

Paradigms – from lexicon to grammar

The pathway of one lexical entity into multiple grammatical paradigms

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The foundation for this work was prepared and produced in continuation of my postdoc project, funded by the Danish Research Council back in 2008, which prepared the ground for collaborations with my two colleagues, Associate Professor Erling Strudsholm and Professor Emeritus Lene Schøsler. I greatly appreciate these collaborations which have enriched and inspired my work, and I owe a particular debt to Erling and Lene for having willingly permitted me to include parts of our joint publications in this work.

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Finally, and in particular, I wish to thank my family for having put up with my – at times – manic way of working during these last years. I wish to dedicate this work to the memory of my father, who, by giving away his own doctoral ring with the Athena head to me when I got my PhD in 2006, unintentionally planted a seed in me. Only holders of the Dr. phil. degree are entitled to wear the ring.

Composition of the Dissertation

This dissertation consists of both new, unpublished research and of already published results. A share of the work presented has appeared in the form of journal articles and book chapters published over the years. The difference with respect to previous publication consists in my effort to integrate my results with new research and to create an overarching theoretical framework in order to form a coherent whole. To make this possible, a significant amount of new research, expansion, editing, revision, and restructuring has taken place. Some of the publications were originally written in French or Danish; selections from these texts, integrated into the dissertation, have been translated into English. Some publications have been broken down into smaller pieces which have each found their place in relevant chapters, and the texts have been cross-referenced in order to avoid repetition or contradictions in the cases where subsequent studies have led to new and more clear insights. Importantly, new research has permitted me to not only extend the empirical frame which illustrates the theoretical and methodological theme of the work, but also to connect passages, interrelate relevant chapters, compare analyses, add methodological considerations, etc. This process of rethinking what was originally intended as individual parts, and then pursuing new tracks, has enabled me to reach a higher theoretical level than I could reach in the individual studies. Almost half of the dissertation is composed of entirely new and unpublished research; this is mainly presented in chapters 7 and 8, but also in extensive parts of chapter 3. Moreover, sections in the other chapters are added to supplement previous research.

The lay-out has been homogenized, a collected bibliography has been provided, and new graphic illustrations of the paradigmatic components and their mutual relations have been created in order to guide the reader through the work with the coherent whole in mind.

The initial step of this work has been prepared and produced in connection with and in continuation of a postdoc grant I was awarded by the FKK (*Danmarks Frie Forskningsfond, Kultur og Kommunikation* ‘Independent research, Humanities’) back in 2008. This project, which was about grammaticalization of new complementation patterns with verbs of perception in French, soon directed me into close collaboration with two colleagues, Professor Lene Schøsler and Associate Professor Erling Strudsholm.

These collaborations have continued and increased over the years, and a considerable number of my publications have been co-authored by either Lene Schøsler or Erling Strudsholm. This is also the case with some of the publications integrated into this dissertation. See the Appendix for declarations signed by my co-authors and myself concerning the proportions and the nature of these collaborations.

Published works used in the dissertation

The integrated articles and book chapters have all been published in journals or by publishers which the given year of publication are ranked with two points on the BFI lists.

The important work of reorganization, expansion, and editing of previously published research, as well as additional research which has not been published before, will hopefully provide the reader with a coherent synthesis of my research. As a consequence, the reader will not easily be able to distinguish clearly between what is already published and what is new. In the present context, it is, however, necessary to state with accuracy which parts of previously published book chapters and journal articles constitute the main substance of the respective chapters. As shown below, some works are integrated in several chapters, and some chapters contain sections from more than one publication. The page indications refer to the specific passages used from the given publication. In addition to this overview, each reference is given explicitly in footnotes in the relevant sections.

Chapters 1 and 2 contain revised, compiled, and condensed material from:

KRAGH, K. J. & L. SCHØSLER (2014): “Reanalysis and grammaticalization of constructions”, in Coussé, E. & F. von Mengden (eds), *Usage-Based Approaches to Language Change*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 170-171.

KRAGH, K. J. & L. SCHØSLER (2015): “Regrammation and paradigmization. Reanalyses of the deictic relative construction with progressive function in French”, *Journal of French Language Studies*, 25(2), 268-271.

KRAGH, K. J. & L. SCHØSLER (2021): “Analyse constructionnelle et paradigmatique illustrée par le verbe voir.”, *Langue française*, 209, 85-86.

Chapter 3 contains revised, compiled, and condensed material from:

KRAGH, K. J. & E. STRUDSHOLM (2015): “Perceptionsverbernes komplementeringsmønstre på fransk og italiensk”, *Ny forskning i grammatik*, 22, 168-170.

KRAGH, K. J. & L. SCHØSLER (2014): “Reanalysis and grammaticalization of constructions”, in Coussé, E. & F. von Mengden (eds), *Usage-Based Approaches to Language Change*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 190-191.

KRAGH, K. J. (in press): “Voilà, membre du paradigme des marqueurs discursifs”, *Langages*, Les marqueurs de perception visuelle.

Chapter 4 contains revised, compiled, and condensed material from:

KRAGH, K. J. & L. SCHØSLER (2014): “Reanalysis and grammaticalization of constructions”, in Coussé, E. & F. von Mengden (eds), *Usage-Based Approaches to Language Change*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 173-190.

KRAGH, K. J. & E. STRUDSHOLM (2013): “The relevance of deixis in the description of the predicative relative clause”, in Kragh, K. J. & J. Lindschouw (eds), *Deixis and pronouns in Romance languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 209-213.

KRAGH, K. J. & L. SCHØSLER (2015): “Regrammation and paradigmization. Reanalyses of the deictic relative construction with progressive function in French”, *Journal of French Language Studies*, 25(2), 265-267, 271-291.

KRAGH, K. J. & L. SCHØSLER (2021): “Analyse constructionnelle et paradigmatique illustrée par le verbe voir”, *Langue française*, 209, 88-91.

Chapter 5 contains revised, compiled, and condensed material from:

KRAGH, K. J. & L. SCHØSLER (2014): “Reanalysis and grammaticalization of constructions”, in Coussé, E. & F. von Mengden (eds), *Usage-Based Approaches to Language Change*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 192-197.

KRAGH, K. J. & L. SCHØSLER (2019): “From a single lexical unit to multiple grammatical paradigms”, in Igartua, I., B. Joseph, L. Heltoft, K. J. Kragh & L. Schøsler (eds), *Perspectives on language structure and language change*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 275-292.

KRAGH, K. (2022): “The importance of paradigmatic analyses. From one lexical input into multiple grammatical paradigms”, in Diewald, G. & K. Politt (eds), *Paradigms regained – theoretical and empirical arguments for the reassessment of the notion of paradigm*. Berlin: Language Science Press, section 4.1.2.

Chapter 6 contains revised, compiled, and condensed material from:

KRAGH, K. J. (2021): “Proposition d’une classification de marqueurs de discours comme membres de paradigme”, *Langue française*, 209, 119-140.

KRAGH, K. J. (in press), “Voilà, membre du paradigme des marqueurs discursifs”, *Langages*, Les marqueurs de perception visuelle.

Chapter 7: Not previously published

Chapter 8: Not previously published

Chapter 9: Not previously published

1. Introduction

The main objective of this work is to test the hypothesis that grammar, not only morphology but also syntax – including constructions – consists of paradigms, an analysis which is not generally accepted. Moreover, the paradigmatic structure of grammar is continuously undergoing restructuration as a result of grammaticalization processes; new categories are created, others are disappearing, and because new members enter the paradigms, others cease to be used. To illustrate my point, I have examined the French verb *voir*, with a view to mapping the pathway of this lexical entity into multiple grammatical paradigms. This highly polysemous and multifunctional lexical entity is found in very different contexts, which have been reanalysed and have resulted in grammaticalized structures. Therefore, this verb provides an interesting illustration of the pathway of a lexical unit into grammar.

The present study is an attempt to give an account of a complex of multiple grammaticalization processes. In line with Henning Andersen's thinking and further developed in Nørgård-Sørensen *et al.* (2011), I propose to conceive grammar as a complex sign system composed of sets of paradigms, not only of paradigms in the narrow sense of inflectional paradigms (Andersen 2008: 19) but in the more general sense of selectional sets composed of marked or unmarked members. I want to show that the notion of a paradigm is useful for the understanding of grammatical structure and for changes to such structures.

The study intends to explore the concept of *paradigm* and to show the advantage of redefining this concept and of applying it within a theory on the organization of grammar and on the principle of grammatical changes. Danish functional linguistics has reinforced the idea that language must be studied from its use, and it is from the distributional study of synchronic use that I seek to identify oppositions of a paradigmatic nature. A second source of inspiration is the diachronic research of Henning Andersen, who prompted us to consider the internal structure of paradigms in terms of markedness between the members and to examine the propagation of changes according to his actualization theory.

To these sources of inspiration is added that of constructional grammar (CG), as featured in the work of Croft (2001), Croft & Cruse (2004), Hoffmann & Trousdale (2013), and Traugott & Trousdale (2013). According to CG, there is a continuum from morphology and lexicon to syntax. In CG, lexical units are designated by the term *substantive constructions*, while units more abstract, resulting from syntax, are designated by the term *schematic constructions*. In the present work, I shall focus mainly on schematic constructions, and I intend to include constructions in my paradigmatic approach.

In order to illustrate my approach, I have chosen a single lexical unit – the perception verb *voir* ‘see’ – because this verb has multiple lexical and grammaticalized uses, my goal being to identify different constructive paradigms in which this entity appears. *Voir* is what Viberg (2002) considers a “nuclear verb”, i.e. a verb which tends to have the same basic meaning in all languages. Together with the other characteristics concerning its broad semantic range and its high frequency in use, this allocates a high combinatory and phraseological potential on the verb, which again makes it suitable for grammaticalization (cf. Bolly 2010: 674-675). This is illustrated by example (1), in which three different functions of forms derived from *voir* are represented: presentation (a), transitive verb of visual perception (b), and conjunction (c):

- (1) *Bref, nous v’là (a) chez lui, et j’contemple la particulière. Pour une belle femme, c’est pas une belle femme. Tout le monde peut le voir (b), vu que (c) la v’là (a)*
 ‘Anyway, here we are, and I contemplate the particular one. For a beautiful woman, she is not a beautiful woman. Anyone can see it, given that here she is
 (Maupassant, Contes et nouvelles, 1884, Frantext)

Craig (1991) has introduced the term *polygrammaticalization* to refer to this phenomenon where one particular lexical entity is the source of multiple grammaticalization chains.¹

When aiming at analysing polysemous and multifunctional linguistic entities like the French verb *voir*, one could be tempted to take the most obvious approach, which would be to try to identify a main function and derive the various meanings and uses from this

¹ The term *grammaticalization chains* is here used in accordance with Heine *et al.* (1991: 221), who introduce the term as a replacement for the term ‘continuum’ for designating what happens on the way from more concrete to more abstract contents, a process which the idea of grammaticalization chains makes it possible to reconstruct. Nørgård-Sørensen *et al.* (2011: 317) propose the term *connected changes* to describe changes wherein one change is presupposed by the following change (see section 2.4).

main function in a diachronic perspective. Such a semasiological approach, which is widely used in studies on lexical semantics and grammaticalization, can, however, lead to unclear presentations in which the results of the different changes are isolated from each other as end points on a string (as appears in, e.g. Ponchon 1994; Willems & Defrancq 2000). Numerous scholars have explored the different functional derivations of *voir*, but most of the studies are not concerned with how or when the functions emerge, nor are they interested in the specific features of the derived form in relation to similar constructions.

In contrast to this tradition, my approach is based on a synchronic paradigmatic analysis of functions that seem to be very ambiguous and diverse. Thus, the aim of this study is threefold:

- Taking my point of departure in the French verb *voir*, I intend to illustrate how one single lexical item can develop into multiple grammatical functions.
- By studying texts from the time when the new functions start to appear, I aim to find evidence of the changes by means of examples of bridging contexts in order to understand the reanalyses which have led to these changes.
- Based on the assumption that the grammatical status of a construction is defined by its position in a paradigm, and that all grammatical changes involve paradigmatic restructuring, I intend to study diachronic changes by means of a paradigmatic approach.

1.1. Empirical and methodological frame

I aim to illustrate how the function of a given lexical item in a given context triggers the specific meaning of this lexical item. When *voir* is used in new contexts, it is ascribed new functions. My point of interest concerns grammatical functions, e.g. presentation, focus, progression, passive voice, discourse marker, etc. In these new functions the verb provides new meanings; in other words, grammaticalization and grammatical change comprise semantic change. It has been shown in previous studies that secondary features of the original construction turn into primary features during the process of grammaticalization (cf. Kragh & Schøsler 2015).

When aiming at analysing a polysemous and multifunctional lexical entity like *voir*, the choice between a polysemic or a monosemic approach often seems to be cardinal (see Waltereit 2002, 2006). But when studying how a lexical item grammaticalizes, this discussion does not seem to be the essential one. Rather, I think that the most interesting point is how the lexical item enters different grammatical paradigms, i.e. to study the processes of reanalyses and grammaticalization leading to these new functions. I would like to emphasize that it is not my intention to provide a comprehensive presentation of all the grammatical functions that the verb *voir* and its derivatives, *voici* and *voilà*, have come to fill (this would not be realistic), but I have identified a representative selection of usages within different grammatical paradigms which I find sufficient to demonstrate my claim.

My approach combines synchronic and diachronic investigations on electronic corpora. Each paradigm shown in the following presents the synchronic results of diachronic grammaticalization processes, based on synchronic paradigmatic analyses of very different functions. The hypotheses concerning *when* and *how* each construction, formed on *voir*, has developed are illustrated and tested by means of examples of bridging contexts illustrating a transitional stage, i.e. occurrences of *voir* in a specific context which can be interpreted as either its original function of *voir* as an isolated and individual item, or as a new function due to a reanalysis by which *voir* becomes part of a construction. Each chapter is based on its own set of data (corpus), in most cases composed of data from the electronic text database Frantext. With respect to the diachronic dimension, the corpora imply in most studies those periods from the Middle Ages to contemporary times, divided into historical time spans: Middle Ages, pre-classical, classical, modern, and contemporary. However, the cut-off years and the designations are not always identical, in particular when it concerns the most recent periods. These have been adjusted to accommodate the specific construction and the structure of the corpora. Furthermore, the size of the corpus can vary since Frantext is a dynamic corpus to which new texts are continuously compiled. Therefore, the corpus of novels, for instance, may not be identical in two different investigations. What is essential is that the quantitative and comparative analyses are performed on the same corpus and on the same statistical premises (in most cases the number of occurrences per 100,000 words).

Since the quantitative analyses are used for comparative analyses, the possibility of using the same search string for all searches for comparative studies has been highly prioritized. One side-effect of this approach is that the searches carried out may not be exhaustive, rather the given construction has been searched for in different forms, albeit in comparable contexts. One notable challenge, resulting from *voir*'s high degree of polysemy, is the considerable amount of noise which disturbs the results of the searches. It has required a lot of time-consuming manual examination of the findings to eliminate this noise and may have had an effect on the accuracy of some of the results.

The paradigms comprise the following grammatical categories: verbal categories such as tense, aspect, and mood, i.e. progression (*je le vois qui arrive* 'I see him arriving'), and voice (*il se voit refuser l'accès* 'he is refused entrance'); pragmatic categories such as presentatives (*voilà le bateau* 'here is the boat'), focus constructions (*voici le bateau qui arrive* 'here is the boat arriving'), and discourse markers (*le bateau arrive, tu vois* 'the boat is arriving, in fact'); and the category of particles, i.e. the preposition *vu* 'considering' and the subordinate conjunction *vu que* 'considering that'. Accordingly, the paradigmatic approach shall be illustrated by means of a number of cases: the progressive paradigm, the presentative paradigm, the focalization paradigm, the discourse marker paradigm, the passive paradigm, the prepositional paradigm, and the conjunctive paradigm – in all, seven paradigms. By distinguishing the different contexts (labelled *syntactic domains*) in which the forms appear and stating which semantic fields they cover (labelled *frames*), synchronic paradigms – of which the above exemplified grammatical entities are members – shall be generated. I intend to show that synchronic paradigms provide a precise and relatively simple presentation of what otherwise would seem utterly diverse usages of a lexical entity.²

1.2. Structure

The organization of the dissertation reflects the structure of the seven paradigms, which are each presented and explained in chapters 4 to 8. As regards paradigms 1 to 4, these

² An alternative way of presenting a selection of diverse usages is the lexical approach provided in dictionaries. See the Appendix for an illustration of a rather unsystematic presentation, with a mix of lexical and grammatical information on the different functions of *voir* in the digital dictionary Robert Connecteur (<https://robert-correcteur.lerobert.com>).

have been explored in previous works and the results have been published in a series of journal articles or book chapters. Therefore, chapters 4, 5, and 6 consist of revised, expanded, reorganized, and rewritten versions of the published articles, and thus they contain new results. Accounts for paradigms 5 to 7 have not been published before; these paradigms are thus entirely new contributions (chapters 7 and 8). All chapters have a concluding section conveying the establishment of a grammatical paradigm illustrating the internal distinctions between the members and the graphical figures illustrating the relations between the processes (see section 1.3).

Chapter 4 describes two processes: firstly the reanalysis by which the status of a specific type of relative clause changes from subordinate into being part of a nexus construction (the deictic relative), and secondly, along with the loss of semantic value of *voir*, the reanalysis of the nexus construction as a member of the progressive paradigm (P1).

Chapter 5 presents the two derivatives *voici* and *voilà* as members, first of the presentative paradigm (P2), subsequently, when combined with the deictic relative, as members of the focalization paradigm (P3).

Chapter 6 studies discourse markers holding a form of *voir* and describes the processes by which forms such as *tu vois*, *vous voyez*, *voyons* and *voilà* undergo bleaching and subsequent change of content from lexical to pragmatic content to become members of the paradigms of discourse markers (P4).

Chapter 7 concerns the paradigm of voice (P5) and examines the underlying reanalyses which can explain how the constructions *se voir* + infinitive/past participle have become members of this paradigm.

Chapter 8 is devoted to two functions of the past participle form of *voir*, the preposition *vu*, member of the paradigm of prepositions (P6), and the conjunction *vu que*, member of the paradigm of conjunctions (P7).

Before entering the realm of grammatical paradigms, Chapter 2 will, in order to establish a theoretical foundation for this approach, elaborate on the definitions of the theoretical concepts.

In chapter 3, the focus is on the lexical level of *voir*, which is that of valency. In addition to all the possibilities of complementing the verb *voir*, we also have at the lexical level

the creation of the forms *voici* and *voilà*, derived from the imperative form of *voir* + adverbial *ci/là*, as lexical entities meaning ‘see here/there’ (section 3.3). It is the lexical level of the verb *voir* that constitutes the common premise of the grammatical paradigms presented in chapters 4 to 8.

1.3. Phases of the pathways leading to the paradigms

I have attempted to graphically illustrate each of the different phases of the process leading to the creation of a grammatical paradigm in which the grammaticalized form of *voir* enters (see Figure 1). At the top, I place the lexical level comprising the valency pattern of *voir*, as well as the creation of *voici* and *voilà* as lexical entities with their individual valency patterns. These are the lexical points of departure for the subsequent processes. The grammatical level comprises phases of the grammaticalization process, such as the initial reanalyses and grammaticalizations that are prerequisites of the construction entering a new paradigmatic level. These phases are intertwined and cannot exist independently. In other words, the grammatical level illustrates the use of *voir* in contexts where the original meaning of the verb *voir* is bleached due to a number of reanalyses and grammaticalizations. This is for instance the level where *voici* and *voilà* become presentatives (*voici le point suivant*), and where *tu vois* and *vous voyez* are reanalysed from main clause to discourse marker (see section 6.2.1). For communicative reasons, the two phases of the grammaticalization are placed at the grammatical level (reanalysis) and the paradigmatic level (actualization of the reanalysis), respectively. The transmission from grammatical level to paradigmatic level constitutes the actualization. The paradigmatic level comprises the final phase, namely the new or modified grammatical paradigm of which the reanalysed entity has become a member. Subsequently, a grammatical entity can undergo a new reanalysis and enter another paradigm (i.e. a cyclic process); this second grammation is labelled *regrammation*.

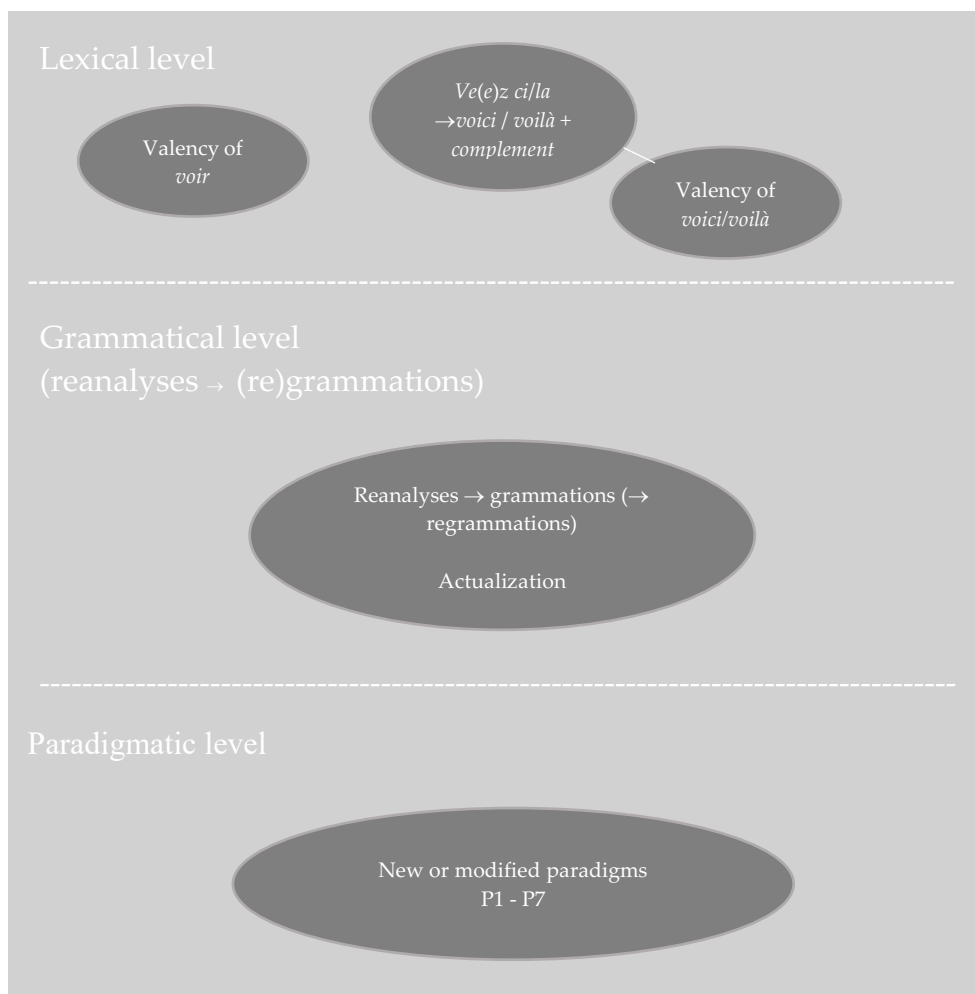


Figure 1. Graphic illustration of the phases leading to the creation of grammatical paradigms.

Following this concept, each chapter has a graphic illustration of the paradigmatic components and their mutual relations. Figure 60, presented in chapter 9, provides an overview of the entire collection of processes and paradigms presented in this study.

2. Theoretical scope

The present work has been inspired and encouraged by the Danish project on grammaticalization, presented in Nørgård-Sørensen *et al.* (2011).³ In accordance with this project, much of the background for the present work originates in Functional European Linguistics, in particular Danish Functional Linguistics⁴, hence the focus on semantic and pragmatic issues. Danish Functional Linguistics shares its interest in usage with American functional linguistics, but it has another foot firmly placed in Saussurean European structuralism with its focus on the relation between content and expression (cf. Jakobson 1973 [1960]; Hjelmslev 1966 [1943]). For more recent examples of this discussion, see Boye & Harder (2007) and Heltoft (2010). Both articles discuss and exemplify the relation between usage and structure from the stance that – in the coinage of Boye & Harder (2007: 570) – ‘structure is distilled out of, but simultaneously presupposed by, usage’. Thus, I agree with the theoretical points made by Heltoft (2014) and Nørgård-Sørensen (2014), in particular concerning the assumption that structure arises and changes through usage and that any instance of usage presupposes the speakers’ recognition of structure.⁵ These theoretical points are relevant, among other reasons, for my interpretation of the reanalysis processes – for instance when it is illustrated how ambiguity in structure permits the reanalysis from a subordinate to a nexus relative, and how the change of function is linked to change of meaning, turning a side effect (the progressivity) into a main feature of the construction, as demonstrated in chapter 4.

Concerning models and views of grammatical change and of linguistic change in general, I am indebted to Henning Andersen (especially Andersen 2006a, 2006b, 2008a). Moreover, my work is inspired by variational linguistics, notably in the form it has taken in recent Romance diachronic linguistics in Germany (see e.g. Völker 2009 with further references), specifying synchronic parameters of variation as relevant for the study of

³ The following presentation of assumptions is adapted from Nørgård-Sørensen *et al.* (2011: xii) and is in the present form a revised version of Kragh & Schøsler (2014: 170-171).

⁴ See e.g. Engberg-Pedersen *et al.* (1996), Harder (1996).

⁵ This conception of *structure* is fundamentally different from that expressed by De Smet (2014) who claims "that syntactic structure (...) can be described as an autonomous entity".

language change because synchronic variation is both the cause and the locus of diachronic change. My analyses of the spreading of innovation among speakers conform to the insights gained from variational linguistics (Greco *et al.* 2018; Bertin *et al.* 2021). The variational approach combines knowledge on language use and on the role of variation mainly from sociolinguistics, and, in my version, on the relation of markedness between variants, as observed by Timberlake (1977) and Andersen.

Andersen (2001c) thoroughly discusses the different ways that the term ‘markedness’ has been and is still used in linguistics; for example, about semantic complexity, structural complexity, and text frequency. In particular, Andersen stresses that “[i]f one wishes to understand synchronic variation or diachronic changes in the correlation between Markedness values and relative text frequency, then, it is essential to keep the two distinct, and it is totally counterproductive to define one in terms of the other.” I accept Andersen’s point of view, against others, e.g. Haspelmath (2006). Andersen (2008a: 35-36) defines markedness (m-ness) as follows:

“M-ness is in essence an inclusive relation. Inclusion is the most primitive cognitive relation (e.g. y^M is a kind of x^U), ...m-ness is intrinsic to all (underlying) linguistic relations and it is not to be identified with such superficial observables as relative frequency or complexity. ... Since m-ness values are implicit in all syntactic and paradigmatic relations, they are found throughout the base grammar and usage rules, including the complex of variable rules.”

However, the relation of markedness always depends on the context (see Andersen 2001c where Andersen explicitly refers to Timberlake’s studies on markedness).

In a number of the analyses, it is shown that the actualization process spreads according to the hypothesis that it is a change “from below”, e.g. implying that speakers first use an innovation in text types closest to spoken language, and later in contexts far from the spoken language, e.g. first in the 1st and 2nd persons and later in the 3rd person. In a change “from below”,⁶ theatre is an unmarked text type compared to essay, and 1st and 2nd persons

⁶ Cf. section 2.3 concerning the direction of actualization.

are unmarked compared to the 3rd person (Andersen 2001b: 14-15; Schøsler 2001: 178-179), cf. section 4.3.1.

Croft (2006) proposes a different model of change: he uses the term ‘propagation’ for the spreading of innovation in society, and he also draws upon the insights from sociolinguistics. In relation to the present context, his evolutionist presentation is mainly metaphoric and, as far as I see it, adds no real new understanding of how language changes and how changes are spread. Croft is mainly interested in the phase where one sees these changes propagated in society. In contrast, and following Andersen (2006b), my interest includes the actualization of changes through the categories of a given language. Moreover, following Nørgård-Sørensen *et al.* (2011), I am particularly interested in the generalized concept of a paradigm, its structuring role in grammar and its importance for a theory of linguistic change, which falls outside the scope of the evolutionist approach by Croft. Thus, the emphasis of this dissertation is on paradigmatic structure, which is common for such diverse domains as morphology, topology (word order) and constructional syntax and implies that all grammatical changes involve paradigmatic restructuring.

The following subsections introduce theoretical key concepts of the present work: grammaticalization, reanalysis, actualization, and paradigm.

2.1. Grammatication and regrammation

My approach to grammaticalization differs on a number of points from that of Lehmann (1995), although it is based on similar reflections. I believe that Lehmann is right when he states that one should start by defining what is grammatical, whereas most research on grammaticalization neglects this major point. Lehmann (1985) includes six parameters of grammaticalization, among which appears paradigmaticization. As far as I see it, his five additional parameters (*integrity*, *scope*, *bondedness*, *paradigmatic variability*, *syntagmatic variability*) can be derived from the processes leading towards paradigmaticization. My basic view is that paradigmatic organization is a distinctive feature at all levels of grammar, including morphology, word order, and constructions. According to Nørgård-Sørensen *et al.* (2011), grammaticalization implies a paradigmatic

organization of the entities that undergo change, either a change by which an element enters a grammatical paradigm or a change within or among grammatical paradigms.

In order to distinguish between these two types, I follow Andersen (2006a: 232-233), who has introduced the more precise labels *grammation* and *regrammation* respectively to refer to individual instances of grammaticalization with the following definitions:

“Grammation: a change by which an expression through reanalysis is ascribed grammatical content (change from any other, including zero, content to grammatical content”; “Regrammation: a change by which a grammatical expression through reanalysis is ascribed different grammatical content (change within and among grammatical paradigm)”.⁷

Both types of processes result from reanalysis, i.e. a new analysis of received usage due to opacity or structural ambiguity not necessarily with immediate surface manifestation of change. The speaker interprets the content of a given string first as A, then as B (grammation), and sometimes further reanalysis causes a new interpretation of B to C (regrammation).

These processes can be illustrated by means of the reanalyses of relative clauses, which I shall return to in section 4.2. A typical subordinate relative clause is found in example (2):

- (2) *Je vois la jeune fille qui est habillée en rouge* ‘I see the young girl dressed in red’

The clause *qui est habillée en rouge* is clearly a subordinate relative clause, presupposing the existence of the antecedent, and which provides secondary information on *la jeune fille*. Subordinate relative clauses are found reanalysed as nexus constructions, implying that there is a relation of solidarity between the antecedent and the relative clause. Accordingly, in a nexus construction, the relative clause is obligatory, in contrast to the subordinate relative clause. As a result of the process of reanalysis, the nexus construction is constrained in use. This type of clause is also labelled deictic relative clause (see section

⁷ “A grammaticalization is a macro-change comprising changes in content, in content syntax (semantax), in expression, and in expression syntax (morphosyntax). The central change in a grammaticalization is a content change, typically from lexical to grammatical content (grammation), or from grammatical to more grammatical content (regrammation)” (Andersen 2013: 123).

4.1.1). The formal constraints concerning this relative are rooted in the situation of communication and related to the deictic context, implying that tense, relation between the protagonists, restrictions concerning the antecedent and its activity must be concrete and perceptible, etc. The content of the deictic relative is referred to by the term ‘holistic vision’ (cf. section 4.2.2). Importantly, the effect labelled holistic vision is not tied to any specific part of the construction and is not a direct outcome of any of its components, nor can the progressive aspect characteristic of this relative construction be directly deduced from any of the parts of the construction.

In terms of change, the first reanalysis changes the status of the relative from subordinate to be part of a nexus construction implying a mutual dependency between the parts of construction: the antecedent and the relative. Thus, we have a new constituent type, i.e. the deictic relative. Subsequently, the deictic relative is reanalysed to become a member of the progressive paradigm, i.e. of the Tense-Aspect-Mood-paradigm (TAM), which is a case of grammation ($A \rightarrow B$). This process is described in section 4.3. Along with the loss of semantic value, the progressive feature is grammaticalized.

With regard to Lehmann’s parameters mentioned above, I shall use the grammation of the deictic relative to illustrate why I consider the process of paradigmaticity to be the essential one, in relation to which the other parameters are subprocesses. Each of these subprocesses constitutes phases leading to the creation of the paradigm. With respect to the notion of *integrity*, which refers to “the weight of a sign” on the paradigmatic axis, the reanalysis of a subordinate relative clause providing secondary information into a deictic relative providing grammatical content, i.e. progression, illustrates the semantic attrition of the subordinate relation and leads to the integration of the relative clause, turned into a nexus relation, into the paradigm of TAM. Its *integrity* weakens because it loses semantic substance, but it gains grammatical value. There is no phonetic change, but probably prosodic change, which cannot, however, be showed in text languages (Fleischman 2000). On the syntagmatic axe, the *scope* is modified during the gradual grammaticalization process, in the sense that the subordinate relative which belonged to the NP is now integrated in the nexus construction.

The loss of autonomy correlates with the increasing paradigmatic cohesion, i.e. *bondedness* (see also Bolly 2012b), which I consider to be the essential parameter, since

the cohesion between the components of the construction is strong. The *paradigmatic* integration of the grammaticalized element, e.g. the deictic relative in the paradigm of progression, implies that the element acquires syntactic and semantic features of the common semantic frame (progression) and syntactic domain ($V1 + V2$, $S1=S2/S1\neq S2$) – see section 4.6. As will be illustrated in chapter 4, the choice between the members of the paradigm is constrained, what Lehmann defines as loss of *paradigmatic variability* or obligatorification. Finally, the loss of *syntagmatic variability*, i.e. “the possibility of shifting a sign around in its construction” (Lehmann 1985: 305), is part of the paradigmatic restrictions, since the position of the deictic relative is fixed in the construction introduced by *voir*. Put differently, I claim that five of the processes presented by Lehmann, are indeed predictable subprocesses in the process of paradigmaticity. In section 2.4, I will further elaborate the benefits of paradigmatic organization.

2.1.1. Pragmaticalization

A number of the constructions to be studied in the present work belong to pragmatic categories, i.e. presentatives, focus constructions, and discourse markers. It is therefore important to dwell at the relationship between grammar and pragmatics.

According to some researchers, as the linguists of the Prague School already concluded, pragmatics is considered as a separate level, separate from the semantic and the syntactic levels (cf. Fillmore 1976; D’Hondt & Willems 2012). Accordingly, they consider pragmaticalization to be a process of semantic and functional change implying transfers from semantic to pragmatic domains (see e.g. Frank-Job 2006: 397; D’Hondt 2014). Aijmer (1997: 2) draws a clear distinction between grammaticalization as a process “concerned with the derivation of grammatical forms and constructions (...) from words and lexical structure” on the one hand, and pragmaticalization as a process which involves a “speaker’s attitude to the hearer” on the other hand.

For other linguists (see e.g. Brinton & Traugott 2005; Traugott 1995; Diewald 2011; Lambrecht 1994), pragmatics is partially or entirely included as part of grammar.

This view involves that *pragmaticalization* can be considered as a sub-type of grammaticalization (Diewald 2011; Prévost 2011). Some linguists reserve the notion exclusively for the development of discourse markers (cf. Wischer 2000), and according

to Dieward (2011: 455), the term was created specifically to describe diachronic developments of discourse markers and modal particles. Others again (e.g. Dostie 2004) prefer the term *pragmaticalization* to account for the changes that relate to pragmatics in general.

It is true, as also referred to by Degand & Vandenberg (2011: 290), that insofar as discourse markers are not included within a “restricted view of grammar and grammatical categories”, they do not “fulfil the criteria for grammaticalization”. They conclude, however, that a broader approach to grammar and grammaticalization, such as the one I stand for, can easily imply this type of language changes, as well.

Thus, I share the viewpoints of Degand & Vandenberg (2011) and Prévost (2011), who among several others are in favour of the “broad conception for grammar, inclusive of the domain of pragmatics” and who provide solid arguments for including the creation of discourse markers within the definition of grammaticalization by stating that from having a lexical status the expression moves towards a grammatical (pragmatic) status, a process which involves a number of dimensions, such as reanalysis and pragmatic strengthening, which are considered to be criterial for grammaticalization.

Not only in recent theoretical frameworks (see e.g. Pons Bordería 2018: 3) is pragmatics considered as an integrated level of grammar, but also the Danish functional approach considers pragmatics as a constituent part of grammar (see Engberg-Pedersen *et al.* 1996: vii-viii; Heltoft 1996). Adhering to this approach, and with the preceding argumentation in mind, I have no second thoughts taking into consideration not only the syntactic functions, but also the pragmatic functions of the units that I wish to study. And given that I consider pragmatics to be a domain belonging to grammar, I use the terms *grammaticalization* (grammar or regrammar), also when studying the creation of pragmatic categories, not only discourse markers in chapter 6, but also constructions with pragmatic function such as presentation and focalization (see chapter 5).

2.2. Reanalysis

Language change presupposes a usage-based reanalysis,⁸ i.e. a new analysis of received usage due to structural ambiguity without immediate surface manifestation of change. Following the received presentation of language change from A (Grammar 1) to B (Grammar 2), it is assumed that the speaker interprets the content of a given string first as A, then as B. Further reanalysis of B leads to C (Grammar 3). Reanalyses are caused by an abductive reinterpretation of ambiguous input concerning the structural rules presupposed by the community (Andersen 1973; Hopper & Traugott 2003 [1993]: 40-43; Andersen 2008a). In accordance with Heltoft (2014) and Nørgård-Sørensen (2014), I assume that grammatical structures arise and change through usage and that any instance of usage presupposes the speakers' cognitive awareness of grammatical structure. In contrast to formal approaches, functional approaches do not assume that reanalysis takes place only during the period of language acquisition.

This use of the term *reanalysis* differs slightly from that of Haspelmath (1998), according to whom the term is used for *rebracketing*, i.e. a new analysis of the same surface structure, in contrast to *recategorization*, which indicates the assignment of, for instance, a lexical entity to another category and could be the result of a rebracketing process (see, e.g. sections 4.2.2 and 8.2). Assuming that recategorization presupposes reanalysis and rebracketing and not vice-versa, I will use *reanalysis* as the overall notion.

2.3. Actualization

According to Andersen's actualization theory, a linguistic change manifests itself as a phenomenon of progressive replacement, in which a word, a form, or a category can replace another word, another form, or another category. Changes spread from below or from above. Innovation 'from below' spreads from unmarked to marked contexts: "Typically in internally motivated change, an innovation is extended to unmarked contexts earlier than to corresponding marked contexts" (Andersen 2008a: 36). Pragmatically speaking, unmarked contexts should be understood as non-formal text types close to orality. Syntactically speaking, unmarked contexts are typically the basic

⁸ I refer to the fine introduction to the role of change in usage-based conceptions of language in Mengden & Coussé (2014).

ones, e.g. main clauses as opposed to subordinate clauses, the present tense as opposed to past or future tenses. An innovation ‘from above’, on the other hand, spreads from marked to unmarked contexts and is typically introduced in a situation of language contact. This could, for example, consist of an influence from the standard language on dialects, or influence from a foreign language of prestige on a language of less prestige. When an innovation starts from below and is internally motivated, I expect to find the first occurrences in unmarked contexts, represented in this study by the genre of theatre (which is the text genre closest to direct speech) or stretches of constructed direct discourse inserted in narrative texts. Later, innovations spread to other contexts such as the novel and essay genre (which, in terms of text genres, are marked in contrast to the former contexts).

2.4. Paradigmatic organization⁹

In accordance with Nørgård-Sørensen *et al.* (2011: xi), it is claimed that grammaticalization always involves paradigmaticization and, moreover, that paradigmatic organization or reorganization is an essential part of grammaticalization. This is true for more than just grammatical items that are traditionally associated with paradigms, such as morphological markers (inflections) and grammatical words (auxiliaries, particles, prepositions, etc.). Paradigmatic organization is also characteristic of all other layers of grammatical organization, including constructional syntax.

Here the term *construction* is used in a technical sense,¹⁰ implying that it is a complex sign with an internal syntax and a semantic coding. I consider constructions to have a systematic relationship between content and expression and claim that the grammatical status of a construction is defined by its position in a paradigm. This is an important point of difference between my view and that of Construction Grammar (e.g. Goldberg 1995) and Radical Construction Grammar (Croft 2001). Construction grammar (CG) considers morphemes, words, idioms, and grammatical categories to be constructions. In the present work, I find it useful to distinguish between the level of individual lexical verbs – labelled

⁹ This section contains paragraphs originating from Kragh & Schøsler (2015: 268-271) and Kragh & Schøsler (2021: 85-86).

¹⁰ For details and exemplifications, I refer to Nørgård-Sørensen, Heltoft, & Schøsler (2011: xi).

substantive constructions by Croft & Cruse (2004: 255) and labelled *lexical level* in the present study (see chapter 3) – and the level of grammar, corresponding to the level of sentences or *schematic constructions* in CG, labelled *grammatical level* in the present study. My terminology is inspired by Croft & Cruse, but not identical to it.

I define constructions (and more specifically *schematic constructions*) as grammaticalized structures organized in paradigms of oppositions, like morphological oppositions. These paradigms are created, reorganized, or abandoned like morphological paradigms. In other words, complex structures can grammaticalize or degrammatize, i.e. lose their grammatical status, as is the case with the disappearance of the French progressive formed by an auxiliary and a present participle, such as *il va chantant* (Kragh & Schøsler 2015; Schøsler 2006) - see sections 4.4 to 4.6. The structures can furthermore be regrammatized, by fitting into a new paradigm, which is what happens, for instance, when the presentative *voilà* is regrammated to enter into the discourse markers paradigm (as illustrated in section 6.2.2). The process of grammaticalization, degrammatization, or regrammatization proceeds according to the principles of internal opposition or *markedness* as proposed by Timberlake (1977) and Andersen (2001a, 2001b, 2001c).

For a construction to be part of the grammar of a language, it must have *expression* (form) and *content*, and this content is not the sum of its constituent parts. The paradigmatic organization of a construction implies that the members of this paradigm are opposed to each other through systematic and predictable differences in *expression* and/or *content*. Among these members, one is unmarked, i.e. it has more general features compared to the marked members, which have more specific features that allow one to distinguish between them. The syntagmatic forms or structures which are opposed to each other constitute what we denote by the term *syntagmatic domain*. The differences in meaning expressed by these forms or structures form a *semantic frame*. The choice between the members of a paradigm always involves a difference in meaning, e.g. the difference between the past-tense forms of modern French, the synthetic form, *il parla*, and the analytical form, *il a parlé*. One of the advantages of the paradigmatic approach as defined above is that it facilitates the comparison between different states of language and between languages of different types, and that it makes it possible to integrate in the same paradigm the morphological (synthetic) forms and syntactic constructions on an equal

footing. The paradigmatic approach is useful, since the different states of a language and different languages can be structured synthetically or analytically, or organized in a complex way, by combining morphological marks and constructions.

In the linguistic tradition, a paradigm is identified as a set of grammatical elements alternating in one and the same syntagmatic context (Lyons 1968: 73). Without rejecting this fundamental understanding, I wish to go a step further and point to paradigmatic organization as the defining feature delimiting the grammatical system from non-grammatical patterns of linguistic organization (lexical, phrasal, etc.). This is a major distinction from other theoretical approaches, for example that of Lehmann (1995).

The grammatical paradigm can be identified through a set of five defining features (Nørgård-Sørensen *et al.* 2011: 5-6).

First, the grammatical paradigm is a *closed set of items*, the number of members being fixed at a given language stage.¹¹ In modern French, for instance, the category of tense, aspect, and mood (TAM) comprises the simple verb forms in present, past, and future tenses: *voit, vit/voyait, verra/verrait*, and a number of analytical forms.

Secondly, for every paradigm, the *syntactic domain*, i.e. the syntagmatic context in which it applies must be specified. Thus, in modern French, the domain of the category TAM is the simple or composed finite verb form of a given sentence.

Thirdly, a paradigm has a *semantic frame*, i.e. a common semantic denominator; here tense, aspect, and mood, within which the content of its members is defined in opposition to one another. Semantic frames are language specific and cannot be taken to be equivalent to the cognitive networks of Croft (2001) and Croft & Cruse (2004).

Fourthly, the choice between the members is *obligatory*, in the sense that in the given syntagmatic context that defines the domain of the paradigm, speakers cannot avoid selecting one of the members; they must choose, for example, one verbal form – simple or analytical, the present, the past, the future, etc. – to express the temporal and aspectual

¹¹ In fact, over time most paradigms change their member list, so a *given language stage* is an abstract notion to be defined for each paradigm at a specifically defined synchrony. Since languages are always changing, it is not an easy task to identify the relevant synchronic stages permitting the establishment of a paradigm, without the risk of circular argumentation.

dimension of a given utterance.¹²

Fifthly, a paradigm is *asymmetric*, distinguishing between marked and unmarked members, possibly in a hierarchical structure. In modern French, the present tense is the unmarked form, because it appears in both perfective and imperfective contexts and displays such values as present, habitual, progressive, recent past, near future, etc. Compared to the present tense, the simple past, the imperfect, the future, and the conditional are all marked, i.e. restricted – both in regard to the type of context in which they appear and in regard to their temporal and aspectual values.

A paradigm is not a pure expression system, but a sign system with the domain-and-frame pair constituting a unity of expression and content (in line with the terminology of the Danish Functional tradition, see Engberg-Pedersen *et al.* 1996). The domain refers to the syntagmatic context of the paradigm on the expression level, while the frame as its counterpart on the content level is the conceptual space organized by the paradigm. The domain covers the paradigm's limits on the expression side, the frame its limits on the content side. Inside these limits, the signs organized by the paradigm constitute a unity of expression and content. In Nørgård-Sørensen *et al.* (2011: 25, 105ff) the notion of paradigm was extended from inflection to comprise constructions and word order. A paradigm which is purely inflectional or purely constructional can be labelled simple. When different types of members (morphological, constructional, etc.) combine, they form a *complex paradigm*. According to Nørgård-Sørensen *et al.* (2011: 45), complex paradigms are paradigms “uniting more than one set of oppositions”. In the case of constructions including the French verb *voir*, I do indeed find a number of complex paradigms, as defined here.

In Nørgård-Sørensen *et al.* (2011) the term *connecting grammaticalization* has been used primarily to refer to connected paradigms. However, another meaning of the term is mentioned, i.e. “a sequential one in which chains of grammations, regrammations and degrammations are seen as one connected process, in the sense that change A is a precondition for B, which again is a precondition for C and D, etc. (Nørgård-Sørensen *et*

¹² For some paradigms, the fact that it is obligatory is not obvious, e.g. negations and pragmatic markers, but they are obligatory in the sense that one must chose a member of the paradigm when one wants to express specific conditions, cf. section 6.4.

al. 2011: xii-xiii). I intend to show that some of the paradigms including a form of *voir* are connected through chains of grammaticalizations in the second sense, meaning that one is presupposed by the other (Nørgård-Sørensen *et al.* 2011: 317). These types of connections are illustrated in chapters 4, 5, and 8. In other words, the term connecting grammaticalization apply here in the latter sense to account for a diachronic description of developments. In chapter 4, the reanalysis of the deictic relative is a non-causal presupposition for the second change to take place, i.e. the progressive meaning. In section 5.6, the creations of presentation and focalization expressions are presented as connecting grammaticalization because the members of grammaticalized focalization paradigms presuppose the existence of the neutral focalization paradigm and a reanalysis, i.e. regrammation of the latter. The term *connected paradigms*, then, refers to the result of the connecting grammaticalization, i.e. synchronic paradigms with the same semantic frame, as illustrated by the focalization paradigms in section 5.6, and by the sub-paradigms of prepositions and conjunctions, respectively, in section 8.3, both having *causal relation* as the semantic frame.

Let us not forget that also lexical units which belong to the same lexical category and share one or more semantic components enter a paradigmatic relation. Units in a lexical paradigm have the same semantic function and fill the same syntactic position in a syntactic construction (see section 3.1 concerning the lexical paradigm of verbs of visual perception). The notion of paradigm with reference to the lexical dimension was first introduced by Hjelmslev (1966 [1943]) who, according to Bache (2009), proposed to replace Saussure's notion 'associative' with the term 'paradigmatic'. Hjelmslev (1966 [1943]: 35ff) distinguishes between relations, i.e. in the syntagmatic dimension, defined as a both-and function, and correlations, i.e. in the paradigmatic dimension, defined as an either-or relation. This either-or relation is the starting point of my paradigmatic approach.

All the empirical analyses presented in this dissertation, as well as in the pre-published articles, draw on the theoretical points made in this chapter.

3. Lexical Level

Before studying the processes of grammation, it is important to start at the lexical level. In this case, in relation to the verb *voir*, the lexical level is that of valency with its possible constituents in free use. It is crucial to distinguish the *lexical level* from the *construction level*; it is the former that provides the input to a grammaticalization process:

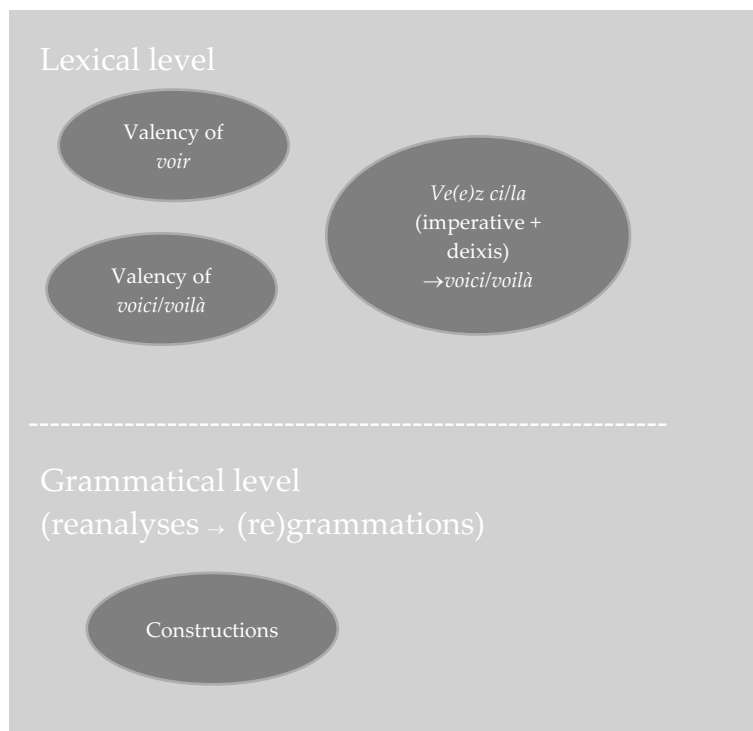


Figure 2. Lexical level

3.1. The lexical unit *voir*

Voir is a member of a lexical paradigm of verbs of visual perception. The lexical field relating to vision and sight is significantly more extensive than that of the other senses. In contemporary French, visual perception is where we find the largest number not only of verbs (*apercevoir*, *discerner*, *percevoir*, *regarder*, *reluquer*, *entrevoir*, *voir*, etc.), but also of figurative expressions and of fossilized expressions.

The long list of lexical verbs can be classified with respect to their overall meaning, according to which a verb such as *voir* has a general meaning (prototypical verbs) in contrast to, for instance, *apercevoir* and *entrevoir*, which have a more nuanced meaning

(peripheral verbs) (Grezka 2009: 8-12). Furthermore, the verbs of visual perception can be classified according to their degree of intentionality, as proposed in Krefeld's semantic categories below. These different distinctions are relevant for the semantic definition of *voir* in terms of a lexical unit.¹³

Voir has two basic meanings: 1) to perceive something through the sense of sight and 2) to comprehend, realize, find out. Willems (1983) distinguishes between a direct, physical perception in relation to the first meaning and an indirect, cognitive perception in relation with the second meaning. With respect to the direct perception, the perception and the perceived action are simultaneous, whereas simultaneity is not a criterion for the indirect perception.

Krefeld (1998: 158) is focused on the original meaning of the verbs of perception, namely direct physical perception, and takes his point of departure in the idea that each perception is composed of three elements:

- The consciousness of the person who perceives (das wahrnehmende Bewußtsein)
- Perception (das aktuelle Wahrnehmungserlebnis)
- The perceived object (das Wahrgenommene)

Each verb of perception can orientate more or less towards one or more of these elements, which constitutes for Krefeld the starting point of a classification of verbs of perception into semantic categories. Krefeld (1998: 159) distinguishes between perceptive verbs, which are verbs of universal perceptions with a general meaning, and apperceptive verbs, which are more specific.¹⁴ This distinction corresponds roughly to the semantic dimension of Andersen's (2001c) notion of markedness according to which the number of specific features in two or more comparable terms defines the markedness.

The group of apperceptive verbs (corresponding to marked verbs of perception) specifies the type of perception with regard to the intention of the perceiver. As regards the perceptive verbs that relate to the purely sensorial/physical recognition of sensory

¹³ The following paragraphs are based on our presentation of Krefeld in Kragh & Strudsholm (2015: 168-169).

¹⁴ In line with Krefeld, Grezka (2009) also categorizes the verbs of perception, but mistakenly classifies the verb *regarder* among the verbs of perception with a general meaning; *regarder* belongs in Krefeld's (1998) classification to the group with a more specific meaning.

impression, the consciousness of the person who perceives is not the prototypical agent, who by definition is acting, but rather an ‘experiencer’, who passively receives sensory impressions. The apperceptive verbs, in contrast, express an intended perception in which the perceiver has a more active role (Krefeld 1998: 160-162). In Krefeld’s categorization, a large number of French verbs of visual perception are classified (e.g. *contempler*, *discerner*, *distinguer*, *lorgner*, *observer*, *remarquer*), but here only the verbs *apercevoir* (‘see’/‘notice’) and *regarder* (‘watch’) are included, as representatives for their respective categories, in order to provide a perspective on the semantic value of *voir*. *Apercevoir* and *regarder* are both apperceptive, but while *apercevoir* indicates identification (identifizierende Wahrnehmung), *regarder* indicates intended recognition with interest (interessierter Wahrnehmung). Krefeld’s classification corresponds roughly to the distinction between passive and active perception that I find in several other studies (e.g. Hatcher 1944a, 1944b; Manoliu-Manea 1985; Willems & Defrancq 2000; Enghels 2009). Hatcher (1944a: 297) describes the role of the subject of the verb as “actively directing his attention thereto”, and in his study on the infinitive complement of perception verbs, Enghels (2009: 760) distinguishes between two semantic fields of perception, namely *involuntary* (*voir* ‘see’) and *voluntary* (*regarder* ‘watch’).¹⁵ Waltereit (2006) uses the term *agentif* ‘agentive’ as a characteristic feature of the verb *regarder* (+agentif), while the verb *voir*, with respect to this feature, is neutral (±agentif).

Lexical units that belong to the same lexical category (here, *verbs*), which have the same semantic function (here, expressing the activity of perceiving by means of sight), and which fill the same syntactic position in a syntactic construction (here, being the verb), have a paradigmatic lexical relation, in which we find an unmarked member (neutral with respect to most features), as well as a number of marked members (with specific features and restrictions). In all the above-mentioned works, *voir* appears to have less restrictions than the other verbs of perception and is in all aspects unmarked.

3.2. The valency of *voir*

When it comes to specific syntactic restrictions, *voir* also appears to combine with a large

¹⁵ Traditionally, the semantic pair *voir* and *regarder* corresponds to the pair *entendre* (‘hear’) and *écouter* (‘listen’), distinguishing between involuntary and voluntary perception.

variety of constituents compared to the other verbs of visual perception. The lexical level (see Figure 2) comprises the valency-bound constituents that combine with the verb *voir*, e.g. noun phrases (3), possibly with a subordinate relative clause (4), complement clauses (5); a number of nexus constructions:¹⁶ with infinitive (6), with deictic relative clause¹⁷ (7), with present or perfect participles (8) and (9), with adjectives (10), with nouns (11), or with a prepositional phrase as object complement (12) and (13):

- (3) *Je vois Jean* ‘I see John’
- (4) *Je vois la maison qui est rouge* ‘I see the house which is red’
- (5) *Je vois que Jean arrive* ‘I see that John arrives’
- (6) *Je le vois arriver* ‘I see him arrive’
- (7) *Je le vois qui arrive* ‘I see him arriving’
- (8) *Je le vois jouant le football* ‘I see him playing soccer’
- (9) *Je le vois perdu* lit. ‘I see him lost’
- (10) *Je le vois heureux* lit. ‘I see him happy’
- (11) *Je le vois président* lit. ‘I see him being president’
- (12) *Je le vois en bonne humeur* ‘I see him in a good mood’
- (13) *Je le vois en vainqueur/comme vainqueur* lit. ‘I see him (as) the winner’

No other verb of visual perception has such a large number of possible constituents (Willems & Defrancq 2000: 10). In addition, we have the derived forms *voici* and *voilà*, which to some extent share the complementation possibilities (see section 3.3.1).

This extensive list of possibilities makes *voir* an obvious choice as an object for study in an attempt to demonstrate how one single lexical item tends to enter a number of new constructions, thus becoming member of a wide range of grammatical paradigms; this is

¹⁶ The term *nexus* describes the relation of interdependency with the antecedent/referent in contrast to, e.g. subordinate relative clauses. This implies that the antecedent/referent cannot be omitted, e.g. **Je vois perdu/président* etc.

¹⁷ See section 4.2 for an analysis of the deictic relative clause.

referred to by the term *polygrammaticalization* (Craig 1991). Each new usage of *voir* being routinized is a candidate for entering a new paradigm.

In the following, I shall take a look at the distribution of these different verbal complements. Insofar as examples (3), (4), and (9) to (13) are all SVO (+ potentially an object complement) structures – i.e. they do not contain any other valency-bound complements than the nominal object of *voir* – they are not part of this study. In contrast, examples (5) to (8) are either composed of a verbal object or of a nexus construction governed by *voir*. These constructions, the nexus with infinitive, the present participle, the complement clause, and the deictic relative share in some respect their field of application and will be examined in a comparative perspective. In order to consider *voir* in a lexical perspective, two other verbs of visual perception, *regarder* and *apercevoir*, will be included in section 3.2.2.

3.2.1. Accusativus cum infinitivo

One of the most important changes in the transition from Latin to the Romance languages is the replacement of the so-called ACCUSATIVUS CUM INFINITIVO (‘accusative with infinitive’, ACI) with complement clauses (Cuzzolin 1994: 13). This change is seen as part of the restructuring of the subordinate system with a general tendency to evolve from infinite to finite constructions, from synthetic to analytical forms. While classical Latin had the possibility of ACI with utterance and perception verbs, this construction is in the modern Romance languages only possible with perception verbs (cf. also Kragh 2009). On the other hand, both verbal types have a construction with complement clause. A third construction option with the perception verbs in modern Romance languages is the deictic relative construction, illustrated by example (7). Whereas the deictic relative construction has several semantic and syntactic restrictions (see section 4.2.1), the ACI is less restricted in use.

The ACI is unmarked with respect to aspect; it can express not only a perfective activity, as illustrated in example (6), but also an imperfective activity:

(14) *Je le vois danser* ‘I see him dance’

The construction exists in two variants which differ by the position of the object, either before or after the infinitive:

(15) *Je vois danser Pierre*

(16) *Je vois Pierre danser*

Tentative investigations¹⁸ indicate that while (15) was predominant in the pre-classical corpus (108 out of 137, corresponding to 79% of the occurrences), as well as in the classical texts (203 out of 292, corresponding to 70% of the occurrences), the distribution was almost even in the modern period. In the contemporary texts, the balance has tipped, and now (16) is more current (used in 55% of the ACI). This choice of word order offers the possibility of adapting the information structure and to distinguish between the cases where the logical subject of the infinitive is theme or rheme. It is possible that the word order of the two variants to some extent takes the priority of the perception into consideration. Either the speaker wishes to emphasize the observation of the person (theme) and then of the activity (rheme), or the speaker is more concerned about what (theme) the person (rheme) is doing. With the growing inclination to prefer to present the person before the activity, some scholars also suggest that *Je vois* tends to function as a marker of focalization (see section 5.3.7). With respect to pronominalization, verbs of perception (together with the verbs *faire* and *laisser*) have clitic raising, in contrast to other verbs which, in general, tend to place the clitic before the governed infinitive. According to AmatuZZi *et al.* (2020: 313-314), it is logical to consider verbs which accept clitic raising as verbs grammaticalized into (semi-)auxiliaries, such as modal verbs and verbs of perception.

3.2.2. Complementation of *voir* in comparison with *regarder* and *apercevoir*

In the description of the valency pattern of *voir*, it is relevant to take a look at how other verbs of perception, identified in section 3.1, behave with the same verbal complements. To examine the distribution of the complements in relation to the different verbs of perception, I conducted a simple survey of the four complement types: the infinitive, the present participle, the deictic relative clause, and the complement clause in combination with the perception verbs *voir*, *regarder*, and *apercevoir*, without regard to text genres.

¹⁸ I have conducted a pilot survey in the corpus Frantext of the four studied periods of time of [lemma: *voir*][infinitive][proper noun] vs. [lemma: *voir*][proper noun][infinitive].

Based on the assumption that the existence of each complement is justified by its specific features, which distinguishes it from its competitors, I propose that each complement type is prone to specialize in specific lexical contexts. This will be tested in the following.

In order to obtain reliable and comparable data without too much noise, I limited the search to occurrences with a pronominal object,¹⁹ for searches of infinitive, past participle, and deictic relative, with the following query: [object pronoun] [lemma: *voir/regarder/apercevoir*] [infinitive/*qui* (relative pronoun)/past participle].²⁰ As regards the construction with complement clause, this does not appear with a clitic pronominal object, which leads to the following query: [lemma: *voir/regarder/apercevoir*] [subordinate conjunction]. As regards the lemma *voir*, all occurrences of *veu/vu que* used as compound conjunction²¹ are eliminated. The findings are presented in Table 1 and reproduced in Figure 3 to Figure 5.

In Table 1, the numbers indicate the percentage of the total number of occurrences of a given verb (or verbal expression) combined with one of the four complement types. The numbers in parentheses are the corresponding actual numbers found in the corpus. Each query has been performed in the four different corpora, dating from the pre-classical period till the present time.

The table shows that the present participle, combined with one of the three verbs, is not only exceptionally rare²², but also declining in use. In consequence, this construction does not appear in the illustrations and will not be studied further (cf. section 4.1). As regards the three other constructions, the distribution of these, combined with one of the three verbs, is illustrated in Figure 3 to Figure 5.

¹⁹ See section 4.2.1 and footnote 70 for an explication for this limitation.

²⁰ By not allowing the insertion of anything between the object pronoun and the lemma in the corpus query, I do not include occurrences with compound verbal forms since the query string does not permit an auxiliary between the object and full verb. The same string of query applies equally to all queries, so it should not affect the proportions.

²¹ See section 8.2.

²² See also Lemhagen (1979: 56), who explains the low frequency by the existence of the two semantically very close constructions, i.e. the infinitive and the deictic relative.

	Main clause verb	Infinitive	Present participle	Deictic relative	Complement clause	Total number
Pre-classical (1550-1649)	<i>voir</i>	14.6% (413)	0.2% (7)	0.8% (22)	84.4% (2393)	2835
Corpus size: 14.701.299 words	<i>apercevoir</i>	13.8% (20)	0% (0)	0.7% (1)	85.5% (124)	145
	<i>regarder</i>	22.7% (15)	0% (0)	0% (0)	77.3% (51)	66
Classical (1650-1799)	<i>voir</i>	19.7% (1441)	0.6% (43)	0.9% (69)	78.8% (5755)	7308
Corpus size: 43.514.407 words	<i>apercevoir</i>	1.0% (11)	0.4% (5)	1.5% (17)	97.1% (1098)	1131
	<i>regarder</i>	63.9% (39)	6.6% (4)	0% (0)	29.5% (18)	61
Modern (1800-1979)	<i>voir</i>	37.8% (4604)	1.4% (168)	1.9% (236)	58.9% (7184)	12192
Corpus size: 149.693.978 words	<i>apercevoir</i>	0.12% (4)	0.8% (27)	1.6% (52)	97.5% (3270)	3353
	<i>regarder</i>	90.7% (1342)	1.6% (24)	2.7% (40)	5% (74)	1480
Contemporary (1980-)	<i>voir</i>	52.6% (1176)	1% (22)	1.8% (41)	44.6% (995)	2234
Corpus size: 37.385.007 words	<i>apercevoir</i>	0.3% (2)	0.8% (6)	1% (4)	98.4% (722)	724
	<i>regarder</i>	95% (491)	0.4% (2)	1.4% (7)	3% (16)	516

Table 1. Distribution of verbal complements after *voir*, *apercevoir* or *regarder*

The table also shows that *voir* is far more frequent than the two other verbs, although its frequency is dropping from 25.8 occurrences per 100,000 words in the pre-classical period to eight occurrences per 100,000 words in the Contemporary corpus. The studied constructions with *regarder* and *apercevoir*, respectively, are found 0.5 to 2 times per 100,000 words, with *apercevoir* being twice as frequent as *regarder*, as reported in Table 2. This is, of course, important to keep in mind when comparing the frequency of occurrences with one of the three verbal complements.

	<i>voir</i>	<i>regarder</i>	<i>apercevoir</i>
Pre-classical	19.2	0.4	1.0
Classical	16.7	0.1	2.6
Modern	8	1	2
Contemporary	6	1	2

Table 2. Frequency with one of the three verbal complements per 100,000 words

Figure 3 illustrates the percentage of occurrences of each of the three verbs, combined with an infinitive (ACI), in proportion to the total number of occurrences of each of the

three verbs with one of the four verbal complements.

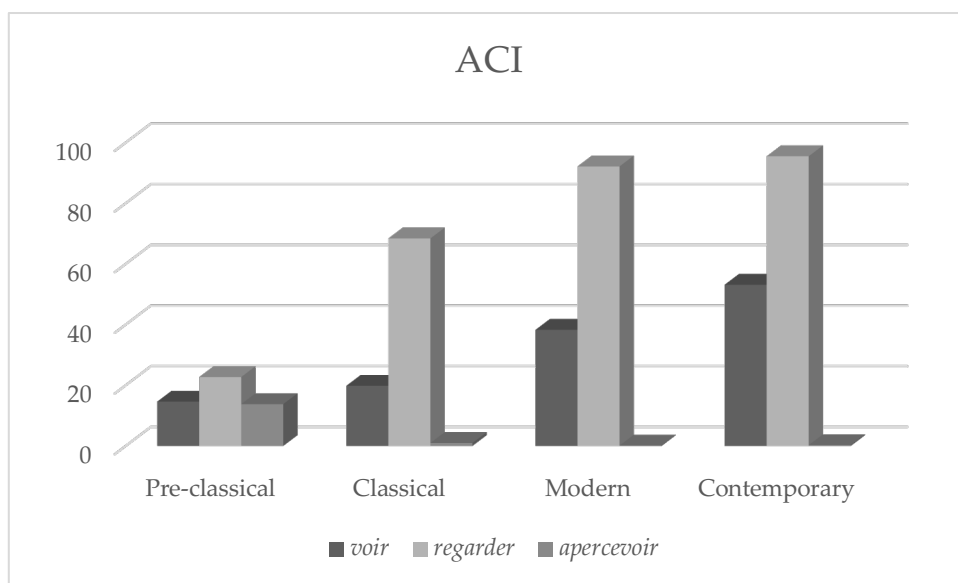


Figure 3. Relative frequency of the ACI – percentage of total number of occurrences of each verb with one of the three verbal complements

In the earliest corpus, the ACI is used in limited numbers with all three verbs without much difference, but during the modern and contemporary periods, the distribution becomes more diverse. Combined with *voir*, the relative frequency of the ACI increases gradually. As regards the two other verbs of visual perception, *regarder* and *apercevoir*, and their tendency to combine with an infinitive, my corpus studies of contemporary French show that *regarder* is prone to favour the infinitive, as in example (17); 95% of the identified occurrences of *regarder* are ACI-constructions:²³

- (17) *Nour s'écartait pour les laisser passer, et il les **regardait** marcher vers la porte de Smara* 'Nour stepped aside to let them pass, and he watched them walk towards Smara's door' (Le Clézio, *Désert*, 1980, Frantext)

In contrast, occurrences of *apercevoir* followed by an infinitive seem to be exceptions, (cf. example (18)) or contexts where the alternative, e.g. the deictic relative is not possible due to syntactic restrictions, such as interrogation (cf. section 4.2.1), as is the case in example (19):

- (18) *Zorro veillait sur eux et, à tout moment, ils pouvaient l'**apercevoir** surgir de la nuit au galop.* 'Zorro was watching over them and at any time they could see

²³ See also Kragh & Strudsholm (2018).

him galloping out of the night’ (Bouillier, *Le dossier M. Livre I*, 2017, Frantext)

- (19) *L’avait-on déjà aperçu prendre ses jambes à son cou devant l’ennemi comme poltron et foireux ?* ‘Had he ever been seen taking to his heels in front of the enemy like a coward and bastard?’ (Lanzmann, *La Horde d’or*, 1994, Frantext)

This tendency is pointed out already by Sandfeld (1965 [1936]-a: 166, 168-169), who states that the infinitive construction is standard use with the verbs *voir* and *regarder*, but only used “sporadically” with other synonyms of *voir*, such as *apercevoir*.

Figure 4 illustrates the percentage of occurrences of *voir*, *regarder*, or *apercevoir*, combined with a deictic relative, in proportion to the total number of occurrences of each of the three verbs with one of the three verbal complements.

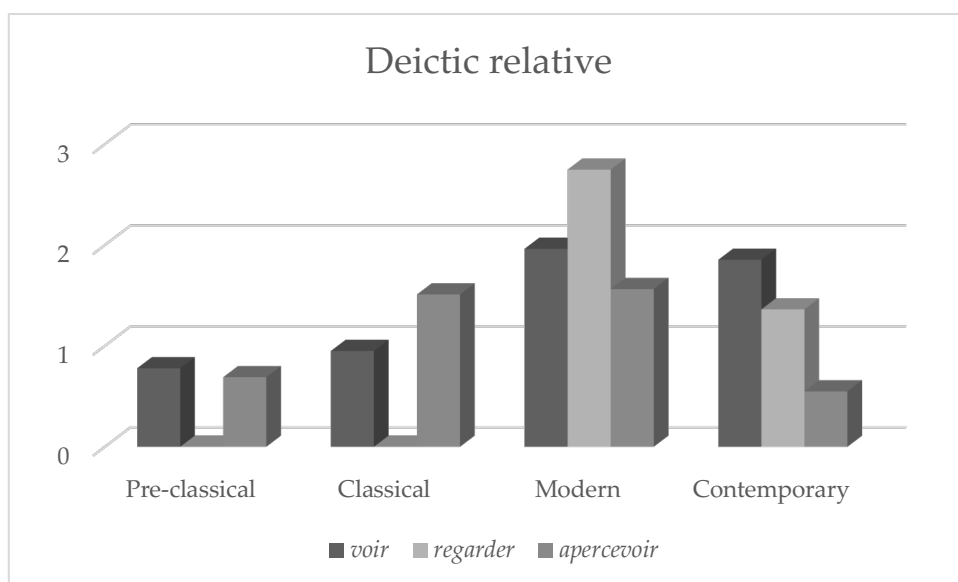


Figure 4. Relative frequency of the deictic relative – percentage of total number of occurrences of each verb with one of the three verbal complements

The use of the deictic relative is by all means infrequent; the relative frequency of the construction combined with *voir* increases from 0.8% to 1.84%. Due to the relatively high frequency of *voir*, these low percentages cover 368 occurrences; a number which I believe is sufficient to qualify the analysis. The construction is illustrated in example (20):

- (20) *Puis, au milieu de cette joie factice, je la voyais qui me tournait le dos, ...* ‘Then, in the midst of this fictitious joy, I saw her turning her back on me’ (Musset, *Confessions d’un enfant du siècle*, 1836, Frantext)

Interestingly, the combination of deictic relative and *apercevoir* seems, in proportional terms, a bit more convincing up until the most recent period, where it appears to lose ground; the total number of occurrences is, however, very limited (74 occurrences). Until modern times, the deictic relative is not frequent with *regarder*, but it now seems to have gained ground, however at a modest level (47 occurrences in total). Since the numbers of *regarder* and *apercevoir* are low, the quantitative analyses should be considered with reservations, and the overall conclusion is that *regarder* and *apercevoir* in general are unlikely to combine with a deictic relative. I refer to section 4.2 for a detailed analysis of the deictic relative.

Figure 5 illustrates the percentage of occurrences of each of *voir*, *regarder*, or *apercevoir*, followed by a complement clause, in proportion to the total number of occurrences of each of the three verbs with one of the three verbal complements.

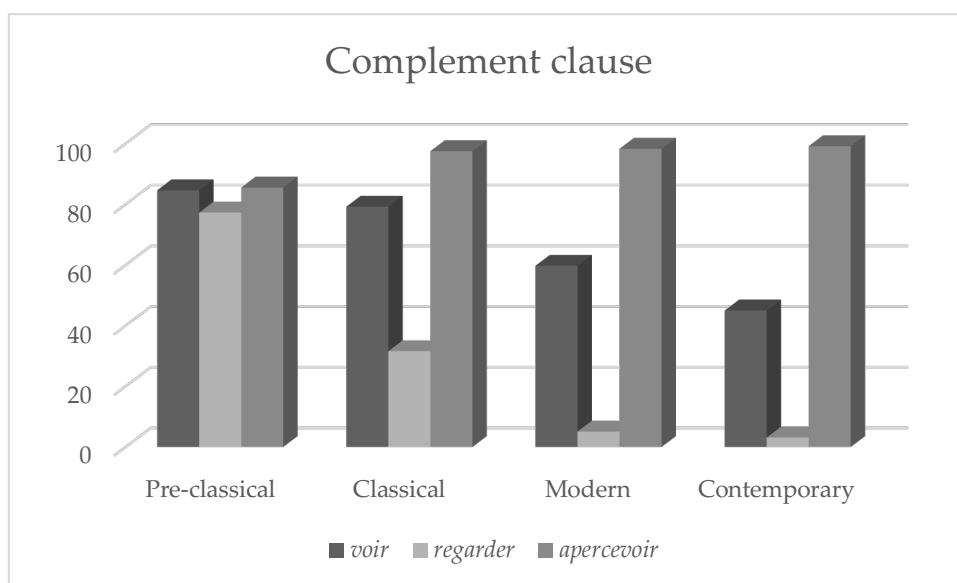


Figure 5. Relative frequency of the complement clause – percentage of total number of occurrences of each verb with one of the three verbal complements

The complement clause combined with *voir*, *regarder*, or *apercevoir* is frequent in the pre-classical period:

- (21) *Vous **voyez** que j'ay acquis la grace de la contesse vostre mere, et du conte vostre frere et de tous ceulx que vous aymez, tellement que ...* 'You see that I have acquired the grace of the countess your mother, and of the count your brother and of those that you love, so that...'. (Navarre, *L'Heptaméron*, 1559, Frantext)
- (22) *..., mais je **regarde** que sans luy donner cette peine, il nous seroit facile de la voir où elle est, si nous voulions faire une chose que je me suis imaginée* 'but I see that without giving her this trouble, it would be easy for us to see her where she is, if we wanted to do something that I imagined' (Baro, *La Conclusion et dernière partie d'Astrée*, 1628, Frantext)
- (23) *Mais finalement selon mon jugement j'**apperçoy** que cest art consiste en deux choses: ...* 'But ultimately according to my judgment I see that this art consists of two things' (Vincent, *La pyrotechnie, ou L'art du feu*, 1556, Frantext)

In the classical period, all three verbs still occur with a complement clause, as exemplified in (24) and (25). Note that *regarder* and *voir* are used as coordinated synonyms in example (24), since the paratactic *voyait* is accompanied by *aussi*.

- (24) *Elle **regardait** que la même prudence qui lui avait mérité une considération si universelle ne servirait qu'à rendre son égarement plus inexcusable, et elle voyait aussi qu'elle serait généralement haïe et méprisée, après avoir causé des malheurs à une personne dont la beauté et le mérite semblaient avoir été réservés à une destinée plus favorable* 'She saw that the same prudence which had earned her such universal consideration would only serve to make her delusion more inexcusable, and she also saw that she would generally be hated and despised, after having caused misfortune to a person whose beauty and outstanding qualities seemed to have been reserved for a more favourable destiny' (Du Plaisir, *La Duchesse d'Estramène*, 1682, Frantext)
- (25) *Elle **aperçut** que Mlle d'Hennebury donnait toutes les marques d'un prochain évanouissement* 'She saw that Miss Hennebury gave all the signs of an upcoming faint' (Du Plaisir, *La Duchesse d'Estramène*, 1682, Frantext)

The relatively high frequency of *voir* and *apercevoir* followed by a complement clause persists. However, a radical drop in the use of *regarder* followed by a complement clause

can be observed, which seems to coincide with the increased use of *regarder* with ACI, as illustrated in Figure 3. This is in line with Grezka (2009: 76), according to whom *regarder* due to its value of intentionality does not tend to combine with a complement clause. It could be, hypothetically, that the lexical meaning of these verbs specializes in the sense that from being almost synonymous, *regarder* specializes into a non-rhematic use, i.e. it is no longer used to introduce new information. This specialization of complementation leading to complementary distribution of complements of *apercevoir* and *regarder*, in contrast to *voir*, which can combine with all the complement types, can possibly be correlated to the specific semantic features of these verbs, in terms of +/- intentionality, +/- ingressivity, and +/- concordance of time between the governing verb and the verb of the complement.

In the modern and contemporary texts, we find almost no occurrences of *regarder* + complement clause. Parallel to the development of *regarder*, in which the use of one construction drops while another increases, the high frequency of *apercevoir* + complement clause, in particular in its reflexive form, *s'apercevoir*, is consistent with the disappearance of *apercevoir* + ACI in the classical, the modern, and the contemporary corpora (cf. Figure 3).

While *voir*, as the lexically unmarked verb of visual perception, is rather stable in its inclination to combine with all three complements, *regarder* and *apercevoir* have specialized each with their complement: *regarder* with the infinitive and *apercevoir* with the complement clause, thus confirming the hypothesis that each complement type tends to specialize in specific lexical contexts.

The complement clause differs from the infinitive and the deictic relative clause with respect not only to the ability to combine with all three construction types, but also to its lexical complexity (Grezka 2009).

As pointed out in section 3.1, the verb *voir* can convey both a direct physical visual perception and an indirect cognitive perception (to comprehend, realize). Only when the verb conveys a direct physical meaning, does it permit all three complement types:

(26) *Je vois qu'il arrive*

(27) *Je le vois arriver*

(28) *Je le vois qui arrive*

According to Willems (1983), there is an equivalence between nominal complementation and physical perception on the one hand, and sentence complementation and cognitive perception on the other – although *voir* also allows the complement clause when conveying a physical perception. However, when combined with a complement clause, *voir* rarely denotes a direct perception; the complement clause construction appears to imply a certain physical distance with respect to the perceived activity. This distance is not possible in the case of *voir* combined with an infinitive or a deictic relative clause. Furthermore, in contrast to the infinitive, which always involves a direct perception (27), the complement clause, as illustrated in example (26), does not necessarily imply a direct perception (see also Willems & Defrancq 2000; Leth Andersen & Schøsler 2002). Based on these observations, Willems (1983: 155) concludes that the relevant distinctive criterion between, on the one hand, the infinitive or deictic relative and, on the other hand, the complement clause, is not just the opposition between physical perception and cognitive perception, but rather that of the relative distance between the perception verb (*voir*) and the perceived object (cf. also Kragh & Strudsholm 2015: 170). The infinitive and the deictic relative imply a close link between the two actions; this link is less close in the case of the complement clause. Moreover, in contrast to the ACI and the deictic relative, which both require a relation of simultaneity between its two components (30) and (31), the complement clause, whether implying a direct or an indirect physical perception, does not require simultaneity between the main clause and the subordinate clause (29) (see also Grezka 2009: 76-77):

(29) *Je vois qu'il est arrivé tard hier soir*

(30) **Je le vois arriver tard hier soir*

(31) **Je le vois qui est arrivé tard hier soir*

Nonetheless, if the verb conveys an indirect physical perception, only the complement clause is possible. This is in accordance with Lemhagen (1979: 62), according to whom the perceptive use favours the infinitive construction, which is incompatible with the

cognitive meaning, whereas the cognitive meaning is the preferred interpretation of the complement clause, which does not, however, exclude the physical meaning.

3.3. From *voir* to *voici/voilà*²⁴

As part of the inventory of the verb *voir*, the two derived phrases *voici* and *voilà* are included. These are lexicalized forms of the imperative form of *voir* and the locative particles *ci* or *là*. Having lexicalized, these entities fulfil many of the same functions as the regular forms of *voir*. Their grammaticalization paths (grammatical level, cf. figure 1) are relevant for the paradigms of presentation, of focalization, and of discourse markers, and will be studied in relation to these (see sections 5.1.1, 5.1.2, and 6.2.2).

The forms *voici* and *voilà* are not prevalent until the sixteenth century; however, expressions based on a verbal form of *veoir* are found already in the *Chanson de Roland*, which dates from around 1100 (Oppermann-Marsaux 2006).²⁵ Those forms competed with even older forms, namely those formed on the adverb *ez* and often accompanied by a personal pronoun with the function of ethical dative, i.e. *ez vos* (from Latin ECCE). These forms are found as early as 1050. Oppermann-Marsaux (2006) has observed changes in the use of the two variants (which appear to be either separated or fused) from Old French, via Middle French and pre-classical French. The changes are accompanied by changes to the values of the use. According to her observations, this development leads to a distinction between the two variants, the *ez* forms and the forms of the verb *voir*, which concerns the contexts in which they appear. Oppermann-Marsaux (2006: 81) concludes that forms based on the verb *voir* (*ve(e)z ci/la*) are found in direct speech and “allow the speaker to attract the attention of the ‘hearer’ on someone or something which is “*ci*”, i.e. “in the place of the enunciation” [my translation], or “*là*”, i.e. “far from the place of enunciation”. This will be further elaborated in section 5.1.1.

During the Middle Ages, *ez voz* was replaced by *ve(e)z ci* or *là* in both functions, then from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, the fused forms spread to the detriment of

²⁴ This section contains selected passages from Kragh & Schøsler (2014: 190-191) as well as revised material from Kragh (in press).

²⁵ These findings antedate the phenomenon as described by FEW (Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch). According to FEW the earliest example of *voici* stems from 1370 and of *voilà* from 1420. Togeby (1974: 169), on the other hand, mentions examples already from the *Chanson de Roland*.

separated forms.²⁶

Examples (32) to (36) illustrate the reanalysis from a free combination of the imperative form of the verb *veoir* and the locative particles *ci* or *là*, i.e. from the lexical level to a grammaticalized deictic entity. In (32) the entities are graphically separated and in (33) and (34), the locative particle is separated from the imperative form by a pronominal direct object. These are free lexical forms: *ci* an indicator of proximity, *là* an indicator of distance. This process is taking place on the lexical level.

(32) *Par foy, vez ci de marchëanz grant masse* ‘Indeed, see here lots of merchants’ (Charroi de Nîmes, ms. B2 verse 1158, c. 1100-1150)

(33) *Vés lou vos la ou siet antre ces autres* ‘See him you (free dative) there where he is sitting among the others’ (Charroi de Nîmes, ms. D verse 185, c. 1100-1150)

(34) *Vez la ci, je la vous apport;* ‘See it here, I bring it for you’ (Anonymous, *Miracle de la fille du roy de Hongrie*, 1371, Frantext)

In contrast to the preceding examples, *voici* and *voilà* in examples (35) and (36) have the function of introducing an NP:

(35) *Vez la Guillelme, le marchis au vis fier,* ‘See Guillaume, the proud knight’ (Charroi de Nîmes, ms. A2 verse 399, c. 1100-1150)

(36) *Vez ci Guillelme, le marchis au cort nés,* ‘See Guillaume, the knight with the short nose’ (Charroi de Nîmes, ms. A1 verse 533, c. 1100-1150)

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the modern variants *voici* and *voilà* replace the ancient forms *veci/vela* (Oppermann-Marsaux 2006: 85-86). In the same period, the forms with *là* become more frequent, which seems to indicate the beginning of a semantic neutralization of the feature \pm distance.²⁷

Being part of the lexicon, these entities fulfil much the same functions as the regular forms of the verb *voir*, which includes the possibility of a complement.

²⁶ These observations are, of course, with a certain reservation, since they imply that one can rely on the publisher.

²⁷ According to Grevisse & Goosse (2008: 1411), *voilà* is much more frequent than *voici*, which is scarcely used not only in oral language but also in written contexts.

3.3.1. Complementation of *voici/voilà*

Along with the functions similar to the those of the regular forms of *voir*, it is relevant to consider how *voici* and *voilà* behave with the verbal complements as examined in section 3.2.2.

To examine the distribution of the complements combined with *voici* or *voilà*, I conducted a survey similar to that of *voir* of the four complement types, the infinitive, the present participle, the deictic relative clause, and the complement clause following *voici* or *voilà*, without regard to text genre:

- (37) *Voilà qu'il neige* 'It is snowing'
- (38) *Le voici venir* 'Here he comes'
- (39) *Le voilà qui arrive* 'There he is arriving'
- (40) *Le voilà jouant le football* 'There he is playing soccer'

In order to obtain data comparable to the findings of *voir*, *regarder*, and *apercevoir* (section 3.2.2), I limited the search to occurrences with a pronominal object²⁸ for searches of infinitive, past participle, and deictic relative with the following query: [object pronoun] [lemma: *voici/voilà*] [infinitive/*qui* (relative pronoun)/past participle].²⁹ However, as regards the construction with complement clause, this does not appear with a clitic pronominal object: [lemma: *voici/voilà*] [subordinate conjunction]. The findings are presented in Table 3 and reproduced in Figure 6 to Figure 9. In Table 3, the numbers indicate the percentage of the total number of occurrences of *voici/voilà* combined with one of the four complement types. The numbers in parentheses are the corresponding actual numbers found in the corpus. Each query has been performed in the four different corpora dating from the pre-classical period till the present time.

It is clear from the table that neither the present participle nor the infinitive is current any longer in combination with *voici* or *voilà*. However, since several scholars mention *voici* in particular, followed by an infinitive (Sandfeld 1965 [1936]-a: 169), and since the

²⁸ See section 4.2.1 and footnote 70 for an explication for this limitation.

²⁹ By not allowing the insertion of anything between the object pronoun and the lemma in the corpus query, I renounce occurrences with compound verbal forms since no auxiliary can occur between the object and full verb; since this applies equally to all queries, it should not affect the proportions.

development of the two constructions appear to be rather parallel, they will be examined together with the two other constructions (cf. Figure 6 to Figure 9).

	Main clause	Infinitive	Present participle	Deictic relative	Complement clause	Total number
Pre-classical (1550-1649)	<i>voici</i>	25% (5)	0% (0)	30% (6)	45% (9)	20
Corpus size: 14.701.299 words	<i>voilà</i>	0% (0)	0% (0)	50% (18)	50% (18)	36
Classical (1650-1799)	<i>voici</i>	3.5% (3)	0% (0)	68.6% (59)	27.9% (24)	86
Corpus size: 43.514.407 words	<i>voilà</i>	0% (0)	3.6% (11)	68.2% (206)	28.1% (85)	302
Modern (1800-1979)	<i>voici</i>	0.49% (9)	0.87% (16)	15.3% (282)	83.4% (1542)	1849
Corpus size: 149.693.978 words	<i>voilà</i>	0% (0)	2.6% (71)	37.1% (981)	60.3% (1595)	2647
Contemporary (1980-)	<i>voici</i>	0.5% (2)	0.5% (2)	9% (37)	90% (368)	409
Corpus size: 37.385.007 words	<i>voilà</i>	0% (0)	0.6% (4)	23.7% (169)	75.7% (539)	712

Table 3. Distribution of verbal complements after *voici* or *voilà*

Figure 6 illustrates the percentage of occurrences of *voici* or *voilà*, combined with an infinitive (ACI), in proportion to the total number of occurrences of each of the two phrases with one of the four verbal complements.

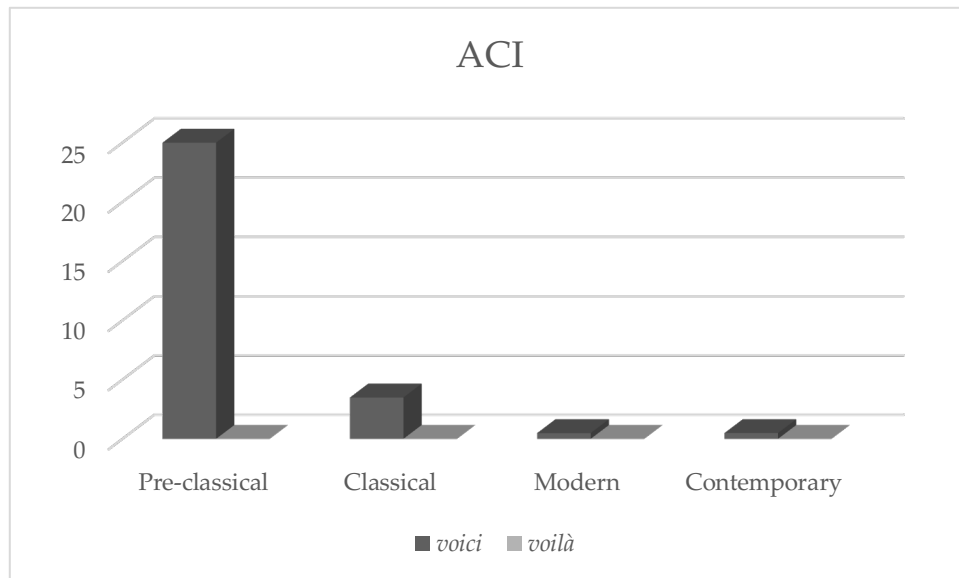


Figure 6. Relative frequency of the ACI – percentage of total number of occurrences of *voici/voilà* with one of the four verbal complements

In the earliest corpus, five occurrences of the ACI after *voici* have been found, corresponding to 25% of the occurrences with *voici*:

- (41) *Mais la **voici** venir, il faut un peu me feindre, ...* ‘But here she comes, I have to pretend a little, ...’ (Montchrestien, *Aman ou la Vanité*, 1601, Frantext)

The frequency drops radically in the classical period where only three occurrences of *voici* + ACI are found in a much larger corpus, corresponding to 3.5%. In the modern and contemporary texts, the relative frequency drops to 0.5%.

- (42) *Maintenant les **voici** revenir vers le fond du ravin, portant le blessé sur une civière ; ...* ‘Now here they are coming back to the bottom of the ravine, carrying the injured man on a stretcher’ (Genevoix, *Ceux de 14*, 1950, Frantext)

Voilà is not found with ACI.

With the very limited total number of occurrences, the more detailed distribution should be considered with reservations. However, it is clear – as also stated by Sandfeld (1965 [1936]-a: 169), Grevisse & Goosse (2008: 1113, 1410), and Rey & Rey-Debove (1986: 2107) – that *voici* can be accompanied by an infinitive, in particular the verb *venir*, that this combination has more or less turned into a fixed expression, and that these are mainly found in the literary or formal genres.

- (43) *Attention, dit Adamsberg, **voici** venir nos vierges* ‘Watch out, said Adamsberg, here come our virgins’ (Vargas, *Dans les bois éternels*, 2006, Frantext)

Since the use is marginal, this combination will not be studied further. None of these studies mentions findings of *voilà* with an infinitive.³⁰

Figure 7 illustrates the percentage of occurrences of *voici* or *voilà*, combined with a present participle, in proportion to the total number of occurrences of each of the two phrases with one of the four verbal complements.

³⁰ Grevisse & Goosse (2008: 1141) also mention the option of an infinitive preceded by *à* which can replace a relative: *Nous voilà à errer sur les boulevards spacieux de l’avenue Paseo de la Reforma* ‘Here we are wandering the spacious boulevards of Paseo de la Reforma avenue’ (Macherez, 2019, Frantext). This type will not be part of the present study.

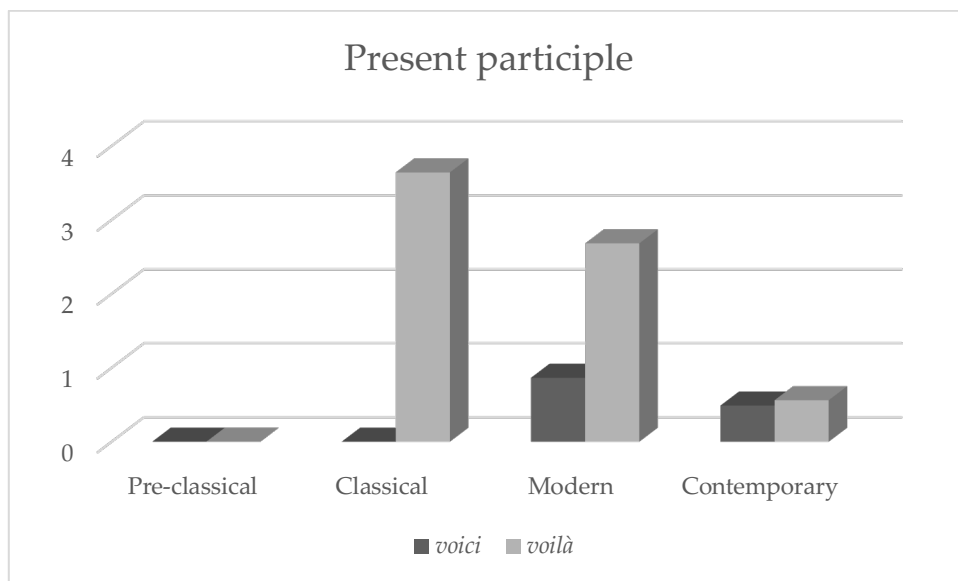


Figure 7. Relative frequency of the present participle – percentage of total number of occurrences of *voici*/*voilà* with one of the four verbal complements

No occurrences of *voici* or *voilà* followed by a present participle have been found in the pre-classical texts. From the classical period onwards, the relative frequency of *voilà* + present participle resembles much that of *voici* + ACI (Figure 6). This could indicate that while *voici* combines with ACI, *voilà* is more inclined to combine with the present participle. The fact remains, however, that the two constructions are extremely rare, and both seem to fade out in the most recent texts.

Figure 8 illustrates the percentage of occurrences of *voici* or *voilà*, combined with a deictic relative, in proportion to the total number of occurrences of each of the two forms with one of the four verbal complements.

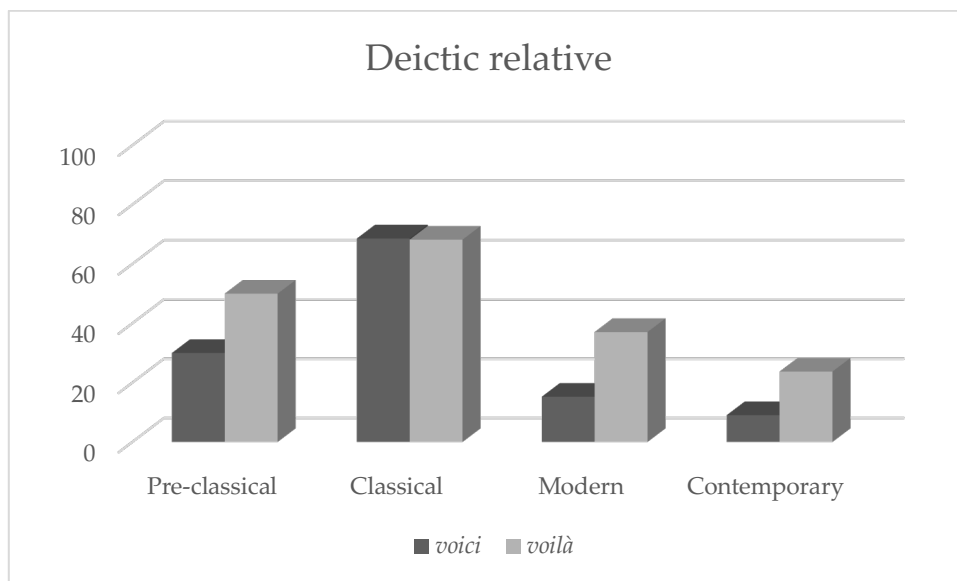


Figure 8. Relative frequency of the deictic relative – percentage of total number of occurrences of *voici/voilà* with one of the four verbal complements

The deictic relative combined with *voici* or *voilà* is standard, with a preference for *voilà* to combine with the deictic relative as compared to *voici*.

- (44) *Le **voici** qui paraît, je vais lui parler de vous* ‘Here he is appearing, I will tell him about you’ (Lemercier, *Népomucène - Pinto ou la Journée d’une conspiration*, 1800, Frantext)
- (45) *Le **voilà** qui se glisse doucement dans la chambre...* ‘Here he is slowly slipping into the bedroom...’ (Chandernagor, 1981, Frantext)

As shown in Table 3, the drop in *voici/voilà* combined with the deictic relative occurs during the same period as the increased frequency of *voici/voilà* combined with complement clause. In the classical period, around 68% of the occurrences with *voici* or *voilà* were combined with a deictic relative clause, whereas around 28% were combined with a complement clause. During the modern period, the proportion of occurrences has dropped to 15% for *voici* in combination with a deictic relative and to 37% for *voilà*, while the frequency of the two forms amount to 83% for *voici* and 60% for *voilà* combined with a complement clause. In the contemporary corpus, the tendency continues to show significance with 90% and 76%, respectively, for *voici* and *voilà* with a complement clause, and 9% and 24%, respectively, for *voici* and *voilà* combined with a deictic relative.

In sections 4.3.1 and 4.4.2 the combination with deictic relative will be studied in detail.

Figure 9 illustrates the percentage of occurrences of *voici* or *voilà*, followed by a complement clause, in proportion to the total number of occurrences of each of the two forms with one of the four verbal complements.



Figure 9. Relative frequency of the complement clause – percentage of total number of occurrences of *voici/voilà* with one of the four verbal complements

When combined with a complement clause, *voici/voilà* presents a new circumstance (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 454; Grevisse & Goosse 2008: 1456) – see also section 5.3.4. *Voici/voilà* is often introduced by *Mais* or *Et*:

- (46) *Et **voici** que, pour la troisième fois depuis cinq siècles, j'arrive au faite d'une des collines qui dominent cette ville* 'And here is that, for the third time in five centuries, I arrive at the top of one of the hills which dominate this city' (Sue, 1845, Frantext)
- (47) *Mais **voilà** que tout à coup on ne se retrouve plus le même ; ...* 'But suddenly we don't find ourselves the same; ...' (Brillat-Savarin, 1825, Frantext)

According to Danino *et al.* (2020), *voilà* + complement clause peaks in the beginning of the twentieth century; however, an abating use in the contemporary period is not confirmed by my data.

To sum up, *voici* and *voilà* seem to prefer to combine with a complement clause, in which case *voici/voilà* with respect to valency behaves like a verb. This will not be further examined in the present study. Moreover, *voici/voilà* can function as a presentative when

combining with a deictic relative to create a focus construction. This will be further elaborated in chapter 4.

From the lexical level I now proceed to the levels of grammatical paradigms.

4. Progression

This chapter concerns the creation of the construction *voir* + deictic relative as a marker of progression and therefore as a member of the aspectual paradigm.³¹

In Romance languages a specific construction exists which, according to most presentations, is a type of subordinate relative clause. It is typically used in relation with expressions of perception and serves as a marker of simultaneity for two perceptions – namely, the perceived object and the activity of the object – thus bringing the deictic dimensions into relevance.

(48) *Je le **vois** qui arrive* ‘I see him coming’

(49) *Lo **vedo** che arriva* ‘I see him coming’

Although there have been many successful attempts to better understand the lexical and grammatical use of the construction,³² there has not been much effort to either describe the historical dimension of the deictic relative construction or to study the more pragmatic dimensions of the construction, i.e. the registers and genres in which it appears. In French, there seems to be a generally accepted understanding that the construction belongs to literary and formal *langue*, whereas in Italian it is considered a part of spoken language, and more specifically part of a substandard. Diasystematic³³ empirical studies of French, however, indicate that the construction occurs more frequently in oral than in written language (Kragh & Strudsholm 2018). This observation relates to the relevance of the deictic approach, including time (simultaneity), place (locally tied to its place of origin), and person: The moment the activity is perceived (time), the subject (person) comprehends

³¹ The chapter contains a compilation of extracts from Kragh & Strudsholm (2013: 209-213), Kragh & Schøsler (2014: 172-190), Kragh & Schøsler (2015: 265-267, 271-291), and Kragh & Schøsler (2021: 88-90).

³² For an overview of the many studies, we refer to Scarano (2002), who also presents an overview of the numerous terms: relative predicative (1886, 1884; Polentz 1903; van der Auwera 1985; Hatcher 1944a, 1944b), relative attributive (Sandfeld 1936; Grevisse 1969; Rothenberg 1979; Prebensen 1982), relative completive (Schwarze 1974), pseudo-relative (Radford 1975, 1977; Cinque 1988; Scarano 2002; Graffi 1980), relative *des comptes rendus de perception* (Kleiber 1988), relative *de perception* (Muller 1995), relative *présentative* (Lambrecht 2000) and relative *situationali* (Strudsholm 1999, 2007).

³³ I refer to Kragh & Lindschouw (2013: 7-8) for a brief presentation of the diasystematic dimensions (diachronic, diatopic, diastratic, diaphasic, and diamesic levels), cf. section 2. For a thorough presentation of the diasystematic distinctions, see Völker (2009) and Glessgen *et al.* (2018).

the object, and the locality of the activity represents the common point of reference (place) for speaker and listener (person). 1st and 2nd persons (i.e. speaker and listener) have inherent deictic references, and this suggests that the construction belongs primarily to oral communication.³⁴

Through diamesic analyses, I aim to verify the assumption that, when viewed from a diachronic perspective, occurrences of the construction are first found in informal speech, later spreading to more formal registers. This conforms to the principles of internally motivated linguistic change (Andersen 1990, 2006a, 2008a, 2001c), according to which changes like these are usage-based, and in that way originate in language innovations made by individual speakers in their spontaneous usage. Once this new expression is actualized in usage by a speaker, other speakers may adopt it, actualize it in their usage and so on, and eventually the expression may become generalized.³⁵ When an innovation is generalized in spoken language, it may spread to writing; first, in registers close to direct discourse and, later, to other registers.

Thus, the starting point for the presentation of this structure is twofold: first of all, it is inspired by Cadiot (1976, 1978) and Benzakour (1984) in accordance with whom I use the term *deictic relative clause* (cf. section 4.1.1), and, secondly, it is motivated by the obvious lack of analysis for using the construction – and its origin in a number of grammars and monographs concerning related matter – which could legitimize a thorough analysis.

Figure 10 illustrates that I, at the level of reanalyses, place the grammation of the deictic relative clause, due to a reanalysis of the relative subordinate (i.e. reanalysis of a lexical entity), at the lexical level. This is an important step for the subsequent grammaticalizations that involve *voir* in a progressive (paradigmatic level) context (see section 4.4).

³⁴ This conforms to Otto Jespersen's classification of 1st and 2nd persons as shifters within the frame of deixis (Fludernik 1991).

³⁵ Alternatively, innovations can be independent on the part of different speakers which means that it has no single source from which it spreads but is the result of intra-systemic pressures.

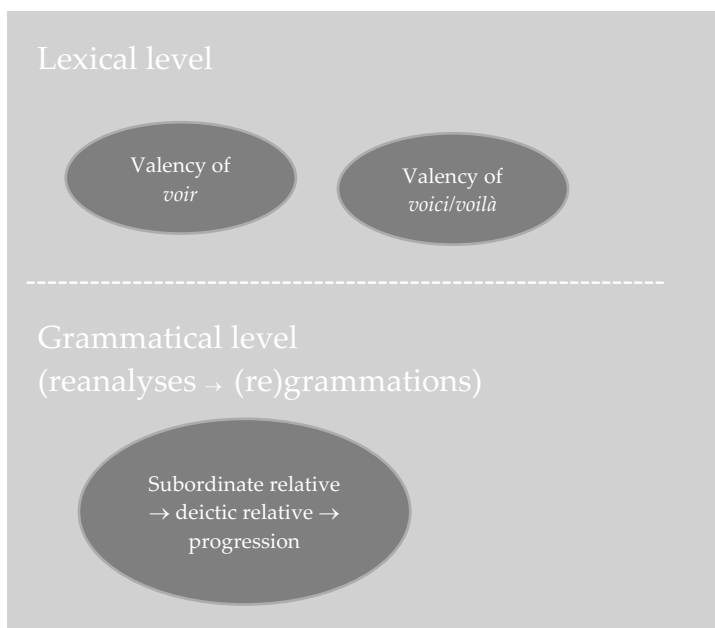


Figure 10. From lexical level to grammatical level

Before studying this process of reanalysis and grammation, I shall take a closer look into the various descriptions – and omissions – of the deictic construction, with a specific focus on its frequency in a diasystematic view.

4.1. State of the art³⁶

The overall impression is that there has been little effort to describe how and when the construction first appeared. Sandfeld (1909: 119) applies the term *prædikativ relativsætning* (predicative relative clause) and mentions some temporal restrictions, but apart from these, he does not refer to any formal restrictions. According to him (1909: 117), a predicative relative clause can usually be paraphrased by a present participle or by an infinitive. His presentations contain neither diasystematic considerations nor any reflections concerning the origin of the construction (Sandfeld 1909, 1965 [1936]-b).

Larousse (Gaiffe *et al.* 1936: 101) does not deal with the deictic relative construction as a specific type of relative, but merely mentions the construction as a way of focusing on simultaneity. As regards diamesic and diaphasic observations, *Larousse* states as follows:

³⁶ Section 4.1 was first published in Kragh & Strudsholm (2013: 209-211) and section 4.1.1 in Kragh & Strudsholm (2013: 211-213).

« Présentant l'action à un mode personnel, elle [la proposition relative] établit une sorte de concomitance entre la sensation et l'action. Elle remplace le participe présent que le langage populaire a tendance à éviter parce qu'il semble sans doute un peu savant ».

Thus, Larousse explains the use of the deictic relative as a replacement of the present participle (un chat *se glissant* → *J'ai aperçu un chat qui se glissait entre les arbres-*) by means of diaphasic (style and genre) considerations.

Grévisse refers to the construction with the term *proposition relative attributive*, but mentions no formal restrictions, nothing about meaning or diasystematic observations, neither in the 1949 edition (Grévisse 1949: 829-830) nor in the 1969 edition (Grévisse 1969: 1069). Grévisse & Goosse (1986: 1612) notice a construction that can have a personal pronoun as the antecedent and still not be placed immediately after the antecedent: “Lorsque l'antécédent est un pronom personnel conjoint, il est impossible que la relative le suive immédiatement : *Nous le vîmes qui avait jeté à terre sa belle chemise blanche* ‘We saw him who had thrown his nice white shirt at the ground’ (Loti, *Mon frère Yves*) ; *Me voici qui attends le jour* ‘Here I am who waits for the day’ (Dorgelès, *Caravane sans chameaux*, p. 216)”, but do not, apart from that, mention the construction at all.

Togebly (1965) is not concerned with the deictic relative, but refers to *Propositions dans le rôle d'attribut indirect* in a later and extended version of his French grammar by explicating that “dans ce rôle, on ne trouve que les relatives attributs, c'est-à-dire des relatives qui donnent un renseignement nouveau et essentiel” (Togebly 1985: 99).

Hatcher (1944a) presents a commendable effort to investigate the history of the construction, and although the evidence of her explanations does not always seem fully convincing, her observations are, however, striking. According to her, early stages of the deictic construction were introduced in Old French “for the purpose of achieving a stylistic variation” (Hatcher 1944a: 278) “with its roots in common speech” (Hatcher 1944a: 276). Her interpretation is inspired by the idea that this construction, as opposed to the infinitive, was able to insist on reproducing the successive steps of a visual perception as they appear in the moment of the perception, and the duality of the perception of the person and of his activity. Hatcher does not discuss the frequency of the construction, but restricts herself to rejecting the idea that the present participle should be a true rival of the

deictic relative construction, as this form never really seems to have gained ground (Hatcher 1944a: 276).

(Polentz 1903: 38) throws light on the frequency and on the identification of the construction, which is clearly complicated by the possibility of having an NP antecedent:

“Weit häufiger [than a construction with *pour* + infinitive] sind nun die Fälle, in denen der prädikative Relativsatz bei Verben der sinnlichen Wahrnehmung auftritt und dazu dient, in anschaulicher, malerischer Weise zu zeigen, in welcher Beschaffenheit oder Lage des Subjekts die Tätigkeit desselben sich vollzieht. Solche Verba sind *voir* (daher auch *voici, voilà*), *entendre* [...] und das Objekt derselben kann sowohl ein Substantiv als auch ein Personalpronomen sein. Dass es auch hier nicht immer leicht ist, den prädikativen Relativsatz von dem attributiven zu unterscheiden, wenn das Objekt ein Substantivum ist, hat Tobler bereits a.a. O. gezeigt”.

But, in clear opposition to Hatcher’s analysis 40 years later, he maintains that the present participle is more frequent than the deictic relative clause (Polentz 1903: 42):

“Häufiger als der Relativsatz ist auch nach den Verben der Wahrnehmung das Participium Präsens, und die Konstruktionen unterscheiden sich in ihrer Bedeutung nicht von einander, da auch das Partiz. das von den sinnen Empfundene plastisch und nachdrucksvoll zur Anschauung bringt”.

Finally, Polentz (1903: 41) observes that the construction, which is currently always introduced by the relative pronoun *qui*, was introduced by the relative adverb *où* in Old French, which evokes a notion of local attachment in a natural way. This observation is important and closely connected to the interpretation of the construction as locally tied to its place of origin.

It thus seems that none of these researchers suggest any hypothesis on the origin of the French deictic relative construction, apart from Hatcher, who presents a teleological approach based on the idea that a new construction is needed to signify the perception of a person in action. None of the studies speak of frequency, except for Polentz and Hatcher who, however, merely compare its frequency with the frequency of the present participle. No previous study has yet analysed the use of the deictic relative construction in the light of the diamesic and the diaphasic dimensions. From this starting point, Kragh &

Strudsholm (2013) describe the use of deictic relative construction after the unmarked lexical notion of the visual perception in French (*voir*) and Italian (*vedere*), respectively, and compare it to the following expressions of presentation: the French *voilà* and *voici* and the Italian *ecco* (for analyses of *voici* and *voilà* as presentatives, see sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.2).

In Strudsholm (1999, 2007) and Kragh & Strudsholm (2011), arguments are put forth for the relevance of the deictic approach to the description and definition of the particular kind of relative proposition in Romance languages, used especially after verbs of perception, as proposed by Cadiot (1976) and further developed by Benzakour (1984). We have concluded that the construction is rooted in the deictic reference to person, place, and time and hereby differs from its syntactic rivals, mainly the infinitive construction and the complement clause, but also to a certain extent the present participle which, however, seems to have been decreasing in both French and Italian in favour of the increase of the deictic relative clause (cf. sections 3.2.2 and 3.3.1).

4.1.1. The relevance of deixis

The definition of the deictic concepts used in this study is based primarily on Lyons (1977) and Levinson (1983); I distinguish between three basic kinds of deixis (person, place, and time). Deixis of person regards the linguistic coding of the speakers' role and is especially found in the pronoun system and in the flexion of the verbs. Deixis of place concerns the linguistic coding of spatial relations in regard to the interlocutors' physical position and is coded linguistically in adverbs of place and demonstratives. Deixis of time regards how certain points in time are linguistically coded, this concerns especially temporal adverbs and tense. As regards the deictic relative clauses, the presence of a deictic element is, however, not obligatory, but indicates that these structures imply a direct perception of the entity to which it refers, an underlying *hic et nunc*. The starting point of Cadiot (1978: 5) is the notion of *hic et nunc*. He assumes that a deictic relative clause presupposes a direct perception of the object referred to: "... *ces structures syntaxiques* [the deictic relative clauses] *supposent une saisie directe de l'objet référé, une saisie hic et nunc*". For Benzakour the idea of immediate contact and simultaneity is central:

"La relative déictique ne se présente pas comme une opération de détermination

ou d'identification, pas plus que comme une assertion de type spécial. Elle est plutôt proche des expressions déictiques, en ce qu'elle établit un contact immédiat avec l'objet de perception qui est saisi directement au moment de l'acte de perception” (Benzakour 1984: 99).

Thus, the deictic relative clause does not express a determination or identification, nor does it express a special type of assertion. It is, on the other hand, closely related to the deictic expression by establishing an immediate contact to the perceived object, which is directly grasped at the very same moment of the perceived activity.

A deictic relative clause is rooted in a particular discursive context, which corresponds to the way in which a deictic expression is rooted in the situation of communication. The starting point is the perceiving person and his or her relation to the perceived object and to the activity in which it is involved. The moment that the activity is perceived (time), the subject (person) perceives the object, and the location of the activity appears as common points of reference (place) for the speaker and the listener. The situational context implies a restriction, concerning the object, that it must be concrete and perceptible. An immediate perception of the actual object *hic et nunc* is in this way presupposed.

Furukawa (2005: 98) uses the expression “contraintes spatio-temporelles” about the mutual relation between the perception and the perceived activity, and stresses that the expression, in addition to simultaneity, also regards “une relation co-positionnelle”.

The antecedent of the deictic relative clause must, by definition, be manifest; one must be able to *see* or *hear* it. This makes the concepts *here* and *now* (*hic et nunc*), combined with the perceived phenomenon, preconditions for concretizing the object.

Deictic relative clauses are characterized by specific syntactic and semantic features. These are, however, in a pragmatic approach primarily deduced from the discursive function of the construction, which implies the restriction of only appearing in certain contexts where the deictic references are present.

4.2. Level of reanalyses: Reanalysis A > B (1), from subordinate to deictic relative construction³⁷

This part studies the diachrony of the deictic relative in order to propose a plausible reanalysis (A > B) from subordinate relative to nexus relative (i.e. deictic relative),³⁸ implying a number of formal and semantic changes in order to provide information about causes and conditions of the grammation process. In section 4.3, the aspectual progressive feature of the first reanalysis (A > B) and the actualization of this construction are studied.

I aim to illustrate the change from a relative clause into a deictic relative as a probable process of grammation. This implies that the original relative clause started as a so-called *substantive construction*, being part of the valency pattern of the governing verb, i.e. as part of the lexicon (=A), which was reanalysed as a *schematic construction*, i.e. as part of the grammar (=B), with a paradigmatic relation to other constructions. I will show that changes like this are usage-based (i.e. speaker induced),³⁹ following the phases presented in the quotation below by Andersen (2008a: 32):

“The normal course of events through which a new expression originates, gains currency and becomes established as part of a tradition of speaking is the following: one or more speakers (i) make a (primary) innovation and (ii) actualize it in usage; other speakers (iii) adopt the new expression and (iv) actualize it in their usage; if the new expression is used widely and long enough, new cohorts of speakers (v) will acquire it as an integral part of their competence and (vi) actualize it in their usage; the new expression becomes generalized in the community through repeated cycles of (iii)-(vi). One can speak of such series of overlapping kinds of innovation as a ‘change scenario’ and of the constituent innovation types (i)-(vi) as ‘subchanges’”.

If changes are usage-based, they either originate in language as internal innovations made

³⁷ Section 4.2 is a reproduction of Kragh & Schøsler (2014: 173-182) to which new perspectives have been added. Some of these have been presented in Kragh & Schøsler (2021: 88-91).

³⁸ Please observe that the term *nexus* describes the relation of interdependency with the antecedent, whereas the term *deictic* refers to the content of this type of relative. I recall that the nexus/deictic relative is not subordinate in contrast to the other types of relative clauses to be mentioned in the following: subordinate restrictive and subordinate non-restrictive.

³⁹ My functional approach, (as defined in section 0), is incompatible with a structure-based framing.

by individual speakers in their spontaneous usage, which is often an innovation “from below”⁴⁰, or they are introduced in a situation of language contact. The latter could, for example, consist of an influence from the standard language on dialects, or influence from a foreign language of prestige, i.e. innovation “from above”.⁴¹ In the cases studied here, it is my hypothesis that the changes have started “from below”, implying that they have their outset in spoken language (orality) and later spread to writing – first, in genres close to orality, later, to other genres. I will test this hypothesis by means of my corpus, which contains the relevant text types for the study of register. I will also consider the spread of innovation through the structure of the language, in this case the spread in the category of person (1st, 2nd, and 3rd person).

The empirical analyses are primarily based on data collected in the electronic text corpus Frantext (<http://www.frantext.fr>). As regards the early centuries, which are poorly represented in this corpus, the electronic data have been supplemented with manual excerpts from *Charroi de Nîmes* (a text from the twelfth century, transmitted in manuscripts from the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries⁴²), *Aucassin & Nicolette* (thirteenth century), and *Les Poésies* by Jacques Peletier du Mans (1555-1581). The electronic data are registered in a database and categorized according to relevant syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic features, such as verb of perception/*voici/voilà*, tense, person, etc., with a view to studying frequencies for specific features. The Middle French data (1330-1500) have been collected in a corpus of texts pertaining to the theatre and novels, which consists of 704,080 words. This corpus has produced only 28 relevant examples, including occurrences with a pronominal antecedent, as well as occurrences with an NP as the antecedent. Since these examples are not all univocal (see below), they are not comprised in the quantitative analyses carried out on the data.

A third formal genre has been included for the subsequent centuries, namely the essay.

⁴⁰ The terms “from below” and “from above” are essentially sociolinguistic terms introduced by Labov. We use these terms in a non-technical sense, as also used in Andersen (2008a).

⁴¹ This does not exclude the possibility that the situation of language contact may also cause innovation from below, e.g. from English starting among young people and subsequently spreading among speakers.

⁴² Transcribed by Lene Schøsler.

The sizes of the corpora comprising theatre, novel, and essay, therefore, look as follows:

Time period	Number of words
17 th century (Classical French I)	14,009,604
18 th century (Classical French II)	29,783,013
19 th century (Modern French I)	48,140,757
20 th and 21 st centuries (Modern French II):	83,966,116

Table 4. *Corpus theatre, novel, and essay from Frantext*

In accordance with the argumentation above (4.1.1), only occurrences of the construction with a pronominal antecedent (*le/la/les/l' + voir + qui*) have been excerpted in the corpora from 1600 to 2010. These corpora have provided 1543 occurrences of either *voir*, *voici*, or *voilà* + deictic relative, on which the quantitative analyses are based (353 occurrences with *voir*, 246 occurrences with *voici*, and 944 occurrences with *voilà*)⁴³.

4.2.1. Characteristics of the deictic relative construction

As described in 4.1.1, the deictic relative clause is characterized at least by the three pragmatic features, rooted in the deictic restrictions concerning time (simultaneity), place (locally tied to its place of origin), and person. Just like any deictic expression, the deictic relative is rooted in a communication situation between a speaker and an addressee, implying (a) a speaker, (b) the presence of a person who perceives, (c) his or her relation to the perceived object, (d) the activity in which the object is involved, and (e) an addressee. The common point of reference for both perceiver/speaker and the perceived object is the time and the location of the activity. The first feature is important for the interpretation of progressivity (see below).

I will illustrate these features by means of Middle French examples. I consider these to be bridging examples in the sense used by Heine (2002) and Diewald (2002), because they permit two interpretations: (a) as subordinate relatives or (b) as deictic relatives.

Perception of a progressive or an accomplished process must leave a perceptible trace (cf. section 4.1.1); a prototypical example is found in (50):

⁴³ *Voici* and *voilà* are included here to be compared with *voir* in a diaphasic and diamesic perspective (cf. footnote 33). *Voici* and *voilà* + deictic relative are also treated separately in the section on focalization (section 5).

- (50) *Quant il voit le roy qui ainsi malmenoit sa gent, si lui gecte le dart par grant air et le fiert ou senestre costé telement que il le perce de part en part* ‘When he sees the king ill-treating his people, with much anger, he throws his spear towards him and hits him in the left side of his chest in such a way that he transpierces him from one side to the other’. (Jean d’Arras, *Mélusine*, c.1392, Frantext)

By definition, the deictic relative excludes perceptions of permanent situations or of anterior or posterior processes. Thus, a modification of (50) into (51) does not result in a deictic relative clause, but in a subordinate clause (the symbol # indicates that this cannot be interpreted as a deictic relative clause).

- (51) *#Quant il voit le roy qui est beau / #qui sera tué le lendemain / #qui avait tué sa femme...* ‘When he sees the king who is beautiful / who will be killed the following day / who has killed his wife...’

By definition, the deictic relative excludes perceptions of virtual, negated, or cognitive processes. Thus, a modification of (50) into (52) does not result in a deictic relative clause, but in a subordinate clause (here again, the # indicates that this is not a deictic relative clause).

- (52) *#Quant il voit le roy qui ne malmenoit pas sa gent / #s’il voyait un roy qui malmenoit sa gent...* ‘When he sees the king who did not ill-treat his people / if he saw a king who ill-treated his people...’

These definitions imply that the cognitive use of the verb ‘to see’ (Willems 1983; Andersen & Schøsler 2002) cannot be followed by a deictic relative clause, only by a subordinate clause as in (53), (cf. section 3.2.2).

- (53) *Il voit les problèmes qui se posent.* ‘He recognizes the actual problems’.

It should be noted, however, that negation and interrogation are only excluded from the deictic relative construction if they suspend the activity of perception. Thus, I consider (54) a deictic relative construction because the question concerns whether the friend addressed by the young girl has or has not seen the process, which is indeed happening – it does not question the state of affairs expressed by the deictic relative.

- (54) *Amis, dist la pucelle, avez vous veu celle gent qui nous viennent a secours?*
 ‘My friend, said the maiden, have you seen these people coming to help us?’
 (Jean d’Arras: *Mélusine*, c.1392, Frantext)

These pragmatically rooted features are my redefinitions of traditional formal definitions of the deictic relative (Kragh & Strudsholm 2011, 2013). The traditional definitions are found, e.g. in Kleiber (1988), Radford (1975), Graffi (1980), Cinque (1988), and discussed by Scarano (2002). The only formal criterion that I accept is based on the nature of the antecedent in the deictic relative; I follow Polentz (1903) and Furukawa (2005), according to whom only relative clauses that have a pronominal antecedent can be unequivocally labelled deictic relatives.⁴⁴

4.2.2. The origin of the deictic relative construction

The earliest examples that can be interpreted as deictic relatives stem from the twelfth century (manuscripts from the thirteenth century). Their frequency seems to increase by the seventeenth century. In this section, I shall first present my hypotheses concerning the creation of the deictic relative construction following verbs of perception (reanalysis A > B). These hypotheses also apply to a second change to be studied in section 5.2.2.

The deictic relative construction is an innovation with respect to Latin. As defined in section 4.2.1, the term *deictic relative* is rooted in its close relation to the deictic dimensions (tense, place, and person), and originates most likely from a subordinate relative clause.

In example (4) (*Je vois la maison qui est rouge*), a clear subordinate relative clause was part of the NP. In certain contexts, such subordinate clauses are reanalysed. In the following, I present bridging examples in which the hearer may interpret the message of the relative clause in two different ways:

⁴⁴ Also, proper nouns have an unequivocal reference (*Je vois Pierre qui arrive*), but – for practical reasons having to do with the organisation of electronic corpora, which are not tagged in such a way that they permit the identification of proper nouns – I only include occurrences with a pronominal antecedent in the quantitative analyses.

- (55) *s'i erent venu apoier./Quant le cuens vit son escuier/qui sor le noir destrier estoit* 'they have come to rest there/when the count saw his horseman/who was sitting on the black horse' (Chrétien de Troyes, *Erec*, c. 1170, Frantext)

The interpretation of this example is twofold. The point may be that the count firstly catches sight of his horseman and subsequently discovers him sitting on the black horse. Thus, the subordinate relative indicates a secondary feature, an element which presupposes the presence of the antecedent; i.e. there is a relation of unidirectional determination between the antecedent and the relative. This means that the horseman is what the eye catches, while his sitting on the black horse is less important. With this interpretation, it would be absolutely possible to skip the relative clause without significant loss of meaning: *li cuens vit son escuier*. However, another interpretation is also possible, providing a so-called bridging or critical context, which permits reanalysis because of the ambiguity (see Heine 2002; Diewald 2002: 117), namely a holistic (progressive) perception of the horseman sitting on the horse. This means that it is the sight of the horseman sitting on the black horse, which is the point; in this case, the preceding paraphrase would be inappropriate. On the contrary, the person uttering/writing this sentence has the sight of his horseman sitting on the black horse in mind as one holistic observation. This interpretation is confirmed by the context following the quote which focuses on the black horse and not on the horseman: *demanda li cui il estoit, / et cil respond que il est suens. / Molt s'an est merveilliez li cuens: / "Comant, fet il, ou l'as tu pris?"* '[the count] asked him to whom it belonged / and he [the horseman] answers that it is his. / The count is very astonished hereby: / "How, he says, where have you taken it?'

It should be clear that the first interpretation paraphrases a genuine subordinate relative clause, implying that the NP has the function of a direct object of the verb *vit*. However, in the second interpretation, the direct object is a nexus, with a relation of interdependency (labelled 'solidarity')⁴⁵ between the antecedent and the relative clause (Hjelmslev 1966 [1943]: 37; Jespersen 1924), i.e. between the NP (the horseman) and the VP (sitting on the horseback), just like other complex VPs: [*je vois*] *Pierre* + *arriver* / *arrivant*

⁴⁵ In accordance with the principles of Danish functional linguistics, structural relationships bear pragmatic implications (cf. section 0).

mentioned in section 3.2. This point makes a difference, not only with the restrictive clause explicated above, but also with a subordinate non-restrictive clause,⁴⁶ of which the relevant paraphrase is made by means of a main clause (56):

- (56) *Ne veez la Oruble qui n'a pas VIJ. ans acompliz, qui a ja occiz deux de mes escuiers, et avant qu'il eust trois ans, avoit il fait mourir deux de ses nourrices par force de mordre leurs mamelles?* 'Now, see there Horrible. He is not yet seven years old, but has already killed two horsemen. And before he was three, he had killed two of his nurses by biting into their breasts' (Jean d'Arras, *Mélusine*, c.1392, Frantext)

Examples (55) and (56) are possibly subordinate relative clauses, but in example (57) the situation is clearly different:

- (57) *... si le tienent par le giron ; / virent les plaies qui li sainent, / mout le dolosent et le plaignent* 'they hold him by the lap / they saw his wounds that were bleeding / they commiserate with him and pity him much' (Anonymous, *Roman de Renart*, c. 1180, Frantext)

In (57), it is unlikely that those who pity first discover the wounds, and then discover that these wounds are bleeding. What is discovered is more likely the bleeding of the wounds, i.e. a holistic vision as described in connection with the reanalysed interpretation of (55). In other words, (57) is probably not a subordinate relative clause but more likely a deictic relative clause.

Accordingly, I will consider (57) to be the result of the speaker reanalysing the subordinate type of relative clause, in the following way: A (subordinate relative clause specifying an NP) > B (deictic relative construction), i.e. into a new type of verbal complementation, without immediate change of the surface manifestation. This implies that the construction has acquired not only (a) a different function, which is not a subordinate, but a nexus relation, but also (b) a different meaning. This meaning has been described tentatively in terms of a holistic vision. Moreover, this vision is progressive, by which I refer to *an ongoing process performed by the referent of the direct object of the*

⁴⁶ A non-restrictive relative clause differs essentially from the deictic nexus clause with respect to the relation to the antecedent. I consider it subordinate, knowing that this is not the only possible analysis. However, this does not affect my argumentation concerning the deictic relative.

verb of perception. There is temporal and spatial coincidence, the observers watch an activity in progress, and the observers attend the scene.

De Smet (2014) questions the ideas of *abruptness* and *ambiguity* in relation to reanalysis. Instead, he refers to analogy as an important source of change. However, as I see it, my view on reanalysis is not affected by the problems raised by De Smet. Analogy is not a relevant source of innovation for the changes described here, since there is no obvious model available.⁴⁷ Firstly, in my view, the reanalysis described here is abrupt, because the speaker/addressee is supposed to analyse the same surface structure either as A or as B. Secondly, this reanalysis depends on the ambiguity of one and the same string, which permits the interpretation as A or as B. From the outset, there is no formal sign of differentiation between A and B. During the process of actualization of B, changes occur concerning the possible type of antecedent, which is restricted compared to that of A, concerning the choice of tense, which is restricted compared to that of A, etc. (see the features of B presented in section 4.2.1). These changes clearly signal that a reanalysis has taken place.

Let us now consider the syntagmatic and paradigmatic implications of this change in detail. The status of the source situation (A) is that the subordinate relative clause is part of a complex NP with no specification concerning function or verbal context. The complex NP can have the function of a subject or of any complement. Rephrasing the example quoted in (55), with two NPs: ‘the count saw his horseman who was sitting on the black horse’ – any of these NPs may display a simple or complex structure, three of which are illustrated in Table 5.

⁴⁷ I have discussed the model of change with De Smet (2014) who claims that the changes discussed here are not comprised in his argumentation regarding structural ambiguity and its role in reanalysis.

NP	V	NP
<i>le comte</i> the count		<i>son écuyer</i> his horseman
<i>le fameux comte</i> the famous count	<i>vit</i>	<i>son brave écuyer</i> his brave horseman
<i>le comte qui était assis sur son cheval blanc</i> the count who was sitting on a white horse	saw	<i>son écuyer qui était assis sur son cheval noir</i> his horseman who was sitting on the black horse

Table 5. (A) the source situation (a simple or complex NP with paradigmatic relation to other types of NPs)

In terms of syntactic relation, the change constitutes a case of *upgrading*.⁴⁸ In example (57), an originally subordinate element (*qui li sainen*) of a noun phrase (NP), direct object (DO) (*les plaies*) is reanalysed as a DO composed of a verb phrase (VP) (cf. also *son écuyer qui arrivait*, Table 6). This corresponds to what Haspelmath (1998) labels *rebracketing*, i.e. a new analysis of the same surface structure. In other words, a subordinate relative has the same status as an attribute adjective, participle, or prepositional complement, etc. (as illustrated in Table 5), whereas a deictic relative with its antecedent has the status of a VP (see Table 6).

The target situation (B), which is illustrated in Table 6, differs from the source situation – especially on the following important points:

- In B, the status of the relative clause has changed from being part of a complex NP with a number of different functions common to all NPs, into a verbal complement (VP) found with a small subset of governing verbs (i.e. verbs of perception), having a relation of solidarity (not of subordination) to the antecedent. I recall that A continues to exist (pace De Smet 2014) and is only ruled out with pronominal antecedents.
- Having changed its status from part of an NP into one of three verbal complementation possibilities with verbs of perception, the deictic relative clause – with its antecedent – acquires a paradigmatic relation to the other verbal

⁴⁸ Upgrading, in contrast to downgrading, is a reconfiguration that results in a given element being at a higher structural level than the starting point (Torck & Wetzels 2006).

complements governed by these verbs – i.e. examples (6) and (8) as introduced in section 3.2, see Table 6. Each of these complementation possibilities with their governing verbs is named a *construction*.⁴⁹

With respect to the competing constructions found with verbs of perception – e.g. *je vois Pierre arriver/arrivant/qui arrive*, ‘I see Peter coming’ – I believe that the differences can be characterised in the following way: the first and the second constructions, *je vois Pierre arriver* and *je vois Pierre arrivant*, both focus on Peter’s arrival as one on-going process, fulfilled or not. The present participle construction is declining in modern French. The difference between the infinitive and the present participle constructions corresponds to English, as explained by Barwise & Perry (1983: 180), according to whom the expression, “I saw him close the door” signifies that the door is closed, while “I saw him closing the door” indicates that he was closing the door, but not that he closed it – he may have been interrupted or stopped when he noticed someone watching (see also section 3.2.2). In contrast to the constructions with the present participle or the infinitive with the two foci, *je vois Pierre qui arrive* probably originally had two foci, on Peter and on his arriving, now reanalysed into one.⁵⁰

NP	V	VP (a nexus = NP+VP)
<i>le comte</i> the count	<i>vit</i> saw	<i>son écuyer arriver / arrivant / qui arrivait</i> his horseman arrive / arriving / who was arriving

Table 6. (B) the target situation with a complex VP (a nexus with paradigmatic relation to other nexuses)

Figure 11 and Figure 12 illustrate the relations of dependence and function between the arguments and their constituents of example (55). From late Middle French to modern French, there has been a reorganization of the direct object (DO), which was initially an NP (see Table 5 and Figure 11), but which was then reanalysed as a VP (see Table 6 and Figure 12).

⁴⁹ See section 2.4 for definitions of constructions.

⁵⁰ A lexical distribution of perception verbs in the use of the three verbal complement constructions takes place after 1700. Here we focus on the verb *voir* – the lexically unmarked verb denoting sight – which displays the three complementation possibilities. In contrast, the verb *regarder*, which is atelic, tends to combine with the infinitive, whereas the verb *apercevoir*, which is telic, tends to combine with the complement clause (cf. sections 3.2.2 and 3.3.1).

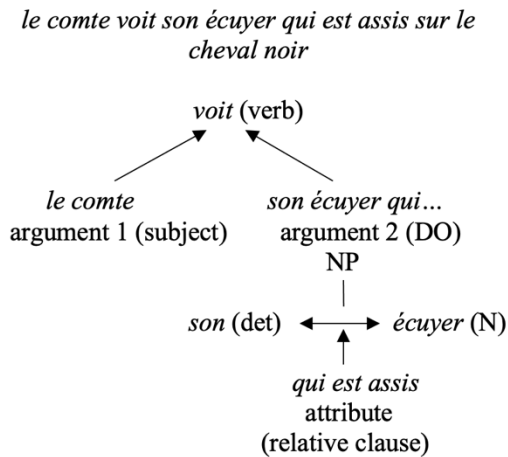


Figure 11. Relative clause functioning as attribute, unidirectional relation between antecedent and relative: subordinative analysis

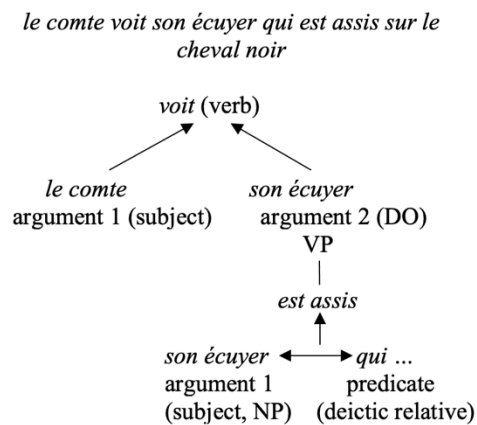


Figure 12. Deictic relative, bidirectional relation (nexus) between antecedent and relative: nexus analysis

While the on-going nature of the process was originally a side effect, it later turned into the main feature of the construction. Thus, the reanalysis $A > B$, performed by the speakers and subsequently spread in the speech community, stresses the progressive character of the activity (see section 4.3). After this reanalysis, the deictic relative construction acquired a specific status. It turned into a construction in its own rights, with a specific function, i.e. signalling progressivity. This is, in other words, a case of *grammation* of a subordinate relative clause which turns into an aspectual progressive construction, i.e. “a change by which an expression through reanalysis is ascribed grammatical content” (Andersen 2006a: 232) and becomes a part of grammar.

Formally, the change of status from subordinate clause into a nexus construction is characterised by the possibility of having a pronominal antecedent – e.g. *je le (=Pierre) vois qui arrive* – which is not possible for the subordinate relative clauses (Furukawa 2005: 99; Polentz 1903: 38). Whereas other relative clauses have a relation of subordination to its antecedent, deictic relative clauses have a relation of interdependence (nexus) to its antecedent. It is noteworthy that while the referent of the antecedent must be individuated, the process in which it is involved is not yet known or considered under a new angle. It is, in other words, not thematic⁵¹ (see Table 7); thus, it differs from the subordinate relative clauses which are \pm rhematic.

⁵¹ We use the terms *theme* and *rheme* in a very general sense, implying that *rheme* expresses what is affirmed or rejected concerning the *theme* (Wilmet 1997: 454, 465).

4.3. Reanalysis A > B (2), the aspectual progressive feature⁵²

I shall now discuss in detail and provide documentation by means of my diachronic corpus on the point of my argumentation for the progressive meaning being characteristic of the deictic relative construction. In order to substantiate that this reanalysis has taken place according to the theory of change proposed in chapter 2, I have investigated the spread of the construction (see section 4.3.1).

Progressivity is not to be confused with \pm telicity. Let us test, by means of aspect sensitive adverbs, the aspectual difference between the different types of relative clauses. I will use a modern adaption of example (56), with the intended meaning that Horrible kills his nurse. When this state of affairs takes the form of an independent clause, it can be telic – with a punctual adverb added (*at two o'clock*), see (58) – or atelic – with a durative adverb added (*in two hours*), see (59):

(58) *Oruble tue sa nourrice à deux heures* (telic).

(59) *Oruble tue sa nourrice en deux heures* (atelic).

If (58) and (59) are adapted into subordinate relative clauses, we get the following results, (60) and (61), which prove that the subordinate relative can have both aspectual values. This is due to the fact that subordinate relatives have no restrictions with respect to simultaneity.

(60) *Je vois l'enfant qui tue sa nourrice à deux heures*

(61) *Je vois l'enfant qui tue sa nourrice en deux heures.*

If (58) and (59) are transferred into a nexus relative, we get two ungrammatical sentences, (62) and (63), which clearly show the aspectual restriction of the deictic relative.

(62) **Je le vois qui tue sa nourrice à deux heures*

(63) **Je le vois qui tue sa nourrice en deux heures*

The impossibility of having a time reference, durative or not durative, in the nexus relative is due to the fact that the temporal scope of the relative is included in that of the main

⁵² Section 4.3 is a reproduction of Kragh & Schøsler (2014: 183-190).

clause. In the need of a temporal precision, this is placed in the main clause and is relevant for both – see (64). Note that only punctual adverbs are possible in connection with a deictic relative – see (65).

(64) *À deux heures, je le vois qui tue sa nourrice.*

(65) **En deux heures, je le vois qui tue sa nourrice.*

Thus, the deictic relative construction differs from the restrictive relative clause and the non-restrictive clause, in that the process presented in the deictic relative cannot happen in the future nor have happened in the past without a link to the present situation. It coincides with the moment of perception. I find the term *progressive* appropriate to characterize a process which coincides with the temporal scope of the main clause.

My data show that the construction is anchored in the present tense. In the present tense, French has no morphological marker of progressivity, whereas one of the functions for the imperfective form is to mark this aspectual value – see the following constructed examples (66) +progressivity and (67) -progressivity:

(66) *Pierre arrivait* ‘Peter was arriving’

(67) *Pierre arriva / est arrivé* ‘Peter arrived’

It is my hypothesis that the deictic relative construction is one of a number of constructions signalling progressivity, especially in the present tense. I intend to test this hypothesis by means of the possibilities of combining the deictic relative clause and progressive constructions. If the function of the deictic relative is to express the holistic presentation of a progressive activity, I will not expect to find a progressive periphrasis in a deictic relative.

A number of periphrases indicating progressivity are found in Old and Middle French. A frequent one is the *–ant*-construction with the verb ‘to be’ or a verb of motion – see examples (68) and (69):

(68) *E lō guerdon quō jō suis pretendant* ‘And the healing that I am desiring’
(Peletier, 1555, 201819)⁵³

⁵³ Peletier invented his own characters; I thank Yves Charles Morin for sharing his research on Renaissance typography with Lene Schøsler and me and permitting us to use his adaption of Peletier’s characters. The letter *ō* reflects the schwa-pronunciation of the letter *e*.

- (69) *Forment te vont maneçant* ‘They go around threatening you violently’, i.e. ‘They are threatening you violently’ (*Aucassin & Nicolette* XV, 16)

Other indications of progressivity were periphrases such as ‘to be’ + preposition, still used in different francophone varieties *être à / après* + inf. (see Squartini 1998; Schøsler 2006) and the periphrasis *être en train de*, which does not appear before the seventeenth century and is first popularized in the nineteenth century.⁵⁴ In Middle French, the *–ant*-periphrasis was regressing, leaving room for other progressive constructions. Moreover, in Middle French the *–ant*-periphrasis became restricted to verbs of movement, verbs of feeling, and verbs of expression – i.e. verbs not accepting the deictic relative. I believe these factors may constitute motivations for the creation of the deictic relative as a marker of progressivity, especially in the present tense, by the end of the period of Middle French. In my data, I do not find the deictic relative clause combined with any of the progressive periphrases mentioned here.⁵⁵ I take this as a confirmation of the progressive nature of the deictic relative, cf. the two characteristic features (functional and semantic, summed up in section 4.2.2).⁵⁶ Consequently, the deictic relative can be considered one of the progressive periphrases – e.g.: ‘he is singing’: *il est / va (en) chantant, il est à / après chanter / je le vois qui chante* – each of these probably having its specific domain. I provide further arguments in favour of this conclusion, among others from non-standard French varieties, in section 4.4.3.

4.3.1. The actualization process with *voir*

If it is correct that changes are speaker-induced, it follows that innovation “from below” starts in language spoken by individuals, spreads in the oral community, and finally is transferred to writing. Indeed, this is in accordance with the scenario of change presented by Andersen (2008a: 32) quoted in section 4.2. This urges me to examine whether the actualization process of the deictic relative construction with *voir* shows such a distribution. My hypothesis is that the deictic relative construction will appear first in

⁵⁴ These periphrases indicating progressivity are frequently found in the present tense but appear also in the past tense.

⁵⁵ I am of course aware that one cannot take the absence of occurrence in written corpora as proving the impossibility of a specific combination. However, if there are no examples that falsify our hypothesis, but only examples that confirm it, this must be taken as strong support in favour of our hypothesis.

⁵⁶ I do find the verb *voir* in other contexts than deictic relatives combined with progressive periphrases.

contexts closest to spoken language, later in contexts far from the spoken language. Contexts close to orality are not only direct discourse in theatre, but generally utterances in the 1st and 2nd person, which include direct discourse in novels. These are of course to be taken as instances of constructed and not of genuine speech. According to the actualization theory of Andersen, innovation “from below” spreads from unmarked to marked syntactic context (see section 2.3): “Typically in internally motivated change, an innovation is extended to unmarked contexts earlier than to corresponding marked contexts....” (Andersen 2008a: 36).

Distinction of markedness is binary; consequently, the markedness opposition applied to three dimensions is difficult and must be broken down into two binary oppositions. The first opposition is that of the 1st person being unmarked and the 2nd person being marked (Andersen 2001c: 32), the second opposition is between the 1st and the 2nd person (deictic pronouns) and the 3rd person. In direct discourse, the unmarked syntactic context is 1st and 2nd persons, whereas the 3rd person is marked. In narrative contexts, the relation of markedness is reversed (cf. Kragh 2010: 213). If these hypotheses are correct, one can expect the deictic construction to appear first in theatre as well as in novels (only 1st and 2nd persons), later in narratives (e.g. novels and essays), in the 3rd person. Indeed, this is what I find in my data.

4.3.1.1. Middle French

Let us first consider the actualization process in Middle French. I hypothesize that the reanalysis and subsequent actualization process take place by the end of this period. I believe that this is confirmed by the absence of pronominal antecedents to the deictic construction in the data pertaining to Middle French. Consequently, my data comprise examples with only nominal antecedents: see the examples quoted in section 4.2.1 and example (70), which is probably also a bridging example, implying that it permits the two interpretations of types (a) and (b) proposed below.

- (70) *Je voy Gençon qui vient ici, Ne scé se trouvée l’ara* ‘I see Gençon coming here, I don’t know if he has found her’ (Anonymous, *Miracle de Saint Jehan le Paulu, Hermite*, c.1372, Frantext)

In this example, the direct object of *Je voy* may be (a) *Gençon* followed by a non-restrictive subordinate clause, or (b) a nexus relative construction focusing on the coming

of *Gençon*.

Because of my constrained definition of the deictic relative, based exclusively on the presence of a pronominal antecedent of the relative, I cannot formally prove that Middle French examples with nominal antecedents are indeed deictic relative constructions, but as I see it, a holistic analysis of example (70), according to (b), is plausible. Anyway, data from Middle French are relevant for my purpose, which is to characterize the initial situation and to analyse the distribution between genres, in order to verify or to reject my hypotheses concerning the origin of the construction. According to the data, my hypothesis concerning innovation stemming from direct speech is confirmed, because the frequency of examples illustrated in (70) is remarkably higher in theatre than in novels (see Figure 13).

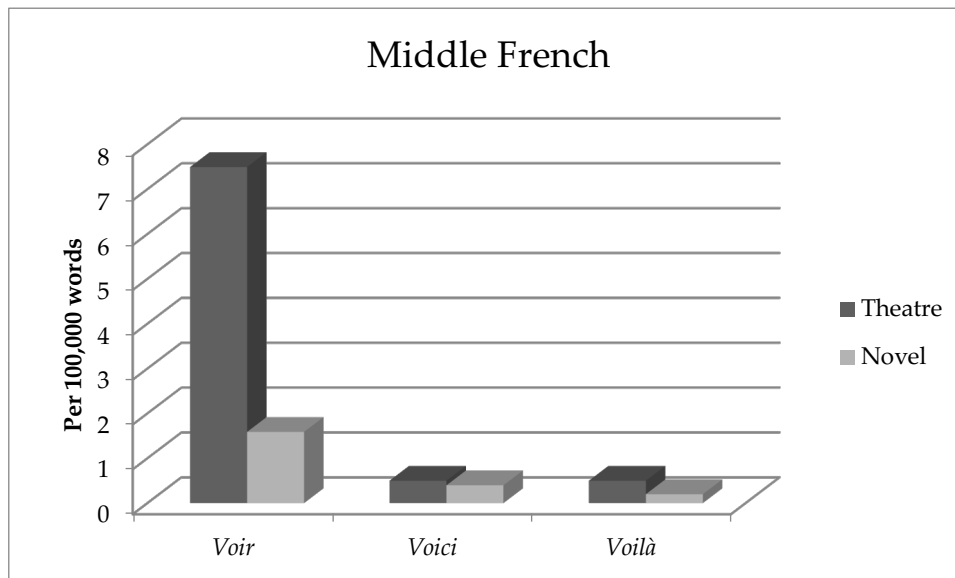


Figure 13. The genre distribution of bridging examples in Middle French

So, it is reasonable to infer that this usage started in speech. In Figure 13, I distinguish *voir*, *voici*, and *voilà*, because this distribution is needed for the subsequent periods. I recall that in the following periods, where the construction was grammaticalized, I investigated only formally unequivocal examples, as signalled in section 4.2.1, i.e. examples with pronominal antecedent. This difference of procedure explains the difference of frequency in Middle French, compared to the following periods.

4.3.1.2. Classical and Modern French

As regards the period of actualization after the Middle French period, Figure 14 shows the development in three different genres, namely theatre, novel, and essay (the latter was not represented in the Middle French period). The figure shows a progression of the construction, especially from 1700, starting in the genre closest to actual speech, i.e. theatre. The frequency in novels increases slightly – recall that this genre consists of both narrative speech and quoted direct speech. The genre of essay is included in order to illustrate a more formal register where direct speech is rare. In sum, Figure 14 illustrates that the deictic relative spreads from genres closest to direct speech to genres far from direct speech. Moreover, we find many more examples with the simple verb *voir* than with *voici* and *voilà*. In the following, I will focus on examples with the verb *voir*. *Voici* and *voilà* are discussed in chapter 5.

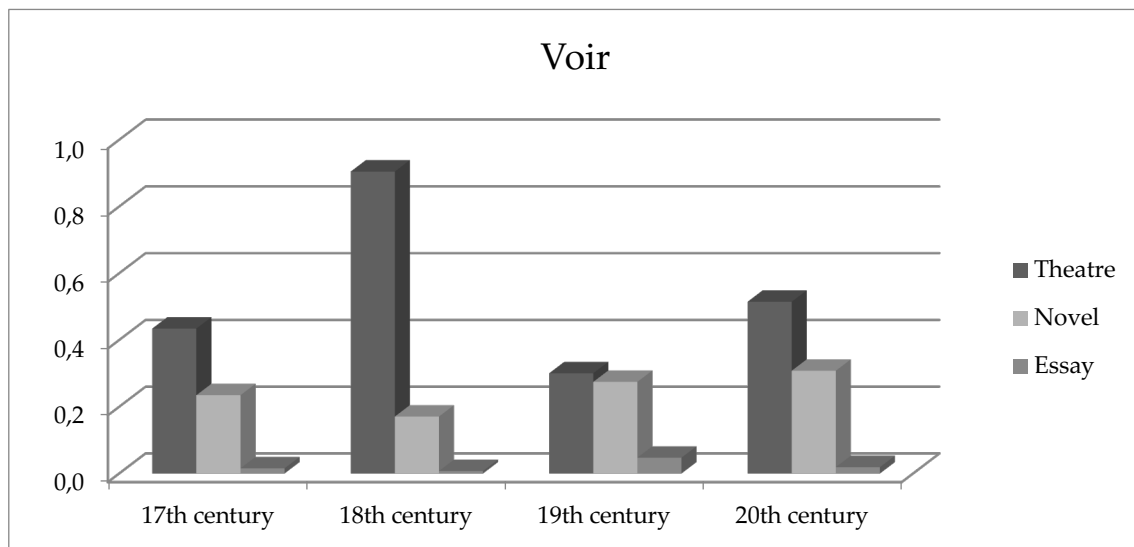


Figure 14. Diachronic distribution of deictic relatives governed by *voir* according to genres

From the outset, the construction is most frequent in theatre, but we also find 1st person (and in principle 2nd person) usage in novels (see Figure 15). Later, the construction spreads to the 3rd person. In novels, which are mainly written in the 3rd person, I find an overrepresentation of the deictic relative in the 1st person, especially from 1700. This is probably due to the fact that the construction, when gaining ground, also spreads to other

persons. In the following periods, the number of examples increases.⁵⁷ The differences of frequency observed in novels are presumably due to fewer instances of (fictive) direct discourse in novels from the seventeenth and nineteenth century, whereas novels from the eighteenth century are dominated by fictive letters and dialogical passages and thereby closer to the genre of theatre.

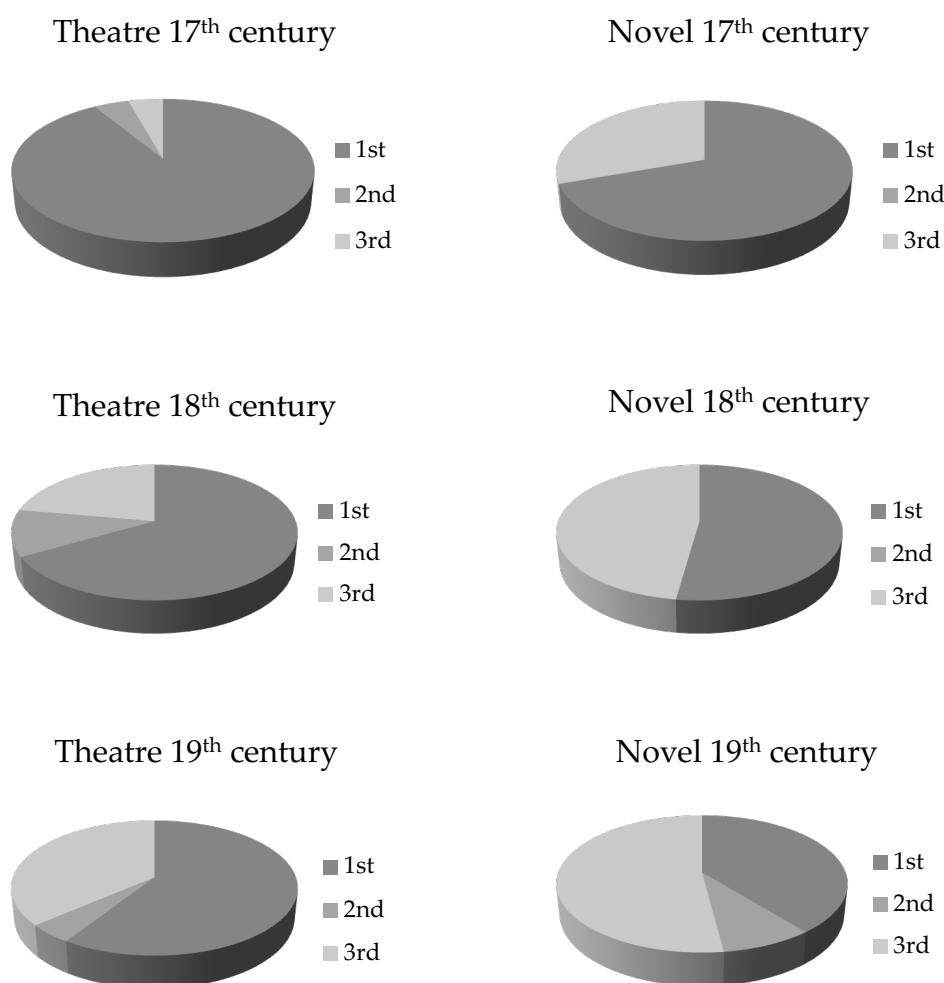


Figure 15. Diachronic distribution of deictic relatives governed by voir according to person and genres

Typical examples include the following: (71) and (72) from theatre and (73) from a novel:

- (71) *Sans doute, et je le vois qui fréquente chez nous.* ‘No doubt, and I see him coming to see us’. (Molière, *Les Femmes Savantes*, 1673, Frantext)

⁵⁷ The corpus sizes and the number of occurrences of the construction in theatre and novel on which these analyses are based are as follows: seventeenth century: 14,009,604 words/25 examples; eighteenth century: 16,030,819 words/46 examples; nineteenth century: 35,454,985 words/99 examples; twentieth and twenty-first centuries: 52,346,191 words/170 examples. The figures show the proportional frequencies.

- (72) *Il le voit qui revient, il l'attend au passage ; ...* 'He sees him returning, he waits for him; ...' (Quinault Philippe, *Bellérophon*, 1671, Frantext)
- (73) *Bientôt Idoménée, qui le croit à ses côtés, s'étonne de le voir qui court au milieu de la campagne et qui est déjà auprès de Nestor.* 'Soon Idomeneus, who believed him to be next to him, is surprised to see him running in middle of the campaign and already close to Nestor'. (Fénelon, *Les Aventures de Télémaque*, 1699, Frantext)

4.3.2. Summary

In this section, the syntagmatic and paradigmatic changes from A (part of a complex NP), into B (a complex VP which has the internal structure of a nexus) have been examined. The VP has acquired a paradigmatic relation to other VPs governed by verbs of perception. Each of these VPs has a different meaning, which is not derivable from the parts that compose them, i.e. they are *schematic constructions* according to the accepted terminology of CG. Furthermore, the deictic relative has acquired a progressive meaning, which implies that it is not only paradigmatically related to the other verbal complements of verbs of perception, but also related to a number of progressive periphrases. In the following, I will adopt the label *progressive deictic relative construction* (PDRC). I recall that the process, in which the antecedent is involved, is not yet known or considered under a new angle. It is, in other words, rhematic and consequently differs from the subordinate relative clauses which may or may not provide new information on the antecedent. Table 7 sums up the characteristics of the deictic relative as opposed to the two types of subordinate relatives.

Type of clause/construction	Restrictive relative = A	Non-restrictive relative	Deictic relative = B (PDRC)
Relation of \pm dependency between antecedent and relative clause	+subordination	+subordination	-subordination
Formal features	-pronominal antecedent	-pronominal antecedent	+pronominal antecedent
\pm Temporal adverb	\pm	\pm	-
Constructional status	Substantive construction	Substantive construction	Schematic construction
Deictic function	-	-	+
Semantic value	Restrictional information on antecedent	Additional information on antecedent	+progression +simultaneity +holistic vision
Pragmatic value	\pm rhematic	\pm rhematic	+rhematic

Table 7. Distinctions between the deictic relative and the two types of subordinate relatives

Finally, my data confirm the hypothesis that the actualization process of the change is speaker driven, starting in contexts close to direct speech, and later spreading to other contexts. In terms of text genre, it starts in theatre, representing direct discourse. In terms of syntactic context, it starts in the 1st and 2nd persons, which are the unmarked contexts in direct discourse.

4.4. From level of reanalyses to paradigmatic level

As the deictic relative construction (B) is accepted in the speech community and increases its use, it is *embedded*, i.e. integrated into grammar (Herzog *et al.* 1968: 185). Once embedded, it can be considered as yet another way of expressing progressivity: (*Je vois Pierre qui chante*, ‘I see Peter singing’ (cf. Figure 16):

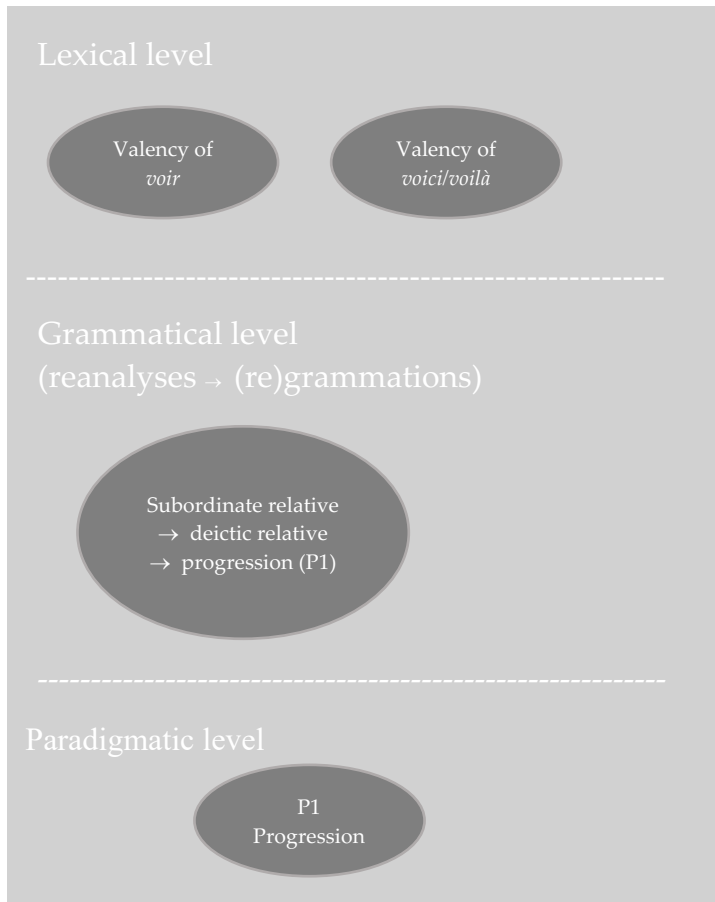


Figure 16. From lexical level to Paradigm 1

The following sections provide a presentation of forms and periphrases expressing progressivity and introduces the progressive constructions found in French up to 1600: *Pierre est / va / s'en va / vient / s'en vient chantant* (4.4.1.2). Section 4.4.1.3 focuses on the period after 1600 with the rise of the periphrases *Pierre est à / après chanter*, *Pierre est en train de chanter*. Section 4.4.2 introduces the characteristic features of the deictic relative construction, (*Je vois*) *Pierre qui chante*, compared to the other constructions, and section 4.4.3 provides diatopic evidence from Creole and Canadian French. Section 4.5 sets forth some of the theoretical implications of this evidence. Finally, section 4.6 focuses on the paradigmatic relationship between the constructions.

4.4.1. Diachronic analysis of a number of progressive periphrases in French⁵⁸

Over the course of the history of French, progressivity has been expressed in different ways, both by means of simple tenses, like the present and the imperfect tenses, and by means of periphrases. Interestingly, the French present tense has no morphological marker of progressivity, whereas one of the functions of the imperfect form is to mark this aspectual value – see the constructed examples below, where (74) can express progressivity, whereas (75) excludes progressivity:

(74) *Pierre chantait* ‘Peter was singing’

(75) *Pierre chanta / a chanté* ‘Peter sang’

The purpose of this section is to characterise each of the periphrases expressing progressivity *Pierre est / va / s’en va / vient / s’en vient chantant*, *Pierre est à / après chanter*, *Pierre est en train de chanter* as members of a progressive paradigm, and to provide arguments in favour of including the deictic relative construction (*Je vois*) *Pierre qui chante* in this paradigm. The status of periphrases in general and of these constructions in particular has been thoroughly studied (see e.g. Gougenheim 1971 [1929]; Wolf 1973; Werner 1980; Talmy 1985; Heine 1993; Bybee *et al.* 1994; Lamiroy 1999; Pusch & Wesch 2003; Vetters 2010; Gosselin 2011; Vangaeveer & Carlier 2020). These are indeed grammaticalized periphrases, implying that they should be regarded grammatically, not lexically. If my argumentation is correct, the deictic relative construction can be analysed as a member of the progressive (sub-)paradigm, and therefore of the French tense, aspect, and mood (TAM) paradigm.

4.4.1.1. Definitions

The terminology in the domain of TAM is often confusing. In order to be clear, I shall define my level of analysis. One can distinguish between at least three levels of analysis. Firstly, we must identify the *morphological form* of the verb: present, perfect, simple, composed past, etc. Each of these forms has its specific grammatical content. For example, the simple past form *chanta* has the grammatical content ‘past’, the future form *chantera* has the grammatical content ‘future’, whereas the present form *chante* differs from the two forms just mentioned by indicating not only ‘present’, but also a number of

⁵⁸ Sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.1.1 were first published in Kragh & Schøsler (2015: 265-267).

values, including habitual aspect, progressive aspect, recent past, near future, etc. Secondly, we must distinguish between the verbal morphological form and the actual use of this form, whether simple or periphrastic, in a given sentence. Not all scholars distinguish between this level and the levels of morphological form and lexical aspect, but the actual use of a given lexical verb depends on other elements present in a sentence, e.g. the arguments of the verb, as shown by Vet (1980) and, more recently, Gosselin (2011). This level often receives semantic labels such as perfective vs. imperfective, including durative, progressive, and habitual aspect. Thirdly, we must identify the lexical aspect, also referred to as *Aktionsart* or *actional aspect*. The following four lexical aspects introduced by Vendler (1957) are traditionally distinguished: activities, accomplishments, achievements, and states (see Gosselin 2011 for a discussion on lexical aspect applied to French).

The interplay between the three levels is complicated. A special difficulty concerns the distinction between lexical and grammatical aspect. Some scholars consider only morphological markers to be grammatical, others consider that all verbal lexical periphrases (*aller / venir de + inf*, *être en train de + inf*, etc.) are grammatical markers; still others distinguish between lexical and grammatical periphrases: see Gosselin (2011) for a presentation of the different analyses. The inherent difficulty of this distinction is, of course, due to the fact that these periphrases are undergoing a process of grammaticalization. They have originated in the free combination of lexical items and have reached different levels of grammatical status. In the following sub-sections, the systematic relation between grammatical forms and periphrases expressing progressivity and the content conveyed by these forms at specific stages of French will be investigated. I use the label *progressivity* to refer to the speaker's or the writer's vision of an event as on-going (see Squartini 1998).

4.4.1.2. Forms and periphrases (constructions) expressing progressivity in French before 1600⁵⁹

The earliest known progressive periphrases combine an auxiliary (a form of *être* or of a verb of movement) and a present participle: *Pierre est / va / s'en va / vient / s'en vient*

⁵⁹ Section 4.4.1.2 originates from Kragh & Schøsler (2015: 271-273)

chantant, meaning ‘Peter is singing’ (Schøsler 2004, 2005). This type is found from the early texts until the eighteenth century. Progressive periphrases formed with the auxiliary *être*, a preposition, or a prepositional phrase followed by the infinitive, appear later. Finally, I propose that the deictic relative construction be included among progressive periphrases. In the following, I present the different progressive periphrases following the chronology of their first appearance in French texts and provide arguments in favour of the view that the first type and subtypes are grammaticalized constructions. I use tests to support the claim that these are constructions, i.e. part of grammar, not of the lexicon. I illustrate the progressive periphrases mainly in the present tense. The tests are provided only for the first progressive periphrases. *Mutatis mutandis*, these arguments are applicable for all subtypes.

Pierre est / va / s’en va / vient / s’en vient chantant (V1+V2)

These periphrases are present from the earliest French texts. In Schøsler (2006), three tests are proposed to determine whether they are free combinations or grammaticalized constructions. These tests are reproduced in the following. Although it is in principle impossible to determine whether a given sentence of a text language (i.e. a language which is no longer spoken, Fleischman 2000) is grammatical or not grammatical, I provide examples that I believe to be convincing, because they draw on lexical selectional restrictions, which can be verified for previous periods, e.g. by means of the electronic *Middle French dictionary* (<http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/>). As appears below, the lexical restrictions studied in the examples of Old French are identical to those of modern French – see, e.g. *Le Trésor de la Langue Française* (<http://atilf.atilf.fr/tlf.htm>).

Test 1: valency selections of the subject

The first test concerns the valency selections of the subjects of V1 and V2 and more specifically the case of different valency selections between the two verbs. If those of V2 differ from those of V1 in such a way as to make the subject of V2 odd for V1, it is probably a grammaticalized construction. See the following example, the meaning of which is that the protagonists will soon be committing a sin, using the periphrasis *va* (‘go’) *tardant* (‘delay’):

- (76) *Leur pechié ne va point tardant* ‘their sin is not delaying’ (*Le mystère de la Passion nostre Seigneur*, 15th century, v. 882)

Although the sentence containing the term *pechié* was written some 600 years ago, Old French *pechié* refers to an abstract notion, just like it does in contemporary French. Consequently, it seems legitimate to claim that it is implausible to interpret ‘to go’ as a verb of movement, and improbable to consider *?Leur pechié ne va point*⁶⁰ (‘their sin does not go / is not going’) to be a well-formed grammatical sentence. This can be taken as an argument in favour of the status of *va ... tardant* as a verbal periphrasis. The verb of movement has been reanalysed as an auxiliary and is part of a grammaticalized periphrasis.

Test 2: ±possibility of deletion of the auxiliary

If V1 is an auxiliary, it implies that when this auxiliary is deleted and replaced by V2, the sentence provides a meaning close to that of the periphrasis. Indeed, it seems plausible that *Leur pechié ne tarde point* (‘their sin does not delay’) is a grammatical sentence.⁶¹ A paradigm has marked and unmarked members. If, and this is indeed the case, the present tense is unmarked, the periphrases illustrated by means of example (76) is a marked member of the progressive paradigm.

Test 3: coordination of V1 and V2

The third test consists of the coordination of V1 and V2. If the result appears natural, it implies that it is a free combination, not a periphrasis. If it seems odd, it suggests that it is a periphrasis. As appears from consulting the Middle French dictionary, these words are used in older stages of French in ways which are comparable to those found in modern French.⁶² Applied to the previous example (76), the result suggests that this is indeed a periphrasis and that the coordination of V1 and V2 is not natural (as suggested here by means of a question mark):

⁶⁰ Here and in the following, ? indicates that it is not a well-formed grammatical construction.

⁶¹ See the following comparable example: *Mais sans son vueil nulle riens ne me tarde* ‘But except for her accept, nothing holds me back’ (Machaut, 1361, Frantext).

⁶² In other words, it is possible to avoid any kind of anachronistic introspection. On the contrary, available sources have been consulted in order to analyse previous stages of the language in a principled way.

(77) *Leur pechié ne va point tardant*

(78) *?Leur pechié ne va ni ne tarde point* ‘their sin is neither going nor delaying’

Thus, three tests have been used in order to determine the status of the progressive periphrases before 1600, leading to the conclusion that these are marked members of a sub-paradigm of progressivity, as opposed to the simple forms. Consequently, they are constructions, part of grammar, and not lexical items.

4.4.1.3. Forms and constructions expressing progressivity in French after 1600⁶³

The data on which the empirical analyses after 1600 are based are collected in the electronic text corpus *Frantext* (<http://www.frantext.fr>). In order to provide sufficient data for diaphasic⁶⁴ analyses, I have included three different text genres, each representing a level of formality, namely essay, novel, and theatre. Although theatre consists of constructed speech, this genre represents the style closest to actual speech available to research.⁶⁵ The genre of the novel consists of both narrative speech and constructed direct speech, while the essay genre is included in order to illustrate a more formal register. The corpus comprising theatre, novel, and essay is distributed over four periods:

Time period	Number of words
17 th century (Classical French I)	14,001,908
18 th century (Classical French II)	29,553,664
19 th century (Modern French I)	31,783,367
20 th and 21 st centuries (Modern French II):	65,466,933

Table 8. *Corpus theatre, novel, and essay from Frantext*

This corpus comprises 3,721 occurrences in which one of the eight progressive constructions listed in section 4.4.1.2 appears.

The distribution of occurrences of the individual construction is illustrated in Figure 17 to Figure 21 and shows a relatively clear tendency. Please note that the intervals between units of the y-axis are not equal; all numbers refer to the number of occurrences of the

⁶³ Section 4.4.1.3 reproduces text from Kragh & Schøsler (2015: 267, 273-277).

⁶⁴ The term *diaphasy* is used in variational linguistics and refers to stylistic variation (cf. footnote 33).

⁶⁵ Authentic oral data are not available from before the twentieth century.

construction per 100,000 words. They differ widely in frequency, but all decline after 1700.

The construction with *être* + present participle declines after 1700 in all three text types. Even in the seventeenth century, the construction is fairly rare, with 0.2 occurrences per 100,000 words, and only a very modest use survives in the twentieth century, almost exclusively in the genre of the essay. It seems that the construction never really gained a foothold (see Figure 17).

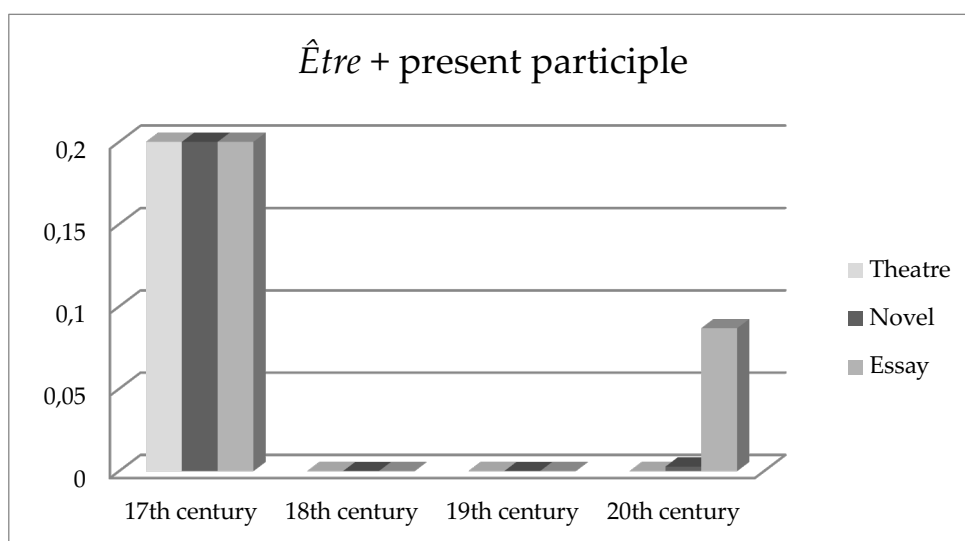


Figure 17. Distribution according to genres

The construction *aller* + present participle is of relatively frequent use in the seventeenth century and diminishes later on (see Figure 18).

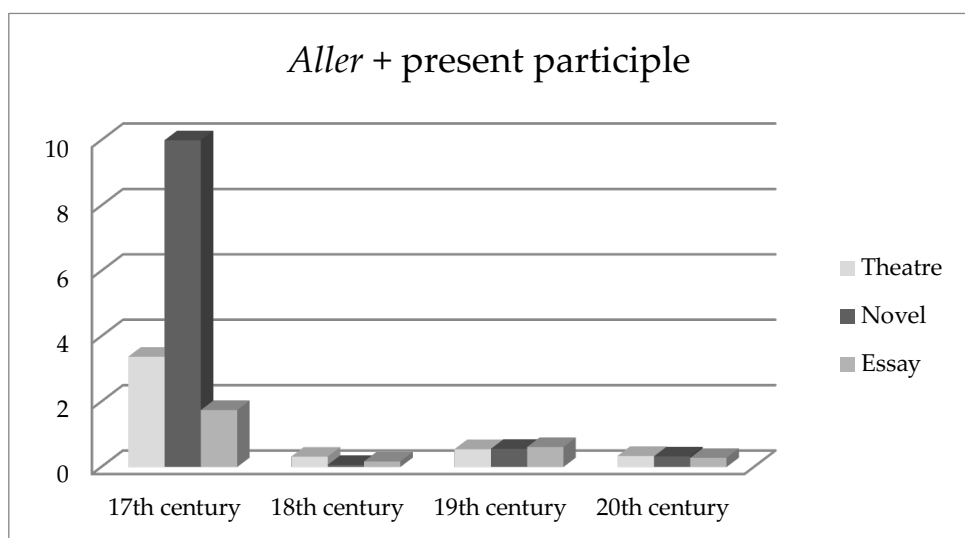


Figure 18. Distribution according to genres

While in the seventeenth century *aller* + present participle appears 10 times per 100,000 words in the genre of the novel, the construction preceded by the reflexive pronoun and *en* never reaches the same frequency (see Figure 19).

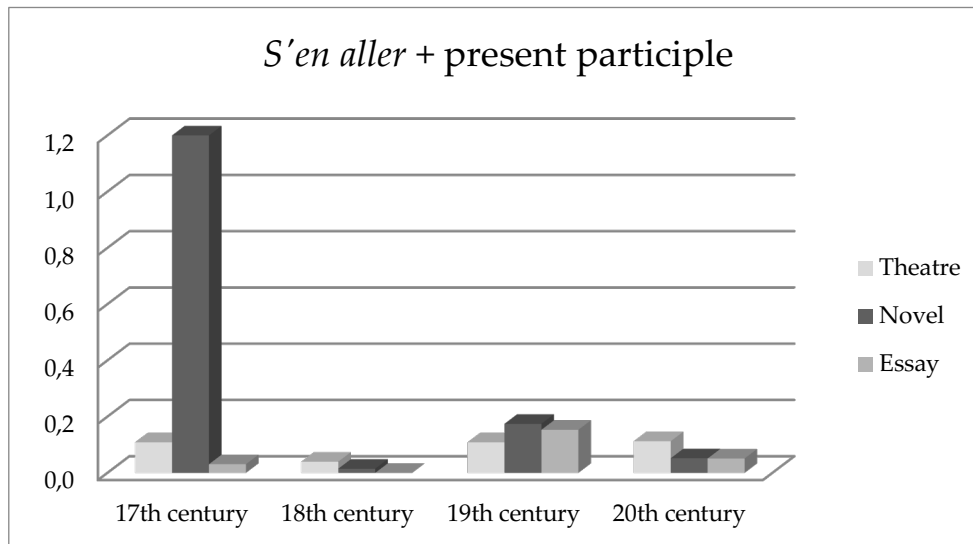


Figure 19. Distribution according to genres

Venir + present participle and *s'en venir* + present participle are more frequent in the seventeenth century than *être* + present participle, at least in novels, but are still much less frequent than the constructions with *aller* + present participle (see Figure 20 and Figure 21).

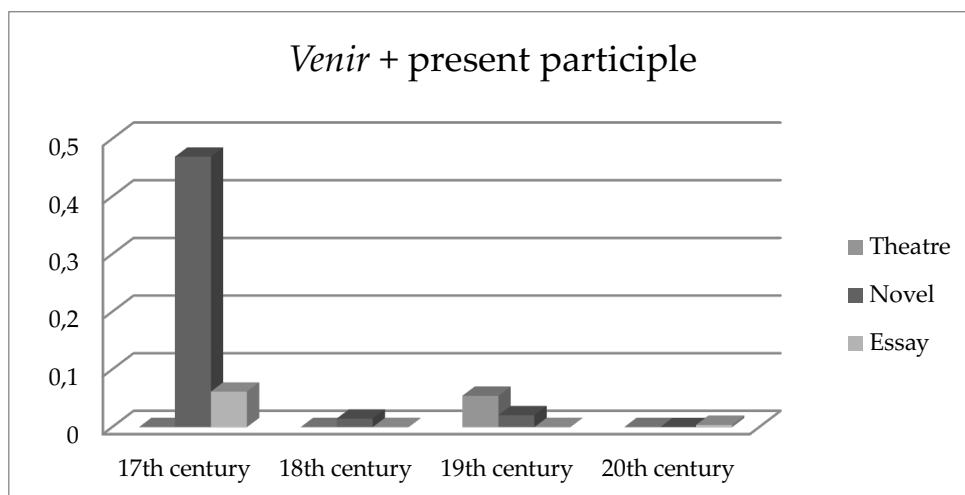


Figure 20. Distribution according to genres

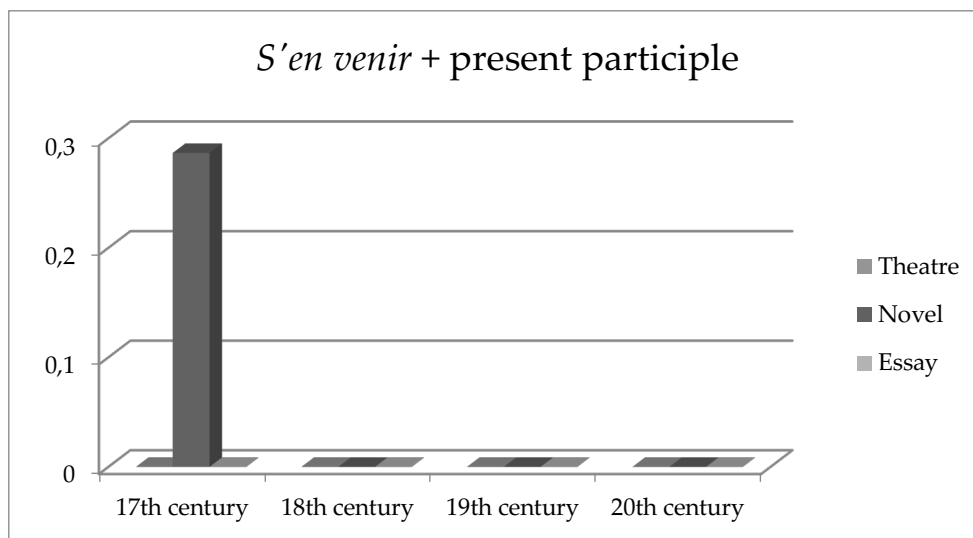


Figure 21. Distribution according to genres

In summary, the constructions studied in this subsection occur most often in novels, i.e. in a text type that is characterised by narration but which may also have passages of direct discourse, whereas neither the essay (which is the most formal register) nor theatre (which represents the genre closest to direct discourse) seem to make much use of the constructions. We may recall that these constructions were found in the earliest texts but decline from the Renaissance onwards, according to previous studies (Werner 1980; Schøsler 2006).

Pierre est à / après chanter, Pierre est en train de chanter

From the sixteenth century, new constructions with progressive function arise: first with a form of *être*, a preposition; then, the infinitive *Pierre est à / après chanter* and later, from the eighteenth century, in a more complex construction, *Pierre est en train de chanter* (see Schøsler 2006). Compared to the simple forms, they are marked and display diasystematic differences (diachronic, diatopic, and diastratic). For interesting though less-known diatopic variants of relevance for our topic, see section 4.4.3.

Être à + infinitive spreads from the fifteenth century. It is now a regional and Francophone variant, found especially in Louisiana, Québec, Acadia, and Île de la Réunion. My corpus study confirms diastratic observations found in recent studies, e.g. Squartini (1998). Indeed, the construction is most frequent in theatre, i.e. a text type close to orality (see Figure 22). In Québec, it is diastratically marked as formal style, written or spoken.

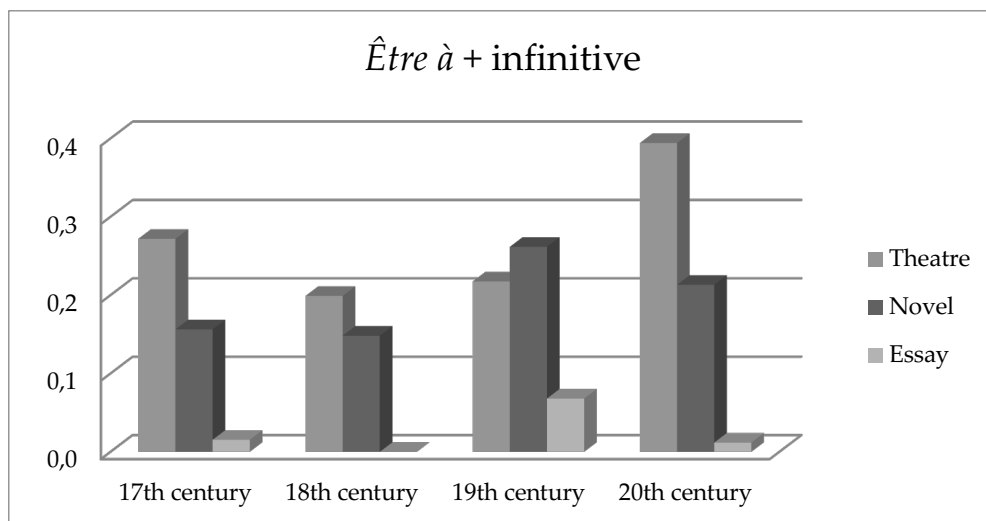


Figure 22. Distribution according to genres

According to Gougenheim (1971 [1929]) and Squartini, *être après* + infinitive is frequent in Quebec but diastatically marked as colloquial (cf. also Dostie 2021). My informants confirm that this construction is widespread in speech, but unacceptable in writing. This diastatic tendency is not reflected in my corpus (see Figure 23). The construction is absent from the corpus, with an astonishing exception in novels from the twentieth century. The peak is, however, of minor importance, as it represents only two occurrences out of a corpus of 36,566,980 words.

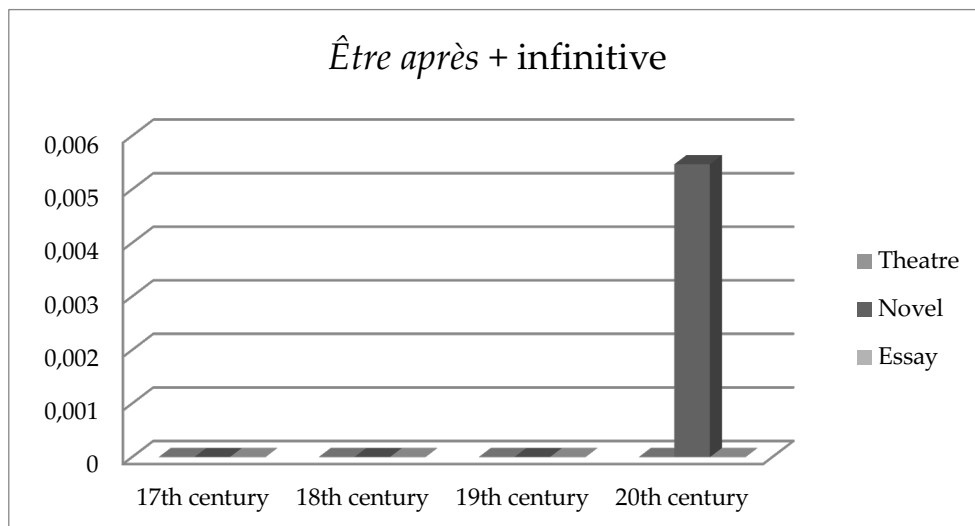


Figure 23. Distribution according to genres

According to Squartini (1998: 121-123), the periphrasis *Pierre est en train de chanter* indicates only progressivity and not durativity and thus has a more restricted use than does *Pierre est / va / s'en va / vient / s'en vient chantant*. It does not occur with perfective

forms (passé simple or passé composé). My corpus studies reveal a strong increase in the use of this construction in the twentieth century, when it seems to have more or less defeated all of its rivals (see Figure 24 and Figure 25). It is found in all text types but is less frequent in high style. It is also the default progressive construction, both written and spoken, in Quebec French.

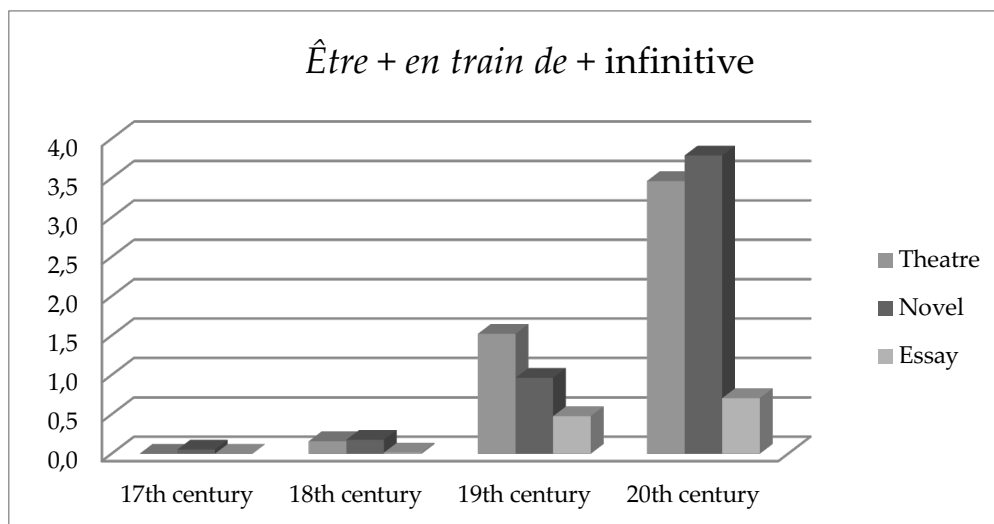


Figure 24. Distribution according to genres

Figure 25 shows the distribution of the different constructions in the twentieth century. It is clear that only the periphrasis *être en train de + infinitive* is productive.

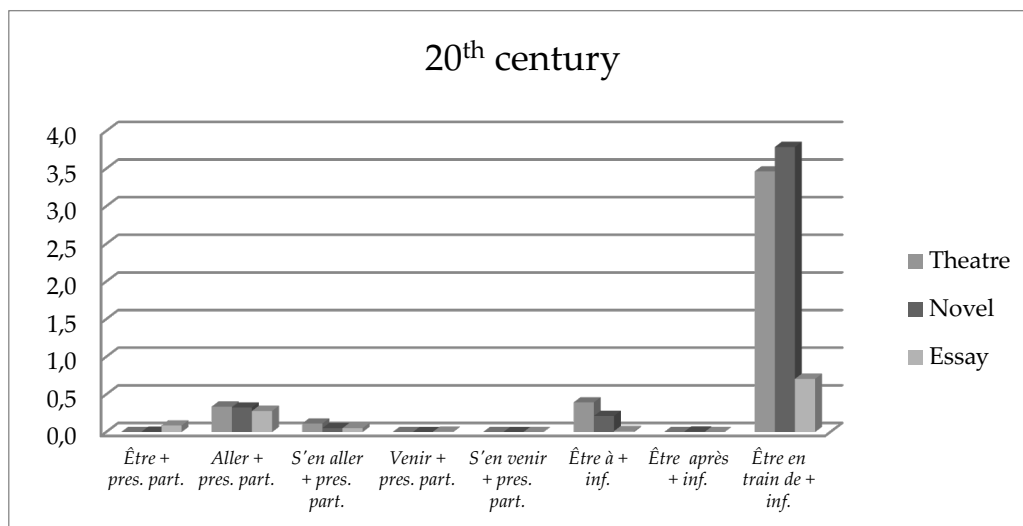


Figure 25. Distribution according to genres

4.4.2. (Je vois) *Pierre qui chante*⁶⁶

It is now time to highlight the differences between the deictic relative construction and those previously mentioned. As yet another strong test of the deictic relative construction, I have investigated whether any of the competing progressive constructions described above can be combined with the deictic relative clause, and the result is convincing: none of the progressive constructions can be combined with the deictic relative. I take this incompatibility as a convincing argument in favour of our interpretation that the function of the deictic relative is to express the holistic presentation of a progressive activity.

As shown in Figure 26, as well as in previous corpus studies (Kragh & Strudsholm 2011, 2013), the distribution of *voir* (and of *voici* and *voilà*, see section 5.5), combined with the deictic relative, indicates that the deictic relative construction belongs to oral language. Figure 26 shows a clear preference for the deictic relative clause in theatre, compared to the more formal genres of the novel and essay. However, it also indicates an increasing use in novels, which suggests that the innovation spreads from unmarked contexts, close to orality, to marked contexts in accordance with the theory of markedness (cf. chapter 2). The occurrences in theatre texts are, of course, to be taken as instances of constructed – rather than genuine – speech, but in addition to stretches of direct discourse in novels, they are nevertheless the contexts that come closest to orality. The result is not trivial since almost all previous research on the construction considers the deictic relative to be marked and used in formal language.

⁶⁶ Section 4.4.2 originates from Kragh & Schøsler (2015: 277-288).

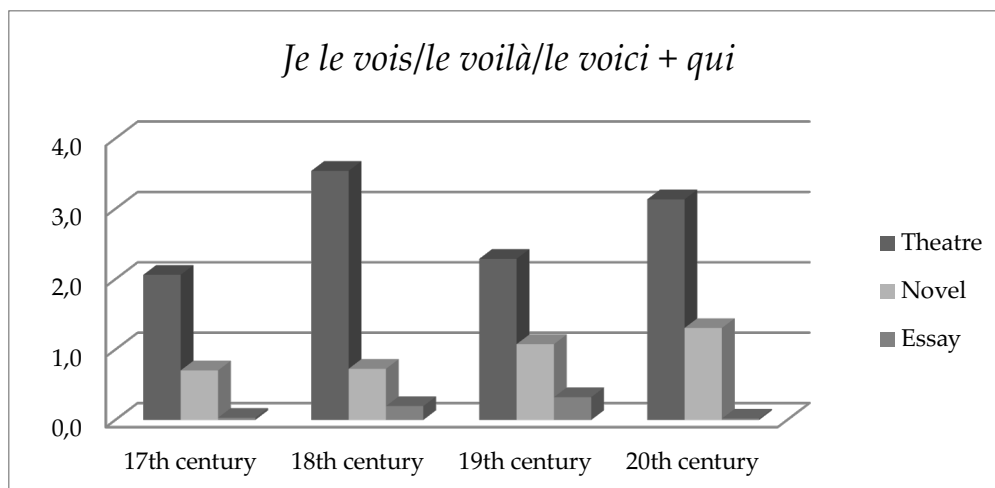


Figure 26. Distribution according to genres

Compared to the progressive constructions presented in sections 4.4.1.2 and 4.4.1.3, the deictic relative (*Je vois*) *Pierre qui chante* presupposes the existence of two different protagonists represented by the subject of the verb of perception and by the subject of the relative, respectively.

Verbs of perception are also labelled ‘valency augmenting verbs’ just like causative verbs (see e.g. Tesnière 1988 [1959]) because they permit the addition of an extra protagonist. It should be observed that the deictic construction is possible only with verbs of perception and not with causative verbs, which, however, on many other points display similar syntactic particularities. Indeed, these two verb classes are normally treated together because they permit the accusative + infinitive-construction: *Je vois/entends/laisse Pierre chanter - je fais chanter Pierre* (‘I see/hear/make Peter sing – permit to sing’). However, causative verbs are excluded from the deictic relative construction: *Je vois/entends/*fais/*laisse Pierre qui chante*. This is in perfect accordance with the restrictions and characteristic features described in section 4.2.1 because the deictic relative presupposes the simultaneity of the activities of V1 and V2, whereas the use of causative verbs focuses on the (future) consequences.

Figure 27 to Figure 30 show the distribution of the eight progressive constructions plus the deictic relative construction over the last four centuries.⁶⁷ It is remarkable that the deictic relative construction has apparently played a major role in expressing

⁶⁷ These figures do not include the genre essay for lack of substantial number of occurrences.

progressivity. In the seventeenth century, the deictic relative construction is the only alternative to the predominant progressive construction *aller* + present participle. It is notable that the high frequency of *aller* + present participle (10 occurrences per 100,000 words) is found in the novel genre, whereas the construction is only found 3 times per 100,000 words in theatre. This may be taken as an indication that the construction *aller* + present participle is declining and no longer used in the genre closest to orality. I interpret the distribution of the deictic construction with *voir/voici/voilà* with two occurrences per 100,000 words in theatre and less than one occurrence per 100,000 words in novels as an indication that this construction is in the process of spreading from oral to less-oral text types.

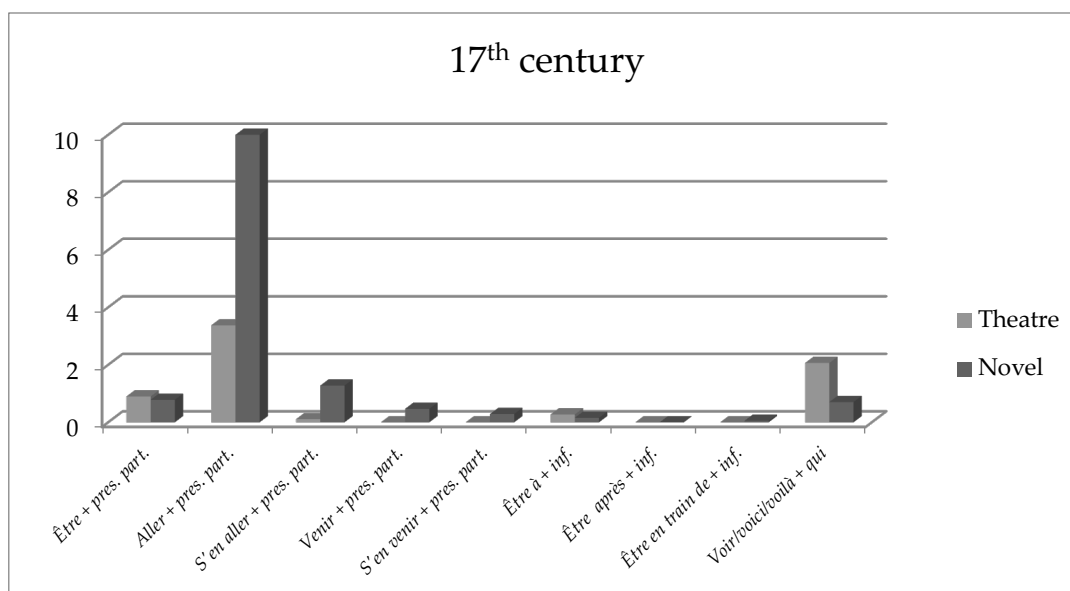


Figure 27. Distribution according to genres

In the eighteenth century, the deictic relative construction far exceeded the *aller* + present participle construction. It is still mainly found in theatre, where the deictic relative appears 3.5 times per 100,000 words:

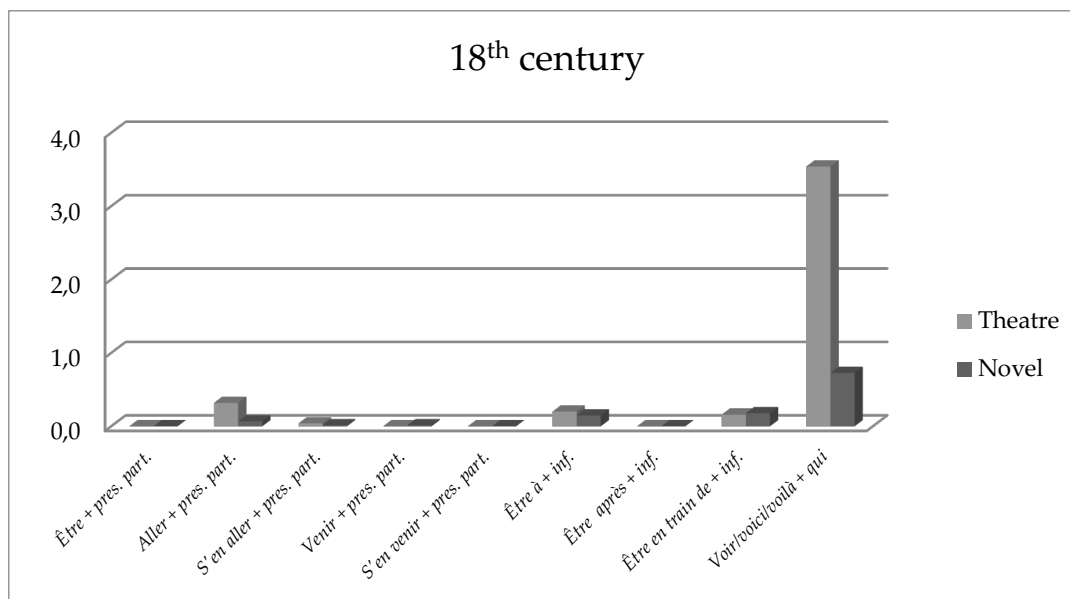
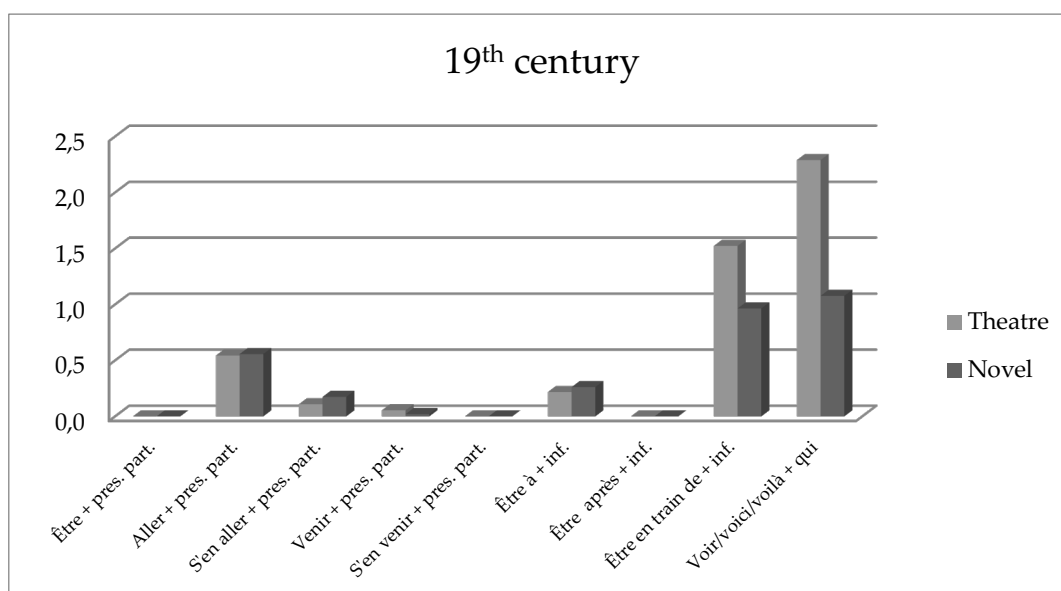


Figure 28. Distribution according to genres

Figure 29 shows that in the nineteenth century there are still remnants of *aller* + present participle,⁶⁸ while the new construction *être en train de* + infinitive is gaining ground, especially in theatre. There is a slight decrease in the use of the deictic relative to 2.3 occurrences per 100,000 words in theatre. On the other hand, the use of the deictic relative in the novel genre is stable with 0.7 occurrences per 100,000 words in both the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.



⁶⁸ According to Vangaever & Carlier (2020), this progressive construction can still be found in contemporary French, in particular with inaccusative verbs

Figure 29. Distribution according to genres

In the twentieth century, the periphrasis *être en train de* + infinitive has more or less wiped out the competing constructions, except for the deictic relative. Interestingly, the periphrasis *être en train de* + infinitive has spread from the text type closest to orality (theatre) to less-oral contexts (novels). The deictic relative is still frequent in theatre but has also gained ground in novels.

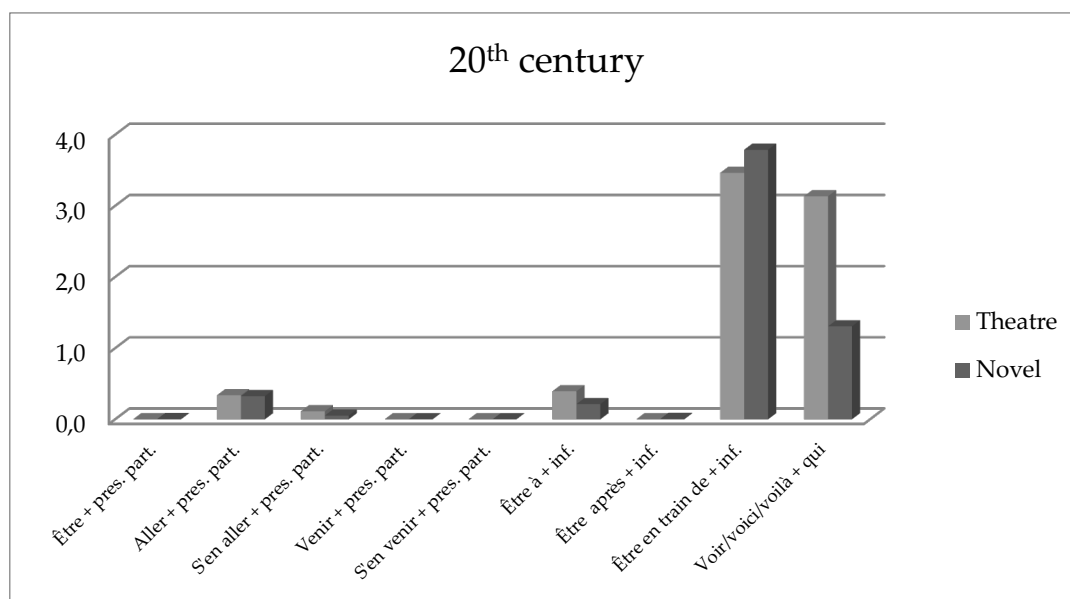


Figure 30. Distribution according to genres

In modern French, we find two competing and almost equally frequent members of the progressive paradigm. The challenge is to identify the differences between these two rivals. Since I believe that they are members of the same paradigm, they ought never to be combined. This is indeed confirmed by our corpus studies. However, these two rivals are found in similar contexts, i.e. after the expressions of visual perception *voir*, *voilà*, and *voici*. Let us now consider these contexts in order to highlight the different semantic and pragmatic contents of the two constructions. This part of my investigation is based on corpus examples with *être en train de* + infinitive. In analysing this corpus, I have manipulated examples in order to test our hypotheses concerning their grammaticality. I have tested their grammaticality by submitting manipulated examples to francophone colleagues. Not surprisingly, some colleagues disagree on the acceptability of the

manipulated examples.⁶⁹ In the following, I comment on a number of typical corpus examples and their manipulated versions.

Most of the occurrences of *être en train de* + infinitive appear in contexts where the deictic relative would not be the best choice because of the restrictions on the deictic relation.

In example (79), *être en train de* is the best choice because a second protagonist is absent. When S1 = S2, we cannot use the deictic relative construction since a person cannot perceive his or her own activity at the same time as he or she is doing it – see (80). As stated above (section 4.4.2), *voir* followed by a deictic relative requires a perceiver, a perceived person executing an activity, and an addressee. In example (79), the perceiver and the perceived person are identical. It is not a counter argument that one could imagine a person looking at him or herself in a mirror or imagining him or herself doing something. Moreover, the subject is not really acting, only imagining. Consequently, (80) is pragmatically problematic. On the other hand, example (81) shows that the deictic relative is possible when there are two protagonists, i.e. when a person perceives the activity performed by another person.

(79) *J'imagine qu'il se voyait assez bien en train de marcher à l'échafaud ou au poteau d'exécution en compagnie du doyen et d'échanger quelques propos* 'I imagine that he sees himself walking to the scaffold or to the execution stake accompanied by the dean and exchanging a few sentences.' (Ormesson, *Au Plaisir De Dieu*, 1974, Frantext)

(80) *?J'imagine qu'il se voyait assez bien qui marchait à l'échafaud...*

(81) *Il le voyait qui marchait à l'échafaud.*

Combined with an inanimate subject of the progressive, *être en train de* is the best choice, because an inanimate subject is unable to perform a perceived activity – see example (82):

⁶⁹ Among these are corpus analyses by Ventura (2019: 35), which conclude that *voir* – which, in spite of its wide range of possible complements, is “normatively speaking not supposed to accept durative (progressive) complementation” – does indeed appear with *en train de*. The construction “is attested and seems to be in competition with the infinitive one”. The idea that *voir* should not accept progressive complement is entirely contrary to my analyses, which undeniably show that *voir* is very much inclined to combine with complements with a progressive meaning, e.g. the deictic relative.

- (82) *Il m'avait semblé, alors, **voir** l'histoire en train de se faire à travers la famille*
 'It seemed to me that he was watching the history creating itself through the family' (Ormesson, *Au Plaisir De Dieu*, 1974, Frantext)

If we replace *l'histoire* with a personal pronoun *la*, the relative becomes unequivocally a deictic relative. However, the sentence (83) is grammatically problematic with the pronoun *la* referring to *l'histoire*.

- (83) **Il m'avait semblé, alors, la⁷⁰ **voir** qui se faisait à travers la famille.*

In example (84), both progressives are possible, but with slightly different meanings:

- (84) *Je l'**ai vue** en train de partir avec ce petit garçon...!* 'I have seen her departing with this little boy' (Djian, 37.2 *Le Matin*, 1985, Frantext)

If we substitute *en train de* with a deictic relative, the latter acquires a different meaning with respect to the temporal scope, in accordance with the deictic features presented in 4.4.2, meaning that the speaker has a holistic perception of the woman leaving with the child (85). Therefore, the event presented in the deictic relative is within the temporal scope of the main clause verb, whereas the temporal scope of the progressive construction in (84) exceeds that of the main clause verb in the sense that the time span of her departing with the little boy is beyond that of the person seeing it.

- (85) *Je l'**ai vue** qui partait avec ce petit garçon*

Similarly, the temporal scope of the progressive construction in example (86) exceeds that of the main clause (in this case the presentative *voilà*), with the result that the progressive construction *en train de* has been chosen:

- (86) *Le **voilà** en train de lancer à travers le pays toute sa clique d'agents secrets et de détectives, le grand Fabius et consorts* 'Here we see the great Fabius and company sending his entire gang of secret agents and detectives throughout the country' (Robbe-Grillet, *Les Gommages*, 1952, Frantext)

Our informants consider the choice of the deictic relative possible in this context – see (87). I find, however, that this example is in conflict with the basic features of the deictic

⁷⁰ I recall that only when the antecedent is a personal pronoun is the interpretation of the relative unequivocally a deictic relative (Furukawa 2005).

relative, since, in contrast to (85), I find it difficult to perceive this as a holistic vision. I wish to emphasize, however, that I do not find attested examples of this type in my corpus, which I take as an indication that even if the deictic relative is possible in such contexts, as pointed out by our informants, they are not frequently used.

- (87) ?*Le voilà qui lance à travers le pays toute sa clique d'agents secrets et de detectives, ...*

In the case of irrealis, hypothetical, interrogated, or negated contexts – see examples (88), (91), (93), and (95) – *être en train de* is most often the best choice. The presence of a deictic relative construction in these examples is highly problematic, because these contexts are in conflict with the characteristics of the deictic relative. However, for different reasons, the deictic relative seems to spread to such contexts, which is confirmed by our informants.

In example (88), the main problem for the use of the deictic relative is due to the absence of a protagonist. As stated above (section 4.4.2), *voir* followed by a deictic relative requires a perceiver, a perceived person executing an activity, and an addressee. In example (88), the addressee and the perceived person are identical. In case of a different perceived person, the example would be acceptable with a deictic relative. Furthermore, I believe that another difficulty of using the deictic relative is due to the irrealis-context which is in contradiction to the deictic restrictions, whereas some of our informants find example (89) acceptable. In a realis-context (and with a third person as perceived object), the deictic relative is fully acceptable – see example (90):

- (88) *Je préférerais te voir en train de te balader, ou bayer aux corneilles, je trouverais ça tout à fait normal* ‘I would prefer to see you strolling around or gawking, I would find that completely normal.’ (Djian, *Le Matin*, 1985, Frantext)

- (89) ?*Je préférerais le voir qui se balade, ...*

- (90) *Je le vois qui se balade, ...*

The manipulated version with the deictic relative of example (91), which is in a hypothetical context, i.e. (92), is accepted by our informants, but only in informal registers:

(91) *c'est comme si je voyais un type en train de te viser, là et qu'on discute du danger des balles de revolver...* 'It is as if I saw somebody pointing at you, while we are discussing the danger of bullets' (Malraux, *La Condition Humaine*, 1933, Frantext)

(92) *c'est comme si je voyais un type qui te vise, là et qu'on ...*

In example (93), at least three conflicting factors make the deictic relative problematic: the interrogative context, the absence of an addressee – cf. example (79) – the stylistic incongruity between the use of the polite 2nd plural form (*vous*), and the informality of the deictic construction in this context. Consequently, the version in example (94) is not acceptable to our informants:

(93) - *Vous voilà aussi en train de faire vos provisions pour le déjeuner, mademoiselle?* 'There you are doing the shopping for breakfast, young lady?' (Romain, *Lucienne*, 1922, Frantext)

(94) *?- le voilà qui fait ses provisions pour le déjeuner?*

In example (95), a number of factors makes the use of the deictic relative improbable: the absence of an addressee and the negated context. Again, the introduction of a perceived person makes the deictic relative more acceptable, although informal (96):

(95) *Je n'avais pas envie qu'on te voie [sic] en train de dormir sous mon porche* 'I did not want you to be seen sleeping under my entry porch' (Ormesson, *Le Bonheur à San Miniato*, 1987, Frantext)

(96) *?Je n'avais pas envie qu'on le voie qui dort sous mon porche.*

In all the cases examined above, the periphrasis *être en train de* + infinitive has been the obvious choice to express progressivity in modern French, but the deictic relative would have been possible in at least some of the cases. However, this would entail a particular style and content. Thus, *être en train de* is the unmarked progressive construction compared to the deictic relative construction.

4.4.3. Diatopic evidence from Creole and Canadian French⁷¹

My interpretation of the deictic relative as a marked member of the progressive paradigm is, I think, original. It might be argued that the progressive nature of this construction is epiphenomenal rather than primary. To address such an objection, relevant aspects will be discussed in the following two sections. Firstly, the present section provides independent diatopic evidence for our interpretation, and the following section 4.5 takes a closer look at the theoretical implications of this evidence.

It was shown in section 4.4.2 that the deictic relative is present in novels and theatre attested in the corpus from the seventeenth century. From the sixteenth century, French has spread to different parts of the world, taking the form of Colonial French or French Creole. We have already seen that a number of progressive variants that are no longer used in standard French persist in varieties of French outside of France (Section 4.4.1.3). Following suggestions from a number of colleagues, I have investigated how the progressive aspect is expressed in Caribbean French and French Creoles.

The Francophone variants of St. Barth and of St. Thomas are particularly interesting for this topic because they have a progressive paradigm in the present, the past, and the future. The present of *dêt* (= ‘to be’) and a deictic relative expresses the progressive, and the imperfect form of *dêt* is used to express the past progressive. The present of *dêt* + *va* (‘go’) and an infinitive expresses the future progressive (Corne 1999: 136-140, examples quoted from page 139):

(97) *T’es qui veille* (standard French: *Tu es qui voit*) ‘you are watching’

(98) *Alle était qui disait* (standard French: *Elle était qui disait*) ‘she was saying’

(99) *On est qui va le faire*: ‘we are going to do it’

A similar construction is found in the Creole of Réunion. The French variety of Réunion generally expresses the progressive by means of the construction *être après* + infinitive, as indicated in Section 4.4.1.3. Examples are provided in Corne & Baker (1982: 23-27). In the Réunion Creole, complex verb formations are explicitly referred to as a parallel to the aforementioned progressive Patois forms of St. Barth and to the Creole of St.

⁷¹ Section 4.4.3 corresponds to Kragh & Schøsler (2015: 286-288).

Thomas.⁷² Nevertheless, the formation appears similar, with a reduced embedded relative clause, *ki*, sometimes reduced to the simple *i*, following a complex *lete*, subject to further reduction and stemming from an imperfect form of the verb ‘to be’: *était*.

(100) *muê lete ki dize* (Corne & Baker 1982: 21)

GLOSS moi lete ki dize < étais qui disais, ‘moi je disais’

Corne & Baker (1982: 22) present alternative forms with reduction of some of the elements, as in (101):

(101) *muê lete ki mâz / muê lete i mâz / muê te ki mâz / muê te i mâz*

GLOSS moi lete ki mâz < étais qui mangeais, ‘moi je mangeais’

The evidence from the Caribbean and the Indian Ocean prompts Corne to assume that the progressive forms are genuine French forms spoken by the French who emigrated in the seventeenth century, and that these were features of original French dialects (Corne 1999: 140). Corne & Baker (1982: 29-30) present a similar analysis of the feature as being originally French.

This analysis is further confirmed by Canadian evidence. In the Quebec variant of Canadian French, we find widespread use of the deictic relative, especially in spoken narrative contexts, both the variant *voilà qui* and *il est là qui* with obligatory presence of the deictic particle *là*. These are presentatives, but nevertheless relevant in this context because they all are markers of progressive aspect:

(102) *v’là le bus qui arrive* (‘the bus is arriving’)

(103) *il est là qui arrive avec sa voiture* (‘he is arriving with his car’)

(104) *Y’est là qui fait ça* < *il est là qui fait ça* (‘he is doing it’)

(105) *A’est là qu’a fait* < *elle est là qui a fait* (‘she has been doing it’)

I interpret the Francophone evidence above as independent confirmation of my hypothesis that the reanalysis of the subordinate relative into a deictic relative implies a progressive aspectual value. The deictic relative was grammaticalized as a proper

⁷² According to André Thibault, the French of St. Barth is a popular variant of French which has developed in isolation like the Francophone isolated speech communities (‘isolats’) studied by Valdman (1978). In the Creole of Île de la Réunion, the aspectual meaning is habitual, backgrounding, and not progressive, but it is assumed to originate from the progressive.

progressive in the Patois of St. Barth and the Creole of St. Thomas and interpreted in the Creole of Réunion as a habitual, backgrounding form. In Canadian French, the progressive aspect is found with a presentative. I find that the reanalysis of the original aspectual value *progressive* into the value of *on-going / habitual / background*, as is the case in the Creole of Réunion does not seem implausible, although this grammaticalization path is not included in Heine & Kuteva (2002) among the paths having the progressive as source or target value.

4.5. Theoretical implications⁷³

In section 4.4.2, I presented arguments in favour of my interpretation of the deictic relative construction as a marked progressive variant, and arguments explaining that the progressive aspectual value is linked to the pragmatic features of the deictic relative. The deictic relative construction presents a holistic, progressive vision of the activity. This holistic vision is not linked to one specific part of the construction and is not a direct consequence of either of the components, main clause verb/presentative, relative pronoun, direct object, etc. As the progressive aspect cannot be derived directly from the parts of the construction, it is the result of a grammation, i.e. “a change by which an expression through reanalysis is ascribed grammatical content” (Andersen 2006a: 232-233). This process implies a previous reanalysis of the relative from A to B, as described in sections 4.2 and 4.3. Indeed, the first reanalysis changes the status of the subordinate, attributive relative, which is part of the lexicon, into part of a nexus functioning as an object (A > B). Subsequently, the deictic relative is reanalysed as a member of the progressive paradigm (B > C), most clearly in Francophone and Creole varieties. This is a regrammation (cf. section 2.1). The reanalysis has the result of changing a secondary feature into a primary one, and the primary feature in this deictic relative construction is the holistic, progressive vision of the activity. In accordance with Dahl (1985: 11) who suggests that “if some condition happens to be fulfilled frequently when a certain category is used, a stronger association may develop between the condition and the category in such a way that the condition comes to be understood as an integral part of the meaning

⁷³ Section 4.5 originates from Kragh & Schøsler (2015: 288).

of the category”, I conclude that the progressive aspectual value is no longer a secondary feature of the grammaticalized construction.

4.6. Paradigm 1: Progression⁷⁴

I conclude by drawing the paradigmatic consequences of my analyses. Let us first take into account finite constructions, simple and composed, with one protagonist involved – i.e. the domain is V finite (+V2, S1=S2). Here, French has the possibility of expressing progressivity either formally or informally (i.e. the frame is \pm progressivity). In the simple present tense, the sentence *Pierre chante* is unmarked with respect to progressivity: it may or may not be the case that Peter is actually singing.⁷⁵ On the other hand, French can choose to formally express progressivity by means of a construction. By choosing, e.g. *Pierre va chantant* / *Pierre est en train de chanter*, the speaker or writer unequivocally presents his vision of an event as ongoing.

Syntactic domain: V finite (+V2, S1=S2)

Semantic frame: \pm progressivity

type of relation	expression	content
unmarked	present tense <i>Pierre chante</i>	\pm progressivity
marked	V1+V2 (<i>Pierre va etc. chantant</i> , <i>Pierre est à / après chanter</i>)	+progressivity

Table 9. Progressivity in French, illustrated by the present and progressive constructions

I have studied a number of constructions that are formally marked as progressive, in contrast to the unmarked simple form (*Pierre chante*). The constructions have distinctive features that permit us to characterise them individually. These features are of different natures: Firstly, diasystematic ones, including diachronic, diatopic, and diastratic differences; and secondly, linguistic features, including the number of protagonists involved (S1=S2 or S2 \neq S2) and \pm holistic vision. The common domain of these constructions is the combination of two verbs: V1 + V2, with identical or different

⁷⁴ Section 4.6 contains text from Kragh & Schøsler (2015: 289-291).

⁷⁵ Thus, my presentation is in agreement with Lebas-Fraczak (2010: 177) who, concerning the opposition between the imperfect and *être en train de*, concludes that the former expresses unmarked progressivity.

protagonists as subjects of the two verbs. The common frame is +progressivity (see Table 10 which is a sub-paradigm of Table 9).

We may recall that members of a paradigm are opposed to one another in terms of markedness. With respect to diasystematic features, *Pierre va* etc. *chantant* is the unmarked construction, both diatopically and diastratically, from the early texts, whereas *Pierre est à / après chanter* are marked, both diatopically and diastratically. The relationship of markedness has changed since the nineteenth century, with *Pierre est en train de chanter* taking over the role as unmarked form while *Pierre va chantant* and other variants of forms disappear. Interestingly, the old periphrases first disappear in text types close to orality (theatre) and persist in text types far from orality (novel) whereas the new periphrases first appear in theatre and later spread to novels. This actualization pattern confirms that the innovation is spreading ‘from below’, in accordance with the theory of Andersen (2001a), and the superseded periphrases persist longer in marked contexts.

Already from the eighteenth century, *je vois Pierre qui chante* is relatively frequent, but its content is more specific, i.e. marked, than the other periphrases, and it is only in Francophone and Creole varieties of French that it has developed into an unmarked progressive construction (see sections 4.4.3-4.5). In standard French, the construction *je vois Pierre qui chante* has the particularity of always involving two different protagonists ($S1 \neq S2$). Moreover, the deictic relative is the only construction to provide a holistic perception of the activity, perceived in its progression.

According to our informants, the use of the deictic relative seems to spread from exclusively deictic contexts in Standard French to contexts which do not meet all the deictic requirements. I must make it clear, however, that my corpus has not provided evidence that confirms this interpretation. The extension in use is mainly found in informal style, which is typical for an innovation ‘from below’, and which may also explain why the construction is difficult to find in text corpora. In accordance with Andersen (2006a), I interpret this change as a regrammation, i.e. a reanalysis leading to a change from one grammatical status (B) to another (C).

Insight from Francophone and Creole varieties of French confirms that progressivity is a primary, not a secondary (epiphenomenal), feature of this construction. However, the

grammation of the deictic relative as a member of the progressive paradigm has reached a more mature stage in the Francophone and Creole variants than in standard French (concerning the term *maturity*, see Dahl 2004).

More specifically concerning the aspectual values of the periphrases, *Pierre va* etc. *chantant* shows no limitation (i.e. it is unmarked) with respect to the nature, durative or not, of the context (Table 10).

Domain: V finite +V2, S1=S2/S2≠S2		
Semantic frame: +progressivity		
type of relation	expression	content
unmarked form from the start until circa 1600, diatopically unmarked until circa 1600, now obsolete	<i>Pierre va</i> etc. <i>chantant</i>	S1=S2, +progressivity, ±durativity
marked form diatopically and diastratically marked, now obsolete	<i>Pierre est à chanter</i>	S1=S2, +progressivity, +durativity
marked form diatopically and diastratically marked, now obsolete	<i>Pierre est après chanter</i>	S1=S2, +progressivity, +durativity
unmarked form of progressivity from the 19 th century	<i>Pierre est en train de chanter</i>	S1=S2, +progressivity, +durativity
marked form of progressivity, from the 17 th century	<i>Je vois Pierre qui chante</i>	S1≠S2, +progressivity, ±durativity, holistic vision

Table 10. Diachronic presentation of progressive constructions in French

Indeed, the deictic relative construction is used in both durative and non-durative contexts, in contrast to *Pierre est à / après chanter*, found only in durative contexts. *Pierre est en train de chanter* is found in durative contexts, according to Gougenheim (1971 [1929]) and Squartini (1998). The deictic construction (*je vois Pierre qui chante*) is aspectually restricted to express the imperfective, and lexically restricted to activity verbs (Kragh & Strudsholm 2011). More research, however, is needed on these points, in particular to also include spoken language.

Table 11 shows the inventory of the progressive constructions in French in the form of a paradigm. Please note that this paradigm has a diachronic dimension. From the earliest known documents until the end of the seventeenth century, *Pierre va chantant* is the unmarked form, also diatopically. *Pierre est à chanter* and *Pierre est après chanter* are diatopically and diastratically marked, whereas *Pierre est en train de chanter* turns into the unmarked form of progression from the nineteenth century. The type *Je vois Pierre qui chante* is a marked member of the paradigm from the seventeenth century. It is the only member that provides a holistic perception of the activity, perceived in its progression, and which has a different referent for the subjects of the two verbs (S1≠S2).

Syntactic domain	V1 +V2, S1=S2/S2≠S2	
Semantic frame	+Progressivity	
Diachronic perspective	Expression	Content
unmarked form (→1700)	<i>Pierre va etc. chantant</i>	S1=S2, +progressivity, ±durativity
marked form	<i>Pierre est à chanter</i>	S1=S2, +progressivity, +durativity
marked form	<i>Pierre est après chanter</i>	S1=S2, +progressivity, +durativity
unmarked form (1800→)	<i>Pierre est en train de chanter</i>	S1=S2, +progressivity, +durativity
marked form	<i>Je vois Pierre qui chante</i>	S1≠S2, +progressivity, ±durativity holistic vision

Table 11. **Paradigm 1:** Progressivity in French, progressive constructions

I have thus provided evidence for my claim that *voir*, *voici*, and *voilà* have lost their original lexical value during the reanalysis and, along with the loss of semantic value, the progressive feature is grammaticalized.

5. Presentation and focalization

This part studies the structures of presentation and focalization⁷⁶, among which we find *voici* and *voilà*, and which I intend to analyse as connected constructional paradigms.⁷⁷

At the lexical level, we find the reanalysis and lexicalization of the imperative verbal form of *voir* in the 2nd person singular and merge with the two adverbs *-ci* and *-là*, implying a bleaching of its lexical meaning and leading to the creation of *voici* and *voilà*, as schematized in Figure 31. The first part of this process, the lexicalization, is presented in 3.3. The second part, the transformation of the lexical entities *voici* and *voilà* into presentatives, is presented in section 5.1.1. In the course of the subsequent reanalysis, *voici/voilà X* is reanalysed as a member of the presentative paradigm (P2) – see section 5.1.2.

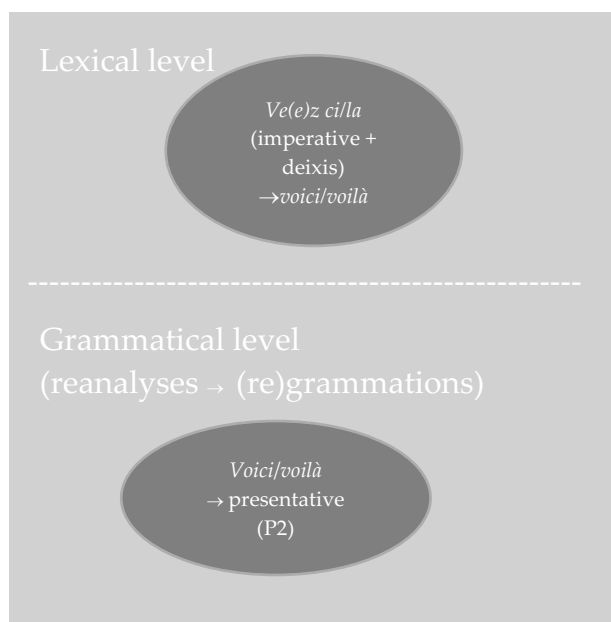


Figure 31. From lexical level to grammatical level

⁷⁶ Note that in Kragh & Schøsler (2014), the notions of presentation and focalization were briefly introduced. In the present work, the distinctions between these notions are further developed.

⁷⁷ Chapter 5 is a revised and expanded version of Kragh & Schøsler (2019). Parts of section 5.2, namely sections 5.2.2 and 5.2.2.1 to 5.2.2.3, were not in the original version, but were first published in Kragh & Schøsler (2014: 190, 192-197). Sections 5.4 and 5.5 are new and provide individual paradigms for presentation and focalization, respectively. These are also presented in a preliminary form in Kragh (2022: 326-337).

When combined with the deictic relative, these forms have undergone a regrammation into markers of focalization⁷⁸ (Paradigm 3) – see section 5.2.2. In section 5.6, I aim to show that the progressive and the presentative paradigms are both preconditions for *voir*'s inclusion in the focalization paradigm, as schematized in Figure 35.

This implies that the reanalysis of the subordinate relative into the deictic relative construction, described in section 4.2, and the reanalysis of the imperative form of *voir* + *ci* or *là* into the fossilized forms *voici* and *voilà*, as described in sections 3.3 and 5.1.1, both form the basis of this third paradigm.

5.1. Presentation

Let us first study the premises for the inclusion of *voici/voilà* in the presentation paradigm.

5.1.1. Lexical level: *voici* and *voilà*

Although expressions based on a verbal form of *veoir* are found in texts from around 1100, the forms *voici* and *voilà* are not prevalent until the sixteenth century (cf. section 3.3). The oldest forms, however, are formed on the adverb *ez* which are found as early as 1050. According to Oppermann-Marsaux (2006), changes in use and values of the two variants – the *ez* forms and the forms of the verb *voir* – lead to a distinction concerning the contexts in which they appear. Oppermann-Marsaux (2006: 81) has observed that forms based on the verb *voir* (*ve(e)z ci/la*) are found in direct speech and serve to attract the attention of the 'hearer' onto someone or something which is either in the place of the enunciation (*ci*) or far from the enunciation (*là*). This corresponds to what I refer to as the feature +*deixis*. Initially, the *ez vos* form is used in contexts where the hearer cannot see the object/presented person, except perhaps as a fictitious witness (Oppermann-Marsaux 2006: 81-82).⁷⁹ This corresponds in my terminology to -*deixis* in the tables (see Table 17,

⁷⁸ This is a metaphoric way of presenting the pathways of regrammation. I do not have any evidence to postulate that one structure precedes the other, but I find it logical that it should be like this. However, it is important not to interpret this statement as an argument in favour of a transformation process, which I reject. Concerning English cleft-constructions, Traugott & Trousdale (2013: 136-147) discuss the origin of the individual types and insist on the impossibility of determining which of the cleft-constructions is the source construction.

⁷⁹ This is in line with the theory of markedness, according to which new forms first appear in direct discourse and old forms remain longer in narration (Andersen 2001c).

Table 22, Table 20, and Table 21). Hence, *voici* and *voilà* start as expressions of the lexical *voir* + deixis, but rather quickly turn into presentatives. The presentative function can be distinguished from the lexical meaning of visual perception by identifying that it is the complement rather than the verb which is emphasized and that there is no sense of vision. This distinction is, however, not always clear, as illustrated in example (106), which can be interpreted as either the lexical meaning + deixis ('See there') or the presentative meaning ('There is'):

- (106) *REMEDE, les monstre / Vela noz galans !* 'Remede, points to them / See there / There is our gentlemen' (La Chesnaye, *La Condamnation de Banquet*, 1508, Frantext)

In example (107), *voilà* is most probably lexical since it governs a subordinate interrogative which indicates a place that can be visually perceived:

- (107) *Voila, ma belle ingrante, où le Devin demeure, Si vous les voulez voir allons tout à cette heure, ...* 'See there, my pretty ungrateful person, where the soothsayer remains, If you want to see, let us go right at this time' (Racan, *Les Bergeries*, 1632, Frantext)

In contrast, example (108) is unequivocally presentative since an occasion is not visible. With reference to the notion of *scope* (Lehmann 1985), this indicates that when *voilà* combines with an entity which does not match the lexical meaning of the verb, this lexical meaning is no longer there (cf. section 2.1).

- (108) *Voila, Monsieur, la seule occasion pour laquelle je vous cherchois ; ...* 'Here is, Sir, the only occasion for which I look for you' (Gougenot, *La Comédie des comédiens*, 1633, Frantext)

In the following I use the label presentatives, even if some of them can still be interpreted as lexical. Let us now look at the subsequent reanalysis, during which *voici/voilà X* is reanalysed as a member of the presentative paradigm.

5.1.2. Level of reanalyses: from perception to presentation (A > B)

As appears in the previous section, I consider the presentative construction a reanalysis of the lexical usage of the verb *voir*.

This reanalysis is illustrated by a bridging example (109) in which the hearer may interpret the message of the utterance in two different ways. The example is from *Chanson de Roland* (cited in Oppermann-Marsaux 2006: 79):

- (109) *Dreiz emperere, veiz me ci en present* ‘Rightful Emperor, see me present here (interpretation 1)/here I am before you (interpretation 2)’

According to interpretation 1, the speaker addresses the emperor by saying ‘see me being present here’; thus, *veiz* expresses visual perception. However, another interpretation is also possible, interpretation 2, which is a way of attracting the attention of the emperor. Thus, example (109) provides a bridging or critical context which permits reanalysis because of the ambiguity (cf. Heine 2002; Diewald 2002), namely an intention of attracting attention, i.e. a purely pragmatic function. I consider the second interpretation to be the result of the speaker reanalysing the imperative form of *voir* followed by the particle *ci*, in the following way: A (imperative form of the verb of perception *voir* followed by a locative particle *ci*, meaning ‘see here’) > B (presentative), i.e. into a new way of attracting attention to a given item, without immediate change of the surface manifestation. This implies that the construction has acquired not only (a) a different function, no longer being a finite verb + a particle, but it is reanalysed as a fixed form with (b) a different meaning, i.e. that of presentation or attracting attention. Consequently, the new function is pragmatic.

This process of reanalysis and grammaticalization of the imperative verbal form in 2nd person singular and merge with the two adverbs *-ci* and *-là*, losing its full lexical meaning, constitutes the level of reanalysis and grammation, as schematized in Figure 31.

In the course of the subsequent reanalysis, *voici/voilà X* is reanalysed as a member of the presentative paradigm. As *voici* and *voilà* are accepted in the speech community and increase in use, they are embedded, i.e. integrated into grammar (Herzog *et al.* 1968: 185). Once embedded, they can be considered as yet another way of presenting: *Voici/voilà Pierre* ‘Here is Peter’.

French has a list of ways of expressing presentation: *c'est X, il y a X, il est X, voici/voilà X* (*X* being the presented entity). These constructions will be examined in section 5.3, where the inventory of presentation is discussed and a list has been established in accordance with Lambrecht (2000, 2001) and Riegel *et al.* (2009 [1994]).

5.2. Focalization

Let us now take a look at the premises for *voici/voilà*'s entrance in the focalization paradigm.

5.2.1. Previous levels: progression and presentation

As mentioned in 5, I intend to explore the structure *voici/voilà* combined with the deictic relative as a regrammation of the two previously described grammations, that of the deictic relative and that of *voici/voilà* as presentatives. This means that paradigms 1 and 2 at their respective foregoing level of reanalyses and grammations form the basis of the third paradigm.

5.2.2. Level of reanalyses: from perception to focalization $A > (B >) C$

In sections 4.2 and 4.3, the reanalysis from A (subordinate relative clause) to B (deictic construction) and the subsequent actualization of B have been described. In this section, I will consider a further reanalysis and subsequent actualization of the fossilised imperative form of *voir* + a deictic element *ci/là* followed by the deictic relative. I will consider the two theoretical reanalysis possibilities, leading either to an independent grammation ($A > C$) or to a regrammation ($B > C$). Put differently: the focus construction is derived either directly from the subordinate relative clause, in which case its development is parallel to that of the deictic relative clause with the progressive nature (PDRC), or it is derived from PDRC. I will first provide the characteristic features of the focus construction with *voici* and *voilà* (5.2.2.1), then describe the actualization process (5.2.2.2). The analysis of the construction will be discussed in section 5.2.2.3.

5.2.2.1. Characteristics of *voici* and *voilà* + deictic relative construction

Just like the deictic relative clauses depending on *voir*, the starting point for the deictic relative governed by *voici* and *voilà* is a physical perception of an ongoing process, which

involves the referent of the direct object. The distinctive features of *voici/voilà* as opposed to the simple verb *voir* are the following:

- The constraint of the situation of communication involves the presence of a speaker and a listener, both situationally linked to the communication.
- As the forms are etymologically imperative forms, they address the listener in order to draw his or her attention to the perceived process.
- This implies a relation of complementary distribution, with respect to the category of person, of the verb *voir* in such a way that *voici/voilà* are confined to the 2nd person in singular and plural, whereas *voir* is mainly used in the 1st and 3rd persons.⁸⁰
- The function of *voici/voilà* is to focus on the ongoing process, which involves the referent of the direct object, and to share this focus with the listener. The focus effect is derived from their being imperative forms. This type of construction is currently labelled cleft constructions (see section 5.3).

A typical example is found in (110). What most likely matters here is to draw the attention of the knights to Gieffroy, who is fighting alone, surrounded by the enemy. I believe that this is a bridging example; indeed, I cannot formally prove that this is a case of deictic relative construction, because the referent is expressed by a proper noun Gieffroy, not by a pronoun. Pragmatically, however, the reference of a proper noun is unequivocal, like the reference of the pronoun (see section 4.2.1).

- (110) *Lors escrie a sa gent: Avant, seigneurs bacheliers, veez la Gieffroy qui se combat tous seulz a la gent Mahomet* ‘Then he shouts out to his men: forwards, my companions, there is Gieffroy fighting alone against the Muslims’ (Jean d’Arras, *Mélusine*, c.1392, Frantext)

In cases like (110), the effect of drawing the attention to the referent, here Gieffroy, implies that *voici* and *voilà* + a deictic relative have become focus markers, just like *c’est x qui*, *il y a x qui*, and in modern French *j’ai x qui*, etc. In other words: *voici* and *voilà* + a deictic relative have undergone a reanalysis into a focus deictic relative construction,

⁸⁰ As appears in Figure 5, there are also occurrences of *voir* in the 2nd person with the deictic relative, but these are few.

FDRC. I name these *focus constructions* because there is a paradigmatic choice between these different focus possibilities.

Focus upon an on-going process is therefore the main feature of the construction with *voici/voilà*, which predicts that it cannot be followed by a progressive periphrasis. Indeed, we saw above that progressive periphrases are not found with the deictic relative studied in section 4.3. When a deictic relative does not follow – see example (111) – *voici/voilà* may, however, be combined with a progressive periphrasis:

- (111) *Elle ne peut pas retrouver son calme, se disait-elle, la voilà à se tracasser de cent choses* ; ‘She cannot retrieve composure, she said to herself, she is wasting her time by being occupied by hundreds of trivial matters’ (Pourrat, *Les Vaillances, farces et aventures de Gaspard des montagnes*, 1931, Frantext).

5.2.2.2. The actualization process

Let us recall that the verb form is an imperative, which implies that it is originally part of a direct communication, and not a narrative structure. This implies that from the outset the form belongs to spoken language. This leads to the following hypotheses: I expect *voici/voilà* to spread from orality to written texts, and I expect deictic relative clauses that depend on *voici/voilà* to be most frequent in texts which reproduce oral communication, and less frequent in narrative texts which do not reproduce oral communication. In the following, I will study the frequency of the construction *voici/voilà* followed by a deictic relative clause in order to verify or to reject these hypotheses.

Since *voici/voilà* are originally closely related to spoken language, this focus construction is an appropriate test of my hypothesis concerning the primacy of speaker-induced language changes.

I have examined the frequency of *le/la/les + voici/voilà + qui* in the same corpus as used in the analyses of the progressive construction introduced by the verb *voir* (see section 4.2).

My results presented in Figure 32 and Figure 33 clearly confirm the hypothesis that the construction *voici/voilà* followed by a deictic relative clause (FDRC) belongs to genres reproducing spoken language. Indeed, in theatre, the frequency increases after 1600, whereas the use in narrative texts only starts by 1700 and increases very slowly from

1800. I interpret these frequencies as a confirmation of my hypothesis that the innovation starts in individual, spoken language, spreads in the community, and is finally found in writing, in accordance with the scenario of change presented by Andersen (2008b: 32).

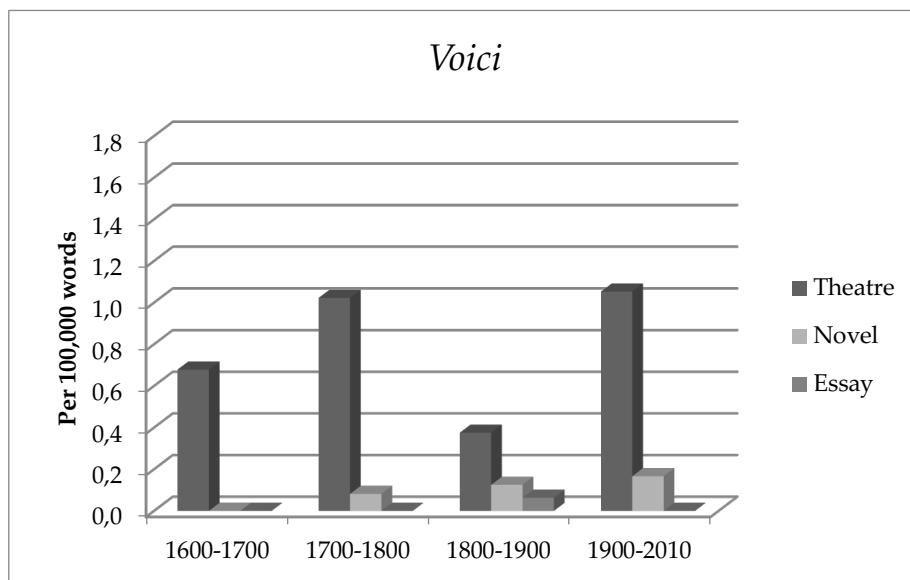


Figure 32. Distribution of *voici* according to genres

Another result of our data is the difference in status between *voici* and *voilà* (see Figure 32 and Figure 33).

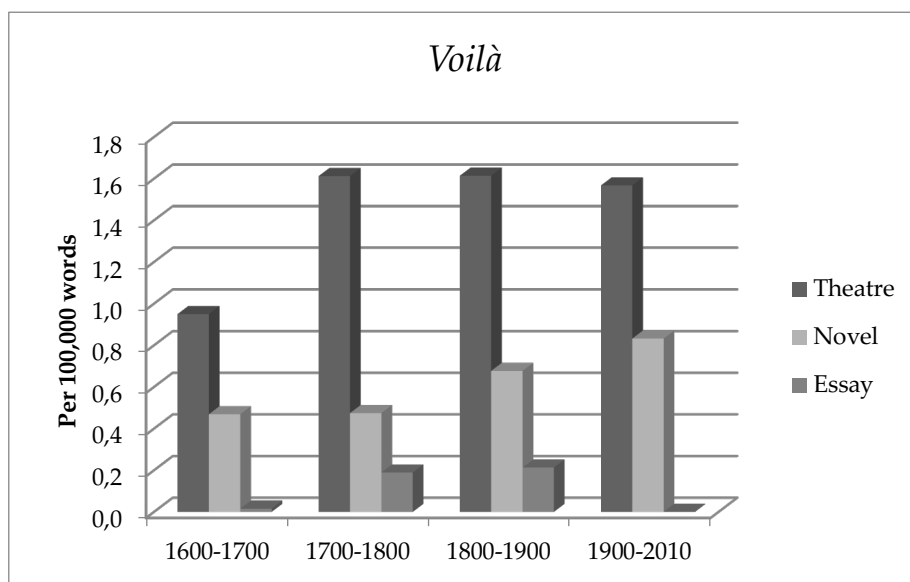


Figure 33. Distribution of *voilà* according to genres

In the first period (from 1600 to 1700) the difference in frequency between *voici* and *voilà* is small. After 1700, however, the difference in frequency between the two forms increases, as *voici* becomes less frequent, both in number of tokens and with respect to

voilà. In modern French, *voilà* has become the unmarked form of the two deictic focus markers. This change of markedness implies, by the way, that the original deictic difference between proximity (*voici*) and distance (*voilà*) is no longer the relevant distinctive difference between the two forms, and that the unmarked form *voilà* can express both distance and proximity.

Typical examples illustrating the genre of theatre are found in (112) and (113):

(112) *Monsieur, le **voici** qui revient* ‘Sir, here he is coming back’ (Molière, *L’Avare*, 1669, Frantext)

(113) *Le **voilà** qui les suit* ‘Here, he is following them’ (Corneille, *La Toison d’or*, 1682, Frantext)

A typical example illustrating the genre of novels is found in (114):

(114) *La **voilà** qui vogue hors du monde* ‘Here she is leaving the world in a vessel’ (Cyrano de Bergerac, *Les Etats et empires de la lune*, 1655, Frantext)

Figure 34 clearly shows that the *voici/voilà*-construction is anchored in the actuality of the speaker. Indeed, it is almost exclusively found with the present tense, and this is the case since the first examples of this construction.

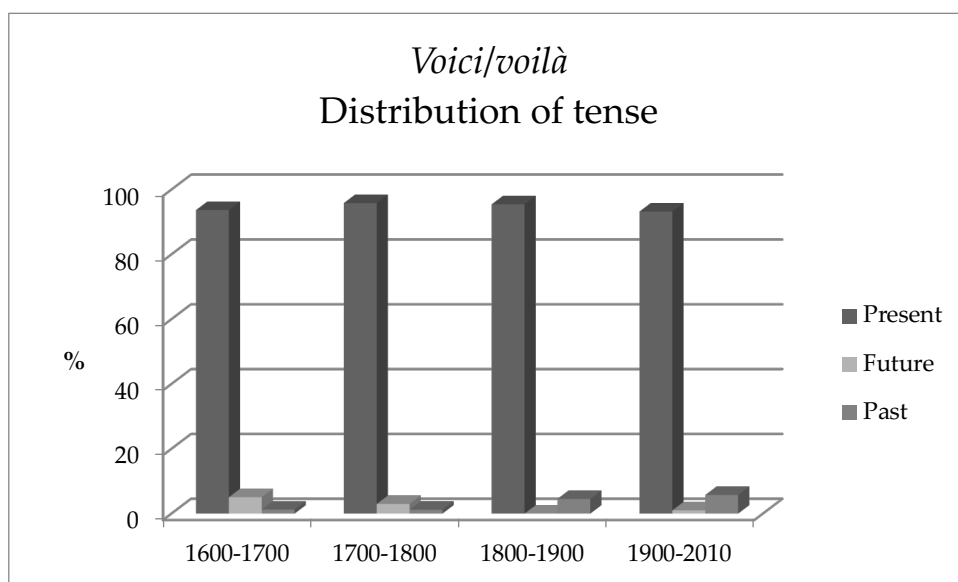


Figure 34. Distribution of *voici/voilà* according to tense

Exceptionally, we find FDRC combined with the future (simple and analytical future), but even in these cases, the construction is still clearly anchored in the present situation,

i.e. temporal and local simultaneity, of the speaker who is introducing to his interlocutor a third person – see examples (115) and (116):

- (115) *Madame, le voici qui vous le dira mieux* ‘Madam, here he is, who will tell you better’ (Corneille, *Suréna, général des Parthes*, 1682, Frantext)
- (116) *Messieurs, le voilà qui va commencer* ‘Sir, now he is going to start’ (Dancourt, *La Foire Saint-Germain*, 1711, Frantext)

We also find FDRC with the recent past (117) about an activity leaving perceptible trace:

- (117) *Monsieur, lui dit-il, le voilà qui vient de mettre pied à terre sous ces arbres que vous voyez ...* ‘Sir, he said, now he has just put foot on the ground below these trees that you see...’ (Hamilton, *Mémoires de la vie du comte de Gramont*, 1713, Frantext).

5.2.2.3. Discussion

As a consequence of its etymological imperative form, the construction presupposes the interaction of at least two partners. However, the meaning of this construction is not simply the addition of its parts; in the course of time, it has acquired a special function, which is to be one of a number of focus constructions. Thus, it is reanalysed as a schematic construction, according to the definition of CG, with a paradigmatic relation to other focus constructions, such as *c’est x qui*, *il y a x qui*, *j’ai x qui*, which will be investigated in section 5.3.

I recall that the situation, in which the antecedent is involved, is in principle a piece of new information. It is, in other words, clearly rhematic and consequently differs from the subordinate relative clauses, which may or may not provide new information on the antecedent, and from the PDRC which is not thematic. Table 12 sums up the characteristics of FDRC with the deictic relative as opposed to the two types of subordinate relatives and the deictic relative.

<i>Type of clause/ construction</i>	<i>Restrictive relative = A</i>	<i>Non-restrictive relative</i>	<i>Deictic relative = B (PDRC)</i>	<i>Focus construction = C (FDRC)</i>
<i>Relation of \pm dependency between antecedent and relative clause</i>	<i>+subordination</i>	<i>+subordination</i>	<i>-subordination</i>	<i>- subordination</i>
<i>Formal features</i>	<i>-pronominal antecedent</i>	<i>-pronominal antecedent</i>	<i>+pronominal antecedent</i>	<i>+pronominal antecedent</i>
<i>\pm Temporal adverb</i>	<i>\pm</i>	<i>\pm</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>Constructional status</i>	<i>Substantive construction</i>	<i>Substantive construction</i>	<i>Schematic construction</i>	<i>Schematic construction</i>
<i>Deictic function</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>+</i>	<i>+</i>
<i>Semantic value</i>	<i>Restrictional information on antecedent</i>	<i>Additional information on antecedent</i>	<i>+progression +simultaneity +holistic vision</i>	<i>+focus +progression +simultaneity +holistic vision</i>
<i>Pragmatic value</i>	<i>\pmrhematic</i>	<i>\pmrhematic</i>	<i>+rhematic</i>	<i>+rhematic</i>

Table 12. Characteristics of FDRC

The choice between the two change scenarios $A > C$ or $A > B > C$ of FDRC depends on theoretical and empirical arguments. The theoretical argument runs like this: the first scenario implies an independent reanalysis of A into C; thus, features found in B are absent or not reanalysed in C. The second scenario implies that characteristic features of B are preserved or reanalysed in C. The empirical argument concerns the chronology. If B and C are independent reanalyses of A, then C may appear before B or vice versa. If C presupposes B, then it must appear later than B.

In principle, the first scenario ($A > C$) is possible; however, FDRC preserves a number of characteristic features found in B (PDRC) and not in the subordinate relative (A), which points to the second scenario as the more plausible one. The common characteristic features are -subordination, +pronominal antecedent, -temporal adverb, +deictic function, +progressivity, and holistic vision (see Table 12).

If C appears before B, then the second scenario is excluded. If B appears after C, then both scenarios are possible. The data provided in the preceding sections show that in the early periods (Middle French; see Figure 13), *voici/voilà* + deictic relative is less frequent than *voir* + deictic relative. In the later periods (see Figure 14, Figure 32, and Figure 33), FDRC appears to be more frequent than PDRC. I must admit that the present documentation is not conclusive, one of the problems being the difference of frequency between the verb *voir* and the presentatives – the former being much more frequent than the latter. The results of the empirical analyses indicate, however, that while the verb *voir*, which belongs to a group of high frequency verbs, can be combined with many other complements, the two presentatives *voici/voilà* have a smaller range of complementation possibilities and apparently favour the deictic relative as complement.

My conclusion is that the *voici/voilà*-constructions studied in this section are a specialization (i.e. regrammation according to the terminology proposed by Andersen 2008b) of the deictic relative construction analysed in sections 4.2 and 4.3. Consequently, I propose that the language changes studied here can be summarized in terms of the second scenario: $A > B > C$.

This confirms the connection between paradigms 2 and 3, as illustrated in Figure 35.

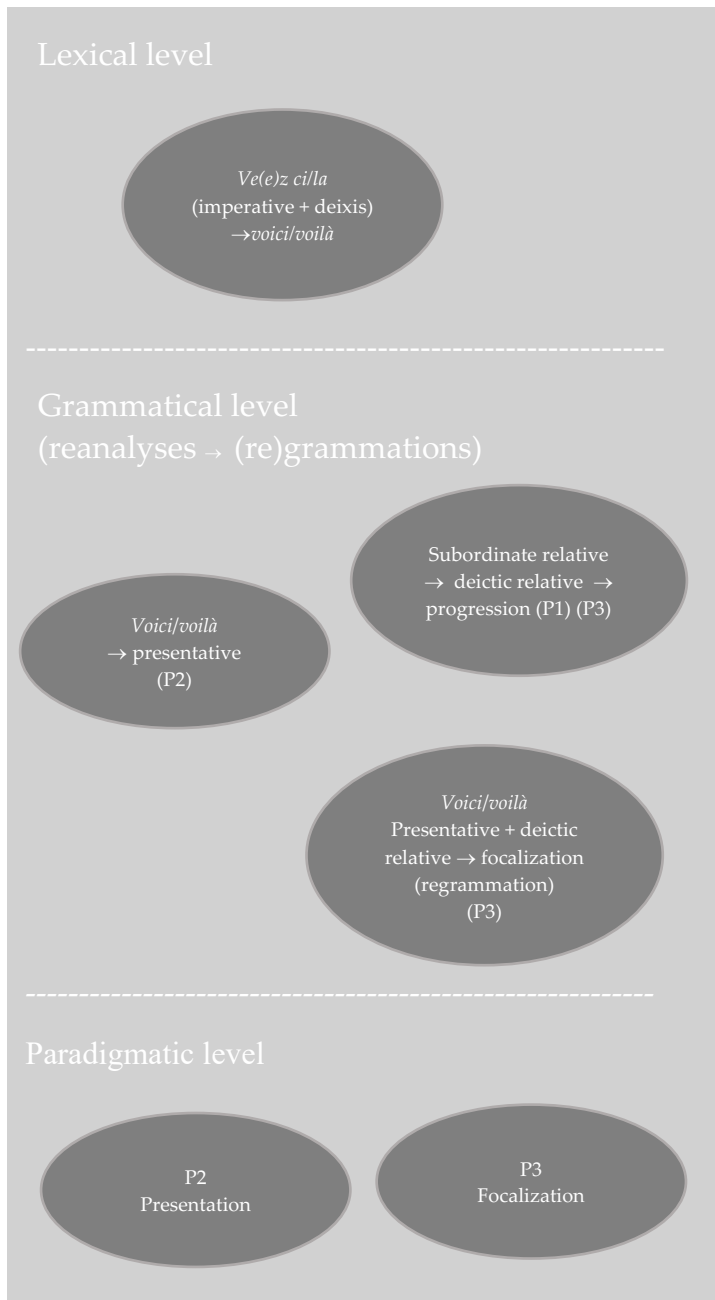


Figure 35. From lexical level and Paradigm 1 to Paradigm 2 and 3

As the structure *voici/voilà* + deictic relative is accepted in the speech community and increases in use, it is embedded, i.e. integrated into grammar (Herzog *et al.* 1968: 185). Once embedded, it can be considered as yet another way of focalization: *Voici/voilà Pierre qui arrive* ‘Here is Peter arriving’.

5.3. Inventory of Paradigms 2 and 3

Let us now look at the inventory of Paradigms 2 and 3, i.e. constructions of presentation and focus.

Scholars of French tend to disagree on the terminology, the definition, and even on the inventory of markers of presentation and of focus. That is one of the reasons why this is a challenging issue. Presentation and focus are usually treated separately,⁸¹ in spite of the fact that most of these structures function not only as presentatives⁸² but also as markers of focalization. My aim is to propose a coherent presentation by means of my paradigmatic approach and to define them as *constructions that provide the receiver (reader or listener) of an utterance with important and new information on new or already known entities*. According to this definition, these structures presuppose that the setting is a situation of communication. The prerequisite for analysing them as constructions in a Construction Grammar (CG) sense is that they are the result of a reanalysis of a free, lexical structure turned into a complex, i.e. analytical grammaticalized entity. My conception of construction is, however, more restrictive, as outlined above. I will claim that the presentative construction is a case of grammation, that the focalization structure is a case of regrammation, and that they are paradigmatically organized (cf. section 2.4). Each construction will be specified with respect to the following criteria:

- Information structure: \pm grammatical marking of focalization
- \pm explicit deixis
- \pm introduction of new entity, i.e. the thematic structure of the utterance
- \pm presentation of entity
- \pm identification of entity
- \pm presence of a nexus construction, defined as a relation of interdependency between two entities, i.e. between the antecedent and the deictic relative clause
- \pm presence of a relative clause

⁸¹ See, e.g. Grevisse & Goosse (1988: 744 ff, 1585-1587, 1625), Wilmet (1997: 456 ff, 499), and Riegel *et al.* (2009 [1994]: 454-456).

⁸² I use the label *presentative* which is the established term of the construction which I will refer to as *neutral focus construction* (see section 5.3.8).

- additional criteria concerning restrictions on determination, constraints on tense, on register, etc.

In the following, I shall first reproduce and discuss a number of the definitions previously proposed and introduce the inventory of structures proposed by different scholars.

Afterwards, I will present and characterize the structures to be included in the paradigm. I will show that all presentative constructions (cases of grammation) develop into focalization constructions (cases of regrammation), whereas two focalization constructions have no corresponding presentative construction (cf. sections 5.3.5 and 5.3.6).

I refer to the grammar of reference of modern French (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]) as representative for the accepted analyses.⁸³ According to these authors (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 453ff), presentatives introduce to a listener, explicitly or implicitly referred to, an entity (=X) functioning as their subject complement or object. Presentatives are often used in oral language for pointing out a referent to the listener.⁸⁴ Presentatives contain a verb, either a free form as in *c'est X, il est X, il y a X*, or fixed, as is the case for *voici/voilà X*. According to some scholars, e.g. Jaubert (1990: 109), different presentatives preserve their specific semantic features, although they have comparable functions: "*l'image du réel sollicité s'impose différemment selon le présentatif qui l'introduit*",⁸⁵ whereas other scholars, e.g. Lambrecht (2000, 2001), consider presentatives to have lost their specificities during their grammaticalization process. The result of the grammaticalization process is that presentatives have developed into constructions, in the sense of CG, which implies that the meaning of the construction does not correspond to the sum of its parts, and that there is a bleaching of full lexical verbs.⁸⁶ However, parts of the meaning of what I believe to be the source construction are retained in the new

⁸³ Porhiel (2012) provides a list of expressions included among presentatives by one or more scholars, of which the ones included in the present study are prevalent.

⁸⁴ The criterion concerning the presence of an explicit or implicit receiver has not been invoked by other scholars working on this topic, but I insist on its importance.

⁸⁵ '[T]he image of the solicited reality is imposed differently depending on the presentative that introduces it'.

⁸⁶ This is in line with Traugott & Trousdale (2013: 94-113), according to whom grammaticalization processes are characterized by both (semantic) *reduction* (i.e. bleaching) and (syntactic) *expansion* (i.e. host expansion and increased frequency).

construction. This corresponds to the term *heterosemy*, coined by Traugott & Trousdale (2013: 202): “Since new meanings arise in specific contexts, they do not immediately replace old meanings; rather there can be long periods of overlap or heterosemy where old and new meanings coexist”.

In the following, I intend to defend the point of view that presentatives and focalization markers establish constructions in the sense this term is used in the present work (see section 2.4). Consequently, they are part of grammar, i.e. of a paradigm, meaning that these paradigms have members which are opposed to each other, and which have specific features of form and content. The speaker/writer must pick up one of the members of the paradigm, when either presentation or focalization is wanted. Moreover, I will show that these two paradigms are connected.

Focalization constructions are often considered as a sort of transformation (cf. footnote 78 contesting the idea of transformation) of a presentation construction. Formally, they are cleft constructions which “*met[tent] en relief un membre de la phrase*” by means of extraction (see Wilmet 1997: 456-457). The extracted element is called the focus. The function of focalization constructions is to emphasize something (rather than something else), and it expresses a statement that can be denied or questioned by the recipient (Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 1726).

In agreement with the Danish functionalist tradition, I distinguish between different types of focalization. One is labelled *neutral focalization*. It is neutral because it is not formally marked as focalization, but still, it is an instruction to the receiver of an important part of the message. In French, neutral focalization is normally positioned to the right, i.e. at the end of the sentence (Nølke & Korzen 1999), like *dans la rue* in example (118).

(118) *Jacques est dans la rue* ‘Jacques is in the street’

Another type, which will be treated here, is syntactically marked focalization, e.g. by means of cleft constructions – see example (119) – with focalization of *Jacques*.

(119) *C’est Jacques qui est dans la rue* ‘It’s Jacques who is in the street’

Riegel *et al.* (2009 [1994]: 430, 456, 606) do not use the term focalization, but apply a sort of transformation analysis, according to which the extraction results in an emphatic use of the presentative, which is accompanied by a kind of relative clause introduced by

qui or *que*, but which is neither restrictive nor parenthetic (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 430-431, 453-457, 606).

We have seen that Lambrecht (2000, 2001) considers focalization structures as constructions in the sense of CG. If I understand his analyses correctly, he proposes that focalization constructions, which he labels cleft constructions or CC, are results of a reanalysis of a simple presentation construction, which can be schematized in the following way:⁸⁷

Construction 1 (presentation): *C'est X*

Construction 2 (focalization / CC): *C'est X qui ...*

Table 13. Reanalysis following Lambrecht (2000, 2001)

According to Lambrecht (2001: 468), the copula in a cleft construction can be a verb like *être* 'to be', *avoir* 'to have', or a fossilized imperative such as *voilà* 'there is', all "capable of losing its lexical meaning within the construction". I agree with Lambrecht that the bleaching of lexical meaning of the main clause verb proves that the verb is no longer part of a free structure, but of a grammaticalized construction, which is the result of a reanalysis. Lambrecht (2001: 468) maintains that when a logically simple proposition is expressed in a CC (*Pierre arrive* → *c'est Pierre qui arrive*, 'Peter arrives' → 'it is Peter who arrives') which is a two-clause sequence, one of the two verbal forms is no longer a fully lexical verb, i.e. after the reanalysis, the main clause verb is part of a grammaticalized structure in the presentative construction. Following the terminology of Andersen, I will consider the presentative structures (Construction 1, Table 13) to be an instance of grammation and the focalization structures to be reanalyses of presentative structures followed by a relative clause, i.e. cases of regrammation (Andersen 2006a: 232-233). In other words, we have two steps of reanalysis. The first is the creation of the presentative construction (Construction 1 in the Table above) from a former free lexical construction. The second reanalysis concerns the Construction 1 followed by a relative

⁸⁷ See Lambrecht (2001: 467): "A CLEFT CONSTRUCTION (CC) is a complex sentence structure consisting of a matrix clause headed by a copula and a relative or relative-like clause whose relativized argument is coindexed with the predicative argument of the copula". In his French 2000 study, Lambrecht analyses a large number of French Construction 2-types, and he labels them presentation constructions ("constructions présentatives"). This choice of terminology risks to create some confusion to the readers of Lambrecht's papers.

clause. The result of the regrammation is such that the combination of the presentation construction and the *qui / que*-sentence (i.e. Construction 2) is not the sum of the two parts, but a new construction with a new function.⁸⁸

In the following, I shall first take a closer look at four different types of presentative constructions, *c'est*, *il y a*, *il est*, and *voici/voilà*, and their respective regrammated focalization constructions. I will describe how they differ with respect to semantics and function, formal constraints, and level of formality (sections 5.3.1 to 5.3.4).

5.3.1. *C'est X*

C'est X is the default-presentative with no constraints in use. When *c'est X* is used as a presentative, there is no explicit textual reference or clear function of the demonstrative pronominal subject *c'* (Jaubert 1990: 110). *C'est* can be followed by a noun phrase or a tonic form of the personal pronoun, and it introduces a referent *X* or provides identification of *X*, known or unknown to the receiver (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 453; Jaubert 1990: 110).⁸⁹ There is no explicit reference to a receiver, i.e. there is no deixis. *C'est X* is a neutral type of focus introduced above, focus being *X*. *C'est X* can form a sentence with a complement clause in an answer to a question, but only in informal language:

- (120) *Qu'y a-t-il? – C'est que je ne suis pas d'accord.* 'What is wrong?' – 'It's that I don't agree' (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 454)

C'est cannot be used without *X*, but apart from that, there are no formal constraints. It varies in tense and mood, although the present tense often replaces the other tenses. It can also vary in number, however, mostly in formal language (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 455). *C'est X* does not appear in Lambrecht's list of presentatives.

The stylistic constraints essentially regard the use of the plural form of the verb. When followed by a personal pronoun in the 1st or 2nd person plural, the plural form is excluded:

⁸⁸ I am aware that in spoken language we find focalization structures in which the second part of the construction is not a relative clause, but instead separated from the NP by a pause, e.g. *J'ai ma copine – elle vient me voir tous les jours*, 'I have my neighbour, she come to see me every day'. Since such cases are not formally focalization structures, they will not be treated here. I thank Sophie Prévost for having drawn my attention to this type.

⁸⁹ Feuillet (1986) subcategorizes *c'est* as an identification presentative.

- (121) *C'est nous / vous* 'It's us / you'

When *X* takes the 3rd person plural form of the personal pronoun, the verb is generally in the singular form:

- (122) *Ce n'est pas eux* 'It isn't them'

The plural form of the verb: *ce sont X_{plur}* is considered formal style, and *c'est* is preferred in standard use, especially in oral communication (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 455).

Scholars agree (see e.g. Jaubert 1990: 110) that *c'est X* is the origin of the cleft construction. I consider the cleft construction to be a regrammation of the presentation/identification construction. *C'est X qui / que* expresses focus by extracting a constituent (subject, object, adverbial complement, etc.), known or unknown to the interlocutor. It may or may not express opposition to a previously mentioned entity, as in examples (123) to (126) where this entity is not explicitly referred to.

There is no explicit reference to a receiver, i.e. there is no deixis. The construction introduces a referent *X* or provides identification of *X*, known or unknown to the receiver. It is the unmarked and most frequent focalization construction (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 456), i.e. it varies in tense, mood, and number, and it can be negated and questioned:

- (123) *C'est le donneur qui ouvre les enchères* 'It is the auctioneer who starts the auction'
- (124) *Ce n'est pas eux qui arrivent* 'It is not they who arrive'
- (125) *C'est une conversation d'ennemis que nous avons là ?* 'Is this a conversation amongst enemies?' (Giradoux)
- (126) *Ce sont les lapins qui ont été étonnés*⁹⁰ 'It was the rabbits that got astonished'

C' is coindexed with the subject of the relative clause (Jaubert 1990: 110). In paradigmatic terms, we have members of two paradigms,⁹¹ which are connected, sharing a common domain and a common semantic frame. The *domain* is SVX followed by an

⁹⁰ Examples (126) and (136) from Wilmet (1997: 507, 522).

⁹¹ The paradigmatic opposition presented in Table 14 involves two connected paradigms. The members presented there are each part of these two paradigms, the neutrally focalized paradigm and the grammaticalized focalization paradigm, respectively. Subsequently, they are labelled *partial paradigms*.

optional relative clause. The semantic frame is focalization, syntactically marked or not. The difference between the two members of the paradigm concerns the focalization type, neutral or syntactic.

Members of C'est X the paradigm		C'est X qui / que
Form	SVX examples (121), (122)	SVX <i>qui / que</i> -clause examples (123), (125), (126)
Content	Presentation/identification of <i>X</i> (known or unknown to the receiver) in a neutrally focalized construction	Presentation/identification/opposition of <i>X</i> (known or unknown to the receiver) in a regrammated construction of focalization
	-deixis	-deixis

Table 14. Partial paradigm of *C'est X* and *C'est X qui/que*

5.3.2. *Il y a X*

Riegel *et al.* (2009 [1994]: 454-455) divide the function of *il y a X* into two different values:⁹² as a presentative equivalent to *voici X* (127) and as a construction expressing existence equivalent to *il existe X*, which, when followed by an indefinite NP in plural, has a generic meaning (128).⁹³

(127) *Il y a / voici Jacques dans la rue* 'Here is Jacques in the street'

(128) *Il y a = il existe des cigognes noires* 'black storks exist'

Serving as a presentative (127), it can be followed by a definite NP or a proper noun but also requires a spatial marker in order to indicate the location of the referent of the NP (*dans la rue*).

Il y a cannot be used without *X*. It varies in tense and mood, and it can be negated or restricted. *Il y a* points to the existence of a referent *X*, known or unknown to the receiver. *X* is an NP, a personal pronoun, or a proper noun (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 455).

With the value of existence, *il y a X* has a preference for the indefinite (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 455) – see example (129) and (130):

⁹² Examples (127) to (134) are quoted from Riegel *et al.* (2009 [1994]).

⁹³ Feuillet (1986) classifies *il y a* only as an existential presentative.

(129) *Il y a quelqu'un / un homme* 'There is someone / a man'

In the presentative function, *X* is most often a definite noun phrase or a proper noun – cf. example (127) and (130):

(130) *Il y a le facteur à la porte* 'There is the postman at the door'

However, with the presentative value, the definite and the indefinite can be mixed, as is the case in example (131):

(131) *Dans le fond de la voiture, il y avait juste le Major et un chien, et deux valises*
'Inside the car there was the major, a dog and two pieces of luggage' (Vian, *Les Fourmis*, 1949, Frantext)

Il y a is mainly used in oral, informal communication as in example (120). Thus, it is a stylistically marked construction compared to *c'est X*. It can combine with a complement clause in an answer to a question, but only in colloquial language (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 454):

(132) *Qu'y a-t-il? – Il y a que je me suis trompé* 'What is wrong?' – 'It's that I am mistaken'

When followed by a personal pronoun, this takes the tonic form (133), which, however, is not current in the 3rd person singular, unless coordinated with an additional entity (134) (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 453).

(133) *Il y a moi / toi / nous / vous* 'It's me, you, us, you'

(134) ?? *Il y a lui - Il y a lui et sa femme* 'It's him' - 'It's him and his wife'

There is no explicit reference to a receiver, i.e. there is no deixis.

Il y a used in a cleft construction has a more restricted use than *c'est X qui / que*. I consider it to be a regrammation of the presentation construction. It can be followed by an indefinite noun phrase, constituting a cleft construction of a simple construction, e.g. *beaucoup de gens parlent pour ne rien dire* ('many people speak without saying anything'). In such cases, the meaning of *il y a X qui / que* is to focus on the existence of *X* + relative clause, possibly with a specific emphasis on the quantification of *X* (cf. Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 455; Lambrecht 2000).

(135) *Il y a beaucoup de gens qui parlent pour ne rien dire* ‘There are many people who speak without saying anything’

(136) *Il y a trois patients que Knock n’a pas visités* ‘There are three patients that Knock has not yet seen’

I consider examples like (135) and (136), which express existence and not presentation, as examples with a subordinate relative clause. Whereas when *X* is a definite noun phrase, as in example (137), it does not mean existence, but presentation, and the relative clause is not subordinate. Instead, the relative clause establishes a relation of interdependency with the antecedent, in the sense that the two parts have equal importance in the focus construction. In other words, it is a nexus construction, and the relative clause is deictic.

(137) *Il y a les agriculteurs qui manifestent à Strasbourg* ‘There are the farmers who are demonstrating in Strasbourg’

I agree with Riegel *et al.* (2009 [1994]: 456), according to whom example (137) presents a global vision of the activity expressed, thus eliminating the distinction between theme and rheme. Observe that we find restrictions on tense, on determination, etc. concerning this type, entirely in line with *deictic concord* mentioned in section 4.2.1, restrictions which are absent from the *subordinate relatives*, as appears from example (135) and (136) above, where we find an indefinite *X* (*beaucoup de gens*) and a past tense (*n’a pas visités*). There is no explicit reference to a receiver, i.e. there is no deixis.

Members of the paradigm	Il y a X	Il y a X qui / que
Form	SVX ⁹⁴ examples (127), (128), (129), (130), (131), (132), (133)	SVX <i>qui</i> / <i>que</i> -clause examples (135), (136), (137)
Content	a. Presentation of <i>X</i> b. Existence of <i>X</i> (known or unknown to the receiver) in a neutrally focalized construction -deixis	a. Presentation of <i>X</i> +deictic concord b. Existence of <i>X</i> -deictic concord (known or unknown to the receiver) in a regrammated focalized construction

Table 15. Partial paradigm of *Il y a X* and *Il y a X qui/que*

5.3.3. *Il est X*

Il est X is very restricted in use compared to the previous presentatives. It points to the existence of a referent *X* of the noun phrase, generally unknown to the receiver (Jaubert 1990: 111). It is mainly combined with the adverbial phrase *une fois*, and primarily used to open fairy tales. Besides this function, *il est* is only found in fixed impersonal constructions, expressing time:

- (138) *Il est temps / tard etc., il est cinq heures, il était une fois une petite fille de village*⁹⁵ ‘It’s time / late etc., it’s five o’clock, once upon a time there was a little girl in a village’

This construction is only found in the indicative, present or imperfect tense, in the singular form and is used to present an entity unknown to the receiver.

Il est is the literary variant of *il y a* and was mainly used in the classical period of French.

In Lambrecht (2000: 49) *il est X qui* is analysed as an example of what he confusingly labels presentatives, which, together with a relative, form a presentative relative

⁹⁴ I consider *y a* to be lexicalized as a verb, hence *V*.

⁹⁵ Examples (138), (142) to (125) and (135) are quoted from Riegel *et al.* (2009 [1994]: 453-456).

construction. According to the standard terminology, this is a focalization construction, labelled Cleft Construction in Lambrecht (2001), exemplified by:

- (139) *Il était une fois une belle princesse qui vivait dans un vieux château* ‘Once upon a time there was a beautiful princess living in an old castle’

The relation between the antecedent and the relative is a relation of subordination. Just like the *il est X*-presentation construction, the *il est X qui*-focalization construction is highly restricted in use: it is mainly found in the past tense and primarily used to open fairy tales. The construction is used to focus on an entity unknown to the receiver.

Members of the paradigm	<i>Il est X</i>	<i>Il est X qui / que</i>
Form	SVX example (138)	SVX <i>qui / que</i> -clause example (139)
Content	Presentation of <i>X</i> (unknown to the receiver) in a neutrally focalized construction -deixis	Presentation of <i>X</i> (unknown to the receiver) in a regrammated focalized construction -deixis

Table 16. Partial paradigm of *Il est X* and *Il est X qui/que*

Since this partial paradigm is very restricted in use, I will not integrate it into Paradigm 3, the paradigm of focalization.

5.3.4. *Voici/voilà X*

Voici / voilà X present a referent *X*, known or unknown to the receiver:

- (140) *Voilà une belle fleur* ‘Here is a beautiful flower’

- (141) *Voici mon ami Pierre* ‘Here is my friend Peter’

It is characteristic for these constructions that they address explicitly the interlocutor and thus have the feature of +deixis.⁹⁶ The classical distinction between the two forms

⁹⁶ *Voici/voilà* are subcategorized as deictic presentatives by Feuillet (1986: 116) as well as by Porhiel (2012: 436).

voici/voilà was a reference to proximity and distance, respectively, which is lost in modern French.

Voici/voilà are uninflected (Porhiel 2012), they are monovalent (Lambrecht 2001: 468), as presentatives they are not used autonomously (Oppermann-Marsaux 2019: 90), but in particular *voilà* can appear alone, without *X*, as an interjection in an answer (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 453-454) – see also section 6.3.2.4.

Voici/voilà X can form a sentence with a complement clause, presenting a new situation:

(142) *Voilà qu'il neige* 'It is snowing'

An interrogative clause can be reduced to an infinitive:

(143) *Voici comment faire* 'Here is how to do'

The atonic form of the personal pronoun can appear as an object preceding the presentative:

(144) *Le voilà* 'Here he is'

The constructions cannot be negated in a declarative utterance:

(145) **Ne voilà personne* 'Nobody is here'

But a fossilized, archaic, negated use is found in interrogatives:⁹⁷

(146) *Ne voilà-t-il pas qu'il revient ?* 'Isn't he on his way back?'

X can be a comparative or a superlative:

(147) *Voilà plus intéressant/Voici la meilleure analyse de Pierre* 'This is more interesting/this is the best analysis by Pierre'

In modern French, *voilà X* is more frequent than *voici X*, and the latter is marked compared to the former. The constructions are especially frequent in oral, informal communication, in accordance with the deictic character of the forms.

Voici/voilà X qui/que can express focus with the extraction of the subject (NP or pronoun subject of the relative). *Voici/voilà X qui/que* can be followed by a subordinate or a deictic

⁹⁷ Note that the presence of an explicit subject, *il*, was possible with the imperative in previous periods of French (Grevisse & Goosse 1988: 669).

relative. Example (148) illustrates the structure with a subordinate relative. The object consists of a complex NP and can be pronominalized by the feminine pronoun *la*. In contrast, example (149) is a nexus construction. Here a pronominalization of the antecedent is possible only with preservation of the deictic relative *la voilà qui arrive* or taking the neutral form *cela* instead of the feminine pronoun: *voilà cela*. The possibility of a personal pronoun as antecedent is a specific feature of a deictic relative; this possibility does not exist for subordinate relative clauses, cf. example (148).

(148) *Voilà ma sœur que tu as rencontrée hier* → *la voilà* ‘Here is my sister who you met yesterday → here she is’

(149) *Voilà ma sœur qui arrive* → *la voilà qui arrive* ‘Here is my sister arriving → here she is arriving’

According to Riegel *et al.* (2009 [1994]: 456), the construction with the deictic relative is syntactically restricted because it presupposes, among other things, a known referent (see below). Wilmet (1997: 522) uses the terminology “*prédications secondes indirectes à lien pronominal*”. The deictic relative provides the message of the construction (*le facteur arrive*); *voici/voilà* only introduces the message:

(150) *Voici le facteur qui arrive*⁹⁸ ‘Here is the postman arriving’

(151) *Le voici/voilà qui arrive* ‘He is arriving’

In order to maintain the idea of simultaneity, typical of holistic constructions, the verb must be in the present tense since *voici/voilà* are deictic expressions rooted in the time of the utterance. This is in accordance not only with my presentation of *voici/voilà X* and a deictic relative, in which I consider them part of a progressive, holistic, and deictic construction, but also with Lambrecht (2000: 50-51), who states that the function of this type of focus construction is to present an entity and to express new information about this entity in one operation. Furthermore, the structure presupposes a known referent (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 456).

⁹⁸ Examples (150) and (151) are from Lambrecht (2000).

Members of the paradigm	<i>Voici/voilà X</i>	<i>Voici/voilà X qui / que</i>
Form	VX examples (140), (141), (142), (143), (144), (146), (147)	VX <i>qui / que</i> -clause examples (148), (149), (150), (151)
Content	Presentation of <i>X</i> (known or unknown to the receiver) in a neutrally focalized construction +deixis	a. Presentation of <i>X</i> , subordinate relative –deictic concord (known or unknown to the receiver) in a regrammated focalized construction b. Presentation of <i>X</i> , deictic relative +deictic concord (known to the receiver) in a regrammated focalized construction

Table 17. Partial paradigm of *Voici/voilà X* and *Voici/voilà X qui/que*

Interestingly, the presentatives *voici* and *voilà* can also appear with the prefix *re-* (Porhiel 2012: 437):

(152) *Me revoici seul dans la chambre* ‘Here I am again alone in the room’
(Genevoix, *Ceux de 14*, 1950, Frantext)

(153) *Nous revoilà. Nous sommes contents* ‘There we are again, we are happy’
(Genevoix, *Ceux de 14*, 1950, Frantext)

And also, but rarely, in a focalization construction:

(154) *Et le **revoici** qui se lève avec hâte et raideur, comme tout à l’heure, mais cette fois-ci pour de bon, prononçant de manière sèche le « Messieurs, je vous remercie » qu’il avait dû interrompre* ‘And here he is again who gets up with haste and stiffness, as before but this time for good, pronouncing in a dry manner the “Gentlemen, thank you” that he had to interrupt’ (Mauriac, *Et comme l’espérance est violente*, 1976, Frantext)

(155) *Le **revoilà** qui lui fait du plat* ‘There he is again, making passes to her’
(Queneau, *Pierrot mon ami*, 1942, Frantext)

These occurrences with the prefix *re-* are, however, still rare. In the entire Frantext corpus

(260,651,571 words⁹⁹), I have found 298 occurrences of *revoilà* and 147 occurrences of *revoici*. Two occurrences of *revoici* followed by *qui* indicating focalization; three occurrences of *revoilà* followed by *qui* indicating focalization.

5.3.5. *Avoir X qui*

This construction is not a reanalysis of a corresponding presentative. It has been relatively scarcely studied, as observed by Conti (2010). I believe that the construction originates from a free possessive structure, subject + *avoir* + object (NP), where the object is in some way related to the subject, e.g. a body part, a family member, etc. This free construction has been reanalysed as a grammatical construction with the function of focalization. The object is known to the subject, but not necessarily to the receiver – see (157). The examples quoted in the literature are exclusively in the present tense. It is a recent construction, mainly found in oral or informal texts. The following examples are quoted from Conti (2010):

(156) *Il a les cheveux qui tombent* ‘He has his hair falling off → his hair is falling off’

(157) *J’ai ma copine qui habite à Paris* ‘I have my friend living in Paris → my friend is living in Paris’

Lambrecht (2000: 53) classifies this construction together with *il y a X qui*, correctly pointing out that the verb *avoir* is bleached.

Members of the paradigm	<i>Avoir X</i>	<i>Avoir X qui / que</i>
Form		SVX <i>qui / que</i> -clause examples (156), (157)
Content		Presentation of <i>X</i> , deictic relative +deictic concord (known or unknown to the receiver) in a grammated focalized construction -deixis

Table 18. Partial paradigm of *Avoir X qui/que*

⁹⁹ 28 May 2021.

Since this construction is not a regrammation of a presentation/identification construction, I will not include it in the concluding paradigmatic structure.

5.3.6. *X est là qui*

Inspired by Furukawa (2000), Lambrecht (2000) includes in his list of focus constructions *être là*, combined with a relative subordinate, which he labels “*construction relative présentative à thème spatialement localisé*” (‘spatially located theme construction’). The following is a typical example:

(158) *La jeune fille était là qui fumait* ‘(lit.) The young woman was there smoking’

Furukawa, however, considers examples like (158) to be of a different type, which has the spatial affiliation as its main feature (2000: 104). He believes that his analysis is supported by the observation that the antecedent of the relative pronoun *qui* is formally the preceding sequence, rather than the subject of the main clause. I do, nonetheless, agree with Lambrecht, and consider such examples to be focus constructions, since we find them similar to the examples below (examples from Furukawa 2000: 104 analysed as focus constructions):¹⁰⁰

(159) *Elle est là qui pleure* ‘She is there crying’

(160) *La voilà qui pleure* ‘There she is crying’

The construction *X est là qui ...* presupposes an indication of a spatial localization (Furukawa 2000). According to Furukawa (2000: 104), its function is exclusively to focalize and not to present *X*.

In line with the other occurrences of the deictic relative construction, this one only accepts the present and *l'imparfait*¹⁰¹ and cannot be negated (Furukawa 2000: 103). It is mainly used in informal and oral language.

¹⁰⁰ In Furukawa (2000), however, the author seems to have changed his opinion with respect to the relation between the antecedent and the relative, considering the relation to be of subordination instead of interdependency.

¹⁰¹ Furukawa (2000: 107) quotes a few exceptions to this restriction and proposes a different analysis based on a mainly semantic approach, which I don't find convincing.

Members of the paradigm	<i>X est là</i>	<i>X est là qui</i>
Form		SVX <i>qui</i> / <i>que</i> -clause examples (156), (157)
Content		Presentation of <i>X</i> , deictic relative +deictic concord (known or unknown to the receiver) in a grammated focalized construction -deixis

Table 19. Partial paradigm of *X est là qui*

Since this construction is not a regrammation of a presentation/identification construction, I will not include it in the concluding paradigmatic structure.

5.3.7. *Je vois X qui*

Following Lambrecht 2000, I will discuss the possibility of including the type *je vois X qui* in the list of focus constructions, based on his specific premise that it is equivalent to *voici/voilà X* combined with the deictic relative:

- (161) *Je vois la jeune fille qui fume* / *Je la vois qui fume* / *La voilà qui fume* ‘I see the young woman smoking / I see her smoking / There she is smoking’

Lambrecht claims that the content of the relative is the main message of the construction, reducing the context of the main clause to introducing *X*. The reanalysis from pure perception to presentation (i.e. the first stage of grammaticalization mentioned in section 5.1.2, from full lexical structure reanalysed as presentation construction) is thus fulfilled (see also Kragh & Strudsholm 2013: 213-217), implying that the meaning of this structure is not to tell the interlocutor about the speaker’s perception of a young girl smoking, but to draw the attention of the listener to the fact that the girl is smoking. However, I question that this construction is part of a communication since there is no reference to the situation of communication. I find that the forms can be interpreted as part of a narrative. I have previously analysed *je vois X qui* as a deictic construction and shown that such constructions express progression, simultaneity, and holistic vision (Kragh & Schøsler 2014, 2015) – see section 4.4.2. However, I am inclined to dismiss this construction from

the focalization paradigm, because it does not fulfil the requirements of explicit reference to the communication situation – see the definitions in section 5.3.

5.3.8. Conclusion on partial paradigms

I have investigated eleven structures having in common that they provide important and new information on new or already known entities *X*. I have distinguished two types, one with *neutral focus*, and another with *grammaticalized focus*. These two terms correspond to the terms *foyer simple* and *foyer spécialisé*, respectively (Nølke 1997);¹⁰² the latter corresponds to the term *focalisation identificatrice*, used by Martin (1981). I have established partial paradigms according to which the neutral focus structures have regrammated into grammaticalized focus structures. Two structures have no neutral focus, but only grammated focus (cf. 5.3.5 and 5.3.6). One candidate for focus construction proposed by Lambrecht (2000) has been dismissed (cf. 5.3.7). In section 5.6, I will sum up the criteria for establishing a paradigm of focalization including the productive¹⁰³ structures presenting neutral as well as grammaticalized focus as connected paradigms. But first, I shall establish the presentation paradigm composed of the constructions indicating presentation (section 5.4) and the focalization paradigm with members expressing focalization (section 5.5).

5.4. Paradigm 2: Presentation

The presentative paradigm (P2) is shown in Table 20 and contains the constructions exemplified in section 5.3, namely *c'est X*, *il y a X*, *il est X*, *voici/voilà*.

The syntactic domain, i.e. the syntagmatic context, for the presentative paradigm (S)VX is a verb with or without a subject, followed by *X* as the presented entity. The semantic frame is *presentation*, in the sense of an introduction of important and new information to the hearer about a new or already known entity. With respect to the content, the members of the paradigm are, in addition to *presentation*, characterized by two features,

¹⁰² Nølke (1997) introduces the notion of paradigm, however defined in different ways. Sometimes it is used in line with the general interpretation (Nølke 1997: 288), but other times it refers to the semantic frame, as far as I understand it (Nølke 1997: 287).

¹⁰³ Since *il est X* (+*quelque*) is fossilized, as shown in section 5.3.3, it is excluded from the synchronic, productive perspective of focalization (section 5.6). It is, however, included in the two distinct paradigms, Paradigm 2 and Paradigm 3.

namely the option of *identification/opposition* and *deixis*. *Identification* refers to the designation of a referent, possibly combined with the designation in opposition to one or more other potential referents (*opposition*). The feature of *deixis* refers to the possibility of explicitly addressing a hearer and it presupposes the presence of the hearer in the factual or the fictive conversation room.

Syntactic domain: (S)VX		
Semantic frame: Presentation		
Member of paradigm	Expression	Content
<i>C'est X</i> unmarked member	<i>Ce n'est pas eux</i>	Presentation/identification ±opposition ±deixis
<i>Il est X</i> (fossilized variant of <i>il y a</i>) marked member	<i>Il était [une fois] une belle princesse</i>	Presentation -identification -deixis
<i>Il y a X</i> marked member	<i>Il y a quelqu'un</i>	Presentation -identification -deixis
<i>Voici/voilà X</i> marked member	<i>Voici/voilà ma sœur</i>	Presentation -identification +deixis

Table 20. **Paradigm 2: Presentative paradigm**

Having the least restrictions of the four members of the paradigm, *c'est X* is the unmarked member (Kragh & Schøsler 2019). In addition to presentation, *c'est X* is characterized by its capacity of identifying, possibly with specification of opposition. Deixis is possible. *Il y a* can only mean presentation, not identification, and deixis is not required. *Il est* is the fossilized variant of the productive *il y a*; it has the same content as *il y a*, but is mainly used in introductions of fairy tales or to express time. *Voici/voilà* expresses presentation, not identification, but does, on the other hand, express deixis. The three latter are thus marked in proportion to *c'est X*.

5.5. Paradigm 3: Focalization

Members of the presentative paradigm can occur with a subordinate or deictic relative clause and thereby enter a paradigm of focalization: *c'est X qui/que...*, *il y a X qui/que...*, *voici/voilà X qui/que...* In addition to these, we have two focalization constructions which are not derived from a presentative construction: *il a X qui/que...*, *X est là qui/que...*

This has been described as a new reanalysis which presupposes a number of previous reanalyses presented in the preceding sections. Having found no textual evidence that one should precede the other, I hypothesize that the reanalyses at the constructional level (Level of reanalyses and grammations), from subordinate to deictic relative, and the grammaticalization of *voici/voilà* are more or less parallel processes during the Middle Ages. The subsequent reanalyses as members of paradigms, Paradigms 1 and 2, respectively, take place from the sixteenth century onwards (Kragh & Schøsler 2015; Oppermann-Marsaux 2006).

This means that both the ideas of progression and simultaneity expressed in the deictic relative, and presentation expressed by the grammaticalized form *voici/voilà*, are preconditions for the regrammation of the focus construction composed of *voici/voilà* and a deictic relative.

Summing up the reanalyses leading to the grammaticalized focalization paradigm: this paradigm is the result of reanalyses of two constructions, each with its own paradigmatic structure (Paradigm 1 and Paradigm 2), as schematized in Figure 35.

The focalization paradigm is presented in Paradigm 3 and is composed of the constructions exemplified in section 5.3, namely *c'est X qui/que...*, *il y a X qui/que...*, *voici/voilà X qui/que...*, *il a X qui/que...*, *X est là qui/que...*

The *syntactic domain* of the paradigm of grammaticalized focalization differs from that of presentative (neutral focus) because it contains an obligatory *qui/que* clause, which is presented in the figure as follows: (S)VX *qui/que* clause. The *semantic frame*, i.e. the grammatical meaning, is focalization in the sense that the structures provide important and new information to the interlocutor on new or already known entities.

With respect to the content, the members of the paradigm are, in addition to *focalization* and the pragmatic value of introducing new information (+rhematic value), characterized by four features, namely the option of expressing *opposition*, further information by means of a subordinate relative vs. a nexus construction introduced by *qui/que* expressing progressivity, the option of deictic concord, and the option of deixis. The feature of *deictic concord* refers to coincidence with respect to person, time, and place between the main clause and the subordinate or deictic relative. Thus, in example (149) there is deictic concord between *Voilà* and *qui arrive* because of the simultaneity of the perception

(voilà) and the perceived object (*ma sœur qui arrive*). This concept should not be confused with *deixis*, which refers to the possibility of addressing a hearer explicitly and presupposes the presence of the hearer in the factual or the fictive conversation room. Thus, there is *deixis* in example (149) because the speaker is addressing the hearer explicitly, which presupposes the presence of the hearer in the factual or the fictive conversation room.

Syntactic domain: (S)VX(<i>qui</i> / <i>que</i>-clause)		
Semantic frame: Focalization		
Member of paradigm	Expression	Content
<i>C'est X qui/que</i> unmarked member	<i>C'est n'est pas eux qui arrivent</i>	focus ±opposition subordinate relative ±deictic concord -deixis
<i>Il est X qui/que</i> marked member	<i>Il était [une fois] une belle princesse qui vivait dans un vieux château</i>	focus -opposition -deixis
<i>Il y a X qui/que</i> marked member	<i>Il y a quelqu'un qui arrive</i>	focus -opposition nexus construction +deictic concord (?) -deixis
<i>Voici/voilà X qui/que</i> marked member	<i>Voici/voilà ma sœur qui arrive</i>	focus -opposition nexus construction +deictic concord +deixis
<i>Il a X qui/que</i> marked member	<i>Il a les cheveux qui tombent</i>	focus -opposition nexus construction +deictic concord -deixis object related to subject, e.g. body part, family member, etc.
<i>Il est là qui/que</i> marked member	<i>Elle est là qui pleure</i>	focus -opposition nexus construction +deictic concord -deixis presupposes prior indication of spatial location

Table 21. **Paradigm 3: Paradigm of focalization** (Kragh & Schøsler 2019)

The structures identified as focus constructions have been characterized by means of the following criteria: focalization ±opposition, subordination *versus* nexus relation, ± deictic

concord between the main clause and the relative clause, with restrictions on tense, mood, etc., and \pm deixis in the construction. According to these criteria, *C'est X qui/que*-clause is the unmarked member of the paradigm, since it has fewest restrictions. It expresses focalization with or without opposition to another referent and can have deictic concord between the main clause and the relative, but has no restrictions on tense and mood, etc., and it has no deixis. The relation between the relative clause and the antecedent is a relation of subordination. The other structures are opposed to this unmarked construction as marked members. Among the marked members, the *il y a qui/que* structure is less marked than the *voici/voilà qui*, *il a X qui*, and *il est là qui* structures because it has fewer restrictions on tense and mood. It does not express deixis. The three last mentioned structures share the following criteria: like *il y a qui/que*, they focus without indication of opposition, and they form a nexus construction. In contrast with *il y a X qui/que*, they have deictic concord, but only *voici/voilà X qui* has deixis, i.e. presupposes the presence of the hearer in the same factual or fictive conversation room as the speaker.

As illustrated in Figure 35, Paradigm 3 presupposes Paradigm 2, and not vice-versa. In chronological terms, this relation of precondition is confirmed by my corpus investigations, which show that the presentation construction can be found from the thirteenth century, whereas the focalization construction occurs by the end of the seventeenth century, spreading in the nineteenth century. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that grammaticalized focalization is the result of a reanalysis of the presentative structure, with the consequence of focalization being clearly marked.

5.6. Connected paradigms¹⁰⁴

The structures discussed in the previous sections have in common that they are found in a fictive or real communication situation, in which the speaker addresses his interlocutor in order to provide important and new information on new or already known entities. I have discussed whether these structures are constructions in the sense that they are the result of a reanalysis of a free structure, turned into a complex grammaticalized entity, or even the result of a second reanalysis (a regrammation). According to the definitions in

¹⁰⁴ In accordance with the terminology and the definition by Nørgård-Sørensen *et al.* (2011: 317), I use the term 'connected' because the paradigms have the same semantic frame, i.e. focalization.

Nørgård-Sørensen et al. (2011), grammaticalized constructions are paradigmatically organized, sharing a common *domain*, defined as the syntagmatic context, which is (S)VX (*qui/que* clause) and a *semantic frame* (defined above as structures providing important and new information to the interlocutor on new or already known entities). The *domain* should be read in the following way: a verb form with or without its subject,¹⁰⁵ and *X*, which is the entity introduced or focalized. In cases of presentation/identification constructions, i.e. neutral focalization, there is no *qui/que* clause, whereas in cases of grammaticalized focalization, structures are followed by a *qui/que* clause. The grammaticalized focalization is the result of a reanalysis of the neutral focalization structure. The result of this reanalysis is that the focalization is unequivocally marked.

The main distinction is thus between neutral and grammaticalized focalization, i.e. the second and the third column in Table 22, respectively. We have in total six members of the paradigm, each of them opposed on several dimensions, since they are opposed both with respect to the type of focalization (horizontal distinction in Table 22) and with respect to criteria which I will discuss further in the following, and which result in relations of markedness between the members (vertical distinctions in Table 22).

The structures identified as constructions expressing focus, neutral or grammaticalized, have been characterized by means of the following criteria: presentation/identification versus presentation alone, subordination versus nexus construction, \pm deictic concord in the relative clause, \pm deixis in the main clause, and restrictions on tense, mood, etc. (see Table 22).

According to these criteria, *C'est X \pm qui/que*-clause is the unmarked member of the paradigm, since it both presents and identifies, it has no deictic concord in the relative, it has no deixis in the main clause, and no restrictions on tense and mood, etc. The relation between the relative clause and the antecedent is a relation of subordination. The two other structures are opposed to this unmarked construction as marked members. Between the two marked members, the *il y a* structure is less marked than the *voici/voilà* structure because it has no deixis in the main clause, and it has less restrictions on tense and mood than *voici/voilà*. The two structures share the following criteria: they do not mark

¹⁰⁵ The parentheses signal optionality.

identification, exclusively presentation, they both have deictic concord in the relative, which forms a nexus construction with the antecedent.

Domain: (S)VX (<i>qui</i> / <i>que</i>-clause)		
Semantic frame: <i>Focalization</i>		
Members of the paradigm	Paradigm of neutral focus (S)VX	Paradigm of grammaticalized focus (S)VX <i>qui</i> / <i>que</i> -clause
<i>C'est X (qui / que)</i>	presentation / identification	focus and \pm opposition
-deixis unmarked member	reanalysis \rightarrow	subordinated relative
<i>Il y a X (qui / que)</i>	presentation	nexus construction
-deixis marked member	reanalysis \rightarrow	\pm deictic concord
<i>Voici / voilà X (qui / que)</i>	presentation	nexus construction
+deixis marked member	reanalysis \rightarrow	\pm deictic concord

Table 22. Illustration of connected paradigms

The paradigms consist of partial paradigms opposed vertically and connected horizontally, meaning that there is an opposition between neutral and grammaticalized focalization, and another opposition between deictic and non-deictic content on two levels, both in the main clause and in the relative clause, the latter with predictable restrictions that I have labelled *deictic concord*. Each of the two paradigms is purely constructional. They are *connected*, because the members of grammaticalized focalization paradigms presuppose the existence of the neutral focalization paradigm and a reanalysis, i.e. regrammation of the latter (B \rightarrow C), as illustrated in Figure 35.

I hope to have shown that these paradigmatic analyses are simpler and more consistent with the facts than the traditional, often confusing ones, and that connecting them provides a clearer understanding of the notions *presentation* and *focalization*, respectively.

6. Discourse markers

In this chapter, I aim to identify and apply a series of criteria that will serve to establish a paradigm of discourse markers (DM) including the DMs holding a form of *voir*.¹⁰⁶

The term DM covers fairly disparate units, and researchers offer more or less divergent definitions and inventories. Crible (2017: 108) proposes the term pragmatic marker as a hyperonym, with respect to a list of secondary groups, i.e. interjections, modal particles, discourse markers, response signs, and expressions of politeness. I use the term *discourse markers* to designate two major types according to two independent criteria: firstly, the pragmatic function, secondly, the nature of the constituent.

6.1. Classification of discourse markers

By pragmatic function, I refer to the definition proposed by Traugott & Dasher (2002: 152), according to which the DM signals the speaker's attitude to his or her own message, or to the role of the interlocutor in the communication situation.

According to the pragmatic function, I distinguish, in agreement with Andersen (2007), between (a) DMs which are not explicitly speaker or hearer oriented and (b) those which are explicitly oriented towards the speaker and/or the hearer. The first group includes *bon, ben, enfin, hein, quoi*, etc., while the second group includes DMs derived from a verb: *je pense, je crois, je trouve, tu sais, vous savez, tu vois, vous voyez, voyons, voilà*. Indeed, the forms of the 1st person singular indicate the involvement of the speaker, those of the 2nd person and *voilà* are aimed at the hearer, while the 1st person plural (the imperative) indicates the involvement of the speaker and of the hearer.¹⁰⁷

Depending on the lexical nature, two subtypes must be distinguished according to the absence or presence of a lexical meaning (*persistence*, see footnote 109): on the one hand, the particles designated by the term *filler words* (Fox *et al.* 2010), *pause fillers* (Lai *et al.* 2007) or *hesitation forms* (Bloomfield 1984 [1933]), devoid of lexical meaning, as in

¹⁰⁶ Chapter 6 is composed of material first published in French in Kragh (2021, in press), which has been rewritten and reorganized.

¹⁰⁷ These distinctions correspond to the notions of subjectivity vs. intersubjectivity, see section 6.3.1.

English *oh, um, uh, er, ah* or in French *bon, ben, hein*. On the other hand, there are units with a certain lexical meaning, as in English *like, okay, right, you know* and in French *enfin, quoi, je pense, je crois, je trouve, tu sais, vous savez, tu vois, vous voyez, voyons, and voilà*. In this second group, I will separate, in agreement with Beeching (2007) and Andersen (2007), the DMs which (a) are not derived from a verbal root, namely: *bon, ben, enfin, hein, quoi*, etc. from those which (b) are derived from a verb, whether in the 1st person singular present indicative (*je pense, je crois, je trouve*), in the 2nd person singular or plural of the present indicative (*tu sais, vous savez, tu vois, vous voyez*), or in the imperative (*voyons, voilà*).

Relevant for the present work are DMs which are explicitly speaker and/or hearer oriented, which derive from a verb, and which have (traces of) some lexical meaning (Rodríguez Somolinos 2011; Schneider & Glikman 2015).

The following characteristics of DMs correspond roughly to those emphasized in Fedriani & Sansò (2017), and they are valid for a large number of languages.

- DMs are optional (Oppermann-Marsaux 2019: 91).
- Absence of truth-conditional value, i.e. the absence or presence of DMs do not modify the meaning of the proposition of which they are part (cf. aussi Dostie & Pusch 2007: 4).
- Their value is procedural, i.e. DMs provide the hearer with instructions regarding the interpretation of the proposition (Crible 2017: 101).
- Their position in the proposition is not fixed (cf. also Dostie & Pusch 2007: 4); DMs tend to occupy the left or right periphery of the proposition, but can also be in medial position; the position is possibly accompanied by a difference in function.
- DMs are used independently (Oppermann-Marsaux 2019: 91, 93), detached from the contexts in which they appear, and do not govern a complement (De Cesare 2011: 53).
- DMs are characterized by specific intonation (Oppermann-Marsaux 2019: 91).

The following characteristic features are added to DMs derived from a verbal root:

- Morphological invariability: exclusively the present form of the indicative of the 2nd person singular and plural and the imperative of the 1st person plural, and *voilà* (Andersen 2007: 13; Dostie & Pusch 2007: 3).
- Modal invariability, i.e. the DMs cannot be modified by a negation, a condition or a question (Andersen 2007: 14, 20; Beeching 2007: 83).¹⁰⁸

Based on the characteristics described above, I aim to establish a functional paradigm of DMs. I will, however, first present some hypotheses which have been proposed concerning the creation of the DMs (sections 6.2), then test the hypotheses on data (section 6.3). In section 6.4, I draw the paradigmatic consequences of the analyses.

6.2. Diachronic considerations on the discourse markers

This study of DMs is based on three hypotheses, which will be examined below. The first is that DMs are the result of a grammaticalization process ranging from the full lexical use of the forms of the verb *voir*, following the predictable stages of *fossilization* and *bleaching* to change category and become fossilized markers with variable positions, more or less devoid of their original lexical content.¹⁰⁹ My second hypothesis is that each specific value of the DM is related to its position. I propose that during the reanalysis, the value of the position, which is a secondary feature, will become a constituent feature of the marker in that position. If these assumptions are correct, it can be predicted, and this is my third assumption, that the grammaticalization of discourse markers will occur at different times depending on their position instead of these grammaticalizing at the same time.

¹⁰⁸ Andersen (2007) and Beeching (2007) cite a few modified examples that seem inconclusive.

¹⁰⁹ The phenomenon of *bleaching* implies that a lexical unit loses its lexical content. However, traces of this content may persist and explain certain distributional peculiarities. This phenomenon is referred to by Hopper (1991) who uses the term *persistence*: “When a form undergoes grammaticalization from a lexical to a grammatical function, as long as it is grammatically viable some traces of its original lexical meanings tend to adhere to it, and details of its lexical history may be reflected in constraints on its grammatical distribution” (Hopper 1991: 22).

6.2.1. Hypotheses concerning the creation of *tu vois*, *vous voyez*, and *voyons* as discourse markers

The origin of verbal discourse markers like ‘*Tu vois, mon bonheur passe*’ (‘You know, my happiness is waning’) is widely debated (Kragh 2021), not only for French, but also for other languages, especially English. Scholars have tended to see it as a case of lexicalization rather than of grammaticalization; hence, Fischer (2007: 310 ff.) suggests that it is, in English, a lexicalization of certain verbs having a parenthetical function as in the case of *I think*. I do not see any argument in favour of a comparable analysis for the cases that interest us here since it is, on the contrary, for the verb *voir* a matter of loss of lexical value accompanied by a change of function, which is grammatical-pragmatic. Therefore, I will consider the creation of DMs as the result of a number of reanalyses of a lexical form which will turn into a grammatical unit as an instance of *recategorization*, (cf. section 2.2).

Within the framework of grammaticalization, at least three hypotheses have been formulated concerning this first stage of the creation of DM:

1. the reanalysis of a comparative subordinate towards an independent proposition of the type *comme tu vois, mon bonheur passe* → *tu vois, mon bonheur passe*¹¹⁰ (Bolly 2014 referring to Brinton 2008; Bolly 2010: 676-677; Bolly 2012a)
2. conversely, parataxis is proposed as a first step in the creation of DM: *tu vois et mon bonheur passe* → *tu vois, mon bonheur passe* (Schneider & Glikman 2015)
3. the reanalysis of a sentence composed of a verb governing a subordinate into two independent clauses of the type *tu vois que mon bonheur passe* → *tu vois, mon bonheur passe*.

Regarding the first proposition, I refer to the critical discussion by Schneider & Glikman (2015: 22), who reject it. My own data confirms that this proposition cannot be accepted because no occurrences of *comme tu vois/vous voyez* are found in the early periods from 1300-1649 (see arguments in section 6.3.1.4). Schneider & Glikman (2015) accept the second proposition, confirmed by their study of a series of verbs of opinion (*croire, penser, espérer, sembler*, etc.), while their data do not confirm the third proposition for

¹¹⁰ The illustrations of the three hypotheses originate from my example (168).

reasons of internal chronology. However, my data (based on the verb *voir*, not studied by these authors) do not confirm the second proposition (cf. section 6.3.1).

I shall retain in this presentation the third proposition, which has not been rejected by Schneider & Glikman (2015) and which is generally accepted by researchers working in this field (see, for example, Andersen (2007: 15), who refers to Blanche-Benveniste and Émile Benveniste).

Consequently, it is my first hypothesis that discourse markers of the type *tu vois*, *voyons*, *vous voyez* are the results of a grammaticalization process, originating in a reanalysis of a main clause + subordinate clause (cf. section 3.2). Both the main clause and the subordinate clause are recategorized (cf. section 2.2): the main clause loses its valency, *bleaches*, and becomes a parenthetical sentence, and the subordinate complement clause acquires the status of the main clause, the content being transposed from the original main clause to the original subordinate clause. Eventually, the parenthetical sentence is reanalysed into a discourse marker: *Tu vois que mon bonheur passe* → *tu vois, mon bonheur passe*, represented as the grammatical level in Figure 36:

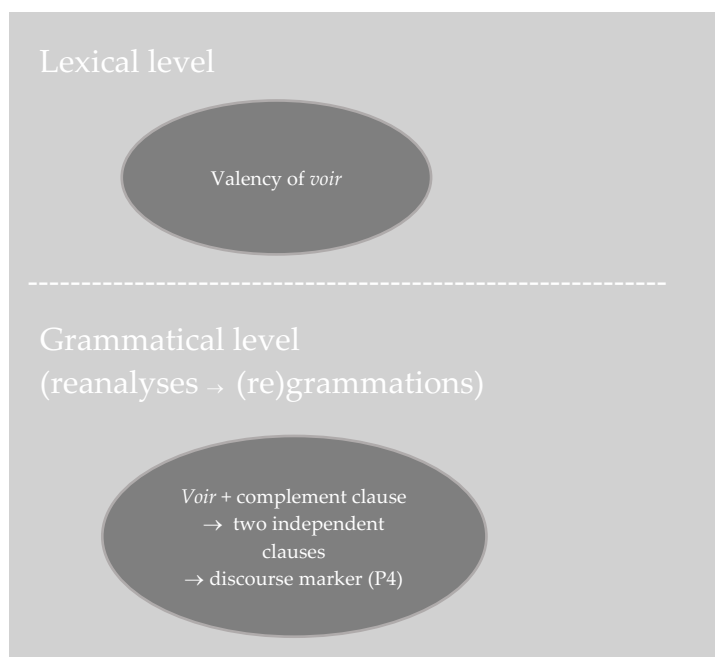


Figure 36. From lexical level to grammatical level

This hypothesis will be tested in section 6.2.3.

This explanation does not apply to the creation of *voilà* as DM, because even if it is legitimate to assert that *voilà* to a certain degree is functioning as a transitive verb, the structure composed of *voilà* and a complement clause is not common.¹¹¹

Given that the main function of *voilà* is to designate or present, it seems more likely that the function as DM is rooted in its function as presentative, as also proposed by Delahaie (2013) and Oppermann-Marsaux (2019). This hypothesis will be presented in section 6.2.2.

6.2.2. Hypothesis concerning the creation of *voilà* as discourse marker

As regards the creation of *voilà*, this involves not only the lexicalization of the imperative form of *voir* + *ci* or *là* into the fossilized forms *voici* and *voilà* (presented in section 3.3), but also the subsequent grammation of these fossilized forms into presentatives (described in section 5.1.2) at the grammatical level.

This is illustrated in Figure 37:

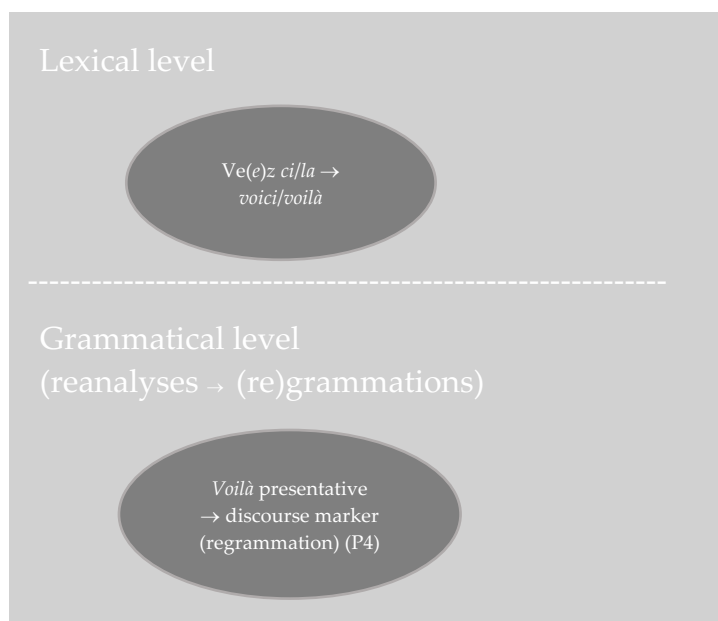


Figure 37. From lexical level to grammatical level

As mentioned in section 5.1.1, the presentation forms with *là* become more frequent than those with *ci* during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This indicates the beginning of

¹¹¹ In the rare cases where *voilà* is followed by a complement clause, it is a presentative which presents new circumstances (cf. section 3.3.1 and 5.3.4).

a semantic neutralization of the feature +/-distance. It is from the same period that the first evidence of *voilà* as DM has been found. By contrast, I have found no evidence of *voici* as DM in the pre-classical texts. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the neutralization of the opposition +/-distance has been the preceding condition for the reanalysis of *voilà* as DM.¹¹² The hypothesis concerning the change from presentation into discourse marker will be tested in section 6.3.2.

6.2.3. Grammaticalization or pragmaticalisation or...?

In this section, I will examine the first hypothesis concerning grammaticalization (see section 6.2.1) according to which the grammaticalization of the discourse markers in question originates in a reanalysis of a main clause + subordinate clause, through which the main clause loses its valency, *bleaches*, and becomes a parenthetical sentence. The subordinate complement clause acquires the status of a main clause, and the parenthetical sentence is eventually reanalysed into a discourse marker (see Fedriani & Sansò 2017: 14-15). I find arguments both in favour and against this analysis.

First of all, the DMs of verbal origin examined in this study are clearly the result of a reanalysis of lexical verb forms. The reanalysis is proved by a number of characteristic features mentioned in section 6.1. Firstly, it should be observed that in their lexical use, these forms are part of the verbal paradigm, which implies morphological variability according to the person, number, mood, tense, etc., while as DM these forms are invariable. Secondly, unlike lexical forms, DMs cannot undergo modal modification, i.e. it is not possible to subject these forms to negation, interrogation, or condition. Thirdly, the lexical meaning of DM is faded, or even absent, which corresponds to the criterion of *bleaching* often presented as a characteristic feature of grammaticalized forms (e.g. Hopper & Traugott 2003 [1993]: 94 ff.). Fourthly, as these forms do not contribute propositional content, they can be deleted without modifying the content. To these characteristic features, another specificity can be added – which is linked to the verbal

¹¹² Regarding *voici*, I have carried out some investigations to see if this form, due to its analogy with *voilà* presentative, also plays a role as DM. I did not find any occurrences – neither in initial position, nor inserted, nor in final position – in my corpus. Similarly, neither De Cesare (2011: 53, 56) nor Delahaie (2013: 100) have found occurrences of *voici* as DM. On the other hand, Rodríguez Somolinos (2011) includes *voici* among the DMs, and so does Oppermann-Marsaux (2019: 93), justified by the fact “that *voici* is used in an autonomous way” [my translation] and can have the role of structuring the discourse. This claim has not been substantiated empirically by either of the two scholars.

origin of these forms – because the verbal function of lexical forms implies the existence of valency or strong government, whereas these forms in the function of DM have a weak government or no government, according to the terminology of Blanche-Benveniste (1989), which is a characteristic feature of parenthetical verbs (see a.o. Glikman 2009). This shows that the forms in question underwent reanalysis. But did this reanalysis result in an insertion in grammar? As an opponent to the interpretation of DMs as grammaticalized entities, one could quote Brinton (2015: 229), who in her study on DMs, states:

“In their development, discourse markers are subject to many of the morphosyntactic and semantic changes characteristic of grammaticalization, though never, of course, being fully “grammaticalized” in the sense of being incorporated into a recognized grammatical paradigm nor generally undergoing phonological reduction or morphological bonding.”

Indeed, according to traditional studies on grammaticalization, reanalysis towards grammaticalization is said to involve a passage through predictable stages, possibly accompanied by phonetic reductions, with, as a possible result, the status of clitic element or morpheme. This is obviously not the case with the DM. This requires a closer look at the nature of the process and the outcome of it. In terms of process, research in this area has sought to establish a *cline*, a scale from lexical to grammatical, and possibly from grammatical to “more grammatical”. I refer among others to Nørgård-Sørensen *et al.* (2011) for a series of arguments against the idea of the *cline*, and for the argument that in the case of DM it is clearly a question of *recategorization* of lexical entities towards a non-lexical status.

It remains to be proved that the reanalysis results in the insertion of the DMs into grammar. For me, insertion into grammar is above all equivalent to insertion into a grammatical paradigm. In section 6.4, it will be shown that, following reanalysis, these forms indeed fit into a pragmatic paradigm (I refer to section 2.1.1 for the argumentation for considering pragmatics to be part of grammar). The preceding reflections lead me to conclude that my hypothesis concerning the grammaticalization of DMs depends on my ability to prove the existence in French of a pragmatic paradigm containing (among

others) the forms that concern me here, with its clearly defined syntactic domain and semantic frame (according to the definition presented in Nørgård-Sørensen *et al.* 2011).

Dostie (2004), Dostie & Pusch (2007), and Bolly (2010) suggest the term *pragmaticalization* to refer to the creation of DMs, in the sense that certain verbal constructions move from the lexico-grammatical level, where they fulfil a micro-syntactic function at the level of propositional content, towards the pragmatic level where their macro-syntactic function is more linked to the actual situation of communication in which they are produced (Bolly 2012a). I am not opposed to this definition, but since I consider pragmatics to be a domain belonging to grammar, I do not adopt this terminology but rather refer to the creation of DMs as a result of a grammation process. Traugott (1995) also considers the creation of DMs as a result of a grammaticalization process, since they meet a number of characteristics for such processes, e.g. decategorization and semantic generalisation.

Another characteristic feature of grammaticalized elements is the extension of their use to new contexts. I will in section 6.3.1.4 examine whether this criterion applies to DMs.

6.3. Testing the hypotheses on corpus

It is well known that the use of DM varies according to the type of text and register (see Bolly 2010: 675-676), who refers to Brinton (2008). Although discourse markers also exist in the written language, they are much more common in speech (Col *et al.* 2015; Oppermann-Marsaux 2019). Consequently, it would have been desirable to consult recordings of spontaneous discourse. But since this study is diachronic, covering several centuries for which there are no recordings, I have decided to extract data from the theatre genre of the corpus Frantext, which is the genre closest to reproducing direct speech, in order to have comparable data from all the studied periods (I refer to Glikman & Schneider 2018: 330, for a differentiated opinion on the use of corpus for the study of oral language).

Time period	Number of texts	Number of words
Middle Ages (1300-1549)	15	81,057
Pre-classical (1550-1649)	122	2,177,159
Classical (1650-1799)	253	3,709,031
Modern (1800-1959) ¹¹³	262	5,225,976
Contemporary (1960-)	26	600,698

Table 23. Theatre corpus from Frantext

For the five selected time spans, I have extracted the occurrences of *tu vois*, *vous voyez*, *voyons*, and *voilà*, appearing without a complement in the initial, medial, and final positions, i.e. candidates to be DM. In addition to these forms, I have examined the inverted forms *vois-tu* and *voyez-vous* (see section 6.3.1.1). Furthermore, I have included a study on the verb *savoir* (*tu sais* and *vous savez*), of which the usage is very similar to that of *voir*, in the same genres and in the same syntactic contexts, but exclusively for the modern and the contemporary time periods, when the forms with *voir* (according to my data) appear to become established as DM.

6.3.1. Analysis of data: *tu vois*, *vous voyez*, *voyons*

I will proceed period by period. The data in this section only concerns the verb *voir*; the data concerning *voilà* will be analysed in section 6.3.2, and the data of the verb *savoir* will be examined in section 6.3.1.3, in order to study the differences in function and meaning between the DMs derived from the two verbs, *voir* and *savoir*.

The earliest period is from 1300 to 1549. From this period, I have exclusively found occurrences of *voir* as a lexical verb with either the meaning of visual perception (162) or of cognition (163), accompanied by an object.

(162) (*Soupper leur monstre la compaignie et ilz s'approchent*).

SOUPPER: Vous voyez toute la brigade ?/Allez besongner ! '(Soupper points to the company and they come closer). Soupper: You see the entire squad?/Go in action!' (La Chesnaye, *La Condamnation de Banquet*, 1508, Frantext)

¹¹³ For the analysis of *voilà*, this period has been subdivided into two periods (see section 6.3.2.3).

- (163) ***Vous voyez** qu'ilz ont le courage/Le desir et la volonté/De faire excès, ...* 'You see that they have the courage/The desire and the will/to exaggerate' (La Chesnaye, *La Condamnation de Banquet*, 1508, Frantext)

In the pre-classical period (1550-1699), I found, on the one hand, instances of *voir* as a lexical verb meaning perception (164) or cognition (165), followed by a nominal object (164) or by an interrogative subordinate clause (165):

- (164) ***Tu vois**, pauvre Creon, quelque part que tu ailles, Des meurtres impiteux, **tu vois** des funeraillles* 'You see, poor Creon, wherever you go, Ruthless murders, you see funerals' (Garnier, *Antigone ou la Pitié*, 1585, Frantext)
- (165) *Escoutez, les oyez vous pas? Or sus, **vous voyez** si je dis vray* 'Listen, do you not hear them? Now get up, you will see if I tell the truth' (Larivey, *Les Esprits*, 1579, Frantext)

On the other hand, the first attestations, which can be analysed as DM, are also found in this period: for instance, the meaning of example (166), where *tu vois* is not accompanied by an object, which means that *tu vois* is *autonomous*, or *detached* – according to the terminology of Paillard (2017) – could be either cognitive or pragmatic:

- (166) ***Tu vois**, mais après tout, veux-tu que je te die ?* 'You see, but after all, do you want me to tell you?' (Corneille, *La Galerie du Palais ou L'Amie rivale*, 1637, Frantext)

Then, example (167), equally autonomous, with *voyons*, non-accompanied by a complement, seems in fact to have a more pragmatic function.

- (167) ***Voyons**, éclairez-moy, je cognoy ces visages, Mais ils ne diront pas où sont leurs compagnons.* 'Let's see, enlighten me, I know these faces, But they will not tell where their companions are' (Schélandre, *Tyr et Sidon*, 1628, Frantext)

I mean pragmatic in the sense that it:

- ensures the progression of the communication.
- signals the involvement of the speaker and/or the hearer. This feature is referred to by the terms *subjectivity* and *intersubjectivity*: “the linguistic expression of speaker involvement” corresponds to subjectivity (Davidse *et al.* 2010), and “the linguistic expression of a speaker/writer’s attention to the hearer/reader”

corresponds to intersubjectivity (Traugott 2010). DMs derived from a verb in the 1st person singular, e.g. *je pense*, have the feature of subjectivity, whereas the DMs studied here all have the feature of intersubjectivity.

- signals opening (cataphoric) or reminding (anaphoric) of a fact.¹¹⁴
- marks evidentiality (in the case of opening) or absence of evidentiality of the proposition (in case of reminding). I use the term *evidentiality* in a way that departs from its usual meaning of ‘grammaticalized marking of information source’ (Aikhenvald 2014: 2), to indicate that the hearer is already aware of the content of the statement. Thus, *evidentiality* here means that the content of the utterance is new to the hearer and that the speaker informs him or her of it.

In example (167), *voyons* involves both the speaker and the hearer, the form introduces a new proposition (opening), and does not indicate evidentiality. With regard to the position, I distinguish three sub-types: DMs in initial position, DMs in medial position, or DMs in final position, of which only the first sub-type appears in the earliest texts. I assume that the differences in function correspond to these positions¹¹⁵ (cf. section 6.2.1).

During the classical period (1650 to 1799), an increasing number of examples which can be analysed as DM are found. In initial position, they indicate an opening towards the following, or a reminder of something already mentioned. This function can be interpreted as the result of a reanalysis of the original valency of the lexical verb, insofar as *Tu vois, mon bonheur passe et...* corresponds to the verb + complement clause construction *Tu vois que mon bonheur passe...* With the omission of the DM, the statement is a simple observation, not a reminder or an opening. In (168), *Tu vois* addresses the hearer and indicates evidentiality, since it is reminding of a fact.

- (168) ***Tu vois***, *mon bonheur passe et l'espoir et l'exemple ; ...* ‘You see, my happiness is waning and the hope and the exemple...’ (Corneille, *Sophonisbe*, 1682, Frantext)

When the DM is in medial position as in (169), its function is entirely phatic. The term

¹¹⁴ The analysis from Waltreit (2006) is less precise ; for him it is simply a question of “*attirer l’attention de l’interlocuteur vers le contenu de l’énoncé*” ‘drawing the attention of the hearer towards the content of the statement’.

¹¹⁵ In his study of some Romance discourse markers, Waltreit (2006) discusses the position of the DM, however without allocating an influence of the specific position to the pragmatic value of the DM.

phatic is coined by Jakobson (1973 [1960]: 217) to designate a desemantized maintenance of communication, while it is used here to designate various (weakened) semantic and pragmatic values relating to the function of the communication: maintaining the bond, confirmation, evidence, connivence, amplification, defusing an objection, etc.

- (169) *le plus violent amour ne lui conseille jamais rien qui puisse tourner à la honte de sa maîtresse, vous voyez, reconnaissez-vous ce que je dis là, ...* ‘the most intense love never advises him anything that could turn to the shame of his mistress, you see, admit what I’m saying here’ (Marivaux, *La Mère confidente*, 1735, Frantext)

I have found no examples of DM in final position from the classical period.

The corpus illustrates the reanalysis of the indirect interrogative, as illustrated in (165), towards an independent question. Firstly, we have an indirect interrogative in example (170). Secondly, we have in example (171) a direct interrogative which is not governed by the verb *voyons*, and which is therefore not a lexical verb with strong rection of valency, because the interpretation of example (171) as a lexical verb would correspond to *voyons qui décidera*. In the same way, example (172) would, if *voyons* was interpreted as a lexical verb, correspond to *Voyons quel mal j’ai fait...* Thus, the difference between indirect and direct interrogative is marked by the choice of conjunction of subordination or pronoun (171), or by word-order (172):

- (170) *La peste ! si c’eût été du vin, je ne consulerais pas d’autre oracle. Voyons, du moins, ce qu’il a dans le ventre.* ‘The peste! If it had been wine, I wouldn’t consult any other oracle. Let’s see, at least, what he has in his stomach’ (Piron, *Arlequin-Deucalion*, 1722, Frantext)
- (171) *...; car je suis femme autant qu’elle, moi. Voyons, qui est-ce qui décidera ?* ‘...; because I’m a woman as much as she is. Let’s see, who will decide?’ (Marivaux, *L’Île des esclaves*, 1725, Frantext)
- (172) *SILVIA. - Vous travaillez à me fâcher, Lisette.*
LISETTE. - Ce n’est pas mon dessein. Mais dans le fond, voyons, quel mal ai-je fait de dire à Monsieur Orgon que vous étiez bien aise d’être mariée ?
 ‘Silvia: You are working to anger me, Lisette. Lisette: That’s not my plan. But

basically, let's see, what wrong did I do to tell Mr. Orgon that you were so glad to be married?' (Marivaux, *Le Jeu de l'amour et du hazard*, 1730, Frantext)

Moreover, I find for the first time, during this period, a new series of occurrences which I classify as interjections. Since it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between DM in isolated position and interjections, both types being syntactically isolated from their context, I propose to distinguish them from each other by means of a commutation test. If *voyons* (or *tu vois*, *vous voyez*, *voilà*) can be replaced by an affirmative expression like *oui*, *c'est ça*, *d'accord*, *exactement*, etc., this belongs to the paradigm of affirmative interjections, whereas if these forms can be replaced by a DM like *Tiens !*, *voyez*, *ben*, *bon*, etc. this is a DM (see also section 6.3.2.4). In this study, I do not include the interjections.

During the modern period (1800-1959), the number of occurrences of DM with *voir* increases, and, unlike the preceding periods, they are now found in the three distinct positions, each with its specific value: initial position signalling opening or reminding (173), medial position with phatic value (174), and in final position with punctuation value (175). Indeed, in (173) the link between the DM and the following main clause corresponds to a valency relation between the lexical verb *voir* and a complement clause: *Tu vois que tu pisses mieux...* In (174), *tu vois* is only used to maintain the communication and can easily be deleted. In (175), *vous voyez* just closes the statement. Regarding the value +/- evidentiality, example (173), with the form *Tu vois*, is aimed at the hearer and marks evidentiality. Examples (174) and (175) do not signal evidentiality.

(173) - **Tu vois**, *tu pisses mieux quand je ne suis pas là* 'You see, you pee better when I am not around' (Beckett, *En attendant Godot*, 1952, Frantext)

(174) *J'avais tort, **tu vois**, de ne pas me fier à Yanet* 'I was wrong, you see, not to trust Yanet' (Camus, *Les Justes*, 1950, Frantext)

(175) *D'abord, au lieu de venir nous voir plusieurs fois dans la semaine comme il faisait, il ne vient plus qu'une fois, et encore en retard, **vous voyez**.* 'First of all, instead of coming to see you several times a week like he used to, he only comes once, and still late, you see' (Daudet, *Le Sacrifice*, 1869, Frantext)

The contemporary period (1960-) continues the evolution observed in the modern period, i.e. DMs are found in all three positions, each with its specific meaning.

Thus, example (176) illustrates the opening function. *Tu vois* addresses the hearer and clearly marks evidentiality. It is worth noticing that all sense of perception is now absent from the verb *voir*. Examples (177) and (178) illustrate the phatic function and can be removed. They address the hearer and do not mark the evidentiality. *Voyons* in example (179) has the function of punctuation, it indicates involvement of both the speaker and the hearer, and does not mark the evidentiality.¹¹⁶

(176) ***Tu vois***, *je t'avais dit qu'il ne fallait pas...* 'You see, I had told you not to...' (Jaoui & Bacri, *Un air de famille*, 1994, Frantext)

(177) *Mais à ce point, vous voyez, c'est sans doute une simplification...* 'But at this point, you see, it is undoubtedly a simplification' (Duras, *India Song*, 1976, Frantext)

(178) *Je ne veux pas me mêler de tes histoires, mais simplement, je pensais à ça cet après-midi, je me disais que j'aimerais bien te voir avec quelqu'un, tu vois, tu as quand même trente ans, c'est normal que j'y pense... Je m'inquiète* 'I don't want to interfere with your life, but just, I was thinking about that this afternoon, I was thinking that I would like to see you with someone, you see, after all you are thirty years old, it's normal that I think about it... I'm worrying...' (Jaoui & Bacri, *Un air de famille*, 1994, Frantext)

(179) *Faites un effort de pensée, voyons.* 'Make an effort of thought, let's see (≈ please)' (Ionesco, *Rhinocéros*, 1963, Frantext)

Figure 38 to Figure 41 provide a diachronic overview. The y-axes indicate the number of occurrences per 100,000 words (please, observe that the proportions on the vertical axes vary from one figure to the other):

¹¹⁶ Oppermann-Marsaux (2010: 318) shows that the original value of implication of *allons* ('let's go') tends to fade during the process of grammaticalization. Example (179) might indicate that this is also the case for *voyons*, since this 1st person imperative form here combines with the 2nd person imperative.

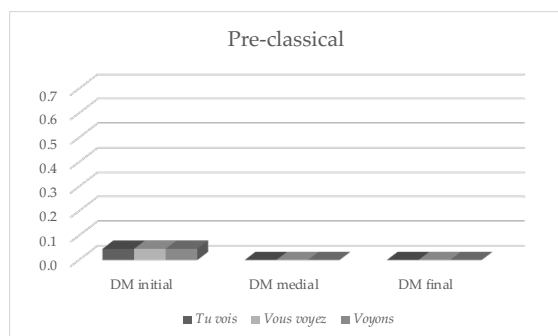


Figure 38

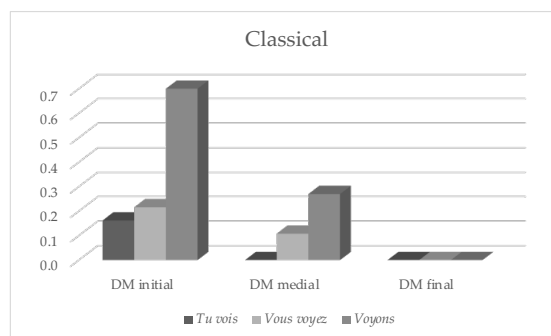


Figure 39

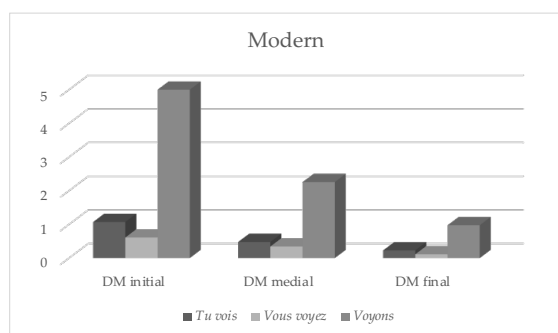


Figure 40

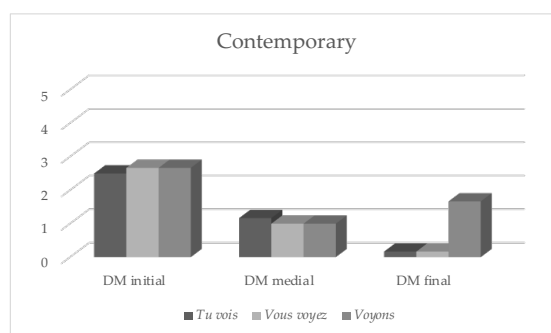


Figure 41

Figure 38 shows the distribution of occurrences found in the pre-classical period: one single occurrence of *tu vois*, *vous voyez*, and *voyons*, respectively. All three are in initial position.

Figure 39 shows the distribution of occurrences found in the classical period. The number of occurrences continues to be very limited: 55 occurrences, of which 26 are with *voyons* in initial position and 10 with *voyons* in medial position, six occurrences with *tu vois* in initial position, and 12 occurrences with *vous voyez* in either initial or medial position.

Figure 40 shows the distribution of occurrences found for the modern period. The total number for this period is 582 occurrences.

Figure 41 shows the distribution of the 78 occurrences found during the contemporary period, including 32 occurrences with *voyons*.

6.3.1.1. Inverted variants *vois-tu*, *voyez-vous*

The inverted forms of the 2nd persons incidents of *voir* are different from the non-inverted forms – not only by their interrogative value linked to the inversion, but also by their value of intensity due to the more explicit call to the speaker. They are often followed by a proper noun or an NP indicating the addressee, as in example (182).

- (180) ... mon âme s'attache à elle, plane sur elle, **vois-tu**, et la suit à travers cette courte vie, au milieu de toutes les embûches des hommes et de la destinée, sans qu'elle m'aperçoive un moment '... my soul clings to her, hovers over her, you see, and follows her through this short life, in the midst of all the pitfalls of men and destiny, without her noticing me for a moment' (Nodier, *Jean Sbogar*, 1818, Frantext)
- (181) *Je suis un bon parent*, **voyez-vous** 'I am a good parent, you see' (Balzac, *Eugénie Grandet*, 1833, Frantext)
- (182) **Vois-tu**, mon garçon, j'ai une phisolophie [sic] bien simple : la perfection, ou rien du tout 'You see, my boy, I have a very simple philosophy: perfection, or nothing at all' (Beauchemin, *Le Matou*, 1981, Frantext)

Figure 38 to Figure 41 illustrate the frequency of the inverted forms as compared to the non-inverted forms:

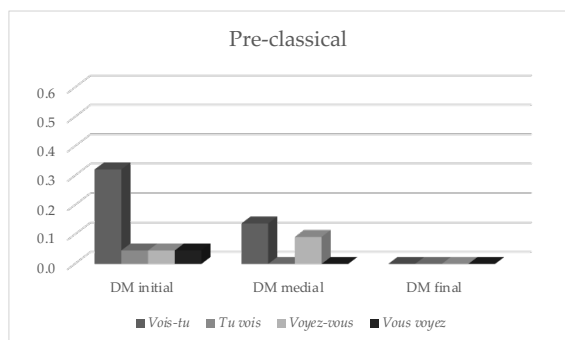


Figure 42

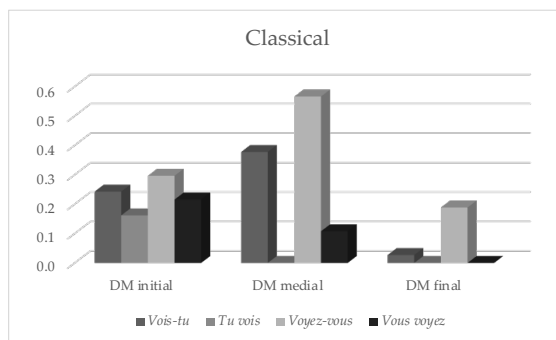


Figure 43

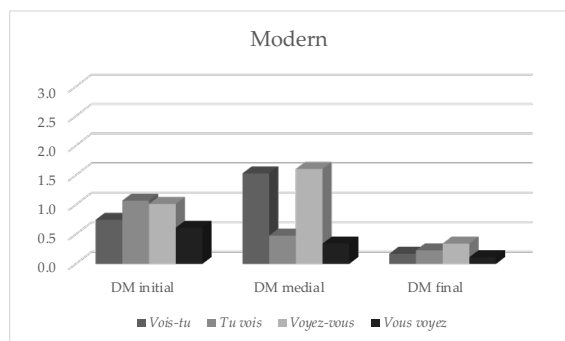


Figure 44

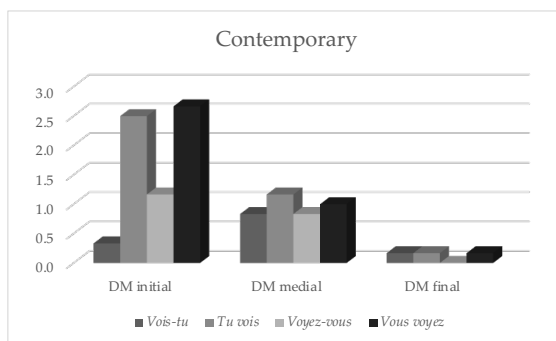


Figure 45

Up until recently, the inverted forms appeared to be more frequent than the non-inverted forms, but from the modern period on, the frequency of the inverted forms is declining compared to the non-inverted forms, the frequency of which has been increasing since

the modern period. This development is possibly linked to the decrease in the use of inversion in questions, in particular in informal contexts (cf. Gadet 2007 [2003]: 147). For this reason, they are not included in Paradigm 4 (Table 25).

6.3.1.2. *Voyons voir*

In addition to the DMs already mentioned, another form based on *voir* deserves to be mentioned: the expression *voyons voir*. I have found no study including this form, nor a description or analysis in the handbooks. According to Google (which sent me to Wikipedia¹¹⁷), the expression belongs to vernacular language and “*se dit pour exprimer sa réflexion, sa tentative de se remémorer une chose, etc.*” ‘is used to express one’s reflection, attempts to remember something’, illustrated by the following example:

- (183) *Tu veux la télécommande ? **Voyons voir**... Mais où est-ce que j’ai bien pu la mettre ?* ‘You want the remote control? Let’s see... But where can I have put it?’

It was without success that I searched my corpus for occurrences of *voyons voir*. From looking elsewhere in Frantext and on Google, I found a few examples.

- (184) *Oh ! pour ça, j’ai confiance... **Voyons voir**... Mais y n’y en avait pas tant que ça...* ‘Oh! For that, I trust... Let’s see... But there were not that many...’ (Chepfer, *Saynètes, paysanneries* 2, 1945, Frantext)
- (185) « ***Voyons-voir**, tu as six euros cinquante, j’ai treize euros vingt. On doit avoir juste assez pour aller au ciné* » ‘Let’s see, you have six Euros and fifty cents, I have thirteen Euros twenty. We should have just enough money to be able to go to the movies’. (Google, <https://frenchetc.org/2016/05/09/voyons-voir-french-expression/>)

According to Collins dictionary,¹¹⁸ the expression has been attested since at least 1828.

¹¹⁷ https://fr.wiktionary.org/wiki/voyons_voir

¹¹⁸ <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/french-english/voyons-voir>

Trends of 'voyons voir'

Used Rarely. voyons voir is in the lower 50% of commonly used words in the Collins dictionary

View usage for: All Years

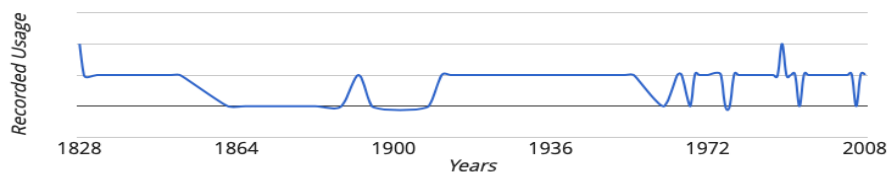


Figure 46. Frequency of voyons voir in the data base of Collins Dictionary

This expression combines two forms of the verb *voir*, both (and especially the first) of which are absolutely devoid of the original lexical meaning. This is a very clear illustration of the grammaticalization of *voir* as DM.

6.3.1.3. Analysis of comparable forms: *tu sais*, *vous savez*

With the purpose of comparing the function and meaning of DMs formed with the verb *voir* with those formed with the verb *savoir*, I will exclusively examine the two recent periods, since it is during these periods that we have seen that DMs formed with *voir* have stabilized.

In the modern period (1800-1959), we find DMs formed with the verb *savoir* (*tu sais*, *vous savez*) in the three positions identified in connection with the DMs with *voir*, each with its specific value: initial position signalling opening or reminding (186), medial position with the phatic value (187), and final position with punctuation value (188). Indeed, in (186) there is no governing relation between the DM and the following word, *piano*. In Example (187), *vous savez* only serves to maintain the communication and can easily be deleted. It is remarkable that the DM can be inserted between the two epithets of the nominal group. In (188), *vous savez* merely closes the statement.

In (186), *Tu sais* addresses the hearer and marks evidentiality. In contrast, in examples (187) and (188), *vous savez* does not indicate evidentiality, since the evoked fact is new for the hearer.

- (186) *Et puis j'ai travaillé ! ... oh ! Mais beaucoup ! Tu sais, mon piano... l'horrible piano... et bien, je joue du Schumann, ...* 'And then I worked!... Oh! But a lot!

You know, my piano... the horrible piano... well, I play Schumann' (Pailleron, *Le Monde où l'on s'ennuie*, 1869, Frantext)

(187) *Cet après-midi, j'avais chez moi un militaire, un jeune homme de bonne famille, vous savez, distingué, de l'éducation et une belle nature de soldat* 'This afternoon, I had a soldier in my house, a young man from a good family, you know, distinguished, educated and beautiful soldier manners' (Aymé, *Clérambard*, 1950, Frantext)

(188) *Je crois que nous avons été devant le ministre. J'étais très occupé, vous savez* 'I believe we were in front of the minister. I was very busy, you know' (Claudel, *L'Échange*, 1894, Frantext)

In the contemporary period (1960-), we witness the same scenario, namely DMs formed with the verb *savoir* (*tu sais, vous savez*) in the three positions, each with its specific value: initial position indicating opening or reminding (189), medial position with phatic value (190), and final position with punctuation value (191). Indeed, in (189) there is no relation of rection between the DM and the following word, *ma mère*. In Example (190), *tu sais* is only for maintaining the communication and can easily be deleted.

In (189), *Vous savez* addresses the hearer, the form introduces a new rheme (opening) and does not mark evidentiality. In examples (190) and (191), the forms, in medial and final position, do not mark evidentiality.

It is remarkable that the DM of example (190) is inserted between the attributive adjective and the adverbial complement, depending on the adjective. In example (191), *vous savez* simply ends the statement. Note *Croyez-moi* in the same sentence, which has the function of an opening DM.

(189) *Vous comprenez l'allemand ? Moi, c'est la seule langue étrangère que je connais un peu. Vous savez, ma mère était allemande, ...* ; 'Do you understand German? It's the only foreign language I know a little about. You know, my mother was German, ...' (Koltès, *Combat de nègre et de chiens*, 1983, Frantext)

(190) *Moi, avec ma brillante mère invisible et mon père distrait et coureur, j'étais plutôt seule, tu sais, à la maison* 'Me, with my brilliant invisible mother and

my absent-minded vagrant father, I was rather lonely, you know, at home’
(Anouilh, *Chers zoiseaux*, 1977, Frantext)

- (191) *Albourny, j’étais moi-même ouvrier. Croyez-moi, je ne suis pas un maître par nature, vous savez* ‘Albourny, I myself was a worker. Believe me, I’m not a master by nature, you know’ (Koltès, *Combat de nègre et de chiens*, 1983, Frantext)

Figure 47 and Figure 48 show the distribution of the position of the 337 occurrences with *tu sais/vous savez* as DM found in the modern period (in total 6.55 per 100,000 words) and the 68 occurrences found in the contemporary period (in total 11.33 per 100,000 words), respectively.

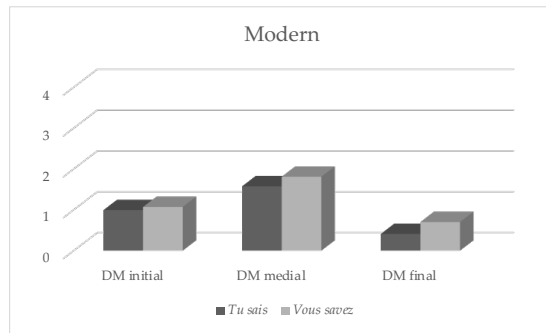


Figure 47

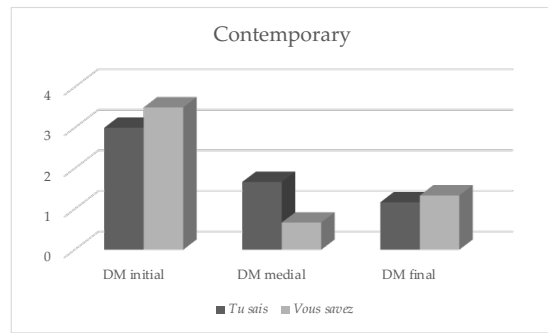


Figure 48

6.3.1.4. Interpretation of results

The evolution of DMs formed with the verb *voir* illustrates, in my opinion, a process of grammaticalization insofar as we start from the exclusively lexical use of verbal forms governing their complements (nominal object or subordinate). From the pre-classical period we find cases where these verbal forms were reanalysed to have little or no valency. At the same time, their lexical sense is weakened (*bleached*). Initially, the position of *tu vois*, *vous voyez*, *voyons* is exclusively initial. I believe that this position is a heritage from the lexical use of the verb *voir* having a valency-bound direct object (complement clause). I refer to this pragmatic function by the term *opening* or *reminding*, which means that the DM introduces or recalls the following proposition. In the opening function, the feature +evidentiality is logically excluded, while in the function of reminding, this feature exists for a certain number of DMs. During the classical period, the use of DMs spreads to the medial position. I have designated this usage by the term *phatic*, since it is used only to maintain the communication. During the modern and

contemporary periods, the emergence of the use of DMs in final position can be observed, with the function labelled *punctuation*. It is thus a typical grammaticalization process insofar as the unit in question spreads from one context to another, following a reanalysis of a lexical unit into a grammatical unit (Heine & Kuteva, 2002: 678). My analyses thus confirm the periodisation proposed by Bolly (2010: 685) who studies the use of *tu vois* from the pre-classical period until modern French, and also points out an increasing frequency of the occurrences where *tu vois* functions as a DM.

According to my data, *voyons* precedes the other forms of the verb *voir* in the grammaticalization process. In addition, *voyons* turns out to be the most grammaticalized form because it is the only form able to combine with another form of the same verb in the phrase *voyons voir*. This is a characteristic feature of the highly grammaticalized forms that we find, for example, with the auxiliaries *avoir* (*j'ai eu*) and *aller* (*je vais aller*).

As regards the comparison with the DMs formed on *savoir*, it should be noted that DMs with *savoir* are limited to two verbal forms: *tu sais* and *vous savez*. DMs formed on *savoir* differ from DMs formed on *voir* with respect to one specific point: in the phatic function the two forms of *savoir* are often inserted between the constituent parts of a phrase, as illustrated in example (187). I interpret this particularity as a sign of an advanced grammaticalization in the case of *savoir*, to the point that it has acquired the function of filling a hesitation pause (cf. hesitation form in section 6.1).

The analyses indicate that there is a correlation between position, function, and the meaning of the DM. This is manifested by the fact that the change of position leads to a difference in grammatical (pragmatic) meaning, as seen in manipulated versions of (178):

Example (178) : *Je ne veux pas me mêler de tes histoires, mais simplement, je pensais à ça cet après-midi, je me disais que j'aimerais bien te voir avec quelqu'un, **tu vois**, tu as quand même trente ans, c'est normal que j'y pense... Je m'inquiète*, with *tu vois* in medial position, clearly illustrates the phatic use. In initial position, it would signal opening towards what follows or reminding: ***Tu vois**, j'aimerais bien te voir avec quelqu'un, tu as quand-même trente ans*. But then, if *tu vois* is in final position, it acquires the function of punctuation: *Je me disais que j'aimerais bien te voir avec quelqu'un, tu as quand même trente ans, **tu vois***.

Summing up: I have observed examples of forms of *tu vois*, *vous voyez*, *tu sais*, and *vous savez* in initial position with two different meanings: reminding or opening. I have shown that the initial position with the sense of reminding is accompanied by the feature +evidentiality, while the meaning of opening does not have this feature. I can therefore conclude that the initial position implies +/-evidentiality, while the other positions do not have the +evidentiality feature. In addition to the importance of the position, I have found that the three DMs based on *voir* differ from each other with respect to formality.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, they have the feature of intersubjectivity, which refers to the involvement of both speaker and hearer. As regards *voyons*, the value of inclusion separates it from the other DM by giving it a pedagogical and informal meaning.

6.3.2. Analysis of data: *voilà*

Let us now look at the pathway of *voilà*: from being a presentative to becoming a discourse marker.

6.3.2.1. Reanalysis of *voilà* presentative into discourse marker

Recall that it is my hypothesis that the use of *voilà* as DM is the result of a regrammation process starting with the reanalysis of the presentative *voilà*, following the two steps: change of category and turning into a fixed marker with variable position. Similar to that of *voir* (section 6.2.2), this reanalysis presupposes a first phase with a weakening of the syntactic relationship with the governed complement. In this phase, the cohesion between the complement (NP, pronoun, etc.) and *voilà* in the presentative use has changed to a weaker cohesion between *voilà* and the context. These first signs of reanalysis are found in example (192), in which, however, traces of verbal use, corroborated by the negation, are found:

- (192) *Je vous donneray d'un pigeon qu'hier j'ostay à la fouyne, d'un beau petit morceau de lard, jaune comme fil d'or, et d'une demye douzaine de chataignes. Voilà pas qui est gaillard ?* 'I will give you a pigeon that I removed yesterday from the stove, a nice little piece of bacon, yellow as gold

¹¹⁹ The term *formality* is used to indicate the difference between *vouvoisement* (formal form, 2nd person plural, used also in singular) and *tutoiement* (informal form, 2nd person singular). Please, note that some of the occurrences with *vous voyez* may refer to the plural meaning of the 2nd person plural rather than the *vouvoisement*-form, and should therefore not be considered as +formality. These are, however, few, and not always unambiguous. The very limited number of these do not seem to change the overall picture.

thread, and half a dozen chestnuts. Isn't that a treat?' (Larivey, *Les Esprits*, 1579, Frantext)

In example (193), there is also a governed complement, but the fact that it is detached from *voilà*, separated by *Messieurs*, indicates a weaker cohesion, which can be analysed as a sign of the first phase of reanalysis, as well:

- (193) *Voilà, Messieurs, la fin piteuse de ce brave guerrier et comme enfin la fortune luy tourna le dos l'ayant eslevé en telle dignité et au plus haut de sa rouë* 'See here, Gentlemen, the pitiful end of this brave warrior and how finally Fortune turned her back on him, having raised him to such dignity and to the top of her wheel' (Grévin, *César*, 1561, Frantext)

The interpretation of example (194) is ambiguous, and this could illustrate the second phase of the reanalysis:

- (194) *Voilà, je ne me puis tenir, Isaac, que je ne vous baise* 'Here it is, I cannot prevent myself, Isaac, from not kissing you' (Bèze, *Abraham sacrifiant*, 1550, Frantext)

According to interpretation 1, *voilà* is used in accordance with the original function of *voilà* as presentative (*Voilà ceci: je ne me puis tenir...*), permitting the analysis of the sentence *je ne me puis tenir* governed by *voilà*. However, another interpretation is also possible, interpretation 2, which generates a pragmatic function in the sense that it ensures the progress of the communication, signals the involvement of the speaker and/or the hearer, and signals opening (cataphoric). In example (194), *voilà* addresses the hearer and serves to attract his or her attention towards the following, i.e. signalling opening (cf. section 6.3.1). Thus, example (194) constitutes a *bridging context* which due to the effect of ambiguity allows for the reanalysis (Diewald 2002: 117; Heine 2002).

Based on interpretation 2, I consider plausible the hypothesis according to which the presentative function of *voilà* constitutes the source of the DM *voilà*. This hypothesis is also that of Delahaie (2013), according to whom *voilà* as presentative and *voilà* as DM « *relèvent d'un même fonctionnement déictique* ». It is equally accepted by Oppermann-Marsaux (2019), who describes *voilà* DM as the result of a pragmaticalization process with the result of obtaining a more pragmatic and more discursive value. In accordance

with the empirical study by Oppermann-Marsaux (2019: 94), my data reveal the first instances of *voilà* DM from the pre-classical period.

6.3.2.2. Actualization of *voilà* presentative as discourse marker

Although it is an acknowledged feature of DM that the position is not fixed in the proposition (cf. Dostie & Pusch 2007: 4), I suggest that the difference in function of the DM correlates with its position. Thus, in line with the hypothesis concerning *tu vois*, *vous voyez*, and *voyons*, it is my second hypothesis that each specific value of a DM is related to its position.

In this section, I will analyse occurrences of *voilà* from each period to illustrate its development as a DM.

The oldest period examined is from 1300 to 1549. In this period, the different forms of *voici* and *voilà* function exclusively as lexical expressions or presentatives (cf. section 5.1.2). In the pre-classical period (1550 to 1649), however, I find in my corpus the first evidence of *voilà* as DM. In example (195), we have at first the presentative *voicy*, which functions as a verb governing its complement *je ne sçay qui*, then *Voilà*, which is autonomous in the sense that it does not govern the following proposition and can be left out without modifying the meaning; it is *detached* (according to the terminology of Paillard 2017) and optional. Hence, *Voilà* meets the DM criteria (cf. section 6.1):

- (195) *Mais voicy je ne sçay qui ; je ne veux qu'ils me voyent. Voilà, tout est bien racoustré, et ne semble pas que j'y aye touché* 'But here comes I do not know who; I do not want them to see me. There you go, everything is well done, and it doesn't seem like I touched it' (Larivey, *Les Esprits*, 1579, Frantext)

Similarly, in example (196), *voilà* is not accompanied by any entity. *Voilà* is indeed autonomous, and it functions here as DM.

- (196) *Voilà, je seme mes peines et travaux, et un autre en recueille le plaisir et contentement* 'Here, I sow my sorrows and efforts, and another collects the pleasure and contentment' (Larivey, *Les Esprits*, 1579, Frantext)

As illustrated in section 6.3.2.1, there are numerous ambiguous examples from this period, and I have found only seven occurrences from the pre-classical period in which *voilà* functions unequivocally as DM according to the criteria mentioned in section 6.1.

Voilà is in initial position in all these occurrences, signalling an opening towards the following, and calling upon the hearer. It should be noted that three out of seven occurrences come from the same source, namely *Les Esprits*, by Larivey, 1579.

In the examples (197) and (198), there are two occurrences of *voilà*, one after the other. The first *voilà* can be analysed as DM, used autonomously, and non-accompanied by a complement, whereas the second *voilà* has the function of presentative, complemented by an NP (197) or by a proposition (198)¹²⁰:

(197) ***Voila***, *voila mon crime, allons donc au supplice, J'ay manqué d'ayder Rome, il faut qu'on me punisse* 'So, here is my crime, let's go to the punishment, I failed to help Rome, I must be punished' (Du Ryer, *Scevole*, 1647, Frantext)

(198) ***Voilà***, *voilà que c'est d'avoir trop attendu, ...* 'There you are, this happens when you to have waited too long' (Corneille, *La Place Royale ou L'Amoureux extravagant*, 1637, Frantext)

In the following period, almost all the occurrences found include *voilà* functioning as presentative, defined by the fact that *voilà* governs a complement. It can be noted, however, that there is a widespread tendency to accept an insertion between the two entities, indicating a weaker rection, as in examples (199) and (200). This observation confirms my hypothesis according to which the creation of *voilà* as DM is the result of a reanalysis of the presentative.

(199) ***Voilà***, *n'en doutons point, le parti qu'il faut prendre* 'There you are, let us no longer doubt, the decision to be taken' (Racine, *Bajazet*, 1697, Frantext)

(200) ***Voilà***, *je vous l'avoue, un abominable homme !* 'Alright, I confess, an abominable man !' (Molière, *Le Tartuffe ou l'Imposteur*, 1669, Frantext)

On the other hand, I have found one occurrence of *voilà* as DM in medial position. In this case, *Voilà* is isolated and there is no cohesion; so it is indeed a DM:

(201) *De tout ce que j'ay fait j'ay voulu vous instruire, Voilà, dans ses projets, comme on doit se conduire, ...* 'Of everything I have done I wanted to educate

¹²⁰ This analysis is in agreement with Oppermann-Marsaux (2019: 94), according to whom this type of occurrence can be found from the second half of the seventeenth century and should not be confused with the *genuine cases of reduplication*, namely *voilà voilà*, which appear in Frantext from the 1830s.

you, you see, in his projects, on how one should behave' (Pradon, *Phedre et Hippolyte*, 1677, Frantext)

It is not until the modern period (1800 to 1959) that the number of occurrences increases significantly. I have found 155 occurrences from this period, yet it is only after 1850 that this use of *voilà* becomes prominent. Among the three examples from the beginning of the nineteenth century, which are all in initial position, I cite example (202), in which the use of *voilà* as DM is, however, questionable. Either the first *voilà* can be interpreted as DM and the second as presentative, or the first is a matter of simple anticipation of the presentative before the interpolation:

- (202) *Voilà, monsieur, voilà comment, la plupart de temps, commencent et finissent les mariages d'inclination* 'There you are, sir, this is how, most of the time, marriages of inclination begin and end' (Scribe, *Le Mariage de raison*, 1826, Frantext)

The earliest occurrence found in the modern period, and which is a clear and unequivocal example of *voilà* as DM, dates from 1845:

- (203) *Voilà, ma mignonne, on vous ennuie, on vous assomme, mais on vous bige et on vous aime bien* 'There you are, my darling, we bore you, we knock you out, but we kiss you and we like you' (Sand, *Correspondance : juillet-décembre 1845*, 1845, Frantext)

In example (203), *voilà* is in initial position. The initial position serves to introduce what follows, without this functioning as a complement. *Voilà* addresses the hearer, it does not signal evidentiality.

From this time henceforth, the use of *voilà* as DM in initial position spreads, as illustrated in some representative examples of the 80 occurrences from the period between 1850 and 1959:

- (204) *Voilà, c'est que j'ai un peu peur de vous* 'Well, it's because I'm a little afraid of you' (Pailleron, *L'Étincelle*, 1879, Frantext)
- (205) *Voilà, si j'étais la maîtresse d'un de tes amis ?* 'So, what if I were the mistress of one of your friends?' (Hermant, *Monsieur de Courpière*, 1907, Frantext)

- (206) *Voilà, je vais vous expliquer : on joue Hamlet* ‘Okay, I will explain to you: we play Hamlet’ (Tzara, *Théâtre*, 1924, Frantext)
- (207) *Voilà, cela devait venir, le mot est dit* ‘There you are, it had to come, the word is said’ (Giradoux, *La Guerre de Troie n’aura pas lieu*, 1935, Frantext)
- (208) - *Voilà, promets-moi de ne pas te fâcher, Justin* ‘There you go, promise me not to get angry, Justin’ (Chepfer, *Théâtre*, 1945, Frantext)

In initial position, they signal an opening to what follows, and they address the hearer.

In several occurrences of initial position, *voilà* appears either accompanied by another DM – examples (209) and (210) – or with a reduplication as in example (211)¹²¹:

- (209) *Enfin, voilà, si je n’ai pas remboursé aujourd’hui avant midi, une plainte va être déposée au parquet* ‘Finally, so, if I have not reimbursed today before noon, a complaint will be filed with the prosecution’. (Daudet, *La Lutte pour la vie*, 1890, Frantext)
- (210) *Et puis, voilà, je complotais ; je te préparais une surprise* ‘And then, so, I was plotting; I was preparing a surprise for you (Cocteau, *Les Parents terribles*, 1938, Frantext)
- (211) *Voilà, voilà, on ne saura tout cela qu’au dernier jour...* ‘Well, well, we will not know all this until the last day ...’ (Maeterlinck, *Pelléas et Mélisande*, 1893, Frantext)

From this period, I also found seven occurrences of inserted *voilà*. In this medial position, the function of the DM seems purely phatic in the sense of Jakobson (1973 [1960]: 217). Omitting *voilà* would not change the propositional content of the statement; *voilà* only helps to keep the floor or to indicate hesitation:

- (212) *Une somme d’où sort le bonheur, voilà, certe [sic]/Un beau rêve ; mais quoi !* ‘A sum from which happiness springs, there you have it, sure / A beautiful dream; but what !’ (Hugo, *Théâtre en liberté : Les Gueux*, 1872, Frantext)

Finally, I find in this period for the first time occurrences of *voilà* in final position. In this

¹²¹ See footnote 120.

position, the DM has the function of punctuation, and it is followed by a full stop (23 occurrences) or an exclamation point (41 occurrences):

- (213) *Si maintenant quelqu'un de la société désirait s'inscrire au livre d'or de Mousseaux, voilà.* 'If now anyone from the company wants to subscribe to Mousseaux's guestbook, you are welcome' (Daudet, *La Lutte pour la vie*, 1890, Frantext)
- (214) *Votre portrait, vos lettres, tout ce que j'avais de vous, voilà. (Il les pose sur le banc)* 'Your portrait, your letters, everything I had of you, there you are. (He puts them on the bench)' (Daudet, *L'Obstacle*, 1891, Frantext)
- (215) *Tu fais un drame de tout ce qu'on te dit. La prochaine fois, je tiendrai ma langue, voilà.* 'You make a drama out of everything you are told. Next time I'll hold my tongue, that's it' (Buzzati & Camus, *Un cas intéressant*, 1955, Frantext)
- (216) *Il a dû être choyé par une maman très bonne, trop bonne, et on la quitte, voilà.* 'He must have been pampered by a very good mother, too good, and he leaves her, that's it' (Cocteau, *La Machine infernale*, 1934, Frantext)
- (217) *Enfin, c'est bien simple : c'est un homme qui vit des femmes, voilà !* 'Finally, it is quite simple: it is a man who lives on women, there you go!' (Bourdet, *Le Sexe faible*, 1931, Frantext)

It emerges from the examples that the DM in final position has, above all, the pragmatic function of accentuating the content of the preceding statement – as in examples (213) to (216) – which is particularly obvious in the occurrences ending with the exclamation mark (217). In a few cases, however, the DM in final position indicates a suspended open ending or lack of completing the utterance, as shown in example (218).

- (218) *De Berville. – je vous présente mes hommages. (gêné, sans regarder Brotonneau.) monsieur, je viens au sujet de l'emprunt japonais chercher vos instructions. C'est-à-dire... (il éternue.) c'est-à-dire vous demander pour le... pour les... pour la... enfin, voilà* 'From Berville. - I present my respects to you. (embarrassed, not looking at Brotonneau.) Sir, I'm coming concerning the Japanese loan to get your instructions. That is to say ... (he sneezes.) That is to

say you ask for the ... for the ... for the ... well, there you go' (Flers & Caillavet, *Monsieur Brotonneau*, 1914, Frantext)

Frequent use of the DM continues in the most recent period, i.e. from 1960 onwards, and the distribution of the position of the DM's reflects the development. In initial position, 22 occurrences were found of *voilà*, expressing opening, as shown in examples (219) and (220).

(219) *Ah !! Voilà, tu m'as fait peur, ça s'annule !!...* 'Ah!! There you are, you scared me, it cancels out!! ...' (Jaoui & Bacri, *Cuisine et dépendances*, 1991, Frantext)

(220) *Le rêveur se retire de son rêve. Voilà, je t'ai débarrassé de ces petites misères, de ces petites saletés* 'The dreamer withdraws from his dream. So, I got rid of these little miseries for you, these little dirty things'. (Ionesco, *Le Roi se meurt*, 1963, Frantext)

The 15 occurrences of *voilà* inserted in the middle of the utterance clearly illustrate that the DM is completely autonomous, and just serves to maintain the communication, as we can see in example (221):

(221) - *C'est cela, voilà, exactement, comment est-ce qu'on dit ? « d'une pierre deux coups »* 'That's it, there you have it, exactly, how do you say it ? "two birds with one stone"' (Lagarce, *Juste la fin du monde*, 2000, Frantext)

In final position, followed by a full stop (five occurrences), as in example (222), or an exclamation mark (two occurrences), illustrated in example (223), the DM has the value of punctuation:

(222) *Vous pensez à tout, voilà. Et pas moi. Je suis un écrivain qui n'a jamais de papier* 'You think of everything, that's it. And not me. I am a writer who never has paper' (Anouilh, *Chers zoiseaux*, 1977, Frantext)

(223) *Bon, écoute, je ne m'en souviens pas non plus, voilà !!...* *Ça me déprime, cette conversation...* 'Okay, listen, I don't remember either, there you are!! ... It depresses me, this conversation ...' (Jaoui & Bacri, *Un air de famille*, 1994, Frantext)

The tendency to end the DM with the exclamation point decreases in this period, which might indicate that the pragmatic function of accentuating is weakening. This suggests

that the function of *voilà* in the final position is to complete the proposition. *Voilà* as punctuation does not modify the meaning of the proposition of which it is part (cf. the absence of the truth-conditional value in section 6.1).

In the next section, I will sum up my results from a diachronic perspective.

6.3.2.3. *Voilà* in a diachronic perspective

A total of 257 occurrences of *voilà* as DM have been identified during the studied periods. Since the qualitative analysis in section 6.3.2.2 indicated a remarkable difference between the frequency before 1850 and after 1850, I cut the modern period in half, thus distinguishing between modern period I (1800-1849) and modern period II (1850 to 1959).

I found a total of 7 occurrences from the pre-classical period, one single unequivocal occurrence from the classical period, and three occurrences in the modern period I (1800 to 1849). Moreover, 194 occurrences are found in the modern period II (1850 to 1959), which corresponds to 4.5 occurrences per 100,000 words, while the 52 occurrences from the contemporary period correspond to 8.7 occurrences per 100,000 words.

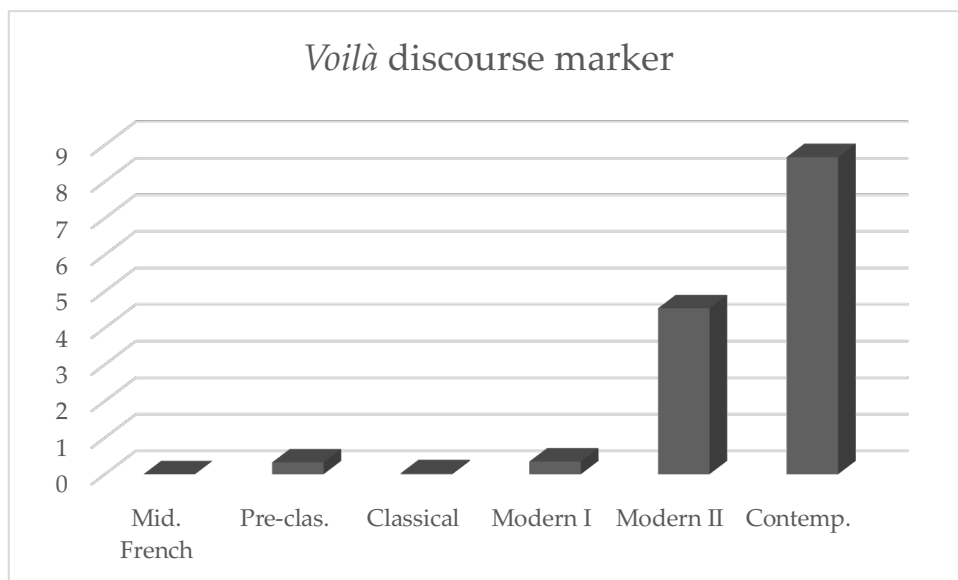


Figure 49. Occurrences of *voilà* DM per 100,000 words

Figure 49 shows the distribution of the 258 occurrences of *voilà* as DM during the periods. It illustrates the significant development of the frequency of *voilà* DM, which accelerates from 1850. In the contemporary period, the frequency (8.7 per 100,000 words) is almost

twice that of *tu vois* and *vous voyez*, respectively. The frequency of *voyons* DM is in between (see section 6.3.1).

Regarding the position of *voilà* DM, recall that the regrammation of the discourse marker, according to my third hypothesis, manifests itself at different times depending on its position in the sentence. Figure 50 shows the distribution of the occurrences of *voilà* with respect to the three positions.

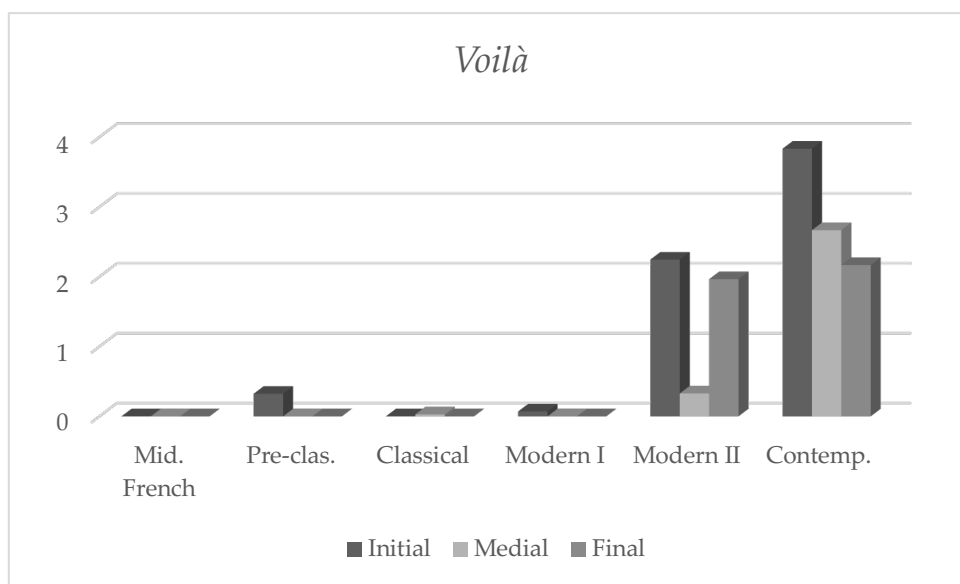


Figure 50. Occurrences per 100,000 words distributed on the three positions

In accordance with its origin as presentative, the first occurrences of *voilà* DM are found in the initial position with the opening function, and this position remains predominant throughout the periods. After 1850, I find occurrences in the final position with the function of punctuation. In this function, *voilà* has retained remnants of its original meaning, pointing to a link between the speaker and the hearer. In the contemporary period, the medial position becomes common. In the medial position, *voilà* has the phatic function, i.e. it serves to keep the floor. This is a clear evidence that the inserted *voilà* loses the last traces of its original meaning (visual or cognitive perception) and grammatical (pragmatic) meaning (presentation).

6.3.2.4. *Voilà* isolated

As is the case with *voyons* (see section 6.3.1), *voilà* also appears isolated, in which case it may be considered as an interjection. The criteria, which we have defined for the DMs, resemble to a large extent the traditional description of the interjection (see for instance

Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 462; Buridant 2000: 737). According to Delahaie (2013: 115), “*l’emploi absolu de voilà*” followed by a punctuation mark, appears from the first half of the nineteenth century. The challenge is to distinguish the interjection from the DM in isolated position, since both are autonomous, syntactically detached from the context, have no fixed position, and can be omitted without change in meaning or statement. Interjections have a pragmatic function, giving expression to emotions, which is often orthographically manifested by the exclamation point following the interjection. They are in general fixed and invariable forms (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 462). In section 6.3.1, I suggested a commutation test implying that if it can be replaced by an affirmative expression like *oui, c’est ça, d’accord, exactement*, etc., *voilà* can be defined as an affirmative interjection. If, on the other hand, *voilà* can be replaced by another DM, such as *Tiens !, ben, bon*, etc. it is rather a DM. This can be illustrated by means of the following examples:

- (224) *Baube : - le fossoyeur est déjà dans la terre jusqu’à la boucle de la culotte. Voilà. J’ai prévenu Turlure pour qu’il sonne. Encore aujourd’hui* ‘Baube: - the gravedigger is already in the dirt up to the buckle of the breeches. Here. I told Turlure to ring the bell. Still today’ (Claudel, *La Jeune fille Violaine*, 1892, Frantext)

In example (224), we have the DM *voilà*. This refers to a verbalized situation; there is a cohesion with the verbalized context. *Voilà* could be replaced by another DM such as *Tiens! Voyons, voyez, ben, bon*, etc. (cf. section 6.3.1).

In example (225) we have the interjection *voilà*. This expresses a reaction to a situation which is not necessarily verbalized, but which may reflect an action. *Voilà* could be replaced by another affirmative expression such as *oui, c’est ça, d’accord*, etc. Thus, in this function, *voilà* could belong to a paradigm of affirmative interjections.

- (225) *COFFINEAU: Non, monsieur... (...) Tout de même si monsieur veut me donner sa carte...
HORNUS, tendant sa carte.
Voilà.
COFFINEAU, fait un pas en remontant puis s’arrête après avoir regardé la carte* ‘C: No, sir... (...) All the same if sir wants to give me his card... H,

holding out his card. Here, C, takes a step when getting up then stops after having looked at the card' (Daudet, *L'Obstacle*, 1891, Frantext)

In this study, I have only included the use of *voilà* as DM and shall not go further into the interjections.

6.3.2.5. Interpretation of results

The evolution of *voilà* DM illustrates several processes. Firstly, a lexicalization process of the lexical use, based on a form of the verb *voir* (*ve(e)z ci/la*), which can draw someone's visual attention to something here (*ci*) or there (*là*) (section 5.1.1). From the fourteenth century on, these separated forms are replaced by fused forms (*veci/vela*) which are then grammaticalized as presentatives and eventually replaced by modern forms (*voici* and *voilà*). At the same time, their lexical meaning of visual perception is weakened (section 5.1.2).

Secondly, a process of regrammation – in terms of the original governing of the presentative *voilà* (henceforth neutralized in relation to the distinction of distance, which eliminated the use of *voici*) – i.e. the cohesion between the presented entity and the presentative, has been modified into a weaker relation allowing a reanalysis according to which the use of *voilà* serves to draw the hearer's attention to what follows, as illustrated in the interpretations of example (194). Without the DM, the statement corresponds to a simple observation, without reminding or opening. Thus, the DM *voilà* attains a purely pragmatic function, namely, to ensure the progress of the communication, to signal the involvement of the speaker and/or the hearer, or to signal opening (cataphoric).

Voilà is addressed to the hearer and the analyses show that *voilà* belongs to the DMs which preserve some (traces of) lexical meaning (cf. subtype 2 in section 6.1).

Voilà DM has the function of structuring the discourse (Col *et al.* 2015: 8) because it “serves to demarcate and organize parts of the discourse” and to indicate the speaker's hesitation (De Cesare 2011: 53, 57), and it allows the speaker to position him or herself in relation to the discourse (Dostie & Pusch 2007: 5). It is true, as mentioned by De Cesare (2011: 57), that *voilà* also serves to confirm the speaker's or the hearer's comment (see section 6.3.1 with respect to the feature of subjectification). This function is sometimes difficult to distinguish from the interjection (see section 6.3.2.4).

The DM *voilà* behaves like other DMs derived from *voir* until the contemporary period. To begin with, the position of *voilà* is exclusively initial, a position derived from the presentative use. This function is designated by the term *opening*, signifying that the DM introduces the following. After 1850, the use of the DM spreads and to the initial use is now added mainly the final position, but also, in a smaller proportion, the DM inserted in the middle of the statement. The use in final position, often found at the end of speaking turns or in final interaction sequences, has the function of punctuation and closing, while the use in medial position that I have designated by the term *phatic* serves essentially to maintain the communication. The latter can also have the function of directing attention to an entity that the speaker is looking for (Delahaie 2013).

With these specifications in consideration, I can conclude that also in the case of *voilà*, the position determines the function and the meaning of the DM, which is manifested by the fact that the change of position leads to a difference in grammatical (pragmatic) meaning. This is how example (221): - *C'est cela, voilà, exactement, comment est-ce qu'on dit ? « d'une pierre deux coups »* with the DM in medial position clearly illustrates the phatic use, while in initial position it would signal opening towards the following: - *Voilà, c'est cela exactement, comment est-ce qu'on dit ? « d'une pierre deux coups »*. By contrast, if *voilà* was in final position, it would attain to the function of punctuation: - *C'est cela, exactement, comment est-ce qu'on dit ? « d'une pierre deux coups », voilà*.

The medial and final positions illustrate the regrammation process of *voilà*. This DM, first found in initial position, initially expressed primarily opening, an inherent value, derived from its use as a presentative element. In the process, the secondary meaning that derives from the position becomes reinterpreted as a constitutive feature. From the contemporary period, we witness a slightly stronger progression compared to the other forms, in particular in initial position but also in medial and final position. As this form is advanced, compared to the others, occupying all three positions, and appearing with the highest frequency among the DMs, it is a candidate to become the unmarked form of the paradigm.

6.4. Paradigm 4: Discourse markers

I conclude by drawing the paradigmatic consequences of my analyses. The paradigm is characterized by its syntactic domain and its grammatical content; each member differs from the others with respect to expression as well as content.

As regards the *syntagmatic domain* of the studied forms, they have the particularity of not depending on an element in the sentence in which they are inserted. Therefore, the domain can be defined as extra-nexual – the nexus corresponding to the sentence – or macro-syntactic, according to the terminology of Blanche-Benveniste (1989). Furthermore, the DMs are all optional units. They have three positions: initial, medial, or final. The optionality of DMs could in principle be a problem for a paradigmatic analysis, since in general the grammatical category expressed by a paradigm is mandatory in the sense that one must choose a member of the paradigm. However, it is always possible to not explicitly express pragmatic content. But if the speaker decides to express pragmatic values, he or she must choose between the members of the paradigm, and in this sense the choice between the members is obligatory. On this point, DMs resemble the negation paradigm, for example, because it is never obligatory to express negation, but as soon as the speaker wishes to deny, he or she must choose between the members of the negation paradigm. Thus, the argument advanced by some researchers (see e.g. Waltereit 2002: 1004-1007) against the DMs' status of being grammaticalized, based on their non-obligatory nature, is not convincing.

Concerning the *frame*, the DMs studied here allow the speaker to position him or herself in relation to his/her own or his/her hearer's speech (Dostie & Pusch 2007: 5). According to Gonzales (2008: 53), the DMs have the following function: “ the speaker makes use of markers to segment, recover, organize, and reformulate the information provided to the hearer, but also to share common ground, assumptions, and presuppositions with him/her”.

DMs make no contribution to the propositional content of the utterance (Dostie & Pusch 2007: 4; Andersen 2007: 14), they only provide pragmatic value. Even if, at the syntactic level, DMs are always optional (Dostie & Pusch 2007: 4), they are useful or even necessary on the pragmatic level (Brinton 2008: 14). In short, the DMs ensure the progress of the communication, with procedural value, without truth-conditional value.

In principle, each member of the paradigm has its own form and content; there is no member with exactly the same features as another. My statistics suggest, however, that the process of grammaticalization is still ongoing, leading me to believe that the situation has not yet stabilized to the point of establishing an unambiguous paradigm. For the contemporary period, some of the DMs seem more or less interchangeable, while their position determines their specific meaning.

In the two paradigms presented below, the first column provides the list of the members of the paradigm. The second column specifies the position of the DM: initial, medial, or final position. The third column presents the grammatical content of the DM. The global paradigm (Table 24) presents a synchronic overview of the DMs mentioned in section 6.1 in modern and contemporary French.

The content of the series of members depends on the following features: implicit or explicit orientation towards the hearer, with either a phatic value or a specific value – depending on the position of the DM.

Syntactic domain: Optional unit, syntactically independent of the sentence in which it appears; multiple positions: initial, medial, or final.

Semantic frame: Ensure the progress of the communication, procedural value, ±evidential value, no truth-conditional value

Members of paradigm	Expression	Content
<i>bon, ben, enfin, quoi, etc.</i>	Initial, medial, or final position	Implicitly hearer-oriented, phatic value, -evidentiality. Specific value depends among other things on the position. In addition, values of repairer, reformulation, mitigation, hesitation, etc. ¹²²
<i>je pense, je crois, je trouve, tu sais, vous savez, tu vois, vous voyez, voyons, voilà, etc.</i>	Initial, medial, or final position	Explicitly hearer-oriented, +/-evidentiality. The specific value of the entities depends on their position

Table 24. Global paradigm of discourse markers in Modern and Contemporary French, cf. section 6.1

¹²² Beeching (2007: 80-83, 92).

The group of *bon, ben, enfin, quoi*, etc. represents the unmarked forms, for which there are relatively few restrictions on usage compared to the group deriving from a verb, which therefore constitutes the marked members of the paradigm. This group is made up of a variety of forms that requires closer examination, in order to establish a sub-paradigm (Paradigm 4).

Before presenting it, I must summarize the quantitative and qualitative information for the examined forms (see Figure 51):

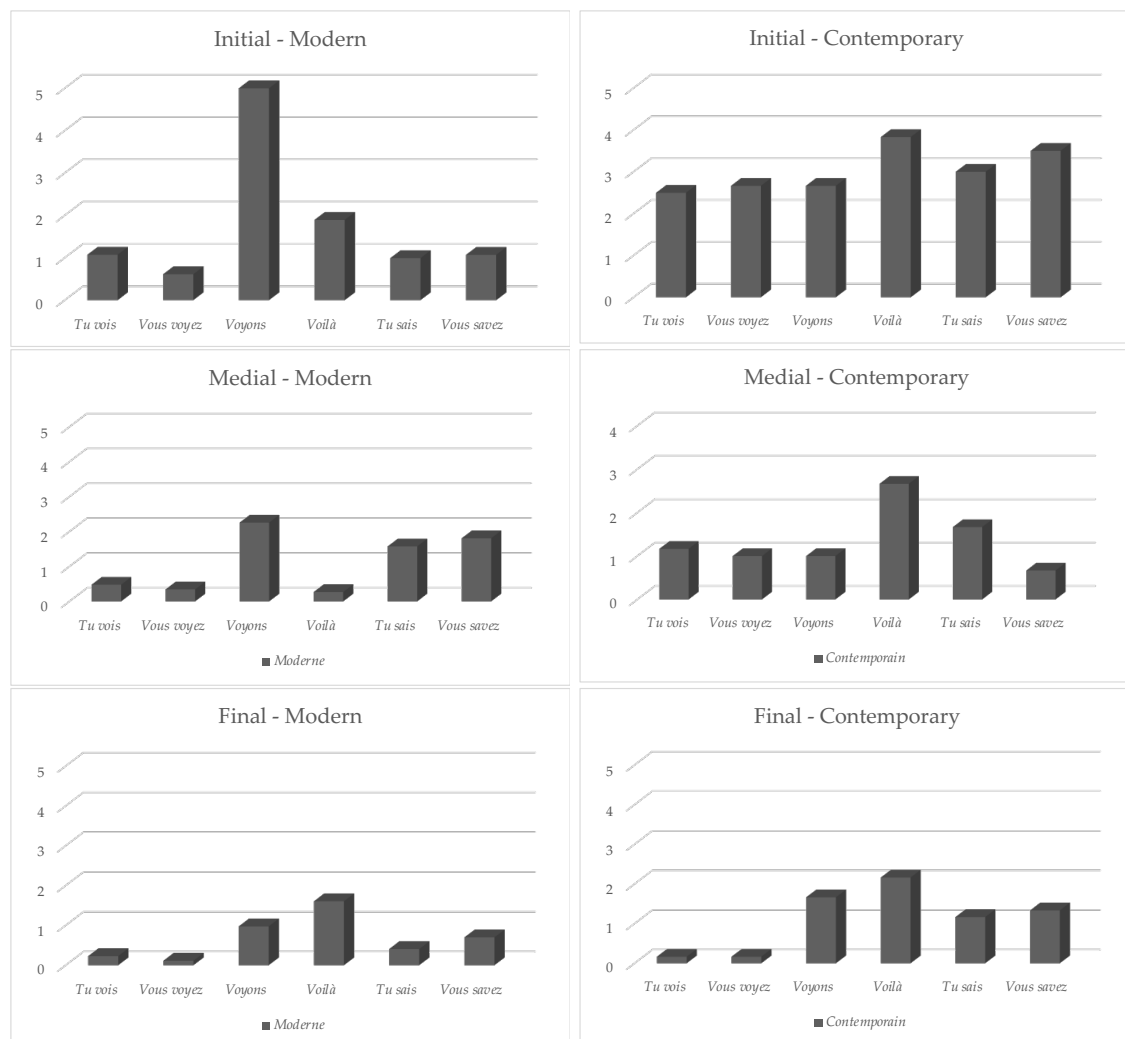


Figure 51. DMs in initial, medial, and final position in Modern and Contemporary French

With respect to position, I identified the following tendencies:

- In initial and medial position *voyons* is clearly the precursor of the development in the modern period. The other DMs follow the process started by *voyons*. In the contemporary period, *voilà* becomes more frequent than *voyons* and less marked.

- In final position, we witness the beginning of a specialization with *voyons*, *voilà*, *tu sais*, *vous savez*, which, due to their position, tend to indicate closure.

In regard to the formal aspects, the following characteristics have been detected:

- DMs in the 2nd person singular and plural with *savoir* appear to be progressing, compared to DMs in the 2nd person singular and plural with *voir*. This is particularly striking for the final position. I interpret this peculiarity as a sign of an advanced grammaticalization in the case of *savoir*,¹²³ to the point that these forms have acquired the function of filling a hesitation pause (cf. hesitation form in section 6.1).
- With regard to the feature of formality, which aims at pointing out the difference between addressing the hearer by *vous* or by *tu*, it was expected that expressions with *vous* were less frequent with respect to the pragmatic domain, especially in the modern and contemporary periods and in an oral corpus. Despite the uncertainty due to the ambiguity (2nd person plural meaning either *vouvolement* or plural form), the empirical results show contrasting developments: if *vous voyez* seems to decline, *vous savez* is more frequent than *tu sais* in most positions and in most periods – except contemporary medial position. DMs expressing formality therefore do not seem to be declining. I am aware that some occurrences of 2nd person plural referring to plural meaning and not the formal meaning, which can be difficult to determine, may blur the picture. These are, however, too few to change the overall picture.

The feature +/-inclusion establishes a difference between *voyons* (+inclusion) and the other forms (-inclusion).

The feature +/-evidentiality establishes a difference between the DMs initial position (+/-evidentiality) as compared to the other positions (-evidentiality).

¹²³ Remember that only DMs with *savoir* can separate parts of a syntactic unit, an indisputable sign of grammaticalization.

Syntactic domain:¹²⁴ Syntactically independent and optional elements with three possible positions: initial, medial, or final: (X)|pause| (X) (S) verb (X)|pause| (X)

Semantic frame: Ensure the flow of communication which is explicitly oriented towards the hearer. Procedural function, +/- evidential value, no truth-conditional value

Members of the paradigm	Expression	Content
<i>tu vois</i> -formality, +/-evidential value; preference for initial position	initial position <i>Tu vois, ...</i> medial position <i>..., tu vois, ...</i> final position <i>..., tu vois.</i>	opening (-evidential) or recall (+evidential) phatic (-evidential) closing (-evidential)
<i>vous voyez</i> +formality, +/-evidential value; preference for initial position	initial position medial position final position	opening (-evidential) or recall (+evidential) phatic (-evidential) closing (-evidential)
<i>voyons</i> +/-formality, -evidential value; + explicit inclusion preference for final position	initial position medial position final position	opening (-evidential) phatic (-evidential) closing (-evidential)
<i>voilà</i> +/-formality, -evidential value; preference for initial and medial position	initial position medial position final position	opening (-evidential) phatic (-evidential) closing (-evidential)
<i>tu sais</i> -formality, +/-evidential value; preference for initial and final position (hesitation form ?)	initial position medial position final position	opening (-evidential) or recall (+evidential) phatic (-evidential) closing (-evidential)
<i>vous savez</i> +formality, +/-evidential value; preference for initial and final position (hesitation form ?)	initial position medial position final position	opening (-evidential) or recall (+evidential) phatic (-evidential) closing (-evidential)

Table 25. **Paradigm 4:** Sub-paradigm of discourse markers derived from a verb, in modern and contemporary French

If one considers that the degree of flexibility of position is constitutive in determining the markedness of the forms, the results of the analysis of the sub-paradigm leads me to propose that, for the modern period, the form *voyons* is the lesser marked, whereas, for the contemporary period, *voilà* is the unmarked form of the paradigm and the others are

¹²⁴ The brackets signal optionality, the separator| indicates the limit between the entities, and S equals the subject.

marked. This is a remarkable change during a very short period. The other forms are marked either by their more specific grammatical content, or by their tendency to occupy a particular position.

6.5. Conclusion and perspectives

With regard to the source of the DMs, I believe to have confirmed my first hypothesis by making plausible the idea that DMs are the result of a grammaticalization process, following the foreseeable steps of fixation and bleaching, from the full lexical use of the verb *voir* to arrive at a change of category and become discourse markers with variable positions, more or less devoid of their original lexical content. A series of arguments in favour of this hypothesis have been advanced, noting in particular the foreseeable¹²⁵ results of the grammaticalization process that follows: morphological invariability, the impossibility of modal modification, bleaching, loss of rection, extension of use to new contexts, and insertion into a grammatical (pragmatic) paradigm. As for *voilà*, I have illustrated how the use as DM is the result of a process of regrammation, going from the initially grammaticalized use of *voilà* as a presentative, to a change in category, and to become a discourse marker with variable position, devoid of its original grammatical (pragmatic) content, i.e. presentation. My empirical results thus confirm the conclusion of Rodríguez Somolinos (2011: 6), according to whom most discourse markers originate in lexical entities which initially belonged to different grammatical classes. This is illustrated in Figure 52:

¹²⁵ See my discussion of Lehmann's parameters in section 2.1.

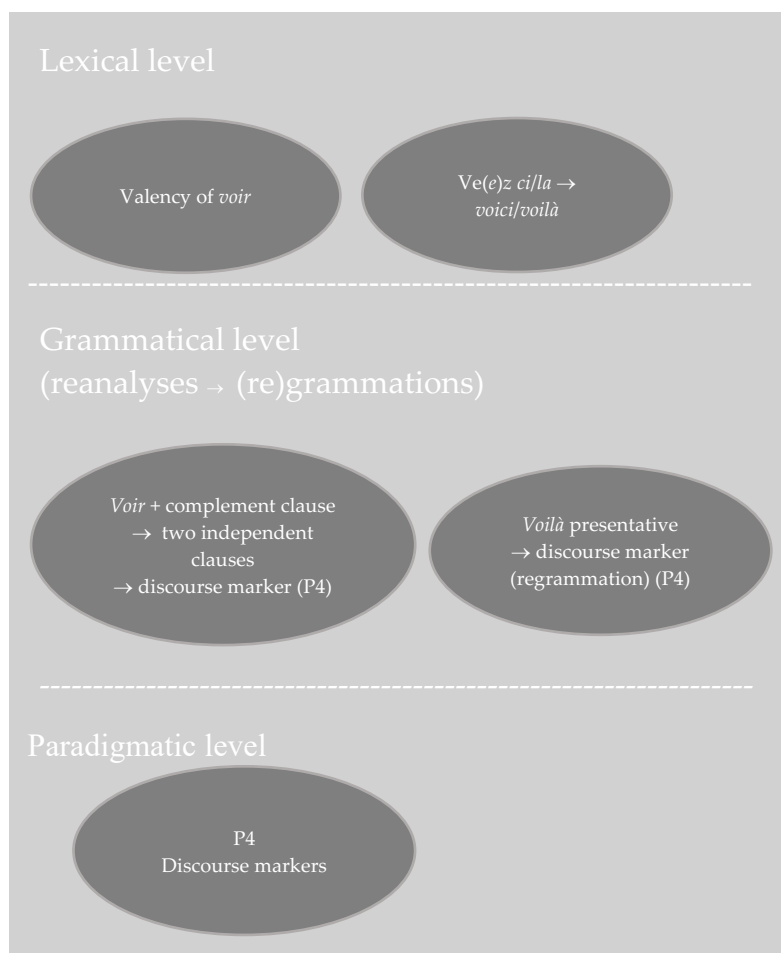


Figure 52. From lexical level to Paradigm 4

The empirical analyses have shown how the use of DMs, from the classical period, expands from the initial position to the medial position, and in the modern and contemporary periods, we see the emergence of DMs in final position. Each position has its own value: in initial position, DMs have the value of opening (with the possibility of the feature -evidentiality) or of reminding (with the possibility of the feature +evidentiality); in medial, they serve to maintain communication (phatic use), and in final position, they have the value of punctuation. These values are therefore linked to the position, not to the DM occupying this position. It is assumed that, during the reanalysis, this secondary feature, depending on the position, will become a constitutive feature of the DM, with the consequence that the DMs tend to specialize in one or the other position, with their value becoming the value of the DM. This process has not yet reached the end, but clearly some trends can be observed: *tu vois* and *vous voyez* tend to specialize in the initial position, with the meaning of opening or reminding; *voyons* tends to specialize in

the final position, with its meaning of punctuation, whereas *tu sais* and *vous savez* have a clear preference for the initial and medial positions. *Voilà*, which was first frequent in the initial and medial positions, spreads to the final position.

Among the examined DMs, *voyons* appears to be the most rapidly grammaticalized form: its grammaticalization process precedes that of the other forms. Moreover, *voyons* is combined with another form of the lexical verb in the expression *voyons voir*, a typical trait of highly grammaticalized units. For the contemporary period, *voilà*, present in all positions, tends to become the unmarked form.

The second hypothesis, according to which each specific value of the DMs depends on its position, was tested not only for *voir* but also for *savoir*. I observed that the value of the position, which was originally an accessory feature, during the reanalysis, became a constituent feature of the marker in this position. The present ongoing process may modify this in the future and result in a different distribution of DMs with respect to position. Hopefully, future research including oral corpora as well can contribute to unveil the direction of these tendencies.

If the reanalysis were independent of the position, it would be natural to expect that the DMs could appear freely in the three positions from the first attestations. However, the first occurrences are exclusively in the initial position, a position close to the original structure. This can be interpreted as a confirmation of the correct identification of the source (full lexical use), and of the function of the DMs, which is to signal an opening or reminding. The development of DMs in medial, later also final position, illustrates the continuation of the grammaticalization process, thus confirming my third hypothesis.

A possible next step could be that the different DMs specialize according to the positions, by inheriting the pragmatic-semantic features from their usual position, even if they are used in another position. This phenomenon corresponds to what is meant by “pragmatic inference” (cf. Nicolle 2011: 401; Traugott & Dasher 2002; Hopper & Traugott 2003 [1993]: 82).

7. Voice

This chapter concerns the paradigm of voice, in which I will show that a construction with *voir*, i.e. *se voir* + infinitive/past participle, enters.

7.1. Voice

It is generally accepted that voice is defined according to how the verb distributes the semantic role of the actants (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 245). In the active voice, the subject acts upon its verb, i.e. executes the action (226), and in the passive voice (227) the subject is affected by or undergoes the verb's action (Gaatone 2000: 16-17) – see Table 26:

active	Function: A1 (first argument, subject) Reference: X1	transitive verb	Function: A2 (second argument, object) Reference: X2
passive	Function: A1 Reference: X2		(optional <i>par/de</i> X1)

Table 26. Characteristic features active vs. passive

(226) *Pierre casse la branche* ‘Peter breaks the branch’

(227) *La branche est cassée par Pierre* ‘The branch is broken by Peter’

The traditional conception of passive voice in French is conform to the quotation by Gaatone below, according to which the passive is formed by means of a form of the auxiliary *être* ‘to be’, followed by the past participle:

“Est dit passif tout participle passé dont le support n’est pas le premier argument de son lexeme verbal, et est raccordable à ce support par *être*, indépendamment du

temps-aspect”¹²⁶ (Gaatone 1998: 27; 2000: 19).

Most sentences in which the verb in an active construction is combined with a direct object (226) permits a corresponding passive construction (227) according to the four following criteria (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 434):

- the object of the active sentence becomes the subject
- the past participle is conjugated with the auxiliary *être*, which maintains the same tense and mood as found in the verb of the corresponding active construction
- the subject of the active construction can be expressed by a prepositional complement (agent), introduced by the prepositions *par* or *de*
- the roles of the subject and object, respectively, are maintained with respect to reference, while changed with respect to function.

The passive form indicates that the subject is affected by the action expressed by the verb, rather than performing it.

Quantitative studies reveal that the majority of passive constructions hold no agent; the speaker prefers to maintain unexpressed the one responsible for the process (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 439-440).

Thus, passivation does not modify the state of affairs but creates a different communication profile. It focalizes the object of an active construction (228). Furthermore, as a stylistic resource, the passive can consolidate a fixed thematic structure and thereby contribute to minimize the risk of ambiguity of the antecedent of an anaphoric active object (229), ease the complex structure when a transitive subject is not needed or deliberately left out (230), secure a better balance in the sentence by reversing the order of a long or short argument (231), etc.

¹²⁶ ‘Any past participle is said to be passive if the support (i.e. argument) of it is not the first argument of its verbal lexeme, and if it can be joined to this support by *être*, independently of tense and aspect’ [my translation].

- (228) *Le roman de cette vie a été écrit par nous tous ; ...* ‘The novel of this life was written by all of us; ...’ (Debray, *Loués soient nos seigneurs : une éducation politique*, 1996, Frantext)
- (229) *De la pluie est venue pendant la nuit et elle a été chassée par la force du vent* ‘Rain came overnight and it was blown away by the force of the wind’ (Duras, *L’Été 80*, 1980, Frantext)
- (230) *Le crucifix avait été volé en effet, mais gare au coupable, car Joseph à son retour saurait mettre la main dessus* ‘The crucifix had indeed been stolen, but beware of the culprit, because Joseph on his return would know how to get his hands on him’ (Rouaud, *Les Champs d’honneur*, 1990, Frantext)
- (231) *Le vieil homme a été trahi par ceux-là mêmes qu’il voulait défendre* ‘The old man was betrayed by the very people he wanted to defend’ (Le Clézio, *Désert*, 1980, Frantext)

Many scholars (e.g. Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]) include a number of constructions as equivalent to the canonical *être* + past participle. Among these, *se voir* has been included among passive constructions by, e.g. Grevisse & Goosse (2008: 1051) who call it ‘auxiliaire du passif’, classified among the semi-auxiliaries, and Defrancq (2000: 188), who uses the term *passif de l’objet prépositionnel*. These labels will be legitimized in the following.

I adhere to a less restrictive definition of passive than Gaatone, quoted *supra*, based on the following two criteria: the equivalence with an active construction, including a construction with the impersonal subject *on*, and the possibility of adding an agent.

Based on these criteria, it is possible to include a number of constructions which share one or several of the defining characteristics of passive. Consequently, I propose that modern French has a list of ways of expressing passive – the structure *être* + past participle illustrated in (227) being the standard construction. This list includes: the reflexive passive, which can be used both about a general situation, i.e. the deontic reflexive passive (232), and about a specific situation, i.e. the reflexive anticausative construction (233); the anticausative construction (234); and the periphrastic reflexive passive constructions with *faire* (235), *laisser* (236), or *voir* (237), which does not only come with an infinitive (*se voir* INF), but also with a past participle (*se voir* PP) in (238).

The latter is a sub-variant of (237) and will be studied as such. The deontic reflexive passive, the reflexive anticausative, and the anticausative constructions cannot have an explicit agent, but correspond to an active construction of the impersonal subject ‘on’, thus meeting at least one of my two criteria.

(232) *Le vin blanc se boit frais* ‘white wine should be served chilled’

(233) *La branche se casse* ‘The branch breaks’

(234) *La branche casse* ‘The branch breaks’

(235) *Elle s’est fait insulter* ‘She has been insulted’

(236) *Elle s’est laissé convaincre* ‘She has been convinced’

(237) *Elle s’est vu refuser l’accès au théâtre* ‘She has been refused entrance to the theatre’

(238) *Je me suis vu entouré par des amis*, ‘I was surrounded by friends’

These ways of expressing passive, (227) and (232) to (238), will, together with the active construction (226), form the paradigm of *voice* to be established in section 7.5.

7.2. Inventory of the voice paradigm

Before further examining the passive construction with *se voir*, I will briefly characterize the other passive expressions exemplified in (227) and (232) to (236) above.

7.2.1. The ‘standard’ passive

The ‘standard’ passive, example (227), composed of a form of the auxiliary *être* and a past participle, is causative – i.e. it concerns an activity which has an agent (expressed or non-expressed). It has the four characteristics quoted in 7.1 (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 434).

In general, only sentences with a transitive verb accept a passive construction, yet not all transitive verbs have corresponding passive constructions; excluded are verbs such as *avoir*, *posséder*, *comporter*, *coûter*, *valoir*, and the modal verb *pouvoir* (because this has

a non-propositional¹²⁷ complement: *Qui peut le plus peut le moins – On peut ce qu'on veut*). A list of others, e.g. some verbs conveying quantitative evaluation: *mesurer, peser, courir, vivre, régner, goûter, sentir, and respirer*, are unable to passivize – although they allow a direct complement which does not function as a 'genuine' object complement. In other cases, they may passivize. Riegel *et al.* (2009 [1994]: 435) illustrate such cases by the following example:

- (239) **Deux mètres trente sont mesurés par le géant/Les dimensions du terrain ont été mesurées par un arpenteur* 'Two metres and 30 are measured by the giant/The dimensions of the land has been measured by the land surveyor'

Furthermore, verbs which together with an NP form a support verb construction or a fixed phrase, such as *prendre l'air*, are in general excluded from passivization (a few exceptions for this restriction are mentioned by Gaatone 2000).

Verbs governing the dative (e.g. *obéir à* and *pardonner à*) and prepositional verbs (*penser à*) are only possible in the passive voice in literary and formal language where these forms, however, mostly appear archaic:

- (240) *Après avoir vu la servilité avec laquelle Bonaparte a été obéi, on a peine à concevoir que ce soit l'esprit républicain que l'on craigne en France* 'After having seen the servility with which Bonaparte was obeyed, we can hardly imagine that it is the republican spirit that we fear in France' (Staël, *Considérations sur les principaux événements de la Révolution française*, 1817, Frantext)

In standard language, verbs governing the dative (ditransitive verbs) are only possible when it is the object of the active construction that is transferred into the subject of the corresponding passive:

- (241) *L'université refuse l'accès à Pierre* 'The university denies Peter entrance' → *l'accès est refusé à Pierre [par l'université]*

It is not possible to transfer the indirect object of the active construction to the subject in a corresponding passive construction (**Pierre a été refusé l'accès par l'université*).

¹²⁷ In a non-propositional complement, there is no part with a constant meaning which would persist in spite of changes in, for instance, voice or illocutionary force of the clause.

The standard use of this construction has no limits with respect to formality.

7.2.2. The deontic reflexive passive

The deontic reflexive passive exemplified in (232) provides a general instruction concerning the activity. As is the case in the standard passive, the subject is equivalent to the object of a corresponding active construction. The subject is inanimate¹²⁸ and has the role of semantic patient. Also, the reflexive pronoun *se* refers to the inanimate patient. The deontic reflexive passive often has a non-eventive value and is hardly used about a specific event taking place at a certain time. Rather, it is used in relation to habitual, normative, or generic situations. Logically, this construction is not likely to have a specific agent:

- (242) *Le vin blanc se boit frais (*par les connaisseurs)* ‘white wine should be served chilled (*by the connoisseurs)’

It corresponds to an impersonal active structure: *on boit frais le vin blanc*, thus meeting one of the two possible requirements for identification of the passive. It is mostly found in the present and imperfective tenses, and with verbs of agentive orientation, i.e. verbs denoting the activity executed by an implicit agent (Herslund 2000: 72):

- (243) *Pierre Benoit n’est peut-être pas un bon écrivain, mais ses livres se vendent et il est célèbre* ‘Pierre Benoit may not be a good writer, but his books sell and he is famous’ (Mauriac, *Bergère ô tour Eiffel*, 1985, Frantext)

I have found no restrictions as regards genre and register; however, this structure is usually not found in communications between peers, since it conveys a sort of formative message.

7.2.3. The reflexive anticausative passive

The deontic reflexive passive is often confused with the reflexive anticausative construction (RAC) – see (233). But in contrast to the deontic reflexive passive, the RAC is found with verbs oriented towards the undergoer – i.e. verbs denoting, in particular, changes produced in the referent of the patient (Herslund 2000):

¹²⁸ Yet, an animate subject is possible in plural in generic statements (Herslund 2000: 73).

- (244) *Cependant, chaque fois que la porte s'ouvre, elle tourne la tête vers l'entrée comme si elle guettait une arrivée, comme si elle attendait quelqu'un*
 'However, every time the door opens, she turns her head towards the entrance as if she was awaiting an arrival, as if she was waiting for someone. (Gary, *S. ou L'espérance de vie*, 2009, Frantext)
- (245) *En règle générale, même si le contenu de chaque passage reste flou jusqu'à ce que je le mette sur papier, je sais d'avance comment se terminera mon livre.*
 'In general, although the content of each passage remains blurry until I put it on paper, I know in advance how my book will end' (Sekiguchi, *Ce n'est pas un hasard*, 2011 Frantext)

The RAC is perfective, telic, and profiles the result of the event. The construction can combine with an expressed external cause (Heidinger 2010); it appears without restrictions regarding genre or register in contexts which express the result.

7.2.4. The anticausative passive

The anticausative construction (AC), cf. example (234), shares many features with the reflexive anticausative passive but has no reflexive pronoun. Both the reflexive and the non-reflexive anticausative constructions are restricted to a limited number of verbs.¹²⁹ The AC is imperfective, atelic, and has the function of profiling the activity expressed by the phrase, but it has (in contrast to the RAC) no preference for combining with an expressed external cause.

By most measures, the choice between the active transitive construction *Pierre casse la branche* and the intransitive *La branche (se) casse* implies a difference with respect to content between a causal action and an anticausative process (Schösler 2020, 2021). Schösler (2021: 112) proposes to distinguish between AC and RAC in terms of markedness. In cases where both structures can be used, scholars tend to agree that the meaning of the RAC is more specific (i.e. marked) compared to the AC, and the context in which it appears has more restrictions than that of the AC. It has been proposed by

¹²⁹ Wilmet (1997) estimates that approximately 500 transitive verbs of modern French can appear in the anticausative construction, while Rothemberg (1974) mentions the number of 311 verbs. A total of 1700 verbs can appear in the reflexive anticausative structure. A little over 100 verbs can appear in both the anticausative and the reflexive anticausative passive.

Herslund (2001), among others, that the RAC is gradually replacing the AC. However, this has been rejected by Schøsler (2021), who has observed that a number of verbs are indeed switching from the AC to the RAC, but there are also a number of verbs going the opposite way, i.e. losing the RAC structure in favour of the AC. Both the RAC and the AC are found in Latin. The conclusion is therefore that both structures seem to persist, legitimized by their differences, i.e. their specific features concerning telicity: the imperfective and atelic AC profiling the event and focusing less on the result, versus the perfective and telic RAC which profiles the result (see also Heidinger 2010). Neither AC nor RAC can be combined with an explicit agent, but both constructions can correspond to the active construction with the impersonal subject *on* (*on casse la branche*), without restrictions as regards genre or register.

7.2.5. The passive constructions with *faire* and *laisser*

The two periphrastic structures *se faire* + infinitive (235) and *se laisser* + infinitive (236) also function as passive constructions, in which the auxiliaries *faire* and *laisser* preserve a causative value inherited from the lexical use of these verbs. While *laisser* stresses the passiveness of the subject, *faire* indicates some responsibility of the subject (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 443).

The structure *se laisser* + infinitive preserves a permissive meaning and is used when the speaker wishes to stress that a given event has been performed by someone without resistance. The subject/patient has a certain willingness and does not entirely lose control of the situation by which he or she is affected. The subject is animate (human):

- (246) *Il s'est laissé pousser la barbe ; il a coupé ses cheveux, ...* 'He has let his beard grow ; he has cut his hair, ...' (Bianciotti, *Le Pas si lent de l'amour*, 1995, Frantext).

Se faire + infinitive, on the other hand, expresses a factitive meaning, in principle indicating that the subject/patient actively contributes to or encourages the event to happen. He or she is the instigator, i.e. he or she is in control of the situation and responsible for it taking place (Gmir-Ezzine 2018: 6). The subject is animate (human):

- (247) *Elle ne peut pas lire ce qui est écrit, mais elle s'est fait raconter l'histoire deux ou trois fois par le fils d'Aamma, et elle les connaît par coeur* 'She cannot read

what is written, but she has been told the story two or three times by Aamma's son, and she knows them by heart' (Le Clézio, *Désert*, 1980, Frantext)

Here, the causative meaning is further attenuated, since the infinitive has a direct object; in this case the reflexive pronoun corresponds to the indirect object of the active structure (Grevisse & Goosse 2008: 1047).

The non-causative interpretation is predominant when the infinitive refers to a process which is harmful for the subject:

(248) *On lui a pris son sac → Elle s'est fait prendre son sac* 'Someone has taken her bag from her → [litt.] She has been taken her bag' = 'her bag has been stolen'

(249) *Il y a une anecdote amusante, liée à la première exposition : celui qui devait transporter la caisse de mes œuvres à Fontainebleau avait une voiture de sport, et il s'est fait arrêter par les flics* 'There is an amusing story, related to the first exposition: he who should transport the box with my works to Fontainebleau had a sportscar and he got himself arrested by the police' (Boltanski & Grenier, *La vie possible de Christian Boltanski*, 2007, Frantext)

Both structures have syntactic restrictions. Whether the verb is transitive (249) or ditransitive¹³⁰ (247), the role of agent performing the activity enunciated by the infinitive is expressed by the prepositional phrase *par X*.

With respect to formality, it seems that none of the two constructions have any restrictions; both are used in informal as well as formal contexts (Haff 2000: 46; Gmir-Ezzine 2018).

The specific features concerning each of the six passive constructions mentioned so far, which are members of the paradigm of voice, will be set against each other in the paradigm in section 7.5. Let us now look at the last passive constructions of the list, *se voir* INF and *se voir* PP.

¹³⁰ In accordance with Giacalone Ramat (2020: 261), I use the label "ditransitive" about the verbs with three arguments (trivalent), which indicate "a transfer event of a Theme to a Recipient by an Agent".

7.3. The passive constructions with *se voir*

Several scholars (e.g. Giacalone Ramat 2020, 2018; Haff 2000; Damourette & Pichon 1911-1936; Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot 1981; Gmir-Ezzine 2018; François 2001; Polzin 1998) have studied the *se voir* constructions with different approaches, but without consensus as regards their origin and the time of their creation – questions which in most studies remain unanswered. Based on the observation that neither TLF (*Trésor de la langue française*) nor the *Dictionnaire Historique de la Langue Française* (1992) mentions this use of *voir*, Gmir-Ezzine (2018) assumes mistakenly that its creation is of fairly recent date and that its usage is found primarily in written journalism. My data, however, proves that *se voir* combined with either infinitive or past participle with the passive voice appears in various genres already in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (see section 7.4.1).

Furthermore, there is in particular a lack of agreement about the alternation between *se voir* INF and *se voir* PP. Some studies ignore entirely the PP variant, while other studies present observations pointing in different directions, with regard to the relation between the two variants. Sandfeld (1965 [1936]-a: 185) claims that the two variants are sometimes used in the same contexts without difference in meaning. François (2001: 167) mentions the possibility of combining *se voir* with a past participle as providing an alternative with an aspectual distinction but pays no further attention to this construction.

As regards the frequency of the two constructions, respectively, it remains unclear from previous studies whether *se voir* INF is more frequent than *se voir* PP, as suggested by Polzin (1998: 221) and Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot (1981), who, however, are not much concerned about their alternation, as results from empirical analyses by Giacalone Ramat (2018) indicate, probably because these authors do not take into consideration differences with respect to register, specific lexical verbs, and semantic contexts in their discussion on frequency.

In a comparative study of the *se voir* constructions in French and Italian (*vedersi*), Giacalone Ramat (2018) presents the infinitive and the past participle constructions as two distinct constructions of equal importance. She questions the assertion that the choice between the two is solely a matter of aspect, but concludes, however, that her empirical examination based on data from newspapers confirms that this is indeed the case. With

respect to the creation of the constructions, i.e. the process of grammation, she suggests that the passive meaning of *se voir* INF is generated by the combination of the non-agentive verb *se voir*, whose lexical meaning has bleached, and an atemporal infinitive form. In contrast, she proposes that it is the past participle alone in the *se voir* PP construction which is responsible for the passive interpretation of the construction (Giacalone Ramat 2018: 497). With regard to frequency, Giacalone Ramat (2018: 497) has found that in her data from the corpus FRWAK, the past participle construction is more frequent than the infinitive construction.

Despite these observations, which do not, indeed, result in any unambiguous consensus, one observation remains uncontested: All of the above-mentioned studies agree that the constructions with *se voir* provide a way to transfer an active sentence with a ditransitive verb into passive, thus allowing for the inclusion of these constructions in the voice paradigm. In the following, I shall take a closer look at the two constructions in a comparative perspective.

7.3.1. *Se voir* INF

From a syntactic point of view, the *se voir* INF construction displays a similar structure as the *se laisser/se faire* + infinitive. Also, from a semantic point of view, they offer the same interpretation, i.e. they are passive constructions,¹³¹ but *se voir* INF has neither permissive nor factitive meaning. *Se voir* INF turns the subject of the active sentence into a spectator of what happens to him or her, by means of the reflexive pronoun – see example (250) from Riegel *et al.* (2009 [1994]: 443):

- (250) a. *Le jury a décerné le premier prix à Paul* ‘The jury has awarded the first prize to Paul’ → b. *Paul a vu le jury lui décerner le premier prix* ‘Paul has seen/understood the jury award him the first prize’ → c. *Paul s’est vu décerner le premier prix par le jury* ‘Paul was awarded the first prize by the jury’.

An active sentence with a ditransitive verb can be transmitted into a canonical passive construction by turning the object of the active structure into the subject of the passive

¹³¹ As mentioned in section 7.1, I define a passive construction by two criteria: the possibility of adding an agent or the equivalence with an active construction.

construction (251), but it cannot have the indirect object as the subject, as illustrated in (252):

(251) *Le prix a été décerné à Paul par le jury.*

(252) **Paul a été décerné le premier prix par le jury*

Thus, the pronominal auxiliary *se voir* makes it possible to thematize dative object complements, and thereby to convert an active construction with a ditransitive verb into passive. This implies that the role of the passive subject in the redistribution of verb arguments is taken by the recipient. The verb *voir* loses its features of perception verb and acquires qualities of an auxiliary to form the passive and to redistribute the actants (cf. also example (263)).¹³²

This ability of turning the indirect object of the active verb into the subject of the passive sentence is a distinctive feature of this construction.

Accordingly, the structure of example (254), *je me suis vu confier...*, in which the grammatical subject *je* has the role of recipient of the action expressed by the verb *confier*, corresponds to an active construction with the indirect object (dative) of the verb (*confier qch à qn*):

(253) *X m'a confié le dossier des suicidaires*

(254) *Moi, je **me suis vu confier** le dossier des suicidaires* 'I was intrusted with the file of the suicidal persons' (Mertens, *Les Éblouissements*, 1987, Frantext)

The active sentence can also be transmitted into a canonical passive construction by turning the object of the active construction into the subject of the passive construction (255), but we cannot have the indirect object as the object (256):

(255) *Le dossier des suicidaires a été confié à moi par X*

(256) **J'ai été confié le dossier des suicidaires par X*

Likewise, in example (257), in which the construction *je me suis vu offrir trois ou quatre*

¹³² The perception verb *s'entendre* can form similar constructions (example from Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 443): "*Il s'est entendu répondre qu'il n'y avait plus de place*" 'He was answered that there was no more space'. According to Defrancq (2000: 193), *s'entendre* + infinitive seems less grammaticalized than *se voir* + infinitive since the former is inclined to systematically combine with verbs referring to verbal communication, thus preserving some of its lexical content.

volumes corresponds to the active sentence *on m'a offert...*, the subject *je* corresponds to the indirect object, the recipient of the verb *offrir* of the active construction. The same applies to example (258), where the subject *je* corresponds to the indirect object of the ditransitive verb *interdire* in the active sentence.

(257) —, *donc pour m'occuper ou me consoler ou me punir je **me suis vu offrir** trois ou quatre volumes de la Bibliothèque Verte qu'en plus je dois m'appliquer à recevoir avec joie : moi qui j'avoue ne suis toujours pas venu à bout des Mémoires d'un âne de la comtesse de Ségur dans la Bibliothèque Rose !* 'So to occupy myself or comfort or punish myself I was offered three or four volumes from the Green Library that, in addition, I must make an effort to receive with joy: I who, I confess, have still not come to the end of the Mémoires d'un âne by the Countess of Ségur in the Pink Library!' (Crémer, *Comme un charme*, 2006, Frantext)

(258) *Ce soir, revenant de la ville, je **me suis vu interdire** l'accès de mon chemin habituel et j'ai dû, comme chacun, emprunter un itinéraire détourné, afin d'éviter le pont devant lequel les sentinelles font bonne garde* 'This evening, coming back from the city, I was denied access to my usual path and I had, like everyone, to take a roundabout route, in order to avoid the bridge in front of which the sentries are on guard' (Collin, *Sensible girouette*, 1968, Frantext)

Common for the examples (254) to (258) is that they all in one way or the other present an unpleasant event for the experiencer. This is, according to François (2001), another characteristic feature of this construction – see also examples (276), (278)-(280). This feature, however, seems to be neutralizing, since more recent usage also appears to allow for pleasant experiences:

(259) ..., *le président du conseil **se voit transférer** [par le gouvernement] comme on le verra une très grande partie des anciennes attributions officielles du président de la république que celui-ci n'exerçait pas effectivement* '..., the president of the council has received, as we will see, a very large part of the

former official powers of the president of the republic, which he did not actually exercise' (Vedel, *Manuel élémentaire de droit constitutionnel*, 1949, Frantext)

- (260) *À plusieurs reprises, elle s'était vu offrir l'hospitalité dans le stand du Gros René, contre rémunération en nature* 'On several occasions, she had been offered hospitality at the Gros René stand, against payment in kind' (Jonquet, *Moloch*, 1998, Frantext)

The ongoing neutralization of the feature *negative experience* is presumably due to the generalization of the construction – see section 7.4.

In addition to the specific ability to passivize ditransitive verbs, *se voir* INF can also express passive with a transitive verb, and thereby offer an alternative to the standard passive construction with *être*:

- (261) *C'est ainsi qu'un célèbre écrivain, qui n'est ni spinosiste ni déiste, s'est vu accuser (=a été accusé) dans une gazette sans aveu d'être l'un et l'autre, ...*
'This is how a famous writer, who is neither a spinosist nor a deist, was accused in a gazette without confessing of being one and the other' (D'Alembert, *Encyclopédie : avertissement des éditeurs*, 1753, Frantext)

In example (262), two co-ordinated infinitives share *s'est vu*. A lexical interpretation of *s'est vu* is very unlikely, since especially the first structure *elle s'est vu arracher* indeed conveys a very abstract meaning. It is remarkable that *arracher* is ditransitive, thus referring to the grammatical subject as the indirect object of the infinitive, whereas the second infinitive *trainer* is transitive, ascribing the role of a direct object in the corresponding active sentence to the grammatical subject.¹³³ Both activities convey unpleasant feelings.

- (262) ... ; *que ma mère a été obligée d'obtenir, [...], des provisions, de faibles provisions pour vivre, et que peu de jours après où elle a perdu ce funeste procès, elle s'est vu arracher sa liberté, et traîner dans un couvent qui ressemble beaucoup à une maison de force [...]* et c'est cette femme qu'on veut que j'amène à se livrer à la merci de mon père ! '...; that my mother was

¹³³ It is, however, not uncommon in older texts to co-ordinate heterogeneous entities (Fournier 2002: 104; Haase 1935: 421-422).

obliged to obtain, [...], provisions, small provisions to survive, and that a few days after she lost this fatal lawsuit, her freedom was taken away, and she was dragged in a convent which looks a lot like a forced house [...] and it is this woman that they want me to lead to surrender to the mercy of my father (Mirabeau, *Lettres originales écrites du donjon de Vincennes pendant les années 1777, 78, 79 et 80*, 1780, Frantext)

As a logical consequence of the feature (*unpleasant*) *experience of the subject*, the construction is preferred with animate (human) subjects. The use of *se voir* INF requires that the animate (human) subject is, in one way or the other, part of – or at least present at – the action or the process, expressed by the infinitive (Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot 1981: 397). The following example borrowed from Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot (1981: 398) challenges this constraint:

- (263) (?) *Cet étudiant s'est vu attribuer, en son absence, le premier prix de la Faculté par le Doyen* 'This student has been awarded, in his absence, the First prize of the Faculty by the dean'

Example (263) is interesting because of the interposed *en son absence*, which in spite of the semantic bleaching of the construction seems logically incompatible with *voir*. Due to this, Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot (1981: 398) questions the adequacy of the example (marked by (?)), but francophone informants, whom I have asked, have no reservations about the sentence. This is indeed a strong indication of a total loss of semantic content of *voir*, because one cannot see an event without being present at it. Moreover, the construction seems adequate because of the dative object of *attribuer* of the corresponding active sentence, which has turned into a human subject. The preference of animate (human) subjects will be further discussed in section 7.4.2.2.

7.3.2. *Se voir* PP

As described above, the reflexive form *se voir* can be combined with a past participle instead of an infinitive. Scholars agree that the difference between *se voir* INF and *se voir* PP is basically aspectual, distinguishing between -resultative (infinitive) and +resultative (past participle) (cf. section 7.3). Example (264) illustrates the perfective aspect focusing on the result of the accomplished action of locking someone up in a cage.

- (264) ... ; *et quoiqu'il y ait si peu de temps que je **me suis vu enfermé** dans une cage comme un fou*, ... '...; and although it was so recently that I was locked in a cage like an idiot, ...' (Soupault, *Le Nègre*, 1927, Frantext)

An agent can be added, and the construction corresponds to the active construction *qu'on m'a enfermé dans une cage*. The event conveys an unpleasant experience. A similar situation but with the infinitive (*enfermer*) replacing the past participle (*enfermé*) would focus on the situation of being locked in a cage, as found in example (265):

- (265) *Alors, je **me suis vu enfermer** dans une espèce de guérite, les pieds sur un treillage au dessous duquel on a brûlé des plantes odoriférantes, et [...]* 'So, I was being locked up in a kind of shelter, with the feet on a trellis under which aromatic plants were burned, and [...]' (Spitaels, *De Bruxelles à Constantinople*, 1839, p. 207)

Whereas example (264) with its time reference (*il y a si peu de temps que*) is clearly perfective, focusing on an accomplished event, example (265) is imperfective, describing circumstances under which the person was locked in the shelter. In both examples, the aspectual distinction can be observed only in written language, since for both verbs the infinitive and the past participle forms have the same pronunciation. The impact of this will be further discussed in section 7.4.

7.4. Hypotheses on the reanalyses

How did the passive constructions with *se voir* emerge? Are the two variants, *se voir* INF and *se voir* PP, results of one and the same reanalysis or are they rooted in different original structures?

Most likely, the process can be traced by examples of ambiguity, i.e. examples with gradual weakening of the lexical meaning as seen in the grammation process of other auxiliaries, such as the periphrastic future *aller* + infinitive and the recent past *venir de* + infinitive (Detges 1999).

At the lexical level, we have the verb of perception *voir* with its lexical value of perceiving by the visual sense. As described in section 3.1, *voir* is neutral with respect to *intention* as well as to the *intensity* of the visual perception, in contrast to, for instance, *regarder*,

which indicates *intended recognition with interest* (cf. the two semantic fields proposed by Enghels 2009: involuntary versus voluntary concerning *voir* and *regarder*, respectively).

The grammatical level comprises the reanalysis of the full verb *voir* in its reflexive use (*se voir*) as an auxiliary. In order to confirm this, I intend to test the following criteria proposed by Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot (1981: 392-396), see section 7.4.1.3 (four first bullets), and Lehmann *et al.* (2010: 98), see section 7.4.4 (three last bullets), serving as evidence that *se voir* has become a voice auxiliary:

- The verb *voir* does not appear in the corresponding active sentence
- The verb following *se voir* is the bearer of semantic content
- The construction has or can have an agent, which has the same reference as the subject in the corresponding active sentence
- *Voir* cannot be combined with another passive construction with *être*
- *Voir* can take a subject for which it has no selection restrictions
- It can take a predicative complement, i.e. the complement of a copula – cf. examples (9) to (13) in section 3.2
- It is not a control verb.

The grammation of *voir* as an auxiliary is an important step for the grammations that involve *voir* in a passive expression (paradigmatic level), see Figure 53.

At the same time, a reanalysis of the subject as someone the event or action has an effect on, an experiencer, takes place. Being an experiencer, the subject has no control, which fits with the fact that *voir* signifies perception without control; thus, the construction acquires a passive sense, not a dynamic sense as with *regarder*¹³⁴ (cf. section 3.1). With a ‘suffering’ subject, the meaning of the construction can be reinterpreted from a pure lexical meaning to a passive meaning.

It is my hypothesis that this reanalysis is only possible with a verb that expresses a non-dynamic perception. The lexical meaning implies the observation of something that

¹³⁴ Due to the semantic value of *voir* (the passive perception) in contrast to the verb *regarder* (expressing active perception), the lexical verb *voir* itself is rarely used in the passive construction (Willems 2000: 175).

happens, this is why *voir* – and not *regarder* – is found in this construction.

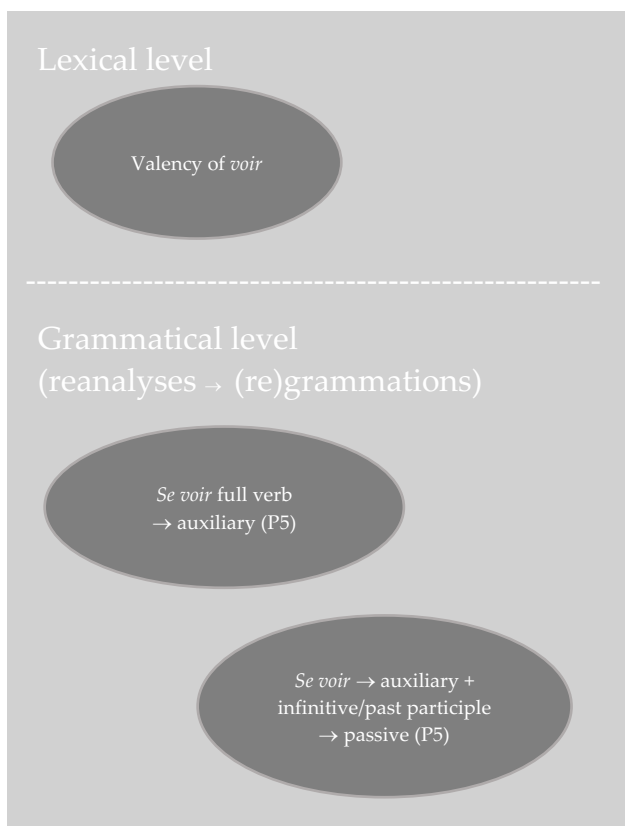


Figure 53. From lexical level to grammatical level

Accordingly, as illustrated in example (250), the reanalysis comprises several steps by which the meaning of the verb *voir* first changes from visual perception to cognition – step b in example (250) – i.e. awareness or experience. In step c, this new meaning is reinforced by the reflexive pronoun, which signals that the action expressed by the verb is orientated towards the subject (coreferential with the reflexive pronoun *se*), thus redistributing the roles of the arguments.

Before testing these claims on my data, I intend to illustrate the proposed reanalysis by means of a constructed, non-attested bridging example (266),¹³⁵ in which the receiver may interpret the message of the utterance in two different ways.

(266) *Les parents se voient offrir des cadeaux*

According to interpretation 1, which is the lexical interpretation, the reflexive pronoun indicates that the subject, the parents, *imagine* (cognitive lexical meaning of *voir*), or even

¹³⁵ The example is borrowed from Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot (1981: 389).

see themselves (visual perception) giving presents to each other (reciprocal use) or themselves (reflexive use). However, another interpretation is also possible: interpretation 2, a passive construction. In this interpretation, the subject is affected by the action expressed by the verb (*offrir*); the subject does not perform any action as in an active construction. It is to the parents that the gifts are offered by someone else.

Thus, example (266) provides a bridging context which permits reanalysis because of the ambiguity, namely a turnover of roles. The infinitive acquires the function of a main verb, which is the bearer of the semantic content, and *se voir* becomes an auxiliary, with bleaching of its lexical meaning. Furthermore, this implies for one thing that a corresponding active sentence is possible for interpretation 2 – *On offre des cadeaux aux parents* – and for another that it is possible to add an agent (*par leurs enfants*). The standard passive construction is only possible with the object of the active sentence as the subject – *Des cadeaux ont été offerts aux parents* – but not with the indirect object in the function of the subject: **Ils ont été offerts des cadeaux*, as explained earlier. In both interpretations, the reflexive pronoun *se* represents the indirect object of the verb *offrir*.

As regards the creation of the *se voir* PP construction, the process is more difficult to trace. My hypothesis differs to some extent from that of Giacalone Ramat (2018: 497), according to whom the creation of the past participle construction and creation of the infinitive construction are two entirely distinct processes. I find it unlikely that two constructions with so much in common – both with respect to the original lexical entity and to the new functions attained – develop in two entirely separate chains. I intend to investigate the two constructions in the first place as two individual reanalyses, which at a given time may be mixed up, and subsequently specializing into two different functions.

I propose to start from the original lexical use of the reflexive construction combined with a past participle as predicate:

- (267) *celui a qui le peuple a donné l'état, devrait estre, ce me semble plus supportable, et le seroit, comme je croy, n'estoit que des lors qu'il se voit eslevé par dessus les autres, ...* 'him to whom the people has given the position, should be, this seems to me more defendable, and would be, as I believe, only from

then on that he has been raised above the others, [...]’ (La Boétie, *De la servitude volontaire ou Contr’un*, 1549, Frantext)

In example (267), *il se voit eslevé*... literally means that he sees himself raised above the others, but in the context this could signify that he considers himself or actually is raised above the others. In this interpretation, *se voir* functions as a copula verb similar to, for instance, *être*, and the past participle is the subject complement. From this stage it is reasonable to imagine that the analogy with *être* could lead to the use of *se voir* as an auxiliary. Two factors contribute to this possible reanalysis: For one thing, the combination of *se voir* PP is familiar to the ear, since the past participle is homonymous with the infinitive (and could be replaced by the infinitive), and for another, the analogy, i.e. the function of passive could be transmitted from the canonical passive *être* + past participle, as illustrated in example (268):

- (268) *L’homme de bien ne fut jamais De nostre Seigneur delaissé : Mais il punit l’homme mauvais, Duquel il se voit offensé* ‘The good man was never abandoned by our Lord: But he punishes the evil man, by whom he is offended’ (Corrozet, *Second livre des fables d’Ésope*, 1548, Frantext)

This means that we find a reanalysis of the original use of *se voir* PP as a reflexive construction in which the subject sees or imagines himself in a situation expressed by the past participle into a predicative construction in which *se voir* is reinterpreted as a copular verb. Based on the very few occurrences in the old text corpora, it is difficult to determine whether this process precedes the reanalysis of the reflexive construction *se voir* INF or takes place during the same period of time; this remains unclarified. It is likely that the two constructions in the early stages of the actualization processes are confused, and that this confusion is enhanced by frequent phonetic coincidence, e.g. between the infinitive forms ending in *-er* and the past participles ending in *-é(e)*, as is indeed the case for the past participle *offensé* in example (268). Also infinitive forms ending in *-ir* could be confused with the past participle form since, according to Vaugelas (1647: 198), the pronunciation of all final *-r*’s disappeared at a certain time. Later on, I presume that the two constructions specialize in perfective and imperfective constructions, respectively, and moreover that *se voir* PP is preferred when the direct object of the active construction

becomes the subject of a ditransitive verb, whereas *se voir* INF is used when the indirect object becomes the subject (cf. section 7.4.2.1).

7.4.1. A diachronic perspective

As demonstrated by the above, the two constructions are likely to be rooted in two different structures. The proposed reanalyses will be tested in the following.

7.4.1.1. *Se voir* + infinitive

In Old French, as well as in modern French, perception verbs may be accompanied by an infinitive to form a nexus construction in which *voir* and the infinitive build an interdependent relation with the antecedent, the so-called ACCUSATIVUS CUM INFINITIVO (cf. section 3.2.1).

- (269) *Envers Renart s'adrescent tuit, si con il pueent, au grant bruit ; et quant Renart les vit venir si s'apareille de fouir* 'They all went in Renart's direction, as they were able to, with much noise and when Renart saw them come, he prepared himself to flee' (Anonymous, *Roman de Renart*, 1180, Frantext)

It is likely that this structure constitutes the source construction of the reflexive construction *se voir* INF, where the perception meaning of *voir* is most often cognitive since contexts in which the subject literally sees himself are rare. This construction is attested in older texts. In the following example, the subject of *voir* 'experiences' or 'realizes' that she is being dismissed, rather than visually 'seeing' it. The construction conveys an unpleasant (i.e. negative) experience:

- (270) *Quant cele se vit escondire, Ele en ot tel duel et tel ire, Et le tint en si grant despit, Qu'ele fu morte sanz contredit* 'When she realized that she was dismissed, She was in such great pain and anger, And felt so much vexation against him, That she died immediately' (Lorris, *Le Roman de la Rose*, 1230, Frantext)

In (271), *voir* must mean 'hear' or 'understand', i.e. a desemantization of *voir* towards cognition. In contrast to other examples, the experience of being named son of Amor is probably, as such, a positive experience.

- (271) *Dont, quant il se voit nommer fils a Amours, si s'en tient plus fiers et dist qu'il voelt ensieuir les oeuvres de son pere* 'when he sees himself named son of Amor,

he becomes more proud and said that he wants to continue his father's work'
(Froissart, *La Prison amoureuse*, 1372, Frantext)

In (272), the context is a correspondence between an artist and his patron; here, as well, it is most likely that *voir* is used in a cognitive sense. The subject is the undergoer. On the one hand, the antecedent of *qui (désir)* could be an abstract term, on the other hand, it could be an allegory, i.e. an incarnation of the abstract term, which can act like a person:

(272) [le désir], *Qui souvent se voit ferir D'assaus nuiseus* '[...] Which often sees itself hit by dangerous attacks' (Froissart, *La Prison amoureuse*, 1372, Frantext)

Example (273) contains several occurrences of *voir*, of which the first is reflexive and accompanied by an infinitive. At least two different readings are possible: either *il (=se)* is the subject of *traverser*, as indicated in the translation, or *de plusieurs grands et horribles serpens, crapaux, viperes, et autres bestes semblables* could be the agent and *se*, a possessive dative, corresponding to the pilgrim seeing his path being crossed by the snakes, etc. In both interpretations, *voir* probably means visual perception and the experience is unpleasant. The second occurrence of *voir* (*quand il voit sous soy...*) is undoubtedly visual perception, whereas the last instance of *voir* (*il se voit en sa presence...*) must have the cognitive meaning, i.e. experiencing, unpleasant experience, and is followed by a number of past participles:

(273) *Combien pensez vous qu'il deplaise à un povre pelerin, quand il se voit traverser le chemin de plusieurs grands et horribles serpens, crapaux, viperes, et autres bestes semblables, quand il voit sous soy carrieres, fondrieres, precipices et abysmes espouvantables, quand il rencontre en barbe un sien ennemy mortel, quand il se voit en sa presence mocqué, oysele, raillé, avec gesticulations de mains et de bouche ?* 'How much do you think it displeases a poor pilgrim, when he sees himself crossing the path of several great and horrible snakes, toads, vipers, and the like, when he sees under him quarries, potholes, precipices and frightful abysms, when he meets his mortal enemy in beard, when he sees himself in his presence mocked, taunted, made fun of, with gesticulations of hands and mouth?' (Estienne, *Paradoxes*, 1561, Frantext)

In example (274), *ne se voit point saisir* can be interpreted as a lexical reflexive

construction, as indicated in the translation, or possibly as a passive construction. However, either way, the result is almost the same, which indeed allows for a reanalysis:

- (274) *Et certes celui-là, qui s'escartant des villes, Se plaist dans les rochers des montagnes steriles, Et dans les bois fueillus, ne se voit point saisir, Comme les bourgeois font, d'un avare desir* 'And certainly him who is leaving the towns, feels well in the rocks of barren mountains, And in the mown woods, does not see himself seized/he is not seized, as the bourgeois do, by a miserly desire' (Garnier, *Hippolyte*, 1585, Frantext)

Example (275) is particularly interesting because it permits several interpretations. The point may be that the count is hurt in his mad passion like a man who sees someone take a long-awaited prize from his hand. With this interpretation his experience could be visual (a) or cognitive (b). However, another interpretation is not only possible, but perhaps also more probable, namely (c) a pure passive implying that the count's feeling is like a man from whose hands a long-awaited prize has been taken. This means that the perceptive meaning is completely vanished and *se voir* exclusively functions as a passive auxiliary. The main verb *enlever* is a ditransitive verb; the grammatical subject (*celui qui*) is negatively affected and corresponds to the indirect object of the verb in the active construction:

- (275) *Le comte qui se sentit tout à coup et sans y estre préparé touché dans la prunelle de l'oeil, et à l'endroit le plus blessé et par consequent le plus sensible, qui estoit celui de sa folle passion, sortant inopinément hors de soy-mesme, comme celui qui se voit enlever des mains une proye longuement attenduë, et ardamment désirée, se mit à contre-carrer le discours raisonnable de sa soeur par tant de fougues, de boutades, et de paroles extravagantes, que j'ayme mieux les passer sous silence que d'en charger ou plustost souiller ce papier, n'estant pas resolu de tenir registre de ces insolentes procedures* 'The count, who suddenly, and without being prepared for it, felt touched in the apple of the eye, and in the most hurt and consequently the most sensitive place, which was that of his mad passion, unexpectedly coming out of his mind, like (a) he who sees someone take / (b) he who realizes that someone takes / (c) he from whose hands a long awaited and ardently desired prize is taken, began to contradict

his sister's reasonable discourse by so much passion, jokes, and extravagant words, which I prefer to pass over in silence than to put them on paper or better to pollute this paper by them, since I do not want to keep a register of these insolent procedures' (Camus, *Palombe ou la Femme honorable*, 1625, Frantext)

Example (276) is unequivocally passive, *se voit donner* being semantically parallel to *reçoit*. The verb in the infinitive *donner* is ditransitive, governing not only a direct object but also an indirect object. The corresponding active sentence would be *on lui donne l'esquierre*. This implies that there are no remnants in *voir* of the lexical value of visual perception.

(276) ...: *quand lvn veut de la chaux, il reçoit de la pierre, l'autre, au-lieu du marteau, se voit donner l'esquierre ;....* 'when one wants lime, he receives stone, the other, instead of the hammer, is given the triangle;' (Coras, *Jonas ou Ninive pénitente*, 1663, Frantext)

The verb *donner* has both a direct and an indirect object. The indirect object of the active sentence (*lui*, who has a negative experience) corresponds to the grammatical subject of the passive (*l'autre*). This is not possible in the standard passive structure:

(277) **Il a été donné l'équerre*

Also, example (278) is clearly passive; it has an explicit agent (*par moi*) and corresponds to the active sentence *Je l'ai précipité du throne, du throne* functioning as an indirect object. The event in passive is an unpleasant event for the subject *Britannicus*.

(278) *Que du trône, où le sang l'a dû faire monter, Britannicus par moi s'est vu précipiter* 'That from the throne, where the blood has placed him, Britannicus by me was thrown' (Racine, *Britannicus*, 1697, Frantext)

(279) *Je me garderai bien de vous en détourner, Seigneur ; mais il s'est vu tantôt emprisonner : Cette offense en son coeur sera longtemps nouvelle* 'I will be careful not to turn you away from that, Lord; but he was imprisoned earlier: This offense in his heart will long be vivid' (Racine, *Britannicus*, 1697, Frantext)

Neither (278) nor (279)¹³⁶ has remnants of perception; the meaning of *s'est vu* is clearly passive, expressing a negative feeling by the subject.

In (280) and (281) there is no explicit agent, but in both cases an agent could be inserted. Since the subject of the passive construction, *je* and *Bouilloux*, respectively, corresponds to the indirect object of a corresponding active construction, the standard passive construction is not an option. The subject is the victim of the activity expressed by the infinitive; in (280) the activity is unpleasant, in (281), which is of more recent date, the activity is pleasant:

(280) *Je me suis vu enlever le trésor de mon coeur, l'unique objet de mon amour (je dirais de mon attachement, si ma mère, ma fille et M Lenoir n'existaient pas) l'unique objet de mon amour, de mon estime, de mon idolatrie* 'I was taken away the treasure of my heart, the only object of my love (I would say of my attachment, if my mother, my daughter and M Lenoir did not exist) the only object of my love, of my esteem, of my idolatry' (Mirabeau, *Lettres originales écrites du donjon de Vincennes pendant les années 1777, 78, 79 et 80*, 1777, Frantext)

(281) *Labbé boit le vin blanc dans un seau à traire les vaches, Bouilloux se voit apporter un gigot entier dont il ne cède rien à personne, que l'os dépouillé* 'Labbé drinks white wine from a milk pail, Bouilloux is brought a whole leg of which he does not give anything to anyone, only the stripped bone' (Colette, *La Maison de Claudine*, 1922, Frantext)

The examples above illustrate interpretations of both the original lexical meaning and the passive construction. The interpretations of the passive meaning show that the construction has been grammaticalized in the sense that the reflexive verb *se voir*, which has become bleached, has acquired a grammatical function as an auxiliary and when followed by an infinitive of a transitive verb (in most cases trivalent) expresses the passive voice.

¹³⁶ Both examples are from poetry, therefore, the structures may be affected by specific metrical demands.

7.4.1.2. *Se voir* + past participle

As suggested in section 7.4, the grammar of *se voir* PP may be rooted in the reflexive construction expressing that the subject sees or experiences himself in a given situation:

- (282) *Pensez comment elle se exploicte a dancier et a chanter et comment elle prise pou son mari, quant elle **se voit** tant prisee et louee* ‘Think how she exploits herself in dancing and singing and how she cherishes little her husband, when she sees herself so appreciated and praised’ (Anonymous, *Les Quinze joies de mariage*, 1390, Frantext)

This means that *se voit* functions almost like a copula verb, which is also a possible interpretation of example (283):

- (283) ; *et s’en abbrevient tant la vie que à grant peyne **se voit** nul roy en France, depuis Charlemaigne, avoir passé soixante ans* ‘and life has become so short that hardly any king of France since Charlemagne, has passed the age of sixty years’ (Commynes, *Mémoires*, 1495, Frantext)

Example (284), on the contrary, is difficult not to interpret as a passive, since *mort* (‘death’) is the agent threatening:

- (284) *Oziās, no prince et seigneur, vecy le peuple en grant dolleur, qui de toy a Dieu se complaint; car il **se voit** de mort **ataint**, quant d’iauwe ne peut recouvrer dont son soif puist faire cesser* ‘Oziās, our prince and lord, the people is in great torment, who over you to God complains; because it [the people] is threatened by death, when it cannot get water, to slake their thirst’ (Anonymous, *Les mystères de la procession de Lille*, 1485, Frantext)

In such examples, the subject is a victim/experiencer, thus a canonical passive would not be the obvious choice, although *le peuple est menacé par la mort* is an absolutely possible sentence.

This example, of very early date, indicates that the creation of the *se voir* PP construction precedes the *se voir* INF construction, of which my earliest probable example is from 1625, cf. example (275), and my earliest unambiguous example is from 1663, i.e. example (276). See also section 7.4.2.1.

In line with Gmir-Ezzine (2018: 12), I consider the fact that *voir* can be combined with a past participle as an indication of advanced grammaticalization of *voir* into a semi-auxiliary rather than functioning as a lexical verb. This is strongly supported by the grammatical rule according to which a series of two verbs most frequently have an infinitive as the second verb, and the fact that the two prototypical entirely grammaticalized French auxiliaries *être* and *avoir* are mainly followed by a past participle.

7.4.1.3. Summary

To sum up, let us validate the four criteria proposed to serve as evidence that *se voir* has become an auxiliary (cf. section 7.4). Although it is difficult to prove in older texts, I can confirm that I have found no occurrences where the verb *voir* appears in the corresponding active sentence, and that in all examples, the infinitive/past participle following *se voir* is the bearer of semantic content. Furthermore, the construction has or can have an agent, which has the same reference as the subject in a corresponding active sentence. Last but not least, I have found no examples of *se voir* being combined with another passive construction with *être*.

Accordingly, I assume that *voir* has grammaticalized and has become a “genuine grammatical tool” of voice in French, as suggested by Gmir-Ezzine (2018: 1).

Let us now look at how the use of the two structures, *se voir* INF and *se voir* PP, has developed and specialized.

7.4.2. Actualization

Given the fact that the passive construction with *se voir* as its major feature provides a way to passivize ditransitive verbs, it would be obvious to assume that the use has spread from ditransitive verbs to all transitive verbs. This will be tested in section 7.4.2.1.

7.4.2.1. Ditransitive and transitive verbs combined with *se voir*

The earliest example of *se voir* INF with a transitive verb and likely to express passive found in Frantext is from 1636:

(285) *Une heure, ou moins de temps achevera son sort. Il meurt par un poison dont la vertu funeste Aura bien tost esteint la vigueur qui luy reste ; Sa chemise cachoit ce poison dangereux, Dont une telle perte est l'effect mal-heureux. Il*

se voit consommer, et n'a plus de courage *Que pour vostre ruine, et pour servir sa rage* 'An hour, or less, will complete his destiny. He dies from a poison, the fatal virtue of which will soon extinguish the vigour which remains in him; His shirt hid this dangerous poison, Of which such loss is the unhappy effect. He is consumed, and has no more courage Except for your ruin, and to serve his rage' (Rotrou, *Hercule mourant*, 1636, Frantext)

Example (285) is clearly not a visual perception in the physical sense; it must be interpreted as a passive construction. The subject refers to the direct object of the corresponding active construction and is negatively affected.

In (286) there is an explicit agent (*par un diable de fantôme en masque*), which makes it a clear passive:

- (286) - *À propos, sire, dit-il, j'oubliais de vous dire que pour augmenter ma mauvaise humeur, je me suis vu arrêter, comme je sortais de ma chaise, par un diable de fantôme en masque, qui me voulait à toute force persuader que la reine m'avait ordonné de danser avec elle* ; '- By the way, sire, he said, I forgot to tell you that to increase my bad mood, I was arrested, as I got out of my chair, by a devil of ghost in mask, who absolutely wanted to convince me that the queen had ordered me to dance with her;' (Hamilton, *Mémoires de la vie du comte de Gramont*, 1713, Frantext)

The earliest unambiguous example found of *se voir* INF with a ditransitive verb is from 1663 – see example (276). Moreover, example (262) with two parallel infinitives sharing the same *se voir*, one which is a ditransitive verb, and one which is transitive, illustrates very well the use of both ditransitive and transitive verbs.

In order to clarify not only the distribution between the construction with ditransitive and transitive verbs, respectively, but also the frequency in general and compared to the construction *se voir* PP, as well as the role of the subject (see section 7.4.2.2), I have conducted a quantitative survey on the classical, the modern, and the contemporary periods of the text corpus Frantext. Searches in the pre-classical period (1550-1649) have revealed very few occurrences of which almost all belong to the genre of poetry, which in general is challenging to account for because of its metric restrictions, often in themselves influencing the usage. Only one occurrence has appeared relevant from the

search in literary texts: example (275). Hence, tentative signs of actualization and significant distributional results are not obvious until the beginning of the classical period.

The survey is restricted to novels, since this genre represents a rather neutral register, neither oral or informal, nor formal, and thereby could make a good indication of the actualization process. Furthermore, the survey is limited to comprise only the present and the perfective tenses, *se voit* and *s'est vu*, and only in the 3rd person, which are the most frequent forms. Although the occurrences are rather few, the findings presented in Table 27 appear to be convincing:

Classical period (1650-1799) 12,593,510 words	<i>Se voir</i> INF	<i>Se voir</i> PP
frequency pr. 100,000 words	0.06	0.35
total number	8	44
ditransitive verb: 25	indirect object: 4 direct object: 1	indirect object: 2 direct object: 6
transitive verb: 27	direct object: 3	direct object: 36
Modern period (1800-1959) 52,666,288 words	<i>Se voir</i> INF	<i>Se voir</i> PP
frequency pr. 100,000 words	0.017	0.027
total number	9	14
ditransitive verb: 16	indirect object: 6 direct object: 1	indirect object: 0 direct object: 9
transitive verb: 7	direct object: 2	direct object: 5
Contemporary period (1960-2020) 25,947,586 words	<i>Se voir</i> INF	<i>Se voir</i> PP
frequency pr. 100,000 words	0.04	0.03
total number	10	8
ditransitive verb: 17	indirect object: 7 direct object: 2	indirect object: 0 direct object: 8
transitive verb: 1	direct object: 1	direct object: 0

Table 27. Distribution of occurrences of *se voir* + infinitive/past participle

In the classical period, the frequency of *se voir* INF seems rather high, as compared to the following periods of time, although I admit that the actual number of occurrences is limited and the statement based on only eight findings, all from the eighteenth century. Of these, five have a ditransitive verb (287) and three a transitive verb (288). Both situations concern negative or unpleasant experiences:

(287) *Pardonnez un injuste reproche au premier transport d'un amant qui se voit*

ravir toutes ses espérances. ‘Forgive an unfair reproach at the first reaction of a lover from whom all his hopes are taken away’ (Lesage, *Le Diable boiteux*, 1726, Frantext)

- (288) *Loin d’en commettre aucune, il s’est vu massacrer sans avoir tiré une fleche, et avant d’avoir répandu une goutte de votre sang*. ‘Far from committing any of them, [this people] was massacred without having shot an arrow, and before having spilled a drop of your blood’ (Marmontel, *Les Incas ou la Destruction de l’Empire du Pérou*, 1777, Frantext)

A remarkable number of occurrences of *se voir* PP have been detected from this corpus¹³⁷: 44 occurrences have appeared, of which 8 are combined with ditransitive verbs, while 36 examples hold a transitive verb. In only two of the occurrences with a ditransitive verb, the subject of the passive construction refers to the indirect object of the corresponding active construction, as exemplified in (289). Both occurrences have the verb *dépouiller* (‘deprive of’) as the main verb:¹³⁸

- (289) *Permits que j’ajoute : elle se voit dépouillée de son honneur, par l’homme en faveur duquel elle a fait tous ces sacrifices, et qui étoit engagé, par mille sermens, à lui servir de protecteur, de père, de parens et d’amis*. ‘Allow me to add: she is stripped of her honour, by the man in whose favour she has made all these sacrifices, and who was committed, by a thousand oaths, to serve as her protector, father, parents and friends’ (Prévost, *Lettres angloises ou Histoire de miss Clarisse Harlove*, 1751, Frantext)

In the remaining 42 occurrences, the subject of the passive construction refers to the direct object of the corresponding active construction. The examples are to a large extent centred around verbs of obligation (*obliger* and *forcer*), which count for 12 out of 42 occurrences:

¹³⁷ I recall that whereas this quantitative survey has been performed on a restricted corpus (novels only), many of the examples illustrating the reanalysis in the qualitative approach, section 7.4.1, are found in a non-restricted corpus composed of a broad range of text genres (<https://www.frantext.fr/repository/frantext/corpora/view>).

¹³⁸ Please, note that the infinitive form of *dépouiller* is homophonous with its past participle form the verb, *dépouillé* – see above, as well as section 7.4. This also pertains to examples (287), (288), (289), (290), (291), but not to (292).

- (290) *Ma mère dit qu'ils sont à présent plus d'accord que jamais, à l'exception d'elle, qui se voit forcée de déguiser ses sentimens* 'My mother says they are now more in agreement than ever, except for her, who is forced to disguise her feelings' (Prévost, *Lettres angloises ou Histoire de miss Clarisse Harlove*, 1751, Frantext)

Other typical verbs are *réduire* and *préferer*:

- (291) *On s'est vû réduit à mettre sur les tables de ce magnifique vaisseau des livres qui les expliquassent, et qui donnassent, pour ainsi dire, le net de ces chiffres.* 'We are reduced to putting on the tables of this magnificent vessel books which explained them, and which gave, so to speak, the net of these figures.' (Dubos, *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et la peinture*, 1733, Frantext)

For the remaining occurrences, the picture is blurred with no distinct specialization:

- (292) *Je crains sans deviner ce qui m'effraie ; souvent je suis comme une personne qui se voit poursuivie, veut s'échapper, fuit, court, et croit toujours qu'on va l'atteindre.* 'I fear without guessing what scares me; often I am like a person who is being chased, wants to escape, flees, runs, and always believes that he or she will be reached' (Riccoboni, *Lettres d'Adelaïde de Dammartin, Comtesse de Sancerre, à M. le Comte de Nancé, son ami*, 1767, Frantext)

The construction *se voir* PP resembles in some ways the standard passive construction *être* + past participle, not only because its main verb is a past participle but also because its primary function is to passivize, i.e. redistribute the arguments of the active construction with a transitive verb, rather than with a ditransitive verb. In spite of the strong inclination of the *se voir* PP to combine with verbs of obligation, there are no indications that these prototypical verbs tend to specialize with the construction, since they also appear in large numbers with the canonical passive construction with *être* as the auxiliary:¹³⁹

¹³⁹ When combined with the past participle Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot (1981: 399) considers *se voir* to be a free stylistic variant of *être*.

- (293) ... ; *et qu'elle ne vous a point fait d'injure volontaire, puis qu'elle a été forcée à ce qu'elle a fait par une puissance plus forte que la nature.* '...; and that she did not do you intentional insult, since she was forced to do what she did by a power stronger than nature' (Challes, *Les Illustres Françaises: histoires véritables*, 1713, Frantext)

During the modern period (1800-1959) the uneven distribution between *se voir* INF and *se voir* PP seems to be more equalized. Nonetheless, the number of occurrences has dropped significantly for both *se voir* INF (0.017 occurrences per 100,000 words) and *se voir* PP (0.027 per 100,000 words). However, signs of specialization occur, in particular with respect to the semantic function of the subject of the passive construction. As indicated in Table 27, six out of seven subjects with *se voir* + ditransitive verb in the infinitive refer to the indirect object of the corresponding active construction, while all the subjects of *se voir* PP refer to the direct object of the corresponding active structure, regardless of whether the verb is ditransitive or transitive. In spite of the limited number of data, this tendency is unlikely to be incidental. Data from the contemporary period confirm this tendency, which coincide with signs of increasing use of the *se voir* INF construction (0.04 occurrences per 100,000 words), now being slightly more frequent than *se voir* PP (0.03 per 100,000 words).

These results indicate that, as a logical consequence of the difference with respect to valency, there is a fairly distinct distribution of verbs associated with *se voir* INF and *se voir* PP, respectively. The former tend to prefer ditransitive verbs with victims – recipients or beneficiaries as the indirect object – often verbs conveying either a physical or mental transfer (e.g. *confier*, *attribuer*, *proposer*, *remettre*, *interdire*, *offrir*, *transférer*, *décerner*, *prendre*, *refuser*, *précipiter*), whereas the latter is more inclined to combine with transitive verbs whose object becomes the subject in the passive construction – cf. also Giacalone Ramat (2018), whose analyses confirm this tendency (cf. section 7.3). In examples with the combination of past participle of a ditransitive verb, the subject refers to the direct object, which is human, not to the indirect object, which is non-human, as illustrated in example (294):

- (294) *Il sent en lui de ces ardeurs qui lui feraient, avec beaucoup de joie, offrir sa vie pour Jésus-Christ. De temps en temps, pourtant, une sueur d'angoisse*

s'empare de lui. Il se voit promis à toutes les flammes de l'enfer 'He feels in him those ardours which would make him, with great joy, offer his life for Jesus Christ. From time to time, however, a sweat of anguish seizes him. He is promised to all the flames of hell' (Ormesson, *Le vent du soir*, 1985, Frantext)

Figure 54 and Figure 55 provide an overview of how the two constructions seem to specialize with respect to verb types and subject type. Over the centuries, *se voir* INF has become the preferred construction to express passive when the subject is the experiencer of the event and corresponds to the indirect object of the active structure, whereas the relatively high proportion of *se voir* INF with a subject corresponding to the object of the event from the classical period has decreased significantly (Figure 54).

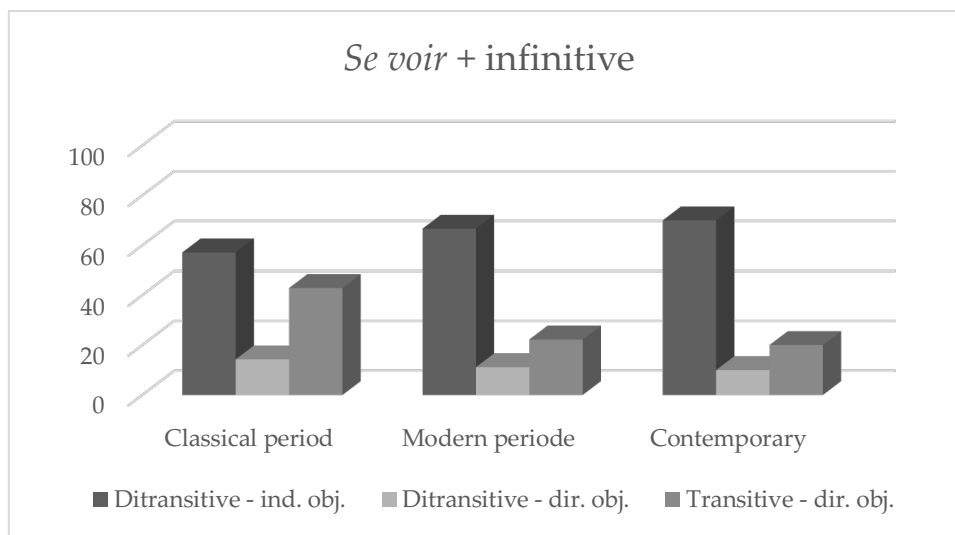


Figure 54. Distribution (%) of verb types with *se voir* + infinitive

Conversely, the use of *se voir* PP with a ditransitive verb has entirely disappeared, and this construction is now only used when combined with a transitive verb (Figure 55).

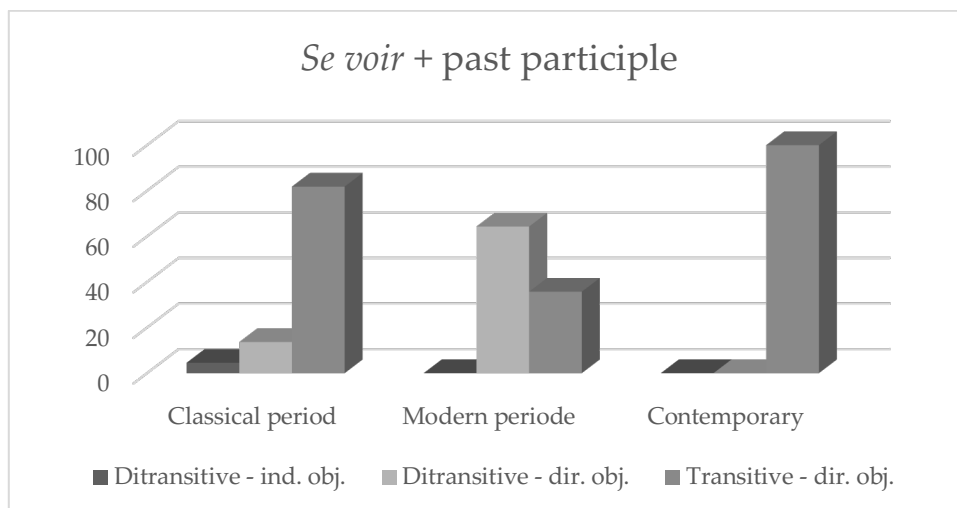


Figure 55. Distribution (%) of verb types with *se voir* + past participle

These findings are much in line with those of Giacalone Ramat (2018). She has studied the use of *se voir* INF in a corpus of the newspaper *Le Monde* and found that 93.6 % of the subjects are recipients of beneficiaries, i.e. correspond to the indirect object of the active construction. Moreover, the subject is almost always human. In contrast, with respect to *se voir* PP, 98.2 % of the subjects correspond to the direct object of the active construction, most of which are human, but abstract subjects occur as well. This is also in accordance with Gmir-Ezzine (2018: 12), who concludes that *se voir* is followed by a past participle, mainly when it promotes the direct object.

This, however, is not supported by Defrancq (2000), who is more hesitant to conclude a clear distinction, finding that too many obstacles blur the picture, such as the homophony between the infinitive ending in *-er* and the past participle of verbs in modern French, which could cause confusion or mistakes – see, e.g. examples (289) and (290) – and far too few occurrences to provide a basis for such a trend. In contrast to the results found by Giacalone Ramat, Gmir-Ezzine, and myself, Defrancq (2000: 189) claims to have observed a weak tendency to replace the infinitive by the past participle. It would indeed be useful to include oral corpora in further studies of these constructions to approach these divergent views.

The ultimate evidence of advanced grammaticalization – e.g. of a verb into an auxiliary – is that it can combine with another form of the same verb (see also section 6.3.1.4 regarding the discourse marker *voyons voir*). This is found in example (295):

- (295) *On ne **se voit voir** que du haut d'un surplomb philosophique.* 'we can only be seen from the top of a philosophical overhang' (Doubrovsky, *Le Livre brisé*, 1989, Frantext)

This example illustrates nicely the combination of the grammatical function of *se voir*, as the 3rd person forms the auxiliary and the lexical use of the infinitive with the original meaning of visual perception. In addition, the verb *voir* being transitive, the subject refers to the object of the corresponding active construction, and the event is neutral with respect to pleasant/unpleasant experience.

7.4.2.2. The role of the passive subject

As a logical consequence of the verb *voir*'s original lexical meaning of visual perception, the construction is mainly found with animate (human) subjects. This infers a sign of *persistence* in the *se voir* structure (Defrancq 2000: 193), i.e. traces of its original lexical meaning: human visual perception. Yet, this characteristic seems to be weakening. Gmir-Ezzine (2018: 8) provides a number of examples of *se voir* INF, which she claims have non-human subjects; most of which, however, are indeed indirectly human subjects, since human reference is implicit, as in example (296) cited by Gmir-Ezzine (2018: 8):

- (296) *La France **s'est vu attribuer** 46000 billets* 'France has been allocated 46000 tickets'

Such abstract occurrences may constitute the steps leading to the acceptance of non-human or inanimate subjects.

Example (297), provided by Gmir-Ezzine (2018), illustrates how a non-human subject can function as a spatial or temporal frame of the event or action expressed by the infinitive:

- (297) *Cette période de paix **voit** le Japon **se détacher** de l'influence chinoise pour forger sa propre culture* 'This period of peace saw Japan break away from Chinese influence to forge its own culture'

Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot (1981: 398) agrees that there is a slight softening of the requirement of a human subject, but only when the non-human subject is abstract. The more abstract the subject is, the more natural the use of the construction appears to be. This reservation only concerns the use of *se voir* INF with transitive verbs. As regards the ditransitive

verbs, the use of *se voir* INF is by far most frequent with a human subject but seems, according to Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot (1981: 400), to be less restricted with respect to animacy; however, exclusively with the verbs *donner* and *décerner*, the two high frequency assignment verbs, as illustrated in example (298), cited by Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot (1981: 400)¹⁴⁰:

- (298) *Mon appartement s'est vu donner un air tout neuf par l'architecte* 'My apartment was given a brand new look by the architect'

This observation is not confirmed by my data.

With regard to the *se voir* PP construction, the tendency to permit an abstract subject is according to Giacalone Ramat (2018: 487) more widespread.

Se voir PP also favours human subjects, but accepts abstract subjects such as countries, enterprises, etc., as well. Although these refer indirectly to humans, this tendency may represent a more advanced step of grammaticalization (see section 7.4). Despite the fact that the use of *se voir* PP is more in competition with the canonical passive (*être* + past participle), which is only found with transitive verbs, the constructions with *se voir* are steadily distinguished by their inclination to refer to unpleasant experiences or to infer surprising feelings (Giacalone Ramat 2018: 497). This is supported by recent but still exceptional findings on Google:

- (299) *En vérité, ce n'est pas tant l'idéologie de droite qui s'est vue détruite, mais plutôt un système des partis ayant atteint ses limites* 'In fact, it is not as much the conservative ideology which has been destroyed, but rather ...'
- (300) *Élément de mobilier indispensable et incontournable, la chaise s'est vue dessinée et redessinée par de nombreux créateurs et designers* '..., the chair has been designed and redesigned by numerous creators and designers'
- (301) *Au cours des siècles, la pratique de la consommation des graines germées s'est vue oubliée selon l'évolution des habitudes alimentaires et des modes de vie* '..., the consumption ... has been forgotten due to the evolution of eating

¹⁴⁰ Please, note that the *se voir* PP construction is not included in the study by Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot (1981).

traditions and lifestyle’

- (302) *La route s’est vue construite entre un des massifs montagneux les plus impressionnants de la province et la deuxième structure d’impact météoritique*
‘The road has been constructed between one of the most impressive mountains of the province’

The inanimate subject is often found with non-unpleasant events, e.g. (300) and (302). This could indicate a more advanced level of grammaticalization of the *se voir* PP construction as compared to the *se voir* INF construction.

Furthermore, we find a variant of the INF construction without the reflexive pronoun, here expressing time. This example is extraordinary since a natural subject of this structure would be animate:

- (303) *La période d’avant-guerre [qui] voit naître le football professionnel en 1932*
lit. ‘The pre-war period [which] sees the professional football born in 1932’
(from Le Monde 2008, cited by Gmir-Ezzine (2018: 11)) → The professional football is born during the pre-war period, in 1932

Such uses are also strong indications of advanced desemantization of *voir* (Gmir-Ezzine 2018: 9-12).

It is generally accepted that of most of the verbs used in the passive *se voir* constructions imply or express an action or event which affects the beneficiary negatively. This is supported by my data, which show that *se voir* has a preference for conveying events or actions which are somehow unpleasant for the subject – see, for instance, examples (254) - (258), (275) - (276), (278) - (280), (299) - (293), examples ranging from the first half of the seventeenth century up till the present time. However, this predisposition seems to decrease. Whereas the negative exposure is predominant from the early examples on, it is possible to find more occurrences in which the exposure on the beneficiary is neutral or even positive in the more recent data. Of the more limited number of examples cited, which refer to a positive or neutral (neither explicitly negative or positive) experience – e.g. (259), (260), (281), (296), (300), (302) and (295) – the earliest is from 1922 (281), and among the most recent occurrences the majority refers to a positive or neutral event. As mentioned above, this points towards a neutralization of the negative exposure and is an interesting field of research for exploration, especially on oral corpora.

7.4.3. Romance perspective

In her study on passives of ditransitives in Italian, Giacalone Ramat (2020) presents a diachronic analysis of the Italian construction and provides a perspective on the other Romance languages. She states that French *se voir* mostly behaves like Italian *vedersi*, while the use in Spanish is more limited (Giacalone Ramat 2020: 264). Her study on the Italian construction indicates that the *vedersi* + infinitive construction was not conventionalized until the late nineteenth century, and that the expansion of the construction only began in the second half of the twentieth century. This, however, is somewhat later than the French construction, as indicated by my data (see section 7.4.1).

The Portuguese parallel to *se voir* INF is the periphrastic voice with *ver* ‘see’. Lehmann *et al.* (2010) present step by step the emergence of different constructions with *ver*, in order to illustrate how passive constructions derive from non-reflexive constructions with past participles and infinitive clauses whose subjects are not co-referential with the subject of *ver*. Crucial for this change is the desemantization of *ver*, whose lexical value, parallel to *voir*, implies that “the actor is empathic” and that “there is no control cline between actor and undergoer, i.e. neither has the actor full control of the situation, nor is the undergoer strongly affected by it” (Lehmann *et al.* 2010). This is, as also pointed out by Lehmann *et al.* (2010), in accordance with Krefeld’s classification of *voir* as perceptive in contrast to apperceptive (cf. section 3.1), and with the term *involuntary*, proposed by Enghels (2009: 760). Furthermore, usages in which the perceived is not a concrete object, but rather a situation, contribute to the interpretation of *ver* as not only meaning visual perception but also cognition. This is, indeed, parallel to the situation in French. These clear signs of lexical bleaching led to further semantic depletion so that the relation of the subject to the perceived object is reduced to an unspecified mental attitude, awareness, or consideration.

According to Lehmann *et al.*’s observations concerning the early occurrences in Portuguese (2010: 91), *ver* does not convey visual perception, but rather expresses that the subject becomes aware of a situation, comes to understand it, i.e. cognition. The reflexive use of *ver* thus marks the beginning of a state of mind (awareness or understanding) of the perceived. This leads to their definition of three semantic features,

all inherited from the basic lexical meaning of *ver*, but indeed pertaining to the French verb *voir* as well:

Consciousness: the subject, typically a human individual, derivatively a human collective, is aware that he or she is involved in the situation.

Non-control: The subject does not control or cause the situation

Ingressivity: There is no static situation of awareness, but rather the subject becoming aware of his involvement in the situation.

Whereas the earliest occurrences have individual or collective subjects with the cognition feature, examples from the seventeenth century onwards illustrate the loss of the feature of consciousness by also allowing for human institutions as subject. From the twentieth century, concrete inanimate subjects are possible and, from the second half of the twentieth century, also abstract subjects (Lehmann *et al.* 2010: 97), signalling an advanced stage of grammaticalization.

7.4.4. Summary on the distinctive features and the creation of the passive construction with *se voir*

Lehmann *et al.*'s analysis is interesting, and the results can easily be transferred to French, corresponding in outline to the diachronic results of my own analysis.

As regards the passive *se voir* constructions, the following distinctive features of the constructions have been observed and examined:

- The construction permits passivization of ditransitive verbs. However, it also appears with transitive verbs.
- It offers an aspectual alternation with the infinitive versus the past participle.
- The subject of the *se voir* INF construction is often the recipient of the object or the beneficiary, i.e. the grammatical indirect object of the corresponding active construction. The subject of the *se voir* PP construction tends to be the object rather than the indirect object of the corresponding active construction.
- The ditransitive verb mostly conveys either a physical or a mental transfer.
- The passive subject is mostly human, but a recent tendency to accept non-human subjects is gaining ground.

- From the outset, the construction conveys an unpleasant experience. However, examples from the recent 100 years show that this feature is weakening.

These specific features will contribute to establishing the paradigm of voice in section 7.5.

With respect to genre restrictions, Haff (2000) has found that *se voir* INF is mostly used in official documents, in contrast to *se faire* INF which is less formal. Gmir-Ezzine (2018) and Giacalone Ramat (2018) have both studied newspaper corpora, suggesting that the *se voir* construction is frequent in journalism. However, most of my own examples are found in novels, and a few are found by Google in random websites, and since my results concerning distribution do not differ to any serious extent, I find no evidence for claiming that use of *se voir* expressing passive belongs to a specific genre or level of formality in comparison to the alternative passive constructions presented in section 7.2.

Together with Lehmann et al.'s observations, this confirms that the semantic bleaching of the passive *se voir* comprises both the easing of the earlier restrictions on the passive subject, i.e. allowing second-order human subjects (collectives, institutions, activities) – however, still rare today – and the loss of the original lexical meaning of *voir*. The three semantic and syntactic properties mentioned in section 7.4, together with the four criteria suggested by Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot (1981), are – according to Lehmann *et al.* (2010: 98) – essential conditions for the grammaticalization of a verb into a voice auxiliary, namely that it can take a subject for which it has no selection restrictions, as in examples (299) to (302); it can take a predicative complement, i.e. the complement of a copula, as in examples (9) to (13) in section 3.2; and it is not a control verb – or it would have lost this property (cf. section 3.1). *Voir* is thus close to fulfilling these requirements and thereby to functioning as an auxiliary. Moreover, *voir* is detransitivized by reflexivization, which implies that the semantic recipient, i.e. the actant to which the predicative complement applies, refers to the subject (cf. Lehmann *et al.* (2010: 99). These are essential preconditions for integrating *se voir* INF/PP in the voice paradigm, as illustrated in Figure 56.

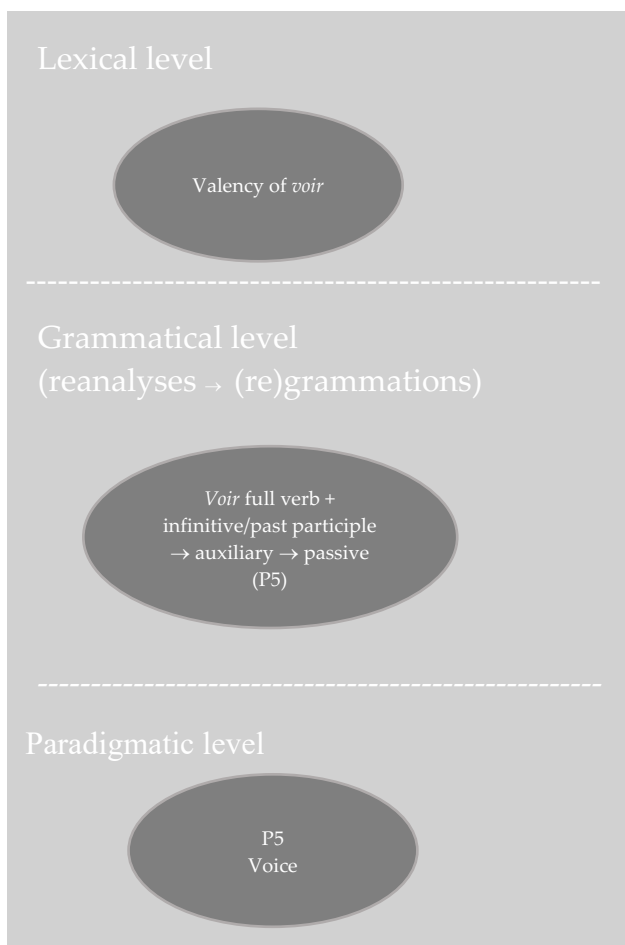


Figure 56. From lexical level to Paradigm 5

Although *voir* as an auxiliary is almost fully grammaticalized, the original active construction with the lexical meaning of *se voir* INF with coreference ‘I saw myself doing something’ continues to coexist – not only with an intransitive verb where a passive interpretation is not relevant, as in (305) where the reflexive pronoun is the object of *voir*, but also when the context allows for someone to describe a sort of out-of-body experience, surprise, dream, etc.

Examples (304) and (305) illustrate the parallel and continuous function of *voir* + infinitive with the reflexive pronoun as the grammatical object for *voir* conveying the semantic subject of both *voir* and the infinitive, as the ACCUSATIVUS CUM INFINITIVO (cf. section 3.2.1):

- (304) *Les sceptres les plus beaux n’ont rien pour moi d’exquis, Je les rends aussitôt que je les ai conquis, Et **me suis vu charmer** quantité de Princesses Sans que jamais mon coeur acceptât ces maîtresses* ‘The most beautiful sceptres have

nothing exquisite for me, I return them as soon as I have conquered them, And have seen myself charming many Princesses Without my heart ever accepting these mistresses' (Corneille, *L'illusion comique*, 1639, Frantext).

- (305) - *et puis j'ai sauté, dit-il, j'ai mal sauté. Je **me suis vu tourbillonner*** 'and then I jumped, he said, I jumped badly. I saw myself whirling' (Saint-Exupéry, *Pilote de guerre*, 1942, Frantext)

In (306) it is clearly not a passive, but rather the visual meaning of *voir*; it is not possible to create a corresponding active sentence, nor is it possible to insert an agent. The verb is transitive (*éteindre*), but the context indicates that *voir* must be interpreted in the lexical sense.

- (306) *Cela réveillait quelque chose chez moi : je **me suis vu éteindre** la lumière d'une pièce qui était de la dimension de celle-ci, à une époque que je ne pourrais pas déterminer* 'It awakened something in me: I saw myself turning off the light in a room that was the size of this one, at a time that I could not determine' (Modiano, *Rue des Boutiques Obscures*, 1978, Frantext)

Thus, there are two possible uses of *se voir* + INF: on the one hand, the interpretation of the perceptive meaning in the reflexive construction; on the other hand, the absence of the perceptive meaning, i.e. a bleaching into the pseudo-reflexive construction, as also concluded by Gmir-Ezzine (2018: 8).

Consequently, the reanalysis of *voir* as auxiliary is a process which does not obliterate the original construction (A > B), but rather creates a parallel structure B, while A remains: A > A; A > B.

7.5. Paradigm 5: Voice

I shall conclude by drawing the paradigmatic consequences of the analyses of the multiple ways of expressing passive as presented above and in relation to the active construction.

As part of the voice paradigm, the reflexive form of *voir* competes not only with the active construction (*Pierre casse la branche* 'Peter breaks the branch') but also with other ways of expressing a similar state of affairs – however, without an agent or an active subject, e.g. the canonical passive construction (*La branche est cassée (par Pierre)* 'The branch

is broken (by Peter)'), the deontic reflexive passive (*Le vin blanc se boit frais* 'White wine should be served chilled'), the reflexive anticausative construction (*La branche se casse* 'The branch breaks'), and the anticausative construction (*La branche casse* 'The branch breaks'). Periphrastic reflexive passives, typically with an affected person as subject (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 443), are found with the verbs *laisser* ('to let'), *faire* ('to make'), and *voir* and often express activities that are adverse to an affected person:

- (307) *Elle s'est vu justement refuser le permis d'exportation et continue, là-bas, de*
 ... 'She has just been refused the exportation permission and continues, there,
 to...' (Blondin, *Ma vie entre les lignes*, 1982, Frantext)

Common for the three periphrastic structures (*se laisser/faire/voir* + infinitive) is that, similar to the standard passive construction, they can turn the object of the active construction into the subject of the passive construction, and they allow the subject of a corresponding active structure to be expressed as a prepositional phrase. This also counts for *se voir* + past participle. But, in contrast to the standard passive, they also allow the indirect object of the active construction to turn into the subject of the passive construction, and they differ from both active, anticausative, and passive constructions with regard to types of agent and patient, and to the event described.

In addition to these observations, François (2001: 163) states that the three periphrastic structures are distinguished by their different lexical source (causative, permissive, or factitive operator vs. perception verb), their desemantization converging in the sense that the passive subject is involved independently of his or her wish in a causal linkage of which he or she is the patient, the beneficiary, or the victim.

As for *se voir* INF/PP, the subject of the finite verb can be co-referential with (a) the subject of the infinitive (similar to *se laisser*¹⁴¹) or the past participle, i.e. the reflexive construction with perceptive or cognitive meaning, as illustrated in example (304) to (306); (b) the object of the infinitive (similar to *se faire* and *se laisser*), cf. examples (285) and (286); and (c) the indirect object of the infinitive (similar to *se faire* and *se laisser*), provided that the infinitive is ditransitive – exemplified by, e.g. (287) – with the two latter referring to the passive construction. Furthermore, *se voir* can be combined with either

¹⁴¹ Note: (a) and (b) also pertain to the reflexive forms *s'entendre* and *se sentir*.

an infinitive, favouring the imperfective aspect, or with a past participle, favouring the perfective aspect.

These observations lead to the establishment of the voice paradigm. The syntactic domain, i.e. the syntagmatic context is a verb with a subject + possibly one or two complements: V[+VInf/PP] + NP1 [+NP2] [+NP3]. The semantic frame is the relation of causality and agentivity (voice). With respect to the content, the members of the paradigm are, in addition to the relation of causality and agentivity, characterized by features such as type of subject; semantic role of NP1, NP2, and NP3, respectively; restrictions of the lexical verb, such as valency and animacy (\pm HUM); and profiling of the event, the result, or a general instruction. The question of genre or stylistics is not included since no clear tendencies regarding this matter have appeared from my analyses.

A_x = Agent - the person executing the event or action

A_y = Patient 1 (\pm HUM)

A_z = Patient 2, affected person/object (\pm HUM)

NP1 – noun phrase, argument 1 (grammatical subject)

NP2 – noun phrase, argument 2 (grammatical direct object)

NP3 – noun phrase, argument 3 (grammatical indirect object)

Syntagmatic domain: V[+Vinf/PP] + NP1 [+NP2] [+NP3] [+PP]

Semantic frame: Relation of causality and agentivity (voice)

Member of paradigm	Expression	Content
Active construction transitive verb	<i>Pierre casse la branche</i> 'Pierre breaks the branch'	unmarked
	NP1, A _x : <i>Pierre</i>	A _x : \pm cause, \pm agent (\pm HUM)
ditransitive verb	NP2, A _y : <i>la branche</i>	A _y : patient 1 (\pm HUM)
	<i>L'université refuse l'accès à Pierre</i> 'The university denies Peter entrance'	
	NP1, A _x : <i>L'université</i>	A _x : \pm cause, \pm agent (\pm HUM)
	NP2, A _y : <i>l'accès</i>	A _y : patient 1 (\pm HUM)
	NP3, A _z : <i>Pierre</i>	A _z : patient 2 (\pm HUM)

Passive construction transitive verb	<i>la branche est cassée [par Pierre]</i> ‘the branch is broken by Peter’	profiles the implication of the patient
	NP1, A _y : <i>la branche</i>	A _y : patient 1 (±HUM)
	[Prep + A _x : <i>par Pierre</i>]	[PP: agent, cause]
ditransitive verb	<i>l’accès est refusé à Pierre [par l’université]</i>	
	NP2, A _y : <i>l’accès</i>	A _y : patient 1 (±HUM)
	NP3, A _z : <i>Pierre</i>	A _z = Patient 2, affected person (±HUM)
	[Prep + A _x : <i>par l’université</i>]	[PP: agent, cause]
Anticausative construction	<i>la branche casse</i> ‘the branch breaks’	profiles the event
	NP1, A _z : <i>la branche</i>	A _z : patient 1 (-HUM)
Reflexive anticausative construction	<i>La branche se casse</i> ‘The branch breaks’	profiles the result of the event
	NP1, A _y : <i>la branche</i>	A _y : patient 1 (-HUM)
	NP2, A _y : <i>se</i>	se: patient 1 (-HUM)
Deontic reflexive passive transitive verb	<i>Le vin blanc se boit frais</i> ‘white wine should be served chilled’	general instruction concerning the activity
	NP1 A _y : <i>le vin blanc</i>	A _y : patient 1 (-HUM)
	NP2 A _y : <i>se</i>	se: patient 1 (-HUM)
Periphrastic reflexive passive – <i>voir</i> transitive/ditransitive verb	<i>Se voir</i> INF : <i>Pierre se voit refuser l’accès [par l’université]</i> ‘Peter is denied entrance [by (=to) the university]’ (promoting the indirect object), imperfective	profiles the affected person ±unpleasant experience
	NP1 A _z : <i>Pierre</i>	A _z : patient 2, affected person (+HUM)
	NP2 A _z : <i>se</i>	
	NP3 A _y : <i>l’accès</i>	A _y : patient 1 (-HUM)
	[Prep. + A _x : <i>par l’université</i>]	A _x : [PP: agent, cause]

	<i>Se voir</i> PP : <i>Pierre se voit enfermé dans une cage [par les ennemis]</i> ‘Peter is locked up in a cage [by his enemies] (promoting the direct object), perfective	Aspectual distinction: INF: -resultative PP: +resultative
	NP1 <i>A_z</i> : <i>Pierre</i>	<i>A_z</i> : patient 2, affected person (+HUM)
	NP2 <i>A_z</i> : <i>se</i>	
	[Prep + <i>A_x</i> : <i>par les ennemis</i>]	<i>A_x</i> : [PP: agent, cause]
Periphrastic reflexive passive – <i>faire</i> transitive/ditransitive verb	<i>Pierre se fait refuser l’accès [par l’université]</i> ‘Peter is denied entrance [by the university]’	Weak causative, factitive -control ±unpleasant experience
	NP1 <i>A_z</i> : <i>Pierre</i>	<i>A_z</i> : patient 2, affected person, (+HUM)
	NP2 <i>A_z</i> : <i>se</i>	
	NP3 <i>A_y</i> : <i>l’accès</i>	<i>A_y</i> : patient 1 (-HUM)
	[Prep + <i>A_x</i> : <i>par l’université</i>]	<i>A_x</i> : [PP: agent, cause]
Periphrastic reflexive passive – <i>laisser</i> transitive/ditransitive verb	<i>Pierre se laisse refuser l’accès [par l’université]</i> ‘Peter is denied entrance [by the university]’	Weak causative, permissive +control +unpleasant experience
	NP1 <i>A_z</i> : <i>Pierre</i>	<i>A_z</i> : patient 2, affected person, (+HUM)
	NP2 <i>A_z</i> : <i>se</i>	
	NP3 <i>A_y</i> : <i>l’accès</i>	<i>A_y</i> : patient 1 (-HUM)
	[Prep + <i>A_x</i> : <i>par l’université</i>]	<i>A_x</i> : [PP: agent, cause]

Table 28. **Paradigm 5:** Voice paradigm. Inspired by the voice paradigm established and presented by Schosler (2021)

When considering the distribution of markedness in the voice paradigm, the active voice which does not profile a specific issue and which has no restrictions with respect to verbs, valency, subject type, animacy, etc. is the unmarked structure, thus leaving all the passive constructions as marked members of the paradigm. Among the examined passive constructions, the canonical passive composed of *être* + past participle is less marked than the other members of the paradigm since it has no restrictions with respect to the nature, nor to the animacy, of the involved patients. However, the canonical passive cannot profile the affected person of a trivalent verb. Each of the other constructions are

characterized by its own features, restricted in use, and therefore marked. *Se voir* INF is restricted to contexts with human passive subjects, and it profiles the affected person. These may be effects of the original lexical meaning of *voir* (*persistence*) – which also applies to *faire* and *laisser* – and its reflexive dimension as a result of which the subject originally *sees* him or herself. Moreover, it tends to convey unpleasant experiences; these are features which may be on their way to neutralize. *Se voir* can be combined with an infinitive, in which case it competes with *se faire* and *se laisser*, structures which are each legitimized by their (vanishing) semantic feature of causation with no control, and permission with control, respectively. *Se voir* INF has together with *se faire* and *se laisser* been specialized to profile the indirect object of the corresponding active structure. *Se voir* can also combine with a past participle, most frequently of a divalent verb, in which case it competes with the canonical passive. It differs, however, from this construction by its restrictions shared with *se voir* INF, as mentioned above (human subjects, unpleasant experience, profiling the affected person), and by its aspectual perfective distinction – although some of these features seem in the process of vanishing.

8. Preposition and conjunction

This chapter concerns the paradigm of prepositions (Paradigm 6), in which I will show that a form of *voir*, i.e. *vu*, is a member, and the paradigm of conjunctions (Paradigm 7), in which the form *vu que* is a member.

Paradigms 6 and 7 have in common that they are formed from the past participle form of *voir*. Preliminary results indicate that *vu* as a preposition occurs from the fourteenth century (Rey & Rey-Debove 1986), and suggest that this precedes the conjunction *vu que*, of which the first occurrences found are from 1538 (Frantext).

Both the preposition *vu* and the conjunction *vu que* are grammatical entities; they have no lexical, only grammatical content. Therefore, they cannot be considered as cases of lexicalization (see sections 1.3, 3.3, and 6.2.1 concerning lexicalization versus grammaticalization). Many prepositions are derived from a lexical entity (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 369), some from adverbs (*devant*, *derrière*), adjectives (e.g. *sauf*, *plein*), nouns (e.g. *chez*), and in particular past participles (e.g. *vu*, *excepté*). Moreover, numerous prepositions followed by *que* form subordinate conjunctions (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 370). This does indeed indicate a close connexion between the creation of the two types of grammatical entities and subsequently justifies a common presentation here.

Therefore, in this chapter, the relation between the two grammatical entities (*vu* and *vu que*) will be examined. Several interrelated processes concerning the first stages of the creation of the preposition and the conjunction are possible:

Two parallel but independent developments:

- ⇒ The preposition *vu* is the reanalysis of an absolute construction (*vu la situation*)
- ⇒ The conjunction *vu que* is the reanalysis of a complement clause (*J'ai vu que...*).

One form is derived from the other:

- ⇒ *vu que* is reanalysed from *vu*
- ⇒ *vu* is reanalysed from *vu que*.

In Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330-1500), the preposition and the conjunction are listed under the subgroup of functions derived from the fourth meaning of *voir*, “*Par*

affaiblissement sémantique”, as function B and C, respectively, thus indicating a relation between the two forms:

B. -	Prép. "Étant donné"
C. -	Loc. conj. <i>Vu que</i> + ind. "Étant donné que"

Figure 57. <http://zeus.atilf.fr/>¹⁴²

Since my data indicate that the preposition *vu* appears earlier in the written corpora than the conjunction *vu que*, it is most likely to assume that a possible relation consists of *vu que* deriving from *vu*. Thus, my hypothesis concerning the creation of *vu* as preposition is the following:

1. The preposition *vu* is a reanalysis of an absolute construction (see section 8.1.2)

Concerning the creation of *vu que* as conjunction, we have seen that there are two possible hypotheses (see section 8.2.2):

2. The conjunction *vu que* is a reanalysis of a complement clause governed by the full-verb *voir*: *on a vu que la situation est grave* → *vu que la situation est grave*
3. The conjunction *vu que* is the result of a reanalysis of the grammaticalized use of *vu* as preposition + NP to also allow for a complement clause to be governed by the preposition, thus turning *vu que* into a conjunction, i.e. a regrammation:

Vu la situation → *vu | que la situation est grave* → *vu que | la situation est grave*

These hypotheses will be investigated in the following. Let us first look at the prepositions.

8.1. Prepositions

Prepositions are defined as invariable entities governing a complement, together forming a prepositional phrase (PrPh). PrPhs can have a range of both syntactic (adverbial, indirect object, subjective complement, object complement, agent, complement or modifier of NPs, adjective groups of adverbial groups) and semantic functions (see below), but

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http://zeus.atilf.fr/scripts/dmfX.exe?LEM=VOIR1;ISIS=isis_dmf2020.txt;MENU=menu_dmf;OUVRIR_MENU=1;ONGLET=dmf2020;OO1=2;OO2=1;OO3=1;s=s0c350c0c;LANGUE=FR;FERMER;AFFICHAGE=0;MENU=menu_dmf;;XMODE=STELLA;FERMER;XXX=4

common for them all is the relation of solidarity between the preposition and the complement.

Although some prepositions transmit lexical content, they are grammatical words and constitute a synchronically closed paradigm in which simple and complex forms – primary or derived from other grammatical categories – are opposed to one another (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 369). A few prepositions have very abstract content, if any (see Spang-Hanssen 1963), and can therefore convey a range of possible interpretations and can be used in many contexts (i.e. *à*, *de*, and *en*), but for most prepositions, such as *vu*, the content is relatively fixed (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 371). Prepositions can be divided into groups of different types, for example based on their origin or on their structure (simple or complex), or they can be divided into groups referring to their content. Many prepositions consist of a simple short word, but there are also many complex formations, often composed of a first preposition, a noun, and a second preposition, providing a precise meaning of the relation (*à côté de*, *à cause de*, *à défaut de*, *en raison de*, etc.). While the simple forms constitute a closed class, the complex group is productive, since new forms emerge with specialized content. Most of the high frequent prepositions stem from Latin (Grevisse & Goosse 2008: 1319), such as *à*, *de*, *pour*, *sans*, *vers*, *outré*, etc. or are converted from other categories, for instance adverbs: *devant*, *derrière*. A number of prepositions derive from a present participle, e.g. *suivant*, *durant*, etc. or from a past participle, e.g. *vu*, *excepté*, *compris*, *hormis*, etc. (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 369).

However, when aiming at categorizing the preposition *vu* in a grammatical paradigm, a relevant point of departure is the content conveyed by the prepositions. A large group of prepositions can be categorized as expressions of place or position, e.g. *à*, *de*, *chez*, *dans*, *devant*, *derrière*, *en*, *entre*, *par*, *parmi*, *sous*, *sur*, *vers*, or of time, e.g., *à*, *après*, *avant*, *de*, *dans*, *depuis*, *en*, *entre*, *pendant*, *vers*.¹⁴³ Other prepositions, not only simple forms, such as *avant*, *concernant*, *envers*, *pour*, *selon*, *vu*, etc., but also complex forms, such as *à force de*, *afin de*, *au cours de*, *en vue de*, etc., have more precise content which make them less obvious to constitute a group. Nonetheless, it is possible to identify quite a few

¹⁴³ Note that the three basic prepositions (following Spang-Hanssen 1963), *à*, *de*, and *en*, and a few others appear in more than one group.

prepositions with content similar to that of *vu*, i.e. indicating causality or consideration, such as *en considération de*, *eu égard à*, *compte tenu de*, *en tenant compte de*, *à cause de*, *en raison de*, *grâce à*, *étant donné*. These forms will constitute the inventory of paradigm 6, a sub-paradigm of prepositions expressing a causal relation, as proposed in section 8.1.4.

8.1.1. Inventory

In the present study, the classification of each preposition is based not only on the ones found in a selection of grammars of reference (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]; Wilmet 1997; Grevisse & Goosse 2008; Helland 2006; Rasmussen & Stage 1993 [1981]), but also on explanations and translations of the prepositions in dictionaries. This has led me to identify the selection of prepositions expressing a causal relation presented in Table 29 below.

More precisely, the selected prepositions express a relation between causes and consequences. The alleged cause may have a positive impact, a negative impact, or be neutral with respect to the event expressed by the clause, i.e. one affects the other in a *negative* or *positive* way, or the impact on the action expressed by the main clause is neither positive nor negative. Either the relation expressed by the PrPh concerns the action expressed by the main clause (*direct causal relation*), or the prepositional clause provides premises or conditions with a relation to the action expressed by the main clause (*indirect causal relation*).¹⁴⁴ The syntactic function of the PrPh is in all cases sentence adverbial. Recall that all PrPhs have a relation of solidarity between the prepositions and their complement, and a PrPh always consists of a preposition plus the complement.

In order to identify the inventory of the prepositions to be investigated with respect to causal relation, I will need to define my point of departure in modern French use. Therefore, the following analysis provides a synchronic perspective of the use in modern French, according to the corpus of contemporary French in Frantext (1980-). Afterwards, in section 8.1.2, I will take up the diachronic analysis of *vu*. In order to consider differences related to registers, I have focused on three different registers, namely theatre, novels, and essays. Theatre texts are included to represent a text type close to orality (cf.

¹⁴⁴ The feature of ‘affecting in a negative or positive way’ is of course open to discussion, since one may argue that it depends on the point of view of the speaker. This will be further discussed in section 8.1.4.

sections 4.4.2 and 6.3), novels to represent a relatively unmarked written register, and essays to provide data from non-fiction texts.¹⁴⁵

Contemporary (1980-	<i>à cause de</i> 'because of'	<i>grâce à</i> 'thanks to'	<i>en raison de</i> 'due to'	<i>compte tenu de</i> 'taken into account/considering'	<i>étant donné</i> 'given'	<i>vu</i> 'considering'	<i>eu égard à</i> 'considering'	<i>en tenant compte de</i> 'taking into account'
Corpus size: 37.734.180 words¹⁴⁶	8.7 (3274)	7.9 (2964)	1.4 (522)	1.9 (717)	1.3 (476)	0.6 (239)	0.1 (37)	0.1 (33)
Theatre Corpus size: 206.034 words	16 (33)	3.9 (8)	0 (0)	0.5 (1)	1.9 (4)	0 (0)	0.5 (1)	0 (0)
Novels Corpus size: 18.838.397 words	9 (1698)	6.7 (1253)	0.8 (142)	0.3 (51)	0.8 (144)	0.7 (132)	0.1 (22)	0.03 (6)
Essays Corpus size: 3.182.974 words	5.2 (165)	6.8 (217)	1.9 (62)	0.4 (12)	1.6 (50)	0.3 (10)	0.2 (6)	0.2 (7)

Table 29. Distribution of prepositions expressing causal relation, occurrences per 100.000 words. Actual numbers in brackets

Please note that the theatre corpus contains relatively few words compared to the other corpora. This implies that the relative frequency of the listed prepositions from this corpus must be considered with reservations since it is based on very few occurrences. As appears from Table 29, *à cause de* is the most recurrent preposition to express a causal relation, except in essays, where *grâce à* dominates. Indeed, these two prepositions are the most frequent ones, together with *en raison de* sharing certain features, which will be discussed below. The other variants are all less frequent, however differently distributed across the text genres, and will be presented in the order reflecting their overall frequency. Extremely few occurrences were found of the preposition *en consideration de*, which for

¹⁴⁵ In order to focus my search on the prepositional use of *vu* and avoid noise such as the verbal use of the form, I have formulated a search string which excludes a finite verb before *vu* and which includes only complements introduced by a definite article: [pos="PONCT"] [pos!="V.*"] [word="vu"%cd & pos="VPP"] [lemma="le"%cd & pos="DET"]. The same search string is applied on all genres to secure comparable results.

¹⁴⁶ This corpus consists of the entire unfiltered collection of texts from the contemporary period which, in addition to theatre, novels, and essays, includes genres such as autobiographies, memories, personal writings, journals, poetry, autofiction, crime novels, etc.

this reason is not included in the quantitative presentation above (see further in section 8.1.1.9).

8.1.1.1. *À cause de*

À cause de is a complex form, used for creating a causal relation between the adverb constituted by the PrPh and its context, i.e. the main clause. It is primarily used for expressing an unfavourable relation of causality with respect to the expectations or the situation presented by the writer/speaker but tends to spread to neutral causes as exemplified in (314); it is most frequent in informal language, here represented by theatre texts.

- (308) ... ; *vous ne savez pas ce que c'est qu'une famille, vous, des frères, des soeurs ; et moi je suis ici à cause de vos caprices* 'you don't know what a family is, you, brothers, sisters; and I am here because of your whims' (Koltès, *Quai ouest*, 1985, Frantext)

As exemplified in (308), the PrPh introduced by *à cause de* is typically in the end of the main clause. I have found no occurrence of *à cause de* + complement in initial position, but some which are introduced by the presentative *c'est*, as is the case in example (309), conveying a negative cause:

- (309) - *C'est à cause de trop de café qu'elle a bu* 'It is because of the too much coffee she has had' (Koltès, *Quai ouest*, 1985, Frantext)

Six of the 33 occurrences are from a translation of Shakespeare's *Winter's tale*, which are not suitable and therefore excluded from the present analysis.¹⁴⁷

In the genre of novel, however, initial position is possible (247 occurrences):

¹⁴⁷ Due to the lack of spontaneity, and to the many side effects of transferring texts from one culture to another, translated texts are in general not suitable for analysing standard native language use. Moreover, the language use in Shakespeare translations, even if they are of recent date, most likely reflect the language of Shakespeare's time.

- (310) *A cause de la pluie, elle était contrariée par le retard du car* ‘Because of the rain, she was upset by the delay of the bus.’ (Letessier, *Le voyage à Paimpol*, 1980, Frantext)

But more frequent in non-initial position¹⁴⁸ (1451 occurrences):

- (311) *Mais elle ne dit rien à cause de l’argent qu’elle doit ramener à la maison pour Aamma* ‘But she doesn’t say anything because of the money she has to bring home for Aamma’ (Le Clézio, *Désert*, 1980, Frantext)
- (312) *Zins sursaute, à cause de la porte métallique du dortoir qui vient de grincer* ‘Zins is startled, because of the metal door of the dormitory that just squaked’ (Jung Matthieu, *Le Triomphe de Thomas Zins*, 2018, Frantext)

In the genre of essay, *à cause de* is found in initial position in 16 occurrences, including answering a question:

- (313) « *Et pourquoi est-ce que je tombe par terre ? A cause de la gravité, qui tire mon pied gauche vers le bas ...* » ‘And why do I fall to the ground? Because of gravity pulling my left foot down ...’ (Roubaud, *La Boucle*, 1993, Frantext)

And in non-initial position (314) or in elliptical¹⁴⁹ use (315) in 149 examples:

- (314) *Ensuite, j’ai décidé de le faire, à cause de la qualité du lieu* ‘Then I decided to do it, because of the quality of the location’ (Boltanski & Grenier, *La vie possible de Christian Boltanski*, 2007, Frantext)
- (315) *..., je songe quelquefois à la mini-faculté de Caen à l’heure allemande et à la veille du débarquement. Non à cause de la tragédie, dont le hasard lui fit grâce, mais à cause de la clôture* ‘..., I sometimes think of the mini-faculty of Caen under the Germans and of the day before the disembarkation. Not because of the

¹⁴⁸ I use the term *non-initial* to cover both final and medial positions, given that the distinction between these two positions is not always unequivocal. What matters is whether the PrPh is placed before the main clause (initial) or in the end, i.e. after the verb + subject of the main clause (non-initial).

¹⁴⁹ By the term *elliptical*, I refer to non-finite context.

tragedy, which luck gave him mercy, but because of the fence' (Gracq, *Carnets du grand chemin*, 1992, Frantext)

Being overrepresented in informal contexts with 16 occurrences per 100.000 words in the theatre corpus, as compared to novels (9 occurrences per 100,000 words) and essays (5.2 occurrences per 100,000 words), it is likely that this preposition is in process of becoming the unmarked variant (cf. section 2.3).

8.1.1.2. *Grâce à*

As the counter expression of *à cause de*, *grâce à* expresses a favourable or positive causal relation. Only eight occurrences are found in the theatre corpus, of which six are from translated Shakespeare texts (see footnote 147). In one of the two remaining examples, the PrPh is the focus of a cleft sentence:

- (316) ; *et c'est bien grâce à moi qu'ils ne te crachent pas dessus, pas à cause de ce que tu parles, tu parles, et que tu sois un con* 'and it is thanks to me that they don't spit on you, not because of what you talk, you talk, and that you are a jerk' (Koltès, *Combat de nègre et de chiens*, 1983, Frantext)

In novels, this PrPh is indeed current, and flexible with regard to position. It can appear in initial (317) and non-initial position (318), and be placed between the verb and the object (319):

- (317) *Grâce à elle, tu t'es sorti de ta léthargie* 'Thanks to her, you got out of your lethargy' (Beauchemin, *Le Matou*, 1981, Frantext)
- (318) *Il était entré dans le gras de l'oeuvre grâce à sa première confrontation avec Joyce* 'He had entered the fat (the obscene part) of the work thanks to his first confrontation with Joyce' (Labro, *Des bateaux dans la nuit*, 1982, Frantext)
- (319) *J'ai passé grâce à vous une soirée très instructive qui m'a permis de mieux connaître ma voie* 'I spent, thanks to you, a very informative evening which allowed me to know my way better' (Beauchemin, *Le Matou*, 1981, Frantext)

In 61 occurrences out of the 1253 detected examples (5%), the PrPh is the focus of a cleft construction:

- (320) *C'est grâce à ce qu'il est que j'ai pu aimer ce que tu es !* 'It is thanks to what he is that I was able to love what you are!' (Poirot-Delpech, *L'Été* 36, 1984, Frantext)

In the essay genre the position of this PrPh is flexible, it is frequent, both in initial and in non-initial position, inserted between the subject and the verb (323) or the verb and its complement, as well as in cleft constructions (14 out of 217 occurrences, corresponding to 6.5%), as illustrated in example (324):

- (321) *Grâce à une amie d'ami, j'ai pu enfin être admise d'urgence à l'hôpital* 'Thanks to a friend of a friend, I was able to finally be admitted urgently to the hospital' (Halimi, *La Cause des femmes*, 1992, Frantext)
- (322) *Nous créons les phrases, grâce à un mécanisme implanté ancestralement en l'humanité, de là en nous, un modèle syntaxique dont nous héritons et dont nous avons appris à nous servir* 'We create the sentences, thanks to a mechanism established ancestrally in humanity, from there in us, a syntactic model which we inherit and which we have learned to use' (Roubaud, *La Boucle*, 1993, Frantext)
- (323) *Les socialistes, grâce à François Mitterrand et à Gaston Defferre, optèrent finalement pour lui* 'The socialists, thanks to François Mitterrand and Gaston Defferre, finally opted for him' (Halimi, *La Cause des femmes*, 1992, Frantext)
- (324) *C'est grâce à elle que je fus en mesure d'aller au lycée et de poursuivre des études* 'It was thanks to her that I was able to go to high school and pursue studies' (Eribon, *Retour à Reims*, 2009, Frantext)

As presented in Table 29, *grâce à* is only slightly less frequent than *à cause de*. However, whereas *à cause de* tends to be more frequent in informal language, *grâce à* tends to have a preference for formal language. This is surprising, one would not expect the two prepositions to display a distribution according to text type, since they are in no way synonyms, but tend to express a causality relation with distinct negative and positive aspects.

8.1.1.3. *En raison de*

The complex form *en raison de* has two meanings, namely ‘in proportion to’ and ‘because of’ (Grevisse & Goosse 2008: 1381). Here, only the causal meaning ‘because of’ is taken into consideration:

The preposition expresses a neutral causal relation, which means that the impact on the action expressed by the main clause is neither positive nor negative. It is flexible as regards its position and can be placed both in initial (325) and non-initial (326) position. No occurrences have been found in the theatre corpus after 1980, which may indicate that it is rare in informal contexts. From the corpus of novels, 16 occurrences are detected in initial position:

- (325) *En raison de ses fugues successives, il paraîtrait indiqué de la faire admettre dans une maison de redressement pour l'enfance* ‘Due to her successive runaways, it would seem appropriate to have her admitted to a children’s reformatory’ (Modiano, *Dora Bruder*, 1997, Frantext)

and 126 occurrences in non-initial position:

- (326) *La colère de Cam grandit en raison de la tendresse qui lui serre le cœur et de l'humiliation tenace* ‘Cam’s anger grows due to the tenderness that grips her heart and the nagging humiliation’ (Garat, *Voie non classée*, 1985, Frantext)

In the essay genre, *en raison de* appears both in initial and non-initial position, however with a preference for the non-initial position (327), and also in elliptical phrases (328):

- (327) *Cela dit, en dépit du pouvoir et de la loi, la vengeance familiale s’est maintenue très largement, d’une part en raison de la faiblesse de la force publique, d’autre part en raison de la légitimité immémoriale attachée à la vengeance dans les sociétés holistes* ‘That said, despite the power and the law, family revenge has been maintained very largely, on the one hand because of the weakness of the public force, on the other hand because of the immemorial legitimacy attached to revenge in holistic societies’ (Lipovetsky, *L’Ère du vide: essais sur l’individualisme contemporain*, 1983, Frantext)
- (328) *Pourquoi dessiner ce cycle ? Sans doute en raison de l’ordre et de l’homogénéité que l’on suppose à la raison* ‘Why draw this cycle? No doubt because of the

order and homogeneity that one supposes in reason' (Serres, *Le Tiers-Instruit*, 1991, Frantext)

The frequency is highest in the genre of essay, and lowest in the theatre texts, which suggests a preference for formal contexts.

8.1.1.4. *Compte tenu de*

Although fairly frequent in the unsorted corpus, this complex preposition with the past participle positioned after the noun, *compte tenu*, followed by the preposition *de* appears to be rather infrequent in the three specific registers studied, also in the informal register, theatre, from which only one occurrence has been found (cf. Table 29):

- (329) *Or, à y regarder d'un peu près, compte tenu de la manière dont on le nomme, et la tache qu'il faisait sur la neige à sa première apparition, il me semble bien qu'Abad est noir de peau, absolument ; ...* 'Now, on a closer inspection, considering the way he is called, and the stain it made on the snow when he first appeared, it seems to me that Abad is black skinned, absolutely' (Koltès, *Quai ouest*, Frantext)

The data show 11 occurrences from novels in initial position:

- (330) *Compte tenu de ses liens avec Aymard, ce dernier ne pouvait ignorer l'implication de Baillaud dans l'assassinat* 'Considering his ties to Aymard, the latter could not ignore Baillaud's involvement in the assassination' (Perrut, *Patria o muerte*, 2009, Frantext)

and 40 occurrences in non-initial position:

- (331) *Mes nouveaux amis me coûtaient cher, très cher compte tenu de mes moyens de petit pion* 'My new friends were costing me dearly, very dearly, considering my pawn money' (Tournier, *Le Médianoche amoureux*, 1989, Frantext)

The 12 occurrences found in essay, are placed either in initial position:

- (332) *Compte tenu de mes titres scientifiques, j'ai eu droit à une bourse du CNRS* 'My scientific qualifications taken into account, I was entitled to a CNRS grant' (Linhart, *La vie après*, 2012, Frantext)

or in non-initial position, which again can be either medial position, here inserted between the verb and the predicate:

- (333) *La stratégie de mémorisation que j'ai décrite n'est, il me semble, compte tenu de ces remarques, pas si aberrante qu'elle pourrait le sembler* 'The memorization strategy that I have described is, it seems to me, these remarks taken into account, not so aberrant as it might seem' (Roubaud, *Poésie: récit*, 2000, Frantext)

or final position, closing the sentence:

- (334) *Sa réponse est aimable mais brève, et tout à fait prévisible, compte tenu de la banalité de la question* 'His response is kind but brief, and quite predictable, considering the banality of the question' (Podalydès, *Voix off*, 2008, Frantext)

In similarity with its close variant *en tenant compte de* (see section 8.1.1.8), a PrPh introduced by *compte tenu de* is always found as part of a clause, and the impact on the action expressed by the main clause is not manifested, neither as positive nor as negative. I have found no occurrences of this preposition constituting the focus of a cleft construction.

8.1.1.5. *Étant donné*

Étant donné introduces a reason or a motive, positive, negative, or neutral. It is a complex form consisting of a composed verbal form, i.e. the perfect tense with a present participle form of *être* as the auxiliary and the past participle form *donné*, which have grammaticalized into the function of a preposition. This is an example of how participles in initial position (i.e. placed before the noun) tend to become invariable in form, as observed by Grevisse & Goosse (2008: 286). Similar to *vu*, but in contrast to the other complex forms examined here, it contains no preposition:

- (335) *On ferait mieux de rire de leurs misères, étant donné la gravité de leur faute* 'We better laugh at their miseries, given the seriousness of their fault' (Koltès, *Le Conte d'hiver*, 1988)

However, example (336), with the participles in initial position, but with concord between the past participle and the following complement, suggests that *étant donné* is less grammaticalized as a preposition than the previously presented forms which seem to have

no remnants of concord (I shall return to the issue of concordance in my analysis of *vu* in section 8.1.2). It should be noted, however, that the concord is entirely graphic:

- (336) *De l'autre il fallait bien se rendre à l'évidence qu'étant donnée l'impunité dont ils jouissaient, [...], il s'agissait bien d'une sorte de police* 'On the other hand, it was necessary to face the evidence that, given the impunity they enjoyed, [...], it was indeed a kind of police' (Simon, *Les Géorgiques*, 1981, Frantext)

Étant donné can also be placed after the noun, in which case it agrees in gender and number:

- (337) *Tous ces détails étant assurés, toutes les raisons étant données et les circonstances des événements ultérieurs explicitées, je peux en revenir à mes moutons, ...* 'All these details being assured, all the reasons given and the circumstances of the subsequent events made explicit, I can come back to my sheep' (Baudroux, *La même Caillou*, 2005, Frantext)

Four occurrences have been detected from the theatre corpus, however both in initial (338) and in non-initial (335) position:

- (338) - *Étant donné la hâte de votre père, cela n'arrivera pas de sitôt* 'Given your father's haste, this will not happen anytime soon' (Koltès, *Le Conte d'hiver*, 1988)

The corpus of novels has provided 144 occurrences, of which about one third is in initial position:

- (339) *Étant donné leurs intérêts, les commissaires parviendraient-ils à s'entendre ?...* 'Given their interests, would the commissioners come to an agreement?' (Verne, *La Chasse au météore*, 1986, Frantext)

And two thirds of the occurrences are in non-initial position:

- (340) *Elle m'encouragea à le voir par charité, ce qui était piquant étant donné où cela allait m'entraîner* 'She encouraged me to see him out of charity, which was surprising given where it was going to take me' (Ollivier, *L'Orphelin de mer*, 1982, Frantext)

Fifty occurrences have been detected in essays, some in initial position:

- (341) *Étant donné son visage avenant, son âge et sa condition, elle est très vraisemblablement déjà mariée, bien qu'elle ne porte pas son alliance.* 'Given her attractive face, her age and condition, she is most likely already married, although she does not wear her wedding ring' (Roubaud, *Poésie: récit*, 2000, Frantext)

The majority are, however, found in non-initial position. Example (343) has concordance:

- (342) *Ce n'est pas par hasard, étant donné le rôle essentiel des contraintes, donc ...*
'It is not by chance, given the essential role of the constraints, therefore ...'
(Roubaud, *Le Grand Incendie de Londres: récit, avec incises et bifurcations*, 1989, Frantext)
- (343) *Il est vrai que j'aurais pu réévaluer l'idée d'un (...) regardant vers l'arrière dans le cas de la branche présente, étant donnée sa nature à elle, d'être en un sens opposée à l'intention des autres branches* 'It is true that I could have reassessed the idea of a backward-looking (...) in the case of the present branch, given its nature, of being in a sense opposite to the intention of the other branches' (Roubaud, *La dissolution*, 2008, Frantext)

Since a PrPh introduced by *étant donné* is always part of a clause, it cannot constitute an elliptical phrase, thus it cannot function as an answer to a question. The few occurrences found in the theatre corpus, due to the limited size of this corpus, correspond to a higher proportional frequency (occurrences per 100,000 words) than that of essays and novels, but since my data indicate a higher frequency in essays than in novels, I cannot conclude that *étant donné* is more frequent in informal than in formal language.

8.1.1.6. *Vu*

Vu is by Grevisse & Goosse (2008) labelled a *pseudo-preposition*. According to my quantitative data, the use is rather marginal; only 0.6 occurrences per 100,000 words in the overall contemporary corpus (Frantext). Derived from a past participle, it shares certain features with forms such as *attendu*, *excepté*, *compris*, *hormis*, but *vu* is (together with *attendu*) the only form which is always anteposed (Grevisse & Goosse 2008: 293).

The corpus of theatre texts provided no occurrence of *vu* in initial position, but one occurrence in non-initial position from the translation of Shakespeare's *Winter's tale* (cf. footnote 147).

The corpus of novels has provided 132 occurrences, of which about one-fourth are placed in initial position:

- (344) ***Vu** la taille du jardin, les voisins ne risquent pas de se plaindre du bruit*
'Considering the size of garden, neighbours are unlikely to complain about the noise' (Despentes, *Baise-moi*, 1993, Frantext)

and the rest in non-initial position:

- (345) *Ils auraient pu se douter, **vu** la circonstance* 'They could have suspected, given the circumstance' (Bayon, *Le Lycéen*, 1987, Frantext)

Ten occurrences appeared in the corpus of essays, most of which are in initial position:

- (346) ***Vu** la vérité irrecevable dont ils font état, je ne pense pas qu'ils auraient pu toucher un plus grand nombre de personnes* 'Considering the inadmissible truth they are reporting, I don't think they could have reached more people' (Forest, *Tous les enfants sauf un*, 2007, Frantext)

Only one is in non-initial position:

- (347) *Il fallait, nous dit-il, une permission spéciale des autorités, **vu** les circonstances*
'We needed, he told us, a special permission from the authorities, given the circumstances' (Semprun, *L'écriture ou la vie*, 1994, Frantext)

The lack of occurrences in theatre texts suggests that *vu* + complement is not current in informal contexts. It is represented in novels, i.e. in narration, which represents a neutral register, in which it is primarily in non-initial position. It is also present in essays, however less than in novels, and with the majority of examples in initial position.

In addition to the simple preposition *vu*, the verb *voir* is represented in at least two complex prepositions, i.e. *au vu de* 'given' (348) and *en vue de* 'with an eye/a view to, in preparation for/anticipation of, for the purpose of' (349).

(348) ... ; *et cela, **au vu** de la situation tendue au front, on ne pouvait se le permettre* ‘...; and that, given the tense situation at the front, we could not afford it’. (Littell, *Les Bienveillantes*, 2006, Frantext)

(349) *Il est évidemment souhaitable, **en vue** de la plus grande efficacité possible des résultats à obtenir, de ne pas limiter indûment les pouvoirs de la Banque* ‘It is obviously desirable, with a view to the greatest possible efficiency of the results to be obtained, not to unduly limit the powers of the Bank’. (Mendès-France, *Œuvres complètes*, 1984, Frantext)

As indicated by the English translations, *au vu de* resembles the simple form *vu*, both with respect to form and content. It is in some respects merely an extended, complex form of the simple form, and will for that reason not be studied separately. In example (350), *au vu de* is co-ordinated with *au su de*, which indicates remnants of the original cognitive meaning:

(350) *Au su et **au vu** de tout le monde, il ne s’agit donc pour l’un et pour l’autre que de lutte de classes* ‘To everyone’s knowledge and sight, it is therefore only a question of class struggle for both’ (Giono, *Cœur, passions, caractères*, 1982, Frantext)

The other form, *en vue de*, contains the substantivized form of the participle *vue* ‘sight’. Since *en vue de* does not infer a causal relation, it is not further included in this study.

The grammaticalization process of the simple form *vu* will be studied in section 8.1.2.

8.1.1.7. *Eu égard à*

Eu égard à is infrequent and only scarcely represented in all three text types. The only occurrence found in the theatre corpus is from a translation of Shakespeare’s *The Tempest* and cannot be included in this analysis (see footnote 147). The novel corpus has provided four occurrences in initial position (351) and 18 occurrences in non-initial position (352):

(351) *Eu égard à tout ce travail, Simon Lewenthal devrait l’écouter lui répéter tout du long ce qu’il venait de lire, poser quelques questions, au besoin le chicaner sur quelques clauses annexes, l’ingénieur y avait bien droit* ‘In view of all this work, Simon Lewenthal should listen to him repeat all the way through what he had just read, ask a few questions, if necessary quibble him over a few additional

clauses, the engineer had every right to it' (Garat, *L'enfant des ténèbres*, 2008, Frantext)

- (352) *Léah fermait le Samedi, eu égard à la Loi juive, et le Dimanche, où les chalands baptisés ne font pas d'emplettes* 'Léah closed on Saturdays, due to Jewish law, and Sundays, when baptized customers do not shop' (Yourcenar, *Un homme obscur*, 1982, Frantext)

I found no occurrence in initial position in the essay corpus, but six occurrences in non-initial position:

- (353) *Quant à la signification, on voit bien ses équivoques, eu égard à ce grand projet* 'As for the meaning, we can see its ambiguities, considering this great project' (Bonney, *Un Rêve fait à Mantoue*, 1980, Frantext)

I can conclude that this complex preposition is rare, mainly found in formal contexts and mostly in non-initial position. The impact on the action expressed by the main clause is not manifested, neither as positive nor as negative.

8.1.1.8. *En tenant compte de*

En tenant compte de is a complex form composed of a gerundive of the verb *tenir*, followed by its direct object *compte* and the preposition *de*. The impact on the action expressed by the main clause is not manifested, neither as positive nor as negative. It is extremely infrequent with only 33 examples detected in the whole corpus of contemporary texts (37,734,180 words). It is not found in theatre texts at all. Six occurrences are found in novels, all in non-initial position:

- (354) *Je suis obligé d'organiser ma vie en tenant compte de la sienne* 'I am obliged to organize my life, taking her [life] into account' (Weyergans, *La Vie d'un bébé*, 1986, Frantext)

With eight occurrences from the corpus of essays, most of them being in non-initial position (355), it is tempting to assume that this preposition is not current in oral discourse but belongs to written language.

- (355) *Les itinéraires proposés dans nos GlobeTrotters ne sont que des suggestions qui peuvent être combinées, mais aussi modifiées en tenant compte de vos souhaits* 'The itineraries offered in our Globe Trotters are only suggestions that can be

combined, but also modified taking into account your wishes’ (Lipovetsky, *L’Ère du vide: essais sur l’individualisme contemporain*, 1983, Frantext)

A PrPh introduced by *en tenant compte de* is always found in a main clause. I have not found any occurrences of this preposition constituting the focus of a cleft construction.

8.1.1.9. *En considération de*

I found only 12 occurrences of the the complex preposition *en considération de* in the whole contemporary corpus. As regards the three selected registers, I found one occurrence in novels (356) but no occurrences in theatre, nor in essays.:

- (356) *Si les sociétés traditionnelles punissent aussi férocement l’adultère de la femme, c’est en considération de l’enfant dont il compromet l’identité* ‘If traditional societies so fiercely punish adultery of women, it is in consideration of the child whose identity it compromises’ (Tournier, *Le Médianoche amoureux*, 1989, Frantext)

The detected example is a cleft construction where neither *compte tenu de* nor *eu égard à* would be an alternative. *En considération de* is not used in elliptical phrases and has no inherent positive or negative value. As a result of the very limited use of this preposition, it will not be further included in this study.

After this short overview of the inventory of causal prepositions in modern French, I will now proceed to a closer analysis of the preposition *vu*, with focus on the reanalysis of the past participle form of *voir*, leading to the grammaticalization of the simple preposition.

8.1.2. Level of reanalysis and grammar: from verb to preposition

Vu is among the words which Grevisse & Goosse (2008: 286, 1320) classify as elements originally and still functioning as predicates in absolute constructions. An absolute construction is a nexus structure with a relation of solidarity between the NP and the predicative element, NP [*étant*] *vu*:

- (357) *Si retorna isnelement contre celi et l’a tantost occis, ja ce fust que les Albains criassent aus Curaces que il aidassent a leur frere. Ceste chose veue, les Romans se prenent a crier paoureusement et a conforter leur chevalier ...* ‘So [he] returned quickly towards him and killed him straight away, but the Albans shouted to Curaces that they should help their brother. This thing seen, the

Romans begin to cry peaceably and to comfort their knight...' (Bersuire Pierre, *Les Décades de Titus Livius*,¹⁵⁰ 1354, Frantext)

When postpositioned, the past participle agrees with its subject, as illustrated in (357); when antepositioned, the past participle is invariable (Grevisse & Goosse 2008: 1320). It is my hypothesis that the preposition *vu* is a reanalysis of an absolute construction with the predicate in anteposition.

Already in Old French, anteposition of the predicate occurred in absolute constructions, as illustrated by Aspland (1968) in his study on the absolute construction with a present participle, e.g. *voiant voz*. Medieval legal documents were often introduced by a standard formula with two possible word orders, *X + vu* or *Vu + X*, depending on different dialects (Dees 1980: 298).¹⁵¹ Since the seventeenth century, the general word order in absolute constructions is subject - predicate, with only few exceptions (Müller-Lancé 1994: 278), and Vaugelas (1647) considers the inverted order predicate - subject to be archaic (cf. Müller-Lancé 1994: 282). Also before this period, the predicate in postposition was standard (see Cauchie 2001 [1586]: 495), but inverted absolute constructions, which later grammaticalized into prepositions and conjunctions, had, according to Lerch (1934: 419), found their way into French (presumably through influence from Spanish, where the initial position of a participle was common in absolute constructions).

In modern French, the predicate is generally placed in the second position of an absolute construction, as illustrated by *refermée* in example (358), in which the absolute construction is composed of an NP and a past participle as the predicate with concord between *une fois* and *refermée*:

- (358) *Une fois refermée la porte des Ladourds, je me trouvais aussitôt ridicule, mais je n'avais qu'une hâte, c'était de repasser cette porte* 'Once the family Ladourds' door closed, I immediately found myself ridiculous, but I had only one haste, it was to go through this door again' (Bazin, *La Mort du petit cheval*, 1950, Frantext)

¹⁵⁰ Originally written by the Roman historian Titus Livius (d. 17 AD), translated by Pierre Bersuire in 1354.

¹⁵¹ According to Dees (1980), who has studied forms and constructions in French charters from the thirteenth century, word order (inversion or non-inversion of the subject) in such constructions was at this time not random but followed dialectal differences.

However, as stated by Grevisse & Goosse (2008: 286), participles which tend to acquire a fixed initial position often become invariable, leading to complete loss of the original value. Indeed, *vu* is always anteposed. This feature of not agreeing with the following NP could lead to reanalysing it as a preposition – cf. also examples (360) - (363). In comparison, other elements such as *refermée* in example (358) – introducing an absolute construction with formal concord with the noun (here feminine) – have not turned into prepositions. Moreover, *refermée*, with its distinct lexical meaning, is not a good candidate for grammaticalization (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2002).

Since both the absolute construction and the PrPh consist of two elements with a relation of solidarity between them, it can be difficult to identify a reanalysis. In the following, I propose to examine the nature of the NP as well as syntactic issues in order to detect the process of change.

Up until the seventeenth century, the past participle form of *voir* was *veu* or *veü*. The first occurrence found of the modern form *vu* is from 1623 and latest occurrence of the old form *veu/veü* is from 1714. This leaves a period of almost 100 years of overlap between the two forms. Note, however, that the electronic databases may display modernised orthography of older texts. In the following analyses, both forms are included on equal terms and will be referred to by the modern form *vu*.

The earliest example of *vu* + NP found in Frantext is from 1160:

- (359) *En l'ost n'orent pas lor seignor ; en l'endemain, veü le jor, li conte et li duc s'asamblèrent, et communement esgarderent qu'a Eneas envoieroient, et XV. jors triuevez guerroient por faire lor mors enterer et les nauvrez medeciner.*
 ‘They did not have their commander in the army; the following day, by daybreak, the counts and dukes assembled, and they decided together that they would send word to Eneas and they would ask for 15 days of ceasefire to bury their dead and nurse their wounded soldiers’ (Anonymous, *Le roman d'Eneas*, 1160, Frantext)

Veü le jour is an absolute construction (*le jour étant vu*), i.e. a nexus construction, corresponding to the term ‘daybreak’.

As illustrated in the previous examples, the lexical content of *voir* was originally visual perception. The increased use of absolute constructions, especially in legal or

administrative texts in which the NPs were more abstract NPs (cf. Dees 1980), indicates, however, a more cognitive interpretation of *voir*.

Despite anteposition, the concordance with the NP could be maintained (360), or there could be no concordance (361):

(360) *Tous lesqueiulx dirent que ledit prisonnier estoit larron, veue sa confession, et furent d'opinion, sauf ledit Fouquere, qu'il feust pendu comme tel, et que l'en ne l'en pouoit espargnier* 'All these said that the aforementioned prisoner was a thief, his confession having been seen/given his confession, and were of the opinion, except for the aforementioned Fouquere, that he should be hanged accordingly, and that he could not be spared' (Anonymous, Registre criminel du Châtelet, 1389, Frantext)

(361) *Veu la relation ou rapport a nous fait sur les diz adjournement, monitions, cris et appeaulx fais tierce fois sur ledit lieu par les diz Rolant Morel et Jehan François ...*, 'Considering the presentation or report made to us on those adjournments, warnings, cries and calls made third time on that place by the aforementioned Rolant Morel and Jehan François' (Anonymous, Chartes et documents de l'abbaye de Saint-Magloire, 1330, Frantext)

In example (362), we have two coordinated absolute constructions with verbs of perception, *ouïr* 'hear' and *voir* 'see', both having not physical but rather a cognitive meaning. This type of coordination of near synonyms is frequent in Middle French and the Renaissance (Buridant 1980). In other words, the verbs are lexical and not grammaticalized. There is concord between the two parts of the absolute construction, which can be observed with the first one, *Ouyes lesqueles opinions*:

(362) *Ouyes lesqueles opinions, et veu le procès dessus dit, icellui prisonnier, pour ce present en jugement par devant ledit mons. le prevost, fu condempné à estre pendu comme larron, et icellui jugement prononcé en sa presence.* 'Having heard these opinions, and considered the above-mentioned trial, this prisoner present at the trial before the aforementioned judge, was sentenced to be hanged as a thief, and this sentence was pronounced with him present' (Anonymous, Registre criminel du Châtelet, 1389, Frantext)

The database contains a large number of examples comparable to (362) – see example

(363) – and almost all NPs are abstract. This suggests that, indeed, the starting point is the cognitive meaning of *voir*.

In example (363), also containing a number of coordinated near synonyms, *veu* + NP (*les actes des appiaus* etc.) has an inserted element, i.e. the adverb *aussi*. We consider that this insertion confirms the analysis of *vu* as a verbal element in an absolute construction.

(363) *Sachent tuit que nous, oÿe la requeste faite de par le dit procureur, comme dit est, **veu** et diligamment resgardé les lettres dessus transcriptes, **veu** aussi les actes des appiaus, monicions, adjournemens et des contumaces ou deffaus, et tout le procès fait seur ce, et tout ce qui en faisoit a veoir, et considéré tout ce qui en faisoit a considerer, adjudasmes et adjudons ...* ‘Let all know that we have sentenced and now sentence, after having heard the request made by the above mentioned prosecutor, as has been said, after having seen and carefully observed the papers copied concerning the topic, after having seen also the documents of appeal, requests, adjournments and of customary law or procedural errors, and the entire trial on this topic and everything which needed to be investigated and considering, everything that had to be considered...’ (Anonymous, Chartes et documents de l’abbaye de Saint-Magloire, 1330, Frantext)

Example (364) is slightly different. Here, the nature of the NP of the absolute construction, *l’estat et personne dudit prisonnier, les confessions et reiteracions de larrecins par lui faites, avec la traïson faite à ses dis maistres, dont mention est faite es dites confessions* is hardly perceptible in the physical sense, nor in the cognitive sense, being equivalent to an abstract notion like ‘situation’. This may be an early sign of loss of lexical content of *vu*, leading to grammaticalization – in other words, an example of bridging context. This analysis is supported by Dictionnaire du Moyen Français, which refers to examples from the same source (*Registre criminel du Châtelet*, 1389-1392), when presenting *vu* as meaning *étant donné* or *eu égard à*.¹⁵²

¹⁵² Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330-1500):
http://zeus.atilf.fr/scripts/dmfX.exe?LEM=VU;MENU=menu_dmf;AFFICHAGE=2;ISIS=isis_dmf2020.txt;MENU=menu_recherche_dictionnaire;OUVRIR_MENU=1;ONGLET=dmf2020;OO1=2;OO2=1;OO3=-1;s=s1152350c;LANGUE=FR;XMODE=STELLA;FERMER

(364) *...le prevost demanda ausdiz presens conseilliers leurs advis et oppinions comme l'en avoit à proceder contre icellui prionnier. Tous lesquelz, veu l'estat et personne dudit prisonnier, les confessions et reiteracions de larrecins par lui faites, avec la traïson faite à ses dis maistres, dont mention est faite es dites confessions, delibererent et furent d'opinion qu'il '... the judge asked the present councillors about their view and opinion and how they should proceed against this prisoner. All these, in view of/considering the prisoner's state and person, and the confessions and reiterations of robberies he had done, with the fraud he had done to his master, which are mentioned earlier in these confessions, thought and were of the opinion that he... (Anonymous, *Registre criminel du Châtelet*, 1389, Frantext)*

I shall illustrate a possible reanalysis by means of example (365). In (365), the NP *la force du roy* is abstract in the sense that it is not physically perceptible, thus *veü* has a cognitive meaning. However, two analyses are possible.

(365) *Je feïz plusieurs assemblées, tant de nobles que de gens d'église et des villes, et, à leur requeste, ou de la pluspart, declairay que le roy vouloit que ledit seigneur Constantin demourast en son gouvernement, car, veü la force du roy delà les mons et l'affection que le pays porte à la maison de France, ilz n'y povoient contredire au vouloir du roy 'I organized several meetings, both with noble men, clergymen, and citizens, and on their request or on the request of the major part of them, I declared that the king wanted that the afore mentioned ruler Constantin preserved his government, because, considering the power of the king beyond the mountains and the affection of the country towards the royal house of France, they could not go against the king's will' (Commynes, *Mémoires*, 1495, Frantext)*

According to interpretation 1, *veü* means 'having been realized' and is a verbal predicate expressing cognition in an absolute construction. However, another interpretation is also possible, interpretation 2, in which *veü* + NP expresses a factual condition 'given the power of the king...', which provides an explanation for the following proposition, i.e. has a relation of causality.

Thus, example (365) provides a very clear example of bridging or critical context which permits reanalysis because of the ambiguity in structure (cf. Heine 2002; Diwald 2002). This interpretation is probably confirmed by non-concord between the feminine word for power (*force*) and the past participle, whereas in example (364) the form *vu* is not conclusive. I consider the second interpretation of (365) to be the result of the speaker reanalysing the past participle form of *voir*, followed by an NP, in the following way: A (past participle form of the verb *voir* in its cognitive meaning, followed by an NP, constituting an absolute construction in which the perfective aspect indicates that the goal of the construction is to express that the realization has taken place) > B (a PrPh), which is a new way of expressing a causal relation between the content of the PrPh and the main clause. This implies that the construction has acquired not only a) a different function, no longer being a finite verb + subject, but it is also reanalysed as a preposition + complement with b) a different meaning, i.e. that of referring to a fact.

During the process of reanalysis of the past participle form of *voir* as the predicate of an absolute construction (A), the verb loses its lexical cognitive meaning. Subsequently, it grammaticalizes as a preposition (B) and tends to invariability, which is a clear sign of change of part of speech.

To illustrate the reanalysis, let us consider example (366). Here, the NP *esprit* ‘mind’ is so abstract that it is not possible to imagine any remnants of the original lexical content, neither physical nor cognitive, of the verb *voir*. Furthermore, it is not possible to insert an element between *Vu* and *ton esprit*:

- (366) *Vu ton esprit, qui les autres surpasse, Je m’ébahis comment je prends audace*
Composer vers ‘Considering your mind, which surpasses the others, I am amazed
 how I dare to compose verse’ (Marot, *L’Adolescence clementine*, 1538, Frantext)

I therefore propose that the reanalysis of the absolute construction consists of a reinterpretation of the relation between the verb and the NP: NP + participle with concordance (357) → participle with concordance + NP (360) → participle (without concordance) + NP (361) → preposition + NP.

The lack of agreement between the two parts, as well as the fixed position of the NP after *vu*, support this assumption. The restriction on the nature of the NP, the lack of concord, and the strong rection between *vu* and the NP, which excludes the possibility of inserting

an element between those two parts, are features in favour of analysing *vu* as a preposition rather than as a past participle form functioning as predicate in an absolute construction.

8.1.3. Actualization

Since the majority of occurrences of the absolute constructions from the Middle Ages corpus are found in legal or administrative texts, I assume that this construction emerges first in formal contexts, possibly as imitations of Latin charters. From there on, it spreads to more informal contexts. Quantitative analyses of the data from Frantext suggest that the frequency of the absolute construction with *veu* (*vu*) as predicate was rather high in Middle French (2.5 occurrences per 100,000 words) as compared to the following periods. This, most likely, has to do with the fact that the Middle French corpus has a high proportion of charters and treaties in which the absolute construction *veu* + NP (*lettres*, *procès*, *confession*, *opinion*, etc.) is present. This indicates that the grammation of *vu* is externally motivated,¹⁵³ starting in the formal registers, later spreading to more informal registers. It is difficult to determine a precise period for the reanalysis and grammaticalization as illustrated in 8.1.2, but given that the first unambiguous occurrences of *vu* as a preposition appearing in my data are from around 1500, this is probably the time around which the process has taken place.

(367) *Je ne m'esbahissois pas trop du long temps que vous aviez esté sans recevoir lettres de luy, veu le voyage* 'I did not get too perplex about the long time that you had been without receiving letters from him, considering the trip' (Calvin, *Lettres à Monsieur et Madame de Falais*, 1543, Frantext)

Once grammaticalized as a preposition, the frequency of *vu* + NP varies in the early periods, but the overall frequency regardless of position seems to be stable from the classical period onwards (see Table 30):

¹⁵³ According to Andersen (2001c), a change can be either internally or externally motivated and this parameter affects the way the change spreads. An internally motivated change emerges in unmarked contexts and eventually spreads to more marked contexts, whereas externally motivated changes start in marked contexts and may spread to unmarked contexts (cf. section 2).

	Initial position	Non-initial position
Medieval period (1300-1549)¹⁵⁴ Corpus size: 140,089,848 words Total frequency pr. 100,000 words: 1.2		
frequency pr. 100,000 words	0.02 (2)	1.2 (121)
Pre-classical period (1550-1649) Corpus size: 14,827,767 words Total frequency pr. 100,000 words: 1.17		
frequency pr. 100,000 words	0.02 (3)	1.15 (171)
Classical period (1650-1799) Corpus size: 43,514,407 words Total frequency pr. 100,000 words: 0.4		
frequency pr. 100,000 words	0.02 (10)	0.3 (175)
Modern period (1800-1979) Corpus size: 149,693,978 words Total frequency pr. 100,000 words: 0.4		
frequency pr. 100,000 words	0.1 (136)	0.3 (422)
Contemporary period (1980-2020) Corpus size: 39,734,180 words Total frequency pr. 100,000 words: 0.6		
frequency pr. 100,000 words	0.2 (81)	0.4 (158)

Table 30. Frequency of prepositional phrase *vu* + complement. Actual numbers in brackets

From the start, there is a clear preference for placing the construction in non-initial position; this is in accordance with the original absolute construction which tends to be placed after the main clause.¹⁵⁵ In the most recent periods, this difference is decreasing, with more occurrences of the PrPh in the initial position. I consider this an indication of advancing grammar. However, there are still twice as many occurrences of *vu* + complement in the non-initial position (see also section 8.1.1.6).

With respect to text genres, no significant differences emerge from the corpus studies of Frantext. It appears from Dictionnaires d'Autrefois from 1694 that *vu* + complement on the one hand is officialese (*Palais* refers to *Palais de Justice*), but on the other hand is also used the same way in 'ordinary language':

¹⁵⁴ Quantitative results from this period are based on the same search-string as the other periods, which for the sake of comparability are either full-stop or comma, followed by an article ([. *Vu le/lal/les* + N] or [, *vu le/lal/les* + N]). However, as is clear from section 8.1.2, the findings from the Medieval period are not all occurrences of the grammaticalized form but may be predicates in absolute constructions.

¹⁵⁵ Main clause can refer to either the entire proposition implying also subordinate clauses, free adverbials, embedded structures, etc., or to only the subject and verb plus possible complements, but exclusive of adverbial clauses, free and embedded structures. When indicating a position either before (initial) or after the main clause (non-initial), I consider the main clause to be the latter.

“*Ve*, se dit aussi, d'Une maniere absoluë & indeclinable en certaines formules de Palais, & en style de Chancellerie. Ainsi on dit, *Ve* par la Cour les pieces mentionnées. *veu* les Arrests énoncez. [...] Il s'emploie encore de la mesme sorte dans le langage ordinaire pour signifier, Eu égard. *Il est encore vigoureux, veu sa vieillesse. la recompense est petite. veu ses grands services. veu son merite*”¹⁵⁶

In order to examine the use of *vu* + complement in contemporary French in a diaphasic dimension, and to test whether the preposition *vu* is still mostly found in legal and administrative texts, I have conducted a corpus query on the corpus query system Sketch Engine (<https://www.sketchengine.eu>), which provides texts corpora of both unsorted and more specific text types.

The French corpus has a sub-corpus of legal texts (EUR-Lex judgments French 12/2016)¹⁵⁷, which contains 58,993,172 tokens¹⁵⁸. This provided 9,713 occurrences, corresponding to 165 per million tokens.¹⁵⁹ The most frequent complements are *procédure* (4,263 occurrences), *rapport* (3,142 occurrences), and *décision* (1,796 occurrences):

(368) *M. B. Fülöp, administrateur, vu la procédure écrite et à la suite de l'audience du 25 juin 2009, vu la décision prise, l'avocat général entendu, de juger l'affaire sans conclusions, rend le présent Arrêt* 1 ‘M.B. Fülöp, Administrator, having regard to the written procedure and further to the hearing on 25 June 2009, given the decision taken, after hearing the Advocate General, to proceed to judgment

¹⁵⁶ Dictionnaire de L'Académie française, (1694):

(<https://portail.atilf.fr/cgi-bin/dico1look.pl?strippedhw=voir&headword=&docyear=ALL&dicoid=ALL&articletype=1>) ‘*Ve*, is also used in an absolute and indeclinable manner in certain formulas of the Law Courts, and in the style of the Chancery. Thus, we say, Seen by the Court the documents mentioned. given the stated convictions. [...] It is still used in the same way in ordinary language to mean in consideration. He is still vigorous, in consideration of his old age. the reward is small. in consideration of his great services. in consideration of his merit’ [my translation].

¹⁵⁷ “The Eur-Lex judgments corpus is a multilingual corpus in all the official languages of the European Union focused only on judgments of the Court of Justice” (<https://www.sketchengine.eu/eurlex-judgments-corpus/>).

¹⁵⁸ Sketch Engine count *tokens* including not only words but also punctuation signs and numbers.

¹⁵⁹ I used the following search strand: [tag!="V.*"& word!="au" & word!="Au"] [word="vu"|word="Vu"]. The result is not entirely free of noise; this would require a manual examination of the more than 9700 hits, but by using the same search strand for both corpora to be compared, the proportions are sufficiently reliable to indicate a possible difference.

without an Opinion, gives the following Judgment 1' (*Judgment of the Court (Fourth Chamber) of 15 October 2009*, Sketchengine)

In comparison the same query launched in the non-filtered corpus French Web 2017 (frTenTen17), which contains 6,845,630,573 tokens,¹⁶⁰ provided 653,925 occurrences corresponding to 95 hits per million tokens. This indicates that also in contemporary French, *vu* is still most frequent in formal and administrative text types.

Let us now draw the paradigmatic consequences of these analyses.

8.1.4. Paradigm 6: Prepositions

The sub-paradigm of causal prepositions, Paradigm 6 is shown in Table 31 and contains the forms exemplified in section 8.1.1, namely *à cause de*, *grâce à*, *en raison de*, *compte tenu de*, *étant donné*, *vu*, *eu égard à*, and *en tenant compte de*.

The syntactic domain, i.e. the syntagmatic context, for the prepositional paradigm is a preposition Pr, simple or complex, followed by a noun phrase NP. The semantic frame is *causal relation*, in the sense of expressing a factor which directly or indirectly establishes a relation of causality to the content of the main clause. With respect to the content, the members of the paradigm are, in addition to *causality*, characterized by a number of features, namely the *form* (simple vs. complex), type of causality (*direct* or *indirect causality*), *positive*, *negative*, or *neutral causal influence*, preferred position (before or after the main clause, i.e. *initial* or *non-initial* – see footnote 155), level of formality (+/- *formality*), ability to appear without a main clause (+/- *elliptical phrase*), and ability to function as *focus in a cleft construction*. Brackets around + or - indicate a lower frequency of a given feature.

¹⁶⁰ “The French Web Corpus (frTenTen) is a French corpus made up of texts collected from the Internet. [...] The corpus contains many varieties of the French language – European, Canadian and African French” (<https://www.sketchengine.eu/frtnten-french-corpus/>).

Syntactic domain: Pr Semantic frame: Causal relation		
Member of paradigm	Expression	Content
<i>À cause de</i> unmarked member	<i>À cause de la grève, le métro est fermé</i> ‘Because of the strike, the metro is closed’	complex form direct causality negative influence +/-initial position +/-formality +/-elliptical phrase +/-focus in a cleft construction
<i>Grâce à</i> unmarked member ¹⁶¹	<i>Grâce à la grève, les salaires augmentent</i> ‘Thanks to the strike, the salaries go up’	complex form direct causality positive influence +/-initial position +/-formality +/-elliptical phrase +/-focus in a cleft construction
<i>En raison de</i> marked member	<i>En raison de la grève, le métro est fermé/ les salaires augmentent</i> ‘Due to the strike the metro is closed/the salaries go up’	complex form direct causality neutral influence (-)initial position +(/-)formality +/-elliptical phrase +/-focus in a cleft construction
<i>Compte tenu de</i> marked member	<i>Compte tenu des circonstances, tout va bien</i>	complex form indirect causality neutral influence preference for non-initial position +/-formality -elliptical phrase -focus in a cleft construction

¹⁶¹ In principle, each grammatical paradigm has only one unmarked member (see section 2.4); here, the unmarked member is constituted by a set of forms. This will be explained below Table 31.

<i>Étant donné</i> marked member	<i>Étant donné les</i> <i>circonstances, tout va bien</i>	complex form indirect causality neutral influence preference for non-initial position +/-formality -elliptical phrase -focus in a cleft construction
<i>Vu</i> marked member	<i>Vu les circonstances, tout va bien</i>	simple form indirect causality neutral influence preference for non-initial position +formality -elliptical phrase -focus in a cleft construction
<i>Eu égard à</i> marked member	<i>Eu égard aux</i> <i>circonstances, tout va bien</i>	complex form indirect causality neutral influence preference for non-initial position +formality -elliptical phrase -focus in a cleft construction
<i>En tenant compte de</i> marked member	<i>En tenant compte des</i> <i>circonstances, tout va bien</i>	complex form indirect causality neutral influence preference for non-initial position +formality -elliptical phrase -focus in a cleft construction

Table 31. **Paradigm 6:** Paradigm of clausal prepositions

Having the least restrictions of the eight members of the paradigm, *à cause de* and *grâce à* are both inclined to be determined as the unmarked member. They are current in both initial and non-initial position, have no restrictions with respect to formality, they can function as an elliptical phrase and as a focus in a cleft construction – features which are all more or less restricted for the other prepositions. Both convey direct causality, but they differ from each other with respect to type of influence; *à cause de* is used to relate to a negative influence, whereas *grâce à* refers to a positive influence. *En raison de* shares most of the features with the two former prepositions but is neutral with respect to the

type of causal relation; it conveys neither positive nor negative influence. However, since *en raison de* tends to be used in more formal contexts, this cannot be unmarked. Therefore, I propose that *à cause de* and *grâce à* together constitute the unmarked forms, complementing each other by their negative/positive influence; they are, so to speak, context-dependant variants. This can be illustrated by the following examples which demonstrate the importance of the context. *À cause de* can only be used when introducing a negative event; *grâce à* can be used exclusively to introduce a positive event:

(369) *À cause d'un accident de voiture, ...* /**Grâce à un accident de voiture, ...*

(370) **Ce bonheur inattendu est arrivé à cause de ...* /*Ce bonheur inattendu est arrivé grâce à ...*

Compared to these two prepositions, all the other forms are marked. *Vu* is the only simple form, it expresses indirect causality conveying a neutral relation to the main clause. On the other hand, it is restricted with respect to position and formality, being preferred in administrative texts, and it cannot be used elliptically nor as a focus in a cleft construction.

8.2. Conjunctions

Let us now turn to the form *vu que* as part of the paradigm of conjunctions.

Conjunctions can be either coordinating or subordinating. This study includes only subordinating conjunctions. These are used for introducing a subordinate clause and can be divided into groups reflecting their content, such as condition, concession, consequence, aim, manner, time, comparison, cause/reason, interrogation, and complementation. Many conjunctions are composed of participles + *que*, such as *excepté que*, *vu que*, *supposé que*, and *suivant que*, *pourvu que*,¹⁶² *attendu que*; of an adverb + *que*: *à moins que*, *dès lors que*, etc. (Wilmet 1997: 547-548); or can consist of *que* or derived from *que*: *quand*, *comme*, etc. And numerous prepositions form conjunctions by adding *que*: *après que*, *avant que*, *pour que*, *sans que*, etc. (Riegel et al. 2009 [1994]: 370).

¹⁶² The conditional conjunction *pourvu que* is one of many other grammaticalized forms with roots in the verb *voir*. It belongs to the group of conjunctions expressing conditions and will as such not be studied here.

Subordinating conjunctions can be simple – e.g. *comme*, *puisque*, *quand* – or complex forms, the latter always ending with *que*, as in *bien que*, *dès que*, *parce que*, etc. Riegel *et al.* (2009 [1994]: 478) consider *que* to be the basic conjunction, which “tends to place itself after prepositions to form conjunctive expressions” [my translation].

Many of the analytical causal conjunctions seem to emerge in Middle French (Bolly & Degand 2012). This assumption may, however, be related to the fact that new text types are transmitted from that time. Narrative texts with parataxis dominate the sources of Old French, whereas new genres with more hypotaxis appear in the subsequent period, revealing the need for subordinating conjunctions.

Although most of the conjunctions transmit semantic content, they are grammatical words and constitute a synchronically closed paradigm in which simple and complex forms – primary or derived from other grammatical categories – contrast with one another. The conjunction *vu que* belongs to the group of conjunctions used for expressing causal relation.

8.2.1. Inventory

Similar to prepositions, a classification of conjunctions is generally based on a subjective semantic interpretation of a given context. I refer not only to a selection of grammars of reference (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]; Wilmet 1997; Grevisse & Goosse 2008; Helland 2006; Rasmussen & Stage 1993 [1981]), but also to explanations and translations in dictionaries of the conjunctions in question (e.g. Robert *et al.* 2007). Based on these sources, I have identified a selection of conjunctions introducing a causal clause: *parce que*, *puisque*, *comme*, *attendu que*, *du moment que*, *étant donné que*, and *non (pas) que* (presented in Table 32 below).¹⁶³ Together with *vu que*, these forms constitute the inventory of Paradigm 7, i.e. a sub-paradigm of conjunctions used for introducing a causal clause, which will be proposed in section 8.2.4.

The selected conjunctions express a relation between causes and consequences. Inspired by the distribution of causal prepositions with respect to positive or negative influence, I have examined whether this distinction would also be a relevant feature in relation to the

¹⁶³ This selection of causal conjunctions is my selection, it is representative and contains the most prevalent forms, but is not intended to be entirely comprehensive. Other studies may include other conjunctions among those expressing causality.

causal conjunctions but have not found it useful. On the other hand, I have been motivated by the approach of Tesnière (1988 [1959]: 590), who operates with three different types of causal clauses:

1. clauses expressing pure causality, i.e. emphasizing the causal circumstance which provides an explanation for the process expressed by the main clause
2. clauses expressing consecutive causality, i.e. the circumstance of cause also entails the process expressed by the main clause as a consequence, and that the latter is consequently expected
3. clauses expressing coercitive causality, in which not only the reason is presented as entailing the consequence expressed by the main clause, but the consequence is also presented as the inevitable consequence of this reason.

These classifications will be tested as semantic features in the paradigm.

In order to investigate the inventory of the conjunctions with causal relation, I will need to define my point of departure in modern French use. Therefore, the following analysis provides a synchronic quantitative perspective of the use in modern French, according to the corpus of contemporary French in Frantext (1980-). Afterwards, in section 8.2.2, I will take up the diachronic analysis of *vu que*.

Parallel to the query concerning prepositions, I have focused on three different registers, namely theatre (representing a text type close to orality, cf. sections 4.4.2 and 6.3), novels (representing a neutral written register), and essays (representing the non-fiction genre) in order to consider differences related to registers. With the purpose of avoiding confusion with other functions of the same form and to secure data based on the same premises, I have launched two different search strands for each conjunction, distinguishing between capitalized (initial position) and non-capitalized (non-initial position) initial letter (*Vu que* vs. *vu que*). Furthermore, conjunctions formed of a past participle + *que* (*attendu que*, *vu que*) can be confused with the verbal function. Therefore, these have been manually examined in order to eliminate occurrences which are preceded by an auxiliary (*a attendu que*, *avons vu que*, etc.). The outcome is presented in Table 32:

Contemporary (1980-	<i>Parce que</i> 'because'	<i>puisque</i> 'since'	<i>comme</i> 'as'	<i>non (pas) que</i> 'not that'	<i>vu que</i> 'consider- ing that'	<i>du moment que</i> 'since'	<i>étant donné que</i> 'given that'	<i>attendu que</i> 'consider- ing that'
Corpus size: 41,729,482 words	39.7 (16555)	15.3 (6376)	8.6 (3600) ¹⁶⁴	0.8 (325)	0.5 (229)	0.3 (146)	0.2 (103)	0.1 (24)
Theatre Corpus size: 206,034 words	55.8 (115)	41.3 (85)	0.5 (1)	1.5 (3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Novels Corpus size: 20,319,178 words	39.9 (8113)	12.6 (2558)	12.3 (2500) ¹⁶⁵	0.6 (118)	0.5 (109)	0.3 (71)	0.3 (62)	0.1 (12)
Essays Corpus size: 3,182,939 words	16.3 (519)	21 (668)	5.5 (174) ¹⁶⁶	0.5 (16)	0.1 (2)	0.1 (2)	0.1 (4)	0 (0)

Table 32. Distribution of causal conjunctions, occurrences per 100,000 words. Actual numbers in brackets

The theatre corpus contains a restricted number of words as compared to the other corpora, therefore the relative frequency of the listed conjunctions from this corpus must be considered with reservations since it is based on very few occurrences. The distribution is illustrated in Figure 58:

¹⁶⁴ *Comme* can introduce not only causal clauses but also comparative and interrogative clauses, as well as exclamations. Therefore, the query provided a large amount of noise, due to which all examples had to be manually extracted. The indicated number and the corresponding number per 100.000 words are estimations based on a limited arbitrary selection of the 14,338 hits from the full corpus of contemporary text in Frantext.

¹⁶⁵ Of the 8,279 hits, a representative number of 330 hits was analysed, providing 100 occurrences. The indicated number of 2,500 is therefore only an estimation of the total number found among the 8,279 hits in the corpus of novels (cf. footnote 164).

¹⁶⁶ Of the 816 hits from the corpus of essays, 314 examples were analysed, providing 67 occurrences of *comme* as a causal conjunction (cf. footnote 164).

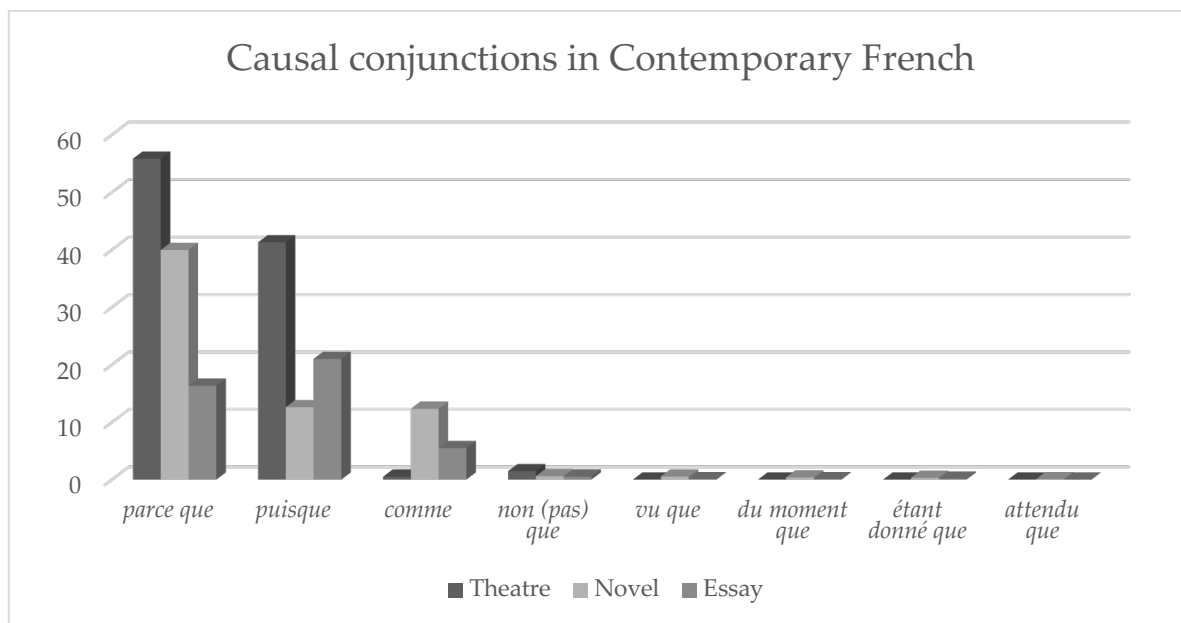


Figure 58. Relative frequency of causal conjunctions in Theatre, Novels, and Essays

As appears from Table 32 and Figure 58, *parce que* is by far the most frequent conjunction to introduce a causal clause, regardless of register. *Puisque* is also very frequent in theatre texts, however a little less frequent in the two other genres, but more frequent than *parce que* in the genre of essay. The other variants are all less frequent (differently distributed, however, across the text genres). Although *du moment que* is also considered a clausal conjunction, it basically refers to time rather than to cause. For this reason, and since it is very infrequent, it will not be included in the following.

8.2.1.1. *Parce que*

Parce que designates that there is a causal relation between two circumstances. It is the only causal conjunction which can be used to express the reason as an answer to the question *pourquoi?*, in which case the causal clause can be placed in initial position, i.e. before the main clause.¹⁶⁷ According to Tesnière (1988 [1959]: 590), *parce que* introduces a purely causal circumstantial clause, which “puts emphasis on the circumstance of the clause that explains the process expressed by the governing clause”. *Parce que* introduces propositions expressing causes of the main fact and is most often placed after the main

¹⁶⁷ In my data, presented in Table 32, only one occurrence out of seven is placed in initial position.

clause, in which case it can be an integrated part of the proposition, as in example (371), or a postponed element as illustrated in (372) (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 507-508):

- (371) *Ta mère était contente parce que tu étais venue très vite, ...* ‘Your mother was happy because you had arrived very quickly’ (Le Clézio, *Désert*, 1980, Frantext)
- (372) *Et là, j’ai eu honte, parce que ça m’a rappelé les larmes de Jojo quand elle avait ses crises de migraine aiguë* ‘And there I was ashamed, because it reminded me of Jojo’s tears when she had her acute migraine attacks’ (Pouy, *Le Clef des mensonges*, 1988, Frantext)

Parce que is followed by the indicative and can also function as the focus in a cleft construction:

- (373) *Ce n’est pas parce que tout est désespérant qu’il faut désespérer, ...* ‘It is not because everything is hopeless that we must give up hope, ...’ (Vergne, *L’Innocence du bonheur*, 1984, Frantext)

Parce que is frequent in all registers, but seems, however, to be slightly more frequent in informal contexts. In very informal contexts, it can appear alone in cases where the speaker does not want or cannot express the motives for a no.

8.2.1.2. *Puisque*

Puisque introduces clauses expressing coercitive causality, in which the reason is not only presented as that which entails the consequence expressed by the main clause, but this consequence is also presented as already known for the recipient, inevitable or evident due to the presented reason. *Puisque* justifies or affirms the value of the enunciation of the main clause as evident:

- (374) *Mais je ne sais pas dessiner. C’est d’ailleurs sans importance, puisque je ne suis pas parti. Voici pourquoi* ‘But I don’t know how to draw. Besides, it doesn’t matter since I didn’t leave. Therefore.’ (Benoziglio, *Cabinet portrait*, 1980)

It can be placed both before and after the main clause but is more frequent after (785 of the detected occurrences referred to in Table 32 are placed before the main clause, while 5,591 are placed after).

It is used in all registers but cannot appear as focus in a cleft construction, nor can it function as an answer.

8.2.1.3. *Comme*

Comme is used for introducing causal consecutive clauses, presenting the reason as an immediate occasion. It indicates at the same time that a given causal circumstance entails the process as a consequence and that this circumstance is therefore expected (Tesnière 1988 [1959]: 590). For this reason, the consecutive causal clause tends to precede its governing clause. It is frequent in narrative contexts, i.e. novels (375) and in essays (376), but rare in less-formal contexts.

(375) *Comme le verrou est plutôt branlant et qu'une poussée un peu instantane suffirait à le faire céder, je tends la jambe et appuie fermement mon pied à plat contre la porte* 'As the lock is rather shaky and a little firm push would be enough to make it give way, I extend my leg and firmly press my foot flat against the door' (Benoziglio, *Cabinet portrait*, 1980, Frantext)

(376) *Comme la générosité inespérée de l'université Johns Hopkins me donnait une facilité particulière dans ce domaine, nous allions très souvent diner dans Boston, passant des huîtres au suki-yaki* 'As the unexpected generosity of Johns Hopkins University gave me a special facility in this domain, we often went to dine in Boston, going from oysters to suki-yaki ...' (Roubaud, *Le Grand Incendie de Londres: récit, avec incises et bifurcations*, 1989, Frantext)

As mentioned above, the conjunction *comme* has several meanings and not all occurrences are unequivocal. Hence, in example (377), *comme* can be interpreted as either time 'as=when' or reason 'as=since' (see also section 8.2.1 and footnote 164 for reservations concerning the quantitative analyses due to this ambiguity).

(377) *Comme ces propos puants se développaient, il toisa durement Félix et jeta: ...* 'As these insolent words developed, he frowned on Félix and said: ...' (Sabatier, *Les Fillettes chantantes*, 1980 Frantext)

Comme cannot function as an answer to a question, nor is it used as focus in a cleft construction.

8.2.1.4. *Non (pas) que*

According to Tesnière (1988 [1959]: 589), *non (pas) que* is a reduction of *parce que* when placed after the negation *non*, thus expressing what is not pure causality:

- (378) *Je préférerais, au moins aujourd’hui, qu’elle n’ait pas cette étiquette, non que je souhaite qu’elle s’avance masquée ou honteuse, mais pour d’autres motifs* ‘I would prefer, at least today, that she didn’t have that label, not that I want her to come forward masked or ashamed, but for other reasons’ (Pontalis, *L’amour des commencement*, 1986, Frantext)

It is most frequent in non-initial position but appears in initial position as well:

- (379) *Non que l’épargner l’indemnisât, il n’avait aucune pitié pour les proies, chacun son prédateur, la chasse est bonne* ‘Not that sparing him compensated him, he had no pity for the prey, each his predator, the hunt is good’ (Garat, *L’enfant des ténèbres*, 2008, Frantext)

Non (pas) que is frequent in elliptical use:

- (380) *Non que j’y croie vraiment* ‘Not that I really believe it’ (Mauriac, *Bergère ô tour Eiffel*, 1985, Frantext)

In informal contexts the most current form is *non que*, whereas in more formal contexts it mostly appears in the full form, *non pas que*:

- (381) *Un tel renversement pose forcément la question éthique : non pas que l’image soit immorale, irréligieuse ou diabolique (...), mais parce que, généralisée, elle déréalise complètement le monde humain des conflits et des désirs, sous couvert de l’illustrer* ‘Such a reversal necessarily poses the ethical question: not that the image is immoral, irreligious or diabolical (...), but because, generalized, it completely derealizes the human world of conflicts and desires, under the guise of illustrating it’ (Barthes, *La chambre claire. Note sur la photographie*, 1980, Frantext).

8.2.1.5. *Vu que*

In the classification by Tesnière (1988 [1959]: 590), *vu que* belongs to the group of conjunctive expressions which introduce a causal consecutive clause. The position of the

causal clause can be both before and after the main clause. Causal consecutive clauses introduced by *vu que* are found in legal texts, according to Riegel *et al.* (2009 [1994]: 507), as a variant of administrative style to *puisque*, justifying or affirming the value of the main clause. Robert *et al.* (2007) declare *vu que* outdated or regional, but this is contradicted not only by other dictionaries (cf. Grevisse & Goosse 2008: 290), but also by a number of recent examples from literature, some of which belong to informal style, as exemplified by (382):

- (382) *Mais même si la plupart du temps, presque toujours, mais ça, il n'y a que lui qui le sait, il ne se voit pas fermer la cage de vie, il pense que ce n'est pas possible autrement, et il a tout à fait raison, vu que c'est à ça qu'on le paye, s'occuper des cages* 'But even if most of the time, almost always, but he is the only one to know that, he doesn't see himself closing the cage of life, he thinks that it is not possible otherwise, and he is absolutely right, since that's what he is paid for, taking care of the cages' (Belin, *Grands carnivores*, 2019, Frantext)

My data do confirm, however, that the use of *vu que* is scarce in contemporary French, with no occurrences found in theatre and only two in essays, both in non-initial position:

- (383) *On me dit qu'on m'envoie un fax, vu que je n'ai pas accès au « file attached ».* 'I am being told that I will receive a fax, since I do not have access to the "attached file"' (Robin, *Cybermigrances : traverses fugitives*, 2004, Frantext)

In narrative contexts, represented by novels, most occurrences are in non-initial position:

- (384) *On a pris un taxi, vu que l'angoisse nous liquéfiait les guibolles* 'We took a taxi, since the anxiety was liquefying our legs' (Seguin, *L'Arme à gauche*, 1990, Frantext)

Only 11 findings are in initial position:

- (385) *Vu que ma femme a presque un quart de siècle de moins que moi, sa carrière promet d'être la plus longue* 'Since my wife is almost a quarter of a century younger than me, her career promises to be the longest' (Dubrovsky, *Le Livre brisé*, 1989, Frantext)

Vu que cannot appear as focus in a cleft construction, nor can it function as an answer.

8.2.1.6. *Étant donné que*

Étant donné que is often found in non-fiction texts but appears also in narrative texts to express consecutive causality. It is not current in oral language (cf. Table 32). It serves as a variant to *puisque* in administrative style, justifying or confirming the content of the main clause, which is often expected to be known by the receiver (Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]: 507; Grevisse & Goosse 2008: 1489). It can be placed before the main clause (386) but is most frequent in the non-initial position (387):

- (386) *Étant donné que, sept ans révolus, âge de raison, j'avais désormais des reins, un foie, un cœur et une âme, j'étais équipée de tout mon entendement, n'est-ce pas ?* 'Considering that when I was seven years old, the age of reason, I now had kidneys, liver, heart and soul, I was equipped with all my understanding, right?' (Garat, *Le grand Nord-Ouest*, 2018, Frantext)
- (387) *C'est possible que moi, en tant démobilisé, je puisse venir à Paris, mais je me demande si c'est prudent de faire ça, étant donné que je suis étranger volontaire et youpin* 'It is possible that I, as a demobilized person, could come to Paris, but I wonder if it is safe to do that, given that I am a voluntary foreigner and a Yid' (Jablonka, *Histoire des grands-parents que je n'ai pas eus : une enquête*, 2012, Frantext, essay)

It cannot appear as a focus in a cleft construction, nor can it function as an answer.

8.2.1.7. *Attendu que*

Attendu que also expresses consecutive causality and belongs to legal language or administrative style, where it is used for justifying the enunciation of the main clause:

- (388) *Cette dernière histoire est parfaitement invraisemblable, attendu que les officiers pas plus que les soldats n'ont le droit d'user de la poste civile* 'This last story is perfectly implausible, given that the officers, just as the soldiers, did not have the right to use the civilian post' (Sartre, *Carnets de la drôle de guerre: septembre 1939-mars 1940*, 1983, Frantext)

It is rare in initial position and cannot appear as a focus in a cleft construction, nor can it function as an answer.

After this brief overview of the inventory of causal conjunctions in modern French, we shall now proceed to a closer analysis of the conjunction *vu que*.

8.2.2. Level of reanalysis and regrammation: from preposition to conjunction

As mentioned earlier, the conjunction *vu que* could in theory be the result of a process of grammaticalization resulting from a reanalysis of the lexical verb + complement clause, with a reduction of the main clause, following the thread: (A) *on a vu que la situation est grave* → (B) *vu que la situation est grave*, a process similar to that of the discourse marker, as described in section 6.3.1. This would imply that structure (A) in certain occasions could be interpreted in a different way than the original lexical meaning, in which *a vu* is the present perfect form of the verb *voir* with a cognitive meaning, followed by a subordinate clause as the object (*que la situation est grave*), expressing what we see (= realize). If this was verified, the grammation of the preposition *vu* and the conjunction *vu que*, respectively, were two separate processes. However, I find in my empirical studies no indication of such a reanalysis, nor any example of possible bridging context which could support this hypothesis.

Rather, it is more likely that the conjunction *vu que* is the result of a reanalysis of the grammaticalized use of *vu* as preposition + complement to also allow for a complement clause to be governed by the preposition, thus turning *vu + que* into a conjunction, i.e. a regrammation. According to Robert *et al.* (2007) and confirmed by my data (cf. section 8.1.2), *vu* has functioned as a preposition since the fourteenth century. As regards the conjunction *vu que*, Robert *et al.* (2007) date the first use back to 1421, i.e. half a century later. This clear order – first the preposition *vu*, later the conjunction *vu que* – suggests, but does not prove, that the latter is derived from the former. This hypothesis will be tested in the following.

The earliest examples found in Frantext of *vu que* which are not preceded by an auxiliary are from 1360. The source, *De la erudition ou enseignement des enfans nobles*, is a moral educative text:

(389) *Nature s'i acorde par les exemples dessus dis ; et aussi, veü que le tropeau de Nostre Seigneur soit seulement de oailles, nulz loups ou porceaulx ou lions ne peuvent estre des oailles, mais seulement les aignaulx, c'est a dire les simples et innocens et enfans, comme sont a peu pres seulement les anfans* 'Nature agrees

with the above examples; and also, given that the herd of Our Lord is only lambs, no wolves nor pigs nor lions can be [member of the] flock, but only the lambs, that means the simple and innocent and children, as are almost only the children' (Daudin, *De la erudition ou enseignement des enfans nobles*, 1360, Frantext)

- (390) *Qui sera le christien qui sera confondu par ces allegations, veü que nostre conversation doit ester ou ciel ?* 'Who will be the Christian who will be unveiled by these allegations, given that our conversation must take place in Heaven?' (Daudin, *De la erudition ou enseignement des enfans nobles*, 1360, Frantext)

Example (391) is from *Le Canarien*, which is a historical chronicle (prose) on the Norman campaign on the Canary Islands in 1402:

- (391) *Et mettons toute la diligence que nous povons de prendre gens, car c'est tout nostre reconfort quant à present, a fin que s'il vient aucun navire d'Espaigne ou d'ailleurs, que nous puissions changer gens pour vivres, veu que Bettencourt nous a du tout habandonnez; car il ne nous a mie secourus, ainsi qu'il nous avoit dit et promis; pour quoy nous vivons povrement et sommes en grant misere, se Dieu ne nous aide* 'And let's do all the diligence that we can to take people, because it is all our comfort for the present, so that if no ship comes from Spain or elsewhere, we can change people for food, since Bettencourt has totally abandoned us ; for he did not help us, as he had told us and promised; therefore we live poorly and are in great poverty, if God does not help us' (Gadifer de La Salle, *Le Canarien*, 1404, Frantext)

As we see it, these examples all appear to have occurrences of *vu que* introducing a clause, thus earlier than the dating of Robert *et al.* (2007: 2120), who date the earliest example of *vu que* as conjunction to 1421. This could indicate that the preposition *vu* and the conjunction *vu que* are developed almost at the same time. However, I find it logical, even if the order cannot be proved, to start from the absolute construction with *vu* as the verbal predicate (with the cognitive meaning) and an NP (in the function of subject) which forms a nexus with the verbal predicate. The absolute construction is subsequently reanalysed as a preposition with an NP as its complement, as illustrated in section 8.1.2. Once grammaticalized as a preposition, *vu*'s potential for nominal complements is expanded to

also include a complement clause, as illustrated in example (392). The complements are marked by the underscore:

- (392) ***Vu** la situation actuelle, il a dû partir → **Vu** que la situation actuelle a changé, il a dû partir*

Subsequently, *vu* + complement clause introduced by *que* has been reanalysed as the conjunction *vu que* introducing a causal clause:

- (393) ***Vu** que la situation actuelle a changé, il a dû partir → **Vu que** la situation actuelle a changé, il a dû partir*

This process, a new analysis of the same surface structure, is what Haspelmath (1998) labels *rebracketing* (see also section 4.2.2).

Since the preposition + complement is already part of grammar, this last process is a regrammation $B > C$ (Andersen 2006a), a more systematic term corresponding to the loosely formulated analyses by Heine & Kuteva (2002: 4): “items already part of the inventory of grammatical forms give rise to more strongly grammaticalized items. Prepositions often develop into conjunctions.”

It is, however, difficult to estimate the exact moment of this change since there is no surface manifestation of change (cf. section 2.1). Let us look at some examples.

In example (394), *veu que* must mean ‘since’, but the inserted *donques* indicates, however, a less-tight relation between *veu* and *que*, which could be interpreted as a sign of it not yet being fully grammaticalized.

- (394) ***Veu** *donques* **que** les poetes sont ainsi renomméz et de pluseurs loéz, il et bon de enquerir se c’est chose raisonnable de user de poetrie commode fables et fictions, et dient aucuns que non* ‘Since poets are thus admired and praised by many, it is good to inquire if it is reasonable to use poetry, fables and fictions, and say no [=that it isn’t]’ (Legrand, *Archiloge Sophie*, 1400, Frantext).

Example (395), which refers to a situation of court, could, on the one hand, be an example of a fully grammaticalized conjunction, although analysing it as a preposition + complement clause is also plausible. Note that the causal clause is in initial position in examples (394) to (396):

- (395) *Veü que j'ay tant Amour servy, Ne suis je pas mal guerdonné ?* 'Given how long I have served love, have I not been badly rewarded?' (Orléans, *Rondeaux*, 1443, Frantext)

Example (396) is from a religious theatre piece; *Veü que* corresponds to *puisque*:

- (396) *Veü que mes filz sont absens et occupéz a la pasture de mes bestez, qui [...], je me tairay de ce cas et rien n'en diray jusques a ce qu'ilz revenront* 'Since my sons are absent and occupied with the pasture of my cattle, which [...], I shall be silent about this case and say nothing about it until they come back' (Anonymous, *Les mystères de la procession de Lille*, 1485, Frantext).

In his French grammar from 1586, Cauchie mentions *vu que* not only in his section on mood, with the following example: "*Vu qu'il m'a joué d'un tel tour j'ay bien occasion de ne me plus fier en lui*",¹⁶⁸ illustrating that *vu que* is followed by the indicative (Cauchie 2001 [1586]: 367), but also as a type of causal conjunction, i.e. *causales*, in his section on subordinate conjunctions: "*Nous usons aussi de participes passifs avec le petit mot que, comme vu que, pour vu que, [...], entendu que ...*"¹⁶⁹ (Cauchie 2001 [1586]: 454). Example (397) is a standard example to illustrate this:

- (397) *Néanmoins si je le prends d'un autre biais, je dirai bien que vous n'avez point de raison d'admirer ma venue, vue que vous pouviez bien croire que j'ai l'âme trop sensible pour endurer votre perfidie sans vous en venir faire des reproches* 'However, if I take it from another angle, I will say that you have no reason to be astonished because of my coming, since you could well believe that my soul is too sensitive to endure your perfidy without criticizing you because of it' (Sorel, *La Sœur jalouse*, 1623, Frantext)

Dictionnaires d'Autrefois mentions in continuation of the preposition *vu* (see 8.1.3) *vu que*:

¹⁶⁸ 'since he played such a trick on me, I have a good reason not to trust him anymore' [my translation].

¹⁶⁹ 'We also use passive participles with the little word *que*, as *vu que, pour vu que, [...], entendu que...*' [my translation].

“On dit aussi, *Veux que*, pour dire, D'autant que, puis que. *Je m'estonne qu'il ait entrepris cela, veu qu'il n'est pas trop hardi. comment avez vous entrepris cette affaire, veu que vous sçavez bien*”¹⁷⁰

Also Bolly & Degand (2013: 230) conclude that “*Vu que* is already fully grammaticalized in Preclassical French, maybe already since the emergence of subordinating conjunctions in French.”

To sum up, not only my empirical analyses but also several previous studies suggest that the conjunction *vu que* is an indirect result of the reanalysis of the preposition *vu* (e.g. Wilmet 1997; Riegel *et al.* 2009 [1994]). In consequence, I assume that the regrammation of the conjunction *vu que* is indeed the result of a reanalysis of the preposition *vu* and its complement clause (B > C): the conjunction *que*, which is the standard introducer of a complement clause, has been reanalysed as being part of a complex conjunction (*vu + que*), instead of a simple conjunction introducing the complement clause. In addition to establishing a syntactic relation of subordination, the conjunction *vu que* transmits a procedural semantic content expressing causality.

In section 8.3, the relation between the creation of the preposition *vu* (A > B) and the creation of the conjunction *vu que* (B > C) will be presented as connected paradigms (A > B > C).

8.2.3. Actualization

Given that the conjunction *vu que* seems to be derived from the preposition *vu* (and develops along with this), the actualization process, at least in the early stage, presumably follows the same path. I will show that just like *vu*, the early occurrences are often found in formal registers, i.e. administrative or moral texts. From there on, it spreads to less-formal contexts, but unlike the preposition, the conjunction remains highly formal until very recently (see section 8.2.1.5). Its use is thus externally motivated, starting in the formal registers and later on spreading to more informal registers. As illustrated in section 8.2.2, it is difficult to determine a precise period for the reanalysis and grammaticalization. Following my hypothesis that the conjunction is derived from the

¹⁷⁰ Dictionnaire de L'Académie française, 1st Edition (1694): (<https://portail.atilf.fr/cgi-bin/dico1look.pl?strippedhw=voir&headword=&docyear=ALL&dicoid=ALL&articletype=1>) ‘We also say, *Veux que*, to say, considering that, since. I am surprised that he undertook this, since he is not too daring. How did you tackle this business, given that you are well aware’ [my translation].

prepositional use of *vu*, it is most probable that the reanalysis of the preposition + complement clause takes place when the preposition is grammaticalized.

Like the preposition *vu*, *vu que* seems to peak in the pre-classical period, after which the frequency is stable and on a low scale (see Table 33). I assume that this peak, which is parallel to the peak of the preposition, is due to an extensive use in legal and administrative texts.

	Initial position	Non-initial position
Medieval period (1300-1549) ¹⁷¹		
Corpus size: 10,089,848 words		
Total frequency pr. 100,000 words: 2.4		
frequency pr. 100,000 words	0.1 (7)	2.3 (231)
Pre-classical period (1550-1649)		
Corpus size: 14,827,773 words		
Total frequency pr. 100,000 words: 5.2		
frequency pr. 100,000 words	0.1 (11)	5.1 (754)
Classical period (1650-1799)		
Corpus size: 43,635,170 words		
Total frequency pr. 100,000 words: 0.3		
frequency pr. 100,000 words	0.005 (2)	0.32 (140)
Modern period (1800-1979)		
Corpus size: 149,764,941 words		
Total frequency pr. 100,000 words: 0.2		
frequency pr. 100,000 words	0.01 (17)	0.2 (324)
Contemporary period (1980-2020)		
Corpus size: 41,729,482 words		
Total frequency pr. 100,000 words: 0.3		
frequency pr. 100,000 words	0.03 (12)	0.3 (122)

Table 33. Frequency of clausal conjunctions introduced by *vu que*. Actual numbers in brackets

As shown in Table 33, there is only little variation in the frequency of the conjunction from the classical period onwards. This is entirely in line with the results of Bolly & Degand (2012, 2013), who conclude that there has not been much change in the use of *vu que*, and that this conjunction is characterized by semantic, formal, and functional stability over the centuries. They state, furthermore, that *vu que* is conventionalized in the classical period (seventeenth to eighteenth centuries), supposedly due to the high rate of treaties and conventions published during this time.

¹⁷¹ Quantitative results from this period are based on the same search-string as the other periods, which for the sake of comparability are either full-stop or comma, followed by the participle *vu* + *que* functioning as conjunction ([. *Vu que*] or [, *vu que*]). However, as is clear from section 8.2.2, the findings from the Medieval period are not all occurrences of the grammaticalized conjunction but may be instances of the preposition *vu* + complement clause.

There is a clear preference for placing the causal clause, introduced by *vu que*, in non-initial position; this may be a remnant of its origin in the absolute construction, which tends to be placed after the main clause. In the most recent periods, this difference is slightly decreasing, with a few more occurrences of the causal clause in the initial position. In spite of the very limited number of occurrences, one could be tempted to interpret this as an indication of advancing grammar. Nonetheless, the conjunction remains rare and restricted in use.

In order to examine the use of *vu que* in contemporary French in a diaphasic dimension, and to test whether the conjunction *vu que* is still mostly found in legal and administrative texts, I have conducted a corpus query on Sketch Engine (<https://www.sketchengine.eu>) on the sub-corpus of legal texts (EUR-Lex judgments French 12/2016), which contains 58,993,172 tokens.¹⁷² This provided 71 occurrences, corresponding to 1.2 per million tokens:

- (398) *En effet, il paraît raisonnable de considérer qu'une personne impliquée dans une violation du droit de la concurrence, face à l'éventualité d'une telle communication, serait dissuadée d'utiliser la possibilité offerte par de tels programmes de clémence, notamment **vu que** les informations volontairement fournies par cette personne peuvent faire l'objet d'échanges entre la Commission et les autorités nationales de concurrence en vertu des articles 11 et 12 du règlement n° 1/2003.* 'Indeed, it seems reasonable to consider that a person involved in a violation of competition rules, faced with the possibility of such a communication, would be dissuaded from using the possibility offered by such leniency programs, in particular in view of the fact that the information voluntarily provided by this person may be the subject of exchanges between the Commission and the national competition authorities under Articles 11 and 12 of Regulation No 1/2003' (Judgment of the Court (grand Chamber) of 14 June 2011, Sketchengine)

¹⁷² Recall that Sketch Engine count *tokens* (per million tokens), in contrast to the quantitative analyses based on Frantext which count words (per 100,000 words).

In comparison, the same query launched in the non-filtered corpus French Web 2017 (frTenTen17), which contains 6,845,630,573 tokens, provided 67,948 occurrences,¹⁷³ corresponding to 9.93 hits per million tokens. A large part of the identified occurrences from the corpus are from blogs and websites which approach the consumers in an informal and familiar way: the relatively high frequency of *vu que* in this corpus indicates that the use of *vu que* in contemporary French, in contrast to the preposition *vu*, is no longer primarily related to formal and administrative text types:

- (399) ***Vu que** je n'ai pas de téléphone pour tester, il faut pour le moment cliquer sur les bords (une bande de quelques pixels)* 'Since I don't have a phone to do a test, it is now necessary to click on the edges (a strip of a few pixels)' (<http://blog.zoubda.fr/>)

Example (400), found in Frantext and a clear example of informal and familiar language, confirms this tendency. Here, the verb of the causal clause is omitted, *ça* is used rather than *cela*, and the *ne* is omitted in the negation, all signs of colloquial language:

- (400) *J'ai que ça en tête. Tout le temps. Ces pensées, que je garde pour moi. **Vu que** les faiblesses, ça passe pas. Je m'imagine mal ouvrir les vannes dans le vestiaire* 'I have only that in mind. All the time. These thoughts, which I keep to myself. Given that the weaknesses, that doesn't stop. I can't imagine myself opening the valves in the cloakroom' (Théobald, *Boys*, 2019, Frantext)

Thus, the actualization process of the conjunction appears to be more advanced than the actualization of the preposition.

Empirical results from Bolly & Degand (2012) indeed support these observations. Their corpus is divided into two genres: formal (essays and treaties) and informal (accounts and novels). Their results show that a high frequency of *vu que* in the pre-classical period, in particular in the formal genres, drops radically in the classical period, and further in the premodern and modern/contemporary periods. In the informal genres there is also a radical drop from the pre-classical to the classical period, but in contrast to the formal genres, the frequency in the informal genres increases after the classical period. Thus,

¹⁷³ In order to avoid noise such as occurrences of matrix + complement (*J'ai vu que ...*), I used the following search strand, which eliminates examples with a verb placed either in the first or the second position before the participle: [tag!="V.*"] [word="vu"|word="Vu"] [word="que"].

whereas the use of *vu que* in the pre-classical and classical periods was more frequent in the formal genres, the proportions seem to switch during the following centuries, and in modern/contemporary French, the use is more significant in the narrative texts. Studies of recent spoken language support the tendency of spread to informal contexts, since *vu que* seems to be even more frequent here. So, they suggest that an external factor could have caused the emergence of this construction since it seems to spread from formal to informal contexts (cf. Andersen 2001a, 2001c).

In a following study, Bolly & Degand (2013) take it a step further and propose to analyse *vu que* (as well as *on a/nous avons vu que*) as discourse markers in present-day French, based on the arguments that they “share a discourse structuring function” and that discourse markers, in their view, “do encode semantic meaning [...] and they can be analysed syntactically”. As regards *vu que*, the grammatical content is *causal* (corresponding to what in our approach is labelled semantic frame), and its syntactic function is a subordinating conjunction, whereas the authors affirm that *on a vu que* encodes *metadiscursive meaning* and functions as a *propositional marker* (Bolly & Degand 2013: 212-213). These criteria (metadiscursive meaning and propositional marker) are not included in my definition of discourse markers, as listed in section 6.1, and accordingly neither *vu que* nor *on a vu que* are investigated as discourse markers in the present study.¹⁷⁴ Regardless of our differences with respect to categorization, Bolly & Degand (2013) arrive at the same conclusion as I have presented in this section, i.e. that *vu que* is already fully grammaticalized in pre-classical French, that it has its origin in formal contexts, and that its tendency to generalise to less-formal contexts over time is a clear illustration of an externally motivated language change as defined by Andersen (2008a: 36) – see also section 2.3.

Let us now draw the paradigmatic consequences of these results.

¹⁷⁴ I do agree with Bolly & Degand (2013: 224), however, that *on a/nous avons vu que* can be considered as a frame maker at the level of metadiscourse, thus fulfilling the “double function of referring back to already mentioned facts and presenting those facts as self-evident”. But being metadiscursive is not the same as being a marker. Our classifications of DMs are not entirely identical since I do not include as markers entities which have fully maintained their lexical content. In my view, *Nous avons vu que* has lexical content corresponding to *Comme vous avez correctement dit, ...* ‘As you correctly said, ...’.

8.2.4. Paradigm 7: Conjunctions

The sub-paradigm of causal conjunctions, Paradigm 7, is shown in Table 34 and contains the forms exemplified in section 8.2.1, namely *parce que*, *puisque*, *comme*, *non (pas) que*, *vu que*, *étant donné que*, and *attendu que*.

The syntactic domain, i.e. the syntagmatic context, for the paradigm of conjunctions is a conjunction Conj., simple or complex. The semantic frame is *causal relation*, in the sense of expressing a factor which has a relation of causality to the content of the main clause. With respect to grammatical content, the members of the paradigm are, in addition to *causality*, characterized by a number of features, namely the *form* (simple vs. complex), type of causality (*pure*, *coercitive* or *consecutive*), *mood*, preferred position (before or after the main clause, i.e. *initial* or *non-initial*), level of formality (+/-*formality*), ability to function *as answer to a question*, and ability to function *as focus in a cleft construction*. Brackets around + or - indicate a lower frequency of a given feature.

Syntactic domain: Conj.		
Semantic frame: Causal relation		
Member of paradigm	Expression	Content
<i>Parce que</i> unmarked member	<i>Il est fatigué, parce qu'il a beaucoup travaillé aujourd'hui</i> 'He is tired, because he has worked a lot today'	complex form pure causality indicative +/-initial position +/-formality +answer to a question +focus in a cleft construction
<i>Puisque</i> marked member	<i>Il est fatigué, puisqu'il a beaucoup travaillé aujourd'hui</i> 'He is tired, since he has worked a lot today'	simple form coercitive causality indicative +/-initial position +/-formality -answer to a question -focus in a cleft construction
<i>Comme</i> marked member	<i>Comme il a beaucoup travaillé aujourd'hui, il est très fatigué</i> 'Since he has worked a lot today, he is very tired'	simple form consecutive causality indicative +initial position +formality -answer to a question -focus in a cleft construction

<i>Non (pas) que</i> marked member	<i>Il ne veut plus travailler, non pas qu'il n'ait pas le temps</i> 'He will not work any longer, not that he does not have the time'	complex form pure negated causality subjunctive +/-non-initial position +formality (<i>non pas que</i>) / -formality (<i>non que</i>) +elliptical phrase -focus in a cleft construction
<i>Vu que</i> marked member	<i>Vu que la situation actuelle a changé, il a dû partir</i> 'Since the current situation has changed, he had to leave'	complex form consecutive causality indicative +/-non-initial position +(/-)formality -answer to a question -focus in a cleft construction
<i>Étant donné que</i> marked member	<i>Il n'a pas travaillé aujourd'hui, étant donné qu'il est fatigué</i> 'He has not been working today, given that he is very tired'	complex form consecutive causality indicative preference for non-initial position +formality -answer to a question -focus in a cleft construction
<i>Attendu que</i> marked member	<i>Il n'a pas été présent à la présentation, attendu qu'il avait manqué son train</i> 'He was not present at the presentation, since he had missed his train'	complex form consecutive causality indicative -initial position +formality -answer to a question -focus in a cleft construction

Table 34. **Paradigm 7:** Paradigm of clausal conjunctions

Parce que has the least restrictions of the seven members of the paradigm and is thus the unmarked member. It is current in both initial and non-initial position, it is followed by the indicative mood (unmarked mood), it has no restrictions with respect to formality, it can function as an answer to a question and as a focus in a cleft construction, features which are all more or less restricted for the other prepositions. Furthermore, it expresses pure causality, i.e. there are no requirements regarding the relation between the causal clause and the main clause.

Although *comme* is in general a highly frequent word, in its capacity as causal conjunction it is marked, primarily because it can only be placed in initial position, and it is

additionally restricted to formal use. Moreover, it is restricted with respect to the relation between cause and consequence expressed by the main clause.

Non (pas) que is marked and differs from all the other conjunctions by being followed by the subjunctive, and by being the only negated clausal conjunction.

Puisque, in contrast to *parce que*, is marked, partly due to the fact that the reason is presented as entailing the consequence, which again appears to be inevitable (Tesnière 1988 [1959]) – partly because it cannot function as an answer to a question nor as a focus in a cleft construction. *Puisque* is, however, unmarked compared to other members : *étant donné que*, *attendu que*, *vu que*. Riegel *et al.* (2009 [1994]: 507) classify the clausal conjunctions in the same way as Tesnière, but group the coercitive with the consecutive causality in one group containing “*puisque* (and its variants of administrative style *vu que*, *attendu que*, *étant donné que*), used for justifying or affirming the validity of the statement of the main clause” [my translation]. Thus, *puisque* is mainly marked by its less-formal use as compared to *parce que*. However, the other options are in addition marked with respect to position.

As regards *vu que*, this conjunction does indeed seem rather similar to *étant donné que* and *attendu que*. However, the most recent data indicate that it is more inclined to spread to less-formal contexts than the two other ones. If this tendency continues, *vu que* may in the future turn into the consecutive counterpart of the coercitive *puisque*.

8.3. Connected paradigms

With regard to the source of the preposition *vu*, I believe to have confirmed my hypothesis that the preposition *vu* is a result of a grammation process ($A > B$), through which the relation between the verb (in its cognitive meaning) and the subject of the absolute construction has been reanalysed from NP + participle with concordance, to participle + NP (first with concordance, then without concordance), and further to preposition + NP.

As regards the creation of the conjunction *vu que*, I have demonstrated that it is a result of a regrammation ($B > C$), which implies a reanalysis of the preposition *vu* and the complement clause, in which the conjunction *que* changes its status to becoming part of a complex conjunction (*vu + que*).

This is illustrated in Figure 59:

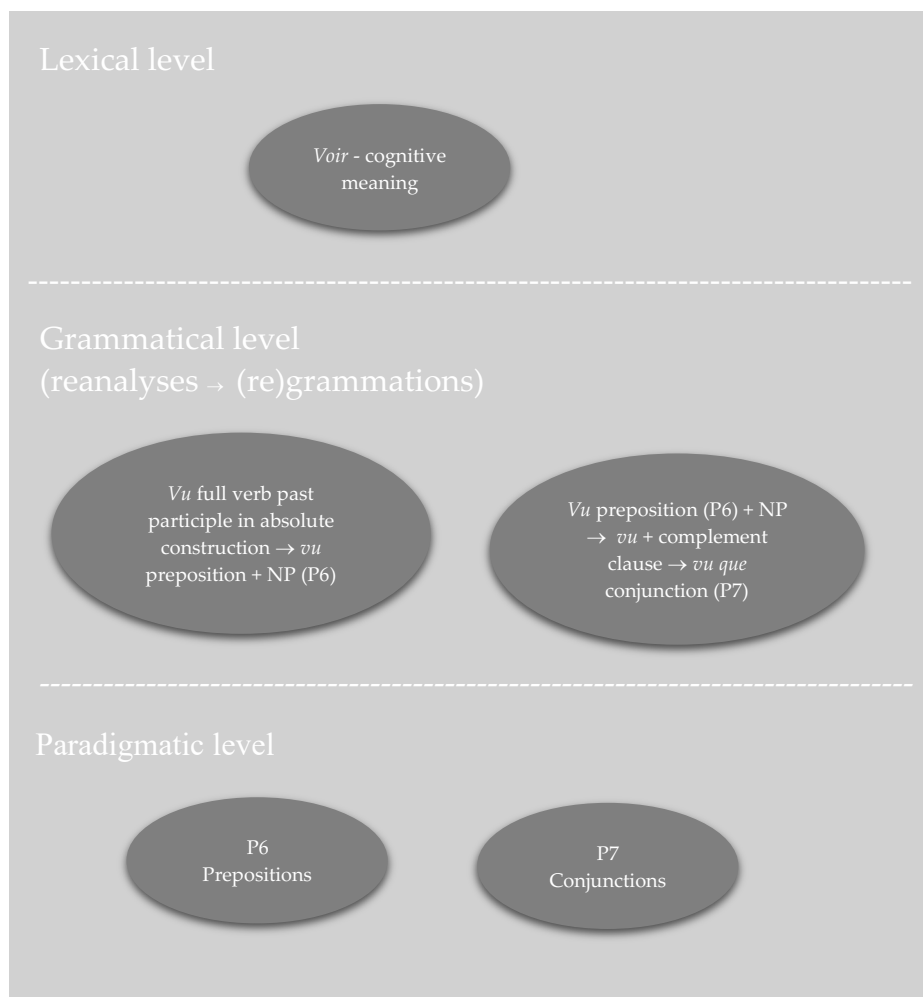


Figure 59. From Lexical level to Paradigms 6 and 7

In view of the relation between the two constructions, it is interesting to consider more closely how the two processes, i.e. the grammation (of *vu*) and the regrammation (of *vu que*), cohere.

In accordance with my definition of the term *connecting grammaticalization* (section 2.4), whereby the term refers to one connected process implying that a change A is a precondition for a change B, which again can be the precondition for another change C or D, I consider this term appropriate to describe the creation process of the preposition *vu* and the conjunction *vu que*, since members of the clausal conjunction paradigm do indeed presuppose the existence of the clausal preposition paradigm and a reanalysis, i.e. regrammation of the latter. Furthermore, the connecting grammaticalization is a diachronic description of the development of two constructions, which takes place one

after the other. In a synchronic perspective, the result is two connected paradigms, connected in the sense that they share the same semantic frame, i.e. causal relation, and in the sense that members of the grammaticalized paradigm of causal conjunctions presuppose the existence of the paradigm of causal prepositions and a reanalysis, i.e. regrammation of the latter ($A > B > C$).

9. Concluding remarks

In this study, my intention has been to provide illustrations of my theoretical position – that grammar is organised in paradigms, and that grammatical changes consist of creation, disappearance, or modification of these paradigms. In order to illustrate my points, I have demonstrated how one lexical entity, through a number of reanalyses, has developed into a series of grammatical functions. I have chosen for these illustrations the pathways of the polysemous and multifunctional verb *voir* into various grammatical paradigms by studying the contexts in which bridging contexts lead to new interpretations. Thus, I have shown that a change can start from an individual, lexically determined structure and then turn into a grammatical construction, acquiring new functions.

Each paradigm presented here reflects synchronic results of diachronic grammaticalization processes, which have been examined through studies of examples of bridging contexts, in order to highlight the reanalyses leading to new grammatical structures. Furthermore, by identifying the members belonging to the same paradigm – that is, covering the same semantic fields (having the same *semantic frame*) and distinguishing the different contexts (*syntactic domains*) in which they appear – I have identified specific features of each member of the paradigm and identified the asymmetric hierarchy by means of the theory of markedness.

Thus, I believe to have confirmed my underlying hypothesis that grammar – including constructions – consists of paradigms. I have performed quantitative and qualitative corpus studies in order to confirm or reject the proposed hypotheses concerning *when* and *how* each construction formed on *voir* has developed, by examining occurrences of *voir* in each specific context and proposed pathways of reanalysis and change leading to the creation of the particular paradigm.

Starting from the presentation of the lexical level of *voir* and its derivatives *voici* and *voilà* (see Figure 60), chapters 4 to 8 have provided illustrations of a representative series of (re)grammation processes leading to paradigmatic changes, i.e. changes at the grammatical level. With regard to the respective constructions, I have put forward arguments in order to verify my hypotheses that these changes from lexical (=A) to grammatical (=B), and further into another grammatical function (=C) are usage-based,

implying that the speaker interprets the content of a form of the verb *voir* first to be A, later to be B and, in some cases, further into C. These are all cases of reanalysis, i.e. a change by abduction, made by the individual speaker, followed by actualization, i.e. a spread in usage. The empirical studies have for the sake of diachronic reliability been based on text corpora. For further studies it would most likely be useful to expand the analyses by also investigating oral corpora of modern French, in order to strengthen the empirical argumentation, in particular for the change scenarios presented in chapters 4, 5, and 6.

As illustrated in Figure 60, each grammatical paradigm is generated as a result of one or more grammaticalization processes. At the top, we find the lexical points of departure (explored in chapter 3). The grammatical level comprises phases of the grammaticalization process: the initial reanalyses and grammaticalizations that are prerequisites for the construction to enter a new paradigmatic level. The paradigmatic level comprises the final phase, namely the new grammatical paradigm of which the reanalysed entity has become a member. The phases are intertwined and cannot exist independently.

Since this paradigmatic approach, combined with the selection of one particular lexical entity to illustrate my point, is new and hopefully can contribute to further developing the research field and to gaining new insights, I find it appropriate to sum up the results in a paradigmatic perspective.

P1 – the paradigm of progression – is the outcome of the reanalyses of a structure consisting of a main clause verb *voir* + NP with a subordinate relative clause into a nexus construction. The first reanalysis changes the status of the relative from subordinate into being part of a nexus construction implying a mutual dependency between the parts of construction: the antecedent and the deictic relative. Subsequently, along with the loss of semantic value of *voir*, the deictic relative + antecedent is reanalysed as a holistic perception to become a member of the progressive paradigm (A → B). This is a case of grammation, implying rebracketing. The change is internally motivated, spreading from unmarked to marked contexts.

P2 – the paradigm of presentation – is a result of the process by which the lexical entities *voici* and *voilà*, with their original meaning of drawing attention (‘see here/there’), are

reanalysed, have undergone bleaching, and acquired the function of presentation ('here is'). This is a process of grammation: a content change from lexical to grammatical content. Once grammaticalized, the presentation constructions *voici* and *voilà* can combine with the deictic relative and develop further into focalization constructions. Therefore, the grammation of the deictic relative leading to P1 is also a prerequisite for P3. Thus, the creation of the focalization construction is a case of regrammation of the presentative construction: a change from one grammatical content to another.

The paradigm of discourse markers, P4, is the outcome of the processes by which a main clause (*tu vois*, *vous voyez*, *voyons*) undergoes bleaching and subsequent change of content from lexical to pragmatic content to become a discourse marker, i.e. to become part of grammar. In addition, the creation of *voilà* as discourse marker is described as a process of regrammation, by which the original governing of the presentative *voilà* has been modified into a new relation in which the use of *voilà* serves to ensure the progress of the communication, to signal the involvement of the speaker and/or the hearer, or to draw the hearer's attention to what follows. Hence, the creation of P4 also presupposes the grammation of the presentative (P2). By demonstrating that pragmatic markers – not only discourse markers (P4), but also presentatives (P2) and focalization markers (P3) – can be organized in grammatical paradigms, I believe to have provided arguments for considering pragmatic elements as part of grammar.

My analyses of the reflexive form of *voir*, combined with either the infinitive or the past participle, touch upon two parallel structures of voice which have, until now, been rather overlooked, both in a diachronic and in a comparative perspective. The analyses illustrate the bleaching of *voir*, leading to a recategorization by which *voir* becomes an auxiliary. The structure *se voir* + infinitive provides a way to passivize ditransitive verbs, whereas *se voir* + past participle is mainly used with transitive verbs yet distinguished by its resultative aspect. These are therefore members of the voice paradigm (P5).

P6 is the paradigm of causal prepositions, of which the preposition *vu* (generated on the past participle form of *voir*) is a member. The creation of the preposition is an example of bleaching of the lexical entity, which through reanalysis leads to grammation, i.e. a

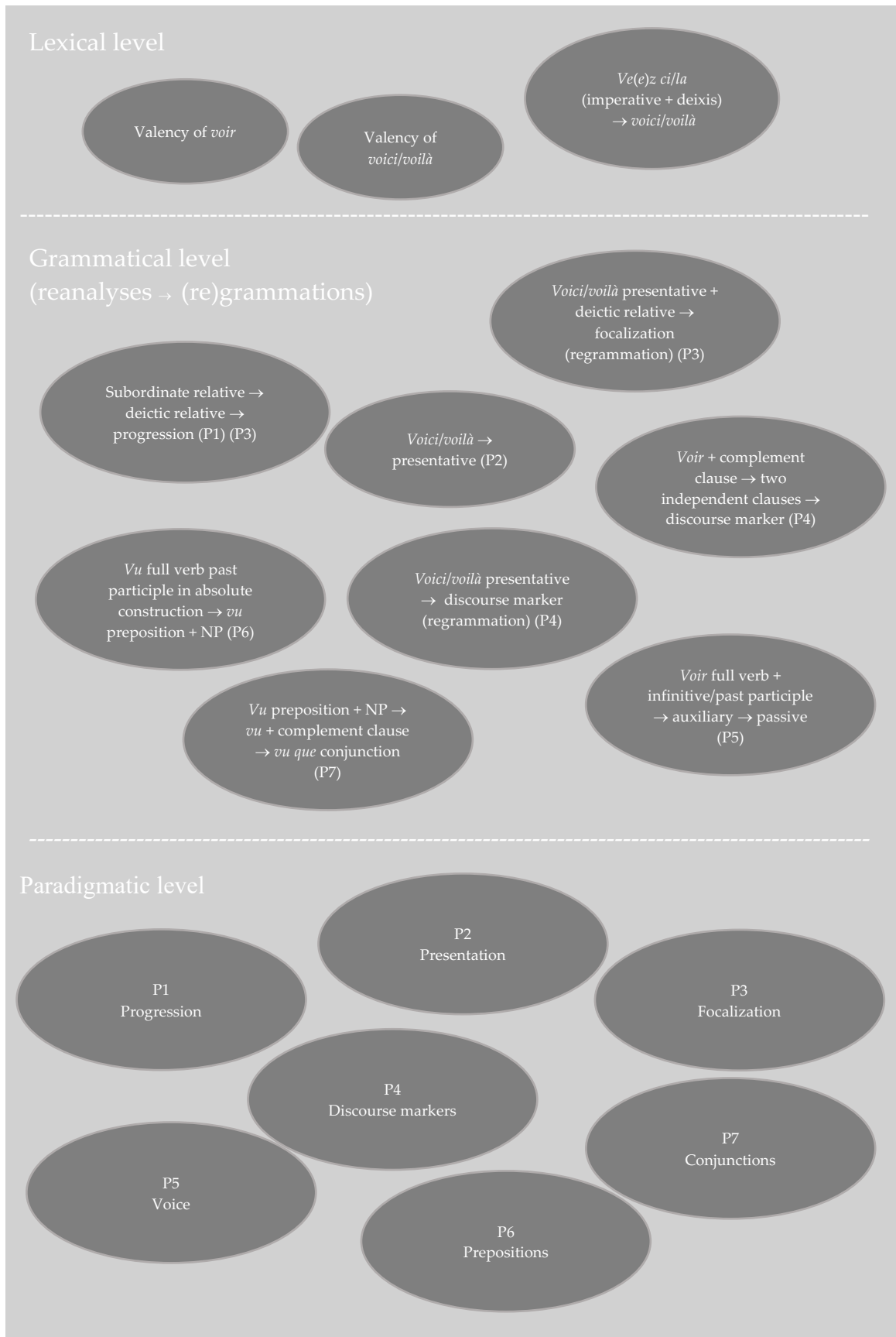


Figure 60. Overview of Paradigms

change of category from lexical to grammatical. Moreover, the reanalysis of the preposition combined with a complement clause leads to the creation of the conjunction (P7), i.e. an instance of regrammation implying rebracketing and recategorization.

I have aimed to embrace central grammaticalized uses of the multifaceted verb *voir*. The paradigms are of various types, but they all meet the demand of being closed from a synchronic point of view. Undoubtedly, more paradigms containing a form of *voir* could be identified, for instance the paradigm of interjections as briefly touched upon in sections 6.3.1 and 6.3.2.4, the paradigm of conditional conjunctions such as *pourvu que* ‘provided that’, derived from *pourvoir*, as mentioned in section 8.2, not to mention functions derived from other derivatives of *voir*: *entrevoir*, *prévoir*, *revoir*, etc. Further illustrations of such constructions would, however, not produce new insights given the overall aim of the study.

In addition to its potential to grammaticalize, the lexical verb *voir* is – thanks to its high frequency and its ability to attain a cognitive meaning – also inclined to form collocations such as *voir grand* ‘have big plans’, *aller voir* ‘visit’, *voir juste* ‘get it right’. Such collocations – which are not the focus of the present study – would belong to the lexical level.

In overall terms, I believe to have demonstrated that grammatical change involves paradigmatic restructuring in the sense that when lexical entities grammaticalize, they enter pre-existing or new grammatical paradigms. Therefore, the concept of paradigm is important if we wish to understand the reanalyses that lead to grammation.

Approaching grammar as sets of paradigms provides a precise and relatively straightforward presentation of what otherwise would seem to be utterly diverse usages of a lexical entity. Please refer to the illustration of a lexical approach in the Appendix, which confuses very different levels of usage: lexical, semi-grammatical, and grammatical. With that in mind, I hope to have provided convincing evidence in favour of this claim.

Language is dynamic and since grammatical paradigms capture synchronic results of a given language state, the grammatical paradigms generated here are merely synchronic accounts, subject to change over time. The distribution of markedness can shift, new functions may appear – new paradigms may emerge.

Appendix

Illustration of a presentation of diverse usages of the verb voir by means of a lexical approach from Dictionnaire de Robert Correcteur

voir [vwaʀ] **verbe**

(d'abord *veder*; vient du latin *videre*, d'une racine signifiant « connaître »)

I. verbe intransitif Percevoir les images des objets par le sens de la vue. *Les aveugles ne voient pas* (→ **NON-VOYANT**). *Ne voir que d'un œil* (→ **BORGNE**). *Voir trouble. Je ne vois pas clair.* — **loc.** *Voir loin* : prévoir.

II. verbe transitif direct

1. Percevoir (qqch.) par les yeux. *Voir qqch. de ses yeux, de ses propres yeux. Je l'ai à peine vu.* → **APERCEVOIR, ENTREVOIR.** *Cela fait plaisir à voir. C'est à voir* : cela mérite d'être vu. *J'ai vu cela dans le journal.* → **1 LIRE.**

■ **loc.** *Voir le jour* : naître ; (**choses**) paraître.

■ **Faire voir** : montrer. *Faites-moi voir ce livre.* — (**personnes**) *Se faire voir* : se montrer. « *Il y a des endroits où il faut se faire voir* » (**LA BRUYÈRE**). — **loc., fam.** *Va te faire voir !* : va au diable.

■ **Laisser voir** : permettre qu'on voie ; ne pas cacher. *Ne pas laisser voir son trouble.*

■ Avoir l'image de (qqn, qqch.) dans l'esprit. → **se REPRÉSENTER.** *Ma future maison, je la vois en Bretagne.* — **loc., fam.** *Tu vois ça d'ici !* : tu imagines.

■ **Voir... (+ inf.).** *Je vois tout tourner.* — **loc.** *Je te vois venir* : tes intentions sont connues. *Il faut voir venir, attendre.* — (**sujet : chose**) *Le pays qui l'a vue naître, où elle est née. Ce journal a vu son tirage augmenter.*

■ **Voir... (+ attribut).** *Je voudrais la voir heureuse. Vous m'en voyez ravi, navré.* — **loc., fam.** *Je voudrais vous y voir !* (dans cet état, cette situation) : à ma place vous ne feriez pas mieux.

2. Être spectateur, témoin de (qqch.). *Voir une pièce de théâtre.* → **ASSISTER à.** — *Voir une ville, un pays, y aller, visiter.* **loc.** (**traduction d'un dicton italien**) *Voir Naples et mourir.* — *Voir du pays** : voyager. — **loc., fam.** *On aura tout vu* : c'est le comble. *J'en ai vu (bien) d'autres !* : j'ai vu pire. *En faire voir (de toutes les couleurs) à qqn, le tourmenter.*

3. Être, se trouver en présence de (qqn). *Je l'ai déjà vu.* → **RENCONTRER.** *Elle ne veut voir personne.* → **RECEVOIR ; FRÉQUENTER.** *Aller voir qqn, lui rendre visite.* — **fam.** *Je l'ai assez vu, j'en suis las. Je ne peux pas le voir, pas le voir en peinture* : je le déteste. → **SENTIR.**

4. Regarder attentivement, avec intérêt. → **EXAMINER.** *Il faut voir cela de plus près. Voyez ci-dessous.* — *Voir un malade, l'examiner.*

■ Avoir une vision complète. « *On ne voit rien quand on se contente de regarder* » (ROUSSEAU). — **absolt** « *Apprendre à voir est le plus long apprentissage de tous les arts* » (GONCOURT).

5. fig. Se faire une opinion sur (qqch.). — **absolt** *Nous allons voir*, réfléchir (avant un choix). *On verra* : on avisera plus tard. *C'est tout vu* : c'est tout décidé. — **prov.** *Qui vivra verra* : l'avenir seul permettra de juger. — *On verra bien !* : attendons la suite des événements.

■ **Pour voir** : pour se faire une opinion. — **en menace** *Essaie un peu, pour voir !*

■ **Voir que, comme, combien...** → **CONSTATER**. *Voyez comme le hasard fait bien les choses !*

■ **Voir si...** *Voyez si elle accepte*, informez-vous-en.

■ **(en incise)** *Vois-tu, voyez-vous*, appuie une opinion en invitant à la réflexion.

■ **Voir, après un v. absolt** : pour voir. **fam.** *Voyons voir ! Écoutez voir !*

■ **Voyons !**, s'emploie pour rappeler à la raison, à l'ordre. *Un peu de bon sens, voyons !*

6. Se représenter par la pensée. → **CONCEVOIR, IMAGINER**. *Voir la réalité telle qu'elle est. Vous voyez, tu vois ce que je veux dire. Je vois !* : je comprends fort bien.

■ **Voir grand** : avoir de grands projets. — *Elle voyait en lui un ami*, elle le considérait comme...

7. Avoir qqch. à voir (avec, dans) : avoir une relation, un rapport avec (**seulement avec pas, rien, peu**). *Je n'ai rien à voir dans cette affaire* : je n'y suis pour rien. — **absolt** *Cela n'a rien à voir !* : c'est tout différent.

III. verbe transitif indirect Voir à (+ inf.) : songer, veiller à. *Nous verrons à vous dédommager*. — **fam.** *Il faudrait voir à voir !* (menace, avertissement).

se voir [səvwar] **verbe pronominal**

1. (réfl.) Voir sa propre image. *Se voir dans la glace*. — (**avec un attribut d'objet, un compl.**) *Elle ne s'est pas vue mourir*. → **SENTIR**. — (**semi-auxiliaire**) *Elle s'est vue contrainte de renoncer* : elle fut, elle se trouva contrainte... *Elle s'est vu refuser l'entrée*, on lui a refusé... — S'imaginer. *Ils se voyaient déjà gagnants, au bout de leurs peines*.

2. (récipr.) Se rencontrer, se trouver ensemble. *Ils ne se voient plus*. → **se FRÉQUENTER**. — **loc., fig.** *Ils ne peuvent pas se voir* : ils se détestent. → **se SENTIR**.

3. (passif) Être, pouvoir être vu. *Une pièce qui se voit avec plaisir*. — Être remarqué, visible. *La retouche ne se voit pas*. — Se rencontrer, se trouver. *Cela se voit tous les jours* : c'est fréquent. *Cela ne s'est jamais vu* : c'est impossible.

vu, vue [vy] **adjectif, nom masculin et préposition**

I. adjectif

1. Perçu par le regard. — **loc.** *Ni vu ni connu* : sans que personne en sache rien.

■ **nom masculin** *Au vu et au su de tout le monde* : au grand jour. → **OUVERTEMENT**.
— *C'est du déjà-vu !*, ce n'est pas une nouveauté.

2. Compris. *C'est bien vu ?* **ellipt** *Vu ?* — **fam.** *C'est tout vu !*, il n'y a pas à revenir là-dessus.

3. *Être bien, mal vu*, bien ou mal considéré. → **APPRÉCIÉ**.

II. Vu préposition

1. En considérant, eu égard à. *Vu la qualité, c'est cher.*

2. Vu que locution conjonctive Étant donné que. → **1 ATTENDU que.**

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