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ABOUT TWO CLAUSE-LINKAGE STRATEGIES IN FRENCH: GROUPINGS AND PARALLEL STRUCTURING

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Abstract

This paper investigates French utterances which are made up of sequences of two successive Verb-Phrases which do not make use of any kind of subordinating element such as conjunctions, thus showing a mere *paratactic* or *correlative* relation. Building on the opposition between microsyntax and macrosyntax, we will suggest that a broad distinction may be drawn between two fundamentally different modes of clause-linking: *macrosyntactic groupings*, a mode of combination between clauses which can be given a fully syntagmatic status; and *parallel structuring*, which is based on the paradigmatic nature of the relationship holding between successive sequences. Our proposal is based on a series of criteria relating to the possibility to organize the successive units in a paradigmatic way, the mode of connection between each clause, and the degree of autonomy of each sequence.

1. Introduction & first illustrations

In the present paper I wish to introduce and analyze some specific French utterances which raise the issue of grammatical and discursive structuring in a challenging way. All of the spoken and written utterances¹ that will be discussed below are made up of sequences of two (in some cases more than two) successive Verb-Phrases which do not make use of any kind of subordinating element, being linked solely through juxtaposition or coordination.

For the most part, those utterances would traditionally be analyzed as instances of *parataxis*², while others would be more precisely regarded as *correlative constructions*³. The following description will not make use of such a distinction but will be based instead on a specific framework that will be briefly introduced below. As a means to illustrate the structures under discussion in a straightforward way, let us consider the following 31

1 Although most illustrations are drawn from spoken corpora, some written examples are occasionally presented. The spoken utterances mostly come from various corpora which have been collected at the Aix-Marseille University (CERF & CRFP, among other databases). The written utterances are from the CERF corpus.

2 This notion is thoroughly studied in Béguelin, Avanzi & Corminboeuf ed. (2010).

3 On correlative constructions, see Allaire (1982), Hadermann *et al.* (2010), Deulofeu (2001), Roig (2015).

examples, which have been classified in 5 different types (a-f), on the sole basis of the semantic relation between each successive Verb-Phrase:

a- A large variety of utterances⁴ convey an overall contrastive meaning between the successive Verb-Phrases. Here are just a few illustrations of particularly frequent structures in French spoken corpora:

The contrastive interpretation may be essentially expressed by a concomitant variation of the modal marker of the verb (affirmative *vs* negative form), and of the lexeme of the verb's Object⁵:

1. je parle pas de l'autoroute hein / je parle de la rocade [spoken, CRFP]
I am not speaking about the motorway / I am speaking about the bypass
2. j'ai pas vu grand chose encore / j'ai vu que la place [spoken, Corpaix]
I didn't see much so far / I only saw the square
3. je m'occupe pas des arbres en ce moment / je m'occupe plutôt de la terrasse [spoken, Corpaix, *le concierge*]
I'm not taking care of the trees right now / I'm rather taking care of the terrace

Other structures signal their contrastive value in a more symmetrical way, by using a specific morpheme in each successive Verb-Phrase.

In some cases, the same morpheme is repeated in each phrase, which is typical of the so-called "correlative constructions": "d'un côté... d'un autre côté", "d'une part... d'autre part" (*on the one hand... on the other hand*), "un coup... un coup" (*one time... one time*), "autant... autant" (*as much as... as much as*).

4. bon d'un côté il y a un boulot social / de l'autre côté c'est un hum c'est un versant qui est plus culturel [spoken, Corpaix]
well one the one hand there is social work / on the other hand this is mm this is a more cultural dimension
5. il y a d'une part ça / et d'autre part il y a aussi la mise en place [spoken, CRFP]
you have this on the one hand / and on the other hand you have the setting up
6. un coup je te vois / un coup je te vois pas [spoken, Corpaix]
one time I see you / one time I don't see you
7. alors les uns disent quelques jours / d'autres disent quelques mois [spoken, Corpaix]
so some of them say for a few days / others say for a few months
8. autant c'était verdoyant la Galilée + autant quand nous sommes partis vers Jéricho c'est le désert [spoken, Corpaix]
as much as the Galilee was a verdant landscape / as much as when we left to Jericho it is a desert

4 The notion of "utterance" will not be given any precise theoretical status.

5 A "/" symbol is used to separate the successive Verb-Phrases in each utterance. "+" indicates a pause in spoken examples. The utterances are followed by their approximate English translation.

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9. autant j'étais optimiste il y a cinq six ans / autant je suis pessimiste maintenant [spoken, TCOF]

as much as I was optimistic five or six years ago / as much as I am pessimistic now

10. Tantôt nous chassons, / tantôt nous cultivons, / tantôt nous cueillons... [written, CERF]

Sometimes we hunt, / sometimes we cultivate, / sometimes we gather...

In other instances, each Verb-Phrase is associated with a different morpheme which contributes to the chronological or discursive structuring of the states of affairs denoted in each sequence. Those “symmetry markers”⁶ may consist in linking adverbs like “d’abord” (*first*), “ensuite” (*then*) ; ordinal adverbs like “en premier”, “premièrement” (*first*), “deuxièmement” (*secondly*)⁷; or nouns which are endowed with some partitive function, such as those expressing the days of the week, the moments in a day, etc.:

11. d’abord on doit chanter / et ensuite on doit s’occuper de ses enfants [spoken, Corpaix]

first we have to sing / and then we have to look after the children

12. en premier + il y a eu des illu- des illusionnistes + et + qui faisaient sortir des parapluies des + petites boîtes + / après + il y a eu des + clowns + des danses [spoken, Corpaix]

first + there were illu- illusionists + and + who made umbrellas and little boxes appear + / then + there were clowns + dances

13. le lundi il n’y avait pas beaucoup de travail / mais arrivé(s) le jeudi le vendredi les commandes s’accéléraient euh le débit des supermarchés euh augmentant beh nous étions obligés de travailler souvent deux ou trois heures de plus [spoken, Corpaix]

on Mondays there wasn’t much work / but as soon as Thursdays and Fridays arrived orders getting more numerous er supermarket sales increasing well we often had to work two or three extra hours

It is obviously possible for the contrastive meaning to be expressed without any specific morpheme or without any variation of the modal form of the sequences:

14. c’était un métier dur / mais c’était un joli métier [spoken, Corpaix, la fleuriste]

it was a hard job / but it was a fine job

15. nous on mangeait n’importe quoi / mais eux il leur fallait du lait /il leur fallait du sucre [spoken, Blanche-Benveniste, 2010a, 143]

WE could eat anything / but THEY needed milk / THEY needed sugar

A contrastive / concessive meaning can be expressed by sequences in which the first Verb-Phrase is governed by the quite peculiar modal verb “avoir beau”⁸, which could be approximately translated in English by “may have...” or “even though...”:

16. ils ont beau être instruits / ils comprennent pas ce genre de choses [spoken, Corpaix]

they may be educated / they don’t understand these kinds of things

6 Blanche-Benveniste (2010b).

7 Cf. Schnedecker (2001, 2006).

8 Cf. Blanche-Benveniste, *et al.* (1990); Béguelin (2010).

17. ils auront beau essayer de parler comme un français / leur accent il est là [spoken, Corpaix]
even though they try to speak like the French / their accent is still here

b- Some utterances, which have been described as “unmarked conditionals” [Corminboeuf 2008] or “conditional paratactic constructions” [Dargnat 2008] carry a hypothetical meaning. They introduce what has to be interpreted as the “assumption” in the first member, and its “consequence” in the second member:

18. moi je serais une femme / j’accepterais pas ce principe [spoken, Blasco-Dulbecco, 1999]
me I would be a woman / I would not accept this principle

19. il y a des choses qui ne sont pas acceptables
euh on a des bus / on (n’) a pas de chauffeurs
on a des chauffeurs / on (n’) a pas de bus [spoken, Corpaix]⁹
*there are things that are not acceptable
er we get buses / we don’t get drivers
we get drivers / we don’t get buses*

20. vous me touchez avec vos petits bouts de bois / et moi je porte plainte pour coups et blessures [spoken, Corminboeuf, 2008]
you touch me with your little pieces of wood / and me I sue you for assault and battery

c- A highly specific correlative construction makes use of the quantifiers “plus” (*more*) or “moins” (*less*) in front of each successive Verb-Phrase, in a symmetric way¹⁰:

21. plus les élèves vieillissent / et moins ils parlent [spoken, Corpaix]
the older the pupils get / the less they speak

More than two successive Verb-Phrases can be involved in the structure:

22. plus tu es passionné par ce que tu fais / plus il y a une ambiance / plus l’ambiance est bonne / et plus les clients sont contents et reviennent dans ton restaurant [spoken, Corpaix]
the more you are passionate about what you’re doing / the more there is an atmosphere / the better the atmosphere becomes / and the more customers come back to your restaurant

d- In some Verb-Phrases combinations, the first sequence is governed by “il y a” (*there is*)¹¹, which is used to introduce the topic of the utterance, thus getting what traditional grammar considers a “presentational” value. In such constructions, “Il y a” does not possess its usual syntactic properties, one crucial limitation being that it cannot be in the negative form:

23. il y a des des chambres / vraiment euh + tu as pas envie de faire un coup de balai + [spoken, Corpaix]
there are bedrooms / really er + you don’t feel like sweeping the floor

9 For the sake of clarity, each utterance has been reproduced on a separate line.

10 This structure is investigated in Allaire (1982), Savelli (1993), Roig (2014), Abeillé & Borsley (2006).

11 Cf. Cappeau & Deulofeu (2001); Willems & Meulleman (2010).

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24. il y a des gens / ils viennent acheter de l'aspirine pour faire de l'eau gazeuze [spoken, Corpaix]
there are people / they come to buy aspirin in order to make sparkling water

A few other verbs behave in quite the same way: “j'ai” (*I have*) or “je vois” (*I see*):

25. moi j'ai mon fils aîné / il gagne un pognon fou [spoken, Corpaix]
me I have my son / he makes lots of money

26. moi je vois mon neveu / il a fait une villa / il faut voir comme elle est grande [spoken, Corpaix]
me I see my nephew / he had a house built / you should see how big it is

e- French makes use of routinized structures in which the first Verb-Phrase denotes an accomplished (*eg.* in the past perfect) or unaccomplished (*eg.* in the imperfect) action, whereas the second sequence introduces an unaccomplished process. The juxtaposition of such Verb-Phrases is often related to the expression of a temporal frame or some other kind of “circumstance”¹²:

27. je suis venue à Toulouse / j'avais environ deux ans [spoken, Choi-Jonin & Delais-Roussarie, 2007, 1]
I came to Toulouse / I was about two years old

28. ils m'avaient engagés dans la marine / je savais pas nager [spoken, Deulofeu, 1989]
I joined the navy / I didn't know how to swim

29. c'était une chambre plus ou moins belle / bon on ouvrait la porte / il y avait la mer en face [spoken, Choi-Jonin & Delais-Roussarie [2007, 4]
it was a more or less beautiful room / well we opened the room / the sea was just in front

f- In some utterances, the first Verb-Phrase is related to the expression of a threshold, with such verbs as “il suffit” (*it is sufficient, you only have to*):

30. il suffit que ma sœur passe un disque ou quelqu'un / ben moi je danse [spoken, CRFP]
it is sufficient for my sister to put on a record or somebody / well me I dance

31. les gens je les ai trouvés beaucoup plus accueillants euh / il suffit qu'on aille les voir / et hop ça y est de suite on est accueilli [spoken, CRFP]
those people I found them much more friendly er / you only have to go and see them / and there you go you are immediately welcome

Most of the structures illustrated above have already been thoroughly studied in a large number of publications, based on a variety of descriptive frameworks and various kinds of data¹³. Let me stress at the outset that I don't aim at giving a comprehensive account of each of those utterances, which would be far beyond the scope of this study. Rather, our classification will remain quite general, since we will mainly suggest here that, among the

12 Cf. Deulofeu (1989), Choi-Jonin & Delais-Roussarie (2007).

13 Cf. references given in notes 2 to 12.

various correlative and paratactic structures under discussion, a broad distinction can be drawn between two fundamentally different modes of clause-linking: *macrosyntactic groupings*, a mode of combination which can be given a fully syntagmatic status; and *parallel structuring*, which is based on the paradigmatic nature of the relationship holding between successive constructions. As will be developed below, our approach will not follow the traditional distinction between juxtaposition, coordination and subordination, which we believe fails to provide a totally satisfactory classification¹⁴.

2. Sentences and grammar

2.1. The microsyntax / macrosyntax distinction

Before I start commenting upon the preceding examples, I wish to give a very brief account of some of the conceptions that have been developed by such researchers as C. Blanche-Benveniste and J. Deulofeu, within the “Aix-en-Provence” framework of spoken French description. For that purpose, I will just write a few words about the notions of “Government-units” and “Utterance-units”¹⁵ as they are used in our approach.

As is well known, the traditional notion of sentence raises considerable difficulties, especially when spoken data is concerned¹⁶. One of those difficulties pertains to the fact that, according to many approaches, sentence-units (as defined in a traditional way) should be considered to constitute the only “maximal unit” for grammatical structuring.

Indeed, most syntactic frameworks conceive their domain as the study of sentence structure without specifying, in many cases, how *sentence* should to be defined. Just to take two examples, D. Crystal (1985, 300) presents syntax as «a traditional term for the study of the rules governing the way words are combined to form sentences in a language”.

In quite a similar way, the French scholars M. Riegel *et al.* (1994, 22) state that “Traditionnellement, la syntaxe [...] décrit la façon dont les mots se combinent pour former des groupes de mots ou des phrases.”¹⁷

14 As a matter of fact, in many scholars’ discussions, a persistent issue pertains to whether paratactic or correlative utterances relate to juxtaposition, coordination or subordination. For instance: « La corrélation est un type de lien entre phrases, dont il est difficile de dire s’il est de l’ordre de la juxtaposition ou de la coordination » (*Correlation is a kind of connection between sentences, which is difficult to characterize as juxtaposition or coordination*) [Arrivé *et al.*, 1985, 199]. “Parmi tous les cas de juxtaposition, il y en a qui ont des effets subordonnants. On parle alors de subordination « implicite ». (*Among the various cases of juxtaposition, some of them have a subordinating dimension. They are referred to as “implicite subordination”*) [Siouffi & Van Dan Raemdonck, 2007, topic about «parataxis and juxtaposition », 187]

15 The French labels which we usually use are « unités rectionnelles” and “unités d’énoncé ».

16 Cf. Blanche-Benveniste (2002), Sabio (2006), Pietrandrea *et al.* (2014).

17 “Traditionally, syntax [...] describes the way in which words combine to form groups of words or sentences.”

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By contrast with such conceptions, our framework suggests that not one but two different kinds of maximal units must be postulated, each of them giving rise to their own principal of grammatical cohesion. This conception is based on a fundamental distinction which is put forward by Blanche-Benveniste (2010b) in the following two quotations¹⁸, where “syntax of verb constructions” (*syntaxe des constructions verbales*) and “organization of utterances” (*organisation des énoncés*) are distinguished as two different fields of study:

“Syntax is to be understood here in a narrow sense, as the domain where the principal parts of speech (verbs, nouns and adjectives) exercise their grammatical properties, with the notable capacity to govern other elements by selecting their form as well as their main semantic types.”¹⁹

“The utterances that speakers produce contain composite elements of syntax, prosody, semantics, pragmatics, as well as a variety of discourse routines, some relations being signaled by morphologic marks, while others are not. Since such structures cannot be described on the sole basis of the parts of speech’s syntactic properties, several current studies have agreed to account for them at a more general level of macro-syntax.”²⁰

Building on such a conception, the following distinction will be adopted: on the one hand, the *microsyntactic structuring* accounts for dependency relations between a syntactic head and the various elements that are governed by it (syntax, “in a narrow sense” according to Blanche-Benveniste *supra*). Such microsyntactic constructions form what can be termed *Government-Units*.

On the other hand, our framework recognizes the *macrosyntactic level*²¹ as a second cohesion mechanism; macrosyntax is not concerned with government in the strict sense, but investigates the links between successive elements which are unrelated as far as microsyntax is concerned, but still share some kind of discursive relationship. The macrosyntactic analysis thus deals with the way in which utterances are shaped beyond strict government relations.

It should be pointed out that both levels of analysis are thus connected to their own specific “maximal unit”:

At the microsyntactic level, we deal with Government-Units; at the macrosyntactic level, we deal with Utterance-Units, conceived as communicatively autonomous sequences

18 Our translation.

19 « La syntaxe sera comprise ici dans un sens restreint comme le domaine où s’exercent les propriétés grammaticales des principales parties du discours, verbes, noms et adjectifs, et en particulier la propriété de régir d’autres éléments en sélectionnant à la fois leurs formes et leurs grands types sémantiques ».

20 « Les énoncés produits par les locuteurs comportent des matériaux composites de syntaxe, de prosodie, de sémantique, de pragmatique, ainsi que tout un ensemble de routines de discours, certaines relations étant signalées par des marqueurs morphologiques et d’autres non. Comme ces organisations ne peuvent pas être caractérisées uniquement par la syntaxe des catégories grammaticales, plusieurs études récentes se sont accordées pour les situer à un niveau plus englobant de macro-syntaxe. »

21 Blanche-Benveniste *et al.* (1990), Debaisieux *ed.* (2013), Pietrandrea *et al.* (2014).

of speech, which can be characterized, among other features, according to their illocutionary value, their distributional properties and their prosodic structure.

It is essential to keep those two kinds of maximal units strictly separated from one another, since they account for two very different aspects of grammatical togetherness.

In this regard, it is worth mentioning that linguists working on spoken data's description often have resorted to two distinct "maximal units" for both theoretical and methodological reasons. As a matter of fact, the notion of sentence being so often ruled out as inadequate, it appears much simpler to conduct the analysis starting with Government-Units (which are quite easy to pinpoint), and to consider the way utterances are organized in the second place. This is Blanche-Benveniste's conception, as it is Miller & Weinert's, who suggest starting the description of English spoken texts by identifying the successive "clauses" (1998, 30):

"The central problem is that it is far from evident that the language system of spoken English has sentences, for the simple reason that text-sentences are hard to locate in spoken texts. Clauses are easily recognized: even where pauses and a pitch contour with appropriate scope are missing, a given verb and its complements can be picked out".

2.2. *When micro- and macrosyntax go the same way... and when they don't*

It is of course possible for Government-Units and Utterance-Units to coincide in a perfect way with one another, in specific examples. Such is the case in:

32. Est-ce que tu connais la personne dont parle Jean ?
Do you know the person Jean is speaking about?

Which forms both a Government-Unit governed by the verb "connaître" (*know*), and an Utterance-Unit which has the global illocutionary value of a request.

We could even give much more complex utterances that still form only one Government-Unit. Let us consider a spoken example like:

33. je ne peux que me féliciter de voir que euh + il y a une première réalisation qui + est peut-être minime en apparence mais qui marque incontestablement un + une volonté de faire une politique qui coordonne l'ensemble des moyens dont on peut disposer dans la communauté urbaine + pour + favoriser l'utilisation des transports urbains [spoken, CERF]
I strongly welcome + this first achievement + which may appear quite minimal but undoubtedly shows a + a willingness to conduct a policy that can coordinate the various means which are available to the urban community + in order to + promote the use of public transportation

It appears that the whole of the structure could be reduced to the sequence *I strongly welcome this*; the availability of such a pronominal reduction demonstrates in our model that the sequence forms only one Government-Unit (in addition to forming just one declarative Utterance-Unit).

But the mechanism of embedding illustrated in [33] is by no means the only way in which “complex” utterances can be built up in actual discourse. Indeed, Utterance-Units are regularly made up of series of concatenated Government-Units. In an example like:

34. en général les femmes je leur fais pas confiance [spoken, Blanche-Benveniste *et al.* 1990, 85]
generally the women I don't trust them

the Adverbial-Phrase *generally*, the Noun-Phrase *the women* and the Verb-Phrase *I don't trust them* each form a specific Government-Unit, that combine together (at the macrosyntactic level) to form just one Utterance-Unit endowed with the illocutionary value of a statement. This is one very simple illustration of how discourse is organized in maximal units, the cohesion of which is guaranteed by relations that go beyond strict syntactic dependency²².

3. Successive Verb-Phrases and macrosyntactic organization

I will now return to the initial examples [1-31], in order to describe the clause-linkage strategies which they involve.

Those utterances show no morphological marking indicating that one of the successive segments would be governed by an element of the other segment; nor do they manifest any property of “paradigmatic insertion” such as the equivalence with a pronominal form, the possibility to be cleft, and the like²³: in other words, there is no microsyntactic linkage holding between the paired sequences of each example. Even when the successive sequences make use of “correlative” morphemes (such as “plus... plus” in “plus il mange plus il grossit”, *the more he eats the fatter he gets*), no dependency relation is at work, in our perspective.

Thus, every such sequence constitutes a Government-Unit of its own, and the type of linkage that the successive Government-Units undergo is merely macrosyntactic. To put it in Blanche-Benveniste's terms, the grammatical relation holding between the paired sequences in each utterance pertains to the “organization of utterances”. For instance, [18] can be segmented as follows²⁴:

35. [[je serais une femme]_{GU} [j'accepterais pas ce principe]_{GU}]_{UU}
[[I would be a woman]_{GU} [I would not accept this principle]_{GU}]_{UU}

²² See Pietrandrea *et al.* (2014) for further illustration.

²³ Within the *pronominal approach* framework, such properties are used to attest that elements do share a microsyntactic relation. This aspect cannot be developed here. *Cf.* Blanche-Benveniste *et al.* (1984), Deulofeu (1991), Benzitoun & Sabio (2010), Sabio (2011).

²⁴ GU stands for “Government-Unit”, and UU for “Utterance-Unit”.

A direct implication of our framework, as pointed out by Deulofeu (1989), is that the “binary” or “segmented” dimension of the utterances discussed in this paper should not be seen as a case of detachment, but rather as a case of “attachment” between several Government-Units inside a single Utterance-Unit.

However, specifying what those macrosyntactic linkage strategies consist of is not an easy task. Just stating, in a negative way, that the utterances under study exhibit no government relation doesn’t suffice to characterize them as to their grammatical or discursive properties. And relying on such vague notions as parataxis or correlation is not very enlightening either.

By no means will I try to address that question in a precise way. I would only like to suggest that, within the vast domain of paratactic or “pseudo-paratactic” combinations, a fundamental distinction can be drawn between two major structures, which will be referred to as *macrosyntactic groupings* on the one hand, and *parallel structuring* on the other hand.

3.1. Two types of paratactic combinations: macrosyntactic groupings and parallel structuring

In order to establish and illustrate that distinction, I will build on the basic opposition between syntagmatic and paradigmatic structuring of linguistic production.

To put it simply, macrosyntactic *groupings* may be seen as combinations which can be given a fully syntagmatic status; whereas *parallel structures* are to be interpreted as a manifestation of the paradigmatic organization of discourse. Here are two very simple examples which enable us to grasp the distinction:²⁵

36. je serais riche / je serais président
I would be rich / I would be the president [interpreted as an “unmarked conditional”]

37. tu serais le gendarme / je serais le voleur
I would be the policeman / you would be the thief [interpreted as 2 juxtaposed units]

Although these examples show quite similar structural symmetry between each successive GU, they should be carefully differentiated.

In [36], the two successive Government-Units form very dissimilar units regarding their macrosyntactic properties : the first Unit, “je serais riche”, is devoid of any communicative autonomy; it would typically be expressed in spoken French with a continuative high pitch, making the hearer understand that “there is more to come”; in our model, that sequence would be analyzed as a *Pre-Nucleus* unit that bears a “conditional” meaning. In a different way, the second GU *je serais président* is said to constitute the *Nucleus* unit of the structure, that is to say, the segment that could form an autonomous utterance:

²⁵ This example was given by C. Muller (conference on “detachment and correlation”, presented at the Paris-Sorbonne University, June 2015).

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38. [je serais riche]_{Pre-Ncl} [je serais président]_{Ncl}
[I would be rich]_{Pre-Ncl} [I would be the president]_{Ncl}

The very fact that the two parts of the utterance appear so dissimilar as to their macrosyntactic value clearly indicates the syntagmatic dimension of such a grouping of constructions. As a matter of fact, as F. de Saussure (1916) pointed out one century ago, syntagmatic relations always imply some kind of *opposition* between successive elements:

« Placé dans un syntagme, un terme n’acquiert sa valeur que parce qu’il est opposé à ce qui précède ou ce qui suit, ou à tous les deux. » (171)
“Placed in a syntagm, a term acquires its value only because it is opposed to that which precedes or to that which follows, or to both.”

In contrast, example [37] exhibits a quite different structure: we consider it to be an example of *parallel structuring* ; in that case, the macrosyntactic combination is based on the paradigmatic link which holds between the two successive units. Paradigmatically organized combinations are related to various effects of lexical and syntactic symmetry.

Before I introduce some of the cues that make it possible to distinguish between the two types of clause-linkage strategies, I will give one more example which illustrates the two strategies at work in the same portion of text. The excerpt below was uttered by a saleswoman complaining about having to spend most of her time with customers:

39. la clientèle était tous les jours avec moi + je me levais le matin j’étais avec des clients je mangeais à midi j’étais avec des clients et je me couchais le soir j’étais avec des clients
[spoken CRFP]
the customers were with me every day + I woke up in the morning I was with customers I had my lunch at noon I was with customers and I went to bed at night I was with customers

As far as strict dependency relations are concerned, the sequence starting by “je me levais le matin” is made up of 6 independent Government-Units:

- a- je me levais le matin (*I woke up in the morning*)
- b- j’étais avec des clients (*I was with customers*)
- c- je mangeais à midi (*I had my lunch at noon*)
- d- j’étais avec des clients (*I was with customers*)
- e- et je me couchais le soir (*and I went to bed at night*)
- f- j’étais avec des clients (*I was with customers*)

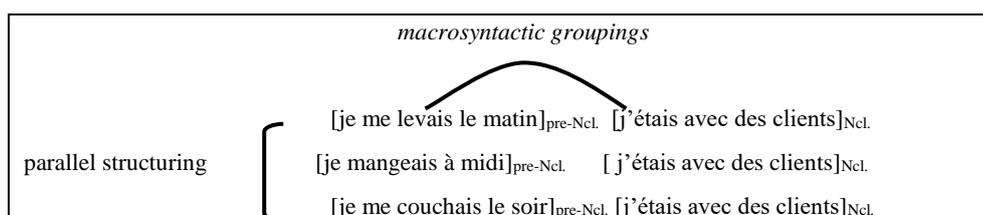
The segmentation of the text into 6 successive Verb-constructions is, so to speak, all that can be done at the microsyntactic level of analysis, which, as has been pointed out above, deals with “syntax in a narrow sense”. However, a correct interpretation of the sequence obviously makes it necessary to perform some macrosyntactic linkage ; in our view, two different linkage strategies are involved here: on the one hand, the example consists of three main sequences that show a parallel structuring with one another, introducing a semantic linkage between the action which takes place in the morning (*I woke up in the morning I was with customers*), at noon (*I had my lunch at noon I was with customers*), and at night (*I went to bed at night I was with customers*).

3 parallel sequences : [I woke up in the morning I was with customers] [I had my lunch at noon I was with customers] [and I went to bed at night I was with customers]

In addition to that first division, each of the three segments presents an internal macrosyntactic grouping between each successive GU: the first one has a temporal value and forms a Pre-Nucleus Unit; the second one forms a Nucleus Unit and bears the assertive value of the utterance.

grouping 1 : [je me levais le matin]_{pre-Ncl.} [j'étais avec des clients]_{Ncl.}
 grouping 2 : [je mangeais à midi]_{pre-Ncl.} [j'étais avec des clients]_{Ncl.}
 grouping 3 : [je me couchais le soir]_{pre-Ncl.} [j'étais avec des clients]_{Ncl.}

In the following presentation of [39], the groupings are given on the horizontal axis in order to point out their syntagmatic value, whereas parallel structures are indicated on three different lines as a way to show their paradigmatic relationship:



We will now focus in a more precise way on some of the criteria which make it possible to distinguish between groupings and parallel structures. The following 3 criteria will be studied below:

- 1- the possibility to organize the successive GU's in a *paradigmatic* way.
- 2- the mode of *connection* between each GU.
- 3- the *degree of autonomy* of each GU.

3.2. *Macrosyntactic combination and paradigmatic organization*

The Government-Units that exhibit parallel structuring are characterized by their possibility to form « paradigmatic listings ». It should be recalled that in the “Aix-en-Provence” framework, this term is used in order to indicate that a syntactic position has not been filled by a single item but by a series of several elements which pile up in the same syntactic slot²⁶. This is what happens in the following example, in which the Object of the verb “voir” (*see*) takes the form of a “list” containing 4 successive elements that add up to

²⁶ Cf. Blanche-Benveniste (1990).

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each other, and could be replaced by a unique pronoun; “les” (*them*) in “je les ai vus” (*I have seen them*):

40. j'ai vu Véronique et plein de gens et Éric et Rémy entre autres [spoken, CERF]
I have seen Véronique and plenty of people and Eric and Rémy among others

Such lists are conveniently positioned vertically, in order to illustrate their paradigmatic nature:

I have seen	Véronique and plenty of people and Éric and Rémy	among others
<i>I have seen</i>	<i>them</i>	

Let us return to ex.[39]: the 3 sequences sharing a relation of parallel structuring could easily be produced as a paradigmatic list, for instance if they were governed by a syntactic head like “savoir” (*know*), in which case the “que” (*that*) morpheme would typically be repeated in front of each listed element:

41. tout le monde savait que [je me levais le matin j'étais avec des clients], que [je mangeais à midi j'étais avec des clients], et que [je me couchais le soir j'étais avec des clients]
everyone knew that [I woke up in the morning I was with customers], that [I had my lunch at noon I was with customers], and that [I went to bed at night I was with customers]

Again, the paradigmatic listing can be represented on the vertical axis:

tout le monde savait	que	<i>je me levais le matin j'étais avec des clients</i>
	que	<i>je mangeais à midi j'étais avec des clients</i>
	et que	<i>je me couchais le soir j'étais avec des clients</i>

The two successive GU's of [37] illustrate the same kind of parallel relationship; provided some grammatical manipulations are applied, they could be realized as a paradigmatic list, endowed with an additive, alternative or contrastive meaning, according to which modal value and which connection marker (“et”, “ou”, mais”) will be used:

42. on avait dit que tu serais le gendarme et que je serais le voleur
we had said that you would be the policeman and that I would be the thief
 on avait dit que tu serais le gendarme ou que je serais le voleur ?
had we said that you would be the policeman or that I would be the thief?
 on n'avait pas dit que tu serais le gendarme mais que je serais le voleur
we hadn't said that you would be the policeman but that I would be the thief

on avait dit	que tu serais le gendarme
	et que je serais le voleur

on avait dit	que tu serais le gendarme ou que je serais le voleur ?
--------------	---

on n'avait pas dit	que tu serais le gendarme mais que je serais le voleur
--------------------	---

In a subpart of what traditional grammar regards as “correlative” constructions, the same kind of embedding patterns are attested, although they are most frequently found in written data:

43. Il en ressort tout de même que d'une part, la dépendance liée au cannabis n'est pas physique (...) et que d'autre part, les effets sur le cerveau concernent la mémoire à court terme. [written, CERF]

It nevertheless appears that on the one hand, cannabis addiction is not physical (...) and that on the other hand, its effects on the brain relate to short-term memory

44. Que pensez-vous faire pour veiller à ce que premièrement, les mesures aient lieu selon des normes objectives, et que deuxièmement, les fonctionnaires aient des conditions de travail saines ? [written, CERF]

What do you intend to do to ensure that first, measures are taken following objective norms, and that secondly, civil servants can enjoy good working conditions?

45. déjà à ce moment on reconnaît que tantôt les aphémiques peuvent encore écrire, *et que tantôt* ils ont également perdu ce mode d'expression. [written, Internet]

at that time it was already recognized that sometimes aphemia patients could still write, and that sometimes they had lost that mode of expression.

Regarding such “correlative” elements, it may be noted that they are endowed with an intrinsic paradigmatic nature which allow them to appear in paradigmatic lists involving other categories than Verb-Phrases²⁷. In [46] below, “d'une part” and “d'autre part” articulate two successive Preposition-Phrases; in [47], “d'un côté” and “de l'autre côté” join two Nominal-Phrases; in [48], “tantôt” and “tantôt” combine two Adjective-Phrases; finally, in [49], the three successive ordinal morphemes introduce bare nouns:

46. Je voudrais que l'effort soit fait, d'une part pour améliorer notre technicité, d'autre part pour améliorer notre réseau commercial. [written, CERF]

I wish the effort was made, on the one hand in order to improve our technicality, on the other hand in order to improve our commercial network.

47. donc tu as l'aspect pratique d'un côté et l'aspect société de l'autre côté [spoken, Corpaix]
so there is the practical aspect on the one hand and the societal aspect on the other

48. l'Alsace était tantôt française tantôt allemande [spoken, Corpaix]

²⁷ It is worth noting that utterances in “plus... plus” would not behave in the same way: the original syntactic and semantic value which is at work with such correlative markers could not be found in regular paradigmatic lists: for instance, the forged utterance: “plus il mange de légumes / moins il mange de viande” (*the more he eats vegetables / the less he eats meat*) is not equivalent to “il mange plus de fruits et moins de viande” (*he eats more fruits and less meat*). Among other properties which will be discussed later in this paper, that is why the “plus... plus” sequences could not be regarded as parallel structures in our perspective.

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Alsace was sometimes French sometimes German

49. on nous avait demandé quels étaient les métiers que nous désirerions faire plus tard + et j'ai répondu en premier + comédienne + en second professeur + en troisième + astronome [spoken, Corpaix]

We were asked what jobs we wanted to do later + and I answered first + actor + secondly teacher + thirdly + astronomer

The Utterance-Units involved in parallel structuring with a contrastive effect can regularly be realized as macrosyntactic “projections”²⁸. For instance, “la semaine il travaille / le week-end il reste chez lui” (*during the week he works / on week-ends he stays home*) could be reformulated with no expressed verb in the second sequence: “la semaine il travaille / le week-end jamais” (*lit: during the week he works / on week-ends never*). The notion of projection is a basically paradigmatic one in that, in our framework, the verbless construction which appears in the second position (“le week-end jamais”) has to be interpreted with reference to the first one:

la semaine	il travaille
le week-end	∅ jamais

Here are some more examples of projections:

50. je suis responsable / mais vous aussi [spoken, CRFP]

lit: I am responsible / but you too

51. certains aiment cette odeur + / d'autres non [spoken, Corpaix]

some people like that smell + / others don't (lit: others no)

52. ben disons que d'un côté il l'a bouleversé / mais d'un autre non [spoken, Corpaix]

lit: well let's say that on the one hand it has affected him / but on the other hand no

53. Parfois, j'arrive à la fin, parfois non. [written, CERF]

lit: Sometimes I am almost at the end / sometimes no

54. autant il y a beaucoup de gens + euh au Népal qui vont faire de trekking et des choses comme ça + / mais en Inde très peu [spoken, Corpaix]

lit: as much as there are many people + er in Nepal who practice trekking and things like that + / but in India very few

Let us now consider the Government-Units' combinations described as forming macrosyntactic *groupings* - that is, the syntagmatic ones - in order to verify that no paradigmatic realization is available in such cases. The following four examples illustrate correlative constructions in *plus... plus (the more... the more)* [55], “unmarked” conditionals [56], “presentational” structures [57], and utterances in “avoir beau” [58]; it appears that none of them is compatible with paradigmatic piling-up, which can be checked by the unnatural effect of the *que (that)* repetition in the second part of each utterance:

28 Cf. Bilger (1985), Blanche-Benveniste *et al.* (1990).

55. plus il voyage / et plus il aime voyager
? il m'a dit que plus il voyage / et *que* plus il aime voyager
the more he travels and the more he enjoys travelling
? *he told me that the more he travels / and that the more he enjoys travelling*
56. je serais riche / je serais président
? sois certain que je serais riche / que je serais président
I would be rich / I would be the president
? *be sure that I would be rich / that I would be the president*
57. j'ai mon fils ainé / il gagne un pognon fou
? tu sais bien que j'ai mon fils ainé / qu'il gagne un pognon fou
I have my eldest son / he makes lots of money
? *you perfectly know that I have my eldest son / that he makes lots of money*
58. ils ont beau être instruits / ils comprennent pas ce genre de choses
? tout le monde sait qu'ils ont beau être instruits / qu'ils comprennent pas ce genre de choses
they may be educated / they don't understand these kinds of things
? *everybody knows that they may be educated / that they don't understand these kinds of things*

Regarding the previous four utterances, we are assuming that each Government-Unit shares a strictly syntagmatic relation with the other; this is what makes it impossible to attempt to arrange them in a paradigmatic way. As a matter of fact, the rejected versions in [55-58] convey a rather strange enumerative interpretation, which fails to reflect the meaning of the original utterances. In fact, the only acceptable versions would lead to avoid the repetition of the “que” (*that*) conjunction in the second sequence:

59. il m'a dit que [plus il voyage et plus il aime voyager]
he told me that [the more he travels and the more he enjoys travelling]
60. sois certain que [je serais riche je serais président]
be sure that [I would be rich I would be the president]
61. tu sais bien que [j'ai mon fils ainé il gagne un pognon fou]
you perfectly know that [I have my eldest son he makes lots of money]

The paradigmatic criterion put forward in this section is obviously closely related to the possibility one has to distinguish between elements that should be considered “similar” as to their grammatical behavior from those that should be regarded as “dissimilar”.

Thus, the possibility for a series of elements to be “listed” amounts to saying that they are “of the same kind” and share no hierarchical relation. In contrast, the impossibility to do so indicates that the successive units must be described at two different levels and that they are involved in a hierarchical relationship.

We want to suggest here that the opposition between syntagmatic and paradigmatic structuring, which has proved highly fruitful as regards the microsyntactic domain of grammatical description, can be a useful tool for the study of macrosyntactic relations as well.

3.3. The modes of connection between Government-Units.

The second factor that can help distinguish between the two kinds of clause-linkage relates to the mode of connection between the successive GU's. We will briefly mention (i) the use of connection markers between each GU as they are found in spoken corpora; and (ii) the variation in the form of the alleged "correlative marker" at the beginning of the second GU.

(i) It appears that the selection of potential connection markers between the GU's is significantly freer, or at least less constrained, in (paradigmatic) *parallel structures* than it would be in (syntagmatic) *groupings*. For instance, a whole range of markers could be used between the following two GU's that have been described above as illustrating some kind of parallel structures [see ex.3]:

62. [je m'occupe pas des arbres en ce moment] \emptyset / *mais* / *par contre* / *en revanche* [je m'occupe plutôt de la terrasse du garage]
[I'm not taking care of the trees right now] \emptyset / *but* / *by contrast* / *however* [I'm rather taking care of the terrace]

Needless to say, not all of the existing connection markers would be appropriate, but the observed limitations could certainly be accounted for on a general semantic basis, in relation to the kind of meaning that the successive constructions are to convey.

Likewise, a subpart of the utterances in which each GU is introduced by a correlation marker appears to accept a variety of connection markers. For example:

63. [un coup je te vois] *mais* / *et* / *puis* / *et puis* [un coup je te vois pas]
[one time I see you] *but* / *and* / *then* / *and then* [one time I don't see you]

64. *alors* [les uns disent quelques jours] *et* / *mais* / *puis* / *par contre* / *alors qu'* [d'autres disent quelques mois] [spoken, Corpaix]
[so some of them say for few days] *and* / *but* / *then* / *however* / *whereas* [others say for a few months]

Parallel structures involving «macrosyntactic projections» behave in just the same way:

65. je suis rentrée hier soir de Lisbonne et ma valise non [spoken, Hennequin]
lit: *I came back from Lisbon yesterday and my suitcase no*

could be reformulated by using various connection markers :

66. [je suis rentrée hier soir de Lisbonne] *et* / *mais* / *par contre* / *en revanche* / *alors que* [ma valise non]
[I came back yesterday evening from Lisbon] *and* / *but* / *however* / *by contrast* / *whereas* [my suitcase no]

(ii) If we now consider the parallel sequences which are made up of correlative structures, it can be observed that, as pointed out by Deulofeu (2001), the realization of the

“correlative” mark affecting the second sequence is far more variable than would be predicted by traditional grammar. For instance, sequences starting with “d’une part” (*on the one hand*) are presumed to be typically followed by sequences in “d’autre part” (*on the other hand*) in standard French. And this is the case indeed in some very formal corpora, such as in ex.[5], repeated below:

5. il y a d'une part ça / et d'autre part il y a aussi euh la mise en place
you have this on the one hand / and on the other hand you have the setting up

But the study of more informal spoken data indicates that “d’une part” may not be followed by “d’autre part”, but rather by a variety of markers²⁹ such as “et” (*and*), “ensuite” (*then*), “et puis”, “et ensuite”, (*and then*), “et en plus” (*and in addition*), “et d’un autre côté” (*and on the other side*), “mais aussi” (*but as well*) (cf.[67]), “l’autre chose c’est que...” (*the other thing being...*) (cf.[68]):

67. il y a d'une part les sucres / mais il y a aussi encore plein de matières qu'il faut enlever
 [spoken, Corpaix]
there is on the one hand sugars / but there is as well plenty of materials that have to be removed

68. d'une part + ça ça permet de retenir la terre ça c'est très important + parce que ça retient la terre pendant les inondations + / et l'autre chose c'est qu'après quelques années [...] c'est une source de revenus pour eux [spoken, Corpaix]
on the one hand + it it helps retain the earth this is very important +because it retains the earth during floods + / and the other thing being that after a few years [...] it is a source of income for them

The status of parallel structures which make use of the correlative markers “autant... autant” (lit.: *as much as... as much as*) is particularly revealing since in informal speech, unlike what is commonly assumed, the second construction may very well abandon the initial morpheme “autant” and replace it by a more common marker, such as “mais” (*but*) [ex.54, 69] or “et” (*and*) [ex.70]³⁰:

54. autant il y a beaucoup de gens euh au Népal qui vont faire du trekking et des choses comme ça / mais en Inde très peu
 lit.: *as much as there are many people in Nepal who go trekking and stuff like that / but in India very few*

69. autant quand on était chacun de notre côté on se rendait bien compte de ce qu'on faisait / mais dès qu' on était tous les deux plus rien d' autre n' existait [spoken, C-oral Rom]
 lit.: *as much as when we were on our own we were fully conscious of what we were doing / but as soon as we were together nothing else existed*

29 Not to mention the frequent cases in which “d’une part” is followed by no correlation marker at all. This phenomenon seems to be particularly common with “premièrement” (*first*), which is quite often devoid of any “deuxièmement” (*secondly*) in spoken corpora.

30 Cf. Deulofeu (2001) for an indepth analysis of correlatives structures.

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70. autant il y en a un comme je le dis il il me motivait à apprendre (...) / *et* il y en a un autre il il me faisait tellement culpabiliser et tellement harceler que ça m'a dégoûté [spoken, Corpaix]
lit.: *as well as one of them as I say he he motivated me to learn / and the other he he made me feel so guilty and harassed that I got sick of it*

The main point to remember here is that successive sequences which involve parallel structuring may adopt the most “ordinary” modes of discursive connection, with no syntactic grammatical restrictions applying to them. To go back to ex. [54, 69, 70] above, the ease with which the “autant” morpheme can be replaced by such common elements as “et” or “but” demonstrates that the mode of connection which is at work between the successive GU’s doesn’t appear to be based on grammatical structuring, but rather on usual discourse connection.

In contrast to the preceding cases, the sequences that illustrate *macrosyntactic groupings* enable us to observe that the choice of the connection marker located between the successive GU’s is much more constrained.

In many cases, they do not allow the use of any connection marker at all. Such seems to be the case for “presentational” structures, which are systematically realized without any connecting element between the successive segments:

71. il y a des gens / ils viennent acheter de l’aspirine pour faire de l’eau gazeuse
*il y a des gens / *et* ils viennent acheter de l’aspirine pour faire de l’eau gazeuse
there are people / they come to buy aspirin in order to make sparkling water
* *there are people / and they come to buy aspirin in order to make sparkling water*

The same restriction applies to constructions in which the initial Verb-Phrase is governed by “avoir beau”:

72. ils ont beau être instruits / ils comprennent pas ce genre de choses
* ils ont beau être instruits / *et* ils comprennent pas ce genre de choses
they may be educated / they don’t understand these kinds of things
* *they may be educated / and they don’t understand these kinds of things*

Other kinds of macrosyntactic groupings allow the “et” (*and*) morpheme, to the exclusion of any other. Let us consider ex. [20], repeated below:

20. vous me touchez avec vos petits bouts de bois / *et* moi je porte plainte pour coups et blessures
you touch me with your little pieces of wood / and me I sue you for assault and battery

“Et” (*and*), which, in any case, appears totally optional³¹, is the only morpheme that could be used without affecting the conditional reading conveyed by the structure (*if you touch me...*).

31 In Corminboeuf’s spoken data, the majority of such structures make no use of any connection marker. “Et” is used in only 1/5 of the cases. “Que” may be found in very few cases.

Similarly, “et” would be the only acceptable element which could be placed between the two units of a *plus... plus* correlative construction:

73. ensuite il est clair que plus c'est grave / *et et* plus les choses vont être faites immédiatement [spoken, Corpaix]
then it is clear that the more serious it is / and and the more things should be done right away

The same applies to the groupings in which the first GU is semantically related to the expression of a “threshold” (structures starting with *it is sufficient...*, *you only have to...*); the marker *et* can be used, to the exclusion of all others:

31. les gens je les ai trouvés beaucoup plus accueillants euh + il suffit qu'on aille les voir / *et* hop ça y est de suite on est accueilli
those people I found them much more friendly er / you only have to go and see them / and there you go you are immediately welcome

74. il suffit qu'il y ait ce genre de nouvelles / *et* le standard explose [spoken, Corpaix]
it is sufficient for the news to arrive / and the switchboard is saturated with calls

It therefore appears that drastic restrictions in the selection of the connection markers are quite systematic in the case of *macrosyntactic groupings*. This constitutes in our view a valuable hint, illustrating the fact that the optional “et” morpheme found in some *groupings* cannot be interpreted as an ordinary “coordination marker”: given that it does not commute with any other connector, it cannot be given any paradigmatic status, but necessarily a syntagmatic one. Macrosyntactic *groupings* thus appear to be attached to a quite rigidly “fixed” form, which allows us to assimilate them to genuine grammatical organizations, in which the potential “et” marker should be regarded as a defining feature of the structure³².

3.4. *The degree of autonomy between successive Government-Units*

The last criterion that will be mentioned as a way to distinguish between both types of clause-linkage structures deals with the greater or lesser autonomy with which the two successive GU's can be produced. Two different aspects will be very briefly evoked here: (i) prosodic or graphic structuring, and (ii) relations of contiguity.

(i) Regarding prosody (or punctuation, in the case of written utterances), what must be verified is whether the successive Verb-Phrases may or may not be uttered as two

32 The very fact that Culicover & Jackendoff (1997, 195) use the term “*and*-constructions” in order to designate utterances like “you drink one more can of beer and I'm leaving” shows that the “and” morpheme must be considered as an essential element of the structure.

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independent prosodic phrases, that is, sequences each bearing a conclusive contour³³. We observe that sequences which are organized in a parallel way generally allow such realizations into two independent prosodic segments. Let us observe the following sequences where /TC/ is used for *Terminal Contour*; our intuition is that splitting the original examples into sequences of two “independent” Utterance-Units would still provide fully acceptable versions:

75. un coup ça marche /TC/ un coup ça marche pas /TC/
one time it works /TC/ one time it doesn't work /TC/

76. tantôt ils venaient /TC/ tantôt ils venaient pas /TC/
sometimes they came /TC/ sometimes they didn't come /TC/

77. je parle pas de l'autoroute hein /TC/ je parle de la rocade /TC/
I am not speaking about the motorway /TC/ I am speaking about the bypass /TC/

Note that in written productions, a “strong” punctuation mark like a full stop could be used to separate the successive units:

78. Un jour l'enfant était bien traité. Un jour il était battu. [written, Blanche-Benveniste, 2002]
One day the child was treated well. One day he was beaten.

79. Les uns disent qu'il est accablé d'une espèce de folie originelle, depuis son enfance. D'autres croient savoir qu'il est d'une cruauté extrême [written, CERF]
Some of them say that he has been affected by original insanity, since he was a child. Others believe that he is extremely cruel.

The picture is different concerning macrosyntactic *groupings*: the linked clauses need to be produced in a more “cohesive” way, both in spoken and written productions. The following examples illustrate the fact that any prosodic or graphic disjunction between the two sequences, resulting in a succession of two unrelated Utterance-Units, would be unacceptable:

80. vous me touchez avec vos petits bouts de bois et moi je porte plainte pour coups et blessures /TC/
*vous me touchez avec vos petits bouts de bois /TC/ et moi je porte plainte pour coups et blessures /TC/
**you touch me with your little pieces of wood /TC/ and me I sue you for assault and battery /TC/*

81. plus il mange plus il grossit /TC/
*plus il mange /TC/ plus il grossit /TC/
**the more he eats /TC/ the more he gets fat /TC/*

82. il a beau être compliqué c'est quand même euh un langage que j'aime bien /TC/
*il a beau être compliqué /TC/ c'est quand même euh un langage que j'aime bien /TC/
**it may be complicated /TC/ it is nonetheless er a language which I appreciate /TC/*

³³ These observations are largely based on our own intuition; a precise experimental study would obviously be needed here.

(ii) Let us now come to relations of contiguity: sequences which constitute macrosyntactic groupings need to be realized in a strictly contiguous way³⁴. In contrast, those involving parallel structures must not necessarily be contiguous to each other. For instance, in [68], reproduced below, the construction “ça c'est très important parce que ça retient la terre pendant les inondations” has been inserted by the speaker between the two parallel sequences:

68. d'une part + ça ça permet de retenir la terre [*ça c'est très important + parce que ça retient la terre pendant les inondations*] + et l'autre chose c'est qu'après quelques années [...] c'est une source de revenus pour eux
on the one hand + it it helps retain the earth [this is very important +because it retains the earth during floods] + and the other thing being that after a few years [...] it is a source of income for them

In the following example, forming a “correlative” parallelism between “premièrement” (*first*) and “ensuite” (*next*), we note that what is covered by the first correlative marker (“premièrement”) is not just one Verb-Phrase but a stretch of text made of a succession of different constructions:

83. *premièrement* on on a vu + on a vu + le + on a vu l'otarie + qui montait sur l'île + et puis il y avait une cascade + alors elle elle descendait + à droite + se laissait entraîner par le courant + et puis à gauche + splouf + ça arrosait + *ensuite* eh ben + *ensuite* on est allé voir des phoques + les phoques c'était bien [spoken, Corpaix]
first we we saw + we saw + the + we saw the sea lion + that was climbing on the island + and there was a waterfall + so it it went down on the right + was carried by the current + and then on the left + splash + it splashed all over the place + next well + next we went to see the seals + the seals were fine

The following presentation shows the way in which the excerpt is organized:

premièrement	on a vu l'otarie qui montait sur l'île et puis il y avait une cascade alors elle descendait à droite se laissait emporter par le courant et puis à gauche splouf ça arrosait
ensuite	
eh ben ensuite	on est allé voir des phoques les phoques c'était bien

34 Some insertions still appear possible, but in a very limited way. Cf. for instance : “j'ai beau avoir euh plus de soixante ans euh soi- [*j'en ai soixante-sept*] ben je peux vous dire que j'ai pas le temps de dire ouf” [spoken CRFP] - *I may be over sixty years old (I am sixty seven) well I can tell you that I don't have time to catch my breath.*

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Both parts of parallel organizations can be interrupted by other speakers' turns:

84. Loc.1: si tu veux d'un côté je préfère quoi euh ne pas avoir d'encadrement tout ça parce que je me sens plus plus libre de de mes mouvements quoi

Loc.2: ouais mais ça c'est certain ça

Loc.1: oui mais de l'autre côté comme je parlais sans avoir rien sans avoir + sans avoir rien prévu quoi en fait on n'a rien prévu de ce qu'on allait faire (...) [spoken, Corpaix]

Speak.1: if you want on the one hand I would rather well er not have any mentoring and everything because I will feel freer in my movements you see

Speak.2: yeah but this is obvious

Speak.1: yes but on the other hand since I started without having + without having planned anything you see we have planned nothing about what we were going to do (...)

Naturally, written texts show the same possibility; a descriptive sequence could easily be inserted between the two original constructions of [78]:

85. Un jour l'enfant était bien traité : *ses parents avaient plein d'attentions à son égard, son frère s'amusait avec lui.* Un jour il était battu

One day the child was treated well: his parents were kind to him, his brother had fun with him. One day he was beaten.

The following example in "tantôt... tantôt" illustrates a similar break as to contiguity relations between the successive members of the correlative construction:

86. Tantôt la nécessité commande : *quelle peut être la liberté de choix pour la femme dont le mari est au chômage ou pour celle qui vit seule ?* Tantôt c'est le conditionnement social qui opère tout naturellement... [written, CERF]

At times daily needs prevail: how free can be a woman whose husband is unemployed or who lives on her own? At times social conditioning is naturally at work...

The two types of clause-linkage which have been distinguished in this study are thus attached to different characteristics concerning the relative autonomy of each sequence: parallel structures can manifest themselves along quite large stretches of text. By contrast, constructions involved in macrosyntactic groupings happen to be more cohesive and more constrained regarding their possibility to be "detached" from each other.

3.5. Final synthesis

The 3 main criteria that have been used in order to distinguish between both types are summarized in the following table.

Table 1-Criteria

Type of macrosyntactic linkage	Possibility for paradigmatic listing of GU's	unrestricted mode of connection between GU's	degree of autonomy	
			GUs can be realized as more than 1 Utterance-Unit	GUs can be realized in a non contiguously way
Parallel structuring	+	+	+	+
Groupings	-	-	-	-

The next table gives an overview of some of the structures most frequently found in spoken corpora. The examples make use of a “/” symbol between successive Government-Units.

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Table 2-Summary of the structures

LINKAGE STRATEGY	TYPE	Ex.
MACROSYNTACTIC GROUPINGS	unmarked conditionals	moi je serais une femme / j'accepterais pas ce principe (<i>me I would be a woman / I would not accept this principle</i>)
	"plus... plus" correlations	plus les élèves vieillissent / et moins ils parlent (<i>the older the pupils get / the less they speak</i>)
	"presentational" structures	il y a des des chambres / vraiment tu as pas envie de faire un coup de balai (<i>there are bedrooms / really you don't feel like sweeping the floor</i>) j'ai mon fils aîné / il gagne un pognon fou (<i>I have my son / he makes lots of money</i>)
		je suis venue à Toulouse / j'avais environ deux ans (<i>I came to Toulouse / I was about two years old</i>) ils m'avaient engagés dans la marine / je savais pas nager (<i>I joined the navy / I didn't know how to swim</i>)
	Utterances related to the expression of a threshold	il suffit que ma sœur passe un disque / ben moi je danse (<i>it is sufficient for my sister to put on a record / well me I dance</i>)
	concessive utterances in <i>avoir beau</i>	ils ont beau être instruits / ils comprennent pas ce genre de choses (<i>they may be educated / they don't understand these kinds of things</i>)
PARALLEL STRUCTURES	"contrastive" utterances	je parle pas de l'autoroute hein / je parle de la rocade (<i>I am not speaking about the motorway / I am speaking about the bypass</i>)
	"correlative" (or "pseudo correlative") structures with a contrastive reading	un coup je te vois / un coup je te vois pas (<i>one time I see you / one time I don't see you</i>) d'abord on doit chanter / et ensuite on doit s'occuper de ses enfants (<i>first we have to sing / and then we have to look after the children</i>) autant j'étais optimiste il y a cinq six ans / autant je suis pessimiste maintenant (<i>as much as I was optimistic five or six years ago / as much as I am pessimistic now</i>) Tantôt nous chassons, / tantôt nous cultivons, / tantôt nous cueillons... (<i>Sometimes we hunt, / sometimes we cultivate, / sometimes we gather...</i>)
	macrosyntactic projections	certains aiment cette odeur / d'autres non (<i>some people like that smell / others don't (lit: others no)</i>)

4. Concluding remarks

The distinction which has been suggested between *parallel structuring* and *groupings* is mostly based on observations regarding the possibility to organize the successive Government-Units in a paradigmatic way, the mode of connection between each clause, and the virtual autonomy of each sequence.

In our view, the mere fact that most of the utterances which have been studied here do share some sort of formal “symmetry” must not lead one to analyze them in a similar manner. This is why we do not follow Blanche-Benveniste’s suggestion³⁵ to consider that the following two examples could be described in just the same way as “symmetry patterns” (“figures de symétrie”):

87. premièrement le rouge il l’a raté / deuxièmement le blanc il l’a eu
first the red one he missed it / secondly the white one he got it

88. mon frère serait là / il rigolerait
my brother would be here / he would laugh

As has been demonstrated above, even though [87] and [88] both show some symmetrical effects, they nonetheless possess different properties which justify that the former should be seen as an illustration of parallel structure, whereas the latter would better be described as an instance of macrosyntactic grouping.

Yet, we are fully aware that such a distinction is not precise enough in that it doesn’t specify the macrosyntactic relation holding between each successive GU.

Regarding *groupings*, it has been hypothesized above that the successive GU’s do form an Utterance-Unit, since the relationship which is observed between them is basically a hierarchical one. For example, [38], repeated below, illustrates the fact that the first GU (which constitutes the “Pre-Nucleus” part of the utterance) could not be used independently, whereas the second GU, forming the “Nucleus”, could be produced on its own :

38. [je serais riche]_{Pre-Ncl} [je serais président]_{Ncl}
[I would be rich]_{Pre-Ncl} [I would be the president]_{Ncl}

As a matter of facts, most macrosyntactic groupings involve this kind of *unilateral implication* between UI’s. The “plus... plus” correlative structures (see for instance [21]) are different in that both Verb-Phrases have to be copresent, thus showing a hierarchical relation of *bilateral implication*.

Unlike what is observed in *groupings*, *parallel structures* regularly show no implicative relation at all, that is, no hierarchical structuring; if we consider the following instances:

35 Blanche-Benveniste (2010b).

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1. je parle pas de l'autoroute hein / je parle de la rocade
I am not speaking about the motorway / I am speaking about the bypass

11. d'abord on doit chanter / et ensuite on doit s'occuper de ses enfants
first we have to sing / and then we have to look after the children

14. c'était un métier dur / mais c'était un joli métier
it was a hard job / but it was a fine job

a true implicative relation would be hard to attest, since each successive sequence could form an autonomous utterance on its own.

Yet, some structures described as parallel structures seem to be based on bilateral implication. This is the case for [9] and [10] below, which have a fundamental binary structure preventing any single GU to form an autonomous utterance on its own:

9. autant j'étais optimiste il y a cinq six ans / autant je suis pessimiste maintenant [spoken, TCOF]
as much as I was optimistic five or six years ago / as much as I am pessimistic now

10. Tantôt nous chassons, / tantôt nous cultivons, / tantôt nous cueillons... [written, CERF]
Sometimes we hunt, / sometimes we cultivate, / sometimes we gather...

At last, let us point out that some parallel structures involve a unilateral implication: this is the case for “macrosyntactic projections” which must necessarily be attached to a previous Verb-Phrase:

51. certains aiment cette odeur + / d'autres non [spoken, Corpaix]
some people like that smell + others don't (lit: others no)

What is particularly tricky in the case of parallel structures is the way in which they should be divided into Utterance-Units. For instance, should examples [1], [11] & [14] above be conceived as sequences of two Government-Units each forming a specific Utterance-Unit? Or as sequences of GU's joined in the same utterance? Obviously there is no easy answer to that question, which is largely dependent on how “utterance” will be defined.

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