

Vaugelas and the development of the French language: theory and practice.

A thesis submitted by Wendy Margaret Ayres of St. Hilda's College to the University of Oxford for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Trinity Term 1983.

[12 1984] 117

My thesis attempts to provide an overall view of Vaugelas's work, to indicate the development of his ideas during his lifetime, to place the Remarques sur la langue françoise (1647) in a historical and sociological context, and to evaluate the importance of his ideas both for the writing of works on language and for the evolution of the French language itself.

Three principal lines of enquiry have been adopted - the historical, the linguistic, and the sociolinguistic. I have been concerned with three historical questions. Firstly, how did Vaugelas's ideas develop during his lifetime? This involved analysis of the usage of the early translation of Fonseca's Lenten sermons (1615), the Arsenal manuscript of the Remarques, which differs in several crucial ways from the published version, the Remarques themselves, and finally the two posthumous versions of Vaugelas's translation of Quinte-Curce's De la vie et des actions d'Alexandre le grand (1653, 1659). Secondly, I have examined the place of the Remarques in the history of grammatical writing by considering Vaugelas's intellectual predecessors and thereby evaluating his originality. Thirdly, I have traced the influence of Vaugelas's ideas on subsequent writings on linguistic matters and his impact on the evolution of French.

The second concern - the linguistic - has involved detailed analysis of Vaugelas's work, focusing on the tension between theory and practice in the Remarques and the discrepancies between the theoretical pronouncements of the observations and Vaugelas's actual usage in the translations. Enquiry has been pursued at both the general theoretical level and through analysis of the details of Vaugelas's linguistic doctrine.

Thirdly, I have added a sociolinguistic dimension to my study in order to explain not only the popularity and success of the Remarques, but also the reason for many of the linguistic pronouncements. I show how in a sense the linguistic is subsumed by the sociological, the goal and intended audience of the work determining in no small way the theory of language expressed in the Remarques.

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My thesis attempts to provide an overall view of Vaugelas's work, to indicate the development of his ideas during his lifetime, to place the Remarques sur la langue françoise (1647) in a historical and sociological context, and to evaluate the importance of his ideas both for the writing of works on language and for the development of the French language itself.

In dealing with the historical question of the development of Vaugelas's ideas I was able to obtain a copy of an early translation by Vaugelas (1615) of the Spanish priest Fonseca's Lenten Sermons, a work largely ignored by Vaugelas's contemporaries and by present-day commentators alike. This now rare text provides valuable information about Vaugelas's usage at a time when, fresh from his native Savoy, he had not fully adopted the ways and manners of the Court. The usage of the translation differs significantly from that recommended in the Remarques, and in many aspects of its choice of vocabulary and construction it is akin to the usage of Renaissance authors, yet at the same time it foreshadows uses of language for which Vaugelas was later to become the authority. It is also instructive about Vaugelas's early views on correct translation procedure.

The second 'new' source of information about the development of Vaugelas's ideas, discussed in chapter 2, is the Arsenal manuscript of the observations, the content of which differs in several crucial ways from the published version of the Remarques. Although Jeanne Streicher in her introduction to the facsimile edition of the Remarques (Streicher 1934) announced a critical study of this manuscript and Marzys also called for a critical edition of it, no such study has been produced. From consideration of what has been added and what removed between the manuscript and the published Remarques, we see that not only did Vaugelas's ideas change on

questions of detail of French usage, but indeed his whole conception of the Remarques modified during the genesis of the work, with increasing importance being given to the spoken language of the Court. The changes affect Vaugelas's concept of the relationship between the spoken and written languages, poetry and prose, his presentation and style. This examination also enables us to understand why Vaugelas chose to pronounce on the issues dealt with in the Remarques and comprehend why there are so many inconsistencies in the observations. It shows the unsatisfactory nature of the Nouvelles Remarques, which comprises for the most part those observations which Vaugelas chose to reject from the manuscript.

The manuscript helps to answer another historical question in providing additional information about Vaugelas's sources. His dependence on the tradition of rhetoric, and notably on Quintilian, is evident, as is his willingness to accept the advice and comments of his contemporaries, so that the revisions between the manuscript and the published Remarques may in no small way be due to the recommendations offered by his colleagues and friends.

The next three chapters continue to trace the historical development of Vaugelas's ideas in examining the Remarques in greater detail, but also aim to provide a thorough linguistic analysis of the material, to compare and collate the content of the observations and to attempt to see whether there is indeed any coherent theory of language in the Remarques. Previous commentators on Vaugelas, especially in general histories of the language, have tended to provide a very superficial view of his work, merely repeating the same biographical details and quoting the same few lines from the Preface. Examination of the content of the Remarques shows that an appreciation of Vaugelas's ideas gained from reading one section may very well be contradicted on the very next page, so that only by

studying the work as a whole can any valid conclusion be reached. Throughout the tension between theory and practice has been a primary concern. The third chapter focuses on the topical question of the respective roles of usage and reason in the Remarques. Vaugelas's ideas are difficult to pin down because of the vagueness of the terminology (despite the patterning of vocabulary around certain key concepts), the constant contradictions, and the fluidity and flexibility of the theory caused by the problematic nature of such notions as l'usage douteux and la plus saine partie, of the relationship between usage and reason, the indeterminate status of analogy, and Vaugelas's grasp of history. While then the Preface suggests that Vaugelas has a clear concept of language behaviour and of his intentions in the Remarques, in fact interpretation of the theory is problematic for the vagueness and flexibility of the theory means that it is heavily weighted in Vaugelas's favour.

On the other hand Vaugelas does adopt some clear positions on points of detail and these are examined in the next two chapters (4 and 5). Syntax is treated separately because of the amount of space devoted to syntactic topics in the Remarques and the influence of Vaugelas's ideas on this domain. Throughout a keynote of moderation is sounded. Vaugelas tolerates a certain amount of elimination of letters redundant to the pronunciation in the field of orthography, but his emphasis on following usage means that he retains accepted etymological spellings. He allows certain neologisms provided they are well-formed and useful, and, unlike many of his contemporaries, favours a judicious use of synonyms, but in general he restricts the lexical stock, and is careful to differentiate the meaning of closely related words. His decisions on verb morphology are more problematic, since Vaugelas does not understand the competition between forms created by sound laws and by analogy, and his decisions are therefore unsystematic and inconsistent. However, he does have a clear

idea of the ideal sentence structure, which has all the syntactic relationships clearly and unambiguously marked with the elements immediately comprehensible as they are read in the linear sequence of the sentence. Frequently on syntactic questions Vaugelas predicts the trend of subsequent usage.

In the sixth chapter the development of Vaugelas's ideas is completed with discussion of the two versions of Vaugelas's translation of Quinte-Curce's De la vie et des actions d'Alexandre le grand, edited posthumously by Conrart and Chapelain in 1653 and by Patru in 1659. Discussion of this translation not only provides evidence about Vaugelas's mature language usage, but also helps to elucidate to what extent Vaugelas's observations did indeed record contemporary usage, and illustrates how in practice greater flexibility of interpretation of the theory is displayed in a work of artistic creation. The development of Vaugelas's theory of translation is outlined and the influence of Coeffeteau and d'Ablancourt on his ideas evaluated. In examining the usage of translation we are fortunate to have the comments and criticisms of the Academy on the translation begun in 1723, contained in an unpublished manuscript in the Archives of the Institut de France. Since the Academy chose to adopt Vaugelas's Preface in total in the edition of the Remarques with its comments appended (1704), it can be said that the comments on the Quinte-Curce translation view Vaugelas's work from the same theoretical viewpoint and using the same terminology. It is clear that Vaugelas the translator and stylist, in order to produce a varied, lively and pleasant-sounding piece of prose, requires greater flexibility of usage than Vaugelas the grammarian allows for communication at Court.

My final chapter places Vaugelas's work in a historical context by tracing the influence of his work on writers of observations, grammars, chroniques de langage, dictionaries etc., and indeed on the development

of the French language itself. It is shown that, although knowledge of Vaugelas's ideas may be vague, his name is still greatly honoured and his doctrine of the value of a pure and clear use of language is still part of accepted French language policy. Secondly chapter 7 adds a sociolinguistic dimension to the work to explain not only the reason for the popularity and influence of the Remarques in the seventeenth century, but indeed much of the linguistic content of the work. The Remarques were so successful in the seventeenth century because they provided a means for those trying to become socially accepted in the highest strata of society in a time of rapid social mobility; by a good and pleasing use of French one could succeed in society, especially with the ladies at Court. This sociological goal explains many of the linguistic decisions. The revisions between the Arsenal manuscript and the published observations illustrate the growing importance of the spoken language of the Court to Vaugelas with the realisation of the power and advantage gained by a good command of the language. Vaugelas's views on good usage depend on the desire to make communication as quick and easy as possible in order not to cause the hearer any displeasure or make the interlocutor appear ridiculous, the worst possible fate to befall the honnête homme. The vocabulary used must therefore be familiar to the reader or hearer: no word or expression must be used which is bas, too old or too new, over-technical or of the wrong register, for there is then a possibility that the hearer will not understand the word and lose interest not only in the conversation but in the speaker himself. Again a clear and unambiguous syntax is vital to retain the listener's attention. Vaugelas therefore preaches a doctrine of linguistic conformism, denying originality and self-expression in favour of imitation of accepted norms.

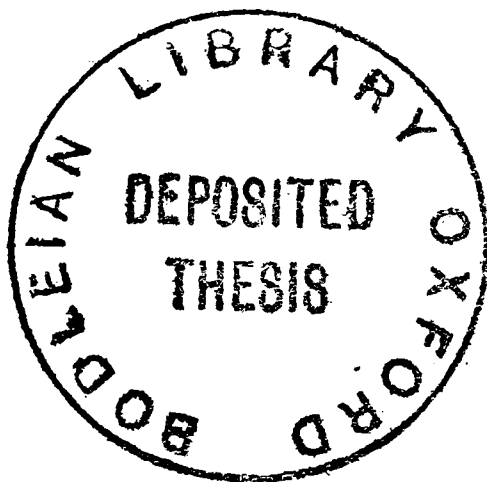
Much of the recent interest in seventeenth century French grammar

has focused on the work of the Port-Royal grammarians, and I hope my study will help provide a more balanced view of the period by examining in depth Vaugelas's grammar of usage.

VAUGELAS AND THE DEVELOPMENT
OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE :
THEORY AND PRACTICE

A thesis submitted to the University of Oxford
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by

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Abbreviations

The following abbreviations and cue-titles have been used:

The Fonseca translation : See bibliography VAUGELAS, C.F. de (1615).

Remarques : See bibliography VAUGELAS, C.F. de (1647).

The Quinte-Curce translation : See bibliography VAUGELAS, C.F. de (1653),
(1659).

NR : Nouvelles Remarques. See bibliography VAUGELAS, C.F. de (1690).

fo. (^r,^v) : folio (recto, verso).

MS : manuscript.

BN : Bibliothèque Nationale.

Note

Vaugelas's works are also referred to using the normal date convention. In citing the Remarques I have retained the original pagination, noting the duplicatively numbered pages with an asterisk as in the first edition.

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I should like to thank Professor Rebecca Posner for all her help and guidance in the writing of this thesis.

Introduction

Three principal reasons encouraged me to embark upon this study of Vaugelas. Firstly the literature discussing Vaugelas has been relatively sparse - the only complete book devoted to Vaugelas was published in 1851 (Moncourt 1851) - and of uneven quality. Most works dealing with the history of the French language devote a short section to Vaugelas and, depending on their theoretical viewpoint, hail him as one of the great French grammarians, praising him for his approach to language (Tell 1874: 46-49) or for his contribution to the fixing and standardisation of the language (Bruneau 1955: 171; Rickard 1974: 106), or dismiss him as a confused and muddled thinker who had no theoretical standpoint and no contribution to make to the history of grammatical writing (Rat 1963: 42; Chevalier et Arrivé 1970: 31; Chevalier 1968: 466). Even a great linguist like Brunot, while providing a more balanced view, can only give a relatively short, and in some ways unsatisfactory, account of Vaugelas's ideas¹. Moreover, Vaugelas's work has been the subject of a number of articles, many of which contain only a cursory summary of the main features of Vaugelas's ideas or superficial analysis, frequently repeating the same biographical details as passed down from Pellisson (Pellisson & d'Olivet 1858: I: 228-237) and quoting the same few lines from the Preface of the Remarques, notably the famous definition of what constitutes good usage (e.g. Moore-Rinvoulucris 1951; Jodogne 1962-3; Thabuis 1976)². Here then was a central figure in the history of

¹ See, for instance, my discussion of Brunot's criticism of Vaugelas's lack of a sense of history (108-9).

² These were especially plentiful around 1950 when a number of hommages to Vaugelas were written to mark the three hundredth anniversary of his death (e.g. the section devoted to Vaugelas in the Annales de la société d'émulation de l'Ain: 11-23 and articles of varying quality by Adam (1947); Arland (1950); Galliot (1948) and Herriot (1950)).

grammatical writing whose work, in the words of Brunot, was 'plus célèbre que connu' (1909: III: 51)³. This is not to say of course that nothing of interest or value has been written about Vaugelas. The student of Vaugelas is greatly indebted to the editions of Chassang (1880) and above all of Jeanne Streicher (1934) together with her two volume collection of commentaries on Vaugelas (1936); Lagane's Larousse selection from the Remarques (1975) has also helped to popularise the work⁴. The short general appreciations of Vaugelas by Blochwitz (1968), Brunetière (1903) and Pellat (1976-7) contain some interesting comments and certain recent articles dealing with particular aspects of Vaugelas's work are worthy of special mention (Chevalier(1971); Flutre (1954); Fuchs (1979); Marzys (1970-1; 1974; 1975; 1978); Mok (1968); Ott (1962)⁵; Percival (1976)⁶; Price (1979); Spillner (1981); Weinrich (1960))⁷. However, these provide only partial and scattered insights into the Remarques and I judged it necessary to try to provide a complete study of Vaugelas's views on language, analysing in detail the contents of the observations and paying particular attention to the contradictions between theory and practice, the proposed methodology and goals for the Remarques and the actual realisation of these in the text.

³ Cf. Brunetière 1903 : 27: 'C'est une fortune assez singulière, et, en vérité presque unique en son genre, que celle de Vaugelas. Nous n'avons de lui qu'un livre de Remarques sur la langue française et une traduction de Quinte-Curce; on ne les lit ni l'un ni l'autre; et cependant il n'y a guère, dans toute notre histoire littéraire, de nom plus connu que le sien, ni d'oeuvre dont on se fasse, en somme, une plus juste idée'.

⁴ The latest edition of the Remarques (1981) seems of little merit merely updating the orthography of the text and providing little more than a page of very general introduction.

⁵ This summarises the main arguments propounded by Ott in his 1947 doctoral thesis.

⁶ The role of usage and reason in the Remarques is also the subject of the most recent thesis on Vaugelas (Hillman 1972) and of an article taken from this (Hillman 1976). For an evaluation of Hillman's work, see Chapter 3.

⁷ Vaugelas's contribution to the elaboration and establishment of certain specific areas of usage is also well evaluated for example in Galet's (1971) and Clifford's books on word order (1973).

My second reason for producing a study on Vaugelas was that I considered it vital that the Remarques should be viewed within the context of the whole of Vaugelas's output. If examination of the contents of the Remarques was not to become sterile and worthless through being detached from the usage of writers of the period, then the pronouncements had to be tested against models of prose style. Vaugelas's own translation of Curtius Rufus's Life of Alexander on which he worked for approximately thirty years, refining and perfecting it, was considered one of the finest examples of prose writing in its day⁸ and therefore provides an excellent subject for such a comparison⁹. Theory and practice then also refers to the contrast between the work of Vaugelas the grammarian and Vaugelas the translator, his statements about how one should write and his own writings.

Thirdly, I wished to study the evolution of Vaugelas's ideas on language as they reflected the evolution of the French language and his increasing awareness of linguistic problems, and as they influenced the general development of the French language in the first half of the seventeenth century. One reason for this was to attempt to explain the various inconsistencies between Vaugelas's theory and practice in the Remarques. This task seemed particularly worthwhile because of the opportunity it afforded me to analyze two little discussed documents by sources.. The first of these is an early translation by Vaugelas of the Spanish priest Fonseca's Lenten Sermons, which was published in 1615. Although Jeanne Streicher at the beginning of her facsimile edition of the Remarques (1934) announced a study of Vaugelas's use of language in

⁸ See Chapter 6, 280-2. From here on I shall refer to the work as 'the Quinte-Curce translation'.

⁹ Account must be taken of course in such a comparison of the fact that the work is a translation, and possible influence from the language from which he is translating has to be borne in mind (see 45 - 48). Vaugelas's letters, which I examine in my conclusion, are valuable in illustrating a less formal and more spontaneous style.

this early translation - a study denied us by her death -, and Collet provides a bibliographical and historical description of it (Collet 1950 : 369-378), the work seems to have been ignored by many critics of Vaugelas, both in the period after his death and in more recent times¹⁰. Nevertheless, Vaugelas is undisputedly the author of this now rare text¹¹, which, although it may only have been a rather juvenile exercise in translation, provides valuable information about Vaugelas's usage as a young man and indeed about accepted French usage at the beginning of the seventeenth century. There are a number of significant differences between the language of the translation and the usage recommended in the Remarques, and in certain aspects of its use of vocabulary and construction, the translation is reminiscent rather of the usage of late sixteenth century writers. Yet the translation also points forward to the Classical period, for already many of the characteristic features of the previous century are no longer present, and points of grammar are adhered to for which Vaugelas was later to become the authority.

The second source of new material with which to evaluate Vaugelas's work is the only surviving manuscript of the Remarques, located in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris. Again Streicher was unable to realise her project for a detailed study of the manuscript, nor has Marzys's proposed critical edition materialized (Marzys 1975). Yet such a study seemed to me to be essential, for the manuscript differs in several crucial ways from the published edition. By examining what has

¹⁰ For example, the existence of the Fonseca translation is ignored by Brunot (1909: (III): 47), Brunetière (1903: 27), François (1904), Galliot (1948: 83) and Zuber (1968). Collet notes the neglect of the work in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Collet 1950 : 372-4).

¹¹ The title page only gives the initials C.F.D.V. for the author of the work, but the Priiilege du Roy dated 26 January 1615 is granted to 'C.F.D. Vaugelaz'. The copy I have consulted is located in the Bibliothèque de la ville de Lyon; another copy is available in the Bibliothèque municipale de la ville de Nantes.

been added and what removed by 1647, and by considering to what extent the conception of the Remarques altered during the genesis of the work, we may better understand what theoretical viewpoint Vaugelas adopted, what his preoccupations were, and why he chose to pronounce on certain current issues and not on others. Moreover we may gain insight as to why there are inconsistencies between the avowed aims and proposed methodology of the Preface and his practice.

These clear indications of an evolution in Vaugelas's ideas and practice encouraged me to order the material of the main part of my study chronologically (Chapters 1, 2, 3-5¹², 6), thereby tracing the development. My conclusions about this evolution and about the development in the language during Vaugelas's lifetime are then further substantiated in my final assessment where some of the main features of the changes wrought in French in the first half of the seventeenth century are illustrated from Vaugelas's own usage in his letters, which are valuable in producing evidence from 1605-1645, the vital productive period of his life.

Assessment of Vaugelas's achievement naturally entails evaluating the originality of his work and his influence both on the subsequent history of the language and on the writing of grammars and treatises on language. Thus in the discussion of the Arsenal manuscript I trace briefly the principal influences on his thought (Classical, Renaissance and contemporary), and in chapter 7 I look at the impact of Vaugelas's work both in his day and subsequently. I examine the works on language produced in the period following the publication of the Remarques and I suggest reasons for the popularity of the work in Vaugelas's day, by

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The central discussion of the contents of the Remarques is divided into three chapters. The first concentrates on the topical question of the role of usage and reason in the Remarques, while the second and third contain detailed examination of the observations. Syntax is treated separately because of the amount of space allotted to it in the Remarques and the influence of Vaugelas's ideas on construction and word order.

referring to such socio-cultural features of the period as social mobility, veniality of offices, the growth of absolutism and the role of women and the salons. I consider why the random method of presentation he chose was so popular and the influence of this on the French predilection for 'linguistic journalism'. Since much of the recent interest in seventeenth century French grammar has focused on the work of Port-Royal, my study then helps to provide a more balanced view of the period by examining in depth Vaugelas's important and influential grammar of usage in the context of his complete output.

I do not intend to devote a great deal of space here to Vaugelas's biography since adequate accounts can be found of it in Pellisson & d'Olivet (1858), Streicher (1933, 1934), Collet (1949-50, 1950, 1954) and Daumas (1950, 1951)¹³. However, certain details are worth noting either because of their central importance for the understanding of Vaugelas's work, or because they have not been sufficiently stressed in previous accounts. Neither Vaugelas's origin or character seem to render him a likely candidate to act as an authority on the French language. Vaugelas was born and spent most of his early life in Savoy, which was not finally incorporated into France until 1860: the French he would have heard as a child would then have been full of the regionalisms of which he was so critical in later life¹⁴. Furthermore, he is described by his contemporaries as a modest, nervous man, deferential to the point of timidity (Pellisson & d'Olivet 1858: I: 232) and rather gullible (Adam

¹³ See also the brief articles by Ducis (1870), Duval (1950), Granger (1943) and Reverdin (1950) and two studies primarily devoted to the life and work of Antoine Favre, Vaugelas's father (Du Mesnil 1869-70; Mugnier 1902-6). Further details of Vaugelas's life are mentioned in the text where they help to elucidate Vaugelas's work.

¹⁴ Voiture relates in a letter to Mademoiselle de Rambouillet how he managed to pass through a Spanish garrison by pretending to be from Savoy and imitating Vaugelas's 'mauvais accent' (Voiture 1880: II: 20). Bordeaux (1935: 560) quotes Ménage's outrage 'Qu'un étranger et Savoyard/Fasse le procès à Ronsard'.

1960: 548-9)¹⁵. Yet by 1634 Vaugelas had become a member of the newly-formed French Academy to which he presented his Observations in 1637 and had established himself in the polite society of the Salons. While such success is largely inexplicable, certain features of his home life and background were favourable to such a career. Vaugelas's father, Antoine Favre, a distinguished juriconsult, Latin scholar and author of a tragedy and moral and religious verse, furnished his son with a good education¹⁶ and brought him into contact with such men of letters as Honoré d'Urfé and François de Sales. Vaugelas was given the opportunity to spend twenty months with his father in Rome in 1599-1601, where he familiarised himself with the Italian language and culture, met Méziriac, later to be a fellow member of the French Academy, and, according to

¹⁵ Bouhours in his Doutes (1674: 263-4) cites Mme de Rambouillet's description of Vaugelas: 'C'estoit un homme admirable que M. de Vaugelas...ce que j'estimois le plus en luy, ce n'est pas le bel esprit, la bonne mine, l'air agréable, les manières douces et insinuanes; mais une probité exacte, et une dévotion solide, sans affectation et sans grimaces. Je n'ai jamais veu.. un homme plus civil et plus honneste, ou pour mieux dire plus charitable et plus chrestien. Il ne fascha jamais personne...Au reste, il joignoit à ses autresqualitez une rare modestie. Quoiqu'il fût très versé dans nostre langue, et que la Cour l'écoutât comme un oracle, il se défioit de ses propres lumières, ne faisoit jamais le maître et, bien loin de se croire infailible en fait de langage, il doutoit de tout jusqu'à ce qu'il eût consulté ceux qu'il estimoit plus savants que lui'.

¹⁶ For details of Antoine Favre's publications see Mugnier 1902: 22-46. In his will Antoine Favre proudly states that he looked after the education of his two eldest sons in Rome (1599), in Paris (1602) and for most of the time he was Président de Genevois in Paris (Daumas 1951: 306). He would probably have introduced his sons to basic legal problems, so that Vaugelas could speak with some authority about the 'langage de Palais'. Daumas suggests that Vaugelas's early education was probably given by the Jesuits at Chambéry (1951: 306-7) and questions Streicher's hypothesis that Vaugelas was educated at the Collège Chappuisien at Annecy, there being no documentary evidence to support this (ibid: 309).

Pellisson (Pellisson & d'Olivet: 1858: I: 233) produced 'quelques vers italiens'¹⁷; in 1601 he accompanied his father to Paris, where he was probably introduced to the language and life style of the Court for the first time¹⁸. Above all Vaugelas would have witnessed the founding of the Académie Florimontane by Antoine Favre and François de Sales in the winter of 1606-7, an academy based on the Italian model, and in many ways a forerunner of the French Academy¹⁹. In 1607 Vaugelas moved to Paris to serve initially as an 'officier domestique' to the Duc de Nemours²⁰.

¹⁷ Pellisson also quotes two short impromptus by Vaugelas, of no literary merit (Pellisson & d'Olivet 1858: I: 233-4). Vaugelas not only knew Italian well, but also Spanish (see below 11) and probably heard other languages through his contact with visitors to his father's home (e.g. a Dutch boy 1601-3). Balzac (Adam 1947: 247) and Ménéage (1676: 70) question Vaugelas's knowledge of the Ancients. If anything, these comments must apply to the extent of Vaugelas's knowledge of Greek (Ménéage may be criticising Vaugelas in part to undermine him as an authority for his enemy Bouhours). Vaugelas's knowledge of Latin is unquestionable: he quotes Latin extensively and he knew enough Latin not only to translate Quinte-Curce, but to compose a dedicatory poem in Latin at the beginning of his father's Codex Fabrianus (1640).

¹⁸ In the Preface (III,1) Vaugelas cites his long association with the Court as one of the advantages he has over others for producing observations on the French language.

¹⁹ The Academy had about forty members with the Duc de Nemours as its Protector and set itself an ambitious programme of study (Mugnier 1902: 289-296).

²⁰ In 1615 Antoine Favre obtained for his son a position in the king's household as a 'Gentilhomme entretenu de la Maison du Roy de France' with a pension of 2000 livres. The pension was badly paid and his friends managed to get him a position with Gaston d'Orléans, initially as 'charge Ordinaire' and then as 'chambellan' (Faret 1634: II: 232). This was not to be an auspicious move, for in 1629 Gaston d'Orléans left France in rebellion. It did, however, provide Vaugelas with further occasion to travel to Lorraine, Franche-Comté, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Brussels. Vaugelas probably left the service of Gaston d'Orléans in 1634 when the latter fled to France. Vaugelas's pension was not re-established until 1639 when he began work on the Academy dictionary, and then it was only spasmodically paid. At the end of his life Vaugelas acted as tutor to the sons of Prince Thomas de Savoie-Carignan, one of whom was dumb and the other stuttered.

The move was crucial for not only was Vaugelas given further occasion to travel and thereby improve his knowledge of other languages (firstly to Turin in 1608 and then in 1612 to Spain as an interpreter to the Duc de Mayenne²¹), but, more importantly, he gained entrance to the world of the Court and the salons. He met Du Perron early on, became a regular attender at the daily gatherings at Coeffeteau's house where he would have heard such men as Malherbe, Racan, Théophile, and Faret discussing linguistic matters, and frequented the salons of Madame de Rambouillet, Madame de Chaudebonne and Madame des Loges; thus he was afforded ample opportunity to observe the language and manners of the Court and salons - especially those of the women - and was provided with a forum in which to test his ideas and judgments. The list of his friends, including Coeffeteau, Balzac, Voiture, Chapelain, Conrart, Faret, d'Ablancourt, Patru and Méziriac is impressive, and their advice was probably crucial to the development and refinement of his ideas²². All this then prepared him well for his work on the Academy dictionary, which entailed collecting, examining and arranging words according to Chapelain's plan from 1639 until the end of his life²³.

What little documentation of Vaugelas's biography there is suggests that throughout his life he was plagued with poverty, and this fact helps to explain some of the very curious details about his life. Living in fear of his creditors, Vaugelas apparently produced various schemes to alleviate his financial difficulties including the starting of a lottery (Granger 1943: 30; Sauval 1724: III: 62), spying on and denouncing the

²¹ Vaugelas may have heard Fonseca preach during this visit. This and his friendship with François de Sales possibly encouraged Vaugelas to translate the Lenten sermons (see Chapter 1).

²² This hypothesis is supported by Vaugelas's own admission that he showed his Remarques to various people, three of whom read the work in its entirety (Preface XIII, 4), and by comments by Ménage (1672: 104; 1676: 70-71). See also, for example, 295.

²³ Rat suggests that he may also have helped Conrart and Chapelain draw up the list of the best works of literature to be discussed by the ~~Academy~~ (Rat 1967: 94). This list would then suggest some of Vaugelas's reading and possible sources, see also table 2.

crimes of a certain friend of Boisrobert from Normandy in the hope of thereby acquiring enough money to marry his loved one²⁴, a scheme perhaps encouraged by his allegiance to the Compagnie du Très-Saint-Sacrement de l'Autel, and selling his body to surgeons at the end of his life to settle his debts²⁵. Unfortunately his creditors also seized his papers on his death, including the cahiers of the Academy dictionary, which were only returned to the Academy by a 'sentence du Châtelet' in 1651 (Pellisson & d'Oliver 1858: I: 110). Perhaps this then explains why neither a manuscript of the Quinte-Curce nor of the Fonseca translation has as yet been found. As for his work for the Academy, we can only surmise that perhaps the manuscript of the Remarques located in the Arsenal is essentially that presented to the Academy in 1637 for discussion²⁶.

Whatever the value of Vaugelas's ideas on the French language - and this will throughout be our major preoccupation - the interest of Vaugelas's life centred on the Academy milieu and the salons and the significance of his Remarques cannot be denied. A fully comprehensive account of his life and works perhaps awaits further manuscript and other documentary evidence to come to light, but it nevertheless seemed appropriate to examine and evaluate the whole of Vaugelas's oeuvre and, to quote the closing words of the Remarques (593), 'C'est bien assez, si i'apprens que ce petit trauail n'ayt pas esté inutile, ny desagreable au public'.

24 Chapelain, letter to Godeau, 25 December 1637 (Chapelain 1880: I: 186). In another letter to Balzac dated 19 September 1638, Chapelain speaks of Vaugelas's 'vie de solliciteur, de questeur d'avis, et mesmes de dénonciateur de crimes' (Chapelain 1880: I: 293).

25 See Collet (1954) for details of Vaugelas's probable membership of the Compagnie, and Duval (1950), Sainte-Beuve (1866: VI: 340-397) and Collet (1949-50) on his strange will.

26 See Chapter 2, 55.

Chapter 1: An analysis of the language of Vaugelas's translation of Fonseca's 'Discursos para todos los evangelios de la Quaresma' (Madrid 1614)

There are two translations of Fonseca's Lenten sermons: one by Vaugelas which appeared virtually unnoticed in 1615 (Vaugelas 1615), and the other by James Mabbe of Magdalen college, Oxford, published fourteen years later (Mabbe 1629). Both men had made recent visits to Spain: Vaugelas in 1612 as interpreter for the Duc de Mayenne in his negotiations for the marriage of Louis XIII with Anne d'Autriche, and Mabbe between 1611 and 1616 in the party of Sir John Digby, ambassador to Madrid¹. It is possible that both men heard Fonseca preach in person, for it appears that the Spanish Augustinian had acquired a considerable reputation, and this may have attracted the two foreigners. What we can be sure of is that both men had a good command of the Spanish language, for Mabbe was a recognised Spanish scholar and Vaugelas himself testifies that he was chosen to accompany the Duc de Mayenne 'à cause de la grande pratique qu'il auoit de la langue Espagnole'².

Vaugelas's translation is particularly valuable in that it enables us to compare his use of French in 1615, at a time when he was still relatively young and fresh from the provinces, with his mature pronouncements in the Remarques sur la langue françoise of 1647. Since the Remarques to some extent both reflected and became a text book of good usage of language in the middle of the seventeenth century, the comparison of Vaugelas's use of language in 1615 with the judgments of the Remarques also gives us an insight into the wider question of the development of the French language during the first half of the seventeenth century.

¹ See Russell 1953: 75-84. Russell revises the views of James Fitzmaurice-Kelly found in the introduction to the reprints of two of Mabbe's other works (1894, 1924).

² Memoire autographe de Vaugelas, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 18470, fo. 362.

The language of the translation deviates from the usage recommended in the Remarques in a number of ways and, in many aspects of its use of vocabulary and constructions, it is akin to that of the Renaissance authors. Yet the translation was clearly written in a period of transition, for already many of the worst excesses of the previous century have been removed, and points of grammar are adhered to for which later Vaugelas was to become the authority³.

I: Orthography

It is difficult to draw any definite conclusion about the orthography used in the translation because we cannot be sure that the forms we see printed are those which Vaugelas himself would have chosen. Every printer has his own conventions for the spelling and typography of the works he publishes, and errors can be introduced by the editor or the compositor. In his introduction 'Au Lecteur Chrestien' Vaugelas warns the reader that he may find many printing errors:

Au reste si tu rencontres plusieurs fautes en l'impression, ie te demande pardon pour l'Imprimeur, le desir qu'il a eu de te servir vn peu trop promptement à cause du Caresme qui s'approche, le doit rendre excusable pour ceste fois; Pren la peine cependant, ie te prie, de voir sur la fin de ce liure les corrections que i'ay faites, & ie m'asseure, que tu ne m'en donneras pas le blasme. Je n'ay point voulu corriger le Latin, par ce que tu pourras aisément suppleer à ce defect, si tu en as l'intelligence, & si tu ne l'as pas, il ne t'importe point de quelle façon tu le treuues.

Despite the promise given here, there is no list of the fautes d'impression at the end of the text, so that we have no idea what Vaugelas thought of the finished edition. Nevertheless I shall attempt to draw some general conclusions about the orthography of the translation.

³ Comparison is made between the translation and the pronouncements of the Remarques and between usage in the translation and information about early seventeenth century usage from other sources. Quotations from the Remarques are taken from Streicher's facsimile (1934) of the first edition (1647). The original spelling of both texts is retained, except that 's' is substituted for long f. Full bibliographical details of the translation are given by Collet (1950 : 369-378).

Certain features can only be attributed to lack of care either on the part of Vaugelas or the printer: for example, leur pieds (54); auoit for auoir (73); qu'vne hõme (82); que vne (142); puls for plus (248); bourger for bouger (388); quand il peché (428) and the confusion of agreements in 'Car la prescience diuine n'impose point vne necessité absoluë en nos actions, bien qu'elles les preuoye & predise ' (320). It is not clear whether we should interpret such orthographies as qu'elles (=quelles) promesses (174); qu'elle (=quelle) apparence (347); tout sa race (180); esloignee de quatre mille de Iourdain (139) in the same favourable light. Numerous inconsistencies abound, especially in the choice of single or double consonants. For instance we find both affin que (327) and afin que (384); luittant (60) and luite (126); secrettemẽt (33) and secretement (351); flammes (314) and flame (32); deffi (451) and défier (451); pellerin (391) and pelerinage (391) and torreau (434) and toreaux (435); and in many cases the choice of the single or double consonant differs from the accepted dictionary norm today (e.g. l'apetit (80), notter (106), moullu (117), fuitte (31), affectione (57), esgaller (194), flaterie (196), estoilles (352), prattiqué (305), infidelles (381), assiete (434) etc.). Other words appear in two or even three different forms which testifies to the general uncertainty and lack of stability on the question of orthography at the beginning of the seventeenth century (meine (46)/mene (69); encores que (132)/encor que (248)⁴; nompareilles (142)/non pareille (426); prouffit (33)/ profit (102)/ proffit (300)). There appears to be particular doubt as to the use of 'c', 'çc', 'çs' and 'ss': thus we find the orthographies espeçses (153), face (247 = 3rd person present subjunctive of faire), respõce (70), de ce picoter (88), suçcons (209), caparrassonner (221), menasse (308) and menace (331) in which the same sound is represented in four different ways.

⁴ See Remarques 252. For further details of Vaugelas's views on orthography, see Ch. 4, 156-163.

The translation contains a number of forms generally used in the sixteenth century that have extra letters to the present day spellings, which are sometimes etymological and sometimes purely fanciful. Thus there is a definite sixteenth century quality in the appearance of the following sentence: 'la nuict de ses nopces mit le lict de son espousee' (20). The etymological spellings are too numerous to give in full, but the following list may serve as an illustration: soing (23); loing (122); coulpe (126); nepueu (110); les nuds (173); assubiecty (217); gents (218); debte (249); deub (383=past participle of devoir); faulsaies (440) etc. In other cases there is no etymological reason for the extra consonant (e.g. inthime (431); mathelots (197)). Some of the spellings used by Vaugelas were definitely old-fashioned by the beginning of the seventeenth century when the translation was done (e.g. abbayer (242); cerché (312); recerche (312); refreschir (343); serain (369)), so that we can assume that at this stage Vaugelas was in some respects conservative and his usage behind the general development of standards of spelling. There are also cases where consonants are omitted, (e.g. exemt (458)), and we still find word-final 'd' and 't' removed before the ending 's' (e.g. renars (143); tu prens (342); manquemens (556)). The representation of vowel sounds shows the same inconsistency (eyme (238)/ayme (239); montagne (435)/montaigne (452)), use of extra letters (gaigner (89); clairté (153); seicheresse (203)) and substitutions (se vanger (81); parauanture (82)). Conventions as to the use of 'y' or 'i' are not yet fixed (syrop (317); aygreur (324); simbole (386)) nor is the use of 'm' and 'n' as opposed to the tilde generalised. The abbreviation vn' before a feminine word beginning with a vowel is also still found ('vn'autre heresie' (547); 'vne foy, vn' amour, vne force & vn' esperance' (579)).

Forms which are today written as single words could still be divided up at the beginning of the seventeenth century: we therefore find the

forms tous jours (203); à lors (100); and phrases such as 'Puis dõc que la delectation est engẽdree par l'esperãce' (291). The use of hyphens and accents is spasmodic, and, as we shall see when we come to consider the syntax, there is a general dearth of punctuation.

Forms on which Vaugelas himself made pronouncements in the Remarques are, of course, particularly interesting. It seems that a greater number of points made in the Remarques about spelling are contradicted in the translation than those which are adhered to. The questions on which there is deviation fall into three general categories: those spellings which are condemned without qualification in the Remarques, those which are said to be not so good as others, but which are nevertheless acceptable, and those on which usage is said to have recently changed (and which were therefore probably quite acceptable at the time the translation was printed) or where it is still evolving. The following examples of 'errors' in the translation come under the first heading: auèques (61; cf. 1647: 311); encores que (132), encor (138), encor que (248; cf. 1647: 252); d'autant que (43), written with an apostrophe and having the meaning 'because' (cf. 1647: 326); dueil (= 'duel' 127⁵; cf. 1647: 493); vn pact (459; cf. 1647: 372). Vaugelas states in the Remarques that he prefers the forms trouuer, prouuer, pleuuoir to treuer, preuer and plouuoir, although he does not totally ban the latter (133-4). In the translation treuer is much more frequently used than trouuer, and we also find preue (89) and plouuoir (125). Similarly Vaugelas does not proscribe the form arondelles (Vaugelas 1615: 421), but he prefers the alternatives erondelle and hirondelle (1647: 512). In some cases, we expect the older usage to be represented in the early translation, since the Remarques record a recent change in usage. Consequently Vaugelas's comments on the form of proper names ending in -anus in Latin (1647: 143)

⁵ Note however 1615: 453 duel.

lead us to expect to find the forms ending in -an in the translation (e.g. Tertullian (1615: 342); Cyprian (622)). Similarly, since it is only in the fautes d'impression of the Remarques that Vaugelas recommends the spelling de mesme in preference to de mesmes, it is not surprising to find de mesmes used more commonly in 1615. On the other hand he does not follow his own recommendation (1647: 439) that in words beginning with AD in which the 'd' is not pronounced, the 'd' should not be written, so that in the translation the 'd', as a general rule, appears in these words (e.g. aduenir (435), aduis (479), aduenement (170), aduertissement (409), but auantage (27)).

There are, however, a number of points on which the recommendation of the Remarques are adhered to. The following orthographies correspond to his later pronouncements on the subject: sans dessus dessous (16 ; cf. 1647: 44); arsenac (137; cf. 1647: 474); Dieu mesmes (377; cf. 1647: 23); guerir (441; cf. 1647: 250)⁶; Hierosme (298), Hierusalem (314, 334; cf. 1647: 204)⁷; doncques (309; cf. 1647: 392); tomberout (335; cf. 1647 : 82); nauigent (372; cf. 1647: 66) etc.

It is therefore true to say that the orthography of the published translation has features in common with both the highly etymological and inconsistent spelling of the previous century and the orthographies given by Vaugelas himself in the middle of the century. However, the text of 1615 undoubtedly appears old-fashioned in comparison either with the printed page of the Remarques or the content of the text, from the most commonly used words (for example, in 1615 ceste is generally used, whereas in 1647 cette is more usual) to the most specialised. Moreover, the variations and hesitations in usage suggest an uncertainty as to the correct orthography of certain words which is not consistent with the move towards relative fixity of spelling generally favoured in the Remarques.

⁶ However la guarison is also found (1615: 555).

⁷ Also Ierusalẽ (1615: 198).

II: Vocabulary

The development of Vaugelas's use of language between 1615 and 1647 shows up more clearly when we come to examine his choice of vocabulary in 1615. Words and phrases are used which, by the time of the Remarques, would have been considered archaic and which can be characterized as belonging to an earlier usage. There is also a substantial number of instances when Vaugelas uses vocabulary specifically criticised in the Remarques as not belonging to good usage, although it is important to notice that a large proportion of these are items which Vaugelas designates as having recently disappeared from the usage of the court and the best authors of the day⁸. For example, in his Fonseca translation Vaugelas uses the preposition devers in such expressions as deuers l'Orient(21); deuers le Soleil (68), a preposition of which he says in the Remarques: 'Mais depuis quelque temps ce mot a vieilli, & nos modernes Escriptuains ne s'en seruent plus dans le beau langage' (172). In the Remarques Vaugelas expresses regret that certain words have gone out of usage because they do not seem to have been replaced satisfactorily by vocabulary items expressing the same concept. It is therefore not surprising that we find him making use of these in his translation: for example, souloit (39; 1647: 241); voire mesmes (85; 1647: 42); partant (211, 313, 319 etc. ; 1647: 225); qu'il luy faisoit courre sus (364; 1647: 434)⁹; magnifier (436¹⁰; 1647: 129). The genre of the work he was translating may have influenced Vaugelas's choice of vocabulary to some extent, since he admits, for instance, that magnifier can pass 'dans vn grand Ouurage' (129), and of the use of superbe as a noun (1615: 18), he says in the Remarques:

⁸ For Vaugelas's views on changes in usage see the Preface to the Remarques, section X, and below 103-4.

⁹ Note especially the use of the dative pronoun before the verb which Vaugelas expressly criticises.

¹⁰ Incorrectly paginated 438.

Ce mot est tousiours adjectif, & jamais substantif, quoy
 qu'une infinité de gens, & particulièrement les
 Predicateurs disent, la superbe, pour dire l'orgueil (31).¹¹

However, there are other words and phrases used in the 1615 translation which are not characterized as recent losses from the language by Vaugelas, but which are nevertheless criticised. Certain expressions are condemned as belonging to the lower registers of the written language or to speech in the Remarques, but are nevertheless used in the translation: e.g. quant & soy (15; 1647: 52); ce dit il (63; 1647: 308); the use of qui to express 'some...others' as in 'qui est cause que plusieurs se plaignent, qui de la fortune, qui de la santé, & qui de la memoire' (349; 1647: 51)¹²; auparavant que (323; 1647: 475); De façon que (338; 1647: 435) etc. In the Remarques (420) Vaugelas recommends the use of soixante-dix as opposed to the older soixante & dix which appears in the translation, and the archaic ains (92, 325) is strongly criticised in the Remarques as a barbarisme (568)¹³. Moreover semantic differentiations made in the Remarques are not adhered to: for instance, the translation still confuses the meanings of the two verbs consumer and consommer (662)¹⁴, which are clearly differentiated in the Remarques (300).

¹¹ Note, however, that on page 611 of the translation Vaugelas uses onguent which he specifically excludes from usage in a religious context in the Remarques (*458). Of the words discussed in this paragraph souloit, voire mesme, partant and courir sus are not treated in the Arsenal manuscript, while deuers (fo. 24^v) and magnifier (fo. 61^r) are still favoured in the manuscript (Ayres 1983: 18-19). Only in the case of superbe is Vaugelas's opinion the same in the manuscript (fo. 85^r) and the published version. Since the manuscript is discussed at length in the next chapter, throughout the rest of this chapter I shall note only the significant differences between the manuscript and the Remarques which relate to the features of his 1615 usage treated here.

¹² Vaugelas elsewhere uses the modern construction recommended in the Remarques: les vns...les autres... (1615: 439).

¹³ For the discussion of ains in the manuscript, see Ayres 1983: 20.

¹⁴ Incorrectly paginated 692.

This is not to say of course that there is no common ground between the pronouncements made in the Remarques and the choice of vocabulary in 1615. In this respect the following points should be noted on which the two texts agree: qu'ainsi ne soit (56; 1647: 557); Les Septante lisent (122; 1647: 420); ces gents icy (195; 1647: 366); nostre franc arbitre (428; 1647: 93); iours caniculaires (442; 1647: 360); pour lors (445; 1647: 192); de ceste sorte (448; 1647: 26); pour subuenir à la nécessité d'Elie (483; 1647: 38). Yet it is true that there are important differences between Vaugelas's use of vocabulary in 1615 and 1647 and that these changes to some extent mirror the general tendency for the number of lexical items to be reduced in the first half of the seventeenth century, for one or more of words with like or identical meanings to disappear and for there to be a tighter control over the use of vocabulary.

Apart from the points mentioned above, there are various words and expressions used by Vaugelas in his translation of Fonseca's sermons which were probably going out of usage by the time he was writing and would almost certainly have been considered old-fashioned by the time the Remarques were published in 1647. The following are examples of such words and phrases¹⁵: feintise (33; XII^e - XVI^es.); à la dextre (95; XI^e - XVI^es.); irrision (196; XV^e - XVI^es.); il apert (312; XI^e - XVI^es.); lambruches (380; XV^e - XVI^es.); assiduellement (463; XVI^es.). It is these and numerous similar examples which give the text a definite

¹⁵ The dates given in parentheses are those suggested by R. Grandsaignes d'Hauterive in his Dictionnaire d'ancien français, moyen âge et renaissance (1947) for the currency of the word or expression. Although they are only approximate guidelines, they do give some idea of whether the word or expression had been used since the Old French period, or whether it was a later innovation.

sixteenth century flavour¹⁶. Also worthy of note are the use of diminutives (e.g. ce petit veutollin, 509) and the evidence of semantic change in such phrases as: 'La seconde intelligence est ceste cy' (682); 'notre Seigneur dit à ses Apostres, à la veille de sa prison' (779); '... lequel est aucunement esloigné du lieu ou la croix fut arboree depuis' (895).

III: Verb morphology

In the realm of verb morphology, there is still much hesitation in 1615 between the older forms and the new analogical ones. For example, on page 435 Vaugelas uses the older form of the 1st person present indicative ie croy que without final 's', but on page 306 he favours the modern form of the 1st person present indicative of aller: C'est moy qui vais. In both these cases he chooses the other form to the one recommended in the Remarques (cf. 1647: 131, 27)¹⁷, which illustrates clearly the lack of stability in the verbal paradigms at this period. This impression is reinforced by the fact that the occasional odd-looking form appears, for instance: '& Philon preuue, que tant que nous sommes iouyssons en ceste vie du bien d'autrui, que nous en auons l'vsufruict' (381). The present continuous, which gradually disappeared as the century progressed, is still found (e.g. 71, 527, 595 etc.), although it is used in phrases which would have probably been tolerated by Vaugelas in 1647, because actual movement is involved (1647: 185-6)¹⁸.

¹⁶ For instance, les peres de ça bas (62); à raison dequoy (184); il ne les mena pas sur la montagne tres-tout quand & luy (273); à la mienne volonté (295); d'icelles (302); bastants (835); de prime face (875).

¹⁷ In the manuscript Vaugelas is still highly critical of ie ua (fo. 95^v).

¹⁸ It is also freely used in the Arsenal manuscript (Ayres 1983: 20).

In the Remarques Vaugelas is critical of the contracted forms of the future tenses when used in prose (119, 413), but in the translation the contracted forms of laisser are far more common than the ones accepted today (ils ne lairront pas (203); lairoit (sic) (216); lairrois (296) etc.) and forms such as employra (646) also occur. This fact enables us to localise the time of the disappearance of these forms from good usage to the period between 1615 and the publication of the Remarques. It is also clear that Vaugelas formulated his ideas on the correct form of the past definite of the verbs prendre, devenir venir etc. (1647: 97, 98) after the translation was written¹⁹, for the older forms (some with the glide 'd') are still often used (e.g. deuindrent (131), vindrent (441), prinrent (311)), although the modern forms do appear (e.g. prirent (441)). As in the case of the present indicative, the use of final 's' is unstable both in the first person singular of the past definite (i'eu (299)) and in the second person singular imperative (1647: 189). The uncertainty as to the correct form of the second person singular imperative is witnessed by the fact that contradictory forms appear side by side in the same sentence: '..ne fais point le triste, & ne renfrongne point le sourcil, resiouy toy au contraire' (42); 'Mon enfant iette toy dans la prison de Dieu, demeure-y pieds & poings liez' (414-5). However, Vaugelas does use the modern form of the infinitive cueillir (1615: 171; 1647: *483) and employs recouurer correctly as opposed to recourir (1615: 318; 1647: 449).

The rather surprising fact that the imperfect subjunctive is not discussed at all in the Remarques is perhaps explained by the fact that this form of the verb is frequently used by Vaugelas without problems in 1615. The past definite and imperfect subjunctive are occasionally

¹⁹ Indeed, the contracted forms of laisser and donner are already condemned in the Arsenal manuscript (fos. 58^v, 24^v, 25^r) and the past definites without the glide 'd' favoured (fos. 86^r, 95^v).

confused, but this again may be due to an error on the part of the printer (e.g. '...de sorte que les Astres furent obeïssants à Iosué, & son soldat ne le fust pas' (669); 'nous acquerons des nouvelles forces, comme fist Elie' (602); 'sans que le fils de Dieu le raualat luy mesme, & que le Createur se mit au dessous de la creature..' (883)). The same is true of the odd mistakes found in the forms of the present subjunctive (e.g. qu'il en prene (298); Dieu te gard Pythagoras (434)). On the whole, however, Vaugelas's use of the subjunctive is generally sound: (1615: 192 ayt; 1647: 90; 1615: 431 qu'il vous dise; 1647: 349)).

In the case of verbal morphology then, as in many other aspects of the work, we are left with the impression that the translation represents an earlier usage than that contained in the Remarques, and therefore constitutes a useful source of information both about how Vaugelas's views on a certain matter developed and about the period at which a certain feature became generally employed in the history of the language.

IV: Syntax

(a) Use of the parts of speech

(i) Use of articles

Vaugelas's use of articles in 1615 is hesitant and inconsistent. In repeating the indefinite article generally before the second of two nouns joined by '&' even when these have the same or similar meaning, he is stricter than his 'synonym' rule (1647: 214-8)²⁰ suggests is necessary (e.g. 'vne grãdeur & vne sainteté si extreme' (63); 'Le nom de Mulier porte quant & soy vn tas & vn assemblage d'imperfections' (226)). However, his usage is inconsistent, for, where the article is preceded by a preposition or a partitive is used, there is no set pattern as to whether the article is repeated or not (e.g. 'il faut aussi auoir

²⁰ See 122.

esgard au temps de la cure & de la guerison' (25); 'ou de la singularité, & rareté de la chose' (66); 'en la creation & redemption, & aux benefices generaux' (133)). Where the two nouns are of the same gender, the omission of the second preposition + article may lessen the clarity of the phrase, but it is nevertheless relatively unimportant; where, however, the co-ordinated nouns are of different gender, the omission is far more problematic: e.g. 'à la conuersation & entretien' (600).

Vaugelas is generally unsure in 1615 about the correct use of the partitive article²¹. Witness the following two examples: 'Peu d'eau, & peu de pain, mais abondamment la lumiere de sa doctrine' (193); '...& a donné vn heureux commencement à la vie de la grace' (380). In the Remarques he speaks disdainfully of the necessity of having to give the simple rule that des must be used before a plural noun used on its own in the nominative or accusative case, but that one must use de when the plural noun is preceded by an adjective (1647: 330-1). Nevertheless, this rule is rarely adhered to in the translation, and although de is occasionally found before a plural adjective + noun, the following examples represent the majority of cases: 'qu'ils doiuent enfanter des bonnes œ uures' (41); 'mais pour des autres considerations' (467)²²; '...la perte des biens du corps, apporte bien souuent des grands gains' (457).

Another characteristic of the text of 1615 is the omission of the article where in modern French it would be compulsory²³. This applies in

²¹ Note the lack of the partitive from classical Spanish on, which may have affected Vaugelas's usage.

²² Incorrectly paginated 472.

²³ Although there may be some cases of influence from the Spanish, Vaugelas certainly also omits the article in places where omission would be intolerable today, but he is clearly not following the Spanish: e.g.

Fonseca 1614, fo. 62^r: 'En la guerra corporal mayor valentia es pelear, que huir: pero en la espiritual mas segura està la vitoria en huir:...'; Vaugelas 1615: 134 'En la guerre du corps il est honorable de faire teste à son ennemy, & grãdement honteux & ignominieux de s'en fuir, mais en celle de l'ame, & au cõbat ~~spirituel~~, la victoire est plus assurée en tournāt visage, & il faut vaincre en fuyāt cõme les Parthes,...'.

a large number of different cases, many of which are specifically criticised by Vaugelas in the Remarques. In the following instances, the noun and verb seem to form a unified verbal expression (cf. modern French: faire face à): en tournant visage (134); faire teste (134); que sa correction porte coup (508); de mesme les Pharisiens tenoient boutique ouverte de sainteté (541); pour couper chemin à (667)²⁴; ont opinion qu'il.. (751); from his comments on the expression faire piece in the Remarques (318) we can deduce that by 1647 Vaugelas no longer tolerated such omissions of the article. Vaugelas describes the omission of the partitive in such phrases as Il a esprit & coeur as a recent innovation, one of which he is highly critical since, he claims, the French language, like Greek, 'aime extrêmement les articles' (1647: 170). Cases of non-use of the article are still commonly found in the Fonseca translation: 'parce que les Apostres auoient pouuoir & permission d'en user de la sorte' (458); 'Saint Augustin...dit que la parole de Dieu, est esprit & vie en soy' (572). Vaugelas points out in the Remarques that the question of the use of the article is one on which usage has changed since the time of Du Perron, Coeffeteau, and Malherbe. Then it was quite possible to write C'est chose glorieuse, but by 1647 he deems that the form C'est vne chose glorieuse is the only correct one (1647: 220). Since the change is considered a recent one, predictably such omissions are found in the translation written in the earlier period²⁵: 'de façon que si Dieu nous deliure des maux qui nous arriuent, c'est misericorde, & quand il les nous laisse, ce n'est nullement iniustice' (704). Sometimes the use of a certain adjective occasions Vaugelas to omit the article: e.g. 'C'est pourquoy certain historiẽ appelloit Tibere, Cimbalum mundi, la cloche du mōde' (438). In general Vaugelas is not so strict about the

²⁴ Incorrectly paginated 697.

²⁵ Especially since the omission of the article is still recommended in the manuscript, see 58.

use of articles in 1615 and is not so attentive to points of detail, for example: 'qu'Eleazare guerissoit grande quantité de Demoniacles' (541); 'ce n'est pas merueilles, que..' (612). Evidence of uncertainty and hesitation is not difficult to discern; compare the following: 'Cela est veritablement nostre...que personne ne nous peut oster' (381); 'Ma doctrine, ce dit-il, n'est pas mienne..' (676); '..que ma doctrine est la sienne' (685).

Vaugelas lays special emphasis on the correct use of the article in the sections on barbarisms and solecisms in the Remarques. The omission of articles and prepositions (see below) is criticised under the heading Du barbarisme, premier vice contre la pureté (1647: 570) where the examples indicate that Vaugelas specifically has cases of non-repetition in mind. The incorrect use of articles is dealt with in the remark on solecisms where there is a suggestion that Vaugelas's uncertainty of usage in 1615 may be due to his provincial upbringing:

Aux articles, en les mettant quand il ne les faut pas mettre, comme quand on dit de là Loire, ie n'ay point de l'argent, au lieu de dire ie n'ay point d'argent, ou en ne les mettant pas quand il les faut mettre, comme quand on dit i'ay d'argent, au lieu de dire, i'ay de l'argent (574).

Throughout the Remarques Vaugelas stresses the importance of the correct use of the articles, and it is such points that give classical French prose its characteristic clarity²⁶.

(ii) Repetition of pronouns

The same is true of the use of pronouns. The freedom of usage in the previous century of subject, direct object and indirect object pronouns is another of the points on which Vaugelas lays down a stricter usage in the Remarques in 1647²⁷. There is a fairly lengthy remarque on the Suppression des pronoms personnels deuant les verbes (1647: 420-2) in

²⁶ See also 122, 217-8.

²⁷ See, for example, 238.

which Vaugelas suggests where the suppression of the subject pronoun before the second of two verbs to which it applies is elegant and where its omission is an abuse, because 'plusieurs abusent de cette suppression, sur tout ceux qui ont escrit il y a vingt ou vingt-cinq ans; car en ce temps là, si nous en exceptons M. Coeffeteau & peu d'autres, c'estoit vn vice assez familier à nos Escriptuains',²⁸. Vaugelas gives two circumstances when the omission of the second subject pronoun is not allowed: firstly, when the construction changes, that is, for example, when there is a change of subject, and secondly, when the two verbs involved are separated by a disjunctive conjunction like mais or ou. He vaguely refers to there being other cases where omission would be considered archaic in 1647, examples which he says can be deduced from reading authors using 'l'ancien stile'. Vaugelas's usage in 1615 often represents this older style. In the following example there are two separate clauses, the second of which is clearly disjoined from the first according to Vaugelas's definition by the use of 'Et neantmoins..', yet the subject pronoun is not repeated: 'Et comme vne personne qui n'a point d'ame ny de conscience ne craint pas la mort, & dit...Et neantmoins craint la pauureté qui l'environne, la faim qui la presse, & l'ennemy qui le menace, qui ne craint pas Dieu qui le peut enseuelir dans les flammes eternelles de l'enfer & craint neantmoins le iuge qui le faict mener en prison' (126). Vaugelas equally breaks the second condition of the rule he lays down in the Remarques: '..de ceste feste, qui estoit l'une des plus celebres entre toutes celles des Iuifs, ils la solemnisoient le quinziesme de Septembre, & continuoit l'espace de sept iours..' (791). Many of the examples are simple cases of non-repetition of the subject pronoun between co-ordinated

²⁸ In the Arsenal manuscript Vaugelas is still struggling to formulate a rule for when the subject pronoun must be repeated (fo. 87^v).

verbs, a usage still apparently considered elegant by Vaugelas in the middle of the seventeenth century: 'pour les releuer de ceste peine, ie me suis aydé, & leur ay presté la main' (586). In addition, the impersonal subject pronoun is frequently omitted in the Fonseca translation, even when it has not been previously stated, (e.g. 'Desorte que l'vne & l'autre est grandement dangereuse, & ne se faut pas estonner si..' (492), or the beginning of the sentence is given emphasis by the use of si (e.g. 'Et si faut sçauoir que..' (180)). Even when the subject is reinforced or stressed in contrast to a previous subject, the unstressed subject pronoun is often not used: 'puis que ces pauvres mariniers font tant de difficulté de croire le crime d'vn fugitif, qui se condamne par sa propre bouche, & qu'eux furent si prompts & temerares, que de faire mourir pour coupable celuy...' (219); 'Car auant que ce perfide & déloyal le liurast entre les mains de ses ennemis, luy mesme se liura le premier entre celles du traistre...' (594). On the other hand Vaugelas's usage occasionally differs from that of modern French in that a subject pronoun is repeated where it is no longer necessary: 'La têtation si l'on la considere cōme vn acte du Diable elle est mauuaise' (135-6).

On the question of whether the direct object pronoun should be repeated before co-ordinated verbs, Vaugelas is dogmatic in the Remarques: 'Gette Reigle ne souffre point d'exception' (1647: 495). The direct object pronoun must be repeated in all cases, whether the co-ordinated verbs are synonymous or not. Nevertheless, exceptions to this rule are not difficult to find in Vaugelas's prose of 1615: 'mais Marcelle & les autres qui sont avec elle le descouurent & manifestent haut & clair' (461). This is also the case for the repetition of the reflexive pronoun: 'Sofar vn de ses amis l'accusa de s'estre vanté & enorgueillly de la pureté de sa conscience' (674) and the repetition of the indirect object: 'qui ne

cesse de luy piquer & deschirer le cœur' (471)²⁹. Again the opposite fault of pleonasm is found: 'Ce sont certaines Metamorphoses, qu'il n'appartient qu'au peché & à la grace, de les faire' (422). Therefore Vaugelas's use of pronouns in the Fonseca translation is not yet guided by the principles enunciated in the Remarques.

(iii) Use of Prepositions

Two important questions have to be examined when one compares the use of prepositions in 1615 and the good usage described in the Remarques: firstly, when should one use the simple prepositions and when the compounds?; and secondly, should one invariably repeat the preposition when it serves two different nouns or verbs? Vaugelas gives the first question fairly lengthy treatment in the Remarques (124-6; cf. 568) where he outlines the modern usage: the simple prepositions are always to be used except in three special cases³⁰. In the translation this rule is almost invariably broken and the older forms are preferred: e.g. 'de l'auantage qu'il a dessus nous' (27); '& si Dieu veille dessus eux' (133) etc. There is therefore no differentiation between this use of the preposition and the type represented in the following example: 'qui apporta la loy de dessus la montagne...' (323). Nevertheless, as we shall see when we come to examine the work as a translation, the freedom of the rendering suggests that, perhaps contrary to expectations, the use of language and choice of vocabulary in such instances is little affected by the Spanish original.

²⁹ We may also note that even the verb is not necessarily repeated, even though it may have to be understood from a different sentence: e.g. 'Saint Augustin dit que la multiplication commença dans les mains de nostre Seigneur, & S. Christostome qu'elle fut continuee aux mains des Apostres. Saint Hilaire, qu'elle dura iusques dans les mains mesmes des Apostres' (652).

³⁰ The compound prepositions (i.e. dessus, dessous etc.) are to be used when there are two such prepositions immediately following ('elle n'est ni dedans, ni dessus le coffre'), whether they are in contrast or not, and when there is another preposition immediately before the preposition (e.g. par dessus, par dedans).

In the Remarques the 'synonym rule' lays down the guidelines for when prepositions should be repeated before the second of two conjoined nouns (214-8)³¹; the problem, of course, is deciding what is meant by the terms 'synonimes, ou approchans' before which repetition is not considered essential. In the 1615 translation Vaugelas is obviously following the rule of non-repetition before 'synonimes, ou approchans' in the examples 'pour auoir occasion d'opprimer & accabler' (92) and 'parce qu'ils les exhortent à la vertu & saincteté de vie' (300), but it seems hardly possible to call the following two infinitives synonymous: 'il sollicitoit & pressoit Abraham de resusciter vn mort, & l'enuoyer à ses parents' (288)³². In fact, it is generally the case that Vaugelas does not repeat the preposition before the second of two nouns or verbs (note, however, that in the greater number of cases the two nouns or verbs do have the same or similar meaning). Therefore on both the question of whether to use the simple or compound preposition, and that of the repetition of prepositions, Vaugelas does not follow in 1615 the recommendations made in 1647.

(b) Agreement

The question whether an adjective following two co-ordinated nouns should agree with both nouns and therefore be plural, or whether it need only agree with the second of the two nouns, is a problematic one, and naturally depends on the interpretation given for the meaning of the phrase.

³¹ See below 217-8.

³² In some cases of non-repetition of the preposition Vaugelas may have been influenced by the Spanish original, where repetition is not used: e.g. Fonseca 1614: fo. 6^r: 'Para esso nació el hombre en el mundo para temer a Dios, y guardar sus mādamientos'; Vaugelas 1615: 15: '..pour autre chose que pour craindre Dieu, & garder ses commandemens...'.

Vaugelas generally makes the adjective agree only with the second of the two nouns, even when the meaning makes it clear that the adjective refers to both nouns: 'Nostre vie est vne guerre & vne tentation continuelle..' (1615: 133). The problem is more obvious when the question of gender is also involved: 'que sa mort ait apporté vn deuil, & vne tristesse nompareille à vn chacun' (633); '& que les fers & les chaisnes y sont desia preparees pour moy, & m'attendent' (800)³³. Occasionally odd agreements appear in the translation which may be due to printing errors: 'C'estoit vn tesmoignage d'un amour merueilleusement ardente & empressee à l'endroit des hommes..' (695); however, in this example, the hesitation may partly derive from the indeterminate status of the gender of amour (1647: 389-90). Vaugelas breaks the rule he makes in the Remarques about the use of the adjective vieux, vieil, vieille (1647: 377), by using vieil before a masculine noun beginning with a consonant: 'au vieil testament' (1615: 438).

Vaugelas is not dogmatic in the Remarques about whether toute sorte(s) de should be singular or plural before singular or plural nouns, but recommends as a general guideline that it is best to use the singular before a singular noun, and the plural before a plural (1647: 130). However, there is no pattern as to the usage of this expression in 1615.

The same difficulty seen above regarding adjectival agreement, namely, whether a singular or plural should be used after co-ordinated nouns, occurs with the use of relative pronouns (e.g. 'La huictiesme, estoit la tiedeur & nonchalance avec laquelle ils demandoient les miracles' (486)), verbal agreements ('la moisson & la recolte rēplira ton aire, & tes greniers' (393)) and past participle agreements ('Il respond que l'enuie & la hayne, qu'ils auoient conceuë contre luy

³³ See, Remarques 82-85 and the discussion of agreement in the chapter on syntax, 204-5.

n'auoient pas besoing d'autres demons' (456))³⁴. The rules set out in the Remarques (175-181) for the agreement of the past participle are generally adhered to (e.g. with respect to preceding direct object, agreements with rendre and faire), although there are examples of lack of care ('sans s'estre iamais veus, ny escrit' (818)). Vaugelas does not, however, follow his own later recommendation about the past participle agreement in the sentence: 'Certes ie m'apperçois, qu'un des plus signalez tesmoignages, qu'il nous ayt laissé de son amour extreme, est (ce me semble) cestuy-cy..' (341; cf. 1647: 153-4: C'est vne des plus belles actions, qu'il ayt jamais faites)³⁵.

The observation entitled Des participes actifs (1647: 426-433) in which Vaugelas sets out his views on the use and agreements of the present participle is long and involved³⁶. Moreover there are several areas where usage has changed since his time on these questions. Vaugelas firstly deals with the use of the present participles of avoir and estre as auxiliary verbs: in this usage they are considered gerundives and therefore invariable (e.g. les hommes ayant veu, les hommes estant contraints). However, in the translation plural agreement is found in such cases: 'lors qu'estants persecutez de Tite' (314); 'tous ces membres estans pourris exceptees les leures' (329). Secondly, Vaugelas deals with the use of ayant in all other situations, under which he includes the use of all other active participles. His differentiation between the uses he considers as cases of the gerundive and therefore invariability, and those of the participle and agreement, is by no means clear; of the first type

³⁴ Some of these examples may be affected by the 'synonym rule'.

³⁵ The observation does not appear in the Arsenal manuscript, but the wording of the remarque (153) 'I'ay appris que..' suggests that Vaugelas had recently changed his mind on this question. For further details of agreement of past participles, especially with a collective, see 211-213 and tables 9 and 10.

³⁶ For further discussion of present participle agreement, see 210-211.

he gives as a paradigm: les hommes ayant cette inclination, and of the second le les ay trouuez ayans le verre à la main. Moreover, the agreement in this second type only occurs with a masculine plural, for there is, he claims, no feminine form of ayant and the feminine form of the participle of the other active verbs is very rarely used. Therefore for the feminine the following is the recommended usage: ie les ay trouvées beuant & mangeant³⁷. In the Fonseca translation, examples are found which seem to contravene these rulings e.g. 'le remede... leur sembloit vn nouveau danger plus grand que le premier, ayants plus d'apprehension du secours que du mal' (126); '..qui passoient le long du chemin de Ierico disants leur breuiaire' (504). Indeed, Vaugelas apparently prefers in general to make the present participle agree in the translation. He does not use the present participle in the feminine plural, but rather uses the masculine plural (instead of the masculine singular or invariable form recommended in the Remarques), which therefore produces some rather strange looking agreements: e.g. 'vne grande quantité de personnes qui pēsants d'estre bien aduisees, ou portees au desepoir..' (171). The third case dealt with by Vaugelas in the Remarques is the use of estre as a participle where it is not an auxiliary. Two possible uses are given: as the substantive verb + noun (e.g. estant malade), or without a verb or noun after it (e.g. estant sur le point). In the first instance he says estant is always invariable, because it is considered a gerundive. In the second case, he argues that plural agreement may be used where applicable to avoid ambiguity (although not in the feminine), but that otherwise it is best not to make the agreement. Once again these rulings are not followed in 1615: (e.g. '..que ceux qui sont menez en triomphe par l'ambition, estans personnes releuées, & de qualité..' (351)). There is therefore a great difference between the

³⁷ For historical reasons for the non-agreement of the feminine participle, see 210.

usage recommended in the Remarques, where invariability is tolerated in more cases, and Vaugelas's earlier usage, where agreement of the present participle is much more general.

(c) Government

There is not a great deal to say about verb government, as this seems to be a question on which there is a fair amount of agreement on usage between the two works and present day usage. Vaugelas differs with his later ideas on two small points. Firstly, in 1615 commencer is generally followed by de (e.g. 'il commença de parler' (647; cf. 1647: 424)) and ressembler is still sometimes used as a directly transitive verb (e.g. 'En apparence nostre vie ressemble vne mort' (663³⁸; cf. 1647: *480)). However, on the question of the correct construction of seruir (1615: 40), fournir (1615: 187) and prier (1615: 413), Vaugelas already uses the modern constructions which he later recommends in the Remarques (320, 479). Occasionally odd deviations from modern usage are found (e.g. 'se conuertit au sang' (380); 'pretendit de faire' (320)), but this is generally an area about which very little can be learnt about the development of the French language during the first half of the seventeenth century through comparing the two works.

(d) Negative Constructions

In the Remarques (405-9) Vaugelas explains where it is correct to omit pas or point in negation and where it is intolerable. The wrongful omission of pas or point, he claims, is a feature of the language of

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Incorrectly paginated 693. In the Arsenal manuscript Vaugelas already favours commencer + à (fo. 44^r), but, on the advice of a friend, he differentiates between ressembler + à used when the verb expresses 'la uraye image d'une chose' and ressembler (transitive), to refer to 'toute sorte de similitude, et particulierem^t celle des actions' (82^v).

those living beyond the Loire; this may explain why in 1615 we find examples of omission which he would no longer tolerate in 1647 after his many years of living at Court in Paris: e.g. 'ce sexe nous frappe, si nous ne nous tenons sur nos gardes' (610). Occasionally he uses pas or point in combination with another negative particle, where it is not today permitted, nor indeed in the Remarques, because of the pleonasm; for example, point is used with aucun, although this no longer needed the negative particle with it since it had adopted a purely negative meaning through its constant use in negative constructions: '& de faict saint Luc n'interpose point aucun espee de temps entre le banquet, & la mort du mauuais riche' (1615: 362; 1647: 406). His use of the ny...ny.. construction is hesitant; for instance, there are cases where the combination ny...ou.. is employed (244). Similarly, positive and negative conjunctions are confused in the following: 'Les merueilles que l'Ecriture sainte racontent de Daud, d'Abysay frere de Ioab, de Banaias, & de Moab, ny mesmes de Sanson ne sont point esgales à ceste-cy' (667³⁹-8). In interrogatives, Vaugelas sometimes omits the ne: e.g. '..regardants de tous costez, si on leur auoit point dressé de pieges,...' (407). It is true that this omission is considered more elegant in the Arsenal manuscript (fo. 65^r), but by 1647 he is unsure which construction is the more elegant, having received conflicting advice from different people whose opinion he had asked in the meantime⁴⁰.

³⁹ Incorrectly paginated 697.

⁴⁰ Vaugelas's ideas were therefore reworked and greatly influenced by the opinions of other people not only in the period between 1615 and 1647, but also, as will be seen in the next chapter, between the noting of his observations in the Arsenal manuscript and the publication of the Remarques. See especially the section on Vaugelas's sources, 73-86.

It is clear then that Vaugelas's usage in main clauses differs in a number of significant ways in this translation from the usage preferred in the Remarques. There are a number of other small points about the constructions used in the translation which make it read like a typical early seventeenth century text and therefore separate it from the usage of the Remarques: for example, Vaugelas still occasionally uses comme rather than que in a comparison (cf. 1647: 63): '& bien que ces miracles ne fussent pas en si grand nombre pour lors, comme ils furent depuis' (576). Notable also are certain Latinate constructions, typical of sixteenth century usage: the Que si construction is still used in 1615, although it was already becoming dated in the previous century: e.g. 'Que si l'eloquẽce des hommes a tãt de force, que doit on croire de celle de Dieu?' (797).

(e) Subordinate clauses

(i) Concessives

The incorrect construction of concessive clauses is another feature specifically designated in the Remarques as belonging to southern French usage:

C'est vne faute familiere à toutes les Prouinces, qui sont de là Loire, de dire, par exemple, quel merite que l'on ayt, il faut estre heureux, au lieu de dire, quelque merite que l'on ayt (136).

From the pattern we have already seen, it is not surprising to find Vaugelas invariably using this construction in 1615 in the way criticised in 1647: e.g. 'quelle charité desire il que..' (79); 'Quelle place que l'on donne au pere' (163); 'Ce pauvre garçon s'enfuit loing de Dieu, qui l'aimoit, pour le trouuer en quel lieu qu'il aille, irrité contre luy' (416) etc.. Vaugelas also uses the alternative pour...que... instead of the more usual quelque...que...: 'Pour saint que soit vn homme, si ne doit il pas mourir sans faire penitence' (496).

(ii) Relative clauses

There are several remarks on the correct choice and application of relative pronouns and this is an important example of a change in usage between the beginning and the middle of the seventeenth century as illustrated in the work of Vaugelas. By 1647 Vaugelas considers the pronouns lequel, laquelle, lesquels, lesquelles as rather cumbersome and inelegant, and recommends the use of qui, dont, quoy, où in their place wherever possible. Discussing the use of lequel etc. he says:

Je n'ay parlé que du nominatif, parce qu'aux autres cas il n'y a nulle rudesse à en vser, si ce n'est lors que l'on peut se servir de qui, de quoy, de que, & de dont, au lieu de duquel, d'auquel, de lequel, à l'accusatif, & ainsi du féminin, & du pluriel; Car alors ce seroit vne faute de manquer à employer ces autres mots plus doux, que nostre langue nous fournit, pour mettre à la place du pronom lequel, en tous ses cas, & en tous ses nombres (116-7).

Vaugelas devotes a good deal of space in the Remarques to defining the scope of usage of these relative pronouns⁴¹, and recommending constructions to avoid the cumbersome and inelegant clause connections characteristic of earlier usage.

Lequel etc. is still much more frequently used by Vaugelas in 1615 than the other relatives. In general duquel etc. is used rather than the neater dont; for instance: 'Ceste hypocrisie regarde directement la vaine gloire, de laquelle nous auons fait assez de mention par le passé' (38); '..pour signifier, que la seuerité & la douceur sont deux parties nécessaires au Iuge, desquelles il doit tousiours estre accompagné' (669)⁴². Similarly in the possessive usage, à qui is preferred to dont:

⁴¹ Remarques 48, 54, 55-57, 91, 115-118, 343-5 etc. For further discussion of relative clauses, see below 240-241.

⁴² Vaugelas does, however, use dont as a substitute for d'où: 'tout ainsi que l'eau viue est vnne inseparablement avec la fontaine, dont elle coule' (597). In the Remarques this substitution is criticised in such cases (e.g. 'le lieu dont je viens'), although it is permitted in the sentence 'la race (la maison) dont il est sorti' (1647: 344).

'vn Marcus Vibulus, à qui les Gabiens auoient tué deux enfans' (81).

However, there are instances of the use of quoy (e.g. 'aussi biẽ que les rets & la ligne avec quoy il peschoit' (551)). Where usage has most changed is on the choice of qui or lequel. Vaugelas gives two instances in the Remarques where lequel is preferable, namely where there are two preceding nouns of different genders and the relative pronoun does not refer to the nearest noun⁴³, and secondly, 'au nominatif, quand on commence quelque narration considerable' (116), because lequel is more emphatic and therefore adds weight to the sentence. However, Vaugelas frequently usés the relative lequel in sentences where neither of these conditions seem to apply, and which therefore appear archaic to the modern French reader: e.g. 'Tertulliã est de cest aduis lequel adioust, que Dieu appelle sa vertu, le doigt, pour monstrier que le doigt, qui est la moindre chose, qui soit en luy, veut dire la toute puissãce de Dieu...' (450); '..mais elle frappa celuy d'une femme appellee Marcelle, laquelle esprise d'admiration, & haussant la voix au milieu des docteurs, se prit à louer nostre Seigneur..' (459). In the following sentence the qui does not refer to the nearest noun and is therefore potentially ambiguous, but Vaugelas cannot use lequel to solve the problem, because both fils and vitupere are of the masculine gender: '..car si le seruiteur ne se doit pas taire, lors qu'il se rencontre parmy des gens qui mēdisent de son maistre, à plus forte raison, le fils seroit blasmable, & digne de vitupere, qui demeureroit la bouche close, & comme muet sans en prendre la cause en main' (782). There are instances of lack of attention over the use of relative pronouns, which may be careless errors on the part of Vaugelas or possibly on the part of the printer: 'c'est ce qui fit fleurir l'Empire sous Trajan, & qu'il rendit la reputation de ce

⁴³ For example, 'On demettra vn homme de sa charge, lequel en sera plus capable, que celuy qui luy succedera,...' (Vaugelas 1615: 409).

gouvernement par tout le monde' (651-2).

(iii) Interrogatives

There is some hesitation over the choice of the interrogative pronoun in the Fonseca translation, a question not dealt with in the Remarques. The following examples show that, despite this omission, usage on this topic was not fixed at the beginning of the seventeenth century, at least, not in Vaugelas's mind: 'L'on demande quelle de cestrois conditions est la plus miserable' (456); '...& l'on ne sçauroit dire, laquelle des deux est la plus furieuse' (491); note also the use of quel in '..le Conseil enuoya des Leuites à Saint Iean Baptiste...pour l'interroger & sçauoir de luy quel il estoit' (525), which would no longer be recommended.

(f) Clausal co-ordination

Examination of the clausal connections in the translation often indicates that we are here dealing with a typical example of late sixteenth, early seventeenth century prose and not with an example of the kind of language usage for which Vaugelas later became renowned. This fact can perhaps best be appreciated if we look at some more extended passages, in which, for instance, the relatif de liaison is frequently used, a construction severely censured by Vaugelas in the Remarques (1647: 86-88)⁴⁴:

De mesme l'Enfer est vn amas complet de toute sorte de maux, à comparaison desquels toutes les cruautéz imaginables des Tirans ne sont que douceurs, à raison dequoy le miserable riche l'appella le seiour des peines & des tourments (370).

C'est nostre vray Maistre, & vne des plus grandes graces que Dieu ayt faites à son Eglise, est de luy donner Iesus-Christ pour son maistre, lequel a fait reluire depuis la grandeur de ce bien fait particulièrement en deux effects entre autres: l'vn en bannissant les tenebres de nostre ignorance, ainsi que la lumiere du Soleil materiel enrichit le iour, & chasse l'obscurité

44

Co-ordination is discussed at length in the chapter on syntax. The changes in Vaugelas's usage will be evident from comparison of the recommendations discussed there with the sustained passages quoted from the 1615 translation in this chapter.

de la nuit, afin que les yeux corporels puissent voir la beauté de ce monde: De mesmes la lumiere du Soleil spirituel enrichit le iour de la nouvelle loy, & bannit les tenebres de l'ancienne à raison dequoy ce temps là fut appelé, Nox præceßit & c. (192-3).

(g) Word order

Usage seems to have changed substantially in the period between the publication of the Fonseca translation and the appearance of Remarques on the question of word order. The fixing of French word order is associated with the advent of classical French prose style in the seventeenth century. While Vaugelas's usage in some respects still represents the older style even in 1647 (notably in his placing of clitic pronouns), the Remarques bear witness to a growing concern for clarity and elegance and a maturation of Vaugelas's ideas on syntax which were to influence greatly future usage⁴⁵.

The modern positioning of the direct object pronoun, whether personal or reflexive, was not established by the time of the Remarques⁴⁶. Vaugelas writes that il se vient iustifier and ie ne le veux pas faire are still the more common orderings, although he judges the modern word order quite acceptable (1647: 376-7). In the section on Netteté, however, he adds (1647: 581) that if the placing of the direct object before the finite verb leads to ambiguity, then it must be placed before the infinitive, and he gives the example, il ne se peut taire, ny parler, which he says is unacceptable because the reflexive pronoun only goes with taire and not with parler. In the Fonseca translation we naturally find the direct object pronoun more frequently placed before the finite verb: 'neantmoins il la voulut euter' (315); 'Quand Darius se voulut faire Dieu' (237). In these examples the position of the direct object

⁴⁵ See chapter 5.

⁴⁶ See 234-6.

pronoun appears archaic to the modern reader, but the clarity of the sentence is not affected. In the following examples, however, there is the problem of clarity raised by Vaugelas himself in 1647: 'si l'on le veut domter, & battre son orgueil en ruine' (441); 'Mais si elle est infidelle & desloyale à son mary, il la peut repudier, & se separer d'auec elle..' (623). Occasionally indirect pronouns (other than lui, leur) appear after le, la, les, contrary to the modern usage favoured in the Remarques (33-34) (e.g. 'Pour les Anges, on les nous depeint ravis en extase' (890)).

Certain other features of the word order appear archaic today; for example, the lack of inversion in incise: 'qu'il ne sçauroit ce semble, l'estre dauantage' (436)⁴⁷ and the use of stressed si with inversion: 'si voulut il pourtant que..' (236). The following sentences also contain rather awkward inversions: 'Tous nos pechez de doux qu'il est, nous le rendent aspre & rude' (196); '..& deuint vn Agneau de lion qu'il estoit' (606).

Vaugelas states his preference for the position of the negative particles before an infinitive as a matter of style in the Remarques; as we know, it later became a matter of syntactic necessity: 'Il est à noter qu'auec les infinitifs, pas & point, ont beaucoup meilleure grace estant mis deuant qu'apres..' (409). Both orderings are possible in 1615, but the older positioning of the pas or point after the infinitive occurs more frequently: 'Il defend seulement...de n'amonceler point les richesses pour vous seul' (46).

In 1615 Vaugelas allows himself greater flexibility with the positioning of the adjective than is usual today. In the Remarques he says that although some adjectives necessarily go before the noun, e.g. numerals, bon, beau, mauuais, grand, petit (note, however, Vaugelas 1615: 445 'en ce miracle dernier'), and some after (e.g. adjectives of colour), nevertheless with the great majority the ear must decide which ordering

47 ~~Incorrectly~~ paginated 438.

is best. Coeffeteau, he claims, tended to place the adjective before the noun, whereas modern authors prefer to put it in the post-nominal position. Restrictions are placed on the positioning of certain adjectives and combinations of adjectives today, which Vaugelas in 1615 did not apparently feel: e.g. 'c'est le privilege du seul Dieu' (765); 'des tresors de sa toute science' (63); 'aux autres deux' (729); 'quelque autre chose' (710). In the translation he commonly places two conjoined adjectives before the noun to which they refer: 'vn doux & gracieux Zephyre' (154); 'à cause qu'il nous prie d'un essentiel & veritable bien' (457); this is true even when the two conjoined adjectives are reinforced by si, which is not repeated as is advised in the Remarques (*490): 'cōtre vn si foible & chetif ennemy' (451). The following combination also occurs, but is much rarer: 'vne mauuaise fin & lamentable' (173).

Vaugelas's use of the comparative and superlative adjectives is confused in the Fonseca translation. Firstly, he does not seem to differentiate between their forms (e.g. 'Table alphabetique des choses qui sont plus remarquables en ce liure'⁴⁸); secondly, he also places the superlative adjective before the noun, an ordering no longer tolerated: 'le plus detestable peché de tout' (622). Moreover he uses comparatives and superlatives in combinations which produce constructions which are inelegant in their asymmetry: 'Voulez-vous sçauoir vne des plus grandes miseres du monde, & plus digne de compassion' (772-3); 'qu'il n'y a point de meilleur secret ny plus puissant pour appaiser la colere de nos ennemis, que de leur respondre doucement..' (779-80; cf. 1647: 528).

Vaugelas only specifies his preferred positioning of the adverb when it modifies a verb:

Cette partie de l'Oraison veut tousjours estre proche du verbe, comme le mot mesme le monstre; soit deuant ou apres,

48 Unpaginated. See Remarques 75-76.

il n'importe, quoy que dans la construction il aille tousjours apres le verbe, comme l'accessoire apres le principal, ou l'accident apres la substance (1647: *461).

This is the pattern generally used in the translation, although Vaugelas does vary the word order to produce stylistic effects: 'tellement que si le Pape vouloit determiner quelque point, & establir vne erreur pour article de foy, infalliblement Dieu feroit vn miracle' (329). Where his usage in 1615 differs most from that of modern French is in the placing of an adverb modifying an adjective or adjectives: e.g. '& cõduit par des personnes impitoyables & cruelles extrememēt' (400); '& si l'on sçait bien, qu'il seroit impossible autrement de resister à sa toute puissance' (429); 'elle estoit bastie magnifiquement' (465); 'ny de punir des crimes dõt ils sont eux mesmes atteints plus que les autres' (630). The positioning of the adverb in the following sentence is problematic because it seems to indicate that the adverb modifies adoree, whereas the meaning of the sentence seems to suggest that it should rather be placed before tout le monde: 'L'honneur est vne idole de vanité, qui est presque adoree par tout le monde' (805). Vaugelas generally places adverbs of time at the beginning of clauses as he recommends in the Remarques (*461-2), but he uses beaucoup after the adjective rather than de beaucoup contrary to his advice in the Remarques (485): 'il y a quelque chose de plus blasmable beaucoup que la flaterie' (196).

(h) Conclusion

Vaugelas's sentences in 1615 are often long, involved and contorted in their syntax. The length of the sentences cannot be blamed on the fact that the work is a translation, for we often find Vaugelas running together two or more separate sentences of the Spanish. Rather, it appears to stem from his admiration for Coeffeteau's style at this time,

which tended towards wordiness and expansion⁴⁹. Ironically when he criticises over-lengthy periods, which diminish the clarity of the prose⁵⁰, it is to the usage of Coeffeteau, along with that of Amyot, that he looks in the Remarques as a model for good sentence construction:

La longueur des periodes, est encore fort ennemie de la netteté du stile. I'entens celles qui suffoquent par leur grandeur excessiue ceux qui les prononcent,...sur tout si elles sont embarrassées & qu'elles n'ayent pas des repositoirs, comme en ont celles de ces deux grands Maistres de nostre langue, Amyot & Coeffeteau (1647: 592).

Clearly then Vaugelas holds Coeffeteau in highest esteem both in 1615 and in 1647⁵¹. Comprehension is not only impeded by the length of the sentences, it is also hindered by the lack of punctuation to guide the reader, especially on the first reading. Many passages could be given to illustrate the occurrence of complicated sentences and the dearth of punctuation in the translation, but the following must serve as a sample:

Les Crestiës croyët en luy, & l'adorët & si ne laissët pas de l'offencer les Pharisiens ne le vouloyent pas receuoir, parce qu'ils eussent esté obligez en le suiuant, de renoncer à leurs auarices ambiitiõs, & hypocrisies, n'estât pas raisonnable qu'ils fussent si riches & orgueilleux à la suite d'un maistre si pauvre & si humble; Ils ne le vouloient pas receuoir pour l'offenser apres l'auoir receu, nous autres ne sommes pas si cõsiderez, que cela; C'est dequoy nous deurions mourir de hõte, de croire en Dieu, & d'adorer le vice, la foy ne no⁹ sert, que de sauf-conduit, pour n'estre pas tout à fair acceblez de la iuste vëgeance du grand Dieu (405).

49 For further details of Coeffeteau's method of translating, see Chapter 6, 254, and of Vaugelas's admiration for him, Chapter 2, 75-76.

50 The concept of clarity is elaborated on below, 143-4. Lack of clarity in the translation may also, of course, be due to carelessness in the expression of syntactic relationships (see 44-45).

51 The decrease of Coeffeteau's influence and the increase of d'Ablancourt's at the end of Vaugelas's life is treated in the discussion of Vaugelas's theory of translation, chapter 6, 253-270.

Les Histoires sacrees & prophanes en font foy, celle de Daud, de Iosias, d'Alexandre le Grand, qui porta de la reuerence au grand Prestre, de Constantin, de Theodose, & de Charlesmagne, qui triompherent de tous leurs ennemis, pour puissants qu'ils fussent, parce qu'ils respectoient la grandeur de l'Eglise, l'autre, que tous ceux qui n'en ont pas fait l'estat qu'ils deuoient, ont tousiours esté mesprizez, qui contemunt me, erunt ignobiles, ainsi que parmy les Hebreux nous en voyons des tesmoignages, en Saül, Ozias, & Menasses parmy les Romains, en Pompee, qui profana le sacré temple de Hierusalem, encore qu'il n'osast iamais mettre les mains dedans le thresor, comme asseure Ciceron, & parmy les Allemands vn Frederic, vn Henry: Et saint Thomas a remarqué...(517-8)⁵².

When we come to consider whole sentences, we can clearly see examples of combinations of those points of grammar which would no longer have been favoured by Vaugelas in 1647 and which we have been discussing in this chapter:

Quelles affaires que puisse auoir vn homme en ceste vie, quãd il importeroit d'vn Royayme ne sont qu'accessoires en comparaison de cestuy cy, qui est la principale & la necessaire toute seule: car en la perdant l'on perd tout, & non pas seulemẽt tout le bien, mais aussi l'esperance de le recouurer (318).

De façon que Iesus Christ luy persuada, qu'il n'estoit triste que de crainte, affin de l'irriter d'auantage & le conuier de faire auancer l'heure de sa mort, encore qu'il faille aduoüer que sa tristesse & sa crainte fut veritable (338).

...car encore qu'il n'eust pas esté crucifié pour nostre Seigneur, si est-ce qu'auant que de mourir, il auroit employé mille vies, pour l'amour de luy, & il fut plus tourmenté de regret qu'il auoit de n'estre pas crucifié pour luy, que de la croix sur laquelle il estoit cloüé, de sorte qu'il commença d'endurer, comme larron, & vint à mourir comme martyr (877).

Vaugelas's use of French syntax then in 1615 has not yet reached that degree of clarity which he says must be aimed at in the Remarques in 1647 and which became so typical of Classical French prose, and we still find

52

This is an example of Vaugelas running together two separate sentences of the Spanish: Fonseca 1614: 233: 'Y ami esposa por mi son inumerables las historias humanas, y diuinas de Daud, de Iosias, de Alexandro Magno, que respeto al sumo Sacerdote Constantino Magno, Theodosio, Carlomagno, que triumpharon de poderosos enemigos, por auer respetado la autoridad de la Yglesia, poniendola siempre sobre su corona.

Otra los que la despreciaron, siempre fueron viles: Qui contemunt me, erunt ignobiles, Y a mi esposa por mi, como lo prouo entre los Hebreos, vn Saul, Ozias, Manases: entre los Romanos vn Pompeyo Magno, que profano el Templo sagrado de Ierusalem, aunq no se atreuio allegar a su thesoro: como afirma Cicero: entre los Germanios vn Federico, vn Enrrico, &c. S. Tomas, nota, q..

ambiguous phrases and unattached clauses in the translation:

...au lieu que les Dieux m'ont priué de la veüe, ils
m'auroyēt fait vne grande faveur, de me priver de
l'oüye, pour ne point oüyr de mes oreilles vne action
si honteuse pour Rome, & si fort⁵³ indigne de la
reputation de ses ancestres(449)

V: Translation

The fact that this work is a translation cannot be ignored when analysing Vaugelas's use of language in it. We need to consider to what extent it is a fair representation of Vaugelas's views on the correct use of the French language in 1615, and how much he was influenced by the Spanish original he was translating. On comparing the Spanish text with Vaugelas's translation and also with that of Mabbe we come to the perhaps somewhat unexpected conclusion that in fact Vaugelas was very little affected by Fonseca's use of language. Vaugelas is not afraid to expand, explain or modify the original and does not feel obliged to follow the original word for word, matching construction for construction⁵⁴.

Although Mabbe cuts out passages from the Spanish, he is much more slavish in his adherence to Fonseca's choice of vocabulary and construction, with the result that his English version at times appears stilted and awkward⁵⁵.

53 Participle clauses are also overused in the translation and tend to be constructed rather loosely: 'Quoy que c'en soit, estant question de pouruoir à deux necessitez, l'une du corps, & l'autre de l'ame, l'une du pain, & l'autre de la foy, nostre Seigneur commença par celle de l'ame, comme la plus importäte, exerçät sa charge de Sauueur'(647).

54 Vaugelas moves further away from his original in the 1659 version of Quinte-Curce. Vaugelas's changing theory of translation is discussed in chapter 6, 253-270.

55 For Mabbe the work had to be made acceptable to seventeenth century Anglicans. He, however, stresses in his preface To the Reader that Fonseca's views will not seem so foreign to them as they might expect and that they should not be prejudiced against the work of a Spanish Catholic: 'Some peradventure may dislike it, because it was first composed by a Spaniard; as if Elijah should have refused his meat, because it was brought him by a Rauen.....And yet let me tell thee, to hearten thy aduventure against all needlesse & imaginarie fears, The captiue here hath her head shorn, and may well be admitted for a true Israelite'.

On the other hand, Vaugelas's text generally reads naturally like a typical example of early seventeenth century French prose, and he shows a freedom and independence of mind in his rendering. This is perhaps due to his belief articulated in the Remarques (1647: 509-510), that each language has its own peculiar characteristics: 'Chaque langue a ses termes & sa diction, & qui, par exemple, parle Latin comme font plusieurs, avec des paroles Latines & des phrases Françoises; ne parle pas Latin, mais François, ou plustost ne parle ny François ny Latin', Vaugelas makes every effort to avoid falling into this trap, as the following examples illustrate:

Fonseca (1614)

Fo.62^r: ..pero a ninguna dize la Escritura que el Espiritu Sãto le lleua sino a la tentacion, y esso con palabras que significan vn linage de fuerça, aunq̃ voluntaria, y suaue, Expulit, agebatur, ductus est; y en el misterio que nadie deue presumir de su fragilidad tanta seguridad y confiança, que se entre en la tentacion, sin que el Espiritu santo le lleue cocomo por los cabellos:

Mabbe (1629)

But in none of our Actions makes the Scripture any mention that the holy Ghost leadeth vs vnto, but onely to Temptation. And this is expressed with wordes that carry a kind of force with them, though voluntary and sweet. Expulit, agebatur, ductus est, Hee drew not, hee was chased, hee was led. And the mysterie thereof is, that no man ought to presume, considering his weakenesse, so much vpon his owne securitie and confidence, that hee should enter into Temptation, vnlesse the holy Ghost take him vp as it were by the haire of the head, and set him into it (75-6).

Vaugelas (1615)

Cependant, l'Escriture sainte ne dit point qu'il l'ayt conduit à aucune de ses oeuvres qu'à la tentation, & comme avec vne-espece de violence: Mais douce pourtant & volontaire, Expulit agebatur ductus est, & le mystere de cecy est, que personne ne doit tant presumer de ses forces, ny auoir tant de confiance en soy mesme, à cause de sa fragilité, qu'il se doie ietter dans la tentation de gré à gré, si le saint Esprit ne l'y porte par maniere de dire par les cheveaux... (134).

Fonseca

Fo. 138^r: Pedis
a vn pintor vna
imagen, sacaos vna,
desleola mucha mejor:
sacaos otra, no me
contenta del todo:
sacaos la mejor que
nunca hizo, dezis con
tibieça: Buena es,
enfadase, y quitaos-
la de las manos.

Mabbe

Thou desirest a
Painter to show
thee a picture;
He takes out one;
thou desirest a
better, hee takes
out another, that
contents thee not.
At last he shewes
thee the best that
he hath; Thou cold-
ly commendst it,
and sayest, it is
a pretie good peece,
so, so: He growes
wearie of thee,
and takes it away
from thee (196).

Vaugelas

Tout ainsi que
si vous auiez prié vn
peintre excellent de vous
faire voir de son ouurage,
& qu'il vous monstrast vn
tableau, & que vous luy
dissiez, celui-là ne me
reuient pas, voyons en vn
autre, s'il vous en fais-
oit apporter plusieurs de
suite, où il ny eust rien
à reprendre en l'art de
peinture, & que vous ne
fussiez pour tant point
encore satisfait de toute
ceste varieté: Mais que
vous le priassiez de vous
laisser entrer dans son
cabinet, & de vous monstrier
la plus rare piece de
toutes, qu'il tiendrait
pour vn chef d'oeuvre de
son mestier, & qu'apres
l'auoir considerée
attentiuelement, au lieu
de l'admirer avec des
exclamations comme vne
merueille, vous luy dissiez
froidement, elle est
bonne, le peintre
n'auroit-il pas occasion
de se fascher, & de vous
arracher le tableau d'entre
les mains? (300-1).

Vaugelas's translation then may be criticised on the grounds that it does not always render the content of the Spanish original faithfully and tends to be cumbersome and wordy, but the freedom of the rendering does allow us to view the use of language in the translation as representative of his style in 1615:

Fonseca

Fo. 167^V-168^r: porque como el cielo es vn bien que abrasa todos los bienes: assi el infierno es vn mal que abrasa todos los males, no ha auido en todo el mundo ningun tirano es cuyas mazmorras, ò carcelas se padezcan todos los tormentos juntos: pero en la carcel del infierno, no ay tormento que no se padezca. Por esso le llamò el rico lugar de tormentos.

Mabbe

For, as Heauen is a happinesse, that imbraceth all happinesse; so Hell, is a misery that includeth all miseries. There was neuer yet any tyrant in the world, in whose prisons and dungeons all torments were inflicted at once. But in that of Hell, there is not any torment, which is not felt at one and the same instant (244; Mabbe omits Fonseca's last sentence).

Vaugelas

Car tout ainsi que le ciel & le Paradis est vn assemblage parfaict de tous les biens ensemble; De mesme l'Enfer est vn amas complet de toute sorte de maux, à comparaison desquels toutes les cruauitez imaginables des Tirans ne sont que douceurs, à raison dequoy le miserable riche l'appella le seiour des peines & des tourments (370).

It is not of course possible to say that Vaugelas was not affected at all by the Spanish he was translating. Occasionally on such points of detail as the omission of the article, the use of the partitive, or the non-repetition of the subject pronoun there is reason to suspect that Vaugelas may have been influenced by the Spanish original. However, since this is true only in selected cases, such evidence is by no means conclusive (cf. footnotes 21 and 23). Rather, the impression gained when reading the translation is that there is nothing which obviously strikes the eye as being Spanish rather than French.

VI: Style

Because of the freedom of Vaugelas's translation, not only can we feel justified in comparing it with his pronouncements in the Remarques to show the development of his views on the correct use of the French language during the first half of the seventeenth century, but we can also examine stylistic uses in it. For example, in the Remarques Vaugelas deals at length with the question of synonyms (*493-499)⁵⁶. Unlike many of his

⁵⁶ For further discussion of Vaugelas's use of synonyms, see below 169-171.

contemporaries and seventeenth century successors, Vaugelas is in favour of the use of synonymous pairs of words:

La premiere parole a desja esbauché ou tracé la ressemblance de ce qu'elle represente, mais le synonyme qui suit est comme vn second coup de pinceau qui acheue l'image. C'est pourquoy tant s'en faut que l'vsage des synonymes est vicieux, qu'il est souuent nécessaire, puis qu'ils contribuent tant à la clarté de l'expression, qui doit estre le principal soin de celui qui parle ou qui escrit (*494).

He adds the proviso, however, that the habit must not be abused and synonyms overworked, and that the writer must use his own judgment and discretion on the matter. In general he considers that synonyms are best positioned at the end of the phrase. There are numerous synonym pairs used in the 1615 translation, but their use is judicious in the way later recommended in the Remarques. Where Vaugelas apparently feels that the French needs two words to render sufficiently one Spanish one, he is not afraid to use a synonym pair, but on the other hand he does not overuse the technique and even sometimes chooses to use one word where the Spanish has two:

Fonseca Fo. 23^V: Gozò esta ciudad en aquella hera de grandes glorias:
Vaugelas 48 : En ce temps-là elle estoit celebre & renommée pour beaucoup de raisons,...

Fonseca Fo.193^R: La segunda, engaño notorio, pues prometió lo qu no podia cumplir:
Vaugelas 428 : Secondement, la fraude & le dol est tout euident, car il a promis ce qu'il ne peut tenir:

Fonseca Fo. 3^V : Cargarà el Sabio su estomago por ventura, de ardor, que le abrase, y le consuma,...
Vaugelas 10 : Quoy le sage voudra il charger son estomach d'une ardeur qui se consume?... (Note the change of pronoun.)

Also on the question of style, Vaugelas already shows evidence of a desire for elegance and euphony in the use of l'on rather than on: e.g. 'L'on demêde dans l'eschole lequel des deux est le plus grãd..' (618). Nevertheless, there are instances of unpleasant combinations of sounds: e.g. '...& a on en horreur l'election des sceptres, & des couronnes..' (479)⁵⁷.

⁵⁷ For discussion of euphony, see 148.

VII: Conclusion

In conclusion we must ask why there is such a discrepancy between Vaugelas's use of language in 1615 and the recommendations of the Remarques. Reference to biographical details may help us to answer this question. As we know, Vaugelas was born and spent most of his childhood in Savoy and it was not until 1607, only a few years before the publication of the Fonseca translation that he went to live in Paris⁵⁸. The impression made on the young and receptive Vaugelas by these new surroundings and companions has been outlined in the introduction (9). His new friends and acquaintances were precisely those men whom Adam lists as those helping to evolve a new prose style, a prose style which Vaugelas was to adopt and further develop and polish:

Le cardinal du Perron, le président du Vair, le dominicain Coeffeteau, Honoré d'Urfé enfin⁵⁹, faisaient dès 1610, aux yeux des gens de lettres, figure de réformateurs. Ils offraient dans leurs oeuvres les modèles d'une prose pure, lumineuse, élégante, moderne (Adam 1947: 250).

Indeed one of these men may have suggested to Vaugelas that he should translate the Lenten sermons, or, as Streicher hypothesises (1934: XX) he may have been guided in his choice by François de Sales, an old family friend⁶⁰. What is already very clear from this comparison of Vaugelas's translation with the pronouncements in the Remarques is that Vaugelas's ideas evolved considerably between 1615 and 1647, and this raises the question of how far Vaugelas's Remarques represent his own original ideas on language and how much they are simply a collection of thoughts on language gathered from the best authorities of the day. The influence

⁵⁸ It has already been noted that some of the usages illustrated by this translation and later criticised by Vaugelas are specifically designated as regional.

⁵⁹ Honoré d'Urfé, a friend of Vaugelas's father, visited the family home in Chambéry when living in the town wounded from his service for the Duc de Nemours. Antoine Favre helped to publish d'Urfé's Epistres Morales in 1598 (Mugnier 1902: 20-23).

⁶⁰ See also 84 - 5. Collet (1950 : 374-5) supports Streicher's contention and suggests other reasons why Vaugelas may have ~~taken the translation~~.

of the salon milieu and of the Academy on Vaugelas will be further discussed below⁶¹. Suffice it to say here that there are definite indications that Vaugelas was helped to fashion his ideas on French through the advice and comments of various friends. It is to further study of the evolution of Vaugelas's ideas during his lifetime and to examination of possible reasons for the changes that we shall turn in the next chapter which analyses the Arsenal manuscript of the Remarques.

⁶¹ See Chapter 7, section III.

Chapter 2: The genesis of Vaugelas's Remarques sur la langue française: the Arsenal manuscript.

I: History and description of the manuscript

A brief history of the only surviving manuscript of the Remarques, located in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris, can be found in Ayres 1983: 17¹. The manuscript was purchased for the library by the Marquis de Paulmy from the bibliophile Milsonneau, probably in 1769, along with other manuscripts from the collection of Valentin Conrart (Martin 1899: 187-9)². While Milsonneau believed the manuscript to be by Conrart himself³, the Marquis de Paulmy was not deceived about the correct authorship, for on the first folio there is noted 'Ce manuscrit est de la main de Vaugelas'. The stages by which the manuscript passed from Conrart's library into Milsonneau's are uncertain. Martin hypothesises that as the

¹ MS 3105 Vaugelas: Remarques sur la langue française - Manuscrit autographe Fol. 98. Diverses notes de la main de Vaugelas. Brackets are used in quotations from the manuscript where the writing is unclear, blotched or too close to the edge of the page. I have retained the spellings and orthographic conventions of the manuscript and of the published Remarques for comparison, except that long *f* has been replaced by 's'. Those words and phrases for which Vaugelas uses a larger script in the manuscript for emphasis or to denote a quotation are here underlined.

² The manuscript is listed as number 2744 (this number is still visible inside the front cover of the manuscript) in Milsonneau's catalogue for his library (Bibliothèque Nationale fonds français 15297-15310). The catalogue comprises three sections: a list of the books and manuscripts in the order he procured them (15297 and supplement in 15308), a classification of the works into five categories (15298-15299, supplement 15308), and thirdly an alphabetical index (15300-15307, supplement 15308-9). From its position in the first section we know that Milsonneau must have purchased the manuscript in 1725 or 1726 and later (15309: 457) Milsonneau records that this was for the meagre sum of 5 livres.

³ Milsonneau, 15298: 357. The correct authorship is also confirmed by comparing the script with some of Vaugelas's signed letters (Ayres 1983: 17).

principal source of Milsonneau's collection at this period was the Cardinal Dubois and that as the papers of Conrart and Dubois are mixed up in Milsonneau's chronological catalogue, we can assume, as indeed the Marquis de Paulmy did, that Conrart's papers belonged to Dubois (Martin 1899: 193). Dubois's collection was originally formed by l'abbé Bignon, sold to Jean Law and later purchased by Dubois. We can therefore tentatively conclude that l'abbé Bignon acquired Conrart's library and that it then passed to Jean Law, Dubois, Milsonneau and finally the Marquis de Paulmy, the founder of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal⁴.

A general description of the manuscript is found in Ayres 1983: 17-18. Vaugelas's hand is in general clearly legible, although additions are not so neatly written and the letters tend to be overcrowded at the bottom or in the margin or written too close to the edge of the page. In places the script becomes so tiny that the letters are indistinguishable and the last folio degenerates in places to complete illegibility because of the size of the letters, wear and tear and the fact that lines written upside down are mixed with those the correct way up. The leaves of the manuscript are numbered from 1-98, usually at the top of each recto⁵. There are also signs of an earlier pagination and this indicates that some sheets are out of order, especially those now foliated 28-30 and 33-38. Nevertheless, large sections do appear to be in the correct order, namely 31^r-32^v (paginated 65-68), 39^r-46^v (87-102), 47^r-69^v (105-152) and 70^r-97^r (165-219), and in these sections the observations are grouped under the

⁴ For possible hypotheses as to how Conrart obtained the manuscript of the Remarques see Ayres 1983: 17. The Clef de Conrart (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 5420, Tome II, 1 partie : 24-25. See below 74-75 and Streicher 1936: XLVIII-XLIX) suggests that Conrart was one of the men who read the Remarques through while still in manuscript form and this seems to be confirmed by Ménage's assertion that Vaugelas was helped in the composition of his Remarques by Chapelain, Conrart, Patru and other members of the Academy (1676: 70-71).

⁵ Two sheets are unfoliated (between fos. 3 and 4 and between fos. 63 and 64). One or two sheets have their folio number missing (e.g. fos. 75, 91). Folio 28 is numbered on both the recto and the verso.

appropriate letter of the alphabet headings which follow in logical sequence with occasional insertions (e.g. between the section headed 'H' (fo. 46) and that headed 'J' (fos. 53^r-55^v) there are two pages of words beginning with the letter 'A' (fo. 47) and a supplement to 'P' (fos. 48^r-49^r)); the pagination and a note at the top of folio 4 which refers to 'A et P pres d'J' confirm these to be original insertions⁶. Some problems of ordering in the manuscript cannot be resolved by referring to the pagination. For example, the contents of folio 92 (En preposition) clearly follow on from folio 27. Moreover there is the problem of cross-references made within the text which do not conform to the present ordering, but which might give some indication of where the misplaced sheets should be inserted. Under the heading Audace for instance there is a reference to the section 'A apres O' (fo. 37^r); in the manuscript we have there is no such section. Above all it seems likely that some sheets are missing, since the pagination runs to at least 219, although there are only 100 leaves left, and notably folio 40 begins in the middle of a sentence, the rest of which I cannot trace.

Conclusive evidence to show that this is not the final version of the manuscript used by the printer is given elsewhere (Ayres 1983: 17-18). It is likely that it rather represents a collection of Vaugelas's thoughts on language over an extended period of time⁷. There are variations in

⁶ For details of the change from the roughly alphabetical ordering of the manuscript to the random presentation of the Remarques, see below 86-88, and Ayres 1983: 28-29.

⁷ A margin note under the heading Mademoiselle amending the observation ('Au contraire on commence à dire et à escrire Demoiselle et queualle et non pas caualle, c'est depuis six ou sept ans' (fo. 61^v)), confirms that the observations were written over a period of at least six or seven years, while another manuscript remarque seems to indicate that Vaugelas began noting down his observations even before Malherbe's death in 1628 (fo. 16^v). The two dates in the manuscript, 1645 (unfoliated) and 9-12 August 1648 (fo. 98^r) which appear on odd sheets at the beginning and end of the manuscript suggest that Vaugelas was still adding to the manuscript almost twenty years after he first began work on it.

the style of script and in the degree of care (folio 64 is very neat, whereas folio 83 is rather carelessly written) and of completion (some are just jottings down e.g. fo. 12^r 'Aimer mieux quand il regit l'Article De apres luy ou non' or headings e.g. fo. 17^r Choier, others are almost complete e.g. fo. 11^r Barbarisme) as well as numerous erasures, corrections, additions and marginal interpolations, and in some cases, different versions of the same point. Layers of additions are in evidence in the manuscript: for instance, the various paragraphs of folio 61^r seem to have been added at different stages. Vaugelas's general method of composition appears to have been to write the letters of the alphabet at the top of sheets spaced at a reasonable distance, to note down several points in neat writing at the beginning of each letter of the alphabet and then later to make additions sometimes in a block, but more often paragraph by paragraph. This is testified by the variation in the script, since the additions are usually in a smaller, more spidery and less careful hand. At the end of some letters there are blank sheets where the space allocated for the letter has not been completely used (e.g. at the end of the words beginning with 'L' (fos. 57-59) there are two blank pages (fo. 60)). Elsewhere it is clear that Vaugelas ran out of space and consequently either squashed his material at the bottom of the page or in the margin or used blank leaves elsewhere, where possible the sheet preceding the beginning of the letter. If, as I have suggested (Ayres 1983: 17), this is the manuscript of Vaugelas's observations on the French language which he presented to the Academy in 1637 for their comments and criticisms⁸, then many of the additions and corrections were probably made after this date on the advice of the Academy's members.

⁸ Referred to by Pellisson in his history of the French Academy (Pellisson & d'Olivet 1858: I: 101).

II: Vaugelas's method of working

Examination of the manuscript enables us to gain some idea of Vaugelas's method of working⁹. For example, Vaugelas gives us two versions of his views on comme ainsi soit in the manuscript. On folio 13 he is obviously struggling to formulate his thoughts and there is a great deal of crossing out. On folio 40 he makes a fair copy of what he wants to retain from his first thoughts and then adds some new ideas, including a discussion of the merits of Coeffeteau and Amyot, which is not published in the final version (*469). Elsewhere material is distributed among separate headings; for example in the manuscript Vaugelas gives all his thoughts on where to use on or l'on in one place (fo. 61^r); in the Remarques this material is divided into three separate observations entitled Si on, & si l'on (9); On l'on & t'on (10) and En quels endroits il faut dire on, & en quels endroits l'on (12).

Expression of doubt about the validity of a point or hesitation as to the correct solution occurs much more frequently in the manuscript¹⁰. For example on folio 92 Vaugelas is uncertain whether he has correctly formulated his rule about the use of the indefinite article after the preposition en and before si:

Et pour discerner quand il le faut mettre ou non, il semble qu'on peut faire cette reigle, que lors que le sens est terminé au substantif qui est precedé de son adiectif, et de si, et d'en ... il ne faut pas s'arrester en si beau chemin ..., on peut et on doit laisser un, mais quand le sens ne termine pas au substantif, et qu'il y a quelque chose en suite, ... alors il faut mettre un. Je ne suis pas encore bien asseuré de la uerité de cette Reigle, il faudra y prendre garde.

Notes are made to remind himself to follow up a point or ask advice, and decisions are not reached or expressions of doubt added later. For example under the heading Tous deux et Tous les deux (fo. 89^r) the words 'i'en doute' are added. Sometimes his position modifies; for instance

⁹ Clearly from the beginning the Remarques were intended to form a book (fo. 12^v 'en quelque endroit de ce liure').

¹⁰ Usually by the time of the publication of the Remarques a decision has ~~been made~~ (Ayres 1983: 19).

in the manuscript he says of the use of De la sorte and de cette sorte:

'Cette reigle de l'usage de ces deux façons de parler n'est pas seulement pour les délicats, elle est essentielle pour parler correctement' (fo. 23^r), whereas in the Remarques he adds that he has learnt that this usage is not observed so exactly, although it is more elegant to write and speak as he advises (26). However, often he becomes firmer in his assertions, for example on the need to repeat tout (Remarques 559), a question which had caused him problems in the manuscript where he dislikes the repetition of tout more than twice, but feels that it needs to be repeated before each noun '..si bien que pour la satisfaire d'une façon et d'autre, ie voudrois euter de mettre plus de substantifs de suite' (fo. 91^r). In the manuscript he is doubtful whether gemeaux is acceptable and prefers jumeaux (fo. 43^r); in the Remarques, however, he differentiates the meanings of the two words (448).

In the manuscript there are also many cases where Vaugelas admits the difficulty of explaining a point, adducing various examples to clarify his position (fo. 94^v 'L'exemple ua esclaircir ce que ie ueux dire et que peut estre on auroit de la peine d'entendre autrement'), and he is obviously searching for rules and reasons why the French language behaves in the way it does: 'Il en faut chercher la raison' (fo. 59^v), 'Mesmes nous regarderons si on en pourroit establir quelque Reigle, affin que chacun peut estre asseuré quand il s'en faudra servir' (fo. 57^v). Sometimes he is able to formulate a rule, or justify a decision, but he is equally not afraid in the Remarques to admit that there is no reason behind a certain usage (Ayres 1983: 19).

III: Developments in Vaugelas's ideas on language and the evolution of French

Examination of the differences between the manuscript and the published Remarques helps us to trace the development of Vaugelas's views on language (especially when taken in conjunction with his 1615 translation of Fonseca) and also, since he claims he is recording current usage, how the French language evolved during his lifetime. It is only very rarely that the manuscript gives exactly the same version as the published edition (e.g. Subvenir fo. 78^r, Remarques 38), although some of the alterations are only minor, merely involving rewording or stylistic improvements. Sometimes there is a shift of emphasis (e.g. Arondelle (fo. 8^r) where there is no mention of the general question of the preference for pronunciations with 'e' rather than 'a' (Remarques 512)) or extra material or different examples are given (Coniurateur (fo. 14^r) has different examples of words with passive form and active meaning). Elsewhere the amount of space given to a certain point is greatly reduced (the difference between Veneration and Reverence to which eight lines are devoted in the manuscript (fo. 2^r) is only referred to in passing in the Preface of the Remarques (IX, 3)). Quite often there is a complete change of opinion, either because Vaugelas has simply changed his mind or because usage has changed. It is interesting to note that where Vaugelas refers to a change in the Remarques as being a recent one, it is frequently the older usage which is recorded in the manuscript (e.g. fo. 15^r 'Chose et choses: 'Chose, et choses entre un Verbe et le Pronom relatif se met elegamment sans Article, ou sans une, par exemple Il uenoit pour luy dire choses qui importoitent à sa uie, et non des choses. C'est chose qui ne se peut dire et non c'est une chose'. Cf. Remarques 220 C'est chose glorieuse)¹¹. Vaugelas's change of mind is sometimes witnessed by the fact that the

¹¹ This is also true of those observations in which Vaugelas expresses regret that a word has disappeared from usage (Ayres 1983: 18-19).

manuscript version is crossed out (e.g. encor, encore (fo. 26^V), au demeurant(fo. 21^R)), or by the addition of a margin note (fo. 87^R Submission Vaugelas adds 'Cela a changé depuis on dit maintenant sous-mission'), the change then appearing in the published edition.

That Vaugelas is aware of the constant changing of usage is stated explicitly (for example, considéré que which is said to be going out of usage in the manuscript (fo. 15^V), has virtually disappeared from currency by the Remarques (*472) where Vaugelas adds the comment 'Mais l'Vsage comme la Fortune, chacun en sa iurisdiction, eleue ou abbaisse qui bon luy semble, & en vse comme il luy plaist') and also implied by the fact that he allows for evolution in the French language even during the relatively short period covering the composition of the Remarques¹². On certain topics it is possible to see the manuscript as representing a mid-point between Vaugelas's use of language in 1615 and 1647¹³, while on

¹² See the subtle difference between the manuscript and the published versions of Cupidité, conuoitise (Ayres 1983: 19). Vaugelas is also fully aware that the number of vocabulary items generally employed and considered acceptable in French has been reduced since Amyot's day:

Quelle obligation ne luy a point nostre langue? Tous ses thresors, toutes ses delices sont là dedans, et nous n'usons pas aujourd'huy d'une façon de parler françoise, noble et magnifique, qu'il ne nous ayt laissee en ses Oeuures, si bien que tout ce que nous auons fait depuis luy, c'a esté de retrancher la moitié de ses phrases et de ses mots, nonobstant quoy nous n'auons pas laissé de trouuer dans l'autre moitié toutes les richesses dont nous faisons maintenant parade (fo. 40^V-41^R).

Such statements clearly belie Brunot's assertion that Vaugelas has little knowledge of the processes of the history of the language (Brunot 1909: 54; see 108-9).

¹³ For example the usage of ains (Ayres 1983: 20).

others the usage recommended in the manuscript is closer to that of the Fonseca translation than to the Remarques. For instance, in the manuscript Vaugelas favours the suppression of the article in the expression 'uous tourniez uisage uers la Prouence' (fo. 86^V), a construction used in the 1615 translation (e.g. 134). The observation does not, however, appear in the published Remarques, since by 1647 Vaugelas no longer supports the omission of the article in such circumstances¹⁴.

Apart from these changes on points of detail, there are a number of important differences between the manuscript and the published Remarques on more general questions¹⁵. Vaugelas is often not so strict in the manuscript and has not formulated his ideas so strongly. For example, his definition of good usage seems wider, Vaugelas including lawyers and preachers:

Cependant ce mot a toutes les qualitez que les plus difficiles esprits scauroient desirer, pour estre excellent, car premierement il est en usage à la Court, au Palais et dans les chaires des Predicateurs. Tous les bons Escriptuains s'en seruent en prose et en uers et non seulement les Autheurs modernes, mais les anciens (fo. 34^V).

Nowhere is analogy mentioned in the manuscript. Vaugelas allows the sense of words to make up for ambiguity of construction ('Et en somme toutes les fois que L'Equiuoque est tel qu'il ne se peut pas euter quant à l'ordre et à l'arrangement des paroles, mais que le sens supplée à ce défaut là, parce que ce qui ua deuant et apres fait entendre clairement ce que l'on ueut dire, alors l'Equiuoque n'est point uitieux, parce qu'il n'engendre point d'obscurité, qui est son seul uice' (fo. 75^V)), which he condemns in the Remarques (590), and he lays greater emphasis on the

¹⁴ See Remarques 318.

¹⁵ For the crucial changes on the subjects of presentation, the relationship between the spoken and written registers and the relationship between poetry and prose, see below 86 and Ayres 1983: 25-29.

richness and diversity of the French language, qualities more often associated with the sixteenth than with the seventeenth century.

I have already outlined some of the reasons why, despite the many differences between the manuscript and the published edition, we are nevertheless justified in considering this a manuscript of the Remarques (Ayres 1983: 20). The manuscript already contains the kind of important insights into the characteristics and peculiarities of French for which the Remarques are justly famous¹⁶; for example that a large part of the French vocabulary is composed of Latin words (fo. 31^r), that French likes syntactic relations to be expressed explicitly and clearly and does not favour the suppressions of Greek and Latin (fo. 10^v), that French does not favour compound words comprised of a noun and a verb (fo. 30^r) and that it is important to choose the 'mot juste', the correct or best word according to the style and register of the composition (fo. 58^v: '..sans se servir une seule fois d'Au lieu que, qui est le uray terme François dont il faut user...'). Vaugelas is already conscious of the importance of a good command of language in the society of his day, stressing that the way to please one's listener is to choose the word or expression he himself would have used, and by following the recommendations of his observations, a position which does not make for linguistic originality, but does favour social integration¹⁷. He compares French with other languages, both on points of detail (for example, the tendency for Spanish verbs to 'govern' the dative, but French, Latin and Greek verbs the accusative (fo. 45^r)) and in making generalisations; for instance he claims that all languages have their strengths and weaknesses and expressions which are peculiar to themselves (fo. 95^r). He suggests an interesting reason in the manuscript why French should be richer and more beautiful than other languages which emphasises the value of the salons and other meeting-places for

¹⁶ For further discussion of these topics, see the chapters on the Remarques.

¹⁷ See chapter 7.

discussion of linguistic matters such as the French Academy. Drawing a parallel with the skills of warfare and trade which become refined with practice, he claims that French has been enriched 'à cause de la conversation et de la communication des beaux esprits qui est plus grande en France qu'ailleurs mesme avec les femmes...' (fo. 97^v).

IV: The Nouvelles Remarques

Another important reason for studying the manuscript is to see what Vaugelas rejected from these first thoughts and to gain a clearer idea of his aims and theory in the Remarques by trying to explain why he chose not to publish these sections. A large number of these rejects (255) were in fact published in 1690, forty years after Vaugelas's death, as the Nouvelles Remarques. Alemand claims in his preface that these are new Remarques left by Vaugelas, those alluded to by Pellisson in his history of the Academy (Pellisson et d'Olivet 1858: I: 235), and this belief is repeated by Sternischa in his study of Alemand and Andry de Boisregard (Sternischa 1913: 30), although already l'Abbé d'Olivet in a footnote to Pellisson's text recognised their true nature:

On ne saurait douter que ces Nouvelles Remarques ne soient véritablement de M. de Vaugelas; son style s'y fait aisément reconnoître. Mais ce Recueil, à peu de chose près, ne roule que sur des phrases absolument surannées, même du temps de M. de Vaugelas; en sorte qu'on peut raisonnablement croire que c'est le rebut de ses premières Remarques, et qu'ainsi nous n'avons point ces mémoires, 'déjà tout prêts pour en faire un second volume,' dont parle M. Pellisson.

Alemand asserts that he obtained the manuscript of the Nouvelles Remarques from l'Abbé de la Chambre, a member of the Academy from 1670, who apparently also furnished T. Corneille with the manuscript of Chapelain's notes on the Remarques (Corneille 1690: Avertissement). How l'Abbé de la Chambre had either of these manuscripts in his possession is not clear. The catalogue of the Arsenal manuscripts maintains that there is 'Sur le premier plat, note effacée; on lit encore: "Pour M. Allemand ...".

If this is the case then our supposition that Alemand simply lifted the unpublished material from the Arsenal manuscript is conclusively confirmed. This note, however, is no longer visible and the only one I can find occurs on the first folio, is very faint and completely disappears at the end, and reads 'Non datur Louis Per ...'. Although we then have no proof that Alemand saw the manuscript now in the Arsenal, similarities between the wording of observations in the manuscript and in the Nouvelles Remarques do indicate that Alemand saw a version of the unpublished Remarques which closely resembles that of the Arsenal manuscript, if not the manuscript itself. We will therefore assume that it was Alemand who selected the material for the Nouvelles Remarques, although it is feasible that someone else had already copied the unpublished passages from the manuscript and that this was what Alemand saw. Ironically Alemand quotes a passage from the manuscript in which Vaugelas sympathises with Malherbe for being criticised for his earliest thoughts and bemoans the fate of the dead whose rejected material comes to be published:

Mais c'est le malheur des grands hommes (est) qu'apres leur mort on fait imprimer indifferemment toutes leurs oeuvres, quoy qu'eux mesmes en ayent condanné la plus part sur lesquelles il est entierement iniuste de leur faire leurs proces comme l'on fait tous les iours nonobstant leur desaveu (fo. 8^r).

Despite this, Alemand nevertheless publishes what must be considered the material Vaugelas chose not to disseminate widely and sometimes for very good reasons. Whereas hardly any material passes into the Remarques without some reworking, some of the alterations being drastic, Alemand most frequently lifts the material word for word from the Arsenal manuscript and makes no change in the content at all. He does update spelling and modify punctuation and makes odd notes into sentences so that the observation reads better. For example:

MS fo. 16^r: Construction. Cette construction me choque. Je uous en¹⁸
 supplie tres-humblem[^] et de trouuer bon. Malh p. 671¹⁸.

¹⁸ The reference is to Les Oeuvres de M^{re} François de Malherbe, Paris: Charles Chappelain, 1630. See also 73 and Ayres 1983: 22-24.

NR 500 : Cette construction me choque, je vous en supplie tres-humblement, & de trouver bon, & c. M de Malherbe a parlé de la sorte.

Elsewhere he adds some extra words for emphasis or to clarify a statement:

MS fo. 27^V : Fallacieux ne uaut rien.

NR 90 : Fallacieux ne vaut rien ny en prose ni en vers.

Sometimes he adds a quotation or an example which is not in the manuscript to support Vaugelas's pronouncement:

MS fo. 5^r : Automne est tousiours feminin.

NR 412 : Automne est toujours féminin, L'Automne a été fort belle, Nous avons eu une Automne pluvieuse.

He occasionally even adds a quotation from Vaugelas's own translation of Quinte-Curce De la vie et des actions d'Alexandre le Grand¹⁹:

NR 133 : Décerner des honneurs est fort bon contre Phyl²⁰. Je l'ay mis ainsi dans mon Quinte-Curce au livre 10. où je dis, on luy décerna les honneurs divins.

Elsewhere where there is no clear stance adopted in the manuscript and Vaugelas has just jotted down a quotation as the basis of an idea, Alemand interprets the use Vaugelas would have made of this quotation. For example in the manuscript (fo. 35^V) Vaugelas notes down the following quotation from Malherbe without indicating what point he wishes to make:

'Par entre deux ais de qui la iointure s'estoit laschee laissa tomber son argent dans sa boutique p. 350'. This appears in the Nouvelles Remarques (304) in the form of a criticism of Par entre:

Par entr'eux ne vaut rien, Ils commencèrent à discourir par entr'eux. Il faut dire à discourir entr'eux, en ôtant par, & il faut faire la même chose dans cet exemple de M. de Malherbe, Par entre deux ais de qui la iointure s'étoit lâchée, laissa tomber son argent dans sa boutique.

¹⁹ See chapter 6.

²⁰ This refers to Jean Goulou's Lettres de Phyllarque à Ariste. Où il est traité de l'Eloquence Française, a work which criticises the style of Guez de Balzac's Letters. Goulou was a friend of François de Sales and Du Perron and was therefore probably also known personally by Vaugelas. See also footnote 55 below.

Moreover Alemand always omits any expression of doubt or uncertainty found in the manuscript, so that his remarques sound much more dogmatic. However, he does, like Vaugelas, abandon the alphabetical format of the manuscript and gives his points in a random order²¹.

It is not clear on what grounds Alemand made his selection from the unpublished observations, for he does not publish all of them (see the discussion of the inédits below), yet does include some which are clearly crossed out in the manuscript (e.g. Aspreté fo. 9^r, NR 39) or have expressions of uncertainty added (Tous deux et Tous les deux fo. 89^r, NR 365). Some of those he chose not to print are admittedly difficult to read, but this is equally true of some he did edit, and we may assume that the manuscript was in a much better condition when he saw it, for lines which are missing in the manuscript because of tearing are complete in the Nouvelles Remarques. Alemand also duplicates material which appears in the Remarques, albeit in a different form. For example he reproduces the content of the manuscript point entitled A celle fin que (fo. 4^v) in full, even though some of the information can be found in the Remarques (532 Pour afin). Likewise he prints the observation on Adiectifs (150) despite the fact that there is a strong similarity between this point and the ground covered in the remarques entitled De cette façon de parler, il sçait la langue Latine & la langue Grecque (Remarques 493). In some cases he publishes the parts of a manuscript remarque which have not appeared in the Remarques. For instance, the content of the observation entitled Alors (fo. 4^r) is divided between the Remarques (225-8) and the Nouvelles Remarques (187), although the material of the latter has clearly been omitted from the Remarques on purpose. He even publishes those where

²¹ Presumably influenced by the random format of the published Remarques and the arguments put forward by Vaugelas in his Preface (XII) to justify this.

he admits the content contradicts what appears in the Remarques (NR 322 Et). Vaugelas himself suggests a reason why Alemand might have done this (fo. 8^r). Vaugelas had come to be viewed as such a great authority on language, that anything he wrote was considered of value and worthy of imitation.

However, what is more important is why Vaugelas himself rejected these observations, for the answer to this question may illuminate his methodology and purpose. The example of the word car (fos. 33, 34), discussed in Ayres 1983: 20-21, suggests one reason why Vaugelas rejected certain points, namely if any question had become untopical or unfashionable or unimportant, for Vaugelas is clearly aiming in the Remarques to deal only with the linguistic matters of current interest and only those on which the best people make mistakes.

Elsewhere Vaugelas may have realised or been advised by his friends that he was incorrect in the manuscript, for example in clinging to the by then old-fashioned Latinism exercite as an alternative to armée for variety. Other words may have gained a stronger position in good usage, at least in his opinion: the compound verbs parcourir and parsemer may be cases of this. Vaugelas evidently paid great attention to considerations of style and presentation and avoided any unnecessary reduplication of material, so where a comment is made under another heading (reservé is referred to in the Remarques under Prendre à tesmoin 566) or in a different context (the question of over-lengthy periods is dealt with along with structural ambiguity as a hindrance to clarity) there is no need for a separate discussion. In some cases, however, it is simply impossible to tell why Vaugelas rejected an observation, for instance that containing the nice distinction between an and année (fos. 5^v and 6^r).

In the preface to the Nouvelles Remarques, Alemand notes two main differences between the Remarques and the Nouvelles Remarques. Criticism

of Malherbe is harsher (or more obvious²²), and the work also contains 'une discussion de plusieurs termes & locutions douteuses dont il s'étoit servi dans la Traduction de Quinte-Curce, & sur lesquelles il voulut bien consulter l'Académie'. The second of these features is not true of any of the 255 Nouvelles Remarques taken from the Arsenal manuscript, but seems to account for a large number of the 31 other Nouvelles Remarques. Assuming that Alemand used the Arsenal manuscript as his main source, then perhaps Alemand formulated these extra Nouvelles Remarques on the basis of another manuscript, maybe that of the Quinte-Curce translation. Alternatively he may have heard them discussed, or perhaps he simply invented them himself. The rest of the Nouvelles Remarques (with the exception of that entitled Massacrer) involve decisions made by the Academy or discussion of quotations from Malherbe. All in all the Nouvelles Remarques is a most unsatisfactory work, the majority of it comprising the rejects from the Arsenal manuscript and the rest a few scattered observations which are in all probability not from Vaugelas's pen.

V: Inédits

Even taking the Remarques and the Nouvelles Remarques into consideration, the contents of the Arsenal manuscript are not exhausted. There are observations not adopted by either author for their published work. Some of these have never been printed, for Chassang's list of inédits in the second volume of his edition of the Remarques (Chassang 1880: 479-486) is not comprehensive. Furthermore this list contains material which I would not wish to consider as unpublished, since it appears in the Remarques in a reworked form. As we have seen, this is true of a large number of the Remarques, and if we were to consider as édits only those manuscript

²² See Ayres 1983: 22-24.

observations which are identical with published Remarques, then the number of inédits would be vast. In my opinion then Chassang is wrong to include the observations entitled Suspect & soupçonneux (see Remarques 401), Periodes vicieuses en la rime, en la cadence, en la mesure (Remarques Des negligences dans le stile (414-9) and Rimes dans la prose (235-8)), Merry (Remarques 250, 512), Mensonge (34), Ayder (Aoust 322), and Adversité (Quand il faut prononcer le D aux mots qui commencent par Ad, avec vne autre consone apres le D 439-41) in this section. Admittedly not all of the discussion of these points found in the manuscript appears in the Remarques, but it is only to be expected that in these as elsewhere Vaugelas should select his material. Similarly the pronunciation of Fuir is dealt with in the Remarques (451-7), even though the particular incorrect pronunciation given in Chassang's inédit (II: 482) is not specifically mentioned. Chassang is also inconsistent in his selection of unpublished material. In some cases he extracts a passage from a long remarque dealing primarily with a different topic; for instance the comments on contribuer, interrompre, etc. (II: 480) appear in the passage dealing with car (fo. 33^r), yet he ignores that part of the observation entitled Cy which is not published in 1647 (fo. 13^v-14). On the other hand, he leaves out remarks which have been given a separate heading in the manuscript by Vaugelas (e.g. Maudisson (fo. 62^r): 'Maudisson. Malediction uenant de latin est bon, et l'autre mauuais'). Perhaps Chassang considered the comments he did not publish as unworthy of Vaugelas (although some, for example the observation treating the gender of caprice (fo. 44^v), are still valid), but his selection is nevertheless misleading.

There are more than thirty other unedited observations not included by Chassang, to say nothing of odd notes at the top or in the margin of pages. It is usually clear that Vaugelas did not include these in the published Remarques because, like those in the Nouvelles Remarques, they

were no longer considered topical, relevant or valid²³. Sometimes the manuscript makes it clear that Vaugelas had changed his mind about a subject, sometimes there is no indication at all. Consider for example the following (fo. 28^V) where the first part is clearly marked as invalid, although the second is left standing; nevertheless none of it appears in either the Remarques or the Nouvelles Remarques:

En table X { En table que plusieurs disent pour dire à table. Nous estions
en table ne uaut rien du tout, et choque merueilleusem^t l'oreille
 au moins certes la mienne. Et tant s'en faut qu'il faille mettre en là ou
 et l'Usage et la Raison ueulent que l'on mette a comme icy, que la où le
 En mesme mesme Usage et la Raison aussi font dire En ^{en celui-cy} comme en mesme temps
temps il est plus elegant de dire a mesme temps ^{ainsi que} le dit presque tous-
iours M.Coeff. On dit aussi Au mesme temps, mais quelquefois on le dit en des
 lieux qu'on ne pourroit pas dire En mesme temps. On dit tousiours En ce
 En ce mesme mesme temps, et iamais à ce mesme temps.

Elsewhere Vaugelas indicates that he intends to use the material in his Quinte-Curce translation (fo. 90^V):

pour q. curce Traduction Traduction. Seneque dit par la traduction de M. de Malh. en ses Bienfaits p. 13 en matiere de reuanche qui ne passe, n'atteint point, il en est ainsi d'une bonne traduction.

In addition, certain promises are made in the manuscript which are not realised in the 1647 edition. For example, in the manuscript Vaugelas promises to give us separate lists of faults from the various provinces (fo. 31^R), words and expressions peculiar to French in which it surpasses the other vernaculars (fo. 33^V), expressions which are favoured by usage against reason (fo. 4^R) and words going out of fashion (fo. 64^R). None of these promises are fulfilled in the Remarques where there is no systematic listing of such points. It is not clear whether Vaugelas never wrote these lists, or whether they were simply lost; a comment made by Alemand in the Nouvelles Remarques (277) suggests that the latter may be the case, at least for one of the lists:

²³ The omission of some comments is regrettable, for example, that headed grammaire (fo. 42^V), cited in Ayres 1983: 21.

Comme M. de Vaugelas a fait encore un Traitté particulier des Fautes de Langue qui se commettent dans les différentes Provinces du Royaume; Ouvrage également utile & curieux; j'en feray peut-être part au Public, si ces Remarques posthumes du même M. de Vaugelas luy plaisent.

However, as we have seen, the accuracy of Alemand's claims is always to be suspected.

Finally the manuscript includes a few sheets the contents of which do not form part of the main collection of observations. There are a number of unconnected quotations from a speech made by M. de Schonberg to the states of Languedoc in 1645 on an unfoliated sheet near the beginning of the manuscript, while on folio 93^v there are passages from a reply 'au bref du Pape'; both of these have certain expressions underlined. The end of the manuscript contains various notes, details about people and place references, a sort of diary including facts about his illness and the medicaments he has taken for it (fo. 98^r) and other personal reminders. There are also a number of general ideas about language and views on methodology noted down, some of which go into the preface of the published Remarques. Here for example he likens his role to that of the clerk of a court simply noting down information in contrast to that of the judge who makes the decisions.

Thus the manuscript contains Vaugelas's thoughts on the French language collected over a number of years, which were then corrected, refashioned and rigorously selected to produce the carefully worked set of Remarques published in 1647. In his composition of the Remarques, as in his translating of Quinte-Curce, Vaugelas, the perfectionist, constantly reworked and modified his material²⁴. Since the manuscript used by the

²⁴ Grillet (1807: II:118-122) records how Voiture teased Vaugelas about his constant reworking of the Quinte-Curce translation: 'Voiture, qui étoit de ses amis, le railloit quelquefois sur le trop de soin qu'il y mettoit, en lui disant: que pendant qu'il poliroit une partie de sa traduction, la langue venant à changer, l'obligerait à refaire toutes les autres: il lui appliquoit plaisamment l'épigramme de Martial sur ce barbier qui employoit un tems si long pour faire une barbe, que pendant qu'il la rasoit d'un côté, elle revenoit de l'autre'.

printer has been lost, we do not know exactly when the changes were made or indeed the degree of intervention of the printer. There was only one edition of the Remarques in Vaugelas's lifetime printed by two different printing houses in 1647, Veuve Camusat et Pierre le Petit and A. Courbé²⁵, although there were doubtless various pirated editions in the provinces (Martin et Lecocq 1977: 840). Since the former were the official printers appointed to the Academy, it is not surprising that they were involved in the publication of the Remarques, for although Vaugelas is not assigned the label 'de l'Académie française' on the title-page, the work seems to have been semi-officially accepted by the members of the Academy, who had failed to produce their own grammar. The printing house of Veuve Camusat and Pierre le Petit was particularly noted for the accuracy of its editions (Delalain 1907: 28). Statute 50 of the Academy's constitution prevented its publishers making any alteration at all to the manuscript received in the case of official publications, but how much they amended for example Vaugelas's spelling to align it with the conventions of the house is not known. Certainly some of the spellings of the Arsenal manuscript are revised (e.g. ilz becomes ils), but Vaugelas himself may have updated these when furnishing the printer with a neater revised copy ready for publication. We do know from his Avertissement that he did not have time to proof-read all the sheets while they were being printed and that he therefore had to trust the printer, who unfortunately allowed an error in the pagination to creep in²⁶. In the manuscript too Vaugelas allows for the possibility of printing errors (fo. 73^v), but it seems

²⁵ The majority of the first editions surviving seem to be printed by Veuve Camusat & Pierre le Petit. It may be that Vaugelas originally granted his privilege to this house and that it was subsequently transferred to A. Courbé.

²⁶ Gatherings Ggg - Lll and Mmm - Qqq have the same pagination 457-496; the second set of numbers is marked with an asterisk. In some of the copies of the first edition and in other editions, the error begins on page 456.

unlikely that the publishers would have initiated any major revisions such as the change of format. The 1647 edition of the Remarques is the only one Veuve Camusat and Pierre le Petit produced; Courbé, however, printed a number of new editions and reprints in quick succession in 1651, 1654, 1655, 1658, 1659 and 1664. The privilege granted to Vaugelas on 26 June 1646 for twenty years from publication was then transferred by Courbé to Thomas Iolly and Louis Billaine (Privilege to the 1664 Louis Billaine edition)²⁷.

VI: Additions to the published Remarques

The principal additions to the published Remarques are catalogued in Ayres 1983: 22. The index obviously became more necessary when the roughly alphabetical ordering of the manuscript was discarded in favour of the random one of the 1647 edition. Some of the items of the index simply correspond to the title of a certain remarque, others, marked with an asterisk, refer to observations 'qui se trouuent dans le texte du liure hors des titres' (Avertissement). Examination of this latter category is enlightening, for it sometimes clarifies where Vaugelas got the remarque from in the manuscript, or what his motivation for writing it was. For example, the remarque entitled S'il faut dire reuestant ou reuetissant (231-4) is referred to in the index in an item which stresses the general principle behind the observation rather than the particular example, '*Principe de grammaire, touchant les verbes de la quatriesme coniugaison, dont l'infinitif se termine en ir, & son exception 232', and the index includes the entry '*Es, particule bannie du beau langage 167' even though

²⁷ All these editions were apparently entitled Remarques sur la langue françoise. Perhaps Sorel was confusing the title of the published work with Pellisson's reference to Vaugelas's earlier observations presented to the Academy when he mentions Vaugelas's book 'qui a pour tiltre Obseruations sur la Langue Françoise' (1654: 58-59). This label also appears in the booksellers' catalogue in Grenoble (Martin et Lecocq 1977: 84).

this general point, made at some length in the manuscript, is only dealt with in passing in the comment on Tomber aux mains de quelqu'un. There may be mistakes in Vaugelas's index (for example Absynthe is said to be found on page 227 instead of 527) and it may not be as exhaustive as Streicher's own index which is a very useful tool, but it is nevertheless regrettable that she chose to exclude it from her facsimile edition of the Remarques.

VII: Sources

The Arsenal manuscript also provides valuable information about Vaugelas's sources and about his approach to his predecessors. While there are vague allusions in the manuscript, more authors are specifically named and various names are included in it, which do not feature in the published Remarques (see tables 1-3). Vaugelas adopts the respectful attitude typical of the honnête homme to his sources in the Remarques and does not name those he censures (Preface XIV, 2, 3; XV, 1), but in the manuscript, not intended for the public, Vaugelas quotes and often explicitly names the authors he criticises. This is most obvious in the case of the references to Malherbe which abound in the manuscript and indicate that Vaugelas made a methodical and painstaking study of the 1630 edition of Malherbe's work. Indeed it is possible that this analysis of Malherbe's use of language and style was the starting point for Vaugelas's study²⁸. Frequently specific references made to Malherbe in the manuscript (e.g. Detteur 'Malh p. 252' (fo. 67^r)) are removed from the published version and the author of the quotation is merely given a vague general label (513 '..vn de nos plus celebres Escriptuains').

²⁸ For further details of the relationship between Malherbe and Vaugelas see Ayres 1983: 22-24.

TABLE 1. Latin and Greek authors

Latin

a) Manuscript references.

Mentioned by name in the <u>Remarques</u> : ¹	Not referred to in the <u>Remarques</u> :
CÉSAR	AULE GELLE
CICÉRON	MACROBE
QUINTE-CURCE	JUSTIN
QUINTILIEN	
SENÈQUE	
TACITE	
TÉRENCE	
TITE-LIVE	
VIRGILE	

There is probably an allusion to Ovide in the manuscript (64^r).

b) Additional references in the published Remarques:

Apulée, Saint Augustin, Caligula, Florus, Horace, Pline le Jeune, Pomponius Marcellus, Priscien, Sénèque le Père, Suétone, Tertullien, Varron.

Neo-Latin

a) Manuscript references:

Mentioned by name in the <u>Remarques</u> :	Not referred to in the <u>Remarques</u> :
VALLA	CORRADOR
	RADERUS ²

b) Additional references in the published Remarques: Scaliger.

Greek

a) Manuscript references:

Lucien (Mentioned by name in the published Remarques).

b) Additional references in the published Remarques:

Arrien, Démosthène, Denis d'Halicarnasse, Plutarque³.

¹ See Streicher 1934: 621-3 for exact references.

² The German scholar Matthaeus Raderus (1561-1634) produced commentaries on Martial and Quinte-Curce (see chapter VI) as well as translations and original works in Latin.

³ ~~Arrien~~ is principally mentioned because of d'Ablancourt's translation of his work (see 247) and Plutarque because of Amyot's.

TABLE 2. Sixteenth and seventeenth century French writers

a) Manuscript references.

Mentioned by name in the <u>Remarques</u> :	Alluded to in the <u>Remarques</u> :	Not referred to in the <u>Remarques</u> :
AMYOT	*x BALZAC	* COLOMBY
BERTAUT	*x CHAPELAIN	DU MOULIN
COEFFETEAU	*x GODEAU	HENRI ESTIENNE
DES PORTES	*x GOMBAULD	*x GOMBERVILLE
DU BELLAY	*x VOITURE	F. DE MOLIÈRE
DU PERRON	L'ACADÉMIE	
DU VAIR		
x MALHERBE	* - one of the first 40 Académiciens x - named in the Clef de Conrart.	
MONTAIGNE		
RONSARD		

ii) Allusions in the manuscript:

Phyl (25^V, 26^V) - Goulu
Commentator on Amyot (40^V) - Méziriac¹.
La gr. fr. p. 155 (92^r, 97^V) - Maupas (1618) Grammaire et syntaxe françoise².
MF (69^r) - ? Faret
M le Ch. de B (26^V).

Vaugelas also alludes to Séguier (*) and Richelieu in the manuscript.

b) Additional references in the published Remarques:

Robert Estienne, Marot, Nicot, Ramus.

c) Additional allusions to French writers in the published Remarques:

Bérulle, Conrart (x), Cureau de la Chambre³, La Mothe le Vayer (x), Patru (x), Perrot d'Ablancourt (x)⁴.

The author of the translation of Arrien published by Federic Morel in 1581 is Claude Witart (78) and the play Artaxerxe (71) is by Jean de Magnon.

The Remarques also contain allusions to people known personally to Vaugelas: Julie d'Angennes (Mmede Montausier x), Mme de Rambouillet, M. de Rambouillet and to Mazarin.

(continued)

¹ See 255-256.
² This is the second, and enlarged, edition of Maupas's grammar, which was first published in 1607.
³ See also 62.
⁴ See 246-247.

d) The Clef de Conrart suggests certain other names:

Giry, Feu M. d'Avaux, Desmarets, M. de Porchères, Senaut⁵.

e) The list may perhaps be supplemented by the names of the authors listed by the Academy as those to be read and consulted (Rat 1967: 94), by the names of Vaugelas's friends and family and by the names of those with whom he was in correspondence (see Conclusion).

TABLE 3. Italian authors

a) Manuscript references:

Mentioned by name in the <u>Remarques</u> :	Not referred to in the <u>Remarques</u> :
BENTIVOGLIO	PÉTRARQUE
TASSE	

b) Additional references in the published Remarques:

Bembo, Boccace, Dante.

There is also an allusion to Guarini: 'Ce fameux Poëte Halien... dans le Pastor fido...' (491).

⁵ For the accuracy of these references, see 74-75.

The inclusion in the manuscript of the names of many of the authors of the citations also helps to correct wrong suppositions about the identity of Vaugelas's sources. Amongst Conrart's manuscript papers in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (MS 5420, Tome II, I partie: 24-25) there is a key to some of the anonymous authors alluded to in the Remarques, but this is pitifully incomplete (for example in the case of detteur above, the Clef de Conrart is no help in identifying the writer) and sometimes inaccurate (e.g. Remarques 193 Exemple d'une construction estrange: Clef de Conrart 'M. de Balzac'; the manuscript makes it clear that this is a quotation from Malherbe (page 49) with a slight alteration to conceal his identity: 'Le fait du lion et de celui qui uouloit tuer le Tyran sont semblables' (fo. 83^r); Remarques 496 Discord pour discorde: Clef de Conrart: 'Je croy que c'est le P. Senaut, dans sa Paraphrase sur Job'; manuscript fo. 22^v: 'Il me semble que M. Godeau en a usé en un lieu de sa paraph.')²⁹. The key is in question and answer form. Chassang, who includes the key in the footnotes of his edition, denies that it was written by Conrart, and suggests that the author's name, of which only the first letter remains at the top of page 19 of the manuscript, is Desmarets (Chassang 1880: I: LXI). However, it seems likely that this was rather the name of the person who posed the questions, and since Desmarets is one of the identified sources, we may question the validity of Chassang's assumption. A reference in the key (25 'Je ne demande pas qui est marqué, p. 505, car Je le reconnois trop bien & c'est à cet Oracle q. Je demande la résolution de mes doutes & le pardon de mes importunitéz.') seems to confirm that Conrart supplied the answers. If this is so, then even Conrart who was so familiar with Vaugelas and his circle was only able to supply answers to forty-eight of the seventy-two unidentified

²⁹ Antoine Godeau (1605-1672) was one of the first members of the French Academy. The reference is to his Paraphrase du Pseaume LXVII Exurgat Deus, first published in 1639:
 Et ce nombre fecond & de fils & de filles,
 Par le moindre discord, n'est jamais desvny (Godeau 1649: 201).

references selected, some of which, as we have seen, are incorrect. Yet despite its inaccuracies the key is valuable in introducing some names which do not occur in either the manuscript or the published version including d'Ablancourt, Madame la Marquise de Montausier, Giry and 'feu M d'Avaux'.

While the references to Malherbe far outnumber those to other authors, the work of the second most mentioned author, Coeffeteau³⁰, is also very familiar to Vaugelas, even though he only gives one specific page reference (fo. 94^V) and the allusions he makes are often vague or general. In addition, as with Malherbe, Vaugelas refers to advice given personally to him by Coeffeteau and the daily gatherings of 'personnes doctes' at Coeffeteau's house (fo. 40^V). The expressions of doubt in the manuscript and the stressing of the Preface of the need to consult authorities on points of uncertain usage (II, 7) confirm Vaugelas's willingness to accept advice and suggestions from other people³¹. Vaugelas above all admires Coeffeteau's clarity, arguing that although it was Malherbe who said that his work should not need to be reread for the sake of clarity and comprehension but only for pleasure, this ideal is only fulfilled in Coeffeteau's writings (fo. 92^V). Vaugelas does not recommend following Coeffeteau slavishly and the manuscript indicates those cases where Coeffeteau's usage is considered at fault³². Nevertheless a fair amount of space is devoted to praise of Coeffeteau in the manuscript,

³⁰ Nicolas Coeffeteau (1574-1623), author of the Histoire Romaine (1621). See also Ayres 1983: 24.

³¹ For instance, under the heading 'De avec le participe passif' Vaugelas notes that his opinion differs from Malherbe's usage and adds 'Il faut uoir comme en use M. Coeff et s'en tenir là' (fo. 67^r) and elsewhere (fo. 86^V) he adds in the margin that he is going to consult the Academy about the correct conjugation of il sied.

³² E.g. onguent (fo. 36^r): 'Et c'est une faute qu'a faite M. Coeff. dont il a esté iustement reprimé'. Cf. Remarques *458.

practically all of which is omitted from the published edition³³. The following is an extract from one such passage:

Je n'entreprends point de faire icy son Apologie ni son Panegyrique. Ses propres Escrits luy tiennent lieu de l'un et de l'autre. Mais ie diray bien qu'il passe aujourd'huy dans la reputation publique, et dans la plus saine partie des Juges pour la meilleure plume de France. Je ne parle point de l'Inuention qui est une louange à part, ie ne parle que du langage qu'il a eleué à un tel degré de perfection en toutes ses parties, que ie ne sçay si i'oseray dire qu'il a esgalé nostre langue à celle des Anciens mais ie diray bien hardiment qu'il en a surpassé quelques Autheurs particuliers comme Florus en la traduction merueilleuse qu'il en a faite, ce que l'on peut aisement uerifier en les conferant ensemble (40^v).

This quotation indicates one of Vaugelas's main sources of examples, namely translations. It is not surprising that the third of the three main authorities referred to in the manuscript is Amyot³⁴, one of the great sixteenth century translators, whom he praises in rather exaggerated terms:

Et cependant iamais Traducteur n'acquit plus de gloire avec plus de raison, ni n'a mieux desabusé le monde de cette fausse creance, que la Traduction est un trauail ingrat (aussi est il pour les mauuais Ouuriers) qu'a fait ce grand personnage. Ne semble-t-il pas disputer le pris de l'eloquence historique avec son Autheur, et faire douter à ceux qui sçauent parfaitement les deux langues s'il a accru ou diminué l'Honneur de Plutarque à l'auoir traduit ? (fo. 40^v).

Vaugelas is well aware that the language has changed since Amyot's time and often refers to him to illustrate former usage together with other 'anciens Autheurs', yet he argues that where usage has remained the same, and a word still has the authority of Amyot, then it is to be more highly valued than a newly established one.

The number of references to Malherbe, Coeffeteau and Amyot indicate that these were his three main sources at the time the manuscript was written. Explicit references to other authors furnish evidence, however,

³³ For the decrease in Coeffeteau's influence on Vaugelas and the increase of that of d'Ablancourt, see 253-270.

³⁴ Jacques Amyot (1513-1593). His most famous translation is that of Plutarch's Les Vies des hommes illustres, first published in 1559. See also 255.

of the breadth of Vaugelas's reading. His references range from Greek and Classical Latin authors to contemporary influences and include some Medieval and Renaissance writers. The list of authors found in the manuscript does not completely overlap with those found in the published Remarques³⁵, for many sources named in the manuscript become anonymous in the 1647 edition and several new names are added especially in the Preface. The majority of these are Latin authors and are only referred to in passing³⁶.

Of the Latin authors mentioned in the manuscript Quintilian is by far the most important for his influence on Vaugelas. If we compare Vaugelas's views on language with Quintilian's, striking correspondences are evident, for example the belief that consuetudo or usage is the chief factor governing language behaviour or the definitions of usage and analogy³⁷. Since Quintilian is mentioned several times in the Remarques, each time with approval, it is likely that Vaugelas was directly influenced by Quintilian's views and his originality in terms of theory is therefore diminished.

I shall only outline briefly the main similarities between Quintilian's ideas and Vaugelas's. For Quintilian, language is based on reason (ratio), antiquity (vetustas), authority (auctoritas) and usage (consuetudo)³⁸. The first of these, reason, finds its support sometimes in etymology, but chiefly in analogy. However, the definition of analogy given by Quintilian restricts the role of ratio by throwing the emphasis back on usage³⁹. The second factor, antiquity, he claims, preserves a certain

³⁵ The major influences such as Malherbe, Coeffeteau, Quintilian are already mentioned in the manuscript.

³⁶ There are relatively few Greek authors mentioned in comparison to the wealth of Latin authors cited. Vaugelas's knowledge of Greek was probably weak, see page 8, footnote 17.

³⁷ See 115.

³⁸ M. Fabii Quintiliani Institutionis Oratoriae I.6.1. (the references give the book, chapter and section of the work).

³⁹ The relationship between usage and reason is further discussed in ~~chapter 3~~.

majesty, or almost sanctity (I. 6. 1). While Quintilian is anxious to record current usage and argues that words from a remote or forgotten age must not be used (I. 6. 20), he suggests that, used sparingly, old words have a certain charm (I. 6. 39). Vaugelas likewise expresses regret at the loss of certain words and states a preference for older established words⁴⁰. The following statement could equally well come from Vaugelas's pen:

Ergo, ut novorum optime erunt maxime vetera,
ita veterum maxime nove (I. 6. 41).

Quintilian expresses resistance to change (I. 6. 20), but acknowledges that the risk of coining new words must be taken (I. 5. 72)⁴¹. Quintilian's third factor is auctoritas, which for him is the authority of orators and historians (I. 6. 2). Although this normally confirms usage⁴², and indeed may lend a certain credibility to an error (I. 6. 2), the authority of authors is not considered infallible:

Nam etiamsi potest videri nihil peccare, qui utitur
iis verbis, quae summi auctores tradiderunt, multum
tamen refert non solum, quid dixerint, sed etiam
quid persuaserint (I. 6. 42).

Vaugelas too is critical of any particular usage by a favoured author which is against good usage (Preface XIII, 1).

All these factors are limited for Quintilian, as for Vaugelas, by the fourth factor consuetudo, the most important principle governing usage⁴³:

Consuetudo vero certissima loquendi magistra, utendumque
plane sermone ut nummo, cui publica forma est (I. 6. 3).

⁴⁰ See 105.

⁴¹ In this respect he is bolder than Vaugelas, see 172.

⁴² Cf. Vaugelas's statement in the Preface (II, 5): 'Mais le consentement des bons Auteurs est comme le sceau, on vne verification, qui autorise le langage de la Cour,...'.

⁴³ Cf. Horace Ars poetica 70-72: Multa renascentur quae iam cecidere, cadentque Quae nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si solet usus, Quem penes arbitrium est et ius et norma loquendi. (~~Horace~~ 1891. II. 396). Vaugelas quotes 1.58 etc. of the Ars Poetica in the Preface (XI).

Since Quintilian gives prime importance to usage both in its own right and as the support of analogy, it is clear Vaugelas's ideas derive from his. Indeed, there is direct evidence of influence, for Vaugelas quotes Quintilian's phrase 'aliud est Latinè, aliud Grammaticè loqui' (I. 6. 27) on two occasions in the Remarques (375, *463) to support his contention that usage must be given priority over reason. Moreover, Vaugelas follows Quintilian in the details of his characterisation of good usage. Ott claims that Vaugelas's definition of good usage as that of an elite is a novel feature of his work (Ott 1962: 80). This may be true in terms of Vaugelas's French predecessors, but similar ideas are already expressed in a passage in the Institutio Oratoria. Having asserted that by usage he means present-day usage, Quintilian goes on to delimit usage further:

Quae si ex eo, quod plures faciunt, nomen accipiat, periculosissimum dabit praeceptum, non orationi modo sed (quod maius est) vitae. Unde enim tantum boni, ut pluribus quae recta sunt placeant? Igitur ut velli et comam in gradus frangere et in balneis perpotare, quamlibet haec invaserint civitatem, non erit consuetudo, quia nihil horum caret reprehensione; at lavamur et tondemur et convivimus ex consuetudine: sic in loquendo, non si quid vitiose multis insederit, pro regula sermonis accipiendum erit. Num, ut transeam, quemadmodum vulgo imperiti loquantur, tota saepe theatra et omnem circi turbam exclamasse barbare scimus. Ergo consuetudinem sermonis vocabo consensum eruditorum, sicut vivendi consensum bonorum (I. 6. 44-45).

Vaugelas goes one step further and implies a social, even moral, dimension to his concept of good usage⁴⁴; the path for this development had already been laid by Quintilian, who in his Preface suggested that good speech and an excellent character are associated (I, Preface 9). Vaugelas's ideas are thus very close to Quintilian's on the role of reason, antiquity, authority and usage in language.

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See Chapter 7, section III. Note, however, that Quintilian looks to educated men for details of good usage, whereas Vaugelas consults the uneducated and women, following Cicero (see footnote 52 below).

There are other signs of influence in the details of the criteria deemed vital to good usage. Quintilian stresses the central importance of clarity (I. 6. 41) and Vaugelas cites Quintilian's opinions on ambiguity (327, 589) and his distinction between 'vn langage pur' (emendata oratio) and 'vn langage net' (dilucida oratio, 578). There are also certain similarities in the subdivision of mistakes into barbarisms and solecisms (I. 5. 6-54) and the acknowledgment that different mistakes occur in speech and in writing (I. 5. 6) and that poets must be given greater freedom of usage (I. 5. 11)⁴⁵. In addition Vaugelas quotes Quintilian on the subject of purity (Preface IX, 3), imagery (128), neologisms (255), and metaphor (317), and significantly it is for a 'Quintilien François' that Vaugelas calls on two occasions to provide a fuller description of the French language (Preface V, 3; 593)⁴⁶.

Another important Latin source for Vaugelas's ideas is Varro⁴⁷. Although he is mentioned for the first time explicitly in the published Remarques, his ideas are probably already alluded to in the manuscript. The terminology used there to describe the distinction between absolute and relative arbitrariness of the sign suggests Varro's ideas on the subject⁴⁸:

⁴⁵ For the different attitudes on these questions in the manuscript and the published Remarques, see below 86 and Ayres 1983: 25-28. The criteria deemed necessary for good speech are discussed in the section on terminology and key concepts

⁴⁶ Cf. Geoffroy Tory's appeal in Champ fleury (1529(1970)): 'Pleust a Dieu que quelque Noble cueur s'employast a mettre & ordôner par Reigle notre Lagage Francois...mais iespere qâu plaisir de Dieu quelque Noble Prisciã/quelque Donat, ou quelque Quintilien Francois/naistra de Bref, sil n'est desia tout edifie' (Aux lecteurs). Surprisingly Tory is not mentioned either in the manuscript or in the Remarques.

⁴⁷ Varro's De Lingua Latina is the main source of our information about the analogy/anomaly controversy which ran throughout the Greek and Roman eras. In book VIII Varro gives the arguments against analogy (or regularity), in book IX the arguments for analogy, and in book X he reconciles the two sides by putting forward a moderate analogist position. Vaugelas quotes Varro twice in the Remarques on the subject of analogy (453, 470).

⁴⁸ Varro De Lingua Latina, X.51, 53, 60.

Car apres tout ce n'est point un de ces mots quel'on appelle primae intentionis c'est à dire qui n'ont nulle ethymologie ni deriuaison, mais qui ont esté establis d'abord par la seule uolonté des hommes (fo. 85^v).

Varro also makes the point that usage and regularity are more closely aligned than is generally thought (IX, 2) and acknowledges that both analogy and anomaly are present in language (X. 3) and that it is merely a question of delimiting the range of each. For him analogy governs declinatio naturalis (X. 15) which is roughly equivalent to what we call inflectional morphology, whereas anomaly (or usage) governs declinatio voluntaris or derivational morphology. Vaugelas likewise cites grammar (agreement) as the paradigm of language acting par raison, and implies that the vocabulary is more idiosyncratic⁴⁹. Having affirmed that regularity prevails in declinatio naturalis, Varro nevertheless asserts that if usage has established an exceptional form, then it must be followed (IX, 35). Language is only regular to the extent sanctioned by usage:

Analogia est verborum similum declinatio similis
non repugnante consuetudine communi (X. 74) ⁵⁰

The value of clarity, brevity (VIII, 26) and refinement or elegance (VIII, 31) is outlined by Varro and the idea of propriété suggested: in Varro's view the people ought to follow regularity in all forms and correct its usage, (IX, 6), whereas the orator is not obliged to follow regularity in every way and the orator can break all limits (IX, 5). Vaugelas therefore seems to look to Varro rather than to the mainstream Graeco-Latin grammatical tradition for inspiration⁵¹. Priscian's name is only mentioned once in the Remarques and then only in passing (311), and there is no mention of Donatus.

⁴⁹ See Vaugelas's discussion of usage acting par raison, sans raison and contre raison (Preface V. 3) and his assertion that words and phrases are more subject to change than constructions (X. 2).

⁵⁰ See also 114-115.

⁵¹ See Robins 1967: 52.

The third major Latin influence on Vaugelas, Cicero, indicates, as in the case of Quintilian, Vaugelas's dependence on traditional rhetorical concepts. Cicero is quoted by Vaugelas mainly on stylistic questions and considered 'Prince de l'Eloquence' (fo. 64^v)⁵². Vaugelas's great respect for his Roman predecessors unfortunately causes him at times to depend too heavily on their authority about the behaviour of the Latin language when deciding a point of French usage⁵³. Seneca, Quintus Curtius, Caesar, Terence 'la plume la plus nette et la plus polie qui ayt escrit en latin' (fo. 95^r), Virgil 'qui a escrit aussi si purement' (ibid.), Tacitus, Livy, Justin and Aulus Gellius, together with the late Latin grammarian Macrobius, are all mentioned in the manuscript, typically with a short value judgment appended.

The names of Medieval authors are pitifully few in both the manuscript and the Remarques. The manuscript suggests, however, two neo-Latin grammatical sources for Vaugelas, Corrador, whose De lingua latina inspired by Varro appeared in 1575 (fo. 97^r) and Valla (42^v, 87^v)⁵⁴. I have

⁵² E.g. Remarques 159, 163, 237, 415, *487, *494. Vaugelas also follows Cicero in consulting women about usage (380, 505) and about how to introduce new words (255).

⁵³ For instance, he says horrible may have a positive application in French (362-3) and 'proves' this on the grounds that Cicero employed horribilis in this way.

⁵⁴ On two occasions in the manuscript (fos. 42^v, 97^v) Vaugelas promises to explain why he chose not to adopt the ordering of Laurentius Valla. What he means by this is not clear, for, although the format of Valla's De Linguae Latinae elegantia makes reference to the parts of speech, the presentation of the grammatical material is haphazard (Padley 1976: 17). Vaugelas rejects the part of speech format in his Preface (XII), but if that is what he is referring to in these instances then Valla's work was not a good choice as a paradigm for that type of grammar. If Vaugelas is rather thinking of the somewhat random ordering of paragraphs employed by Valla, then this indicates that his decision to adopt an unsystematic ordering in the published Remarques was a complete change of opinion.

already noted (Ayres 1983: 25) that references to French grammarians are more common in the manuscript. Du Bellay and Henry Estienne are specifically named, both for their comparisons of French with Greek, but there are also allusions to Maupas and Goulou. The names of Robert Estienne, Ramus and the lexicographer Nicot⁵⁵ appear for the first time in the Remarques.

Some of the references to French authors are difficult to identify because abbreviations are used (e.g. M. le Ch de B., MF (Faret?))⁵⁶. The manuscript confirms the influence of some of Vaugelas's contemporaries whose names are surprisingly absent from the Remarques - Balzac, Chapelain⁵⁷, Godeau, Gombauld, Voiture - and shows the importance of the Academy milieu to Vaugelas (Table 2). As well as these major literary

⁵⁵ Maupas is discussed in Ayres 1983: 25. Details of Goulou are given in footnote 20 above. Although Vaugelas criticises Goulou's decision on both occasions he is mentioned in the manuscript, there are nevertheless interesting parallels. Goulou admires Quintilian and Coeffeteau and claims that good language must display propriété, netteté, naiueté (1627: I: 144) and pureté (II: 49-50). Robert Estienne is not cited for his grammar, but for his Latin dictionary (Note liminaire). Ramus ('& plusieurs grands Grammariens' (194)) is quoted on the pronunciation of h aspirée. Ramus's belief that the material for linguistic study comes from usage (Padley 1976: 84-5) may well have influenced Vaugelas.

⁵⁶ Faret was a compatriot of Vaugelas and a personal friend. The format of Faret's L'Honneste Homme which is set out in individual paragraphs, each with its own heading (e.g. De la contenance, Des mouvements du visage) may have influenced Vaugelas's choice of a random ordering. This might support our contention that Vaugelas's work is to some extent closer in form and function to a courtesy book than to a traditional grammatical treatise.

⁵⁷ The manuscript indicates that Chapelain helped formulate Vaugelas's ideas on usage and neologisms (fo. 3^r). Vaugelas quotes Chapelain's opinion that expressions established by usage 'par le consentement general de tous ceux qui parlent françois' are elegant, but that new ones cannot be created in imitation, for no one has the authority to do this. Chapelain adds that usage being 'le maistre-souuerain des langues uiuantes' there is no question of asking whether an expression in usage is in accord with reason, 'mais que l'on ne laisse pas de trouuer de la raison dans l'Usage, et rapporte la comparaison de la Foy, qui nous oblige à croire, et qui neantmoins n'empesche pas, que nous ne raisonnions sur cette mesme foy' (fo. 3^r; cf. Remarques, Preface V. 2).

figures of the day, Vaugelas refers in the manuscript, although not in the published version, to two other contemporaries, M. de Colomby⁵⁸, one of Malherbe's school, and F. de Molière⁵⁹, both of whom he considers worthy of mention. Not all the names listed are cited with approbation. For instance, Ronsard and Du Vair are criticised for their over-enthusiastic creation of new words (78^V). The names of other possible influences on Vaugelas may be gathered from the list of authors drawn up by the Academy as writers considered worthy of study (Rat 1967: 94).

We know too that Vaugelas was greatly influenced by his friends and family⁶⁰. Preachers gain more acknowledgment in the manuscript, the pulpit being described as 'le uray siege de l'eloquence' (fo. 97^r). This may be a testimony to the influence on the young Vaugelas of his father's friend, François de Sales, who, together with Antoine Favre, founded the 'Académie florimontane' in the winter of 1606-7. Vaugelas must have witnessed many a conversation in the family home between his father and the future saint about questions of language. François de Sales's manuscripts indicate that he paid keen attention to details of language and constantly worked on his style. He may well have helped to form Vaugelas's views on language, for Vaugelas, in his description of the family friend, points to the very qualities which he stresses in the Remarques are so vital to a good use of language: clarity, lack of affectation or naïveté, and the ability to choose the right word for the right context and style:

58 François de Couvigny, sieur de Colomby (c. 1588-1648) was a cousin of Malherbe and a member of the French Academy.

59 Vaugelas refers to La Polyxene de Molière, Paris, Toussaint du Bray 1624.

60 For example, in the manuscript he changes his opinion on the question of whether Ressembler can govern the accusative as well as the dative on the recommendation of a friend (fo. 82^V). In this case the influence was only transient for by the Remarques (*480) he has reverted to his earlier stance.

Je n'ay jamais ouy de predicateur qui m'ayt ravi ny qui m'ayt touché si doucement ny si sensiblement que luy. Je prenois un singulier plaisir à l'entendre... et tout son discours estoit si judicieux et si bien ordonné qu'encore que j'aye fort mauvaise memoire, il m'eust esté aisé de retenir tout son sermon par coeur, pour peu de soin que j'y eusse voulu apporter. Son langage estoit net, nerveux et puissant en persuasion, mais surtout il excelloit en la propriété des motz, dont il faisoit un choix si exquis que c'estoit ce qui la rendoit ainsy lent et tardif à s'expliquer (Mackey 1898: 10: LXI-LXII).

Classical and contemporary authors then had the most impact on Vaugelas. Yet Vaugelas was not narrow in his reading for he also quotes Italian sources, although, surprisingly, not Spanish ones⁶¹. In the manuscript he mentions Bentivoglio (a page reference is given to his Histoire de la guerre de Flandres on Folio 39), Tasso, Petrarch and other Italian poets, and the names of Boccaccio, Dante and Bembo 'à qui la langue Italienne est si redeuable' (Preface II. 6) are added to the published version (Table 3).

From this discussion it is clear that Vaugelas was greatly influenced by his predecessors. In his ideas on usage he is heavily dependent on Quintilian. Some of his ideas which are new within the French tradition of grammatical writing nevertheless have direct counterparts in the work of Quintilian, Varro and Cicero. Vaugelas looks more to the tradition of rhetoric than grammar for inspiration, notably in his elaboration of the features constituting a good use of language. He does not then refer to the mainstream part of speech grammars of Priscian or Donatus nor is he

⁶¹ In the manuscript he cites Greek, Spanish (including Arabic borrowings in Spanish), Latin and Italian and refers to German and Flemish. He also makes claims about the characteristics of the various dialects and provincial languages, mentioning Lorraine, Gascony, Brittany, Normandy, Burgundy, Touraine, Savoy, Lyon and Dauphiny. In each case he points to the corruption of the provincial languages in comparison with the language of the Court (fo. 46^r). It is difficult to estimate how accurate his details are because of lack of evidence about seventeenth century regional usage, but we may assume that Vaugelas heard some of the various languages and dialects during his travels in the entourage of Gaston d'Orléans (see Introduction footnote 20).

greatly influenced by the grammars of his French predecessors. He is, however, very willing to consult his friends and contemporary authorities on language about questions of doubtful usage and relies on the Academy milieu and the salons⁶².

VIII: Other major differences

I have dealt at length elsewhere with other major and significant differences between the manuscript and the published Remarques such as the changing conception of the relationship between the spoken and written registers⁶³ and of the relationship between poetry and prose⁶⁴. Probably the most obvious and the most radical difference between the manuscript and the published edition is the change in the presentation and ordering of the material. As I have noted above, in the manuscript each remarque

⁶² See Chapter 7, section III.

⁶³ Ayres 1983: 25-27. In the manuscript priority is given to the written language. By the Remarques the roles have reversed, although there are still some vestiges of the earlier conception.

⁶⁴ Ayres 1983: 27-28. In the Remarques a greater number of words and phrases deemed unacceptable in prose are tolerated in poetry, so that in the Remarques poetry is seen to be less demanding in its choice of words and expressions than well constructed prose style. There are various possible reasons for this change. With the growing constraint on the choice of vocabulary available to writers, words Vaugelas reluctantly saw disappear from good usage could find a refuge in the work of poets. A second possible cause may lie in the alteration in Vaugelas's conception of the relationship between the spoken and written registers. In the Arsenal manuscript the language of poetry and prose are considered to be virtually identical and the spoken language is viewed as the more casual register. In the published Remarques the written language of prose and the spoken language are aligned and so poetry has to be granted greater freedom in its choice of expression and use of vocabulary if it is not to appear too conversational and prosaic, indeed if it is to survive at all.

is generally placed with others beginning with the same letter of the alphabet, although not in strict alphabetical order within each section. Some sheets are out of place, and occasionally a letter of the alphabet is continued out of sequence further on in the manuscript, presumably when Vaugelas ran out of space or wanted to make additions. Possible reasons for Vaugelas's decision to adopt a completely random ordering in the Remarques⁶⁵ have been suggested elsewhere (Ayres 1983: 28-29)⁶⁶.

A crucial question to ask is when the Remarques were jumbled up and by whom? Although each printing house had its own conventions and the seventeenth century compositor possessed some of the powers of a modern-day editor for correcting faulty manuscripts, the size of printing houses in general and the reputation of the particular firm involved in the publication of the first edition of the Remarques make it unlikely that it was the printer who instigated such a radical alteration⁶⁷. We are forced therefore to conclude that the manuscript the printer used was not set out alphabetically (the author was required by law to provide the printer with a reasonably neat copy⁶⁸) and that Alemand, if it was the

⁶⁵ In some cases related observations do follow consecutively e.g. those treating 'H aspirée' (194, 198, 201) or two observations next to each other in the manuscript are kept together e.g. 342 Estre avec pour and Verbe substantif mal placé. There is also an occasional rationalisation of the material (e.g. the comments on the pronunciation and orthography of words beginning with AD are placed under one heading in the Remarques).

⁶⁶ In the Preface Vaugelas adds that another reason for choosing the random ordering was that it enabled him to add observations while the work was in print, although he claims that even if this had not been the case he would have chosen 'cét agreable meslange' (XII, 2). As well as possible influence from Faret (see footnote 56 above), Vaugelas may also have seen Chevreau's justification of his random presentation (Chevreau 1642: Aduertissement).

⁶⁷ See above 71-72.

⁶⁸ In 1539 a law was passed which required authors to provide a neat and correct copy. This law was renewed in 1571 and 1572 (Pottinger 1958: 46).

Arsenal manuscript he borrowed, merely copied the format of the published Remarques to lend credence to his assertion that these 'new' observations were by Vaugelas. Since the Arsenal manuscript is the only one surviving and we have no other statement of Vaugelas's intentions for the Remarques, we can only speculate that the change was made between 1637 and 1647 either on the advice of friends and members of the Academy to whom he gave the observations for comment or once again because of his growing familiarity with the tastes of those living at Court.

Other key changes include the removal from the published Remarques of many of the explanations and glosses, technical and legal terms and learned references found in the Arsenal manuscript (Ayres 1983: 29-30), and the emergence of a more restrained, elegant and polished style characteristic of the Classical period in the published version in place of the youthful, vigorous and more personal style of the manuscript (Ayres: 1983: 30-31).

IX: Conclusion

Since there are numerous and sometimes major changes between the manuscript and the published Remarques, it seems likely that the main body of observations in the Arsenal manuscript was written several years before the Remarques were published in 1647. The recommendations of the manuscript bear witness to an evolution in Vaugelas's ideas on certain topics since the 1615 translation, but they are not yet fully developed. If these are the Observations sur la langue françoise which Vaugelas presented to the Academy in 1637 for comments and criticisms, as I have suggested, then the revisions may have been made in part on the advice of the Academy's members. Certainly there are many admissions of doubt in the manuscript. In addition we may assume that Vaugelas consulted authorities on language, studied the work of various authors, and, above all, paid increasing

attention to the spoken language of the Court in the period before the observations were finally offered to the public in 1647. The changes clearly stem from a desire to make the observations as topical and valid as possible, a fact which explains in no small way the popularity of the Remarques in Vaugelas's day⁶⁹.

⁶⁹ For other reasons for the popularity of the Remarques, see Chapter 7, section III.

Chapter 3: Usage and reason in the Remarques

The competing roles of usage and reason in Vaugelas's work have been the subject of much recent discussion. The traditional view, which sees Vaugelas purely as a recorder of usage, the pragmatist as opposed to the Rationalists of Port-Royal, is found in many standard textbooks on the history of the language¹ and is repeated in Noam Chomsky's Cartesian Linguistics². The recording of usage is of course the avowed goal of the Remarques, stated clearly on the first page of the Preface:

Mon dessein n'est pas de reformer nostre langue, ny d'abolir des mots, ny d'en faire, mais seulement de monstrier le bon vsage de ceux qui sont faits, & s'il est douteux ou inconnu, de l'esclaircir, & de le faire connoistre (Preface I).

This, Vaugelas claims, explains the choice of title for the work: it is not a list of decisions or laws, but rather a collection of observations recording usage, or to be more precise, good usage. He then sets up a simple dichotomy between good and bad usage³, the former being defined in the following famous way:

C'est la façon de parler de la plus saine partie de la Cour, conformément à la façon d'escrire de la plus saine partie des Auteurs du temps (Preface II, 3).

The definition is further elaborated on: when he speaks of the Court, he includes both men and women and also many of those who live in the same town as the prince because they 'participent à sa politesse' on account of the close communication between the two⁴. Vaugelas thus takes

¹ See, for example, F. Brunot 1913:IV : 52, 59; L. Kukenheim 1966: 33, 35; M. Cohen 1950: 187.

² For example, Chomsky 1966:54. For criticisms of this work, see, for instance, Aarsleff (1970) or Salmon (1969).

³ For discussion of whether Vaugelas abides consistently by this simple dichotomy, see the section on propriété and Vaugelas's concept of the relativity of usage.

⁴ As Blochwitz (1968: 111) states, Vaugelas therefore had a larger conception of the Court than that presented, for example, by Auerbach in his triad Cour-Ville-Peuple (La Cour et la Ville, Berlin 1951).

his stand in the long debate, which had continued since the beginning of the writing of grammatical treatises, concerning the proper norm for language use⁵. Apart from the historical and socio-cultural reasons for his choice mentioned elsewhere⁶, Vaugelas also apparently had good linguistic reasons for favouring the Court. If Henri Estienne, for instance, rejected the authority of the Court, it was because he considered that the language spoken there was corrupted by Italian influence⁷. For Vaugelas, on the other hand, the Court seems to have been the most neutral source, the least affected by regionalisms and extremes of variation and hence probably the most easily comprehensible to all.

The Court is the primary source of information about good usage (II, 5), Vaugelas claims, because of the priority of the spoken word:

Mais le consentement des bons Auteurs est comme le sceau,
ou vne verification, qui autorise le langage de la Cour,
& qui marque le bon Vsage, & decide celuy qui est douteux.

A third source of information about good usage is 'la frequentation des gens sçauants en la langue' (II, 7). This last authority is consulted on questions which neither the Court nor the authors can resolve, either because examples are rare, elusive or non-existent. The decision of the majority of these authorities must be adopted. If, on the other hand, there is no clear consensus of opinion 'il sera libre d'vser tantost de l'une des façons & tantost de l'autre, ou bien de s'attacher à celuy des deux parties, auquel on aura le plus d'inclination, & que l'on croira le meilleur' (IV, 3). The Remarques are to be of use in combining these three authorities and thereby presenting a quick and easy method of

⁵ The main controversy centred on whether the language of the Parlement or the Court should be taken as the model for good usage. Pillot, Meigret and Peletier, for example, recommended following in general the usage of the Court, while Pasquier, Théodore de Bèze and above all Henri Estienne were wary of court usage. Even Maupas occasionally criticizes courtiers for being 'singes de nouveautés'. For further details see e.g. Marzys 1974: 315-322 & Weinrich 1960: 15.

⁶ See the chapter on the popularity and success of the Remarques.

⁷ H. Estienne 1885 (I): 56-60.

acquiring good usage (III, 1)⁸.

The traditional evaluation of Vaugelas as the pragmatist is based on the views expressed in the Preface; significantly the Preface was one of the last parts of the work to be written and may therefore convey Vaugelas's concluding thoughts. This view also receives support from two methodological observations, Que dans les doutes de la langue il vaut mieux pour l'ordinaire, consulter les femmes, & ceux qui n'ont point estudié, que ceux qui sont bien sçauans en la langue Greque, & en la Latine (503-5) and De quelle façon il faut demander les doutes de la langue (505-509), neither of which appear in the manuscript. These are surprisingly modern in proposing a procedure for eliciting information and in isolating a clearly-determined informant⁹. Vaugelas is especially well-disposed towards the language use of women at Court, indeed to such an extent that he is at times over-indulgent¹⁰:

Ouurage. Soit que l'on se serue de ce mot pour signifier quelque production de l'esprit, ou de la main, ou bien de la nature, ou de la fortune, il est tousjours masculin,...Mais les femmes parlant de leur ouurage, le font tousjours féminin...Il semble qu'il leur doit estre permis de nommer comme elles veulent ce qui n'est que de leur vsage; je ne crois pas pourtant, qu'il nous fust permis de l'escrire ainsi (445).

The informant is chosen specifically with the aim of obtaining a naïve judgment about the usage of a particular item; women at this time would probably have had less formal education than men. The procedure proposed

⁸ A note in the text suggests that Vaugelas's own teaching experience may have been some help to him in composing the Remarques (336), although some of the devices he employs, such as the inclusion of forms deemed unacceptable, might by modern standards be considered pedagogically unsound. Vaugelas was tutor to the sons of Prince Thomas de Savoie-Carignan at the end of his life. This was no easy task as one of his pupils was dumb and the other stuttered (Streicher 1934: XLVII).

⁹ That is, for sex, location and social group. He excludes the parameter of age. For an opposite view on using those unversed in Latin as informants, see Henri Estienne 1885: (II): 237.

¹⁰ For the role of women in the Remarques, see Flutre 1954. See also ion III.

is also designed to produce a spontaneous response, Vaugelas suggesting that the query should be phrased in such a way that the informant is unaware of the reason for the question.

Opposed to the traditional view, which relies on the theoretical statements of the Preface, is that adopted for instance by Larry Hillman (1976). His thesis is stated clearly in his article entitled 'Vaugelas and the "Cult of Reason"'¹¹. Vaugelas adheres to the cult of reason because he guides rather than records usage. Hillman's evaluation is based not on the theoretical statements of the Preface but on Vaugelas's actual practice, which, Hillman argues, is far from objective. He maintains that Vaugelas aims to promote a standard according to his own criteria for perfection, that is, clarity and order as manifested in grammatical and analogical regularity. Hillman thus associates reason with clarity. Moreover, he adds, Vaugelas appeals directly to la raison in order to justify etymological explanations or to support a strictly personal preference. Hillman concentrates on those areas of usage which operate par raison, on grammatical construction and on the role of analogy in the work, which, he claims, reflect Vaugelas's desire for order; this search for order leads to the establishment of rules and the formulation of generalisations on the basis of insufficient data. Vaugelas may even correct good usage to make a construction more regular and this insistence on grammatical regularity and netteté, Hillman believes, reflects Vaugelas's belief in a fundamental association of grammar and reason (Hillman 1976: 219). Hillman overlooks or discounts those areas of language other than grammatical construction and analogically formed

¹¹ This is an abridged form of the arguments propounded in his 1972 doctoral thesis. Hillman represents the extreme position at this end of the scale, but other writers such as W.K. Percival (1976) suggest that Vaugelas and the authors of the Port-Royal grammar have some ideas in common.

neologisms and the observations where usage clearly takes precedence over reason. He minimises the importance of the difference between the attitude to language and methodology proposed for areas of declared usage and the techniques used to decide questions of doubtful usage and so concludes:

Far from yielding to the "fantasies" of usage, Vaugelas holds a conservative rein on those who would deviate from the clear, regular and orderly. He shows himself to be a true representative of the "cult of reason", and well within the grammatical tradition continued by the Port-Royal grammarians (223).

How can such widely differing views about the same work arise and which is the more accurate? I propose to discuss in detail Vaugelas's notions of usage and reason and analyse their respective roles in the Remarques, referring to Hillman's arguments where appropriate.

The notion of good usage appears at first sight to be defined fairly rigorously. However, closer examination reveals that the definition, as Hillman asserts (1976 : 212-3), is far from being precise. One major difficulty is the vagueness of the notion of la plus saine partie. What are we to understand by this? Applied to the Court it certainly does not refer to the majority as it does for later grammarians¹², but rather to an elite group¹³. This is confirmed by various observations in which the recommendation made is contrary to the general usage of the Court:

Sortir. Ce verbe est neutre, & non pas actif. C'est pourquoy, sortez ce cheual, pour dire, faites sortir ce cheual, ou tirez ce cheual, est tres-mal dit, encore que cette façon de parler se soit renduë fort commune à la Cour, & par toutes les Prouinces...(38).

Abus du Pronom demonstratif, celuy. Ce sont particulièrement les femmes & les Courtisans quand ils escriuent; & tant s'en faut qu'ils le veulent eüter, qu'au contraire, ils l'affectent comme vn ornement (459*).

Y, pour luy. ...C'est vne faute toute commune parmy nos Courtisans...(94).

¹² Buffier 1741: 21. See also Beauzée in the Encyclopédie (1765) under the heading Usage.

¹³ Preface II, 2. Cf. Adam 1968: 87: 'Il suffirait qu'un usage fût ~~general pour inspirer~~ de la méfiance à Vaugelas'.

On the other hand it must be generally adopted usage and not the idiosyncratic usage of the individual, for Vaugelas makes quite clear that no one, no matter who he is, has the right to innovate or deviate from good usage¹⁴:

Quelque reputation qu'on ayt acquise à escrire, on n'a pas pour cela l'autorité d'establir ce que les autres condamnent, ny d'opposer son opinion particuliere au torrent de l'opinion commune (III. 3).

The way to please one's listener is rather to use the expression which he himself would have chosen, which severely limits the possibility of creating neologisms of word or phrase¹⁵. For Bouhours the notion of 'la plus saine partie' has social value, referring to the gens polis of the higher strata of society, an interpretation not absent from Vaugelas's work¹⁶. Yet the concept is never so explicitly defined that we could point to a clearly delimited and fixed group of people who represent 'la plus saine partie'. The group contains a fairly large variety of people, embracing inhabitants of the town as well as the Court, although when the two authorities are in conflict, the latter tends to dominate (e.g. *482). It may be therefore that the notion is vague enough to allow Vaugelas to select some members of the Court who speak in the way he favours and to refer to them as his authority. Is Vaugelas then trying to trick the reader into believing that the material of the Remarques is objectively and quasi-scientifically amassed, while defining good and bad usage in such

¹⁴ Note, however, Vaugelas's deference towards his "betters" means that elsewhere this judgment is contradicted. Speaking of debrutaliser, probably created by Mme de Rambouillet, he says: 'Aussi a-t-il esté fait par vne personne, qui a droit de faire des mots, & d'imposer des noms, s'il est vray ce que les Philosophes enseignent, qu'il n'appartient qu'aux sages d'eminente sagesse d'auoir ce priuilege' (492).

¹⁵ Remarques 509: 'Mais pour les phrases, leur opinion est tellement opposée à la verité, que non seulement en nostre langue, mais en toutes les langues du monde, on ne sçauroit bien parler ny bien escrire, qu'avec les phrases vsitées, & la diction qui a cours parmi les honnestes gens, & qui se trouue dans les bons Autheurs'.

¹⁶ Bouhours 1962: 52. Vaugelas, Preface VII: 'Aussi ce bon Vsage se trouuera de grande estenduë puis qu'il comprend tout le langage des honnestes gens & tous les stiles des bons Ecriuains..'; VIII: 'le peuple n'est le maistre que du mauuais Vsage'. Vaugelas was of course influenced by his long association with the salons.

a way that the distinction is arbitrary and capricious?

The notion of 'la plus saine partie des Auteurs du temps' is equally problematic. Since no author escapes criticism, there is no one reliable model. This point is made explicit in the Preface:

On m'objectera encore que toutes les fautes que ie remarque, ie les attribuë à nos bons Auteurs, & qu'ainsi il n'y a donc point selon moy, qui en soit exent. Ie l'auouë avec tout le respect qui leur est due, & ie ne crois pas, que comme ce sont tous d'excellens hommes, il y en ait vn seul qui pretende, s'il est encore vivant, ou qui ait pretendu s'il ne l'est plus, d'estre impeccable en cette matiere, non plus qu'aux autres...(XIII, 1).

If no author is free from mistakes, then this collection of observations does not represent one usage but a distillation of the best from the best. Far from being observable as a whole in one author, good usage is idealised from a group of writers and is necessarily based on a subjective judgment about what constitutes the best. Vaugelas's delicacy restrains him from naming any censured author, living or dead, or from praising any living writer by name, so we can only guess at his preferred sources on the basis of allusions in the text¹⁷. Unlike the Academy, Vaugelas does not list the authors whom he considers worthy of discussion and explication (although there may be some overlap), and so his notion of 'la plus saine partie des Auteurs du temps' can be completely arbitrary:

Pourpre. La pluspart des Auteurs, qui en ont escrit en François, l'ont fait féminin, mais ce ne sont pas à la verité des Auteurs classiques (58).

Thirdly, the choice of authorities on language as an additional source of information about good usage contradicts another of his principles. As we have noted, Vaugelas states that naive judgments about the French language are the most valuable, and so he advocates consultation of women and those unversed in Latin or Greek, on topics where usage is doubtful, posing the question in such a way as to obtain a spontaneous and

¹⁷ For a discussion of these see the section on the influences on Vaugelas, chapter 2, 73-86.

natural response¹⁸. Yet he is obviously referring to the French Academy when he alludes to a famous group the discussions of which he at times records and which he personally consults when he is unsure about a certain observation¹⁹; its members hardly represented the uneducated²⁰.

Moreover, Academicians were well aware of their reasons for discussing a given topic. And if on occasions we feel that the opinion we are in fact being given is Vaugelas's own²¹, then his unsuitability to judge by his own criteria is only too evident.

Further difficulties arise from the subdivision of good usage into vsage déclaré and vsage douteux:

L'Vsage déclaré est celui, dont on sçait assurément, que la plus saine partie de la Cour, & des Auteurs du temps, sont d'accord, & par conséquent le douteux ou l'inconnu est celui, dont on ne le sçait pas (IV, 1).

It is apparently vsage douteux which constitutes the subject matter of the Remarques:

Mais c'est la question, de sçauoir si l'Vsage les fait d'une ou de deux syllabes; car s'il l'auoit décidé il n'y auroit plus de doute, & de le mettre aujourd'huy en question, est vne preuue infaillible qu'il ne l'a pas décidé (Fuïr 454).

Vaugelas claims that the only unifying theme in the subject matter is that these are areas in which the best people make mistakes (183)²². It is

¹⁸ See Remarques 503-5 and 505-9.

¹⁹ See, for example, Si apres VINT & VN, il faut mettre vn pluriel ou vn singulier (147-149).

²⁰ His informants, belonging to the upper classes would also be more likely to be formally educated. For details of the lives of the first forty Académiciens see Pellisson & d'Olivet 1858: I: section 5. Chapelain, for instance, was an accomplished linguist who spoke Italian and Spanish fluently, while Patru's position as an authority on language is well known (Streicher 1936: XLIV-XLVII).

²¹ See below 126.

²² Since these are his authorities, probably the readers of the work were rather those just less than the best and who aspired to perfection. For evidence of who purchased the Remarques, see chapter 7, 306-8, and table 11.

perhaps the heterogeneity of topics covered which in part dictates the format and unsystematic treatment. The extreme case of this is the strange remarque entitled Seraphin, remercement, agrement, viol (413) which begins:

Quoy qu'ils n'ayent rien de commun entre eux, ie les mets ensemble, parce qu'il n'y a qu'un mot à dire sur chacun, & que par diuerses rencontres, ils se presentent à ma plume.

Vaugelas states that his aim is not to produce a comprehensive account of the language such as would be suitable for a beginner or foreigner trying to learn French²³. Rather he assumes a basic competence in the language and claims to focus on finer points of doubtful usage. He thus has in mind specific problems often treated in some detail, although general principles may also be discussed where relevant. Since he does not work from a corpus, no problem of attestation arises, but he is faced with the uncertainty or unreliability of the informants' judgment. In theory then the subject-matter of the Remarques is the area of dubius sermo. Steinthal (from Colson 1919: 32) argues that this was one area where the long debate in the ancient world between the analogists and anomalists could continue²⁴. By the first century the debate had died down, agreement on two main conclusions having been reached: while analogy was said to

²³ See, for example, 183. Since Vaugelas makes no claim to be writing a grammar of French, it is unfair to criticise him for not doing so, as does Pellat (1976-7: 40). However, a few of the observations do seem to be directed at foreigners. The observation entitled H, aspirée, ou consone, & H, muëtte begins: 'Les lieux où l'on parle bien François, n'ont pas besoin de cette remarque; car on ne manque iamais d'y prononcer l'une & l'autre h, comme il faut. Mais elle est extrêmement nécessaire aux autres Prouinces, qui font la plus grande partie de la France, & aux Estrangers' (194).

²⁴ The controversy centred on determining the degree of regularity in language behaviour. The various arguments offered by the analogists, who considered language basically regular, and the anomalists, who believed it to be fundamentally irregular, are recorded in Varro's De Lingua Latinae (see chapter 2, 80-81).

prevail in inflection, where usage was established the analogists had to accept it. The fact that, as Steinthal maintains, transferred to the stage of dubius sermo, the debate could continue, is reflected in the Remarques in the interplay of usage and reason. Vaugelas establishes his position in the debate in the Preface:

En vn mot l'Vsage fait beaucoup de choses par raison, beaucoup sans raison, & beaucoup contre raison. Par raison, comme la plus part des constructions grammaticales, par exemple, de ioindre l'adjectif au substantif en mesme genre & en mesme nombre; de ioindre le pluriel des verbes au pluriel des noms, & plusieurs autres semblables; sans raison, comme la variation ou la ressemblance des temps & des personnes aux conjugaisons des verbes...; Et contre raison, par exemple, quand on dit peril eminent pour imminent, recouuert pour recouuré, quand on fait regir le verbe non pas par le nominatif; mais par le genetif, & qu'on dit vne infinité de gens croyent, & plusieurs autres semblables qui se voyent dans ces Remarques (V, 3).

This is a very moderate stance, maintaining, as one would expect, that it is in the area of grammatical construction rather than, for instance, in the lexicon, that 'reason' prevails. Moreover, Vaugelas is convinced of the basic regularity of language, so that normally usage and reason are aligned:

...mais quoy que l'Vsage face tout en matiere de langue, & qu'il face beaucoup de choses sans raison, & mesme contre la raison, comme nous sommes obligez de dire souuent, si est-ce qu'il en fait beaucoup plus encore avecque raison...(387-8).

I shall discuss in detail below the interplay of usage and reason in the Remarques and what indeed is meant by these concepts, but it is already clear that one function of the work may be to determine the scope of both of them in the French language. If the Remarques, by definition, primarily deal with the idiosyncratic rather than with basic grammar, we should expect the irregular side of language function to be emphasised. Yet since the Remarques are concerned with questions of doubtful usage, regularity may well be invoked to settle them. The widely differing evaluations of the Remarques may stem from a difference of focus: whether the critic focuses on the treatment of the regular or the irregular in the Remarques, grammar or the lexicon, declared or doubtful usage, and

whether he takes account of the whole content of the work or not.

But is it true that Vaugelas's work is concerned with questions of doubtful usage? Ferdinand Brunot states: 's'il est un reproche qu'on peut faire à Vaugelas, c'est d'avoir été trop conséquent et trop fidèle à des principes trop absolus' (Brunot 1909: 50 note 2); but there is a conflict between theory and practice in the Remarques. Concentration on the area of dubius sermo undermines the credibility of appealing to good usage. If, by definition, usage is uncertain here, then it cannot be adduced as an authority. The problem is highlighted in the observation on pluriel (468-470). Vaugelas defends this form rather than that in general usage by the grammarians (plurier). The content of the remarque is altogether unsatisfactory because Vaugelas is clearly distorting the facts to defend his own personal preference; as Thomas Corneille affirms, the pronunciations of the two words plurier and pluriel were not identical and therefore there was no doubt about the spoken usage (Streicher 1936: 785). However, the type of argumentation employed here by Vaugelas is enlightening. Vaugelas defends pluriel with an appeal to etymology and analogy. He then claims to answer the charge of betrayal of his principle of consulting good usage, by arguing that since usage is uncertain in this case, it can give no guidance:

...mais ie luy ay respondu que lors que ie parle de l'Vsage, & que ie dis qu'il est le maistre des langues viuentes, cela s'entend de l'Vsage dont on n'est point en doute, & dont tout le monde demeure d'accord, ce qui ne nous apparoist proprement que d'une façon qui est quand on parle...Or est-il qu'en prononçant pluriel, on ne sçauroit discerner s'il y a une l, à la fin ou une r, tellement qu'on ne peut alleguer l'Vsage en cette occasion non plus qu'en plusieurs autres, où l'on est contraint d'auoir recours à l'analogie, comme dit Varron...(470).

If the Remarques are essentially concerned with topics where usage is doubtful, how then can Vaugelas justify appealing to usage in any of his examples? There are two possible interpretations, both of which apparently apply to the Remarques: firstly that the work does not cover only doubtful

usage, and secondly that usage is not the only criterion on which the decisions are based. I shall examine each of these possibilities in turn.

Vaugelas discusses doubtful usage at some length in the Preface and outlines the causes of why usage may be uncertain (Preface IV). The first and, according to Vaugelas, the main cause is when there is uncertainty about the pronunciation of a word; given his theoretical statement of the priority of the spoken word this will necessarily entail that the written form will equally be in doubt. As examples of this he cites Je vous prens tous a tesmoin(s) (see also 563-566), C'est vne des plus belles actions qu'il ayt iamais faite(s) (153-4), en Flandre(s) (391-2), apres soupé(-er) (152) and parallele/parallele (106-108). Under this heading he includes the related case of when there is only a slight difference in the pronunciation of two possible written forms which make it hard to distinguish what the correct form is. However, of 549 observations only about thirty of them (5.5%)²⁵ fall into this category. The solution proposed for resolving such a doubt is unsatisfactory. Having said that if the spoken usage is doubtful, then of necessity the written usage will also be so, Vaugelas adds the following contradictory statement:

...ie respons que si ce doute procede de la prononciation, comme aux premiers exemples que nous auons donnez, il faut necessairement auoir recours aux bons Autheurs, & apprendre de l'orthographe ce que l'on ne peut apprendre de la prononciation...(IV, 3).

25

In the Patru and Corneille edition of the Remarques (1738) the numbering only goes up to 547. This is because Entaché and Inonder are both numbered 530 and De la netteté and Des equiuoques are both numbered 547. My figures are of course only rough guidelines, as the observations, on account of their mixed content, cannot easily be categorized. Divisions are not clear cut and some observations do not seem to fit into any category while others could easily be placed in two different ones. However, I include the figures as a rough guide to the relative importance of the different categories.

Only if this device fails should the opinion of the majority of the authorities be adopted, who will decide the matter on the basis of analogy²⁶.

The second cause of doubtful usage given is that of rarity in discourse, which may, for instance, be the source of uncertainty about the correct gender of a word. This is especially true of words with an initial vowel, for here, because of elision of the vowel of the article, there is no overt mark of the gender of the noun; the examples of this cited in the Preface are epigramme (32), epitaphe (32), epithete (26), epithalme (32) and anagramme (26). It is more difficult to decide which observations are necessitated by the rarity of usage since Vaugelas hardly ever gives this explicitly as a reason. However, at a generous estimate only about 17 (3%) of the observations can be accounted for in this way.

The third cause for doubt named by Vaugelas is 'quand on oyt dire, & qu'on voit escrire vne chose de deux façons, & qu'on ne sçait laquelle est la bonne'; the model given for this is the choice between vesquit and vescut for the past historic of vivre (108-9). Because of the vagueness of the class a substantial number of observations may conceivably be categorized in this way, ranging from the choice of the correct morphological form for a verb (e.g. Je vais, ie va 27), for a noun (compagnée pour compagnie 335-6) or for a preposition (le long, du long, au long 170), to such syntactic questions as the choice between singular or plural verbal agreement in a given construction (Ou la douceur, ou la force le fera 149-150). Under such a broad interpretation, the category then accounts for about one fifth (106) of the Remarques.

The fourth cause of doubtful usage is formulated in equally vague terms by Vaugelas, that is when there is an exception 'aux reigles les plus generales'. The model for this is the case of the agreement in

²⁶ See, for example, Ce qu'il vous plaira (4-5).

I'y ay veu quelque chose qui merite d'estre leu: this is exceptional because quelque chose, unlike chose, is apparently unmarked for gender and agreement is made in the masculine with the sense. A further 30 (5.5%) of the observations might be accounted for in this way.

Fifthly, Vaugelas mentions the case of 'beaucoup de constructions grammaticales, où l'on ne prend pas garde en parlant'. Unfortunately we do not have an example to help us interpret what he has in mind. Perhaps we should include here such topics as the use of the present historic (Narration historique 457-459). However, these are probably very limited in number²⁷.

Taking all these categories into consideration then we have only accounted for just over one-third of the total number of Remarques. Although Vaugelas concludes his discussion of l'Vsage douteux with the vague statement 'Enfin on doute de l'Vsage en beaucoup d'autres façons qui se voyent dans ces Remarques, & qu'il seroit trop long de rapporter dans une Preface', a large number of observations remain which apparently do not treat doubtful usage. What explanations does Vaugelas give for including them in his work, or what can we deduce about the motives for their inclusion?

This question can in part be answered by closer analysis of Vaugelas's concept of good usage. Brunetière's characterisation of Vaugelas's idea of good usage as national, actuel, aristocratique and parlé (Brunetière 1903: 34-47) suggests possible areas of investigation.

The related questions of how far Vaugelas was indeed recording contemporary usage and the extent of his knowledge of the history of the language have been much discussed. Nearly a fifth of the observations record a change in usage, which may entail the demise of a previously favoured form or a judgment on a neologism or a change in the preferred

²⁷ The existence of this category is another indication that spoken and written usage are not always the same for Vaugelas.

form of expression²⁸. Vaugelas is fully aware that usage varies chronologically and he aims to exclude anything out-of-date²⁹. Change in usage is therefore one of the main reasons for the inclusion of an observation by Vaugelas. The majority of observations recording change refer to relatively recent changes in the language, that is, those that have occurred within about the last twenty to twenty-five years. Typical of this category is the observation entitled Soumission, & submission:

Il y a vingt ans qu'on disoit submißion, & non pas soumißion, quoy que l'on dist soumettre, & soumis, & non pas submettre, ny submis; maintenant on dit & on escrit, soumißion, & non pas submißion...(25).

Vaugelas also estimates that the content of his Remarques will remain valid for about two or three decades, although he believes grammatical constructions go out of currency more slowly (Preface X, 1), and argues that the principles guiding the decisions will never change:

Ce sont des maximes à ne changer iamais, & qui pourront servir à la posterité de mesme qu'à ceux qui vivent aujourd'huy, & quand on changera quelque chose de l'Vsage que j'ay remarqué, ce sera encore selon ces mesmes Remarques que l'on parlera & que l'on escrira autrement, pour ce regard, que ces Remarques ne portent. Il sera tousiours vray aussi, que les Reigles que ie donne pour la netteté du langage ou du stile subsisteront, sans iamais recevoir de changement. Outre qu'en la construction Grammaticale les changemens y sont beaucoup moins frequens qu'aux mots & aux phrases (X, 2)³⁰.

If in theory Vaugelas's Remarques aim to record contemporary usage, in practice his decision as to what constitutes contemporary usage may be affected by personal preferences and prejudices. Most of the time he is forced to defer to changes in usage, even if he does so only with regret:

²⁸ Rey (1900: 25-26) suggests that some of these may have been words which had been revived rather than complete neologisms, but maintains that the important thing is that they were considered neologisms by Vaugelas and his contemporaries. For Vaugelas's 'indifference' to the history of the language, see especially Marzys (1970-1). Neologisms are treated in further detail in the section on vocabulary below.

²⁹ See chapter 2, 66.

³⁰ Zygmunt Marzys argues that although there is no longer a Court, good usage has always been based on 'le français cultivé'. Good usage

Partant. Ce mot, qui semble si necessaire dans le raisonnement, & qui est si commode en tant de recontres, commence neantmoins à vieillir, & à n'estre plus gueres bien receu dans le beau stile. Je suis obligé de rendre ce tesmoignage à la verité, apres auoir remarqué plusieurs fois que c'est le sentiment de nos plus purs & plus delicats Escriuains. C'est pourquoy je m'en voudrois abstenir, sans neantmoins condamner ceux qui en vsent (225).

If, however, there is a choice between an older and a newer word which are both in current use, he will always prefer the older word:

...selon cette reigle generale, qu'un mot ancien, qui est encore dans la vigueur de l'Vsage est incomparablement meilleur à escrire, qu'un tout nouveau, qui signifie la mesme chose (334).

Moreover sometimes Vaugelas fails to record current usage accurately because of his excessive deference to the opinions of Du Perron and Coeffeteau, and his reliance on the Ancients and etymological criteria. His outlook then is rather conservative. For instance, Vaugelas defends Coeffeteau's expression s'immoler à la risée publique which many people had criticised (120). Equally, Vaugelas may justify a construction in French on the grounds of its use by the best Latin and Greek authors (see for example Vnir ensemble 158-9). To be sure, he maintains that no conclusion can be reached about the French language from Latin or Greek usage:

Car il n'y a point de consequence à tirer de la phrase d'une langue, à la phrase d'une autre, si l'Vsage ne l'autorise (486).

Yet he quotes a Latin example to confirm a French usage (57) and bases a rule on knowledge of Latin so that those who do not know Latin 'ne peuuent auoit recours qu'à l'Vsage, & à la lecture des bons liures' (Reigle pour discerner l'h, consone d'auec la meutte 199). His dependence on Latin writers in the compilation of his Remarques has been discussed elsewhere³¹. Finally his attitude towards the role of etymology is ambivalent. In theory he denies any authority to etymology; however, one formulation of

³⁰ (continued)

is defined by Maurice Grevisse in Problèmes de langage (1961: 6) in a way which echoes Vaugelas as: 'Le consentement des bons écrivains et des gens qui ont le souci de bien s'exprimer' (1970-1: 114). See also 321-322.

³¹ See chapter 2, 77-82.

this denial suggests that there may be cases where referring to etymology may be valid: 'n'y ayant pas lieu de recourir aux etymologies, lors que l'Vsage est déclaré, comme icy' (553)³². Certainly some decisions do seem to make appeal to etymology:

Il faut dire, fil d'archal, & cet archal prend sa vraye etymologie du mot Latin aurichalcum; Ceux qui ont le genie de l'ethymologie des mots, n'ont garde de douter de celle-cy, elle est trop euidente. C'est pourquoy il y faut vne l, à la fin (401).

Vaugelas even seems to feel that it is necessary to apologize when usage goes counter to etymology; after a long passage justifying why usage must be given precedence over etymology, he concludes:

Outre que les Grecs, ny les scauans, n'ont pas dequoy se plaindre du partage qu'on leur fait en cette rencontre, puis qu'on leur laisse les voyelles & les diphtongues aspirées avec le θ thita, le φ phi, & le ρ, rho, & que nostre langue ne se reserue que le seul χ, chi, pour le prononcer a sa mode (208).

Etymology and reason may be associated in Vaugelas's mind³³. This is not to say of course that Vaugelas's etymologies are always reliable; he apparently does not realise, for instance, that falloir and faillir are derived from the same verb, which may help to explain the confusion between fallu and failli (Peu s'en est fallu 310-1).

Despite these shortcomings in Vaugelas's practice we must nevertheless conclude that his aim was to record l'vsage actuel. However, it must be noted that Vaugelas's concept of the present seems to extend into the future since he believes that the language has attained a state of perfection:

A tout ce que ie viens de dire en faueur de mes Remarques contre le changement de l'Vsage, vn de nos Maistres ajooste encore vne raison, qui ne peut pas venir d'un esprit, ny d'une suffisance vulgaire. Il soustient que quand vne langue

³² Marzys (1970-1: 106) contends that the only domain where etymology is used to decide usage, rather than being appended as an explanation, is that of orthography. However, Vaugelas often recommends that the spelling should be aligned to the pronunciation.

³³ But see below 122.

a nombre & cadence en ses periodes, comme la Françoise l'a maintenant, elle est en sa perfection, & qu'estant venuë à ce point, on en peut donner des reigles certaines, qui dureront tousiours (X, 3)³⁴.

To extend Saussure's analogy of the chessboard (1916: 130), Vaugelas, like Saussure, is not concerned with all the moves the pieces have made to reach their present position, although he may mention the most recent one, but there is in the Remarques a suspicion that a stalemate situation may have been reached from which no other move will be made³⁵. This belief in the perfection of the present is one reason for the apparent contradiction between allowing for change and aiming to produce rules which will last and thereby fix French usage:

Mais il n'est pas question pourtant de gauchir tousjours aux difficultez, il les faut vaincre, & establir vne reigle certaine pour la perfection de nostre langue (83).

The Remarques therefore have a prescriptive as well as a descriptive flavour³⁶. In the observation on recouuert, & recouuré there is a

³⁴ See also the passage in the Preface where he lists other things he could have included: 'N'eust-il pas représenté nostre langue comme en son berceau, ne faisant encore que begayer, & en suite son progrès, & comme ses diuers âges, iusqu'à ce qu'en fin elle est paruenue à ce comble de perfection, où nous la voyons aujourd'huy?' (XV, 3). According to Conrart's key, the reference is to Chapelain (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 5420, Tome II, I partie: 24). See 74-75. This belief in the perfection of French somewhat undermines Vaugelas's statement that the Remarques will only be valid for about twenty-five to thirty years.

³⁵ His feeling of regret at the loss of certain words, especially conjunctions, is somewhat difficult to reconcile with this belief that French has attained a degree of perfection. The former seems to be associated with his predilection for the aristocratic.

³⁶ This is in spite of a statement in one observation (324-5) that it is not his job to find an alternative to an unacceptable word or phrase. Often, although not infallibly, Vaugelas does, however, provide a solution, as indeed he does in the observation denying that this is necessary. For those cases where Vaugelas does not offer a decision, see below 125-126.

suggestion at least that usage can be guided in the desired direction:

A cause de recouuert, force gens disent, recourir, pour recourer, & pensent auoir raison, mais il n'est pas encore establi comme recouuert, & il ne le faut pas souffrir; Car si au commencement, deux ou trois personnes d'autorité se fussent opposées à recouuert, quand il vint à s'introduire à la Cour, on en eust empesché l'vsage, aussi bien que M. de Malherbe l'a empesché de quelques autres mots tres-mauuais, qui commençoient à auoir cours (17).

When we come to assess Vaugelas's motives for making a certain recommendation, we shall see that he was not averse to guiding usage towards greater regularity.

This leads us on to the second question of whether Vaugelas was lacking in a sense of history of the language. This view was first put forward by Ferdinand Brunot and has been repeated by many subsequent critics of Vaugelas³⁷; Brunot maintains that although Vaugelas has read Amyot and cites Du Bellay he knows virtually nothing of the history of French in the preceding centuries. This engenders problems for the grammarian:

Comment fixer les règles sans connaître les tendances de la langue, et par quel moyen démêler ces tendances, si on ne les a observées que pendant le court espace que dure une vie d'homme? Faute de se souvenir de l'histoire, non seulement on explique mal, mais on ne peut guère déterminer l'état exact d'une langue; la notion du changement s'obscurcit, le présent apparaît sinon comme ayant toujours été, du moins comme devant toujours être (Brunot 1909: 54).

Brunot's criticism of Vaugelas led to Brunetière's defence of Vaugelas in which he insists that Vaugelas could not possibly have written an accurate account of the history of the language, since the historical method had not yet been devised and 'N'ayant pas en son temps les moyens de le faire, il a donc bien fait de ne pas le faire' (1903: 32). The number of Remarques devoted to recording a change in or changing usage refute some of the more extreme unqualified statements about Vaugelas's

³⁷ For example, A. Adam (1947: 260); L. Kukenheim (1966: 33); Y. Belaval (1962: 544); M. Rat (1963: 42); A. François (1944: 174); Thabuis (1976: 8).

lack of historical sense³⁸. Moreover Brunetière's position is justified by the fact that where Vaugelas does attempt to give an account of the evolution of a particular item, it is not always successful (e.g. puissamment etc. 444)³⁹. Many of the observations do bear witness to an ignorance of the history of the language, as discussion of individual topics will show, but many, especially those relating to syntax, accurately predict the way the language was to develop⁴⁰.

If Vaugelas's knowledge of Latin is adequate⁴¹ and the recording of the changes in the language during his lifetime is one of the main features of the work, the biggest gap in his knowledge is of the early history of French. Citations from Medieval writers are notably lacking and various assertions, for instance, that the 'e' is elided in words such as grand'mère, à grand'peine (168), are evidence that he had some misconceptions.

To conclude, Vaugelas is fully aware that usage varies chronologically and is at pains to exclude the non-current. This aim is not always pursued in practice and the decisions are at times distorted by a certain ignorance of the history of the language. Nevertheless Vaugelas must not be judged too severely. From comparison with Ménage's work⁴² we see that Vaugelas

³⁸ See Galliot 1948: 86; J-P Caput 1972: 260.

³⁹ He occasionally also attempts to establish usage at a time when certain developments were not completed, thereby creating complicated rules and exceptions. One example of this is the case of the pronunciation of words spelt with 'OU' (98-101).

⁴⁰ See Marzys 1970-1: 111 and chapter 5.

⁴¹ See Introduction, footnote 17. Note also that Mugnier (1902: 299) describes Antoine Favre, who supervised part of Vaugelas's education personally, as a 'bon latiniste'.

⁴² Ménage's observations are full of etymologies and references to other authors and grammarians, making his prose rather heavy and difficult to read. For a comparison of the approach of the two men contrast Vaugelas's observation on Deuouloir and especially his treatment of desarmer 490-1 with Ménage's criticism of it (Ménage 1672: 85). See also 293-295.

resisted to a large extent the temptation to overload his observations with pedantic comments on the history or etymology of a word, and, given both his slight knowledge of the Medieval period and lack of the historical method, it is just as well that he pays little or no attention to the past. As for the future, Vaugelas wants to establish laws to prevent French from corruption, but he fully recognizes that language has to evolve. His modern attitude in supporting a contemporary and flexible norm for good usage contrasts with that of certain eighteenth century Purists who rather favoured a fixed norm based on the written usage of the previous century⁴³.

If one reason for inclusion of some of the observations in the Remarques is to record chronological variation in usage, another is to exclude specifically regional or even foreign expressions; Vaugelas then was well aware of regional variation in usage. A relatively small number of the Remarques explicitly exclude the regional or foreign (15: 3%) - which is what we would expect given the purpose of the work and its intended audience. An example of one such observation is that devoted to discussion of Accueillir:

Il y a quelques endroits en France, particulièrement le long de la riuiere de la Loire, où l'on vse de cette façon de parler. Mais elle n'est pas si ordinaire à la Cour (332).

Such observations may provide useful information about localised pronunciations in the seventeenth century. Criticising the pronunciation 'ajetter' for acheter, Vaugelas writes:

...Ce defect est particulier à Paris, c'est pourquoy ce sera leur rendre vn bon office que de les en aduertir (318-9)⁴⁴.

⁴³ See for instance D'Olivet 1767: 247 and Voltaire 1878: 552, 541. Although Vaugelas supported a flexible contemporary spoken norm for good usage, many of his 18th century successors did rely on his authority and therefore his observations did in practice influence and help to fix French usage. See chapter 7, section IV.

⁴⁴ This pronunciation is also said to be peculiar to 'plusieurs hommes dans la chaire, & dans le barreau'. Unfortunately, because of the rou h and ready transcription used by Vaugelas approximating to the

The paucity of discussion of Italian influence confirms that this was minimal in Court circles by Vaugelas's time. Since he obviously does not feel that the language is threatened by the invasion of Italian loanwords, he is prepared to accept a limited number of them⁴⁵.

Thirdly, Vaugelas recognizes that usage varies socially. As Brunetière maintains, Vaugelas strongly favours an aristocratic usage, that associated with the upper echelon of society. Some observations in the Remarques therefore reject terms considered bas from good usage:

Car il ne faut pas oublier cette maxime, que jamais les honnestes gens ne doiuent en parlant vser d'vn mot bas, ou d'une phrase basse, si ce n'est en raillerie;... (123).

Apart from the observations that totally outlaw terms considered bas (16: 3%), many others are concerned with placing a word within a relatively loose scale of values. I shall leave further discussion of this to the section concerned with Vaugelas's use of terminology and specifically to that on the propriété des mots & des phrases (144-7).

The problematic nature of Brunetière's characterisation of the usage favoured by Vaugelas as usage parlé has been examined in the chapter on the Arsenal manuscript and in Ayres 1983: 25-27. The hypothesis that the Remarques were originally intended to discuss written usage and especially that of certain selected authors such as Malherbe is further substantiated by looking at the reasons for the inclusion of the observations; apparently one of the main ones is that an author Vaugelas respects has used a certain word or expression that conflicts with his observation of usage (48: 9%) or because he considers an error has been committed by some of the best authors (26) or at least by an unspecified group of authors (7: Total 6%)⁴⁶.

44 (continued)

pronunciation, it is not clear what sound exactly he has in mind ([a]ʒte] for [a]te] or [a]ʒte]?).

45 For his attitude to borrowing, see 177-8.

46 These may, of course, also be ones which record a change in usage etc.

Vaugelas includes these observations in order to prevent his readers imitating a particular expression of these authors, who are usually reliable models. This is the purpose, for instance, of the observation dealing with the use of succeder with the auxiliary être instead of avoir:

Neantmoins vn de nos plus celebres Autheurs⁴⁷ a escrit dans le meilleur de ses ouurages, deux combats qui luy estoient glorieusement succedez. C'est ce qui a donné lieu à cette Remarque, parce que ie ne crois pas que cette façon de parler soit à imiter (*468).

Apart from the observations which discuss doubtful usage a large number are therefore included which illustrate the complexity of the notion of usage and exclude those areas of usage which Vaugelas considers unacceptable on the basis of historical, geographical, social, and register variation. Vaugelas understands better than most the complex nature of the concept of usage, as is witnessed by his long and painstaking efforts to define it in the Preface.

Other reasons for including the observations in the text are varied. Some, for example, are methodological or definitional (e.g. 567-8), some establish a rule (198-201), while others claim to rectify a common mistake or champion a word or expression which Vaugelas believes has been unjustifiably condemned (307-8). In some cases no explanation is offered at all for their inclusion. For example, we can only assume that Vaugelas believes that some people are using il as a pronoun referent with quiconque:

Quand on a dit, quiconque, il ne faut pas dire, il, apres, quelque distance qu'il y ayt entre-deux, par exemple quiconque veut viure en homme de bien & se rendre heureux en ce monde & en l'autre, doit, &c. & non pas il doit (328).

It is difficult to determine how representative the subjects discussed in the Remarques are of questions on which usage was uncertain.

⁴⁷ Arsenal MS. 86^v Malherbe.

Vaugelas himself is convinced that he is being fully comprehensive:

...il est certain qu'il ne se peut gueres proposer de doute, de difficulté, ou de question soit pour les mots, ou pour les phrases, ou pour la syntaxe, dont la decision ne soit fidellement rapportée dans ces Remarques (Preface III, 1).

He also argues that all the topics he is including are genuine problems:

Mais aussi il ne faut pas croire que ie me forge des fantosmes pour les combattre, ie ne reprens pas vne seule faute qui ne se trouue pas dans vn bon Escriptain...(Preface XIV, 3).

Both of these claims can be disputed; there are some glaring omissions such as the absence of discussion of the use of tenses or the pronunciation of final consonants⁴⁸. Lagane (1975: 15-16) has suggested that many of the uses criticised were only peripheral and non-representative and that, for example, words and phrases which Vaugelas confidently says were never used by Coeffeteau can be found in his works⁴⁹. The choice of subject-matter is, however, very enlightening about what were the burning issues of the day in the view of someone who had long associated with the Court, the salons and the French Academy. Yet his estimation of what constituted vsage douteux is not always reliable.

If there is a discrepancy between Vaugelas's theory and practice in that not all of the observations deal with questions of doubtful usage, equally, as has been suggested, usage is not Vaugelas's sole authority for his decisions. Vaugelas himself recommends that where spoken usage is doubtful and written usage is no guide, authorities on the language should base their decision on analogy (Preface IV, 4). Thus 'reason' in the form of grammatical regularity or patterning is introduced into the Remarques. Vaugelas, however, maintains the semblance of reliance on usage, even when

48 Examples are given in chapters 4 and 5.

49 For some of the discrepancies between Coeffeteau's usage and Vaugelas's, see Urbain 1893.

basing his decisions on analogy, by defining analogy, at least in the Preface, as a type of usage. Whereas for the Greeks analogy was opposed to anomaly (or usage), in the Remarques it is subsumed under usage:

Cette Analogie n'est autre chose en matieres de langues, qu'un Vsage general & estably que l'on veut appliquer en cas pareils à certains mots, ou à certaines phrases, ou à certaines constructions, qui n'ont point encore leur vsage déclaré, & par ce moyen on iuge quel doit estre ou quel est l'vsage particulier, par la raison & par l'exemple de l'Vsage general; ou bien l'Analogie n'est autre chose qu'un vsage particulier, qu'en cas pareil on infere d'un Vsage general qui est desia estably; ou bien encore, c'est vne ressemblance ou vne conformité qui se trouue aux choses desia establies, sur laquelle on se fonde comme sur vn patron, & sur vn modelle pour en faire d'autres toutes semblables (Preface IV, 4)⁵⁰.

One of the main reasons why Hillman places Vaugelas firmly in the camp of the rationalists is that Hillman focuses on the role of analogy in the Remarques and considers the importance of analogy in Vaugelas's work as proof of Vaugelas's participation in the 'cult of reason' (1976: 218). However, Vaugelas himself and many of the critics following him have associated analogy with usage. Both then admit a significant role for analogy, but categorizing it in a different way, have stressed either reason or usage. Alexis François (1959: I: 323) notes the ambiguous status of analogy: 'Voilà donc sous couvert d'analogie la raison pénétrant dans la grammaire'. Vaugelas's view of analogy as a type of usage engenders

⁵⁰ See also: '...De tout ce discours il s'ensuit que nostre langue n'est fondée que sur l'Vsage ou sur l'Analogie, laquelle encore n'est distinguée de l'Vsage, que comme la copie ou l'image est de l'original, ou du patron sur lequel elle est formée, tellement qu'on peut trancher le mot, & dire que nostre langue n'est fondée que sur le seul Vsage ou desia reconnû, ou qu'on peut reconnoistre par les choses qui sont connues, ce qu'on appelle Analogie' (V, 1). Note, however, that Vaugelas is not completely consistent in aligning usage and analogy. In the remarque entitled Jours caniculaires, the two seem rather to be opposed: 'Mais quand le mot caniculier, auroit toute l'analogie pour luy, caniculaire, ayant l'Vsage pour soy doit preualoir, parce que l'analogie n'a lieu que là où l'Vsage l'autorise, ou bien où il ne paroist pas' (361).

difficulties. Steinthal, discussing Quintilian's view of analogy (1891: 156), stresses the problem. If analogy is merely an 'Erzeugnis der Consuetudo' then it can only rely on examples. If this is the case it cannot be taken for a rule, or a 'Correctivmittel', but only as a fact based on observation. Thus, Steinthal argues, in becoming a type of usage, analogy sacrifices its very essence:

...da war sie selbst schon wesentlich Anomalie, ruhiges Beobachten und Aufnehmen des vorliegenden, gegebenen Stoffes, observatio; nicht mehr stolze Herrscherin der Sprache, nicht Gesetzgeberin, nicht einmal mehr Richterin: denn selbst die zweifelhaften Fälle dürfen nur observiert werden; entscheiden kann nur die, von der jene auch selbst erst erzeugt sind, die Consuetudo:...

It is perhaps because of the prolematic nature of analogy that it is not invoked in a very large number of cases of doubtful usage⁵¹. Moreover there seems to have been confusion between two types of analogy, that based on internal logic or raison and that based on surface morphological forms. Vaugelas's conception of analogy largely relies on the regularity of morphological rules, not on logical rules. An example of an observation where he bases his decision on analogy is that devoted to fuir:

En ces matieres l'analogie est vn argument inuincible, dont les plus grands hommes d'antiquité se sont seruis toutes les fois que l'Vsage n'auoit pas décidé quelque chose dans leur langue (453).

Vaugelas predicts that the neologism deuouloir will become established in good usage because of the analogy of other pairs of verbs such as tromper, detromper; mesler, demesler; faire, deffaire; croistre, decroistre; habiller, deshabiller (490-2); this is based on the morphophonemic identification of one element with another⁵².

⁵¹ For discussion of the influence of Quintilian on Vaugelas see 77-80. Analogy is only used explicitly in a handful of observations to resolve an uncertainty, although undoubtedly it contributed to other decisions.

⁵² The acceptance of new words is however regulated by a social filter. For further discussion of neologisms, see 172-8.

Unfortunately Vaugelas himself seems to have been confused about the nature of analogy. Analogy is associated with 'reason' for him in the sense that it suggests that the language is regular, that it behaves in a systematic way. However, he chooses to stress the fact that the bases for making analogical decisions must be established by usage. Yet whereas in the theoretical statements of the Preface he reduces analogy to a form of usage, in the text when he appeals to analogy in cases of doubtful usage, he asserts that he is relying on reason:

Car il faut considerer, qu'encore que l'Vsage soit le maistre des langues, il y a neantmoins beaucoup de choses où il ne s'est pas bien déclaré, comme nous l'auons fait voir en la Preface, par plusieurs exemples, qui ne peuuent estre contredits. Alors il faut necessairement recourir à la Raison, qui vient au secours de l'Vsage (454-455).

This discussion of analogy has hinted at the problematic nature of the notion of la raison. Part of the disagreement about the role of reason in the Remarques has been caused by different interpretations of what reason is and divergence as to what emphasis to place on different references. Clarifying exactly what is meant by raison may resolve many of the apparent differences of evaluation by the critics.

A major problem is that the term raison has more than one meaning both in Vaugelas's work and in the assessments of various critics⁵³. When we think of la raison in connection with seventeenth century French grammar, we generally think of the meaning 'rational', that is, analogical to the structure of the human mind, as represented by the work of the Port-Royal grammarians:

L'idée maîtresse de la Grammaire generale et raisonnée, c'est que, le langage étant fondé sur la pensée, les modalités du langage sont également celles de la pensée (Kukenheim 1966: 35).

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See the definitions given in the Academy dictionary of 1694. For instance: RAISON 'Puissance de l'ame, par laquelle l'homme discourt, & est distingué des bestes;...se prend aussi quelquefois pour le bon sens, le droit usage de la raison;...Signifie aussi, Sujet, cause, motif' (369). Also Pascal's famous paradox with play on the word raison(s) from the Pensées (1963: 552): 'le coeur a ses raisons que la raison ne connaît point..' (Pensée 423).

Vaugelas likewise seems to express the belief that language mirrors thought 'les paroles estant les images des pensées' (*494), an idea which is articulated more than once in the Remarques:

...la parole qui se prononce, est la premiere en order & en dignité, puis que celle qui est escrite n'est que son image, comme l'autre est l'image de la pensée (Preface II, 5).

Not only does language mirror thought, but via thought, it ultimately mirrors the world:

la parole n'est pas seulement vne image de la pensée, mais de la chose mesme que nous voulons représenter,...(160).

He is therefore interested in how far natural language is a suitable vehicle for thinking, and, unlike his contemporaries in England, seems to believe that, used properly, it is quite adequate⁵⁴. However, Vaugelas does not draw the same conclusions from this as Port-Royal (see the second part of the quotation from Kukenheim above). In Vaugelas's eyes the relationship between the signifiant and the signifié, is an arbitrary one, based on convention. As an instance of language acting 'sans raison', Vaugelas gives in the Preface the case of the first person imperfect indicative active of aimer being i'aimois, which, he says, could equally well be i'aimeroy:

Non pas que ie veuille dire que cette variation se soit faite sans raison, puis qu'elle marque la diuersité des temps & des personnes qui est necessaire à la clarté de l'expression, mais parce qu'elle se varie plustost d'une façon que d'autre par la seule fantaisie des premiers hommes qui ont fondé la langue (Preface V, 3).

Language is conventional and composed of arbitrary signs which are subject to change. This is perhaps why Vaugelas, like Saussure, relies on a certain

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Vaugelas's view is therefore essentially Platonic. Contemporary English writers such as Bacon were concerned with the apparent inadequacy of their language to express ideas, and John Wilkins and other language planners therefore proposed universal languages which would not have the problems of natural language. See Padley 1976: 184-209.

patterning in language⁵⁵. When Vaugelas argues that more things in language operate par raison, he supports this by pointing to the general regularity of grammatical constructions (Preface V, 3). Vaugelas then adopts a thoroughly acceptable stance: we would not expect language to operate par raison in the case, for example, of nominal gender in French, for, there being only two genders marked, inanimate objects will of necessity be divided in an arbitrary way between these categories. On the other hand, a belief in grammatical regularity is necessary for suggestions about the way language works to be made. The difference between Vaugelas and Port-Royal is summarised well by Donzé; comparing Vaugelas's attitude with that of Port-Royal, he concludes:

Il pense apparemment que sa régularité vient plutôt d'une certaine ressemblance, ou approximation, ou analogie entre les formes que d'un accord fondamental entre la parole et la pensée (1967: 38).

When Vaugelas comes to a decision, it is based rather on the rule-governed nature of language behaviour and on a common sense attitude to the way language functions which perhaps ultimately relies on convention. The meaning of 'in accordance with common sense, good sense' was another familiar meaning for raisonnable in the seventeenth century and appears to be the one favoured by Vaugelas:

...selon l'ordre de la Grammaire & du sens common sur qui la grammaire est fondée (307).

Vaugelas's desire for clarity and the avoidance wherever possible of ambiguity is another reason given by Hillman for associating him with the 'cult of reason'. It is true that this is symptomatic of the dependence on logic associated with the rationalists, but in Vaugelas's case

⁵⁵ For Saussure, because the signs of language are arbitrary, they can only be understood by their place in the system and the syntagmatic and associative relationships into which they enter: 'La linguistique synchronique s'occupera des rapports logiques et psychologiques reliant des termes coexistants et formant système, tels qu'ils sont aperçus par la même conscience collective' (1916: 144).

the theoretical underpinning is not the same. Rather than arguing that language must be logical because it is based on human reason, he insists above all on clarity because he believes that the purpose of language is quick and easy communication. Since the signs of language are arbitrary, members of one community must use the same signs in the same way and must order them in such a way that they are unambiguously interpreted⁵⁶. This means that some of the rules propounded by Vaugelas and the rationalists may be the same, but the reasons why they formulate them are different⁵⁷. Avoidance of grammatical ambiguity for instance dictates the correct positioning of terms of address in a letter or speech (544-559). In general, lexical ambiguity is not considered a sufficient reason for rejecting a word, polysemy being a common feature of language (85)⁵⁸.

To sum up, a belief in the basic regularity of a language, a reliance on common sense and a desire for quick and easy communication determine in large part the manifestations of 'reason' in the Remarques. Clearly Vaugelas does not depend totally on usage, as the following discussion will further show, but he cannot be fully aligned with the 'cult of reason' as Hillman argues, because he does not share the philosophical convictions of its representatives, nor does he appeal to reason to nearly the same extent.

Moreover the most common use of raison in the Remarques and especially in the expression avecque raison is with the meaning 'having an explanation'. Explanations⁵⁹ are offered for about one third of the recommendations,

⁵⁶ See, for instance, Des equivoques 585-591.

⁵⁷ Cf. Mornet 1929: 315.

⁵⁸ For a discussion of lexical ambiguity see 167-8.

⁵⁹ This figure excludes of course the 'explanation' that the expression is in accordance with good usage, or that a term has changed its meaning or use, or statements about the propriété of a word.

whether they are in accord with grammatical regularity or not, and cover a wide range of types of explanation, linguistic and non-linguistic, including such explanations as appealing to etymology, which one might normally oppose to the rational. Vaugelas is delighted if he can find a reason to support usage:

La curiosité ne sera pas peut-estre desagreable, de sçauoir d'où peut proceder cela; car bien qu'il soit vray qu'il n'y a rien de si bizarre que l'Vsage qui est le maistre des langues viuantes; si est-ce qu'il ne laisse pas de faire beaucoup de choses avec raison, & où il n'y a point de raison comme icy, il y a quelque plaisir d'en chercher la conjecture (2).

However, he claims that this is only of secondary importance⁶⁰; using Chapelain's parallel (MS fo. 3^r), he says that Usage is like Faith:

...qui nous oblige à croire simplement & aueuglément, sans que nostre raison y apporte sa lumiere naturelle; mais que neantmoins nous ne laissons pas de raisonner sur cette mesme foy, & de trouuer de la raison aux choses qui sont par dessus la raison (Preface V, 2).

What Vaugelas apparently objects to most strongly is adjusting established usage to conform with reason in the form, for instance, of grammatical regularity, that is, distorting the language to make it seem more logical than it is:

D'où il s'ensuit encore que ceux là se trompent lourdement, & pechent contre le premier principe des langues, qui veulent raisonner sur la nostre, & qui condamnent beaucoup de façons de parler generalement receuës, parce qu'elles sont contre la raison; car la raison n'y est point du tout considerée, il n'y a que l'Vsage & l'Analogie...(V, 2).

This is not to say, of course, that he himself is not guilty of falling into this trap. In the observation La, pour le (27-29) Vaugelas seems to

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Cf. Rickard 1981: 13-14: 'Now, it is interesting to note that in spite of the primacy of usage, and in spite of the clear majority of articles argued purely in terms of usage, Vaugelas very frequently rationalizes, or discusses the rationalizations of others, for although he does not allow such arguments to take precedence over the fact of usage or non-usage, he is clearly interested in possible reasons for or against. After all, he had initially claimed that usage is, at least some of the time, in conformity with reason, and so he seizes every opportunity of demonstrating this; moreover, when usage runs counter to reason, he sometimes says so'. Rickard's figures are slightly different from mine because he includes explanations offered by others which Vaugelas rejects.

favour 'reason' over 'usage' and he is highly critical of the expression faire piece not only because of the meaning attributed to piece in this context but also because it violates a grammatical rule (318). Nevertheless on many occasions he praises an expression which has become established in good usage against reason or grammatical regularity. One such case is the use of the plural number of être after the pronoun ce⁶¹:

Cette petite particule a vne merueilleuse grace en cet endroit, quoy qu'elle semble choquer la Grammaire en l'vn de ses premiers preceptes, qui est que le nominatif singulier regit le singulier du verbe, & non pas le pluriel, & neantmoins icy on luy fait regir le pluriel en disant ce furent Alexandre, Cesar, &c. Sur quoy il est à remarquer, que toutes les façons de parler, que l'Vsage a establies contre les reigles de la Grammaire, tant s'en faut qu'elles soient vicieuses, ni qu'il les faille euitier, qu'au contraire on en doit estre curieux comme d'un ornement de langage, qui se trouue en toutes les plus belles langues, mortes & viuantes (305).

These expressions, however, are valued because they are confirmed by usage and because they are set against a basically regular system.

Let us look at some of the reasons or explanations offered in the Remarques for usage acting according to Vaugelas's recommendations. Apart from that of analogy or grammatical regularity, one of the principal reasons given is that the recommended form is doux⁶² and avoids any unpleasant or cacophonous combination of sounds. For instance:

Il faut dire, menez y moy, & non pas, menez m'y, & au singulier aussi, menes-y-moy, & non pas mene-m'y. Et cela a cause du mauuais & ridicule son que fait, menez-m'y, & mene-m'y, car on dit bien, menez-nous y, qui est la mesme construction & le mesme ordre des paroles, & menez-les y aussi; parce que la cacophonie ne s'y rencontre pas si grande, qu'aux deux autres (95).

The irrationality of this explanation is obvious; as Vaugelas himself points out, euphony is a highly subjective criterion and one entirely dependent on usage (52).

⁶¹ See also Qu'ainsi ne soit 557-8; Perdre le respect à quelqu'un *462-3; Vne partie du pain mangé 374-5 etc.

⁶² See the discussion of douceur, 148.

Etymology is also occasionally quoted as a reason for usage behaving as it does, although clearly it has nothing to do with the traditional meaning of rational in the sense of conforming to logic⁶³:

On demande lequel des deux il faut fire, la contre-pointe, ou la courte-pointe d'un lit, qui est proprement vne couuerture piquée. Il est certain qu'au commencement on a dit la contre-pointe, à cause des points d'aiguille dont ces sortes de couuertures sont piquées dessus & dessous, ou dedans & dehors, comme qui diroit point contre point, ou pointe contre pointe. Mais depuis par corruption & par abus on a dit, courte-pointe, CONTRE TOUTE SORTE DE RAISON⁶⁴, & l'Vsage l'a ainsi établi, & en est demeuré le maistre (404).

Semantic reasons may be adduced both for language behaving in a way one would expect (for instance, having two different forms for two different meanings as in the case of the construction of approcher 155-156) and for the irregular. One would expect the agreement to be made in the feminine in the sentence il n'y a sorte de soin qu'il n'ayt pris, in accordance with the gender of sorte. However, it is established usage to make the agreement in the masculine, thereby violating a grammatical rule of the language, because 'on regarde plustost le sens que la parole' (*484). The 'synonym rule' judged to be a rule founded on reason and appealed to on several occasions in the Remarques⁶⁵ is certainly based on semantic concerns. Language here reflects the semantic segmentation:

Au reste cette Reigle n'est pas vn simple caprice de l'Vsage, elle est toute fondee en raison; car la raison veut que des choses qui sont de mesme nature, ou fort semblables, ne soient point trop separees, & qu'on les laisse demeurer ensemble; Comme au contraire elle veut que l'on separe celles qui sont opposees, & tout à fait differentes, & que l'article, ou la preposition soit comme vne barriere entre-deux (218).

This and the classic example in the Remarques of usage acting 'auecque raison' in Vaugelas's opinion, which is the observation which deals with

⁶³ This is also rejected as a reason, for example, in the observation on Parallele (106).

⁶⁴ My emphasis.

⁶⁵ For example, 219, *477-480, 519-520. The need to repeat the article or not is therefore language specific and based on real world reasons: the difference depends on whether the two conjoined nouns are viewed as one unit or as two. See also 220.

the prohibition of the use of the relative pronoun after a noun without an article, illustrate the possible ambiguity of the expression 'auecque raison' between the meanings 'rational' in the sense of 'based on logico-semantic criteria' and 'having an explanation'. As well as 'reason' being associated in Vaugelas's mind with rule-governed behaviour then, it is also used at times in connection with a purely semantic point. I think that the passage explaining why a relative clause may not depend on an indefinite head noun is worth quoting at length. This discussion of the difference between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses could have been related to logic; Vaugelas, however, is not concerned with logic and presents the observation in semantic terms:

Que si l'on auoit la curiosité de demander pourquoy le nom, qui n'a point d'article, ou qui n'en a qu'un indefini, ne peut auoir apres soy un pronom relatif, on pourroit se deffaire de cette question par la response commune, que l'Usage le veut ainsi. Ce ne seroit pas mal respondu, mais quoy que l'Usage face tout en matiere de langue, & qu'il face beaucoup de choses sans raison, & mesme contre la raison, comme nous sommes obligez de dire souuent, si est-ce qu'il en fait beaucoup plus encore auecque raison, & il me semble que celle-cy est du nombre, bien que la raison en soit assez cachée. Je crois pour moy, que c'est à cause que le pronom relatif s'appellant ainsi pour la relation ou le rapport qu'il y a à quelque chose qui a esté nommée, il faut que les deux, & le nom & le pronom soient de mesme nature, & ayent une correspondance reciproque, qui face que l'un se puisse rapporter à l'autre. Or est-il que cela ne peut arriuer entre deux termes, dont l'un est tousjours defini, qui est le pronom relatif, & l'autre indefini, qui est le nom sans article, ou sans un article defini...Je ne sçay si je me seray fait entendre, ou quand on m'entendra, si l'on sera satisfait de ce petit raisonnement, & s'il ne sera point trouué trop subtil, & trop metaphysique; mais l'exemple du grand Scaliger, qui a fait de si beaux raisonnemens sur la Grammaire Latine, m'a donné en la nostre cette hardiesse, que le Lecteur prendra s'il luy plaist en bonne part (387-8)⁶⁶

The secondary importance of the reasoning in Vaugelas's eyes is evidenced by the almost anecdotal tone adopted and the apologetic note at the end. Starting from the common sense premise that like should go with like,

⁶⁶ Cf. Arnauld & Lancelot 1660: 75-83.

Vaugelas reasons that since the relative pronoun is by nature fixed and definite, then its antecedent must also be so, and this is achieved by placing the definite article before the head noun⁶⁷. Language is therefore acting quite reasonably here.

Other reasons given are wide-ranging. They may be linguistic, for example, that the grammatical person of the pronoun subject and verb must agree ('Cette raison semble conuaincante..' 88-9), that the present participle is formed from the first person present indicative of that verb (61), or that it is the nature of the part of speech to behave in such a way (Quelque 4). Ellipsis may be invoked to explain a construction in a way very similar to that employed by Sanctius and later Port-Royal (75-6)⁶⁸. The reason may be purely stylistic, for a form may be supported in certain contexts because it is emphatic (321) or condemned because it is pleonastic (*488-9). A word or phrase may be such because it has been contaminated by or crossed with another (Heros 2). The reasons may be non-linguistic and highly subjective such as that the masculine gender is 'le plus noble' (83), irrational such as that which caused the demise of poitrine or face (60), which Vaugelas nevertheless feels must be respected, or purely social in that a sense of delicacy militates against the acceptability of an expression in good usage (Vomir des injures 127-8). Sometimes Vaugelas rejects the reasons put forward by others as in the case of decouuerte (487-8) and sometimes he suggests that there may well be a reason for the conditions on a rule, but that he simply has not found it yet (*460). Sometimes more than one reason is put forward.(e.g. Mais mesmes 22-23). These may all be accepted or they may be arranged into a hierarchy of importance.

⁶⁷ Since Vaugelas believes that language reflects reality and that anything marked by a definite article has a single reference then la raison must refer to something. Vaugelas is therefore misled by his analysis of the language into wanting to make la raison refer to something, not seeing that the definite article can be used with all common nouns in French.

⁶⁸ See Padley 1976: 102-3.

We can conclude that a wide variety of 'reasons' are adduced for language behaving in the way it does. The term raison is used in so many different ways, even with the vague meaning of 'with justification' (143), that it is not possible merely to count the number of times the word raison appears in the Remarques and, because of the size of the number, conclude that Vaugelas must be a rationalist (in any case, as Aarsleff points out, the simple dichotomy between rationalists and empiricists as applied to the seventeenth century is unfounded (1982: 9)). As we have mentioned, Vaugelas adopts a middle-of-the-road position in accepting the regularity of most grammatical constructions, but viewing the nature of the linguistic sign as being 'sans raison' or arbitrary and certain exceptional expressions confirmed by usage as 'contre raison'. This, however, is largely based on common sense rather than on philosophical speculation about the workings of the mind. Arnauld too (1777: 454) has to allow a place in his system for established usage. The difference then between Vaugelas and Port-Royal lies largely in the number of explanations offered, dictated in large part by the avowed purpose and intended audience for the works and by their different philosophical underpinnings. W. Keith Percival (1976: 38) comes to a similar conclusion in his appreciation of the authors of the Port-Royal grammar: like Vaugelas they considered that certain phenomena have a raison d'être, while others are difficult or impossible to explain. However, not only do Arnauld and Lancelot differ from Vaugelas in the number and type of explanations they offer; they also had an explicit general theory and were attempting to produce a general grammar:

In other words they were not academicians laying down the rules of good usage of one language, but universal grammarians attempting to account for as much of usage as they could in all the languages they were familiar with.

In about two-thirds of the Remarques no explanation is offered at all.

In some cases this is regrettable, especially as at times we feel that it is Vaugelas's own personal opinion which is being expressed⁶⁹. Arguing that it is preferable to employ two substantives of different genders when they are co-ordinated because the change of gender of the article is pleasing, Vaugelas adds:

Je ne doute point que plusieurs ne dient, que c'est vn trop grand raffinement, à quoy il ne se faut point amuser; Aussi ie ne blasme point ceux qui n'en vseront pas, mais ie suis certain que quiconque suiura cet auis plaira dauantage, & fera vne de ces choses dont se forme la douceur du stile, & qui charme le Lecteur, ou l'Auditeur sans qu'il sçache d'où cela vient (473*).

If, however, we assume that the other observations do faithfully for the most part record good usage⁷⁰, we may rather view the lack of explanations in the Remarques as stemming from a realisation on Vaugelas's part of his limitations (given the uneven quality of the explanations offered and the general lack of a satisfactory theory of language)⁷¹. Vaugelas has been criticised for making incorrect generalisations from insufficient data (for example by Raible 1980: 205), but in general he tries to describe the characteristics and peculiarities of French. Just as sometimes the attempt to find reasons and make language more rational

⁶⁹ See also 101-2; *457-8; 500-1. Once again theory and practice are at odds. In the Preface (XIII, 4) Vaugelas denies that he is doing anything but recording good usage: '...& que d'ailleurs ie serois coupable d'une lasche imposture enuers le public, de vouloir faire passer mes opinions particulieres, si i'en auois, au lieu des opinions generales & receuës aux trois tribunaux que ie viens de nommer'.

⁷⁰ For a discussion of the accuracy of Vaugelas's observations, see below 131-3.

⁷¹ Cf. Stéfanini 1959: 166-7: 'Vaugelas à une époque où l'on ne pouvait songer à une explication scientifique de la langue a eu précisément le mérite de n'y point songer, de ne pas la chercher dans les langues anciennes ou dans la logique'. This is of course only completely true for his theory, not his practice.

distorted grammarians' view of the language, so in trying to establish 'general' principles about language, people tended to overlook the individual features of a language. Vaugelas rather wants to stress the peculiarities of different languages, arguing, at least in theory, that no conclusion can be drawn about one language by looking at another⁷². Both Vaugelas and the writers of the Port-Royal were familiar with similar languages, but Vaugelas tended to emphasise their differences, and Arnauld and Lancelot their similarities.

The term 'reason' then is used by Vaugelas in different ways. It may refer to rule-governed behaviour, to semantic questions, or to the problem of whether natural language is a suitable vehicle for thought. Hillman was clearly quite unjustified in considering Vaugelas a rationalist.

This leads on to discussion of the related term of reigle. How much did Vaugelas establish rules and what was his view of them? Hillman seems to believe that Vaugelas's desire to establish rules for the language sets him firmly in the 'cult of reason'⁷³, but objections can be raised to this conclusion. Firstly rules are not necessarily associated with reason by Vaugelas although in many cases an explanation for the rule is offered:

Car encore que ce soient en effet des Lois d'un Souuerain,
qui est l'Vsage, si est-ce qu'outre l'auersion que i'ay à ces
titres ambitieux, j'ay deu esloigner de moy tout soupçon de
vouloir establir ce que ie ne fais que rapporter (Preface I).

Secondly the observations are expressed in very different ways: some are given as rules which have no exceptions, some as preferences, and in some cases the recommendation is not clear or no decision is made at all.

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Remarques 486: 'Car il n'y a point de consequence à tirer de la phrase d'une langue, à la phrase d'une autre, si l'Vsage ne l'autorise'.

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As an illustration of the widely differing views held by various writers on Vaugelas, contrast the following statement to the opposite effect made by Brunetière: 'Vaugelas n'a point posé ni proposé des lois; il a exprimé ses opinions, il a consulté des faits, et il a donné des conseils' (1903: 52).

In a relatively small number of observations, the recommendation is expressed very definitely as a rule (with or without exceptions). One case of Vaugelas giving a rule which has no exceptions is the observation entitled Le pronom relatif LE, deuant deux verbes, qui le regissent. This seems to have very little to do with recording usage; rather Vaugelas appears to be establishing a rule 'pour la perfection de nostre langue' (83):

Par exemple enuoyez moy ce liure pour le reuoir & augmenter. C'est ainsi que plusieurs personnes escriuent, ie dis mesme des Autheurs renommez; Mais ce n'est point escrire purement, il faut dire pour le reuoir & l'augmenter, & repeter le pronom le, necessairement; & cela est tellement vray, que quand mesme les deux verbes seroient synonymes, il ne faudroit pas laisser de le repeter comme, pour l'aimer & le cherir, & non pas pour l'aimer & cherir. Cette Reigle ne souffre point d'exception (495)⁷⁴.

Vaugelas devises his own rule for the correct construction after the verb aimer mieux, based on his own observations:

En quoy consiste donc cette difference, & n'y a-t-il point de reigle pour sçauoir quand il faut mettre le de, ou de ne le mettre pas? Je n'en ay iamais oüy dire aucune... Je voudrois donc establir cette Reigle generale sans exception, que toutes les fois que le second infinitif est esloigné du premier, il faut mettre le de, apres le que, & dire que de, & quand il n'y a rien entre les deux infinitifs que le que, qu'il n'y faut point mettre de, comme en l'exemple allegué i'aime mieux mourir que changer (530).

The argumentation in the remarque establishing the rule that 'Tout nom qui n'a point d'article, ne peut auoir apres soy vn pronom relatif, qui se rapporte à ce nom-là' (386) shows Vaugelas at pains to establish an absolute rule. He mentions that the vocative might be considered an exception to this rule, but dismisses it on the grounds that

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This of course is another problem engendered by the vagueness of 'la plus saine partie'. Here he rejects majority usage, while in Parce que & pource que (47-8) he supports the more commonly used expression: 'Car i'oserois asseurer que pour vne personne qui dira ou escrira pource que, il y en a mille qui diront & escriront l'autre'.

here the article 'o' is understood (387)⁷⁵. Such a rule is apparently obligatory, whereas others are optional, but are to be followed wherever possible because perfection does not 'cost' anything:

Mais ces petites observations ne sont que pour les délicats. Neantmoins puis qu'il ne couste pas plus de mettre l'un que l'autre, il faut ce me semble, choisir le meilleur, & celui qui contente plus l'oreille (109).

Where there are exceptions to a rule Vaugelas does not try to overgeneralise by ignoring the exceptions, for he believes that a rule may have one or two exceptions without being broken (469). Moreover, since exceptions cause uncertainty in usage, Vaugelas is particularly interested in them. The rules and exceptions as to when to use the simple and when to use the compound prepositions are elaborated in the observation on Sur, sous, the contents of which, formulated and presented in a different way, could easily be found in a grammar book (124-6). On occasions it is difficult to tell whether a firm rule is being given or not, because the terms in which the recommendations are couched are ambiguous⁷⁶. Sometimes it is not immediately obvious what Vaugelas considers a rule to be. He opens the observation concerning the adaptation of Latin and Greek nouns into French

⁷⁵ Vaugelas's method here is in germ that developed by Port-Royal. He too occasionally uses the figures of rhetoric to 'explain' usage, but only in a relatively small number of cases and only in passing. The similarities between them, as well as the difference in scope and emphasis between the two, can be seen by comparing Donzé's evaluation of Port-Royal (1967: 43) 'À l'égard de ce qu'elle constate, le procédé (propre surtout aux parties qui relèvent de la grammaire générale) consiste à réduire les irrégularités à la règle, soit en montrant qu'elles sont plus apparentes que réelles (c'est ce qui se fait dans la théorie du nom déterminé par un autre mot que l'article), soit en l'expliquant par les transpositions que produisent dans le discours le besoin d'abrégé (ellipse), de donner de la grâce à la langue (par le pléonisme ou l'hyperbate), ou encore l'habitude de s'attacher à la pensée plutôt qu'aux mots qui l'expriment (syllepse). La théorie des figures rejoint sur ce point l'idée des faits de syntaxe'. For other areas where the concerns of rhetoric enter the Remarques, see the discussion of the key concepts, 137-152.

⁷⁶ See the section on key concepts and terminology, 137-152.

with the words:

Soit que les noms propres soient Grecs, ou Latins, il les faut nommer & prononcer selon l'Vsage, tellement qu'il n'y a point de reigle certaine pour cela (66-7).

Later, however, he adds:

Mais aux femmes, on y observe la reigle que j'ay dite, & qui regne en toute cette matiere, que les noms frequentez prennent la terminaison Françoise, comme l'on dit, Agrippine, & non pas Agrippina, Cleopatre, & non pas Cleopatra, mais quand on les dit rarement, on leur laisse la terminaison Latine, comme Iulia, Cadicia, Poppea, Liulia, Octauia (69).

Here Vaugelas only seems to be providing his readers with a rough guideline, a 'rule of thumb', for he concludes, 'En vn mot, l'Vsage, & mon obseruation decideront la plus part des difficultez qui se presenteront sur ce sujet' (73). The cases where definite rules are given are relatively small in number. He aims then only to give a rule when he feels his observation of usage justifies it and admits when usage goes counter to a rule, thereby trying to avoid the danger of forcing his exceptions to conform to the rule. He therefore admits greater freedom in language use than many critics, seeing him as an advocate of fixed usage, would allow. For instance, Vaugelas insists that there is no rule about the placement of the adjective before or after the noun (182-185).

Other observations are too vaguely formulated to be of any guidance to the reader. In the case of Trois infinitifs de suite it seems as if the reader must use his own discretion about the context in which construction may be used (140-1); the observation entitled Seraphin, remercement, agrément, viol leaves the reader in doubt as to the pronunciation of the future forms of payer and louer in prose (413) and it is not clear whether auoisiner is acceptable in poetry or not (302). On the one hand Vaugelas suggests avoiding any doubtful expression:

Mais avec tout cela ie n'en voudrois pas vser, puis que la plus-part du monde le condamne, & que ie me souuiens de cette belle difference qu'il y a entre les personnes & les mots, qui est quand vne personne est accusée & que l'on doute de son innocence, on doit aller à l'absolution, mais quand

on doute de la bonté d'un mot, il faut au contraire le condamner, & se porter à la rigueur (Si l'on dit bon-heurs, au pluriel 500-501).

On the other hand he argues that if there is no clear majority of opinion among the authorities on questions of doubtful usage then the choice between the two options can hinge on personal preference (Preface IV, 3). Vaugelas is therefore willing to refrain from making a recommendation, as he does in the second of the two discussions of Solliciter (474). He records the arguments for and against Iusques à aujourd'uy (sic) (521-5), but does not adjudicate between them⁷⁷.

Vaugelas then wants to establish rules wherever possible, because he believes that French has reached a state of perfection and should be reducible to rules. The claim is, however, that these rules are based on observation of usage and are therefore well-founded. If usage is uncertain, this is also admitted, as are exceptions and peculiarities. He may be wrong in his formulation of individual rules or in the labelling as regular or irregular of any individual expression, but his principle is sound.

Finally we must ask whether indeed the pronouncements are based on usage as Vaugelas suggests (it is irrelevant whether they are explained or not) - that is, how accurate is Vaugelas's recording of usage? And, if his observation of the best authors and the Court is not reliable, does the distortion stem from a deliberate attempt to guide usage or merely an inability to observe accurately or take a representative sample of informants?

There are various indications which arouse suspicions about the reliability of his observations. Firstly he admits that his own usage is not always in accord with the recommendations:

Que si l'on m'objecte que dans le cours de ces Remarques, ie m'en suis seruy fort souuent de cette sorte, i'auoüeray franchement que i'ay failly en cela comme en beaucoup d'autres choses, & que ie n'ay connu la faute dont i'auertis

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Which he does for instance in the case of bonheurs cited above.

maintenant les autres, que depuis peu; Tellement qu'il faut en vser selon cette Remarque, & non pas selon le mauuais exemple que i'en ay donné (Tout de mesme 559).

Of course we cannot expect Vaugelas to be infallible, but if, as he claims in the Preface, he has all the qualifications necessary to be the ideal recorder of good usage (III, 1), we would not really expect the book to be 'beaucoup plus sçauant que moy' (XIV, 4). Secondly because of the possible flexibility of interpretation of the phrase 'la plus saine partie de', Vaugelas admits that he is at times registering a usage which is contrary to that in general use. In the case of d'autant que for parce que, he is clearly guiding rather than recording usage:

Je ne croyois pas faire cette remarque, comme la jugeant inutile, & m'imaginant qu'il n'y auoit que les Imprimeurs qui missent vne apostrophe à d'autant que, quand il signifie parce que: mais voyant que cette erreur se rend commune, & comme vniuerselle, il est necessaire d'en donner auis pour empescher qu'elle ne s'establisce tout à fait... (326)

Thirdly we have the observations of both commentators who in general support Vaugelas and of critics who suggest that his remarques were not always accurate⁷⁸; this evidence is consolidated by the usage of some contemporary authors⁷⁹. The reason for the inaccuracies is impossible to determine. However, we may mention in Vaugelas's defence that in broad terms he did set down the lines on which the language was to develop, especially in the fields of syntax and word order. It would not have been possible for one man to achieve this, although undoubtedly Vaugelas and the Academy were greatly influential, if he had not observed and recorded the general characteristics and tendencies of French. Vaugelas then does

⁷⁸ See my discussion of Vaugelas's successors 320-327 and Streicher 1936.

⁷⁹ Grevisse (1975) for example in his historical sections gives details of where the usage of the major authors of the period differs from the pronouncements of the grammarians.

distort usage on occasion, but never to the extent of making the language unrecognizable. Some of the rules, such as that for the exceptional behaviour of the gender of oeuvre (34), show him fixing usage before an irregularity in the language has ironed itself out, but this is because he does not force the language into being more regular than it is, if there is no possible hint in usage that this may be permitted.

What general conclusions can be drawn from this discussion? Unfortunately, perhaps the most striking feature that has emerged is the difficulty of making any absolute statements about Vaugelas's theory or practice. Every statement has to be hedged with qualifications on account of the frequent discrepancies, not only between his methodological pronouncements of the Preface and his execution of these in the text, but also between the observations themselves. Some of these differences may be minor (for example, the occasional instance of Vaugelas paying excessive respect to Coeffeteau) and do not seem to damage the overall plan of recording contemporary usage. Others, however, such as the problem of l'usage douteux and the status of analogy, are more serious and may even undermine the foundations of the work. It is this lack of consistency in the Remarques which has evoked such very different evaluations of Vaugelas's achievement. For Galliot on the one hand (1948: 88), Vaugelas can hardly do wrong, while Chevalier (1968: 468) virtually discounts Vaugelas as having no theory worth considering. Brunot, judging him with his knowledge of the historical method, finds Vaugelas sorely lacking. Pellat (1976-7) uses a more sympathetic set of criteria and therefore finds aspects worthy of praise⁸⁰.

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Chevalier: 'La soumission à l'usage et au bon sens n'est que le signe d'une incapacité à formuler une règle quelconque; précieux témoin de l'usage, Vaugelas n'a rien apporté à la méthodologie'. Contrast for example Pellat 1976-7: 31 'Vaugelas avance des idées que la linguistique moderne ne saurait qu'approuver: primauté de l'usage courant synchronique, priorité à la langue orale, évolution de la langue, la raison soumise à l'usage'.

The frequent inconsistencies make it very hard to discern what Vaugelas's real aim was. Since the Preface expresses his last thoughts, we should perhaps read it as a statement of his aims, and blame the inconsistencies in the text on the protracted time spent on the composition of the Remarques. Certainly Vaugelas does guide usage, whether intentionally or not⁸¹, more than he cares to admit, and is not a pure observer of usage.

Vaugelas is no philosopher, but his pronouncements are not made in a complete vacuum; the modernity of some aspects of his theory is striking. This is especially true of the stress on a synchronic and flexible norm for good usage⁸², and of his detailed exposition of who to choose as an informant, and how to pose the question in order to obtain a naive judgment. Vaugelas is well aware of the complexity of usage and of its problematic nature, as his lengthy attempts to pin it down in the Preface show. His desire not to overlook the irregularities and peculiarities of French while retaining a fundamental belief in the regularity of usage is also laudable. Unfortunately the aim of recording usage has the consequence that the rules formulated are sometimes very complicated (such as that for the use of tout (85-97) or the agreement of the past participle (175-181)).

The position adopted, at least in theory, on the roles of reason and

⁸¹ Rey (1972: 7) calls the Remarques a 'monument de confusion intéressé', and René Lagane (1975: 12) suggests that the purpose of the work 'n'est pas de décrire objectivement un système d'expression, mais de guider le choix de ses lecteurs vers la forme jugée la meilleure'.

⁸² Marzys contends that this precludes calling Vaugelas 'classical' because for him 'le classicisme implique rationalité et durée'. A. Adam on the other hand views Vaugelas's espousing of netteté as a typically classical attitude (1968:I: 263) and Stéfanini (1959: 172) asserts: 'Mais le véritable classicisme, celui qui recherche avant tout la Nature et le Vrai, en grammaire c'est Vaugelas qui le représente avec éclat. Intuitivement, instinctivement il a en matière de langage usé d'une méthode, découvert des lois, un système que la linguistique moderne ne peut que confirmer et pesamment expliquer'.

usage in language is a very moderate one, and the emphasis placed on various aspects of language is dictated by the purpose of the work and its intended audience. Aiming to avoid pedantry, Vaugelas only provides an explanation where he feels it is appropriate and, as Moore-Rinvoulucris suggests, varies his presentation and content accordingly:

...sometimes a reason is given to justify a finding, sometimes the use of a word is wrong; at times Vaugelas plunges into the heart of his argument, at others he prefaces his observations with a little preamble (1950: 81)

He ranges between the purely descriptive and the prescriptive, aiming to provide rules for French if usage allows it because he believes that the language has reached a peak of perfection. This shows him to be very much a seventeenth century writer.

Vaugelas is unable to adhere consistently to his theory and refers to such criteria as etymology, cacophony and usage in Latin when they confirm a usage he favours, but ignores them when he favours the irregular or illogical. Sometimes he allows personal preferences to dominate, thereby sacrificing his objective methodology, at others a desire for regularity and clarity gain the upper hand. Vaugelas, however, saves himself from the charge that he is betraying his principles, by declaring that usage is doubtful in these cases. Since doubtful usage often constitutes the subject matter of his observations (although not to the extent Vaugelas himself claims), Vaugelas generally obtains the best of both worlds for himself. He will support good usage wherever possible, but can also rely on other concerns where it suits him. The notion of l'usage douteux is therefore a key to understanding Vaugelas's rationalisations which has often been overlooked. He uses both this and the concept of 'la plus saine partie' to his advantage. Vaugelas's Remarques then are not without an underlying theory, but it is a theory which is flexible and heavily weighted in his favour.

Chapter 4: Detailed examination of the Remarques (excluding syntax).

I: Introduction

In the introduction I stated the need for the Remarques to be examined in detail since this task has rarely been performed, indeed the observations themselves have been neglected in favour of the Preface. A superficial reading of the work can lead to an inaccurate estimation of Vaugelas's intention and achievement, since a conclusion reached from reading one remarque may be contradicted on the very next page. The inconsistencies therefore necessitate study of all of the observations: only then can any valid appraisal of Vaugelas's ideas be reached. From the previous chapter a number of interlinked themes have emerged, and it is on the illustration of these themes that I shall concentrate. Firstly, in analysing the material, Vaugelas's place in history must be considered: what evidence does he provide about the language usage of the time, that is, how accurate is his data, and how far does he anticipate the way the language was drifting? Secondly why are there so many inconsistencies?: does Vaugelas have any overall theoretical grasp of what he is saying on any particular point? Thirdly how do we evaluate the contradictions? In some cases Vaugelas obviously wants to establish a rule and ploughs through the data, while in others he is concerned more with the stylistic possibilities afforded by variety; this makes interpretation problematic. The interdependency of these themes is obvious. For instance, the question of the accuracy of his observation is closely linked to that of how far he is anticipating future usage. I shall, of necessity, be selective in giving my examples, but will point to parallel cases in passing.

II: Terminology

(a) Key concepts and terminology

A major obstacle in the search for some methodology behind the mass of individual facts is the vagueness of Vaugelas's terminology and the lack of definitions for the terms of approval and reprehension employed¹. Vaugelas, as an honnête homme, writing for polite society, prefers not to overburden his observations with grammatical terminology and pedantic definitions. His attitude towards technical terms is typified in his approach to the part of speech vocabulary; while deliberately paying little attention to accuracy in its application, he nevertheless uses it as a tool (see below). Since he aims to minimise the use of specialised vocabulary, he very often uses general terms of approval and censure to express his value judgments instead, words such as bon, meilleur, nécessaire, commode, bas and elegant. With these the difficulties are far greater for there is not the same tradition to look to for guidance as with the part of speech vocabulary. The terms are not explicitly ordered into any scale of values, but are context-dependent and acquire meaning only from the combinations and oppositions in which they appear², thus throwing the burden of evaluation heavily on the reader, if he is to gain more than a vague impression of Vaugelas's opinions.

The various applications of the term François illustrate the vague and inconsistent nature of Vaugelas's use of terminology in the Remarques. François is not found exclusively with either words of approbation or of reproof, but occurs in conjunction with such positive labels as elegant

¹ The difference between the manuscript and the published Remarques in this respect have been outlined in Ayres 1983: 29-30.

² And this despite the fact that Vaugelas strongly censures this approach to meaning in the Remarques (590).

(62), pur(e) (139) and beau (467*) and with the more negative ordinaire (161), bas (332) and peu elegant (38). It is clearly not an absolute, since it is found in comparative and superlative constructions (62, 472*). What then are we to understand by this word? Examination of the contexts in which it is used suggests that it does not have one meaning but a number of loosely related significations. It may imply that a term belongs to standard French and is neither foreign nor regional nor dialectal in character:

Vne infinité de gens disent & escriuent, ie vous iray
asseurer de mes obeïssances. Cette façon de parler n'est
point François, elle vient de Gascogne..(353)³.

It may be applied to expressions peculiar to French - usually those having no parallel in either Latin or other cognate languages - with a meaning close to idiomatic:

Cette façon de parler s'attaquer à quelqu'un, pour dire
attaquer quelqu'un, est tres-estrang & tres-François
tout ensemble...(472*)

Such a construction may appear illogical, but, being peculiar to French, merits special approval in Vaugelas's eyes. François may be a general label of approval, roughly equivalent to 'in good usage'. This, of course, generally means in current usage, which leads to the rather odd statement that the learned borrowing debiteur is 'more French' than detteur, formed on the native root (513-4). However, when used in combination with elegant, François implies that the expression so designated belongs to the higher registers of good usage (111). Elsewhere the term expresses the notion 'in the French lexicon, but of no value' or 'consists of French words, but has no merit'. For example, Vaugelas says of mettre with the meaning of 'demeurer':

³ It is unlikely that Vaugelas was aware of the details of this regional usage. It is probably mentioned since it is one of the more clearly differentiated dialects.

A la verité cette façon de parler est François, mais si basse que ie n'en voudrois pas vser, mesme dans le stile mediocre, ny dans le discours ordinaire...(445).

A common difficulty with Vaugelas's terminology is that it is often only negatively defined, that is, we are told what point François is, but we are not told what François actually means. Thus 'n'est point François' is applied to constructions deemed unacceptable by Vaugelas, and even to words and expressions considered barbarismes. In the observation entitled Auiser it seems that to call a word 'not French' is to give it the strongest possible censure, but we are nevertheless left in doubt about the exact nature of François:

Auiser, pour appercevoir, ou descouvrir, ne peut pas estre absolument rejeté, comme vn mot, qui en ce sens là ne soit pas François; Mais il est bas & de la lie du peuple (404).

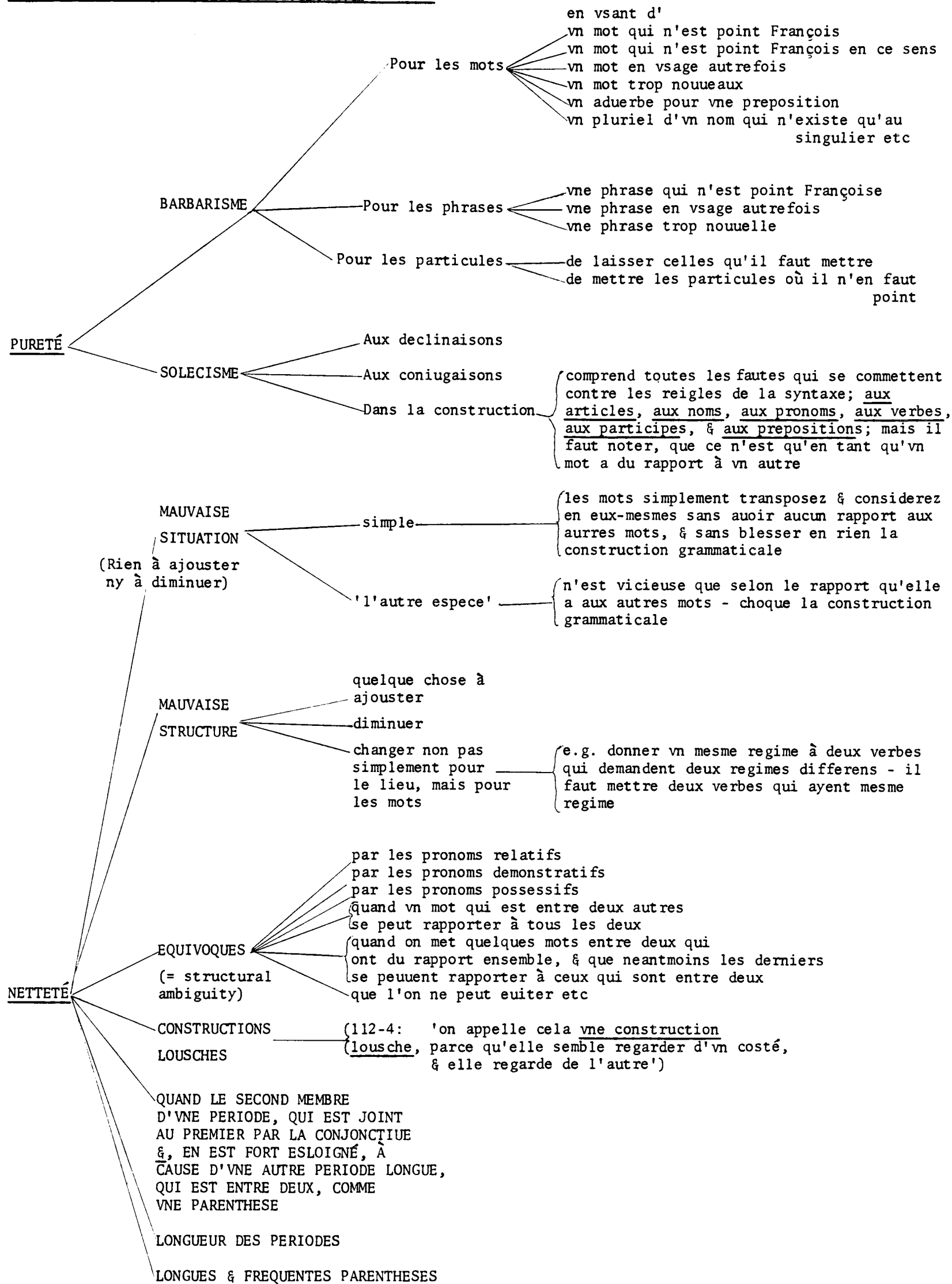
The lack of objectivity and relative nature of many of the terms are especially problematic. In one of the more clearly formulated observations examining the difference in treatment of pairs of words according to whether they are synonimes, approchans, contraires or tout à fait differens there is no clear cut definition, for example, of the dividing line between approchans and differens tout à fait. We are then left wondering why bastir & fortifier should be described as differens tout à fait, whereas bastir & aggrandir are deemed approchans, or why aimer & reuerer are approchans but louer & imiter are said to be completely different (214-8). A prime example of the type of subjective label occasionally allowed to intrude is that of the masculine gender being described as 'le plus noble' because agreement is in the masculine plural when there are two or more nouns preceding of different gender (84). Other words seem to lose their conventional semantic content and become general terms of approval and censure. For instance, on occasions, vieille and basse appear virtually synonymous (224). Similarly the combination meilleur & plus ancien suggest that the latter necessarily implies the former (127).

These terminological problems are not marginal as the discussion of the use of the terms usage, raison and reigle has shown. Unless some of these difficulties can be clarified, the content of the Remarques cannot be judged or even penetrated. The question is whether the terms of approval and censure can be ordered into any fixed scale. The last twenty-seven pages of the Remarques (567-593) suggest that, despite first impressions, Vaugelas did have some overall conception of language and of the criterial features of good speech. Examination of the categories outlined here can throw light on the vocabulary used throughout the rest of the text and some patterning of vocabulary emerges. Although Vaugelas himself does not present this material systematically, for this would have appeared too overtly scholarly for seventeenth century taste, we can see from the fact that it is possible to tabulate the content of these pages that there is some scheme behind the value judgments in the word (Table 4). Many of the adjectives used in the text consistently relate to one of these categories so that the usage to which they are applied can be evaluated within this framework. From these pages it is clear that Vaugelas believed that considerations of pureté, netteté, force, douceur, elegance, majesté, nombre, briefueté, propriété and naifueté must be taken into account if one is to write and speak well and to produce that special intangible quality le je ne sçay quoy (593) which distinguishes an adequate use of language from a perfect one.

Unfortunately only two of these, pureté and netteté, are dealt with at any length in the Remarques and the other terms need some explanation. Chiflet's grammar (1659), which adapts much of Vaugelas's material into the form of a grammatical treatise, is a useful source of information as to the general opinion on these words at the time⁴. In the section

⁴ Vaugelas's contemporaries would also have been familiar with these terms from their rhetoric classes. For Vaugelas's dependence on traditional rhetorical concepts and on Quintilian, see 77-80.

Table 4: A tabulated form of Vaugelas's Remarques 567-593



AIR ET GRACE =
JE NE
AY QUOY

- LA PROPRIÉTÉ DES MOTS & DES PHRASES
- L'ELEGANCE
- LA DOUCEUR
- LA MAJESTÉ
- LA FORCE
- LE NOMBRE
- LA BRIEFVETÉ
- LA NAÏFVETÉ DE L'EXPRESSEION

entitled Les perfections du Stile, & ses differences (147-9) Chiflet lists almost the same criteria as Vaugelas, but also defines and explains them. However, whereas in Chiflet these are all given the same status of 'les perfections du Stile' (147), in the Remarques, pureté and netteté are apparently of a different status to the other eight. Infractions of the requirements of pureté and netteté are far more serious and may earn the labels fautes, vicieux, monstrueux, abus etc., underlining the central importance of these notions, while observations relating to the other categories are usually praised in more relative terms (meilleur, plus elegant, plus naturel). The remarks relating to pureté and netteté give grammatical and lexical requirements of good speech and are not of the same optional nature:

...il est certain que la pureté & la netteté, dont ie traite, sont les premiers fondemens de l'Eloquence, & que les plus grands hommes de l'Antiquité se sont excercez sur ce sujet (Dedicace).

They may be expressed as rules beginning with the formulation il faut whereas observations relating to the other categories tend to be recommendations. As Vaugelas advocates perfection wherever possible in language use, the demands on the reader to conform to these recommendations are strong, but rarely is anything which is, for example, not doux condemned as definitely wrong. The exception to this dichotomy may be la propriété which as we shall see is rather a problematic category. The fact that many of the Remarques relate to these last eight categories suggests that the work is in some respects closer to a style book than a grammar⁵.

I shall now discuss each of these notions briefly in turn, suggesting how, despite the difficulties associated with them, they help to clarify the content of the Remarques. Pureté (567-577) is one of the many notions in the Remarques which is primarily negatively defined through

⁵ For the use of some of these terms in rhetorics and conversation manuals in the seventeenth century, see Strosetzki 1978: 35-55.

Vaugelas giving us examples of mistakes against purity (cf. Chiflet 1659: 147). The definition of pureté is dispensed with in one sentence:

La pureté du langage & du stile consiste aux mots, aux phrases, aux particules, & en la syntaxe (567)

whereas ten pages are devoted to explanation of the types of barbarisme and solecisme which are the two ways of offending against pureté⁶.

Following Quintilian, Vaugelas distinguishes vn langage pur (emendatio oratio) from vn langage net (dilucida oratio) (578). In broad terms pureté may be said to be concerned with form, while netteté involves the communication of the message. It is claimed that a pure use of language may be acquired by reading and frequenting those who know how to speak well, whereas the ability to write clearly is an inborn skill virtually impossible to acquire (578-9). Pureté is much more a seventeenth rather than a sixteenth century notion. Henri Estienne mentions it in passing in his Precellence (1579: 21), but is far more concerned, for example, with richesse. In comparison it is adopted by various seventeenth century writers including Bouhours (1962(1671): 41) and defined at some length, although in slightly different terms, in the Academy dictionary (1694: I: 344). Offences against purity fall into two main categories: firstly barbarismes, words considered substandard for the reasons detailed on table 4, so that this aspect of pureté deals principally with the choice of the correct lexical item (and so has some relation to propriété), although certain more syntactic questions are included (here there is some overlap with solecismes); secondly solecismes, which include more obvious faults of morphology and grammar (see table 4). Two obvious difficulties arise: terms such as syntaxe which are used in the definitions are themselves

⁶ Purity is also vaguely defined in the Preface: 'ne consiste qu'à vser de mots & de phrases, qui soient du bon Vsage' (IX, 2).

not defined, and there is no clear cut division between the categories. For example, there is some overlap between barbarismes pour les particules and solecismes en la construction, both of which apparently include the incorrect omission of articles. Yet this clarification of purity is in general useful, for we can see that many of the observations do indeed deal with questions of purity, and that these observations are to be followed with greater attention than those, for example, which relate to le nombre. Examination of the observations dealing with a pure use of language shows that certain adjectives of value and expressions of approval are consistently associated with this category. Together with those against neteté, infractions of the demands of pureté engender the strongest possible censure, with such terms as insupportable, desagréable, mauvaise, faute, abusivement, tres-mal parler employed. More specifically, tres-mal parler is almost always an indication that the expression so designated is a solecism, and ne vaut rien, monstrueuse, insupportable point to barbarismes. This patterning of vocabulary helps the reader to categorize certain mistakes; a word termed vieux will be a barbarisme, a wrongly conjugated verb a solecisme. Only very rarely is Vaugelas inconsistent in this: the use of maxime in the masculine instead of in the feminine is called 'tout à fait barbare' (64), whereas according to Vaugelas's examples of solecisms (574) it should fall into this category.

Netteté, another very typically seventeenth century concept and one very close to Vaugelas's heart since he hates structural ambiguity⁷, is concerned with questions of syntax and word order, that is 'l'arrangement, la structure, ou la situation des mots, & tout ce qui contribue à la clarté de l'expression' (567). Netteté and clarté are not explicitly separated, but the former appears a more linguistic notion, while the

⁷ See chapter 5.

latter is associated with clarity of ideas:

C'est pourquoy tant s'en faut que l'vsage des synonymes soit vicieux, qu'il est souuent necessaire, puis qu'ils contribuent tant à la clarté de l'expression, qui doit estre le principal soin de celuy qui parle ou qui escrit (494*)⁸.

Netteté involves clarifying syntactic relationships by articulating them fully, by repeating functional markers and by a judicious ordering of words. A balance must be kept between the use of elegant ellipses and concise forms of expression and concerns of clarity, with which the adjective regulier is often associated. A transposition of word order may have 'beaucoup de grace & de force' (156-7) or an irregular construction sanctioned by usage be more highly valued (397-8), but generally the unambiguous and explicitly marked construction will be favoured, at least in prose⁹.

Pureté and netteté are therefore at the centre of Vaugelas's notion of good usage and infringement of them is insupportable. The recommendations given for the other eight features of good language use mentioned are relative preferences with a greater degree of optionality. These features are treated in much less detail, in some cases only being mentioned on the last page, and are not properly defined. The reader can thus only gain knowledge of them from various comments and examples scattered throughout the individual observations.

Certainly the most problematic of these is that termed la propriété des mots & des phrases by Vaugelas. It is defined very briefly by Chiflet: 'à se servir des mots & des phrases propres au sujet que l'on traite' (1659: 148). This feature is related to the concept of le mot juste

⁸ Cf. Beauzée's definition of clarté: 'La clarté tient aux choses mêmes que l'on traite; elle naît de la distinction des idées' (Guizot 1809: 193). The history of the word clarté is discussed in Weinrich 1961.

⁹ See, for instance, Remarques 493-5 and the discussion of syntax, chapter 5.

which became so important to writers in the second half of the century; this is perhaps best elaborated in La Bruyère's Les Caractères:

Entre toutes les différentes expressions qui peuvent rendre une seule de nos pensées, il n'y en a qu'une qui soit la bonne. On ne la rencontre pas toujours en parlant ou en écrivant; il est vrai néanmoins qu'elle existe, que tout ce qui ne l'est point est faible, et ne satisfait point un homme d'esprit qui veut se faire entendre (Des ouvrages de l'esprit 17; 1965: 85).

For Vaugelas la propriété involves the choice of the right word according to the genre, register, context and style of the work:

I'auoüe que dans vne lettre il (sc. comme ainsi soit) seroit exorbitant; mais qui ne sçait qu'il y a des paroles & des termes pour toutes sortes de stiles? (470*).

Vaugelas thus asserts the relativity of the notion of good usage.

Whereas the definition of good usage in the Preface implies that there is a simple dichotomy between good and bad usage, in the text there is a much more complicated and interesting network of values, with words being considered more or less acceptable according to the style and situation.

The choice of the correct word causes native speakers problems, for Vaugelas points out that few people are unable to avoid the mixing of levels. Most are overwhelmed by the wealth of French vocabulary, which should be employed with discrimination (511). The most obvious areas of variation are between the spoken and written registers and poetry and prose. However, examination of the Arsenal manuscript has shown that these are by no means simple divisions¹⁰. Whereas on the surface the relationship between the spoken and written registers is straightforward (510), in practice higher demands are placed on the written language. Moreover there are further distinctions made within each register:

Maint, & maintefois: L'un & l'autre n'est que pour les vers, & encore y en a-t-il plusieurs, qui n'en voudroient pas vser. Je crois qu'à moins que d'estre employé dans vn Poëme heroïque & encore bien rarement, il ne seroit pas bien receu (151).

¹⁰ See 86.

The vagueness and subjectivity of the terminology are perhaps most unhelpful when discussing the notion of propriété. Expressions such as le stile ordinaire contrast with le beau stile (31) or the language de Palais (25), but what are we to deduce from the expression le stile used without any qualification or clarification (80)? Statements made in one place are contradicted in another. For instance the status of bas apparently fluctuates. The Preface tells us that there is good and bad usage, the latter being coextensive with burlesque, comedy and satire (VII, 3). Elsewhere (510) we are told that there are three different levels within good usage, le bas, le mediocre and le sublime¹¹, and that good usage may include words which are bas & familier:

Mais il y a bien de la difference entre vn langage soustenu, & vn langage composé de mots & de phrases du bon Vsage, qui comme nous auons dit, peut estre bas & familier, & du bon Vsage tout ensemble (Preface VII, 3).

Yet these statements are contradicted by assertions that bon Usage is equivalent to bel Usage, although the latter excludes anything termed bas:

Au reste quand ie parle du bon Vsage, j'entens parler auſi du bel Vsage, ne mettant point de difference en cecy entre le bon & le beau; car ces Remarques ne sont pas comme vn Dictionnaire qui reçoit toutes sortes de mots, pourueu qu'ils soient François, encore qu'ils ne soient pas du bel Vsage, & qu'au contraire ils soient bas & de la lie du peuple (VII, 1).

Moreover precisely those styles which have been cited above as to where to find examples of mauuais vsage are those also considered bas (366). Are bon Usage and bel Usage really equivalent? What, for instance, are we to understand from such statements as the following:

Pour l'heure: Cette façon de parler pour dire pour lors, est bonne, mais basse, & ne doit pas estre employée dans le beau stile, où il faut dire pour lors (192).

We are left with the suspicion that bel Usage is more demanding than bon Usage and that Vaugelas, searching for perfection, requires his readers to attain this level. This will become clearer in the discussion of elegance below.

¹¹ These are defined by Chiflet (1659: 148-9). The three-fold division is an ancient one (Strosetzki 1978: 33; Lausberg 1960: I: 519-525).

In some places Vaugelas clearly employs a scale of acceptability. For example, pacte is valued more highly than pact ('ne vaut rien du tout') and paction is considered the best of all (372).

Despite the difficulties, the notion of la propriété des mots & des phrases is nevertheless interesting both for its linguistic content and for what it tells us about the society of the time. Choosing the wrong word can cause ridicule and this for the honnête homme aiming not to appear conspicuous or eccentric in any way was to be feared:

...il faut que le genre d'escrire responde à celui de parler, le genre bas au bas, le mediocre au mediocre, & le sublime au sublime, de sorte que si i'employois vne phrase fort basse dans vn haut stile, ou vne phrase fort noble dans vn stile bas, ie me rendrois egaleme[n]t ridicule (510).

The realisation that language usage is not simply good or bad but that there are gradations of acceptability according to style, register and context is valuable and these different factors must be taken into account when considering Vaugelas's decisions.

The term elegant is used repeatedly throughout the Remarques. As we have noted in the discussion of propriété, writing and speaking well is not always enough for Vaugelas; sometimes he requires that the expression chosen should also be elegant:

Lors, avec vn genitif, par exemple, lors de son election, pour dire quand il fut eleu n'est gueres bon, ou du moins, gueres elegant (114).

The close relationship between elegance and brevity¹² and the possible clash of the concerns of netteté and elegance have been discussed above. Elegance seems to belong to the upper registers of usage and it is implied (following Quintilian, see 79) that elegant expressions which contravene the regular grammatical pattern can only be used by those who have already mastered the foundations of grammar:

¹² Sometimes elegance and brevity are opposing concerns (e.g. Lors 114-5).

Ils crient tout d'une voix, c'est comme il faut parler, & écrire grammaticalement, mais on ne laisse pas de dire oratoirement tous d'une voix, & il est plus elegant à cause de la figure que fait l'antithese de tous, & d'une voix (96).

In some cases no explicit choice is made by Vaugelas between the more regular and the more elegant construction, and the reader is apparently left to decide for himself which usage to adopt (Après six mois de temps escoulez 383).

The next three features, la douceur, la majesté and la force, are clearly aesthetic. Douceur is an added bonus rather than an essential prerequisite for good speech:

Mais ces petites observations ne sont que pour les délicats. Neantmoins puis qu'il ne couste pas plus de mettre l'un que l'autre, il ne faut ce me semble, choisir le meilleur, & celui qui contente plus l'oreille (109).

However, as Vaugelas admits, douceur is a highly subjective notion; habit makes certain combinations of sounds acceptable and others appear rude and cacophonous. Usually the term rude is associated with a 'mauvaise prononciation' (157) in opposition to the adjectives doux and coulant (130). Occasionally, however, the word rude is applied to one of two pronunciations when there is apparently no discernible difference between it and the preferred form (Toute sorte, & toutes sortes 130-1). The terms la force and la majesté are rarely used in the text, and obviously only apply to certain restricted registers, styles and contexts as delimited by la propriété. Chiflet defines la majesté in the following way:

La Majesté, en la juste grandeur des périodes, & au choix des paroles pompeuses & emphatiques, quand il est à propos d'en user (1659: 148).

It is linked by Vaugelas with the genre sublime (244) and the adjective noble:

Ces mots qui sont de l'usage ancien & moderne tout ensemble, sont beaucoup plus nobles & plus graves, que ceux de la nouvelle marque (334).

La Force is confined to stressed and emphatic expressions only appropriate in certain contexts.

Le Nombre is equally a feature of good style only taken into consideration if the demands of pureté and netteté are satisfied:

...car il vaut bien mieux satisfaire l'entendement que l'oreille, & il ne faut jamais auoir esgard à celle-cy; qu'on n'ayt premierement satisfait l'autre (33)

Overlooking the concerns of le nombre will then engender negligences (414-9) rather than fautes.

Briefuété is viewed as a characteristic of the French language¹³.

Its place in relation to the other features has been discussed above.

The final quality mentioned is la naïfueté. The adjective naturel is associated with this category in opposition to artifice and affectation:

...C'est pourquoy ils croyent qu'il est bon de les euter toutes deux,^{13a} & de prendre vn autre tour. Pour moy, ie suis de cette opinion, quoy que ie n'approuue gueres cét expedient en des endroits où l'on ne peut gauchir sans perdre la grace de la naïfueté, & des expressions naturelles, qui font vne grande partie de la beauté du langage (209-210).

Vaugelas advocates using a natural, unaffected style wherever possible, which is in part achieved by writing as one speaks (509-11). As we have noted, Vaugelas prefers naive judgments about the French language¹⁴. Recommendation of naïfueté implies that the first thought and form of expression which comes naturally is very often the best, yet this principle seems incommensurate with the strict legislation imposed by Vaugelas on certain aspects of language use:

Mais je sçay bien aussi qu'ils en sont iustement blasmez par tous ceux qui font profession d'escrire purement, & que si chacun s'emancipoit de son costé, les vns à n'estre pas si exacts en certaines choses, les autres en d'autres, nous ferions bien tost retomber nostre langue dans son ancienne barbarie, Qui minima spernit, paulatim decedit (218).

¹³ For a discussion of the tendency towards brevity in Modern French, see Harmer 1954: 110-162.

^{13a} Vaugelas is discussing the two constructions, en vostre absence, & de Madame vostre mere, and en vostre absence, & en celle de Madame vostre mere.

¹⁴ See 92-93.

Reference to these categories then helps us to explain the use of vocabulary in the text and to appreciate that certain adjectives of approval and disapproval are consistently associated with one of them. A degree of patterning is obvious and certain combinations (e.g. bas...insupportable (169), vicieuse & barbare (173), plus nette & plus reguliere (377), plus nobles & plus graues (334)) and certain oppositions (e.g. grammatical/elegant (383), vicieux/tres-bien dit (167), doux/rude (425)) are favoured. Sometimes one of the semantically vaguer terms such as meilleur or mieux appears in conjunction with an adjective applying to one of these qualities and this clarifies in what sense the form so labelled is deemed better. Elsewhere context tells us how we should understand the general epithets. For example, on page 12 mieux is equivalent to plus doux, on page 14 it refers to le nombre, while on page 143 it is associated with la netteté. Similarly commode may be related to one of these features; a word may be useful in the sense that it expresses a meaning not covered by another lexical item, or because it is short or allows one to express a concept concisely or elegantly (17), or it may be useful in a particular context, providing the right number of syllables to balance a period or satisfy prosodic requirements (15).

While this patterning has obvious benefits, numerous terminological problems remain. Firstly the ten features mentioned in the last twenty-seven pages do not provide an exhaustive analysis, and such characteristics of French as richesse (27) and varieté (395) alluded to elsewhere in the text are not included. Secondly, difficulties are engendered by the subjective nature of some of the concepts (e.g. beauté, perfection); this may very well partly be a reflection of Vaugelas's conception of good speech since the stylistic qualities given on the last page are said to combine to create l'air & la grace which culminate in le je ne

sçay quoy, an intangible quality which defies definition and objective presentation. Thirdly, the status of these categories is not equal, and usage may take precedence over any of the criteria for good speech including netteté and pureté (173). Vaugelas insists that some of the greatest beauties of the language are produced by breaking rules and ignoring expected patterns of construction provided these are sanctioned by usage. For instance considerations of netteté are overruled in the case of il se vient justifier (376-7) because the transposed form has 'plus de grace'¹⁵. Finally, inconsistency in the application of the terminology may involve the more serious charge of inconsistency in the application of principles.

Related to this discussion of key concepts and terminology is the question of the degree of necessity of applying the recommendations in the Remarques. Is there a scale of grammaticality parallel to the scale of acceptability suggested by la propriété? As we have noted the observations are expressed in various forms which suggest that some are compulsory rules, some optional, some preferences, while others give two equally possible forms (il faut, les vns disent..les autres disent (363), iamais on ne doit vser (325), se met d'ordinaire avec (130), tous deux sont bons (150)). Yet, as for Chiflet, the grammatical and the stylistic are so closely related in Vaugelas's work that to write accurately is not sufficient for him, perfection of style is also required. Despite the statements of optionality, Vaugelas only unequivocally supports usage which is perfect in all respects. We might conclude therefore that once an expression has been deemed inferior to another, then it might as well not exist:

Quand on leur accorderoit ce participe féminin de la façon qu'ils le proposent, il me semble qu'il n'y auroit guere à dire entre ces deux propositions qu'il n'est point du tout de la langue, ou qu'il en est, de sorte, que l'vsage en est

¹⁵ See 234-6.

tres-rare, & qu'encore en ce cas là, le gerondif est beaucoup meilleur (430-1).

The fact that the preferences may be couched in social terms confirms this impression (la lie du peuple, les bons Escrivains, les honnestes gens). The ideal then to be attained is summarised in the Preface, where Vaugelas praises French for being able to provide all the qualities which constitute a perfect use of language (XV, 3).

(b) Part of speech terminology

Vaugelas's use of the part of speech terminology is unoriginal, and he follows unquestioningly the tradition established by his sixteenth and early seventeenth century predecessors which was in turn based on the grammars of Priscian and Donatus. Vaugelas bears ample witness to the difficulty experienced by the early French grammarians of freeing themselves from the Latin model, which at times led them to distort the facts of the French language in an attempt to make them fit into the Latin pattern¹⁶: for example, French is consistently said to have cases¹⁷. Categories such as the article with no counterpart in the classical language caused great embarrassment¹⁸, and the terms are rarely defined. As we might expect, since Vaugelas was not writing a

¹⁶ The part of speech categories were, of course, initially distinguished for an inflected language, and were therefore based on formal differences. Problems therefore arise when attempts are made to classify an uninflected language in this way.

¹⁷ Although a reference in the manuscript (57^r) suggests that Vaugelas was aware that not all languages distinguish cases: 'Car les enfans sçauent aux plus basses classes que tout adiectif ou article qui tient lieu d'adiectif, suit non seulement le genre mais aussi le nombre et le cas (ce dernier s'entend des langues où les cas se distinguent) du substantif auquel il se rapporte'.

¹⁸ See 180-183.

formal grammar, this is an area to which he contributed little, if anything. For instance, he retains the two-fold division of prepositions into simple and complex (124-6), and assumes that when they stand before nouns they govern cases (sur + acc, en + abl, de + abl 533).

In the Preface Vaugelas rejects ordering his material according to the parts of speech, arguing that although this is an order 'fondé dans la nature' and suitable for a formal grammar, it might deter his intended audience (XII). The Remarques are nevertheless full of terminology relating to the parts of speech and indeed it is even used to explain the difference between a pair of related words (Cependant, pendant 223)¹⁹. Elsewhere reference is made to the category of the word to explain a decision on agreement (Quelque 4). The terminology is used carelessly and unsystematically: the label partie de l'oraison itself is applied not only to the traditional Latin parts of speech, but also to such notions as clarity (143). Indeed the inattentiveness seems deliberate. Vaugelas refers to nous as a noun and then adds in parentheses 'que j'appelle nom, quoy qu'il soit pronom, parce que cela n'importe' (177)²⁰. While aware of the indeclinable nature of the adverb, he advocates alternating the forms mesme and mesmes according to whether the adverb is placed near a singular or plural noun (24), thereby undermining his definition of the class. Vaugelas then only pays attention to the part of speech vocabulary where it helps to clarify a decision.

¹⁹ This raises the question of how far Vaugelas's contemporaries, especially the women, were familiar with the part of speech vocabulary. High-born women would have been educated in early life by their mothers and governesses and later by private tutors with the help of primers. An unskilled teacher might 'explain' the behaviour of a certain aspect of French by referring to its grammatical category. Vaugelas certainly seems to assume that his readers know, for instance, what nouns and verbs are.

²⁰ See also 183-184.

Nine parts of speech are listed in the Preface (XII). Since the practice of dividing French into nine parts of speech was only really established with the grammars of Maupas (1607) and Oudin (1633)²¹ this once more suggests that Vaugelas was familiar with their work, despite the absence of any explicit reference to them in the published Remarques²². Not all the parts of speech are given equal treatment. For instance, the interjection is merely listed in the Preface as one of them and given no further attention. Following his predecessors, Vaugelas subdivides his categories on semantic grounds²³, but mentions far fewer subdivisions than other writers, only citing, for example, two types of adverbs (du lieu, du temps *462; cf. Oudin 1633: 264-301). Since Vaugelas is not aiming to produce a comprehensive grammar of the language and wishes to use only the most important terms with which his readers can be assumed to be familiar and to avoid the long and tedious lists and tables found in more formal grammars, no conclusion can be drawn from these omissions. Clearly his grasp of grammatical terminology is not very sound. In some cases hesitation on Vaugelas's part suggests uneasiness with the adopted system, although no attempt is made to formulate an alternative framework. For instance, the forms à and de

²¹ Priscian's grammar, of course, only listed eight, there being no article in Latin. Early French grammarians (excluding Palsgrave 1530), trying to retain the same number of categories, either excluded the article (Dubois 1531; Meigret 1550; Garnier 1591), or, following Greek grammar, included the article and either placed the interjection in the adverbial category (Pillot 1558) or disregarded it completely (H. Estienne 1569). Robert Estienne (1569) names nine parts of speech, including the article, but still feels the need to add (incorrectly), 'comme ainsi ont les Latins' (14-15).

²² See 83.

²³ Occasionally Vaugelas bases his subcategorization on a mixture of formal and semantic criteria. Adjectives, for example, are subcategorized as verbaux (430), numeraux and des couleurs (182).

are described now as prepositions, now as indefinite articles, and as articles are said to stand before both nouns and verbs (215), thereby extending the scope of the article beyond being a purely nominal marker²⁴. Possible areas of difficulty in the traditional terminology are not discussed, such as the ambiguity of the term actif which can refer both to a verbal voice (478) and a type of verb (our intransitives, 61). On the other hand such ambiguity may be viewed as a laudible attempt to establish a parallel used between the terminology for different categories: active and passive meanings are attributed to nouns (518), adjectives (401), verbs and participles²⁵. Vaugelas is also conscious of the dynamic process of change of category as a source of new words (serieux 255; le manger etc. 152).

Further complications are added by the use of related terminology. The term particule is employed to designate any short word, in general an invariable, but the articles are also so labelled (476*), breaking with the tradition of describing only adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions and interjections in this way. The words mot, terme, and façon de parler are not defined, but are used fairly consistently to refer respectively to a single lexical item, two-word combinations, and slightly longer expressions (e.g. tirez ce cheual 38). Some words seem to assume a semi-technical meaning (e.g. liaisons 416), and semantic labels are occasionally given ('l'interrogation pourquoy' 417)²⁶.

²⁴ See also 180-183.

²⁵ In the case of participles the terms actif and passif may be used through interference from Latin grammar.

²⁶ Further discussion of Vaugelas's categorization will appear in the sections on morphology and syntax below.

III: Preoccupations

Having dealt with the terminological difficulties causing problems of interpretation, I shall now turn to analysis of Vaugelas's major preoccupations. The largest number of observations are devoted to broadly syntactic problems and will be examined in the next chapter. Vaugelas's other major concerns are the acceptability and currency of expressions, pronunciation and orthography, morphology and semantics²⁷.

(A) Pronunciation and Orthography

Approximately 15% of the Remarques deal primarily with questions of pronunciation and orthography, while about another 6% contain references to these topics as secondary points. Although the number of observations devoted to pronunciation questions is substantially increased in the published Remarques²⁸, the amount of space allotted to difficulties of pronunciation is still relatively small for a work which designates the spoken usage of the Court as the main source of information about good usage and which stresses the primacy of the spoken word. Possible reasons for this over-dependence on the written language have already been suggested²⁹. We have also noted Vaugelas's lack of consistency in his conception of the relationship between the written and spoken registers as presented in the discussion of l'usage douteux (Preface IV, 3)³⁰.

²⁷ The difficulty of categorizing the observations has been suggested above (page 101, footnote 25), but I have provided some approximate figures to give some guidance about the relative importance of the different fields to Vaugelas. In addition it may be noted that about 7% of the Remarques settle disputes over the gender of words. I have not detailed them here as the observations are self-explanatory and there is little evidence of any change in Vaugelas's practice between the 1615 translation and the Remarques.

²⁸ See Ayres 1983: 22.

²⁹ See Ayres 1983: 25-27.

³⁰ See 101.

It is difficult to separate problems of pronunciation from problems of orthography in the Remarques. Like most of his contemporaries, Vaugelas at times confuses usage in the spoken language and orthographic conventions:

Mais cette reigle n'a lieu, qu'aux aduerbes, qui se forment des feminins adjectifs, où l'e, final est precedé d'une voyelle, comme sont tous deux, dont nous venons de donner des exemples (443).

What is the relationship between spelling and pronunciation in Vaugelas's view? While he is fully aware of the presence of silent letters in French and notes that the non-pronunciation of final 's' is a primary reason for usage being doubtful (Preface IV, 2)³¹, in many cases his observations aim to align the orthography of a word with its pronunciation and he is quick to point out exceptions to this which might cause difficulties³². He therefore advocates that the 'd' should be removed from the spelling of words beginning with the prefix ad where it is not pronounced, as in ajourner, ajouster, ajuger 'car à quel propos laisser vn d, qui n'est là que comme vne pierre d'achoppement pour faire broncher le Lecteur?' (439)³³. If in the case of fil de richar and particularité (46) he lets concerns of etymology determine the written and spoken forms, he rejects the claims of etymology for fronde (25), chypre (6) and temple (161). It is only rarely that Vaugelas advocates that the pronunciation should follow the spelling (exemple 362).

³¹ Examples are found on pages 21, 188, 189-192, 252, 391-2. Vaugelas also mentions that the initial 'p' of pseaumes is silent (365) and the 'c' of bienfaicteur (363), although he prefers that the latter is omitted. In his own usage, a silent 's' is often used to indicate the quality of the preceding vowel, see footnote 36 below.

³² E.g. conuent, monstier (502), respondre and correspondre (371), arsenal (474-5).

³³ The 'd' had been restored unsystematically in the previous century. He also suggests that the spelling should indicate the pronunciation, for example, in remerciment, agrément (413, 443) and brelan (410).

Moreover while he differentiates the homonyms sans, c'en and sens³⁴ by their orthography (44), he predicts that the spelling croyance will be lost because the word is pronounced the same as creance ([kreãs]). The ideal then seems to be that there should be a simple and direct relationship between the orthography and the pronunciation.

Since Vaugelas bases his spelling on usage, it is fairly conservative, retaining etymological letters as in despaches (246), practique (502), sçauront (206). However, his desire to avoid pedantry means that he is less conservative than some of his contemporaries³⁵. Discussing Cureau de la Chambre's spelling of caractere with an 'h' he adds:

Mais ie sçay aussi, & de luy mesme, qu'escruiant principalement pour les sçauans, il a voulu faire l'orthographe des sçauans, & qu'outre cela il a quelque veneration pour l'ancienne orthographe, non pas pour cette barbare qui escrit vn avec vn g, vng, & escrire avec vn p, escripre; & beaucoup d'autres encore plus estranges, mais pour celle que les gens de lettres les plus polis, & les meilleurs Autheurs du siecle passé, ont suiue (206).

He accepts that the Greek or Latin etymology is shown in the spelling of a large number of words established in good usage and gives the examples harmonie, heresie, histoire, horloge, hyperbole etc., but is adamant that this should not be the case if it entails contravening the principles of French orthography, for each language must be 'maistresse chez soy' (207). While he remains relatively silent about the debate on spelling reform, he nevertheless suggests various modifications of spelling and removes some of the extraneous letters in his own usage in the

³⁴ According to Chiflet the final 's' of sens was already pronounced to avoid the homonymy (1659: 203).

³⁵ Although 'i' is generally used for the vowel and 'j' for the consonant, Vaugelas is not consistent in his usage (e.g. ie, iuges). The graphies 'u' and 'v' are used as positional variants with 'v' appearing initially and 'u' medially. This may be the printer's conventions, for in the manuscript only 'u' is used.

fautes d'impreßion: ethymologie→etymologie; dyphthongue→diphtongue;

de mesmes→de mesme. However, he draws the line at orthografe and

philosofe (112), although orthografier appears in the text (196).

Very few internal accents are used by Vaugelas. In the text he says that an accent may be used to show that a letter has been 'suppressed' (443) or a circumflex added to show lengthening³⁶, but in his own usage he prefers the spellings escriuent (11), quatriesme (203), mesme (103) etc.

In the discussion of pronunciation, difficulties are engendered by the lack of a specialised transcription, especially in the interpretation of vowel quality. Whereas Peletier, for example, devised a system for transcribing the different types of e, Vaugelas gives little indication as to whether an e is closed [e], open [ɛ], or muet [ə]³⁷. Since the different notations for the various qualities of e only became general in the eighteenth century and Vaugelas's use of accents is spasmodic, the same sound may be represented in more than one way. For instance,

³⁶ Elsewhere, he denies the circumflex has any effect on the pronunciation (110-111). Final [e] is usually marked by an acute accent in the Remarques (imprimé, approuvéé), although in the plural the grapheme 'ez' is used. It is only very occasionally that [e] is marked by an acute accent initially (élegans); more commonly the sound is indicated by a following 's' (estudiéé) or nothing (eloquens). Acute and grave accents are rarely found internally (aisément), so that grossiere, feminin, sixiesme are typical. The cedilla and diaeresis are used, but the circumflex hardly occurs (empesche, plustost).

³⁷ See Peletier (1555) and Meigret (1550). Such technical systems would not be deemed suitable for Vaugelas's audience. He makes no mention of the intermediate 'e' which was becoming more generally used during the course of the century (Rosset 1911: 117).

Vaugelas observes, especially for the benefit of those living south of the Loire, that the ending of aime (1st person) is not pronounced or spelt the same when the pronoun and verb are inverted in interrogation:

car l'e, qui est féminin aime, se change en é, masculin, aimé, & se doit écrire & prononcer aimé-je (210-11)³⁸.

The same sound can also be transcribed by aimay-je (clarifying for us he has [e] in mind) although he prefers to reserve the orthography aimay for the first person past historic to avoid any ambiguity. Vaugelas's verbal descriptions are also misleading: he describes the vowel of aoust as a triphthong (323), although it had reduced to a simple vowel ([u]). The impressionistic recording of pronunciation occasionally suggests a want of keenness of ear. Thurot is surprised that Vaugelas neglects prosody and that, for instance, he fails to distinguish between the lengths of the endings of vn faux tesmoin and les faux tesmoins (Thurot 1881: LVII).

Vaugelas's choice of examples suggests areas of doubt and change. For example, the inclusion of the observation entitled 'Après souper, ou apres soupé' (152) shows that there was still considerable hesitation on this point, as is confirmed by the fautes d'impreßion where Vaugelas amends his own practice (e.g. 'p. 585. 1.14 donner, lisez donné'). Other sources (cited by Thurot 1881-3, Rosset 1911), however, indicate that certain key areas of change are not examined in the Remarques, including the restoration of final consonants, the quality of nasal vowels and denasalisation. There is also evidence of Vaugelas's preoccupation with the synchronic, at times at the expense of historical accuracy, for instance in his attempt to fix the pronunciation of 'oi' when usage was still evolving (98-113)³⁹. If in some cases Vaugelas brings

³⁸ This is not true for the other conjugations (mens-je, perds-je, romps-je, not menté-je, perdé-je, rompé-je).

³⁹ See table 5, section 1. Nevertheless, this is probably Vaugelas's most significant contribution in the domain of pronunciation.

a French word closer to its etymon (marry), in others he is himself guilty of hypercorrection (guerir, herondelle) or ignorance of etymology (marque, sarge)⁴⁰. However, he correctly analyses the 'l' of lierre and landit as the agglutinated article and provides evidence of and helps to settle some of the disputes between the ouïstes and non-ouïstes⁴¹. Vaugelas proves to be a non-ouïste, arguing that in the last 10-12 years those who speak well have favoured arroser, costé, fossé, and portrait (i.e. [o] rather than [u]). The recent nature of the change is witnessed by his reversal of opinion on raboteuse, corrected in the fautes d'impreßion.

Are there any general principles which guide Vaugelas in his recommendations on pronunciation? As we would anticipate, pronunciations are proscribed because they are regional (e.g. quemencer [kəmãse] 425), archaic (plus [py] 228), are used by the wrong social group ('e' is preferred in guerir because it is considered less vulgar 250) or belong to the wrong register ([aler] the pronunciation used in reading aloud and declamatory style⁴² is rejected in favour of that used in conversation ([ale] 437)). However, the overriding concern seems to be ensuring la plus grande douceur⁴³. In practice this often entails the avoidance of hiatus as in va-s-y:

Mais il faut noter que cette s, n'est pas de sa nature, & qu'elle n'est qu'adjoïnte seulement pour oster la cacophonie, comme nous auons accoustumé de nous servir de t, en orthographiant & prononçant a-t-il, pour a il, & comme nous nous en seruons

⁴⁰ See table 5, section 1.

⁴¹ Remarques 219-220; 340-341.

⁴² This pronunciation was presumably adopted when reading aloud to indicate the spelling of the word and thereby avoid any ambiguity with the past participle.

⁴³ See also 148.

encore à va-t-en (190)⁴⁴.

Expressions sanctioned by usage may pay no regard to euphony; despite the hiatus, commença à auoüer is the established form (523-4). However, where usage affords a choice the form judged to sound better should always be selected. This of course overlaps with stylistic considerations, but unfortunately Vaugelas at times confuses the avoidance of cacophony and the extra attention he believes should be paid to certain written styles; while maintaining in the text that the choice of si on or si l'on depends on considerations of euphony (9-10), in the Preface (VI) he suggests that the addition of such particles only really occurs in 'le stile'. Elsewhere the notion of euphony is so subjective that the recommendation must ultimately be founded on Vaugelas's personal preference. For instance, it is Vaugelas who judges that the pronunciations chez vous [ʃøvu]⁴⁵, and on-z-a [õza] are unacceptable (436) and that filleul, the form preferred at Court, is 'incomparablement plus douce' than fillol<filiolus (341). Euphony, also apparently associated with ease of pronunciation by Vaugelas (conflant 423), is symptomatic of the general perfecting process operating in French:

Mais comme les langues se polissent, & se perfectionnent jusqu'à vn certain point, on a supprimé pour vne plus grande douceur l'e...(442-3).

While, then, Vaugelas contributes little to the theory of orthography and makes little, or no, advancement on the question of spelling reform,

44 He is not, however, in favour of on-z-a, on-z-ordonne, perhaps used to avoid the problem of denasalisation. Vaugelas helped to establish the use of so-called 'euphonic' 't' in French in writing (it was probably already pronounced in the sixteenth century; cf. Vaugelas 1615: 44 y a il (44); sera il (84)). The 't' is not marked infallibly, however, throughout the Remarques (e.g. 572).

45 This is another case where it is not clear what Vaugelas intends by his spelling. The 'eu' was probably an orthographic fancy for [ø], for it is unlikely that the vowel was ever a diphthong.

he nevertheless plays a part in fixing the orthography of several words. As for his treatment of pronunciation, Vaugelas is hampered not only by a lack of knowledge of sound laws, which he shares with his contemporaries; he is also disadvantaged by a rather hazy knowledge of Old French, an occasional lack of sensitivity of ear and by his impressionistic transcription. If we compare his observations on pronunciation with the work of others his omissions and inaccuracies are highlighted⁴⁶, yet once again it is often Vaugelas who establishes the pronunciation of individual words or predicts the development of, for example, the pronunciation of the imperfect and conditional endings. I shall outline some of the most important features of Vaugelas's observations on pronunciation and orthography in the following tables.

⁴⁶ To cite one small example, Vaugelas favours the form l'onziesme with elision (77-8). The modern form with no elision, which retains the identity of the word, perhaps on the analogy of other numerals, is supported both by Patru and by the Academy (Streicher 1936: 159-161).

Table 5:

Treatment of vowels

1. 'a' [a] vs. 'e' [ɛ]: 250 Guarir, guerir, sarge
 512 Arondelle, hirondelle, erondelle

Vaugelas's preference	Reason	Problems	Subsequent usage
<u>guerir</u>	Aesthetic concerns: [ɛ] 'plus doux' than [a]	Hypercorrect-ion <* <u>warjan</u> <* <u>harunda</u>	<u>guerir</u> [e]
<u>herondelle</u>			<u>hiron-delle</u> [i]
<u>marque</u>	While [ɛr] generally preferable, it must not be abused (250)	Original 'a' replaced by 'e'	<u>marque</u> [a]
<u>sarge</u>			<u>serge</u> [ɛ]
<u>marry</u>		Aligned more closely with etymon <* <u>marrjan</u>	<u>marri</u> [a]

Comment: Vaugelas mistakenly tries to align the case of Damoiselle, madamoiselle (141) to the tendency for French to prefer 'e' to 'a', but here [a] > [ə], not [ɛ]. Indeed [ə] tended to fall completely, although Vaugelas criticises this.

2. E muet

- a) Medial position: syncopation or retention unstressed position

Syncopation	Comments	Non-syncopation	Comments
<u>remerciment</u> <u>agrément</u> (413)	Spelling to mirror pronunciation	Future tenses of <u>laisser</u> (27) and <u>donner</u> (119) <u>seureté</u> (343)	Prefers less casual pronunciation
Certain adverbs (<u>asseurement</u> , <u>poliment</u> , <u>absolument</u>)	Claims that the accent marks fallen [ə]		

There are two problem areas:

- 1) What are we to understand by Vaugelas's comment that for the adverbs listed above, the pronunciation is affected 'en prononçant cet é, cet î, et cet û, long, comme contenant le temps de deux syllabes réduites à vne seule' (443)?
- 2) In the case of louer and payer it is implied that the future forms are dissyllabic in poetry but trisyllabic in prose (413). These verbs were probably chosen because of the semi-vowels [w] and [j] in the stem. In the trisyllabic pronunciation the semi-vowels are pronounced, while the other forms must have an oral vowel. It is clear from the discussion of Fuir (451-7), that Vaugelas does not understand the nature of semi-vowels, and is misled by the orthography.

(continued)

b) Final position

- (i) Evidence [ə]/C- still audible for Vaugelas: he distinguishes between auecque and auec (311-2), encore and encor (252-3), demie-heure and demi-heure(358-9), pacte and pact (372).
- (ii) Vaugelas was apparently the first to give the rule about when masculine adjectives ending in -il(e) should have a final 'e' or not, indicating that the 'l' is sounded. The explanation relies on knowledge of the length of the penultimate syllable of their Latin etymons (448).

	French	Comments
Short Latin penulti- mate syllable	End in 'e': <u>fertile</u> <u>vtile</u>	Latin borrowings made in the 14 and 13.
Long Latin penulti- mate syllable	No 'e': <u>subtil</u> , <u>gentil</u> , <u>ciuil</u>	

3. [wɛ] vs. [ɛ] 98-101 Quand la dyphtongue OI, doit estre
prononcée comme elle est escrite, on bien en AI.
- 411 Ployer, player
- 541-2 Croyance, creance

Vaugelas's preference		Subsequent usage
'oi' [wɛ] :	All monosyllables	Mostly [wa]
	Words ending in <u>-oir</u>	[wa]
	Present singular indica- tive of words ending in <u>-çois</u>	[wa]
	Exceptional names of inhabitants of towns, provinces, countries: e.g. <u>Genois</u> , <u>Suedois</u> , <u>Liegeois</u>	[wa]
'ai' [ɛ]	Exceptional monosyllables: <u>fraid</u> , <u>craid</u> , <u>drait</u> , <u>saient</u> , <u>sait</u> (present subjunctive of <u>être</u>)	[wa]
	In the singular and 3rd person pl. ending of the imperfect tense	[ɛ]
	In the same forms of the conditional	[ɛ]
	Names of inhabitants of various towns, provinces and countries	[ɛ]
	In the first three persons of the present indicative of a small number of verbs (e.g. <u>connaître</u>)	[ɛ]

(continued)

Problems

When the syllable in question is not final sometimes [ɛ] and some-
times [wɛ] is preferred:

Vaugelas's preference		Subsequent usage
'oi' [wɛ]	<u>boire</u> , <u>memoire</u> , <u>gloire</u> , <u>foire</u>	[wa]
'ai' [ɛ]	<u>craire</u> , <u>accraire</u> ,	[wa]
	<u>accraistre</u> , <u>connaistre</u> , <u>paraistre</u> ,	[ɛ]

As a general rule, however, [wɛ] is to be used in this context.
(Creance and croyance are discussed below 168).

Comment

Vaugelas observes that where 'oi' is pronounced [ɛ], it has recently
been replaced by the graphy 'ai' (98) and he follows this in the
practice of the observation itself. Nevertheless, he retains the
spelling -oisetc,for instance, in the imperfect endings elsewhere in
the work.

4. Nasal vowels

29-30 Ingredient, expedient, inconuenient, escient,
& autres semblables

Vaugelas's preference		Vaugelas's reason
'comme si elle s'escrui <u>oit</u> avec vn <u>a</u> ' i.e. [jã]	<u>ingredient</u> , <u>expedient</u> , <u>inconuenient</u> <u>escient</u> etc.	't' following the 'n'
'avec l' <u>e</u> ' i.e. [jẽ] <u>moyen</u> , <u>cityon</u> , <u>Chrestien</u>		no 't' following the 'n'

Comments: Etymology might here have provided a better explanation
(escient < scientem; moyen < medianum).

See also Remarques 143-6, where Vaugelas attempts to explain the recent
change from -ian to -ien in the endings of Latin Proper names (<-anus),
by aligning it to the general preference in French for 'e', confusing
sounds and letters.

Table 6:

Treatment of consonants

1. Final consonants 194-8 H, aspirée, ou consone, & H, muëtte
(-C). cf. Chiflet 1659: 212-215

	Vaugelas's decision	Problems (Noted by Chiflet)
'b'	Not pronounced	Overlooks <u>plomb</u> .
'c'	Pronounced i.e. [k] sound in <u>sac de</u> <u>bled</u> etc.	Through looking at letters, overlooks many exceptions e.g. <u>blanc</u> , <u>banc</u> , <u>flanc</u>
'd'	Not pronounced	Foreign words: <u>Dauid</u> , <u>Aod</u>
'f'	Not pronounced (<u>oeuf de pigeon</u>)	Wrong generalisation: (<u>chef</u> , <u>fief</u> , <u>pensif</u>)
'g'	Not pronounced	Some foreign words are exceptions <u>Agag</u> , <u>Abisag</u>
'l'	Pronounced. Elsewhere he notes that <u>fol</u> etc. pronounced as if spelt <u>fou</u> [fu] (13-14) and that <u>qu'il vient</u> barely distinguishable from <u>qui vient</u> (353)	Once again problem of looking at letters. Many exceptions e.g. <u>outil</u> , <u>gentil</u> , <u>sourcil</u>
'm'	Pronounced (<u>Abraham</u> , <u>Bethleem</u> etc.)	Chiflet points out that in native words, final 'm' is not pronounced (indicates nasality of previous vowel): <u>faim</u> , <u>nom</u> , <u>parfum</u> etc.
'n'	Not pronounced before a consonant	
'p'	Not pronounced (<u>coup</u> <u>d'espée</u>)	
'q'	Pronounced (<u>vn coq de parroisse</u>)	How general?: <u>cinq</u> <u>soldats</u> , <u>coq-d'Inde</u>
'r'	Pronounced (<u>pur</u> , <u>pour</u>), except in infinitives (<u>aller</u> , <u>courir</u>)	Exceptions: many words ending in <u>-ier</u> , <u>-eur</u> . Infinitives ending in <u>-oir</u>
's'	Not pronounced	Nothing said of the restoration of final consonants e.g. <u>sens</u>
't'	Not pronounced	
'x', 'z'	Not pronounced.	

(continued)

Problems

- 1) Concentrating on letters rather than sounds.
- 2) Missing exceptions and problematic areas.
- 3) By concentrating on individual examples, he occasionally makes the wrong generalisation.

2. Initial and medial consonants

Only scattered comments are made about initial and medial consonants, for example, that [k] and [g] are permuted in cangreine, secret, vacabond, illustrating the processes of assimilation and dissimilation¹. Vaugelas has to face the problem of adapting foreign words to the orthography and pronunciation of French. There is a long section devoted to the assimilation of Greek words containing an aspiration (202-9). For example:

Hesitation between 'hie' and 'je', [je] and [ʒe]

Vaugelas's preferences		Subsequent developments
Spelling	pronunciation	
<u>Hierosme</u>	'vn <u>g</u> , <u>mol</u> '	<u>hierarchie</u> ['jeRaʁʃi]
<u>Hierarchie</u>	i.e. [ʒe]	
<u>Hierusalem</u>		<u>Jérôme</u> , <u>Jerusalem</u> [ʒe]

(continued)

¹ See also persecuter (114), acheter (318-9), gentil, gentille (which shows the resistance to the replacement of palatal l by [j] in the higher echelons of society (447-8)) and the inconsistent pronouncements on Mercredy, arbre, marbre (422-3).

3. H aspirée: problems of liaison and elision

194 'H, aspirée, ou consone, & H muëtte'.
198-202 'Reigle pour discerner l'h, consone d'auec la muette'
See also 1-3, 20, 552-4, 242-3, 73-74.

Vaugelas's preferences				
	General rule	Problems	Exceptions	Problems
'h' not aspirated	Words with initial 'h' derived from Latin words also with initial 'h'.		<div><div><u>hennir</u> <u>hennissement</u> <u>haleter</u></div><div><u>hargne</u> <u>hareng</u></div><div><u>harpie</u> <u>heros</u></div></div>	Exceptions have aspirate 'h' for various reasons: 1) Probably onomatopoeic 2) Germanic 3) Perhaps due to fashion to aspirate the [h] of Latin words c.1550
'h aspirée' (aspirated pronunciation maintained by schooling)	I. Latin etymon does not have initial 'h' e.g. <div><u>haut</u> <u>hache</u> <u>hupe</u> <u>hurler</u> <u>hors</u></div>	Paradigm cases are themselves exceptions 1) crossed with Germanic * <u>hôn</u> 2) Germanic 3) onomatopoeic 4) < OFr <u>fors</u> < <u>foras</u>	<div><u>huistre</u> <u>huile</u> <u>hieble</u> <u>huit</u></div>	In all these the 'h' introduced as a purely graphical device to ensure the words read correctly (i.e. to distinguish 'u'/'v' and 'i'/'j').
	II. Words with initial 'h' 'qui ne viennent pas du Latin' i.e. Germanic		<u>hermine</u>	Latin word

Problems

- 1) The rules are clearly founded on misunderstanding.
- 2) While Vaugelas's influence was not enough to maintain the pronunciation of [h] which entirely disappeared at the end of the century, his influence, together with that of other grammarians and reformers of Latin pronunciation was enough to prevent acceptance of elision of the preceding vowel. The so-called 'h aspirée' of Modern French is thus only an abstract sign without phonetic realisation, preventing elision of the preceding vowel.

(B) Vocabulary and meaning(a) Introduction

In his attitude to vocabulary and meaning Vaugelas stands at a crossroads: gone is the pressing desire to prove the richesse of French vis-à-vis Latin and Italian by displaying the resources of the language - dialectal, technical and archaic -, enriching the stock of words and illustrating the wealth of the lexicon in the use of synonyms and images⁴⁷. Yet Vaugelas has not the rather inflexible attitude of, for instance, Bouhours or indeed Malherbe to neologisms and synonyms, nor is he so concerned to prune the language⁴⁸. Vaugelas still tolerates neologisms provided they are well-formed and fill a semantic gap and even permits the lexicalisation of new concepts⁴⁹. He excludes dialectal and technical terms and words considered bas from good usage, but expresses regret at the loss of a useful word from the vocabulary stock (e.g. magnifier, partant)⁵⁰. He acknowledges the existence of polysemy and suggests the stylistic value of a moderate use of synonyms. Yet already many of his observations are devoted to differentiating semantically or etymologically related words and to clarifying meanings, foreshadowing the Classical insistence on the mot juste⁵¹.

⁴⁷ Cf. Ronsard: 'Plus nous aurons de mots en nostre langue, plus elle sera parfaite..' (Ronsard 1950: 1009).

⁴⁸ Cf. Bouhours 1674: 244-5; 1962: 50-51 and chapter 7, 291-3. Vaugelas is not then working with the 'almost pathologically restricted lexicon of late 17th century polite society' (Posner 1981: 133).

⁴⁹ Cf. La Bruyère: 'tout est dit' (1965: 82).

⁵⁰ See Ayres 1983: 18-19.

⁵¹ See 144-5.

Vaugelas's desire to restrict the lexical stock seems to derive from his notion of successful communication: employing the word the hearer himself would have chosen. This implies identity of the speaker's active and passive knowledge of vocabulary. The banning of words deemed dialectal⁵², technical⁵³, bas⁵⁴, too new or too old⁵⁵ is a safety measure to ensure that the word employed is not one the hearer has not previously met. Technical terms are acceptable in their own sphere, since they will be understood by specialists (Preface IX, 3), and words which have entered the common stock equally afford no problems of comprehension (e.g. appareiller 323)⁵⁶.

The Précieuses' fastidious attitude to vocabulary and their dislike of concrete terms is alluded to, but not generally adopted. Vaugelas is obliged to accept, albeit reluctantly, the disfavour of face and poitrine (60) because of their other associations, but he dismisses a similar argument in the observation on dependre (248). Concrete and abstract terms alike are discussed (fureur, furie 446-7; terroire, terrein, territoire 74-5).

There is some evidence that Vaugelas is aware that vocabulary is structured, although only the most general patterns are detected. This awareness may derive from his work on the Academy dictionary (1694) which is not arranged purely alphabetically, but pays attention to

⁵² See Remarques 76-7, 222, 392-3, 353, 372-3, 434, 136-9.

⁵³ E.g. Expedition (369-70).

⁵⁴ See 146.

⁵⁵ See below 178-9.

⁵⁶ Vaugelas does not recommend the banning of every word about which some people are uncertain (e.g. mais memes 22-3).

morphological structure⁵⁷. Vaugelas expects words belonging to the same family to behave consistently (e.g. heros, heroine, heroique 1-3) and therefore points to any assymetry sanctioned by usage (particulier, -arité 46-7). He relies on proportional relationships to support a neologism in a way echoed much later by Saussure (1916:231):

curieux: curiosité:: serieux:: seriosité (255).

Nevertheless he is conscious that regular patterning is not a feature of all morphological relationships, and stresses that there is not necessarily any correlation between the behaviour of simple and compound forms (e.g. preuit, preueut 370-1).

(b) Meaning

Certain observations suggest that Vaugelas believes there to be some consistent relationship between the meaning suggested by the morphology of a word or composition of a phrase and the conceptual content, although he admits that it is not unusual for usage to distort this (519). It is against reason that, over fifty years before, the expression Qu'ainsi ne soit acquired a ne since it conveys no negative meaning; nevertheless French contains 'certaines façons de parler qui semblent dire le contraire de ce qu'on leur fait signifier' (557). He suggests that the reason why conjurateur is (in his view, wrongly) preferred to conjuré is that it has an active form (518-9) and defines parricide because it not only has the meaning implied by its form (338-9)⁵⁸.

57 Although it was Chapelain's project which was adopted for the dictionary, comparison of the Remarques with the policy outlined in the Preface of the 1694 dictionary (rejection of very new words, archaisms, technical terms and of terms 'd'emportement ou qui blessent la Pudeur') confirms Vaugelas's influence on the undertaking.

58 One word may also have an active and a passive meaning (estime, ayde 562).

What then does Vaugelas think meaning is? He acknowledges semantic structure, relying on speakers' ability to recognize synonyms and antonyms, words with related or totally different meanings⁵⁹. These relationships are not defined by Vaugelas. When a word is defined in the Remarques it is often given a negative definition, Vaugelas telling us how its meaning differs from that of related words (securité 43-4). Vaugelas does not, however, restrict his treatment of meaning to conceptual or referential meaning. He is concerned with at least five of the seven types of meaning listed by Leech (1981: 9-23): the definition of rais is clearly referential (192), connotative meaning is invoked in the observation on horrible, effroyable (362), reflected meaning is suggested as a cause for the demise of poitrine and face (60), questions of collocative meaning are raised in the discussion of the acceptability of the expression s'immoler à la risée publique (120-123) and Vaugelas's interest in social meaning is obvious (galant 476-8). Vaugelas admits that a word may have a concrete and a figurative meaning (parallele 106) and uses some metaphors himself⁶⁰, but he is wary of metaphorical explanations of word meaning, dismissing the explanation offered for the origin of the meaning of propreté as 'trop subtil, & trop recherché' (6).

(i) Lexical Ambiguity: Polysemy and Homophony

Vaugelas is rather inconsistent in his attitude towards lexical ambiguity. Mok suggests that part of the problem is that Vaugelas does

⁵⁹ For instance, in the elaboration of the 'synonym' rule. See 122, 217-8.

⁶⁰ For example, in his explanation of the use of synonyms (*494-5). For discussion of Vaugelas's growing uneasiness with the use of metaphors, see Ayres 1983: 30.

not differentiate between the lexical ambiguity depending on polysemy and that stemming from homophony. If he had, we might expect him to allow the first, but condemn the second (Mok 1968: 305). This would then explain why the potential ambiguity of dependre is tolerated (247), but condemned in the case of the homonyms d'autant que and d'autant que (326). The difficulty, however, of establishing a clear demarcation between polysemy and homophony is well-known⁶¹. Moreover Vaugelas is quite happy with the homophony of croyance and creance and even predicts, although incorrectly, that they will be spelt the same in the near future (542). The existence of polysemy is tacitly assumed (galant, galamment 462) and defended as a usual feature of most languages (5). Yet while accepting that it would be virtually impossible to eliminate all instance of polysemy, Vaugelas apparently does not consider polysemy to be ideal⁶². The avoidance of ambiguity is taken into account when evaluating a new word (exaction 239), so that a new word is required to have one clear meaning. Lexical ambiguity may contribute to the demise of a word (taxer 221; là où 45-6), although Vaugelas adds that he considers this unjust. However, avoidance of possible lexical ambiguity does not infallibly prevent the extension of the meaning of an existing lexical item when this is sanctioned by usage (Songer pour penser 85)⁶³. Vaugelas therefore vacillates in his opinion of lexical ambiguity from complete acceptance to total rejection.

⁶¹ See, for instance, Lyons 1977: II: 550-569.

⁶² See also 538-9. Vaugelas seems to suggest that one possible way of resolving a potential ambiguity is through homophones having a different gender (voile (460-1), personne (6), oeuvre(s) (34), pourpre (58), amour (389)). Since Vaugelas considers these as one word with two different genders, gender is apparently extraneous for him. However, in the case of poste (*458), Vaugelas gives two separate etymons for the masculine and feminine forms and implies they are different words.

⁶³ See 171-2.

(ii) Synonyms

It is clear that Vaugelas believes in the existence of synonyms, for the notion is used as the basis of a series of syntactic rules⁶⁴. However, he does not define synonyms, or explicitly question whether there are indeed true synonyms, but is simply concerned with how and when they may be used. For this purpose he apparently has in mind a general definition of synonyms such as that articulated in the 1694 Academy dictionary: 'qui a mesme signification qu'un autre mot'. Yet when he is differentiating semantically related words this definition will not suffice, and his idea of synonyms is probably closer to the nuanced definition found in the Preface of the Academy dictionary:

Sur quoy on croit devoir avertir que le Synonyme ne respond pas tousjours exactement à la signification du mot dont il est Synonyme, & qu'ainsi ils ne doivent pas estre employez indifferemment l'un pour l'autre.

In Vaugelas's view synonyms are useful stylistically as ornements and also serve communication (493*-499)⁶⁵. However, synonimes des phrases are not recommended since the length of the repetition impedes comprehension at a point when the reader is eager to know what happens next. Examples of words considered synonymous are scattered throughout the Remarques (e.g. aimer & cherir (215); ruses & artifices (51); orgueil & vanité (217))⁶⁶. The citation of clemence & douceur as synonyms (219) suggests that Vaugelas counts as synonyms words which are synonymous in one of their meanings or only in certain contexts.

Fuchs is concerned about the discrepancy between Vaugelas's theory of synonyms as articulated in the observation of that name and his predilection for differentiating the meaning of related words or near-synonyms

⁶⁴ See 122, 217-8.

⁶⁵ For Vaugelas's view of synonyms, see chapter 1, 48-9.

⁶⁶ For the problems of distinguishing synonyms and 'approchans' see 139.

(Fuchs 1979: 286)⁶⁷. It is true that a large number of observations are concerned with dividing a semantic field between two lexical items, but this does not necessarily affect his attitude to synonyms. Vaugelas's stance may alter according to whether he is the grammarian and lexicographer aiming to provide each word with a precise meaning and marking all the nuances and potential differences between semantically related words, or Vaugelas the translator and stylist who realises that the treatment of certain words as synonyms in particular contexts may be necessary to convey an idea successfully or to vary the style (e.g. parent & amy (*477-8); 'parce qu'icy hautes & excellentes, sont comme synonymes' (499*)). Elsewhere where precision is crucial, the differences rather than the similarities may be stressed: incendie and embrasement may be treated as synonyms with the latter placed first as the more familiar, or a slight difference of meaning may be emphasised if necessary (126-7). The majority of examples of synonyms in the Remarques are found in the formulation and applications of the synonym rule; this demands a simple division of the lexicon into like and unlike in order to explain certain syntactic facts. Where the semantic is focused on, for instance in a definition, slight distinctions of emphasis and of connotation become important.

The inclusion of a large number of observations in which related words are distinguished foreshadows the care given in the following century to defining and restricting the meaning of words⁶⁸. Ironically

⁶⁷ Fuchs attempts, not very successfully, to relate Vaugelas's practice to 'usage' and 'reason', concluding that his practice does not permit one to theorise the problem of synonymy such that usage can be said generally to dominate over reason. This seems rather forced.

⁶⁸ It was in the eighteenth century that L'Abbé Girard's La justesse de la langue françoise, ou les differentes significations des mots qui passent pour synonymes (Paris: Laurent d'Houry 1718), the first dictionary of synonymes, appeared.

Vaugelas's own usage, especially of semi-technical terms, is negligent⁶⁹. If Vaugelas's usage is typical of the period, then it is unlikely that the majority of people used words with great precision, and this would explain the inclusion of some rather basic observations (temperature, temperament (74); terroir, terrain, territoire (74-5)). The words differentiated may have a common etymon (chaire, chaize 441), display formal (consommer, consumer 401) or semantic (soupçonneux, suspect 401) proximity, or belong to different registers (matinier is archaic except in the set expression l'Estoile matiniere 151). Vaugelas stresses the difficulty of formulating nuances of meaning and argues that the reader must learn to appreciate the distinctions for himself by noting the contexts in which each word is used by good authors (447)⁷⁰.

(iii) Extension and restriction of meaning

Vaugelas's desire to fix the meaning of words to ensure ease of comprehension means that often French words are assigned a restricted meaning, for example, banquet is restricted to usage in the religious sphere⁷¹. Cases where the meaning of a word has been or is being extended are most often criticised (e.g. proches for parents 94). One might have thought that the extension of meaning as a way of creating new words without adding to the lexical stock and avoiding long and clumsy derivatives would have appealed to seventeenth century taste for

⁶⁹ See 137-152.

⁷⁰ This may support O. de Mourgues's (1981) contention that far from words having a precise and restricted meaning in Classical literature, they are vague, general, abstract and semantically unstable. Their precision of meaning comes from their careful placing in the context of a network of values which restricts their meaning.

⁷¹ See also courroucé (373), humilité and Manes (234).

economy and brevity, but the preference for monosemy seems to outweigh other considerations. The extreme case of the preference for one form - one meaning is that of parallele, for which Vaugelas recommends different forms for the concrete and figurative meanings (106-8). Vaugelas is also against the extension of meaning of suffixes (faisable 490; pardonnable 566-567). Yet where semantic extensions have been confirmed in usage, they must be accepted (songer for penser 85; se resouuenir for considerer 111-2).

(c) Neologisms and derivational morphology

Vaugelas's attitude to neologisms is more flexible than many commentators, aligning him with later grammarians, allow⁷². Various statements in the Remarques lead to the mistaken belief that Vaugelas condemns all neologisms⁷³, but the ban only applies to coined words created ex nihilo, which are virtually unknown in language. Vaugelas allows much greater freedom in the creation of derivatives (Preface XI). He is critical of the neologisms of Ronsard and Du Vair (569) and of the use of over-new words (569), but his experience as a translator must have shown him new words are occasionally essential and he is fully aware of the changing nature of the lexicon⁷⁴. Strict conditions are imposed on neologisms, of which the first two are similar to those given by two contemporary linguists (Carroll and Tanenhaus 1975: 51). The new word must fill a semantic gap. Vaugelas explains that transfuge has been successful because 'nous n'en auions point en nostre langue, qui exprime ce qu'il veut dire' (449) and because it is economical in comparison to employing a paraphrase as was previously necessary. Secondly there is an implied hierarchy of preferences of ways of creating new words,

⁷² For example, Guilbert (1975: 35) speaks of Vaugelas's 'ostracisme absolu' of new words.

⁷³ E.g.: 'il n'est iamais permis de faire de nouueaux mots' (569).

⁷⁴ See Preface X, 1.

similar to Carroll and Tanenhaus's minimax principle or principle of least effort. Coined forms are totally excluded, compounds are hardly mentioned, but derived forms are favoured and change of category is acknowledged, although not strongly encouraged. Surprisingly, borrowings are tolerated even though they come from outside the system. The third condition is placed on the creator of new words. While reluctant to admit that anyone has the right to produce them, if this falls to anyone, it must be the king, a favourite or a prominent Minister (Preface XI), since these people are likely to be copied and the word therefore become familiar⁷⁵. Since one risks committing a barbarisme by using a new word, it must be introduced carefully. In the case of insidieux Vaugelas suggests that while in its infancy it should be preceded by a phrase such as 's'il faut vser de ce mot', 's'il faut ainsi dire' (40-41); on the other hand he recommends that his readers should not use seriosité until it is well-established: 'laissons faire les plus hardis, qui nous frayeront le chemin' (255).

Vaugelas allows greater freedom for new phrases provided they do not closely resemble an already existing one (eleuer les yeux vers le ciel, Preface IX, 3; 569)⁷⁶. He also distinguishes between the spoken and written registers, noting that spontaneous creations may occur in speech, especially if said in jest:

...car en parlant on sçait bien qu'il y a de certains mots que l'on peut former sur le champ, comme brusqueté, inaction, impolitesse, & d'ordinaire les verbaux qui terminent en ent comme criement, pleurement, ronflement, & encore n'est-ce qu'en raillerie (569)⁷⁷.

⁷⁵ Note his tolerance for debrutaliser because of his respect for Mme de Rambouillet (492).

⁷⁶ That is, he is against lexical contamination. A contextual point is being made: while élever may be substituted for lever in some situations, it is not appropriate here.

⁷⁷ Vaugelas incorrectly takes the ending as -ent, rather than -ment. Vaugelas's authority seems to have been enough to guarantee the establishment of inaction and impolitesse. Ronflement was in fact a sixteenth century formation, spontaneously recreated by Vaugelas. Brusqueté never gained currency.

Age is also an important factor for Vaugelas in determining the acceptability of a formation; it is often sixteenth century neologisms which are criticised. Ambitionner formed at the end of the sixteenth century is rejected, whereas the earlier creations ((14), affectionner, cautionner, proportionner are accepted, despite the similarity of their formation.

Vaugelas's datings are not always reliable. Rey indicates that, for instance, insidieux is already found in Cotgrave's dictionary, transfuge dates from the fourteenth century, véneration is found in a twelfth century text and two instances of souveraineté are known in the thirteenth century (Rey 1900: 25-26). However, as Rey maintains, what is important is what Vaugelas and his contemporaries considered new and Vaugelas's estimation of this is confirmed by contemporary dictionaries. Table 7 compares the views of Nicot, Richelet, Furetière and the Academy on fifteen of the neologisms mentioned by Vaugelas.

Vaugelas, unlike many of his successors, has no difficulty in allowing neologisms which denote a new concept (intrigue 126; insidieux 39; transfuge 448)⁷⁸ and stresses the uniqueness of the meaning of the new words when introducing them (secrété 43-4). Neologisms providing a new means of expressing a concept already denoted by a term in the language are often convenient in replacing a cumbersome paraphrase (e.g. inuectiuer = faire des inuectives 119)⁷⁹. Usually they are formed by derivation.

(i) Change of category

As we have noted (155) Vaugelas acknowledges change of category as a means of creating a new word (487-8). He is not, however, in favour

⁷⁸ Since Vaugelas is not in favour of coining new words, they are often borrowings.

⁷⁹ Note, however, that the meaning of ambitionner is not exactly equivalent to 'avoir des ambitions' (346).

of the substantivisation of serieux (254-6), nor of superbe (31), perhaps because for new words Vaugelas prefers each meaning to be expressed by a distinct form.

(ii) Derivation

Vaugelas favours derivation as the means of accommodating changes in the lexicon. However, of all possible formations, only a few manage to pass through the socio-linguistic filter and become established in good usage. Despite the fact that the formation inuectiuer conforms to a paradigm, it is not acceptable because it has not penetrated good usage 'à il n'est pas permis de faire des verbes à sa fantaisie, tirez & formez des substantifs' (119). Well-formedness is therefore a prerequisite, but not a guarantee of success⁸⁰.

The examples of prefixation in the Remarques are mainly additions to a verbal base⁸¹. Prefixation is discussed primarily in two remarques, Deuouloir (490-2) and Desbarquer, desembarquer (467-8). Both illustrate Vaugelas's primary concern with the formation as words, with the semantic aspect rather than with the derivational processes. Indeed the second suggests that Vaugelas was not at all sure about the processes involved in these formations, apparently starting from the false supposition that all the negatives are derived from their positive counterparts (convenient semantically). Whereas this is probably the case for desembarquer, desemparer, desenyurer, desenuyer and desensorcelier, some of the others

⁸⁰ Vaugelas also requires that new words sound pleasant. Of insidieux, he writes: 'il est beau & doux à l'oreille, ce qui me fait augurer qu'il se pourra établir' (40).

⁸¹ The exceptions are corriual and complaintes deemed archaic (357-8) and preallable (sic), really a parasynthetic formation, discussed because of its 'hybrid' nature (484).

mentioned are independent developments, produced in parallel with the forms beginning with em- (e.g. degager < gager < gage)⁸². He makes no mention of parasynthetic formation which would account for emmancher, encourager, descourager. Some of the cases are, as Vaugelas suggests, examples of simplification (empestrer, despestrer, embarrasser, desbarrasser). Unfortunately, however, Vaugelas has grouped a number of different processes together, giving a false impression of the regularity of the simplification process⁸³.

Suffixation usually entails a change of syntactic category. Where several derived forms are possible, Vaugelas generally follows the prevailing seventeenth-century tendency to select one as the preferred form (e.g. esclauage/esclautude 403-4)⁸⁴, or to distinguish the possibilities semantically or chronologically (matinal, matinier, matineux 151-2). Gone then is the multiplicity of forms providing variety and flexibility so typical of the Old and Middle French periods. Yet Vaugelas does still allow both descouuerte and descouuerture (487), showing himself to be not entirely inflexible.

It has already been mentioned (166) that parallel formations are a support to new words and help to ensure their establishment. Two possible formations may be supported by two different series of related words (e.g. caniculier and caniculaire 360-1). There is no way of predicting which form will survive and Vaugelas is quite justified in invoking usage in such cases. Occasionally Vaugelas considers a form a derivation which is rather a direct borrowing from Latin. For example, he seems to consider

⁸² Also embroüiller/desbroüiller; empaqueter/despaqueter.

⁸³ From the semantic viewpoint enuelopper and desuelopper do not fit in with the others because they are not direct antonyms.

⁸⁴ In this case he prefers the native word to the Latinism.

exactitude and exacteté both as derivatives formed on well-established principles, and argues that exactitude only became established ('que i'ay veu naistre comme vn monstre') because it appeared first⁸⁵.

(iii) Composition

Virtually no mention is made in the Remarques of composition, suggesting that this means of creating new words was little exploited in Vaugelas's time. Moreover Vaugelas prefers the phrase les pieds nuds to the compound nu-pieds (66). The gender of compounds is mentioned in the observation entitled Sur le minuit, in which Vaugelas maintains that the compound has the gender of the final noun (78-9)⁸⁶.

(iv) Borrowings

Borrowings differ from the other sources of neologism in that the material comes from outside the particular linguistic system. Vaugelas has surprisingly little to say about borrowings, especially if the source language is Latin or Greek, which, because of the large number of learned borrowings made from the fourteenth century on and particularly in the sixteenth century, barely seem foreign to him and can easily establish themselves particularly if they fill a conceptual gap (e.g. transfuge). While a word like insidieux is completely unmotivated for someone without a classical background, it can penetrate good usage provided it is properly introduced (39-41). We must assume that Vaugelas had no objections to Greek borrowings since he merely discusses how they should be spelt and pronounced (202-9). Surprisingly, no comment is made about Italian loan words either. It is true that by Vaugelas's time the worst excesses of the sixteenth century fashion for borrowing from Italian had been

⁸⁵ Here the Latinism is favoured. Since education was still primarily in Latin, few problems of integration would arise. The Latinism may have been favoured because of its precise meaning. No mention is made of exactesse, another possible formation used at this period.

⁸⁶ See Chevalier, Blanche-Benveniste, Arrivé, Peytard 1964: 168-9.

removed due to the work of Henri Estienne⁸⁷ and the natural processes of the language. Nevertheless, we might have expected some warning about over-zealous borrowing or affectation. Vaugelas approves of the three Italian loan borrowings which he only introduces in order to clarify details of spelling or pronunciation (intrigue 126, incognito 464-5) or to point to the asymmetry between the simple native and compound borrowed word (conjoncture/jointure 212-3). A l'improuiste is preferred to the native à l'impourueu (192) and of the two Italian calques mentioned iamais plus is accepted (171), but vers où is censured because it disturbs the normal word order of French and violates syntactic collocation rules (355)⁸⁸.

(d) Archaisms

Using an archaism is another means of committing a barbarisme⁸⁹. Marzys (1978) has provided thorough documentation of the fate of words labelled archaic by Vaugelas through examination of Littré and Petit Robert, but concludes that the results illustrate the differing attitudes to vocabulary in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, rather than reflecting on the accuracy of Vaugelas's records⁹⁰. Comparison with

⁸⁷ See especially Henri Estienne 1885 (1578) and 1579.

⁸⁸ Vaugelas's dislike of borrowings from dialects and his reluctance to allow technical terms into good usage have been dealt with above, 164.

⁸⁹ The general dislike of archaisms in the period is illustrated by the fact that they are relegated to the Academy's dictionary of arts and sciences (1694).

⁹⁰ Marzys argues that the phonological, morphological and syntactic facts considered archaic by Vaugelas have, however, almost invariably disappeared from usage as predicted (Marzys 1978: 202).

the entries in the dictionaries of Nicot, Richelet, Furetière and the Academy⁹¹ shows that while Vaugelas was not so accurate in his prediction of the demise of certain words as in his predictions for neologisms, he nevertheless generally mirrored contemporary feeling about which terms were falling out of use. Whereas the majority of them (13) appear in Nicot, many of them have only qualified currency by the time of the publication of the Academy dictionary less than fifty years later (table 8).

⁹¹ Since Richelet's dictionary is largely eclectic and the Remarques one of its sources, Richelet rarely disagrees with Vaugelas. Furetière's and the Academy's dictionaries are more independent and tend to be conservative in their retention of archaisms, although in general they confirm his predictions about neologisms. Some words (e.g. accoustumance) may have been revitalised.

TABLE 7: NEOLOGISMS

	NICOT (1609)*	RICHELET (1680)	FURETIÈRE (1690)	ACADEMY (1694)
VÉNÉRATION (PREF).	-	✓	✓	✓
INSIDIEUX (39)	✓	defined but 'pas reçu.'	vx mot escorche du Latin	style soustenu & poësie
SÉCURITÉ (43)	-	same definition 'pas encore établi'	✓	✓
INVECTIVER (119)	(INVECTIVE)	†	✓	✓
INTRIGUE (126)	-	✓	✓	✓
INCENDIE (126)	-	✓ (à dessein)	✓ (grand feu)	✓ (grand embrasement)
CONIONCTURE (212)	-	✓ (Vaug)	✓	✓
FÉLICITER (213)	-	✓	✓	✓
EXACTITUDE (239)	-	✓	✓	✓
SÉRIOSITÉ (254)	-	pas établi-sérieux	✓+ sérieux	sérieux
FAIRE PIECE (316)	-	†*	✓	✓
TRANSFUGE (448)	-	✓(Vaug)	✓	✓
DEVOULOIR (490)	-	pas en usage (Vaug)		
PUDEUR (537)	(PUDIQUE)	✓	✓	✓
INSULTER (537)	-	✓(Vaug)	✓	✓

* Spelt NICOD on the title page.

TABLE 8: ARCHAISMS

	NICOD (1609)	RICHELET (1680)	FURETIÈRE (1690)	ACADEMY (1694)
MAGNIFIER (128)	✓	vx (Vaug)	vx	✓ (principalement de Dieu)
MAINT (151)	✓	†vx	poétique (only burlesque)	only in certain poetry
MESHUY (171)	✓	-	-	-
DEVERS (172)	✓	vieilli, bas (Vaug)	✓	✓
SE CONJOUYR (213)	✓	vx	vieillit	✓
PARTANT (225)	✓	some say old, but still used	1) par conséquent, donc 2) pourveu que - vieillit	-
SOULOIR (241)	✓	vx (Vaug)	vx	vx imparfait
AU DEMEURANT (329)	✓	-	✓ (quotes Marot)	vx
CUPIDITÉ (339)	✓	restricted to téologie (sic) & pieté	✓	✓
BAILLER (349)	✓	restricted usage	less in usage than <u>donner</u>	vieillit
CORRIVAL (357)		Vaug	vx	vx
COMPLAINTE (357)		vx	vieillit, specialised	-
ACCOUSTUMANCE (383)	✓	-	✓	✓
VOULOIR (442)	✓	poé tique (Vaug)	✓	✓
QUANTESFOIS (480)	✓	-	vx (Malherbe)	-

KEY: † only for comedy, burlesque, satire.
†* only when used figuratively in comedy, burlesque, satire.

(C) Inflectional morphology

The principal area of interest in Vaugelas's handling of problems of inflectional morphology is that of verbs. The treatment of verb morphology illustrates many of the general questions raised at the beginning of this chapter and may be taken as representative of his approach to inflectional morphology in general. I shall therefore only summarise briefly his observations on articles and pronouns.

(a) Articles

The problem of the categorization of the article has been raised above⁹². Two other problems faced the early French grammarians. Firstly what status should be given to à, de, au, du, aux and des? Two different solutions were proposed: having asserted that à and de are prepositions, Meigret and Ramus argue that since the other four forms mark the same cases, they should likewise be classified as prepositions. Others, considering the function of the article as marking case (as well as usually gender and number), have no hesitation in including all six in the article category (Garnier, Robert Estienne)⁹³. None of them seems to have grasped the compound nature of au, du, aux and des. The second problem was how to categorize un, une and the plurals uns, unes which had virtually disappeared from usage by the beginning of the sixteenth century except in a dual sense⁹⁴.

⁹² For the history of the article category see Yvon (1955).

⁹³ As Joly indicates (1980: 18-19) the formal definition of the article as a marker of gender, number and above all case (that is, as a nominal marker) prevailed until the middle of the eighteenth century (excluding Arnauld & Lancelot 1660). Semantic definitions, based on the idea of determination, were not then current in Vaugelas's day. These early formal definitions should be compared with Guillaume's thesis (1919) that all the 'nounness' is indeed in the article since this marks the traditional nominal categories, and that the noun is reduced to a sort of adjective, the only difference being that it has inherent gender.

⁹⁴ They are not therefore mentioned by Vaugelas.

Palsgrave, comparing French with English, subdivides the article category into two: vng corresponding to English 'a' with the feminine vne and the plural vngs, vnes, and le (la, les) the counterpart of English 'the' (Palsgrave 1852 (1530): 65). Sixteenth century French grammarians were clearly embarrassed by the question⁹⁵. For instance Dubois, afraid to stray too far from the Latin paradigm, only recognizes the article le, although he realizes that un can fulfil the same function as le in marking gender. Robert Estienne is the first to state explicitly that un and une can be used 'cōme d'articles' (1569: 22), but they are still not assigned full article status. At the beginning of the seventeenth century Maupas includes un in his discussion of the article and notes that the plural of un is des. However, he reserves the term 'article indefini' for à and de (included as articles because they too decline nouns) and describes un(e) as 'Articles d'unité singulière seulement' (Winkler 1912: 76-77). It is not until the Port-Royal grammar (Arnauld & Lancelot 1660: 52) that the modern division of articles into definite and indefinite is introduced⁹⁶.

Vaugelas employs the same division of articles into definite and indefinite as Maupas. Since the articles are said to have cases, their declension may be set out in the following way (Remarques *474-477; 387)⁹⁷:

⁹⁵ See Neumann 1959: 123-130.

⁹⁶ The usage of the term 'article indéfini' to refer to un(e) took a long time to establish itself, only becoming official usage with the 1910 arrêté ministeriel (Neumann 1959: 130).

⁹⁷ Vaugelas gives two conflicting orders for enumerating the cases: genitif - datif - accusatif - ablatif (117), the order given by Thrax (with the addition of the ablative), and nominatif - accusatif - genitif - ablatif - datif (*474-6), an ordering which indicates the syncretism.

		<u>definite</u>	<u>indefinite</u>
'tousjours semblables'	(nom (acc	(<u>le</u> , <u>la</u> , <u>les</u>	
'' (*475)	(gen (abl	(<u>du</u> , <u>de la</u> , <u>de l'</u> , (<u>des</u>	(<u>de</u>
	dat	<u>au</u> , <u>à la</u> , <u>à l'</u> , <u>aux</u>	<u>à</u>
	voc	<u>o</u>	

Vaugelas follows in the tradition of Robert Estienne, defining the articles on a formal basis. However, he does not confine the function of the article to that of a nominal marker; discussing the repetition of the article, he notes:

Premierement, voyons les articles deuant les verbes.
Ce que nous appellons icy articles, d'autres l'appellent prepositions, mais la dispute du nom ne fait rien à la chose (215).

Having adopted the categorization of à and de as articles before nouns, Vaugelas calls them articles in all uses, regardless of their function or syntactic content. His rather careless use of terminology therefore seems to rely on a mixture of functional criteria (à and de serve to 'decline' nouns) and morphological identity (à and de used before nouns or before verbs).

The status of un(e) remains uncertain in the Remarques. Under the heading 'L'article indefini ne reçoit iamais apres soy le pronom relatif, ou, le pronom relatif ne se rapporte iamais au nom qui n'a que l'article indefini' Vaugelas refers to un and une as pronouns, presumably from comparison of the use of unus in Latin⁹⁸. Yet he adds that, joined with the indefinite article (à, de) and followed by a relative pronoun (that is, used in a restrictive relative clause), they have a similar value to the

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Discussion as to whether pronouns and articles are really the same thing is found in the work of twentieth century linguists (e.g. Postal 1970). In French, of course, not only is there a formal similarity between the indefinite article un and the pronoun un, but also between the definite article le (<ille) and the object pronoun le. The last two may, however, be distinguished on the basis that the pronoun does not amalgamate with a preceding preposition as the article does, that is, only il vient de le faire is correct and not il vient du faire. See also Lyons 1968: 279.

definite article (385). The explanation offered for this judgment is that the combination of de + un can be followed by a relative pronoun which is 'tousjours defini', whereas 'le nom sans article, ou avec vn article indefini, est comme vne chose vague & en l'air, où rien ne se peut attacher' (388). This seems to foreshadow the definition of Arnauld and Lancelot (1660: 55-58) which is based on a theory of determination. In addition Vaugelas confirms the modern rule that de should be used as the plural of the article before an adjective + substantive combination ('il y a d'excellens hommes') whereas if the substantive comes first des is the correct form ('il y a des hommes excellens' 330-1).

The term partitif is not employed by Vaugelas. He distinguishes, however, usage in affirmative and negative sentences ('j'ay de l'argent; 'il n'a point d'argent') commonly confused both at Court and in the South (409)⁹⁹.

(b) Pronouns

The categories of case, number and gender are also said to be applicable to pronouns. Vaugelas does not apparently adopt the traditional notion of the pronoun as being a substitute for a noun, for he includes in this category not only the indefinite article un, une, but also the possessive adjectives son, sa, ses, etc. (519) as well as quelque (4)¹⁰⁰. Moreover his designation of nous as a noun (or pronoun, 'cela n'importe' (177)) suggests an awareness that the first and second person pronouns are not noun substitutes in the same way as the third person pronouns. Four types of pronouns are mentioned in the Remarques:

Pronoms relatifs: The following examples are given: qui, lequel (etc.), le (used anaphorically (33)), quoy and dont 'qui tient la place du pronom relatif' (386-7).

⁹⁹ For the use of the article, see 217-8.

¹⁰⁰ The indefinite articles could be regarded as pronouns with the noun used adjectively (see also footnote 98), and the possessives be analysed, for example as mon = le + moi.

Pronoms personnels: je, vous, nous, me etc.

Pronoms possessifs: son, vostre, mien etc. (363).

Pronoms demonstratifs: celui, celle, ceux, cettuy (367)¹⁰¹, ce, cette, ces.

Surprisingly Vaugelas also includes soy in this category (491*). Vaugelas does not mention either interrogative pronouns which are separated off, for instance, in the works of Dubois and Meigret, but are often included with the relatives (Oudin 1633: 98-109) nor Oudin's fifth category of 'pronoms indefinis' (109-115) which embraces aucun, quelque, chaque, force, maint, tout, autre etc. Nevertheless the pronoun category is clearly rather heterogeneous in the Remarques.

(c) Verbs

There was still a great deal of variety and choice of form in the French verb system in Vaugelas's day. The mechanical operation of sound laws, often destroying unity within a verb paradigm, had caused considerable irregularity in the verbal system. Already in Old French, but with increasing insistence, this was counterbalanced by a tendency to simplify by levelling or analogy. Many of the Remarques record a decision between an older form created by sound change and a new analogical one, or between two competing analogical forms. Vaugelas, eager to remove doubt, plays a role in the general movement to eliminate choice and establish one form as correct.

The hesitation about the 'correct' verb forms, especially in spontaneous speech which mirrors well native speaker competence, is emphasised in the discussion of solecisms:

...car combien y en a-il (sic), qui y pechent en parlant (sc. aux coniugaisons), mettant des i, pour des a, & des a pour des i, comme on fait en plusieurs endroits du preterit simple, quand on dit par exemple i'alla, pour i'allay, il allit, pour il alla, & en vne autre temps nous alliþions, pour nous allaþions? (572).

¹⁰¹ 'commence à n'estre plus gueres en vsage' (367).

This gives us some idea of the currency of the past definite and the imperfect subjunctive in the spoken language: the uncertainty about them suggest that, while still used in speech, they were perhaps already becoming unfamiliar and were therefore wrongly conjugated¹⁰². However, other examples confirm that hesitation about verb inflections was much more fundamental:

Combien y en a-t-il qui disent i'ay sentu, pour i'ay senty, cueillit & recueillit, pour cueille, & recueille, conduit, reduit, au preterit definy, pour conduisit, & reduisit, faisons, a l'optatif, & au subjonctif pour facions, vous mesdites, pour vous mesdisez, il faillira faire, pour il faudra faire (572-3).

For this reason a substantial number of remarques are devoted to verb morphology¹⁰³.

While contributing to the simplification and regularisation of the French verb system through eliminating some of the choice which caused confusion, and establishing in the main those forms used today, Vaugelas's decisions are not always founded on a sound analysis of the forms or comprehension of the processes at work in the language. His analysis of verbs is full of contradictions and beset with problems. On the one hand, he has some notion of stem and ending as shown, for example, in his statement that the present participle is formed from the first person plural present indicative by substituting -ant for -ons (231). This seems to foreshadow a morphemic approach rather than implying adoption of the traditional word and paradigm model. Vaugelas dislikes synthetic

¹⁰² See also Remarques 88-89. Discussion of the use of the imperfect subjunctive, and indeed of the use of tenses in general is woefully lacking in the Remarques (see also 457-9; 308; 185-6; 332). There is an isolated observation concerned with the use of the subjunctive in the second of two subordinate clauses dependent on a negative main clause (381-2).

¹⁰³ About thirty of the observations are devoted to verb morphology, and in a few others verb forms are affected by, for example, a change in pronunciation noted by Vaugelas. See also chapter 1, 20-22.

forms, the constituent parts of which cannot be clearly identified and so condemns the contracted forms of the future tense of donner and laisser so popular in the previous century (119) and auous dit, auous-fait for avez-vous dit, avez-vous fait (89). Preference for the analytic also influences his choice between two competing forms. The future cueillera was used in the fourteenth century on the analogy of cueill-ons by adding the future infix (-er) to the root, probably at a time when the older form (cueudra) had become too similar to the future of coudre (coudra). The alternative form cueillira appeared later when it was considered that the future should be based on the infinitive cueillir. The two different analogical forms then rely on two different analyses of the verb. Vaugelas, like Oudin (1633: 157), favours the future form which is clearly based on the infinitive, even though this preference apparently contravenes the usage of the period¹⁰⁴. On the other hand, Vaugelas seems to adopt a word and paradigm approach in his dependence on the regular patterning of paradigm or 'l'analogie des conjugaisons' (232), for instance in his treatment of fuir (451-457) and reuestir (231-4). Here Vaugelas relies on the regularity within a conjugation of verbs 'composez de mesme nombre de lettres' (453)¹⁰⁵.

A second problem is that Vaugelas's chronology is often faulty. For instance, he advocates the regularisation of the endings of the first person present indicative of -re verbs in -s, but he wrongly believes that this involves the restoration of the -s ending, removed from croy etc. (131). Thirdly Vaugelas's method of focusing on individual examples

¹⁰⁴ Ménage, Bouhours, Th. Corneille and the Academy all recommend cueillera (Streicher 1936: 839-844).

¹⁰⁵ This is supplemented by a rather naive idea of the relative lengths of the forms for the different tenses (456).

means that at times he fails to capture generalisations. Although he at one point lists the four traditional conjugations of French verbs (456-7), the observations on verbs are not usually formulated in terms of verb classes. For instance, in his discussion of the endings of the second person singular imperative, he does not make the generalisation implied by his recommendations, that all second person singular imperatives of the second, third and fourth conjugations usually end in -s due to the workings of analogy, but rather examines each possible ending in turn (189-192). Other problems are engendered by Vaugelas's presentation. A whole wealth of terminology is applied to verbs, often only in passing and at times in a confused way¹⁰⁶. Five types of verbs are mentioned in the text: actif (our transitive category), neutre (intransitive), neutre passif (termed Reciproquez ou Reflechis in the manuscript (fo. 48^r)), substantif (estre) and auxiliare (auoir, estre), but the category of impersonals is not specifically named¹⁰⁷. Vaugelas's handling of mood illustrates well both his dependence on Latin grammar and his tendency to confuse formal and semantic criteria. Like Robert Estienne, Vaugelas indicates five moods: indicatif, subjonctif or conjonctif (110), optatif (90), imperatif, infinitif. The inclusion of the optatif dates from the earliest French grammars (Dubois, Meigret) and reflects the reluctance of these writers to admit any inferiority on the part of French in comparison with Latin. Semantic criteria also dominate over formal ones in Vaugelas's assertion that the subjunctive has a future tense (109-110). The vague formulation of a particular rule or recommendation may suggest carelessness, or, more seriously, lack of understanding. Vaugelas's

¹⁰⁶ Again Vaugelas generally follows main-stream usage as represented, for example, by Robert Estienne. See above 152-5.

¹⁰⁷ Although there is discussion of verbs used impersonally (161; 539-541). Cf. Pillot's analysis which is based on the primary distinction between personal and impersonal verbs (Pillot 1558: 63).

justification for the form conquiere as the present subjunctive of conquerir ('ce verbe prend l'i, en quelques endroits de sa conjugaison' (340)) is so vague as to be meaningless.

However, the two main problems with Vaugelas's treatment of verbal morphology are that he is neither able to follow his principles consistently nor indeed does he apparently have a sound grasp of the processes governing the behaviour of verbs. Ideally Vaugelas prefers the form for each person of the verb to be different from the others, 'pour oster toute equivoque, & pour la richesse & la beauté de la langue' (131). Only reluctantly then does he record that usage dictates that the form of the first person singular present indicative of -re verbs is identical to that of the second person, and he prefers for the first person present indicative of pouvoir the Old French form je puis to je peux produced on the analogy of the second person singular and of faillir, faux (65). Nevertheless, he promotes ie va on the grounds that it is the expression used at Court, even though ie vais has the advantage not only of being distinct from all other forms, but also of being used by 'tous ceux qui sçauent escrire, & qui ont estudié (27)¹⁰⁸.

Evidence of Vaugelas's lack of knowledge of the processes governing verbal morphology is afforded in his choices between two alternative verb forms. A large number of French verbs had morphological variants as a result of whether the tonic stress was on the stem or on the ending of their Latin etymons (e.g. pleure < plórat; plorons < plorámus). Whereas these variants had often been allowed to co-exist during the Old French period, sixteenth and seventeenth century grammarians sought to make the stem of each verb invariable. Vaugelas plays a part in this levelling process, although the observations concerned are not formulated in these

¹⁰⁸ Note that the preference is not explicitly expressed. The reluctance to commit himself is explained when the Arsenal manuscript is consulted, for here Vaugelas condemns ie va for ie vais, along with the older form ie vois (fo. 95^v).

terms but expressed as individual difficulties. He does not consistently favour either the stem-stressed or the termination-stressed forms nor does he provide any explanations for his judgments. In the case of trouuer/treuer and prouuer/preuer he still accepts both forms, but prefers the generalisation of the forms levelled on the non-rhyzontonic form, whereas pleurer is levelled on the basis of the rhyzotonic form (133-4). Vaugelas also establishes the modern and unusual behaviour of fleurir (472). The basic verb is fleurir which provides the forms fleurissait and fleurissant when the verb has a concrete meaning. The older verb florir is only employed in the imperfect and the participle which are reserved solely for figurative uses. Today the verbal adjective is always florissant¹⁰⁹.

There is equally no apparent consistent guiding principle behind Vaugelas's choices between an older phonetically created form and a new analogical one or between two conflicting analogical forms, even though in the main the forms selected are those which have found their way into the standard grammar books and become established modern usage. Sometimes Vaugelas resorts to the pseudo-explanation of euphony which ultimately depends on a subjective judgment (97). Frequently, however, the decisions are justified on the grounds that the forms recommended are those used by the people deemed most worthy of imitation. This policy may here stem from an awareness of the chance nature of the operation of analogy: it may be arbitrary that analogy operates in one case and not in another, that one particular model is chosen rather than another, or that one form triumphs over another. For instance, preigne on the analogy of vieigne [vjẽɲə] and vienne on the analogy of Old French prenne both occurred. Vaugelas recommends the forms without palatal n, despite the fact that the others are commonly used by 'courtisans, hommes & femmes' (66)¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁹ This reflects Vaugelas's tendency to differentiate related words semantically (here morphological variants). See 170-171.

¹¹⁰ This may be a case of Vaugelas relying on written sources, for Oudin (1633: 178) also prefers the forms without palatal n.

In the discussion of the conjugation of resoudre Vaugelas has to choose between two analogical forms neither of which is really popular. Because of the problematic irregularities of this verb in the Old French period (resolons, resoille etc.) a set of reworked forms with 'l' in the stem appeared in the fourteenth century (resoluons, resoluant); later another series based on the infinitive was also used (resoudons, resoudant). In this instance Vaugelas prefers the older creations (61). On the other hand, in the case of pourueut he endorses the newer analogical creation formed from the past participle and is uninfluenced by the behaviour of another compound of voir, preuoir, which has preuit for its past historic, making the bold assertion that there is no necessary relationship between the simple and its compound (371).

There is not only inconsistency between observations: contradictory recommendations are made within the observation on asseoir for the forms for the present indicative of the verb (165-6). There was much hesitation about the morphology of asseoir because of the considerable variation in the stem resulting from the operation of sound laws and analogy (e.g. asseoi-, assié-, assey-, assey-, assi(s)-). The purely orthographical d of the modern present indicative forms in the singular is etymological. Whereas Vaugelas gives the reworked forms for the singular of the verb (aßieds, aßieds, aßied) and the analogical ones (probably on ayant) for the first two persons plural (asseions, asseiez), he nevertheless persists in supporting the old form assieent for the third person plural (OF j'assie etc.). Ménage, Thomas Corneille and the Academy are all convinced that the latter should be asseient (Streicher 1936: 319-322)¹¹¹. Working from the root assei-, Vaugelas gives asseiois for the imperfect.

¹¹¹ Neither Vaugelas nor his contemporaries mention the strong forms assois...assoient, which were probably just coming into usage in this period.

However, for the first and second persons plural of this tense he favours asseions asseiez, notwithstanding their homophony with the corresponding forms of the present tense. Vaugelas claims that this tense was not much used which may account in part for his uncertainty¹¹². In the imperative, gerundive and present subjunctive Vaugelas records the competition of another root, aßis-, but dismisses it in favour of assei-, thereby establishing greater unity in the stem. The present participle is then formed regularly from the first person plural present indicative. If, however, the verb has the meaning 'to establish', it may only be used in the infinitive (536).

On other occasions, rather than one of the forms being outlawed, both alternatives are retained and either assigned different meanings or different contexts for their use. While the forms benit and beni (reformed on the infinitive) are homophonous in the masculine, they are distinct in the feminine. Vaugelas makes no comment about their origin, but merely assigns benit 'aux choses saintes' and designates beni as the correct form for all other significations (247). Vaugelas also adopts a purely synchronic view in assigning different contexts for the use of courir and courre which foreshadows the modern restriction of courre to certain set expressions (256)¹¹³.

While in broad terms Vaugelas contributes to the survival of one stem per verb and of one form for one meaning, he still allows greater freedom in certain paradigms than many of his successors. In some cases this is because usage is in a state of transition and two forms are considered equally acceptable. In others stylistic considerations of

¹¹² Cf. Remarques 109-111.

¹¹³ See also 'Valant, pour vaiillant' (35) and 'Valant, & vaiillant' (359-360).

euphony and variety affect his judgments. For example, Vaugelas allows for the present subjunctive of dire both the older forms die, dient and the analogical ones, dise and disent formed on disons (349). He is one of the last to tolerate both sets of forms, for Thomas Corneille, Patru and the Academy insist on the forms with s (Streicher 1936: 595-7). If his observation of usage is correct then his authorities rather illogically show a slight preference for die in the singular but disent in the plural. Vaugelas's comments on the past historic of vivre indicate that there was still considerable variation in the morphology of this verb, but that if anything Vaugelas tends to be rather conservative (108-9)¹¹⁴. Vaugelas notes that because of the confusion caused by the dual paradigm people tend to avoid using the verb in the past historic; this would only compound the problem. The older form vesqui < vescui was being challenged by the more recent vescus based on the past participle vescutus which had replaced vescitus early on. Vaugelas seems reluctant to use the new forms except in the third persons singular and plural for which they may be used as stylistic variants to avoid duplication of the same vowel in the ending of two consecutive past historics. In two of the remarques in which he is liberal in his pronouncements, Vaugelas unfortunately does not sense the direction in which usage was evolving at the time. He therefore allows the reader the freedom to use either dependre or depenser with the meaning 'to spend' (247-8) and defends the use of the hypercorrected form recouuert for recouuré (15-17), even though he is aware of the disadvantages of its irregular formation and ambiguity. Torn between the fact that recouuert is used by his authorities at Court, but that the educated find it intolerable, he recommends a compromise:

¹¹⁴ Thomas Corneille in 1687 no longer accepts il vesquit, il survesquit (Streicher 1936: 228).

Je dirois donc recourré, avec les gens de Lettres, pour satisfaire à la reigle & à la raison, & ne passer pas parmy eux pour vn homme qui ignorast ce que les enfans scauent, & recouuert, avec toute la Cour, pour satisfaire à l'Vsage, qui en matiere de langues, l'emporte tousjours par dessus la raison (16-17)¹¹⁵.

Some verbs with particularly complicated morphology which were therefore especially problematic were replaced by more regular or more common verbs easier to conjugate. Different stages of this process are represented in the Remarques. Choier is merely noted as a heading in the Arsenal manuscript (fo. 17^r); by the Remarques it is not even mentioned having disappeared entirely from usage. An observation is devoted to il souloit, expressing regret at its disappearance and its replacement by il auoit accoustumé, il auoit de coustume, il auoit coustume (241-2). Seoir remains as a defective verb, restricted in the persons and tenses in which it may be used, replaced in one sense by siéger and its reworked compound asseoir (see above). Vaugelas does not make the general observation that the verb lacks a perfect stem, but merely lists the tenses in which the verb may appear; he acknowledges that the verb is really only used in the third person, usage of the other persons belonging to 'le stile bas' (541). The present participle is further limited in that it may only be used to mean 'fitting' in the moral and not the physical sense.

The other major area of discussion in the field of verbal morphology in the Remarques is the treatment of the rivalry between simple and inchoative forms, the latter having lost their inchoative meaning in French. The use of the inchoative endings spread in -ir verbs in the Old French period and -issons etc, came increasingly to be considered as a mark of this class, which was in any case being enlarged by the adoption of words

¹¹⁵ Vaugelas rejects recourir for recouurer on the grounds that the former is not sufficiently used. For the comments of Vaugelas's successors on this observation, see chapter 7, 287-8.

of Germanic origin and process words. Discussion of this rivalry features in the observations on reuestir (231-4) and haïr (20). The first is a rather long-winded justification for reuestant rather than reuestissant. The inchoative forms of reuestir were rare before the sixteenth century, when they became more frequently used without dominating¹¹⁶. Vaugelas elaborates a rule for when to use -issons as the ending for the first person plural present indicative ending of -ir verbs: if the first person singular of the present tense keeps an i in its ending and has the same number of syllables as the infinitive, then the first person plural will end in -issons (e.g. jouir/joüis/joüissons). He then adds a second part to the rule:

Mais au contraire, quand cette premiere personne singuliere du present de l'indicatif ne garde pas l'i, dans sa terminaison, ni n'a pas tant de syllabes que son infinitif, alors sans exception aussi¹¹⁷, la premiere personne plurielle du mesme temps ne se termine point en issons, ni par consequent son participe, qui en est formé, en issant (232).

Here he gives the examples sortir/sors/sortant¹¹⁸, and dormir/dors/dormant.

He therefore establishes the modern usage for revêtir (reuestir/reuests/reuestons/reuestant), concluding that the verb behaves quite regularly.

It is enough that one part of the rule is not kept for it to be invalid:

Vaugelas justifies the form oyons on the grounds that while the first person singular of oüir has the i of the infinitive, it does not have the same number of syllables¹¹⁹. He, however, infringes his own rule in the only other observation discussing a choice between simple and inchoative forms. Although a parallel has been drawn between the behaviour of haïr

¹¹⁶ Lanly (1977: 321) notes that Rabelais uses vetissent.

¹¹⁷ My emphasis.

¹¹⁸ The compound verb ressortir behaves quite regularly (ressortis, ressortissant, 233).

¹¹⁹ The commentators on Vaugelas apparently agree with him that the pronunciation of the infinitive is bi-syllabic, but that the first person present indicative is monosyllabic. (Streicher 1936: 762-5).

and ouïr in the observation on fuir (454), Vaugelas establishes haïr as a mixed verb without noting it as an exception to his rule¹²⁰. He prefers the older monosyllabic forms in the singular (hais, hais, hait), but favours haïssons, haïssez and haïssent in the plural, although he admits that the forms hayons, hayez, hayent are used by many even at Court. Vaugelas therefore sets up a highly irregular paradigm, apparently not understanding that he is dealing with the same issue here as with reuestir.

Vaugelas thus contributes to the establishment of certain modern verb forms without fully understanding either the diachronic or the synchronic mechanisms involved. His observations reflect the general tendency to retain only one stem per verb and to simplify conjugation, but his comments lack any overall policy; while then some seem to make French more regular than usage dictates (cueillira), others set up irregular paradigms (haïr).

¹²⁰ Th. Corneille points to the difficulties with this rule (Streicher 1936: 452-3). He and the Academy note the uncertainty about the forms of haïr and argue that the forms of the present singular must have been bi-syllabic formerly to explain the forms of the present indicative in the plural and of the present subjunctive.

Chapter 5: Syntax

I: Introduction

About a third of the Remarques deal with questions of construction and word order. Moreover they are often the longer observations, so a surprisingly large amount of space is devoted to syntactic problems, an area often neglected by Vaugelas's sixteenth century predecessors (Dubois, Meigret, Robert Estienne) and his eighteenth century successors. This is largely because of the central importance of netteté to Vaugelas and his dislike of structurally ambiguous sentences which confuse the reader, albeit momentarily, and therefore give displeasure¹. Indeed he demands context-free comprehension: 'c'est à faire aux paroles de faire entendre le sens, & non pas au sens de faire entendre les paroles' (590).

However, Vaugelas's concept of netteté is not based on an elaborate theory of construction², but on a simple belief in a basic regularity within the syntax of French, congruency being cited as the prime example of usage acting par raison (Preface V, 3)³. His choice of examples illustrating regularity and the type of explanation offered for the anomalous in syntax as a beauty of the language suggest that in some respects Vaugelas's view of syntax was not very different from that later articulated by Arnauld and Lancelot: while the Syntaxe de regime is almost completely arbitrary and therefore different in each language (1660: 141-2), the Syntaxe de Conuenance is essentially rule-governed (and, for

¹ Again, a sentence must not be overloaded with complements (581, 584), because this might impede immediate comprehension. For the social consequences of this, see chapter 7, 213-4.

² Cf. Chevalier 1968: 466.

³ See 99.

Arnauld and Lancelot, the same in all languages). If the rules for agreement are broken:

c'est par figure, c'est à dire, en sous-entendant
quelque mot, ou en considerant les pensées plutôt
que les mots mesmes, comme nous le dirons cy-apres' (141).

Such figures are syllepse, ellipse, pleonasme and hyperbate. As we shall see, Vaugelas too largely depends on such rhetorical devices to 'explain' the anomalous and irregular⁴. Arnauld and Lancelot conclude that these figures are little used in French since French favours netteté and the use of the most natural and unencumbered word order 'quoy qu'en mesme-temps elle ne cede à aucune en beauté ni en élégance' (1660: 147). Vaugelas likewise requires lack of ambiguity, proximity of related terms, linearity, regularity (analogy) and explicitness of construction (cf. Chevalier 1968: 469)⁵ and uses these criteria as support for his observations, maintaining that French is more exact and regular than, for instance, Latin (86-7).

If syntax is related to rhetoric and stylistics in the Remarques, it is also at times based on semantics. In many cases of discussion of agreement Vaugelas espouses regularity within a traditional semantico-syntactic framework, in which the relationship between the units (here words) is based on a correspondence between the meaning of the interdependent categories⁶. Nevertheless there are some indications that Vaugelas does envisage an independent rule-governed syntax, for on more than one

⁴ Cf. Ramus 1562: 78. Once again this shows the close relationship of grammar and rhetoric in the Remarques. The title of one of the observations (528) confirms the close relationship between syntax and stylistics in Vaugelas's eyes.

⁵ Limits are, however, set on the scope of these criteria. Analogy may be cited to support a decision, but similar constructions must not be crossed (e.g. Arrivé qu'il fut etc. 139); elliptical constructions may be a source of beauty, but essential elements must not be deleted (see below 219-220); change of construction is a useful source of variety (Afin 394), but the rules of the language must not be infringed.

⁶ E.g. that the adjective will agree in number and gender with the noun, see below 199. This follows in the tradition as outlined in Ramus's definition of syntax (1562: 77-8).

occasion he speaks of the tension between construction and meaning.

Discussing the expressions pour s'empescher d'estre suiui and laissant sa mere avec sa femme & ses enfans prisonniers (397-9), Vaugelas argues that the first 'choque plustost le sens & la raison que la Grammaire' whereas the second 'choque plustost la Grammaire que le sens'. The same tension may be found in the discussion of agreement with collective nouns which are morphologically singular but semantically plural⁷. The implication is that usually there is no disagreement between the demands of syntax and semantics; where there is, this is sometimes an irregularity lending beauty to the language, sometimes a mistake.

Whereas the observations dealing with agreement highlight the problem of establishing a clear boundary between syntax and semantics in Vaugelas's treatment of construction, the details of government, where the functions are denoted by the case labels of Latin, show that elsewhere the syntax develops from the equation of French forms with the cases appropriate to Latin grammar. Verbal syntax, for example, seems closely connected with considerations of verbal morphology: the form and usage of the verbal periphrasis aller + gerundive are discussed together (185-6)⁸. Vaugelas then does not have one clear approach to syntax, but seems to adjust his theory according to the type of syntactic problem being considered.

The regularity implied by the comparison of similar constructions and the basing of decisions on analogy (e.g. prendre à tesmoin 563) does not mean that constructions are to be viewed as linearly ordered slots into which any lexical item may be fitted. This freedom is constrained

⁷ See table 9.

⁸ See also Ayres 1983: 20. Nevertheless Vaugelas does separate violation of agreement rules (solecismes dans la construction) from morphological problems (solecismes d'un mot), table 4.

by lexical collocation restrictions or, to put it in Vaugelas's terms, by usage⁹.

The division of mistakes against clarity into mauvaise situation des mots and mauvaise structure (table 4) confirms that syntax is not merely a question of word order for Vaugelas. Word order does, however, play a crucial role in Vaugelas's syntactic theory: the more closely words are interdependent, the closer together they must be placed in the linear sequence of the sentence (e.g. verb and adverb)¹⁰.

II: Agreement

As we have noted, it is cases of agreement which are cited as paradigm instances of language acting Par raison (Preface V, 3). A key to understanding how Vaugelas might justify calling agreement 'reasonable' is offered in the discussion of the use of the relative pronoun: the language is acting reasonably because the noun and pronoun 'soient de mesme nature, & ayent vne correspondance reciproque, qui face que l'un se puisse rapporter à l'autre' (388). Applied to agreement this would support the traditional notion of agreement as a relation between words which share a morphosyntactic feature (Matthews 1981: 246). However, from his examples it appears that Vaugelas rather adopts a semantic view of agreement based on common sense: it is reasonable that singular should be joined with singular, masculine with masculine. Vaugelas does not question the logic of making two singular nouns agree with a plural verb although these do not share the same morphosyntactic property; it is common sense that the addition of one and one should equal several. Agreement then here is semantic rather than morphosyntactic, language reflecting the world in Platonic fashion.

Similarly Vaugelas is unable to offer a syntactic explanation of why the plural agreement with two singular nouns of different genders should

⁹ See the discussion of eleuer les yeux vers le ciel, 173.

¹⁰ See 227-8.

be made in the masculine. He therefore 'explains' it non-linguistically and subjectively by claiming that the masculine gender is 'le plus noble' (83) which perhaps implies some conception of marked and unmarked forms.

Agreement being 'reasonable' general principles applying across a wide range of languages can be formulated, for instance, that the verb and the subject agree for number and person¹¹. The following rules seem to be instances of those 'preceptes communs à toutes les langues' (130), or, at least, of different types of languages¹²:

par la reigle generale qui veut que l'adjectif soit du genre du substantif (*464)

où le regime du genre ne suit pas le nominatif, mais le genitif, qui est vne chose assez estrange, & contre la construction ordinaire de la Grammaire en toutes sortes de langues (*483)

Since agreement reflects the very nature of the world and is of general applicability across languages (if not being given explicitly the status of a universal in the Remarques) it can be understood by unschooled children, so basic a principle it is deemed to be¹³. Vaugelas therefore assumes that there is no need to state basic principles and focuses on those areas where the general rules are apparently infringed, and where syntaxe figurée has to be evoked to explain the behaviour of the language (Lecointre 1982: 189). Uncertainty of usage is, of course, especially relevant in the case of number agreement, because the plural 's' is pronounced only in liaison¹⁴.

¹¹ Only one observation is devoted to person agreement (88-89) in which Vaugelas is at pains to preserve the general regularity of person agreement even at the cost of paying more attention to the written than to the spoken language.

¹² Vaugelas's knowledge of other languages was, of course, very limited (see 8) and almost entirely restricted to Romance languages. This claim, which at first sight appears to be making a statement about universals, probably simply arises from an awareness on Vaugelas's part of the similarities between the languages he knows, which are due to family resemblances.

¹³ See the quotation from the Arsenal manuscript (fo. 57^r) cited page 152, footnote 17. Similar ideas are expressed by Maupas (1632: 113) and Oudin (1633: 75), Vaugelas's immediate predecessors.

¹⁴ See the discussion of vsage douteux, 97-99.

Why does Vaugelas consider it necessary to make agreement, that is, to use a disjunctive morpheme to mark co-variance? Since the word order of French was relatively fixed by this time, this could often be used to determine the functions of the words and the relationship between them, explicit marking then being redundant. Nevertheless Vaugelas requires the exclusion of all possible ambiguity, assuming his listener to be unco-operative¹⁵.

The same two problems seen throughout occur in Vaugelas's presentation of agreement questions. Firstly there are terminological difficulties. Vaugelas does not use the traditional term convenance (cf. Ramus 1562: 78; Arnauld et Lancelot 1660: 140), although he seems to make the usual distinction between agreement and government and implies that while the rules of agreement are general, the rules of government are more likely to change and variation between languages¹⁶. The expression se rapporte à is used for subject/verb and adjective/noun agreement (150, 153), but the term regir is employed to cover not only cases of the construction a particular verb takes, but also to denote what we would consider the agreement between a subject and verb:

...que le verbe substantif qui selon l'ordre de la Grammaire & du sens commun, sur qui la Grammaire est fondee, doit estre regi, comme il l'est ordinairement, par le nom substantif qui precede, neantmoins en cet exemple est regi par le nom substantif qui suit (307).

Perhaps his intention was to indicate the directionality of the relationship, that is, the order of the terms¹⁷. Little thought is given to theory;

¹⁵ See 312. Note, however, that agreement does show the gender of the noun.

¹⁶ See below 213-6.

¹⁷ Dupleix criticises Vaugelas's use of regir, arguing that it is the verb which governs the nominative singular (Streicher 1936: 512). This would seem to give a model similar to that of dependency grammar, with the verb acting as the pivot of the sentence. Vaugelas also apparently considers the verb the key element of the sentence (482), see below 227.

for instance, no justification is offered for why he regards the noun as governing the verb, rather than seeing the relationship as one of co-variance. The status of the case labels is also unclear. While conscious that case is not a category appropriate for all languages, Vaugelas continues to apply the case labels to French, apparently to show the functional relationships between the various parts of speech. The statement that the nominative always governs the verb is therefore equivalent to calling this noun the subject. Since combinations of case are properties of words, agreement and syntax are firmly word-based in the Remarques¹⁸. Sometimes allusion to the part of speech classification is made to justify a particular agreement. The apparent irregularity of the agreement in De la façon que j'ay dit is explained by claiming that the expression is like an adverbial - which is, of course, a class of invariables (376). The meaning of the expression (= comme) therefore determines the agreement.

The discussions of agreement show Vaugelas wavering between keeping the syntactic and semantic distinct and basing his syntax on semantic criteria. There are various indications that Vaugelas did recognize an autonomous syntactic level. For instance, clarté and netteté are not to be confused, thought being prior to language (577-8). In his treatment of gender agreement with quelque chose he distinguishes formal and semantic agreement, arguing that usually agreement is syntactic, or, at least, that normally the syntactic and semantic are aligned:

C'est vne belle figure en toutes les langues, & en prose aussi bien qu'en vers, de reigler quelquefois la construction non pas selon les mots qui signifient, mais selon les choses qui sont signifiées (*467).

Other observations seem to depend rather on a semantico-syntactic view of

¹⁸ Cf. Manuscript fo. 24^r: 'Mais parce que cela ne reçoit point de difficulté, ie n'en parlois point, estant chose toute ordinaire dans la grammaire de toutes les langues qu'un mesme mot dans une oraison parfaite qu'ilz appellent reçoit plusieurs constructions deuant et derriere'.

construction. The question of agreement with two conjoined nouns can be decided according to whether the nouns are to be viewed as one unit or two. In the example Ou la douceur, ou la force le fera (149) the agreement must be singular 'comme c'est vne alternative, ou vne disjonctive'. On the other hand it is 'more elegant' to make the agreement in the plural in the example quoted from Malherbe:

à cause de cette accumulation de choses, qui presentant tant de faces differentes à la fois, porte l'esprit au pluriel plustost qu'au singulier, quoy que dans la rigueur de la Grammaire, il faudroit dire donnera (149).

If the mind focuses on the diversity of things, the language must mirror this in selecting a plural verb¹⁹. The question of verb agreement made according to meaning is another manifestation of the same principle²⁰.

The various treatments of agreement with collectives and quantifiers are symptomatic of Vaugelas vacillating between an autonomous syntactic theory and a semantico-syntax (table 9). There is moreover hesitation in the two observations devoted to quelque chose (220, *464). The gender of quelque chose was feminine up to the seventeenth century, but usage was hesitant in Vaugelas's day. The first of these two observations is virtually the same as that in the manuscript (fo. 44^v) and the problems are not really discussed. Here Vaugelas seems to argue that agreement is made in the masculine, because although chose is feminine, the two words quelque chose 'font comme vne neutre selon leur signification' (220). The second of the observations is much more complicated. Vaugelas rehearses the various arguments for masculine and feminine agreement, presumably as he heard them in the Academy. Vaugelas himself is rather flexible for he believes that there are cases where one should use the

¹⁹ The same tolerance of either singular or plural agreement depending on the focus is found in the remarque entitled 'Ni la douceur, ni la force n'y peut rien' (150).

²⁰ Remarques 219.

Table 9: Agreement with collectives and quantifiers

(a) Syntactic explanations

	Agreement	Reason	Comment
(i) <u>vne infinité</u> (41) (a) + plural complement (<u>de personnes</u>)	plural verb	agreement with the plural complement (= <u>genitif</u>)	i.e. agreement with the closest noun. Concentrating on surface forms
(b) <u>vne infinité de monde</u>	singular verb	agreement with the singular genitive	Vaugelas fails to realise the semantic peculiarities of the word <u>monde</u>
(ii) <u>la pluspart</u> (41-2) + plural complement [+ <u>du monde</u> <u>la plus grand'part</u> (41-2)]	plural verb singular] singular verb	No explanation for difference offered. Even if the complement of <u>la pluspart</u> has to be understood, plural agreement is made	Vaugelas fixes the rule.
(iii) <u>ce peu de mots...</u> (350-1) (a) + plural complement (b) <u>de sel</u>	plural verb singular	Formal explanation	To make his rule as general as possible Vaugelas maintains that although <u>ce peu d'exemples</u> is heard, it is best to avoid it.

Problems

- 1) Since no other example of a singular complement except monde is cited either for vne infinité or la pluspart the generalisation is unfounded. (In the MS armee is also used (fo. 85v), but this is equally unsatisfactory.)
- 2) The example la pluspart font belies the formal argument.
- 3) In the case of le peu d'affection qu'il m'a tesmoigné (384) Vaugelas favours agreement with le peu. The difference between this and example (iii) seems to derive from the presence of the relative pronoun which cannot depend on an indefinite head noun and must therefore have le peu as its antecedent.
- 4) While agreeing with Vaugelas's example (i), the Academy point to exceptions. E.g. Un grand nombre d'ennemis parut or parurent (Streicher 1936: 86).

(continued)

(b) Semantic explanations

	Agreement	Reason	Comment
(i) <u>personne</u> (6) a) ='l'homme & la femme tout ensemble' b) indefinite meaning 'nulle personne, ny homme, ny femme'	feminine agreement indeclinable ∴ use masculine	two different meanings, different gender for each	Whereas in the MS (fo. 48 ^v) Vaugelas criticises the use of <u>ils</u> to refer to <u>personnes</u> used in the first meaning, in the <u>Remarques</u> he considers the sense agreement more elegant.
(ii) <u>sorte</u> (* 483-4)		'on regarde plustost le sens que la parole'	adds agreement with the genitive retaining the formal as well as the semantic explanation.

See also: Vne partie du pain mangé (374-5) and Après six mois de temps esoulé (312-3) in which agreement with the complement is deemed 'plus elegant'.

Note

Personne still retains some of its nominal qualities for Vaugelas since he permits the (semantic) agreement le ne vois personne si heureuse que vous when addressing a woman, displaying his customary respect to the female sex. Clearly, however, the language is moving towards personne as an indefinite, for although Vaugelas tolerates le n'ay iamais veu personne si grosse qu'elle, he contends that personne should only be used with expressions equally applicable to both sexes, and therefore prefers to reword the above example using femme.

For usage today, see Grevisse 1975: 821-8.

masculine (e.g. il y a quelque chose dans ce liure qui merite d'estre leu) and cases where one should use the feminine (il y a quelque chose dans ce liure qui n'est pas telle que vous dites). Unfortunately he is unable to provide a rule for differentiating these uses²¹. His advice to trust the ear is unsatisfactory, there being in many cases no difference of pronunciation between the masculine and feminine adjectives. Nevertheless Vaugelas senses the modern trend towards preference for the masculine, arguing that this is 'beaucoup plus frequent, plus François, & plus beau' (*467). He continues that it is 'vne belle figure en toutes les langues' to make agreement with the sense rather than the form and cites similar cases - the use of ils to refer anaphorically to personnes, a Tasso example and, inconsistently, vne infinité (see table 9). Indeed the use of a plural verb after vne infinité is held up as a paradigm example of syllepsis! (*468). As this observation does not appear in the manuscript, we should perhaps assume that Vaugelas changed his mind, only later concluding that agreement is made with the sense in such cases. Nevertheless such inconsistencies are regrettable.

Agreement then is essentially syntactic, although semantic agreement can be made as an 'ornement' if sanctioned by usage. Since, however, it is mainly the semantic agreement which is favoured when there is tension (although it is not always explained as such), perhaps the syntactic nature of agreement can only be stressed because syntax and semantics are usually aligned.

Linear proximity may determine how an agreement should be made. For instance, in the case of Vn adjectif avec deux substantifs de different genre Vaugelas prefers agreement with the closest noun in the

²¹ Perhaps in the second example Vaugelas considers quelque chose equivalent to une chose. He does not discuss the related dispute about the gender of personne in the negative construction ne...personne.

singular, since this is what the ear is accustomed to, although he admits that following Latin grammar, which, it is implied, is the basis of all grammar, the agreement should be masculine plural (82-5)²². The surface positioning of the sentential elements also affects Vaugelas's reasoning in examples of number agreement, for instance, in Ce, avec le pluriel du verbe substantif (305)²³. In the manuscript Vaugelas attempted to preserve the number agreement rule for subjects and verbs, maintaining that in 'les plus grands Capitaines de l'antiquité, ce furent Alexandre, Cesar, Hannibal, &c.', furent agrees with 'les plus grands Capitaines', and that ce is only 'un ornement de langage' (fo. 12^r). In the published text Vaugelas no longer denies that ce is the subject, and admits that the number agreement rule is broken as an 'ornement'. If ce is placed sentence-initially, it has 'plus de grace' (e.g. 'ce furent les Romains qui domterent'), and its position confirms it as the subject. Vaugelas even allows the more irregular example 'l'affaire la plus fascheuse que j'aye, ce sont les contes d'un tel' which breaks not only the number agreement rule, but also violates word order conventions (307). The handling of these examples is inconsistent: while in the first example the 'grammatical' subject ce is said to govern the plural verb, in the second the 'logical' subject 'les contes d'un tel' supposedly governs the verb. Whereas in the manuscript Vaugelas seems quite close to appreciating the nature of ce as a dummy subject used for emphasis, the agreement being semantic because of the plural value of the complement, in the published text Vaugelas asserts that ce must be the subject

²² This is the older usage; nevertheless, the concept of proximity still plays a role in modern French adjectival agreement (e.g. Grevisse 1975: 342). Word order also decides, for example, the agreement in the Malherbe example discussed on page 84 and determines whether bel may be used (328-9), for Vaugelas only allows it in the pre-nominal position.

²³ See also Vaugelas's analysis of 'C'est une des plus belles actions, qu'il ayt jamais faites' (153).

because of its position in the sentence²⁴.

The accuracy of Vaugelas's observations is brought into question in the remarque entitled Deux ou plusieurs pluriels suivis d'un singulier avec la conionction ET deuant le verbe, comment ils regissent le verbe? (378-80), which relies on the spoken evidence provided by women²⁵. The question is whether the verbal agreement should be singular or plural in the example 'non seulement tous ses honneurs & toutes ses richesses, mais toute sa vertu s'esuanoüit/s'esuanoüirent'. Vaugelas decides in favour of the (phonetically distinct) singular, not because agreement is made with the closest noun vertu, since agreement must be plural in the sentence 'ses honneurs, ses richesses, & sa vertu s'esuanoüirent', but for two other reasons. The second one given is the one we might expect: mais breaks up the construction 'seruant comme d'une barriere entre-deux, & d'un obstacle pour empescher la communication & l'influence des pluriels sur le verbe'. The other is more problematic: it is the collective nature of the adjective tout 'qui reduit les choses à l'unité' and therefore requires a singular verb. This conclusion might be well-founded if, as Vaugelas maintains, the agreement were still singular when the non seulement...mais construction is removed. However, Thomas Corneille and the Academy alike deny the accuracy of this statement (there should be no doubt since the verb forms are phonetically distinct) and insist that the presence of tout is the determining factor for the agreement

²⁴ Likewise with the pronouns nous and vous Vaugelas prefers the older first person plural agreement, si c'estoient nous qui eußions fait cela (88), which is consistent with the use of the plural in the above example. Dupleix and the Academy criticise this usage and favour the modern si c'estoit nous (Streicher 1936: 173-177).

²⁵ The observation does not appear in the manuscript.

(Streicher 1936: 655)²⁶.

A desire for absolute recoverability of deleted elements is evident in Vaugelas's pronouncements on whether an adjective of one gender may be understood with an adjective of another gender in a comparison (e.g. a woman saying to a man 'je suis plus vaillante que vous' or a man to a woman 'je suis plus beau que vous' (461)). Vaugelas replies negatively to this query and maintains that such a comparison is only possible when the adjective used is of common gender (i.e. when the masculine and feminine forms are identical).

Syntax is said to be the part of language least subject to change (Preface X, 2), yet changes of opinion are made over syntactic questions between the manuscript and the published text²⁷. Other observations record and fix a syntactic rule in mid-evolution, thereby engendering inconsistencies. The analysis of agreement with tout is one such case. The manuscript treatment appears more consistent because there Vaugelas does not deal with the feminine separately, but simply states that when tout is used adverbially it is indeclinable (fo. 89^r). He supports tout autre chose which is not recommended in the published Remarques. In the Remarques Vaugelas asserts that tout is adverbial and invariable in the masculine, but that in the feminine tout agrees, whether it is before a vowel or a consonant, the only exception being tout autres in the plural. To justify this, Vaugelas is forced to say that the status of tout changes in the feminine ('se convertissant en nom') although

²⁶ Perhaps Vaugelas was confusing this construction with the use of the pronoun tout to summarise a number of previously stated plural subjects (see Chevalier et al. 1964: 382). It is surprising that Vaugelas accepts this example, for the verb forms which have to be understood with the first two nouns are not identical to the one expressed. Both Dupleix and Le Vayer criticise Vaugelas for this (Streicher 1936: 652-5).

²⁷ See, for example, the comment on personne, table 9.

he admits that it is still performing the same function (96). Since toute is phonetically distinct before a feminine noun beginning with a consonant, Vaugelas retains the agreement in this case; to achieve regularity for the behaviour of the feminine he then argues for agreement before feminine nouns beginning with a consonant, with the exception of autres in the feminine plural. An arbitrary decision is thus made for invariability in the masculine and agreement in the feminine. The present ruling that tout is invariable except before a feminine noun beginning with a consonant or h aspiré²⁸ established by the Academy in 1704 is, as Grevisse notes, a compromise between 'la logique et les forces traditionnelles de la langue: à ne consulter que l'oreille, tout est toujours en accord avec l'adjectif qui le suit' (Grevisse 1975: 432).

In some cases Vaugelas establishes a rule still in use today²⁹. Although Maupas (Brunot 1909: (III): 483) had earlier used the 'neuter' le as a pronoun to refer to a feminine adjective (a woman saying: '...malade. Quand ie le suis...'), it is Vaugelas who fixes the 'neuter' value of the personal attributive pronoun (27-9). Vaugelas argues that the le does not refer to the personne but 'à la chose' and is equivalent to cela 'lequel cela, n'est autre chose que ce dont il s'agit, qui est, malade, en l'exemple que j'ay proposé' (28). The proof of the correctness of le is that les is never used after a plural adjective (* & quand nous le sommes)³⁰. Examples cited by Grevisse (1975: 472) from Corneille, Racine, Molière and a comment by Madame de Sévigné suggest that the feminine was not only used by women in Vaugelas's day. Vaugelas is, however, over-indulgent towards women and wrongly predicts that the use

²⁸ Tout is variable before autre when it refers to a noun, but invariable when it modifies autre (Grevisse 1975: 433).

²⁹ Other rules of agreement which are still valid are those for la pluspart and personne.

³⁰ In an addition in the manuscript (fo. 57^r), Vaugelas admits that the plural is also heard at Court.

of la might well become established usage³¹.

In other cases Vaugelas is unable to make a decision because usage is in flux. Vaugelas rehearses the arguments for singular and for plural agreement after vint & vn (sic), perhaps as heard in an Academy debate, but does not state a preference (147-9). Strangely, Vaugelas does not differentiate the examples vint & vn an(s) where the 's' would not be heard and vint & vn chevaux where the plural form of the noun is phonetically distinct from the singular³². Equally, having claimed that the singular and plural are pronounced the same, it is illogical to add that the choice of form depends on the ear³³. At times Vaugelas is over-eager to determine one usage: thus he argues that in toute sorte de bonheur, toutes sortes de maux, agreement must be made with the complement (130-1) - a pronouncement of course only relevant to the written language.

Comparison of Vaugelas's observations on agreement with the tolerances proposed by the Arrêté du 26 février 1901 is informative because there is a large overlap in the range of topics covered (Grevisse 1975: Appendix, 1240-1245). Even today some of the topics considered most pressing by Vaugelas are still problematic³⁴.

³¹ Cf., however, je l'ai échappé belle etc. where the feminine form has a neuter value. In the manuscript Vaugelas discusses what he claims is the related example of 'Excusez la bestise, ou la folie comme que ce soit que uous le uouliez nommer, de ces oeuvres misérables' (fo. 57^r) and in the Remarques Malherbe's 'les choses ne nous succedent pas comme nous le desirons'. In the manuscript he claims that the neutral le must be used because 'il n'a point de substantif auquel il se refere, quoy que d'abord il uous semble qu'il y en ayt deux', i.e., the pronoun refers to the whole clause rather than to a particular lexical item.

³² This example of course suggests that plural agreement is correct.

³³ Another example of flexibility is the discussion of agreement with l'vn & l'autre (141).

³⁴ For example, agreement with a collective subject (Grevisse 1975: 821-8).

Present participle agreement

The usage of the majority of sixteenth century printers, authors and grammarians testifies to the general confusion about present participle agreement. Vaugelas's examples (426-433) still retain some of the agreements typical of Old French, but a move towards the modern tendency for invariability can be detected: 'l'vsage des gerondifs est beaucoup plus frequent en François, que celuy des participes' (426) ³⁵.

Like his predecessors, Vaugelas maintains a distinction, based on the double origin of the -ant form between the gerundive which is indeclinable and the participle which inflects for number but not for gender ³⁶. The invariability is due to the fact that the present participles belonged in Old French to the regular class of adjectives only having one form for both genders. Whereas from about the twelfth century on the pure adjectives gained an analogical e in the feminine, the present participle remained invariable for the most part, although some writers did mark agreement (Grevisse 1975: 775). In the seventeenth century such gender agreement was quite common, despite Vaugelas's condemnation of it. Vaugelas apparently does not understand the historical sequence: he claims that in noting that the participle has no feminine form he is offering 'vne Remarque nouvelle & fort curieuse' (427), which he has learnt from consultation with authorities on the language. The correct form for the present participle in the sentence 'je les (sc. les femmes) ay trouuées ayant le verre à la main' is without agreement, despite the potential risk

³⁵ No justification is offered to the inclusion of the gerundive in his analysis, nor is its position in the part of speech classification clarified. The tendency towards invariability is also suggested by the fact that under the heading Du solecisme (576) all the examples of solecisms with -ant forms are where agreement has been wrongly made.

³⁶ The distinction is also employed 187-8. This is obviously a point of interest for Vaugelas as the translator of Quinte-Curce, for he claims that all historians use the construction, indeed that it is impossible to narrate without using it.

of taking ayant with je instead of with femmes. So strongly does he support invariability, that he is prepared to overlook one of his general principles and allow the sense to make up for the structural ambiguity 'comme il fait souuent en toutes les langues, & dans les meilleurs Autheurs'. Proximity of related elements of course favours the correct interpretation. If the -ant form does have a feminine, then it has a purely adjectival function. It may then govern the same case after it as the verb from which it is derived (e.g. approchante de, repugnante à), but this does not mean it has any verbal function.

The different possible uses of the present participle distinguished by Vaugelas are set out in Chapter 1, 31-3. Vaugelas's seventeenth-century successors already dispute Vaugelas's judgments about the use of ayant without a following participle (Streicher 1936: 739-741), and Port-Royal, Corneille, Andry and the Academy all decide that ayant and estant are always invariable³⁷.

Past participle agreement

Hesitation in usage and in the pronouncements of commentators on Vaugelas confirm Vaugelas's assessment of the problems engendered by past participle agreement: 'En toute la Grammaire Françoise, il n'y a rien de plus important, ny de plus ignoré' (175). The attention of sixteenth-century grammarians had focused above all on the question of whether the past participle with avoir should agree with its direct object, either preceding or postposed. Marot had already outlined the modern rule for agreement with a preceding direct object in a poem

³⁷ Vaugelas's terminology is also revised. Dupleix (Streicher 1936: 736) already suggests that just because the -ant form is invariable, it is not necessarily a gerundive (this being preceded either explicitly or tacitly by en).

published in 1538 and cited in the Remarques, but the testimonies of various grammarians confirm that there was considerable hesitation when the direct object followed the participle³⁸. By the Remarques Vaugelas is confident that his first two examples are 'sans contredit', firmly fixing modern practice. He then discusses eight other cases in an attempt to be as thorough as possible. He maintains that examples III-VII are contested, but that 'la plus commune & la plus saine opinion est pour eux', whereas VIII-X are unproblematic. These examples together with the opinions of his commentators on them are set out in table 10. Hesitation about the correct agreement for the past participle continued throughout the century; indeed the present-day rules were not really established until the nineteenth century (Grevisse 1975: 788). The Academy records show that opinion was divided on many of Vaugelas's examples and Patru, while agreeing with I and II, nevertheless asserts that it is often difficult to find a rule, and that the ear must decide whether agreement should be made or not. Patru dislikes the sound of the feminine form of the participle and therefore advocates invariability wherever possible. He gives as an exception to rule II, the case where the feminine form of the participle is homophonous with a noun (e.g. crainte, feinte, plainte). Vaugelas also prefers that these ambiguous forms should be avoided (crainte 561-2).

Two other observations dealing with agreement of the past participle (*492-3; 501) are also included in table 10³⁹. Nothing is said in the Remarques about the choice of auxiliary in general terms. Vaugelas deals individually with the selection of the correct auxiliary for the verbs

³⁸ See Breitingner 1868: 41-42.

³⁹ See also the discussion of agreement with collectives and quantifiers, 203-4 and table 9.

Table 10: Past participle agreement: Remarques 175-181; Streicher 1936: 343-371; Arnaud et Lancelot 1660: 129-137

VAUGELAS (175-181)	COMMENTS	MAROT	LE VAYER	DUPLEIX	PORT-ROYAL	MÉNAGE	BOUHOURS	PATRU	TH. CORNEILLE	CASSAGNE	ANDRY	TALLEMANT	ACADEMY	TODAY
I I'ay receu vos lettres	'sans contredit'	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓			Vaugelas firmly fixes modern practice
II Les lettres que i'ay reçues	'sans contredit'	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	(exceptions see <u>crainte</u> below)	✓	✓ Exceptions: <u>vouloir</u> , <u>pouvoir</u> , <u>oser</u> .	✓ (except <u>craindre</u> , <u>plaindre</u>)			"
III Les habitants nous ont rendu maistres de la ville	the ending of <u>maistres</u> marks the plurality sufficiently			Agreement better, but prefers to avoid		<u>rendus</u>			<u>rendus</u>					Usually <u>rendus</u>
IV Le commerce l'a (sc. vne ville) rendu puissante			<u>rendue</u>	<u>rendue</u>	✓	<u>rendue</u>	✓		<u>rendue</u>		✓	should either all agree, or all be indeclinable: opinion	opinion divided, but majority in favour of indeclinability for all of these	Usually <u>rendue</u> (See Grevisse 1975: 796).
V Nous nous sommes rendus maistres	passive ∴ agreement. Rule from Malherbe via a friend				elle s'est rendu la maistresse	✓			✓		elle s'est rendu la Maistresse			✓
VI Nous nous sommes rendus puissans					elle s'est rendu Catholique	✓			✓		qu'elle ne se fust fait Catholique			✓
VII La desobeissance s'est trouué montée au plus haut point	Exception to passive rule when participle follows		Neither: ...s'est trouuée auoir monté	<u>trouuée</u> but prefers estoit montée	elle s'est trouvé/trouuée malade: different meanings	<u>trouuée</u>			<u>trouuée</u>		Different meanings of elle s'est trouvé/ée malade			<u>trouuée</u>
VIII Le l'ay fait peindre, ie les ay fait peindre				✓		✓			✓			✓		✓

<u>VAUGELAS</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>	<u>MAROT</u>	<u>LE VAYER</u>	<u>DUPLEIX</u>	<u>PORT-ROYAL</u>	<u>MÉNAGE</u>	<u>BOUHOURS</u>	<u>PATRU</u>	<u>TH. CORNEILLE</u>	<u>CASSAGNE</u>	<u>ANDRY</u>	<u>TALLEMANT</u>	<u>ACADEMY</u>	<u>TODAY</u>
IX Elle s'est fait <u>peindre</u> , ils se sont fait <u>peindre</u>				✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓			✓
X C'est vne <u>fortification</u> que j'ay <u>appris</u> à <u>faire</u>	the noun relates to the last word of the sentence, i.e. the infinitive			✓		✓ (but contests his reason)	✓		✓			✓		Invariable: but meaning important (Grevisse 1975: 802-6)
Other observations CRAINTE 561-2	Avoid when used + aux because of ambiguity with the noun <u>crainte</u>							Avoid feminine of verbs in <u>-oire</u> , <u>-oistre</u> , <u>-andre</u> , <u>-endre</u> , <u>-indre</u> , <u>-aindre</u> , <u>-eindre</u> , <u>-oindre</u> , when homophonous nouns exist	can use <u>crainte</u> as past participle		Exceptions to II: <u>craindre</u> <u>plaindre</u>		✓	<u>crainte</u> used
Belle & curieuse exception... *492-3	If the nominative follows the participle, agreement is not made: la <u>peine</u> que m'a <u>donné</u> cette <u>affaire</u>			✓ (but dislikes Vaugelas's formula-tion)	✓	✓	✓		doubtful		✓		✓	<u>donnée</u>
<u>allé</u> 501	(1) ma <u>soeur</u> est <u>allé</u> <u>visiter</u> ma <u>mère</u> . (2) je les ay <u>veu</u> <u>venir</u>					uncertain	✓		<u>allée</u> <u>vûs</u>		✓ (Although can find contrary examples)		✓	<u>allée</u> <u>vus</u>

entrer, sortir, monter and descendre (435) and for reussir (478-9) and succeder (*468). Elsewhere (566) he mentions in passing that certain participles are always invariable (tesmoin tous les anciens Philosophes; excepté/reservé cent personnes (see Grevisse 1975: 789-790).

III: Government

Vaugelas devotes several observations to discussion of what 'cases' certain French verbs govern (regir). Servir is then said to govern the accusative and not the dative (479), illustrating again Vaugelas's dependence on Latin grammar. Vaugelas adds nothing to the general theory of government, but notes details of change of usage, 'mistakes' made, unusual constructions and where variety is permissible.

A few observations record changes in usage (Servir, prier, fauoriser 479; ressembler 480-1*). Cesser (298) and resoudre (61) are in the process of becoming 'active' verbs (i.e. transitive), transitive verbs having the advantage of being more concise (62). Although this is a productive and easily made change, limitations are set on the process. Although sortir used transitively has the advantage of concision, Vaugelas denies that it can be so used, apparently being stricter than his authorities suggest is necessary (38-9). The observation entitled Certains regimes de verbes vsitez par quelques Autheurs celebres⁴⁰, qu'il ne faut pas imiter en cela (414) indicates that there was widespread uncertainty about the construction of certain verbs. Vaugelas maintains that the examples may have been correct when they were written, but are no longer acceptable.

More interesting than these observations concerning the change in government of individual verbs are those which discuss the co-ordination of two verbs or a noun and a verb which take different types of complement (79-80; 81). The wording of the first of these two observations and

⁴⁰ The manuscript indicates that the examples are from Malherbe (fo. 96^v).

comparison with the manuscript (fo. 9^V) confirm that the constraints Vaugelas places on phrasal co-ordination are new. Two verbs which govern different types of complement cannot be conjoined because each verb must have the correct 'case' after it, and it is not permissible for a different 'case' to be understood. Therefore the ellipsis implied by the expression 'ayant embrassé, & donné la benediction à son fils' (79) or 'afin de le conjurer par la memoire, & par l'amitié qu'il auoit porté à son pere' (81) is unacceptable: son fils in the first example must be the direct object of embrassé and not the indirect complement as the surface form implies. Vaugelas then requires that the words ellided should be uniquely recoverable: there should be no doubt about what words are to be supplied and it should be possible to add the recovered words to the sentence in the same functional slots. Vaugelas admits that this is not an absolute rule, but claims that it is essential for those concerned with perfecting their style - his intended audience (81). This type of construction is in fact quite common in French, but Vaugelas values easy context-free understanding more highly than brevity. He also censures certain constructions derived from the crossing or contamination of two different, but usually semantically related, constructions. He suggests that the unacceptable il m'a dit de faire was produced on the false analogy of il m'a commandé de faire etc. (322)⁴¹.

Vaugelas acknowledges that certain verbs may govern more than one construction. Sometimes the two constructions have different meanings or are appropriate in different contexts. If approcher governs an inanimate complement, it must be followed by de, but if the complement refers to a person, the complement can be expressed either as the direct object or as an indirect complement preceded by de, depending on whether actual physical movement is implied or not. If it is, s'approcher de must be

⁴¹ See also euite aux inconueniens formed by contamination with obuier aux inconueniens (248-9).

used, if not, and the meaning is figurative, suggesting the favour achieved by someone in the eyes of an important person 'qui resulte de plusieurs actes reïterez, en s'approchant de quelqu'un' (155), then approcher with a direct object is correct⁴². Sometimes the alternatives are simply a source of stylistic variety (e.g. suruiure 162). In some cases a scale of preference is implied: eschapper de is deemed more elegant than eschapper + direct object, and eschapper à is also considered 'fort belle' (337)⁴³. Where there is a choice, considerations of euphony may be brought to bear, but euphony can never undermine a fixed syntactic rule (commença à auoïer 424-5).

As we have noted (166), Vaugelas seems to believe that there will normally be a consistent relationship between the meaning of the constituent parts of a verbal construction and the meaning of the whole. Certain verbal phrases appear unusual because the meaning of the preposition is not consistent with its normal usage (perdre le respect à qqn *462), or because a pronominal verb is employed where no reflexive meaning is implied (se louer de qqn 463*).

Concerns of proximity and brevity also enter the discussion of verbal government. The choice of whether to use aimer mieux que or aimer mieux que de before an infinitive is determined, according to Vaugelas, by the distance between the que and the following infinitive. If the second infinitive is esloigné, then que de must be used, if the infinitive is proche and the meaning is complete, then que alone is sufficient. When the dependent infinitive is neither next to the que nor very distant from it, Vaugelas recommends that de should still be

⁴² See also the discussion of plaire (355-7).

⁴³ Cf. Se fier, where the scale depends on the relative currency of the expressions (533-5), fournir (320), inonder (543), and enuoyer (382).

used (i'aime mieux faire cela que de ne rien faire)⁴⁴ and he is at pains to establish a fixed rule, adding that he is not even sure that de may be omitted in verse for the sake of prosody (531). Concerns of brevity must, as always, be weighed against those of clarity and euphony. Despite the advantage of concision won by the use of an infinitival complement after sçauoir rather than a relative clause ('il marcha contre les ennemies, qu'il sçauroit qui auoient paßé' or 'qu'il sçauroit auoir paßé'), Vaugelas prefers to avoid them both since the former construction in particular 'a quelque chose de rude' (101-2)⁴⁵.

IV: Co-ordination

In Old French and to a large extent in the sixteenth century co-ordinating conjunctions could link very different constituents; the relationship between the conjoins was often confusing, resulting in rather contorted and badly articulated periods. Vaugelas is the leader of a movement towards a sentence type in which all the grammatical relationships are marked and the constituent parts are carefully balanced and symmetrical.

Unfortunately the advent of this desire for explicit marking of functional relations occurred at a time when the number of syntactic markers available in French was decreasing. In the sixteenth century there had been an accumulation of syntactic tools along with the increase in vocabulary items. Vaugelas regrets the recent loss of certain conjunctions and terms which act as connecting words (e.g. en somme, bref,

⁴⁴ Again the vagueness of the terms (esloigné, proche) is unhelpful. See also 137-152.

⁴⁵ The correct complement after certain prepositions is mentioned in two observations: Au trauers, & à trauers (250) and Pres, aupres (368-9).

finablement 31)⁴⁶, reluctantly records the demise of partant 'qui semble si nécessaire dans le raisonnement' (225)⁴⁷, and excuses writers for repeating the monosyllable mais so often at the beginning of a sentence - which is stylistically infelicitous - on the grounds that the number of liaisons in French is pitifully small and decreasing all the time (416). The manuscript testifies to the fall of certain conjunctions (ains) and the attempts to protect them (car)⁴⁸. Vaugelas's unwillingness to accept the demise of certain conjunctions means that some of his judgments are rather conservative. He defends mais memes against the charge that it sounds unpleasant 'à cause du son d'une mesme syllabe repetée trois fois' (22-3), arguing that mais aussi is not a suitable replacement because its meaning is much less emphatic, and he allows more scope than others in the use of donc, maintaining that et donc and donc may be used sentence-initially, although he prefers the latter to be placed as the second, third or fourth element of a clause. He apparently does not differentiate between co-ordinating and subordinating conjunctions.

Vaugelas's place in the transition from the loosely-knit structure typical of the sixteenth century sentence to the Classical balanced period associated with Bossuet, Pascal or Madame de Lafayette is well illustrated in his formulation of and attitude towards the 'synonym rule'. This is presented as a Reigle nouvelle & infaillible...(214-8), but it is suggested by the opening of the observation and comments elsewhere (477*, 496*) that the rule of whether to repeat articles, possessives,

⁴⁶ The feeling of regret is echoed by Chiflet (1659: 125-126).

⁴⁷ But see Remarques 82, where he apparently accepts it.

⁴⁸ See 66.

pronouns and prepositions before co-ordinated nouns or verbs according to whether they are synonyms (or near-synonyms) or not⁴⁹, and whether, if nouns, they are of the same gender, is already being replaced by a more rigorous attitude requiring that co-ordinated terms be identically marked. The synonym rule may also affect the choice of co-ordinating conjunction (37). Vaugelas institutes a new rule that et can only be used to join two adjectives of a negative clause when the adjectives are synonyms or 'approchans' (e.g. il n'est point de memoire d'un plus rude et plus furieux combat). If the two adjectives have completely different meanings, they must be joined by ni (il n'y eut iamais de Capitaine plus vaillant, ny plus sage que luy)⁵⁰.

Vaugelas unfortunately confuses phrasal and clausal co-ordination and therefore places more stringent conditions on clausal co-ordination than is strictly necessary. He apparently believes that co-ordinating conjunctions must join elements having the same functional value in the sentence and criticises the construction Germanicus a egalé sa vertu, & son bonheur n'a jamais eu de pareil (112-4) as a construction lousche. Paying no heed to punctuation or intonation, he claims that the reader first interprets this as an instance of phrasal co-ordination (sa vertu & son bonheur) and is deceived, albeit momentarily, believing the co-ordinated nouns will be in the same case. Dupleix points out Vaugelas's elementary misunderstanding:

à sçavoir qu'en cete periode il y a deux regimes, & par consequent deux diverses constructions: & cela estant, la conionction & ne conjoint pas divers cas, mais bien diverses choses (Streicher 1936: 235).

⁴⁹ Vaugelas's attitude to synonyms is discussed in chapter 4, 169-171. Cf. Quirk et al. (1972: 569): 'In effect, every case of ellipsis involves some semantic difference, since it suggests a closer connection that would be felt if the forms occurred in full'.

⁵⁰ Patru outlaws the use of ni...ni to conjoin two negative propositions (ni je n'aime ni je ne prends) and condemns Vaugelas's example with et. The Academy only agrees with Vaugelas's rule if the adjectives are absolute synonyms (Streicher 1936: 79-80).

Whereas Vaugelas demands of a construction that it should be immediately comprehensible as the elements are read in linear succession, the Academy maintains that since the finite verb directly follows the subject of the second clause, the construction is quite acceptable (Streicher 1936: 236). Given such stringent conditions, it is difficult to see how Vaugelas could use et as a sentence co-ordinator at all⁵¹. Vaugelas is therefore less tolerant of asymmetric constructions than present-day grammars⁵².

The problem of whether elements may be elided in the second half of co-ordinated constructions occurs with both clausal and phrasal co-ordination. Vaugelas's assertion that certain elements are understood in an elliptical construction again suggests that ellipsis for him involves deletion from a more complete form of the construction⁵³. The question of ellipsis with phrasal co-ordination is considered at length in the observation entitled 'De cette façon de parler, il sçait la langue Latine & la langue Grecque' (493-5), the crucial factor in measuring acceptability being how far the deleted element is recuperable. Vaugelas gives four possible combinations, the first two of which are deemed acceptable and the second two not:

- (i) il sçait la langue Latine & la langue Grecque
- (ii) il sçait la langue Latine & la Grecque
- (iii) il sçait la langue Latine, & Grecque
- (iv) il sçait les langues Latine & Grecque

⁵¹ See also Tant & de si belles actions (348-9).

⁵² Antoine 1962: II: 1336: 'En réalité, la coordination asymétrique ...n'est jamais sortie d'usage, et elle "tient" encore aujourd'hui aux deux ailes de la langue: ici procédé du style, et là usage commun au parler non surveillé'. Chevalier et al (1964: 405-6) give examples of where asymmetrical constructions are tolerated in modern French.

⁵³ Vaugelas is not, however, a reductionist in the sense that he does not attempt to reduce all 'multiple subjects' of linguistic expression to 'simple subjects' as Dik suggests Port-Royal would have done (Dik 1972: 119).

Vaugelas claims that (i) is 'plus regulier & plus grammatical' since all the grammatical functions are explicitly marked, whereas (ii) is more elegant because unnecessary repetition is tiresome and concision is always favoured in French. The third example relates to Vaugelas's conception of the definite article and to the synonym rule. Because two completely different languages are being referred to, the singular cannot be applied to them for this would imply some semantic unity (la langue Latine, & Grecque). Vaugelas's objection to (iv) is expressed in terms of the surface phenomenon of agreement: a plural article cannot agree with two singular nouns. Moreover the deleted elements cannot be recovered from the linguistic context in this case⁵⁴.

Ellipsis apparently aroused extreme opinions: either it was considered completely unacceptable for endangering clarity or elegant for reducing redundancy. The problem of ellipsis may occur with coordinated subjects; in 'l'aventure du lion & de celuy qui vouloit tuer le Tyran, sont semblables' the head noun on which the second possessive depends has to be understood and the plural agreement therefore seems odd (193). In the case of the adverbial phrase 'en vostre absence, & de Madame vostre mere' Vaugelas recommends that the construction type should be totally avoided since the elided form is not sufficiently clear and the addition of 'en celle' before the second possessive renders the construction 'languissante' (209). The difficulty is compounded in this instance because the possessive is expressed by a prenominal adjective in the first half, but by de + noun in the second.

Vaugelas equally imposes limits on ellipsis in cases of clausal

⁵⁴ The expansion would have to be something like, il sçait les (deux) langues (à sçavoir) la langue Latine & la langue Grecque.

co-ordination. The situations where ellipsis of the subject pronoun is deemed unacceptable have already been mentioned⁵⁵. Elision of the auxiliary of the second of two co-ordinated verbs when the verbs are not of the same type and therefore require different forms of auxiliary is condemned ('il s'est bruslé, & tous ceux qui estoient aupres de luy' 358), as is the case mentioned above (213-4) of when two verbs or a noun and a verb which govern different cases are co-ordinated and one of these cases has to be understood (79-81).

Details of the use of certain clausal conjunctions are given. The disjunctive correlative must be either soit que...soit que or soit que...ou que. Soit que...ou soit is to be avoided because it is pleonastic (although it may be used in poetry to fit in with the metre 30-31). The question of when et should be repeated is also considered. If three clauses are listed, et should only be used before the last of the three conjoins and not before the second as well. The only exception is when the last et is reinforced by mesme, non seulement, tant s'en faut (399)⁵⁶. Clauses conjoined by et should not be separated by a long phrase or clause (591-2).

Vaugelas makes certain comments about the construction of larger units, for example, how sentences should be co-ordinated or linked within a paragraph. This skill is necessary for le stile formé, 'qui en effet n'est autre chose que de bien arranger ses paroles, & de bien former & lier ses periodes' (579). Vaugelas permits his readers to begin a sentence with et, which, according to Antoine (1962: II: 920), marks a step backwards, for this usage was no longer current. Once again Vaugelas pleads in defence of this on the grounds of the paucity of linking

⁵⁵ Chapter 1, 25-7.

⁵⁶ Et, of course, may be repeated in a sentence where it is used as a phrasal as well as a clausal conjunction, although the resulting sentence may be stylistically infelicitous.

expressions in French (400). The main evidence of a change in usage in this area is that the relatif de liaison is objected to. This presumably goes hand in hand with the new idea of the sentence as a regular and homogeneous unit (86)⁵⁷. The relative pronoun is by nature anaphoric and must relate to something within the same sentence; cases where the relatif de liaison has been used can only be corrected by joining the sentence beginning with the qui to the previous sentence by a comma, but this results in an intolerably long sentence. The origin of the construction in translation is suggested by the observation⁵⁸, but Vaugelas insists that the French language is more precise than Latin⁵⁹.

V: Subordination

A number of observations deal with the acceptability or currency of various subordinating conjunctions. For example, de façon que, de maniere que, de mode que and si que are rejected by Vaugelas in favour of si bien que, de sorte que, or tellement que (435); mais que is deemed bas, a popular conjunction affected by Malherbe (162), and premier que instead of auant que or deuant que is termed archaic (111). In some cases Vaugelas is concerned to point out the functional difference between related terms, preferring one form to have one function, thereby avoiding ambiguity (lors + que/alors (225-8); pendant que/cependant (223-4)).

57 Note also Vaugelas's definition of a period: 'vne partie de l'oraison qui a son sens tout complet' (4).

58 For the use of the relatif de liaison in Vaugelas's translations, see 38, 273.

59 Vaugelas also examines when the demonstrative pronoun celuy etc. may be used sentence-initially to refer to a noun in a previous sentence: it is unacceptable when the pronoun refers to an abstract noun, but can be used when its antecedent is a concrete object or a person. He admits that there is probably some reason for this difference, but he has not yet found it (*459-60).

Of subordinate clauses most attention is devoted to relative clauses⁶⁰. Vaugelas's views on the choice of the correct relative pronoun have been outlined in Chapter 1, 36 - 8. In addition Vaugelas tightens up the rules on the possible reference of relative pronouns. Oudin allows qui in the oblique cases to refer to persons and choses animées, for instance, to an animal or even an object like a house which, when addressed by a madman is considered animate! (Oudin 1633: 101). Vaugelas argues that, except in the nominative, qui may only refer to people and not to animals or 'choses morales' unless they are personified (55). He asserts that only foreigners would use quoy to refer to people, but allows the pronoun to have a plural as well as a singular antecedent as in 'les tremblements de terre à quoy ce pays est sujet' (54). However, Le Vayer and Dupleix already maintain that quoy may only have a singular noun as its antecedent (Streicher 1936: 111).

In some of the observations where the choice of the relative in a particular context is called into doubt, the problem is not really treated as a syntactic question by Vaugelas. For instance, que c'est and ce que c'est are apparently treated as lexical units and the need for ce que c'est is not explained in terms of construction (cf. à suite de quoy 161):

On ne dit plus gueres maintenant que c'est, comme l'on disoit autrefois. On dit, ce que c'est, Par exemple, M. de Malherbe dit, Il n'y a point de loy qui nous apprenne que c'est, que l'ingratitude. Aujourd-huy l'on dit, qui nous apprenne ce que c'est que, &c. (173).

On two occasions Vaugelas points out 'mistakes' made in the choice of qui or qu'il which are homophonous in speech. Vaugelas supports his conclusion that the correct expression is ce qu'il vous plaira by arguing that if the antecedent is plural the expression is still ce qu'il vous plaira and not ce qui vous plairont (4-5)⁶¹.

⁶⁰ The term relatif for Vaugelas apparently implies an anaphoric relation (388). Thus an anaphoric pronoun le, for example, will also be termed relatif.

⁶¹ See also Le voyla qui vient (353).

The desire for a more analytic and explicitly articulated period is also evident in Vaugelas's treatment of subordination. If two relative clauses are conjoined, the relative pronoun qui must be repeated before the second of the clauses (e.g. 'C'est vn homme qui vient des Indes & qui apporte (rather than 'lequel apporte') quantité de pierreries'). Again if a relative clause is subordinated to another subordinate clause the qui must be repeated, frequency of usage ensuring that the ear is not offended (e.g. 'il y a des gens qui n'aiment que ce qui leur nuit' (48)). The question is more complex when the relative pronoun is separated from the subject and verb of the subordinate clause by a non-finite clause as in 'Je ne sçauois croire, qu'apres auoir fait toutes sortes d'efforts, & employé tout ce qu'il auoit d'amis, d'argent & de credit pour venir à bout d'une si grande entreprise, (qu')elle luy puisse reüssir, lors qu'il l'a comme abandonnée'. Vaugelas has no syntactic theory by which he can explain his decision that the que is not necessary, relying on a rather vague intuition that the que suffices for both clauses (465). Again, he simply states that if there is too great a distance between the relative pronoun and the subordinate clause, then the main clause should be repeated 'pour soulager l'esprit du Lecteur, on de l'Auditeur' (466).

Vaugelas's adumbration of the difference between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses in semantic terms (386-388) and Port-Royal's comments thereon are discussed elsewhere⁶². In addition Vaugelas underlines the semantic necessity of the use of celui etc. in certain constructions, which he argues many people neglect if they are not well-read. He contrasts the meanings of the sentences 'il recompensa ses seruiteurs, qui l'auoient bien serui' and 'il recompensa ceux de ses seruiteurs qui l'auoient bien serui'. The latter must be used to mark the restriction, an expression which 'a encore fort bonne grace, & est bien Françoise' (328).

⁶² See 122-3.

The observation entitled Adjectif, quand il veut vn article à part, outre celui du substantif (75-6) hints at the outlines of a reductionist theory of syntax in the style of Port-Royal⁶³: simple adjectives may be reductions of relative clauses. Ellipsis is adduced to explain the apparent surface structure anomaly of the nominative les plus barbares after the genitive des peuples with which it agrees in the sentence: 'c'est la coustume des peuples les plus barbares': qui and the appropriate part of être have to be understood. The status of the underlying expanded form is unclear. Here it seems that the concise reduced construction is the usual one.

Details of usage in other types of subordinate clause are scattered throughout the Remarques. Relatively little is said about interrogative clauses and indeed Vaugelas seems confused about the difference between direct and indirect interrogatives (513). He records the uncertainty about the use of est-ce que in interrogation but defends it (e.g. quand est-ce qu'il viendra (*457-8)). However, he is totally against what he sees as a development of the use of this construction into the affirmative, quand c'est que je suis malade. In conditional clauses Vaugelas is stricter in his demands than contemporary practice illustrates usage required (Grevisse 1975: 1197-8). He recommends that when two conditional si clauses are co-ordinated, the second si should be replaced by que (395) because this is 'beaucoup plus François & plus elegant' (62); when que is used, the subjunctive is compulsory.

It was in this period that the rule that que and not comme must be used after a comparative was introduced. Vaugelas contributes to this change by disallowing comme except in poetry (532-33; cf. 63). He testifies to widespread uncertainty about the correct construction of concessive clauses, noting that in the provinces south of the Loire quel is wrongly

⁶³ See also footnote 53.

used for quelque (e.g. quel merite que l'on ayt 136)⁶⁴. Moreover it is implied that even in the best circles people are unsure when quelque should agree. While Vaugelas lays down the modern practice for agreement his explanation, assuming he is adopting the traditional classification of the parts of speech, is confused:

Quelque riches qu'ils soient. Il faut escrire ainsi, & non pas quelques, avec vne s, parce que quelque, est là aduerbe & non pas pronom, & signifie encore que, ou proprement le quantumlibet des Latins; neantmoins il faut remarquer qu'il n'est pas aduerbe qu'avec les adjectifs, comme en l'exemple proposé, & non pas avec les substantifs; car on ne dira pas quelque perfections qu'il ayt, mais quelques perfections, parce que là quelques, n'est pas aduerbe, mais pronom, & ainsi il prend l's au pluriel (359).

Another usage considered faulty by Vaugelas is the use of tel for quel (e.g. tels qu'ils soient 413). Grevisse comments that although Vaugelas condemned the construction, it remained in usage until the end of the following century and he quotes examples from Voltaire, Diderot and Bescherelle (1975: 413). Finally, as a point of style, Vaugelas prefers that the conjunctions bien que, quoy que, encore que should not be repeated but rather be replaced by que in the second of two co-ordinated concessional clauses.

Pour que is treated in a rather long remarque (17-19). The wording of the observation suggests hesitation on Vaugelas's part. It opens with a comment on the frequency of the use of the conjunction even at Court and its popularity with 'vne personne de tres-eminente condition' (not named in the manuscript). Despite this Vaugelas claims that all its uses 'ne valent rien'. The individual contexts in which it may appear are listed in turn, with Vaugelas frequently emphasising the advantage of the construction with pour que in terms of concision (e.g. Ils sont trop de gens pour qu'un homme seul les attaque). He concludes that he suspects that pour que will become established because it is 'court & commode..&

⁶⁴ See 35 for usage in the 1615 translation.

alors nous nous seruirons de cette commodité, comme les autres, mais en attendant ie m'en voudrois abstenir, selon le sentiment de nos meilleurs Escriuains'.

VI: Word order

Word order - an obvious area of difference in usage between French and Latin - is of special interest to Vaugelas. Vaugelas tends to be at his most prescriptive in observations on word order. References in the manuscript (fos. 94^v, 26^r) indicate that numerous 'errors' were made on questions of word order and that there was much more flexibility, for instance in the placing of adverbs, than his pronouncements allow. Yet Vaugelas does not believe that it is easy or indeed feasible to remedy an infelicitous word order:

soit que ce defect...procède du vice de l'oreille,
ou de celuy de l'imagination, ou de tous les deux
ensemble, qui sont deux choses que l'art donne
rarement, quand la nature les refuse (578-9).

Perhaps this is because Vaugelas like, for instance, Garnier, Maupas and Arnauld and Lancelot⁶⁵, believes in the existence of a 'natural' word order, in which the sequence of words reflects 'l'ordre naturel de l'entendement' (Maupas 1632: 251-2). Such a fundamental belief is typically not expressed by Vaugelas, but must be understood to underlie his pronouncements. Vaugelas gives general 'rules' for the ordering of words in the observation entitled Arrangement de mots (481-4). The main requirement is the ability to 'bien placer & entrelasser le verbe au milieu des autres parties de l'oraison' (482). If this characteristically vague statement is taken in conjunction with comments elsewhere (482, 307), we can deduce that Vaugelas considers the order subject-verb-object the basic one. Secondly the same order should be adopted in written style as in speech, that is, 'la situation naturelle'. The adverb should

⁶⁵ See Clifford 1974: 381 and Lecointre 1982. Chevalier notes that the concept derives from medieval logic (1968: 221-3).

always be placed close to the verb as its name suggests; while in theory this could be before or after the verb, in practice it always follows, 'comme l'accessoire apres le principal, ou l'accident apres la substance' (*461).

If certain statements in the Remarques imply that Vaugelas favours a 'natural' word order, in concrete terms his judgments are guided by two major concerns. Foremost of course is the avoidance of ambiguity for the sake of clarity (481). As we have noted in the discussion of agreement, this means there is in his system, as in that of contemporary French, a considerable amount of redundancy. Vaugelas's concept of an unambiguous word order is based on a strong sense of linearity and therefore proximity of dependent elements is considered vital. De 'article du genitif' (324) must be placed next to its head noun and the preposition pour must be as close as possible to its infinitive with only words of one or two syllables being allowed to intervene (63)⁶⁶. The recommendation that grammatically related forms should be kept as close together as possible distinguishes Vaugelas's usage from that of previous writers. Moreover parts of a compound form, that is, morphologically related forms, should not be distant. For instance, Vaugelas requires that the auxiliary of avoir and the past participle esté should not be separated, although he is willing to allow an adverb to be inserted between avoir and the participle of other verbs (460). These two recommendations are deemed sufficient to avoid ambiguity and ridicule. Even though common sense would prevent anyone misconstruing the interposed polite forms of address Madame, Monsieur etc. as direct objects of a preceding verb, Vaugelas is adamant that this potential source of misunderstanding, albeit unreasonable, should be studiously avoided '& avec

⁶⁶ The manuscript (fo. 88^r) hints that this is a prescriptive statement since neither Coeffeteau nor Malherbe followed his rule consistently. Thomas Corneille, however, is even stricter on this point and is unhappy about 'pour de là passer en Italie' (Streicher 1936: 131).

d'autant plus de soin, qu'il y a plus de personnes desraisonnables & impertinentes, qu'il n'y en a de l'autre sorte' (548)! Vaugelas then puts very strict restrictions on the writer, which seem to conflict with his assertion that one should express oneself naturally as in speech⁶⁷. He does, however, allow more freedom to poets who may need to transpose words in certain contexts (579).

The second guiding principle in Vaugelas's decisions is euphony. Wherever possible concerns of rhythm, harmony and balance must be taken into account (although never at the expense of clarity), for these are the true mark of perfection in a language (Preface XV, 3). This of course leads into the indistinct area between syntax and stylistics, between rules and preferences. However, Vaugelas does not greatly exploit the potential of varying word order to create stylistic effects, but rather insists on uniformity and regularity, perhaps through an awareness of the need to stress the fixed nature of French word order in comparison to that of Latin or indeed of previous French usage. Where he does recommend something on the grounds that it is good style, this is usually not as a stylistic variant, but because it is considered a better and less ambiguous usage. For instance, in the observation entitled Certainne Reigle pour vne plus grande netteté, ou douceur de stile (528, MS 77^V), it is not clear whether the achievement of symmetry and balance is considered merely a secondary concern or an essential part of correct usage. Vaugelas never clearly distinguishes between obligatory and optional rules⁶⁸, nor does he talk about affective uses of word order. This is not to say that no freedom of choice is permitted. For example,

⁶⁷ Neglect of the spoken language is also evidenced by the fact that intonation and prosody are not mentioned as a possible means of resolving ambiguity, despite the attention paid to euphony.

⁶⁸ See 151. Thomas Corneille classifies the problem treated in the above observation as a stylistic preference (Streicher 1936: 891).

Vaugelas allows considerable latitude in the use of either pre- or post-nominal position for the adjective according to which sounds the most pleasing⁶⁹. This raises the interesting question of what, if any, semantic value Vaugelas discerns in different word orders. Certainly in the case of the position of the adjective Vaugelas does not attach any difference in meaning to the different positions, although this would seem to be a paradigmatic instance of where such a statement might be possible. Moreover, since Vaugelas does not tolerate a great deal of flexibility in word order, there is little scope for expressing nuances of meaning in this way. Word order questions then fall almost entirely in the realm of syntax for Vaugelas, word order being viewed as a fixed part of the structure of French. Whereas infractions of agreement rules are sometimes considered as ornements, transpositions, at least in prose, are labelled vicieuses.

Various problematic features of Vaugelas's approach are reflected in his treatment of word order: the difficulty of establishing a rule when usage is in transition⁷⁰, the danger of letting observation be coloured by the desire to establish a clear, unambiguous syntax⁷¹, and the failure to be exhaustive in analysing the data or to take account of exceptions. For example, Vaugelas's treatment of adjective placement is rather unambitious. He does not discuss whether past participles functioning as adjectives may be placed before the substantive, a topic which preoccupied some of his contemporaries (Streicher 1936: 376). Neither adjectives of nationality or town of origin, nor those adjectives

⁶⁹ See below 236-8.

⁷⁰ See below 235.

⁷¹ Vaugelas's rules for adverb placement are in part at least prescriptive, see Brunot 1909:(III): 683.

whose meaning is affected by their situation are considered⁷². There are also serious omissions in the subjects covered: such questions as the position of object pronouns with co-ordinated imperatives and the use of inversion in incise are completely ignored and there is very little on the ordering of clauses or larger units.

I shall now discuss in more detail those observations on word order in which Vaugelas makes some contribution to the development of the language or to the formulation of rules for word order.

(a) Subject and verb inversion

The observations dealing with questions of subject and verb inversion illustrate well the difficulty of distilling an overall view of Vaugelas's ideas on certain subjects because of his presentation. In the observation entitled Verbe substantif mal placé (342; MS fo. 27^r), Vaugelas is concerned with the particular problem of the relative positioning of the verb être and its subject and concludes, 'Le verbe substantif estre, ne se doit jamais mettre en aucun de ses temps deuant le nom qui le regit'. He does not make it clear whether he considers this prohibition of nominal subject and verb inversion should be applied to all verbs and to pronoun subjects. Corneille and the Academy cite cases where the rule is not obligatory even with être: it is considered elegant, for instance, to invert the subject and verb in a subordinate clause after certain invertissants such as ainsi, tel (Streicher 1936: 585-6). Indeed Vaugelas himself supports the use of certain adverbs clause-initially which cause the subject and verb to be inverted; he prefers bien est-il vray to il est bien vray (525; MS 30^r), although Corneille and the Academy are unhappy about this older ordering (Streicher 1936: 885). He makes no mention of the fact that the verb in the example is impersonal, allowing

⁷² Perhaps Vaugelas considered this unnecessary since Henri Estienne had already occupied himself with the problem (1582: 154-8).

the il to be viewed as a dummy subject, so it is impossible to tell whether this is significant for him⁷³. Again, Vaugelas still praises the use of si clause-initially with inversion as 'fort bonne, & fort elegante' (62-63). According to Clifford (1973: 77) although et and si were still used as invertissants in the first half of the seventeenth century, this usage already probably had archaic overtones (cf. Streicher 1936: 129-130). She argues that the seventeenth century was a crucial period in the decline of inversion⁷⁴, but that it was still common in the style élégant where it was retained longer (1973: 119, 139). Vaugelas's Remarques illustrate both these points. The contexts in which inversion is permitted are greatly reduced (inversion after ce as in ce dit-il is condemned (308) and the interrogative introduced by est-ce que avoiding inversion is supported (*458)), yet, as we have noted, Vaugelas still favours certain rather outdated inversions because he considers them elegant. The combination of syntactic and stylistic reasons offered by Clifford for the continuing use of inversion - to avoid non-euphonious juxtaposition, a 'cadence mineure', or the separation of relatives and antecedents, that is, to produce a harmonious, balanced and coherent sentence (Clifford 1973: 431) - fall neatly into Vaugelas's categories of netteté and douceur, and these therefore help to explain some of Vaugelas's pronouncements.

73 Maupas and Oudin both devote a considerable amount of space to the discussion of impersonals (Brunot 1909:(III):525-6). They are almost completely neglected by Vaugelas (see Souvenir 161), and he makes no mention, for instance, of the construction exemplified by 'il arrive des étudiants'. In his own usage subject and impersonal verb are inverted in the text (Or est-il que... 149), but his examples of inversion are not restricted to impersonals (see the example in 'Si, pour si est-ce que' 62-3).

74 Clifford's statistics derived from analysing texts of different periods indicate that the years 1600-1650 show a marked fall in the number of inversions (0.74 inversions per page vs. 1.50 for the preceding 50 years), but that the number levels out in the second half of the century (Clifford 1973: 422).

(b) Clitics(i) 33 LE, pronom relatif oublié33-34 Les pronoms, LE, LA, LES, transposés

These two observations illustrate Vaugelas establishing an inconsistency. The second records a recent change in usage; while Maupas still accepted the older ordering direct object (D.O.), indirect object (I.O.), le, vous, it was subsequently rejected by Oudin (Brunot 1909: (III): 680)⁷⁵. Vaugelas maintains that the correct ordering is ie vous le promets (I.O., D.O.) and not *ie le vous promets, although the latter was employed by 'tous les anciens Escriptuains, & plusieurs modernes encore'. He continues:

Il faut tousjours mettre le pronom relatif auprès du verbe, mesme lors qu'il y a repetition du pronom personnel, comme, il n'est pas si meschant que vous vous le figurez, & non pas, que vous le vous figurez, nonobstant la cacophonie des deux vous (34).

Here then Vaugelas argues that the direct object must always be next to the verb, presumably because it has a closer semantic relationship to the verb than the indirect object has. However, in the previous observation, in which, because of his demand for explicitness, Vaugelas claims euphony is not a valid reason for omitting the le⁷⁶, the ordering ie le luy face voir is advocated in which it is the indirect object which is closer to the verb. Nevertheless, in the second of the examples in this observation the reverse order (I.O., D.O. ie vous le monstre) is again promoted. Part of the reason for the different treatment of the examples may be the fact that it is only in the third person that the forms for the indirect and direct objects are distinct. Yet it is not evident why Vaugelas keeps the older ordering in le luy (cf. OF le li parallel to le vous), but not in the other cases, and he himself provides no satisfactory explanation.

⁷⁵ The manuscript (fo. 57^v) indicates that the examples Vaugelas criticises are from Malherbe.

⁷⁶ This omission was common in Old French, li being usual for le li. Such omissions are still found in popular French.

(ii) 94 Y deuant EN, & non pas après

95 Y, avec les pronoms

The interrelationship of y with these pronouns introduces further complications. Vaugelas maintains that the construction *menes-/menez-m'y is unacceptable because of its 'mauuais & ridicule son'. He is forced to resort to a subjective reason, for he notes that it is quite possible to say menes-/menez-nous (les, l') y 'qui est la mesme construction & le mesme ordre des paroles'. Enuoyez-y moy and portez-y moy are then the acceptable forms and not *enuoyez-m'y, portez m'y, although enuoyez-nous y, portez-nous y etc. may be used in speech and perhaps in the very lowest written registers. Elsewhere in writing Vaugelas prefers the substitution of là for y (portez-moy là)⁷⁷.

Maupas, Oudin and Vaugelas all agree that y must precede en (Brunot 1909: (III): 682). It appears from the Academy's comments that this ordering was already established by Vaugelas's day, the reverse order being definitely archaic (Streicher 1936: 185).

(iii) Clitic Climbing

142 Netteté de construction (MS 65^r)

376 Il se vient iustifier, il vient se iustifier (cf. MS 9^v)

577 De la netteté (il ne se peut taire, ny parler)

The question of clitic placement has been of great interest to Romance linguists recently⁷⁸. Vaugelas's comments are interesting in the

⁷⁷ The Academy modifies Vaugelas's total condemnation of the sound m'y, asserting that it is only to be avoided when it comes after the verb in final position; il m'y donne place, for example, is quite acceptable.

⁷⁸ Kayne (1975) provides the classical (generative) analysis: unstressed pronominal complements are basically introduced in post-lexical position (like lexically specified complements) and are then cliticised by a transformation Clitic placement, which left - Chomsky - adjoins them to the verb. He has a separate cyclic rule se-placement to deal with reflexive pronouns. Other analyses are provided, for example, by Rizzi (1978), Napoli (1981) for Italian and Quicoli (1980) for French causatives. It may be possible to argue that the position in modern Spanish

historical information they provide. Writing while usage is still evolving, he is faced with a choice of two forms - the older one with the clitic before the finite verb and the modern placement before the infinitive⁷⁹. Galet's excellent study of the problem indicates that the seventeenth century was a vital period for the realisation of the change and that this caused the grammarians embarrassment (Galet 1971: 54-57)⁸⁰. Such is the position in the Remarques, for Vaugelas is hesitant about which usage to support, but prefers the older one (je ne le veux pas faire) on the grounds that it is more used. Galet's statistics for the usage of various authors suggest that this estimation was still accurate for Vaugelas's period and that the modern positioning of the pronoun only became firmly established in the second half of the century (Galet 1971: 323). Interestingly, Vaugelas describes the ordering with clitic climbing as a transposition, which implies that he believes, like Coeffeteau, that the other ordering is 'plus nette & plus reguliere' (377) perhaps because in this the syntactically related words are closer together, the object being closer to the verb to which it is related.

Vaugelas's observations confirm Galet's feelings about possible reasons for the change in ordering and point the way forward to modern usage. The loss of final r in the pronunciation of infinitives recorded by Vaugelas (198, 437) meant that a potential ambiguity was created in such cases as il se croit acquitter/il se croit acquitté and it is

78 (continued)

and Italian is rather similar to that of the French Vaugelas was looking at. In French, however, the pronouns have never attached themselves to the end of the infinitive as in the other Romance languages.

79 Unfortunately Vaugelas does not include discussion of clitic placement with faire (in which clitic climbing is obligatory), nor examples of the type je le fais (vois) venir, where the le is the subject and not the object of the lower verb, nor examples with catenative verbs.

80 In the eighteenth century some grammarians still support the older usage, relying on the authority of the past and on Vaugelas's ruling (Galet 1971: 57).

likely that it is in the verbs croire, falloir, savoir, vouloir etc. that the older ordering was first lost for the sake of clarity (Galet 1971: 405-6). A second reason for the change, likewise motivated by demands of clarity, is already considered in the Remarques, the problem of co-ordinated constructions (Galet 1971: 359)⁸¹. In cases where there are two co-ordinated infinitives Vaugelas strongly recommends the modern ordering without clitic climbing, thereby sacrificing the regularity and generality of his rule⁸². For instance, the ordering 'sçachant avec combien d'affection elle se daignera porter pour mes interests, & embrasser le soin de mes affaires' is rejected because daignera has to be understood in the second clause and 'se daignera avec embrasser, ne se peut construire' (143). If, however, the two co-ordinated verbs are both reflexive then the version with clitic climbing is essential to indicate that the se is to be taken with both infinitives (Il ne se peut taire ny fascher 582)⁸³.

While inconsistent, these observations do apparently reflect contemporary usage in its state of transition. Vaugelas does not predict correctly the way the language was to develop on this question or rather does not influence its development.

(c) Adjective placement

Vaugelas admits his inability to provide a rule for when to place the adjective before or after the substantive except in a few cases

⁸¹ Another possible reason for the change not mentioned by Vaugelas is the difficulty of selecting the auxiliary when the verb is reflexive (Galet 1971: 350). Cf. Italian verbi servile which take the auxiliary of the lower verb.

⁸² See chapter 1, 39.

⁸³ Surprisingly, Vaugelas does not demand the repetition of the pronoun for clarity's sake, although the Academy advises it (Streicher 1936: 283).

of limited application (182-5; MS 5^v)⁸⁴. As we have already noted, his list of adjectives which are restricted to one position is lamentably incomplete in comparison with that of Henri Estienne (1582: 154-8), Maupas (1632: 116-119) or Oudin (1633: 118-9). Vaugelas explains the apparent exception Henry quatriesme as an elliptical form of Henri quatriesme Roy de ce nom, but does not include the exception mentioned by Corneille of livre troisiéme, chapitre sixiéme etc. used when citing a book (Streicher 1936: 375). He does, however, recognize the expressions les Blancs-manteaux and du blanc-mangé as vestiges of an earlier stage of the language.

The Remarques bear witness to the changing usage in the positioning of adjectives. In Old French adjectives were generally placed before the noun, whereas in modern colloquial French they tend to come after it, although in literary French they are frequently pre-posed⁸⁵. Whereas in the manuscript Vaugelas prefers the pre-nominal position for the adjective, because this gives greater cohesion to the sentence (fo. 5^v), in the published text he argues that modern authors favour the post-posing of the adjective as the more natural and more commonly used order. His own advice is to let the ear judge which ordering sounds more pleasing and to follow the example of the most famous writers. Vaugelas does not therefore attempt to attach any difference of semantic nuance to the different positions⁸⁶.

⁸⁴ The same admission is repeated by twentieth century linguists such as Le Bidois (Wydler 1956: 37).

⁸⁵ Damourette et Pichon (1930: (II): 114-117) provide rough statistics for the different positions of the adjective from analysis of texts from the earliest texts on. They point to the seventeenth century as the crucial period for the change to a majority of adjectives being post-posed (116).

⁸⁶ For a recent attempt to analyse the different meanings of the pre- and post-posed adjective, see Linda R. Waugh A semantic analysis of word order. Position of the Adjective in French, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1977.

At the end of the observation Vaugelas considers the question of the correct ordering when a noun has both an adjective modifying it and a dependent genitive. From his discussion of the correct placing for a dependent genitive (see above) one might expect him to be in total agreement with those who maintain that the adjective must be placed before the noun so that the genitive is not separated from its head noun ('elle estoit mortelle ennemie d'Agrippine'). But, while accepting this as the more usual and clearer construction, he argues that one can equally say 'fort bien, & avec grace', vne multitude infinie de monde or les peuples les plus farouches, & les plus indomtables de la terre (185).

The observation Epithete mal placé (156) considers how the adjectives should be ordered when there are two modifying the same noun. Both the text and the manuscript suggest that Vaugelas is trying to guide rather than record usage, for he claims that there are very few 'qui ne pechent' (MS fo. 26^r). Vaugelas gives the rule that 'jamais il ne faut mettre le substantif entre les deux adjectifs' preferring 'en cette solitude si belle, & si propre à la contemplation' to 'en cette belle solitude, & si propre à la contemplation'⁸⁷. The second order may sometimes have 'beaucoup de grace & de force', but is rarely used. The Academy, while in accord for Vaugelas's example, permits the not very different 'après de si grands avantages & si heureusement remportez' (Streicher 1936: 307-8).

⁸⁷ This is inconsistent in that he argues elsewhere (182) that beau always goes before the noun. Clifford (1974: 385) cites H. Estienne (1550) who notes changes of meaning according to the position of the adjective, but points out that this is neutralised when the adjective in question is combined with another.

(d) Adverbs

The positioning of the adverb is treated in a special observation which attempts to discuss the matter in general terms (*461). Verb and adverb are placed together for semantic reasons 'comme inseparables dans le sens, aussi bien que dans la construction' (154), and, as we have noted (227-8), Vaugelas believes it is quite reasonable that the adverb is placed after the verb⁸⁸. In the example from Malherbe (MS fo. 37^r) 'comme l'on vit que presque leurs propositions n'estoient que celles mesmes qu'ils auoient faites à Rome' (*461), Vaugelas asserts that if used, presque must be placed immediately after n'estoient despite the cacophony of the two que; à peu pres may be substituted to avoid this⁸⁹. Ambiguity may arise if an adverb is placed between two words both of which it can modify as in 'außi veux-ie bien particulièrement traiter..' (587). To indicate that bien should be taken with particulièrement and not veux-ie, the ordering 'außi veux ie traiter bien particulièrement' must be used⁹⁰.

(e) Negative particles

Vaugelas is influential in establishing the rule for the placing of the negative particles ne pas, ne point before an infinitive (409).

⁸⁸ Cf. Le Bidois 1938: II: 101. A comment in the observation entitled Netteté suggests that Vaugelas was aware that adverbs may modify other adverbs, but he does not mention that they can modify an adjective, or even a noun or a whole clause. In Latin the adverb tended to be next to the verb, but in Old French the position of the adverb was generally not fixed, unless it was the focus of the sentence, when it was usually sentence-initial.

⁸⁹ In this observation Vaugelas attempts to characterize exceptions to his rule, e.g. adverbs of time, see chapter 1, 42.

⁹⁰ From the general principle given above that the adverb follows the verb, we would expect it to go with veux-ie.

The manuscript simply notes that Coeffeteau tended to place the two halves around the infinitive (69^r); by the Remarques Vaugelas favours the modern practice as the more elegant construction, although no reason for the decision is offered.

(f) Relative clauses

Antecedents and relatives must of course be placed as close as possible to each other. Vaugelas outlines how the French language affords a useful means of avoiding ambiguity when the relative pronoun does not apply to the nearest noun in lequel, laquelle, providing that the two possible nominal antecedents are of different genders (115-8). In the observation Arrangement de mots (481-4) Vaugelas uses an example from Malherbe (MS fo. 35^r), 'voicy pour vne seconde injure, la perte qu'auecque vous, ou plustost auecque toute la France, j'ay faite de Monsieur, &c.' to stress the importance of placing the verb of the relative clause close to the object pronoun que. The placing of the direct object close to the verb is to be given precedence over the placing of the dependent genitive close to its head noun:

tant parce que le verbe qui est construit avec le pronom relatif en l'accusatif, comme celui-cy, veut estre le plus proche du pronom qu'il se peut, que parce qu'il y auoit plusieurs mots sans verbe, en quoy consiste vn des principaux vices de l'arrangement (482)⁹¹.

The correct placing of a relative clause within a period is essential because if wrongly inserted it can disrupt the construction and cause ambiguity (588). The example 'l'Orateur arriue à sa fin, qui est de persuader, d'une façon toute particuliere' is used as an illustration⁹².

⁹¹ Note, however, in the discussion of the use of lequel, laquelle (115-8) the example, 'Il y auoit à Rome vn grand Capitaine, lequel par le commandement du Senat, & c.' (116) in which the adverbial phrase is placed at the beginning of the clause directly after the relative pronoun.

⁹² Since the example does not appear in the manuscript, we do not know its source, but the construction is one typical of the period.

The adverbial expression which is intended to modify the verb of the main clause could incorrectly be taken to apply to persuader. Vaugelas dismisses the efficacy of the comma for removing the ambiguity (588). The role of punctuation is thus reduced to a minimum by Vaugelas and he seems to ignore the role of intonation and context in the spoken language which in practice would severely limit the possibility of incomprehension.

(g) Temporal clauses

Vaugelas gives no justification for his preference for comme le Roy fut arriué, il commanda over le Roy, comme il fut arriué, commanda (*457; MS fo. 15^r) against many of his contemporaries. We can only surmise that Vaugelas prefers one clause to be fully completed before the next is begun⁹³. The objection to the second example does not seem to be that nothing should be inserted between subject and verb, for Vaugelas is quite willing to accept Le Roy estant arriué commanda which he considers 'beaucoup plus Française' than the version with the comme clause. In fact the use of the participle clause seems rather to be a Latinate construction of the sort especially favoured by sixteenth-century writers.

(h) Summary

Despite the vague formulation of some of his ideas (that the verb should be well placed in the middle of the sentence (482), that sentences should not be interrupted by 'longues & frequentes parentheses' (592) or be overloaded with complements (581, 584)), Vaugelas does have a feel for the trend emerging in the ordering of words in French towards a logical

⁹³ Vaugelas makes no mention of the alternative 'comme il fut arriué, le Roy commanda' with backward pronominalisation. Such a sentence is, of course, potentially ambiguous, since the il could be taken to refer to someone else. Moreover, if immediate comprehension of the elements in linear sequence is required, it is essential to have the full noun in the ~~subordinate~~ clause when this comes first.

and balanced sentence⁹⁴. He therefore favours a topic-comment structure in which all the relationships are made explicit and the ideas expressed in their 'natural' order. Examination of some of the observations not included in the Remarques illustrate his growing reluctance to tolerate transposition and his tendency towards prescription. For instance, the Nouvelle Remarque entitled Construction irreguliere views the violation of the normal word order as a beauty of the language (Vaugelas 1690: 132), but in general in the Remarques deviations from the normal word order are severely censured. Although in theory Vaugelas advocates that the word order in writing should mirror that of speech, in practice he makes higher demands on written style, and the interaction of word order and prosodic features in the spoken language is ignored.

⁹⁴ With the notable exception of the position of clitics.

Chapter 6: Vaugelas's Quinte-Curce translation: developments in the theory and practice of translation

I: Introduction

Unlike Vaugelas's Fonseca translation, the existence, if not the detail, of Vaugelas's translation of Quinte-Curce's life of Alexander is well-known. The work was a great publishing success, running to even more editions than the Remarques¹ and is still therefore fairly readily available. It has been studied before, notably in a competent thesis by Zeiler (1966) and in an article by François (1904), and somewhat less successfully by Bürger (1918) and Moßner (1927), and its relationship to other translations of the period has been suggested by Zuber (1968), although most of the overviews of the history of translation devote little, if any, attention to what is often considered Vaugelas's only translation². The problems associated with the Quinte-Curce text do not therefore lie in lack of availability or information about the work. The major difficulty stems rather from the long period during which Vaugelas worked on the translation. Rewriting, correcting and polishing it for thirty years³, Vaugelas was unable to decide on its publication during his lifetime and no definitive version from Vaugelas's own hand exists. While the protracted

¹ Over 40 editions of the translation appeared in the period up to 1850, when Nisard's collection was published. Details of the principal editions are given by Bürger 1918: 16-18 and François 1904: 145. For the sake of brevity I refer to Vaugelas's translation as 'the Quinte-Curce translation' and retain the French spelling of the Latin author's name. D'Ablancourt's translations are also referred to in the same way.

² He is not mentioned by Cary (1963) or by Kelly (1979). Hennebert in his history of French translations of Latin and Greek texts in the sixteenth and seventeenth century devotes only 4 pages to Vaugelas (Hennebert 1968: 169-172).

³ See Voiture's comment cited by Grillet in his brief treatment of Vaugelas (1807: II: 118-122).

genesis of the work already hints that interesting insights about the evolution of Vaugelas's ideas on the theory of translation and on the correct use of French may be obtained from comparison of the versions of the translation, and these will be discussed in detail below, caution about making statements about Vaugelas's beliefs is essential since the scope of the role of the posthumous editors must always be borne in mind. Although a few shreds of evidence about the different manuscripts may be gleaned from Du Ryer's Preface to the translation, neither I nor any of the previous commentators on the text have been able to find a manuscript⁴ and there is no infallible way of determining either the extent of the intervention of the editors or the principles according to which they decided between the numerous variants.

II: The genesis of the translation and its publication

I propose only to outline briefly the history of the genesis of the text and to concentrate on those features which illuminate the detailed examination of it, since most of the facts have already been given, for example, by François (1904: 138-145). Previous commentators have remarked on the popularity of Quintus Curtius's life of Alexander in the seventeenth century (François 1904: 139-141; Zeiler 1966: 8-12). La Mothe le Vayer's Jugement de Quinte-Curce⁵ reflects the general admiration for the work at the time, as do the three other translations of it produced

⁴ Zeiler notes that both she and Minckwitz at the end of the previous century have searched in Paris libraries for the manuscript to no avail (Zeiler 1966: Preface).

⁵ This appears in the editions of Vaugelas's Quinte-Curce after 1664.

in the first half of the century by Nicolas Séguier (1614)⁶, modelled on Amyot's translations and reprinted in 1622, by Nicolas Soulfour (1629)⁷, and by Bernard Lesfargues (1639)⁸, which is probably the 'Alexandre de Camusat' referred to by Chapelain in a letter dated 1 January 1639 (Chapelain 1880: I: 347). Du Perron, himself greatly admired by Vaugelas, speaks in the following laudatory terms about Quinte-Curce:

une page de Quinte Curce vaut mieux que 30 de Tacite;...
 Quinte Curce est le premier de la Latinité; si poli, si
 terse; & est si admirable, qu'en ses subtilitez il est
 facile, clair, & intelligible. (Du Perron 1694: 359).

Not only was this Latin account of the life popular⁹: the hero himself, according to Streicher, appealed to men and women alike and she cites Madame de Rambouillet's statement 'qu'elle ne vouloit pas d'autre galant

⁶ L'Histoire des faicts d'Alexandre le Grand,...composée par Quinte Curse, et tournée de latin en françois par N. Séguier,...Genève, P. de la Rouiete, 1614 (Bibliothèque Nationale J. 20875). Sorel (1970 (1667): 225) also notes three other translations of Quinte-Curce apart from Vaugelas's, by Nicolas Séguier, M. de Lesfargues ' & de quelqu'autre '.

⁷ Alexandre françois, image de la fortune et de la vaillance à la noblesse françoise, ou l'Histoire de Quintus Curtius, des faicts d'Alexandre le Grand, nouvellement traduite en françois, par N. de Soulfour, sieur de Glatigny, et les deux premiers livres imitez de Justin, Arrian et Diodore Sicilien. Paris, A. de Sommaville, 1629. (Bibliothèque Nationale J. 10704).

⁸ Histoire d'Alexandre le Grand, tirée de Q. Curse et autres. Paris, J. Camusat, 1639 (Traduite par B. Lesfargues) (Bibliothèque Nationale J. 10703).

⁹ Other Latin lives of Alexander were written by Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Justin and Plutarch.

qu'Alexandre' (Streicher 1934: XXII-XXIII). It is therefore not surprising that Vaugelas chose to begin translating the work around 1620 (Vaugelas 1692: Preface to Quinte-Curce)¹⁰. At this time Coeffeteau, the translator of Florus's Histoire Romaine (1615) was still alive and it was to him, according to Du Ryer (ibid: Preface), that Vaugelas first looked for a model, imitating him 'jusqu'à ses défauts'. The style of the Fonseca translation and the praise of Coeffeteau found in both the Arsenal manuscript and the Remarques¹¹ confirm the strength of Vaugelas's admiration for Coeffeteau's writing. It is probable that already in the 1630's parts of the translation were read in the salons and its appearance was anticipated with great excitement. For example, Chapelain expresses his eagerness to see the translation in a letter to Vaugelas dated 10 July 1633 (Chapelain 1880: I: 41) and three years later Balzac in a letter makes it clear that he has read at least part of the translation:

Tout cela me semble si François et si naturel, qu'il est impossible d'y remarquer une seule ligne qui sente l'original Latin, & où le premier Auteur ait de l'avantage sur le second. L'Alexandre de Philippe estoit invincible, & celui de Vaugelas est inimitable (Balzac 1665: I: 415).

The following year marked two important events in the genesis of the translation: the publication of the first of d'Ablancourt's eleven translations¹², and the admission of its author to the Académie. The Preface of Vaugelas's translation suggest that Vaugelas was already

¹⁰ The editions post 1659 are all based on the third edition. I have used the 1692 Lyon edition for quotations since this was readily available to me. The differences in orthography between the 1653 and 1659 editions are insignificant (see below) and the spelling of the 1692 quotations is therefore irrelevant since the conventions are not due to Vaugelas but reflect later changes.

¹¹ See Chapter 1, 43 and Chapter 2, 75-76.

¹² L'Octavius de Minucius Felix. Paris, J. Camusat, 1637. For details of the editions of this and d'Ablancourt's other translations, see Zuber 1968: 445-6.

attracted by d'Ablancourt's first translations, but the influence of d'Ablancourt on him became direct and decisive when d'Ablancourt's translation of Arrian's life of Alexander appeared in 1646¹³. On Vaugelas's own admission (1692: Preface) this occasioned a complete revision of his own translation (see below).

The Preface of the Quinte-Curce translation notes that as with the Remarques Vaugelas was ever open to receive comments and criticisms and that he noted down various possible versions about which he wished to seek the advice of his friends, using different marks to show which he liked least and what he deemed doubtful or superfluous. It is then feasible that part at least of the translation was seen by the future editors before Vaugelas's death. The Nouvelles Remarques indicate that the Academy was consulted about various doubtful expressions from the translation¹⁴ and Du Ryer confirms that the decisions of the Academy on certain questions were recorded in the margins of the manuscript.

It was to Vaugelas's friends after his death in 1650 that the task was left of putting the translation into some final form ready for publication. According to Du Ryer's account in the Preface to the Quinte-Curce translation, Chapelain and Conrart¹⁵, the editors of the first version which appeared in 1653, were faced with three different manuscript copies, one of which was marked as having been revised on the model of Arrian, but which was still in a confused and in places highly illegible condition and full of variants. The editors therefore had to decipher

¹³ Note that there are no references to d'Ablancourt in the Arsenal manuscript, but that he is alluded to in the published Remarques (see below). The quotations here are cited from the 1664 Paris edition of the translation.

¹⁴ See 67.

¹⁵ See also 83. Conrart probably only had a very limited knowledge of Latin.

the manuscript and make choices between alternative renderings; although both fully conversant with Vaugelas's ideas, they may well have been guided by their own personal tastes in this, for we have no indication of their methodology. The second edition dated 1655 was based on the same manuscript. However, in 1659 a third and entirely new edition appeared, offering a different version of the Latin text, produced from a new manuscript copy which, it was claimed, had been discovered in the intervening period. This edition had the advantage of being based on a single copy described as 'beaucoup plus nette, & qui étoit celle à laquelle l'Auteur vouloit s'arrêter' (1692: following La Mothe le Vayer's Jugement de Quinte-Curce). Du Ryer suggests that Patru, the editor of this new version, did not merely reproduce the contents of the manuscript, but engaged in active editorial work: 'Et parce qu'en quelques endroits il (sc. l'Auteur) ne s'étoit pas encore déterminé, cette dernière copie a été revûë par Monsier Patru, avec tant de soin & de zele pour la gloire de son Ami...' (ibid.). While Patru, like Chapelain and Conrart was a personal friend of Vaugelas, he was also, significantly, the man to whom d'Ablancourt sent his translations for linguistic comment and Patru may have contributed to the allusions found to d'Ablancourt's Arrian which feature more prominently in this version¹⁶.

Another factor to take into account when considering the reliability of the text is the role of the publisher in determining especially the orthography of it. As in the case of the Remarques, however, the status of the printing house concerned suggests that intervention by the printer was minimal, and since both the 1653 and 1659 editions were printed by Augustin Courbé, we can assume that similar, if not identical printing conventions were applied to both manuscripts offered by the editors¹⁷.

The posthumous appearance of both the 1653 and 1659 editions of

¹⁶ See below 267-270.

¹⁷ See 71.

Vaugelas's Quinte-Curce restricts the scope of, although in no way invalidates, the claims about chronology and changing linguistic usage. For this reason the main contention of Bürger's thesis (1918), that the 1646 translation of Quinte-Curce found in the library at Wolfenbüttel¹⁸ is by Vaugelas, is at first sight highly interesting, for at least then there must have been a complete, if not definitive version, of the text by Vaugelas published just one year before the Remarques. Bürger's claim is that the 1646 text is the version for which Vaugelas still used Coeffeteau's Florus as a model. While noting clumsiness in the text (e.g. through the over-use of participle clauses Bürger 1918: 25) and the inclusion of many linguistic features criticised by Vaugelas in the Remarques (ibid: 54-56), Bürger uses these facts not to disprove the authenticity of Vaugelas's authorship, but to illustrate a development in Vaugelas's use of language. Bürger puts forward several arguments to substantiate his thesis. Firstly he points to a reference in the 1646 Preface to the author being 'un des meilleurs esprits du siecle' (ibid: 10). Secondly he observes that the Privilege du Roy of the 1653 edition was granted in 1646 (ibid: 12); Bürger therefore assumes that the translation was ready for publication in 1646 when d'Ablancourt's Arrian appeared and that despite Vaugelas's

¹⁸ Histoire d'Alexandre le Grand. Escrite par Q. Curse Cheualier Romain. Traduction Nouuelle. Dediée à Monseigneur le Premier President. Paris, Toussaint Quinet, 1646. (Herzoglichen Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel.) Bürger is forced to admit that none of the bibliographies he has looked at (Graesse, Schweiger, Barbier) agree with his attribution and all give the 1646 translation as an anonymous work. Bürger also mentions another text of 1647, published by Augustin Courbé and attributed to Vaugelas by Schweiger and Peignot; Barbier, however, considers this a mistake (Bürger 1918: 9-12). Perhaps the bibliographers were confusing the Quinte-Curce translation and the Remarques.

intention to revise his work completely, the publication nevertheless went ahead, although the edition appeared anonymously. He adds that the Avis au Lecteur contains references to the authority of Amyot and that the discussion of the way to render Latin proper names in French suggests a similar treatment to that found in the 1653 text (ibid: 23-24)¹⁹.

His main support nevertheless comes from the comparison of the texts of 1646 and 1653, and he cites a very large number of passages in which there are close resemblances between the texts (Bürger 1918: 25-53).

These arguments were obviously accepted by Moßner who devotes some space to showing how Vaugelas's usage changed between 1646 and 1653 (Moßner 1927: 87-88). Zeiler (1966), however, correctly disproves Bürger's thesis by showing that the 1646 Wolfenbüttel edition is identical (even to the line) to the 1629 translation by Soulfour found in the Bibliothèque Nationale²⁰. The reproduction of a page from both works is conclusive, but Zeiler also exposes flaws in Bürger's logic, for she argues that, since Vaugelas's translation had been shown to his friends, it would have been impossible for the text to remain anonymous. The similarity of the passages is therefore to be explained by imitation on Vaugelas's part. Zeiler hypothesises that the publisher of the 1646 text, Quinet, in an attempt to make Soulfour's translation sell well, published it anonymously, deliberately alluding to Vaugelas in the Preface and omitting Soulfour's original Preface, the ideas of which were no longer in tune with current views, preaching as it did the value of fidelity over eloquence (Zeiler 1966: 30). Vaugelas doubtless knew Soulfour, for he too was born in Savoy (1549), was acquainted with François de Sales and was in the service of Madame de Nemours; Vaugelas may then have already been familiar with the 1629 translation (ibid: 31-34). Zeiler criticises Bürger's

¹⁹ Cf. Remarques 66-73.

²⁰ See footnote 7.

neglect of the differences between the texts, his neglect of words and phrases used in 1646 but rejected either explicitly or implicitly by the Remarques²¹ and his failure to compare the similar sounding passages to the original to see how far the Latin determined the likenesses (ibid: 35). Nevertheless the similarities are too numerous and too striking to be purely coincidental. The three examples cited below taken from Zeiler (1966: 36, 42, 46) confirm that the imitation was conscious:

Book III, 1, 17²²

Latin	1646	1653
solvere adgressus, iniecerat curam ei [turbæ], ne in omen verteretur inritum in- coeptum.	Le Roy se trouvant engagé eut peur s'il n'en venoit à bout, qu'on en fist un mauvais presage (146)	Cependant, le Roy se trouvant engagé à cette entreprise, eut peur que s'il n'en venoit à bout, on n'en fist mauvais presage (209-10)

IV, 6, 28

Latin	1646	1653
Vincam tamen silentium et, si nihil aliud, certe gemitu inter- pellabo.	Si vaincry - ie (sic) vostre silence ou si ie n'en tire autre chose pour le moins i'auray des souples (253).	si vaincry - ie (sic) ce silence obstiné, et si ie n'en tire autre chose, i'auray pour le moins des cris (308).

VIII, 8, 11

Latin	1646	1653
Non est diuturna possessio, in quam gladio in- ducimur;	Ce qui ne seroit appuyé que sur la pointe de nos espées, ne pourroit pas long-temps durer debout (578)	Ce qui n'est appuyé que sur la point de l'espee (sic), ne peut pas long-temps demeurer debout (611).

²¹ For example, archaisms, original formulations, expressions from commerce and trade (Zeiler 1966: 47-48).

²² The references give the book, chapter and section of the text. Zeiler takes the majority of her examples from book VIII. I have made detailed study of books III, IV and VII. This is because books III and IV differ in certain ways from the other books (see below); book VII is taken as representative of these.

Zeiler maintains (1966: 99) that Vaugelas must have begun both the 1653 and the 1659 versions after 1646 since they both testify to d'Ablancourt's influence on him (see below), although this is much more noticeable in the case of the 1659 edition. This dating is problematic, for if both versions were the result of reworking carried out 1646-1650 then they should both equally illustrate the language usage advocated by the Remarques, an argument used by Zeiler herself to dismiss the claim that Vaugelas is the author of the 1646 translation²³. It is true, as will be illustrated below, that the 1653 and 1659 editions alike sometimes deviate from the usage recommended in Vaugelas's pronouncements, but many of these discrepancies are removed by 1659. Perhaps then a more accurate suggestion would be that the manuscript forming the basis of the 1653 edition was merely retouched after 1646, Vaugelas making rather superficial emendations to the text in his copying of d'Ablancourt, whereas the version published in 1659 was the result of a more major reworking of the text involving not only the adaptation of complete passages after his reading of Arrian, but also an attempt to bring the language usage more in line with the Remarques²⁴. It is also possible that Vaugelas saw the Arrian translation before it was actually published, for it is specifically referred to on two occasions in the Remarques (145, 450), although these may simply be among the last passages written together with the Preface²⁵.

²³ See above 250.

²⁴ The amendments to bring the usage in line with the Remarques may have been carried out late on in Vaugelas's life when he was revising books III and IV, the last books to be reworked (1692: Preface). This would then explain why there are more changes in linguistic usage between the version in books III and IV than elsewhere. See below 270-276.

²⁵ For other possible references to d'Ablancourt in the Remarques, see 258.

I now propose to examine more closely the influences on Vaugelas and to trace the development of his ideas on translation with respect both to theory and to the effect on his translation practice. Finally, I shall discuss the evolution of his ideas on the correct use of language as exemplified in the versions of the Quinte-Curce translation and assess the relationship of the translation to the Remarques.

III: The evolution of Vaugelas's ideas on translation

The evolution of Vaugelas's ideas on translation is of course intrinsically linked to the changes in Vaugelas's use of language. In part at least the concept of how to translate well determines the choice of style. For example, the reduction in the use of synonyms in 1659 depends largely on Vaugelas's revised ideas about correct translation technique (see below).

There is little direct evidence about Vaugelas's views on correct translation procedure. A brief statement of the major revision in Vaugelas's method is made by Du Ryer in the Preface of Quinte-Curce; Vaugelas first looked to Coeffeteau as a model and:

De là vient que son stile avoit toujours été diffus, & qu'il avoit quelque mollesse comme celui qu'il imitoit. Mais quãd il vit les premieres versiõs de Mr. d'Ablancourt, il les trouva si charmantes, qu'il se resolut de refaire la sienne sur ce modelle.

The Arsenal manuscript of the Remarques, which seems to mark the high point of Vaugelas's admiration for Coeffeteau²⁶, makes no mention of d'Ablancourt by name. A passage from this manuscript confirms that it was above all Coeffeteau's style rather than his method of translating which attracted Vaugelas²⁷ and that the former is considered incomparably more important

²⁶ See 75-6.

²⁷ Moßner's judgment of Coeffeteau's style as 'verwickelt, schwerfällig und oft auch unklar' (Moßner 1927: 51) certainly does not reflect Vaugelas's own opinion (see 76).

than the latter:

Je repete encore une fois que ie ne parle que du langage, car pour l'intelligence du sens peut estre qu'il n'y a pas tousiours apporté tout le soing qui y eust esté necessaire, en quoy ie ne uoudrois pas l'excuser, mais il n'y auoit rien si aisé que d'euter ce blasme (40^v).

While previous commentators have been at pains to detail the scope of d'Ablancourt's influence on Vaugelas, Coeffeteau's role in the formation of his ideas has not been elucidated. Like d'Ablancourt, Coeffeteau allowed himself a measure of freedom from the text. The difference between the two translators lies in the quantity and realisation of the 'infidelities'. As Urbain notes, while inaccuracies, repetitions, additions and extra explanatory commentary are to be found in Coeffeteau's *Florus*, the liberties are nothing in comparison to those displayed by d'Ablancourt (Urbain 1893: 268-9). Moreover, while d'Ablancourt tends to concision, to cutting any repetition and to removing anything considered superfluous, Coeffeteau's changes generally involve elaboration, the addition of words and repetitions for the sake of harmony, for explanation or commentary. Perhaps the difference in length is therefore the most striking manifestation of the changing influences on Vaugelas (see below). Two other statements from the manuscript confirm that Vaugelas already favoured a measure of freedom. Firstly Vaugelas claims that a translation must not be a slavish copy of the original but rather must excel it (90^v)²⁸. Secondly Vaugelas's awareness of the diversity of languages leads to a realisation that there will of necessity be strengths and weaknesses in a translation vis-à-vis its original, according to the relative strengths and weaknesses of the two languages concerned:

Ceux qui ont la connoissance de plusieurs langues en uoyent à tous coups des exemples et particulièrement les bons traducteurs, à qui il arriuera en une mesme page de faire trois choses bien differentes, l'une d'egaler l'excellence de leur original, l'autre de n'y pouuoir atteindre, et l'autre de la surpasser, ce qui ne prouient que de la diuersité des langues, lesquelles tout ainsi que les personnes ont leurs perfections et leurs manquements differents les uns les autres, tellement

²⁸ Quoted on 69.

que si le Traducteur entend bien son mestier, il ne sera point trop fasché quand il ne rendra pas quelque pensee de l'Autheur avec la mesme grace que luy, parce que ce sera une merueille, si deuant qu'il ayt acheué la page il ne rencontre l'occasion de s'en reuancher en exprimant beaucoup plus elegamment la pensee de l'Autheur que ne fait l'Autheur mesme (28^v).

The technique employed in the Fonseca translation again confirms that from the beginning Vaugelas was not slavishly attached to his text²⁹. However, it is true that in the early part of the time spent translating Quinte-Curce Vaugelas placed more value on fidelity and was more critical of inaccuracies than was later the case. The passage from the manuscript cited on the previous page (40^v), continues with Vaugelas drawing a parallel between Coeffeteau and Amyot³⁰, the translator of Plutarch's Vies, noting that although 'un des plus sçauants hommes de nostre siecle' had noted a very large number of inaccuracies in this translation, 'iamais Traducteur n'acquiert plus de gloire avec plus de raison'. The man referred to is Bachet de Méziriac³¹, who, planning a translation of Plutarch himself, had noted 2000 mistranslations or unfaithful renderings in Amyot's version. Vaugelas's respect for Amyot, together with the fact that Coeffeteau in a sense was a direct descendent of Amyot, precluded Vaugelas from completely supporting Méziriac and espousing his central belief that

²⁹ The relative freedom of the Fonseca translation and the influence of Coeffeteau on the style (illustrating precisely those qualities mentioned above) are discussed in chapter 1, 43.

³⁰ See also 76. Despite Vaugelas's great respect for Amyot's use of language, he was apparently not greatly influenced by his translation methods.

³¹ The Dictionnaire des lettres françaises (XVII^es: Grente, Pauphilet, Pichard, Barroux 1954: 694) describes Méziriac (1581-1638) as a mediocre poet but 'excellent grammarien, habile helléniste et critique distingué'. He was admitted to the French Academy in 1635, despite his absence from Paris. The text of Méziriac's Discours is given in Ménage 1716: III: 502ff..

'La qualité la plus essentielle à un bon Traducteur, c'est la fidélité' (Ménage 1716: III: 507). Nevertheless, since it was Vaugelas who read out Méziriac's discours to the Academy on 19 December 1636, we may assume that he was not totally unsympathetic to the views expressed in it.

François (1904: 155) and Moßner (1927: 89) agree that Vaugelas never entirely freed himself from Coeffeteau's influence, nor totally adopted d'Ablancourt's techniques. Indeed, as will be shown, it is sometimes difficult to discern exactly where d'Ablancourt's influence manifests itself or to state in what respects the 1659 version is closer to d'Ablancourt. Nevertheless, Vaugelas could not fail to be swayed by the prevailing tendency towards greater freedom. Malherbe, for instance, in his translation of Seneca 'n'avait pensé qu'à plaire, nullement à être fidèle' (Hennebert 1968: 159). This movement towards greater independence from the original is allied to the growing aversion for pedantry as evidenced by the Remarques³². Malherbe, describing in the Advertissement his attitude to his translation of the 33rd book of Livy, makes a statement which could equally apply to Vaugelas's attitude in the Remarques: 'Je sçay bien le goust du college, mais ie m'arreste à celui du Louvre' (Malherbe 1630: 472). Again we are forced to rely on indirect evidence of a change of emphasis in Vaugelas's views by comparing the different examples of his usage and from comments recorded by Gaspard de Tende using the pseudonym l'Estang in his work De la Traduction, ou Regles pour apprendre a traduire la langue latine en la langue françoise (1660). In the Preface of this work Gaspard de Tende lists nine rules, three of which he claims to have derived from Vaugelas. The first rule states the essential prerequisite of a complete understanding of both languages, but especially of Latin, so that the translator can 'bien entrer dans la pensée de l'Auteur qu'on traduit, & (de) ne pas s'assujettir trop

³² See Ayres 1983: 29-30.

bassement aux paroles; parce qu'il suffit de rendre le sens avec vn soin tres exact, & vne fidelité toute entiere, sans laisser aucune des beautez ni des figures qui sont dans le Latin'. This then advocates following the original in spirit rather than to the letter. The second rule attributed to Vaugelas is that the translator must strive 'de conseruer l'esprit & le genie de l'Auteur qu'on traduit', which involves finding the right style³³. A translation must not seem like a copy but must read like an original, 'vn ouurage naturel, & vne production toute pure de nostre esprit'. The third rule states that the translator must always strive for greater netteté: this can be achieved by dividing up long periods 'parce que le discours qui est si lié & si étendu est beaucoup moins intelligible que celuy qui est plus court & plus precis'.

How far was d'Ablancourt instrumental in bringing about this change in Vaugelas's theory of translation? The opinions of previous commentators have differed widely on this. Zeiler (1966: 52) wrongly implies that Vaugelas's method of translating was originally faithful and therefore concludes that the reformation was radical, while Zuber appears to question the extent of d'Ablancourt's influence (Zuber 1968: 125). None of Zuber's arguments are, however, very convincing. He claims that there are definite indications of animosity towards d'Ablancourt expressed in the Remarques. Of the references to d'Ablancourt he cites, only two are clear allusions (145, 450); both refer to d'Ablancourt's translation of Arrian in terms of praise, praise which is in no way diminished by Vaugelas's

³³ A similar theoretical statement is found in Amyot's Preface to Plutarch's Vies: 'L'office d'un propre traducteur ne gist pas seulement à rendre fidelément la sentence de son autheur, mais aussi à adombrer la forme du style et manière de parler d'iceluy...', quoted by Cary 1963: 17. In practice Amyot concentrates far more on the latter concern than on the former (see above 255).

expression of doubt about d'Ablancourt's use of gestes in 'vne tres-velle Epistre liminaire' (450). Two of Zuber's other references (461^{*}, 468^{*}) are not to d'Ablancourt but to Malherbe as the Arsenal manuscript makes clear (37^r, 86^v)³⁴, and the other two (358, 586), (of unidentified authorship since they do not appear in the Arsenal manuscript), cite examples of bad constructions which Vaugelas has brought to the attention of the reader since they are rare instances of where 'vn de nos meilleurs Escriptuains' (358) is not to be copied. Zuber's claim that the praise of d'Ablancourt when discussing his use of synonyms (497-8) is too exaggerated to be convincing fails to appreciate Vaugelas's approach. Moreover, Zuber overlooks obvious references to d'Ablancourt in the Remarques, for instance in the observation dealing with the use of the present historic in 'cette excellente & nouvelle traduction de Tacite au second liure des Annales, que j'ay bien voulu rapporter icy pour vn des plus beaux exemples, qu'aucun Historien eust peu me fournir sur ce sujet' (458). While it is true that d'Ablancourt shows some evidence of rivalry towards Vaugelas in his criticism of Quinte-Curce's life of Alexander in the preface to Arrian, the Preface to Vaugelas's Quinte-Curce expresses only admiration for d'Ablancourt, and Zuber himself mentions that Vaugelas recommended d'Ablancourt as the author of the projected history of Richelieu (Zuber 1968: 274). Zuber thus incorrectly minimises d'Ablancourt's influence on Vaugelas, and his claim that there is only a general similarity in their choice of vocabulary because Vaugelas copied the prevailing style and not d'Ablancourt specifically and that d'Ablancourt only rarely influenced Vaugelas's choice of sentence structure (ibid: 125) is untenable.

³⁴ These references are wrongly attributed to d'Ablancourt in the Clef de Conrart (see chapter 2, 74-5). The Clef also gives Remarques 46, 64, 129 and 250 as possible references to d'Ablancourt.

D'Ablancourt's impact on Vaugelas is felt both in general terms and in the actual choice of words, expressions and constructions, even to the extent of direct borrowings of details and of short passages with no counterpart in the Latin of Quinte-Curce.

D'Ablancourt is the chief and perhaps the most extreme representative of a group of translators paying little attention to fidelity to their originals, whose translations came to be known as 'Belles infidèles'³⁵. In the Preface to Arrian and in the Remarques to the translation d'Ablancourt explains what this freedom means:

mon dessein n'est pas de rendre toutes les paroles de mon
Auteur, mais de n'oublier aucune circonstance ou
particularité remarquable (D'Ablancourt 1664: Preface).

The liberty may involve 'correcting' the original author using material from other writers, in this case other historians of Alexander - Diodore or Quinte-Curce (d'Ablancourt 1664: 282, 285). For the most part, however, the amendations are from d'Ablancourt's own hand and he justifies these on the grounds that 'La diuersité des Langues & des stiles empeschent qu'on ne puisse marcher sur tous les pas de son Auteur' (ibid.: 274)³⁶. The principal features of the alteration are the cutting of the original, the striving for concision and the removal of repetitions, since, it is claimed, the delicatesse of the French language cannot bear them: 'outre que cét Auteur est sujet à des repetitions frequentes & inutiles, que ma langue ny mon stile ne peuuent souffrir' (Preface). Occasionally additions are made to the original, but the main force of d'Ablancourt's Remarques is to justify differences involving reduction of Arrian's text³⁷.

³⁵ The label is due to Ménage, who, criticising d'Ablancourt's method of translating, said of the translations: 'Elles me rappellent une femme que j'ai beaucoup aimée à Tours, et qui était belle mais infidèle' (Cary 1963: 29).

³⁶ Cf. the quotation from the Arsenal manuscript, 254-5.

³⁷ D'Ablancourt's Preface also contains an interesting discussion of whether Greek words in French should be spelt with ch or c, similar to that found in Vaugelas's Remarques 205-7.

Du Ryer's Preface indicates that Vaugelas adopted a similar approach, although not carried out to the same degree. It also observes that Vaugelas too was intending to furnish his translation with notes containing some corrections and comments. Du Ryer cites some of these comments and adds after the last one³⁸:

Cette derniere Note fait connoître, que le dessein de Mr. de Vaugelas étoit, de corriger toutes les redites & toutes les affectations de Quinte Curce, qui ne sont pas en petit nombre (1692: Preface).

It is claimed that the notes would have indicated more changes than actually appear in the text, perhaps suggesting Vaugelas's intention to move even further away from his original.

Vaugelas's method of translating and the role of d'Ablancourt in developing his ideas can best be illustrated by comparing the two published versions of the translation with the Latin original. A comment in the Preface notes that Vaugelas did not always follow 'l'édition commune' but rather looked to others who had previously worked on Quinte-Curce's Alexander - Raderus, Acidalius and Freinshemius³⁹. Since the Arsenal manuscript also gives its reference to Quinte-Curce from Raderus (76^V), we may assume that Vaugelas used the text and commentary on the original provided by Raderus to a large extent⁴⁰.

D'Ablancourt's influence is felt on the approach to the Latin and on

³⁸ 'Je dirai encore que dans le neuvième livre, pag. 498 à côté de ces paroles, ESTANT ESCHAPPE DE CE DANGER, il avoit mis, CUM AMNI BELLUM FUISSE CREDERES, J'ai supprimé cela, tant parce qu'il y a trop de jeu & d'affectation, qu'à cause qu'il a déjà employé la même pensée ailleurs, ce qui lui arrive souvent, & qu'il faut corriger dans la Traduction, avec la permission du Critique' (1692: Preface).

³⁹ Freinshemius's supplements to Quinte-Curce are translated by Du Ryer and published with Vaugelas's translation.

⁴⁰ The text in Raderus's edition is divided into shorter sections, but is otherwise virtually the same as that in Rolfe (1971). The Latin quoted in the 1692 Paris edition contains small inaccuracies (e.g. III, 1, 2: mediam).

the style alike. Sometimes both the versions seem Latinate (1653: 506/1692: 385 quoted on 271), but in general the 1653 version follows the Latin more faithfully and adheres more closely to the Latin construction with the result that the 1653 translation often appears cumbersome and awkward in comparison to the greater elegance of the 1659 rendering. This is true both of short expressions (the Latinate qu'ils appellent of 1653 (e.g. 1653: 269) is replaced by qu'on appelle in 1659 (1692: 203)) and of longer passages:

<u>Latin</u>	<u>1653</u>	<u>1659 (1692)</u>
Igitur castris ab Babylona positis, quo maiore animo capesserent bellum universas vires in conspectum dedit et, circumdato vallo quod decem milium armatorum multitudinem caperet, Xerxis exemplo numerum copiarum iniit (III,2,2).	Après auoir donc campé dans la plaine de Babylone, pour animer dauantage ses gens à la guerre, il voulut faire reueuë de toutes ses forces; & ayant tiré à l'exemple de Xerxes vne tranchée en rond, dont l'enceinte pouuoit tenir dix mille hommes en bataille, il reconnut le veritable nombre de ses troupes (1655: 211).	Il vint donc se camper dans la plaine de Babylone, & pour animer dauantage ses gens, il voulut voir toutes ses forces ensemble, & à l'exemple de Xerxes, tirant une circonvallation qui pouvoit contenir dix mille hommes en bataille fit le denombrement de ses troupes (1692: 164).

There are numerous examples of where the French of 1653 follows the Latin closely resulting in clumsiness but the 1659 text provides a neat and elegant version:

Et, quaeso, permittas mihi id primum defendere, quod a te ultimum obiectum est (VII, 1, 21).	Mais permettez-moy, Seigneur, de commencer à nous défendre par où vous auez acheué de nous accuser (1653: 508-9).	Mais permettez moi, Seigneur, de répondre premierement au dernier reproche que vous nous auez fait (1692: 387).
Ipsi Pharnabazo tradit imperium, quod antea Memmoni dederat (III, 3, 1).	Et pour Pharnabase, il luy donna le commandement que Memnon auoit auparauant (1653: 215)	& mit Pharnabaze en la place de Memmon (1692: 167)

As has been mentioned above, the greatest point of contrast between the two versions is the concision of that of 1659 compared to the wordiness of

that of 1653. The reader only has to compare the number of pages of the 1653 and 1659 editions to confirm this obvious difference⁴¹. The conciseness may be achieved by cutting and refining the 1653 text, by removing unnecessary repetitions, synonyms or explanations. Selected examples must stand as representative of a large number of cases:

Cutting

III, 1, 7	:	turrem et situ et opere multum editam
1653: 207	:	vne tour fort esleuée, & de situation & de structure.
1692: 161	:	une tour extrêmement élevée

The cutting may mean that part of the Latin sense is not rendered:

III, 6, 10	:	proiectisque amiculo et litteris ante lectum
1653: 229	:	& iettant la lettre & son manteau par dépit, deuant le lict du Roy
1692: 176	:	& jettant la lettre dit au Roi

Emphasis or reinforcement may be lost:

III, 1, 17	:	nec ratione nec visu perspici posset
1653: 209	:	descouurir ni des yeux ni de l'esprit
1692: 162	:	découvrir

Alternatively brevity may be attained by a different choice of expression, for instance, nominalisation:

III, 3, 2	:	divinatio animi praesagientis
1653: 215	:	pressentiment de ce qui luy deuoit arriuer
1692: 167	:	quelque pressentiment de l'avenir

Removal of explanatory clause

III, 10, 2	:	quippe semper circumiecta nemora petraeque, quantamcumque accepere vocem, multiplicato sono referunt.
1653: 244	:	estant vne chose ordinaire en la nature qu'au moindre bruit qui éclate, les forests & les montagnes voisines retentissent & multiplient le son qu'elles reçoient.

Omitted in 1692.

An extended passage of such examples can be seen in the descriptive sections

⁴¹ The typography of the 1653 and 1659 editions is identical; Book III takes up 58 pages in the 1653 version, but only 51 pages in the third edition.

of book III, chapter 3⁴².

Alternatively in 1659 Vaugelas, rather than interfering with the Latin, may merely remove extra material which he himself had added in 1653, following Coeffeteau's method:

III, 2, 1	:	statuit ipse decernere
1653: 211	:	de commander luy-mesme son armée, & de combattre en personne son ennemy
1692: 163	:	de commander en personne son armée
III, 1, 20	:	quae Hellesponti praesiderent
1653: 210	:	pour tenir l'Hellespont, & se rendre maistre de la mer
1692: 163	:	pour garder l'Hellespont

Adverbs or reinforcements added in 1653 are then naturally eliminated:

IV, 2, 4	:	Legati respondent (esse...)
1653: 278	:	Les Ambassadeurs luy respondirent superbement,...
1692: 210	:	Ils lui repondirent...
III, 5, 5	:	ereptum
1653: 225	:	ainsi mal-heureusement rauy
1692: 173	:	leur étoit ravi

An impression of brevity may be gained by dividing a long sentence into two or more discrete units:

VII, 1, 23	:	Cum quid accidit tristius, omnes rei sumus; corporibus nostris, quae utique non odimus, infestas admovemus manus; parentes, liberis si occurrant, et ingrati et invisii sunt.
1653: 509	:	Quand nous souffrons, nous sommes tous criminels, chacun s'émancipie de parler; nous faisons bien davantage, nous tournons nos mains violentes contre nous-mesmes, qu'on ne peut pas dire que nous haïssons, & durant cette fascheuse humeur, si les enfans rencontroient leurs peres, ils ne les regarderoient pas, à peine les pourroient-ils souffrir.
1692: 388	:	...contre nous-mêmes. En cette fâcheuse humeur, si les enfans rencontroient leurs peres, à peine les pourroient-ils souffrir.

42

The examples all reflect general tendencies, although examples of expansion in 1659 are available: e.g. VII, 1, 36, : 'et non inanes quoque species anxio animo figuraret!'; 1653: 512: '& qu'elle vous remplisse l'esprit de ces vaines terreurs'; 1692: 390: '& qu'elle ne vous remplît point l'esprit de ces terreurs vaines & sans fondement'. See also 1653: 280/1692: 211.

Usually the concision goes hand in hand with elegance, but just occasionally there is the risk that the 1659 version has been cut so much that clarity has been sacrificed:

- | | | |
|------------|---|---|
| III, 8, 12 | : | Haec magnificentius iactata quam verius. |
| 1653: 237 | : | Mais tout cela n'estoit que paroles jettées en l'air
avec plus de pompe que de verité. |
| 1692: 182 | : | Ces paroles étoient magnifiques, s'il y eût ajouté
les efets (sic). |

The cutting and striving for concision and elegance derived from a growing freedom from the original then not only affects the overall nature of the translation and influences the choice of construction; the impact of d'Ablancourt is also felt keenly on the style. Moßner comments on the paucity of tropes and the lack of local colour and images in d'Ablancourt's style in Arrian (1927: 67). By 1659 many of the images and vivid details have disappeared and the style has become plainer, less direct and forceful, and more prosaic. Du Ryer suggests in his Preface the qualities of d'Ablancourt's style Vaugelas most admired: 'qui pour le stile historique n'a personne, à mon avis, qui le surpasse, tant il est clair et débarassé, élégant & court'. Again space compels me to be highly selective in my illustrations:

Removal of imagery and vivid details (usually not in the Latin):

- | | | |
|------------|---|---|
| III, 1, 21 | : | in quem omnes intenderat curas |
| 1653: 210 | : | sur qui il auoit principalement les yeux |
| 1692: 164 | : | (qui étoit le seul de tous les Capitaines de Darius)
qu'il redoutoit. |
| III, 5, 3 | : | pallor deinde suffusus est |
| 1653: 225 | : | il deuient pasle comme s'il eust deû <u>rendre l'esprit</u>
à l'heure mesme |
| 1692: 173 | : | ...qu'on croyoit qu'il alloit <u>mourir</u> . |
| III, 5, 1 | : | et diei fervidissimum tempus esse coeperat. |
| 1653: 224 | : | oultre que c'estoit l'heure du iour que le Soleil
lance ses rayons avec plus de violence |
| 1692: 173 | : | C'étoit encore au plus chaud du jour |

Various linguistic features combine to make the style less immediate and graphic. For example, direct speech is replaced by indirect speech in a

number of instances (1653: 270: 'vous autres Perses entreprenez' → 1692: 204: 'Car les Perses entreprenent') and the less intimate vous substituted for tu (e.g. III, 6, 12 in the king's address to Philip (1653: 230/1692: 177)⁴³. In one respect Vaugelas differs in his usage from d'Ablancourt in hardly using in 1659 the historic present. In the Remarques mention is made of its fine usage in d'Ablancourt's translation of Tacitus and it is implied that used skilfully it is a suitable tense for historic narrative (457-9). Nevertheless it is no longer favoured in 1659 and the problem of integrating the present tense into a passage of past tenses is thereby avoided:

- | | | |
|-----------|---|--|
| III, 5, 4 | : | Expiranti similem ministri manu excipiunt nec satis compotem mentis in tabernaculum deferunt. |
| 1653: 225 | : | Aussi-tost ses gens le prennent entre leurs bras, & l'emportent en sa tente plus mort que vif, ayant perdu toute connoissance. |
| 1692: 173 | : | ...si bien que ses gens l'emportèrent en sa tente qu'il avoit perdu toute connoissance. |

The changing attitude to synonyms is perhaps the most striking difference in style between the two versions. In some cases, as Zeiler notes (1966: 70-72), synonyms are added to the 1659 text at the end of sentences to produce a pleasing cadence, the placing favoured in the Remarques⁴⁴. Elsewhere, however, in avoiding synonyms Vaugelas appears to go beyond the pronouncements of the Remarques, even though it is d'Ablancourt's usage which is put forward as a model there, not only removing the more obviously superfluous ones which he himself had added to the 1653 version, for example:

43

Du Ryer in the Preface offers explanations as to why tu or vous is selected in certain places in the 1653 edition, but these concerns do not account for the revision between 1653 and 1659.

44

See 49.

IV, 1, 28 : pro sociis ipsos
 1653: 275 : comme alliez & partisans de leur liberté
 1692: 207 : comme partisans de leur liberté

but also discarding those which have a direct counterpart in the Latin
 and arguably have some reinforcing effect:

III, 5, 6 : euntes fames atque inopia debellari posse
 1653: 225 : la faim & la disette
 1692: 174 : la faim
 III, 5, 4 : Ingens sollicitudo et paene iam luctus in castris erat;
 1653: 225 : vn trouble & vne consternation
 1692: 173 : une consternation

Here then is an obvious point of contrast to Vaugelas's usage in the
 Fonseca translation⁴⁵.

In contrast to the large number of revisions made at the syntactic
 level, few changes are made to the choice of lexical items. While the part
 of speech used may be altered to achieve concision and the number of words
 employed reduced, the vocabulary of 1653 does not appear more Latinate
 than that of 1659. It is likely that Vaugelas was never greatly influenced
 by the vocabulary of the original. Both versions contain rather anachronistic
 terms (e.g. Seigneur 1653: 509/1692: 387) and both, according to Bürger
 (Bürger 1918: 99), make use of the expressions listed and explained in
 the Remarques following the Arrian translation.

While it is clear that d'Ablancourt influenced Vaugelas's method of
 translating and hence his style, the revisions also coincide with the trend
 of change seen in the examination of the differences between the Arsenal
 manuscript and the published Remarques - a striving for greater elegance
 and polish, a desire for clarity and concision, the removal of much of the
 imagery and semi-poetical devices - in short, the development of the
 classical style. In following d'Ablancourt therefore, Vaugelas did not
 merely become a 'Plagiator' (Bürger 1918: 42), but was able to remain true
 to his principles. There are of course examples which contravene this

⁴⁵ See 48-9.

basic trend, and these are partly due to the persisting influence of Coeffeteau's prose on Vaugelas, but they are far outweighed by the increase of the features which we have already come to associate with the development in Vaugelas's use of language.

Less interesting from our point of view, because they are only superficial, are the direct borrowings from d'Ablancourt, examples of which are cited by Moßner (1927: 90-95), François (1904: 155-9) and Zeiler (1966: 53-55), which conclusively prove their existence. Some care is needed when making claims about direct borrowings; many of Moßner's examples are not very convincing, since the French versions of d'Ablancourt and Vaugelas alike are closely tied to the Latin. Nevertheless, the instances are too numerous to be purely coincidental and indeed many cases of similarity have no counterpart in the original. Examples of direct copying occur in both the published editions of Quinte-Curce but are more prominent in the later edition. Sometimes this effects small details like numbers, for instance:

- III, 3, 24 : (regiae pelices) trecentae et sexaginta quinque
- 1653: 219-220 : jusques au nombre de trois cens soixante-cinq
- 1692: 170 : jusqu'au nombre de trois cens soixante

- IIII, 3, 14 : Exiguo intervallo
- 1653: 218 : A quelque distance de là
- 1692: 169 : A trente pas de là

Elsewhere the resonances stretch over a longer passage. Since plenty of examples of direct borrowings are available in the other writers on Quinte-Curce, it will suffice to quote just one or two examples here:

III, 5, 2	1653	1692	D'Ablancourt 1664
regem invitavit liquor fluminis, ut calidum adhuc corpus ablueret.	il luy prit enuie de s'y baigner tout eschauffé qu'il estoit (224).	il lui prit envie de s'y baigner tout echauffé qu'il étoit (173).	ou pour s'estre baigné dans la riuere de Cynde, tout échaufé qu'il estoit (50).

IV, 1, 2	1653	1692	D'Ablancourt 1664
Pauci regem sequebantur.	Il courut toute la nuit avec peu de suite (269)	Ce miserable Prince courut toute la nuit avec peu de suite (203)	Darius ayant couru toute la nuit avec peu de suite (62)

The following passage shows a combination of the features discussed above, including direct borrowings and revisions between the two published versions of Vaugelas's *Quinte-Curce*:

III, 6, 9	1653	1692	D'Ablancourt 1664
Quo viso Alex- ander, levato corpore in cubili, epi- stolam a Parmenione missam sinistra manu tenens accipit poculum et haurit interritus; tum epistolam legere Philippum iubet nec a vultu legentis movit oculos, ratus aliquas conscientiae notas in ipso ore posse deprehendere.	(le Medecin entre, la medecine à la main.) Le Roy se soulevant, & s'appuyant sur le coude, prit <u>d'une main la</u> <u>lettre de</u> <u>Parmenion, & de</u> <u>l'autre le breu-</u> <u>uage, qu'il</u> auala sans délibérer. Puis donna la lettre à Philippe pour la lire, & tant qu'il la lût ne leva iamais les yeux de dessus luy, estimant pouvoir de- couvrir sur son visage quelques marques de ce qu'il avoit dans l'ame (229).	(..le Medecin étant entré avec la medecine,) le Roi prit la <u>Lettre d'une</u> <u>main & le breu-</u> <u>vage de l'autre,</u> & l'ayant avallé sans crainte, il commanda à Philippe de lire la lettre, & tant qu'il la lût ne leva jamais les yeux de dessus lui, croiant pouvoir découvrir sur son visage quelques marques de ce qu'il avoit dans l'ame (176).	...mais sans témoigner aucune défiance n'une personne qu'il aimoit il luy donna la <u>lettre d'une main</u> <u>& prit le breuage</u> <u>de l'autre; de sorte</u> qu'en mesme temps l'un beuvoit & l'autre lisoit, celuy-cy témoignant assez à son visage & à sa contenance, qu'il estoit innocent (51).

There has been some discussion about whether all the books show the same degree of borrowings from d'Ablancourt. François, supporting his argument with Vaugelas's comment that book IV is the last revised and the most difficult to translate, maintains that there are a greater number of direct borrowings in book IV (and to a lesser extent book III), than there are in the later books (François 1904: 157). Bürger suggests that the similarities with Soulfour's translation are more noticeable in book III (Bürger 1918: 38).

Moßner disagrees with François and cites examples of direct borrowings from all books and particularly book X (Moßner 1927:90) and Zeiler takes most of her examples from book VIII (Zeiler 1966: 55). While it is therefore clear that the direct borrowings occur throughout the translation, my comparison of books III and IV with book VII suggests, however, that on the whole there are less changes between the editions after book V with respect to the relationship of the translation to the Latin original and especially with respect to the use of language (cf. Bürger (1918: 100) who claims that by book X there are hardly any differences between the editions).

The increased number of direct borrowings in 1659 may simply be the result of the growing appeal of d'Ablancourt's renderings to Vaugelas. However, they may also be due to the fact that this edition was produced by Patru, the man to whom d'Ablancourt sent his own translations for comment. If in doubt when faced with a confused and difficult to read manuscript, Patru may have turned to d'Ablancourt's Arrian for assistance and preferred the version closest to d'Ablancourt's. The latter's renderings may have been noted in the margins of the manuscript for ease of reference by Vaugelas and then extracted by Patru for the published work. Whatever the case, it is in no way surprising to find these borrowings or indeed those from Soulfour, for they are symptomatic of Vaugelas's attitude to language and style and illustrate the philosophy seen to prevail in the Remarques, thereby supporting our contention that Vaugelas's oeuvre must be viewed as a whole⁴⁶. It is evident from the Remarques that Vaugelas had no desire for his use of language to be original and that he favoured linguistic conformism⁴⁷. Since he obviously believed that d'Ablancourt had

⁴⁶ They are also quite typical of translation practice in this period. See, for instance, the titles of Soulfour's and Lesfargues's translations cited in footnotes 7 and 8 above.

⁴⁷ For reasons for this in the socio-cultural background, see chapter 7, section III.

found the correct style for historical narrative, there was no reason in his view to alter it⁴⁸. Imitation, however, did not stop at the general level; if his authority was also thought to have found the mot juste, the expression which perfectly captured the spirit of the original, then this too was to be copied, there being no sense in introducing change for change's sake. Vaugelas's usage in the Quinte-Curce translation then clarifies well what he means when he advises his reader in the Remarques to imitate the language usage of the best authors of the day.

IV: The development in Vaugelas's ideas on the correct use of language

The problem of discussing a writer's use of language when considering a translation was raised in the first chapter. Since the two Quinte-Curce editions are both relatively free translations, it seems justifiable to comment on the use of language in them, particularly since Vaugelas's contemporaries felt that it ought to be possible to read translations as if they were originals⁴⁹. Since Vaugelas was still working on Quinte-Curce at the time of the publication of the Remarques and continued to do so for the remaining three years of his life, the two works are in a sense roughly contemporary. It is therefore interesting to compare the Remarques with the Quinte-Curce translations to highlight the contrast between Vaugelas's theory and practice, the work of Vaugelas the grammarian and Vaugelas the translator. Through such comparison, developments in Vaugelas's use of language between the two texts can be isolated, as well as the persisting discrepancies between the pronouncements of the Remarques and the usage in

⁴⁸ Similar conclusions are reached by François (1904: 160-1) and by Zeiler (1966: 55-57).

⁴⁹ For example, Zuber quotes Antoine Le Maistre's statement (1658): 'Il faut que nos traductions, pour estre parfaites, paroissent comme d'autres originaux, et comme une nouvelle production' (Zuber 1968: 146).

the translations⁵⁰.

Previous commentators have been quick to point out examples where Vaugelas does not obey his own rules, as were the grammarians contemporary to Vaugelas. Such discrepancies occur in both the 1653 and the 1659 texts and raise the question of whether Vaugelas really was recording usage in the Remarques or whether the differences derive rather from a realisation that freedom in adapting the rules is required when a writer is faced not only with rendering the Latin satisfactorily, but producing a varied and pleasant-sounding piece of prose. Both versions infringe the recommendations of the Remarques in, for instance, the omission of the subject pronoun ('car tous n'avoient pas pris la même route' (1653: 268/ 1692: 203), the omission or non-repetition of the article ('car il avoit nouvelles que..' (1653: 226/1692: 174), the overuse of participle clauses ('On amena donc Lyncestes de la prison, & luy ayant esté ordonné de déduire ses défenses, bien qu'il eust eu trois ans à se preparer, si est-ce que hésitant & tremblant, il ne dit que bien peu de ce qu'il auoit premedité' (1653: 506); '...& lui aiant été ordonné de parler..' (1692: 385)) and in a number of other ways which will be detailed below when discussing the Academy's commentary on the translation. Yet there are signs of a development over the two texts, for corrections are made to the 1659 edition which bring the language usage closer in line with the 1647 observations. Once again the main area of evolution is that of syntax and word order. There are only isolated and insignificant instances of revisions of spelling, mainly involving the addition of accents (e.g. esgalement / également; meslez / mélez), and while there is a significant difference in the number of words used, in the choice of expressions and in the attitude to synonyms, the

⁵⁰ There are, of course, difficulties about making claims about chronology since both editions were posthumous. Nevertheless, there is conclusive evidence that the 1659 version is the later one.

alterations in the vocabulary used do not usually reflect evolution in the language, although occasionally archaisms are eliminated (e.g. heur 1653: 276) or replaced (exterminer (= chasser) (1653: 270) → combattre (1692: 204)) or a more common word preferred (fameuse (1653: 278) → celebre (1692: 209); enseignes (1653: 214) → drapeaux (1692: 165))⁵¹.

I therefore propose to focus almost entirely on the changes in construction and the ordering of the sentential elements, not only because these alterations are most numerous and most prominent, but because they involve fundamental changes to the structure of the language, the grammar of a language being less subject to change and therefore in a sense most characteristic of a language (Remarques Preface X, 2).

Some of the changes in Vaugelas's syntactic usage are occasioned by the desire to model himself on d'Ablancourt, for instance, the division of long complicated sentences into shorter units (see above 263). Many relate directly to the Remarques and display the same tendencies which have already been seen as characteristic of Vaugelas's approach to syntax - the updating of verbal syntax, the making explicit of all sentence relationships through the use of agreement, repetition and the ordering of the words, the removal of ambiguity, the tightening up of clausal connections and the simplification of the sentence structure. In general then the syntax in 1653 is more complicated and less clear than 1659, although already in 1653 great progress has been made from the usage in the Fonseca translation and the recommendations of the Arsenal manuscript⁵². Since

⁵¹ As for the vocabulary, Zeiler notes (1966: 88) that the 1659 edition avoids technical terms and that both texts tend to favour words familiar to seventeenth century readers, which gives the translation a certain anachronistic flavour (see below 278).

⁵² Zeiler also gives interesting examples of changes in syntactic usage from book VIII. For instance, she comments on the removal of the aller + gerundive construction in 1659: 'et comme il alloit errant ça et là...'/'et comme il ne faisoit qu'errer ça et là' (Zeiler 1966: 108).

Vaugelas's syntactic theory has been treated at length in the previous chapter, I shall merely cite examples of the various processes, the force of which should by now be obvious.

(a) Agreement

Incorrect verbal agreement amended:

1653: 288 La mer émeuë s'enfle peu à peu, & les vagues agitées par la violence des vens fait vne horrible tempeste.

1692: 217 ...font

1653: 272-3 Sa grande probité l'auoit reduit comme plusieurs autres à cette extreme misere, dans laquelle ce bon homme attentif à son trauail, n'oyoit point le bruit des armes qui auoit alors ébranlé toute l'Asie.

1692: 206 ...qui avoient ébranlé toute l'Asie.

(b) Co-ordination

An incorrect use of ni is removed:

1653: 262 ...qu'il sçauoit luy deuoir estre plus chere que tout l'or ni que toutes les richesses du monde.

1692: 198 ...qu'il sçavoit leur deuoir être plus cher que font l'or du monde.

(c) Subordination

(i) Relative clauses

Replacement of Latinate lequel by qui:

1653: 227 : un nommé Philippe, Arcananien de nation, lequel luy ayant esté donné dès son bas-âge., l'aymoit avec vne tendresse & vne passion incroyable,...

1692: 175 :qui...

Substitution of dont:

1653: 224 : au coeur de l'Esté durant lequel il n'y a point de climat au monde où les chaleurs soient si excessiues qu'en la Cicilie,...

1692: 173 : au coeur de l'Esté dont les chaleurs sont aussi grandes en Cicilie qu'en lieu du monde.

Incorrect use of dont for d'où rectified (Remarques 344):

1653: 211 : il entra dans la Paphlagonie qui est frontiere des Henetes, dont quelques-vns croyent que les Venetiens tirent leur origine.

1692: 163 :, d'où selon la creance de quelques-uns les Venitiens tirent leur origine.

(ii) Replacement of participle clauses by a finite verb:

- 1653: 285 Alors cét amas de pierres qui soustenoit la terre estant renuersé, le reste fondit comme dans vn abysme;..
 1692: 215 Quand cet amas de pierres qui souûtenoit la terre fut renversé, le reste fondit comme dans un abîme....

(d) Construction(i) Removal of ambiguity

A construction lousche is avoided:

- 1653: 233 ayant décampé & passé le fleuve de Pyrame sur vn pont de batteaux, il se rendit à la ville de Malles, & son second logement fut prés de celle de Castabale.
 1692: 179 & ayant passé la rivière de Pyrame sur un pont qu'il fit faire il arriva à la ville de Malles, & au second logement à celle de Castabale,...

Vaugelas is also careful to eliminate any potential misunderstanding through the ambiguous use of possessives etc. ('De tous ses amis' (1653: 507) → 'De tous les amis de ce malheureux' (1692: 386)) and replaces potentially ambiguous subject pronouns by a nominal expression or proper name:

- 1653: 508 il luy fit donner vne iaueline qu'il prit de la main gauche.
 1692: 387 le Roi lui fit donner une javeline, qu'Amyntas prit de la main gauche.

(ii) Repetition for clarity and the explicit marking of relationships

In 1659 articles and subject pronouns are more used and prepositions and articles are repeated before the second of co-ordinated nouns for the sake of clarity:

Subject pronouns:

- 1653: 286-7 Les Tyriens, quoy que puissans sur la mer, n'oserent toutefois se presenter au combat; mais renfermerent toutes leurs galeres dans leurs haures, pour en défendre l'entrée, où le Roy ne laissa pas de les attaquer, & d'en couler à fond trois des plus auancées.
 1692: 216 Les Tyriens quoique puissans sur la mer n'oserent toutefois se presenter au combat, mais ils mirent leurs galeres tout autour de leurs murailles où elles étoient à couvert. Le Roi neanmoins ne laissa pas de les attaquer & d'en couler trois à fonds;...

Articles:

- 1653: 286 en grande perplexité
 1692: 216 en une grande perplexité
- 1653: 269 conceuës en termes si superbes, qu'il s'en offensa
 extrêmement.
 1692: 203 écrites en des termes si superbes, qu'il en fut
 extrêmement offensé,...

Prepositions:

- 1653: 276 dans la Paphlagonie, & la Cappadoce
 1692: 208 dans la Paphlagonie & dās la Cappadoce

(e) Word Order

There are a substantial number of significant changes in the ordering of the words between 1653 and 1659. In the majority of cases this involves the removal of inversion and changes in the 'natural' word order of subject - verb - complement:

- 1653: 210 avec ordre de chasser des Isles de Lesbos, de Chio & de
 Co les garnisons des ennemis.
 1692: 163 avec ordre de chasser les garnisons des Ennemis des Isles
 de Lesbos, de Chiò, & de Cò.
- 1653: 217 & entre-deux estoit vn aigle d'or consacré.
 1692: 169 avec un aigle d'or entre deux.

Often an adverb is moved or dispensed with to avoid the need for inversion:

- 1653: 213 en vain le feray-je vne autre fois
 1692: 165 il ne sera plus tems une autre fois.

Or a pre-posed adjective is moved to after the substantive⁵³:

- 1653: 215 la souueraine puissance
 1692: 166 la puissance souveraine

In general then the usage of 1659 is revised to bring it more in line with the recommendations of the Remarques⁵⁴, although this is not infallibly

⁵³ Usage varies greatly in the positioning of the direct object pronoun. In some cases both texts use the other ordering ('je vous veux montrer que' (1653: 271; 1692: 205)), while in others Vaugelas's usage seems to look forward to future developments in replacing the older ordering with the modern one (1653: 231 'chacun le venant embrasser & luy rendre graces' → 1692: 178 'chacun venant l'embrasser & lui rendre grace').

⁵⁴ Note also how these changes illustrate Vaugelas's growing concern with netteté, pureté, naïfueté, just as the changes in the translation strive for greater briefueté, elegance and douceur of expression.

the case. Examples can be cited where the 1659 text shows the reverse trend to the Remarques, for instance in verbal morphology (ie crois (1653: 265) → je croi (1692: 200)), in syntactic agreement (Le merite de la personne,...& la vieillesse de son pere..les touchoient sensiblement (1653: 505) → touchoit (1692: 384-5)), the omission of subject pronouns (1653: 273 / 1692: 206) or the placement of adjectives (1653: 215 / 1692: 166). These cases are, however, outweighed by those which do revise the usage according to Vaugelas's theoretical observations.

V: The Academy's commentaries on Quinte-Curce: infractions of the letter or the spirit of the Remarques

As has already been noted, there are a considerable number of places in both editions of the translation where usage is contrary to the recommendations of the Remarques. My own research is here best supplemented by the Academy's comments and annotations on the 1692 Paris edition, which were begun ~~in~~ about 1723⁵⁵. It was of course a great tribute to Vaugelas that the language of his work should be considered worthy of a fairly detailed and meticulous study by members of the Academy. In 1904 François stated his intention to produce a systematic analysis of this two-volume unpublished manuscript located in the Academy's archives, but the promise was not really fulfilled, for although the manuscript is described briefly in his work of 1905 (250-1), and a short extract from it quoted (268-9), it is not examined in any detail. The manuscript lacks the comments on the first twenty-two pages, but otherwise is in very good condition, written in a clear, neat hand with very few erasures, additions or amendments.

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Remarques de l'Académie Française sur le Quinte-Curce de Vaugelas, commencées en 1723. Les premiers feuillets, tant du premier tome que du second, ont été égarés. (MS Institut de France.) The Academy's archives also have a Dossier Vaugelas containing a picture of him, cuttings and references to him elsewhere.

Some of the Academy's comments indicate changes in the language since the translation was written and while these are valuable, they are of less interest to us, since they are not so much criticisms of Vaugelas as mere updatings. More significant are the others which indicate usage which clearly contravenes the observations, either in actual detail or in spirit. There are variations in the degree of censure - some refer to niceties, some are preferences, some are strong criticisms - and in the length of comment. Frequently the corrected version is given without comment, sometimes a short explanation is proffered, but rarely a long justification. Working within the same framework as Vaugelas, the Academy uses the same critical vocabulary as found in the Remarques, for example, bas, netteté, mieux, lousche, negligence⁵⁶.

The 'corrections' cover a wide range of topics, although certain subjects recur continuously, for instance the problem of participle constructions, syntactic ambiguity⁵⁷ and anachronistic expressions. Only two observations are devoted to orthography (alte / halte (I. 77)⁵⁸; bienfaiteur / bienfacteur (II. 57)), but a large number are concerned with the acceptability and currency of words and expressions. This category involves the choice of the mot juste, the correct word or expression either in form (épleurés / éplores (II, 248), proper names (Eryce II, 171)) or in exact nuance of meaning (terroir / terrein (II, 157); furieusement / avec furie (I, 31)), the finding of the right register (en cachette - 'du style

⁵⁶ See 137-152.

⁵⁷ Occasional instances of lexical ambiguity are also noted, for instance, that engendered by the polysemy of laisser (II. 225).

⁵⁸ In the citing of the examples, the first of each pair is that used by Vaugelas and criticised by the Academy and the second the suggested replacement. The figures in brackets refer to the volume and page number of the Academy manuscript.

familier' (I, 61); quitte cette crase - 'cela est trop bas' (I, 47); Et gentilhomme de la bouche - 'Cette expression ne convient pas dans l'histoire d'Alexandre' (II, 269)), the correct degree of emphasis (maligne - 'trop faible' (II, 53)), or the acceptable combination (air délibéré not mine délibérée (I, 19)). Archaisms are severely censured, both those which have disappeared completely from good usage (sus donc (I, 94), comme for que (II, 235)) and those which are no longer suitable for this register and style (tellement que (I, 14)). Latinisms (solliciter la fidélité de quelqu'un (I, 15), en vne perpetuelle vallée (II, 18)) and other barbarisms (tireurs de fronde (I, 28), sans conduite (I, 98)) are indicated by the Academy, as are pleonasms (se mit à recommencer (I, 55)) and anachronisms (fregate (I, 65), colonel (I, 94)). A number of the Academy's remarks criticise the selection of tense (retournent / retournerent (I, 80)) or mood (n'ay / n'aye (I, 136)) or mixture of tenses ('s'entrechoquoient si rudement...que les cables se laschent ou se brisent' (I, 57)). In this manuscript too the majority of observations are devoted to construction and word order and many of the suggestions made are familiar from previous discussion, for example, the agreement of past participles (II, 54), of adjectives with co-ordinated nouns (I, 35) and of tout (I, 49), the choice of preposition (sortit hors de sa tente / de sa tente (II, 137)), the omission of articles (II, 10), subject pronouns (I, 16), the choice of relative pronoun etc (I, 54). Other syntactic problems touched upon by the Academy are the government of verbs (se resolurent de / à (I, 119)), comparative constructions (si grande que / aussi grande que (I, 20)), the difference between comparative and superlative constructions (I, 67), incorrect ellipsis (I, 128), omission of negative particles (II, 38). Overlong (I, 100) or ambiguous periods are criticised using Vaugelas's own terms (louche (I, 56)) and the Academy is particularly severe on ambiguous or unattached participle clauses, which, it is claimed should normally refer to the nominative (I, 15). Numerous

other cases could be cited. As for word order, the Academy, like Vaugelas, criticises over-separation of syntactically related elements (e.g. relative and antecedent (I, 66) and the misplacement of adverbs (I, 49)). In one comment the ordering is censured because it gives a false impression of the chronology of the events:

III, 175. Pag. 263⁵⁹ De sorte que Meléagre après avoir bien bû, luy dit le soir en soupant] Cela est mal arrangé. Il sembleroit que Meléagre eust desja bien bû avant que de souper avec Alexandre. Il falloit suivre l'Original et dire Desorte que Meléagre le soir en soupant, luy dit après avoir bien bû.

Although the Academy is mainly preoccupied with the use of language in Quinte-Curce, they also focus on the style and accuracy of the translation. Negligences de style⁶⁰ picked out by the Academy include the careless repetition of the same lexical item in close proximity (n'aguères (I, 45)), consonance (I, 96), and other unpleasing combinations of sounds ('Cet et ne sert qu'à rendre la phrase languissante' (II, 23))⁶¹. Sometimes the choice of metaphor comes under attack; for example:

I, 57. Pag. 353 La mer ne fut pas la maistresse] Cette figure que M.D.V. continue dans tout ce recit est trop hardie dans vne Histoire, surtout lors qu'il ne s'agit que d'un événement ordinaire.

Fault is also found with the translation because of misunderstandings of the original (I, 31), or because the rendering is considered too vague (I, 42) or having the wrong emphasis or shade of meaning (II, 28). The following is a typical comment on the translation:

⁵⁹ The page number refers to the 1692 Paris edition which includes the Latin text.

⁶⁰ Note again the parallel with Vaugelas's terminology.

⁶¹ Cf. the Preface of Quinte-Curce, in which Vaugelas says that the fact that d'Ablancourt's style is clear and concise '..est un secret pour empêcher qu'un stile ne soit languissant, sur quoi il faut sur tout travailler, si l'on veut plaire au Lecteur'.

I, 41 Pag. 319

Mais aussi en justice et en toutes sortes de vertus]
Ce que dit icy Sisygambis devient trop injurieux à
Darius son fils par la faute du Traducteur qui ad-
joute à l'Original Toutes sortes de vertus. D'ailleurs
aequitas en cet endroit signifie bien moins justice,
que bonté ou generosité.

The Academy's observations on Quinte-Curce are of especial interest to the study of Vaugelas since they contain for the most part criticism of the translation within the same frame of reference and use Vaugelas's own terms. The following representative example, illustrating a combination of points, is entirely in Vaugelas's paradigm:

I, 107 Pag. 471

Le Roy fut touché d'une sainte crainte d'avoir
violé les Dieux hospitaliers]. D'une sainte crainte
Epithete peu convenable, et consonance vicieuse.
D'avoir violé, c'est vn imparfait pour vn present.
Violer les Dieux hospitaliers, mauvaise expression.
M.D.V. pouvoit dire, Il fut frappé de la crainte
religieuse de violer le respect deu aux Dieux
hospitaliers.

The discrepancies between Vaugelas's theory as expressed in the Remarques and his practice confirm again that Vaugelas did not always faithfully record usage and at times prescribed rather than described. It is for this reason that many of his observations are noteworthy for their apparent modernity, for Vaugelas was predicting and indeed guiding future trends. The second conclusion which can be drawn from the discrepancies is that the theory has to be adapted in practice and become more flexible to accord with the needs of the writer, for each linguistic problem is no longer considered in isolation but as part of a created whole.

VI: The reception of the Quinte-Curce translation: its popularity and influence

This discussion of the Academy's commentary on Quinte-Curce has shown the continuing influence and reputation of Vaugelas's work. Seventy years after the translation was first published it was still deemed worthy of analysis and correction. It could be examined as an example of good usage

for it had become, and continued to be for some time, a model of good style. It was quoted in the examples of various grammarians - Bouhours, Ménage, Andry de Boisregard, Alemand -, and hailed by Voltaire as 'le premier livre écrit purement' (François 1904: 137). Vaugelas's translation was translated into English in 1755⁶² and included in Nisard's Collection des auteurs latins avec la traduction en français of 1850. In the Avertissement Nisard justifies his decision to include Vaugelas's translation and not to offer a new version as in the case of the other texts on the grounds that it is 'L'un des premiers modèles de nostre langue classique'. Even the contemporary English translator Rolfe feels obliged to mention Vaugelas's translation in his introduction (Rolfe 1971: xxxiii).

Moreover the Academy was not alone in paying Vaugelas the honour of annotating the translation. In the Bibliothèque Nationale there is a manuscript containing observations on the translation by Racine⁶³. The page number and quotations show that Racine used the 1653 version and looked at books III and X. Racine notes down quotations and underlines problems, indicating many of the same points as later noticed by the Academy, for instance force flambeaux (240), reduire en son obeissance (209), omission of subject pronouns (261), awkward constructions ('Tant la peur est une passion insensee, de craindre mesme &c.' 250). In 1764 Dupuy looked at the translation and noted six 'contresens, & des omissions, qui peuvent être de quelque conséquence' (Dupuy 1764: 322-331). Only in 1781 did two new translations of the Latin appear, one by Beauzée and the

⁶² The History of the Life and Actions of Alexander the Great. From the Time of his Birth, to that of his Death, who afterwards was Embalmed. In ten books. Translated from the French of Monsieur de Vaugelas: Which Work he was above thirty years in perfecting. London, M Cooper, W Reeve, C Sympson, 1755.

⁶³ Remarques écrites par Jean Racine sur quelques phrases de Vaugelas dans son Quinte Curce (MS fonds français 12887, fos. 83-87). The text may have been read by Racine in preparation for writing his play Alexandre le Grand. Racine certainly admits that the subject of the play is taken primarily from Quinte-Curce, book VIII.

other by Mignot⁶⁴.

VII: Conclusion

Zeiler argues that the Quinte-Curce translation is the best proof of the swift development in the French language in the first half of the seventeenth century (Zeiler 1966: 16). While numerous inconsistencies with the Remarques remain and indeed are very occasionally added, the 1659 edition shows a broad development in Vaugelas's use of language towards greater clarity and purity of language. This swift development is thrown into greater relief when the usage of the Quinte-Curce translation is compared with that of the Fonseca translation, for in the latter the differences with the Remarques are far greater in both a quantitative and qualitative sense. While the Fonseca translation reads like a typical early seventeenth century piece of prose, the Quinte-Curce may be viewed as an early model of classical style. The same concerns seen to guide the evolution between the two versions of the Quinte-Curce translation are in the main precisely those which have been seen to govern the changes between the Fonseca translation and the Remarques and between the Arsenal manuscript and the published observations, preoccupations generally considered characteristic of the development towards a classical usage of French.

⁶⁴ See François 1904: 150-1.

Chapter 7: The popularity and influence of the Remarques

I: Introduction

The impact of the Remarques has been wide-ranging and profound. The style of presentation and content of the work did not influence only the writers of grammars and treatises on language in the period immediately following the publication of the work: Vaugelas's pronouncements have found their way into standard reference works for French, his descriptive methodology has been adopted, for instance, in an important contemporary grammar, Grevisse's Le Bon Usage, and his chosen format of short observations has probably contributed to the establishment of the French fashion for 'linguistic journalism', short articles devoted to 'faits de langage' in newspapers and journals. In a broader sphere, seventeenth century works on rhetoric echo and develop many of Vaugelas's ideas and the literature of the second half of the seventeenth century for the most part respects Vaugelas's judgments and shares his concern for the values of netteté and pureté. If Vaugelas's Remarques 'ont été choquées de plusieurs' (Pellisson & d'Olivet 1858: I: 115), nevertheless they were read, digested and copied and, as Pellisson adds, 'elles s'établissent peu à peu dans les esprits et y acquièrent de jour en jour plus de crédit' (ibid.: 114). The work may be little read today, but its influence on grammatical writing and on French usage is still evident.

II: The popularity and influence of the Remarques in the seventeenth century

There is no doubt that the Remarques were a great success in the seventeenth century. The book ran to more than twenty editions in the period up to 1738, at a time when, as Lough points out, the reading public was relatively small due to widespread illiteracy (Lough 1954: 173). Its success was as great in the provinces as in Paris: Martin and Lecocq

record from their study of the accounts of one Grenoble bookshop (1977: 840) that twenty-one copies of the work were sold in this one bookshop alone between 1647 and 1658, eight of them in 1649. Moreover we know that Pierre Corneille during his retirement from writing plays between 1652 and 1659 revised his earlier plays in line with the pronouncements of the Remarques and that Racine took a copy of them with him to Uzès so that he should not be corrupted by the language of the provinces. Molière in his Femmes Savantes of 1672 can refer to the linguistic norm associated with correctness and politeness as 'parler Vaugelas' without explanation, assured that his audience will understand the allusion¹. Not only does the classical literature of the third quarter of the seventeenth century bear witness to the extent of the popularity and influence of Vaugelas's work; the vast majority of the works on language produced in the next half century owe a debt to Vaugelas's book, whether in respect of content, form or style. It will become clear that Vaugelas's method and presentation inspired many and that he established a new tradition of works containing observations on the French language, a large number of which appeared in the 1680's and 1690's despite the publication of the Port-Royal Grammaire Generale et Raisonnée in 1660, which was to be so influential in the following century.

(a) Works on the French language

Both the format and content of the Remarques inspired Vaugelas's successors. Already in the 1650's material from Vaugelas's work was adopted and assimilated by writers on the French language. In some cases the observations found their way, virtually unchanged, into collections of works on French. For instance, Jean Macé, under the pseudonym of

¹ Molière Les Femmes Savantes (1672), Act 2, Scene 7, l.606 (Molière 1962: 608). Cf. ll. 459-462; 521-526.

Sieur du Tertre, published in 1650 a collection of three works on language - a 'Methode generale et raisonnee; pour aprendre facilement les Langues, principalement la Latine'², a treatise on orthographic problems, and a summary of Vaugelas's Remarques placed in alphabetical order, a format which, he claims, will aid the 'honnestes Gens' for whom Vaugelas intended the work. He makes no claim to be an original thinker, merely an editor:

Je n'ay donc fait que cueillir ces belles, & iudicieuses Remarques. Je n'ay fait que les déuelopper des raisonnemens & des exemples, qui en déroboient souuant la ueuë & le profit (Preface au lecteur).

After a brief summary of Vaugelas's conclusions on each point, Macé appends comments and criticisms from La Mothe le Vayer (see below) and those of another unnamed writer whose manuscript, Macé says, has provided much of the material for the rest of the work; the second edition (1652) also includes Scipion Dupleix's views, first published a year earlier. In D'Aisy's two volumes on the 'genie de la langue françoise' Vaugelas's remarks are set next to those of Bouhours and Ménage (1698, 1698a). Like Macé, D'Aisy praises Vaugelas enthusiastically and disagrees with Vaugelas only over his choice of a random presentation, maintaining that the subject of the various observations is not entirely unconnected but that there are numerous remarks 'dont la parfaite intelligence dépend de leur liaison & de leur rapport' (1698 : Avertissement). Once again his role is minimal (ibid.), his contribution being to collate the various comments made by the three authors on the same topic, scattered in different

² This is omitted from his collection of 1673. The juxtaposition of a general grammar with Vaugelas's usage-based observations is interesting, for these works represent theoretical positions which increasingly diverged as the century progressed. The opening of the Preface, for example, has elements of the rationalist position as well as that of the Purists: 'La parole, fille puis-née de la raison: est sans doute le plus visible caractere, qui distingue les Hommes d'auec les Bestes. Mais parler avec pureté, & beauté; c'est ce qui fait la difference des Sages et des Ignorans, des Honnestes Gens & du Vulgaire...'.
Vulgaire...

parts of their works. Popularisation continued even at the end of the century, for instance, in the work of André Renaud published in 1697. The role he assigns to usage is identical with that of the Remarques even though fifty years have elapsed and the Port-Royal grammar had long been in circulation³. Once again the author's only claims to originality are in bringing together material not previously found in one volume and in his choice of ordering:

L'ordre que j'observe, c'est de parler d'abord de la nature de nôtre Langue, puis de ses propriétés essentielles, ensuite des moïns les plus universels de les aquerir; enfin je traite les divisions generales & les divisions particulieres des styles differens (Renaud 1697: 7-8).

However, examination of the chapter headings hints at influence from Vaugelas. For instance, chapter two deals with 'Trois qualités generales du beau Langage' - 'De la Pureté du Langage' (Article I, 46-57); 'De la Clarté du Langage' (Article II, 57-67); and 'De l'Exactitude du Langage' (Article III, 68-83).

Secondly the contents of Vaugelas's Remarques are assimilated into basic teaching grammars of French. Claude Irson's 1657 work adapts Vaugelas's material for pedagogical aims while incorporating more elementary material⁴. He acknowledges usage as the 'grand Maître des langues vivantes', but he argues that it is a fallacy to believe that a language can be learnt without the help of grammatical rules, 'puisque l'expérience nous fait voir des personnes qui ont plus profité en vn Mois dans la pratique des Régles de nôtre Langue, qu'elles n'auroient fait en dix ans par les conversations fréquentes & par l'vsage ordinaire' (Irson 1657: Preface). The preface comments on the generally low standard of language teaching and Irson decides to pay special attention to questions of ordering and

³ 'en fait de Langage,...le seul Usage, à proprement parler, est le Roi, on plutot le Tyran, qui commande impérieusement selon son caprice et sa bizarrerie, même souvent contre les loix fondamentales de la Grammaire & de la Raison' (Renaud 1697: 10).

⁴ As the title of the work indicates, Irson aims to cover a wider range of subjects than Vaugelas.

presentation to aid the learner and employs tables and lists, clear definitions and moves from the simple to the more complicated in a step-by-step method. Vaugelas's material appears mainly in the fifth chapter of the third book on syntax 'Des mots et des phrases qui sont en vsage' (97-108), in the sixth chapter 'Contenant trois Listes de quelques Noms dont le Genre est douteux' (109-110), and in the seventh which lists words of doubtful pronunciation (111-4). It is thus, according to Irson, introduced to a wider audience for he claims:

Il n'y a rien maintenant qui soit capable de détourner toute sorte de personnes d'apprendre la Grammaire; elle paroît sous vne autre forme, elle n'a plus ce masque hideux dont on l'avoit déguisée, & elle ne rebutera plus ceux qui en voudront avoir la connoissance (1657: Preface).

Like Macé, Irson gives a brief summary of Vaugelas's conclusion without the discussion of the finer points of detail, but interspersed with a few other topics including where usage has apparently changed since Vaugelas's day. Irson is reluctant to question the correctness of Vaugelas's observations and so he explains differences of judgment in terms of evolution of usage. For example, on the question of the acceptability of recouvert for recouvré:

RECOVERT & recouré ont deux significations & deux vsages differens; quoy-que du temps de Mr de Vaugelas on les ait confondus: car recouuert vient de recourir, & recouré vient de recouurer, qui signifie retrouuer (106-7).

Vaugelas's observations not only found their ways into works teaching elementary grammar. In 1659 with the appearance of Chiflet's Essay d'une parfaite grammaire de la langue françoise Vaugelas's material was assimilated into another type of grammatical writing - grammars intended for foreigners - a school represented so admirably at the beginning of the century by the work of Maupas and Oudin. Chiflet aims his work both at French speakers wishing to perfect their language who, he says, should read the work right through, and at foreigners whom he advises to

concentrate on the main points and omit the observations. His relationship to Vaugelas is quite clearly set out in the preface: he acknowledges his great debt to Vaugelas, but continues:

Je ne suis pas pourtant tellement idolatre de ses opinions, que ie n'en aye dit mon iugement, quãd i'ay creu qu'il s'estoit mesconté: & ie sçay bien que si cet excellent homme, qui a fait l'honneur de me visiter, il y a plus de trente ans, estoit encore en vie; sa modestie ne s'offenseroit pas. I'auoüe franchement que i'ay beaucoup appris de ses Remarques; & que ie le choisirois volontiers pour le principal censeur & le judicieux correcteur de mes fautes, si Dieu ne l'auoit desja retiré au ciel...

While adopting Vaugelas's principles and authorities, once again Chiflet deems Vaugelas's random method of presentation unsuitable for his intended audience. In part I of his grammar he orders his material according to the parts of speech, giving the categories applicable to them and adds the definitions so lacking in the Remarques as well as tables for easy reference. For example, in the chapter dealing with verbs he gives very basic facts about their conjugation for the beginner, sets out verb tables, makes comparisons with other languages (drawing attention to particular sources of difficulty for foreigners) and indicates how to form the various tenses, conjugate irregular verbs and compose compounds. He gives instructions about the use of tenses, moods and the government of verbs and includes a very large number of exceptions. He admits the impossibility of reducing all the possible uses of verbs to rules, arguing that some can only be learnt from observing usage. The final section contains the observations intended for the more advanced reader and comprises Vaugelas's comments on verbs given succinctly in alphabetical order. Chiflet's greater independence from Vaugelas is illustrated in his comments on recouvré/recouvert, for he criticises Vaugelas for recording a mere passing fad:

C'est pourquoy, comme ie diray ailleurs, il ne faut pas ceder aux nouveautez impertinentes, quoy qu'elles durent quelque temps, & puis, comme vn torrent escoulé, se changent en boüe. Et M. de Vaugelas, qui auoit vne bonne maxime d'obeïr à l'vsage, qu'il appelle le Tyran des Langues, en vsoit vn peu trop

rigoreusement; se portant avec trop de facilité à condamner de bons mots, & à en approuver de mauuais, sur l'observation d'un Usage, dont il prenoit les mesures vn peu trop courtes (1659: 94)^{4a}.

It is rather ironic that Chiflet should censure Vaugelas for being too receptive of neologisms, for later commentators, grouping Vaugelas with the more rigorous Bouhours, have blamed him for impeding the natural development of the language by not tolerating the use of new words and expressions. Chiflet perceptively foresees the danger that Vaugelas's decisions even where not founded on usage will become accepted and thereby influence the development of the language simply because of the authority of his name (1659: 211). Yet it is fair to say that Chiflet's own work relies very heavily on the Remarques and could not have been composed without the material taken from them. Chiflet's work was very popular and therefore made Vaugelas's judgments known to a large audience including Flemish readers at whom his grammar is primarily aimed⁵. Foreigners and provincials were thus encouraged to adopt the linguistic habits of the Court and of the best authors, which helped to promote greater standardisation of the language.

A similar treatment of Vaugelas's material is found later in the century with Alcide de Saint-Maurice's collection of observations 'sur les principales difficultez que les estrangers ont en la langue françoise' (1672). Alcide de Saint-Maurice also notes the mistakes peculiar to foreigners and adopts a part of speech format which he considers most suitable for his intended audience. However, unlike Chiflet's Essay his work is intended solely for foreigners, and since it is not aimed at complete

^{4a} Chiflet adds a criticism of Irson for explaining his different decision in terms of a change in usage. See also his criticism of Vaugelas's rules about the pronunciation of final consonants, table 6.

⁵ Part I of his work concludes with hints on how to teach French and a section covering errors frequently made by Flemish speakers. Note that today many of those who adopt a purist attitude to French are Belgian (see Pohl 1979).

beginners, dispenses with basic material: his readers should already know how to decline and conjugate correctly and 'avoir parcouru plusieurs fois toutes les parties du Discours dans quelque bonne Grammaire' (1672: Preface).

In Marguerite Buffet's observations, specifically intended for women, the majority of which are culled from Vaugelas, Buffet concentrates primarily on niceties of language. She stresses the social advantage of being able to speak well: it is through a good use of language that one gains and maintains the favour of the Prince at Court (1668: 5). Although she claims that she has employed a new method because previous ones have proved unsuccessful or too slow, examination of the headings of her four sections indicate her dependence on Vaugelas. The first deals with 'termes barbares & anciens', the second with pleonasms, the third with 'mots corrompus & mal prononcez' and the last with 'quelques termes mal adaptez'. She abbreviates the Remarques to prevent her readers from becoming bored or dissatisfied (6-7); and, unlike the writers discussed above, retains the random method of presentation since a formal grammar would no doubt have deterred the women for whom she was writing. Her lists of mistakes commonly committed by women is enlightening about actual linguistic practice:

On dit assez ordinairement, vous auez controuvé toutes ces choses; il faut dire vous auez supposé (sic) ces choses, quand ce sont personnes au dessous de soy, autrement il seroit trop injurieux (28-9).

The book contains some features peculiar to Buffet, for instance, the section on the origin of alphabetical characters (14-17), but this minor work contributes little to the history of literature on the French language.

The content of the Remarques thus found its way into different types of works on language: compendiums, basic teaching grammars, grammars designed for foreigners and works especially for women commonly in

abridged form with the examples or details omitted⁶. Usually this assimilation involved a change in the format and a structuring of the material to suit the purpose of the work. The Remarques continued to receive the same treatments by various minor writers as those mentioned above with only slight variations right up to the end of the seventeenth century, but at the same time there emerged an important school of writers of observations including such major figures as Bouhours, Ménage and Thomas Corneille, who retained Vaugelas's methodology and format, either assimilating Vaugelas's remarks or amending or criticising them or providing new observations of a similar style.

Consideration of the influence of Vaugelas on subsequent writers on the French language would not be complete without some discussion of the writings of Bouhours. I do not intend to give a comprehensive account of Bouhours's work, for this has been done admirably by Rosset (1908). But I think it is important to consider the ways in which Vaugelas and Bouhours differ, for it has partly been through confusion of the opinions of these two writers, that a distorted picture of Vaugelas's views have been perpetuated. If anyone in fact tended to impede the natural development of the French language and was over-zealous in his attempt to purify the language it was Bouhours rather than Vaugelas.

That Vaugelas is Bouhours's source of inspiration and main authority is indisputable. His acceptance of Vaugelas's Preface in its entirety for his Remarques Nouvelles (1675) reflects his general adoption of Vaugelas's theory, aims and methodology, as does his use of Vaugelas's chosen method of presentation in both the Remarques Nouvelles and the later Suite (1687): 'agréable mélange de diverses choses, dont chacune

⁶ This, of course, has tended to encourage the idea that Vaugelas was dogmatic in his opinions.

subsiste séparément (1675: Avertissement)⁷. Yet despite this avowed allegiance to Vaugelas, Bouhours shows a surprising degree of independence from his master in certain respects. Notably Bouhours is much more rigorous in his purism - a stance often mistakenly assigned to Vaugelas; for instance, Bouhours is much less tolerant of the use of neologisms or synonyms. Unlike Vaugelas, Bouhours will not accept derivations from existing words, and, perhaps reacting against the worst excesses of the Précieuses, permits a neologism only when a new word is created with a new thing or when a suitable word is not available. Indeed he is even doubtful about the acceptability of a neologism in these cases:

N'est-ce pas le plus seur, de ne rien innover dans la
Langue? On risque beaucoup, en faisant un nouveau mot:
s'il est bien receu, on acquiert (sic) peu de gloire;
s'il est rebuté, on s'attire la raillerie du Public (Bouhours 1674: 66).

The use of synonym pairs is condemned as pleonastic, since Bouhours maintains that one word should be able to express the concept adequately. The most significant difference between the two, however, is that Bouhours assigns more importance to the written language, concentrating on a written norm and written authorities and refinement of style⁸; see especially the Avertissement of the Remarques Nouvelles: 'Comme elles sont faites particulièrement pour regler le style, elles regardent moins le peuple, que les personnes qui se meslent un peu d'écrire' and that of the Suite, the purpose of the work being 'de servir ceux qui veulent écrire correctement'. Bouhours's view of Vaugelas changed over the years.

⁷ He does, however, admit that in order to understand some of the Remarques fully, it is necessary to read the book straight through (1675: Avertissement). The edition of the Suite des Remarques Nouvelles cited here is that of 1737 (Paris, J.-F. Josse & C.-J.-B. Delespine le fils).

⁸ There seems to be little doubt in Bouhours's mind as to who comprises the 'plus saine partie des Auteurs'; Bouhours addresses his Doutes to the members of the French Academy as the arbiters of good usage: 'C'est à vous, MESSIEURS, à décider là-dessus: l'usage est le maistre de la Langue: mais vous estes les interpretes de l'usage' (1674: 13). Moreover Bouhours names and quotes the written sources he criticises at length, so that readers may not copy their mistakes.

While in the Doutes he asserts that Vaugelas's Remarques and his Quinte-Curce are essential reading for the acquisition of an elegant style (1674: 279), in the Avertissement of his Suite he qualifies the praise:

Quoy que ce soit un de nos Maistres, je ne le croy pas infailible; & l'admiration que j'ay toûjours eu pour luy, ne m'a pas fermé les yeux sur les fautes qui luy ont echappé dans son Quinte-Curce.

He updates and modifies many of Vaugelas's decisions⁹, and pays particular attention to defining the meaning of words and to differentiating near synonyms, claiming that since Vaugelas's day the French language has become more polished (1675: 141). While then Bouhours maintains that he is continuing in Vaugelas's footsteps, he is more dogmatic than Vaugelas, and in some respects is closer to Malherbe. Bouhours thus carries Vaugelas's attitude to language to an extreme, and does not adopt in the main the flexibility and tolerance of approach found in the Remarques which makes Vaugelas's work so interesting and unique¹⁰.

It is a mark of Vaugelas's influence that Ménage, whom Streicher considers to be Vaugelas's greatest critic (Streicher 1936: XXII), nevertheless shares many features with Vaugelas and can be seen as part of the tradition emanating from Vaugelas¹¹. Ménage's debt to Vaugelas

⁹ For instance, in the Remarques Nouvelles there is a section entitled 'En quoy il ne faut point suivre les Remarques de M. de Vaugelas' (1675: 516-540) which criticises fifty-one of Vaugelas's observations.

¹⁰ The failure to distinguish Vaugelas's and Bouhours's position by some critics has led to unjustified criticisms of Vaugelas. For instance, he has been blamed for the divergence between the spoken and written language which is supposed to have occurred in the seventeenth century. Vaugelas, however, pays attention to the spoken language and in the Remarques advises his readers to write as they speak (see 86). It is in the work of Vaugelas's successors, who superficially share the same theoretical positions and adopt the same style of observations, that the source of good usage is shifted firmly onto the written language.

¹¹ The history of the quarrel between Bouhours, the representative of politesse, and the erudite Ménage is well documented and need not be repeated here (e.g. Streicher 1936: XXXIII-XXXIV).

is apparent in several respects: firstly he adopts the random ordering of remarks in his two volumes of observations (1672 (2nd edition, 1675); 1676), rather than that of a part of speech grammar, despite his reputation of erudition. Secondly more than a quarter of his first volume of observations covers topics dealt with by Vaugelas whose decisions Ménage confirms, rejects or supplements. Crucially, Ménage declares the sovereignty of usage over reason (1672: 154) and analogy (171), and, in theory at least, over etymology (141). However, in practice he pays particular attention to the history of the language and the etymologies of words. Where Vaugelas's view is synchronic, Ménage's is frequently diachronic:

L'Auteur des Remarques, en parlant du verbe détromper, qu'il a vu venir à la Cour, & de celui de dévouloir, dont Malherbe semble estre l'auteur, dit que ces verbes, & autres semblables, comme défaire, démesler, desarmer &c. Sont composez du simple & de la particule de, mais à laquelle on ajoute une S, si le verbe commence (sic) par une voyelle: armer, desarmer. Il se trompe. Ces mots sont composez de la preposition dis.. (1672: 85).

Elsewhere Ménage looks to past generations of writers and grammarians for authority for a word (e.g. plurier 8)¹². In practice too Ménage's conception of the scope of good usage is broader than Vaugelas's, for at times he refuses to adjudicate between the usage of the Court and that of Paris ('A l'égard d'Vrsulines, & d'Vrselines, l'usage est partagé à Paris & à la Cour; & ainsi on peut dire l'un & l'autre'(25)) and he tolerates the Gasconisms 'Ie vous ay dit de faire cela' and 'Ie vous demande de faire cela' on the grounds that since there are so many Gascons at Court these expressions are frequently heard there (371). His criticism of

¹² Although Ménage is constantly looking to the past, he, like Vaugelas, is not totally averse to neologisms: 'Et il nous est mesme permis de donner des noms aux choses qui en ont, quand nous leur en donnons de plus beaux & de plus significatifs, que ceux qu'elles ont' (1676: 179).

Vaugelas and other writers is stringent and direct, lacking the tact and delicacy found in that of Vaugelas: for instance, after quoting the whole of Vaugelas's remarque entitled Ployer, plier Ménage dismisses it haughtily with the words: 'Cette remarque est nulle de toute nullité' (1672: 57). The number of authors and grammarians he refers to and quotes far surpasses that in any of the other writers we have considered and ranges widely from Classical Latin and Medieval authors to sixteenth century and contemporary French sources. These references together with the etymologies give Ménage's work its erudite air and sometimes make his prose heavy and difficult to read, perhaps illustrating why Vaugelas chose not to include too many learned references and technical terms. Yet it must be remembered that Vaugelas had great respect for Ménage and that the influence was reciprocal, Vaugelas asking Ménage's opinion about his decisions, if not always following his advice:

M. de Vaugelas me faisoit l'honneur de me communiquer ses Remarques devant que de les envoyer à son Imprimeur: mais il ne me faisoit pas toujours celui de déferer à mes sentimens. Quand je lui renvoyay le caier, où il avoit fait cette observation, je me souviens que je lui écrivis qu'elle n'estoit pas absolument veritable..(1672: 104).

Sharing Vaugelas's belief in the importance of clarity and precision, Ménage is, like Vaugelas, the homme du monde. But he is also the savant¹³ (Samfiresco 1902: 255) and it is the impression of haughty disdain for the less erudite which pervades his writings which differentiates his work above all from Vaugelas's model¹⁴.

¹³ This dual outlook sometimes creates tensions and inconsistencies in his work. For example, when adjudicating between different pronunciations, Ménage's choice is sometimes based on etymology (e.g. charte/chartre 1672: 247), sometimes on usage (e.g. apostume/apostème 1672: 215) and is apparently sometimes completely arbitrary (Iuridiction/Iurisdiction 1672: 116).

¹⁴ The work of Nicolas Bérain (1675) depends heavily on that of Ménage and shows little originality, as Bouhours notes in his Remarques Nouvelles: 'Bérain...ne cite gueres que M. Ménage, qu'il copie presque tout entier' (Streicher 1936: XXXIV).

Not surprisingly, Vaugelas's work was particularly an inspiration to members of the French Academy, for, as Bouhours comments, Vaugelas's relationship to the Academy was of the closest kind:

Mais l'esprit de M. de Vaugelas ne vit-il pas encore dans l'Académie; ou plutôt n'estoit -ce pas l'esprit de l'Académie qui animoit M. de Vaugelas, quand il composoit ses Remarques...? (1674: 147-8)¹⁵.

In 1687 Thomas Corneille published a new edition of the Remarques with notes on certain of the observations and an enlarged index. Again the comments of varying length are intended merely to update Vaugelas's decisions, not to undermine his theoretical standpoint. Corneille's own role in the work is minimal, for he assimilates the opinions of Ménage and Bouhours, follows the advice of M. Miton (sic)¹⁶, appends Chapelain's comments and acknowledges his debt to the Academy for some of his decisions. Three years later twelve Nouvelles Remarques appeared in a collection which in the 1695 Brussels edition is attributed to Furetière. However, both Streicher (1936: LII) and Cioranescu (1966: 524) name Jacques Cassagne (or Cassagnes), another member of the Academy, as the author of these Remarques. The twelve Remarques are undistinguished, lacking any preface or justification; they follow the by now normal format of heading and discussion and contain very few references to other works or authorities. Despite his avowed allegiance to usage, Cassagne at times seems to depend entirely on his own judgment¹⁷ and he is scathing about the Purists and their disputes over detail (Furetière 1695: 238),

¹⁵ See also Vaugelas's appreciation of the Academy in the Preface (XV, 3) and Tallemant's claim 'On en voit une experience certaine dans les remarques de M. de Vaugelas qui estant Secrétaire de l'Académie, a composé une grande partie de son Livre sur les doutes qui y sont continuellement agités' (1698: Avertissement).

¹⁶ Grente et al. (1954: 698) note that Mitton (1618-1690) became, with Méré, the theoretician of honnêteté and that Th. Corneille admired his fine taste concerning the beauty of language.

¹⁷ See, for example, his remark commenting on Vaugelas's observation on the use of a relative pronoun after a noun without an article (Furetière 1695: 232).

so that Streicher praises him for his 'critique éclairée, sans parti-pris, sans surcharge d'érudition' (Streicher 1936: LLI). Yet it is the lack of these qualities that, in my opinion, makes Cassagne's comments rather lightweight and illustrate how observations can become dull and uninteresting in the hands of a second-rate writer.

Streicher discusses the comments of two other Academicians and friends of Vaugelas: Patru and Conrart (1936: XLIV-XLIX)¹⁸. Both remained faithful to Vaugelas's principles. These principles were also adopted by the French Academy as a body and thus became official French linguistic policy, thereby further extending the scope of Vaugelas's influence. The Academy's dependence on Vaugelas is witnessed in two collections of observations and comments made by the Academy. The first was presented in 1698 by Tallemant who published some of the Academy's decisions to satisfy a public critical of the lack of works produced by the Academy. Acting as secretary to their discussions, he uses a random order, aiming to model his style on Vaugelas's. Many of Vaugelas's Remarques are taken as starting points of the discussion and changes in usage noted; for instance, Tallemant records the current preference for cet homme-cy over cet homme icy (1698: 169). According to Tallemant the divergence between the pronunciation of words in poetry and prose has become exaggerated since Vaugelas's day:

C'est une chose bizarre & particulière sur tout à la
Langue François que la plupart des mots ont deux
differentes prononciations: l'une pour la Prose commune
& pour le discours ordinaire, & l'autre pour les Vers,
& c'est ce qui est cause que peu de personnes sçavent
bien lire des Vers, faute de sçavoir cette difference
de prononciation (1698: 108).

¹⁸ For their role in editing Vaugelas's Quinte-Curce translation, see Chapter 6.

Tallemant's work was complemented in 1704 by an official publication of the Academy aimed to silence criticism about the non-appearance of its long-awaited grammar: a new edition of Vaugelas's Remarques, together with the Academy's observations on them. Even at the beginning of the eighteenth century it is considered unnecessary to comment on Vaugelas's preface, only details of usage have modified:

L'Académie Française persuadée que les Remarques de M. de Vaugelas sur nostre Langue, meritent leur reputation, a crû devoir faire imprimer un Ouvrage né dans son sein, & dont la beauté a esté si bien reconnüe. Mais comme la suite des années apporte tousjours quelque changement aux Langues vivantes, elle a esté obligée d'y adjouster quelques observations, qui sans rien oster à la capacité ny mesme à la penetration de l'Auteur dans l'avenir, marquent en peu de mots les changements arrivés depuis cinquante ans, & rendent compte de l'usage present: regle plus forte que tous les raisonnemens de Grammaire, & la seule qu'il faut suivre pour bien parler (L'Académie Française 1704: Avertissement).

Such a publication from the Academy shows that Vaugelas even fifty years after the appearance of the Remarques was still venerated and considered worthy of comment. Further examples of influences could be multiplied, even in the work of those who rejected some of Vaugelas's tenets. Louis-Augustin Alemand, the editor of the Nouvelles Remarques, published his own Nouvelles Observations, ou Guerre civile des François sur la langue in 1688, giving an alphabetical treatment of 114 questions, the key word of which begins with the letters A, B and C, many of which had already been discussed by Vaugelas. Noting changes in usage, he gives various opinions (including his own) from many different grammars in a rather weak and contorted style, which suffers from a lack of punctuation:

Sur Araignée ou Aragnée

Il n'est rien surquoy on ne dispute en Grammaire, cette question en est une preuve, ceux qui donnent tout à l'étimologie voudroient qu'on dit Aragnée; parce qu'il est plus conforme au latin aranea, d'où il vient, les Parisiens disent presque tous arignée; enfin le grand nombre est pour araignée, M. Ménage se déclare pour ce dernier, quelque penchant qu'il ait pour le langage Parisien & pour les mots qui sentent le latin; l'Academie a aussi décidé qu'il falloit écrire araignée le J. Corneille préfere pareillement ce dernier à aragnée, qu'il ne rejette pourtant pas, on

ne scauroit donc faillir en disant araignée; à l'égard d'aragnée il peut passer, & on peut souffrir à des Parisiens arignée, pourvû que cela ne passe pas le discours ordinaire (147).

Alemand shows particular interest in documenting the history of grammatical writing (e.g. Question I, 1-8) and in questions of pronunciation (e.g. Question III, 11-18). Both he and another Jansenist writer Andry de Boisregard reserve special criticism for the Jesuit Bouhours. In his alphabetical Reflexions Andry gives usage as his authority, but his notion of acceptable usage is again broader than that of Vaugelas. He argues that words classed as bas or populaire nevertheless have a role to play in the functioning of the language (1692: Avertissement) and he is in favour of retaining a choice of expressions. Discussing acquiescer, acquiescement, he says:

Consentir n'est-il pas meilleur, disent-ils? & quand il le seroit, ce qui n'est pas, est-ce une raison pour les rejeter? s'il falloit ne garder que les meilleurs mots & abolir tous les autres, on se verroit bien-tost réduit à des redites continuelles (1692: 16)¹⁹.

He follows the general trend since the Remarques of naming the people he criticises, who include Vaugelas. Aimed at beginners and at confirming the tacit knowledge of more advanced learners, Andry's comments, however, often suffer from being too brief and simplistic.

Such wide-ranging influences underline the importance and influence of Vaugelas's Remarques. This is true both for the format which initiated a new style of works on language giving random observations on current topics of importance, and for the content, especially the doctrine of the Preface on usage²⁰, which remained untouched even in 1704 when it gained the official support and acknowledgment of the French Academy. Commentators remained true to the spirit of Vaugelas's work in noting

¹⁹ Cf. Vaugelas's position cited above 151.

²⁰ Vaugelas's doctrine of usage appears in works of a completely different format, for instance, in F. de Callières's successful Des mots à la mode, et des nouvelles façons de parler which gives in dialogue form his opinion on various neologisms, particularly
(continued on next page)

the details of the changes in usage, while respecting his principles²¹. Even Antoine Arnauld, co-author of the Grammaire generale et raisonnée, supports the maxim 'que l'Usage est le tyran des Langues vivantes' (1777: 423) in his seven reflexions of 1707 with the words: 'Il faut demeurer d'accord que personne n'a fait, sur notre langue, des Remarques plus judicieuses que M. de Vaugelas, & qu'on ne peut lui contester le principe qu'il a pris, qui est, que c'est par l'usage qu'on doit juger des bonnes ou des mauvaises façons de parler' (Premiere Réflexion: 454). It is true that he thinks that this maxim has been carried too far, and he is particularly critical of those adopting a more extreme purist attitude such as Bouhours, whom he criticises for making arbitrary decisions on points of doubtful usage, for making distinctions that do not exist between words, for not allowing a choice of expressions and for over-fastidiousness. He also disagrees with Vaugelas for not giving equal importance to the usage of the people of Paris as to the Court, questions Vaugelas's doctrine on neologisms and argues that in the case of new usage, unlike established usage, reason must be consulted. The Port-Royal grammar (1660) itself contains, according to its title 'plusieurs remarques nouvelles sur la Langue Françoisse'. Of course Arnauld and Lancelot try to give explanations for their rules and apparent exceptions wherever possible

20 (continued)

those affected in the jargon of the 'gens de qualité'. The expanded title of the work indicates its relationship to the courtesy book aspect of Vaugelas's work ('Avec des observations sur diverses manieres d'agiret de s'exprimer') and De Callières consequently stresses the social importance of speaking well: 'C'est, Madame, répondit le Commandeur, en parlant juste, & en parlant bien qu'on se distingue par le langage, & non pas en affectant des manières nouvelles & extraordinaires de s'exprimer' (1692: 79).

21 As Vaugelas himself had predicted in the Preface X, 2.
See 104.

within the framework of general grammar, and thus their work is quite different from Vaugelas's; yet even they are forced to admit that expressions from a previous period, for example, that have become fixed in the usage of a language cannot be reduced to rules. Chapter 9 of part two of their grammar is instructive on this point²². Having given reasons for Vaugelas's rule and its apparent exceptions, they are left with a residue which can be explained only by invoking the notion of usage:

Or c'est vne maxime, que ceux qui trauaillent sur vne langue viuante, doiuent tousiours auoir deuant les yeux; Que les façons de parler qui sont autorisées par vn usage general & non contesté, doiuent passer pour bonnes, encore qu'elles soient contraires aux regles & à l'analogie de la Langue: mais qu'on ne doit pas les alleguer pour faire douter des regles & troubler l'analogie, ny pour autoriser par consequence d'autres facõs de parler que l'vsage n'auroit pas autorisées. Autrement qui ne s'arrestera qu'aux bizarreries de l'vsage, sans observer cette maxime, fera qu'une Langue demeurera tousiours incertaine, & que n'ayant aucuns principes, elle ne pourra jamais se fixer (82-83).

This again suggests that the Port-Royal grammarians and Vaugelas did share some common ground, and that rather than totally denying Vaugelas's stance Arnauld and Lancelot transcended it.²³

Ironically, even Vaugelas's opponents helped to spread the fame and the influence of the Remarques, since Vaugelas's work remained virtually untouched by their criticisms, thereby gaining in authority. I do not propose to discuss Vaugelas's two main critics here, François de la Mothe le Vayer and Scipion Dupleix, both of whom stood for a greater freedom of choice of expression, for their work falls outside the scope of this discussion²⁴. Suffice it to say that their criticism had little effect, because their support for a rich and all-embracing lexicon - a doctrine which held sway at the time of Ronsard - could only appear old-fashioned to the new generation of writers on language of the second half of the seventeenth century.

²² Part II, ch IX 'Examen d'une Regle de la Langue Françoise: qui est qu'on ne doit pas mettre le Relatif apres vn nom sans article' (Arnauld et Lancelot 1660: 75-83). For further discussion of Vaugelas's observation, see 123.

²³ See 125.

²⁴ For further details, see Streicher 1936: XIII-XXVI, and the extracts 963-998.

(b) Other influences in the seventeenth century

Vaugelas's influence did not extend simply to writers of grammars and observations on the French language in the seventeenth century. A brief glance at a standard work on Classical literature²⁵ indicates the debt of the Classical authors to Vaugelas's concept of good usage, and, if the details of the influence of Vaugelas on Corneille, Racine and Molière²⁶ are questioned, the fact that Boileau speaks of Vaugelas as 'le plussage... des Escrivains de nostre langue' (Boileau 1966: 493) testifies eloquently to the position of respect in which Vaugelas was held by the writers of the second half of the century. Other works, for instance, the novels of Mademoiselle de Scudéry, rather than borrowing Vaugelas's ideas on language, simply grew out of the same salon and Court background, but Vaugelas's ideas helped to shape the notion of conversation here too (see below III)²⁷.

A third and important field of influence is on books on rhetoric, especially in the section on elocution, described by Le Gras as the most important and most difficult part of rhetoric (Le Gras 1671: Preface)²⁸. This is not surprising, for it has already been noted that in some respects Vaugelas's work straddles the traditional boundary between grammar

²⁵ See, for example, Adam 1968; Peyre 1942: 59.

²⁶ E. Braun (1933) argues that Vaugelas's influence on Corneille is not as great as, for instance, Brunot claims, since while some points are changed, others are not, some are altered only occasionally and others are even altered back. Billy (1954) questions whether Vaugelas, as one of the members of the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement was one of those who wanted to see Molière's Tartuffe banned and wonders if this was why Vaugelas is mocked in Les Femmes Savantes. (See footnote 1, 284).

²⁷ See, for example, Magendie 1925: II: 683-4.

²⁸ Some of the common features are of course due to the fact that Vaugelas, like the seventeenth century rhetoricians, depends heavily on Quintilian and, to a lesser extent, Cicero. See 77-80, 82.

and rhetoric (cf. Davidson 1965: 6). Pellisson and d'Olivet, citing the Registres of the Academy for 18 January 1638, provide an interesting insight as to how Vaugelas himself may have viewed the content of the observations he presented to the Academy in that year as embracing grammar, lexicography and stylistics. They note that he divided the observations into three types:

La première, qui appartenoit proprement au Dictionnaire, ne regardant que les mots simples; la seconde, pour la construction, qui appartenoit à la Grammaire; la troisième, consistant en certaines règles, qui n'etoient pas proprement du ressort au Dictionnaire ni de la Grammaire, parce qu'elles ne regardoient ni le barbarisme ni le solecisme, les deux matières sur lesquelles la Grammaire et le Dictionnaire emploient toute l'étendue de leur juridiction (sic), qui néanmoins, disoit-il, étoient très-nécessaires pour la netteté, l'ornement, la grâce, l'élégance et la politesse du style, et d'autant plus nécessaires, qu'il y avoit moins de personnes qui le sussent que de ceux qui savent écrire sans barbarisme et sans solécisme, desquels un style peut être affranchi, et ne laisser pas d'être extrêmement imparfait. (Pellisson et d'Olivet 1858: I: 101-2).

The passage at the end of the Remarques listing the qualities necessary to speak and write well (593) equally includes features more correctly thought of as stylistic as well as the purely grammatical requirements of pureté and netteté.

The Preface of the Remarques (XV, 3) alludes to the composition of a rhetoric by Patru, which would embrace much of the material of the Remarques, but go beyond it in scope and content. Le Gras (1671) claims in his Preface that it is because this work has not appeared after twenty-four years that he has decided to undertake the task himself, so that his rhetoric may be seen as being in some ways complementary to Vaugelas's observations. The influence of Vaugelas on Le Gras manifests itself in several ways. In the Preface he refers to the Remarques as 'tres-important & tres-utile', adding that the work 'contient de tres-beaux preceptes pour apprendre la pureté de nostre Langue, & à parler correctement'; however, since he considers that the content of the Remarques does not

even exhaust the material for one of the five parts comprising a rhetoric (Invention, Disposition, Elocution, Memoire and Prononciation), he aims to supplement them. The section on Elocution (174-263) is subdivided into two, the first part dealing with questions of pureté and netteté and the second ornements du Langage and Figures de l'Eloquence. In the former Le Gras is almost entirely dependent on Vaugelas, for instance, his treatment of mauvais arrangemant (182) is identical to Vaugelas's. Vaugelas's command over Le Gras is also evident in more general terms: for instance, in his Preface Le Gras stresses the supremacy of usage over reason and analogy, and in his definition of rhetoric as 'l'Art de bien dire' following, like Vaugelas, in Quintilian's footsteps, he emphasises the need for bréveté and clarté as well as vray-semblance (Le Gras 1671: 2).

Despite Le Gras's claim that Vaugelas's desire for a rhetoric had not been fulfilled, in fact Bary's La Rhetorique françoise had first appeared in 1659, twelve years before Le Gras's own work was published²⁹. Here again Bary embraces in his sections on the correct use of language many of Vaugelas's decisions³⁰. His rhetoric contains two sections, one entitled 'De l'vsage des mots' (1695: 228-237) which differentiates pairs of related words and the other 'De l'vsage des phrases' (254-262), both of which for the most part simply list Vaugelas's decisions (omitting exceptions and explanations) from various observations, sometimes supplementing them with Dupleix's comments or with some personal contribution; the first lists, for example, the difference between dépenser and dépendre; serge and sarge; hormis and fors (228). Bary, like Le Gras, shares many of Vaugelas's principles, including the central importance of clarity if

²⁹ The edition cited here is a new revised and augmented edition of 1673.

³⁰ Magendie maintains that Bary's rhetoric '..est, en beaucoup d'endroits, un manuel commode de conversation & de beau style' (Magendie 1925: II: 818).

one aims not to displease (Bary 1673: 226), and the need to refer to a Court and Academy milieu (227), and he quotes Vaugelas's ideas on synonymy (375-6).

References to other works on rhetoric showing the impact of Vaugelas's ideas could be multiplied³¹. Suffice it to say that Vaugelas's Remarques were read by a large number of authors and some of his ideas and pronouncements assimilated into a wide range of works, in some cases only as a passing allusion, but in others as a major contribution.

III: Reasons for the popularity of the Remarques in the seventeenth century

The influence of the Remarques discussed above suggests that the work had a great effect on Vaugelas's contemporaries and was very popular: many of the authors considered above refer to Vaugelas's ideas or decisions without explicitly mentioning him by name, apparently confident that their readers would know to whom they are referring. Reviews of different editions of the Remarques also confirm the popularity of Vaugelas's work³². Leclerc begins his review with the assertion that the Remarques are very well-known (1688: 182), Basnage de Beauval notes that 'les Remarques ont passé pour un chef-d'oeuvre' (1705: 113) and Bernard comments that everyone is agreed on the usefulness of the Remarques (1705: 61).

Why were the Remarques so popular with the public? If we consider their function in the society of the time and look at who purchased the

³¹ See, for example, Strosetzki 1978: 58-66.

³² Leclerc (1688) and Basnage de Beauval (1687) review the 1687 edition of the Remarques by T. Corneille, Bernard (1705) and Basnage de Beauval (1705) review the 1705 comments of the Academy on the Remarques and Granet (1738) reviews the 1739 edition of the Remarques with the comments of T. Corneille and Patru.

work we may be better equipped to answer this question. The book was clearly not used in schools, for we know that at this time the primarily Jesuit educational establishments aimed to teach the pupils to write Latin elegantly (Compayré 1879: I: 183-4)³³. Nearly all the lessons were conducted in Latin and the pupils were obliged to speak Latin all the time, even when conversing amongst themselves. French was taught from textbooks written in Latin and was considered relatively unimportant. In the teaching of Latin the grammar of Despautère held sway for many years, and it was only later in the century in the Port-Royal schools that Lancelot's Nouvelle Methode written in French was introduced³⁴. The preface of the Remarques confirms that the book was neither aimed at this audience, nor intended for foreigners (XIV, 4).

Lough confirms that writers generally aimed their works at the Court and the well-educated: living in an aristocratic society, writers wrote for the upper strata of that society, from the King and Court down to the more cultured sections of the middle class (1954: 206). Martin and Lecocq record that in Grenoble the majority of readers came from the Cours de justice and from the aristocracy of the town (1977: 102). For a work to be successful in Paris in the seventeenth century, Lough claims it had to appeal to the Court and especially to the ladies (1954: 206). This raises two questions: do our sparse records about purchasers of the Remarques confirm this claim and why should the Court wish to read a work on language?

From the small sample of purchasers mentioned in the records of

³³ The situation was slightly better in the Oratory schools, where at least preliminary grammatical classes were in French (Compayré 1879: I: 218).

³⁴ Claude Lancelot, Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre facilement.. la langue latine, contenant les rudiments et les règles... mises en françois. Paris, A. Vitré 1644.

Nicolas's bookshop in Grenoble we can gather a few shreds of evidence about the occupations and hence about the social status of those purchasing the Remarques as represented by the customers in this provincial town. The people who bought a copy of the Remarques in the period up to 1668 in Grenoble are listed in table 11 (Martin et Lecocq 1977: 840)³⁵. From Martin's analysis of the collections in various individuals' libraries in Paris at the time, we can gather that the occupations of the Grenoble purchasers were representative, for Martin mentions a copy of the Remarques in the libraries of Jean Fabry, 'simple "conseiller du roi en ses conseils et en sa direction des finances"' (Martin 1969: I: 523), Jean-François le Grand, 'simple avocat au Parlement de Paris' (524-5) and Louis de Lapara, 'Lieutenant général des armées du Roi, gouverneur de Montdauphin et chevalier de l'ordre militaire de Saint-Louis' (Martin 1969: II: 947). The readers of the Remarques in Grenoble cover a wide range of people including a woman, a student, and even some children; the nobility is also represented. However, the most common profession in this list is that of 'conseiller du roi' glossed by Mousnier as 'de nombreux officiers, membres de Parlements, baillis, sénéchaux, leurs lieutenants, trésoriers généraux de France' (Mousnier 1969: 64). These were the financial and judicial office holders of the seventeenth century. The cases of M. de Mombive and M. Maxemi are particularly interesting. M. de Mombive, baptised in 1635, started his career as 'avocat en la cour'. In the year he purchased the Remarques he was named 'conseiller au Parlement' a promotion which entailed a rise in society, and he went on

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Martin and Lecocq give the following details: VAUGELAS (Claude Favre de). Remarques sur la langue françoise, Paris, P. le Petit 1647. In -4. Sans doute contrefaçon de Piot. Entries in the bookseller's catalogue are in the form: 'Remarques de Vaugelas'; 'Vaugelas'; 'Observations de Vaugelas'. Desgraves (1973: 128) lists in the inventory of the bookshop of Jacques Mongiron-Millanges of Bordeaux for the year 1672 2 copies of the Remarques.

Table 11 : The purchasers of the Remarques in Grenoble (1647-1668)
(Martin et Lecocq 1977: 840).

- S.d., à M. de la Salle, chastellain de Montfleuri, 1 ex. à 2 l.
- S.d., à M. Laigneau, 1 ex. (Philippe de Laigneau, gentilhomme ordinaire de la Chambre du Roi: bibliophile distingué il possédait 4000 volumes, mais fut, paraît-il obligé de vendre sa bibliothèque pour payer les dettes du Président Le Blanc: 202).
- 1648, juillet, à M. Giraud, secrétaire de Mgr. de Servien, intendant en l'armée du Roi delà les Monts, un "observations de Vaugelas" à 5 l. 5 s. (Abel Servien, avocat en la Cour, nommé procureur général au Parlement par lettres du 31 août 1616, reçu le 22 mai suivant; nommé conseiller du Roi, maître des requêtes ordinaire de son hôtel en 1624; devint ensuite intendant de justice, police et finances de l'armée d'Italie, président du Conseil souverain établi à Pignerol et premier président au Parlement de Bordeaux; il allait rejoindre ce poste lorsqu'il obtint la charge de secrétaire d'Etat à la guerre: (252).
- 1648, 6 août, à Melle Du Portes, 1 ex. en veau fauve à 7 l.
- 1649, (juin) à M. de Chebvrières, conseiller du Roi et Président au Parlement de Bourgogne, 1 ex, à 2 l.
- 1649, (octobre) à M Du Vivier, vice-bailli, 1 ex. à 2 l. 10 s.
- 1649, novembre, aux enfants de M. de Lionne, Président aux comptes, 1 ex.
- 1649, novembre, à M. Balme, le fils, avocat, 1 ex. à 2 l. 5 s.
- 1649, (novembre), à M. de Mombive, 1 ex. à 2 l. 5 s. (Avocat en la Cour, nommé conseiller au Parlement par lettre du 4 octobre 1649, reçu le 16 novembre suivant; nommé président en remplacement et surrésignation de son père par lettres du 28 février 1655, reçu le 13 mai suivant: 253).
- 1649, 31 décembre, à M de Chevrières, conseiller du Roi, 1 ex. (as above).
- S.d. (1649), à M. de Bernard, conseiller du Roi, 1 ex.
- 1649-50, à Lyon, sur l'ordre de M. Blache de Romans, 1 ex.
- 1650, mars, à M. Vireli, secrétaire de Mgr. de la Berchère, 1 ex. à 2 l. 15 s.
- 1650, 15 mars, sur le compte de M. Ruynat, procureur en la Cour, à Monsieur son fils, 1 ex. à 2 l. 10 s.
- 1650, juin, à M. Maxemi, 1 ex. à 2 l. 10 s. (Avocat en la Cour, remplace son frère Philippe dans l'office paternel de secrétaire au Parlement par lettres du 25 Juillet 1649 et reçu le 20 août suivant; ensuite nommé en 1659 maître auditeur à la Chambre des comptes: 216).
- 1651, 8 septembre, à M. Roux, conseiller du Roi, pour M. de Tremini, 1 ex. in-8^o à 2 l. 10 s.
- 1653, 6 mars, à Mgr. de la Berchère, 1 ex. à 2 l. 15 s.
- 1653, avril, à M. de Morard fils, conseiller du Roi, et trésorier, 1 ex. in-4^o.
- 1653, décembre, à M. Marnais le fils, trésorier, 1 "Vaugelas"
- 1656, 8 mars, à M. Bonnet, étudiant en théologie à Die, 1 ex.
- 1658, 23 novembre, à l'homme de M de Bonneval et sur son compte, 1 ex. in-40 à 5 l.

to become 'président' of this Parlement. M. Maxemi was another young man (baptised 1631) who began as an 'avocat en la cour'. He purchased his copy of the Remarques in the period between being named 'secrétaire au Parlement' and entering this position; he later became 'maître auditeur à la Chambre des comptes'. These then were two young men buying the Remarques at a crucial stage in their career when they were beginning to rise in society. It seems that the Remarques were especially popular amongst the financial and judicial office holders, some of whom came from aristocratic families, but many of whom may well have purchased their offices and may have been thereby ennobled, becoming members of the 'noblesse de robe' legally, even if they were not accepted socially by the 'noblesse de race' as fellow nobles. Why should the Remarques primarily appeal to such men?

The rapid social mobility in the seventeenth century French society and the creation of a large number of new nobles entailing what Bitton calls 'confusion and fluidity of noble status' (Bitton 1969: v) is well documented³⁶. To illustrate the changing nature of French society during the century Mousnier compares the analysis of French society sketched by Charles Loyseau (1610) with that outlined by Saint-Simon at the beginning of the next century (Mousnier 1974: 14-33). For Loyseau, French society is a society of Orders, a hierarchy still based on the value of military service, with the noblesse d'épée being more highly valued than the noblesse de robe. He, however, detects a move to transform the society from one in which military prowess is rewarded to one which honours magistrates and civil servants. By the time of Saint-Simon this transmutation has been completed and Saint-Simon looks back with nostalgia and regret to a period when the highest honour was attached to the hereditary profession of arms. During the reign of Henri IV and increasingly

³⁶ See, for example, Bitton (1969), Mousnier (1969, 1970, 1974, 1980).

during that of Louis XIII the noblesse de robe gradually superseded the noblesse d'épée in the civil service of the state and as the century progressed, commerce became more and more the dominant force, so that Saint-Simon can speak of the 'règne de vile bourgeoisie' and protest, along with the majority of the old nobility, at the change in society.

This social mobility so characteristic of seventeenth century France was essentially the consequence of economic changes and the increasing need to raise money of the growing absolute monarchy and concomitant expanding bureaucracy. Members of the old nobility were suffering economically, forced into debt and compelled to sell their estates, for, unlike the middle class who could do business freely and thereby amass wealth, they were debarred from trade. The wealth acquired from commerce enabled the bourgeoisie to rise in society by various means. From the sixteenth century on, but particularly during two periods under Richelieu (1614-1622; 1633-42), the sale of offices mushroomed to raise finance for such ventures as the Thirty Years War³⁷. Many of the offices brought with them noble status, for example, that of secrétaire du roi or magistrat des Cours souverains. Members of the old nobility did not have the resources to purchase these offices and so a large number of new nobles was created. Another road to social mobility was through the acquisition of seigneuries. Bitton claims that between 1400 and 1550 in the region south of Paris, at least 52 of the 65 lay seigneuries changed hands once or more and that the majority of these were taken over by non-nobles (Bitton 1969: 94). Although land transfers in themselves did not effect a change in personal status, once a wealthy roturier owned a noble estate, he was in an excellent position to assume an aristocratic life style, establish marriage connections and finally to become a full nobleman (Bitton 1969: 94). Ennoblements by means of royal letters also increased

³⁷ Cf. Loyseau 1610: 301, 403.

dramatically during the seventeenth century as Louis XIII and Richelieu transformed France into the absolute state epitomised by Louis XIV and Versailles. A few new families were embraced by the nobility through intermarriage, for occasionally the daughters of rich middle class families married nobles, who were forced to accept roturier brides to provide the money to save their ailing estates. Finally there were those members of the bourgeoisie who held offices which did not entitle them to noble status who nevertheless adopted a noble life style and aped the nobility in behaviour and dress³⁸. It was very often representatives of this group who were subsequently able to buy ennobling offices and establish themselves by buying what Mousnier calls the 'insurance policy' of the Paulette (Mousnier 1980: 48). The rise to nobility was not normally effected in one generation and Mousnier adds that very often the family would fall into decline quickly once it adopted the noble life-style of luxury and generosity³⁹.

The acquisition of noble status by members of the bourgeoisie and the change in society thereby engendered was not, however, as simple as it may first appear. While these men were legally new nobles, they were not necessarily accepted socially as such by the old nobility who were often hostile to them⁴⁰. Certain practical distinctions were made between

³⁸ For a parody of this situation, see Molière's Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme (1670).

³⁹ The possible course of a man's rise in society is charted by Mousnier in Cooper 1970: 478.

⁴⁰ The attitude of the nobility to the new nobles is seen clearly in the Cahier of the Second Estate prepared for the Estates General of 1614 in which it is strongly argued that the feudal privileges of the nobility should be maintained. Hayden (1974: 185) notes that seven paragraphs in the chapter on nobility are directed against those pretending to nobility, including those who had purchased seigneuries. The nobility demanded that all letters of ennoblement given less than thirty years before should be revoked, unless the holders had performed some important military service, and that judicial and financial officers should not be made nobles.

the old nobles and the anoblis. For instance, the latter did not always enjoy the same tax exemptions, they had to stand at council meetings, they were obliged to sit on the back row of the Estates and they were not allowed to vote with the nobles (Bitton 1969: 95). Outward manifestations of social difference were, however, often ignored. Loyseau relates, for example, how, despite the ordinances forbidding non-nobles to wear noble clothing, the wives of privileged office holders did so anyway (Bitton 1969: 111). Moreover the change in society was not so great that the bourgeoisie wanted to abolish the traditional stratification of society. On the contrary, their desire to acquire noble status underlines the importance they attached to the noble way of life. While then the noblesse d'épée were most unwilling to accept the noblesse de robe as true nobility and fought to exclude them from the ranks of the nobility, the new nobility strove to become accepted socially and fully integrated into noble circles by adopting a noble way of life in behaviour and dress.

A key feature of this process of assimilation was the adoption of the use of language appropriate to life at Court. Strosetzki in his study of conversation in the seventeenth century summarises well the central importance of a good command of language and the skills of conversation if one wished to succeed as an honnête homme in the Court society of the day (Strosetzki 1978: 12-13). He notes that the concept of the honnête homme also evolved during the course of the seventeenth century. From being a moral and religiously based notion, it became a quality defined in social terms (ibid: 82). The ability to speak well therefore became a key factor in the evaluation of a newcomer to Court:

On decide du mérite d'un homme sur la maniere dont il se tire d'une Conversation (Morvan de Bellegarde 1697: avertissement)⁴¹.

⁴¹ Cited in Strosetzki 1978: 147.

Gradually it was no longer considered essential to be high born to be an honnête homme, and it was felt that honnêteté could be acquired either from books or from association with other honnêtes hommes (Strosetzki 1978: 129). It was deemed the duty of the speaker to please his hearer and this was something to which he was obliged to direct all his efforts. This was particularly true in a conversation with a woman, for, as Vaugelas himself implies, women are very difficult creatures to please and one displeasing word will make them stop listening and lose interest in their interlocuter completely!⁴²:

Il ne faut qu'un mauuais mot pour faire mespriser vne personne dans vne Compagnie, pour descrire vn Predicateur, vn Aduocat, vn Escriuain. Enfin, vn mauuais mot, parce qu'il est aisé à remarquer, est capable de faire plus de tort qu'un mauuais raisonnement, dont peu de gens s'apperçoient, quoy qu'il n'y ait nulle comparaison de l'un à l'autre (Preface IX, 2).

As Strosetzki notes, a large amount of literature was devoted to helping people to improve their conversational skills, primarily courtesy books aimed at familiarising young people, provincials etc., with the ways of Court but also literary works, grammars and rhetorics⁴³.

All this suggests why the Remarques were purchased by those aspiring to rise in society, as is indicated by Martin's documents. The Remarques were popular at a time when French society was changing rapidly, with the number of office holders and sale of offices increasing, and men striving

⁴² See also 317.

⁴³ See Strosetzki 1978: 8 and Magendie 1925. One may cite, for instance, Du Refuge's Traité de la Cour, ou Instruction des Courtisans (1658), first published 1616, in which he notes that Decence is composed of good speech, countenance and clothes (6), or Jacques de Callière's La fortune des gens de qualité et des gentils-hommes particuliers (1668), the subtitle of which is 'Enseignant l'Art de viure à la Cour, suivant les Maximes de la Politique & de la Morale'.

to ape the nobility. Like the courtesy books, so popular in the period, the Remarques provided a way, for those aspiring to a position of respect in society, of acquiring the behaviour necessary to be acceptable in Court circles⁴⁴. With the extension of polite society to groups outside the traditional nobility, the Remarques were useful in providing a way for newcomers to learn the language of the Court, so that they no longer stood out as different, but through imitation, conformed socially. Surely the greatest fear of the new noble striving for social integration was to appear ridiculous, and Vaugelas offers much advice as to how to avoid this:

Et il ne faut pas croire, comme font plusieurs, que dans la conuersation, & dans les Compagnies il soit permis de dire en raillant vn mauuais mot, & qui ne soit du bon vsage; où si on le dit, il faut auoir vn grand soin de faire connoistre par le ton de la voix & par l'action, qu'on le dit pour rire; car autrement cela feroit tort à celui qui l'auroit dit, & de plus il ne faut pas en faire mestier, on se rendroit insupportable parmy les gens de la Cour & de condition, qui ne sont pas accoustumez à ces sortes de mots. Ce n'est pas de cette façon qu'il se faut imaginer que l'on passe pour homme de bonne compagnie; entre les fausses galanteries, celle-cy est des premieres, & i'ay veu souuent des gens qui vsant de ces termes & faisant rire le monde, ont creu auoir reussi & neantmoins on se rioit d'eux, & l'on ne rioit pas de ce qu'ils auoient dit, comme on rit des choses agreables & plaisantes (Preface VII, 3).

If this is indeed the purpose of the work, then the reasoning behind much of Vaugelas's linguistic theory is explained, for instance, the insistence on linguistic conformity and the need to choose the word which the speaker himself would have chosen in order to please. The social consequences of not choosing the right word are stressed and the reader is continually warned not to use any personal peculiarities of language, but is urged to conform (Preface III, 2). The overriding concern to please also helps to justify many of the individual pronouncements. For instance, Vaugelas's

⁴⁴ Ott (1962: 86) comes to a similar conclusion in the article summarising the main conclusions of his doctoral thesis (1947). He fails, however, to elaborate on why there was particularly a demand for such works in seventeenth century France.

comments on syntax are underpinned by a constant preoccupation with the avoidance of any ambiguity as this distracts the reader and causes displeasure (e.g. 112-4; see chapter 5, 196). The Remarques can then be seen as a kind of courtesy book, aiding the newcomer to adopt the correct manners for his society, and to act with bienséance⁴⁵, establishing his position in polite society through displaying a good use of language.

To the modern reader, especially one who has not grown up in a society sharing the French concern for their language, the idea of having to learn one's own language appears somewhat strange. The speaker is encouraged to guard against his natural inclinations and to concentrate on refinements of language which create an inexplicable feeling of pleasure in the reader or hearer. In the remarque which expresses a preference for co-ordination of two nouns of different genders if possible, Vaugelas admits that many people will consider such a concern an over-refinement, but he adds:

Aussi ie ne blasme point ceux qui n'en vseront pas, mais ie suis certain que quiconque suiura cet auis plaira dauantage, & fera vne de ces choses dont se forme la douceur du stile, & qui charme le Lecteur, ou l'Auditeur sans qu'il sçache d'où cela vient (*473).

As the last clause indicates, the reader must not, however, give the impression that he is making an effort, that is, his speech must appear natural. Any obvious attempt to be learned is frowned upon and a clear distinction is maintained between the savant and the pedant, who pursues learning to the exclusion of the social graces⁴⁶. As we have noted⁴⁷,

⁴⁵ Le Gras (1671) notes that bienséance 'a quelque rapport aux devoirs de la civilité, au compliment, & à la politesse' (239). It consists of speaking in a way suitable for the subject matter, the addressee, the place etc. Its relationship to Vaugelas's Propriété des mots & des phrases is obvious.

⁴⁶ See Lougee 1976: 29.

⁴⁷ See above 165.

Vaugelas recommends that technical terms should be restricted to their specialised sphere, and it would not, for instance, be appropriate for a noble to use a commercial term associated with trade and consequently the province of the middle class.

Where did this social integration take place? Lougee suggests that one of the places where those aspiring to rise socially could learn to vivre noblement was the salons (Lougee 1976: 212), where questions of language were much discussed: It has already been noted that Vaugelas himself was a regular visitor to the salons of Madame de Rambouillet and Madame des Loges (9) where he probably tried out many of his ideas on language and made detailed observation of the linguistic habits of the salon-goers. Here too behaviour rather than social position was the key to advancement: in order to succeed one had to conform to the accepted etiquette, dress and use of language. Lougee suggests that in a sense the salons were an extension of the institutionalized Court, which, since the sixteenth century, had extended to a city elite (1976 : 5)⁴⁸. Increasingly in the salons money rather than social status was the common factor in the lives of the salon ladies; Lougee's analysis proves the diversity of the origin of salon ladies - noble and non-noble, titled and untitled, from families who had acquired titles and those who had inherited them - and contrasts this with the relative homogeneity of their wealth (1976: 122, 128). For instance, about half of the ladies on Somaize's list of Précieuses⁴⁹, belonged to families outside the traditional nobility, to administrative, financial and parlementaire families, indeed to those

48 The same idea is expressed in the elaboration of Vaugelas's definition of good usage: 'Quand ie dis la Cour, i'y comprends les femmes comme les hommes, & plusieurs personnes de la ville où le Prince reside, qui par la communication qu'elles ont avec les gens de la Cour participent à sa politesse' (Preface II, 3).

49 Somaize, Antoine Badeau, sieur de, Le Grand dictionnaire des préieuses historique, poétique, géographique, cosmographique, cronologique et armoirique, Paris, 1661 (2 volumes).

families who had profited from the expansion of bureaucracy, the expedient of venality, and the system of tax farming to rise to positions of power and wealth (Lougee 1976: 131). The salons then were a place where old and new nobles could meet, a place of cultural fusion. It may well then have been in the salons that Vaugelas came to realize the power a good use of language could have and saw the need for a work on good language usage which would help social aspirants to adapt themselves to their new environment. Manuals to give instruction on various aspects of culture were prolific⁵⁰ and Vaugelas's Remarques is closer in format and method of presentation to, for instance, Faret's Honneste Homme than to any previous grammar.

Women then came to be considered the arbiters of good taste and of social behaviour in the seventeenth century. The Précieuses in particular concerned themselves with questions of language: it is true that this tended towards extravagance and eccentricity in the second half of the century, but the parodies of Molière and Somaize are of course exaggerations and in many ways the Précieuses concept of purism is dependent on that of Vaugelas (Magendie 1925: II: 591). Magendie can therefore summarise their role in polite society in the following way: 'En un mot, elles ont appliqué l'esprit de politesse et l'élégance à la conversation' (591)⁵¹.

Certain features of the Remarques suggest that the work may have been written with the salon milieu as well as the Court in mind. Just as women

50 For example René Bary's Fine philosophie (1660), Bary's Esprit de Cour (1665), or Du Bosc's Nouveau Recueil (1642).

51 Fumaroli (1981: 26) assigns a double role to women in the Court: 'Si la présence féminine encouragea la "douceur" courtoise, elle stimule aussi, parmi les gentilshommes, le goût de briller, et de briller aux dépens des autres interlocuteurs mâles'.

dominated salon life, so they play a crucial role in the elaboration of the Remarques. Their speech is taken as the best source of information about good usage, since their judgments are generally not coloured by education, and their reactions to a certain word or phrase are taken as a measure by which one may judge its acceptability. For instance, Vaugelas is reluctant to condone the use of expedition because:

..j'ay bien pris garde, que des Dames d'excellent esprit lisant vn liure, où ce mot estoit employé au sens dont nous parlons, s'estoient arrestées tout court au milieu d'un des plus beaux endroits du liure, perdant ou du moins interrompant par l'obscurité d'un seul mot le plaisir qu'elles prenoient en cette lecture (370)⁵².

The shift of emphasis from written to spoken usage between the manuscript and the published Remarques might also be explained by referring to Vaugelas's growing realisation of the importance of good linguistic usage both at Court and in the salons⁵³. However, it was not only to the anoblis that the Remarques appealed. Such works on etiquette and correct behaviour were also read by members of the old nobility who, stripped of their former role in society, found themselves 'unemployed'. Bitton points out that the majority of the nobility no longer participated in the most characteristically aristocratic form of military service because of the declining use of the ban et arrière-ban, the growing importance of the infantry and the breakdown of class segregation in military units (Bitton 1969: 28-9). Moreover since the administrative and judicial offices had become purchasable, the nobility had been unable to compete with the nouveaux riches for them, and with the growth of central government their role in the provinces was likewise lessened. In their idleness they

⁵² Magendie (1925: I: 131) cites Tallemant's account of how Angélique d'Angennes 's'évanouissait quand elle entendait un méchant mot'.

⁵³ See 86 and Ayres 1983: 25-27.

turned to the Court and the salons for entertainment, to discussions on language, manners and etiquette.

Strosetzki goes so far as to suggest that since the nobility only had Court and salon life to preoccupy them, then the art of conversation became virtually a professional occupation for them (Strosetzki 1978: 147-9). By their success in conversation were they judged by their peers and skill in conversation could bring favour from princes and perhaps as a consequence financial reward⁵⁴. The ability to speak well then not only helped social integration but was also a means of finding favour, of improving one's position in short, as Ott terms it, of wielding power over others:

..le bon usage pouvait devenir pour celui qui tenait compte du mécanisme des "ressorts cachés", un instrument puissant et délicat pour gouverner les autres.....moyen d'adaptation à la société, elle (sc. l'obéissance au bon usage) constituait également le dernier raffinement du machiavélisme (Ott 1962: 93-93).

Both the old nobility and the anoblis once they had achieved the social integration desired strove to exclude the entrance of new members to their ranks. They wished to remain an elite and so aimed at an increasingly refined use of language which would distance them from their social inferiors. Perhaps this is one reason why Vaugelas himself speaks of good usage being the possession of an elite and not of 'La lie du peuple' a recurring mark of condemnation in the Remarques. The idea of elitism is also fundamental to Préciosité, whose very name suggests a desire to 'se tirer du prix commun des autres' (Magendie 1925: II: 569). Nor is it surprising that it is to the Court and to Paris that Vaugelas looks for his informants on good usage. The monarchy had gained considerably in prestige since the time of Catherine de Médicis and under Louis XIII and Richelieu, with the growth of absolutism, all eyes became focused on the

⁵⁴ Strosetzki notes that another motivation for speaking well was that a misunderstanding might lead to a duel! (1978: 33).

King and his immediate circle⁵⁵.

Reference to the socio-cultural milieu and historical background against which the Remarques were written thus not only helps to explain the popularity of the work, but also elucidates many of the methodological decisions made by Vaugelas. If the success of a work was dependent on its appeal to the Court and especially to the ladies as Lough suggests, then it is no wonder that the Remarques were so popular. Sorel's appreciation of the way in which people are judged in society highlights the particular appeal of the Remarques in facilitating social integration and guaranteeing social success:

On prend aujourd'huy pour des Hommes de basse condition & de peu d'esprit, ceux qui parlent mal François; au moins on les tient pour des Prouvinciaux qui n'ont iamais veu la Cour & le grand Monde, ou pour des Gens mal instruits. On doit donc s'étudier à la politesse du Langage, autant qu'à celle de la contenance, ou de la maniere de se vestir, et qu'à tout ce qui paroist en l'exterieur; Il ne faut pas qu'il manque rien à celui qui se veut rendre parfait (Sorel 1667: 8).

As the title of the work indicates, the Remarques are to be useful 'a ceux qui veulent bien parler et bien escrire', and Vaugelas's observations appear to have been successful in fulfilling this aim.

⁵⁵ As Fumaroli notes (1981: 30) the growing authority of the Court went hand in hand with a decline in prestige of the Parlement, University and sixteenth century Humanism.

IV: The popularity and influence of the Remarques from 1700 to the present day.

The rapid succession of editions of the Remarques continued until 1738 when the edition containing the notes of T. Corneille and Patru appeared. After that the Remarques were not published again until 1880 when Chassang reproduced the Remarques with introduction and notes as a historical text worthy of attention. Since then the Remarques have been issued in four new editions: in an abridged form edited by Lagane (1975), in 1943 and 1981 and, most importantly, with the introduction by Streicher (1934). The distribution of editions suggests that Vaugelas's work was no longer popular nor influential from about the middle of the eighteenth century on. To some extent this is undoubtedly true: by the middle of the eighteenth century the grammars of the philosophes were predominant and grammars of usage were overshadowed by those following in the tradition of the Port-Royal Grammaire générale et raisonnée (1660). Yet, to a lesser extent, Vaugelas's Remarques still influenced many eighteenth century writers on language, who assimilated his ideas to varying degrees⁵⁶.

(a) Influence on works on language

The influence of Vaugelas's ideas continued to be felt in four different types of works on the French language in the eighteenth century and subsequently. Firstly, and most obviously, there are those grammars and collections of observations still predominantly based on usage, for example, by Buffier (1741, first published 1709) and d'Olivet (1767).

⁵⁶ Of necessity I can only provide a brief outline of Vaugelas's influence here and must be selective in my examples. For further details, see, for instance, François 1905, or Seguin 1972, especially 61-73.

A. François has charted well the course of 'la grammaire du purisme' in the eighteenth century (1905), and the reader is referred to his book. While these authors at first sight apparently follow closely in Vaugelas's mould, there are significant shifts of emphasis in the interpretation of where good usage may be observed. Buffier, while stressing the sovereignty of usage over reason (Buffier 1741: 10), substitutes 'la plus nombreuse partie' for 'la plus saine partie' in Vaugelas's definition, because of the difficulty of interpreting the latter notion (1741: 20-21). The idea of good usage being the prerogative of an elite is thereby weakened. Secondly there is a tendency away from looking to contemporary authors for authority. Buffier expresses a desire to fix the language as it is (37) and prefers to turn to authors 'de réputation' rather than 'du temps' (21). While Buffier still stresses the importance of the Court as an authority for good usage (*ibid*), François rightly modifies this statement by noting that the political and social circumstances had changed since Vaugelas's day with the Court dispersing and more significance being attached to the life of the town of Paris with its salons, cafés and rendez-vous for 'beaux-esprits' (François 1905: 137). D'Olivet, however, no longer attaches prime importance to the spoken language:

...autre chose est de parler, ou d'écrire. Car si l'on veut s'arrêter aux licences de la conversation, c'est le vrai moyen d'estropier la Langue à tout moment (D'Olivet 1767: 246-247).

The reason for this has been stated above; the eighteenth century writers simply believed that the French language had reached its peak of perfection in the usage of the Classical period (e.g. Voltaire 1878: XIV: 552). The usage based grammars of the eighteenth century therefore have a predominantly conservative flavour⁵⁷.

⁵⁷ Vaugelas is also cited on specific topics. D'Olivet (1767) quotes Vaugelas frequently in the 100 Remarques sur Racine (1767: 253-389) and in his Essais de Grammaire he quotes and comments on Vaugelas's examples for the agreement of the past participle (1767: 211-250). Indeed, these examples are regularly discussed (see, for instance, Regnier-Desmarais 1706: 459-490).

The importance of usage as an authority also continues to be emphasised in the Academy dictionaries, although here too a change in interpretation is discernible. In the Preface of the fifth edition (1798) the decision not to consult the 'beau langage du beau monde' is made since 'le beau monde pense et parle souvent tres-mal'; rather le bon langage 'composé des vrais rapports des mots et des idées' is preferred. These two notions, once identical for Vaugelas (Preface VII, 1), are thus separated. In this and in the Preface of the seventh edition primary authority is granted to the written usage of the past:

L'usage, en un mot, tel que le comprend l'Académie, embrasse les trois grands siècles qui ont marqué notre littérature d'une si forte empreinte, le dix-septième, le dix-huitième et le nôtre.. (l'Académie Française 1878: X).

In our century the concept of bon usage is notably represented in the work of Grevisse, termed by Bazui in the Preface to the tenth edition of Le Bon Usage as 'le Vaugelas du vingtième siècle' (Grevisse 1975: VIII). In his Petit plaidoyer pour le bon langage Grevisse views the ability to write and speak well as a duty, which gives the speaker prestige, 'une sorte d'estime et de considération dans le milieu où nous vivons' (Grevisse 1955: 195). Moreover it is not only in the work of Grevisse that the resonances of Vaugelas's concept of good usage are sounded. Albert Dauzat in his Guide du Bon Usage defines good usage as '...l'usage de la classe cultivée de Paris à une époque donnée' (Dauzat 1955: 7) and stresses the vital significance of clarity, the need to 'respecter la propriété des termes et surtout respecter la syntaxe' (1955: 16)⁵⁸.

⁵⁸ Hatzfeld (1962: 39-41) cites other recent definitions of good usage by Georgin, Wartburg and Zumthor, and Meillet, and concludes 's'il n'y a plus de bon usage actuel, élaboré par une collectivité linguistiquement stable, il y a du moins un bon usage virtuel établi par la convergence d'efforts individuels, mais compétents'. These are the efforts of purists, linguists, grammarians and men of letters against the bad usage of the media, bureaucracy, science and technology.

A second type of work in which Vaugelas's ideas continued to feature fairly prominently were the collections or compilations of observations and grammatical pronouncements about French, a genre made particularly fashionable in the eighteenth century by the prevailing conservative attitude. Perhaps one reason why the Remarques were not newly published after 1738 is that the content still considered relevant and of value was included in these compendiums through which it was popularised and assimilated into 'accepted' rules. De la Touche in the Preface to his L'Art de bien parler françois (1st edition 1706) declares his debt to Vaugelas, Ménage, Corneille and Bouhours and his second volume is devoted to a summary of a selection of their remarques together with some of his own observations presented in alphabetical order. In the first volume too, comprising a basic part of speech grammar, De la Touche occasionally refers to the Remarques, stating his position in relation to that of Vaugelas and adding 'corrections' where he deems it necessary⁵⁹. This type of compilation is carried on in the work of De Wailly (1754) and Féraud (1761) and culminates in the Grammaire des Grammaires of Girault-Duvivier, which received at least twenty editions in the first seventy-five years after the original edition (1811). Vaugelas is the earliest grammarian cited by Girault-Duvivier and references to him are fairly sparse, partly because those decisions of Vaugelas still valid had either become accepted usage or had been reiterated elsewhere. Girault-Duvivier seeks a reasoned justification of his 'rules' in terms of logic and therefore prefers to cite the philosophes. There is already a suggestion in this work that Vaugelas is quoted mainly to indicate how a rule came into being, and this is the way he is treated in a contemporary compilation of pronouncements on the good usage of French (Dupré 1972). The editorial team choose to take their comments from grammars which appeared almost entirely in the period post-Littré,

⁵⁹ For example, he argues that Vaugelas was wrong to condemn 'il en est des hommes comme des animaux' (De la Touche 1710: 232).

but Vaugelas is included in these references where his pronouncements mark the beginning of a contemporary usage or help to formulate a modern rule (e.g. Heros 1208; fors 1042; past participle agreement 1871)⁶⁰.

Vaugelas's grammar of usage is generally opposed to the general and rational grammars of the eighteenth philosophes, who, from Port-Royal on, tried to provide explanations for the behaviour of language and, wherever possible, formulate this in rules applicable to every language, thereby stressing the features common to all languages rather than focusing on the characteristics peculiar to French as Vaugelas had done⁶¹. Despite this fundamental difference in outlook, the philosophes nevertheless at times use Vaugelas's material and try to explain the behaviour recorded in his Remarques. In this respect they tend to be rather conservative. For instance, Sahlin says of Du Marsais's general grammar, which cites Vaugelas, that it is 'essentiellement éclectique' (Sahlin 1928: XIV) and comments on the role played by the philosophes in fixing a usage not always based on accurate observation because they were not concerned with observing language usage themselves:

De ce point de vue, l'influence de la grammaire générale a été nuisible, car elle a raisonné et par conséquent stabilisé certaines règles arbitraires établies par Vaugelas et d'autres grammairiens, qui ne comprenaient pas toujours bien ce qu'ils observaient dans la conversation et qui par suite légiféraient parfois contrairement au génie de la langue (Sahlin 1928: 23).

She adds that in this way the general grammarians impeded the natural development of the language, the most notable example of this process being the fixing of the rules for the agreement of the past participle. Girard (1747), a key figure in the history of rational grammar, nevertheless speaks of usage as the maître and claims that 'dépendant toujours

⁶⁰ Or to show how usage has changed on a certain point. This is also the way Vaugelas is treated in the historical sections of Grevisse's Le Bon Usage (1975).

⁶¹ François (Brumot 1932: (VI, part 2): 900) quotes Thomas who criticised Vaugelas for being 'grammairien sans être philosophe, et c'est vouloir être astronome sans géométrie'.

de la portion dominante, il s'apprend à la Cour & dans la Capitale' (1747: I: 20). He maintains in theory at least that each language must be considered according to its own usage and often at the end of a chapter on a part of speech discusses particular examples from the Remarques. Nevertheless he and the other philosophes tend to attach a great deal of importance to the concept of analogy, which tends to produce a somewhat simplified picture of language behaviour and contrasts with Vaugelas's awareness of the complexity of usage. Not all the philosophes give so much space to Vaugelas's ideas: Restaut (1730) owes little, if anything, to Vaugelas and his reliance on Port-Royal predominates. The philosophes formed a distinct and significant school opposed to the tradition initiated by the Remarques, but they were not entirely immune from the influence of usage-based works, which often provided their data.

A fourth and important area of influence of Vaugelas's Remarques is on the field of 'linguistic journalism'. François mentions the role of criticism in literary periodicals in the eighteenth century, notably in the Mémoires de Trévoux, Journal des Savants, Pour et Contre, Année littéraire and the Journal encyclopédique, all of which examined new grammatical works and provided criticism of them (François 1905: 85). Perhaps the most famous of these 'journalistes grammariens' in the eighteenth century was the abbé Desfontaines. Today the very French fashion for discussing faits de langage in journals and newspapers must surely owe something to Vaugelas's method of commenting on problematic linguistic questions in short observations. In the twentieth century chroniques de langage feature in nearly all the major Paris newspapers and in the large weekly literary periodicals, in addition to there being journals such as Vie et langage devoted entirely to discussion of linguistic questions. In the pre-war period distinguished linguists like Grevisse in Belgium,

Dauzat (Le Monde), Snell and Schöne (L'Oeuvre) and Abel Hermant (Le Temps) in France all regularly wrote short pieces for newspapers and this tradition is continued for instance by Jacques Cellard in Le Monde on Sundays. Abel Hermant, who styled himself as a modern Lancelot, was nevertheless close to Vaugelas in stressing the primacy of good usage and, on one occasion at least, he appeals to the reader to consider how Vaugelas would have reacted to a certain word or expression (Hermant 1938: 265-270)⁶². Such columns do not only attract the interest of linguistic specialists⁶³; from Vaugelas on, the ability to be able to write and speak well has been a major concern of all educated Frenchmen and a pride in their language dictates that even non-specialists in linguistic matters are keenly interested in the development and the application of their language⁶⁴. It is not without some justification that the French have been termed a nation of grammarians, for even a popular radio station like France Inter which has a very large audience, broadcasts programmes about language. If then the details of Vaugelas's pronouncements are no longer always deemed relevant, Vaugelas is nevertheless still followed in spirit.

Vaugelas therefore continued to be influential although in different and perhaps less obvious ways, with his ideas being interpreted in various lights according to the prevailing linguistic attitude of the day. While some writers diverge dramatically from his standpoint, others, who

⁶² Some of Hermant's chroniques have been gathered together into two volumes of Remarques...pour la défense de la langue française (1629, 1629a) and into two volumes entitled Chroniques de Lancelot (1936, 1938).

⁶³ They are quoted, for example, in Dupré's Encyclopédie du bon français (1972).

⁶⁴ Thus, when the French felt their language under threat from Anglo-American borrowings, newspapers and journals responded (e.g. Figaro littéraire) by sounding out public opinion about franglais words and criticising those words deemed unnecessary. Perhaps this can be seen as a modern counterpart to Vaugelas questioning his informants about various new words and recording his findings in the Remarques.

ostensibly maintain a usage-orientated approach, nevertheless modify Vaugelas's ideas subtly and, in the extreme case, merely pay lip service to Vaugelas. Such was Vaugelas's reputation, however, that he was a source of inspiration to foreigners as well as compatriots. For example, Manzoni in Italy adopted Vaugelas's approach to good usage⁶⁵, and in England there appeared in 1770 an anonymous work entitled Remarks on the English language, in the nature of Vaugelas's "Remarks on the French"⁶⁶.

(b) Vaugelas's influence on the development of the French language

School grammars, an important means through which language usage is influenced, have not been mentioned above; this is because Vaugelas apparently made little impact on the writing of school grammars⁶⁷. For instance, Vaugelas seems to have had little influence on perhaps the two most important and most popular school grammars of the nineteenth century, that of Lhomond, first published in 1780 and reprinted right up to 1885, and that of Noël and Chapsal, first published in 1823 and published for the 59th and last time in 1888. Lhomond's grammar, for example, contains very basic material and there is only the occasional case where ideas articulated by Vaugelas are found (he is not named), e.g. in the injunction that the pupil should not confuse avant and auparavant or au travers + de and à travers (Lhomond 1825: 69). Noël and Chapasal's grammar, another basic textbook, including for the first time exercises, perhaps comes closest to Vaugelas's work in Chapter XV (1869: 180-192) which contains an alphabetical treatment of various difficulties; here the meanings of consommer and consumer are distinguished and the difference

⁶⁵ See Vineis 1976.

⁶⁶ A copy of this work, published in London, is in the University library in Cambridge.

⁶⁷ Except, of course, in that Vaugelas's emphasis on the value of being able to speak and write well has helped to ensure that importance is placed on the study of language in elementary schools in France.

in the usage of matinal, matineux and matinier elaborated. The lack of influence may be explained by various factors: firstly much of Vaugelas's material, dealing with refinements and niceties of language, is far too sophisticated and complicated for a basic school text. Reference to past recommendations would only confuse the pupil. Secondly, as Chervel notes (1977: 57), nineteenth century school grammar teaching was essentially based on part of speech grammar and Vaugelas's random presentation may have discouraged writers of school grammars from searching in the Remarques for the required material. Thirdly school grammars tended to focus on spelling and morphology⁶⁸, grammar being taught through a number of spelling rules; Chervel cites the teaching of the agreements for the past participle as a paradigm of the approach of nineteenth century school grammars. Whereas exceptions to the rules were originally founded on phonetic grounds, they were subsequently generalised into grammatical rules formulated in terms of orthography (Chervel 1977: 43).

Vaugelas then did not on the whole influence the development of the language through school grammars, many of his detailed ideas being too advanced for such basic textbooks, although some of his more general notions, such as his concept of the ideal clearly ordered and well-constructed, unambiguous period are as important in these as elsewhere. Nevertheless, there is plenty of evidence that Vaugelas's observations did influence the subsequent evolution of the language and helped to standardise certain rules. How then did this influence come about? The assimilation of Vaugelas's ideas by the rationalist grammarians and the attitude of eighteenth century writers on language to the Classical authors who, in the main, tended to follow Vaugelas's prescriptions, have been mentioned above. A key figure for the transmission and confirmation of Vaugelas's ideas in the nineteenth century is Littré, whose

⁶⁸ Units larger than the word were, on the whole, neglected with the exception of the discussion of the tropes.

dictionary was highly influential. For Littré, l'usage contemporain in a broad sense embraces not only the current usage of his day, but French usage from Malherbe on, from whom Littré dates the beginning of modern French (Littré 1889: Preface IV). Littré's tendency to be conservative and to prefer long-established usage favours the transmission of Vaugelas's pronouncements. In nearly every article which treats a question also discussed by Vaugelas, Vaugelas's decision is either cited directly or given as representative of seventeenth-century opinion, and in more than half of these, this is with approval. To quote one example, Littré notes under the heading auparavant: 'C'est Vaugelas qui a établi que auparavant devenait adverbe et cessait d'être préposition ou conjonction'. Significantly, then, it is a lexicographer who forms an important link in the transmission of Vaugelas's decisions, the lexicon being the repository of irregularities. Certainly, with the passage of time, many details of Vaugelas's usage have gone out of currency, but Vaugelas's influence on lexicography has been and remains great, with most of his decisions, for instance, on the correct gender for particular nouns being those still recorded by modern dictionaries.

Vaugelas is also cited more than one hundred times in the articles contained in Dupré's Encyclopédie du bon français (1972). Here more often a change in usage since Vaugelas's day is observed, but quite frequently authorities on French such as Brunot and Bruneau (septante), Thomas (quelque) and Martinon (chose) are forced to recognize the debt of the language to the author of the Remarques.

I do not intend to elaborate on the extent of Vaugelas's material influence on the language here, for in general I have commented on it in the detailed discussion of various aspects of language in the Remarques above. However, it is important to note that Vaugelas's ideas were influential in all aspects of language use. For instance, in the sphere

of orthography and pronunciation his decisions on the correct pronunciation of 'er', 'ois', guérir, août, héros etc. have remained. In the realm of vocabulary his authority ensured the retention in usage of autrui, the acceptance of various new words including pudeur, à l'improviste, incognito and the loss of partant, maint, corrival, emmi, nonante etc. from current usage. His distinction between the meanings of related words have also been adopted (e.g. consommer/consumer; fureur/furie) and there is a long list of words the gender of which Vaugelas helped to fix (e.g. affaire, anagramme, doute, duché, erreur, étude etc.). Various pronouncements on the correct form of nouns (arsenal, caniculier), verb forms (vêtir), conjunctions (simple or complex) and adverbs (quelque) have remained, as have the details of the usage of many of the parts of speech (negative particles⁶⁹, use of prepositions). Vaugelas's ideally constructed sentence in which all the syntactic relationships are clearly and explicitly marked is still that promoted in grammars today, and various details of syntactic usage have also remained fixed since the Remarques (e.g. agreement with various uses of the past participle, verb agreement with collectives and after several subjects, repetition of the article, the use of dont, de or des and the construction of certain verbs (dire etc)). Vaugelas's greatest influence has, however, been in promoting the idea of good French style⁷⁰, the value of clarté being epitomised in the work of Vaugelas. Just as in the seventeenth century, Vaugelas was the man who personified the prevailing attitude to language, responding, as did Racine, to a need in the society, so today Vaugelas is a symbol for

⁶⁹ See Price 1979. Price illustrates how a statement of Vaugelas's has been taken out of context and continually quoted to give a false impression of Vaugelas's view. Nevertheless it is this statement ('point nie bien plus fortement que pas') which has become part of accepted grammatical doctrine.

⁷⁰ As for stylistic details, Vaugelas's comments on the importance of euphony both for the positioning of the adjective and for the use of l'on or on can be viewed as rough guide-lines for usage today.

the tradition which favours discipline and precision in language use, demands that rules should be obeyed and only permits creativity within the scope defined by rules of grammar⁷¹. In the education debate in France today, supporters of a Classical French education require that pupils should be taught in rédaction and composition classes that the goal of writing is the formulation of ideas in good, clear French rather than primarily the expression of the inner self, and that children should not be encouraged to innovate in language usage. Vaugelas is therefore above all influential in serving as an authority within the tradition which places the highest value on the good usage of French that is still a characteristic feature of French education. Antoine Adam (1947: 261) argues that in contemporary times, when many authors write too quickly and without enough attention, Vaugelas can still instruct on the value of writing slowly and carefully, and on the need to give thought perfect expression. He concludes:

Vaugelas est pour les écrivains un maître d'honnêteté.
A toutes les époques, cette leçon est valable; de nos
jours, elle est urgente.

⁷¹ Cf. Hatzfeld (1962: 59-60) who asks if one can still speak of good literary usage with writers striving to diverge at all costs from normal usage, thereby creating a number of individual styles. He, however, concludes that there are still enough authors who, like Camus, 'évitent à la fois la recherche et la platitude et donnent un magnifique exemple de liberté maîtrisée'. Such writers are, he claims, the true authorities for good usage today.

Conclusion

In this analysis of Vaugelas's work, three major and interrelated perspectives have been adopted - the historical, the linguistic, and the sociolinguistic. I shall summarise briefly the major conclusions resulting from each approach, suggesting what is, in my view, the value of a study of Vaugelas.

Throughout I have been concerned with three historical questions. Firstly, what development can be discerned in Vaugelas's ideas on language and the usage of French; secondly, what is his position in the history of grammatical or linguistic treatises; thirdly, what is his influence and lasting effect on the writing of works on language and on the development of the French language.

The examination of the early translation, the Arsenal manuscript of the Remarques, the published observations and the two versions of the Quinte-Curce translation in turn has shown conclusively that both Vaugelas's attitude to language and his usage of French evolved greatly between 1615 and 1650. The changes in theory will be discussed below and at least partially explained when I look at the sociolinguistic dimension to Vaugelas's work. As for his practice, the detailed examination of the works has illustrated that the changes affect all areas of language usage - pronunciation and orthography, vocabulary and semantics, morphology, syntax and word order, and style. Further proof of the development can be gathered from Vaugelas's letters to various friends and acquaintances and we are fortunate that those surviving date from 1606, when Vaugelas was still living in his native Savoy, to 1645, that is, they represent well the productive period of his life. There are two letters from Annecy dated 1606, two roughly contemporary to the Fonseca translation (1616, 1620),¹

¹ The usage in these two letters does not differ significantly from that of the early letters, suggesting that, at the time of the Fonseca translation, Vaugelas was still influenced by his provincial background and had not yet adopted fully the usage of the Court.

three which date from the time when a substantial number of the observations were probably finding their first expression (1630, 1630a, 1633), and two from 1645, the period of the final work on the Remarques and the revision of the Quinte-Curce translation.² I shall cite a few examples from these as further illustration of the broad line of development of Vaugelas's usage as already seen in the discussion of the major works. As the century progresses the discrepancies between the usage recommended in the Remarques as well as contemporary usage and Vaugelas's practice diminish in quantitative and qualitative terms. Moreover Vaugelas's style gains in clarity and elegance.

Vaugelas's orthography becomes not only more streamlined but also more consistent. For example, in the two letters of 1606 the spellings are still overloaded with extra letters, whether etymological or purely fanciful (effects, faict, ceste, nepueu), forms later proscribed in the Remarques are employed (encor) and the form un' is found before feminine words beginning with a vowel (un'autre fois). The same applies in general to the next three letters (e.g. 1616: nepueu, soing, en effect), but by 1630-33 the forms fait, encore, aiouste appear side-by-side with Court and besoing.³ In the realm of verb morphology there are only two examples of usage later criticised by Vaugelas both of which appear early on (treuverez (1606a) and face (1616)).

Streicher has already pointed out that even in 1606 Vaugelas is concerned to find the 'mot juste' (Streicher 1934: XIV), carefully choosing

² For details see the Appendix. There is also a 'Memoire autographe' of Vaugelas (Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 18470, fo. 362), reproduced in Streicher 1934, opposite XXVIII; and the 'pièce signée' in the 'Dossier Vaugelas' of the Archives de l'Institut de France.

³ Nothing is said about the orthography of the 1645 letters since it apparently reflects the conventions of the 1685 printer.

condoloir in preference to consoler in a letter to his aunt (1606a).⁴ Nevertheless in the use of vocabulary there is evidence of change of usage. For instance, in 1616 the Latinate per is used and aucun is still given a positive meaning. Even in the 1630s forms later censured by Vaugelas are used (en mon endroit (1630a), proches (for parents 1633)), but once again by 1645 further progress has been made, and only the expression si est-ce que (1645a) appears dated. However, in the letters as in the other major works, the most numerous and most significant changes occur in the syntax and word order. In the early letters Vaugelas's sentences are long and rather confused in structure; he sometimes does not use articles (par mesme moyen (1606a)), or repeat prepositions ('toutes les puissances de l'une et l'autre Court' (1616)), he uses some archaisms like esquels (1606a) and the subject pronoun, notably the impersonal subject pronoun, is not consistently employed ('Et faut que...' (1616)). We also find an example of a construction lousche of the type disallowed by the Remarques: 'avec celui que ie vous ay fait particulièrement et a Messieurs vos enfans' (1606a). By 1630 there is much more repetition of syntactic markers and the periods are therefore more clearly articulated, although there is still the occasional example of an awkward construction: 'Je m'en entretiens quelquefois à l'hostel de Lorraine, où vous estes parfaitement chery et honoré, et avec le bon Monsieur de la Peyre' (1630a). Once again in 1645 the sentences are shorter and clarity and balance are improved, with, for instance, less use of participle clauses and use of the neater relative dont instead of de laquelle. The ordering of the words illustrates a parallel development in three broad phases. The early letters display a

⁴ Note, however, that Vaugelas is not an infallible source of information about usage. In a letter to d'Hozier (1630a) he relates how he has forgotten to address one of his letters to him and tells d'Hozier that he will have to collect it himself from the post, but he confesses that he cannot remember the term for such letters.

conservative attitude to adjective placement (le ferme & agreable appuy (1606a)), positioning of the negative particles around an infinitive (pour faire iamais (1616)), ordering of adverbs ('infailliblement cela en arresteroit le cours' (1616)), and positioning of the polite forms of address in such a way that, in the strict conditions imposed by the Remarques, they might be misconstrued ('Vous voyez Monseigneur, pour finir par ou i'ay commencé...' (1620)). The middle period shows a reduction in such examples, although there are still cases of inversion ('Et puis il y a si longtemps que...' (1633)), and orderings in which syntactically closely related forms are rather distant ('à cause du grand applaudissement qu'a eu avec toutes sortes de raisons sa premiere partie' (1630a)). By 1645 we see the disappearance of such infringements of Vaugelas's conception of a 'natural' word order, in which all the elements are immediately comprehensible in the linear sequence of the sentence and morphologically and syntactically related forms are kept close together; now we find the type of balanced and clearly articulated period associated with classical usage (e.g. 'Puis que je ne saurais assez vous remercier, de la Lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, ni assez vous temoigner à quel point elle m'a ravi, & par son éloquence, & par les marques de vôtre bonté dont elle est toute pleine...' (1645a)).

The letters therefore illustrate three broad phases of development towards the usage favoured in the Remarques and traditionally associated with Vaugelas - the early period up to about 1620 when Vaugelas was still probably greatly influenced by his provincial background, the 1630s when Vaugelas's ideas on language were beginning to crystallise and he was becoming increasingly aware of the importance of purity and clarity of language usage, and the last period when his ideas reached maturation. These periods are represented by the Fonseca translation, the manuscript of the Remarques, and the published observations and the Quinte-Curce translation respectively.

The problem of determining Vaugelas's predecessors, always a hazardous task, is in part lessened by additional information furnished by the Arsenal manuscript. His written sources are wide-ranging, but are primarily classical Latin authors and French writers from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The principal classical sources of inspiration - Quintilian, Cicero and Varro - indicate clearly where Vaugelas stands in the tradition of rhetoric: not only does he derive much of his terminology and the key concepts of the work, pureté, netteté etc. from this tradition, but his views on the role of usage, reason, authority and antiquity also closely mirror and indeed imitate Quintilian's formulations. On the other hand Vaugelas's classical grammatical predecessors are largely ignored. The main French written sources are Malherbe, Coeffeteau, Amyot and d'Ablancourt. It has been suggested that criticism of Malherbe's use of French may well have been the starting point for the observations; only later did Vaugelas attach primary importance to the spoken usage of the Court as he himself became more involved with the life of the Court and salons. Coeffeteau and d'Ablancourt are key figures for the crystallisation and development of Vaugelas's ideas on translation procedure. While few French grammatical sources are acknowledged in the Remarques, the manuscript suggests, as does the content of some of the observations, that Vaugelas was familiar with the grammars of his two immediate predecessors, Maupas and Oudin. However, as we have seen, Vaugelas was not inspired only by written material, he was also greatly influenced by the comments and criticisms of his friends and colleagues - notably of certain fellow members of the Academy and salon milieu, Conrart, Chapelain, Patru and Ménage, to whom he showed his observations before publication. Their comments may well have played a significant role in the elaboration of the Remarques and their advice account for some of the modifications made both to the theory and detail of Vaugelas's ideas.

All this raises the question of the degree of Vaugelas's originality in the Remarques. If much of Vaugelas's theory is derived from Quintilian and his information about the details of French usage is gathered from consultation with contemporaries, should the work be considered the result of the efforts of a collectivity? To some extent, certainly, the Remarques are clearly representative of current opinion in Court circles, Vaugelas representing his age in underlining the importance of clarity and purity of language; indeed the topicality of the comments accounts in no small way for the success of the Remarques. Nevertheless the work does have an original value, which lies partly in the unique combination of ideas Vaugelas put forward, and partly in the fact that it appeared modern and new at that time to stress the importance of a contemporary spoken, albeit elitist, norm for good usage, to underline the value of usage over reason, and to express a flexible attitude to language change, and a clear methodology for eliciting a naive judgment about details of French. The most striking new feature is the presentation of the material; the random ordering suited perfectly the audience for whom the work was intended and reflected accurately current hostility to anything considered overtly scholarly or pedantic.

The last chapter has clearly illustrated the extent and variety of Vaugelas's influence, ranging from the creation of a new genre of observations on language to material influence on the content of not only usage-based grammars, but also of rhetorics and even of the grammars of the philosophes, who, rationalising Vaugelas's pronouncements, ensured their survival. The paradoxical fact has been indicated that where Vaugelas's influence seems most obvious, for example, in the work of Bouhours, the author is often less faithful to Vaugelas's ideas, the norm being turned away from a flexible spoken usage to a fixed, written one, while retaining Vaugelas's authority. Strange too is the fact that even today

when the society forming the basis of the Remarques has disappeared and the Remarques are little read, Vaugelas's name is still honoured and his influence felt in various areas - the writing of chroniques de langage, the stressing of the importance of good language usage - as well as, more obviously, in the principles underlying usage-based works. All this, together with the influence of Vaugelas on the development of the French language surely makes him a figure worthy of study. As we have seen, the contents of the Remarques were repeated and reworked in various guises in the eighteenth century and many of his pronouncements are still valid. This fact may be explained in part by the predictive power of the Remarques, by Vaugelas's ability to sense the trend of the evolution of French, but account must also be taken of the prescriptive nature of some of the observations, of Vaugelas's tendency not always to record good usage faithfully and his desire to make the language more regular and 'more perfect' than it actually was. Subsequent grammarians, neglecting the fundamental need to observe current usage, then merely regurgitated his pronouncements unthinkingly.

My second line of enquiry has been linguistic. Vaugelas's observations have been analysed, compared and contrasted with a view to distilling a clear idea of his views about various aspects of language behaviour and his overall concept of language. In this analysis I have centred on the tension between theory and practice in Vaugelas's work both in terms of the relationship between declared aims and intended methodology in the Remarques and actual realisation in the observations themselves and in terms of the relationship between Vaugelas the grammarian and Vaugelas the translator. This of course necessitated addressing the question of whether there is indeed any coherent theory of language in the Remarques. In chapter 3 I highlighted the numerous and often major discrepancies between stated aims and actual practice, the problem of l'usage douteux, of the notion of la plus saine partie, of the relationship

between usage and reason, of the indeterminate status of analogy, and of Vaugelas's grasp of history. All these difficulties are compounded by the vagueness of much of the presentation, the lack of definitions and explanations making it difficult to pin down precisely Vaugelas's meaning. From this discussion it became clear that while the Preface might superficially suggest that Vaugelas has a clear concept of language behaviour and of his intention in the Remarques, in practice the interpretation of the theory is problematic, since the theory allows for flexibility of application and manipulation and is consequently heavily weighted in Vaugelas's favour. Chevalier may then be justified in doubting whether Vaugelas has any coherent overall linguistic theory, but on points of detail Vaugelas does have some clear ideas of how language behaves, or how it should behave in his view, although these ideas are not always consistently followed. Underlying them there is a keynote of moderation. For example, Vaugelas is in favour of removing any obviously extraneous letters (vng, escripre) and aligning the spelling and pronunciation to some extent, but his reliance on usage prevents him from allowing such orthographies as orthografe and forces him to retain etymological letters and accepted non-phonological spellings. He is not totally averse to neologisms provided they are well-formed and useful, and he allows a moderate use of synonyms although he is also concerned to give words a clear and precise meaning and to make sure that the correct word for the register, style and context is always selected. His decisions in the realm of verb morphology are far more problematic: Vaugelas does not seem to grasp the competition between forms created by sound laws and analogically created forms and his decisions are therefore unsystematic and contradictory. On the other hand clear principles guide his pronouncements on syntax and word order: a sentence must be clearly and unambiguously constructed so that all the syntactic relations are made

explicit, and the words are immediately comprehensible as they are read in the linear sequence of the sentence. All this then finds its justification when the sociolinguistic dimension of the work is considered.

I have also concentrated on the differences between theory in the Remarques and practice as illustrated in the two translations. While the contradictions between the Fonseca translation and the Remarques have largely been explained in terms of historical evolution, those between the Quinte-Curce translation and the Remarques, works which may be viewed as roughly contemporary, can perhaps best be accounted for in terms of the different aims and purposes of the works.

This leads on to my third major perspective, for in considering Vaugelas's work I have addressed myself to two broadly sociological or sociolinguistic questions. The importance and impact of the Remarques may be explained to no small degree by the purpose of the work: to provide a means of succeeding in society, especially with the ladies at Court. But more than this, the linguistic content of the Remarques can only be fully appreciated and evaluated when viewed in the light of the sociological goal of the observations. The revisions between the Arsenal manuscript and the published observations illustrate the growing importance of the spoken language of the Court to Vaugelas with the realisation of the power and advantage gained by a good command of language use. Ultimately then the linguistic is subsumed by the sociolinguistic, Vaugelas's theory of language depending on the desire to make communication as quick and easy as possible in order not to cause the listener any displeasure or make the interlocutor appear ridiculous, the worst possible fate to befall the honnête homme. Avoiding such ridicule would especially be the concern of the nouveau riche or the upper middle class man trying to rise in society and hoping to be accepted socially by

the former nobility, and there are indications that such men did indeed read the Remarques as an aid to self-betterment. The vocabulary used must therefore be familiar to the reader or hearer, and this accounts for the exhortation to avoid any word which is bas, too old or too new, over-technical or of the wrong register. Again a clear and unambiguous syntax is vital, for if there is any difficulty of comprehension, the hearer will lose interest not only in the conversation but in the speaker himself. The definitions of pureté and netteté, relying on such notions as barbarisme, are again dictated by the values of the society. Vaugelas is aware of variation in usage, that there is no one fixed standard, but he chooses to restrict himself to consideration, at least in the published observations, of rather formal interpersonal communication at Court and rather elevated written style.

Vaugelas's growing interest in the spoken language of the Court reflects too his own situation. Coming from the provinces and from a legalistic background, he himself had to learn to adopt the ways and manners of the Parisian Court. His own desire to please and his deferential attitude to his 'betters' led him to preach a doctrine of linguistic deference, of conformism to the accepted norm, of denying originality and self-expression in favour of imitation of accepted norms. From time to time I have pointed out that the difference between Vaugelas's work and that of Arnauld and Lancelot can be explained to some extent in terms of the different goals and intended audience of the two works. Vaugelas's letters add confirmation of the importance of the Court and the Academy to Vaugelas, for he states proudly in 1645 that he has passed all his life at the Court, and in a letter of 1630 he stresses the attitude required in order to succeed there: 'Monseigneur se fait extrêmement aimer et estimer icy par sa sage conduite, et par la grande discretion dont il use envers les Dames' (1630).

Secondly a sociolinguistic viewpoint helps to account for the differences between the usage recommended in the Remarques and the actual usage of the Quinte-Curce translation. Vaugelas's choice of vocabulary is broader and more tolerant in the Quinte-Curce translation than the pronouncements of the Remarques would lead us to expect, for he uses words which the Academy criticise, for example, as bas, archaic, not noble enough or not suitable for the context. Again consideration of the different purposes of the work is instructive. Whereas in the Remarques Vaugelas is concerned to mark all potential nuances of meaning and to allow only words of a restricted register and currency, in order to ensure that his reader will not run the risk of being misunderstood, in the translations Vaugelas is the stylist anxious to produce a varied, lively and pleasant-sounding piece of prose, and the translator aware of the need to be flexible in the choice and combination of lexical items in order to render the original successfully.

Adoption of a sociological viewpoint is doubly valuable. Not only does it explain much of Vaugelas's theory and practice and place the work in the tradition of courtesy book writing, but it also provides valuable information in turn about the functioning of seventeenth century society, underlining the importance of adopting acceptable behaviour, and notably linguistic behaviour, as a means of social assimilation in a period of rapid social mobility. The motto 'by his language you shall know him' then seems to have been the keynote of the day. A study of Vaugelas therefore has wider resonances than the purely linguistic ones already mentioned. And indeed the social prestige attached to a good use of language and exploitation of the manipulative and persuasive power of language are still features of language usage today.

Appendix: Letters written by Vaugelas

- 1606 Letter to Madame de La Faverge (Vaugelas's aunt), from Annecy, 'vers le printemps de 1606'. In Mugnier 1903: 42: 261.
- 1606a Letter to Madame de La Faverge, from Annecy, 4 July 1606. Reprinted in Streicher 1934: XIV-XV.
- 1616 Letter to l'Abbé de la Mante à Turin, Paris, 31 March 1616. Presented by Amidei in Revue Savoisienne 1936, 77: 180-182.
- 1620 Letter to the Duc de Nemours, Paris, 14 September 1620. BN, MS. fonds français 3809 fo. 116.
- 1630 Letter to Pierre d'Hozier, Paris, 21 June 1630. BN, MS. fonds français 31,798 fo. 482. Reprinted in Streicher 1934: XXXIII-XXXIV.
- 1630a Letter to d'Hozier, Paris, 6 September 1630. Reprinted in Streicher 1934: XXXIV-XXXV.
- 1633 Letter to Charles de Menthon, from Brussels, 19 December 1633. Presented by Reverdin in Journal de Genève, 18 juillet 1950.
- 1645 Letter to Bauderon de Senecey, 23 April 1645. In Les Harangues de maître Brice Bauderon seigneur de Senecey 1685: 484.
- 1645a Letter to Bauderon de Senecey, 24 August 1645. In Les Harangues de maître Brice Bauderon seigneur de Senecey 1685: 487-8.

Note

The principal editions of the Remarques are listed in Streicher 1934: LI-LII and those of the Quinte-Curce translation in François 1904: 145.

Bibliography

Conventions used

Manuscripts are listed according to the place in which they are to be found. For printed sources the date in brackets is the one used to identify the work in the text. Names, places or dates given in square brackets indicate that such details are not given on the title-page, but are nevertheless known. Where a second date is given in brackets this indicates either i) that the work has been reprinted, usually in facsimile form, further details of which are added in brackets after the main details, or ii) the date of the edition used by the editor when a later, usually critical edition, is used in the references. The date of the first edition of a work, where significant, is added in square brackets after the first date.

(a) Manuscript sources

(i) Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris.

MS 3105 : Vaugelas Remarques sur la langue française. Manuscrit autographe. Fol. 98. Diverses notes de la main de Vaugelas. Papier. 98 feuillets.

MS 4109 : Recueil Conrart: IV, 3^e partie: 285: 'Extrait d'une Lettre écrite par le Cardinal Bentivoglio à M. De Vaugelas, sur ce que Faret luy avoit mandé de son Histoire'. En italien.

MS 4115 : Recueil Conrart: X: 891: Poem 'De Monsieur de Vaugelas à des Dames qui faisoient vne queste à Nevers, & qui estoyent venuës en son logis vn jour qu'il avoit pris vn lavement': 'Empêché d'un empêchement...'. 892: Another poem 'Tout à ce moment Maître Isac,...'.

MS 4126 : Recueil Conrart: XXI: 300: Letter 'A Monsieur de Vaugelas, En Cour'. (Lettre de Madame Desloges).

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(ii) Archives de l'Institut de France

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Le Dossier Vaugelas de l'Académie française comprend un portrait gravé, une coupure de journal illustrée, une pièce signée 18 décembre 1618, des références à Tallemant des Réaux (Historiettes), Brunetière (Vaugelas..., Revue des 2 Mondes, 1^{er} décembre (1901)), Sainte-Beuve (Nouveaux Lundis ed. de 1866, tome VI, pages 340, 365, 454), une coupure de journal (Le Constitutionnel, lundi 21 décembre 1863, Discours de Maurel, sur Vaugelas).

(iii) Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

MS fonds français 3809 : Memo. de regne du Roy Lou. 13, fo. 116: Lettre de C Favre de Vaugelas 'A Monseigneur le Duc de Nemours', 'A Paris ce 14 de sept 1620'.

MS fonds français 12887: fos. 83-87: Remarques écrites par Jean Racine sur quelques phrases de Vaugelas dans son Quinte Curce.

MS fonds français 15297-
15310: Milsonneau (Simon Vanel) - Catalogue de sa bibliothèque.

MS fonds français 18470: fo. 362: Memoire autographe de Vaugelas, pour estre payé de sa Pension.

MS fonds français 25403: Extraits des Remarques sur la langue française de Vaugelas. XVII^e s. Papier 31 feuillets. (Cordelier 127).

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Letters (selected).

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De vostre Necy, ce 9 Juin 1607'.
- MS fonds français 3647 : fo. 122: Lettre d' 'A. Favre,...à monseigneur
[le duc de Nemours]...
De vostre Necy, ce 22 Juin 1607'.
- MS fonds français 3650 : fo. 60 : Lettre d' 'A. Favre,...à monseigneur
[le duc de Nemours]...
De vostre Necy, ce 10 Juin 1610'.

Testament

- MS fonds français 4332 : fos. 171-191 : Copie du 'Testament de Messire
Anthoine Faure, baron de Peroges,
de Domessin,...premier president
au senat de Savoye...Faict à
Chambery...ce 15 febvier 1624'.
- MS fonds français 23969: fos. 28-33^v : Vie M^{re} Antoine Favre, P.
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