelotteux* and *Conasse*.

populaire.[26] It can be inferred from the verbal context that the collocation connotes a register of language that is shared by a large proportion of the population, and so is no longer the preserve of *les faubouriens*.

In the fifth variation, the noun *serin* combines with two adjectives: *vieux* and *grand* in *A se tordre*. The adjective *vieux* frequently co-occurs with *serin* in the *Le Comble de Darwinisme*, and each collocation is marked for informality, as well as conveying the underlying satirical tone of the narrator. The collocation *grand serin* in *Truc canaille* carries similar connotations. Furthermore, the verbal context of the node *serin* would seem to suggest that it represents a change in the use of style labels from *argot des faubouriens* to *langage familier*. Thus, the collocating item *serin* can be said to indicate a level of informality that is appropriate in the spoken language of all classes, including the educated student doctor or pharmacist. Hitherto, it had been used to connote an informal register of language heard in the *faubourgs*.

In the sixth variation, there were three collocations of interest. In *L'Assommoir*, the standard French verb *tirer* combines with the argotic noun *bordée* to form the collocation *tirer une bordée*. Interestingly, the collocational pair *tirer* and *bordée* are listed together in Delvau's *Dictionnaire de la langue verte* (1867, reprinted 1972, p.45), and Delesalle's *Dictionnaire argot-français & français-argot* (1896, p.42) as items that frequently co-occur. This collocational relationship is marked in so far as it indicates a non-standard use

[26] The name of the monologue is *Amoureux*.

of language. The collocation has no particular positive or negative connotations, apart from suggesting that it is part of the linguistic repertoire of *les ouvriers*. The repetition of the name Coupeau as one of the neighbourhood collocates would support this supposition.

The collocating items *faire* and *four* in *La Chanson des Gueux* are marked, with no particular positive or negative connotations.[27] Interestingly, the co-text would seem to indicate that the lexicographic label *argot des petits journaux* is not appropriate in this particular instance. The neighbourhood collocates *truque* and *mariolle* would seem to confirm this indication.[28]

Finally, the word *môme* collocates with two adjectives *joli* and *petit*. In *L'Assommoir*, the combination of *petit* with *môme* would appear to have a positive connotation, but with underlying ironic overtones. By contrast, the co-occurrence of *petit* with *môme* in *Dans la Rue* (Volume 1) would indicate a shift in usage from *argot des ouvriers* to *langage populaire*.[29] Here the collocation has no particular negative or positive connotations, and so the label *langage populaire* is more appropriate in the context. By implication, this presupposes that it marks a register of language that is shared by a large proportion of the population of which *les ouvriers* constitute one section.

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[27] The name of the poem is *Doche*.
[28] The word type *truquer* is involved in the variation from *argot des voleurs* to *argot des malfaiteurs* and the word type *mariolle* is involved in the variation from *argot des faubouriens* to *langage populaire*.
[29] The name of the monologue is *Bonne Année*.

In the seventh variation, there were two collocations evident from the concordances lines: *avoir bobo* and *piocher dur*. The collocation *avoir bobo* in *L'Assommoir* indicate a level of register that is appropriate to children's speech. The neighbourhood collocate *maman* would seem to support this suggestion. The collocation *piocher dur* is unusual in *L'Assommoir* in so far as a non-standard verb combines with a standard adverb.

In the eight pattern, the co-occurrence of *trouver quelque chose à* with *claquer* in *L'Assommoir* has metaphoric resonance in so far as the argotic verb *claquer* is substituted for the standard French verb *manger*. In addition, the verbal context suggests that the connotative meaning of *claquer* carries associations of penury, financial difficulty, and teeth grinding.

There were two interesting collocations in the ninth variation: *vieux frangin* and *avoir le taf*. The first collocation is marked in *Dans la Rue* (Volume 2) because a standard adjective *vieux* collocates three times with a non-standard noun *frangin*.[30] Furthermore, it can be suggested from the verbal context that its use represents a shift from *argot des voleurs* to *langage populaire*, thereby incorporating *argot* spoken by soldiers, also known in *argot* as *les joyeux* (i.e. *soldats des bataillons d'Afrique*). Similarly, it would appear that the second collocation *avoir le taf* reflects a similar transition from *argot des voleurs* to *langage populaire* in the same monologue in *Dans la Rue* (Volume 2).[31]

[30] The name of the song is *Aux Bat. d'Af.*
[31] The name of the song is *Aux Bat. d'Af.*

Furthermore, the neighbourhood collocates of *moi* and *pas* would seem to suggest that the sentiments of fear and danger commonly associated with the word *taf* are not present in this instance. This suggestion can be further strengthened by the fact that the negation *ne pas* is incorporated in the syntactic structure.

There were two collocations evident in the final variation: *avoir du pellard* and *faire du rif*. The collocation *avoir du pellard* is marked in *La Chanson des Gueux* in so far as it connotes a non-standard use of language appropriate to *les voleurs* or *les malfaiteurs*.[32] Thus, the absence of a stylistic evolution is appropriate in the context. The final collocation in this variation is *faire du rif* in *Dans la Rue* (Volume 2).[33] According to the dictionary listing given in **Appendix 10**, the style labels *argot des voleurs* and *argot des malfaiteurs* are used to provide an indication of the register level. However, the context would suggest that this collocation is somewhat unusual. This suggestion is supported by fact that the neighbourhood collocates *gardien des travaux* and *ménuit* are unmarked.

The foregoing qualitative analysis of patterns of collocation used concordance lines and collocates to show that there is evidence to support the supposition that the contextual use of *argot* by authors and poets in the sub-corpus reflected the extension of the stylistic function of this lexis during the period from 1865

[32] The name of the poem is *Autre sonnet bigorne*.
[33] The name of the monologue is *Heureux*.

to 1895, as documented by lexicographers. There was only one exception concerning the collocation *faire four* where it was inferred from the co-text that the label *argot des petits journaux* was inappropriate. Moreover, the descriptive analysis showed the particular significance of positive and negative connotations of *mots d'argot* in the works of authors and poets in the sub-corpus. This point was mentioned in section 3.4 of Chapter 3.

5.6 Concluding Summary

Chapter 5 presented and discussed the results of the qualitative analysis of the study in terms of **hypothesis 2**. Section 5.1 briefly summarized this second hypothesis. It was posited that the contextual use of *argot* by authors and poets in the sub-corpus should reflect the extension of the stylistic function of this lexis during the period from 1865 to 1895, as documented by lexicographers. Section 5.2 explored the notion of context in terms of its relationship with register. It focused in particular on how the concept of context of situation, previously identified in the research literature could be invoked when talking about language in use. It was concluded that it was possible to infer that context of situation and register were inter-related. Section 5.3 focused on how the context of literary communication could be said to influence the choice of register in poetic texts in the sub-corpus. It was divided into two parts. Section 5.3.1 provided a survey of previous research into the concept of literary communication. The important observations here were Simpson's (1997, p.10) argument that the context of literary communication allows unlimited variation

in linguistic style, and the assertion by Brumfit & Carter (1986, pp.8-9) that writers will exclude no language from a literary function.

Section 5.3.2 explored the use of poetic foregrounding in selected poetic texts from the sub-corpus. It was shown by illustrative example how poets could make use of two stylistic devices: deviation and parallelism to make certain linguistic features stand out, be foregrounded. It was concluded that Richepin (*La Chanson des Gueux*) and Bruant (*Dans la Rue* Volumes 1 and 2) used examples of lexical deviation, deviation of register, deviation of historical period, and lexical and grammatical parallelism to draw the reader's attention to perceptually prominent and unusual (i.e. stylistically marked) lexical items. Hence, it was suggested that there was evidence available to support the supposition that foregrounding could be used to explain in qualitative terms the degree of markedness in a literary text. In addition, it was posited that the concept of context of culture, coined by the anthropologist Malinowski could be usefully invoked to explain the unpredictable value of *argot* in the literary text coming from the existence of social taboos.

Section 5.4 looked at the extension of the stylistic function of *argot* by lexicographers in the *dictionnaires d'argot* listed in **Appendix 1**, and examined the degree to which their usage could be said to reflect some degree of consistency. Based on the discussion in section 2.6 of Chapter 2, of the extension of the stylistic function of *argot* by lexicographers from 1865 to 1895, and the continuum of style labels ranging from *argot des voleurs*, *argot*

du peuple, *français populaire* to *français familier*, the section examined ten different patterns of stylistic variation. These were identified from the labels attached to word types of *argot* in the dictionary listings provided in **Appendix 10**. The first variation was from *argot du peuple* in 1867 to *langage populaire* in 1896. The second pattern involved the shift from *argot du peuple* in 1867 to *langage familier* in 1896. Three more entries (i.e. *chienne*, *se piquer le nez*, *potin*) were involved in another type of variation on the pattern of *argot du peuple*. Here each lexical item can be said to be included in the transition from *argot du peuple* in 1867 to both *langage familier* and *langage populaire* in 1896. The fourth variation provided for the shift from *argot des faubouriens* in 1867 to *langage populaire* in 1896. The fifth pattern encompassed the evolution from *argot des faubouriens* in 1867 to *langage familier* in 1896. Moreover, it was possible to categorise other types of variation according to eight different professions. A number of entries could be grouped under the theme of school. The eight variation involved the transition from *argot des voyous* in 1867 to *langage populaire* in 1896. The ninth variation was based on the transition from *argot des voleurs* in 1867 to *langage populaire* in 1896. The final type of variation involved those entries which would appear to confirm the absence of any stylistic evolution.

Section 5.5 looked at how WordSmith Tools could be used to examine the usage and behaviour of words in context. It was divided into two sub-sections. Section 5.5.1 considered methodological issues involved in using the Concord programme. These issues related to decisions concerning selection of texts,

adjusting the collocate horizons in the Concord settings, and considering the scope of 'a context'. Section 5.5.2 provided an analysis of patterns of collocation involving word types of *argot*, previously identified in **Appendix 10**. Having closely examined the set of concordances produced for the word types in each variation, collocates were computed. Subsequently, depending on the specific collocating relationships between words, collocations were discussed in terms of their degree of markedness, connotative meaning, and stylistic appropriateness. Furthermore, the verbal context, or co-text, or linguistic environment was examined to ascertain the degree to which the use of the collocation could be said to reflect a shift in the lexicographic use of style labels in one of the ten patterns already mentioned. On the basis of this qualitative analysis, it was concluded that there was evidence to support the supposition that the contextual use of *argot* by authors and poets in the sub-corpus reflected the extension of the stylistic function of this lexis during the period from 1865 to 1895, as documented by lexicographers. Moreover, the descriptive analysis showed the particular significance of positive and negative connotations of *mots d'argot* in the works of authors and poets from the sub-corpus.

Conclusion

The foregoing discussion sought to examine the stylistic use of *argot* in a corpus of twenty three literary texts from the second half of the nineteenth century. Chapter 1 had both a theoretical and an empirical focus. From a theoretical point of view, it explored the linguistic phenomenon of *argot*. From an empirical perspective, it sought to contextualise *argot* in terms of its specific relevance to the study. Significantly, section 1.6 explored the notion of a linguistic norm in terms of **hypothesis 1** of the study. In addition, reference was made to the notion of a personal style or individual norm of a writer, and how it is may be characterised by the use of individual linguistic choices which diverge from social convention. This point was developed further in section 5.3.2 of Chapter 5. Similarly, section 1.7 discussed two historical principles of lexicography which had been exploited by lexicographers in non-standard French dictionaries from 1862 to 1901. The first principle to be used involved the excerption of citations from printed sources. The second principle concerned the use of style labels as a means of labelling linguistic informality. It was mentioned how the lexicographic use of style labels represented a central part of **hypothesis 2**.

Chapter 2 discussed the primary methodological considerations of the corpus-based approach to the study of literary stylistics. Section 2.5 provided a detailed description of the Xerox Incremental Parsing system used to grammatically tag texts in the corpus. Moreover, it explained the rationale

behind using XIP, and how the measurement of the frequency distribution of 'standard French' and *argot* was an integral part of **hypothesis 1**. The first hypothesis stated that the authors and poets in the corpus were true *argotiers* (cf. **Glossary of key terms and linguistic notions discussed in the main body of the dissertation**, p.346) because they allowed for at least fifty per cent 'standard French' words and a comparable number of argotic words. Finally, section 2.6 explored the use of Wordlist and Concord computer programmes as a means of analysing language in the texts. Wordlist was a particularly useful tool in the selection of words for further investigation through concordance listings. To this end, the programme Concord was used to assess the behaviour of individual occurrences of keywords in their original contexts in the corpus. Furthermore, it was noted how the examination of the use and behaviour of words was a central part of **hypothesis 2**. This second hypothesis posited that the contextual use of *argot* by authors and poets in the sub-corpus should reflect the extension of the stylistic function of this lexis during the period, as documented by lexicographers.

Chapter 3 introduced and discussed a number of recurrent themes of research into literary stylistics, and in so doing, established a historio-theoretical framework for the study. Section 3.2 discussed the concept of foregrounding, one of the central tenets of the Prague Structuralists and highlighted its importance as one of the research questions. Thus, it was posited that this form of linguistic highlighting could be used to explain in qualitative terms the degree of markedness in a number of poetic texts in the sub-corpus.

Section 3.2.5 discussed the contribution made by the literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin to stylistics, focusing in particular on the concepts of polyphony and heteroglossia. In terms of their relevance to the study, it suggested that character speech was the most pertinent form for incorporating heteroglossia into the novels in the sub-corpus. Section 4.4.2 of Chapter 4 expanded further on how heteroglossia enters the novels in the sub-corpus primarily through *argot* spoken by characters in dialogue. In addition, attention was focused on the double-voice of free indirect speech used by Alphonse Allais in *A se tordre*, Jules Renard in *Poil de Carotte*, and Emile Zola, in *L'Assommoir*.

Section 3.4 summarised Bally's contribution to stylistics, focusing in particular on his distinction between natural effects and evocative effects. It was argued that this distinction was similar to that which exists between denotation and connotation, as demonstrated by Guiraud's (1972, p.45). Similarly, the particular significance of negative and positive connotations of argotic words in the sub-corpus was incorporated into the qualitative analysis in section 5.5.2 of Chapter 5.

Furthermore, reference was made in section 3.4 to how register occupied a prominent place in the study given its central role in **hypothesis 2**. The notion of register was expanded upon further in section 3.5 which examined the different terms used in the literature to describe register variation. Particular mention was made of the fact that since the 1960s, stylisticians, linguists, and sociolinguists have tried to reach a consensus on what constitutes this notion.

It acknowledged that a consensus would appear to have been reached where register is best envisaged as a continuum. In addition, it drew attention to the argument put forward by Sanders that dividing registers into different levels is not in itself sufficient because style labels do not provide any information about connotation or patterns of collocation. It stated that in the light of this research, the study sought to examine the use of style labels contextually.

Another area of research discussed in Chapter 3 was the notion of *le style oralisé littéraire*. Section 3.6 first defined the phenomenon, and then proceeded to describe its characteristic features in phonetic, prosodic, morpho-syntactic, and lexical terms. Similarly, section 4.4.1 of Chapter 4 provided illustrative examples of the ways in which distinctive features of this literary construct were used by poets and authors in the sub-corpus. In addition, section 3.6 discussed two methods advanced by Durrer (1999, p.25) to measure the effectiveness of these linguistic features. The first compared the style of the sequence in dialogue to the linguistic properties of authentic oral communication. According to the second method, the style of the sequence was contrasted with other narrative sequences. The practical application of this method to the ten literary texts in the sub-corpus was discussed in section 4.4.2 of Chapter 4.

The concluding reference to the literature related to the four modes of discourse previously identified by Mylne (1994, pp.15-26) to characterise the verbal exchange between characters. They are direct speech, indirect speech,

free indirect speech, and narrated speech. As illustrated in section 4.4.2 of Chapter 4, all four types were included in the examination of sequences of dialogue.

Finally, section 3.7 gave a brief account of a number of statistical studies of style aimed at solving disputes about chronology and authorship attribution. Specific reference was made to the relevance to the study of Etienne Brunet's 1985 analysis of the structure and evolution of Emile Zola's vocabulary in the Rougon-Macquart series. Similarly, the corpus included 4 of the same novels, namely *La Fortune des Rougon*, *La Curée*, *La Faute de l'abbé Mouret*, and *L'Assommoir*.

Chapter 4 presented and discussed the results of the study in terms of **hypothesis 1**. Section 4.2.2 presented in chart form the frequency distribution of *argot* in the corpus. On the basis of the results of the **Bar Chart 1**, it was possible to conclude that there was evidence available to reject the null hypothesis (i.e. the proportion of 'standard French' words and *argot* was equal in the respective parts of speech in all authors and poets in the corpus), and accept the alternative hypothesis (i.e. the proportion of 'standard French' words was greater than the proportion of *argot* in the respective parts of speech in all authors and poets in the corpus). In addition, it was suggested that authors and poets in the corpus made a conscious decision to use *argot*, essentially a spoken lexis, for stylistic purposes. That is to say, they wanted to foreground,

or make more prominent an argotic word or expression against the background of 'standard French', both written and spoken.

Thereafter, in section 4.3, a more in-depth analysis was provided of the authors' and poets' predilection for using either *argot* or 'standard French' in each of the 23 texts in the corpus. Accordingly, the results of **Tables 1**, **2**, **3**, **4**, and **5** indicated the presence of *argot* in *De la Terre à la Lune*, *Les Cinq cents millions de la Bégum*, *La Maison Tellier*, *Sapho*, and *Poil de Carotte*.

The results of **Bar Charts 2**, **3**, **4**, **5**, **6**, **7**, **8**, **11**, **12**, **13**, **14**, **15**, and **18** indicated the absence of *argot* in *Le Petit Chose*, *L'Education sentimentale*, *La Fortune des Rougon*, *La Curée*, *Le Coffret de santal*, *Les Diaboliques*, *La Faute de l'abbé Mouret*, *Une histoire sans nom*, *Au Bonheur des Dames*, *Le Livre de mon ami*, *Pêcheur d'Islande*, *Le Horla*, and *Le Château des Carpathes*.

The results of **Bar Chart 9** suggested that Jean Richepin made a judicious use of *argot* in *La Chanson des Gueux*. The results of **Bart Chart 10** suggested that Emile Zola made a limited use of *argot* in *L'Assommoir*. The results of **Bar Chart 16** suggested that Aristide Bruant readily used *argot* in the first volume of *Dans la Rue: Chansons et monologues*. The results of **Bar Chart 17** suggested that Alphone Allais made a limited use of *argot* in *A se tordre*. Finally, the results of **Bar Chart 19** indicated that a significantly greater proportion of nouns, verbs, and adverbs were *argot* in the second volume of *Dans la Rue: Chansons et monologues* compared to the first.

Reference was made in section 4.4 to the criterion that only those texts containing instances of argot were retained to form the sub-corpus. A full list of the texts was provided in **Appendix 11**. Moreover, section 4.4.1 sought, in the first instance, to isolate characteristic elements of *le style oralisé littéraire*, and then to discuss their stylistic use by poets and authors in the sub-corpus. Two contrastive analyses were performed: first, between Richepin and Bruant, and secondly, between Verne, Zola, Maupassant, Daudet, Allais, and Renard. The results of the first analysis suggested that, in contrast, to Richepin, Bruant used additional phonetic, morpho-syntactic, and lexical markers because he wanted the reader to interpret his songs and monologues in the context of their being performed in his cabaret *Le Mirliton*. The results of the second analysis indicated that Emile Zola in *L'Assommoir* was the only author to have used phonetic markers of *le style oralisé littéraire*.

In terms of determining whether or not poets and authors in the sub-corpus succeeded in reproducing speech, or in fact created an abstract form of spoken discourse, it was concluded from the discussion in section 4.4.1 of the stylistic use of markers of *le style oralisé littéraire* that Richepin and Bruant succeeded to a greater extent than Verne, Zola, Maupassant, Allais, and Renard, principally due to differences in genre. Finally, section 4.4.2 explored the stylistic use of *argot* by authors in the sub-corpus as an explicit marker of spoken discourse. Upon close examination of the modes of speech presentation used in the dialogue, it was observed that two patterns of usage emerge. First, Zola used a combination of different modes of speech

presentation, namely direct speech, indirect speech, free indirect speech, and narrated speech in sequences of dialogue in *L'Assommoir*. Accordingly, there were 353 occurrences of *argot* in dialogue: 214 in direct speech, 28 in indirect speech, 94 in free indirect speech, and 17 in narrated speech. Second, the pattern of usage among the remaining five authors in the sub-corpus suggested that their use of *argot* in the dialogue was more limited. For example, all four occurrences of *argot* in dialogue in Jules Verne's *Les Cinq cents million de la Bégum* were in direct speech. Similarly, all six occurrences of *argot* in dialogue in Guy de Maupasssant's *La Maison Tellier* were in direct speech. There was one occurrence of *argot* in an indirect speech sequence in Alphonse Daudet's Sapho and in Jules Renard's *Poil de Carotte*. Finally, Alphonse Allais's use of *argot* in sequences of dialogue in *A se tordre* was different in so far as there were seven in indirect speech, and one in free indirect speech.

Furthermore, section 4.4.2 looked at how the Bakhtinian concept of heteroglossia could be incorporated and organised into the novels in the sub-corpus through the language used by characters, more specifically in the *argot* spoken by them in dialogue. Thus, the occurrences of *argot* in direct speech, indirect speech and free indirect speech sequences across the authors in the sub-corpus were examined. It was concluded on the basis of individual examples that the speech of characters, the speeches of narrators and authorial speech permit a multiplicity of social voices to interact within the novel because they are as Bakhtin (1981, p.263) remarks, 'the fundamental compositional unities with whose help heteroglossia can enter the novel'.

Finally, Chapter 5 presented and discussed the results of the qualitative analysis of **hypothesis 2**. It was demonstrated by means of illustrative example in section 5.3.2, how poets from the sub-corpus could make use of two stylistic devices: deviation and parallelism to make certain linguistic features stand out, be foregrounded. It was concluded that Richepin (*La Chanson des Gueux*) and Bruant (*Dans la Rue* Volumes 1 and 2) used examples of lexical deviation, deviation of register, deviation of historical period, and lexical and grammatical parallelism to draw the reader's attention to perceptually prominent and unusual (i.e. stylistically marked) lexical items. Hence, it was suggested that there was evidence available to support the supposition that foregrounding can be used to explain in qualitative terms the degree of markedness in a literary text. Further, it was suggested that the use of individual linguistic choices which diverged from social convention by a poet could be used to characterise his personal style or individual linguistic norm. In addition, it was shown how the concept of context of culture coined by the anthropologist Malinowski could be usefully invoked to explain the unpredictable value of *argot* in the literary text coming from the existence of social taboos. It was shown that *argot* was used in the poetic context either in a euphemistic or a dysphemistic sense. In other words, the informal diction was designed, either to provide a euphemistic disguise for the otherwise taboo subject of alcohol, or to break the social taboo associated with words such as **foutre** and **gueule** by being intentionally offensive.

Section 5.4 looked at the extension of the stylistic function of *argot* by lexicographers in the *dictionnaires d'argot* listed in **Appendix 1,** and examined the degree to which their usage could be said to reflect some degree of consistency. Based on the discussion in section 2.6 of Chapter 2 relating to the extension of the stylistic function of *argot* by lexicographers from 1865 to 1895, and the continuum of style labels ranging from *argot des voleurs*, *argot du peuple*, *français populaire* to *français familier*, the section examined ten different patterns of stylistic variation. These were identified from the labels attached to word types of *argot* in the dictionary listings provided in **Appendix 10**. The first variation was from *argot du peuple* in 1867 to *langage populaire* in 1896. The second pattern involved the shift from *argot du peuple* in 1867 to *langage familier* in 1896. Three more entries (i.e. *chienne*,, *se piquer le nez*, *potin*) were involved in another type of variation on the pattern of *argot du peuple*. Here each lexical item can be said to be included in the transition from *argot du peuple* in 1867 to both *langage familier* and *langage populaire* in 1896. The fourth variation provided for the shift from *argot des faubouriens* in 1867 to *langage populaire* in 1896. The fifth pattern encompassed the evolution from *argot des faubouriens* in 1867 to *langage familier* in 1896. Moreover, it was possible to categorise other types of variation according to eight different professions. A number of entries could be grouped under the theme of school. The eight variation involved the transition from *argot des voyous* in 1867 to *langage populaire* in 1896. The ninth variation was based on the transition from *argot des voleurs* in 1867 to *langage populaire* in 1896.

The final type of variation involved those entries which would appear to confirm the absence of any stylistic evolution.

Section 5.5 looked at how WordSmith Tools could be used to examine the usage and behaviour of words in context, with section 5.5.2 providing an analysis of patterns of collocation involving word types of *argot*, previously identified in **Appendix 10**. Having closely examined the set of concordances produced for the word types in each variation, collocates were computed. Subsequently, depending on the specific collocating relationships between words, collocations were discussed in terms of their degree of markedness, connotative meaning, and stylistic appropriateness. Furthermore, the verbal context, or co-text, or linguistic environment was examined to ascertain the degree to which the use of the collocation could be said to reflect a shift in the lexicographic use of style labels in one of the ten patterns already mentioned. On the basis of this qualitative analysis, it was concluded that there was evidence to support the supposition that the contextual use of *argot* by authors and poets in the sub-corpus reflected the extension of the stylistic function of this lexis during the period from 1865 to 1895, as documented by lexicographers. Moreover, the descriptive analysis showed the particular significance of positive and negative connotations of *mots d'argot* in the works of authors and poets from the sub-corpus.

In relation to pursuing further avenues of research using the two types of text analysis software described in the study, it would be interesting to explore the

evolution of *argot* in a corpus of literary texts from the first half of the twentieth century. It would then be possible to perform a comparative and contrastive analysis between the two corpora, both in terms of frequency distributions, and in the usage of style labels. It would be worthwhile in research terms to examine the evolution of *argot* during this period, as well as considering the stylistic importance of any noticeable shifts in the usage of labels among twentieth century lexicographers.

Glossary of key terms and linguistic notions discussed in main body of the dissertation.

Argot ancien: historically argot was used to describe the *langue spéciale* of the criminal fraternity in France from the fifteenth century to the early part of the nineteenth century. It was a secret and technical vocabulary which was only intelligible to an initiated group of *malfaiteurs, voleurs, gueux* and *coupeurs de bourses*. This professional group has generically been labelled *la pègre* (Guiraud, P., 1969: *L'Argot*. Paris: PUF pp.5-7; Sainéan, L., 1912: *Les Sources de l'argot ancien*. Tome 1. Paris: Champion, p.81).

According to Furetière's *Dictionnaire universel* (1690, ref. ARG), 'argot est le nom que les gueux ou les voleurs donnent à la langue ou au jargon, dont ils se servent et qui n'est intelligible qu'entre eux'. According to Sainéan's etymological glossary (1912, p.273), '*argot* désigne, à partir de la fin du XVIIe siècle, la langue secrète des malfaiteurs, qu'on appelait généralement *jargon*' (Sainéan, L., 1912: *Les Sources de l'argot ancien*. Tome 2. Paris: Champion, p.273).

Argot commun: Gadet (1992, pp.103-104) uses the term to describe the fusion of *l'argot des malfaiteurs* with *la langue du peuple* in the second half of the nineteenth century. She states that this lexis was composed of borrowings from *argot* which was spoken by soliders, sailors, workers, professional gamblers, street peddlers, rag dealers, prostitutes and pimps.

Argot dur/argot véritable: The linguist and lexicographer, Claude Duneton (1985 & 1996, pp.i-ii) describes it as the secret and distinctive language of prisons and spoken by criminals and prostitutes: 'L'argot véritable—soit la langue secrète et distinctive des prisons et des bagnes—fit l'objet d'un engouement soudain dans les milieux intellectuels d'alors. Le bordel, véritable plaque tournante de l'argot dur, se trouvait à la conjonction de la pègre, dont les filles connaissaient le jar' (Duneton, C., 1985 & 1996: 'Préface'. In Larchey, L., *Dictionnaire de l'argot parisien*. Paris: Les Editions de Paris, pp.i-ii).

Argot moderne: The natural transition from *argot ancien* to *argot moderne* can be said to date back to 1850 in so far as it coincided with the final edition of Jargon (1849) by Halbert d'Angers (Sainéan, L., 1912: *Les sources de l'argot ancien*. Tome 1. Paris: Champion, p.x). Furthermore, it was at this juncture that the fusion of *argot des malfaiteurs* and *le langage populaire parisien* became more apparent, particularly in literature. *Argot* was replacing an increasing proportion of its old vocabulary with dialectal borrowings and thus was becoming increasingly absorbed into *le langage populaire parisien.* Also, specific social changes such as the demolition of old districts, developments in communication and infrastructure, changes in work practices and the removal of social networks brought about the gradual popularisation of *argot* during the second half of the nineteenth century. Therefore, *argot* was no longer perceived by lexicographers to be exclusively a special dialect of the criminal underworld. For example, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, Littré (1878, p.192) and Larchey (1881, p.i) widened their definition of *argot* to encompass two related notions, the first of which can be termed professional *argot.* That is to say, Littré defined it as a technical and colourful language spoken by people in the same profession, 'Phraséologie particulière, plus ou moins technique, plus ou moins riche, plus ou moins pittoresque, dont se servent entre eux les gens exerçant le même art ou la même profession' (Littré, E., 1878: *Dictionnaire de la langue française*. Paris: Hachette, p.192).

Argot social: This term was coined by Lorédan Larchey, a nineteenth century lexicographer to describe another type of language which was distinct from the *argot* spoken by the criminal fraternity. This new term was designed to extend the notion of argot to include other possible varieties of language spoken by different strata of society: 'Véritable protée, l'argot social a, sous des formes successivement variables, plus ou moins cours dans toutes les classes de la société, sans excepter les plus hautes' (Larchey, L., 1862: *Les Excentrictés du langage.* Paris: Dentu, cited in Duneton, C., 1985 & 1996: 'Préface'. In Larchey, L., *Dictionnaire de l'argot parisien.* Paris: Les Editions de Paris, p.iv).

Delvau (Delvau, A., 1867: *Dictionnaire de la langue verte*. Second Edition. Paris: Dentu, pp.xix-xxiii) organised expressions in his dictionary according to special argotic categories. He justifies his categorisation in the following terms:

Argot des académiciens: Delvau argues that members of the *Académie française* use expressions which are unintelligible and belong to *une langue bleue.* It is not standard French, rather evidence of an *argot* spoken in an institution. He states that there is essentially no difference between it and *argot* spoken in the street,

'J'avoue ne voir aucune différence entre l'argot de la rue et l'argot de l'institut' (Delvau, A., 1867: *Dictionnaire de la langue verte*. Paris: Dentu p.xx).

Argot des faubouriens vs. argot des ouvriers: Delvau admits that the distinction is somewhat strange given that workers ordinarily live in the Parisian *faubourgs* (p.xxiii).

Argot des filles vs. argot des petites dames: Delvau notes that distinction is slightly arbitrary given that both groups exercise the same profession, with a different clientele and in a different geographical area. *Les petites dames* work in *Bréda-Street* (p.xxiii). According to Hector France (1907, p.27), '*Bréda-Street* est un quartier de Notre-Dame de Lorette, qui contient une population féminine livrée non au culte de Notre-Dame, mais à celui de Vénus' (France, H., 1907: *Dictionnaire de la langue verte, archaïsmes, néologismes, locutions étrangères, patois*. Paris: Librairie du progress, p.27).

Argot du peuple vs. argot des bourgeois: Delvau maintains that the expression is more familiar to the working class and is heard more often in the street than in the shop (p.xxii).

Argot des voyous vs. argot des voleurs: Delvau admits that a word under the first category would normally belong to prison slang but maintains it is used more frequently by *voyous* than by thieves (p.xxii).

Argotier: It can be defined as the person who uses or speaks *argot* (Geiger, D., 1990: 'Préface'. In Colin, J-P. & J-P. Mével, *Dictionnaire de l'argot*. Paris: Larousse. p.xi).

Le français courant: According to Müller's (1985, p.226) five point scale of variation, *le français courant* is situated below the norm because a large part of it represents an inferior register and it is more akin to *le français relâché* than to *le français cutivé*. *Le français relâché* is a term encompassing the different ways of speaking in informal contexts. *Le français cultivé*, by contrast, is also known as *le français soigné* or *la langue soutenue*. This supernorm is considered by speakers to be representative of the ideal norm (Müller, B., 1985: *Le Français d'aujourd'hui*. Paris: Klincksieck, p.230).

Le français familier: This term dates from the eighteenth century. It was not listed in Furetière's *Dictionnaire universel* (1690). According to Bauche (1920, p.21), it is the language of conversation, colloquial French and differs from written and literary language in terms of its words, expressions and pronunciation. Although it forms the basis for the spoken language of all social classes, he maintains there is considerable variation between classes. For example, cultivated Parisians may use certain words such as *moche, godasse, pinard* in conversation in an ironic or joking fashion, fully aware of the fact that they are not speaking properly. In the case of working class people, this lexis embodies for them *le vrai français*. Similarly, Bauche argues that words like *daim, foutaise, mannezingue* are part of *'le langage familier des hautes classes'*, whereas the same words would hardly ever be used by *le peuple* (Bauche, H., 1920: *Le Langage populaire*. Paris: Payot, p.22).

Le français populaire: The linguist, Guiraud (1978, p.8) perceives *le français populaire* as neither a technical language nor an *argot* in so far as it is not restricted to a particular profession or to a closed group. It is, however, clearly enriched by certain professions (i.e. small business and artisan trades) and is closely associated with *argot*: the everyday language of criminals: 'Notre français populaire n'est ni une langue technique, ni un argot, dans la mesure où il est commun à une vaste partie de la population et non à un métier particulier ou à un cénacle fermé. Cependant, il est clair qu'il s'alimente aux disances populaires : métiers artisanaux, petits commerces. Il est aussi largement ouvert à l'argot (des malfaiteurs)' (Guiraud, P., 1978: *Le Français populaire*. Paris: PUF, p.8).

Notwithstanding these associations, lexicographers such as Bauche are keen to point out that *le langage populaire* must not be confused with *argot*. Bauche (1920, p.18) draws a clear distinction between the two notions. According to his viewpoint, *le parler populaire* is widely and naturally spoken by the working class, whereas *argot* is an artificial language which allows for communication between groups and which is incomprehensible to the uninitiated: 'Le langage populaire est l'idiome parlé couramment et naturellement dans le peuple. Au contraire, l'argot est en principe une langue artificielle, faite afin de pouvoir se comprendre entre soi sans être compris des non-initiés' (Bauche, H., 1920: *Le Langage populaire*. Paris: Payot, p.18).

Jargon: The term has three distinct meanings:

- Use dates from the fifteenth century to describe an artificial and secret speech style invented by thieves to facilitate communication among themselves. For example, the *jargon de la Coquille*, the idiolect of the

infamous band of thieves known as the *Coquillards*. Their trial in 1455 in Dijon proved to be a valuable source of information both in relation to the linguistic processes of argot and the organisation of the gang involved (Calvet, L-J., 1994: *L'Argot*. Paris: PUF, pp.14-17; Guiraud, P., 1969: *L'Argot*. Paris: PUF, p.11).

- Cryptic process whereby the standard lexis is altered to create a confidential mode of communication. Examples of these codes or *argots à clef* (cf. Calvet, L-J., 1994: *L'Argot*. Paris: PUF, pp.57-59) include *largonji, loucherbem* and *javanais*. All three codes involve the phonological manipulation of words, in order to disguise them. With regard to *largonji* and *loucherbem*, Wise (1997, p.212) identifies three stages involved in the process. First, the initial consonant is removed and placed at the end of the word (e.g. *jargon = argon-j, boucher = oucher-b*). Second, the letter *l* is placed at the beginning of the word (e.g. *largonj-, loucherb-*). Third, a suffix is added (e.g. *largonji, loucherbem*). *Javanais* is a process whereby the syllable *–av, -va,* or *–ag* is placed after each consonant in a word. For example *gravosse* instead of *grosse*.

- Sometimes it is viewed in a pejorative manner, especially when the term is used to refer to the specialised terminology associated with particular technical and professional fields. Examples include linguists, computer scientists and economists (Wise, H., 1997: *The Vocabulary of Modern French*. London: Routledge, p.189).

La langue commune, correcte, classique, générale, officielle, le français standard, l'idiome national: A standard language is a set of rules or norms prescribing what is and what is not correct in all aspects of language (pronunciation, spelling, grammar and vocabulary) (Lodge, A. et.al., 1997: *Exploring the French Language*. London: Arnold, p.14).

La langue verte: Delvau (1867, p.xv) describes it as a linguistic phenomenon on the fringes of official French, which is comprised of words that are not written but spoken by different strata of society. These range from the educated classes to the working class with the bourgeois in between: 'La langue verte, au rebours de la langue académique, se compose précisément des mots qui ne s'écrivent pas, mais qui se parlent à certains étages de la société' (Delvau, A., 1867: *Dictionnaire de la langue verte*. Paris: Dentu, p.xv).

Calvet (1994, p.3) traces the origin of this term back to 1852 and states that *la langue verte* has two different meanings, 'l'une renvoyant à la langue des jeux (par reference au tapis vert) et l'autre à la rudesse (qu'exprime par exemple l'adverbe *vertement* dans une phrase comme *parler vertement*)' (Calvet, L.-J., 1994: *L'Argot*. Paris: PUF, p.3).

According to Gadet (1992, p.102), *argot* and *langue verte* have tended to be used interchangeably since the term was introduced by Delvau in his *Dictionnaire de la langue verte* in 1867. Its original meaning related specifically to *l'argot des tricheurs* and the *tapis vert* (Gadet, F., 1992: *Le Langage populaire*. Paris: PUF, p.102).

Le patois: It can be described as local variants of a dialect, local idioms usually surviving only in small rural districts and with no associated literary tradition. Although dialects disappear through pressure from education, the popular form survives. It is essentially only *le patois*, which is cut off from any chances of renewal, it is stagnant though subject to constant infiltration from the standard language. In rural areas, a majority of the French population continued well into the nineteenth century to use *patois*. These rural vernaculars continued to enrich the lower speech varieties in urban centres, namely *argot* and *langage populaire* (Guiraud, P., 1971: *Patois et dialectes français*. Paris: PUF, pp.6-8).

Le poissard: A realist and popular style that was full of *gros mots* and coarse insults. It was used to describe the cheeky humour and arrogance portrayed by the *théâtre de vaudeville* and *chanson populaire* from 1750 onwards. It was very fashionable in the eighteenth century among the working class or *le peuple* and the younger members of the aristocracy, but it was violently rejected by revolutionary bourgeois who held a more purist linguistic standpoint. Although it was banished from the world of theatre and publishing because it was perceived to be an attack on imperial propriety, it continued to flourish in the *pavé populeux* of Paris.

Sainéan (1912 Tome 1, pp.67-70) and Duneton (1985 & 1996, p.iii) share the viewpoint that *le style poissard* should be distinguished from *argot* because they are two separate phenomenon. Sainéan maintains that 'l'argot y joue un rôle absolumment effacé; toute la littérature poissarde ne compte pas une douzaine de termes jargonnesques' (Sainéan, L., 1912: *Les Sources de l'argot ancien*. Tome 1. Paris: Champion, p.67).

Similarly, Duneton states that the generic and pejorative label *argot* was incorrectly used to describe *le poissard* and *l'argot*, 'C'est précisement au cours des années 1860 que se systématise la confusion des deux branches; le poissard et l'argot sont rassemblés dans l'usage de la bonne société sous l'appelation générale et péjorative *argot*' (Duneton, C., 1985 & 1996: 'Préface'. In Larchey, L., *Dictionnaire de l'argot parisien*. Paris: Les Editions de Paris, p.iii).

Furthermore, Sainéan (1912 Tome 1, p.70) argues that although Vadé's *chef-d'oeuvre*, entitled *la Pipe cassée* (1743) contained some jargonnesque terms, as well as lexical elements similar to *argot*, *le style poissard* should be perceived as encapsulating the reaction of *le langage populaire* against the purist tendencies of eighteenth century grammarians, including Restaut (1730), Abbé d'Olivet (1738) and D'Alembert (1751) (cf. Rickard, P., 1974: *A History of the French Language*. London: Hutchinson & Co. Ltd, p.109).

Vulgaire: According to Bauche (1920, p.22), this term is used to describe people who were judged by the upper classes of society to be *vulgaires/communes* because of the language they spoke. Their language can be placed on a continuum, half way between *français populaire* and standard French. Bauche maintains that it can be characterised in the following manner, 'Leur façon de parler est particulière en ce sens qu'elles se font remarquer non pas tant par leurs fautes de français proprement dites, que par un ensemble de tournures, de prononciations, qui n'appartiennent pas au langage habituel des gens de la bonne société' (Bauche, H., 1920: *Le Langage populaire*. Paris: Payot, p.22). He cites a number of examples, including *rapport à, enfin, finalement, alorss, ananass.*

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