

The frequency and use of contrastive adverbial connectors in informal spoken French

A corpus analysis

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Abstract

In this thesis, we present an analysis of contrastive adverbial connectors in two corpora of informal spoken French. By comparing our results to previous studies based on formal (written) French data, we aim to detect the possible influence of register on the frequency and the syntactic properties of the contrastive adverbial connectors. We show that certain adverbial connectors are used markedly more often in informal spoken French than in formal (written) French, while others seem to be typical of formal (written) French. In addition, we observe that contrastive adverbial connectors occur much more frequently in clause-initial position in informal spoken French compared to formal written French. In general, our findings thus suggest that the register indeed seems to affect the choice for a particular contrastive adverbial connector as well as the syntactic use of the contrastive adverbial connectors. However, with respect to the syntactic position, we argue that the influence of the mode (written versus spoken) is probably more important than the influence of the language register (formal versus informal).

Keywords: contrastive adverbial connectors, informal spoken French, register differences, corpus analysis

1. Introduction

In French, the contrastive interpretation of a sentence can be marked by means of an adverbial connector, such as *pourtant* (a), *par contre* (b), *plutôt* (c), etc. :

- (a) *c'est un lycée qui qui accueille euh beaucoup d'élèves de du septième à la base il a pas tant d'élèves de l'extérieur il m'semble sauf du seizième + et **pourtant** il est connu dans tout Paris hein (CFPP2000)¹*
- (b) *Ben, mon père il a, il a le, il a la, la thèse, il a une thèse quoi, donc euh. Et puis ma mère **par contre**, elle a arrêté avant, elle est ingénieur d'études, elle donc elle doit être, elle doit être au niveau D.E.A., un truc comme ça, je pense. (PFC, Dijon, FC)*
- (c) *ouais ça dépend en fait pour les [pause] vacances enfin pour une longue durée on va prendre la voiture mais pour les [toux] weekends on va **plutôt** préférer le le train (CFPP2000)*

In the linguistic literature, French contrastive adverbial connectors have mainly been analyzed from a semantic point of view, with a focus on the different types of contrastive discourse relation (i.e. corrective, concessive, etc.) they can express. In addition, previous studies on French contrastive adverbs are almost exclusively based on formal written language data and are mostly restricted to one or a limited set of adverbs (but see Csúry 2001; Dupont 2015; Gettrup & Nølke 1984)².

In this thesis, we aim to analyze the frequency and the syntactic properties of French contrastive adverbial connectors in two corpora of spontaneous, informal spoken language: *Discours sur la ville : Corpus de Français Parlé Parisien des années 2000* (CFPP2000) and *Phonologie du Français Contemporain : usages, variétés, structure* (PFC). We will especially be interested in the possible register effects on the frequency and the use of French contrastive adverbs, and we will therefore systematically compare our results to those of Csúry (2001) and Dupont (2015), who both studied a set of French contrastive adverbs in a corpus of formal (written) French. We thus also aim to interpret the results of our analysis in light of the hypothesis that formal (written) French and informal (spoken) French are two fundamentally different varieties, or in more theoretical terms, that French is characterized by a situation of diglossia (e.g. Rowlett 2011, 2013; Zribi-Hertz 2013).

In our corpus analysis, we will first examine the frequency of 36 different French contrastive adverbs in informal spoken French, and make a comparison with their frequency in formal (written) French, as reported by Csúry (2001) and Dupont (2015). We will observe that certain contrastive adverbs, e.g. *quand même*, are used markedly more often in the informal spoken French corpora than in the formal (written) French corpora, whereas others, e.g. *cependant* and *toutefois*, frequently occur in formal (written) French but are completely absent from informal spoken French. We will argue that these frequency differences suggest that the choice for a particular contrastive adverb is influenced by the register.

In a second step, we will analyze the syntactic use of the ten most frequent contrastive adverbs in the two informal spoken French corpora in a total of 1567 examples. We will focus on two specific syntactic properties that were also studied by Csúry (2001) and/or Dupont (2015): their position in the clause

¹ The examples in the introduction were taken from the two informal spoken French corpora that we used to perform our analysis (see 3. for a description of the corpora).

² Note that the terms *contrastive adverbial connector* and *contrastive adverb* will be used as synonyms throughout this thesis.

and the possibility to combine them with other connectors. Again, we will be interested in possible register variation, by making a comparison with the syntactic properties of contrastive adverbs in formal (written) French, as described by Csúry (2001) and Dupont (2015). With respect to the syntactic position of the contrastive adverbs, we will show that there is a general preference for the initial position (as in (a) above) in informal spoken French, compared to a general preference for medial positions (as in (b) and (c) above) in formal written French. However, we will argue that this difference is probably more related to the mode (written versus spoken) than to the language register (formal versus informal). In addition, we will stress the importance of taking into account the specific positional preferences of the individual adverbs. As for the combination of contrastive adverbial connectors with other connectors, we will observe that there does not seem to be an important difference between informal spoken French and formal (written) French.

This thesis will be structured as follows. We will start with a background section (2.), in which we will first focus on the concept of *contrast* in general (2.1.). In a second subsection (2.2.), we will give a general introduction to register differences in French and we will present the hypothesis that French is characterized by a situation of diglossia, i.e. that formal (written) and informal (spoken) French are two fundamentally different varieties. Next, we will give an overview of the properties of French contrastive adverbs as they have been described in the linguistic literature. We will successively focus on their frequency in different registers (2.3.), their syntactic position in the clause (2.4.) and their use in combination with other connectors (2.5.). This background section will be followed by a methodological section (3.), in which we will present the two informal French corpora (3.1.), explain our choice for these corpora (3.2.) and illustrate how the data were extracted and manually disambiguated (3.3.). We will then continue with the presentation and discussion of the findings of our corpus analysis (4.). We will first provide a general overview of the data (4.1.). Next, we will present our results with respect to the frequency of the contrastive adverbs (4.2.), their syntactic position in the clause (4.3.) and their use in combination with other connectors (4.4.). We will end with a general conclusion (5.).

2. Background

In this background section, we will first focus on the concept of *contrast* in general (2.1.). We will give a short overview of the ways in which the notion of *contrast* has been defined in the linguistic literature (2.1.1.) and of the ways in which contrastive relations can be linguistically encoded (2.1.2.). The second subsection of the background will consist of a general discussion of register differences in French (2.2.). We will present the hypothesis that French is characterized by a situation of diglossia, which implies that speakers possess a separate grammar for formal language use ('high' style) and informal language use ('low' style) (2.2.1.). We will also show that there is some debate as to how the two grammars are represented in the speakers' minds (2.2.2.). After these two subsections on contrast and register differences in general, we will focus on the frequency and syntactic use of French contrastive adverbial connectors. Firstly, we will examine the influence of register on the frequency of French contrastive adverbs (2.3.). We will summarize the results of two frequency counts of contrastive adverbial connectors, (mainly) based on formal French (2.3.1.), and we will discuss in more detail some adverbs that are believed to be typical of a certain register (2.3.2.). Secondly, we will focus on the position of French contrastive adverbial connectors in the clause (2.4.). We will briefly illustrate the mobility of adverbial connectors (2.4.1.), before presenting the findings of two studies on the placement patterns of French contrastive adverbs: a syntactic analysis by Csúry (2001) (2.4.2.) and an analysis based on information-structural categories by Dupont (2015) (2.4.3.). We will end this subsection with an overview of some factors that probably have an influence on the position of the contrastive connectors (2.4.4.). Thirdly, we will examine the way in which French contrastive adverbial connectors can be used in combination with other connectors (2.5.). In the last subsection of the background, we will summarize the research questions and hypotheses of the present study (2.6.).

2.1. Contrast in general

This section will consist of a general introduction to the concept of *contrast*. We will first provide a definition of the notion of *contrast* (2.1.1.). More specifically, we will show that contrast has been studied within different linguistic frameworks, in particular information structure and discourse structure. Next, we will briefly illustrate that contrastive relations can be expressed by means of various linguistic 'tools', including contrastive adverbial connectors, which will be the subject of this thesis (2.1.2.).

2.1.1. Definition of contrast

The notion of *contrast* is not restricted in its use to linguistic phenomena. Contrastive situations are part of everyday life and contrast is thus a rather broad concept (Repp 2010: 1333; Repp 2016: 270). In dictionary entries of *contraste* (French) or *contrast* (English), it is often stressed that this term refers to a difference between items that are being compared. For instance, the authors of *Le Petit Robert* (2014: 529) describe the French word *contraste* as "opposition de deux choses dont l'une fait ressortir l'autre" and in the *Grand Larousse* (1972 (2): 953), it is defined as "opposition de deux choses, que le rapprochement fait ressortir". A similar explanation is given in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, cited by Repp (2016: 270), with regard to the English word *contrast*: "the state of being strikingly different from

something else in juxtaposition or close association". As has also been noted by Repp (2010: 1333; 2016: 270-271), the expression of a contrastive relation thus implies dissimilarities (underlined in the following example) as well as similarities (in bold face):

(1) *Pete **went to Rome** but Marc **went to London**.* (Repp 2016: 271)

In linguistics, the notion of *contrast* has been considered within different frameworks and as a consequence, it has been defined in several – sometimes conflicting – ways. We will briefly present how the concept of *contrast* has been described in information-structural and discourse-structural terms, since it especially plays an important role within these two linguistic frameworks. Note that most researchers have not explicitly tried to examine the notion of *contrast* from both an information-structural and discourse-structural point of view (but see Repp 2016; Umbach 2004).

In the literature on information structure, much attention has gone to the notions of *topic* and *focus*. The topic (underlined in the following example) can be defined as "the entity that a speaker identifies about which then information [...] is given", whereas the focus (in bold face) "indicates the presence of alternatives that are relevant for the interpretation of linguistic expressions" (Krifka 2007: 18, 40):

(2) A: *When did Aristotle Onassis marry Jacqueline Kennedy?*
B: *He married her **in 1968**.* (Krifka 2007: 42)

Linguists generally agree that the notion of *contrast* is involved in information structure as well, but there is still discussion as to how it is related to the other notions and how it can be integrated in the framework. Contrast has sometimes been equated with focus in general (Bolinger 1961), particularly within Alternative Semantics (Rooth 1992), where it has been argued that focus always conveys a kind of contrast. Other researchers have pointed out that focus need not always be contrastive, and that contrast should be seen as a notion that is compatible with both focus and topic, creating the subtypes *contrastive focus* and *contrastive topic* (e.g. Büring 2016; Krifka 2007; Repp 2010). According to Krifka (2007: 23-24, 33), contrastive focus (in bold face in example (3)) is mainly used in corrections and implies that alternatives are explicitly presented:

(3) A: *Mary stole the cookie.*
B: *(No,) **Peter** stole the cookie.* (Krifka 2007: 24)

Contrastive topics (in capital letters in example (4)) are topics that contain a focused element (in bold face), in addition to the other focus in the clause (underlined) (Krifka 2007: 44-45, 47):

(4) A: *What do your siblings do?*
B: *MY **SISTER** studies medicine, and MY **BROTHER** is working on a freight ship.* (Krifka 2007: 44)

Still other researchers consider contrast to be an autonomous information-structural category existing next to topic and focus, instead of being a feature that simply affects these two notions (e.g. Vallduví & Vilkkuna 1998; Molnár 2002; Molnár & Winkler 2010).

As we mentioned above, the notion of *contrast* has also been discussed in the literature on discourse structure, where contrast is seen as one of the most frequent types of rhetorical relation (Spencer & Lobanova 2009). Within this framework, most attention has been given to the semantic identification

and classification of oppositional relations. In general, a tripartite distinction is made between *contrastive* (5), *concessive* (6) and *corrective* (7)³ (Izutsu 2008: 648-649):

(5) *I've read sixty pages, whereas she's read only twenty.* (Izutsu 2008: 648)

(6) *Although John is poor, he is happy.* (Izutsu 2008: 649)

(7) *John is not American but British.* (Izutsu 2008: 649)

Importantly, we do not aim to situate the present study within a certain framework. Following the general dictionary definitions (see above), we will focus on contrast as a broad category. This also implies that we will use the notions of *contrast* and *opposition* as cover terms for all possible types of contrastive relation (including concession, correction, etc.).

2.1.2. Encoding of contrast

Contrastive relations can be linguistically encoded in a lot of different ways. One of the most studied 'tools' to express contrast is without doubt the coordinating conjunction *mais* (compare *but* ((1) and (7)) in English) (e.g. Anscombe & Ducrot 1977). Other contrastive markers that generally receive much attention, especially in grammars meant for learners of French as a second language, are subordinating conjunctions such as *alors que*, *bien que*, *malgré que*, etc. (compare *whereas* (5) and *although* (6) in English) (Decoo 2009: 210-211; De Spiegeleer et al. 2006: 158). Furthermore, contrastive relations can be expressed by means of certain syntactic constructions, such as the use of an emphatic pronoun (8) or a *c'est* cleft (9) (e.g. Blanquart 2012; Lahousse & Borremans 2014; Vion & Colas 1995):

(8) *C: Oui c'est mieux euh The Cure, Dépêche-Modes.*
*B: **Moi**, je préfère ...* (Blanquart 2012: 28)

(9) *Le proviseur lui dit: votre fille, madame, est la première en français. Ma mère ne dit rien, rien, pas contente parce que **c'est pas ses fils qui** sont les premiers en français.* (Lahousse & Borremans 2014: 807)

In addition, in spoken language, specific prosodic contours and intonation patterns can be used to convey a contrastive meaning (e.g. Esteve-Gibert et al. 2016). Also note that several marking strategies can be combined, as in example (10), where the contrastive relation expressed by the conjunction *mais* is reinforced by the emphatic pronoun *toi*⁴:

(10) *Serge est gentil, **mais toi**, tu es méchant.* (De Spiegeleer et al. 2006: 46)

The focus of the present study will be on one particular linguistic 'tool' that can be used to encode contrast in French, i.e. contrastive adverbial connectors such as *au contraire*, *quand même*, *toutefois*, etc. Previous research on French contrastive adverbs is mainly concerned with their semantic properties and with the different types of contrastive discourse relation (concessive, corrective, etc.) they can express. Moreover, these studies are generally based only on formal language data and are restricted to one or a limited set of adverbs (e.g. Anscombe 1983 [on *pourtant*, *pour autant*]; Danjou-Flaux 1980 [on *au contraire*, *par contre*, *en revanche*]; Danjou-Flaux 1983, 1984, 2003 [on *au contraire*];

³ It should be noted that several other terms are used as well (e.g. *opposition*, *adversative*, *replacive*, etc.) and that the exact meaning of the different terms can vary from study to study.

⁴ Also see section 2.5. for a discussion on combinations of different contrastive adverbial connectors.

Hamma & Haillet 2002 [on *par contre, en revanche*]; Jayez 1982 [on *pourtant, quand même*]; Lenepveu 2009 [on *toutefois*]; Lenepveu 2007, Mellet & Monte 2005 [on *toutefois, néanmoins*]; Masseron & Wiederspiel 2003 [on *au contraire, par contre*]; Mellet & Ruggia 2010, Moeschler & de Spengler 1981 [on *quand même*]; Rivara 2008 [on *pour autant*]; Veland 1998 [on *quand même, tout de même*]). Few linguists have tried to compare the frequency and use of various contrastive adverbs in different registers, also from a more syntactic point of view (but see Csúry 2001; Dupont 2015; Gettrup & Nølke 1984). We aim to fill this gap by examining the frequency and syntactic properties of several contrastive adverbs in informal spoken French. The starting point of our corpus analysis will be a list of 36 French contrastive adverbial connectors compiled by Dupont (2015), which is presented in table 1.

Contrastive adverbial connectors in French		
▪ a contrario	▪ de toute manière	▪ or
▪ à l'inverse	▪ d'un autre côté	▪ plutôt
▪ à l'opposé	▪ en même temps	▪ pourtant
▪ au contraire	▪ en revanche	▪ pour autant
▪ au demeurant	▪ inversement	▪ quand même
▪ autant ... autant ...	▪ loin de là	▪ quand bien même
▪ cela étant	▪ malgré tout	▪ quoi qu'il en soit
▪ ceci/cela dit	▪ néanmoins	▪ réflexion faite
▪ cependant	▪ (ce) nonobstant	▪ seulement
▪ d'autre part	▪ par ailleurs	▪ somme toute
▪ de l'autre ...	▪ par contre	▪ tout de même
▪ de toute façon	▪ (ne) ... pas moins	▪ toutefois

Table 1 – List of 36 French adverbial connectors of contrast compiled by Dupont (2015)

Two remarks should be made about this overview of contrastive adverbial connectors. First, the list is not exhaustive: still other adverbs, such as *du moins* and *en tout état de cause*, can be used to express a contrastive relation and could thus be added (Csúry 2001). However, given that Dupont (2015) designed the list on the basis of several reference books, we can assume that it contains the most frequently occurring contrastive adverbs. Second, not every connector presented in table 1 is exclusively used in contrastive contexts. For instance, the adverb *de toute façon* also functions as a reformulation connector (e.g. Yahia 2002) and *en même temps* also has a temporal meaning (e.g. Pekba 2006). In this thesis, we will of course only focus on the contrastive uses of the different adverbs.

2.2. Register differences in French

Certain linguistic forms and constructions in French are marked in terms of register (e.g. Armstrong 2001; Massot 2008, 2010; Rowlett 2011, 2013; Zribi-Hertz 2011). This markedness shows up in two directions: a form or construction can be marked because it has a high status (H) (11) or because it has a low status (L) (12):

- (11) a. *Si elle **avait** pu ...* (UNMARKED) b. *Si elle **eût** pu ...* (MARKED H) (Rowlett 2013: 40)

- (12) a. *Si elle **avait** su ...* (UNMARKED) b. *Si elle **aurait** su ...* (MARKED L) (Rowlett 2013: 40)

In some cases, only marked variants with an H or L status can be used, because no unmarked alternative is available. As Rowlett (2013: 40) explains, this entails that speakers sometimes “have no option other than to adopt an overtly H or L style”. The following examples illustrate this forced choice between an H and L form with respect to negation (13) and topical subjects (14):

- (13) a. *Jean **ne** vient **pas**.* (MARKED H) b. *Jean **∅** vient **pas**.* (MARKED L) (Rowlett 2013: 39)

- (14) a. ***Jean** arrive demain.* (MARKED H) b. ***Jean, il** arrive demain.* (MARKED L) (Rowlett 2013: 39)

This kind of intra-speaker variation between stylistically different forms will be the topic of the following sections. We will first present the hypothesis that the variation attested in French can be explained in terms of diglossia rather than on the basis of variationism. This diglossic approach implies that speakers have access to two separate grammars in order to generate H versus L forms (2.2.1.). Next, we will discuss whether both ‘French’ grammars, i.e. the H and the L grammar, have the same representation in the speakers’ minds, by comparing the analyses of Massot (2008) and Rowlett (2011, 2013) (2.2.2.).

2.2.1. French as a case of diglossia

Although the existence of H versus L variation in metropolitan French has widely been acknowledged (see above), there is still some debate as to how it is encoded in the speakers’ minds. Theoretically, the stylistic variation can be approached in two different ways, i.e. on the basis of variationism or on the basis of diglossia (Palasis 2013; Rowlett 2011, 2013; Zribi-Hertz 2013). According to the variationist model, speakers only have one single grammar which contains all marked and unmarked variants (e.g. Coveney 2011; Gadet 2003). This means that the variation is embedded within the grammar and that speakers must make a choice whenever two or more forms are in competition. Importantly, the variationist approach posits that marked H and L variants can be freely combined. However, Massot (2008) has shown that this is not the case in metropolitan French: stylistically marked H and L features normally do not cooccur within an utterance. For example, a non-dislocated topical subject (marked H) is not combined with negation without *ne* (marked L) (15b), nor is a dislocated topical subject (marked L) combined with negation with *ne* (marked H) (16b):

- (15) a. *Jean **ne** vient **pas**.* (MARKED H & MARKED H) b. *[?]Jean **∅** vient **pas**.* (MARKED H & MARKED L) (Rowlett 2013: 41)

- (16) a. *Jean, il **∅** vient **pas**.* (MARKED L & MARKED L) b. *[?]Jean, il **ne** vient **pas**.* (MARKED L & MARKED H) (Rowlett 2013: 41)

It thus seems that the variationist approach cannot properly account for the use of H and L forms in French. Hence, it has been argued that the variation between the different forms can better be described in terms of diglossia (e.g. Massot 2008, 2010; Massot & Rowlett 2013; Palasis 2011, 2013; Rowlett 2011, 2013; Zribi-Hertz 2011, 2013). The notion of ‘diglossia’ has been defined as follows:

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very

divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation. (Ferguson 1959: 336)

With respect to the French register variation outlined above, diglossia refers to the idea that the marked H and marked L features belong to separate varieties. On the one hand, speakers of French use *français démotique* (FD), which consists of unmarked forms and marked L forms, and is stylistically characterized as L (see e.g. (12)) (Massot 2008: 114-118; Rowlett 2013: 37-38; Zribi-Hertz 2011: 240-245). This variety is acquired in a naturalistic environment during childhood and corresponds to what is called “primary dialects” by Ferguson (1959: 336). On the other hand, speakers of French also have knowledge of *français classique tardif* (FCT), which contains unmarked forms and marked H forms, and is stylistically characterized as H (see e.g. (11)) (Massot 2008: 114-118; Rowlett 2013: 37-38; Zribi-Hertz 240-245)⁵. As the definition of Ferguson (1959: 336) indicates, the FCT variety is generally acquired at a later age in a formal context and is seen as superior to the L variety⁶. Figure 1 provides a graphic representation of the diglossic model and illustrates the relationship between FD and FCT. Zone A contains marked L forms, while zone C consists of marked H forms; unmarked forms belong to zone B.

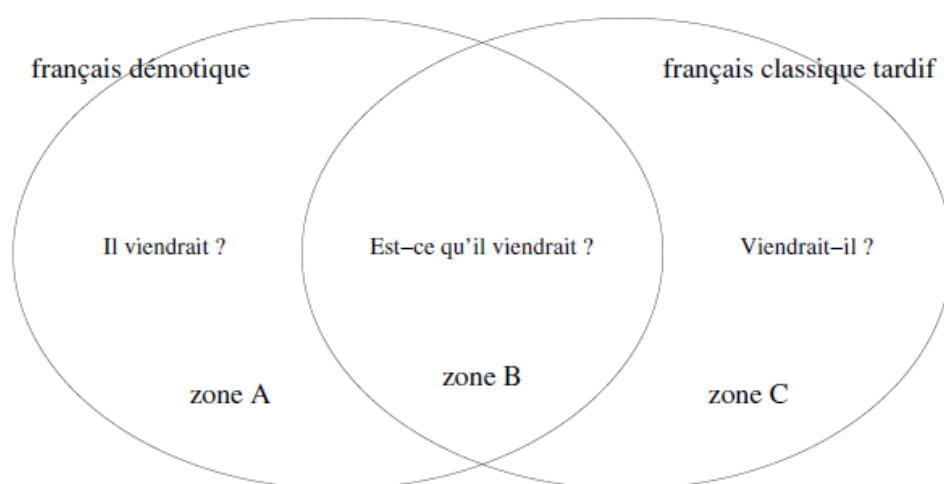


Figure 1 – The diglossic model applied to French: *français démotique* (FD) versus *français classique tardif* (FCT) (Massot 2010: 90, based on Zribi-Hertz 2011: 242)

As is shown in figure 1, there is a separate grammar for the FD versus the FCT variety. In contrast with the variationist model, according to which all variation is embedded within one grammar, the diglossic approach thus presupposes that “speakers possess two [...] ‘French’ grammars” (Rowlett 2013: 37). Since speakers are neither expected to constantly shift between the FD and FCT grammar nor to use both grammars simultaneously, it is also predicted that there will be some consistency in the choice

⁵ The notions of *français démotique* and *français classique tardif*, which have been introduced by Massot (2008), will be used throughout this thesis. Note however that several other notions have been proposed as well, e.g. *français dialectal* versus *français standard* or *français de tous les jours* versus *français du dimanche* (see Massot 2008: 118-121 and Rowlett 2013: 41 for an overview).

⁶ Parts of the FCT grammar can also be learned at an early age without explicit schooling, depending on the amount of exposure of the child to FCT. However, the FD grammar is always acquired first (Palasis 2011, 2013).

for L or H features. More precisely, speakers will opt for an L style (FD) or an H style (FCT) rather than considering the use of an L or H variant for each single form (Massot 2008; Zribi-Hertz 2011). The choice for FD or FCT depends on the degree of formality of the situation: FD will for example be used in a private conversation amongst friends, whereas FCT will be required in the newscast (Zribi-Hertz 2011: 237-238). Importantly, the diglossic approach can thus account for the observation that marked H features (only FCT) and marked L features (only FD) are generally not combined within an utterance, as was illustrated in (15) and (16) above.

It should be noted that the claim that French is characterized by a situation of diglossia has mainly been based on syntactic variation, as shown in examples (11)-(14) above. However, variation between H and L forms does not only exist at a morpho-syntactic level, but also occurs at other levels of grammar, such as phonology (17) and the lexicon (18)-(19) (see Koch 1997: 242-244 and Zribi-Hertz 2011: 236-237 for more examples):

- | | | | |
|------|--|---|-------------------------|
| (17) | a. <i>il(s) parle(nt): [ilparl]</i>
(FCT) | b. <i>il(s) parle(nt): [iɔparl]</i>
(FD) | (Zribi-Hertz 2011: 236) |
| (18) | a. <i>policier</i>
(FCT) | b. <i>flic, keuf</i>
(FD) | (Zribi-Hertz 2011: 237) |
| (19) | a. <i>mourir</i>
(FCT) | b. <i>crever</i>
(FD) | (Zribi-Hertz 2011: 237) |

The focus of the present study will be on lexical H versus L variation and more precisely, on H versus L variation concerning the use of French contrastive adverbial connectors. According to Ferguson (1959: 334), in a diglossic language situation, “the bulk of the vocabulary of H and L is shared”, but there are also “many paired items, one H one L [...], where the range of meaning of the two items is roughly the same, and the use of one or the other immediately stamps the utterance or written sequence as H or L”. However, with respect to diglossia in French, Rowlett (2011: 22) has argued that “the two grammars access one and the same lexicon”. In addition, in studies where possible lexical differences between FD and FCT are touched upon, the discussion is mostly limited to examples of nouns (18) or verbs (19) (e.g. Koch 1997; Zribi-Hertz 2011). In order to fill this gap, we will focus on contrastive adverbial connectors, of which the use has, to the best of our knowledge, not been studied yet in connection with the hypothesis of diglossia.

Finally, it is important to make a remark on the overlap between FD and FCT in the diglossic model, i.e. the stylistically unmarked forms (see zone B in figure 1). Depending on the register that is adopted in a particular situation, unmarked forms are generated either by FD or by FCT. According to Massot (2008) and Zribi-Hertz (2011), these unmarked forms have the same linguistic status in the two grammars. Rowlett (2011, 2013) however argues that this is not necessarily the case. Some unmarked forms (such as the ones in (11a) and (12a)) indeed share the same grammatical properties in both grammars, but others only seem to be unmarked on the surface and actually have different properties in FD and FCT. Rowlett (2011: 17-22, 2013: 44-48) shows for instance that the structure *est-ce que/qui* is syntactically and pragmatically different when it is generated by FD, compared to FCT⁷.

⁷ We will not present the analysis of *est-ce que/qui* in detail, since it is not relevant to our own analysis of French contrastive adverbial connectors.

2.2.2. Status of the two 'French' grammars

As became clear from the previous section (2.2.1.), some authors claim that there is growing evidence in favor of a diglossic approach to the register variation attested in French. However, the exact relationship between the FD and FCT grammar is still a matter of debate. Massot (2008) argues that both grammars are completely distinct, which means that they co-exist in the speakers' minds. By contrast, Rowlett (2011, 2013) claims that FD but not FCT is an autonomous grammar. More specifically, he tries to demonstrate that the two-grammar model of Massot (2008) can better be replaced by a model in which there is only one real grammar (i.e. FD) combined with a "grammatical 'bolt on'" (i.e. FCT) (Rowlett 2013: 52). Importantly, this implies that the FCT grammar is not fully specified, in the sense that it only contains information about forms that are different from those generated by FD.

According to Rowlett (2011, 2013), there are at least three important reasons to assume that a two-grammar model for French is questionable. First, he points out that the overlap between both grammars is so extensive that FD and FCT are generally not seen as two different varieties, especially through the eyes of non-linguists (Rowlett 2011: 22, 2013: 49). From an economic point of view, it is also uncertain whether speakers could benefit in any real way from having access to two grammars that largely produce the same forms. Second, Rowlett (2011: 22-23, 2013: 50-51) argues that FD and FCT cannot be completely distinct, because the differences between both grammars are not random. As Rowlett (2013: 50) puts it, "in the two-grammar model FD could be as different from FCT as French and Chinese". Yet, it seems undeniable that both French grammars do not differ so much, and are at least related to each other at a higher abstract level. Third, Rowlett (2011: 22, 2013: 51) explains that the FD and FCT varieties do not have the same cognitive status. As we already mentioned above, the FD variety is acquired in a naturalistic setting, whereas the FCT variety is learned through formal education. As a consequence, speakers often do not master both varieties to the same extent. It is therefore problematic to assume that there is a "relatively stable co-existence of two varieties" in France (Rowlett 2013: 51; also see the definition of Ferguson (1959: 336) above). All in all, Rowlett (2011, 2013) thus shows that it is doubtful whether FD and FCT are represented independently in the speakers' minds and have the same autonomous status. Hence, he puts forward an alternative approach to the stylistic variation in French, in which only FD is an independent grammar, with FCT being acquired as a "grammatical 'bolt on'" in relation to FD (Rowlett 2013: 52).

We will not aim to further examine the difference between the diglossic model of Massot (2008) and Rowlett (2011, 2013) in this thesis. We believe that it would especially be interesting to compare both approaches when focusing on speech production of children. An analysis of the learning and developing process of the FCT grammar, compared to the FD grammar, could reveal whether FCT is acquired as an independent system or not (e.g. Palasis 2011, 2013). However, our data will only consist of speech produced by adults (see 3.1.), in which both grammatical systems are already in place.

2.3. Frequency of French contrastive adverbial connectors in different registers

The previous section has shown that register differences play an important role in French, to the extent that this language seems to be characterized by a situation of diglossia. In this section, we will focus on the influence of register on the frequency of French contrastive adverbial connectors. We will first

present the results of two studies in which a frequency count of French contrastive connectors has been performed, i.e. Dupont (2015) and Csúry (2001) (2.3.1.). We will point out that these counts are (almost exclusively) based on formal language data, and that it is therefore necessary to complete them with counts based on informal language data. In a second subsection, we will elaborate on some contrastive adverbs that are believed to be typical of a certain register (2.3.2.).

2.3.1. Frequency counts of French contrastive adverbial connectors

As we already noted above, the use of French contrastive adverbial connectors has been examined by several researchers, but most of the analyses are concerned only with one or a limited set of adverbs in one register (see 2.1.2. for an overview). This also implies that a comprehensive account of the frequency of French contrastive connectors is lacking. However, in the studies of Dupont (2015) and Csúry (2001), an overview of the frequency of different contrastive adverbs has been given.

The frequency count of Dupont (2015: 94) was performed on a corpus of “quality newspaper editorials”, thus representing journalistic written French. She counted the number of occurrences of 36 French contrastive adverbial connectors, but only provides the exact number of occurrences of 11 adverbs that are used frequently enough in her corpus, i.e. more than 20 times per million words (Dupont 2015: 97). The results of her frequency count are summarized in table 2. Relative frequencies were calculated with respect to the total number of words in the corpus.

Connector	Dupont (2015) (744.185 words)
<i>pourtant</i>	354 (0,0476%)
<i>cependant</i>	143 (0,0192%)
<i>au contraire</i>	105 (0,0141%)
<i>en revanche</i>	97 (0,0130%)
<i>plutôt</i>	70 (0,0094%)
<i>pour autant</i>	64 (0,0086%)
<i>toutefois</i>	50 (0,0067%)
<i>tout de même</i>	35 (0,0047%)
<i>néanmoins</i>	34 (0,0046%)
<i>(ne) ... pas moins</i>	33 (0,0044%)
<i>à l'inverse</i>	15 (0,0020%)
OTHER ⁸	infrequent

Table 2 – Absolute and relative frequencies of French contrastive adverbs in Dupont (2015)

As becomes clear from table 2, the most frequently used contrastive adverb in the journalistic written corpus of Dupont (2015) is *pourtant* (0,0476%). The adverb *cependant* comes second, but occurs only half as often as *pourtant* (0,0192%). The other connectors that complete the top five are *au contraire*

⁸ See table 1 for a complete list of the 36 French contrastive adverbs selected by Dupont (2015).

(0,0141%), *en revanche* (0,0130%) and *plutôt* (0,0094%). It should be noted that there is one important disadvantage to the frequency count of Dupont (2015): contrastive adverbial connectors used below clause level were disregarded. Concretely, this means that examples like (20) were not counted:

(20) *Pour le référendum sur Maastricht, M. Chirac, **pourtant** très [sic.] eurosceptique, avait bien compris qu'en vue de sa nouvelle candidature à l'élection présidentielle de 1995, il n'avait pas d'autre choix que le « oui ».* (Dupont 2015: 95)

Dupont (2015: 95) decided to remove these occurrences in function of her analysis of the position of the contrastive connectors (see 2.4.3.). In our opinion however, these cases also represent valid uses of contrastive adverbial connectors and should thus be included in the frequency count of the different adverbs. It is difficult to assess the impact of Dupont's discard of connectors used below clause level, but based on our own analysis (see 4.3.), we hypothesize that the number of occurrences of *plutôt* and *au contraire* in particular is probably higher than the number given in table 2.

The frequency of French contrastive adverbial connectors has also been analyzed by Csúry (2001). His corpus contains five different types of language use and register: (i) literary written French (novels by Sartre, Maupassant and Flaubert), (ii) journalistic written French (newspaper *Le Monde* and magazine *Le Nouvel Observateur*), (iii) political/legal written French (documents of the European Union and the Canadian House of Commons), (iv) political spoken French (senatorial debates from Canada) and (v) informal spoken French (borrowed from Blanche-Benveniste (1990)) (Csúry 2001: 71). Importantly, not every subpart of the corpus has the same weight: the written literary materials form 31% of the total corpus, whereas the informal spoken part constitutes only 0,59% of the total corpus. The results of the frequency count of Csúry (2001) are given in table 3. He counted the number of occurrences of 21 French contrastive connectors, most of which were also included in the study of Dupont (2015). Relative frequencies in table 3 were taken from Csúry (2001: 114)⁹.

Connector	Csúry (2001) (± 1.400.000 words)
<i>cependant</i>	599 (0,04%)
<i>pourtant</i>	295 (0,019%)
<i>toutefois</i>	289 (0,019%)
<i>néanmoins</i>	130 (0,0088%)
<i>toujours</i>	110 (0,0074%)
<i>au contraire</i>	84 (0,0057%)
<i>du moins</i>	84 (0,0057%)
<i>quand même</i>	62 (0,0042%)
<i>seulement</i>	60 (0,0040%)

⁹ We would like to stress that we did not calculate the relative frequencies of the adverbs in the corpus of Csúry (2001) with respect to the approximate total of 1.400.000 words. Instead, we copied the relative frequencies provided by Csúry (2001: 114) himself. These were calculated with respect to the exact total number of words in his corpus, which is unfortunately not mentioned in Csúry's work. Also note that Csúry (2001) does not provide the exact number of occurrences of the adverb *pourtant*. He only indicates that it occurs almost 300 times in his corpus and that it is used more frequently than the adverb *toutefois* (289 occurrences). Hence, we decided to estimate the absolute frequency of *pourtant* in Csúry (2001) at 295 occurrences.

<i>n'importe / peu importe / qu'importe</i>	56 (0,0038%)
<i>tout de même</i>	54 (0,0036%)
<i>de toute façon</i>	53 (0,0036%)
<i>en tout cas</i>	49 (0,0033%)
<i>par contre</i>	44 (0,0030%)
<i>en revanche</i>	31 (0,0022%)
<i>n'en ... pas moins</i>	28 (0,0019%)
<i>pour autant</i>	26 (0,0017%)
<i>quoi qu'il en soit</i>	22 (0,0015%)
<i>malgré tout</i>	8 (0,0005%)
<i>en tout état de cause</i>	7 (0,0005%)
<i>toujours est-il que</i>	5 (0,0003%)

Table 3 – Absolute and relative frequencies of French contrastive adverbs in Csúry (2001)

Table 3 reveals that in the corpus of Csúry (2001), *cependant* is the most frequently occurring contrastive adverb (0,04%). Other contrastive connectors that are used quite often are *pourtant* (0,019%) and *toutefois* (0,019%), followed by *néanmoins* (0,0088%) and *toujours* (0,0074%), which complete the top five. Just as with the frequency count of Dupont (2015), there are some drawbacks to the analysis of Csúry (2001). First, it is a pity that he provides the exact number of occurrences of the adverbs only with respect to the entire corpus, and not per different subpart. This makes it difficult to use the frequency analysis of Csúry (2001) in order to study register differences in French. As we mentioned above, most of his data consist of formal spoken or written French, but there is also a part representing informal spoken French. Second, it could be problematic that the corpus of Csúry (2001) contains data collected in France as well as in Canada. More precisely, it is possible that the frequency of the contrastive adverbs is to a certain extent different in Canadian French, due to the contact with English. In addition, the hypothesis that French is characterized by a situation of diglossia has only been formulated with respect to metropolitan French (see 2.2.).

To finish, let us compare the frequency counts of Dupont (2015) and Csúry (2001). It is striking that the two most frequent contrastive adverbs are the same in both corpora: *pourtant* and *cependant*. However, in Dupont (2015), *pourtant* takes the first place, whereas in Csúry (2001), the adverb *cependant* ranks first. There is more variation with respect to the remaining adverbs. For instance, *toutefois* is used quite often in the corpus of Csúry (2001) (0,019%), but is much less frequent in the corpus of Dupont (2015) (0,0067%). Conversely, the connector *en revanche* ranks fourth in Dupont (2015) (0,0130%), while it arrives only at the fifteenth place in Csúry (2001) (0,0022%). It is however important to stress that it is not straightforward to compare the findings of Csúry (2001) and Dupont (2015). As we already explained, their corpora do not represent completely the same type of register, and in addition, Dupont (2015) only took into consideration metropolitan French, whereas Csúry (2001) also examined Canadian French. This probably accounts for some of the differences between the two frequency counts. Moreover, it should be noted that the researchers did not analyze exactly the same contrastive adverbs. For example, the connector *plutôt*, which takes the fifth place in Dupont

(2015), was not included in the study of Csúry (2001), and the connector *toujours*, which ranks fifth in the analysis of Csúry (2001), was not taken into account by Dupont (2015).

In sum, this section has shown that the frequency of French contrastive adverbs is probably influenced by register, in the sense that some adverbs are used more often in a certain register (i.e. formal French) than others. However, in order to find more conclusive evidence for the diglossic hypothesis presented above, it is necessary to complete the existing frequency analyses with a frequency count based on informal French. This will constitute the first part of our corpus analysis (see 4.1. and 4.2.).

2.3.2. French contrastive adverbial connectors that are typical of a certain register

In addition to the frequency counts of Dupont (2015) and Csúry (2001) (see 2.3.1.), several researchers have provided evidence for the hypothesis that the choice for a particular French contrastive adverb is influenced by register. We will briefly summarize these findings, by focusing successively on adverbs that are believed to be typical of informal speech and adverbs that are considered to be characteristic of formal speech.

When it comes to register, the French contrastive adverb that has received most of the attention is without doubt *par contre*. According to Csúry (2001: 153) and Danjou-Flaux (1980: 147), this adverb is almost exclusively used in spoken French. Bilger & Cappeau (2003: 100-101) and Masseron & Wiederspiel (2003: 311, 330) corroborated this claim, by showing that *par contre* rarely occurs in written French. In addition, Bilger & Cappeau (2003: 92-95, 100-101) observed that the adverb *par contre* is used much more often in a corpus of French spoken in (informal) 'everyday' situations¹⁰ than in a corpus of French spoken in (formal) political contexts. This preference of *par contre* for informal language was also found in Brysbaert (2017: 46-47), in which a frequency count in three different registers was performed. The results showed that the frequency of *par contre* is extremely low in formal written French (0,0002%), compared to its frequency in informal written French (0,0249%) and in informal spoken French (0,0303%). In contrast to Bilger & Cappeau (2003) and Brysbaert (2017), the analysis of Csúry (2001: 153-154) revealed that *par contre* occurs more often in formal spoken French than in informal spoken French. However, as we noted in the previous section (2.3.1.), his corpus contains only a very small amount of informal French data and this probably distorts the results. Hence, we assume that *par contre* can indeed be considered to be typical of informal French. It is also important to note that, from the 18th century onwards, the use of *par contre* has heavily been criticized by language purists (see Brysbaert 2017: 14-16 for an overview). Although this criticism is slowly but surely decreasing, thanks to the efforts of several authors who defended the use of *par contre* and showed that the disapproval is unjustified, the adverb *par contre* still seems to be rather distrusted¹¹. Importantly, this could explain why *par contre* is frequently used only in informal French.

¹⁰ This corpus includes interviews, explications, stories, etc. (Bilger & Cappeau 2003: 91).

¹¹ The disapproval of *par contre* is particularly being spread through education:

L'attitude des puristes à l'égard de *par contre* [...] continue de marquer des générations entières de locuteurs, notamment par le biais de la scolarisation ; les professeurs de français qui vont jusqu'à interdire à leurs élèves l'emploi de cette expression sont, aujourd'hui encore, sans doute plus nombreux qu'on ne pense – ce qui expliquerait la fréquence, chez beaucoup de sujets parlants, d'une sorte de réflexe d'hypercorrection les conduisant à considérer *en revanche* comme une variante « soignée » de *par contre*, qui relèverait, lui, d'un registre « familier » voir « relâché » et serait donc « à éviter ». (Hamma & Haillet 2002: 111-112)

Another French contrastive adverb that has received much attention in previous research is *quand même*. The corpus analysis of Csúry (2001: 196-197) revealed that this adverb is hardly ever used in written French. The results of Gettrup & Nølke (1984: 24-25), who compared the frequency of *quand même* with the frequency of *tout de même*, are more balanced. They observed that both adverbs often occur in spoken as well as in written French, but *quand même* is used most frequently in spoken language, whereas *tout de même* has the largest number of occurrences in written language. By contrast, Veland (1998: 232-233) showed that in his corpus consisting of literary written French, the adverb *quand même* (65%) is more frequent than *tout de même* (35%). However, he found out that *quand même* is especially preferred in direct speech, which can of course be seen as a written representation of spontaneous spoken language. Hence, this result also provides evidence for the idea that *quand même* is typical of spoken French. Importantly, there seems to be more uncertainty about the register of use of *quand même*. The authors of *Le Petit Robert* (2014: 2080) mention that *quand même* is a “locution familière”, which suggests that it is typical of informal French. Csúry (2001: 197) also points out that the frequency of *quand même* is especially high in informal spoken French, but he stresses that it is often used in formal spoken French as well. However, he admits that in general, *tout de même* seems to be the preferred adverb in formal contexts (Csúry 2001: 213-215).

Less attention has been given to French contrastive adverbial connectors that can be considered to be characteristic of formal language use. Adverbs that are often mentioned to occur especially in formal French are *cependant*, *néanmoins* and *toutefois* (Csúry 2001: 185, 220, 226; Gettrup & Nølke 1984: 15; Lenepveu 2007: 100). Rivara (2008: 124) argues that the adverb *pour autant* could also be added to this list, because it is mostly used in a “registre de langue au moins moyen, et souvent soigné”. Furthermore, Csúry (2001: 262, 268) points out that the constructions *n'en ... pas moins* and *quoi qu'il en soit* are typical of formal French.

In this thesis, we aim to provide further evidence for the hypothesis that some French contrastive adverbial connectors are typical of a certain register. More precisely, we will focus on informal spoken French and compare the relative frequencies of several contrastive adverbs. Based on the findings of previous research, we especially expect to find a large number of occurrences of the adverbs *par contre* and *quand même*.

2.4. Position of French contrastive adverbial connectors

In this section, we will focus on the different positions that can be occupied by contrastive adverbial connectors in French. We will first briefly illustrate that adverbial connectors are quite mobile, although they are sometimes believed to occur preferably at the beginning of the clause (2.4.1.). Next, we will present the findings of two studies on the placement patterns of French contrastive adverbs: Csúry (2001) analyzed their position purely from a syntactic point of view (2.4.2.), while Dupont (2015) performed a syntactic analysis based on information-structural categories (2.4.3.). Finally, we will discuss some general factors that seem to have an influence on the placement of contrastive connectors, such as the information-structural function of the connector and the mode (written versus spoken language) (2.4.4.).

2.4.1. Mobility of (contrastive) adverbial connectors

Syntactically speaking, French adverbial connectors seem to be quite mobile, which means that they can easily be placed in different positions in the clause (e.g. Dupont 2015; Rubattel 1982, 1983). The following sentences with the contrastive adverb *par contre* exemplify this syntactic mobility:

- (21) *Le vin blanc est bon ; **par contre**, le vin rouge pique un peu.* (Hamma & Haillet 2002: 107)
- (22) *Il n'a pas eu son permis ; il a, **par contre**, rencontré l'amour de sa vie.* (Hamma & Haillet 2002: 107)
- (23) *J'ai acheté le bouquin ; il n'y a rien sur l'exclamation, **par contre**.* (Hamma & Haillet 2002: 107)

Examples (21)-(23) also illustrate that in general, three possible positions for contrastive adverbial connectors can be distinguished: initial position (i.e. at the beginning of the right term of the relation¹²) (21), medial position (i.e. within the right term) (22) and final position (i.e. at the end of the right term) (23) (e.g. Csúry 2001; Hamma & Haillet 2002). This implies that contrastive adverbs normally do not occur before or within the left term of the contrastive relation. Csúry (2001: 14) therefore claims that contrastive connectors are actually “contained” in the right term.

Note that, even though adverbial connectors can be placed in different positions, it has sometimes been argued that they prefer to occur clause-initially. This claim is based on the idea that the inherent linking function of adverbial connectors can best be fulfilled in the initial position (e.g. Altenberg 2006). However, as has been noted by Dupont (2015: 89), the preference of adverbial connectors for the initial position especially seems to hold true for English (but see Lenker 2011, 2014), and it is doubtful whether it also applies to French. As far as French is concerned, opinions indeed differ greatly. Some researchers argue that the initial position is the unmarked position (i.e. the most natural position) for French adverbial connectors (e.g. Csúry 2001)¹³, whereas others just draw attention to their syntactic mobility (e.g. Bonami et al. 2004; Rubattel 1982, 1983). In addition, existing empirical studies on this matter are not conclusive: the corpus analysis of Csúry (2001) revealed that French contrastive adverbs have a slight preference for the initial position over the medial position, while in the corpus of Dupont (2015), the contrastive adverbs are used most often in medial positions (see 2.4.2. and 2.4.3.). The hypothesis that the preferred position of French contrastive adverbial connectors would be the initial one will also be tested in this thesis.

¹² We decided to use the terminology of Csúry (2001: 13-16) to indicate the two opposed ‘elements’ in a contrastive relation, i.e. *left* and *right term of the relation*. Importantly, these notions are used at a “material” (i.e. more or less syntactic) level, and not at a semantic-pragmatic level, where Csúry (2001) opts for *first* and *second pole of the opposition*. The notion of *terms* thus refers to the literal clauses that contain the contrastive relation, whereas the notion of *poles* indicates the semantic content of the contrastive relation, which must sometimes be reconstructed on the basis of implicit information, as illustrated by the following example:

(i) *Il revint la semaine suivante, et se vanta d'avoir, après force démarches, fini par découvrir un certain Langlois qui, depuis longtemps, guignait la propriété sans faire connaître son prix. – N'importe le prix ! s'écria-t-elle. Il fallait attendre, au contraire, tâter ce gaillard-là.* (Flaubert, cited in Csúry 2001: 139)

In this example, the terms of the relation have been underlined, and the poles of the opposition could be formulated as follows: *il ne faut plus attendre, vendons la propriété (quel que soit le prix)* and *il faut attendre, ne vendons pas encore la propriété*. Since we only focus on syntactic properties in this thesis, we will not further elaborate on this difference between terms and poles (see Brysbaert 2017: 11-12 for a more detailed discussion).

¹³ Researchers who argue that adverbial connectors naturally occur in the initial position believe that whenever a connector is used in another position, this needs a further explanation. As a consequence, they often try to find out in which cases and why the initial position is avoided (see 2.4.4. for a concrete example of this approach).

2.4.2. Position of French contrastive adverbial connectors: a syntactic analysis

The placement patterns of French contrastive connectors have been examined from a syntactic point of view by Csúry (2001). More precisely, he analyzed the syntactic position of 21 different contrastive connectors in a corpus that largely consists of formal French¹⁴. As in most studies on the placement of adverbial connectors, three possible positions were distinguished: initial, medial and final position (see 2.4.1.). Table 4 provides an overview of the general frequency of use of each position. It appears from this table that in the corpus of Csúry (2001), French contrastive connectors prefer to occur clause-initially (49,49%). However, they are also very often used in medial position (41,01%). The final position is clearly less frequent: only in a minority of the examples, the contrastive connector is placed clause-finally (9,50%). In general, the study of Csúry (2001) seems to confirm the idea that adverbial connectors are most often used in initial position (see 2.4.1.). At the same time, it shows that French contrastive adverbs are actually quite mobile, in that they frequently occur in both initial and medial position. This result thus suggests that French speakers generally have the choice to put the contrastive connector at the beginning of the clause or to insert it into the clause.

	Initial position	Medial position	Final position	Total
French contrastive connectors	406 (49,49%)	347 (41,01%)	85 (9,50%)	838 (100%)

Table 4 – Absolute and relative frequencies of the general placement pattern of French contrastive connectors in Csúry (2001)¹⁵

Let us now discuss the placement patterns of the different contrastive connectors in more detail, in order to find out whether all (or most of the) 21 connectors in question display a distribution that is similar to the main distribution presented in table 4. As becomes clear from table 5 below, this is definitely not the case. In the corpus of Csúry (2001), there are a lot of differences between the individual markers with respect to the preferred position(s). We will particularly focus on the initial and medial position, since these two positions are the most dominant ones overall (see table 4)¹⁶. On the one hand, several connectors tend to be placed especially in clause-initial position: the constructions *n'importe/peu importe/qu'importe* and *quoi qu'il en soit* (almost) exclusively occur in this position, and also the adverbs *en revanche*, *par contre*, *en tout cas*, *du moins*, *toutefois* and *de toute façon* prefer to be used at the beginning of the clause rather than to be inserted into the clause. On the other hand, some connectors have a clear preference for the medial position. In the corpus of Csúry (2001), there are no clause-initial occurrences of *n'en ... pas moins*, *toujours* and *tout de même*. In addition, the adverbs *quand même* and *pour autant* are clearly placed more often in medial position than in initial position. Besides these connectors that prefer to be used either in initial or medial position, there is a group of connectors that do not have a strong preference for neither the initial nor

¹⁴ Recall that the corpus of Csúry (2001) contains in fact five different types of language use (see 2.3.1.).

¹⁵ The relative frequencies in table 4 were calculated by ourselves and are thus not given by Csúry (2001). We used the same procedure as in the study of Dupont (2015) to obtain balanced frequencies (i.e. to give all connectors the same weight): for each position, the frequencies of use of the different connectors (see table 5) were added up, and this number was divided by the total number of connectors (i.e. 21 in Csúry (2001)).

¹⁶ We decided to leave out of discussion *toujours est-il que*, *en tout état de cause* and *malgré tout*, because we believe that there are too few occurrences of these markers to be able to generalize the findings.

the medial position, and in that way, come close to the general distribution presented in table 4. In the corpus of Csúry (2001), the contrastive markers *cependant* and *pourtant* predominantly occur in initial position, but are used quite often in medial position as well, whereas the adverbs *au contraire*, *néanmoins* and *seulement* are mostly placed in medial position, but also frequently occur clause-initially. Finally, it should be noted that almost all contrastive connectors are used with a rather low frequency in final position (i.e. mostly less than 15%), except *tout de même*, which is placed at the end of the clause in 44,44% of the cases. It is also striking that several adverbs (e.g. *en revanche*, *par contre*, etc.) never occur in final position.

Connector	Initial position	Medial position	Final position	Total
<i>n'importe / peu importe / qu'importe</i>	56 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	56 (100%)
<i>toujours est-il que</i>	5 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	5 (100%)
<i>quoi qu'il en soit</i>	21 (95,45%)	0 (0%)	1 (4,55%)	22 (100%)
<i>en revanche</i>	27 (87,10%)	4 (12,90%)	0 (0%)	31 (100%)
<i>par contre</i>	35 (79,55%)	9 (20,45%)	0 (0%)	44 (100%)
<i>en tout cas</i>	35 (71,43%)	11 (22,45%)	3 (6,12%)	49 (100%)
<i>du moins</i>	31 (68,89%)	6 (13,33%)	8 (17,78%)	45 (100%)
<i>toutefois</i>	28 (65,12%)	15 (34,88%)	0 (0%)	43 (100%)
<i>de toute façon</i>	32 (60,38%)	6 (11,32%)	15 (28,30%)	53 (100%)
<i>cependant</i>	32 (55,17%)	20 (34,48%)	6 (10,34%)	58 (100%)
<i>pourtant</i>	19 (44,19%)	18 (41,86%)	6 (13,95%)	43 (100%)
<i>en tout état de cause</i>	3 (42,86%)	2 (28,57%)	2 (28,57%)	7 (100%)
<i>au contraire</i>	33 (39,29%)	47 (55,95%)	4 (4,76%)	84 (100%)
<i>néanmoins</i>	16 (38,10%)	20 (47,62%)	6 (14,29%)	42 (100%)
<i>seulement</i>	22 (36,67%)	35 (58,33%)	3 (5%)	60 (100%)
<i>pour autant</i>	7 (26,92%)	18 (69,23%)	1 (3,85%)	26 (100%)
<i>malgré tout</i>	2 (25%)	6 (75%)	0 (0%)	8 (100%)
<i>quand même</i>	2 (3,23%)	56 (90,32%)	4 (6,45%)	62 (100%)
<i>n'en ... pas moins</i>	0 (0%)	28 (100%)	0 (0%)	28 (100%)
<i>toujours</i>	0 (0%)	16 (88,89%)	2 (11,11%)	18 (100%)
<i>tout de même</i>	0 (0%)	30 (55,56%)	24 (44,44%)	54 (100%)

Table 5 – Absolute and relative frequencies of the individual placement patterns of 21 French contrastive connectors in Csúry (2001)¹⁷

¹⁷ The adverbs are presented in decreasing order according to their frequency in the initial position, because this is the most frequent position in general (see table 4). Note that the relative frequencies were calculated by ourselves. Also note that Csúry (2001) analyzed the position of the contrastive connectors only in a randomized selection of all extracted examples, which explains why the total number of occurrences per connector in table 5 does not correspond to the number of occurrences of each connector given in table 3.

In sum, the overview of the individual placement patterns reveals that the majority of the 21 contrastive connectors have a preference for either the initial or the medial position. This suggests that the adverbial connectors are probably not so mobile as suggested earlier. It should however be stressed that most of the French adverbs do occur in at least two of the available positions (albeit sometimes with a low frequency), which indicates that they nonetheless have the potential to be placed in different positions. Furthermore, table 5 clearly shows that the claim that adverbial connectors tend to be used preferably in initial position does not apply to all of the contrastive adverbs that were analyzed. Some of the connectors even prefer the medial position over the initial one.

2.4.3. Position of French contrastive adverbial connectors: an analysis based on information-structural categories

As we mentioned above, the placement patterns of adverbial connectors have generally been analyzed in a purely syntactic way. Dupont (2015) however used information-structural categories to distinguish different possible syntactic positions for contrastive adverbial connectors. She examined the placement patterns of 11 French contrastive adverbs in a corpus of “quality newspaper editorials” (Dupont 2015: 94)¹⁸. Importantly, her analysis is not restricted to a tripartite distinction between initial, medial and final position. Instead, she identified five possible positions for adverbial connectors, based on the notions of *theme* and *rheme*. We will first present Dupont’s definitions of both *theme* and *rheme* before summarizing the results of her study, given that researchers vary in the way they interpret these notions¹⁹.

According to Dupont (2015: 91), the theme “provides the context in which the clause or sentence can be interpreted” and “coincides with the clause-initial position”. She points out that different subparts of the theme should be distinguished, as illustrated in example (24):

(24)

<i>But,</i>	<i>more importantly,</i>	<i>Kerry</i>	<i>believes his faith should never be imposed on others.</i>
textual theme	interpersonal theme	topical theme	rheme
theme			rheme

(Dupont 2015: 92)

A clause always minimally contains one (and only one) topical theme, which refers to an entity or entities “of the outside world” (Dupont 2015: 91)²⁰. The topical theme can optionally be preceded by one or several textual and/or interpersonal themes. As explained by Dupont (2015: 91-92), textual themes are used to “indicate explicitly how the clause relates to what precedes”, whereas the function of interpersonal themes is to “provide some information about the stance of the writer or speaker towards the message”. Furthermore, Dupont (2015: 92) notes that it is important to set apart marked themes from unmarked themes. A topical theme is said to be unmarked when it coincides with the grammatical subject. In (24) for instance, the constituent *Kerry* is not only the topical theme, but also

¹⁸ Note that Dupont (2015) also analyzed several English contrastive adverbial connectors, with the purpose of comparing the placement patterns in English and French.

¹⁹ The notion of *theme* corresponds more or less to the notion of *topic*, which has already been touched upon earlier (see 2.1.1.).

²⁰ Dupont (2015: 91) notes that there are nevertheless some special themeless structures.

the subject of the clause. Note that this correspondence of theme and subject is seen as the unmarked case because the theme (on an information-structural level) always occupies the clause-initial position, and this is also the most typical position for the subject (on a grammatical level). Conversely, when a constituent other than the grammatical subject is located at the beginning of the clause, the topical theme is considered to be marked. An example of a marked theme is provided in (25):

(25)

<i>Last year,</i>	<i>Whitehall recruited 20,000 new civil servants.</i>
marked theme	rheme

(Dupont 2015: 92)

Much less attention has been given to the notion of rheme. As in most of the linguistic literature, Dupont (2015: 91) defines the rheme by exclusion, as “everything that follows the theme” (see examples (24) and (25)). Note however that in her analysis of the position of contrastive adverbs, she does make more fine-grained distinctions with regard to the rheme (see further in this section).

As we already indicated, Dupont (2015: 99-103) uses these notions of *theme* and *rheme* to distinguish five positions that can be occupied by contrastive adverbial connectors. The first possibility is labelled “thematic 1” and includes adverbs that function as a textual theme, either at the beginning of the clause (26) or after another textual theme (underlined) (27):

(26) *Le chaos, que l’on redoutait de [...], ne s’est pas produit. **Au contraire**, les Palestiniens ont fait la démonstration de leur sens des responsabilités.* (Dupont 2015: 99)

(27) *Yesterday’s feeble performance by Donald Anderson [...] added to the gloom. But nonetheless the game of trying to make the prime minister admit what he may not feel is probably fruitless.* (Dupont 2015: 99)

The second category is called “thematic 2” and contains adverbial connectors that also function as a textual theme, but are located within (28) or after an interpersonal theme (underlined) (29):

(28) *Il est vrai **cependant** que ces drogues peuvent, en atténuant la douleur, hâter la mort.* (Dupont 2015: 100)

(29) *Crucially, **though**, the US was able to maintain the support of other countries.* (Dupont 2015: 100)

The contrastive adverbial connectors can be part of the rheme as well. The position “rhematic 1” refers to adverbs that occur between the topical theme and the verb phrase of the clause. The topical theme (underlined) can either be unmarked (30) or marked (31):

(30) *L’année 2002 restera, aussi, celle où la machine Muray a, pour la première fois, connu quelques ratés. Son fonctionnement, **pourtant**, n’est nullement en cause.* (Dupont 2015: 100)

(31) *Que faire de l’impôt sur la fortune ? Bien sûr, à gauche, idéologie oblige, la question ne se pose pas. [...] A l’intérieur de la droite, **en revanche**, le débat fait rage.* (Dupont 2015: 103)

The fourth category is called “rhematic 2” and includes all occurrences of contrastive adverbs within the verb phrase, i.e. “the predicate along with all its obligatory complements” (Dupont 2015: 101) (32):

(32) *Jacques Chirac a tenu, hier, à marquer l’événement. Il n’a **cependant** pas ouvert de piste pour l’avenir.* (Dupont 2015: 101)

Finally, the contrastive adverbial connectors can be used in the position “rhematic 3”. This category contains all cases in which the adverb is placed after the “obligatory elements of the clause” (Dupont 2015: 102). Note that the contrastive adverb can either occur at the very end of the clause (33) or precede one or several optional constituents (34):

(33) *Sans doute un autre scrutin [...] nous fit-il oublier les urnes du Quai Conti. Un pape en sortit, **pourtant**.* (Dupont 2015: 103)

(34) *Le week-end passait, **cependant**, sans que rien ne vienne étayer le couplage fantasmatique de ceci et de cela.* (Dupont 2015: 102)

Let us now pass on to the results of the study of Dupont (2015). Generally speaking, she observed that French contrastive adverbial connectors occur most frequently in the rhematic 2 position (52,6%)²¹. This means that, in the French newspaper corpus of Dupont (2015), contrastive adverbs prefer to be placed within the verb phrase (see example (32)). In addition, contrastive connectors are used quite often in the thematic 1 position (25%). The three remaining placement possibilities are found less frequently: the rhematic 1 position comes third (11,4%), followed by thematic 2 (7,9%) and lastly, rhematic 3 (3,1%). Table 6 provides an overview of this general placement pattern of the contrastive adverbial connectors in the corpus of Dupont (2015).

	Thematic 1	Thematic 2	Rhematic 1	Rhematic 2	Rhematic 3	Total
French contrastive connectors	283 (25%)	66 (7,9%)	103 (11,4%)	518 (52,6%)	30 (3,1%)	1000 (100%)

Table 6 – Absolute and relative frequencies of the general placement pattern of French contrastive adverbial connectors in Dupont (2015)²²

Importantly, the general placement pattern observed by Dupont (2015) does not tie in with the mean pattern found by Csúry (2001). As became clear from table 6, the contrastive adverbs in the corpus of Dupont (2015) prefer to be used in medial positions, whereas in the corpus of Csúry (2001), they have a slight preference for the initial or thematic 1 position (see table 4)²³. In this way, the results of Dupont (2015) refute the hypothesis that the initial position would be the most natural position for adverbial connectors. Also note that the final position is infrequent in both corpora.

Just as with the study of Csúry (2001), it is also necessary to focus on the individual placement patterns of the 11 connectors in question, which are summarized in table 7 (Dupont 2015: 113-117). Some of the adverbs display a placement pattern that is quite similar to the mean distribution presented in table 6, especially as far as the two dominant positions rhematic 2 and thematic 1 are concerned (e.g. *toutefois*, *néanmoins*, *tout de même*). By contrast, other adverbs do not show this typical pattern. For instance, *pas moins* exclusively occurs in rhematic 2 and *plutôt* also has a striking preference for this position. Furthermore, in the corpus of Dupont (2015), the connectors *en revanche* and *à l'inverse* are used most frequently in the thematic 1 position and in this way, they diverge from the general

²¹ Note that English contrastive adverbial connectors on the other hand are used most often in the thematic 1 position (51,3%).

²² Like in table 4, the percentages are balanced, which means that all connectors have been given the same weight, regardless of their frequency of use.

²³ We assume that the positions thematic 2, rhematic 1 and rhematic 2 in the analysis of Dupont (2015) correspond to the medial position in the study of Csúry (2001).

tendency to put contrastive adverbs in rhematic 2. A similar observation can be made with regard to the adverbs *pourtant* and *au contraire*: they do prefer the rhematic 2 position, but are clearly placed more often in thematic 1 than average.

Connector	Thematic 1	Thematic 2	Rhematic 1	Rhematic 2	Rhematic 3	Total
<i>pas moins</i>	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	33 (100%)	0 (0%)	33 (100%)
<i>plutôt</i>	0 (0%)	7 (10%)	7 (10%)	54 (77,1%)	2 (2,9%)	70 (100%)
<i>cependant</i>	18 (12,6%)	22 (15,4%)	13 (9,1%)	84 (58,7%)	6 (4,2%)	143 (100%)
<i>toutefois</i>	13 (26%)	2 (4%)	7 (14%)	28 (56%)	0 (0%)	50 (100%)
<i>néanmoins</i>	10 (29,4%)	2 (5,9%)	2 (5,9%)	19 (55,9%)	1 (2,9%)	34 (100%)
<i>tout de même</i>	7 (20%)	4 (11,4%)	2 (5,7%)	18 (51,4%)	4 (11,4%)	35 (100%)
<i>pourtant</i>	132 (37,3%)	13 (3,7%)	29 (8,2%)	173 (48,9%)	7 (2%)	354 (100%)
<i>pour autant</i>	15 (23,4%)	6 (9,4%)	11 (17,2%)	30 (46,9%)	2 (3,1%)	64 (100%)
<i>au contraire</i>	39 (37,1%)	5 (4,8%)	8 (7,6%)	46 (43,8%)	7 (6,7%)	105 (100%)
<i>en revanche</i>	42 (43,3%)	2 (2,1%)	20 (20,6%)	32 (33%)	1 (1%)	97 (100%)
<i>à l'inverse</i>	7 (46,7%)	3 (20%)	4 (26,7%)	1 (6,7%)	0 (0%)	15 (100%)

Table 7 – Absolute and relative frequencies of the individual placement patterns of 11 French contrastive adverbial connectors in Dupont (2015)²⁴

The analysis of Dupont (2015) thus shows that the different contrastive connectors have different placement preferences, a finding that also resulted from the study of Csúry (2001). It should however be stressed that there are some striking differences between the results of Dupont (2015) and Csúry (2001) with regard to the placement patterns of certain specific connectors. For instance, the marker *tout de même* does never occur clause-initially in the corpus of Csúry (2001), whereas the corpus of Dupont (2015) contains seven examples of *tout de même* (20%) in thematic 1 position. Furthermore, Csúry (2001) observed that *en revanche*, *toutefois* and *cependant* have a clear preference for the initial position (87,10%, 65,12% and 55,17% respectively), but Dupont (2015) found out that these adverbs are used most often in medial positions (55,7%, 74% and 83,2% respectively)²⁵. In addition, with respect to *néanmoins*, the tendency of this adverb to be placed in medial position is clearly more pronounced in the corpus of Dupont (2015) (67,7%) than in the corpus of Csúry (2001) (47,62%). Note that the remaining connectors that were analyzed by both researchers (i.e. *au contraire*, (*ne/n'en ...*) *pas moins*, *pourtant* and *pour autant*) behave more or less the same in the two corpora.

To summarize, the comparison between the studies of Csúry (2001) and Dupont (2015) learned that there is still a lot of uncertainty about the placement of contrastive adverbial connectors in French, both with respect to the general pattern (i.e. overall preference for the initial or medial position) and

²⁴ The adverbs are presented in decreasing order according to their frequency in the most dominant position, i.e. rhematic 2.

²⁵ Interestingly, the frequency of the three connectors in initial position shows a similar decreasing tendency in the two analyses: *en revanche* is most often used at the beginning of the clause (Csúry (2001): 87,10%; Dupont (2015): 43,3%), followed by *toutefois* (Csúry (2001): 65,12%; Dupont (2015): 26%) and *cependant* (Csúry (2001): 55,17%; Dupont (2015): 12,6%).

with respect to the preferred position(s) of the individual connectors. We therefore believe that it is interesting to throw a new light on the placement patterns of French contrastive adverbs. More precisely, we will analyze the position of several contrastive connectors in two spoken French corpora (see 4.3.).

2.4.4. Factors influencing the position of contrastive adverbial connectors

As we already noted in the previous sections (2.4.2. and 2.4.3.), the studies of Csúry (2001) and Dupont (2015) clearly show that the different French contrastive connectors have distinct positional preferences: some connectors are often used at the beginning of the clause, whereas others are more likely to be inserted into the clause. This observation does not alter the fact that a general placement pattern for contrastive adverbs in French can be found (see tables 4 and 6 above), but it definitely suggests that the lexical component plays an important role in connector placement. In this section, we will briefly present some other factors that are believed to have an influence on the position of the contrastive connectors. We will successively discuss the role of syntactic factors, information-structural factors and mode (written versus spoken language).

According to Dupont (2015: 106), the placement of contrastive adverbial connectors can be influenced by certain general language-specific syntactic factors. First, she points out that the preference for rhematic 2 in French versus thematic 1 in English might be connected to a difference in verb-raising. In French, a verb-raising language, adverbs typically occur after the verb (underlined in the following examples) (35), whereas in English, a non-verb-raising language, adverbs normally occur before the verb (36)²⁶:

(35) *Jean mange souvent de la glace.* (Osborne 2008: 127, cited in Dupont 2015: 106)

(36) *John often eats ice cream.* (Osborne 2008: 127, cited in Dupont 2015: 106)

This syntactic difference in terms of verb-raising could thus partly explain why contrastive adverbial connectors prefer to be used post-verbally in French, compared to pre-verbally in English. Furthermore, Dupont (2015: 106) suggests that the preference for the rhematic 2 position in French might be enhanced by the tendency in this language “to interrupt the core structure of the clause (i.e. subject, verb, complement) by means of parenthetical elements”. As illustrated in example (37), such interruptions are generally avoided in English:

(37) F: *Certes, ils assurent, **quelques heures par jour**, l’animation et la sécurité des rues ...*
E: *Admittedly they do bring the streets to life and make them safe **for a few hours every day** ...*
(Chuquet & Paillard 1989: 156, cited in Dupont 2015: 107)

In contrast with Dupont (2015), who shows that there are at least two syntactic factors promoting the placement of French contrastive adverbs in rhematic 2 position, Csúry (2001) focusses on the way in

²⁶ The distinction between verb-raising and non-verb-raising languages has been put forward in generative syntax. Following this account, in French, a verb is base-generated in a low syntactic position but obligatorily moves to a higher syntactic position (i.e. Infl or Aux), whereas in English, only the verbs *to have* and *to be* can undergo this movement (Pollock 1989). The difference between examples (35) and (36) should thus be accounted for in terms of verb movement. The French verb *mange* obligatorily moves to a higher position in the syntactic tree (i.e. from a linear perspective, to a position earlier in the clause) and consequently, it precedes the adverb. In English, the verb *eats* cannot move to a higher syntactic position and therefore follows the adverb.

which the initial position can be “blocked” or avoided for syntactic reasons. More precisely, he argues that the use of contrastive adverbs in initial position is sometimes impossible because of a factor which he calls the “principle of the primacy of the connection” (Csúry 2001: 23, 25-26)²⁷. This principle implies that the leftmost position of a clause is a “connecting position” and that the constituent which occupies this position is automatically considered to establish a connection with the immediately preceding clause. A contrastive adverb can therefore not be used in initial position if it does not connect two consecutive sentences, as in example (38), where the distance between the left term and the right term of the contrastive relation (underlined) is rather large:

- (38) *Jacques Rival réclama un gouvernement militaire avec des concessions de terre accordées à tous les officiers après trente années de service colonial. « De cette façon, disait-il, vous créez une société énergique, ayant appris depuis longtemps à connaître et à aimer le pays, sachant sa langue et au courant de toutes ces graves questions locales auxquelles se heurtent infailliblement les nouveaux venus. » Norbert de Varenne l’interrompt : « Oui ... ils sauront tout, excepté l’agriculture. Ils parleront l’arabe, mais ils ignoreront comment on repique des betteraves et comment on sème du blé. Ils seront même forts en escrime, mais très faibles sur les engrais. Il faudrait au contraire ouvrir largement ce pays neuf à tout le monde.* (Maupassant, cited in Csúry 2001: 138)

In this example, the adverb *au contraire* cannot be placed in initial position (i.e. before *il faudrait*), because otherwise, it would contrast the sentence *il faudrait ouvrir largement ce pays neuf à tout le monde* with the sentence *ils seront même forts en escrime, mais très faibles sur les engrais*, which is not intended. Csúry (2001: 138) therefore argues that, in order to express the intended oppositional relation, the contrastive connector *au contraire* has to be placed within the verbal phrase (i.e. in rhematic 2). Interestingly, this implies that Csúry’s “principle of the primacy of the connection” does not only prevent language users from using a contrastive adverb in the initial position, but at the same time also incites them to place it in a medial position²⁸. Both the syntactic factor discussed by Csúry (2001) (i.e. connection primacy) and the two syntactic factors presented by Dupont (2015) (i.e. verb-raising and preference for disrupting core structure) can thus explain why the rhematic 2 position is (sometimes) preferred in French.

Let us now pass on to a second type of factor that can have an effect on the placement patterns of French contrastive adverbial connectors: information-structural and rhetorical factors. According to Dupont (2015: 107-108), contrastive adverbs can take on a certain function “related to rhetoric and information structure” depending on their position in the clause. For instance, a contrastive adverb occurring in the rhematic 1 position (i.e. between the topical theme and the verb phrase) often highlights a topical shift and draws attention to the topical theme that is being introduced. This is illustrated in example (39), where the rhematic 1 position of the adverb *au contraire* clearly reinforces the transition between the two topical themes (underlined):

- (39) *Ensuite, le calendrier de Bush lui impose d’aller vite afin de se dégager de ce borbier pour mener plus tranquillement sa campagne présidentielle. Enfin, la quérilla, **au contraire**, a tout intérêt à ce que le règlement traîne pour accroître sa terreur et sa force.* (Dupont 2015: 110)

²⁷ Our translation of “principe de la primauté de la connexion”.

²⁸ Note that according to Csúry (2001: 23-26), the initial position can also be blocked because of another syntactic factor, i.e. subordination, but Csúry (2001) does not provide any examples of this. It is therefore not entirely clear to us what is meant by this claim.

Another information-structural effect can be obtained by putting the contrastive adverb in the rhematic 2 position. Connectors in this position especially stress the division between given and new information and hence, draw attention to the part of the clause that provides the informational contribution (underlined):

(40) *Malgré ces succès, l'Inde n'a **cependant** pas atteint l'objectif annoncé dans la constitution de 1950.* (Dupont 2015: 113)

Note that similar observations have been made by Lenker (2011, 2014) with respect to English adverbial connectors. This researcher also stresses that it is important to distinguish different medial positions when analyzing the placement patterns of contrastive adverbs, because the positions rhematic 1 and rhematic 2 clearly differ in terms of information-structural properties²⁹.

Finally, the mode (written versus spoken) in which contrastive adverbial connectors are used also seems to have an influence on their position. Dupont (2015: 116) indeed notes that the placement patterns of contrastive adverbs might differ between written and spoken language. More specifically, she argues that the information-structural role of connector placement is less important in speech than in writing, because in spoken language, additional 'tools' (e.g. intonation, stress, pitch, etc.) are available to produce the same kind of information-structural effects. For instance, in the newspaper corpus of Dupont (2015), the English connector *though* is very often placed between the topical theme and the verb phrase (i.e. rhematic 1) (75,9%) in order to highlight the theme (41a). In speech however, this adverb is likely to occur more frequently in final position (i.e. rhematic 3), since focus on the theme is normally expressed through stress (41b):

(41) a. *The Conservatives agree. Mr Hoon, **though**, sees things differently.*
b. *The Conservatives agree. Mr Hoon sees things differently, **though**.* (Dupont 2015: 116)

In light of this observation, Dupont (2015: 116) hypothesizes that the spoken mode "has a fairly limited use for connectors in medial positions (i.e. rhematic 1 and 2)". She also adds that her findings corroborate the results of Biber et al. (1999), who showed that in English, the frequency of use of medial connectors is much higher in academic writing (circa 40%) than in conversation (less than 2,5%).

To summarize, there are at least four factors that are believed to play a role in adverbial connector placement: lexical preferences, syntactic factors, information-structural factors and mode (written versus spoken). The effects of these different factors are often intertwined and, as is also noted by Dupont (2015: 109), it can therefore be very hard to find out which factor(s) exactly is/are involved in the choice for a certain position. In this thesis, we especially aim to examine the part played by the lexical component and the mode (written versus spoken). Concretely, we will analyze the position of several French contrastive adverbs in interview-like conversations, and we will compare the general placement pattern as well as the individual (i.e. lexical) preferences of the contrastive adverbial connectors in our spoken data with the results of Csúry (2001) and Dupont (2015). Note that we will not examine the role of syntactic and information-structural factors, because we believe that these factors have a rather limited influence on connector placement in spoken French. As previous research already showed, information-structural effects in speech can also be obtained by means of intonation and stress. In addition, syntactic effects on connector placement due to interruptions of the clause

²⁹ Lenker (2011, 2014) makes a distinction between "post-initial position" (corresponding to rhematic 1) and "other medial positions" (corresponding to rhematic 2).

structure or contrastive relation are probably less frequent in spoken language, since spoken sentences are generally shorter and do not contain a lot of parenthetical elements of the type illustrated in (37).

2.5. Use of contrastive adverbial connectors in combination with other connectors

It has often been noted that French contrastive adverbs can be used in combination with other connectors. In this section, we will first give an overview of the possible combinations, and we will then present the findings of Csúry (2001), who analyzed the frequency with which each of the French contrastive adverbs is found in such combinations.

Most of the attention has gone to the use of contrastive adverbial connectors in combination with the coordinating conjunction of contrast *mais*. Adverbs such as *au contraire*, *en revanche*, *cependant*, *néanmoins*³⁰ (42), *par contre* (43), *pour autant* (44), *pourtant* and *quand même* (45) all seem to be compatible with *mais* (underlined) (Anscombe 1983: 48, 71; Danjou-Flaux 1980: 135; Gettrup & Nølke 1984: 17; Hamma & Haillet 2002: 107; Jayez 1982: 204; Lenepveu 2007: 100; Moeschler & de Spengler 1981: 94; Rivara 2008: 130):

- (42) *Je vous remercie, monsieur le ministre, pour cette réponse un peu technocratique, mais néanmoins satisfaisante dans l'ensemble.* (Lenepveu 2007: 100)
- (43) *Marie ne viendra pas, mais par contre son frère passera toute la journée avec nous.* (Danjou-Flaux 1980: 135)
- (44) *Jean est grand, mais il ne joue pas bien au basket-ball **pour autant**.* (Rivara 2008: 130)
- (45) *Il était en colère, mais, à la suite de mes explications, il a **quand même** compris que je n'étais pas responsable.* (Jayez 1982: 204)

Danjou-Flaux (1980: 135) argues that the use of *mais* in combination with these contrastive adverbs can be considered to be a kind of pleonasm and is therefore redundant. According to Csúry (2001: 136) however, French contrastive adverbial connectors are often combined with *mais* because they allow to select and stress a specific value of this very general basic conjunction. This has also been pointed out by Moeschler & de Spengler (1981: 102), who claim that the adverb *quand même* is used to add "quelque chose de spécifique à la séquence *p mais q*". A remark should be made about this co-occurrence of *mais* and *quand même*. Moeschler & de Spengler (1981: 94-95) argue that in monological discourse, the adverb *quand même* must obligatorily be combined with *mais*. They illustrate this claim by means of the following sentence:

- (46) *J'ai pas le temps, mais je vais **quand même** prendre un café.* (Moeschler & de Spengler 1981: 94)

The close connection between *mais* and *quand même* has also been noticed by Jayez (1982: 206), who provides a similar example (47). He stresses that it would be very unnatural, but not impossible, to leave out *mais* in this type of context:

³⁰ Lenepveu (2007: 100) notes that *néanmoins* is combined with *mais* especially when it connects two adjectival groups.

- (47) *Pierre est assez serviable : il n'a pas lavé la vaisselle, mais il a **quand même** desservi la table.*
(Jaye 1982: 206)

According to Moeschler & de Spengler (1981: 95) however, the conjunction *mais* can only be dropped if there is a clear break between the two contrasted elements, as in the following example:

- (48) *J'ai pas le temps. Oh ben je prends **quand même** un café.* (Moeschler & de Spengler 1981: 95)

Interestingly, these observations suggest that in general, *quand même* is more likely to be combined with *mais* than other contrastive adverbs. It is however important to note that *tout de même* is mainly used in the same way as *quand même* and that this adverb thus also frequently co-occurs with *mais* (Gettrup & Nølke 1984: 26). Veland (1998: 233) nonetheless points out that *quand même* is more often combined with *mais* than *tout de même*.

Let us now present a second possible combination, which is the occurrence of contrastive adverbial connectors in a construction with adversative/concessive *si*. Only *au contraire* (49), *néanmoins* (50) and *par contre* seem to be compatible with this use of *si* (underlined) (Gettrup & Nølke 1984: 38; Hamma & Haillet 2002: 107; Lenepveu 2007: 101-102; Masseron & Wiederspiel 2003: 315, 320, 330):

- (49) *Si la cité d'Utopie est nulle part, le terme qui la désigne, **au contraire**, se laisse situer fort précisément.* (Moreau, cited in Masseron & Wiederspiel 2003: 320)
- (50) *Si les textes en vigueur sont suffisants pour réprimer les dérives sectaires, leur mise en œuvre demeure **néanmoins** délicate.* (Lenepveu 2007: 102)

According to Masseron & Wiederspiel (2003: 320), the contrastive adverb that is used in this type of construction 'supports' the concessive *si*. By contrast, Gettrup & Nølke (1984: 38) stress that it is the contrastive adverb that gives the conjunction *si* its concessive value.

As a third possible combination, certain French contrastive adverbs can be used in subordinate clauses, in which they co-occur with subordinating conjunctions. For instance, the adverb *au contraire* can be found in temporal subordinates, introduced by conjunctions such as *quand*, *lorsque* (51), *tandis que*, etc. (Csúry 2001: 136):

- (51) *C'était vouloir priver les gens de la campagne, ceux qui cultivent la terre à l'ardeur du soleil, d'une coiffure légère et fraîche, et qui les garantit bien, lorsqu'au contraire il serait à désirer que l'usage s'en propageât et s'étendît partout.* (Say, cited in Danjou-Flaux 1980: 133)

Furthermore, the adverbs *toutefois* and *pour autant* (52) are often used in conditional subordinates expressed by *à condition que* or *si* (Lenepveu 2009: 110; Rivara 2008: 134):

- (52) *Je lui ai promis de l'aider, mais s'il faut **pour autant** tout faire à sa place, je ne pourrai pas.*
(Rivara 2008: 134)

The same adverbs *toutefois* (53) and *pour autant* also frequently occur in infinitival subordinates introduced by *sans* (Lenepveu 2007: 93-98; Lenepveu 2009: 110; Rivara 2008: 134):

- (53) *Il avait refermé la porte et s'était avancé un peu, sans **toutefois** aller jusqu'à elle.* (Genevoix, cited in Lenepveu 2007: 97).

As a fourth type of combination, contrastive adverbial connectors can also co-occur with markers such as *tantôt ... tantôt* (54), *ou ... ou* or *si ... si* in disjunctions (Csúry 2001: 156; Danjou-Flaux 1980: 130-133; Danjou-Flaux 1983: 289-291; Masseron & Wiederspiel 2003: 320, 324, 330-331):

(54) *Marie m'étonne : tantôt elle broie des idées noires, tantôt {au contraire / par contre / en revanche}, elle déborde d'enthousiasme.* (Danjou-Flaux 1983: 290)

The adverb *par contre* especially seems to be combined with *si ... si*, whereas adverbs such as *au contraire*, *quand même* and *tout de même* seem to prefer *ou ... ou* (Csúry 2001: 135, 153, 196, 213).

Finally, note that the possibility of using more than one contrastive adverb at the same time has not received much attention in the linguistic literature. Rubattel (1983) shows that the adverbs *pourtant* and *quand même* can sometimes be combined:

(55) *Les enfants de Pierre sont insupportables. Pourtant, il aime quand même ses enfants.* (Rubattel 1983: 159)

However, as can be inferred from the following example, other combinations of two different contrastive adverbs also seem to be possible:

(56) *Vous n'avez pas grand-chose, puisque vous avez faim. Cependant, vous devriez quand même vous reposer quelques jours. Ce serait plus prudent.* (Gettrup & Nølke 1984: 17)

To finish this section, we will briefly elaborate on the analysis of connector combinations in Csúry (2001), of which the results are presented in table 8. Importantly, and unlike other researchers, he does not only mention which combinations are possible, but also analyzes the frequency with which each adverb co-occurs with other connectors³¹. First, the analysis of Csúry (2001) reveals that some adverbs are more likely to be combined with (a variety of) additional connectors than others. For instance, the adverb *en revanche* is used in combination with another connector (i.e. *mais*) only in one occurrence (3,23%), whereas *quand même* is found to co-occur with coordinating conjunctions (e.g. *mais*), subordinating conjunctions (e.g. *bien que*), a disjunctive conjunction (i.e. *ou*) and another contrastive adverb (i.e. *pourtant*) in a total of 26 examples (41,94%). Second, it is striking that in the corpus of Csúry (2001), all contrastive adverbs are used at least one time in combination with *mais*, except for *quoi qu'il en soit*, *toujours est-il que* and *toutefois*, which are never combined with other connectors. In general, French contrastive adverbs thus seem to co-occur most easily with the conjunction *mais*. Third, the study of Csúry (2001) shows that combinations other than those already mentioned above can be found as well, such as the co-occurrence of two contrastive adverbs (e.g. *de toute façon* and *cependant*) or the use of a contrastive adverb in concessive subordinates introduced by *même si*, *bien que*, etc.

Connector	With another connector		Without another connector	Total
<i>malgré tout</i>	4 (50%)	<i>mais</i>	4 (50%)	8 (100%)
<i>n'en ... pas moins</i>	14 (50%)	<i>mais, même si, que, si bien que, si ... que</i>	14 (50%)	28 (100%)
<i>quand même</i>	26 (41,94%)	<i>bien que, et, mais, malgré que, même si, ou, pourtant</i>	36 (58,06%)	62 (100%)

³¹ Note that only connectors occurring to the left of the contrastive adverbs were taken into consideration by Csúry (2001).

<i>toujours</i>	7 (38,89%)	<i>bien que, enfin, et, mais, même si, quel que</i>	11 (61,11%)	18 (100%)
<i>tout de même</i>	21 (38,89%)	<i>et, mais, néanmoins, n'importe, ou, toutefois</i>	33 (61,11%)	54 (100%)
<i>au contraire</i>	24 (28,57%)	<i>et, mais, ou, quand, tandis que</i>	60 (71,43%)	84 (100%)
<i>par contre</i>	11 (25%)	<i>mais, si, si ... si</i>	33 (75%)	44 (100%)
<i>seulement</i>	15 (25%)	<i>mais</i>	45 (75%)	60 (100%)
<i>de toute façon</i>	13 (24,53%)	<i>cependant, et, mais</i>	40 (75,47%)	53 (100%)
<i>néanmoins</i>	10 (23,81%)	<i>bien que, et, mais, quoi qu'il en soit</i>	32 (76,19%)	42 (100%)
<i>pourtant</i>	9 (20,93%)	<i>et, mais</i>	34 (79,07%)	43 (100%)
<i>pour autant</i>	4 (15,38%)	<i>et, mais</i>	22 (84,62%)	26 (100%)
<i>en tout état de cause</i>	1 (14,29%)	<i>mais</i>	6 (85,71%)	7 (100%)
<i>cependant</i>	6 (10,34%)	<i>et, mais</i>	52 (89,66%)	58 (100%)
<i>en tout cas</i>	5 (10,20%)	<i>et, mais, ou</i>	44 (89,80%)	49 (100%)
<i>du moins</i>	3 (6,67%)	<i>mais, ou</i>	42 (93,33%)	45 (100%)
<i>n'importe / peu importe / qu'importe</i>	3 (5,36%)	<i>mais</i>	53 (94,64%)	56 (100%)
<i>en revanche</i>	1 (3,23%)	<i>mais</i>	30 (96,77%)	31 (100%)
<i>quoi qu'il en soit</i>	0 (0%)		22 (100%)	22 (100%)
<i>toujours est-il que</i>	0 (0%)		5 (100%)	5 (100%)
<i>toutefois</i>	0 (0%)		43 (100%)	43 (100%)

Table 8 – Absolute and relative frequencies of the presence/absence of other connectors in combination with 21 French contrastive connectors in Csúry (2001)³²

In sum, this section has shown that French contrastive adverbs can be used in combination with several other connectors. They particularly seem to co-occur with the coordinating conjunction *mais*, but combinations with subordinating conjunctions such as *tandis que* and *bien que*, with disjunctive connectors such as *ou ... ou*, or with adversative/concessive *si* can also be found. Importantly, the frequency of these combinations per contrastive adverb has not yet received much attention in the linguistic literature (but see Csúry (2001)). Most claims are based on intuition or on evidence obtained (almost) exclusively from formal (written) French data. Our goal will therefore be to complete the existing studies, by examining which possible combinations are used in a corpus of informal spoken French and by analyzing the frequency with which these combinations occur.

³² The adverbs are presented in decreasing order according to their frequency of use in combination with another connector. The relative frequencies were calculated by ourselves.

2.6. The present study: research questions and hypotheses

In the present study, we aim to answer the following general research questions, by analyzing 36 French contrastive adverbs in two corpora consisting of informal spoken French:

- (RQ1) Is the **frequency** of contrastive adverbial connectors different in informal spoken French compared to formal (written) French (see 2.3.)?
- (RQ2) Is the syntactic **use** of contrastive adverbial connectors, in terms of their position in the clause (see 2.4.) and the possibility to combine them with other connectors (see 2.5.), different in informal spoken French compared to formal (written) French?

With respect to the first research question, we hypothesize that register will have an influence on the frequency of (some of) the French contrastive adverbial connectors. More precisely, we believe that in our informal French corpora, certain contrastive adverbs will be markedly more frequent than in the formal French corpora of Csúry (2001) and Dupont (2015), whereas other adverbs will be used much less often. Based on previous research, we especially expect to find a high number of occurrences of *par contre* and *quand même*, which are considered to be typical of informal French, and a low number of occurrences of *cependant*, *néanmoins*, *toutefois*, *pour autant*, *n'en ... pas moins* and *quoi qu'il en soit*, which are believed to be characteristic of formal French.

With respect to the second research question concerning the use of contrastive adverbs, we will focus on two different syntactic properties of these adverbs. First, we will analyze their position in the clause, by looking both at the general placement pattern of French contrastive adverbs and at the preferred positions of the individual adverbs. We will test the hypothesis that the most natural position for contrastive adverbs is the initial one, which has often been put forward in research on adverbial connectors. In addition, we will compare the results of our positional analysis with the findings of Csúry (2001) and Dupont (2015), to see whether register might influence the placement of contrastive adverbs. Second, we will examine the possibility of using French contrastive adverbs in combination with other connectors. Again, our main goal will be to verify whether these combinations are different in informal spoken French than in formal French, by comparing the results of our analysis with those of Csúry (2001). For both the position of the adverbs and the combination of the adverbs with other connectors, we expect to find some differences between the two registers.

Finally, we also aim to discuss our analysis of French contrastive adverbs from a more theoretical point of view, by addressing the following research question:

- (RQ3) Does our analysis of the frequency and use of French contrastive adverbs provide further evidence for the hypothesis that metropolitan French is characterized by a **situation of diglossia** (i.e. the idea that there are two stylistically separate varieties, FD and FCT) (see 2.2.)?

If we find a difference between the **frequency** of contrastive adverbial connectors in formal French (as presented in previous research) and informal French (as reported in the present study), this would suggest that contrastive adverbs can be marked in terms of register. More precisely, if an adverb is markedly more frequent in informal French than in formal French, we will believe this to be an indication of its low status and thus, membership of the FD variety, whereas if an adverb is mostly used in formal French, we will consider it to have a high status and belong to the FCT variety. If we observe that on top of these frequency differences, the syntactic **use** of the contrastive adverbs (in terms of position and combination with other connectors) is also different in formal versus informal French, this

would even be of greater support to the diglossic hypothesis approach. Also recall that previous claims about the diglossic situation in French are mainly based on syntactic variation. We therefore believe that it is interesting to find out whether this diglossic hypothesis is supported by more lexical phenomena, such as contrastive adverbs, as well.

3. Methodology

In this section, we will outline the methodology of our corpus-based study. We will start with a presentation of the two spoken corpora that were used to collect the data (3.1.). Next, we will motivate our choice for these corpora (3.2.). Finally, we will explain how the occurrences were extracted from the corpora and we will illustrate how the extracted data were manually disambiguated, with the purpose of selecting only relevant uses of contrastive adverbial connectors (3.3.).

3.1. Presentation of the corpora

The analysis was carried out on data extracted from two different corpora, both representing spoken French: *Discours sur la ville : Corpus de Français Parlé Parisien des années 2000* (CFPP2000) and *Phonologie du Français Contemporain : usages, variétés, structure* (PFC). The corpora are available online, on the websites <http://cfpp2000.univ-paris3.fr/> and <http://www.projet-pfc.net/> respectively.

The CFPP2000 was compiled on the initiative of Sonia Branca-Rosoff at the university of Paris 3-Sorbonne-Nouvelle (Branca-Rosoff et al. 2011, 2012). The corpus consists of interviews – dialogues or multilogues – conducted with inhabitants of Paris and of the surrounding suburbs. Interviewees were asked open questions concerning their relationship to the district in which they live and concerning their life in general. The first interviews date from 2005, but new materials are still regularly being added. An example with the adverb *au contraire* is represented in (57) to give an idea about how the interviews in CFPP2000 look like³³:

- (57) *spk1 : et vous vous souvenez d'enseignants qui vous ont marquées ?*
spk2 : ouais +
spk3 : pff
spk1 : c'est quoi ou qui ?
spk2 : ben mon prof de de français de troisième + voilà [rire de Julie]
spk1 : qu'est-ce que c'est alors un prof charismatique ?
spk3 spk2 : [1] oui [rire de Katia] [2] non c'est un prof
spk2 : malade qui tapait sur son bureau mais [rire d'Amélie] non mais il était vraiment fou enfin il avait des tics des
*spk1 : ah non c'est l'horreur **au contraire***
spk2 : non non non non parce que enfin c'était un prof génial et qui nous a fait enfin pendant toute l'année [rire de Katia] il nous fait faire du Rimbaud et + enfin maintenant j' suis voilà enfin j' suis enfin bref (CFPP2000)

The PFC project was set up in 1999 by Jacques Durand, Bernard Laks and Chantal Lyche (Durand et al. 2002). It was initially oriented towards phonology, but the scope of the project has since been broadened to include other linguistic domains, in particular syntax and sociolinguistics. Nowadays, the PFC database is part of a larger research project on spoken French, called FLOrAL. The PFC corpus contains spoken data of four different 'types': (i) reading aloud a list of words, (ii) reading aloud a text, (iii) (semi-formal) guided conversations and (iv) (informal) free conversations. Given that we aim to

³³ Note that all examples from CFPP2000 and PFC are reproduced literally in this thesis, which means that any possible grammatical and orthographical mistakes have not been corrected.

examine the spontaneous use of contrastive adverbial connectors, only the guided and free conversations were taken into account in our study. During the guided conversations, interviewees were questioned about their job, their childhood, current events, etc. The free conversations consist of discussions in which interviewer and interviewee(s) talk about a topic of their choice. As the following examples of a guided conversation (58) and free conversation (59) show, the interviews in PFC are very similar to the ones in CFPP2000:

(58) *E1 : Et vos parents, vos, vos grands-parents parlaient-ils par/ patois seulement ou le français ou les deux ou ?*

*AR1 : (pause) Là c'est un problème parce que mes parents n'étaient pas d'ici à, mes, mes parents donc étaient à Narbonne. Ah ils parlaient euh, constamment français, mais **par contre** mon père qui appartenait à une famille nombreuse, euh avait des frères dispersés un peu partout. (PFC, Lacaune, GC)³⁴*

(59) *CG : donc le soir quand tu rentrais de l'école donc tu rentrais vers quatre heures quatre heures et demi, de l'école, et aussitôt euh, une petite collation, et puis, tu, tu allais aider tes parents à traire les vaches.*

*GR : On n/ euh non, que quand j'étais sortie des écoles. Mais on allait aider à ramasser des pommes le soir euh **quand même**, le soir, on allait ramasser des pommes.*

SG : Tu faisais tes leçons après.

GR : on faisait les leçons à/ le soir à la veillée. (PFC, Domfrontais, FC)

In contrast with the interviews in CFPP2000, the PFC recordings were collected in different French-speaking areas, both in France and outside of France. Hence, the PFC corpus also lends itself to the analysis of geographical language variation. In our study, recordings of nine different places in France will be included (see 3.2. below). As with the CFPP2000, the PFC corpus is still regularly being updated.

3.2. Motivation behind the choice of the corpora

Corpus research on contrastive adverbial connectors has mostly been based on formal written French (i.e. the FCT variety in the diglossic model (see 2.2.1.)). Consequently, little is known about their frequency and use in less formal language registers (i.e. the FD variety in the diglossic model). Since we aim to fill this gap, the two corpora have first of all been chosen in function of the register they represent. Both the CFPP2000 and the PFC contain spoken, more or less informal French. It should be noted that it is difficult to determine the exact level of formality of the CFPP2000 and PFC data. Due to the interview-like setting, the speakers' utterances are probably not as natural and informal as in spontaneous speech. However, it is beyond question that the conversations in CFPP2000 and PFC are much less formal than political speeches for example, because the latter tend to be fully prepared (in written form). With respect to the CFPP2000, Branca-Rosoff et al. (2012: 3) even explicitly argue that the corpus is representative of "common French" and not of "standard French". In addition, we previously showed that the frequency of *au contraire*, *par contre* and *en revanche* in CFPP2000 is quite close to the frequency of these adverbs in informal written French, compared to formal written French (Brybaert 2017: 46-47). We therefore believe that CFPP2000 and PFC can correctly be considered to

³⁴ Note that for the examples of the PFC corpus, we will in each case specify the place of recording (e.g. Lacaune) and the type of conversation (i.e. GC (guided conversation) or FC (free conversation)).

contain a type of language which largely corresponds to *français démotique* (FD) (see figure 1 above). Note that the spoken mode was of secondary importance in the choice of the two corpora. As we already mentioned above (2.2.1.), the distinction between the FD and FCT variety seems to be based on the level of formality (informal versus formal speech) rather than on mode (spoken versus written French). We nonetheless decided to examine only spoken language data in this thesis, because our previous analysis revealed that the difference between formal written French and (more or less) informal spoken French is markedly larger than the difference between formal written French and informal written French (Brysbaert 2017: 46-47).

We also want to stress that we opted for two corpora that are similar to a large extent. As became clear from section 3.1., both CFPP2000 and PFC consist of comparable interview-like interactions, in which similar topics are discussed and in which the same register is supposed to be used. Since we predict that the frequency and the use of contrastive adverbs vary with the level of formality, we do not expect to find striking differences between the CFPP2000 and PFC data. The goal of extracting data from two corpora is first of all to obtain more relevant occurrences and hence, a more complete image of the frequency and use of contrastive adverbs, but also to be able to generalize our findings with more certainty. If some effect holds true for both corpora, we can indeed assume that it is effectively due to the type of language being used during the interviews. On the other hand, if the results for CFPP2000 differ from those for PFC, this would suggest that other factors, such as geographical variation, come into play as well. Recall that the CFPP2000 recordings were all collected in the region of Paris, whereas the PFC corpus contains data of various areas.

A final remark should be made about which materials of the PFC database were used in our analysis. The part of the PFC corpus that can be freely consulted contains recordings collected in 17 different places³⁵. We decided to include only the places located in France, in order to avoid any influence of language contact on the frequency and use of the contrastive adverbs. Concretely, we took into account recordings made in nine different locations in France: Nantes, Domfrontais, Brécey, Puteaux-Courbevoie, Ogéville, Dijon, Roanne, Lacaune and Aix-Marseille³⁶. Note that we do believe that it is interesting to focus on language contact in French-speaking areas outside of France and its effect on the use of contrastive adverbial connectors³⁷. However, this could be a topic on its own and would exceed our research goals.

3.3. Extraction of the data and manual disambiguation

Recordings as well as transcriptions of the interviews can be consulted on the websites of the corpora: <http://cfpp2000.univ-paris3.fr/> (CFPP2000) and <http://www.projet-pfc.net/> (PFC)³⁸. Both the CFPP2000 and the PFC corpus can be searched through by means of an on-line search engine. However, we decided to download the transcriptions and use a concordance program to extract the relevant

³⁵ Unfortunately, we were not able to gain access to the complete PFC database, which contains recordings collected in 48 different places.

³⁶ The locations which were not included are Burkina Faso, Abidjan and RCA Bangui (Africa); Neuchâtel and Nyon (Switzerland); Trois-Rivières and Université Laval Québec (Canada). We also had to discard Vallée de l'Arve in France, because transcriptions were not available for this place.

³⁷ See e.g. Gadet & Jones (2008) for examples of syntactic phenomena in French that can be influenced by language contact.

³⁸ With respect to the PFC corpus, it should be noted that not all recordings have been transcribed yet.

data. More precisely, we copied the on-line transcriptions in HTML format and pasted them in a text editor, in order to create a TXT file. This TXT file was then opened in the concordancer AntConc, which we used to extract the occurrences of the 36 adverbial connectors listed in Dupont (2015) (see table 1)³⁹.

The extracted data were then manually disambiguated, in order to remove all irrelevant occurrences. Following Dupont (2015), we discarded examples in which the selected item was not used as an adverb (as in (60) where *à l'inverse* is part of the prepositional phrase *à l'inverse de* and in (61) where *en même temps* is part of the conjunction *en même temps que*) or did not have a contrastive meaning (as in (62) where *seulement* is used as a synonym of *uniquement* or *exclusivement* and in (63) where *plutôt* modifies an adjective and could be replaced by *passablement*):

- (60) *et alors à l'inverse de mon père on a des maris bricoleurs + + et mon père ne bricolait + pas du tout du tout* (CFPP2000)
- (61) *Ouais, ouais si. Ben, j'ai fait les cantines pendant deux quoi, un truc comme ça, en même temps que j'étais étudiant. Ouais c'était pas mal.* (PFC, Dijon, FC)
- (62) *RM : Mais c'était le seul département, Meurthe-et-Moselle, hein, vous ne retrouverez ça nulle part. Vous retrouverez ça dans les archives des écoles, hein, et on.*
E : D'accord, c'est seulement Meurthe-et-Moselle, je pensais que c'était toute la Lorraine. (PFC, Ogéville, FC)
- (63) *spk1 : mm j'ai ++ (mm) une question et demie encore (mm) + euh ++ sur euh + + les + l'avenir*
spk2 : oui
spk1 : vous êtes plutôt optimistes ? (CFPP2000)

We also verified whether the extracted data contained examples in which the same adverb was repeated several times, for example because the speaker was hesitating (64) or because he/she was being interrupted by another speaker (65):

- (64) *non ouais c'est plutôt des gens des + euh + ben c'est **plutôt** des gens qui viennent de ces cercles-là en fait hein (mm) + ouais + c'est ça bon après [...].* (CFPP2000)
- (65) *spk1 : y a que ça*
spk2 : est-ce qu'y a des militants
spk1 spk2 : [1] mais faut quand même [2] est-ce qu'y a pas d' militants
*spk1 : faut **quand même** se dire que les militants + moi c' que j'regrette [...].* (CFPP2000)

In these cases, only one occurrence (in bold face) was kept; the other (underlined) was not taken into account, neither in the frequency analysis (4.1. and 4.2.) nor in the analysis of the use of specific adverbs (4.3. and 4.4.).

In total, 19% of the extracted CFPP2000 data and 21% of the extracted PFC occurrences were considered to be irrelevant and therefore removed.

³⁹ Extraction of the data was performed in April 2018 (CFPP2000) and July 2018 (PFC). More information on the concordancer AntConc can be found on the website <http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/>.

4. Results and discussion

In this section, we will present and discuss the results of our corpus analysis. In a first subsection (4.1.), we will give a general overview of our data, by providing the frequencies of the different contrastive adverbs in CFPP2000 and PFC, in comparison with their frequencies in the corpora of Csúry (2001) and Dupont (2015). In a second subsection (4.2.), we will further elaborate on the frequency of use of the most often used contrastive adverbial connectors in our two corpora. We will briefly compare the frequencies in CFPP2000 versus PFC, which we expect to be very similar, since these two corpora represent the same register (4.2.1.). Next, we will analyze in greater detail the similarities and differences between the frequencies of the adverbs in CFPP2000 and PFC (informal spoken French) versus Csúry (2001) and Dupont (2015) (formal (written) French), in order to detect possible register differences (4.2.2.). We will show that register indeed seems to influence the choice for a particular contrastive adverb, which is in line with the hypothesis that French is characterized by a situation of diglossia. In a third and fourth subsection, we will discuss the use of French contrastive adverbs, by focusing on two syntactic properties. We will first analyze the position of the adverbs in the clause (4.3.). We will successively look at the general placement pattern of French contrastive adverbs (4.3.1.) and at the specific placement preferences of the individual adverbs (4.3.2.). Next, we will examine the ways in which and the frequency with which contrastive adverbs are used in combination with other connectors (4.4.). With respect to these final two subsections (4.3. and 4.4.), we will again have special attention for possible register differences and make comparisons with the results of Csúry (2001) and/or Dupont (2015).

4.1. General overview of the data

Table 9 gives a general overview of the frequency of 36 French contrastive adverbial connectors in four corpora. The first two columns contain the number of occurrences of the different adverbs in CFPP2000 and PFC, after manual disambiguation (see 3.3.). To facilitate comparison with previous research, the frequencies obtained by Dupont (2015) and Csúry (2001) (see tables 2 and 3 above) are presented in the last two columns. Note that some numbers are missing: Dupont (2015) did not provide the exact frequency of adverbial connectors occurring less than 15 times in her corpus (indicated with “infrequent”) and Csúry (2001) did not analyze all adverbs in question (indicated with “NA”). The frequencies of the 36 contrastive adverbial connectors are presented in decreasing order based on the results for CFPP2000. By comparison, we also added the number of occurrences of the coordinating conjunction *mais*, if available. Relative frequencies were calculated with respect to the total number of words in each corpus⁴⁰.

⁴⁰ The total number of words in the PFC corpus and in Csúry (2001) is approximate. As far as PFC is concerned, the number was estimated by ourselves. Also recall that we did not calculate the relative frequencies of the adverbs in the corpus of Csúry (2001) with respect to the approximate total of 1.400.000 words. Instead, we copied the relative frequencies provided by Csúry (2001: 114) himself. These were calculated with respect to the exact total number of words in his corpus, which is unfortunately not mentioned in Csúry’s work. Furthermore, Csúry (2001) does not provide the exact number of occurrences of the adverb *pourtant*. He only indicates that it occurs almost 300 times in his corpus and that it is used more frequently than the adverb *toutefois* (289 occurrences). Hence, we decided to estimate the absolute frequency of *pourtant* in Csúry (2001) at 295 occurrences.

Connector	CFPP2000 (695.174 words)	PFC (± 210.000 words)	Dupont (2015) (744.185 words)	Csúry (2001) (± 1.400.000 words)
<i>mais</i>	7260 (1,0443%)	2421 (1,1529%)	NA	5209 (0,351%)
<i>quand même</i>	1478 (0,2126%)	415 (0,1976%)	infrequent	62 (0,0042%)
<i>plutôt</i>	256 (0,0368%)	47 (0,0224%)	70 (0,0094%)	NA
<i>par contre</i>	205 (0,0295%)	48 (0,0229%)	infrequent	44 (0,0030%)
<i>de toute façon</i>	72 (0,0104%)	57 (0,0271%)	infrequent	53 (0,0036%)
<i>au contraire</i>	71 (0,0102%)	2 (0,0010%)	105 (0,0141%)	84 (0,0057%)
<i>en même temps</i>	64 (0,0092%)	13 (0,0062%)	infrequent	NA
<i>pourtant</i>	54 (0,0078%)	15 (0,0071%)	354 (0,0476%)	295 (0,019%)
<i>malgré tout</i>	42 (0,0060%)	2 (0,0010%)	infrequent	8 (0,0005%)
<i>pour autant</i>	22 (0,0032%)	1 (0,0005%)	64 (0,0086%)	26 (0,0017%)
<i>tout de même</i>	18 (0,0026%)	1 (0,0005%)	35 (0,0047%)	54 (0,0036%)
<i>en revanche</i>	14 (0,0020%)	0 (0%)	97 (0,0130%)	31 (0,0022%)
<i>ceci/cela dit</i>	10 (0,0014%)	1 (0,0005%)	infrequent	NA
<i>par ailleurs</i>	9 (0,0013%)	0 (0%)	infrequent	NA
<i>de l'autre ...</i>	7 (0,0010%)	2 (0,0010%)	infrequent	NA
<i>inversement</i>	7 (0,0010%)	0 (0%)	infrequent	NA
<i>d'un autre côté</i>	6 (0,0009%)	5 (0,0024%)	infrequent	NA
<i>or</i>	6 (0,0009%)	1 (0,0005%)	infrequent	NA
<i>seulement</i>	5 (0,0007%)	5 (0,0024%)	infrequent	60 (0,0040%)
<i>d'autre part</i>	4 (0,0006%)	0 (0%)	infrequent	NA
<i>à l'opposé</i>	3 (0,0004%)	0 (0%)	infrequent	NA
<i>autant ... autant ...</i>	3 (0,0004%)	0 (0%)	infrequent	NA
<i>de toute manière</i>	2 (0,0003%)	2 (0,0010%)	infrequent	NA
<i>loin de là</i>	2 (0,0003%)	0 (0%)	infrequent	NA
<i>néanmoins</i>	2 (0,0003%)	1 (0,0005%)	34 (0,0046%)	130 (0,0088%)
<i>à l'inverse</i>	1 (0,0001%)	1 (0,0005%)	15 (0,0020%)	NA
<i>au demeurant</i>	1 (0,0001%)	0 (0%)	infrequent	NA
<i>quoi qu'il en soit</i>	1 (0,0001%)	0 (0%)	infrequent	22 (0,0015%)
<i>cependant</i>	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	143 (0,0192%)	599 (0,04%)
<i>ne/n'en ... pas moins</i>	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	33 (0,0044%)	28 (0,0019%)
<i>toutefois</i>	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	50 (0,0067%)	289 (0,019%)
<i>a contrario, cela</i> <i>étant, (ce)</i> <i>nonobstant, quand</i> <i>bien même, réflexion</i> <i>faite, somme toute</i>	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	infrequent	NA

Table 9 – Absolute and relative frequencies of 36 contrastive adverbs in CFPP2000, PFC, Dupont (2015) and Csúry (2001)

In general, table 9 shows that some of the 36 contrastive adverbial connectors are used more frequently than others. Interestingly, the adverbs can roughly be divided into three groups, based on their number of occurrences in the different corpora. First, there is a limited number of contrastive markers that occur quite often (but not always with similar frequencies) in (almost) all corpora, such as *plutôt*, *au contraire* and *pour autant*. Second, a large series of adverbial connectors are hardly ever used in neither of the corpora, for example *à l'opposé*, *loin de là*, *au demeurant*, *a contrario*, etc. Finally, there is a group of contrastive adverbs that occur frequently only in some of the corpora. For instance, Dupont (2015) and Csúry (2001) found many occurrences of *cependant* and *toutefois*, whereas these markers are not used at all in CFPP2000 and PFC. Importantly, with regard to this third group of contrastive adverbs, there seems to be a distinction especially between CFPP2000 and PFC on the one hand and Dupont (2015) and Csúry (2001) on the other hand. With respect to the frequency of the adverbs, our two informal spoken corpora indeed seem to behave very similarly (see 4.2.1.). This general overview thus suggests that the number of occurrences of certain contrastive adverbs is subject to register differences, which will be examined in more detail in the next section (4.2.).

Before presenting the results of our corpus study, we would like to specify which occurrences exactly have been analyzed. In the subsections concerning the position (4.3.) and the combination (4.4.) of contrastive connectors, we will focus only on those adverbs that occur frequently enough in our two corpora, in order to be able to generalize the findings. More precisely, we decided to examine the use of the ten most often occurring contrastive adverbs according to CFPP2000. The use of the remaining 26 contrastive connectors, which are all rather infrequent in either of the two corpora, will thus not be discussed in this thesis. Furthermore, we decided to keep only a quarter of the examples with *quand même* in CFPP2000 and half of the examples with *quand même* in PFC, since it would have been too much work to examine all extracted occurrences. This implies that the analysis of the adverb *quand même* will be restricted to 370 randomly selected examples from CFPP2000 and 207 randomly selected examples from PFC. In sum, the findings presented in the subsections on position (4.3.) and combination (4.4.) will be based on a total of 1567 occurrences (1174 from CFPP2000 and 393 from PFC) of the ten following contrastive adverbs: *quand même*, *plutôt*, *par contre*, *de toute façon*, *au contraire*, *en même temps*, *pourtant*, *malgré tout*, *pour autant* and *tout de même*. Note however that, as far as the next subsection about the frequency of the contrastive adverbs (4.2.) is concerned, all relevant extracted occurrences of all contrastive adverbs will of course be taken into account.

4.2. Frequency of the contrastive adverbial connectors

In the previous section (4.1.), we noted that the different contrastive adverbs do not occur equally often in all four corpora. These frequency differences will be further discussed in the present section, on the basis of table 9 above and figure 2 below. Figure 2 gives a visual representation of the number of occurrences of the most frequent adverbs in each corpus. With respect to CFPP2000, Dupont (2015) and Csúry (2001), the frequency of the ten most occurring contrastive adverbs is depicted. For PFC, only the six most often used adverbs are taken into account, because this corpus is rather small and does not contain many examples of less frequent adverbs overall. Note that the percentages in figure 2 were calculated based on the total number of occurrences of the ten or six adverbs per corpus⁴¹.

⁴¹ The total number of occurrences of the contrastive adverbs in question are: 2282 (CFPP2000), 595 (PFC), 985 (Dupont 2015) and 1670 (Csúry 2001).

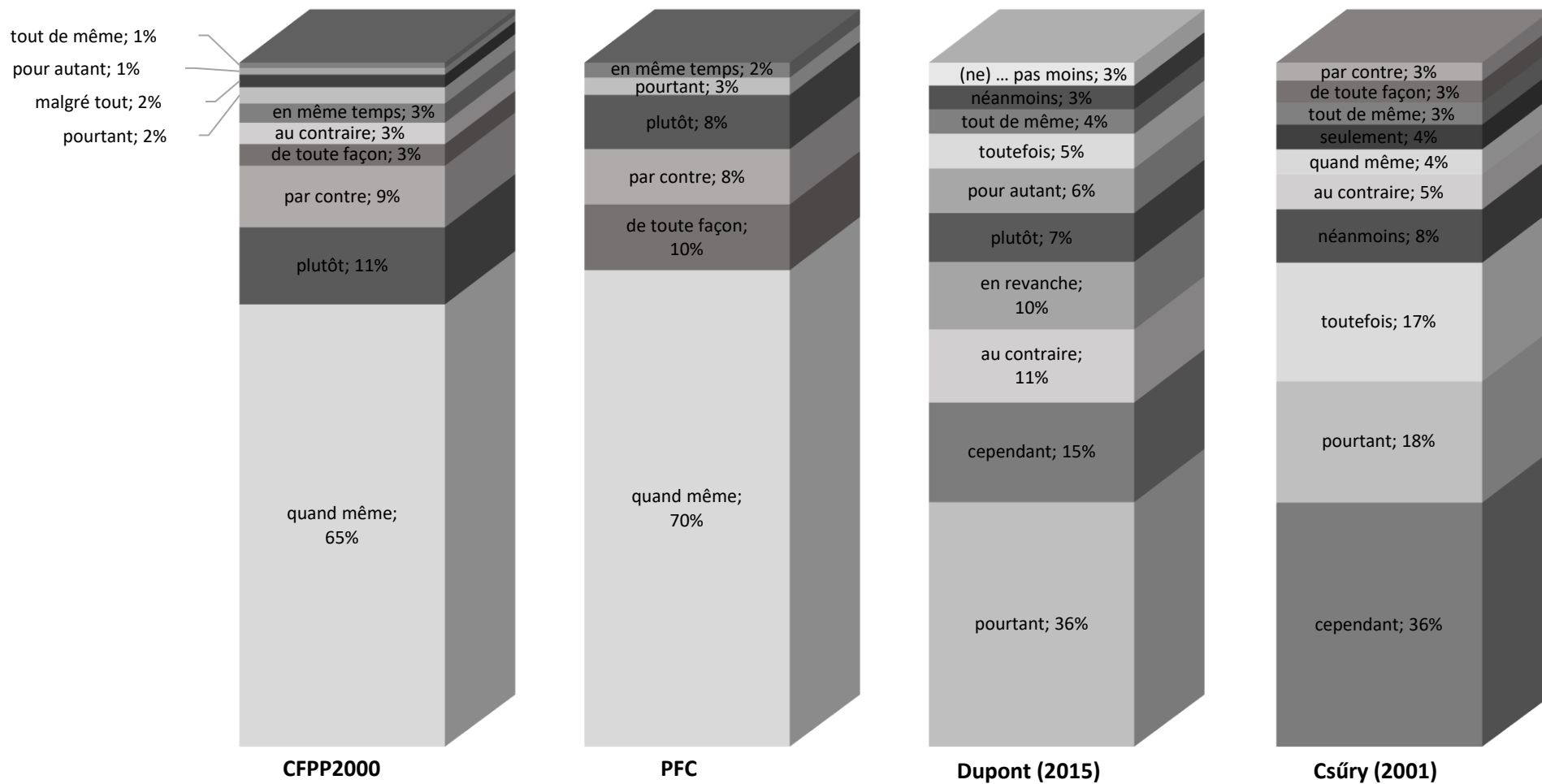


Figure 2 – Visual representation of the most frequent contrastive adverbs in CFPP2000, PFC, Dupont (2015) and Csúry (2001)

4.2.1. Comparison between CFPP2000 and PFC

As was explained in the methodology section (3.2.), we do not expect to discover large frequency differences between the CFPP2000 and PFC corpora, since they consist of similar interviews in which a more or less informal register is used. Broadly speaking, this prediction is borne out: adverbs that are rather infrequent in CFPP2000 are also not often used in PFC and conversely, adverbs that are frequent in CFPP2000 are often found in PFC as well. The four most frequently occurring contrastive adverbs are the same in the two corpora, i.e. *quand même*, *plutôt*, *par contre* and *de toute façon*. As is shown in figure 2, the contrastive marker *quand même* on its own makes up circa two thirds of the occurrences of the most frequent adverbs in both CFPP2000 and PFC. The adverbs *plutôt*, *par contre* and *de toute façon* are clearly used less often, with the number of occurrences of *plutôt* being higher in CFPP2000 (0,0368%) than in PFC (0,0224%) and the number of occurrences of *de toute façon* being higher in PFC (0,0271%) than in CFPP2000 (0,0104%)⁴². Another distinction between CFPP2000 and PFC lies in the frequency of the adverb *au contraire*, which is almost absent in PFC (0,0010%), while it takes the fifth place and hence, occurs reasonably often in CFPP2000 (0,0102%). Similar remarks can be made about adverbs such as *malgré tout*, *pour autant* and *tout de même*, which are more frequent in CFPP2000 (0,0026% to 0,0060%) than in PFC (0,0005% to 0,0010%). We believe that these differences are in the first place due to the rather small size of the PFC corpus. More precisely, the PFC corpus probably does not contain enough contexts in which it is appropriate to opt for some of the contrastive adverbs. It is however also possible that geographical differences are at play, in the sense that Parisians could prefer to use certain markers more or less often than speakers of other regions in France, but this should be tested on a larger corpus⁴³.

In general, we can thus conclude that the frequencies of the most often used adverbs in CFPP2000 and PFC are very similar. Note that this also holds true for the corpora of Dupont (2015) and Csúry (2001), although to a lesser extent. The most frequent markers in their corpora are *pourtant* and *cependant*, together making up slightly more than half of the occurrences. However, there is more variation with respect to the frequency of the other adverbs (see figure 2). As we noted in the background section (2.3.1.), these differences are not surprising, given that the corpus of Dupont (2015) only consists of journalistic written French published in metropolitan France, while the corpus of Csúry (2001) contains different types of language use coming from both France and Canada.

4.2.2. Register differences

In the general overview of the data (4.1.), we noted that some of the contrastive adverbs occur markedly more/less often in CFPP2000 and PFC, compared to the corpora of Dupont (2015) and Csúry (2001). These differences suggest that the number of occurrences of certain adverbial connectors is influenced by the language register. Let us first focus on the frequency of *quand même* in the different corpora. It is very clear that this contrastive adverb is used much more often in CFPP2000 (0,2126%) and PFC (0,1976%) than in the corpora of Dupont (2015) (<0,0020%)⁴⁴ and Csúry (2001) (0,0042%).

⁴² Note that all percentages in this section are mentioned in table 9.

⁴³ Recall that the CFPP2000 only contains interviews conducted with inhabitants of Paris, whereas the PFC recordings were collected in different areas in France (see 3.1.).

⁴⁴ Recall that Dupont (2015) does not provide the exact frequency of contrastive adverbs that occur less than 20 times per million words in her corpus (see 2.3.1.). Since we are sure that these infrequent adverbs are ranked

Furthermore, as we already noted in the previous section (4.2.1.), it is striking that the adverb *quand même* is used so frequently in CFPP2000 and PFC, in comparison with the other contrastive adverbs (see figure 2). This indicates that *quand même* can be considered to be an outstanding example of an adverb that is typical of informal spoken French. Our results thus seem to corroborate the hypothesis according to which *quand même* belongs to a rather ‘familiar’ register and is especially frequent in spoken French (see 2.3.2.). Similar observations can be made with regard to *par contre*. The frequency of this contrastive adverb is higher in CFPP2000 (0,0295%) and PFC (0,0229%) than in Dupont (2015) (<0,0020%) and Csúry (2001) (0,0030%), which implies that *par contre* can be seen as characteristic of informal spoken French. Just as with *quand même*, our findings thus confirm the hypothesis that *par contre* prefers to be used in informal speech (see 2.3.2.). Importantly, our frequency count reveals that still another adverb seems to be typical of informal spoken French, namely *de toute façon*. This contrastive adverb also occurs particularly more often in CFPP2000 (0,0104%) and PFC (0,0271%) than in the other two corpora (<0,0020% and 0,0036%). However, in previous studies on contrastive adverbial connectors, *de toute façon* has not been described as an adverb that is typically used only in a certain register. Hence, we believe that more research is needed to verify this possible preference of *de toute façon* for informal and/or spoken French. Note that the adverb *plutôt* also seems to occur more frequently in informal spoken French (CFPP2000: 0,0368% and PFC: 0,0224%) than in formal written French (Dupont (2015): 0,0094%). It is however problematic to formulate any claims about *plutôt* based on the results presented in table 9. As we explained in the background section (2.3.1.), the frequency of *plutôt* in the corpus of Dupont (2015) is probably higher than indicated, because occurrences of contrastive adverbs below clause level were not counted, and this type of use especially seems to be frequent with *plutôt* (see 4.3.). In addition, we cannot make a comparison with the study of Csúry (2001), since the adverb *plutôt* was not included in his analysis.

Let us now focus on the bottom side of table 9, i.e. on the adverbs that are (almost) completely absent from informal spoken French. Certain contrastive markers indeed seem to be ‘banned’ from the informal spoken corpora, whereas they occur considerably often in the formal (written) corpora of Dupont (2015) and Csúry (2001). It is striking that no occurrences at all were found of *cependant* and *toutefois* in CFPP2000 and PFC. In the corpus of Csúry (2001) by contrast, *cependant* and *toutefois* both belong to the top three of most frequently used adverbs and also in the corpus of Dupont (2015), these two adverbs are part of the top ten (see figure 2). Our results thus clearly corroborate the hypotheses that have been formulated in the linguistic literature, according to which *cependant* and *toutefois* are characteristic of formal language use (see 2.3.2.). Furthermore, our frequency count confirms that *néanmoins* could be seen as typical of formal French as well, because it rarely occurs in CFPP2000 (0,0003%) and PFC (0,0005%), compared to Dupont (2015) (0,0046%) and Csúry (2001) (0,0088%). However, the register difference is not so pronounced as with *cependant* and *toutefois*. Moreover, the use of the constructions *ne/n’en ... pas moins* (0%) and *quoi qu’il en soit* (CFPP2000: 0,0001% and PFC: 0%) also seems to be avoided in the spoken corpora, but the difference with Dupont (2015) (0,0044% and <0,0020% respectively) and Csúry (2001) (0,0019% and 0,0015% respectively) is again less obvious, which suggests that these constructions are probably used rather infrequently overall. Note that in the linguistic literature, it has also been pointed out that the adverb *pour autant* prefers to occur in formal French (see 2.3.2.). Our findings do not corroborate this hypothesis, since *pour autant* is used more or less equally often in the four corpora (0,0005% to 0,0086%). Finally, it should be noted that the adverb

lower than *à l’inverse* (0,0020%) in terms of frequency, we decided to represent their percentage of use as smaller than 0,0020%.

pourtant occurs less frequently in CFPP2000 (0,0078%) and PFC (0,0071%) than in Dupont (2015) (0,0476%) and Csúry (2001) (0,019%), although it is part of the top ten of the most often used contrastive adverbs in all corpora (see figure 2). This could indicate that *pourtant* has a slight preference for formal French, which should however be further examined on the basis of larger corpora.

To summarize, our frequency count of French contrastive adverbial connectors in four corpora shows that *quand même*, *par contre* and probably *de toute façon* could be considered to be typical of informal spoken French, whereas *cependant*, *toutefois*, *néanmoins* and probably *ne/n'en ... pas moins*, *quoi qu'il en soit* and *pourtant* could be seen as characteristic of formal French. More in general, we can conclude that the choice for a certain contrastive adverb seems to be influenced by the language register. Importantly, this observation suggests that, based on their frequency, French contrastive adverbial connectors can be given a place in the diglossic model (compare figure 1).

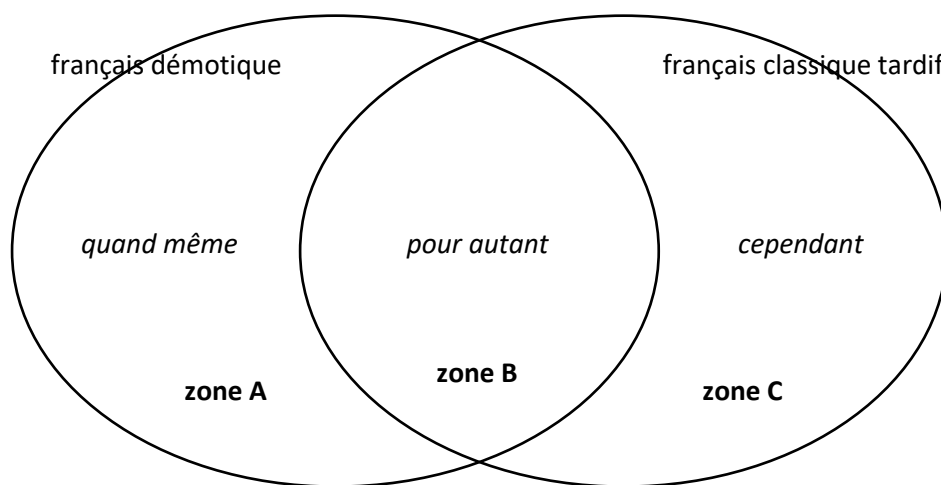


Figure 3 – The diglossic model illustrated by means of French contrastive adverbial connectors

As is illustrated in figure 3, some adverbs (zone A, e.g. *quand même*) seem to belong to an informal register (*français démotique*), whereas others (zone C, e.g. *cependant*) are typically used in a formal register (*français classique tardif*). In addition, there is a group of adverbs that do not have a clear preference for a particular register (zone B, e.g. *pour autant*). In sum, the frequency of use of the contrastive adverbs in the different registers thus seems to support the idea that French is characterized by a situation of diglossia.

4.3. Position of the contrastive adverbial connectors

In this section, we will present our analysis of the placement patterns of French contrastive adverbial connectors in CFPP2000 and PFC. We will successively focus on the general placement pattern (4.3.1.) and on the specific placement preferences of the individual contrastive adverbs (4.3.2.). Recall that we only analyzed the ten most frequently occurring contrastive adverbs according to CFPP2000. Also note that we will not discuss the CFPP2000 and PFC data separately, since we believe that the number of occurrences of several adverbs is too low to make comparisons between the two corpora. In addition, based on the frequency analysis of the contrastive adverbial connectors, which revealed no important

differences between CFPP2000 and PFC, we assume that the contrastive adverbs behave similarly in both corpora.

Before presenting the results of our analysis, it should be noted that we disregarded examples in which it was not possible to correctly determine the position of the contrastive adverb. Firstly, this means that connectors used below clause level were removed, like in Dupont (2015) (compare example (20)):

(66) *mais la population africaine est restée reste **plutôt** était restée **plutôt** en foyer + avec le foyer Bara (CFPP2000)*

(67) *vous n'avez pas d' souvenirs de + ni de moments ++ peut-être d'humiliation ou de + ou **au contraire** de moments euh + euphoriques (CFPP2000)*

As is illustrated in the examples (66)-(67), the contrastive adverbs with the largest number of uses below clause level in our corpora are *plutôt* (53 out of 303 examples; 17,49%) and *au contraire* (11 out of 73 examples; 15,07%). In total, we found 93 examples (out of 1567 examples; 5,93%) of connectors used below clause level, which were all removed. Secondly, we also disregarded occurrences of contrastive adverbs in incomplete clauses. The adverb *au contraire* in particular is often found in such clauses, since it can be used in an 'absolute' way, i.e. without a right term of the contrastive relation (68) (see Brysbaert 2017: 54-59 for an analysis). Interestingly, this kind of 'absolute' use seems to be possible with the adverb *quand même* as well (69):

(68) *spk4 : tu peux pas ne pas aller chez Monoprix
spk3 : et on n'a pas l'impression qu' Monoprix est désert voilà
spk4 : du tout **au contraire**
spk3 : et il s'est ouvert un petit Monoprix de luxe pour célibataires là tu sais rue d' la Roquette qu' est hein qui marche bien (CFPP2000)*

(69) *ML : Il a même neigé, on m'avait dit qu'il faisait jamais froid et qu'il neigeait jamais vu que c'était vers la mer, et en fait il a neigé, il a gelé euh. Enfin bon, jamais à moins de moins cinq, mais, **quand même** quoi.
E : Et euh, tu, et sinon tu taffes non, tu as des, tu as un boulot ou euh ? (PFC, Dijon, GC)*

In addition, cases in which the speaker did not finish his/her sentence were also counted as incomplete clauses:

(70) *spk1 : et les infos sur le quartier ou la ville c'est quoi pour toi ? Internet + +
spk4 spk1 : [1] mes amis [2] (la radio, XX)
spk4 : je suis non ça **par contre**
spk1 : musées tu tu vas pas
spk4 : ah
spk1 : lire un journal pour savoir (CFPP2000)*

In total, our corpora contained 107 occurrences (6,83%) of contrastive adverbs in incomplete clauses, which were all discarded. This means that altogether, 200 out of the 1567 extracted examples (12,76%) were not taken into consideration for the analysis of the position, either because the contrastive adverb was used below clause level or because the contrastive adverb was part of an incomplete clause.

Furthermore, it is also important to stress that we based our distinction of positions on the distinction used by Dupont (2015), since it is more fine-grained than the tripartite distinction made by Csúry

(2001) (see 2.4.2. and 2.4.3.). Recall that Dupont (2015) distinguishes five possible positions, based on the notions of *theme* and *rheme*: thematic 1 (71), i.e. at the beginning of the clause, thematic 2 (72), i.e. within or after an interpersonal theme, rhematic 1 (73), i.e. between the topical theme (i.e. mostly the subject) and the verb phrase, rhematic 2 (74), i.e. within the verb phrase, and rhematic 3 (75), i.e. after all obligatory elements of the clause (see 2.4.3. and compare examples (26)-(34)). However, we decided to take together thematic 1 (71) and thematic 2 (72) into one category, because we noticed that the different contrastive adverbs are hardly ever used in thematic 2 position in our corpora⁴⁵. This implies that we only have four positions in total. In addition, we opted for a more transparent terminology than the one used by Dupont (2015). Concretely, we distinguished between an “initial position” (71)-(72), for adverbs occurring at the beginning of the clause, before the topical theme (= thematic 1 and 2 in Dupont (2015)), a “medial 1 position” (73), for adverbs used between the topical theme and the verb phrase (= rhematic 1 in Dupont (2015)), a “medial 2 position” (74), for adverbs inserted within the verb phrase (= rhematic 2 in Dupont (2015)), and a “final position” (75), for adverbs occurring after all obligatory elements of the clause (= rhematic 3 in Dupont (2015)):

- (71) *Et le développement durable ça doit inclure la protection de l'environnement. Mais **en même temps**, pas euh, ça doit pas euh, comment, enfin tu dois pas au nom de l'environnement créer à tout va des sanctuaires de la nature quoi, et où il y a plus d'activité économique parce que tu protèges l'environnement.* (PFC, Dijon, GC)
- (72) *et puis après il faut s' dire "bon faut peut-être **quand même** que j' sois un peu plus proche d'eux maintenant euh + j'avance dans l'âge j'ai eu ce + ce coup de problème au coeur"* (CFPP2000)
- (73) *Ben, mon père il a, il a le, il a la, la thèse, il a une thèse quoi, donc euh. Et puis ma mère **par contre**, elle a arrêté avant, elle est ingénieur d'études, elle donc elle doit être, elle doit être au niveau D.E.A., un truc comme ça, je pense.* (PFC, Dijon, FC)
- (74) *ouais ça dépend en fait pour les [pause] vacances enfin pour une longue durée on va prendre la voiture mais pour les [toux] weekends on va **plutôt** préférer le le train* (CFPP2000)
- (75) *ben déjà j'y suis allé très tôt tout seul (mm) vers six sept ans (mm) voilà parce que ma mère travaillait tôt + et mon père lui il travaillait très tard **au contraire** donc il se (mm) réveillait pas (mm) donc euh j'y allais tout seul quoi* (CFPP2000)

4.3.1. General placement pattern of the contrastive adverbial connectors

Table 10 gives an overview of the frequency of use of the different connector positions in CFPP2000 and PFC. The results clearly show that in these two corpora, the contrastive adverbs prefer to be used in the initial position, i.e. at the beginning of the clause (51,26%). Furthermore, the contrastive connectors also occur quite often in the medial 2 position, i.e. within the verb phrase (28,34%). The final position, i.e. the placement of a contrastive adverb after all obligatory constituents in the clause, comes third (17,23%). Finally, only in a minority of the examples, the contrastive connectors occur in the medial 1 position, i.e. between the topical theme (i.e. mostly the subject) and the verb phrase (3,17%).

⁴⁵ More precisely, we only found ten examples (one in PFC and nine in CFPP2000) of the thematic 2 position, all containing the adverb *quand même* (see example (72)).

	Initial	Medial 1	Medial 2	Final	Total
French contrastive connectors	492 (51,26%)	44 (3,17%)	543 (28,34%)	288 (17,23%)	1367 (100%)

Table 10 – Absolute and relative frequencies of the general placement pattern of French contrastive adverbial connectors in CFPP2000 and PFC⁴⁶

In general, the main distribution presented in table 10 provides evidence for the hypothesis that adverbial connectors most frequently occur in the initial position (see 2.4.1.). In our opinion however, this does not imply that the initial position can be seen as the most ‘natural’ position for adverbial connectors, since it is used only in half of the cases (51,26%). Other positions, especially medial 2 and final, are frequent as well, which shows that the contrastive adverbs in CFPP2000 and PFC are actually quite mobile.

Furthermore, it appears from table 10 that the general placement pattern of the adverbs in CFPP2000 and PFC comes closer to the general placement pattern in Csúry (2001) (see table 4) than in Dupont (2015) (see table 6). In the corpus of Csúry (2001) as well as in CFPP2000 and PFC, contrastive adverbs occur at the beginning of the clause in circa half of the cases (49,49% and 51,26% respectively)⁴⁷, while in Dupont (2015), the preferred position of the contrastive adverbs is the rhematic 2 position (52,6%) (= the medial 2 position), i.e. within the verb phrase. This could indicate that the factor mode (written versus spoken language) influences the choice for a certain adverbial position. As we already mentioned above (see 2.3.1. and 3.1.), the corpus of Dupont (2015) only contains written French, whereas the corpus of Csúry (2001) partly consists of spoken data and both CFPP2000 and PFC only contain spoken French. In light of this difference, our results thus show that the initial position is probably frequent especially in spoken French⁴⁸. More in general, it is interesting to point out that the contrastive adverbial connectors in CFPP2000 and PFC are very often ‘detached’ from the clause, either at the beginning or at the end. As presented in table 10, only in about a third of the cases (31,51%, i.e. medial 1 and 2), the contrastive adverbs are inserted into the clause. Importantly, these results confirm the hypothesis of Dupont (2015) that the rhematic 1 and 2 positions (= medial 1 and 2 in our analysis) are not frequently used in the spoken mode (see 2.4.4.).

Finally, it should be stressed that in the informal CFPP2000 and PFC corpora, the final position is used considerably more often (17,23%) than in the (mainly) formal corpora of Csúry (2001) and Dupont (2015), where this position is rather infrequent (9,5% and 3,1% respectively). This finding suggests that in informal speech, the tendency to place contrastive adverbs at the end of the right term of the contrastive relation is greater than in formal language use. We believe that it would be interesting to further test this hypothesis on other corpora of informal French, especially because it also goes against

⁴⁶ The relative frequencies in table 10 were calculated by using the same procedure as Dupont (2015) (compare tables 4 and 6). For each position, the frequencies of the different connectors (see table 11) were added up, and the number obtained was then divided by the total number of connectors, i.e. 10. In this way, each connector was given the same weight, regardless of its absolute frequency.

⁴⁷ Note that the initial position of Csúry (2001) does not completely correspond to the initial position in our study, since we also included “thematic 2” connectors (see Dupont (2015)) in this category. However, we believe that this does not influence the findings, given that there were only ten occurrences of thematic 2 connectors in our corpora.

⁴⁸ Note however that the corpus of Csúry (2001) also contains a lot of written materials next to the spoken data, and that it is therefore difficult to determine the exact influence of the mode.

the (intuitive) claim that adverbial connectors prefer to occur clause-initially to highlight their connecting function (see 2.4.1.). Moreover, we believe that it could be useful to examine whether the high frequency of clause-final adverbs in informal spoken French might be related to the phrase-final accent in French. In addition, note that the use of connectors in clause-final positions has not received much attention yet in the linguistic literature (but see e.g. Haselow 2012 on English).

4.3.2. Individual placement preferences of the contrastive adverbial connectors

Table 11 presents the individual placement patterns of the contrastive adverbial connectors in CFPP2000 and PFC. Six out of the ten markers, i.e. *en même temps*, *pourtant*, *par contre*, *de toute façon*, *pour autant* and *au contraire*, are used most frequently in the initial position, which explains of course the general preference for this position in our corpora (see 4.3.1.). However, this does not imply that these markers display a distribution that is similar to the main pattern given in table 10. The adverbs *en même temps* and *pourtant* occur extremely often at the beginning of the clause (94,52% and 87,10% respectively), and also *par contre*, *de toute façon* and *pour autant* are used in this position more frequently than on average (73,39%, 66,40% and 61,90% respectively). In addition, these contrastive markers do not all prefer the medial 2 position as second best option. For instance, *par contre* is used more often in medial 1 (13,73%) and final (10,73%) than in medial 2 position (2,15%), and *de toute façon* clearly prefers the final (26,40%) over the medial 2 position (5,60%). Let us now pass on to the four remaining markers, *plutôt*, *tout de même*, *quand même* and *malgré tout*, which do not display a general preference for the initial position and in this way, deviate more explicitly from the main distribution presented in table 10. The contrastive adverb *plutôt* in particular, but also *tout de même* and *quand même*, prefer to be placed in the medial 2 position (90,23%, 70,59% and 57,06% respectively). Interestingly, the last two markers differ as to their second most frequent position: *tout de même* also frequently occurs clause-initially (23,53%), whereas *quand même* is more often used at the end of the clause (33,52%). Finally, as far as *malgré tout* is concerned, still another placement pattern appears: this marker slightly prefers the final (50,00%) over the initial position (45,00%).

Connector	Initial	Medial 1	Medial 2	Final	Total
<i>en même temps</i>	69 (94,52%)	0 (0%)	3 (4,11%)	1 (1,37%)	73 (100%)
<i>pourtant</i>	54 (87,10%)	0 (0%)	5 (8,06%)	3 (4,84%)	62 (100%)
<i>par contre</i>	171 (73,39%)	32 (13,73%)	5 (2,15%)	25 (10,73%)	233 (100%)
<i>de toute façon</i>	83 (66,40%)	2 (1,60%)	7 (5,60%)	33 (26,40%)	125 (100%)
<i>pour autant</i>	13 (61,90%)	0 (0%)	6 (28,57%)	2 (9,52%)	21 (100%)
<i>au contraire</i>	24 (48,00%)	8 (16,00%)	6 (12,00%)	12 (24,00%)	50 (100%)
<i>malgré tout</i>	18 (45,00%)	0 (0%)	2 (5,00%)	20 (50,00%)	40 (100%)
<i>tout de même</i>	4 (23,53%)	0 (0%)	12 (70,59%)	1 (5,88%)	17 (100%)
<i>quand même</i>	48 (9,04%)	2 (0,38%)	303 (57,06%)	178 (33,52%)	531 (100%)
<i>plutôt</i>	8 (3,72%)	0 (0%)	194 (90,23%)	13 (6,05%)	215 (100%)

Table 11 – Absolute and relative frequencies of the individual placement patterns of 10 French contrastive adverbial connectors in CFPP2000 and PFC⁴⁹

⁴⁹ The adverbs are presented in decreasing order according to their frequency in the initial position.

The results presented in table 11 clearly corroborate the idea that the different contrastive markers have specific individual positional preferences and hence, that the lexical component plays a part in the choice for a certain position (see 2.4.2.-2.4.4.). Let us also compare our findings with the results of Csúry (2001) (see table 5) and Dupont (2015) (see table 7). First, as for the adverbs *par contre*, *quand même* and *de toute façon*, our results are very similar to those of Csúry (2001)⁵⁰: *par contre* occurs most frequently at the beginning of the clause (CFPP2000/PFC: 73,39%; Csúry: 79,55%) and also *de toute façon* prefers the initial position (CFPP2000/PFC: 66,4%; Csúry: 60,38%), whereas *quand même* is used most often in medial positions (CFPP2000/PFC: 0,38% (M1) and 57,06% (M2); Csúry: 90,32%)⁵¹. Note however that the tendency of *quand même* to be placed in medial positions is much more pronounced in the corpus of Csúry (2001) than in our corpora. Second, with respect to the adverbs *tout de même* and *plutôt*, we also do not observe large differences between our results and those of Csúry (2001) and Dupont (2015). The contrastive adverb *tout de même* is most often used clause-medially (CFPP2000/PFC: 70,59% (M2)⁵²; Csúry: 55,56%; Dupont: 5,7% (R1) and 51,4% (R2)) and the marker *plutôt* even displays a stronger preference for the medial positions (CFPP2000/PFC: 90,23%; Dupont: 10% (R1) and 77,1% (R2))⁵³. Third, as for the contrastive connectors *au contraire*, *pour autant*, *malgré tout* and *pourtant*, different positional preferences can be observed between our corpora and the corpora of Csúry (2001) and Dupont (2015). The adverb *au contraire* prefers to be used clause-medially in the corpus of Csúry (2001) (55,95%) and Dupont (2015) (7,6% (R1) and 43,8% (R2)), but it also often occurs at the beginning of the clause (Csúry: 39,29%; Dupont: 37,1%). In our corpora however, this adverb is more frequent in the initial position (48%) than in the medial 1 (16%) and medial 2 (12%) positions. Also note that in contrast with Dupont (2015), *au contraire* prefers the medial 1 over the medial 2 position in our corpora. Furthermore, with respect to *pour autant*, similar observations can be made: this marker is used most frequently in medial positions in the corpora of Csúry (2001) (69,23%) and Dupont (2015) (17,2% (R1) and 46,9% (R2)), while in our corpora, *pour autant* occurs most often in the initial position (61,9%). In addition, it should be pointed out that we did not find any examples of *pour autant* in the medial 1 position, whereas the corpus of Dupont (2015) contains 11 occurrences (17,2%) of *pour autant* in the rhematic 1 (= the medial 1) position. As for *malgré tout*, our results are also very different from the findings in previous research: we found that this adverb slightly prefers the final (50%) over the initial (45%) position, whereas in the corpus of Csúry (2001), it is used most often in medial position (75%)⁵⁴. Furthermore, as far as *pourtant* is concerned, this adverb prefers the initial position in our corpora (87,10%) and in the corpus of Csúry (2001) (44,19%), whereas in the corpus of Dupont (2015), it is used most frequently in the medial positions (8,2% (R1) and 48,9% (R2)). Also note that the tendency of *pourtant* to occur clause-initially is much more pronounced in our corpus than in the corpus of Csúry (2001). Finally, note that we cannot compare our findings for *en même temps*, since the position of this marker has not been analyzed in previous research, neither in Csúry (2001) nor in Dupont (2015).

⁵⁰ We cannot compare with Dupont (2015), since these three adverbs were too infrequent in her corpus and she therefore did not analyze their position.

⁵¹ In this section, M1 stands for medial 1, M2 for medial 2, R1 for rhematic 1 and R2 for rhematic 2. Also note that we consider the rhematic 1 and 2 positions in the analysis of Dupont (2015) to correspond to our medial 1 and 2 positions and to the medial position in the analysis of Csúry (2001).

⁵² We did not find any occurrences of *tout de même* in the medial 1 position.

⁵³ Note that *plutôt* was not included in the analysis of Csúry (2001).

⁵⁴ Note that Dupont (2015) did not analyze the position of *malgré tout*.

To summarize, our results clearly showed that the French contrastive adverbs we considered have different individual positional preferences. In this way, the hypotheses put forward in the linguistic literature are corroborated (see 2.4.). However, we also observed that there are important differences between the individual preferences of these adverbs in CFPP2000/PFC, Csúry (2001) and Dupont (2015), but that it is difficult to find a general tendency in these differences. We believe that more research on the position of contrastive adverbs in more corpora is needed to be able to make claims about the placement preferences of particular adverbs. Finally, also note that it is not straightforward to compare the results of our study and the study of Dupont (2015) with that of Csúry (2001), since different criteria were used to analyze the position of the adverbs.

4.4. Use of the contrastive adverbial connectors in combination with other connectors

In this final section, we will focus on the possibility to combine French contrastive adverbs with other connectors. As appears from table 12, in our two corpora, the contrastive adverbs generally prefer to be used without another connector. Only *pour autant* and *en même temps* are more often combined with another connector, in particular *mais*, than not (69,57% and 66,23% respectively). Unsurprisingly, this also implies that there is individual variation as to the frequency with which the different contrastive adverbs are combined with other connectors: some adverbs (e.g. *pour autant* and *en même temps*) are more likely to co-occur with another connector than others (e.g. *de toute façon* and *pourtant*). Broadly speaking, these findings correspond to the results of Csúry (2001) (see table 8 above). Note however that there are some frequency differences with respect to specific adverbs. For example, the adverb *malgré tout* is clearly used more often in combination with another connector in the corpus of Csúry (2001) (50%) than in our corpora (22,73%) and conversely, *pour autant* co-occurs more frequently with another connector in our corpora (69,57%) than in the corpus of Csúry (2001) (15,38%)⁵⁵.

If we look at which other connectors exactly are used in combination with the adverbs, we again find similar results as Csúry (2001). The preferred combination seems to be the one with the coordinating conjunction *mais*. All contrastive adverbs, except for *au contraire*, co-occur with this connector and the combination with *mais* is also the most frequent one. Other combinations are generally much rarer and seem to be more adverb-specific: the connector *ou* for instance is used in combination with *plutôt* and *au contraire* in particular. Furthermore, our results show that it is possible to combine different contrastive adverbs with each other, such as *malgré tout* and *quand même*, *quand même* and *en même temps*, etc., but this kind of combination is very infrequent. To finish, let us briefly elaborate on the use of *mais* in combination with *quand même* and *tout de même*. In the background section (2.5.), we pointed out that the adverb *quand même* is probably more likely to co-occur with *mais* than other adverbs, since it is believed to be obligatory combined with this coordinating conjunction in monological discourse (Jayez 1982: 206; Moeschler & de Spengler 1981: 94-95). The same hypothesis might apply to *tout de même* as well, given that this adverb has a very similar use (Gettrup & Nølke 1984: 26). In our corpora however, this tendency does not clearly show up: *quand même* and *tout de même* are indeed often combined with *mais*, but the same observation holds true for other adverbs.

⁵⁵ Note that according to us, the results of Csúry (2001) might not always be representative, due to the low total number of occurrences for some connectors (e.g. only 8 examples in total of *malgré tout*).

Importantly, note that our corpora consist of interviews and are thus supposed to contain more dialogues than monologues, which could also explain why the combination of *quand même* and *tout de même* with *mais* is not extremely frequent.

Connector	With another connector	Without another connector	Total ⁵⁶
<i>pour autant</i>	16 (69,57%) <i>mais</i> (13), <i>sans</i> (2), <i>sans que</i> (1)	7 (30,43%)	23 (100%)
<i>en même temps</i>	51 (66,23%) <i>mais</i> (51)	26 (33,77%)	77 (100%)
<i>tout de même</i>	7 (36,84%) <i>alors que</i> (1), <i>mais</i> (6)	12 (63,16%)	19 (100%)
<i>par contre</i>	67 (26,48%) <i>mais</i> (54), <i>ou</i> (1), <i>quand</i> (6), <i>si</i> (6)	186 (73,52%)	253 (100%)
<i>quand même</i>	139 (24,09%) <i>alors que</i> (2), <i>au contraire</i> (1), <i>en même temps</i> (1), <i>mais</i> (128), <i>même si</i> (3), <i>par contre</i> (2), <i>plutôt</i> (1), <i>tandis que</i> (1)	438 (75,91%)	577 (100%)
<i>malgré tout</i>	10 (22,73%) <i>mais</i> (6), <i>ou</i> (3), <i>quand même</i> (1)	34 (77,27%)	44 (100%)
<i>au contraire</i>	16 (21,92%) <i>ni</i> (1), <i>ou</i> (15)	57 (78,08%)	73 (100%)
<i>plutôt</i>	59 (19,47%) <i>au contraire</i> (1), <i>mais</i> (28), <i>malgré tout</i> (1), <i>ou</i> (18), <i>par contre</i> (1), <i>quand même</i> (8), <i>si</i> (2)	244 (80,53%)	303 (100%)
<i>de toute façon</i>	25 (19,38%) <i>mais</i> (22), <i>même si</i> (2), <i>quand même</i> (1)	104 (80,62%)	129 (100%)
<i>pourtant</i>	3 (4,35%) <i>mais</i> (3)	66 (95,65%)	69 (100%)

Table 12 – Absolute and relative frequencies of the presence/absence of other connectors in combination with 10 French contrastive adverbial connectors in CFPP2000 and PFC⁵⁷

In sum, the analysis of the possibility to combine contrastive adverbs with other connectors revealed no important differences between our corpora and the corpus of Csúry (2001). As we discussed above, the main tendencies are indeed the same: French contrastive adverbs generally prefer to be used without another connector, and if they co-occur with another connector, it is mostly with *mais*. There are however some differences between CFPP2000/PFC and Csúry (2001) as to the frequencies of the individual adverbs, but we believe that more research is needed to be able to interpret these as register differences. Finally, also note that according to us, there is a major problem with the comparability of the results. It is hard to know which connectors exactly were taken into account by Csúry (2001) and on which criteria his selection was based (see 2.5.). For instance, Csúry (2001) seems to have included

⁵⁶ Note that the totals in table 12 do not correspond to the totals in table 11, since we had to exclude 107 occurrences of contrastive adverbs in incomplete clauses for the positional analysis (see 4.3.).

⁵⁷ The adverbs are presented in decreasing order according to their frequency of use in combination with another connector.

combinations with the coordinating conjunction *et*, but we had to discard this coordinator, since it appeared to be impossible to distinguish between the use of *et* as a filler versus a real coordinator in our two corpora of informal spoken French.

5. Conclusion

In this thesis, we analyzed the frequency and the syntactic use of contrastive adverbial connectors in two corpora of informal spoken French: *Discours sur la ville : Corpus de Français Parlé Parisien des années 2000* (CFPP2000) and *Phonologie du Français Contemporain : usages, variétés, structure* (PFC). Since we were especially interested in possible register effects, we systematically compared our results to those of Csúry (2001) and Dupont (2015), who analyzed the frequency and use of contrastive adverbial connectors in formal (written) French.

In order to study the frequency of the contrastive adverbs, we counted the number of occurrences of 36 different adverbs in our two informal spoken corpora. We observed that the adverbs *quand même*, *par contre* and, to a lesser degree, *de toute façon* are used more frequently in informal spoken French compared to formal (written) French. Conversely, the adverbs *cependant*, *toutefois* and *néanmoins* in particular, and also *ne/n'en ... pas moins*, *quoi qu'il en soit* and *pourtant* were (almost) absent from our two informal spoken corpora and can thus be considered to be typical of formal (written) French. Based on these findings, we concluded that the choice for a particular contrastive adverb seems to be influenced by the language register. The frequency analysis of contrastive adverbial connectors in different registers thus supports the hypothesis that French is characterized by a situation of diglossia, i.e. that formal French and informal French are fundamentally different varieties. More precisely, some adverbs (e.g. *quand même*) seem to belong to an informal register, others (e.g. *cependant*) are typical of a formal register, while still others are common to both registers (e.g. *pour autant*). In this way, our study of contrastive adverbs also indicates that formal and informal French do not only have a distinct grammar, as has often been pointed out in the linguistic literature (e.g. Rowlett 2011, 2013), but also a distinct lexicon.

We also studied the use of the ten most frequent contrastive adverbs in informal spoken French, by focusing on two syntactic properties: their position in the clause and their use in combination with other connectors. As for the syntactic position, we found that contrastive adverbs have a general preference for the initial position in our two corpora. In this way, our results corroborate the hypothesis that adverbial connectors most often occur clause-initially, because of their linking function. However, since the French contrastive adverbs are used in initial position only in about half of the examples, we believe that they actually should be considered to be quite mobile. Importantly, we also observed a possible effect of the register on the syntactic position of the contrastive adverbs. In our informal spoken French corpora and in the formal written/spoken corpus of Csúry (2001), contrastive adverbs prefer to be used clause-initially, whereas in the formal written corpus of Dupont (2015), they occur most often in the rhematic 2 position (= the medial 2 position), i.e. within the verb phrase. This finding could indicate that the mode (written versus spoken) has a more important influence on the choice for a certain syntactic position than the language register (formal versus informal), in that the use of contrastive adverbs in initial position is probably frequent especially in spoken French. Furthermore, we observed that the contrastive adverbial connectors in our two corpora of informal spoken French are in general very often 'detached' from the clause, either at the beginning or at the end, compared to the formal (written) French corpora. This finding could suggest that in informal language, contrastive adverbs are more often used in clause-final position than in formal language. Finally, we also pointed out that the different contrastive adverbs have different individual positional preferences, and that the lexical component thus also plays a part in the choice for a certain syntactic position, which is in line with the linguistic literature.

With respect to the second syntactic property, the use of the contrastive adverbs in combination with other connectors, we observed that there are no important differences between our informal spoken French corpora and the formal written/spoken French corpus of Csúry (2001). More specifically, we confirmed that French contrastive adverbs generally prefer to be used without another connector, and if they co-occur with another connector, it is mainly with *mais*. This part of the corpus analysis thus revealed no evidence for the hypothesis that French is characterized by a situation of diglossia.

As became clear from the presentation of our results, we can conclude that the frequency and, to a certain degree, also the use of French contrastive adverbs seem to be influenced by the register. In this way, our corpus analysis completes the existing studies, which are based on formal (written) French only, and highlights the importance of taking into consideration different registers. In addition, we focused on the syntactic properties of the contrastive adverbs and studied a broad set of adverbs, which was mostly not the case in previous research.

Finally, we would like to point out that there are still a lot of possibilities to explore the use of French contrastive adverbs in more depth. First, we believe that it would be worthwhile to repeat our analyses with data from a corpus of informal written French (such as the *Yahoo Contrastive Corpus of Questions and Answers* (De Smet 2009)). This would allow to verify with more certainty whether certain effects are particularly due to the mode (written versus spoken) or to the language register (formal versus informal). Next, it would be interesting to make more fine-grained distinctions with respect to the corpora, for instance by comparing monological versus dialogical language use, because according to the linguistic literature (e.g. Anscombe 1983), this can also affect the frequency of the contrastive adverbs. Furthermore, we think that it could be useful to analyze the contrastive adverbs in combination with other linguistic phenomena that have shown to be influenced by register. More precisely, it would be interesting to check whether contrastive adverbs that seem to be characteristic of informal or formal French are typically used in combination with other informal or formal language features. Importantly, such an analysis would allow to find more sound evidence for the hypothesis that the informal French grammar and lexicon is indeed fundamentally different from the formal French grammar and lexicon. Finally, we believe that it would also be interesting to gain a better insight into the learning and developing process of the informal and formal French grammar, by focusing on speech production of children.

6. References

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