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*Vaugelas and the
Development of the
French Language*

WENDY AYRES-BENNETT

THE MODERN HUMANITIES RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

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VAUGELAS AND THE DEVELOPMENT
OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE

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by

WENDY AYRES-BENNETT

LONDON

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
<i>Abbreviations and Cue-Titles</i>	viii
<i>Preface</i>	ix
<i>Introduction</i>	xi
PART I: VAUGELAS THE GRAMMARIAN	
<i>Chapter 1</i> The Arsenal Manuscript	3
<i>Chapter 2</i> Vaugelas's Theory of Language: Usage and Reason in the <i>Remarques</i>	13
<i>Chapter 3</i> Presentation and Terminology	40
<i>Chapter 4</i> Vaugelas's Originality: Sources for the <i>Remarques</i>	55
<i>Chapter 5</i> The Relationship between the Spoken and Written Registers in the <i>Remarques</i> and the Observations on Orthography and Pronunciation	66
<i>Chapter 6</i> Inflectional Morphology	80
<i>Chapter 7</i> Syntax	90
<i>Chapter 8</i> Vocabulary and Meaning	123
<i>Chapter 9</i> Grammar and Style: Vaugelas's Ideals for Language Usage	133
PART II: VAUGELAS THE TRANSLATOR	
<i>Chapter 10</i> Grammar and Translation: The Development of Vaugelas's Theory of Translation	139
<i>Chapter 11</i> The Fonseca Translation (1615)	159
<i>Chapter 12</i> The Quintus Curtius Translation (1653, 1659)	179

PART III: VAUGELAS 'HONNÊTE HOMME'

<i>Chapter 13</i> The Popularity of the <i>Remarques</i> in the Seventeenth Century: The Socio-Cultural Background	191
<i>Chapter 14</i> The Influence of the <i>Remarques</i>	201
<i>Conclusion</i>	222
<i>Appendix</i>	229
<i>Notes</i>	230
<i>Bibliography</i>	264
<i>Index of Names</i>	276

LIST OF TABLES

	PAGE
Table 1 A Tabulated Form of Vaugelas's <i>Remarques</i> , 567–93	44
Table 2 Latin and Greek Authors	61
Table 3 Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century French Writers	62
Table 4 Italian Authors	63
Table 5 Treatment of Vowels	72
Table 6 Treatment of Consonants	76
Table 7 Agreement with Collectives and Quantifiers	95
Table 8 Past Participle Agreement	102
Table 9 Neologisms	129
Table 10 Archaisms	132
Table 11 The Purchasers of the <i>Remarques</i> in Grenoble (1647–68)	192

ABBREVIATIONS AND CUE-TITLES

The following cue-titles are used throughout:

- F* Cl. Favre de Vaugelas, *Les Sermons de Fonseque* (Paris, 1615)
- R* Cl. Favre de Vaugelas, *Remarques sur la langue française* (Paris, 1647)
- QC* 1653 Cl. Favre de Vaugelas, *Quinte Curce, De la vie et des actions d'Alexandre le Grand* (Paris, 1653)
- QC* 1659 Cl. Favre de Vaugelas, *Quinte Curce, De la vie et des actions d'Alexandre le Grand* (Paris, 1659)
- QC* 1698 Cl. Favre de Vaugelas, *Quinte-Curce, De la vie et des actions d'Alexandre le Grand* (Paris, 1698)
- NR* *Nouvelles Remarques de M. de Vaugelas sur la langue française* (Paris, 1690)
- MS* Cl. Favre de Vaugelas, Manuscript of the *Remarques*, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 3105

For example, Cl. Favre de Vaugelas, *Les Sermons de Fonseque* (Paris, 1615), pp.21–23 occurs as *F*, 21–23, and Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 3105, folio 3 recto appears as *MS*, fol. 3^r.

PREFACE

This book is based substantially on my doctoral thesis awarded by the University of Oxford in 1984. Its aims are three-fold. Firstly, it attempts to provide a comprehensive study of Vaugelas's views on language as represented in the *Remarques sur la langue françoise* by analysing in detail the contents of the observations as well as the Preface, and by highlighting the contradictions between Vaugelas's theory and practice, between the proposed goals and methodology for the *Remarques* and their realization in the text. Vaugelas the grammarian has received a mixed reception: he is, in Brunot's words, 'plus célèbre que connu'.¹ Most works dealing with the history of the French language or the history of grammatical thought in France devote a short section to Vaugelas and, depending on their theoretical viewpoint, hail him as one of the great French grammarians and praise him for his contribution to the fixing and standardization of the language, or dismiss him as a confused and muddled thinker who had no clear theory of language and who therefore had little or no contribution to make to the history of grammatical writing.² Even the great linguist Ferdinand Brunot, who provides a more balanced view, only gives a relatively short, and in some ways unsatisfactory, account of Vaugelas's ideas.³ All too often articles on Vaugelas have repeated the same biographical details as passed down by Pellisson and have quoted the same few lines from the Preface of the *Remarques*, notably the famous definition of good usage.⁴ Indeed, the most recent work on Vaugelas concentrates almost entirely on the doctrine of the Preface.⁵ This is not to say, of course, that nothing of interest or of value has been written on Vaugelas. The editions of the *Remarques* by Chassang and by Streicher are invaluable, as is Streicher's two volume collection of commentaries on Vaugelas.⁶ In addition, several recent articles contain excellent comments to which I shall make reference as appropriate. However, this book aims to complement these scattered and partial insights by looking at Vaugelas's ideas in more detail than is possible in an article, and by taking into account the material found in the only surviving manuscript of the *Remarques* which is located in the Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal in Paris.⁷ Consideration of this manuscript is most illuminating, for its contents differ in several crucial ways from the final version. By examining what has been added and what removed by 1647, and by considering to what extent the conception of the *Remarques* altered during the genesis of the work, we may better understand what theoretical viewpoint Vaugelas adopted, what his major preoccupations

were, and why he chose to pronounce on certain issues but not on others. Moreover, we may gain insight as to why there are inconsistencies between the avowed aims and proposed methodology of the Preface and his practice. References and allusions in the manuscript also help us to trace the principal influences on Vaugelas's thought and to assess his originality, an essential part of any evaluation of his achievement.

The second aim of this book is to view the *Remarques* in the context of the whole of Vaugelas's *œuvre*. Part II is therefore concerned with Vaugelas the translator and examines the evolution of his ideas on translation and analyses his use of language in his two published translations. The first of these is an early translation by Vaugelas of the Spanish priest Fonseca's Lenten Sermons which appeared in 1615.⁸ With the notable exceptions of Streicher and Collet, this work seems to have been generally ignored by critics both in the period immediately after Vaugelas's death and in more recent times.⁹ Nevertheless, Vaugelas is undoubtedly the author of this now rare text¹⁰ and, while it may only have been a rather juvenile exercise in translation, it provides valuable information about Vaugelas's usage as a young man and indeed about accepted French usage at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In many respects the language of the translation is typical of late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century French prose and therefore differs in a number of significant ways from the usage recommended in the *Remarques*. Yet already several of the characteristic features of the previous century are no longer present and certain aspects of the use of language conform with Vaugelas's later pronouncements which were to shape seventeenth-century French usage and help fashion the Classical style. There are two different versions of Vaugelas's other translation, both of which were published posthumously.¹¹ These versions of Quintus Curtius's life of Alexander, on which Vaugelas worked for over thirty years refining and perfecting them, illustrate changes in Vaugelas's theory of translation and in his use of French. If examination of the *Remarques* is not to become sterile and worthless through being detached from the practice of the writers of the period, then the pronouncements must be tested against contemporary models of prose style. Vaugelas's 1659 version of the life of Alexander, considered one of the finest examples of prose writing in its day, provides an excellent subject for such a comparison. From this we may assess how well Vaugelas reflected contemporary usage in the *Remarques* and to what extent he followed his own judgements in a work of artistic creation. Taken together, these five works — the translation of Fonseca, the Arsenal manuscript, the published *Remarques* and the two versions of Quintus Curtius — allow us to study the evolution of Vaugelas's ideas on language both as they reflected the evolution of French and his growing awareness of linguistic problems, and as they influenced the general development of the French language in the first half of the seventeenth

century. The reason why I have made no mention here of the *Nouvelles Remarques* of 1690 will become evident in Chapter 2.¹²

Thirdly, this book aims to place Vaugelas's work in its wider context by looking at why the *Remarques* were so popular in the seventeenth century in the light of the dominant socio-cultural features of the period — social mobility, venality of offices, the growth of absolutism, and the role of women and the salons. Only by appreciating the climate in which the *Remarques* were written can many of the linguistic decisions be fully explained. Vaugelas's impact both on the subsequent history of the language and on the writing of grammars and other treatises on language is then assessed. Much of the recent interest in seventeenth-century French grammar has focused on the work of Port-Royal, and I hope that this book will help to provide a balanced view of the period by examining in depth Vaugelas's important and influential grammar of usage in the context of his complete output.

My thanks are above all due to Professor Rebecca Posner for her patience and inspiration as supervisor of my thesis. I am also grateful to Professor Peter Rickard and Dr Joe Cremona for agreeing to read the book in typescript, and to my husband Andrew, for acting as typist and proof-reader.

INTRODUCTION

Neither Vaugelas's origin nor his character seem to render him a likely candidate to act as an authority on the French language.¹ Claude Favre de Vaugelas was born in Meximieux in 1585 and spent most of his early life in Savoy, which was not finally incorporated into France until 1860. The French he would have heard as a child would therefore have been full of the regionalisms of which he was so critical in later life. *Ménage*, a close contemporary of Vaugelas, underlines the incongruity 'Qu'un étranger et Savoyard/ Fasse le procès à Ronsard', and *Voiture* relates the amusing anecdote of how he managed to pass through a Spanish garrison by pretending to be from Savoy and imitating Vaugelas's 'mauvais accent'.² As for his character, Vaugelas is described by his contemporaries as being modest, nervous, deferential to the point of timidity and rather gullible. *Bouhours* portrays an honest and devout man who doubted his judgement to the extent that 'bien loin de se croire infallible en fait de langage, il doutoit de tout jusques à ce qu'il eust consulté ceux qu'il estimoit plus sçavans que luy'.³ Yet by 1634 Vaugelas had become a member of the newly-formed French Academy to which he presented his *Observations* in 1637⁴ and had established himself in the polite society of the salons.

While such success is largely inexplicable, certain features of his home life and background were nevertheless favourable to this career. Vaugelas's father, Antoine Favre, a distinguished juriconsult, Latin scholar, and author of a tragedy and of moral and religious verse, furnished his son with a good education, probably partly at the Jesuit college at Chambéry and partly under his own supervision.⁵ His father's position brought Claude into contact with such men of letters as Honoré d'Urfé and François de Sales, and afforded opportunities for travel. From 1599 to 1601 Vaugelas spent twenty months with his father in Rome where he familiarized himself with the Italian language and culture, met Méziriac, later to be a fellow member of the French Academy, and, according to Pellisson, produced 'quelques vers italiens qu'on estimoit beaucoup'.⁶ In 1601 he accompanied his father to Paris where he was probably introduced to the language and life-style of the Court for the first time. Perhaps more importantly, Vaugelas would have witnessed in the family home the founding of the 'Académie Florimontane' by his father and François de Sales in the winter of 1606–07. This Academy, based on the Italian model, is in many ways a forerunner of the French Academy, for it had about forty members

and the Duc de Nemours as its Protector, and set itself an ambitious programme of study.⁷

In 1607 Vaugelas moved to Paris to serve initially as an 'officier domestique' to the Duc de Nemours. The move was crucial, for not only was Vaugelas given further occasion to travel, firstly to Turin in 1608 and then in 1612 to Spain as interpreter to the Duc de Mayenne, but, more importantly, he gained entrance to the world of the Court and the salons. He met Du Perron early on, became a regular visitor to the daily gatherings at Coeffeteau's house where he would have heard such men as Malherbe, Racan, Théophile and Faret discussing linguistic matters, and frequented the salons of Madame de Rambouillet, Madame de Chaudbonne and Madame des Loges. Thus he was afforded ample opportunity to observe the language and manners of the Court and salons — especially those of women — and was provided with a forum in which to test his ideas and judgements. The list of his friends, including Coeffeteau, Balzac, Voiture, Chapelain, Conrart, Faret, d'Abancourt, Patru and Méziriac, is impressive and, on his own admission, their advice was crucial to the development and refinement of his ideas.⁸ All this then prepared him well for his work on the Academy dictionary, which entailed collecting, examining and arranging material according to Chapelain's plan, from 1639 until his death in 1650.

What little documentation of Vaugelas's biography there is suggests that throughout his life he was plagued with poverty. In 1615 Antoine Favre obtained for him a position in the King's household as a 'Gentilhomme entretenu de la Maison du Roy de France' with a pension of 2,000 livres. Since the pension was not paid regularly, his friends secured him 'une charge d'Ordinaire' in the household of Gaston d'Orléans,⁹ where he later became a chamberlain. This was not on the whole an auspicious move, for in 1629 Gaston d'Orléans left France in rebellion. While Vaugelas was furnished with further occasion to travel, this time to Lorraine, Franche-Comté, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Brussels, he had to leave Gaston d'Orléans's service, probably in 1634 when the latter fled back to France. Vaugelas's pension was not re-established until he began work on the Academy dictionary and then it was only spasmodically paid. At the end of his life he was obliged to act as tutor to the sons of Prince Thomas de Savoie-Carignan, one of whom was dumb and the other stuttered. Such poverty helps to explain some of the very curious details about his life. Living in fear of his creditors, he apparently produced various schemes to alleviate his financial difficulties, including the founding of a lottery,¹⁰ spying on and denouncing the crimes of a certain friend of Boisrobert from Normandy in the hope of acquiring enough money to marry his loved one, a scheme perhaps encouraged by his allegiance to the Compagnie du Très-Saint-Sacrement de l'Autel,¹¹ and selling his body to surgeons at the end of his life to settle his debts.¹² Unfortunately, his creditors also seized his papers on his death, including the *cahiers* of the Academy dictionary, which were only

returned to the Academy by a 'sentence du Châtelet' in 1651.¹³ Perhaps this then explains why neither a manuscript of the Quintus Curtius translation nor of the translation of Fonseca's Lenten Sermons has ever been found. As for his work for the Academy, we can only surmise that perhaps the manuscript of the *Remarques* located in the Arsenal is essentially that presented to the Academy in 1637 for discussion.

This short description of Vaugelas's life, centred as it was on the Academy milieu and the salons, suggests the importance of his background to the development of his ideas. While our major preoccupation throughout this book will be the study of Vaugelas's ideas on the French language, both in theory and in practice, further details of Vaugelas's life will be introduced where they help to elucidate his work.

PART I:
VAUGELAS THE GRAMMARIAN

CHAPTER 1

THE ARSENAL MANUSCRIPT

While our principal source of information about Vaugelas's ideas on the French language is naturally his *Remarques sur la langue françoise* published in 1647, valuable insights about Vaugelas the grammarian can also be gained by studying the only surviving manuscript of his observations, now located in the Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal in Paris. A brief history and general description of the manuscript can be found elsewhere.¹ There are numerous and sometimes major differences between the manuscript and the published *Remarques*. For instance, while in the *Remarques* Vaugelas adopts a random ordering for his observations, in the manuscript the comments are noted down with others beginning with the same letter of the alphabet as they occurred to him, and these sections are ordered in broadly alphabetical sequence.² The manuscript then clearly does not contain the final version of the observations as used by the printer. Rather the variations in script, the erasures, additions and marginal interpolations, and the inclusion of different versions of the same observation suggest that the contents of the manuscript represent a collection of Vaugelas's thoughts on French usage noted down over an extended period of time.³ Indeed, as we have already suggested, it is possible that this is the manuscript of the observations which Vaugelas presented to the French Academy in 1637 for its comments and criticisms and that many of the additions and alterations were made after that date on the advice of the Academy's members.

Whatever the case, there are several advantages to be gained from including analysis of the manuscript in our discussion of Vaugelas the grammarian. Firstly, it gives us some idea of Vaugelas's method of working. For example, Vaugelas gives us two versions of his views on *comme ainsi soit* in the manuscript. On folio 13 he is obviously struggling to formulate his thoughts and much of the observation is deleted. On folio 40 he makes a fair copy of what he wants to retain from his first thoughts and then adds some fresh ideas, including a discussion of the merits of Coeffeteau and Amyot which is not published in the final version (*R*, *469). Expressions of doubt about the validity of an observation or hesitation over what judgement he should make occur more frequently in the manuscript. Sometimes notes are made to remind him to follow up a point or ask advice, elsewhere expressions of doubt are appended, as under the heading *Tous deux et Tous les deux* where the words 'i'en doute'

are added (MS, fol. 89^r). His position may be modified: in the manuscript Vaugelas claims that his observation about the usage of *De la sorte* and *de cette sorte* 'n'est pas seulement pour les délicats, elle est essentielle pour parler correctement' (MS, fol. 23^r), whereas in the *Remarques* he comments that the difference is not rigidly maintained, although it is more elegant to write and speak as he advises (R, 26). However, often he becomes firmer in his assertions, for instance, on the need to repeat *tout* (R, 559), a question which had caused him problems in the manuscript where he states his dislike of repeating *tout* more than twice, but nevertheless feels it should be repeated before each noun '... si bien que pour la [sc. l'oreille] satisfaire d'une façon et d'autre, ie uoudrois euter de mettre plus de substantifs de suite' (MS, fol. 91^v). In the manuscript Vaugelas admits to the difficulty of explaining a point (MS, fol. 94^v), and he is obviously searching for rules and explanations for the behaviour of French (MS, fol. 59^v). Sometimes he is able to formulate a rule or justify a decision, but he is equally not afraid to admit in the *Remarques* that there is no reason behind a certain usage.⁴

Secondly, since it is only very rarely that the manuscript gives exactly the same version as the published *Remarques*, examination of the differences between the two helps us to trace the development of Vaugelas's views on the language and also, as he claims to be recording current usage, how French evolved during his lifetime. Some alterations are only minor, perhaps involving a shift of emphasis or a different choice of examples: *Coniurateur* (MS, fol. 14^r) has different examples of words with a 'passive' ending but which 'significent une action'. Quite often, however, there is a complete change of opinion, either because Vaugelas has simply had second thoughts or because usage has changed. I shall give details of these changes where they help us to understand better the published observations in the chapters which analyse the contents of the *Remarques*, but it is interesting to note here the general point that where Vaugelas refers in the *Remarques* to a change being a recent one, it is frequently the older usage which is recorded in the manuscript. For instance, on folio 15^r under the heading *Chose et choses* Vaugelas makes the following comment:

Chose, et choses entre un Verbe et le Pronom relatif se met elegamment sans Article, ou sans une, par exemple Il uenoit pour luy dire choses qui importoient à sa uie, et non des choses. C'est chose qui ne se peut dire et non c'est une chose.

By the published *Remarques*, *c'est chose glorieuse* is deemed archaic (R, 220). Similarly, in cases where he expresses regret over the loss of a word or expression in the published *Remarques* (e.g. *magnifier*), that word is still often praised in the manuscript:

Magnifier est un excellent mot et qui a une grande emphase pour exprimer une louange extraordinaire. M. Coeff. en use souuent. (MS, fol. 61^r)⁵

The change of opinion may be indicated in the manuscript itself, either by the observation being deleted or by the addition of a margin note. At the end of the observation supporting *submission* (MS, fol. 87^r) Vaugelas has added in smaller script: 'Cela a changé depuis, on dit maintenant *sousmission*', and it is the revised version that appears in the *Remarques* (R, 25). These changes together with explicit statements about the constant evolution of usage support our contention that Vaugelas was not unaware of the processes of the history of the language.⁶

Despite the many differences between the contents of the Arsenal manuscript and the published version,⁷ we are nevertheless justified in considering this a manuscript of the *Remarques* since the central beliefs, such as the affirmation of the primacy of usage and the belief that French has attained a high degree of perfection (MS, fol. 9^v), are already present in it. The manuscript contains the kind of important insights into the characteristics and peculiarities of French for which the *Remarques* are justly famous: for example, that a large part of the French vocabulary is composed of Latin words (MS, fol. 31^r), that French likes syntactic relations to be expressed explicitly and clearly and does not favour the suppressions of Greek and Latin (MS, fol. 10^v), and that it is important to choose the 'mot juste', the correct or best word according to the style and register of the composition (MS, fol. 58^v: 'sans se servir une seule fois d'*Au lieu que*, qui est le uray terme François dont il faut user'). He compares French with other languages, both on points of detail (for example, the tendency for Spanish verbs to 'govern' the dative, but French, Latin and Greek verbs the accusative (MS, fol. 45^r)) and when making generalizations: for instance, he claims that all languages have their strengths and weaknesses and expressions which are peculiar to themselves (MS, fol. 95^r).⁸

Studying the manuscript also enables us to see what Vaugelas rejected from his first thoughts and, through considering the reasons why he chose not to publish these sections, to gain a clearer idea of his aims and theoretical standpoint in the published version. A large number of these rejects (255) were in fact published in 1690, forty years after Vaugelas's death, as the *Nouvelles Remarques*. Alemand claims in his preface that these are new observations left by Vaugelas, those alluded to by Pellisson in his history of the Academy, and this belief is repeated by Sternischa in his study of Alemand and Andry de Boisregard.⁹ However, l'Abbé d'Olivet in a footnote to Pellisson's text already recognized their true nature as 'le rebut de ses premières Remarques', since they deal for the most part with completely outdated expressions.¹⁰ Alemand asserts that he obtained the manuscript of the *Nouvelles Remarques* from l'Abbé de la Chambre, a member of the Academy from 1670, who apparently also furnished Thomas Corneille with the manuscript of Chapelain's notes on the *Remarques*.¹¹ How l'Abbé de la Chambre had either of these manuscripts

in his possession is not clear. The catalogue of the Arsenal manuscripts maintains that there is ‘Sur le premier plat, note effacée; on lit encore: “Pour M. Allemand . . .”’.¹² If this is the case then our supposition that Alemand simply lifted the unpublished material from the Arsenal manuscript is conclusively confirmed. This note, however, is no longer visible and the only one I can find, of which only the beginning remains, occurs on the first folio and is very faint; it reads ‘Non datur Louis Per . . .’. Although we thus have no proof that Alemand saw the manuscript now in the Arsenal, similarities between the wording of the observations in the manuscript and in the *Nouvelles Remarques* do indicate that Alemand saw a version of the unpublished *Remarques* which closely resembles that of the Arsenal manuscript, if not this manuscript itself. I shall therefore assume that it was Alemand who selected the material for the *Nouvelles Remarques*, although it is feasible that someone else had already copied the unpublished passages from the manuscript and that this was what Alemand saw. Ironically, Alemand quotes a passage from the manuscript in which Vaugelas sympathizes with Malherbe for being criticized for his earliest thoughts and bemoans the fate of the dead whose rejected material comes to be published:

Mais c’est le malheur des grands hommes (est) qu’après leur mort on fait imprimer indifferemment toutes leurs oeuvres, quoy qu’eux mesmes en ayent condamné la plus part sur lesquelles il est extremem[en]t [= extrêmement] iniuste de leur faire leurs proces comme l’on fait tous les iours nonobstant leur desaveu. (MS, fol. 8^r)

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

MS, fol. 16^f : *Construction*. Cette construction me choque. Je uous en supplie tres-humblem[en]t [= tres-humblement] et de trouuer bon. Malh. p. 671.¹³

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

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

MS, fol. 27^v : *Fallacieux* ne uaut rien.

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

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

MS, fol. 5^r : *Automne est tousiours feminin.*

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

He occasionally even adds a quotation from Vaugelas's own translation of Quintus Curtius's *De la vie et des actions d'Alexandre le Grand*:¹⁴

NR, 133 : *Décerner des honneurs est fort bon contre Phyl.*¹⁵ Je l'ay mis ainsi dans mon Quinte-Curce au livre 10. où je dis, *on luy décerna les honneurs divins.*

Elsewhere, where there is no clear stance adopted in the manuscript and Vaugelas has just jotted down a quotation as the basis of an idea, Alemand adds his own interpretation of what use Vaugelas would have made of the quotation. For example, in the manuscript (MS, fol. 35^v) Vaugelas notes down the following quotation from Malherbe without indicating what point he wishes to make: 'Par entre deux ais de qui la jointure s'estoit laschee laissa tomber son argent dans sa boutique p. 350'. This appears in the *Nouvelles Remarques* (NR, 304) in the form of a criticism of *Par entre*:

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

Moreover, Alemand always omits any expression of doubt or uncertainty found in the manuscript, so that his observations sound much more dogmatic. However, he does, like Vaugelas, abandon the alphabetical format of the manuscript and gives his points in a random order.¹⁶

It is not clear on what grounds Alemand made his selection from the unpublished observations, for he does not publish all of them (see the discussion of the *inédits* below), yet does include some which are clearly crossed out in the manuscript (e.g. *Aspreté* MS, fol. 9^r; NR, 369) or have expressions of uncertainty added (*Tous deux et Tous les deux* MS, fol. 89^r; NR, 365). Some of those he chose not to print are admittedly difficult to read, but this is equally true of some he did edit, and we may assume that the manuscript was in a much better condition when he saw it, for lines which are missing in the manuscript because of tearing are complete in the *Nouvelles Remarques*. Alemand also duplicates material which appears in the *Remarques*, albeit in a different form. For example, he reproduces the content of the manuscript point entitled *A celle fin que* (MS, fol. 4^v) in full, even though some of the information can be found in the *Remarques* (R, 532 *Pour afin*). Likewise he prints the observation on *Adjectifs* (NR, 150–52) despite the fact that there is a strong similarity between this point and the ground covered in the *remarque* entitled *De cette façon de parler, 'il sçait la langue Latine & la langue Grecque'* (R, 493). In some cases he publishes the parts of a manuscript observation which have not appeared in the

Remarques. For instance, the content of the observation entitled *Alors* (MS, fol. 4^r) is divided between the *Remarques* (R, 225–28) and the *Nouvelles Remarques* (NR, 187), although the material of the latter has clearly been omitted from the *Remarques* on purpose. He even publishes those in which he admits the content contradicts what appears in the *Remarques* (*Et*, NR, 322–23). Vaugelas himself suggests a reason why Alemand might have done this (MS, fol. 8^r): when someone has come to be viewed as a great authority on language, anything he writes is considered of value and worthy of imitation.

However, what is more important is why Vaugelas himself rejected these observations, for the answer to this question may illuminate his methodology and purpose. The example of the word *car* (MS, fols 34^v, 33^r), which I have discussed elsewhere,¹⁷ suggests one reason why Vaugelas discarded certain remarks, namely if any question had become untopical or unfashionable or unimportant, for Vaugelas is clearly aiming in the *Remarques* to deal only with linguistic matters of current interest and only those on which the best people made mistakes.

Elsewhere, Vaugelas may have realized or been advised by his friends that his recording of contemporary usage had not been accurate in the manuscript, for example, when he continued to support the by then old-fashioned Latinism *exercite* as an alternative to *armée* for variety (MS, fols 31^v–32^r). Other words may have gained a stronger position in good usage, at least in his opinion: the compound verbs *parcourir* and *parsemer* may be cases of this (MS, fol. 29^r). Vaugelas evidently paid great attention to considerations of style and presentation and avoided any unnecessary reduplication of material, so where a comment is made under another heading (for example, *reservé* (MS, fol. 82^v) which is referred to in the *Remarques* under *Prendre à tesson* (R, 566)), or in a different context (the question of over-lengthy periods is dealt with along with structural ambiguity as a hindrance to clarity (MS, fol. 69^v)), a separate discussion is not deemed necessary. In some cases, however, it is simply impossible to tell why Vaugelas rejected an observation, for instance, the one containing the nice distinction between *an* and *année* (MS, fols 5^v–6^r).

In the preface to the *Nouvelles Remarques*, Alemand notes two main differences between the *Remarques* and the *Nouvelles Remarques*: criticism of Malherbe is harsher (or more obvious),¹⁸ and the work also contains ‘une discussion de plusieurs termes & locutions douteuses dont il s’étoit servi dans sa Traduction de Quinte-Curce, & sur lesquelles il voulut bien consulter l’Académie’. While none of the 255 *Nouvelles Remarques* taken from the Arsenal manuscript fit into this second category, a large number of the thirty-one other *Nouvelles Remarques* may be characterized in this way. Assuming that Alemand used the Arsenal manuscript as his main source, then perhaps he formulated these extra *Nouvelles Remarques* on the basis of another

manuscript, maybe that of the Quintus Curtius translation. Alternatively, he may have heard them discussed, or perhaps he simply invented them himself. The rest of the *Nouvelles Remarques* (with the exception of that entitled *Massacre, massacrer* (NR, 441)) involve decisions made by the Academy or discussion of quotations from Malherbe. All in all the *Nouvelles Remarques* is a most unsatisfactory work, the majority of it comprising the rejects from the Arsenal manuscript and the rest a few scattered observations which are in all probability not from Vaugelas's pen.

Even taking the *Remarques* and the *Nouvelles Remarques* into consideration, the contents of the Arsenal manuscript are not exhausted. Some of the observations have never been published, for the list of *inédits* included in Chassang's edition is neither comprehensive nor indeed very enlightening since it includes material which appears in the *Remarques* in a reworked form.¹⁹ Since much of the contents of the manuscript appears in the published version in a reworked form, if we were to consider as *inédits* all those observations where the wording of the manuscript and the published *remarque* differs, the number of these would be vast. In my opinion then, Chassang is wrong to include, for instance, the observation *Suspect & soupçonneux* (cf. R, 401) or *Ayder* (cf. Aoust, R, 322). Likewise, the pronunciation of *Fuir* is dealt with in the *Remarques* (R, 451–57) even though the particular incorrect pronunciation given in Chassang's *inédit* is not mentioned. Moreover, Chassang is inconsistent in his selection of unpublished material: in some cases he extracts a passage from a long observation dealing primarily with a different topic, while he omits remarks given a separate heading in the manuscript, e.g. *Maudisson* (MS, fol. 62^r): '*Maudisson. Malediction uenant de latin est bon, et l'autre mauuais*'. There are more than thirty other unedited observations not included by Chassang, to say nothing of odd notes at the top or in the margins of pages. It is usually clear that Vaugelas did not include them in the published *Remarques* because, like the *Nouvelles Remarques*, they were no longer considered topical, relevant or valid, although the omission, for example, of the general comment headed *Grammaire* is regrettable, for it clarifies how Vaugelas saw his role compared with that of grammarians in the strict sense:

Grammaire. Elle ne parle point des barbarismes des paroles ni de ceux de l'oraison ni des meilleurs mots ni des meilleures façons de parler. Ces Remarques ont cela de plus que la grammaire ne fait pas. Faut aussi dire pourquoy ie n'ay pas suiui en ces Remarques l'ordre de Laurentius Valla. (MS, fol. 42^v)²⁰

In addition, certain promises are made in the manuscript which are not fulfilled in the 1647 edition. For example, in the manuscript Vaugelas promises us separate lists of faults from the various provinces (MS, fol. 31^r), words and expressions peculiar to French in which it surpasses other vernaculars (MS, fol. 33^v), expressions which are favoured by usage against reason (MS, fol. 4^r), and, in a deleted passage, words going out of fashion

(MS, fol. 64^r), but there is no systematic listing of such points in the *Remarques*. It is not clear whether Vaugelas never composed these lists, or whether, as a comment made by Alemand in the *Nouvelles Remarques* about one of the lists suggests, they have simply been lost:

Comme M. de Vaugelas a fait encore un Traittè particulier des Fautes de Langue qui se commettent dans les différentes Provinces du Royaume; Ouvrage également utile & curieux; j'en feray peut-être part au Public, si ces Remarques posthumes du même M. de Vaugelas luy plaisent. (NR, 277)

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

Finally, the manuscript contains a few sheets the contents of which do not form part of the main collection of observations, including a number of unconnected quotations from a speech made by 'M. de Schonberg [Schomberg] aux Estats du Languedoc' in 1645 (unfoliated leaf occurring between fols 3 and 4) and passages from a reply 'au bref du Pape' (MS, fol. 93^v), various personal notes and a sort of diary which notes facts about his illness and medicaments for it (MS, fol. 98^v).

The manuscript therefore contains Vaugelas's thoughts on the French language collected over a number of years, which were then corrected, refashioned and rigorously selected to produce the carefully worked set of *Remarques* published in 1647. In his composition of the *Remarques*, as in his translating of Quintus Curtius, Vaugelas, the perfectionist, constantly reworked and modified his material.²¹ Since the manuscript used by the printer has been lost, we do not know exactly when the changes were made or indeed the degree of intervention by the printer.

There was only one edition of the *Remarques* in Vaugelas's lifetime; it was printed in 1647 by two different printing houses, Veuve Camusat et Pierre le Petit and A. Courbé, although there were doubtless various pirated editions in the provinces.²² Since the former were the official printers appointed to the Academy, it is not surprising that they were involved in the publication of the *Remarques*, for although Vaugelas is not assigned the label 'de l'Académie française' on the title-page, the work seems to have been semi-officially accepted by the members of the Academy, who had failed to produce their own grammar.²³ The printing house of Veuve Camusat et Pierre le Petit was particularly noted for the accuracy of its editions.²⁴ Statute 50 of the Academy's constitution prevented its publishers making any alteration at all to the manuscript received in the case of official publications, but how much they amended, for example, Vaugelas's spelling to align it with the conventions of the house is not known. Certainly some of the spellings of the Arsenal manuscript are revised (e.g. *ilz* becomes *ils*), but Vaugelas himself may have updated these when furnishing the printer with a neater revised copy ready for publication. We do know from his *Avertissement* that he did not have time to

proof-read all the sheets while they were being printed and that he therefore had to trust the printer, who unfortunately allowed errors in the pagination to creep in.²⁵ In the manuscript too, Vaugelas allows for the possibility of printing errors when discussing Malherbe's works (MS, fol. 73^v), but it seems unlikely that the publishers would have initiated any major revision such as the change of format. The 1647 edition was the only one produced by Veuve Camusat et Pierre le Petit; Courbé, however, printed a number of new editions and reprints in quick succession in 1651, 1654, 1655, 1658, 1659 and 1664. The privilege granted to Vaugelas on 26 June 1646 for twenty years from publication was then transferred by Courbé to Thomas Jolly and Louis Billaine.²⁶

What new material was added to the material selected from the Arsenal manuscript before publication of the *Remarques*? Significantly, there is no draft of the Preface as such in the manuscript, although there are scattered observations at the beginning of the manuscript about his views on usage (where he acknowledges his debt to Chapelain on this question), his ideas on neologisms and the purpose of the work, odd notes at the end of the manuscript, and general comments in the observations themselves which are included in the published Preface.²⁷ In addition, approximately one third of the topics dealt with in the *Remarques* are not mentioned in the manuscript.²⁸ When the observations not found in the Arsenal manuscript are analysed according to the general preoccupation of their content (that is, whether they deal with pronunciation, morphology, syntax, semantics, etc.), some significant trends emerge, for although they embrace all the areas treated in the *Remarques*, they are nevertheless concentrated in certain areas. More than half the total number of *Remarques* dealing with questions of pronunciation are not in the manuscript. The significance of this in terms of the relative importance granted to the spoken and written languages in the manuscript and the published *Remarques* will be discussed below in Chapter 5. Secondly, an above average percentage of *Remarques* dealing with the acceptability and currency of expressions are added to the observations at a late stage. This is not surprising for, as we have seen, Vaugelas was ever anxious to keep his observations up-to-date and would therefore naturally have been preoccupied with items in transition, words gaining currency or falling out of favour. The third area where there is a high proportion of additions is that which we can broadly term semantic, involving clarification of meanings or differentiation of closely related words. Words easily acquire new shades of meaning and, furthermore, as the century progressed there was a growing preoccupation with distinguishing the meanings of words previously considered as near synonyms. These additions then reflect both the nature of linguistic change and the gradual shift in the attitude to language and its function during the first half of the seventeenth century. Finally, Vaugelas added his own index to the published observations to facilitate consultation once the alphabetical ordering

of the manuscript had been abandoned in favour of the random one adopted in 1647.²⁹ Some of the items in the index simply correspond to the title of a certain *remarque*; others, marked with an asterisk, refer to observations ‘qui se trouvent dans le texte du liure hors des titres’.³⁰ Examination of this latter category is enlightening, for it sometimes clarifies from where in the manuscript Vaugelas extracted the observation or what his motivation for writing it was. For example, the observation entitled *S’il faut dire reuestant, ou reuestissant* (R, 231–34) is referred to in the index in a way which stresses the general principle behind the observation: ‘*Principe de grammaire, touchant les verbes de la quatriesme coniugaison, dont l’infinif se termine en *ir*, & son exception. 232’. Again, the index includes the entry ‘**Es*, particule bannie du beau langage. 167’ even though discussion of this, carried on at some length in the manuscript, is only mentioned in passing in the published comment on *Tomber aux mains de quelqu’un*. There may be mistakes in Vaugelas’s index,³¹ and it may not be as exhaustive as Streicher’s index, which is a very useful tool, but it is nevertheless regrettable that Streicher chose to exclude it from her facsimile edition of the *Remarques*.

Other major revisions between the manuscript and the published *Remarques*, namely the change in the presentation and ordering of the material, the difference in the use of terminology and choice of style, the evolving conception of the relationship between the written and spoken registers, and between poetry and prose, and his attitude to his sources, will be treated in detail in the following chapters since they provide vital clues about Vaugelas’s aims for the *Remarques* and the changes in his attitude to the language. Perhaps it is appropriate simply to suggest here possible reasons for these differences. The fact that the changes are so numerous and sometimes involve major rethinking suggests that the main body of the observations in the Arsenal manuscript was written several years before the *Remarques* were published in 1647. While Vaugelas was already beginning to develop his own particular views on French usage, his ideas are not yet fully matured in the manuscript. If the manuscript contains the ‘Observations sur la langue françoise’ which Vaugelas presented to the Academy in 1637 for comments and criticisms, as I have suggested, then the revisions may have been made in part on the advice of the Academy’s members. Certainly there are many admissions of doubt in the manuscript together with indications that Vaugelas intended to seek guidance. In addition, we may assume that Vaugelas consulted friends and colleagues whom he considered to be authorities on good usage, and crucially, as will become evident, paid increasing attention to the spoken usage of the Court in the period before the observations were finally offered to the public in 1647. What is clear is that the changes stem from a desire to make the observations as topical and valid as possible, a fact which, as we shall see, in no small way explains the popularity of the *Remarques* in Vaugelas’s day.

CHAPTER 2

VAUGELAS'S THEORY OF LANGUAGE: USAGE AND REASON IN THE *REMARQUES*

Widely divergent opinions have been expressed as to whether Vaugelas's *Remarques* are sustained by a coherent approach towards the French language. In particular, the competing roles of usage and reason in Vaugelas's work have been the subject of much discussion. The traditional view, which sees Vaugelas purely as a recorder of usage, the pragmatist as opposed to the Rationalists of Port-Royal, is found in many standard textbooks on the history of the language and is repeated in Noam Chomsky's *Cartesian Linguistics*.¹ The recording of usage is, of course, the avowed goal of the *Remarques*, stated clearly on the first page of the Preface:

Mon dessein n'est pas de reformer nostre langue, ny d'abolir des mots, ny d'en faire, mais seulement de monstrier le bon vsage de ceux qui sont faits, & s'il est douteux ou inconnu, de l'esclaircir, & de le faire connoistre. (*R*, 1)

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

C'est la façon de parler de la plus saine partie de la Cour, conformément à la façon d'écrire de la plus saine partie des Auteurs du temps. (*R*, II, 3)²

The definition is further elaborated upon: when he speaks of the Court, he includes both men and women and also many of those who live in the same town as the prince because, being in close communication, they 'participent à sa politesse'. If, however, the two authorities are in conflict, Court usage usually dominates (*R*, *482). Vaugelas thus takes his stand in the long debate concerning the proper norm for language use.³ Apart from the historical and socio-cultural reasons for his choice mentioned elsewhere,⁴ Vaugelas also apparently had good linguistic reasons for favouring the Court. If Henri Estienne, for instance, rejected the authority of the Court, it was because he believed that the language spoken there was corrupted by Italian influence.⁵ Vaugelas, on the other hand, considers the Court to be the most neutral source of good usage, the least affected by regionalisms and extremes of variation, and hence probably the most easily comprehensible to all.

The Court is the primary source of information about good usage, Vaugelas claims, because of the priority of the spoken word: 'Mais le consentement des bons Auteurs est comme le sceau, ou vne verification, qui autorise le langage de la Cour, & qui marque le bon Vsage, & decide celuy qui est douteux' (R, II, 5). A third source of information about good usage is 'la frequentation . . . des gens sçauants en la langue' (R, II, 7). This last authority is consulted on questions which neither the Court nor the authors can resolve, because examples are either rare, elusive or non-existent. The decision of the majority of these authorities must be adopted. If, on the other hand, there is no clear consensus of opinion, 'il sera libre d'vser tantost de l'vne des façons & tantost de l'autre, ou bien de s'attacher à celuy des deux partis, auquel on aura le plus d'inclination, & que l'on croira le meilleur' (R, IV, 3). The *Remarques* are to be of use in combining these three authorities and thereby presenting a quick and easy method of acquiring good usage (R, III, 1).

The traditional evaluation of Vaugelas as the pragmatist is based on the views expressed in the Preface, which, since it was one of the last parts of the work to be written, may perhaps convey Vaugelas's final thoughts. This view also receives support from two methodological observations, *Que dans les doutes de la langue il vaut mieux pour l'ordinaire, consulter les femmes, & ceux qui n'ont point estudié, que ceux qui sont bien sçauans en la langue Grecque, & en la Latine* (R, 503–05) and *De quelle façon il faut demander les doutes de la langue* (R, 505–09), neither of which appear in the manuscript. These are surprisingly modern in proposing a procedure for eliciting information and in isolating a clearly-determined informant.⁶ Vaugelas is especially well-disposed towards the language use of women at Court, indeed to such an extent that he is at times over-indulgent:⁷

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

Both the choice of informant and the procedure proposed for phrasing the question in such a way that the informant is unaware of the reason for it are designed to obtain a naïve and spontaneous judgement about the usage of a particular item.

Hillman, on the other hand, opposes this traditional view of Vaugelas and argues that Vaugelas adheres to what he calls the 'cult of reason', because he guides rather than records usage.⁸ Hillman's evaluation is based not on the theoretical statements of the Preface, but on Vaugelas's actual practice, which, Hillman argues, is far from objective. He maintains that Vaugelas aims to promote a standard according to his own criteria for perfection, that is, clarity

and order as manifested in grammatical and analogical regularity. Hillman thus associates reason with clarity. Moreover, he adds, Vaugelas appeals directly to *la raison* in order to justify etymological explanations or to support a strictly personal preference. Hillman concentrates on those areas of usage which operate *par raison*, on grammatical construction and on the role of analogy in the work, which, he claims, reflect Vaugelas's desire for order; this search for order leads to the establishment of rules and the formulation of generalizations on the basis of insufficient data. Vaugelas may even correct good usage to make a construction more regular and this insistence on grammatical regularity and *netteté*, Hillman believes, reflects Vaugelas's belief in a fundamental association of grammar and reason.⁹ Hillman overlooks or discounts those areas of language other than grammatical construction and analogically formed neologisms and the observations where usage clearly takes precedence over reason. He minimizes the importance of the difference between the attitude to language and methodology proposed for areas of declared usage, and the techniques used to decide questions of doubtful usage, and so concludes:

Far from yielding to the "fantasies" of usage, Vaugelas holds a conservative rein on those who would deviate from the clear, regular and orderly. He shows himself to be a true representative of the "cult of reason", and well within the grammatical tradition continued by the Port-Royal grammarians.¹⁰

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

The notion of good usage appears at first sight to be defined fairly rigorously. However, closer examination reveals that the definition, as Hillman asserts,¹¹ is far from being precise. One major difficulty is the vagueness of the notion of *la plus saine partie*. What are we to understand by this? Applied to the Court, it certainly does not refer to the majority, as it does for later grammarians,¹² but rather to an elite group (*R*, II, 2). This is confirmed by various observations in which the recommendation made is contrary to the general usage of the Court:

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

'Y', pour 'luy'. Exemple, j'ay remis les hardes de mon frere à vn tel, afin qu'il les y donne, pour dire, afin qu'il les luy donne. C'est vne faute toute commune parmy nos Courtisans. (R, 94)

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

Quelque reputation qu'on ayt acquise à escrire, on n'a pas acquis pour cela l'autorité d'establis ce que les autres condamnent, ny d'opposer son opinion particuliere au torrent de l'opinion commune. (R, III, 3)¹³

The way to please one's listener is rather to use the expression which he himself would have chosen, which severely limits the possibility of creating neologisms of word or phrase.¹⁴ For Bouhours the notion of *la plus saine partie* has social value, referring to the *gens polis* of the higher strata of society, an interpretation not absent from Vaugelas's work.¹⁵ Yet the concept is never so explicitly defined that we could point to a clearly delimited and fixed group of people who represent *la plus saine partie*. It may be therefore that the notion is vague enough to allow Vaugelas to select some members of the Court who speak in the way he favours and to refer to them as his authority in any given case. Is Vaugelas then trying to trick the reader into believing that the material of the *Remarques* is objectively and quasi-scientifically amassed, while defining good and bad usage in such a way that the distinction is arbitrary and capricious?

The notion of *la plus saine partie des Auteurs du temps* is equally problematic. Since no author escapes criticism, there is no one reliable model:

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

If no author is free from mistakes, then this collection of observations does not represent one usage, but a distillation of the best from the best. Far from being observable as a whole in one author, good usage is idealized from a group of writers and is necessarily based on a subjective judgement about what constitutes the best. Vaugelas's delicacy restrains him from naming any censured author, living or dead, or from praising any living writer by name, so we can only guess at his preferred sources on the basis of allusions in the text.¹⁶ Unlike the Academy, Vaugelas does not list the authors whom he considers worthy of discussion and explication (although there may be some overlap),¹⁷ and so his notion of *la plus saine partie des Auteurs du temps* can be completely arbitrary: 'Pourpre. . . La plus-part des Auteurs, qui en ont escrit en François, l'ont fait feminin, mais ce ne sont pas à la verité des Auteurs classiques' (R, 58).

Thirdly, the choice of authorities on language as an additional source of information about good usage contradicts another of his principles. As we have noted, Vaugelas states that naïve judgements about the French language are the most valuable, and specifies his preferred informant and method of eliciting information accordingly. Yet he is undoubtedly referring to the French Academy when he alludes to a famous group the discussions of which he at times records and which he personally consults when he is unsure about a

certain observation;¹⁸ its members hardly represented the uneducated.¹⁹ Moreover, the Academicians were well aware of the reasons for discussing a given topic. And if on occasions we feel that the opinion we are in fact being given is Vaugelas's own,²⁰ then his unsuitability to judge by his own criteria is only too evident.

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

L'Usage déclaré est celuy, dont on sçait asseurément, que la plus saine partie de la Cour, & des Auteurs du temps, sont d'accord, & par consequent *le douteux* ou *l'inconnu* est celuy, dont on ne le sçait pas. (R, iv, 1)

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

Mais c'est la question, de sçavoir si l'Usage les fait d'une ou de deux syllabes; car s'il l'auoit décidé il n'y auroit plus de doute, & de le mettre aujourd'huy en question, est vne preuve infaillible qu'il ne l'a pas décidé. (Si 'FVIR' à l'infinif, & aux preterits défini & indéfini de l'indicatif est d'une syllabe ou de deux, R, 454)

Vaugelas claims that the only unifying theme in the subject matter is that these are areas in which the best people make mistakes (R, 183).²¹ It is perhaps the heterogeneity of topics covered which in part dictates the format and unsystematic treatment. The extreme case of this is the strange *remarque* entitled *Seraphin, remercement, agrément, viol* which begins:

Quoy qu'ils n'ayent rien de commun entre eux, ie les mets ensemble, parce qu'il n'y a qu'un mot à dire sur chacun, & que par diuerses rencontres, ils se presentent à ma plume tous ensemble. (R, 413)

Vaugelas states that his aim is not to produce a comprehensive account of the language such as would be suitable for a beginner or foreigner trying to learn French.²² Rather he assumes a basic competence in the language and claims to focus on finer points of doubtful usage. He thus has in mind specific problems often treated in some detail, although general principles may also be discussed where relevant. Since he does not work from a corpus, no problem of attestation arises, but he is faced with the uncertainty or unreliability of the informants' judgement. In theory then the subject-matter of the *Remarques* is the area of *dubius sermo*. Significantly, Colson argues that it was precisely in the realm of *dubius sermo* that the long debate in the ancient world between the analogists and anomalists could continue after the main debate had died down with the establishment of two main points: firstly, that analogy prevailed in inflection, and secondly, that where usage was established the analogists must accept it.²³ And indeed the debate does continue in the *Remarques* in the discussion of the interplay of usage and reason in *usage douteux*. Vaugelas establishes his position in the debate in the Preface:

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

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

mais quoy que l'Vsage face tout en matiere de langue, & qu'il face beaucoup de choses sans raison, & mesme contre la raison, comme nous sommes obligez de dire souuent, si est-ce qu'il en fait beaucoup plus encore avecque raison . . . (R, 387–88)

I shall discuss in detail below the interplay of usage and reason in the *Remarques* and what indeed is meant by these concepts, but it is already clear that one function of the work may be to determine the scope of both of them in the French language. If the *Remarques*, by definition, primarily deal with the idiosyncratic rather than with basic grammar, we should expect the irregular side of language function to be emphasized. Yet, since the *Remarques* are concerned with questions of doubtful usage, regularity may well be invoked to settle them. The widely differing evaluations of the *Remarques* may stem from a difference of focus: whether the critic focuses on the treatment of the regular or the irregular in the *Remarques*, grammar or the lexicon, declared or doubtful usage, and whether he takes account of the whole content of the work or not.

But is it true that Vaugelas's work is concerned with questions of doubtful usage? According to Ferdinand Brunot, 's'il est un reproche qu'on peut faire à Vaugelas, c'est d'avoir été trop conséquent et trop fidèle à des principes trop absolus',²⁴ but there is a conflict between theory and practice in the *Remarques*. Concentration on the area of *dubius sermo* undermines the credibility of appealing to good usage. If, by definition, usage is uncertain here, then it cannot be adduced as an authority. The problem is highlighted in the observation on *pluriel* (R, 468–70). Vaugelas defends this form rather than the one in general usage by the grammarians (*plurier*). The content of the *remarque* is altogether unsatisfactory because Vaugelas is clearly distorting the facts to defend his own personal preference; as Thomas Corneille affirms, the two words *plurier* and *pluriel* were not identically pronounced and therefore there was no doubt about the spoken usage.²⁵ However, the type of argumentation employed here by Vaugelas is enlightening. Vaugelas defends *pluriel* with an appeal to etymology and analogy. He then claims to answer the charge that he is betraying his

principle of consulting good usage, by arguing that since usage is uncertain in this case, it can give no guidance:

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

If the *Remarques* are essentially concerned with topics where usage is doubtful, how then can Vaugelas justify appealing to usage in any of his examples? There are two possible interpretations, both of which apparently apply to the *Remarques*: firstly, that the work does not cover only doubtful usage, and secondly, that usage is not the only criterion on which the decisions are based. Let us look at each of these possibilities in turn.

Vaugelas discusses doubtful usage at some length in the Preface and outlines the causes of why usage may be uncertain (R, iv). The first and, according to Vaugelas, the main cause is when there is uncertainty about the pronunciation of a word; given his theoretical statement of the priority of the spoken word this will necessarily entail that the written form will equally be in doubt. As examples of this he cites *le vous prens tous à tesmoin(s)*, *C'est vne des plus belles actions qu'il ayt iamais faite(s)*, *en Flandre(s)*, *apres soupé(-er)* and *parallele/parallele*.²⁶ Under this heading he includes the related case where there is only a slight difference in the pronunciation of two possible written forms, which makes it hard to distinguish what the correct form is. However, of 549 observations only about thirty (5.5%) fall into this category.²⁷ The solution proposed for resolving such a doubt is unsatisfactory. Having said that if the spoken usage is doubtful, then of necessity the written usage will also be so, Vaugelas adds the following contradictory statement:

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

Only if this remedy fails should the opinion of the majority of the authorities be adopted, and they will decide the matter on the basis of analogy.²⁸

Secondly, the rarity of a word or expression in discourse may be a source of doubtful usage, causing, for instance, uncertainty about the correct gender of a word. This uncertainty particularly concerns words beginning with a vowel, for here, because of elision of the vowel of the article, there is no overt marker of the gender of the noun; the examples of this cited in the Preface are *epigramme*, *epitaphe*, *epithete*, *epithalame* and *anagramme*.²⁹ It is more difficult to decide which observations are included because they deal with rarely used words or

expressions, since Vaugelas hardly ever gives this explicitly as a reason. However, at a generous estimate only about seventeen (3%) of the observations can be accounted for in this way.

The third cause for doubt cited by Vaugelas is 'quand on oyt dire, & qu'on voit escrire vne chose de deux façons, & qu'on ne sçait laquelle est la bonne'; the model given for this is the choice between *vesquit* and *vescut* for the past historic of *vivre* (R, 108–09). Because of the vagueness of the class a substantial number of observations may conceivably be categorized in this way, ranging from the choice of the correct morphological form for a verb (e.g. *Je vais, ie va*, R, 27), for a noun ('*Compagnée*' pour '*compagnie*', R, 335–36) or for a preposition (*Le long, du long, au long*, R, 170), to such syntactic questions as the choice between singular or plural verbal agreement in a given construction (*Ou la douceur, ou la force le fera*, R, 149–50). Under such a broad interpretation, the category may account for about one-fifth (106) of the *Remarques*.

The fourth cause of doubtful usage is formulated in equally vague terms by Vaugelas, that is when there is an exception 'aux reigles les plus generales'. The paradigm cited for this is the case of the agreement in *I'y ay veu quelque chose qui merite d'estre leu*: this is exceptional because *quelque chose*, unlike *chose*, is apparently unmarked for gender, and agreement is made in the masculine with the sense. A further thirty (5.5%) of the observations might be accounted for in this way.

Fifthly, Vaugelas mentions the case of 'beaucoup de constructions grammaticales, où l'on ne prend pas garde en parlant'. Unfortunately we do not have an example to help us interpret what he has in mind, although the inclusion of this category does suggest that spoken and written usage are not always identical for Vaugelas (see below, pp. 67–68). Perhaps we should include here such topics as the use of the present historic (*Narration historique*, R, 457–59) or the choice of *on* or *l'on* (R, 12–14). However, these are probably very limited in number.

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

This question can in part be answered by closer analysis of Vaugelas's concept of good usage. Brunetière's characterization of Vaugelas's idea of good usage as *actuel*, *national*, *aristocratique* and *parlé* suggests possible areas of investigation.³⁰

Firstly, *actuel*. The related questions of how far Vaugelas was indeed recording contemporary usage and the extent of his knowledge of the history of

the language have been much discussed. Nearly a fifth of the observations record a change in usage, which may entail the demise of a previously favoured form or a judgement on a neologism or a change in the preferred form of expression.³¹ Vaugelas is fully aware that usage varies chronologically and he aims to exclude anything out-of-date, as the changes made between the manuscript and the published *Remarques* confirm. Change in usage is therefore one of the main reasons for the inclusion of an observation by Vaugelas. The majority of observations recording change refer to relatively recent changes in the language, that is, those that have occurred within about the last twenty to twenty-five years. Typical of this category is the observation entitled *Print, prindrent, prinrent*:

Tous trois ne valent rien, ils ont esté bons autrefois, & M. de Malherbe en vse tousjours, *Et d'elle prindrent le flambeau, dont ils desolèrent leur terre, &c.* Mais aujourd'huy l'on dit seulement, *prit, & prirent*, qui sont bien plus doux. (*R*, 98)

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

Ce sont des maximes à ne changer iamais, & qui pourront servir à la posterité de mesme qu'à ceux qui vivent aujourd'huy, & quand on changera quelque chose de l'Usage que j'ay remarqué, ce sera encore selon ces mesmes Remarques que l'on parlera & que l'on écrira autrement, pour ce regard, que ces Remarques ne portent. Il sera tousiours vray aussi, que les Reigles que ie donne pour la netteté du langage ou du stile subsisteront, sans iamais recevoir de changement. (*R*, x, 2)³²

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

Partant. Ce mot, qui semble si necessaire dans le raisonnement, & qui est si commode en tant de rencontres, commence neantmoins à vieillir, & à n'estre plus gueres bien receu dans le beau stile. Je suis obligé de rendre ce tesmoignage à la verité, apres auoir remarqué plusieurs fois que c'est le sentiment de nos plus purs & plus delicats Escruiains. C'est pourquoy je m'en voudrois abstenir, sans neantmoins condamner ceux qui en vsent. (*R*, 225)³³

If, however, there is a choice between an older and a newer word which are both in current use, he will always prefer the older word 'selon cette reigle generale, qu'*vn mot ancien, qui est encore dans la vigueur de l'Usage est incomparablement meilleur à écrire, qu'vn tout nouveau, qui signifie la mesme chose*' (*R*, 334). Moreover, Vaugelas sometimes fails to record current usage accurately because of his excessive deference to the opinions of Du Perron and Coeffeteau, and his reliance on the Ancients and etymological criteria. His

outlook then is rather conservative. For instance, Vaugelas defends the expression used by Coeffeteau *s'immoler à la risée publique* which many people had criticized (R, 120). Equally, Vaugelas may justify a construction in French on the grounds of a parallel usage by the best Latin and Greek authors (see, for example, *Vnir ensemble*, R, 157–60). To be sure, he maintains that no conclusion can be reached about the French language from Latin or Greek usage, 'car il n'y a point de consequence à tirer de la phrase d'une langue, à la phrase d'une autre, si l'Vsage ne l'autorise' (R, 486). Yet he quotes a Latin example to confirm a point of French usage (*Solliciter*, R, 57) and bases a rule on knowledge of Latin so that those who do not know Latin 'ne peuvent auoir recours qu'à l'Vsage, & à la lecture des bons liures' (*Reigle pour discerner l' 'h', consone d'avec la muette*, R, 199). His dependence on Latin writers in the compilation of his *Remarques* will be discussed in Chapter 4. Finally, his attitude towards the role of etymology is ambivalent. In theory he denies any authority to etymology; however, one formulation of this denial suggests that again a loophole may be provided by *usage douteux*: 'n'y ayant pas lieu de recourir aux etymologies [sic], lors que l'Vsage est déclaré, comme icy' (R, 553).³⁴ Certainly some decisions do seem to make appeal to etymology:

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

Vaugelas even seems to feel that it is necessary to apologize when usage goes counter to etymology; after a long passage justifying why usage must be given preference over etymology in the observation discussing the adaptation of Greek words with an aspirate to French pronunciation and orthography, he concludes:

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

As we shall see, etymology and reason may be associated in Vaugelas's mind.³⁵ This is not to say of course that Vaugelas's etymologies are always reliable; he apparently does not realize, for instance, that *falloir* and *faillir* are derived from the same verb, and that this may help to explain the confusion between *fallu* and *failli* (*Peu s'en est fallu*, R, 310–11).

Despite these shortcomings in Vaugelas's practice we must nevertheless conclude that his aim was to record contemporary usage.³⁶ However, it must be noted that Vaugelas's concept of the present seems to extend into the future since he believes that the language has attained a state of perfection:

A tout ce que ie viens de dire en faueur de mes Remarques contre le changement de l'Vsage, vn de nos Maistres ajouste encore vne raison, qui ne peut pas venir d'vn

esprit, ny d'une suffisance vulgaire. Il soutient que quand vne langue a nombre & cadence en ses periodes, comme la Française l'a maintenant, elle est en sa perfection, & qu'estant venuë à ce point, on en peut donner des reigles certaines, qui dureront tousiours. (R, x, 3)

To extend Saussure's famous analogy of the chessboard, Vaugelas, like Saussure, is not concerned with all the moves the pieces have made to reach their present position, although he may mention the most recent one, but there is in the *Remarques* a suspicion that a stalemate may have been reached from which no other move will be made.³⁷ This belief in the perfection of the present is one reason for the apparent contradiction between allowing for change and claiming that the observations will only be valid for twenty-five or thirty years, and aiming to produce rules which will last and thereby fix French usage:

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

The *Remarques* therefore have a prescriptive as well as a descriptive flavour.³⁸ In the observation which discusses *recouuert* and *recouré* there is a suggestion at least that usage can be guided in the desired direction:

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

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

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

Comment fixer des règles sans connaître les tendances de la langue, et par quel moyen démêler ces tendances, si on ne les a observées que pendant le court espace que dure une vie d'homme? Faute de se souvenir de l'histoire, non seulement on explique mal, mais on ne peut guère déterminer l'état exact d'une langue; la notion du changement s'obscurcit, le présent apparaît sinon comme ayant toujours été, du moins comme devant toujours être.³⁹

Brunetière defended Vaugelas in response to Brunot's criticism by insisting that Vaugelas could not possibly have written an accurate account of the history of the language, since the historical method had not yet been devised

and 'n'ayant pas en son temps les moyens de le faire, il a donc bien fait de ne pas le faire'.⁴⁰ The number of *Remarques* devoted to recording a change in or changing usage refute some of the more extreme unqualified statements about Vaugelas's lack of historical sense.⁴¹ Moreover, Brunetière's position is justified by the fact that where Vaugelas does attempt to give an account of the evolution of a particular item, it is not always successful (e.g. *puissamment* etc., *R*, 444).⁴² Many of the observations do bear witness to an ignorance of the history of the language, as discussion of individual topics will show, but many, especially those relating to syntax, accurately predict the way the language was to develop.⁴³

If Vaugelas's knowledge of Latin is adequate⁴⁴ and the recording of the changes in the language during his lifetime is one of the main features of the work, the biggest gap in his knowledge is of the early history of French. Citations from Medieval writers are notably lacking and various assertions, for instance, that the 'e' is elided in words such as *grand'mère*, à *grand'peine* (*R*, 168), bear witness to gaps in his knowledge.

To conclude, Vaugelas is fully aware that usage varies chronologically and is at pains to exclude the non-current. This aim is not always pursued in practice and the decisions are at times distorted by a certain ignorance of the history of the language. Nevertheless, Vaugelas must not be judged too severely. From comparison with Ménage's work⁴⁵ we see that Vaugelas resisted to a large extent the temptation to overload his observations with pedantic comments on the history or etymology of a word, and, given both his slight knowledge of the Medieval period and the fact that the historical method had not yet been formulated, it may be just as well that he pays little or no attention to the past. As for the future, Vaugelas wants to establish laws to prevent French from corruption, but he fully recognizes that language has to evolve. His modern attitude in supporting a contemporary and flexible norm for good usage contrasts with that of certain eighteenth-century purists who rather favoured a fixed norm based on the written usage of the previous century.⁴⁶

Next, let us consider the second feature which Brunetière deems characteristic of Vaugelas's idea of good usage, namely that it is *national*. If one reason for the inclusion of some of the observations in the *Remarques* is to record chronological variation in usage, another is to exclude specifically regional or even foreign expressions; Vaugelas then was well aware of regional variation in usage. A relatively small number of the *Remarques* explicitly exclude the regional or foreign (15:3%) — which is what we would expect given the purpose of the work and its intended audience. An example of one such observation is that devoted to discussion of *Accueillir*:

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

Such observations may provide useful information about localized pronunciations in the seventeenth century. Criticizing the pronunciation 'ajetter' for *acheter*, Vaugelas writes: 'Ce defaut est particulier à Paris, c'est pourquoy ce sera leur rendre vn bon office que de les en aduertir' (*R*, 318–19).⁴⁷ The paucity of discussion of Italian influence confirms that this was minimal in Court circles by Vaugelas's time. Since he obviously does not feel that the language is threatened by the invasion of Italian loanwords, he is prepared to accept a limited number of them.⁴⁸

Thirdly, Vaugelas recognizes that usage varies socially. As Brunetière maintains, Vaugelas strongly favours an aristocratic usage, that associated with the upper echelons of society. Some observations in the *Remarques* therefore reject terms considered *bas* from good usage: 'Car il ne faut pas oublier cette maxime, que jamais les honnestes gens ne doiuent en parlant vser d'vn mot bas, ou d'vne phrase basse, si ce n'est en raillerie' (*R*, 123). Apart from the observations that totally outlaw terms considered *bas* (16: 3%), many others are concerned with placing a word within a relatively loose scale of values. I shall leave further discussion of this to the section in Chapter 3 concerned with Vaugelas's use of terminology and specifically to that on the *propriété des mots & des phrases*.

The problematic nature of Brunetière's characterization of the usage favoured by Vaugelas as *usage parlé* will be discussed in Chapter 5 where I shall consider the hypothesis that the *Remarques* were originally intended to discuss written usage and especially that of certain selected authors such as Malherbe, and that there is a major change in attitude between the Arsenal manuscript and the published *Remarques*. Suffice it to say here that examination of the reasons given for the inclusion of certain observations suggests this original intention; for when an author Vaugelas respects has used a certain word or expression that conflicts with his observation of usage (48: 9%) or when he considers an error has been committed by some of the best authors (26) or at least by an unspecified group of authors (7: Total 6%), he feels obliged to comment on it.⁴⁹ Vaugelas includes these observations then in order to prevent his readers imitating a particular expression of those authors who are usually reliable models. This is the purpose, for instance, of the observation dealing with the use of *succeder* with the auxiliary *être* instead of *avoir*:

Neantmoins vn de nos plus celebres Autheurs⁵⁰ a escrit dans le meilleur de ses ourages, *deux combats qui luy estoient glorieusement succedez*. C'est ce qui a donné lieu à cette Remarque, parce que ie ne crois pas que cette façon de parler soit à imiter. (*R*, *468)

Apart from the observations which discuss doubtful usage a large number are therefore included which illustrate the complexity of the notion of usage and which exclude those areas of usage which Vaugelas considers unacceptable on the basis of historical, geographical, social, or register variation. Vaugelas

understands better than most the complex nature of the concept of usage, as is witnessed by his long and painstaking efforts to define it in the Preface.

Other reasons for including the observations in the text are varied. Some, for example, are methodological or definitional (e.g. *R*, 567–68), some establish a rule (*R*, 198–201), while others claim to rectify a common mistake or champion a word or expression which Vaugelas believes has been unjustifiably condemned (*R*, 307–08). In some cases no explanation is offered at all for their inclusion. For example, we can only assume that Vaugelas believes that some people are using *il* as a pronoun co-referent with *quiconque*:

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

It is difficult to determine how representative are the subjects discussed in the *Remarques* of questions on which usage was uncertain. Vaugelas himself is convinced that he is being fully comprehensive:

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

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

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

Both of these claims can be disputed; there are some glaring omissions such as the absence of discussion of the use of tenses or the pronunciation of final consonants.⁵¹ Lagane has suggested that many of the uses criticized were only peripheral and non-representative and that, for example, words and phrases which Vaugelas confidently says were never used by Coeffeteau can be found in his works.⁵² The choice of subject-matter is, however, on the whole very enlightening about what were the burning issues of the day in the view of someone who had long associated with the Court, the salons and the French Academy. Yet his estimation of what constituted *usage douteux* is not always reliable.

If there is a discrepancy between Vaugelas's theory and practice in that not all of the observations deal with questions of doubtful usage, equally, as has been suggested, usage is not Vaugelas's sole authority for his decisions. Vaugelas himself recommends that where spoken usage is doubtful and written usage is no guide, authorities on the language should base their decision on analogy (*R*, IV, 4).⁵³ Thus 'reason' in the form of grammatical regularity or patterning is introduced into the *Remarques*. Vaugelas, however, maintains the semblance of reliance on usage, even when basing his decisions on analogy,

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

Cette *Analogie* n'est autre chose en matiere de langues, qu'un Vsage general & estably que l'on veut appliquer en cas pareil à certains mots, ou à certaines phrases, ou à certaines constructions, qui n'ont point encore leur vsage déclaré, & par ce moyen on iuge quel doit estre ou quel est l'vsage particulier, par la raison & par l'exemple de l'Vsage general; ou bien l'*Analogie* n'est autre chose qu'un vsage particulier, qu'en cas pareil on infere d'un Vsage general qui est desia estably; ou bien encore, c'est vne ressemblance ou vne conformité qui se trouue aux choses desia estables, sur laquelle on se fonde comme sur vn patron, & sur vn modelle pour en faire d'autres toutes semblables. (*R*, iv, 4)⁵⁴

One of the main reasons why Hillman places Vaugelas firmly in the camp of the rationalists is that Hillman focuses on the role of analogy in the *Remarques* and considers the importance of analogy in Vaugelas's work as proof of his participation in the 'cult of reason'.⁵⁵ However, Vaugelas himself and many of the critics following him have associated analogy with usage. Both then admit a significant role for analogy but, categorizing it in a different way, have stressed either reason or usage. Alexis François notes the ambiguous status of analogy in the *Remarques*: 'Voilà donc sous couvert d'analogie la raison pénétrant dans la grammaire'.⁵⁶ Vaugelas's view of analogy as a type of usage engenders difficulties. Steinthal, discussing Quintilian's view of analogy, stresses the problem.⁵⁷ If analogy is merely an 'Erzeugnis der Consuetudo', then it can only rely on examples. If this is the case, it cannot be taken for a rule, or a 'Correctivmittel', but only as a fact based on observation. Thus, Steinthal argues, in becoming a type of usage, analogy sacrifices its very essence:

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

It is perhaps because of the problematic nature of analogy that it is not invoked in a very large number of cases of doubtful usage.⁵⁸ Moreover, there seems to have been confusion between two types of analogy, that based on internal logic or *raison* and that based on surface morphological forms. Vaugelas's conception of analogy largely relies on the regularity of morphological rules, not on logical rules. An example of an observation where he bases his decision on analogy is that devoted to *fuir*:

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

Vaugelas predicts that the neologism *deuouloir* will become established in good usage because of the analogy of other pairs of verbs such as *tromper, detromper; mesler, demesler; faire, deffaire; croistre, décroistre; habiller, deshabiller* (*R*, 490–92); this is based on the morphophonemic identification of one element with another.⁵⁹

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

Car il faut considerer, qu'encore que l'Vsage soit le maistre des langues, il y a neantmoins beaucoup de choses où il ne s'est pas bien déclaré, comme nous l'auons fait voir en la Preface, par plusieurs exemples, qui ne peuuent estre contredits. Alors il faut necessairement recourir à la Raison, qui vient au secours de l'Vsage. (*R*, 454–55)⁶⁰

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

A major problem is that the term *raison* has more than one meaning both in Vaugelas's work and in the assessments of various critics. When we think of *la raison* in connection with seventeenth-century French grammar, we generally think of the meaning 'rational', that is, analogous to the structure of the human mind, as represented by the work of the Port-Royal grammarians. Kukenheim characterizes the 'rationalist' grammar of Port-Royal in precisely this way: 'l'idée maîtresse de la *Grammaire générale et raisonnée*, c'est que, le langage étant fondé sur la pensée, les modalités du langage sont également celles de la pensée'.⁶¹ Vaugelas likewise seems to express the belief that language mirrors thought 'les paroles estant les images des pensées' (*R*, *494), an idea which is articulated more than once in the *Remarques*: 'Car enfin la parole qui se prononce, est la premiere en ordre & en dignité, puis que celle qui est écrite n'est que son image, comme l'autre est l'image de la pensée' (*R*, II, 5). Not only does language mirror thought, but via thought, it ultimately mirrors the world: 'la parole n'est pas seulement vne image de la pensée, mais de la chose mesme que nous voulons représenter' (*R*, 160). He is therefore interested in how far natural language is a suitable vehicle for thinking, and, unlike his contemporaries in England,⁶² seems to believe that, used properly, it is quite adequate.

However, Vaugelas does not draw the same conclusions from this as Port-Royal (see the second part of the quotation from Kukenheim above). In Vaugelas's eyes the relationship between the *signifiant* and the *signifié* is an arbitrary one, based on convention. As an instance of language acting *sans raison*, Vaugelas gives in the Preface the case of the first person imperfect indicative active of *aimer* being *i'aimois*, which, he says, could equally well be *i'aimeray*:

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

Language is conventional and composed of arbitrary signs which are subject to change. This is perhaps why Vaugelas, like Saussure, relies on a certain patterning in language.⁶³ When Vaugelas argues that more things in language operate *par raison*, he supports this by pointing to the general regularity of grammatical constructions (*R*, v, 3). Vaugelas then adopts a thoroughly acceptable stance: we would not expect language to operate *par raison* in the case, for example, of nominal gender in French, for, there being only two genders marked, inanimate objects will of necessity be divided in an arbitrary way between these categories. On the other hand, a belief in grammatical regularity is necessary for suggestions about the way language works to be made. The difference between Vaugelas and Port-Royal is summarized well by Donzé who, comparing Vaugelas's attitude with that of Port-Royal, concludes: 'Il pense apparemment que sa régularité vient plutôt d'une certaine ressemblance, ou approximation, ou analogie entre les formes que d'un accord fondamental entre la parole et la pensée.'⁶⁴ When Vaugelas comes to a decision, it is based rather on the rule-governed nature of language behaviour and on a common sense attitude to the way language functions, which perhaps ultimately relies on convention. The meaning of 'in accordance with common sense, good sense' was another familiar meaning for *raisonnable* in the seventeenth century and appears to be the one favoured by Vaugelas: 'selon l'ordre de la Grammaire & du sens commun sur qui la Grammaire est fondée' (*R*, 307).

Vaugelas's desire for clarity and the avoidance wherever possible of ambiguity is another reason given by Hillman for associating him with the 'cult of reason'. It is true that this is symptomatic of the dependence on logic typically associated with the rationalists, but in Vaugelas's case the theoretical underpinning is not the same. Rather than arguing that language must be logical because it is based on human reason, he insists above all on clarity because he believes that the purpose of language is quick and easy communication. Since the signs of language are arbitrary, members of one community must use the same signs in the same way and must order them in such a way that they are

unambiguously interpreted.⁶⁵ This means that some of the rules propounded by Vaugelas and the rationalists may be the same, but the reasons why they formulate them are different. Avoidance of grammatical ambiguity, for instance, dictates the correct positioning of terms of address in a letter or speech (R, 544–50). In general, lexical ambiguity is not considered a sufficient reason for rejecting a word, polysemy being a common feature of language (R, 85).

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

Moreover, the most common use of *raison* in the *Remarques*, and especially in the expression *avecque raison*, is with the meaning ‘having an explanation’. Explanations are offered for about one-third of the recommendations, whether they are in accord with grammatical regularity or not, and cover a wide range of types of explanation, linguistic and non-linguistic, including such explanations as appealing to etymology, which one might normally oppose to the rational.⁶⁶ Vaugelas is delighted if he can find a reason to support usage:

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

However, he claims that this is only of secondary importance;⁶⁷ using Chaplain’s parallel (MS, fol. 3^r), he says that usage is like faith:

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

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

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

This is not to say, of course, that he himself is not guilty of falling into this trap. In the observation ‘*La*, pour ‘*le*’ (R, 27–29) Vaugelas seems to favour reason

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

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

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

Let us look at some of the reasons or explanations offered in the *Remarques* for usage acting according to Vaugelas's recommendations. Apart from that of analogy or grammatical regularity, one of the principal reasons given is that the recommended form is *doux* and avoids any unpleasant or cacophonous combination of sounds.⁶⁸ For instance:

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

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

We have already seen that etymology is occasionally quoted as a reason for usage behaving as it does, although clearly it has nothing to do with the traditional meaning of 'rational' in the sense of conforming to logic. Nevertheless, in discussing *courte-pointe* Vaugelas claims that, in preferring the non-etymological form, usage has acted 'contre toute sorte de raison' (*R*, 404).⁶⁹

Semantic reasons may be adduced both for language behaving in a way one would expect (for instance, having two different forms for two different meanings as in the case of the construction of *approcher*, *R*, 155–56) and for the irregular. One would expect the agreement of the past participle to be made in the feminine in the construction *il n'y a sorte de soin qu'il n'ayt pris*, in accordance with the gender of *sorte*. However, it is established usage to make the agreement in the masculine, thereby violating a grammatical rule of the language, because 'on regarde plustost le sens que la parole' (*R*, *484). The

'synonym rule', judged to be a rule founded on reason and appealed to on several occasions in the *Remarques*, is certainly based on semantic concerns. Language here reflects the semantic segmentation:

Au reste cette Reigle n'est pas vn simple caprice de l'Vsage, elle est toute fondee en raison; Car la raison veut que des choses qui sont de mesme nature, ou fort semblables, ne soient point trop separees, & qu'on les laisse demeurer ensemble; Comme au contraire elle veut que l'on separe celles qui sont opposees, & tout à fait differentes, & que l'article, ou la preposition soit comme vne barriere entre-deux. (*R*, 218)⁷⁰

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

Que si l'on auoit la curiosité de demander pourquoy le nom, qui n'a point d'article, ou qui n'en a qu'un indefini, ne peut auoir apres soy vn pronom relatif, on pourroit se deffaire de cette question par la response commune, que l'Vsage le veut ainsi. Ce ne seroit pas mal respondu, mais quoy que l'Vsage face tout en matiere de langue, & qu'il face beaucoup de choses sans raison, & mesme contre la raison, comme nous sommes obligez de dire souuent, si est-ce qu'il en fait beaucoup plus encore auecque raison, & il me semble que celle-cy est du nombre, bien que la raison en soit assez cachée. Je crois pour moy, que c'est à cause que le pronom relatif s'appellant ainsi pour la relation ou le rapport qu'il y a à quelque chose qui a esté nommée, il faut que les deux, & le nom & le pronom soient de mesme nature, & ayent vne correspondance reciproque, qui face que l'un se puisse rapporter à l'autre. Or est-il que cela ne peut arriuer entre deux termes, dont l'un est tousjours defini, qui est le pronom relatif, & l'autre indefini, qui est le nom sans article, ou sans vn article defini . . . Je ne sçay si je me seray fait entendre, ou quand on m'entendra, si l'on sera satisfait de ce petit raisonnement, & s'il ne sera point trouué trop subtil, & trop metaphysique; mais l'exemple du grand Scaliger, qui a fait de si beaux raisonnemens sur la Grammaire Latine, m'a donné en la nostre cette hardiesse, que le Lecteur prendra s'il luy plaist en bonne part. (*R*, 387–88)⁷¹

The secondary importance of the reasoning in Vaugelas's eyes is evidenced by the almost anecdotal tone adopted and the apologetic note at the end. Starting from the common-sense premise that like should go with like, Vaugelas reasons that since the relative pronoun is by nature fixed and definite, then its

antecedent must also be so, and this is achieved by placing the definite article before the head noun. Language is therefore acting quite reasonably here.

Other reasons given are wide-ranging. They may be linguistic, for example, that the grammatical person of the pronoun subject and verb must agree ('Cette raison semble conuaincante', *R*, 88), that the present participle is formed from the first person present indicative of that verb (*R*, 61), or that it is the nature of the part of speech to behave in such a way (*Quelque*, *R*, 4). Ellipsis may be invoked to explain a construction in a way very similar to that employed by Sanctius and later Port-Royal (*R*, 75–76).⁷² The reason may be purely stylistic, for a form may be supported in certain contexts because it is emphatic (*R*, 321) or condemned because it is pleonastic (*R*, *488–89). The form of a word or phrase may be explained because it has been contaminated by or crossed with another (*Heros*, *R*, 1–3). The reasons may be non-linguistic and highly subjective, such as that the masculine gender is 'le plus noble' (*R*, 83), irrational such as that which caused the demise of *poitrine* or *face* (*R*, 60), which Vaugelas nevertheless feels must be respected, or purely social in that a sense of delicacy militates against the acceptability of an expression in good usage (*Vomir des injures*, *R*, 127–28). Sometimes Vaugelas rejects the reasons put forward by others as in the case of *decouuerte* (*R*, 487–88) and sometimes he suggests that there may well be a reason for the conditions on a rule, but that he simply has not found it yet (*R*, *460). Sometimes more than one reason is put forward (e.g. *Mais mesmes*, *R*, 22–23). These may all be accepted or they may be arranged into a hierarchy of importance.

We can conclude that a wide variety of 'reasons' are adduced for language behaving in the way it does. The term *raison* is used in so many different ways, even with the vague meaning of 'with justification' (*R*, 143), that it is not possible merely to count the number of times the word *raison* appears in the *Remarques* and, because of the size of the number, conclude that Vaugelas must be a rationalist. (In any case, as Aarsleff points out, the simple dichotomy between rationalists and empiricists as applied to the seventeenth century is unfounded.⁷³) As we have mentioned, Vaugelas adopts a middle-of-the-road position in accepting the regularity of most grammatical constructions, but viewing the nature of the linguistic sign as being 'sans raison' or arbitrary and certain exceptional expressions confirmed by usage as 'contre raison'. This, however, is largely based on common sense rather than on philosophical speculation about the workings of the mind. Arnauld too has to allow a place in his system for established usage.⁷⁴ The difference then between Vaugelas and Port-Royal lies largely in the number of explanations offered, dictated in large part by the avowed purpose and intended audience for the works and by their different philosophical underpinnings. W. Keith Percival comes to a similar conclusion in his appreciation of the authors of the Port-Royal grammar: like Vaugelas they considered that certain phenomena have a *raison d'être*, while

others are difficult or impossible to explain. However, not only did Arnauld and Lancelot differ from Vaugelas in the number and type of explanations they offered; they also had an explicit general theory and were attempting to produce a general grammar:

In other words they were not academicians laying down the rules of good usage of one language, but universal grammarians attempting to account for as much of usage as they could in all the languages they were familiar with.⁷⁵

In about two-thirds of the *Remarques* no explanation is offered at all. In some cases this is regrettable, especially as at times one feels that it is Vaugelas's own personal opinion which is being expressed. Arguing that it is preferable to employ two substantives of different genders when they are coordinated because the change of gender of the article is pleasing, Vaugelas adds:

Je ne doute point que plusieurs ne dient, que c'est vn trop grand raffinement, à quoy il ne se fait point amuser; Aussi ie ne blâme point ceux qui n'en vseront pas, mais ie suis certain que quiconque suiura cet auis plaira dauantage, & fera vne de ces choses dont se forme la douceur du stile, & qui charme le Lecteur, ou l'Auditeur sans qu'il sçache d'où cela vient. (*R*, 473*)⁷⁶

If, however, we assume that the other observations do for the most part faithfully record good usage — a question I shall return to later —, we may rather view the lack of explanations in the *Remarques* as stemming from a realization on Vaugelas's part of his limitations (given the uneven quality of the explanations offered and the general lack of a satisfactory theory of language).⁷⁷ Vaugelas has been criticized for making incorrect generalizations from insufficient data,⁷⁸ but in general he tries to describe the characteristics and peculiarities of French. Just as sometimes the attempt to find reasons and make language more rational distorted grammarians' view of the language, so in trying to establish 'general' principles about language people tended to overlook the individual features of a language. Vaugelas rather wants to stress the peculiarities of different languages, arguing, at least in theory, that no conclusion can be drawn about one language by looking at another (*R*, 486). Both Vaugelas and the writers of the Port-Royal grammar were familiar with similar languages, but Vaugelas tended to emphasize their differences, whilst Arnauld and Lancelot stressed their similarities.

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

This leads on to discussion of the related term of *reigle*. How much did Vaugelas establish rules and what was his view of them? Hillman seems to believe that Vaugelas's desire to establish rules for the language sets him firmly

in the ‘cult of reason’,⁷⁹ but objections can be raised to this conclusion. Firstly, rules are not necessarily associated with reason by Vaugelas, although in many cases an explanation for the rule is offered:

Car encore que ce soient en effet des Loix d’un Souverain, qui est l’*Vsage*, si est-ce qu’outre l’auersion que j’ay à ces titres ambitieux, j’ay deu esloigner de moy tout soupçon de vouloir establir ce que ie ne fais que rapporter. (R, 1)

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

In a relatively small number of observations, the recommendation is expressed very definitely as a rule (with or without exceptions). One case of Vaugelas giving a rule which has no exceptions is the observation entitled *Le pronom relatif ‘LE’, deuant deux verbes, qui le regissent* (R, 495). This seems to have very little to do with recording usage; rather Vaugelas appears to be establishing a rule ‘pour la perfection de nostre langue’ (R, 83):

Par exemple, *enuoyez moy ce liure pour le reuoir & augmenter*. C’est ainsi que plusieurs personnes escriuent, ie dis mesme des Auteurs renommez; Mais ce n’est point escrire purement, il faut dire *pour le reuoir & l’augmenter*, & repeter le pronom *le*, necessairement; & cela est tellement vray, que quand mesme les deux verbes seroient synonymes, il ne faudroit pas laisser de le repeter comme, *pour l’aimer & le cherir*, & non pas *pour l’aimer & cherir*. Cette Reigle ne souffre point d’exception. (R, 495)⁸⁰

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

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

The argumentation in the *remarque* establishing the rule that ‘Tout nom qui n’a point d’article, ne peut auoir apres soy vn pronom relatif, qui se rapporte à ce nom là’ (R, 386) shows Vaugelas at pains to establish an absolute rule. He mentions that the vocative might be considered an exception to this rule, but dismisses it on the grounds that here the article *o* is understood (R, 387).⁸¹ Such a rule is apparently obligatory, whereas others are optional, but are to be followed wherever possible because perfection does not ‘cost’ anything:

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

Where there are exceptions to a rule Vaugelas does not try to overgeneralize by ignoring the exceptions, for he believes that a rule may have one or two exceptions without being broken (*R*, 469). Moreover, since exceptions cause uncertainty in usage, Vaugelas is particularly interested in them. The rules and exceptions as to when to use what he terms ‘prepositions simples’ and ‘prepositions composées’ are elaborated in the observation on *Sur, sous*, the contents of which, formulated and presented in a different way, could easily be found in a grammar book (*R*, 124–26). On occasions it is difficult to tell whether a firm rule is being given or not, because the terms in which the recommendations are couched are ambiguous (see below, pp. 41–52). Sometimes it is not immediately obvious what Vaugelas considers a rule to be. He opens the observation concerning the adaptation of Latin and Greek nouns into French with the words: ‘Soit que les noms propres soient Grecs, ou Latins, il les faut nommer & prononcer selon l’Vsage, tellement qu’il n’y a point de reigle certaine pour cela’ (*R*, 66–67). Later, however, he adds:

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

Here Vaugelas only seems to be providing his readers with a rough guideline, a ‘rule of thumb’, for he concludes, ‘En vn mot, *L’Vsage*, & *mon obseruation* decideront la plus part des difficultez qui se presenteront sur ce sujet’ (*R*, 73). The cases where definite rules are given are relatively small in number. He aims then only to give a rule when he feels his observation of usage justifies it and acknowledges when usage goes counter to a rule, thereby trying to avoid the danger of forcing exceptions to conform to the rule. He therefore admits greater freedom in language use than many critics, seeing him as an advocate of fixed usage, would allow. For instance, Vaugelas insists that there is no rule about the placement of the adjective before or after the noun (*R*, 182–85).

Other observations are too vaguely formulated to be of any guidance to the reader. In the case of *Trois infinitifs de suite* it seems as if the reader must use his own discretion about the contexts in which the construction may be used (*R*, 140–41); the observation entitled *Seraphin, remercement, agrément, viol* leaves the reader in doubt as to the pronunciation of the future forms of *payer* and *louer* when they occur in prose (*R*, 413) and it is not clear whether *auoisiner* is acceptable in poetry or not (*R*, 302). On the one hand, Vaugelas suggests avoiding any doubtful expression:

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

mot, il faut au contraire le condamner, & se porter à la rigueur. (*Si l'on dit 'bonheurs', au pluriel, R, 500–01*)

On the other hand, he argues that if there is no clear majority of opinion among the authorities on questions of doubtful usage, then the choice between the two options can hinge on personal preference (*R, iv, 3*). Vaugelas is therefore willing to refrain from making a recommendation, as he does in the second of the two discussions of *solliciter* (*R, 474*). He records the arguments for and against *jusques à aujourd'huy* (*R, 521–25*), but does not adjudicate between them.⁸²

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

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

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

Que si l'on m'objecte que dans le cours de ces Remarques, ie m'en suis seruy fort souuent de cette sorte, i'auoüeray franchement que i'ay failly en cela comme en beaucoup d'autres choses, & que ie n'ay connu la faute dont i'auertis maintenant les autres, que depuis peu; Tellement qu'il faut en vser selon cette Remarque, & non pas selon le mauuais exemple que i'en ay donné. (*Tout de mesme, R, 559*)

Of course we cannot expect Vaugelas to be infallible, but if, as he claims in the Preface, he has all the qualifications necessary to be the ideal recorder of good usage (*R, III, 1*), we would not really expect the book to be 'beaucoup plus sçauant que moy' (*R, xiv, 4*).⁸³ Secondly, because of the possible flexibility of interpretation of the phrase 'la plus saine partie de', Vaugelas admits that he is at times registering a usage which is contrary to that in general use. In the case of *d'autant que* for *parce que*, he is clearly guiding rather than recording usage:

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

Thirdly, we have the observations both of commentators who in general support Vaugelas and of critics who suggest that his *remarques* were not always accurate; this evidence is consolidated by the usage of various contemporary authors.⁸⁴ The reason for the inaccuracies is impossible to determine. However, we may mention in Vaugelas's defence that in broad terms he did set down the lines on which the language was to develop, especially in the fields of syntax and word order. It would not have been possible for one man to achieve this, although undoubtedly Vaugelas and the Academy were greatly influential, if he had not observed and recorded the general characteristics and tendencies of French. Vaugelas then does distort usage occasionally, but never to the extent of making the language unrecognizable. In the case of some of the rules, such as that for the exceptional behaviour of the gender of *œuvre* (*R*, 34–35), he fixes usage before an irregularity in the language has ironed itself out, but this stems from his desire not to force the language into being more regular than it is, where there is no possible suggestion from his observation that this may be permitted.

What general conclusions can be drawn from this discussion? Unfortunately, perhaps the most striking feature that has emerged is the difficulty of making any absolute statements about Vaugelas's theory or practice. Every statement has to be hedged with qualifications on account of the frequent discrepancies, not only between his methodological pronouncements of the Preface and his execution of these in the text, but also between the observations themselves. Some of these differences may be minor (for example, the occasional instance of Vaugelas paying excessive respect to Coeffeteau) and do not seem to damage the overall plan of recording contemporary usage. Others, however, such as the problem of doubtful usage and the status of analogy, are more serious and may even undermine the foundations of the work. It is this lack of consistency in the *Remarques* which has evoked such very different evaluations of Vaugelas's achievement. For Galliot on the one hand, Vaugelas can hardly do wrong, while Chevalier virtually discounts Vaugelas as having no theory worth considering and concludes that his reliance on usage stems from an incapacity to formulate a rule. Brunot, judging him with his knowledge of the historical method, finds Vaugelas sorely lacking. Pellat uses a more sympathetic set of criteria and therefore finds aspects worthy of praise.⁸⁵

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

Vaugelas is no philosopher, but his pronouncements are not made in a complete vacuum and the modernity of some aspects of his theory is striking. This is especially true of the stress on a synchronic and flexible norm for good

usage,⁸⁶ and of his detailed exposition of who to choose as an informant, and how to pose the question in order to obtain a naïve judgement. Vaugelas is well aware of the complexity of usage and of its problematic nature, as his lengthy attempts to pin it down in the Preface show. His desire not to overlook the irregularities and peculiarities of French while retaining a fundamental belief in the regularity of usage is also laudable. Unfortunately, the aim of recording usage has as a consequence that the rules formulated are sometimes very complicated (such as that for the use of *tout* (R, 95–97) or the agreement of the past participle (R, 175–81)).

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

sometimes a reason is given to justify a finding, sometimes there is just a declaration that the use of the word is wrong; at times Vaugelas plunges into the heart of his argument, at others he prefaces his observations with a little preamble.⁸⁷

He ranges between the purely descriptive and the prescriptive, aiming to provide rules for French wherever usage allows it, as a result of his belief that the language has reached a peak of perfection. This shows him to be very much typical of his age.

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

CHAPTER 3
PRESENTATION AND TERMINOLOGY

I: PRESENTATION

We have already noted that one of the major differences between the Arsenal manuscript and the published *Remarques* is the change in the presentation and ordering of the material. Since the ordering of the observations in the manuscript is broadly alphabetical, it is clear that it was a conscious decision on Vaugelas's part to adopt a random ordering in the *Remarques*, and not just a matter of convenience reflecting his method of composition.¹ On two occasions in the manuscript (MS, fols 42^v, 97^v) Vaugelas promises to explain why he chose not to adopt the ordering of Laurentius Valla. Although Valla's *De linguae Latinae elegantia* (composed c. 1440, first published 1471) makes reference to the parts of speech, the organization of the grammatical material is haphazard, and the facts being analyzed are presented in a disconnected fashion.² If Vaugelas is here referring to this random ordering of paragraphs, then this confirms that his decision to adopt an unsystematic ordering in the published *Remarques* was a complete change of opinion. Moreover, the reputation of the printing house suggests that it is very unlikely that the printer would have initiated such a major revision.³ The choice of the random presentation is justified at some length in the Preface of the *Remarques* (R, XII, 1), where Vaugelas argues that comprehension of the observations is in no way enhanced by the juxtaposition of topics which happen to begin with the same letter of the alphabet. The other possibility, the adoption of a part of speech format, may be appropriate for a formal grammar, Vaugelas argues, but it would only be off-putting for those unversed in Latin grammar, notably women. The decision to adopt the random format mirrors the growing dislike of pedantry in the seventeenth century and suggests Vaugelas's eagerness to please his intended audience. Courtiers and those aiming to integrate themselves socially at Court had no desire to read a formal grammar, but rather wanted the observations presented in an attractive and enjoyable form.⁴ With the aid of the index added to the published edition, individual points of difficulty could be referred to easily when necessary, while the variety afforded by the random ordering helped to make the reading of the *Remarques* straight through a pleasurable experience. The decision to adopt the random format was then probably taken between 1637 and 1647 either on the advice of friends

or colleagues, or, more likely, as a result of Vaugelas's growing awareness of the tastes of those living at Court.⁵ Moreover, there were practical advantages to be gained from the change: the awkward repetitions and cross-references of the manuscript were ironed out, and the random ordering permitted the addition of observations while the work was in print (*R*, XII, 2).

If the random ordering was an innovation in French works on language, one which initiated a whole series of collections of observations,⁶ it had already been used in Faret's *L'Honneste Homme* and defended by Chevreau in the foreword to his *Lettres nouvelles* of 1642 in terms very similar to those used five years later by Vaugelas in the Preface.⁷ The similarity between Faret's format and Vaugelas's already suggests that Vaugelas's work may have more in common with the form and function of a courtesy book than with that of a grammatical treatise, a point to which we shall have cause to return.

II: TERMINOLOGY

A. Key Concepts and Terminology

A major obstacle in the search for some methodology behind the mass of individual facts is the vagueness of Vaugelas's terminology and the lack of definitions for the terms of approval and reprehension employed. This is particularly noticeable since in the Arsenal manuscript there are more explanations and glosses which facilitate comprehension, and a greater use of technical terms such as *synecdoche* (MS, fol. 73^r), *tautologie*, *macrologie* and *pleonasmie* (MS, fol. 95^r).⁸ By the time of the publication of the *Remarques*, however, Vaugelas, as an *honnête homme* writing for polite society, prefers not to overburden his observations with grammatical terminology and pedantic definitions. His attitude towards technical terms is typified in his approach to the terminology used to designate the parts of speech; while deliberately paying little attention to accuracy in its application, he nevertheless uses it as a tool (see below *B*). Since he aims to minimize the use of specialized vocabulary, he very often uses general terms of approval and censure to express his value judgements instead, words such as *bon*, *meilleur*, *nécessaire*, *commode*, *bas* and *elegant*. With these the difficulties of interpretation are far greater, for there is not the same tradition to look to for guidance as with the part of speech vocabulary. The terms are not explicitly ordered into any scale of values, but are context-dependent and acquire meaning only from the combinations and oppositions in which they appear, thus throwing the burden of evaluation heavily on the reader, if he is to gain more than a vague impression of Vaugelas's opinions.⁹

The various applications of the term *François* illustrate the vague and inconsistent nature of Vaugelas's use of terminology in the *Remarques*. *François* is not found exclusively with either words of approbation or of

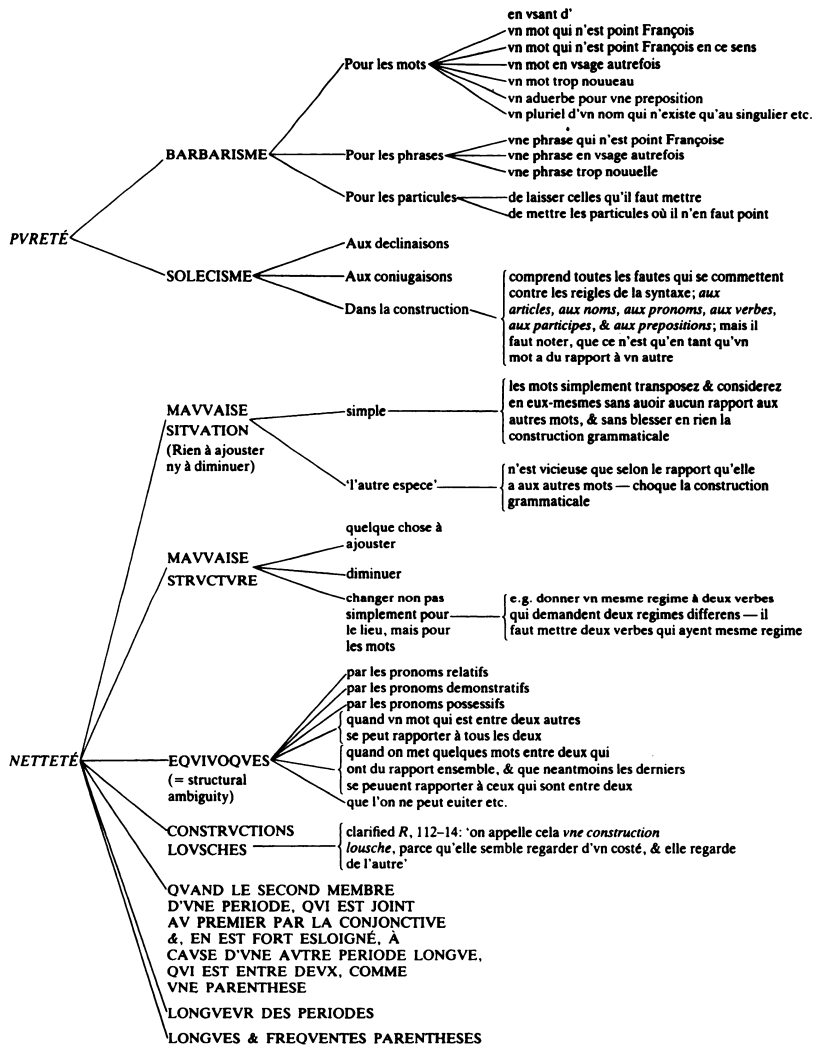
reproof, but occurs in conjunction with such positive labels as *elegant* (R, 62), *pur(e)* (R, 139) and *beau* (R, *467), and with the more negative *ordinaire* (R, 161), *bas* (R, 332) and *peu elegant* (R, 38). It is clearly not an absolute, since it is found in comparative and superlative constructions (R, 62, *472). What then are we to understand by this word? Examination of the contexts in which it is used suggests that it does not have one meaning but a number of loosely related significations. It may imply that a term belongs to standard French and is neither foreign nor regional nor dialectal in character: 'Vne infinité de gens disent & escriuent, *ie vous iray assseurer de mes obeïssances. Cette façon de parler n'est pas Françoisse, elle vient de Gascogne*' (R, 353).¹⁰ It may be applied to expressions peculiar to French — usually those having no parallel in either Latin or other cognate languages — with a meaning close to idiomatic: 'Cette façon de parler *s'attaquer à quelqu'un*, pour dire *attaquer quelqu'un*, est tres-estrange & tres-Françoisse tout ensemble' (R, *472). Such a construction may appear illogical but, being peculiar to French, merits special approval in Vaugelas's eyes. *François* may be a general label of approval, roughly equivalent to 'in good usage'. This, of course, generally means in current usage, which leads to the somewhat paradoxical statement that the learned borrowing *debiteur* is 'more French' than *detteur*, formed on the native root (R, 513–14). However, when used in combination with *elegant*, *François* implies that the expression so designated belongs to the higher registers of good usage (R, 111). Elsewhere the term expresses the notion 'in the French lexicon, but of no value' or 'consists of French words, but has no merit'. For example, Vaugelas says of *mettre* with the meaning of 'demeurer': 'A la verité cette façon de parler est Françoisse, mais si basse que ie n'en voudrois pas user, mesme dans le stile mediocre, ny dans le discours ordinaire' (R, 445). A common difficulty with Vaugelas's terminology is that it is often only negatively defined, that is, we are told what *point François* is, but we are not told what *François* actually means. Thus 'n'est point François' is applied to constructions deemed unacceptable by Vaugelas, and even to words and expressions considered *barbarismes*. In the observation entitled *Auiser* it seems that to call a word 'not French' is to give it the strongest possible censure, but we are nevertheless left in doubt about the exact nature of *François*:

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

The lack of objectivity in the usage of many of the terms and their relative values is especially problematic. In one of the more clearly formulated observations which examines the difference in treatment of pairs of words according to whether they are *synonimes*, *approchans*, *contraires* or *tout à fait differens*, there is no clear-cut definition, for example, of the dividing line between *approchans* and *differens tout à fait*. We are then left wondering why *bastir* &

fortifier should be described as *differens tout à fait*, whereas *bastir & aggrandir* are deemed *approchans*, but *louer & imiter* are said to be completely different (R, 214–18). A prime example of the type of subjectively based label occasionally allowed to intrude is that of the masculine gender being described as ‘le plus noble’ because an adjective qualifying two or more nouns of different genders takes masculine plural agreement (R, 84). Other words seem to lose their conventional semantic content and become general terms of approval and censure. For instance, on occasions, *vieille* and *basse* appear to be virtually interchangeable (R, 224). Similarly, the combination *meilleur & plus ancien* suggests that the latter necessarily implies the former (R, 127).

These terminological problems are not marginal, as the discussion of the use of the terms *usage*, *raison* and *reigle* has shown. Unless some of these difficulties can be clarified, the content of the *Remarques* cannot be understood or properly evaluated. The question is whether the terms of approval and censure can be ordered into any fixed scale. The last twenty-seven pages of the *Remarques* (R, 567–93) suggest that, despite first impressions, Vaugelas did have some overall conception of language and of the criterial features of good speech. Examination of the categories outlined here can throw light on the vocabulary used throughout the rest of the text and some patterning of vocabulary emerges. Although Vaugelas himself does not present this material systematically, for this would have appeared too pedantic for seventeenth-century taste, we can see from the fact that it is possible to tabulate the content of these pages that there is some scheme behind the value judgements in the work (see Table 1). Many of the adjectives used in the text consistently relate to one of these categories so that the usage to which they are applied can be evaluated within this framework. From these pages it is clear that Vaugelas believed that considerations of *pureté*, *netteté*, *force*, *douceur*, *elegance*, *majesté*, *nombre*, *briefueté*, *propriété* and *naïfueté* must be taken into account if one is to write and speak well and to produce that special intangible quality, *le je ne sçay quoy* (R, 593), which distinguishes a perfect use of language from an adequate one. In listing these qualities as the features by which language usage can be evaluated, Vaugelas is relying heavily on the classical rhetorical tradition.¹¹ He apparently assumes they will be understood by his readers, despite his previous assertion that he does not expect a knowledge of Latin, and more specifically of Latin grammar, on the part of his readers (R, xii, 1). It is unfortunate that only two of these, *pureté* and *netteté*, are dealt with at any length in the *Remarques* since it would be helpful to know exactly how Vaugelas understands the other, rather general terms which he inherits and how he envisages they relate to each other, for different authors placed different emphases on different qualities. Chiflet’s grammar (1659), which adapts much of Vaugelas’s material into the form of a grammatical treatise, is a useful source of information as to how these words were generally interpreted

TABLE 1. A Tabulated Form of Vaugelas's *Remarques*, 567-93

LA PROPRIÉTÉ
DES MOTS & DES
PHRASES
L'ELEGANCE
LA DOVCEVR
LA MAJESTÉ
LA FORCE
LE NOMBRE
LA BRIEFVETÉ
LA NAIFVETÉ DE
L'EXPRESSION

L'AIR ET
LA GRACE =
LE JE NE
SÇAY QVOY

at the time.¹² In the section entitled 'Les perfections du Stile, & ses differences' Chiflet lists almost the same criteria as Vaugelas, but also defines and explains them.¹³ However, whereas in Chiflet these are all given the same status of 'les perfections du Stile', in the *Remarques*, *pureté* and *netteté* are apparently of a different status to the other eight. Infringements of the requirements of *pureté* and *netteté* are far more serious and may earn the labels *fautes*, *vicieux*, *monstrueux*, *abus* etc., underlining the central importance of these notions, while the praise in observations relating to the other categories is usually worded in more relative terms (*meilleur*, *plus elegant*, *plus naturel*). The remarks relating to *pureté* and *netteté* give grammatical and lexical requirements of good speech and are not of the same optional nature:

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

They may be expressed as rules beginning with the formulation *il faut* whereas observations relating to the other categories tend rather to be expressed as recommendations.¹⁴ Since Vaugelas advocates that perfection in language usage must be sought wherever possible, the demands on the reader to conform to these recommendations are strong, but rarely is anything which is, for example, not *doux* condemned as definitely wrong. The exception to this dichotomy may be *la propriété des mots & des phrases* which, as we shall see, is rather a problematic category. The fact that many of the *Remarques* relate to these last eight categories once again suggests that the work is in some respects closer to a style book than a grammar.¹⁵

I shall now discuss each of these notions briefly in turn, suggesting how, despite the difficulties associated with them, they help to clarify the content of the *Remarques*. *Pureté* (R, 567–77) is one of the many notions in the *Remarques* which is primarily defined negatively through Vaugelas giving us examples of mistakes against purity.¹⁶ The definition of *pureté* is dispensed with in one sentence, 'La pureté du langage & du stile consiste *aux mots, aux phrases, aux particules, & en la syntaxe*' (R, 567), whereas ten pages are devoted to explanations of the types of *barbarisme* and *solecisme* which are the two ways of offending against *pureté*.¹⁷ Following Quintilian, Vaugelas distinguishes *vn langage pur (emendata oratio)* from *vn langage net (dilucida oratio)* (R, 578). In broad terms *pureté* may be said to be concerned with form, while *netteté* involves the communication of the message. It is claimed that a pure use of language may be acquired by reading and frequenting those who know how to speak well, whereas the ability to write clearly is an inborn skill virtually impossible to acquire (R, 578–79). *Pureté* is a notion much more associated with the seventeenth century than with the sixteenth century. Henri Estienne mentions it in passing in his *Precellence*, but is far more concerned, for

example, with *richesse*.¹⁸ On the other hand, *pureté* is espoused by various seventeenth-century writers, including Bouhours, and defined at some length, although in slightly different terms, in the Academy dictionary.¹⁹ Offences against purity fall into two main categories: firstly, *barbarismes*, words considered substandard for the reasons detailed on Table 1, so that this aspect of *pureté* deals principally with the choice of the correct lexical item (and so has some relation to *propriété*), although certain more syntactic questions are included (here there is some overlap with *solecismes*); secondly, *solecismes*, which refer essentially to faults of morphology and grammar (see Table 1). Two obvious difficulties arise: terms such as *syntaxe* which are used in the definitions are themselves not defined, and there is no clear-cut division between the categories. For example, there is some overlap between *barbarismes pour les particules* and *solecismes en la construction*, both of which apparently include the incorrect omission of articles. Yet this clarification of purity is in general useful, for it enables us to see that many of the observations do indeed deal with questions of purity, and that these observations are to be followed with greater attention than those, for example, which relate to *le nombre*. Examination of the observations dealing with a pure use of language shows that certain adjectives of value and expressions of approval are consistently associated with this category. Together with those against *netteté*, infractions of the demands of *pureté* engender the strongest possible censure, with such terms as *insupportable*, *desagréable*, *mauvaise*, *faute*, *abusivement*, *tres-mal parler* employed. More specifically, *tres-mal parler* is almost always an indication that the expression so designated is a solecism, while *ne vaut rien*, *monstrueuse*, *insupportable* point to *barbarismes*. This patterning of vocabulary helps the reader to categorize certain mistakes; a word termed *vieux* will be a *barbarisme*, a wrongly conjugated verb a *solecisme*. Only very rarely is Vaugelas inconsistent in this: the use of *maxime* in the masculine instead of in the feminine is called 'tout à fait barbare' (R, 64), whereas according to Vaugelas's examples of solecisms (R, 574) it should fall into this category.

Netteté, another typically seventeenth-century concept and one very close to Vaugelas's heart since he hates structural ambiguity,²⁰ is concerned with questions of syntax and word order, that is '*l'arrangement, la structure, ou la situation des mots, & tout ce qui contribuë à la clarté de l'expression*' (R, 567). *Netteté* and *clarté* are not explicitly distinguished, but the former appears to be a more linguistic notion, while the latter is associated with clarity of ideas:

C'est pourquoy tant s'en faut que l'usage des synonymes soit vicieux, qu'il est souvent nécessaire, puis qu'ils contribuent tant à la clarté de l'expression, qui doit estre le principal soin de celuy qui parle ou qui escrit. (R, *494)²¹

Netteté involves clarifying syntactic relationships by articulating them fully, by repeating functional markers and by a judicious ordering of words. A balance must be kept between the use of elegant ellipses or concise forms of expression

and concerns of clarity, with which the adjective *regulier* is often associated. A transposition of word order may have 'beaucoup de grace & de force' (*R*, 156–57) or an irregular construction sanctioned by usage be more highly valued (*R*, 397–98), but generally the unambiguous and explicitly marked construction will be favoured, at least in prose.

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

Certainly the most problematic of these is that termed *la propriété des mots & des phrases* by Vaugelas. It is defined very briefly by Chiflet: 'à se servir des mots & des phrases propres au sujet que l'on traite'.²² This feature is related to the concept of *le mot juste* which became so important to writers in the second half of the century; this is perhaps best elaborated in La Bruyère's *Les Caractères*:

Entre toutes les différentes expressions qui peuvent rendre une seule de nos pensées, il n'y en a qu'une qui soit la bonne. On ne la rencontre pas toujours en parlant ou en écrivant; il est vrai néanmoins qu'elle existe, que tout ce qui ne l'est point est faible, et ne satisfait point un homme d'esprit qui veut se faire entendre.²³

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

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

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

The choice of the correct word is problematic for native speakers, for Vaugelas points out that few people are unable to avoid the mixing of levels. Most are overwhelmed by the wealth of French vocabulary, which should be employed with discrimination (*R*, 511). The most obvious area of variation is between the spoken and written registers; this will be discussed in Chapter 5. Writers must also be careful to choose the correct vocabulary according to whether they are composing prose or poetry. In the Arsenal manuscript Vaugelas had asserted that the same vocabulary is used in both French poetry and prose, with the exception of *maint* and *gent* in the singular which are

peculiar to poetry (MS, fol. 42^r) and *discord* deemed worthless in prose but 'bon en uers' (MS, fol. 22^v), and that this lack of a special vocabulary peculiar to verse is a characteristic of French poetry and a great advantage since it ensures that the poetic language is easily comprehended (MS, fol. 42^r). However, in the *Remarques* a larger number of words are said to belong only to poetic diction and poetic licence is acknowledged. For example, whereas in the manuscript Vaugelas argues under the heading *Alors* (MS, fol. 4^v) that poets must not use expressions such as *alors que* to fit in with the metre and to add grandeur, in the *Remarques* he says of *alors que*:

Jamais nos bons Escriuains en prose n'ont fait cette faute. Si donc on le veut escrire, que ce ne soit jamais en prose, & qu'en vers il passe tousjours pour vne licence Poëtique. (R, 227–28)

Futur is judged to be 'plus de la Poësie, que de la bonne prose' (R, 463) and *De moy* 'consacré à la Poësie' and *Pour moy* 'à la prose' (R, 193–94).²⁴ In short, in the *Remarques* poetry is seen to be less demanding in its choice of words and expressions than well-constructed prose style. Indeed, further distinctions can be made within each form:

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

With the growing constraint in the seventeenth century on the choice of vocabulary available to writers, Vaugelas apparently increasingly allowed poets to employ some of the 'rejected' words. The words Vaugelas reluctantly saw disappear from general usage could then find a refuge in the work of the poets. Another reason for his change of attitude might lie in the alteration in his attitude to the relationship between the spoken and written registers. By 1647 Vaugelas seems to believe that the same demands are made of speech as of writing (see Chapter 5). If this is the case, then poetry perhaps had to be granted greater freedom in its choice of expressions and use of vocabulary if it was not to appear too conversational and prosaic, indeed if it was to be able to survive at all.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

. . . il faut que le genre d'escrire responde à celuy de parler, le genre bas au bas, le mediocre au mediocre, & le sublime au sublime, de sorte que si i'employois vne phrase fort basse dans vn haut stile, ou vne phrase fort noble dans vn stile bas, ie me rendrois egalement ridicule. (R, 510)²⁶

The traditional concept of 'appropriateness' is then given a new socio-linguistic emphasis in the *Remarques*. The realization that language usage is not simply good or bad but that there are gradations of acceptability according to style, register and context is valuable and these different factors must be taken into account when considering Vaugelas's decisions.

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

Lors, avec vn genitif, par exemple, *lors de son election*, pour dire *quand il fut eleu* n'est gueres bon, ou du moins, gueres elegant. (R, 144)

The close relationship between elegance and brevity²⁷ and the possible clash of the concerns of *netteté* and *elegance* have been discussed above. *Elegance* seems to belong to the upper registers of usage and it is implied that elegant expressions which contravene the regular grammatical pattern can only be used by those who have already mastered the foundations of grammar:²⁸

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

In some cases no explicit choice is made by Vaugelas between the more regular and the more elegant construction, and the reader is apparently left to decide for himself which usage to adopt (*Après six mois de temps escoulez*, R, 382–83).

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

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

Moreover, as Vaugelas admits, euphony is a highly subjective notion; habit makes certain combinations of sounds acceptable and others appear *rude* and cacophonous. Usually the term *rude* is associated with a 'mauvaise prononciation' (R, 157) in opposition to the adjectives *doux* and *coulant* (R, 130). Occasionally, however, the word *rude* is applied to one of two pronunciations when examples elsewhere suggest that he makes no difference between it and the preferred form ('*Toute sorte*', & '*toutes sortes*', R, 130–31).²⁹ The terms *la force* and *la majesté* are rarely used in the text, and obviously only apply to certain restricted registers, styles and contexts as delimited by *la propriété des mots & des phrases*. Chifflet defines *la majesté* in the following way: '*La Majesté*, [qui consiste] en la juste grandeur des periodes, & au choix des paroles pompeuses & emphatiques, quand il est à propos d'en vser'.³⁰ It is linked by Vaugelas with the *genre sublime* (R, 244) and the adjective *noble*: 'Ces mots qui sont de l'usage ancien & moderne tout ensemble, sont beaucoup plus nobles & plus graues, que ceux de la nouvelle marque' (R, 334). *La force* is confined to stressed and emphatic expressions only appropriate in certain contexts.

Le nombre is equally a feature of good style only taken into consideration if the demands of *pureté* and *netteté* are satisfied, 'car il vaut bien mieux satisfaire l'entendement que l'oreille, & il ne faut jamais auoir esgard à celle-cy; qu'on n'ayt premierement satisfait l'autre' (R, 33). Overlooking the concerns of *le nombre* will thus engender *negligences* (R, 414–19) rather than *fautes*.

Briefueté is viewed as a characteristic of the French language.³¹ Its place in relation to the other features has been discussed above. The final quality

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

C'est pourquoy ils croyent qu'il est bon de les eüter toutes deux [sc. *en vostre absence, & de Madame vostre mere* and *en vostre absence, & en celle de Madame vostre mere*], & de prendre vn autre tour. Pour moy, ie suis de cette opinion, quoy que ie n'approuue gueres cét expedient en des endroits où l'on ne peut gauchir sans perdre la grace de la naïfueté, & des expressions naturelles, qui font vne grande partie de la beauté du langage. (R, 209–10)

Vaugelas advocates using a natural, unaffected style wherever possible, which is in part achieved by writing as one speaks (R, 509–11).³² As we have noted, Vaugelas prefers naïve judgements about the French language. Recommendation of *naïfueté* implies that it is the first thought or the form of expression which comes naturally which is very often the best, yet this principle seems incommensurate with the strict legislation imposed by Vaugelas on certain aspects of language use:

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

Reference to these categories then helps us to explain the use of vocabulary in the text and to appreciate that certain adjectives of approval and disapproval are consistently associated with one of them. A degree of patterning is obvious and certain combinations are favoured (e.g. *bas . . . insupportable* (R, 169), *vicieuse & barbare* (R, 173), *plus nette & plus reguliere* (R, 377), *plus nobles & plus graues* (R, 344)), just as certain oppositions commonly occur (e.g. *grammatical/elegant* (R, 383), *vieux/tres-bien dit* (R, 167), *doux/rude* (R, 425)). Sometimes one of the semantically vaguer terms such as *meilleur* or *mieux* appears in conjunction with an adjective applying to one of these qualities and this clarifies in what sense the form so labelled is deemed better. Elsewhere context tells us how we should understand the general epithets. For example, on page 12 *mieux* is equivalent to *plus doux*, on page 14 it refers to *le nombre*, while on page 143 it is associated with *la netteté du stile*. Similarly *commode* may be related to one of these features; a word may be useful in the sense that it expresses a meaning not covered by another lexical item, or because it is short or allows one to express a concept concisely or elegantly (R, 17), or it may be useful in a particular context, providing the right number of syllables to balance a period or satisfy prosodic requirements (R, 15).

While this patterning has obvious benefits, numerous terminological problems remain. Firstly, the ten features mentioned in the last twenty-seven pages of the work do not provide an exhaustive analysis, and such characteristics of French as *richesse* (R, 27) and *varieté* (R, 395) alluded to elsewhere in the text

are not included. Secondly, difficulties are engendered by the subjective nature of some of the concepts (e.g. *beauté, perfection*); this may very well partly be a reflection of Vaugelas's conception of good speech since the stylistic qualities given on the last page are said to combine to create *l'air & la grace* which culminate in *le je ne sçay quoy*, an intangible quality which defies definition and objective presentation. Thirdly, the status of these categories is unequal, and usage may take precedence over any of the criteria for good speech including *netteté* and *pureté* (R, 173). Vaugelas insists that some of the greatest beauties of the language are produced by breaking rules and ignoring expected patterns of construction provided these are sanctioned by usage. For instance, considerations of *netteté* are overruled in the case of *Il se vient iustifier* because 'il y a plus de grace . . . en cette transposition, puis que l'Vsage l'authorise' (R, 376–77). Finally, inconsistency in the application of the terminology may involve the more serious charge of inconsistency in the application of principles.

Related to this discussion of key concepts and terminology is the question of the degree of necessity of applying the recommendations in the *Remarques*. Is there a scale of grammaticality parallel to the scale of acceptability suggested by *la propriété des mots & des phrases*? As we have noted, the observations are expressed in various forms which suggest that some are compulsory rules, some optional, some preferences, while others give two equally possible forms (*il faut, les vns disent . . . les autres disent* (R, 363), *iamais on ne doit vser* (R, 325), *se met d'ordinaire avec* (R, 130), *tous deux sont bons* (R, 150)). Yet, as for Chiflet, the grammatical and the stylistic are so closely related in Vaugelas's work that to write accurately is not sufficient for him, perfection of style is also required (see also Chapter 9). Despite the statements of optionality, Vaugelas only unequivocally supports usage which is perfect in all respects. We might conclude therefore that once an expression has been deemed inferior to another, then it might as well not exist:

Quand on leur accorderoit ce participe feminin de la façon qu'ils le proposent, il me semble qu'il n'y auroit guere à dire entre ces deux propositions *qu'il n'est point du tout de la langue*, ou *qu'il en est, de sorte, que l'vsage en est tres-rare, & qu'encore en ce cas là, le gerondif est beaucoup meilleur.* (R, 430–31)

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

B. Part of Speech Terminology

Vaugelas's use of the part of speech terminology is unoriginal, and he follows unquestioningly the tradition established by his sixteenth- and early

seventeenth-century predecessors which was in turn based on the grammars of Priscian and Donatus. Vaugelas bears ample witness to the difficulty experienced by the early French grammarians of freeing themselves from the Latin model, which at times led them to distort the facts of the French language in an attempt to make them fit into the Latin pattern;³³ for example, French is consistently said to have cases.³⁴ Categories such as the article with no counterpart in the classical language caused great embarrassment, and the terms are rarely defined. As we might expect, since Vaugelas was not writing a formal grammar, this is an area to which he contributed little, if anything. For instance, he retains the two-fold division of prepositions into *simples* and *composées* (*R*, 124–26), and assumes that when they stand before nouns they govern cases (*sur* + acc., *en* + abl., *de* + abl., *R*, 533).

In the Preface Vaugelas rejects ordering his material according to the parts of speech, arguing that although this is an order ‘fondé dans la nature’ and suitable for a formal grammar, it might deter his intended audience (*R*, xii, 1). The *Remarques* are nevertheless full of terminology relating to the parts of speech and indeed it is even used to explain the difference between a pair of related words (*Cependant*, *pendant*, *R*, 223).³⁵ Elsewhere reference is made to the category of the word to explain a decision on agreement (*Quelque*, *R*, 4). The terminology is used carelessly and unsystematically: the label *partie de l’oraison* itself is applied not only to the traditional Latin parts of speech, but also to such notions as clarity (*R*, 143). Indeed the inattentiveness seems deliberate. Vaugelas refers to *nous* as a noun and then adds in parentheses ‘que j’appelle nom, quoy qu’il soit pronom, parce que cela n’importe’ (*R*, 177). While aware of the indeclinable nature of the adverb, he advocates alternating the forms *mesme* and *mesmes* according to whether the adverb is placed near a singular or plural noun (*R*, 24), thereby undermining his definition of the class. Vaugelas then only pays attention to the part of speech vocabulary where it helps to clarify a decision. The fact that he uses it in this way raises the question of how far Vaugelas’s contemporaries, especially the women, were familiar with the part of speech vocabulary. High-born women would have been educated in early life by their mothers and governesses and later by private tutors with the help of primers. An unskilled teacher might ‘explain’ the behaviour of a certain aspect of French by referring to its grammatical category. Vaugelas certainly seems to assume that his readers know, for instance, what nouns and verbs are.

Nine parts of speech are listed in the Preface (*R*, xii). Since the practice of dividing French into nine parts of speech was only really established with the grammars of Maupas (1607) and Oudin (1632), this suggests that Vaugelas was familiar with their work, despite the absence of any explicit reference to them in the published *Remarques*.³⁶ Not all the parts of speech are given equal treatment. For instance, the interjection is merely listed in the Preface as one of them and given no further attention. Following his predecessors, Vaugelas

subdivides his categories on semantic grounds, but mentions far fewer subdivisions than other writers, only citing, for example, two types of adverbs (*du lieu, du temps*, *R*, 416, *462) as the occasion arises.³⁷ Since Vaugelas is not aiming to produce a comprehensive grammar of the language and he wishes to use only the most important terms with which his readers can be assumed to be familiar and to avoid the long and tedious lists and tables found in more formal grammars, no conclusion can be drawn from these omissions. Clearly his grasp of grammatical terminology is not very sound. In some cases hesitation on Vaugelas's part suggests uneasiness with the adopted system, although no attempt is made to formulate an alternative framework. For instance, the forms *à* and *de* are described now as prepositions, now as indefinite articles, and as articles are said to stand before both nouns and verbs (*R*, 215), thereby extending the scope of the article beyond being a purely nominal marker.³⁸ Possible areas of difficulty in the traditional terminology are not discussed, such as the ambiguity of the term *actif* which can refer both to a verbal voice (*R*, 478) and a type of verb (our intransitives, *R*, 61). On the other hand, such ambiguity may be viewed as a laudable attempt to establish a parallel between the terminology for different categories: the terms *actif* and *passif*, apparently referring sometimes to form and sometimes to meaning, are applied to the endings of verbal nouns (*R*, 518), to adjectives (*R*, 401), and to participles (*R*, 175, 426) as well as to verbs.³⁹ Vaugelas is also conscious of the dynamic process of change of category as a source of new words (*serieux*, *R*, 255; *le manger* etc., *R*, 152).

Further complications are added by the use of related terminology. The term *particule* is employed to designate any short word, in general an invariable, but the articles are also so labelled (*R*, 476*), breaking with the tradition of describing only adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions and interjections in this way. The expressions *mot*, *terme*, and *façon de parler* are not defined, but are used fairly consistently to refer respectively to a single lexical item, two-word combinations, and slightly longer expressions (e.g. *tirez ce cheual*, *R*, 38). Some words seem to assume a semi-technical meaning (e.g. *liaisons*, *R*, 416), and semantic labels are occasionally given ('l'interrogation *pourquoy*', *R*, 47).

In conclusion we may note that Vaugelas's loose application of technical and semi-technical terms has roused great indignation amongst certain critics such as Chevalier⁴⁰ who see it as symptomatic of his lack of methodology (and perhaps even of a lack of understanding), in comparison, for example, with Chifflet's more formalized approach. Comparison with usage in the manuscript confirms that Vaugelas consciously chose to proceed in this way as part of a deliberate decision not to produce just another formal grammar of French, but to compose observations dealing with finer points of usage for those who wanted to polish their use of French. Further discussion of Vaugelas's categorization and the problems caused by it will appear in the chapters on morphology and syntax.

CHAPTER 4

VAUGELAS'S ORIGINALITY: SOURCES FOR THE *REMARQUES*

Before embarking upon a detailed examination of the linguistic content of the *Remarques*, it is appropriate to assess the extent of Vaugelas's originality in terms of his overall conception of language behaviour and good usage. Here once again the Arsenal manuscript affords valuable information both about his sources and his approach to his predecessors. The expressions of doubt in the manuscript coupled with the assertion in the published Preface of the need to consult authorities on points of doubtful usage (*R*, II, 7) confirm Vaugelas's willingness to accept advice and suggestions from other people.¹ In the published *Remarques* Vaugelas makes it very clear how he intends to treat his sources, adopting the respectful attitude towards them that we would expect from an *honnête homme*. Any author whose usage is censured is not specifically named. If Vaugelas considers authors worthy of praise, they are named if they are dead, but not if they are still alive, 'de peur de leur attirer de l'enuie, ou de passer pour flateur [sic]' (*R*, xv, 1).² While some of the allusions to other writers are kept equally vague in the manuscript, more authors are cited by name in it, since it is not intended for the public. A careful reading of the manuscript can therefore provide important indications as to where Vaugelas looked for inspiration.

This is perhaps most obvious in the case of references to Malherbe. Detailed comments, quotations and page references in the manuscript indicate that Vaugelas made a methodical and painstaking examination of the 1630 edition of Malherbe's work.³ Indeed, it seems likely that this analysis of Malherbe's language and style constituted the starting point for Vaugelas's study.⁴ Malherbe's usage is often taken as the basis for an observation; whether it is praised or criticized, his usage is the paradigm against which Vaugelas reacts. The detailed nature of the comments in the manuscript suggest that Vaugelas annotated Malherbe's work in very much the same way as Malherbe had previously annotated Desportes's, although his attitude towards Malherbe is much more respectful.⁵ This is not to say that he is a mere follower of Malherbe, as some critics have implied, for he shows a laudable independence of mind, criticizing Malherbe, for example, for condemning *mille* (*MS*, fol. 61^r) and maintaining that he must not be followed on this detail.⁶ The specific

references to Malherbe are then very frequently removed from the published version, and the author of the quotation is designated by a vague, general label. For instance, the precise attribution under the heading *Detteur* in the manuscript, 'Malh.p.252' (MS, fol. 67^r), simply becomes 'vn de nos plus celebres Escriptuains' in the *Remarques* (R, 513).

The specific citing in the manuscript of the names of many of the authors only alluded to in the *Remarques* also helps to correct wrong suppositions about the identity of Vaugelas's sources. Amongst Conrart's papers in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal there is a key in question and answer form to some of the anonymous authors alluded to in the *Remarques*.⁷ However, the key is pitifully incomplete (for example, in the case of *detteur* cited above, the *Clef de Conrart* is no help in identifying the writer) and sometimes inaccurate (for example, the *Clef de Conrart* identifies the author of the quotation in the observation entitled *Exemple d'une construction estrange* (R, 193) as 'M. de Balzac', but the manuscript makes it clear that this is a quotation from Malherbe with a slight alteration to conceal his identity ('Le fait du lion et de celui qui uouloit tuer le Tyran sont semblables', MS, fol. 83^r). Chassang, who includes the key in the footnotes of his edition, denies that it was written by Conrart and suggests that the author's name, of which only the first letter remains at the top of page 19 of the manuscript, is Desmarets.⁸ It seems likely, however, that this was rather the name of the person who posed the questions, and since Desmarets is one of the identified sources, we may question the validity of Chassang's assumption. A reference in the key which reads, 'Je ne demande pas qui est marqué, p. 505. car Je le reconnois trop bien, & c'est à cet Oracle q. Je demande la résolution de mes doutes & le pardon de mes importunitéz',⁹ and where the reference is evidently to Conrart, seems to confirm that Conrart supplied the answers. If this is so, then even Conrart who was so familiar with Vaugelas and his circle was only able to supply answers to forty-eight of the seventy-two unidentified references selected, some of which, as we have seen, are incorrect. Yet despite the inaccuracies the key is valuable in introducing names which occur neither in the manuscript nor in the published version, including d'Ablancourt, Madame la Marquise de Montausier, Giry and 'feu M. D'Avaux'.¹⁰

While the references to Malherbe far outnumber those to other authors, the work of the second most frequently mentioned author, Coeffeteau, is also very familiar to Vaugelas, even though only one specific page reference to his work is given (MS, fol. 94^v) and the allusions made to him are often vague or general.¹¹ In addition, as with Malherbe, Vaugelas refers to advice given personally to him by Coeffeteau and the daily gatherings of 'personnes doctes' at Coeffeteau's house (MS, fol. 40^v). If Malherbe is referred to most frequently in the Arsenal manuscript, Vaugelas certainly has the most admiration for Coeffeteau's prose (MS, fol. 62^r) and often supports Coeffeteau's usage against Malherbe's, especially on questions of word order and syntax.

Vaugelas above all admires Coeffeteau's clarity, arguing that although it was Malherbe who said that his work should not need to be reread for the sake of clarity and comprehension but only for pleasure, this ideal is only fulfilled in Coeffeteau's writings (MS, fol. 92^v). He also follows Coeffeteau in his recording of Court usage, for Coeffeteau 'sans contredit est celuy de tous noz Escruiains qui a escrit le plus purement et qui s'est montré le plus religieux à ne iamais user d'un mot ni d'aucune façon de parler qui ne fust receüe à la Court' (MS, fol. 5^v). Vaugelas does not recommend following Coeffeteau slavishly and the manuscript indicates those cases where Coeffeteau's usage is considered at fault.¹² Nevertheless, a fair amount of space is devoted to praise of Coeffeteau in the manuscript, practically all of which is omitted from the published version.¹³

Translators are one of Vaugelas's main sources of examples, and it is therefore not surprising that the third major authority referred to in the Arsenal manuscript is Amyot, one of the great sixteenth-century translators, whom he praises in rather exaggerated terms:¹⁴

Et cependant iamais Traducteur n'acquit plus de gloire avec plus de raison, ni n'a mieux desabusé le monde de cette fausse creance, *que la Traduction est un travail ingrat* (aussi est elle pour les mauuais Ouvriers) qu'à [sic] fait ce grand personnage. Ne semble-t-il pas disputer le pris de l'eloquence historique avec son Autheur, et faire douter à ceux qui sçauent parfaitement les deux langues s'il a accreu ou diminué l'honneur de Plutarque à l'auoir traduit? (MS, fol. 40^v; cf. *R*, x, 1)

Vaugelas is well aware that the language has changed since Amyot's time and often refers to him to illustrate former usage together with other 'anciens Escruiains' (e.g. *R*, 92), yet he argues that where usage has remained the same, and a word still has the authority of Amyot, then it is to be more highly valued than a newly established one (MS, fol. 34^v).

The number of references to Malherbe, Coeffeteau and Amyot indicate that these were his three main sources at the time the manuscript was written and continued to be so when the *Remarques* were published. Explicit references to other authors in the manuscript furnish evidence of the breadth of Vaugelas's reading. His references range from Greek and Classical Latin authors to contemporary influences and include some Medieval and Renaissance writers. While many of the authors cited in the manuscript become anonymous in 1647, several new names are added, especially in the Preface of the published version. The majority of these are Latin authors and are only referred to in passing.¹⁵

Scaglione has shown conclusively how Vaugelas's ideas depend to a large extent on the classical rhetorical tradition.¹⁶ Vaugelas's main authority in this respect is Quintilian whose *Institutio oratoria* featured prominently in the Jesuit education of the day.¹⁷ Vaugelas's debt to Quintilian in forming his views on the roles of usage and reason in language behaviour is striking. Quintilian,

like Vaugelas, stresses the primacy of usage or *consuetudo*, which limits the scope of the other three factors on which, according to him, language is based — reason (*ratio*), antiquity (*vetustas*) and authority (*auctoritas*) (1.6.1): ‘*Consuetudo vero certissima loquendi magistra, utendumque plane sermone ut nummo, cui publica forma est*’ [Usage however is the surest pilot in speaking, and we should treat language as currency minted with the public stamp] (1.6.3).¹⁸ Reason, in Quintilian’s view, finds its support sometimes in etymology, but chiefly in analogy, but the role of *ratio* is restricted since the definition of analogy, also adopted by Vaugelas, throws the emphasis back on usage.¹⁹ As for antiquity, Quintilian claims that this preserves a certain majesty or almost sanctity, and while he is anxious to record current usage and argues that words from a foreign or remote age must not be employed, he suggests that, used sparingly, old words have a certain charm.²⁰ The following statement could equally well come from Vaugelas’s pen: ‘*Ergo, ut novorum optima erunt maxime vetera, ita veterum maxime nova*’ [Consequently in the case of old words the best will be those that are newest, just as in the case of new words the best will be the oldest] (1.6.41). In Quintilian’s case, *auctoritas* refers to the authority of orators and historians, which normally confirms usage and indeed may lend a certain credibility to an ‘error’, but is not deemed infallible.²¹

The fact that Vaugelas like Quintilian gives prime importance to usage both in its own right and as a support of analogy clearly suggests a direct influence. Indeed, Vaugelas quotes Quintilian’s phrase ‘*aliud est Latinè, aliud Grammaticè loqui*’ [it is one thing to speak Latin and another to speak grammar]²² on two occasions in the *Remarques* (*R*, 375, *463) to support his contention that usage must be given priority over reason. Moreover, Vaugelas follows Quintilian in the details of his characterization of good usage. Ott claims that Vaugelas’s definition of good usage as that of an elite is a novel feature of the work.²³ This may be true in terms of Vaugelas’s French predecessors, but similar ideas are already expressed in a passage in the *Institutio oratoria*. Having asserted that by usage he means present-day usage, Quintilian goes on to delimit usage further:

Quae si ex eo, quod plures faciunt, nomen accipiat, periculosissimum dabit praeeptum, non orationi modo sed (quod maius est) vitae. Unde enim tantum boni, ut pluribus quae recta sunt placeant? Igitur ut velli et comam in gradus frangere et in balneis perpotare, quamlibet haec invaserint civitatem, non erit consuetudo, quia nihil horum caret reprehensione; at lavamur et tondemur et convivimus ex consuetudine: sic in loquendo, non si quid vitiose multis insederit, pro regula sermonis accipiendum erit. Num, ut transeam, quemadmodum vulgo imperiti loquantur, tota saepe theatra et omnem circi turbam exclamasse barbare scimus. Ergo consuetudinem sermonis vocabo consensum eruditorum, sicut vivendi consensum bonorum. [If it be defined merely as the practice of the majority, we shall have a very dangerous rule affecting not merely style but life as well, a far more serious matter. For where is so much good to be found that what is right should please the majority? The practices of depilation, of dressing the hair in

tiers, or of drinking to excess at the baths, although they may have thrust their way into society, cannot claim the support of usage, since there is something to blame in all of them (although we have usage on our side when we bathe or have our hair cut or take our meals together). So too in speech we must not accept as a rule of language words and phrases that have become a vicious habit with a number of persons. To say nothing of the language of the uneducated, we are all of us well aware that whole theatres and the entire crowd of spectators will often commit *barbarisms* in the cries which they utter as one man. I will therefore define usage in speech as the agreed practice of educated men, just as where our way of life is concerned I should define it as the agreed practice of all good men.] (i.6.44–45)²⁴

Vaugelas goes one step further and implies that there is to his concept of good usage a social dimension associated with good conduct which is an idea perhaps already foreshadowed in Quintilian's preface to Book I where it is suggested that good speech and an excellent character are connected (I.Preface.9).²⁵ Vaugelas's ideas are thus very close to Quintilian's on the role of reason, antiquity, authority and usage in language.

Instances of parallels between Vaugelas's ideas and Quintilian's could be multiplied. For example, Quintilian stresses the central importance of clarity (i.6.41), and Vaugelas cites Quintilian's opinions on ambiguity (*R*, 327, 589) and his distinction between 'vn langage pur' (*emendata oratio*) and 'vn langage net' (*dilucida oratio*, *R*, 578). There are also certain similarities in the list of 'virtues of style', the subdivision of mistakes into solecisms and barbarisms, and the acknowledgement that different mistakes occur in speech and writing and that poets must be given greater freedom.²⁶ In addition, Vaugelas quotes Quintilian on the importance of purity (*R*, ix), metaphor and imagery (*R*, 128, 317–18), and neologisms (*R*, 255), and significantly it is for a 'Quintilien François' that Vaugelas calls on two occasions to provide a fuller description of the French language (*R*, xv, 3; 593).²⁷

Another important Latin source for Vaugelas's ideas is Varro. Although he is mentioned for the first time explicitly in the published *Remarques*, the terminology used in the manuscript to describe the distinction between absolute and relative arbitrariness of the sign already suggests influence by Varro (MS, fol. 85^v).²⁸ Varro's *De lingua Latina* is the main source of our knowledge about the analogy versus anomaly controversy which ran throughout the Greek and Roman eras. Vaugelas follows Varro in acknowledging that both analogy and anomaly govern language behaviour and in trying to delimit the scope of each. His examples of how usage operates *par raison*, *sans raison* and *contre raison* (*R*, v, 3) are, for example, reminiscent of Varro's position that analogy governs *declinatio naturalis*, which is roughly equivalent to what we would now term inflectional morphology, whereas anomaly (or usage) governs *declinatio voluntaria* or derivational morphology (x.15). Varro too adds the proviso that even in the case of *declinatio naturalis* language is only regular to the extent sanctioned by usage: 'Analogia est verborum similum declinatio similis non

repugnante consuetudine communi' [*Analogia* is the like inflection of like words, not inconsistent with common usage] (x.74). Varro is also part of the tradition stressing the value of clarity, brevity, and refinement or elegance etc. as 'virtues of style'.²⁹ Vaugelas therefore seems to look to the classical rhetoricians and Varro for inspiration rather than to the mainstream Graeco-Latin grammatical tradition. Priscian's name is only mentioned once in the *Remarques* and then only in passing (R, 311), and there is no mention of Donatus.

Vaugelas's third major Latin source, Cicero, further confirms his dependence on the classical rhetorical concepts. Cicero, 'Prince de l'Eloquence' (MS, fol. 64^v) is quoted by Vaugelas principally on stylistic questions,³⁰ but Vaugelas also follows him, for example, in consulting women about good usage (R, 380, 505).

Vaugelas's great respect for his Roman predecessors unfortunately causes him at times to depend too heavily on their authority about the behaviour of the Latin language when deciding a point of French usage. For instance, he cites Cicero's usage of *horribilis* to support his contention that *horrible* may have positive connotations in French (R, 362–63). Table 2 indicates the breadth of Vaugelas's reading of Latin texts, although a number of these authors are only mentioned briefly in the manuscript, typically with a short value judgement appended. These are authors with whom the most educated of his readers, although not the women, would no doubt have been familiar from their grammar and rhetoric classes at school.³¹

The names of Medieval authors are pitifully few in both the manuscript and the *Remarques*. The manuscript does, however, suggest two neo-Latin grammatical sources for Vaugelas, Corradus, whose *De lingua Latina* inspired by Varro appeared in 1575 (MS, fol. 97^r), and Valla (MS, fols 42^v, 87^v), described by Padley as 'the ablest representative of the Neo-Latin Renaissance',³² whose possible influence on Vaugelas in his choice of a random ordering for the published *Remarques* has already been discussed in Chapter 3.

There are very few references to grammatical sources in the published *Remarques*, but mentions of French grammars, albeit vague allusions, are more common in the Arsenal manuscript and again were apparently removed deliberately before publication. Occasionally Vaugelas refers in the manuscript to French grammars to support a point:

. . . ie l'ay leu ainsi mesmes dans des grammaires françoises, et dans diuers Auteurs, et qui plus est, ie pense auoir dire à M. Coeff. qu'il ne falloit mettre cy qu'apres les Pronoms. (MS, fol. 13^v)

More often they are the object of his criticism; for instance, he argues that French grammarians are incorrect in their comments on the usage of *autrui* (MS, fol. 10^r). The only French grammarians explicitly named in the manuscript are Henri Estienne and Du Bellay (who is also cited in the *Remarques*),

TABLE 2. Latin and Greek Authors

LATIN

(a) Manuscript references:

Also mentioned by name in the *Remarques* (see Streicher, *Remarques*, pp. 621–23 for exact references):

Not referred to in the *Remarques*:

CÉSAR
CICÉRON
QUINTE-CURCE
QUINTILIEN
SENÈQUE
TACITE
TÉRENCE
TITE-LIVE
VIRGILE

AULE GELLE
MACROBE
JUSTIN

There is probably an allusion to Ovid in the manuscript (MS, fol. 64^r)

(b) Additional references in the published *Remarques*:

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

NEO-LATIN

(a) Manuscript references:

Also mentioned by name in the *Remarques*:

Not referred to in the *Remarques*:

VALLA

CORRADOR
RADERUS

Note: The German scholar Matthaeus Raderus (1561–1634) produced commentaries on Martial and Quintus Curtius (see Chapter 10, pp. 149–50) as well as translations and original works in Latin.

(b) Additional references in the published *Remarques*: Scaliger.

GREEK

(a) Manuscript references:

Lucien (also mentioned by name in the published *Remarques*).

(b) Additional references in the published *Remarques*:

Arrien, Démosthène, Denis d'Halicarnasse, Plutarque. (Arrian is principally mentioned because of d'Ablancourt's translation of his work (see Chapter 10, pp. 147–49, 155–57), and Plutarch because of Amyot's.)

TABLE 3. Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century French Writers

(a) Manuscript references:

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

There are also the following allusions in the manuscript:

'Phyl.' (MS, fols 25^v, 26^v) — Goulu

Commentator on Amyot (MS, fol. 40^v) — Méziriac (see below, Chapter 10, p. 146)

'Voyez la gram. Françoise p. 155' (MS, fol. 92^r), 'V. la gram. 155' (MS, fol. 97^v) — Maupas, *Grammaire et syntaxe françoise* (1618)

'MF' (MS, fol. 69^r) — ? Faret

'M le Ch. de B' (MS, fol. 26^v)

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

(b) Additional references in the published *Remarques*:

Robert Estienne, Marot, Nicot, Ramus.

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

Bérulle, Conrart (†), Cureau de la Chambre, La Mothe le Vayer (†), Patru (†), Perrot d'Ablancourt (†).

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

The *Remarques* also contain allusions to people known personally to Vaugelas — Julie d'Angennes (Mme de Montausier †), Mme de Rambouillet, M. de Rambouillet — and there is also an allusion to Mazarin.

(d) The Clef de Conrart suggests certain other names:

Giry, Feu M. d'Avaux, Desmarets, M. de Porchères, Senaut [sic].

(The accuracy of these references is discussed above, p. 56).

(e) The list may perhaps be supplemented by the names of the authors listed by the Academy as those to be read and consulted (see Chapter 2, footnote 17), by the names of Vaugelas's friends and family, and by the names of those with whom he was in correspondence (see Conclusion).

TABLE 4. Italian Authors

(a) Manuscript references:

Also mentioned by name in the <i>Remarques</i> :	Not referred to in the <i>Remarques</i> :
BENTIVOGLIO	PÉTRARQUE
TASSE	

(b) Additional references in the published *Remarques*:

Bembo, Boccace, Dante.

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

both for their comparisons of French and Greek. However, there are also allusions to Goulu³³ and, most significantly, there is a page reference to Maupas's *Grammaire et syntaxe françoise* in its second, enlarged edition of 1618.³⁴ Surprisingly, neither Maupas nor Oudin, whose grammar continued Maupas's work, updating, correcting and reorganizing his material and improving on its presentation,³⁵ are mentioned in the published *Remarques*, but it may well be Maupas's grammar he has in mind when he mentions grammars for foreigners (e.g. *R*, 183) and implies that he conceives grammars as basic texts aimed at non-native speakers and therefore very different from his own observations.³⁶ Delicacy would then have prevented him from naming Maupas specifically. The names of Robert Estienne, Ramus and the lexicographer Nicot, appear for the first time in the published observations,³⁷ but on the whole we can conclude that Vaugelas was relatively little influenced by previous writers of French grammar in terms of theory.

Some of the references to French authors in the manuscript are difficult to identify because abbreviations are used (e.g. 'M le Ch. de B', 'MF' (Faret?)).³⁸ The manuscript confirms the influence of some of Vaugelas's contemporaries whose names are surprisingly absent from the *Remarques* — Balzac, Chapelain,³⁹ Godeau, Gombauld, Voiture — and shows the importance of the Academy milieu to Vaugelas (Table 3). As well as these major literary figures of the day, Vaugelas mentions in the manuscript, although not in the published version, two other contemporaries, Colomby, one of Malherbe's school, and François de Molière, both of whom he considers worthy of a reference.⁴⁰ Not all the names listed are cited with approbation. Typically, sixteenth-century writers are criticized: for instance, Ronsard and Du Vair are censured for their over-enthusiastic creation of new words (*MS*, fol. 78^v; *R*, 569–70). The names of other possible influences on Vaugelas may be gathered from the list of authors drawn up by the Academy as writers deemed worthy of study (see Table 3 (e)).

We know too from notes and emendations in the Arsenal manuscript that Vaugelas was greatly influenced by his friends and family. In the manuscript preachers gain more acknowledgement, the pulpit being described as 'le uray siege de l'eloquence' (MS, fol. 97^r), and this may be a testimony to the influence on the young Vaugelas of his father's friend, François de Sales, who, together with Antoine Favre, founded the 'Académie florimontane' in the winter of 1606–07. Vaugelas must have witnessed many a conversation in the family home between his father and the future saint about questions of language. François de Sales's manuscripts indicate that he paid keen attention to details of language and constantly worked on his style. He may well have helped to form Vaugelas's views on language, for Vaugelas in his description of the family friend points to the very qualities which he stresses in the *Remarques* as being vital to a good use of language: clarity, lack of affectation or *naïveté*, and the ability to choose the correct word according to the context and the style:

Je n'ay jamais ouy de predicateur qui m'ayt ravi ny qui m'ayt touché si doucement ny si sensiblement que luy. Je prenois un singulier plaisir à l'entendre [. . .] et tout son discours estoit si judicieux et si bien ordonné qu'encore que j'aye fort mauvaise memoire, il m'eust esté aisé de retenir tout son sermon par cœur, pour peu de soin que j'y eusse voulu apporter. Son langage estoit net, nerveux et puissant en persuasion, mais surtout il excelloit en la propriété des motz, dont il faisoit un choix si exquis que c'estoit ce qui la rendoit ainsy lent et tardif à s'expliquer.⁴¹

Classical and contemporary authors then had the most impact on Vaugelas. Yet he was not narrow in his reading for he also quotes Italian sources, although, surprisingly, not Spanish ones. In the manuscript he mentions Bentivoglio (a page reference is given to his *Histoire de la guerre de Flandres* on folio 39^r), Tasso, Petrarch and other Italian poets, and the names of Dante and Bembo 'à qui la langue Italienne est si redeuable' (*R*, II, 6)⁴² are added to the published version (Table 4). Marzys has suggested two other possible Italian sources for Vaugelas on the grounds of close parallels in their ideas, Castiglione and Varchi.⁴³ For example, it seems that the similarities between Vaugelas's and Castiglione's views in *Il libro del cortegiano* (1528) on the primacy of usage over reason, the definition of good usage, the demand for clarity and lack of affectation and, above all, the stressing of the importance of good speech as part of the expected social behaviour of the successful courtier are too obvious to be purely fortuitous.⁴⁴

From this discussion it is clear that Vaugelas was greatly influenced by his predecessors and contemporaries. In his ideas on usage he is heavily dependent on Quintilian. Some of his ideas which are new within the French tradition of grammatical writing nevertheless have direct counterparts in the work of Quintilian, Varro and Cicero. Vaugelas looks more to the tradition of rhetoric than grammar for inspiration, notably in his elaboration of the features

constituting a good use of language. He does not then refer to the mainstream part of speech grammar of Priscian and Donatus, nor does he seem to be greatly influenced by the grammars of his French predecessors. He is, however, familiar with the ideas of many of the major figures of the Italian Renaissance, and is very willing to consult his friends and contemporary authorities about questions of doubtful usage and relies heavily on his contact with the Academy and the salons.

CHAPTER 5

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SPOKEN AND WRITTEN REGISTERS IN THE *REMARQUES* AND THE OBSERVATIONS ON ORTHOGRAPHY AND PRONUNCIATION

I. INTRODUCTION

Hitherto we have been primarily concerned with examining the general principles and key concepts of the *Remarques*. Yet it is equally important to analyse the content of the observations in detail since all too often this task has been neglected in favour of giving a brief résumé of the main themes of the Preface. A superficial reading of the work can lead to an inaccurate estimation of Vaugelas's intentions and achievement, for a conclusion reached from reading one *remarque* may be contradicted on the very next page. Only if all the observations are analysed in depth can any valid appraisal of Vaugelas's ideas be reached. The discussion of the roles of usage and reason in the *Remarques* has raised a number of interlinked questions which may guide our analysis. Firstly, Vaugelas's place in history must be considered: what evidence does he provide about the language usage of his time, how accurate is his data and how far does he anticipate the way the language was drifting? Secondly, why are there so many inconsistencies? Does Vaugelas have any overall theoretical grasp of what he is saying on any particular point? Thirdly, how do we evaluate the contradictions? In some cases Vaugelas obviously wants to establish a rule and ploughs through the data, while in others he is concerned more with the stylistic possibilities afforded by variety. All this makes interpretation of the observations problematic. The interdependency of these themes is obvious: the question of the accuracy of his observations is, for instance, closely linked to that of how far he anticipated future usage. In discussing these themes I shall, of necessity, be selective in giving my examples, but will point to parallel cases in passing.

What are Vaugelas's major preoccupations in the *Remarques*? The largest number of observations are devoted to broadly syntactic problems and these will be examined in Chapter 7. Vaugelas's other main concerns are pronunciation and orthography, which will be discussed in this chapter, inflectional morphology (Chapter 6), and the acceptability and currency of expressions and semantics (Chapter 8).¹

II. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SPOKEN AND WRITTEN REGISTERS

Approximately 15% of the *Remarques* deal primarily with questions of pronunciation and orthography, while about another 6% contain references to these topics as secondary points. Although, as we shall see, the number of observations devoted to pronunciation questions is substantially increased in the published *Remarques*, the amount of space allotted to difficulties of pronunciation is still relatively small for a work which designates the spoken usage of the Court as the main source of information about good usage and which stresses the primacy of the spoken word. Why is this?

As we have seen in the previous chapter, detailed references in the manuscript suggest that a careful study of the 1630 edition of Malherbe's work together with other literary works may well have constituted the starting point for Vaugelas's observations. In the manuscript quotations and examples from various literary sources far outnumber the references to the spoken usage of the Court, although already Vaugelas praises Coeffeteau for reflecting Court usage (MS, fol. 5^v). Crucially, Vaugelas stresses that he is not essentially concerned with questions of pronunciation in the manuscript and only deals with them in passing if they arise (MS, fol. 55^r). In short, it seems that at the time the manuscript was written Vaugelas gave priority to written sources over evidence from the spoken language. If this is true, then Vaugelas's concept of the scope of the *Remarques*, and notably of the relationship between the written and spoken registers, must have changed radically during the genesis of the work, and this would help to explain some of the inconsistencies about the relationship between the two registers which are found in the published version.² For example, in the Preface, a late addition to the book, Vaugelas maintains that the standard of speech of 'les honnestes gens' coincides with that of the best writers of the day. In places in the text, however, the standard required of writers appears to be higher (*R*, 162).³ On the one hand then, we are given the impression that each level of the spoken language corresponds to the same level in the written language (*R*, 510), the greatest error being not to write as one speaks (*R*, 509) since the written language is dependent on the spoken language:

Car l'écriture n'est qu'une image de la parole, & la copie de l'original, de sorte que l'Usage se prend non pas de ce que l'on écrit, mais de ce que l'on dit & que l'on prononce en parlant. (*R*, 470)

On the other hand, the written language is said to be more demanding,⁴ even to the extent of different usages being recommended for the different registers (*Il n'y a rien de tel, il n'y a rien tel*, *R*, 323). The latter evaluation apparently reflects Vaugelas's earlier conception of the relationship between the written and spoken languages, and the former his revised opinion. More than half of the

observations dealing with pronunciation do not appear in the manuscript but are added to the published version, which lays much greater emphasis on the importance of good speech. While there are some indications in the manuscript that Vaugelas is aware of the importance of a good command of language in the society of his day, stressing that the way to please one's listener is to choose the word or expression he himself would have used, most of these seem to be late additions. For instance, a note suggesting that French is richer and more beautiful than other languages 'à cause de la conuersation et de la communication des beaux esprits qui est plus grande en France qu'ailleurs mesme avec les femmes . . .' is appended right at the end of the manuscript (MS, fol. 97^v), squeezed in upside down after the main body of observations, and is obviously a late addition. On the other hand, the methodological observations detailing how to question informants and which speakers to question (*R*, 503–09) appear for the first time in the published version. It seems likely that as Vaugelas became more familiar with Court life, he became more interested in the spoken language and saw the power a command of the spoken language could have there.⁵ He may also have been influenced by further reading: for instance, Scaliger, whose name does not appear in the Arsenal manuscript, but who is mentioned in the *Remarques*, insists that the prime object for grammatical study is the spoken word.⁶ The definition of good usage in the Preface therefore gives Court usage as the primary source of good usage (*R*, II, 3). If in the *remarques* themselves occasionally the spoken language is said to be less demanding and certain words are only considered tolerable in speech, this appears to be a consequence of an earlier concept of the scope and purpose of the work.

Further difficulties arise with interpreting Vaugelas's concept of the relationship between the written and spoken registers in the *Remarques* because he is often careless in his application of the terms *dire* and *escrire*. In some observations *dire* is clearly used for the spoken usage and *escrire* for the written register (e.g. 'fait dire à la Cour, & escrire à tous les bons Auteurs' (*R*, 35)), and in others alternative terms are chosen to refer specifically to one register, for instance *prononcer* (*R*, 98) for speech and *mettre* (*R*, 74) for writing. Nevertheless, *dire* also seems to be employed more generally: for example, *dire* and *escrire* are apparently used interchangeably in the following:

Je pensois que M. de Malherbe eust esté le premier qui l'eust *escrit* de cette sorte, mais i'ay trouué que M. de Montagne dans ses Essais, ne le *dit* iamais autrement. (*R*, 6)⁷

and in the observation entitled *S'il faut dire 'hampe', ou 'hante'* (*R*, 554–55) *dire* is used even though Vaugelas is apparently making a point about orthography and he says that it is difficult to distinguish between the two pronunciations.

III. PRONUNCIATION AND ORTHOGRAPHY

It is often difficult to separate problems of pronunciation from problems of orthography in the *Remarques* for, like most of his contemporaries, Vaugelas at times confuses usage in the spoken language with orthographic conventions:

Mais cette reigle n'a lieu, qu'aux aduerbes, qui se forment des feminins adjectifs, où l'e, final est precedé d'une voyelle, comme sont tous ceux, dont nous venons de donner des exemples. (R, 443)

What is the relationship between spelling and pronunciation in Vaugelas's view? While he is fully aware of the presence of silent letters in French and notes that the non-pronunciation of final 's' is a primary reason for usage being doubtful (R, 2),⁸ in many cases his observations aim to align the orthography of a word with its pronunciation and he is quick to point out exceptions to this which might cause difficulties.⁹ He therefore advocates that the 'd' should be removed from the spelling of words beginning with the prefix *ad* where it is not pronounced, as in *ajourner*, *ajouster*, *ajuger*, 'car à quel propos laisser vn d, qui n'est là que comme vne pierre d'achoppement pour faire broncher le Lecteur?' (R, 439).¹⁰ If in the case of *fil de richar* (R, 401–02) and *particularité* (R, 46–47) he lets concerns of etymology determine the written and spoken forms, he rejects the claims of etymology for *fronde* (R, 25), *chypre* (R, 6) and *temple* (R, 161). It is only rarely that Vaugelas advocates that the pronunciation should follow the spelling (*exemple*, R, 362). Moreover, while he differentiates the homonyms *sans*, *c'en* and *sens*¹¹ by their orthography (R, 44–45), he predicts that the spelling *croynance* will be lost because the word is pronounced the same as *creance* ([kreā̃s]). The ideal then seems to be that there should be a simple and direct relationship between the orthography and the pronunciation.

Since Vaugelas bases his spelling on usage, it is fairly conservative, retaining etymological letters as in *despeches* (R, 246), *practique* (R, 502), *sçauront* (R, 206). However, his desire to avoid pedantry means that he is less conservative than some of his contemporaries.¹² Discussing Cureau de la Chambre's spelling of *caractere* with an 'h' he adds:

Mais ie sçay aussi, & de luy mesme, qu'escriuant principalement pour les sçauans, il a voulu suiure l'orthographe des sçauans, & qu'outre cela il a quelque veneration pour l'ancienne orthographe, non pas pour cette barbare qui escrit vn avec vn g, vng, & escrire avec vn p, escripre; & beaucoup d'autres encore plus estranges, mais pour celle que les gens de lettres les plus polis, & les meilleurs Autheurs du siecle passé, ont suiui. (R, 206)

He accepts that the Greek or Latin etymology is shown in the spelling of a large number of words established in good usage and gives the examples *harmonie*, *heresie*, *histoire*, *horloge*, *hyperbole* etc., but is adamant that this should not be

the case if it entails contravening the principles of French orthography, for each language must be 'maistresse chez soy' (R, 207). While he remains relatively silent about the debate on spelling reform, he nevertheless suggests various modifications of spelling and removes some of the extraneous letters in his own usage in the *fautes d'impreßion: ethymologie*→*etymologie*; *dyphthongue*→*diphthongue*; *de mesmes*→*de mesme*. However, he draws the line at *orthografe* and *philosofe* (R, 112), although *orthografier* appears in the text (R, 196). Vaugelas is rather inconsistent in his comments on the use of accents. While on one occasion he says that an accent may be used to show that a letter has been 'suppressed' (R, 443) or a circumflex added to show lengthening, elsewhere he denies that the circumflex has any effect on the pronunciation (R, 110–11), and in his own usage he prefers the spellings *escruient* (R, 11), *quatriesme* (R, 203), *mesme* (R, 163) etc. Final [e] is usually marked by an acute accent in the *Remarques* (*imprimé*, *approuuée*), although in the masculine plural 'ez' is used. It is only very occasionally that [e] is marked by an acute accent initially (*élegans*); more commonly the sound is indicated by a following 's' (*estudié*) or nothing (*eloquens*). Acute and grave accents are rarely found internally (*aisément*), so that *grossiere*, *feminin* and *sixiesme* are typical. The cedilla and diaeresis are used, but the circumflex hardly occurs (*empesche*, *plustost*).

In the discussion of pronunciation, difficulties are engendered by the lack of a specialized transcription, especially in the interpretation of vowel quality. Whereas Peletier, for example, devised a system for transcribing the different types of *e*, Vaugelas gives little indication as to whether an *e* is closed [e], open [ɛ], or *muet* [ə].¹³ Since the different notations for the various qualities of *e* only became general in the eighteenth century and Vaugelas's use of accents is spasmodic, the same sound may be represented in more than one way. For instance, Vaugelas observes, especially for the benefit of those living south of the Loire, that the ending of *aime* (1st person) is not pronounced or spelt the same when the pronoun and verb are inverted in interrogation, 'car l'e, qui est feminin *aime*, se change en *é*, masculin, *aimé*, & se doit escrire & prononcer *aimé-je*' (R, 210–11).¹⁴ The same sound can also be transcribed by *aimay-je* (indicating to the modern reader that he has [e] in mind) although he prefers to reserve the orthography *aimay* for the first person past historic to avoid any ambiguity. Vaugelas's verbal descriptions are also misleading. For example, sharing the confusion that was common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of sounds with graphies, he describes the vowel of *aoust* as a triphthong (R, 322), although it had reduced to a simple vowel ([u]). The impressionistic recording of pronunciation occasionally suggests a want of keenness of ear. Thurot is surprised that Vaugelas neglects prosody and that, for instance, he fails to distinguish between the lengths of the endings of *vn faux tesmoin* and *les faux tesmoins*.¹⁵

Vaugelas's choice of examples naturally suggests which spellings were doubtful and where usage was changing (e.g. Table 5. 3), but other sources indicate that certain key areas of change are not examined in the *Remarques*, including the restoration of final consonants to certain monosyllables, the quality of *r*, and denasalization.¹⁶ There is also evidence of Vaugelas's preoccupation with the synchronic, at times at the expense of historical accuracy, for instance in his attempt to fix the pronunciation of 'oi' when usage was still evolving (*R*, 98–101).¹⁷ If in some cases Vaugelas brings a French word closer to its etymon (e.g. *marry*), in others he is guilty of hypercorrection through ignorance of the history of a word (e.g. *guerir*, *herondelle*).¹⁸ However, he correctly analyses the 'l' of *lierre* and *landit* as the agglutinated article (*R*, 516–18),¹⁹ and provides evidence of and helps to settle some of the disputes between the *ouïstes* and *non-ouïstes* (*R*, 219–20, 340–41). Vaugelas proves to be a *non-ouïste*, arguing that in the last 10–12 years those who speak well have favoured *arroser*, *costé*, *fossé*, and *portrait* (i.e. [o] rather than [u]). The recent nature of the change is witnessed by his reversal of opinion on *raboteuse*, corrected in the *fautes d'impression*.

Are there any general principles which guide Vaugelas in his recommendations on pronunciation? As we would anticipate, pronunciations are proscribed because they are regional (e.g. *quemencer* [kəmāse], *R*, 425), archaic (*plus* [py], *R*, 228), are used by the wrong social group ('e' is preferred in *guerir* because it is considered less vulgar, *R*, 250) or belong to the wrong register ([aler], the pronunciation used in reading aloud and declamatory style,²⁰ is rejected in favour of that used in conversation ([ale], *R*, 437)). However, the overriding concern seems to be ensuring *la plus grande douceur*.²¹ In practice this often entails the avoidance of hiatus as in *va-s-y*:

Mais il faut noter que cette *s*, n'est pas de sa nature, & qu'elle n'est qu'adjointe seulement pour oster la cacophonie, comme nous auons accoustumé de nous seruir de *t*, en orthographiant & prononçant *a-t-il*, pour *a il*, & comme nous nous en seruons encore à *va-t-en*. (*R*, 190)²²

Expressions sanctioned by usage may pay no regard to euphony; despite the hiatus, *commença à auoüer* is the established form (*R*, 523–24). However, where usage affords a choice the form judged to sound better should always be selected. This, of course, overlaps with stylistic considerations, and on occasions the avoidance of cacophony and the extra attention Vaugelas believes should be paid to certain written styles definitely go hand in hand for him; for instance, he maintains that the choice of *si on* or *si l'on* depends on considerations of euphony (*R*, 9–10), but adds that this is a perfection really only applicable to 'le stile' and not to the spoken language (*R*, vi). Elsewhere the notion of euphony is so subjective that the recommendation must ultimately be founded on Vaugelas's personal preference. For instance, it is Vaugelas who judges that the pronunciations *chez vous* [ʃøvu]²³ and *on-z-a* [ɔ̃za] are

unacceptable (R, 436), and that *filleul*, the form preferred at Court, is 'incomparablement plus douce' than *fillol* < *filiolus* (R, 341). Euphony, also apparently associated with ease of pronunciation by Vaugelas (*conflant*, R, 423), is seen as symptomatic of the general perfecting process operating in French: 'Mais comme les langues se polissent, & se perfectionnent jusqu'à vn certain point, on a supprimé pour vne plus grande douceur l'e' (R, 442-43).

While Vaugelas then contributes little to the theory of orthography and makes little, or no, advancement on the question of spelling reform, he nevertheless plays a part in fixing the orthography of several words. As for his treatment of pronunciation, Vaugelas is hampered not only by a lack of knowledge of sound laws, which he shares with his contemporaries; he is also disadvantaged by a rather hazy knowledge of Old French, an occasional lack of sensitivity of ear and by his impressionistic transcription. If we compare his observations on pronunciation with the work of others his omissions and inaccuracies are highlighted,²⁴ yet once again it is Vaugelas who often establishes the pronunciation of individual words and who predicts the development of, for example, the pronunciation of the imperfect and conditional endings. I outline some of the most important features of Vaugelas's observations on pronunciation and orthography in the following tables.

TABLE 5. Treatment of Vowels

1. 'a' [a] vs. 'e' [ɛ] before [r]: R, 250, *Guarir, guerir, sarge*
R, 512, *Arondelle, hirondelle, erondelle*

In the fourteenth century there was a popular tendency to open [ɛ] yet further to [a] before [r]. In some cases [ar] remained, in many cases learned influence opposed the change and [ɛr] prevailed, and in some words [ɛr] was over-enthusiastically introduced through hypercorrection where [ar] was historically correct.

Vaugelas's preference	Reason given	Comments	Subsequent usage
<i>guerir</i>	} aesthetic concerns: [ɛ] 'plus doux' than [a]	hypercorrection Old French <i>garir</i> < * <i>warjan</i>	<i>guérir</i> [e]
<i>herondelle</i>		Old French <i>aronde</i> < * <i>harunda</i>	<i>hirondelle</i> [i]

TABLE 5. (Continued)

Vaugelas's preference	Reason given	Comments	Subsequent usage
<i>marque</i>	} while [ɛr] generally preferable, it must not be abused (R, 250)	Old French <i>merc</i> , possibly influenced by Italian <i>marcare</i>	<i>marque</i> [a]
<i>sarge</i>		Old French <i>sarge</i> < * <i>sarica</i> (Classical Latin <i>serica</i>) aligned more closely with etymon	<i>serge</i> [ɛ]
<i>marry</i>		Old French <i>marri</i> < * <i>marrjan</i>	<i>marri</i> [a]

Comment: Vaugelas mistakenly tries to align the case of *Damoiselle, mademoiselle* (R, 141) to the tendency for French to prefer 'e' to 'a', but here [a] > [ə], not [ɛ]. Indeed [ə] tended to fall completely, although Vaugelas criticizes this.

2. E muet

(a) Medial position: syncope or retention in unstressed position

Syncope	Comments	Non-syncope	Comments
<i>remerciment</i>	spelling to mirror pronunciation	future tenses of <i>laisser</i> (R, 27) and <i>donner</i> (R, 119)	prefers less casual pronunciation
<i>agrément</i> (R, 413)		<i>seureté</i> (R, 343)	
certain adverbs (<i>asseurement, poliment, absolument</i>)	claims that the accent marks fallen [ə]		

There are two problematic areas:

- (i) What are we to understand by Vaugelas's comment that for the adverbs listed above, the pronunciation is affected 'en prononçant cet é, cet î, et cet û, long, comme contenant le temps de deux syllabes reduites à vne seule' (R, 443)? Perhaps Vaugelas is simply stating that these vowels *are* long, rather than theorizing that it is *because* two syllables have been reduced to one that these vowels *must be* long.
- (ii) In the case of *louer* and *payer* it is implied that the future forms are disyllabic in poetry but trisyllabic in prose (R, 413). These verbs were

probably chosen because of the semi-vowels [w] and [j] in the stem. In the trisyllabic pronunciation the semi-vowels are pronounced, while the other forms must have an oral vowel. It is clear from the discussion of *Fuir* (R, 451–57) that Vaugelas does not understand the nature of semi-vowels, and is misled by the orthography.

(b) Final position

- (i) Indication that [ə] following a consonant is still audible for Vaugelas: he distinguishes between *auecque* and *auec* (R, 311–15), *encore* and *encor* (R, 252–53), *pacte* and *pact* (R, 372). (Cf. *Demi-heure*, *demi-douzaine*, R, 358–59).
- (ii) Vaugelas was apparently the first to try to provide a rule about when masculine adjectives ending in *-il(e)* should have a final ‘e’ or not, indicating that the ‘l’ is sounded. The explanation relies on knowledge of the length of the penultimate syllable of their Latin etymons (R, 448).

French	Vaugelas’s explanation	Comments
ending in ‘e’: <i>fertile</i> , <i>vtile</i>	short Latin penultimate syllable	learned influence: Latin borrowings made in 14th c. and 13th c. respectively, although <i>utile</i> rare at this time
no ‘e’: <i>subtil</i> , <i>gentil</i> , <i>ciuil</i>	long Latin penultimate syllable	<i>gentil</i> dates from 11th c., <i>subtil</i> is a reworked form of Old French <i>soutil</i> , and <i>civil</i> dates from 13th c.

3. [wɛ] vs. [ɛ]: R, 98–101, *Quand la dyphthongue OI, doit estre prononcée comme elle est escrite, ou bien en AI*
R, 411, *Ployer*, *player*
R, 541–42, *Croyance*, *creance*

Vaugelas’s preference	Subsequent usage
‘oi’ [wɛ]: all monosyllables words ending in <i>-oir</i> present singular indicative of words ending in <i>-çois</i> exceptional names of inhabitants of towns, provinces, countries: e.g. <i>Genois</i> , <i>Suedois</i> , <i>Liegeois</i>	mostly [wa] [wa] [wa] [wa]

TABLE 5. (Continued)

Vaugelas's preference	Subsequent usage
'ai' [ɛ]:	exceptional monosyllables:
	<i>fraid, crais, drait, saient,</i>
	<i>sait</i> (present subjunctive of <i>être</i>)
	in the singular and 3rd person
	pl. ending of the imperfect tense
	in the same forms of the conditional
	names of inhabitants of various
	towns, provinces and countries
	in the first three persons of the
	present indicative of a small
	number of verbs (e.g. <i>connaître</i>)

Problems

When the syllable in question is not final sometimes [ɛ] and sometimes [we] is preferred:

Vaugelas's preference	Subsequent usage
'oi' [we]	<i>boire, memoire, gloire, foire</i>
'ai' [ɛ]	<i>craire, accraire, accraistre,</i>
	<i>connaistre, paraistre</i>

As a general rule, however, [we] is to be used in this context. (*Creance* and *croyance* are discussed below p. 125).

Comment

Vaugelas observes that where 'oi' is pronounced [ɛ], it has recently been replaced by the graphy 'ai' (R, 98) and he follows this in the practice of the observation itself. Nevertheless, he retains the spelling *-ois* etc., for instance, in the imperfect endings elsewhere in the work.

4. Nasal vowels: R, 29–30, 'Ingredient', 'expedient', 'inconuenient', 'escient', & autres semblables

	Vaugelas's preference	Vaugelas's reason
'comme si elle s'escruiroit avec vn a' i.e. [jã]	<i>ingredient, expedient, inconuenient,</i> <i>escient</i> etc.	't' following the 'n'
'avec l'e' i.e. [jẽ]	<i>moyen, citoyen, Chrestien</i>	no 't' following the 'n'

TABLE 5. (Continued)

Comments: Etymology might here have provided a better explanation (*escient* < *scientem*; *moyen* < *medianum*).

See also *R*, 143–46, where Vaugelas attempts to explain the recent change from *-ian* to *-ien* in the endings of Latin proper names (< *-anus*) by aligning it to the general preference in French for ‘e’, confusing sounds and letters.

TABLE 6. Treatment of Consonants

1. Final consonants (-C).	<i>R</i> , 194–98, ‘ <i>H</i> ’ aspirée, ou consone, & ‘ <i>H</i> ’, muëtte cf. Chiflet, <i>Essay</i> , pp. 212–15	
	Vaugelas’s decision	Problems (noted by Chiflet)
‘b’	not pronounced	overlooks <i>plomb</i>
‘c’	pronounced i.e. [k] sound in <i>sac de bled</i> etc.	through looking at letters, overlooks many exceptions e.g. <i>blanc, banc, flanc</i>
‘d’	not pronounced	foreign words: <i>David, Aod</i>
‘f’	not pronounced (<i>œuf de pigeon</i>)	wrong generalization (<i>chef,</i> <i>fief, pensif</i>)
‘g’	not pronounced	some foreign words are exceptions <i>Agag, Abisag</i>
‘l’	pronounced. Elsewhere he notes that <i>fol</i> etc. pronounced as if spelt <i>fou</i> [fu] (<i>R</i> , 13–14) and that <i>qu’il vient</i> barely distinguishable from <i>qui vient</i> (<i>R</i> , 353)	once again problems of looking at letters; Chiflet point to many exceptions e.g. <i>outil,</i> <i>gentil, sourcil</i>
‘m’	pronounced (<i>Abraham, Bethleem</i> etc.)	Chiflet points out that in native words, final ‘m’ is not pronounced (indicates nasality of previous vowel): <i>faim, nom, parfum</i> etc.
‘n’	not pronounced before a consonant	
‘p’	not pronounced (<i>coup d’espée</i>)	
‘q’	pronounced (<i>vn coq de parroisse</i>)	how general?: <i>cinq soldats,</i> <i>coq-d’Inde</i>

TABLE 6. (*Continued*)

	Vaugelas's decision	Problems (noted by Chiflet)
'r'	pronounced (<i>pur, pour</i>), except in infinitives (<i>aller, courir</i>)	exceptions: many words ending in <i>-ier, -eur</i> ; infinitives ending in <i>-oir</i>
's'	not pronounced	nothing said of the restoration of final consonants e.g. <i>sens</i>
't'	not pronounced	
'x', 'z'	not pronounced	

Problems

- (i) Concentrating on letters rather than sounds.
- (ii) Missing exceptions and problematic areas.
- (iii) By concentrating on individual examples, he occasionally makes the wrong generalization.

2. Initial and medial consonants

Only scattered comments are made about initial and medial consonants, for example, that [k] and [g] are permuted in *cangreine, secret, vacabond*, illustrating the processes of assimilation and dissimilation.* Vaugelas has to face the problem of adapting foreign words to the orthography and pronunciation of French. There is a long section devoted to the assimilation of Greek words containing an aspiration (*R*, 202–09). For example:

Hesitation between 'hie' and 'je', [je] and [ʒe]

Vaugelas's preferences		Subsequent developments
Spelling	Pronunciation	
<i>Hierosme</i>	{ 'vn g, mol' i.e. [ʒe]	<i>Jérôme</i> [ʒe]
<i>Hierusalem</i>		<i>Jérusalem</i> [ʒe]
<i>hierarchie</i>		<i>hiérarchie</i> ['jeRARʃi]

*See also *Persecuter* (*R*, 114), *Acheter* (*R*, 318–19), *Gentil, gentille* (which shows the resistance to the replacement of palatal *l* by [j] in the higher echelons of society (*R*, 447–48)), and the inconsistent pronouncements on *Mercredy, arbre, marbre* (*R*, 422–23).

3. *H aspiré*: problems of liaison and elision

R, 194–98, ‘*H*’, *aspirée, ou consone, & ‘H’, muëtte*

R, 198–201, *Reigle pour discerner l’ ‘h’, consone d’avec la muette*

See also *R*, 1–3, 20, 73–74, 201–02, 242–43, 552–54.

Vaugelas’s preferences

	General rule	Problems	Exceptions	Problems
‘h’ not aspirated	words with initial ‘h’ derived from Latin words also with initial ‘h’		<i>hennir</i> <i>hennissement</i> <i>haleter</i> <i>hargne</i> <i>hareng</i> <i>harpie</i> <i>heros</i> †	exceptions have aspirate ‘h’ for various reasons: (1) probably onomatopoeic (2) Germanic (3) perhaps due to fashion to aspirate the [h] of Latin words c. 1550
‘h aspiré’ (aspirated pronunciation maintained by schooling)	I. Latin etymon does not have initial ‘h’ e.g. <i>haut</i>	paradigm cases are themselves exceptions (1) crossed with Germanic * <i>hōh</i>	<i>huistre</i> <i>huile</i> <i>hieble</i> <i>huit</i>	in all these the ‘h’ introduced as a purely graphical device to ensure the words read correctly (i.e. to distinguish ‘u’/‘v’ and ‘i’/‘j’)
	<i>hache</i> <i>hupe</i> <i>hurler</i> <i>hors</i>	(2) Germanic (3) onomatopoeic (4) < OFr <i>fors</i> < <i>foras</i>		
	II. words with initial ‘h’ ‘qui ne viennent pas du Latin’ i.e. Germanic		<i>hermine</i>	Latin word

†Vaugelas himself offers the following reasons for the irregular behaviour of *heros*: 1) *hero* was mistakenly understood as *heraut* and so *le heros* became used on the analogy of *le heraut*; 2) without the aspiration, *les heros* in the plural would be indistinguishable from *les zeros* (*R*, 1–3).

Problems

- (i) The rules are clearly founded on misunderstanding.
 - (ii) While Vaugelas's influence was not enough to maintain the pronunciation of [h] which entirely disappeared at the end of the century, his influence, together with that of other grammarians and reformers of Latin pronunciation, was enough to prevent acceptance of elision of the preceding vowel. The so-called 'h aspiré' of Modern French is thus only an abstract sign without phonetic realization, preventing elision of the preceding vowel.
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CHAPTER 6

INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY

The principal area of interest in Vaugelas's handling of problems of inflectional morphology is that of verbs. Since the treatment of verb morphology illustrates many of the general questions already raised and may be taken as representative of his approach to inflectional morphology in general, Vaugelas's observations on articles and pronouns will only be summarized briefly.

I. ARTICLES

The problem of the categorization of the article has already been raised in the discussion of the parts of speech.¹ Two other problems faced the early French grammarians. Firstly, what status should be given to *à*, *de*, *au*, *du*, *aux* and *des*? Two different solutions were proposed: having asserted that *à* and *de* are prepositions, Meigret and Ramus argued that since the other four forms mark the same cases, they should likewise be classified as prepositions. Others, considering the function of the article as marking case (as well as usually gender and number), had no hesitation in including all six in the article category (Garnier, Robert Estienne).² None of them seems to have grasped the compound nature of *au*, *du*, *aux* and *des*. The second problem was how to categorize *un*, *une* and the plurals *uns*, *unes*. Since the plural forms had virtually disappeared from usage by the beginning of the sixteenth century except when used in a dual sense, they are not mentioned by Vaugelas. Palsgrave, comparing French with English, subdivided the article category into two: *vng* corresponding to English 'a' with the feminine *vne* and the plural *vngs*, *vnes*, and *le* (*la*, *les*) the counterpart of English 'the'.³ Sixteenth-century French grammarians were clearly embarrassed by the question. For instance, Dubois, afraid to stray too far from the Latin paradigm, only recognized the article *le*, although he realized that *un* can fulfil the same function as *le* in marking gender.⁴ Robert Estienne was the first to state explicitly that *un* and *une* can be used 'cōme d'articles', but they are still not assigned full article status.⁵ At the beginning of the seventeenth century Maupas included *un* in his discussion of the article and noted that the plural of *un* is *des*. However, he reserved the term 'article indefini' for *à* and *de* (included as articles because they too decline nouns) and described *un(e)* as 'Articles d'unité singulière seulement'.⁶ It was

not until the Port-Royal grammar that the modern division of articles into definite and indefinite was introduced.⁷

Vaugelas employs the same division of articles into definite and indefinite as Maupas. Since the articles are said to have cases, their declension may be set out in the following way (*R*, *474–77; 387):⁸

		<i>definite</i>	<i>indefinite</i>
'tousjours semblables'	{ nom.	<i>le, la, les</i>	
	{ acc.		
„	{ gen.	{ <i>du, de la, de l',</i> <i>des</i>	<i>de</i>
	{ abl.		
(R, *475)	dat.	<i>au, à la, à l', aux</i>	<i>à</i>
	voc.	<i>o</i>	

Vaugelas follows in the tradition of Robert Estienne, defining the articles on a formal basis. However, he does not confine the function of the article to that of a nominal marker; discussing the repetition of the article, he notes:

Premierement, voyons les articles deuant les verbes. Ce que nous appellons icy *articles*, d'autres l'appellent prepositions, mais la dispute du nom ne fait rien à la chose. (*R*, 215)

Having adopted the categorization of *à* and *de* as articles before nouns, Vaugelas calls them articles in all uses, regardless of their function or syntactic content. His rather careless use of terminology therefore seems to rely on a mixture of functional criteria (*à* and *de* serve to 'decline' nouns) and morphological identity (*à* and *de* used before nouns or before verbs).

The status of *un(e)* remains uncertain in the *Remarques*. Under the heading '*L'article indefini ne reçoit iamais apres soy le pronom relatif*', ou, '*le pronom relatif ne se rapporte iamais au nom qui n'a que l'article indefini*' (*R*, 385–86) Vaugelas refers to *un* and *une* as pronouns, presumably relying on his knowledge of the use of *unus* in Latin.⁹ Yet he adds that, joined with the indefinite article (*à, de*) and followed by a relative pronoun (that is, used in a restrictive relative clause), they have a similar value to the definite article (*R*, 385). The explanation offered for this judgement is that the combination of *de + un* can be followed by a relative pronoun which is 'tousjours defini', whereas 'le nom sans article, ou avec vn article indefini, est comme vne chose vague & en l'air, où rien ne se peut attacher' (*R*, 388). This foreshadows Arnauld and Lancelot's definition, which is based on a theory of determination.¹⁰ In addition, Vaugelas confirms the modern rule that *de* should be used as the plural of the article before an adjective + substantive combination ('il y a d'excellens hommes') whereas if the substantive comes first *des* is the correct form ('il y a des hommes excellens', *R*, 330–31).

The term *partitif* is not employed by Vaugelas. He distinguishes, however, usage in affirmative and negative sentences ('j'ay de l'argent'; 'il n'a point d'argent') commonly confused both at Court and in the South (*R*, 409).

II. PRONOUNS

The categories of case, number and gender are also said to be applicable to pronouns. Vaugelas does not apparently adopt the traditional notion of the pronoun as being a substitute for a noun, for he includes in this category not only the indefinite article *un, une*, but also the possessive adjectives *son, sa, ses*, etc. (R, 519) as well as *quelque* (R, 4). Moreover, his designation of *nous* as a noun (or pronoun, 'cela n'importe' (R, 177)) suggests an awareness that the first and second person pronouns are not noun substitutes in the same way as the third person pronouns. Four types of pronouns are mentioned in the *Remarques*:

Pronoms relatifs: The following examples are given: *qui, lequel* (etc.), *le* (used anaphorically (R, 33)), *quoy* and *dont* 'qui tient la place du pronom relatif' (R, 386-87).

Pronoms personnels: *je, vous, nous, me* etc.

Pronoms possessifs: *son, vostre, mien* etc. (R, 363).

Pronoms demonstratifs: *celui, celle, ceux, cettuy* (R, 367),¹¹ *ce, cette, ces*.

Surprisingly, Vaugelas also includes *soy* in this category (R, 491*).

Vaugelas does not mention either interrogative pronouns, which are separated off, for instance, in the works of Dubois and Meigret, but are often included with the relatives (as in Oudin), nor Oudin's fifth category of 'pronoms indefinis', which embraces, for example, *aucun, quelque, chaque, force, maint, tout, autre* etc.¹² Nevertheless, the pronoun category is clearly rather heterogeneous in the *Remarques*.

III. VERBS

There was still a great deal of variety and choice of form in the French verb system in Vaugelas's day. The mechanical operation of sound laws, often destroying unity within a verb paradigm, had caused considerable irregularity in the verbal system. Already in Old French, but with increasing insistence, this was counterbalanced by a tendency to simplify by levelling or analogy. Many of the *Remarques* record a decision between an older form created by sound change and a new analogical one, or between two competing analogical forms. Vaugelas, eager to remove doubt, plays a role in the general movement to eliminate choice and establish one form as correct.

The hesitation about the 'correct' verb forms, especially in spontaneous speech which mirrors well native speaker competence, is emphasized in the discussion of solecisms:

car combien y en a-il [sic], qui y pechent en parlant [sc. aux coniugaisons], mettant des *i*, pour des *a*, & des *a* pour des *i*, comme on fait en plusieurs endroits du preterit

simple, quand on dit par exemple *i'alla*, pour *i'allay*, *il allit*, pour *il alla*, & en vne [sic] autre temps *nous allibions*, pour *nous allaßions*? (R, 572)

This gives us some idea of the currency of the past definite and the imperfect subjunctive in the spoken language: the uncertainty about them suggests that, while still used in speech, they were perhaps already becoming unfamiliar and were therefore wrongly conjugated.¹³ However, other examples confirm that hesitation about verb inflections was much more fundamental:

Combien y en a-t-il qui disent *i'ay sentu*, pour *i'ay senty*, *cueillit* & *recueillit*, pour *cueille*, & *recueille*, *conduit*, *reduit*, au preterit definy, pour *conduisit*, & *reduisit*, *faisons*, à l'optatif, & au subjonctif pour *facions*, *vous mesdites*, pour *vous mesdisez*, *il faillira faire*, pour *il faudra faire*. (R, 572-73)

For this reason a substantial number of *remarques* are devoted to verb morphology.¹⁴

While contributing to the simplification and regularization of the French verb system through eliminating some of the choice which caused confusion, and establishing in the main those forms used today, Vaugelas's decisions are not always founded on a sound analysis of the forms or comprehension of the processes at work in the language. His analysis of verbs is full of contradictions and beset with problems. On the one hand, he has some notion of stem and ending as shown, for example, in his statement that the present participle is formed from the first person plural present indicative by substituting *-ant* for *-ons* (R, 231). This seems to foreshadow a morphemic approach rather than implying adoption of the traditional word and paradigm model. Vaugelas dislikes synthetic forms, the constituent parts of which cannot be clearly identified, and so condemns the contracted forms of the future tense of *donner* and *laisser* so popular in the previous century (R, 119), and *auous dit*, *auous fait* for *avez vous dit*, *avez vous fait* (R, 89). Preference for the analytic also influences his choice between two competing forms. The future *cueillera* was used in the fourteenth century on the analogy of *cueill-ons* by adding the future infix (*-er*) to the root, probably at a time when the older form (*cueudra*) had become too similar to the future of *coudre* (*cousdra*). The alternative form *cueillira* appeared later when it was considered that the future should be based on the infinitive *cueillir*. The two different analogical forms then rely on two different analyses of the verb. Vaugelas, like Oudin, favours the future form which is clearly based on the infinitive, even though this preference apparently contravenes the usage of the period.¹⁵ On the other hand, Vaugelas seems to adopt a word and paradigm approach in his dependence on the regular patterning of paradigms or 'l'analogie des conjugaisons' (R, 232), for instance in his treatment of *fuir* (R, 451-57) and *reuestir* (R, 231-34). Here Vaugelas relies on the regularity within a conjugation of verbs 'composez de mesme nombre de lettres' (R, 453).¹⁶

A second problem is that Vaugelas's chronology is often faulty. For instance, he advocates the regularization of the endings of the first person present indicative of *-re* verbs in *-s*, but he wrongly believes that this involves the restoration of the *-s* ending, removed from *croy* etc. (R, 131). Thirdly, Vaugelas's method of focusing on individual examples means that at times he fails to capture generalizations.¹⁷ Although he at one point lists the four traditional conjugations of French verbs (R, 456–57), the observations on verbs are not usually formulated in terms of verb classes. For instance, in his discussion of the endings of the second person singular imperative, he does not make the generalization implied by his recommendations that all second person singular imperatives of the second, third and fourth conjugations usually end in *-s* due to the workings of analogy, but rather examines each possible ending in turn (R, 189–92). Once again problems are engendered by Vaugelas's presentation. Although Vaugelas (here as elsewhere) in general follows main-stream usage as represented by Robert Estienne, a whole wealth of terminology is applied to verbs, often only in passing and at times in a confused way. Five types of verbs are mentioned in the text: *actif* (our transitive category), *neutre* (intransitive), *neutre passif* (termed *Reciproquez ou Reflexis* in the manuscript (MS, fol. 48^r)), *substantif* (*estre*) and *auxiliaire* (*auoir, estre*), but the category of impersonals is not specifically named.¹⁸ Vaugelas's handling of mood illustrates well both his dependence on Latin grammar and his tendency to confuse formal and semantic criteria. Vaugelas thus uses the terms *indicatif* (R, 452), *subjonctif* or *conjonctif* (R, 110), *optatif* (R, 90), *imperatif* (R, 189) and *infinitif* (R, 140), which are the five moods listed by Robert Estienne. The inclusion of the *optatif* dates from the earliest French grammars (Dubois, Meigret) and reflects the reluctance of these writers to admit any inferiority on the part of French in comparison with Latin or Greek. Semantic criteria also dominate over formal ones in Vaugelas's assertion that the subjunctive has a future tense (R, 109–10). The vague formulation of a particular rule or recommendation may suggest carelessness, or, more seriously, lack of understanding. Vaugelas's justification for the form *conquiere* as the present subjunctive of *conquerir* ('ce verbe prend l'i, en quelques endroits de sa conjugaison' (R, 340)) is so vague as to be meaningless.

However, the two main problems with Vaugelas's treatment of verbal morphology are that he is neither able to follow his principles consistently nor indeed does he apparently have a sound grasp of the processes governing the behaviour of verbs. Ideally Vaugelas prefers the form for each person of the verb to be different from the others, 'pour oster toute equivoque, & pour la richesse & la beauté de la langue' (R, 131). Only reluctantly then does he record that usage dictates that the form of the first person singular present indicative of *-re* verbs is identical to that of the second person, and he prefers for the first person present indicative of *pouvoir* the Old French form *je puis* to

je peux produced on the analogy of the second person singular and of *faillir*, *faux* (R, 65). Nevertheless, he apparently promotes *ie va* on the grounds that it is the expression used at Court, even though *ie vais* has the advantage not only of being distinct from all other forms, but also of being used by 'tous ceux qui scauent escrire, & qui ont estudié' (R, 27).¹⁹

Evidence of Vaugelas's lack of knowledge of the processes governing verbal morphology is afforded in his choices between two alternative verb forms. A large number of French verbs had morphological variants as a result of whether the tonic stress was on the stem or on the ending of their Latin etymons (e.g. *pleure* < *plórat*; *plorons* < *plorámus*). Whereas these variants had often been allowed to co-exist during the Old French period and were not infrequently maintained in Middle French, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century grammarians sought to make the stem of each verb invariable. Vaugelas plays a part in this levelling process, although the observations concerned are not formulated in these terms but expressed as individual difficulties. He does not consistently favour either the stem-stressed or the termination-stressed forms nor does he provide any explanation for his judgements. In the case of *trouuer/treuer* and *prouuer/preuer* he still accepts both forms, but prefers the generalization of the forms levelled on the non-rhizotonic form, whereas *pleuvoir* is levelled on the basis of the rhizotonic form (R, 133–34). Vaugelas also establishes the idiosyncratic, and still current, behaviour of *fleurir* (R, 472). The basic verb is *fleurir* which provides the forms *fleurissait* and *fleurissant* when the verb has a concrete meaning. The older verb *florir* is only employed in the imperfect and the participle, reserved solely for figurative uses. Today the verbal adjective is always *florissant*.²⁰

There is equally no apparent consistent guiding principle behind Vaugelas's choices between an older phonetically created form and a new analogical one or between two conflicting analogical forms, even though in the main the forms selected are those which have found their way into the standard grammar books and become established modern usage. Sometimes Vaugelas resorts to the pseudo-explanation of euphony which ultimately depends on a subjective judgement (R, 97). Frequently, however, the decisions are justified on the grounds that the forms recommended are those used by the people deemed most worthy of imitation. This policy may here stem from an awareness of the chance nature of the operation of analogy: it may be arbitrary that analogy operates in one case and not in another, that one particular model is chosen rather than another, or that one form triumphs over another. For instance, *preigne* on the analogy of *vieigne* [vjɛ̃nɛ] and *viene* on the analogy of Old French *prenne* both occurred. Vaugelas recommends the forms without palatal *n*, despite the fact that the others are commonly used by 'Courtisans, hommes & femmes' (R, 66).²¹ In the discussion of the conjugation of *resoudre* (R, 61) Vaugelas has to choose between two analogical forms neither of which is really

popular. This was a highly irregular verb in the Old French period (*resolons*, *resoille* etc.), but in the fourteenth century a set of reworked forms with 'l' in the stem appeared (*resoluons*, *resoluant*); later another series based on the infinitive was also used (*resoudons*, *resoudant*). In this instance Vaugelas prefers the older creations. On the other hand, he endorses *pourueut*, the newer analogical creation formed from the past participle, and is uninfluenced by the behaviour of another compound of *voir*, *prévoir*, which has *preuit* for its past historic, and he makes the bold assertion that there is no necessary relationship between the simple and its compound (R, 370–71).

There is not only inconsistency between observations: contradictory recommendations are made within the observation on *asseoir* for the forms for the present indicative of the verb (R, 165–66). There was much hesitation about the morphology of *asseoir* because of the considerable variation in the stem resulting from the operation of sound laws and analogy (e.g. *asseoi-*, *assié-*, *assei-*, *assoy-*, *assi(s)-*). The purely orthographical *d* of the modern present indicative forms in the singular is etymological. Whereas Vaugelas gives the reworked forms for the singular of the verb (*aßieds*, *aßieds*, *aßied*) and the analogical ones (probably on *ayant*) for the first two persons plural (*asseions*, *asseiez*), he nevertheless persists in supporting the old form *assient* for the third person plural (OF *j'assie* etc.). Ménage, Thomas Corneille and the Academy are all convinced that the latter should be *asseient*.²² Working from the root *assei-*, Vaugelas gives *asseiois* for the imperfect. However, for the first and second persons plural of this tense he favours *asseions*, *asseiez*, notwithstanding their homophony with the corresponding forms of the present tense. He claims that this tense is not much used, which may account in part for his uncertainty. In the imperative, gerundive and present subjunctive Vaugelas records the competition of another root, *aßis-*, but dismisses it in favour of *assei-*, thereby establishing greater unity in the stem. The present participle is then formed regularly from the first person plural present indicative. If, however, the verb has the meaning 'to establish', it may only be used in the infinitive (R, 536).

On other occasions, rather than one of the forms being outlawed, both alternatives are retained and either assigned different meanings or different contexts for their use. While the forms *benit* and *beni* (re-formed on the infinitive) are homophonous in the masculine, they are distinct in the feminine. Vaugelas makes no comment about their origin, but merely assigns *benit* 'aux choses saintes' and designates *beni* as the correct form for all other significations (R, 247). Vaugelas also adopts a purely synchronic view in assigning different contexts for the use of *courir* and *courre* which foreshadows the modern restriction of *courre* to certain set expressions (R, 256).²³

While in broad terms Vaugelas contributes to the survival of one stem per verb and of one form for one meaning, he still allows greater freedom in certain

paradigms than many of his successors. In some cases this is because usage is in a state of transition and two forms are considered equally acceptable. In others stylistic considerations of euphony and variety influence his judgements. For example, Vaugelas allows for the present subjunctive of *dire* both the older forms *die*, *dient* and the analogical ones, *dise* and *disent*, formed on *disons* (*R*, 349). He is one of the last to tolerate both sets of forms, for Thomas Corneille, Patru and the Academy insist on the forms with *s*.²⁴ If his observation of usage is correct, then his authorities rather illogically show a slight preference for *die* in the singular but *disent* in the plural. Vaugelas's comments on the past historic of *vivre* indicate that there was still considerable variation in the morphology of this verb, but that if anything Vaugelas tends to be rather conservative (*R*, 108–09).²⁵ He notes that because of the confusion caused by the dual paradigm people tend to avoid using the verb in the past historic; this, of course, would only compound the problem. The older form *vesqui* < *vescui*, *vescitus* was being challenged by the more recent *vescus* based on the past participle *vescutus* which had replaced *vescitus* early on. Vaugelas seems reluctant to use the new forms except in the third persons singular and plural, for which they may be used as stylistic variants to avoid duplication of the same vowel in the ending of two consecutive past historics. In two of the *remarques* in which he is liberal in his pronouncements, Vaugelas unfortunately does not sense the direction in which usage was evolving at the time. He therefore allows the reader the freedom to use either *dependre* or *dependser* with the meaning 'to spend' (*R*, 247–48) and defends the use of the hypercorrect form *recouuert* for *recouré* (*R*, 15–17), even though he is aware of the disadvantages of its irregular formation and ambiguity. Torn between the fact that *recouuert* is used by his authorities at Court, but that the educated find it intolerable, he recommends a compromise:

Le dirois donc *recouré*, avec les gens de Lettres, pour satisfaire à la reigle & à la raison, & ne passer pas parmy eux pour vn homme qui ignorast ce que les enfans sçauent, & *recouuert*, avec toute la Cour, pour satisfaire à l'Vsage, qui en matiere de langues, l'emporte tousjours par dessus la raison. (*R*, 16–17)²⁶

Some verbs with particularly complicated morphology, which were therefore especially problematic, were replaced by more regular or more common verbs easier to conjugate. Different stages of this process are represented in the *Remarques*. *Choier* is merely noted as a heading in the Arsenal manuscript (MS, fol. 17^v); by the *Remarques* it is not even mentioned, having disappeared entirely from usage. An observation is devoted to *il souloit*, expressing regret at its disappearance and its replacement by *il auoit accoustumé*, *il auoit de coustume*, *il auoit coustume* (*R*, 241–42). *Seoir* remains as a defective verb, restricted in the persons and tenses in which it may be used, replaced in one sense by *siéger* and its reworked compound *asseoir* (see above). Vaugelas does not make the general observation that the verb lacks a perfect stem, but merely

lists the tenses in which the verb may appear; he acknowledges that the verb is really only used in the third person, usage of the other persons belonging to 'le stile bas' (R, 541). The present participle is further limited in that it may only be used to mean 'fitting' in the moral and not the physical sense.

The other major area of discussion in the field of verbal morphology in the *Remarques* is the treatment of the rivalry between simple and inchoative forms, the latter having lost their inchoative meaning in French. The use of the inchoative endings spread in *-ir* verbs in the Old French period and *-issons* etc., came increasingly to be considered as a mark of this class, which was in any case being enlarged by the adoption of words of Germanic origin and process words. Discussion of this rivalry features in the observations entitled *S'il faut dire reuestant, ou reuestissant* (R, 231–34) and *Hair* (R, 20). The first is a rather long-winded justification for *reuestant* rather than *reuestissant*. The inchoative forms of *revêtir* were rare before the sixteenth century, when they became more frequently used without dominating.²⁷ Vaugelas elaborates a rule for when to use *-issons* as the ending for the first person plural present indicative ending of *-ir* verbs: if the first person singular of the present tense keeps an *i* in its ending and has the same number of syllables as the infinitive, then the first person plural will end in *-issons* (e.g. *jouir/jouïs/jouïssons*). He then adds a second part to the rule:

Mais au contraire, quand cette premiere personne singuliere du present de l'indicatif ne garde pas l'*i*, dans sa terminaison, ni n'a pas tant de syllabes que son infinitif, alors *sans exception* aussi,²⁸ la premiere personne plurielle du mesme temps ne se termine point en *issons*, ni par consequent son participe, qui en est formé, en *issant*. (R, 232)

Here he gives the examples *sortir/sors/sortant*,²⁹ and *dormir/dors/dormant*. He therefore establishes the modern usage for *revêtir* (*reuestir/reuests/reuestons/reuestant*), concluding that the verb behaves quite regularly. It is enough that one part of the rule is not kept for it to be invalid: Vaugelas justifies the form *oyons* on the grounds that while the first person singular of *ouïr* has the *i* of the infinitive, it does not have the same number of syllables.³⁰ He, however, infringes his own rule in the only other observation discussing a choice between simple and inchoative forms. Although a parallel has been drawn between the behaviour of *hair* and *ouïr* in the observation on *fuir* (R, 454), Vaugelas establishes *hair* as a mixed verb without noting it as an exception to his rule.³¹ He prefers the older monosyllabic forms in the singular (*hais, hais, hait*), but favours *haïssons, haïssez* and *haïssent* in the plural, although he admits that the forms *hayons, hayez, hayent* are used by many even at Court. Vaugelas therefore sets up a highly irregular paradigm, apparently not understanding that he is dealing with the same issue here as with *revêtir*.

Vaugelas thus contributes to the establishment of certain modern verb forms without fully understanding either the diachronic or the synchronic mechanisms involved. His observations reflect the general tendency to retain only one stem per verb and to simplify conjugation, but his comments lack any overall policy; while some seem to make French more regular than usage dictates (*cueillira*), others set up irregular paradigms (*hair*).

CHAPTER 7

SYNTAX

I. INTRODUCTION

About a third of the *Remarques* deal with questions of construction and word order. Moreover, they are often the longer observations, so a surprisingly large amount of space is devoted to syntactic problems, an area often neglected by Vaugelas's sixteenth-century predecessors, such as Dubois, Meigret and Robert Estienne, and by certain of his eighteenth-century successors. This is largely because of the central importance of *netteté* to Vaugelas and his dislike of structurally ambiguous sentences which confuse the reader, albeit momentarily, and therefore give displeasure.¹ Indeed he demands context-free comprehension: 'c'est à faire aux paroles de faire entendre le sens, & non pas au sens de faire entendre les paroles' (*R*, 590).

However, Vaugelas's concept of *netteté* is not based on an elaborate theory of construction,² but on a simple belief in a basic regularity within the syntax of French, congruency being cited as the prime example of usage acting *par raison* (*R*, v, 3).³ His choice of examples illustrating regularity and the type of explanation offered for the anomalous in syntax as a beauty of the language suggest that in some respects Vaugelas's view of syntax was not very different from that later articulated by Arnauld and Lancelot: while the *Syntaxe de regime* is almost completely arbitrary and therefore different in each language, the *Syntaxe de Conuenance* is essentially rule-governed (and, for Arnauld and Lancelot, the same in all languages). If the rules for agreement are broken, 'c'est par figure, c'est à dire, en sous-entendant quelque mot, ou en considerant les pensées plutôt que les mots mesmes, comme nous le dirons cy-apres'.⁴ Such figures are *syllipse*, *ellipse*, *pleonasme* and *hyperbate*. As we shall see, Vaugelas too largely depends on such rhetorical devices to 'explain' the anomalous and irregular. Arnauld and Lancelot conclude that these figures are little used in French since French favours *netteté* and the use of the most natural and unencumbered word order, 'quoy qu'en mesme-temps elle ne cede à aucune en beauté ni en élégance'.⁵ Vaugelas likewise requires lack of ambiguity, proximity of related terms, linearity, regularity (analogy) and explicitness of construction,⁶ and uses these criteria as support for his observations, maintaining that French is more exact and regular than, for instance, Latin (*R*, 86-87).

If syntax is related to rhetoric and stylistics in the *Remarques*, it is also at times based on semantics. In many cases of discussion of agreement Vaugelas espouses regularity within a traditional semantico-syntactic framework, in which the relationship between the units (here words) is based on a correspondence between the meaning of the interdependent categories.⁷ Nevertheless, there are some indications that Vaugelas does envisage an independent rule-governed syntax, for on more than one occasion he speaks of the tension between construction and meaning. Discussing the expressions *pour s'empescher d'estre suiui* and *laissant sa mere avec sa femme & ses enfans prisonniers* (R, 397–99), Vaugelas argues that the first ‘choque plustost le sens & la raison que la Grammaire’, whereas the second ‘choque plustost la Grammaire que le sens’. The same tension may be found in the discussion of agreement with collective nouns which are morphologically singular but semantically plural (see Table 7). The implication is that usually there is no disagreement between the demands of syntax and semantics; where there is, this is sometimes to be viewed as an irregularity lending beauty to the language, sometimes as a mistake.

Whereas the observations dealing with agreement highlight the problem of establishing a clear boundary between syntax and semantics in Vaugelas’s treatment of construction, the details of government, where the functions are denoted by the case labels of Latin, show that elsewhere the syntax develops from the equation of French forms with the cases appropriate to Latin grammar. Verbal syntax seems closely connected with considerations of verbal morphology; for example, the form and usage of the verbal periphrasis *aller + gerundive* are discussed together (R, 185–86).⁸ Vaugelas then does not have one clear approach to syntax, but seems to adjust his theory according to the type of syntactic problem being considered.

The regularity implied by the comparison of similar constructions and the basing of decisions on analogy (e.g. *prendre à tesmoin*, R, 563) does not mean that constructions are to be viewed as linearly ordered slots into which any lexical item may be fitted. This freedom is constrained by lexical collocation restrictions or, to put it in Vaugelas’s terms, by usage.⁹

The division of mistakes against clarity into *mauuaise situation des mots* and *mauuaise structure* (Table 1) confirms that syntax is not merely a question of word order for Vaugelas. Word order does, however, play a crucial role in Vaugelas’s syntactic theory: the more closely words are interdependent, the closer together they must be placed in the linear sequence of the sentence (e.g. verb and adverb, discussed below, pp. 114, 120).

II. AGREEMENT

As we have noted, it is cases of agreement which are cited as paradigm instances of language acting *par raison* (R, v, 3). A key to understanding how

Vaugelas might justify calling agreement 'reasonable' is offered in the discussions of the use of the relative pronoun: the language is acting reasonably because the noun and pronoun 'soient de mesme nature, & ayent vne correspondance reciproque, qui face que l'vn se puisse rapporter à l'autre' (*R*, 388). Applied to agreement, this would support the traditional notion of agreement as a relation between words which share a morphosyntactic feature.¹⁰ However, from his examples it appears that Vaugelas rather adopts a semantic view of agreement based on common sense: it is reasonable that singular should be joined with singular, masculine with masculine. Vaugelas does not question the logic of making two singular nouns agree with a plural verb although these do not share the same morphosyntactic property; it is common sense that the addition of one and one should equate with several. Agreement here is semantic rather than morphosyntactic, language reflecting the world in Platonic fashion. Similarly, Vaugelas is unable to offer a syntactic explanation as to why the plural agreement with two singular nouns of different genders should be made in the masculine. He therefore 'explains' it non-linguistically and subjectively by claiming that the masculine gender is 'le plus noble' (*R*, 83), which perhaps implies some conception of marked and unmarked forms.

Agreement being 'reasonable', general principles applying across a wide range of languages can be formulated, for instance, that the verb and the subject agree in number and person.¹¹ The following rules seem to be instances of these 'preceptes communs à toutes les langues' (*R*, 130), or, at least, of different types of languages:¹²

par la reigle generale qui veut que l'adjectif soit du genre du substantif (*R*, *464)
où le regime du genre ne suit pas le nominatif, mais le genitif, qui est vne chose assez estrange, & contre la construction ordinaire de la Grammaire en toutes sortes de langues. (*R*, *483)

Since agreement reflects the very nature of the world and is of general applicability across languages (if not being given explicitly the status of a universal in the *Remarques*), it can be understood by unschooled children, so basic a principle is it deemed to be.¹³ Vaugelas therefore assumes that there is no need to state basic principles and focuses on those areas where the general rules are apparently infringed, and where *syntaxe figurée* has to be invoked to explain the behaviour of the language. Uncertainty of usage is, of course, especially relevant in the case of number agreement, because the plural 's' is pronounced only in liaison.¹⁴

Why does Vaugelas consider it necessary to make agreement, that is, to use a disjunctive morpheme to mark co-variance? Since the word order of French was relatively fixed by this time, this could often be used to determine the functions of the words and the relationship between them, explicit marking then being redundant. Nevertheless, Vaugelas requires the exclusion of all possible ambiguity, assuming his listener to be uncooperative.¹⁵

Two of the same problems seen throughout occur in Vaugelas's presentation of agreement questions. Firstly, there are terminological difficulties. Vaugelas does not use the traditional term *convenance*,¹⁶ although he seems to make the usual distinction between agreement and government and implies that while the rules of agreement are general, the rules of government are more liable to change and variation between languages. The expression *se rapporte à* is used for subject/verb and adjective/noun agreement (*R*, 150, 153), but the term *regir* is employed to cover not only cases of the construction a particular verb takes, but also to denote what we would consider the agreement between a subject and verb:

. . . que le verbe substantif qui selon l'ordre de la Grammaire & du sens commun sur qui la Grammaire est fondée, doit estre regi, comme il l'est ordinairement, par le nom substantif qui precede, neantmoins en cet exemple est regi par le nom substantif qui suit. (*R*, 307)

Perhaps his intention was to indicate the directionality of the relationship, that is, the order of the terms.¹⁷ Secondly, little thought is given to theory; for instance, no justification is offered for why he regards the noun as governing the verb, rather than seeing the relationship as one of co-variance. The status of the case labels is also unclear. While conscious that the case is not a category appropriate for all languages, Vaugelas continues to apply the case labels to French, apparently to show the functional relationships between the various parts of speech. The statement that the nominative always governs the verb is therefore equivalent to calling this noun the subject. Since combinations of case are properties of words, agreement and syntax are firmly word-based in the *Remarques*.¹⁸ Sometimes allusion to the part of speech classification is made to justify a particular agreement. The apparent irregularity of the agreement in *De la façon que j'ay dit* is explained by claiming that the expression is like an adverbial — which is, of course, a class of invariables (*R*, 376). The meaning of the expression (= *comme*) therefore determines the agreement.

The discussions of agreement show Vaugelas wavering between keeping the syntactic and semantic distinct, and basing his syntax on semantic criteria. There are various indications that he did recognize an autonomous syntactic level. For instance, he asserts that *clarté* and *netteté* are not to be confused, thought being prior to language (*R*, 577–78). In his treatment of gender agreement with *quelque chose* he distinguishes formal and semantic agreement, arguing that usually agreement is syntactic, or, at least, that normally the syntactic and semantic are aligned:

C'est vne belle figure en toutes les langues, & en prose aussi bien qu'en vers, de reigler quelquefois la construction, non pas selon les mots qui signifient, mais selon les choses qui sont signifiées. (*R*, *467)

Other observations seem to depend rather on a semantico-syntactic view of construction. The question of agreement with two conjoined nouns can be decided according to whether the nouns are to be viewed as one unit or two. In the example *Ou la douceur, ou la force le fera* (R, 149) the agreement must be singular ‘comme c’est vne alternatiue, ou vne disjonctiue’. On the other hand it is ‘more elegant’ to make the agreement in the plural in the example quoted from Malherbe (MS, fol. 68^v), ‘peut-estre qu’vn jour ou la honte, ou l’occasion, ou l’exemple, leur donneront vn meilleur auis’:

à cause de cette accumulation de choses, qui presentant tant de faces differentes à la fois, porte l’esprit au pluriel plustost qu’au singulier, quoy que dans la rigueur de la Grammaire, il faudroit dire *donnera*. (R, 150)

If the mind focuses on the diversity of things, the language must mirror this in selecting a plural verb.¹⁹ The question of making the agreement of the verb with two co-ordinated nominal subjects according to whether the nouns are closely semantically related or not is another manifestation of the same principle (R, 219).

The various treatments of agreement with collectives and quantifiers are symptomatic of Vaugelas vacillating between an autonomous syntactic theory and a semantico-syntax (see Table 7). There is, moreover, hesitation in the two observations devoted to *quelque chose* (R, 220, *464). The gender of *quelque chose* was feminine up to the seventeenth century, but usage was hesitant in Vaugelas’s day. The first of these two observations is virtually the same as that in the manuscript (MS, fol. 44^v) and the problems are not really discussed. Here Vaugelas seems to argue that agreement is made in the masculine, because although *chose* is feminine, the two words *quelque chose* ‘font comme vn neutre selon leur signification’ (R, 220). The second of the observations is much more complicated. Vaugelas rehearses the various arguments for masculine and feminine agreement, presumably as he heard them in the Academy. Vaugelas himself is rather flexible for he believes that there are cases where one should use the masculine (e.g. *il y a quelque chose dans ce liure qui merite d’estre leu*) and cases where one should use the feminine (*il y a quelque chose dans ce liure qui n’est pas telle que vous dites*). Unfortunately, he is unable to provide a rule for differentiating these uses.²⁰ His advice to trust the ear is unsatisfactory, since there are cases where there is no difference of pronunciation between the masculine and feminine adjectives. Nevertheless, Vaugelas senses the modern trend towards preference for the masculine, arguing that this is ‘beaucoup plus frequent, plus François, & plus beau’ (R, *467). He continues that it is ‘vne belle figure en toutes les langues’ to make agreement with the sense rather than the form and cites similar cases — the use of *ils* to refer anaphorically to *personnes*, a Tasso example and, inconsistently, *vne infinité* (see Table 7). Indeed, the use of a plural verb after *vne infinité* is held up as a paradigm example of syllepsis! (R, *468). As this observation does not

TABLE 7. Agreement with Collectives and Quantifiers

(a) <i>Syntactic explanations</i>			
	Agreement	Reason	Comment
(i) <i>vne infinité (R, 41)</i>			
(a) + plural complement (<i>de personnes</i>)	plural verb	agreement with the plural complement (= <i>genitif</i>)	i.e. agreement with the closest noun; concentrating on surface forms
(b) <i>vne infinité de monde</i>	singular verb	agreement with the singular genitive	Vaugelas fails to realize the semantic peculiarities of the word <i>monde</i>
(ii) <i>la pluspart (R, 41–42)</i>			
+ plural complement	plural verb	no explanation for difference offered	Vaugelas fixes the rule
+ <i>du monde</i>	singular	even if the complement of <i>la pluspart</i> has to be understood, plural agreement is made	
<i>la plus grand'part (R, 41–42)</i>	singular verb		
(iii) <i>ce peu de mots . . . (R, 350–51)</i>			
(a) + plural complement	plural verb	formal explanation	to make his rule as general as possible Vaugelas maintains that although e.g. <i>ce peu d'exemples suffira</i> is heard, it is best to avoid it
(b) <i>de sel</i>	singular		

Problems

- (1) Since no other example of a singular complement except *monde* is cited either for *vne infinité* or *la pluspart*, the generalization is unfounded. (In the manuscript *armee* is also used (MS, fol. 85^v), but this is equally unsatisfactory.)
- (2) The example *la pluspart font* belies the formal argument.
- (3) In the case of *le peu d'affection qu'il m'a tesmoigné* (R, 384) Vaugelas favours agreement with *le peu*. The difference between this and example (iii) seems to derive from the presence of the relative pronoun which cannot depend on an indefinite head noun and must therefore have *le peu* as its antecedent.
- (4) While agreeing with Vaugelas's example (i), the Academy points to exceptions. E.g. *Un grand nombre d'ennemis parut* or *parurent* (Streicher, *Commentaires*, p. 86).

(b) *Semantic explanations*

	Agreement	Reason	Comment
(i) <i>personne</i> (R, 6)			
(a) = 'l'homme & la femme tout ensemble'	feminine agreement	two different meanings, different gender for each	whereas in the MS (MS, fol. 48 ^v) Vaugelas criticizes the use of <i>ils</i> to refer to <i>personnes</i> used in the first meaning, in the <i>Remarques</i> he considers the sense agreement more elegant
(b) indefinite meaning 'nulle personne, ny homme, ny femme'	indeclinable therefore use masculine		
(ii) <i>sorte</i> (R, *483–84) eg. 'il n'y a sorte de soin qu'il n'ayt pris'	masculine agreement	'on regarde plustost le sens que la parole'	Vaugelas adds that there is agreement with the genitive, thereby retaining the formal as well as the semantic explanation

See also: *Vne partie du pain mangé* (R, 347–75), and *Après six mois de temps escoulez* (R, 382–83) in which agreement with the complement is deemed ‘plus elegant’.

Note

Personne still retains some of its nominal qualities for Vaugelas since he permits the (semantic) agreement *Je ne vois personne si heureuse que vous* when addressing a woman, displaying his customary respect to the female sex. Clearly, however, the language is moving towards using *personne* as an indefinite, for although Vaugelas tolerates *Je n’ay iamais veu personne si grosse qu’elle*, he contends that *personne* should only be used with expressions equally applicable to both sexes, and therefore prefers to reword the above example using *femme*.

For usage today, see Grevisse, *Le Bon Usage*, pp. 948–55.

appear in the manuscript, we should perhaps assume that Vaugelas changed his mind, only later concluding that agreement is made with the sense in such cases. Nevertheless, such inconsistencies are regrettable.

Agreement then for Vaugelas is essentially syntactic, although semantic agreement can be made as an *ornement* if sanctioned by usage. Since, however, it is mainly the semantic agreement which is favoured when there is tension (although it is not always explained as such), perhaps the syntactic nature of agreement can only be stressed because syntax and semantics are usually aligned.

Linear proximity may determine how an agreement should be made. For instance, in the case of *Vn adjectif avec deux substantifs de different genre* Vaugelas prefers agreement with the closest noun in the singular, since this is what the ear is accustomed to, although he admits that following Latin grammar, which, it is implied, is the basis of all grammar, the agreement should be masculine plural (R, 82–85).²¹ The surface positioning of the sentential elements also plays a part in Vaugelas’s reasoning in examples of number agreement, for instance, in *Ce, avec le pluriel du verbe substantif* (R, 305–07).²² In the manuscript Vaugelas attempted to preserve the number agreement rule for subjects and verbs, maintaining that in ‘les plus grands Capitaines de l’antiquité, ce furent Alexandre, Cesar, Hannibal &c.’, *furent* agrees with ‘les plus grands Capitaines’, and that *ce* is only ‘un ornement de langage’ which makes the sentence more emphatic (MS, fol. 12^r). The handling of the examples in the published text is less consistent. In the case of the above example Vaugelas no longer denies that *ce* is the subject, and admits that the number agreement rule is broken as an *ornement*. If *ce* is placed sentence-initially, it has ‘plus de grace’ (‘ce furent les Romains qui domterent’), and its position seems to confirm it as the subject. Thus, whereas in the manuscript Vaugelas appears quite close to appreciating the nature of *ce* as a dummy subject used for

emphasis, the agreement being semantic because of the plural value of the complement, in the published text he asserts that *ce* must be the subject because of its position in the sentence. However, he then goes on to discuss the ‘more irregular’ example ‘l’affaire la plus fascheuse que j’aye, ce sont les contes d’vn tel’, which, he claims, not only breaks the number agreement rule, but also violates word order conventions in that the verb agrees with the following noun, that is the ‘logical’ subject ‘les contes d’vn tel’ supposedly governs the verb (*R*, 306–07). Here then Vaugelas apparently wants the best of both worlds.

The accuracy of Vaugelas’s observations is brought into question in the *remarque* entitled *Deux ou plusieurs pluriels suivis d’vn singulier avec la conionction ET deuant le verbe, comment ils regissent le verbe?* (*R*, 378–80), which relies on the spoken evidence provided by women.²³ The question is whether the verbal agreement should be singular or plural in the example ‘non seulement tous ses honneurs & toutes ses richesses, mais toute sa vertu s’esuanoüit/s’esuanoüirent’. Vaugelas decides in favour of the (phonetically distinct) singular, not because agreement is made with the closest noun *vertu*, since agreement must be plural in the sentence ‘ses honneurs, ses richesses, & sa vertu s’esuanoüirent’, but for two other reasons. The second one given is the one we might expect: *mais* breaks up the construction ‘seruant comme d’vne barriere entre-deux, & d’vn obstacle pour empescher la communication & l’influence des pluriels sur le verbe’. The other is more problematic: it is the collective nature of the adjective *tout* ‘qui reduit les choses à l’vnité’ and therefore requires a singular verb. This conclusion might be well-founded if, as Vaugelas maintains, the agreement were still singular when the *non seulement* . . . *mais* construction is removed. However, Thomas Corneille and the Academy alike deny the accuracy of this statement (there should be no doubt since the verb forms are phonetically distinct) and insist that the presence of *mais* is the determining factor for the agreement.²⁴

A desire for absolute recoverability of deleted elements is evident in Vaugelas’s pronouncements on whether an adjective of one gender may be understood with an adjective of another gender in a comparison (e.g. a woman saying to a man ‘je suis plus vaillante que vous’ (*R*, 461)). Vaugelas replies negatively to this query and maintains that such a comparison is only possible when the adjective used is of common gender (i.e. when the masculine and feminine forms are identical).

Syntax is said to be the part of language least subject to change (*R*, x, 2), yet revisions are made in the discussion of syntactic questions between the manuscript and the published text.²⁵ Other observations record and fix a syntactic rule in mid-evolution, thereby engendering inconsistencies. The analysis of agreement with *tout* is one such case. The manuscript treatment appears more consistent because there Vaugelas does not deal with the

feminine separately, but simply states that when *tout* is used adverbially it is indeclinable (MS, fol. 89^r). He therefore supports *tout autre chose* which is not recommended in the published *Remarques*. In the *Remarques* Vaugelas asserts that *tout* is adverbial and invariable in the masculine, but that in the feminine *tout* agrees, whether it is before a vowel or a consonant, the only exception being *tout autres* in the plural. To justify this, Vaugelas is forced to say that the status of *tout* changes in the feminine ('se conuertissant en nom'), although he admits that it is still performing the same function (R, 96). It seems that it is because *toute* is phonetically distinct before a feminine noun beginning with a consonant that Vaugelas retains the agreement in this case; then, to achieve regularity for the behaviour of the feminine, he argues for agreement before feminine nouns beginning with a vowel, with the exception of *autres* in the feminine plural. An arbitrary decision is thus made for invariability in the masculine and agreement in the feminine. The present ruling that *tout* is invariable except before a feminine noun beginning with a consonant or *h aspiré* established by the Academy in 1704 is, as Grevisse notes, a compromise between 'la logique et les forces traditionnelles de la langue: à ne consulter que l'oreille, *tout* est toujours en accord avec l'adjectif qui le suit'.²⁶

In some cases Vaugelas establishes a rule still in use today.²⁷ Although Maupas had earlier used the 'neuter' *le* as a pronoun to refer to a feminine adjective (a woman saying: '. . . malade. Quand ie *le* suis . . .'),²⁸ it is Vaugelas who fixes the 'neuter' value of the personal attributive pronoun (R, 27–29). Vaugelas argues that the *le* does not refer to the person but 'à la chose' and is equivalent to *cela* 'lequel *cela*, n'est autre chose que ce dont il s'agit, qui est, *malade* en l'exemple que j'ay proposé' (R, 28). The proof of the correctness of *le* is that *les* is never used after a plural adjective (* & *quand nous les sommes*).²⁹ Examples from Corneille, Racine, and Molière, and a comment by Madame de Sévigné, all cited by Grevisse, suggest that it was not only women who used the feminine here in Vaugelas's day.³⁰ Vaugelas is, however, over-indulgent to what women say and wrongly predicts that the use of *la* might well become established usage.³¹

In other cases Vaugelas is unable to make a decision because usage is in flux. He rehearses the arguments for singular and for plural agreement after *vint* & *vn* (sic), perhaps as heard in an Academy debate, but does not state a preference (R, 147–49).³² Strangely, Vaugelas does not differentiate the examples *vint* & *vn an(s)* where the 's' would not be heard and *vint* & *vn cheuaux* where the plural form of the noun is phonetically distinct from the singular.³³ Equally, having claimed that the singular and plural are pronounced the same, it is illogical to add that the choice of form depends on the ear. At times Vaugelas is over-eager to determine one usage: thus he argues that it is better to use *toute sorte* when the complement is singular (*toute sorte de bonheur*) and

toutes sortes with a plural complement (*toutes sortes de maux*) (*R*, 130–31) — a pronouncement which is, of course, only relevant to the written language.

Comparison of Vaugelas's observations on agreement with the tolerances proposed by the *arrêté Haby*, 28 December, 1976 is informative because there is a large overlap in the range of topics covered. Even today some of the topics considered most pressing by Vaugelas, such as agreement with a collective subject, are still problematic.³⁴

Agreement of participles

The usage of the majority of sixteenth-century printers, authors and grammarians testifies to the general confusion about present participle agreement. Vaugelas's examples (*R*, 426–33) still retain some of the agreements typical of Old French, but a move towards the modern tendency for invariability can be detected: 'l'usage des gerondifs est beaucoup plus frequent en François, que celuy des participes' (*R*, 426).³⁵ Indeed, in the observation entitled *Du solecisme* (*R*, 576) all the examples Vaugelas gives of solecisms with *-ant* forms are where agreement has been incorrectly made. The different possible uses of the present participle distinguished by him in the *Remarques* will be discussed in relation to his usage in his translation of Fonseca (below, pp. 167–69).

Hesitation in usage and in the pronouncements of commentators on Vaugelas confirm his assessment of the problems engendered by past participle agreement: 'En toute la Grammaire Française, il n'y a rien de plus important, ny de plus ignoré' (*R*, 175). The attention of sixteenth-century grammarians had focused above all on the question of whether the past participle with *avoir* should agree with its direct object, either preceding or postposed. Marot had already outlined the modern rule for agreement with a preceding direct object in a poem published in 1538 and cited in the *Remarques*, but the testimonies of various grammarians confirm that there was considerable hesitation when the direct object followed the participle.³⁶ By the time of the *Remarques* Vaugelas is confident that his first two examples are 'sans contredit', firmly fixing modern practice. He then discusses eight other cases in an attempt to be as thorough as possible. He maintains that examples III–VII are contested, but that 'la plus commune & la plus saine opinion est pour eux', whereas VIII–X are unproblematic. These examples together with the opinions of his commentators on them are set out in Table 8. Hesitation about the correct agreement for the past participle continued throughout the century; indeed the present-day rules were not really established until the nineteenth century.³⁷ The Academy's comments on the observation indicate that opinion was divided on many of Vaugelas's examples and Patru, while agreeing with I and II, nevertheless asserts that it is often difficult to find a rule and that the ear must decide whether agreement should be made or not. Patru dislikes the sound of the feminine

form of the participle and therefore advocates invariability wherever possible. He gives as an exception to rule II the case where the feminine form of the participle is homophonous with a noun (e.g. *crainte, feinte, plainte*). Vaugelas also prefers that these ambiguous forms should be avoided (*crainte*, R, 561–62).

Two other observations dealing with agreement of the past participle (R, *492–93; 501) are also included in Table 8.³⁸ Nothing is said in the *Remarques* about the choice of auxiliary in general terms. Vaugelas deals individually with the selection of the correct auxiliary for the verbs *entrer*, *sortir*, *monter* and *descendre* (R, 435) and for *reussir* (R, 478–79) and *succeder* (R, *468). Elsewhere (R, 566) he mentions in passing that certain participles are always invariable (*tesmoin tous les anciens Philosophes; excepté/reserué cent personnes*).³⁹

III. GOVERNMENT

Vaugelas devotes several observations to discussion of what ‘cases’ certain French verbs govern (*regir*). For example, *servir* is said to govern the accusative and not the dative as it had formerly done (R, 479).⁴⁰ Vaugelas adds nothing to the general theory of government, but notes details of change of usage, ‘mistakes’ made, unusual constructions and where variety is permissible.

A few observations record changes in usage (*Servir, prier*, R, 479; *Ressembler*, R, *480–81). *Cesser* (R, 298) and *resoudre* (R, 61) are in the process of becoming ‘active’ (i.e. transitive), transitive verbs having the advantage of being more concise (R, 62). While this is a productive and easily made change, limitations are set on the process. Although *sortir* used transitively has the advantage of concision, Vaugelas denies that it can be so used, apparently being stricter than his authorities suggest is necessary (R, 38–39). The observation entitled *Certains regimes de verbes vsitez par quelques Auteurs celebres*,⁴¹ *qu’il ne faut pas imiter en cela* (R, 414) indicates that there was widespread uncertainty about the construction of certain verbs. Vaugelas maintains that the examples may have been correct when they were written, but are no longer acceptable.

More interesting than these observations concerning the change in government of individual verbs are the two which discuss the co-ordination of two verbs or a noun and a verb which take different types of complement (*Verbes regissans deux cas, mis avec vn seul*, R, 79–80; *Vn NOM & vn VERBE regissans deux cas differens, mis avec vn seul cas*, R, 81). From the wording of the first of these two observations and comparison with the manuscript (MS, fol. 9^v) it is clear that the constraints Vaugelas places on phrasal co-ordination are new. Two verbs which govern different types of complement cannot be conjoined

TABLE 8. Past Participle Agreement: R, 175–81; Streicher,

VAUGELAS (R, 175–81)	COMMENTS	MAROT	LA MOTHE LE VAYER	DUPLEIX	PORT-ROYAL	MÉNAGE
I <i>L'ay receu vos lettres</i>	'sans contredit'	✓		✓	✓	✓
II <i>Les lettres que i'ay receües</i>	'sans contredit'	✓		✓	✓	✓
III <i>Les habitans nous ont rendu maïstres de la ville</i>	the ending of <i>maïstres</i> marks the plurality sufficiently			agreement better, but prefers to avoid		<i>rendus</i>
IV <i>Le commerce l'a (sc. vne ville) rendu puissante</i>			<i>renduë</i>	<i>renduë</i>	✓	<i>rendue</i>
V <i>Nous nous sommes rendus maïstres</i>	passive, therefore agreement; rule from Malherbe via a friend				<i>elle s'est rendu la maïstresse</i>	✓
VI <i>Nous nous sommes rendus puissans</i>	„				<i>elle s'est rendu Catholique</i>	✓
VII <i>La desobeissance s'est trouuë montée au plus haut point</i>	exception to passive rule when participle follows		neither: . . . <i>s'est trouuë auoir monté</i>	<i>trouuée</i> but prefers <i>estoit montée</i>	<i>elle s'est trouvé/ trouuée malade: different meanings</i>	<i>trouuée</i>
VIII <i>Le l'ay fait peindre, ie les ay fait peindre</i>				✓		✓

Commentaires, pp. 343–71; Arnauld and Lancelot, pp. 129–37.

BOUHOURS	PATRU	TH. CORNEILLE	CASSAGNE	ANDRY	TALLEMANT	ACADEMY	TODAY
✓	✓			✓			Vaugelas firmly fixes modern practice
✓	✓ (exceptions see <i>crainte</i> below)	✓	✓ exceptions: <i>vouloir, pouuoir, oser</i>	✓ (except <i>craindre, plaindre</i>)			”
		<i>rendus</i>					usually <i>rendus</i>
✓		<i>renduë</i>		✓	iv–vii should either all agree, or all be indeclinable: opinion divided	opinion divided, but majority in favour of indeclinability for all of these (iv–vii)	usually <i>rendue</i> (See Grevisse, <i>Le Bon Usage</i> , pp. 918–19)
		✓		<i>elle s'est rendu la Maïstresse</i>			✓
		✓		<i>qu'elle ne se fust fait Catholique</i>			✓
		<i>trouvée</i>		different meanings of <i>elle s'est trouvée malade</i>			<i>trouvée</i>
		✓			✓		✓

TABLE 8. Past Participle Agreement: *R*, 175–81; Streicher,

VAUGELAS (<i>R</i> , 175–81)	COMMENTS	MAROT	LA MOTHE LE VAYER	DUPLEIX	PORT-ROYAL	MÉNAGE
IX <i>Elle s'est fait peindre, ils se sont fait peindre</i>				✓	✓	✓
X <i>C'est vne fortification que j'ay appris à faire</i>	the noun relates to the last word of the sentence, i.e. the infinitive			✓		✓ (but contests his reason)
<i>Other observations</i> <i>Crainte, R, 561–62</i>	avoid when used + <i>aux</i> because of ambiguity with the noun <i>crainte</i>					
<i>Belle & curieuse exception . . . R, *492–93</i>	if the nominative follows the participle, agreement is not made: <i>la peine que m'a donné cette affaire</i>			✓ (but dislikes Vaugelas's formulation)	✓	✓
<i>Allé, R, 501–02</i>	(1) <i>ma soeur est allé visiter ma mère</i> (2) <i>je les ay veu venir</i>					uncertain

Commentaires, pp. 343–71; Arnould and Lancelot, pp. 129–37. (Continued)

BOUHOURS	PATRU	TH. CORNÉILLE	CASSAGNE	ANDRY	TALLEMANT	ACADEMY	TODAY
✓		✓		✓			✓
✓		✓			✓		invariable: but meaning important (Grevisse, <i>Le Bon Usage</i> pp. 926–31)
	avoid feminine of verbs in -oire, -oistre, -andre, -endre, -indre, -aindre, -eindre, -oindre, when homo- phonous nouns exist	can use <i>crainte</i> as past participle		exceptions to II: <i>craindre</i> <i>plaindre</i>		✓	<i>crainte</i> used
✓		doubtful		✓		✓	<i>donnée</i>
✓	<i>allée</i> <i>vûs</i>			✓ (although can find contrary examples)		✓ <i>vus</i>	<i>allée</i>

because each verb must have the correct 'case' after it, and it is not permissible for a different 'case' to be understood. Therefore the ellipsis implied by the expression 'ayant embrasé, & donné la benediction à son fils' (R, 79) or 'afin de le conjurer par la memoire, & par l'amitié qu'il auoit portée à son pere' (R, 81) is unacceptable: *son fils* in the first example must be the direct object of *embrasé* and not the indirect complement as the surface form implies. Vaugelas then requires that the words elided should be uniquely recoverable: there should be no doubt about what words are to be supplied and it should be possible to add the recovered words to the sentence in the same functional slots. Vaugelas admits that this is not an absolute rule, but claims that it is essential for those concerned with perfecting their style — his intended audience (R, 81). This type of construction is in fact quite common in French, but Vaugelas values easy context-free understanding more highly than brevity. He also censures certain constructions derived from the crossing or contamination of two different, but usually semantically related, constructions. He suggests that the unacceptable *il m'a dit de faire* was produced on the false analogy of *il m'a commandé de faire* etc. (R, 322).⁴²

Vaugelas acknowledges that certain verbs may govern more than one construction. Sometimes the two constructions have different meanings or are appropriate in different contexts. If *approcher* governs an inanimate complement, it must be followed by *de*, but if the complement refers to a person, the complement can be expressed either as the direct object or as an indirect complement preceded by *de*, depending on whether actual physical movement is implied or not. If it is, *s'approcher de* must be used, if not, and the meaning is figurative, suggesting the favour achieved by someone in the eyes of an important person 'qui resulte de plusieurs actes reïterez, en s'approchant de quelqu'un' (R, 155), then *approcher* with a direct object is correct.⁴³ Sometimes the alternatives are simply a source of stylistic variety (e.g. *suruiure*, R, 162). In some cases a scale of preference is implied: *eschapper de* is deemed more elegant than *eschapper* + direct object, while *eschapper à* is also considered 'vne fort belle façon de parler' (R, 337).⁴⁴ Where there is a choice, considerations of euphony may be brought to bear, but euphony can never undermine a fixed syntactic rule (*commença à auoüer*, R, 424–25).

As we have already noted, Vaugelas seems to believe that there will normally be a consistent relationship between the meaning of the constituent parts of a verbal construction and the meaning of the whole. Certain verbal phrases appear unusual because the meaning of the preposition is not consistent with its normal usage (*perdre le respect à quelqu'un*, R, *462), or because a pronominal verb is employed where no reflexive meaning is implied (*se louër de quelqu'un*, R *463).

Concerns of proximity and brevity also enter the discussion of verbal government. The choice of whether to use *aimer mieux que* or *aimer mieux que*

de before an infinitive is determined, according to Vaugelas, by the distance between the *que* and the following infinitive. If the second infinitive is *esloigné*, then *que de* must be used, if the infinitive is *proche* and the meaning is complete, then *que* alone is sufficient. When the dependent infinitive is neither next to the *que* nor very distant from it, Vaugelas recommends that *de* should still be used (*i'aime mieux faire cela que de ne rien faire*)⁴⁵ and he is at pains to establish a fixed rule, adding that he is not even sure that *de* may be omitted in verse for the sake of prosody (*R*, 531). Concerns of brevity must, as always, be weighed against those of clarity and euphony. Despite the advantage of concision won by the use of an infinitival complement after *sçauoir* rather than a relative clause ('il marcha contre les ennemis, qu'il sçauoit qui auoient paßé' or 'qu'il sçauoit auoir paßé'), Vaugelas prefers to avoid them both since the former construction in particular 'a quelque chose de rude' (*R*, 101–02).

IV. CO-ORDINATION

In Old French and to a large extent in the sixteenth century co-ordinating conjunctions could link very different constituents; the relationship between the conjoins was often confusing, resulting in rather contorted and badly articulated periods. Vaugelas is at the forefront of a movement which advocates a sentence type in which all the grammatical relationships are unequivocally marked and the constituent parts are carefully balanced and symmetrical.

Unfortunately the advent of this desire for explicit marking of functional relations occurred at a time when the number of syntactic markers available in French was decreasing. In the sixteenth century there had been an accumulation of syntactic tools along with the increase in vocabulary items. Vaugelas regrets the recent loss of certain conjunctions and terms which act as connecting words (e.g. *en somme*, *bref*, *finalemeut*, *R*, 31),⁴⁶ reluctantly records the demise of *partant* 'qui semble si necessaire dans le raisonnement' (*R*, 225),⁴⁷ and excuses writers for repeating the monosyllable *mais* so often at the beginning of a sentence — which is stylistically infelicitous — on the grounds that the number of *liaisons* in French is pitifully small and decreasing all the time (*R*, 416). The manuscript testifies to the fall of certain conjunctions (*ains*) and the attempts to protect them (*car*).⁴⁸ Vaugelas's unwillingness to accept the demise of certain conjunctions means that some of his judgements are rather conservative. He defends *mais mesmes* against the charge that it sounds unpleasant 'à cause du son d'vne mesme syllabe repetée trois fois' (*R*, 22–23), arguing that *mais außi* is not a suitable replacement because its meaning is much less emphatic, and he allows more scope than others in the use of *donc*, maintaining that *et donc* and *donc* may be used sentence-initially, although he prefers the latter to be placed as the second, third or fourth element of a clause. He apparently does not differentiate between co-ordinating and subordinating conjunctions.

Vaugelas's place in the transition from the loosely-knit structure typical of the sixteenth-century sentence to the Classical balanced period associated with Bossuet, Pascal or Madame de Lafayette is well illustrated in his formulation of and attitude towards the 'synonym rule'. This is presented as a 'Reigle nouvelle & infaillible' (R, 214–18); however, the opening of the observation and comments elsewhere (R, *477–80) suggest that this rule determining when to repeat articles, possessives, pronouns and prepositions before co-ordinated nouns or verbs according to whether they are synonyms (or near-synonyms) or not,⁴⁹ and according to whether, if nouns, they are of the same gender, is already being replaced by a more rigorous attitude requiring that co-ordinated terms be identically marked. The synonym rule may also affect the choice of co-ordinating conjunction (R, 37). Vaugelas institutes a new rule that *et* can only be used to join two adjectives of a negative clause when the adjectives are synonyms or 'approchans' (e.g. *il n'est point de memoire d'un plus rude & plus furieux combat*). If the two adjectives have completely different meanings, they must be joined by *ni* (*il n'y eut iamais de Capitaine plus vaillant, ny plus sage que luy*).⁵⁰

Vaugelas unfortunately confuses phrasal and clausal co-ordination and therefore places more stringent conditions on clausal co-ordination than is strictly necessary. He apparently believes that co-ordinating conjunctions must join elements having the same functional value in the sentence and criticizes the construction *Germanicus a egalé sa vertu, & son bonheur n'a jamais eu de pareil* (R, 112–14) as a *construction lousche*. Paying no heed to punctuation or intonation, he claims that the reader first interprets this as *sa vertu & son bonheur*, that is as an instance of phrasal co-ordination, and is deceived, albeit momentarily, believing the co-ordinated nouns will be in the same case. Dupleix points out Vaugelas's elementary misunderstanding, 'à sçavoir qu'en cete periode il y a deux regimes, & par consequent deux diverses constructions: & cela estant, la conionction & ne conjoint pas divers cas, mais bien diverses choses.'⁵¹ Whereas Vaugelas demands that the construction should be immediately comprehensible as the elements are read in linear succession, the Academy maintains that since the finite verb directly follows the subject of the second clause, the construction is quite acceptable.⁵² Given such stringent conditions, it is difficult to see how Vaugelas could use *et* as a sentence co-ordinator at all. Vaugelas is therefore less tolerant of asymmetric constructions than present-day grammars.⁵³

The problem of whether elements may be elided in the second half of co-ordinated constructions occurs with both clausal and phrasal co-ordination. Vaugelas's assertion that certain elements are understood in an elliptical construction again suggests that ellipsis for him involves deletion from a more complete form of the construction.⁵⁴ The question of ellipsis with phrasal co-ordination is considered at length in the observation entitled *De cette façon de*

parler, 'il sçait la langue Latine & la langue Grecque' (R, 493–95), the crucial factor in measuring acceptability being how far the deleted element is recuperable. Vaugelas gives four possible combinations, the first two of which are deemed acceptable and the second two not:

- (i) *il sçait la langue Latine & la langue Grecque*
- (ii) *il sçait la langue Latine & la Grecque*
- (iii) *il sçait la langue Latine, & Grecque*
- (iv) *il sçait les langues Latine & Grecque*

Vaugelas claims that (i) is 'plus regulier & plus grammatical' since all the grammatical functions are explicitly marked, whereas (ii) is more elegant because unnecessary repetition is tiresome and concision is always favoured in French. The third example relates to Vaugelas's conception of the definite article and to the synonym rule. Because two completely different languages are being referred to, the singular cannot be applied to them for this would imply some semantic unity (*la (langue Latine, & Grecque)*). Vaugelas's objection to (iv) is expressed in terms of the surface phenomenon of agreement: a plural article cannot agree with two singular nouns. Moreover, the deleted elements cannot be recovered from the linguistic context in this case.⁵⁵

Ellipsis apparently aroused extreme opinions: either it was considered completely unacceptable for endangering clarity, or elegant for reducing redundancy. The problem of ellipsis may occur with co-ordinated subjects; in 'l'aventure du lion & de celuy qui vouloit tuer le Tyran, sont semblables' the head noun on which the second possessive depends has to be understood and the plural agreement therefore seems odd (R, 193). In the case of the adverbial phrase 'en vostre absence, & de Madame vostre mere' Vaugelas recommends that this construction type should be totally avoided since the elided form is not sufficiently clear and the addition of 'en celle' before the second possessive renders the construction 'languissante' (R, 209). The difficulty is compounded in this instance because the possessive is expressed by a prenominal adjective in the first half, but by *de* + noun in the second.

Vaugelas equally imposes limits on ellipsis in cases of clausal co-ordination. Elision of the auxiliary of the second of two co-ordinated verbs when the verbs are not of the same type and therefore require different forms of auxiliary is condemned (*Il s'est bruslé, & tous ceux qui estoient aupres de luy*, R, 358), as is the case mentioned above (R, 213–14) of when two verbs or a noun and a verb which govern different cases are co-ordinated and one of these cases has to be understood (R, 79–81). The situations where ellipsis of the subject pronoun is deemed unacceptable will be treated in the discussion of usage in Vaugelas's translation of Fonseca (p. 170).

Details of the use of certain clausal conjunctions are given. The disjunctive correlative must be either *soit que . . . soit que* or *soit que . . . ou que*. *Soit que . . . ou soit* is to be avoided because it is pleonastic (although it may be used in

poetry to fit in with the metre, *R*, 30–31). The question of when *et* should be repeated is also considered. If three clauses are listed, *et* should only be used before the last of the three conjoins and not before the second as well. The only exception is when the last *et* is reinforced by *mesme*, *non seulement*, *tant s'en faut* (*R*, 399).⁵⁶ Clauses conjoined by *et* should not be separated by a long phrase or clause (*R*, 591–92).

Vaugelas makes some comments about the construction of larger units, for example, how sentences should be co-ordinated or linked within a paragraph. This skill is necessary for *le stile formé*, 'qui en effet n'est autre chose que de bien arranger ses paroles, & bien former & lier ses periodes' (*R*, 579). Vaugelas permits his readers to begin a sentence with *et*, which, according to Antoine, marks a step backwards, for this usage was no longer current.⁵⁷ Once again Vaugelas pleads in defence of this on the grounds of the paucity of linking expression in French (*R*, 400). The main evidence of a change in usage in this area is that the *relatif de liaison* is criticized. This presumably goes hand in hand with the increased insistence that the sentence should be a regular and homogeneous unit (*R*, 86).⁵⁸ Vaugelas argues that the relative pronoun, by its very nature, is incapable of beginning a sentence. Cases where the *relatif de liaison* has been used can only be corrected by joining the sentence beginning with the *qui* to the previous sentence with a comma, but this results in an intolerably long sentence. The origin of the construction in translation as an imitation of Latin syntax is suggested by the observation, but Vaugelas insists that the French language is more precise than Latin.⁵⁹

V. SUBORDINATION

A number of observations deal with the acceptability or currency of various subordinating conjunctions. For example, *de façon que*, *de manière que*, *de mode que* and *si que* are rejected by Vaugelas in favour of *si bien que*, *de sorte que*, or *tellement que* (*R*, 435); *mais que*, a popular conjunction affected by Malherbe, is deemed *bas* (*R*, 162),⁶⁰ and *premier que* instead of *auant que* or *deuant que* is termed archaic (*R*, 111). In some cases Vaugelas is concerned to point out the functional difference between related terms, preferring one form to have one function, thereby avoiding ambiguity (*lors + que/alors* (*R*, 225–28); *pendant que/cependant* (*R*, 223–24)).

Of subordinate clauses most attention is devoted to relative clauses.⁶¹ The choice of the correct relative pronoun is important: in the *Remarques* Vaugelas states his opinion that the pronouns *lequel*, *laquelle*, *lesquels*, *lesquelles* in the nominative are rather cumbersome and inelegant and recommends the use of *qui* instead (*R*, 115). There are, however, two instances in his opinion where *lequel* is preferable: firstly, where there are two preceding nouns of different gender and the relative pronoun does not refer to the nearest noun, and

secondly, 'quand on commence quelque narration considerable' (R, 116), because *lequel* is more emphatic and therefore adds weight to the sentence. In the other 'cases' *duquel* and *auquel* etc. are quite acceptable and he cites examples of their usage, although he adds that he prefers the use of *qui*, *quoy*, *que* and *dont* where they are possible (R, 116–18).⁶²

In addition, Vaugelas tightens up the rules on the possible reference of relative pronouns. Oudin allows *qui* in the oblique cases to refer to persons and *choses animées*, for instance, to an animal or even an object like a house which, when addressed by a madman, is considered animate!⁶³ Vaugelas argues that, except in the nominative, *qui* may only refer to people and not to animals or 'choses morales' unless they are personified (R, 55). He asserts that only foreigners would use *quoy* to refer to people, but allows the pronoun to have a plural as well as a singular antecedent as in 'Les tremblemens de terre à quoy ce pays est sujet' (R, 54). However, La Mothe le Vayer and Dupleix already maintain that *quoy* may only have a singular noun as its antecedent.⁶⁴

In some of the observations where the choice of the relative in a particular context is called into doubt, the problem is not really treated as a syntactic question by Vaugelas. For instance, *que c'est* and *ce que c'est* are apparently treated as lexical units and the need for *ce que c'est* is not explained in terms of construction:

On ne dit plus gueres maintenant *que c'est*, comme l'on disoit autrefois. On dit, *ce que c'est*, Par exemple, M. de Malherbe dit, *Il n'y a point de loy qui nous apprenne que c'est, que l'ingratitude*. Aujourd'huy l'on dit, *qui nous apprenne ce que c'est que, &c.* (R, 173)

On two occasions Vaugelas points out 'mistakes' made in the choice of *qui* or *qu'il* which are homophonous in speech. Vaugelas supports his conclusion that the correct expression is *ce qu'il vous plaira* and not *ce qui vous plaira* by arguing that if the antecedent is plural *qu'il vous plaira* and not *qui vous plairont* must still be used (e.g. *Je vous rendray tous les honneurs qu'il vous plaira*, R, 4–5).⁶⁵

The desire for a more analytic and explicitly articulated period is also evident in Vaugelas's treatment of subordination. If two relative clauses are conjoined, the relative pronoun *qui* must be repeated before the second of the clauses (e.g. 'C'est vn homme qui vient des Indes & qui apporte [rather than 'lequel apporte'] quantité de pierreries'). Again, if a relative clause is subordinated to another subordinate clause the *qui* must be repeated, frequency of usage ensuring that the ear is not offended (e.g. 'il y a des gens qui n'aiment que ce qui leur nuit', R, 49). The question is more complex when the relative pronoun is separated from the subject and verb of the subordinate clause by a non-finite clause as in 'Je ne scaurois croire, qu'apres auoir fait toutes sortes d'efforts, & employé tout ce qu'il auoit d'amis, d'argent, & de credit pour venir à bout d'vne si grande entreprise, (qu')elle luy puisse reüßir, lors qu'il l'a comme

abandonnée'. Vaugelas has no syntactic theory by which he can explain his decision that this *que* is not necessary, relying on a rather vague intuition that one *que* suffices for both clauses (R, 465). Again, he simply states that if there is too great a distance between the relative pronoun and the subordinate clause, then the main clause should be repeated 'pour soulager l'esprit du Lecteur, ou de l'Auditeur' (R, 466).

Vaugelas's adumbration of the difference between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses in semantic terms (R, 386–88) and Port-Royal's comments thereon have been discussed in Chapter 2 (pp. 32–33). In addition, Vaugelas underlines the semantic necessity of the use of *celui* etc. in certain constructions, which he argues many people neglect if they are not well-read. He contrasts the meanings of the sentences 'il recompensa ses seruiteurs, qui l'auoient bien serui' and 'il recompensa ceux de ses seruiteurs qui l'auoient bien serui'. The latter must be used to mark the restriction, an expression which 'a encore fort bonne grace, & est bien Française' (R, 327–28).

The observation entitled *Adjectif, quand il veut vn article à part, outre celui du substantif* (R, 75–76) hints at the outlines of a reductionist theory of syntax in the style of Port-Royal:⁶⁶ simple adjectives may be reductions of relative clauses. Ellipsis is adduced to explain the apparent surface structure anomaly of the nominative *les plus barbares* after the genitive *des peuples* with which it agrees in the sentence 'c'est la coustume des peuples les plus barbares': *qui* and the appropriate part of *être* have to be understood. The status of the underlying expanded form is unclear. Here it seems that the concise reduced construction is the usual one.

Details of usage in other types of subordinate clause are scattered throughout the *Remarques*. Relatively little is said about interrogative clauses and indeed Vaugelas seems confused about the difference between direct and indirect interrogatives (R, 513). He records the uncertainty about the use of *est-ce que* in interrogation but defends it (e.g. *quand est-ce qu'il viendra?*, R, *457–58). However, he is totally against what he sees as a development of the use of this construction into the affirmative, *quand c'est que je suis malade*. In conditional clauses Vaugelas is stricter in his demands than contemporary practice would suggest was usual at the time.⁶⁷ He recommends that when two conditional *si* clauses are co-ordinated, the second *si* should be replaced by *que* (R, 395) because this is 'beaucoup plus François & plus elegant' (R, 62); when *que* is used, the subjunctive is compulsory.

It was in this period that the rule that *que* and not *comme* must be used after a comparative was introduced. Vaugelas contributes to this change by disallowing *comme* except in poetry (R, 532–33; cf. R, 63). He testifies to widespread uncertainty about the correct construction of concessive clauses, noting that in the provinces south of the Loire *quel* is wrongly used for *quelque* (e.g. *quel merite que l'on ayt*, R, 136).⁶⁸ Moreover, it is implied that even in the best

circles people are unsure when *quelque* should agree. While Vaugelas lays down the modern practice for agreement, his explanation, assuming he is adopting the traditional classification of the parts of speech, is confused:

Quelque riches qu'ils soient. Il faut escrire ainsi, & non pas *quelques*, avec vne *s*, parce que *quelque*, est là aduerbe & non pas pronom, & signifie *encore que*, ou proprement le *quantumlibet* des Latins; neantmoins il faut remarquer qu'il n'est aduerbe qu'avec les adjectifs, comme en l'exemple proposé, & non pas avec les substantifs; car on ne dira pas *quelque perfections qu'il ayt*, mais *quelques perfections*, parce que là *quelques*, n'est pas aduerbe, mais pronom, & ainsi il prend l's au pluriel. (*R*, 359)

Another usage considered faulty by Vaugelas is the use of *tel* for *quel* (e.g. *tels qu'ils soient*, *R*, 413). Grevisse comments that, although Vaugelas condemned the construction, it remained in usage until the end of the following century and he quotes examples from Voltaire, Diderot and Bescherelle.⁶⁹ Finally, as a point of style, Vaugelas prefers that the conjunctions *bien que*, *quoy que*, *encore que* should not be repeated but rather replaced by *que* in the second of two co-ordinated concessive clauses.

Pour que is treated in a rather long *remarque* (*R*, 17–19). The wording of the observation suggests hesitation on Vaugelas's part. It opens with a comment on the frequency of the use of the conjunction even at Court and its popularity with 'vne personne de tres-eminente condition' (not named in the manuscript). Despite this, Vaugelas claims that all its uses 'ne valent . . . rien'. The individual contexts in which it may appear are listed in turn, with Vaugelas frequently emphasizing the advantage of the construction with *pour que* in terms of concision (e.g. *Ils sont trop de gens pour qu'un homme seul les attaque*). He concludes that he suspects that *pour que* will become established because it is 'court & commode . . . & alors nous nous seruirons de cette commodité comme les autres, mais en attendant ie m'en voudrois abstenir, selon le sentiment de nos meilleurs Escriuains'.

VI. WORD ORDER

Word order — an obvious area of difference in usage between French and Latin — is of special interest to Vaugelas. Vaugelas tends to be at his most prescriptive in observations on this subject. References in the manuscript (MS, fols 94^v, 26^r) indicate that numerous 'errors' were made on questions of word order and that there was much more flexibility, for instance in the placing of adverbs, than his pronouncements allow. Yet Vaugelas does not believe that it is easy or indeed feasible to remedy an infelicitous ordering of words:

soit que ce defect . . . procede du vice de l'oreille, ou de celuy de l'imagination, ou de tous les deux ensemble, qui sont deux choses que l'art donne rarement, quand la nature les refuse. (*R*, 578–79)

Perhaps this is because Vaugelas like, for instance, Garnier, Maupas, and Arnauld and Lancelot, believes in the existence of a 'natural' word order, in which, in Maupas's words, the sequence of words reflects 'l'ordre naturel de l'entendement'.⁷⁰ Such a fundamental belief is typically not expressed by Vaugelas, but must be understood to underlie his pronouncements. He gives general 'rules' for the ordering of words in the observation entitled *Arrangement de mots* (R, 481–84). The main requirement is the ability to 'bien placer & entrelasser le verbe au milieu des autres parties de l'oraison' (R, 482). If this characteristically vague statement is taken in conjunction with comments elsewhere (R, 482, 307), we can deduce that Vaugelas considers the order subject-verb-object the basic one. Secondly, the same order should be adopted in written style as in speech, that is, 'la situation naturelle'. The adverb should always be placed close to the verb as its name suggests; while in theory this could be before or after the verb, in practice it always follows, 'comme l'accessoire apres le principal, ou l'accident apres la substance' (R, *461).

If certain statements in the *Remarques* imply that Vaugelas favours a 'natural' word order, in concrete terms his judgements are guided by two major concerns. Foremost, of course, is the avoidance of ambiguity for the sake of clarity (R, 481). As we have noted in the discussion of agreement, this means that there is in his system, as in that of contemporary French, a considerable amount of redundancy. Vaugelas's concept of an unambiguous word order is based on a strong sense of linearity and therefore proximity of dependent elements is considered vital. *De*, 'article du genitif', must be placed next to its head noun (R, 324), and the preposition *pour* must be as close as possible to its infinitive with only words of one or two syllables being allowed to intervene (R, 63).⁷¹ The recommendation that grammatically related forms should be kept as close together as possible distinguishes Vaugelas's usage from that of previous writers. Moreover, parts of a compound form, that is, morphologically related forms, should not be distant. For instance, Vaugelas requires that the auxiliary of *avoir* and the past participle *esté* should not be separated, although he is willing to allow an adverb to be inserted between *avoir* and the participle of other verbs (R, 460). These two recommendations are deemed sufficient to avoid ambiguity and ridicule. Even though common sense would prevent anyone misconstruing the interposed polite forms of address *Madame*, *Monsieur* etc. as direct objects of a preceding verb, for example in 'ie ne veux pas acheter Madame, si peu de chose à si haut pris' (R, 547), Vaugelas is adamant that this potential source of misunderstanding, albeit unreasonable, should be studiously avoided '& avec d'autant plus de soin, qu'il y a plus de personnes desraisonnables & impertinentes, qu'il n'y en a de l'autre sorte' (R, 548)! Vaugelas thus puts very strict restrictions on the writer, which seem to conflict with his assertion that one should express oneself naturally as in speech.⁷² He does, however, allow

more freedom to poets who may need to transpose words in certain contexts (*R*, 579; MS, fol. 42^r).

The second guiding principle in Vaugelas's decisions is euphony. Wherever possible, concerns of rhythm, harmony and balance must be taken into account (although never at the expense of clarity), for these are the true mark of perfection in a language (*R*, xv, 3). This of course leads into the indistinct area between syntax and stylistics, between rules and preferences. However, Vaugelas does not greatly exploit the potential of varying word order to create stylistic effects, but rather insists on uniformity and regularity, perhaps through an awareness of the need to stress the fixed nature of French word order in comparison to that of Latin or indeed of earlier French usage. Where he does recommend something on the grounds that it is good style, this is usually not as a stylistic variant, but because it is considered a better and less ambiguous usage. For instance, in the observation entitled *Certaine Reigle pour vne plus grande netteté, ou douceur de stile* (*R*, 528; MS, fol. 77^v) it is not clear whether the achievement of symmetry and balance is considered merely a secondary concern or an essential part of correct usage. Vaugelas never clearly distinguishes between obligatory and optional rules,⁷³ nor does he talk about affective uses of word order. This is not to say that no freedom of choice is permitted. For example, Vaugelas allows considerable latitude in the use of either pre- or post-nominal position for the adjective according to which sounds the most pleasing (see below, p. 119). This raises the interesting question of what, if any, semantic value Vaugelas discerns in different word orders. Certainly in the case of the position of the adjective Vaugelas does not attach any difference in meaning to the different positions, although this would seem to be a paradigmatic instance of where such a statement might be possible. Moreover, since Vaugelas does not tolerate a great deal of flexibility in word order, there is little scope for expressing nuances of meaning in this way. Word order questions then fall almost entirely in the realm of syntax for Vaugelas, word order being viewed as a fixed part of the structure of French. Whereas infractions of agreement rules are sometimes considered as *ornements*, *transpositions*, at least in prose, are labelled *vicieuses*.

Various problematic features of Vaugelas's approach are reflected in his treatment of word order: the difficulty of establishing a rule when usage is in transition, the danger of letting observation be coloured by the desire to establish a clear, unambiguous syntax,⁷⁴ and the failure to be exhaustive in analysing the data or to take account of exceptions. For example, Vaugelas's treatment of adjective placement is rather unambitious. He does not discuss whether past participles functioning as adjectives may be placed before the substantive, a topic which preoccupied some of his contemporaries.⁷⁵ Neither adjectives of nationality or town of origin, nor those adjectives whose meaning is affected by their situation are considered.⁷⁶ There are also serious omissions

in the subjects covered: such questions as the position of object pronouns with co-ordinated imperatives and the use of inversion in *incise* are completely ignored and there is very little on the ordering of clauses or larger units.

I shall now discuss in more detail those observations on word order in which Vaugelas makes some contribution to the development of the language or to the formulation of rules for word order.

A. *Subject and Verb Inversion*

The observations dealing with questions of subject and verb inversion illustrate well the difficulty of distilling an overall view of Vaugelas's ideas on certain subjects because of his presentation. In the observation entitled *Verbe substantif mal placé* (R, 342; MS, fol. 27^r), Vaugelas is concerned with the particular problem of the relative positioning of the verb *être* and its subject and concludes, 'Le verbe substantif *estre*, ne se doit jamais mettre en aucun de ses temps deuant le nom qui le regit'. He does not make it clear whether he considers this prohibition of nominal subject and verb inversion should be applied to all verbs and to pronoun subjects. Thomas Corneille and the Academy cite cases where the rule is not obligatory even with *être*: it is considered elegant, for instance, to invert the subject and verb in a subordinate clause after certain *invertissants* such as *ainsi, tel*.⁷⁷ Indeed, Vaugelas himself supports the use of certain adverbs clause-initially which cause the subject and verb to be inverted; he prefers *bien est-il vray* to *il est bien vray* (R, 525; MS, fol. 30^r), although Corneille and the Academy are unhappy about this older ordering.⁷⁸ He makes no mention of the fact that the verb in the example is impersonal, allowing the *il* to be viewed as a dummy subject, so it is impossible to tell whether this is significant for him.⁷⁹ Again, Vaugelas still praises the use of *si* clause-initially with inversion as 'fort bonne, & fort elegante' (R, 62–63). According to Clifford, although *et* and *si* were still used as *invertissants* in the first half of the seventeenth century, this usage already probably had archaic overtones.⁸⁰ She argues that the seventeenth century was a crucial period in the decline of inversion, but that it was still common in the *style élégant* where it was retained longer.⁸¹ Vaugelas's *Remarques* illustrate both these points. The contexts in which inversion is permitted are greatly reduced (inversion after *ce* as in *ce dit-il* is condemned (R, 308) and partial interrogation introduced by *est-ce que* avoiding inversion is supported (R, *458)), yet, as we have noted, Vaugelas still favours certain rather outdated inversions because he considers them elegant. The combination of syntactic and stylistic reasons offered by Clifford for the continuing use of inversion — to avoid non-euphonious juxtaposition, a 'cadence mineure', or the separation of relatives and antecedents, that is, to produce a harmonious, balanced and coherent sentence⁸² — fall neatly into Vaugelas's categories of *netteté* and *douceur*, and these reasons therefore help to explain some of Vaugelas's pronouncements.

B. Clitics

(i) *LE, pronom relatif oublié, R, 33.*

Les pronoms, LE, LA, LES, transposés, R, 33–34.

With these two observations Vaugelas establishes an inconsistency in the ordering of clitic pronouns. The second records a recent change in usage; while Maupas still accepted the older order, direct object (D.O.), indirect object (I.O.) (*le, vous*), it was subsequently rejected by Oudin.⁸³ Vaugelas maintains that the correct ordering is *ie vous le promets* (I.O., D.O.) and not *ie le vous promets*, although the latter was employed by ‘tous les anciens Escrivains, & plusieurs modernes encore’. He continues:

Il faut tousjours mettre le pronom relatif auprès du verbe, mesme lors qu’il y a repetition du pronom personnel, comme, *il n’est pas si meschant que vous vous le figurez*, & non pas, *que vous le vous figurez*, nonobstant la cacophonie des deux *vous*. (R, 34)

Here then Vaugelas argues that the direct object must always be next to the verb, presumably because it has a closer semantic relationship to the verb than the indirect object has. However, in the previous observation, in which, because of his demand for explicitness, Vaugelas claims that euphony is not a valid reason for omitting *le* from *le luy* as in *ie le luy face voir*,⁸⁴ he indirectly confirms an ordering in which it is the indirect object which is closer to the verb. Nevertheless, in the second of the examples in this observation the reverse order (I.O., D.O. *ie vous le monstre*) is again promoted. Part of the reason for the different treatment of the examples may be the fact that it is only in the third person that the forms for the indirect and direct objects are distinct. Yet Vaugelas himself makes no comment as to why he keeps the older order in *le luy* (cf. Old French *le li* parallel to *le vous*), but not in the other cases, and one can only assume that this inconsistency derives from the fact that he does not consider the ordering of *le luy* to be doubtful, but acknowledges the change of usage in favour of *vous le*.

(ii) *Y deuant EN, & non pas après, R, 94.*

Y, avec les pronoms, R, 95.

The interrelationship of *y* with these pronouns introduces further complications. Vaugelas maintains that the construction *menes-/menez-m’y* is unacceptable because of its ‘mauvais & ridicule son’. He is forced to resort to this subjective reason, for he notes that it is quite possible to say *menes-/menez-nous (les, l’) y*, ‘qui est la mesme construction & le mesme ordre des paroles’. *Enuoyez-y moy* and *portez-y moy* are then the acceptable forms and not *enuoyez-m’y*, *portez-m’y*, although *enuoyez-nous y*, *portez-nous y* etc. may be used in speech and perhaps in the very lowest written registers. Elsewhere in writing Vaugelas prefers the substitution of *là* for *y* (*portez-moy là*).⁸⁵

Maupas, Oudin and Vaugelas all agree that *y* must precede *en*. It appears from the Academy's comments that this ordering was already established by Vaugelas's day, the reverse order being definitely archaic.⁸⁶

(iii) *Clitic climbing*

Netteté de construction, *R*, 142; MS, fol. 65^r.

Il se vient iustificier, il vient se iustificier, *R*, 376; cf. MS, fol. 9^v.

De la netteté du stile (il ne se peut taire, ny parler), *R*, 581–82.

The question of clitic placement has been much discussed by Romance linguists in recent years.⁸⁷ Vaugelas's comments are interesting in the historical information they provide. Writing at a time when usage was still evolving, he is faced with a choice of two forms — the older one with the clitic before the finite verb, and the modern placement of the clitic before the infinitive.⁸⁸ Galet's excellent study of the problem indicates that the seventeenth century was a vital period for the realization of the change and that this caused the grammarians embarrassment.⁸⁹ Such is the position in the *Remarques*, for Vaugelas is hesitant about which usage to support, but prefers the older one (*je ne le veux pas faire*) on the grounds that it is more used. Galet's statistics for the usage of various authors suggest that this estimation was still accurate for Vaugelas's period and that the modern positioning of the pronoun only became firmly established in the second half of the century.⁹⁰ Interestingly, Vaugelas describes the ordering with clitic climbing as a *transposition*, which implies that he believes, like Coeffeteau, that the other ordering is 'plus nette & plus reguliere' (*R*, 377), perhaps because in this the syntactically related words are closer together, the object being closer to the verb to which it is related.

Vaugelas's observations support Galet's feelings about possible reasons for the change in ordering and point the way forward to modern usage. The loss of final *r* in the pronunciation of infinitives recorded by Vaugelas (*R*, 198, 437) meant that a potential ambiguity was created in such cases as *il se croit acquitter/il se croit acquitté* and it is likely that it was with the verbs *croire*, *falloir*, *savoir*, *vouloir* etc. that the older ordering first disappeared for the sake of clarity.⁹¹ A second reason for the change, the problem of co-ordinated constructions, which is likewise motivated by demands of clarity, is already considered in the *Remarques*.⁹² In cases where there are two co-ordinated infinitives Vaugelas strongly recommends the modern ordering without clitic climbing, thereby sacrificing the regularity and generality of his rule. For instance, the ordering 'sçachant avec combien d'affection elle se daignera porter pour mes interests, & embrasser le soin de mes affaires' is rejected because *daignera* has to be understood in the second clause and '*se daignera avec embrasser, ne se peut construire*' (*R*, 143). If, however, the two co-ordinated verbs are both reflexive then the version with clitic climbing is

essential to indicate that the *se* is to be taken with both infinitives (*Il ne se peut taire ny fascher*, R, 582).⁹³

While inconsistent, these observations do apparently reflect contemporary usage in its state of transition. Vaugelas does not predict correctly the way the language was to develop on this question, or rather does not influence its development.

C. Adjective placement

Vaugelas admits his inability to provide a rule for when to place the adjective before or after the substantive except in a few cases of limited application (R, 182–85). As we have already noted, his list of adjectives which are restricted to one position is lamentably incomplete in comparison with that of some of his predecessors, for example, Henri Estienne.⁹⁴ Vaugelas explains the apparent exception *Henry quatriesme* as an elliptical form of *Henry quatriesme Roy de ce nom*, but does not include the exception mentioned by Corneille of *livre troisième, chapitre sixième* etc. used when citing a book.⁹⁵ He does, however, recognize the expressions *les Blancs-manteaux* and *du blanc-mangé* as vestiges of an earlier stage of the language.

The *Remarques* bear witness to the changing usage in the positioning of adjectives. Damourette and Pichon provide rough statistics for the relative frequency of the different positions of the adjective from analysis of the earliest texts on. They point to the seventeenth century as the crucial period for the change to a majority of adjectives being post-posed.⁹⁶ Whereas in the manuscript Vaugelas prefers the pre-nominal position for the adjective, because this gives greater cohesion to the sentence (MS, fol. 5^v), in the published text he argues that modern authors favour the post-posing of the adjective as the more natural and more commonly used order. His own advice is to let the ear judge which ordering sounds more pleasing and to follow the example of the most famous writers. Vaugelas does not therefore attempt to attach any difference of semantic nuance to the different positions.

At the end of the observation Vaugelas considers the question of the correct ordering when a noun has both an adjective modifying it and a dependent genitive. From his discussion of the correct placing for a dependent genitive (see above, p. 114) one might expect him to be in total agreement with those who maintain that the adjective must be placed before the noun so that the genitive is not separated from its head noun ('elle estoit mortelle ennemie d'Agrippine'). But, while accepting this as the more usual and clearer construction, he argues that equally one can say 'fort bien, & avec grace', *vne multitude infinie de monde* or *les peuples les plus farouches, & les plus indomtables de la terre* (R, 185).

The observation *Epithete mal placé* (R, 156–57) considers how adjectives should be ordered when there are two modifying the same noun. Both the

printed text and the manuscript suggest that Vaugelas is trying to guide rather than record usage, for he claims that there are very few ‘qui ne pechent’ on this matter (MS, fol. 26^r). Vaugelas gives the rule that ‘jamais il ne faut mettre le substantif entre les deux adjectifs’ preferring ‘en cette solitude si belle, & si propre à la contemplation’ to ‘en cette belle solitude, & si propre à la contemplation’.⁹⁷ The second order may sometimes have ‘beaucoup de grace & de force’, but is rarely used. The Academy, while in accord for Vaugelas’s example, permits the not very different ‘après de si grands avantages & si heureusement remportez’.⁹⁸

D. Adverbs

The positioning of the adverb is treated in a special observation which attempts to discuss the matter in general terms (R, *461).⁹⁹ Verb and adverb are placed together for semantic reasons ‘comme inseparables dans le sens, aussi bien que dans la construction’ (R, 154), and, as we have noted, Vaugelas believes it is quite reasonable that the adverb should be placed after the verb.¹⁰⁰ In the example from Malherbe (MS, fol. 37^r) ‘comme l’on vit que presque leurs propositions n’estoient que celles mesmes qu’ils auoient faites à Rome’ (R, *461), Vaugelas asserts that, if used, *presque* must be placed immediately after *n’estoient* despite the cacophony of the two *que*; *à peu pres* may be substituted to avoid this. Ambiguity may arise if an adverb is placed between two words both of which it can modify as in ‘außi veux-ie bien particulièrement traiter . . .’ (R, 587) although from the general principle stated above that the adverb follows the verb we would expect it to go with *veux-ie*. To indicate that *bien* should be taken with *particulièrement* and not *veux-ie*, the ordering ‘außi veux ie traiter bien particulièrement’ must be used.

E. Negative Particles

Vaugelas is influential in establishing the rule for the placing of the negative particles *ne pas*, *ne point* before an infinitive (R, 409). The manuscript simply notes that Coeffeteau tended to place the two halves around the infinitive (MS, fol. 69^r); by the *Remarques* Vaugelas favours the modern practice as the more elegant construction, although no reason for the decision is offered.

F. Relative Clauses

Antecedents and relatives must of course be placed as close as possible to each other. Vaugelas outlines how the French language affords a useful means of avoiding ambiguity when the relative pronoun does not apply to the nearest noun in *lequel*, *laquelle*, providing that the two possible nominal antecedents

are of different genders (*R*, 115–18). In the observation *Arrangement de mots* (*R*, 481–84) Vaugelas uses an example from Malherbe (*MS*, fol. 35^r), ‘voicy pour vne seconde injure, la perte qu’avecque vous, ou plustost avecque toute la France, j’ay faite de Monsieur, &c.’ to stress the importance of placing the verb of the relative clause close to the object pronoun *que*. The placing of the direct object close to the verb is to be given precedence over the placing of the dependent genitive close to its head noun:

tant parce que le verbe qui est construit avec le pronom relatif en l’accusatif, comme celui-cy, veut estre le plus proche du pronom qu’il se peut, que parce qu’il y auoit plusieurs mots sans verbe, en quoy consiste vn des principaux vices de l’arrangement. (*R*, 482)¹⁰¹

The correct placing of a relative clause within a period is essential because if wrongly inserted it can disrupt the construction and cause ambiguity (*R*, 588). The example ‘l’Orateur arriue à sa fin, qui est de persuader, d’une façon toute particuliere’, typical of the period, is used as an illustration. The adverbial expression which is intended to modify the verb of the main clause could incorrectly be taken to apply to *persuader*. Vaugelas dismisses the efficacy of the comma for removing the ambiguity (*R*, 588). The role of punctuation is thus reduced to a minimum by Vaugelas and he seems to ignore the role of intonation and context in the spoken language which in practice would severely limit the possibility of incomprehension.

G. Temporal Clauses

Vaugelas gives no justification for his preference for *comme le Roy fut arriué, il commanda* over *le Roy, comme il fut arriué, commanda* (*R*, *457; *MS*, fol. 15^r) contrary to the opinion of many of his contemporaries. We can only surmise that he prefers one clause to be fully completed before the next is begun.¹⁰² The objection to the second example does not seem to be that nothing should be inserted between subject and main verb, for Vaugelas is quite willing to accept *Le Roy estant arriué commanda* which he considers ‘beaucoup plus Française’ than the version with the *comme* clause. In fact the use of the participle clause seems rather to be a latinized construction of the sort especially favoured by sixteenth-century writers.

H. Summary

Despite the vague formulation of some of his ideas (for example, that the verb should be well placed in the middle of the sentence (*R*, 482), that sentences should not be interrupted by ‘longues & frequentes parentheses’ (*R*, 592) or be overloaded with complements (*R*, 581, 584)), Vaugelas does have a feel for the emerging trend of French word order towards a logical and balanced

sentence.¹⁰³ He therefore favours a topic-comment structure in which all the relationships are made explicit and the ideas expressed in their 'natural' order. Examination of some of the observations not included in the *Remarques* illustrate his growing reluctance to tolerate transposition and his tendency towards prescription. For instance, the *nouvelle remarque* entitled *Construction irrégulière* (NR, 132) views the violation of the normal word order as a beauty of the language, but in general in the *Remarques* deviations from the normal word order are severely censured. Although in theory Vaugelas advocates that the word order in writing should mirror that of speech, in practice he makes higher demands on written style, and the interaction of word order and prosodic features in the spoken language is ignored.

CHAPTER 8

VOCABULARY AND MEANING

I. INTRODUCTION

In his attitude to vocabulary and meaning Vaugelas stands at a crossroads: gone is the pressing desire to prove the *richesse* of French vis-à-vis Latin and Italian by displaying the resources of the language, whether dialectal, technical or archaic, by enriching the stock of words and by illustrating the wealth of the lexicon in the use of synonyms and images.¹ Yet Vaugelas has not the rather inflexible attitude to neologisms and synonyms of, for instance, Bouhours or indeed Malherbe, nor is he so concerned to prune the language.² Vaugelas still tolerates neologisms provided they are well-formed and fill a semantic gap, and he even permits the lexicalization of new concepts. He excludes dialectal and technical terms and words considered *bas* from good usage, but expresses regret at the loss of a useful word from the vocabulary stock (e.g. *magnifier*, *partant*).³ He acknowledges the existence of polysemy and suggests the stylistic value of a moderate use of synonyms. Yet already many of his observations are devoted to differentiating semantically or etymologically related words and to clarifying meanings, foreshadowing the Classical insistence on the *mot juste*.

Vaugelas's desire to restrict the lexical stock seems to derive from his notion of successful communication: employing the word the hearer himself would have chosen. This implies identity of the speaker's active and passive knowledge of vocabulary. The banning of words deemed dialectal, technical, *bas*, too new or too old⁴ is a safety measure to ensure that the word employed is not one the hearer has not previously met. Technical terms are acceptable in their own sphere, since they will be understood by specialists (*R*, IX, 3), and words which have entered the common stock equally afford no problems of comprehension (e.g. *appareiller*, *R*, 323).⁵

The *Précieuses'* fastidious attitude to vocabulary and their dislike of concrete terms is alluded to, but not generally adopted. Vaugelas is obliged to accept, albeit reluctantly, the disfavour of *face* and *poitrine* (*R*, 60) because of their other associations, but he dismisses a similar argument in the observation on *dependre* (*R*, 248). Concrete and abstract terms alike are discussed (*fureur*, *furie*, *R*, 446–47; *terroir*, *terrein*, *territoire*, *R*, 74–75).

There is some evidence that Vaugelas is aware that vocabulary is structured, although only the most general patterns are detected. This awareness may

derive from his work on the Academy dictionary (1694) which is not arranged in purely alphabetical order, but pays attention to morphological structure.⁶ Vaugelas expects words belonging to the same family to behave consistently (e.g. *heros*, *heroïne*, *heroïque*, *R*, 1–3) and therefore points to any asymmetry sanctioned by usage (*particulier*, *-arité*, *R*, 46–47). He relies on proportional relationships to support a neologism in a way echoed much later by Saussure:⁷ *curieux: curiosité:: serieux: seriosité* (*R*, 255). Nevertheless, he is conscious that regular patterning is not a feature of all morphological relationships, and stresses that there is not necessarily any correlation between the behaviour of simple and compound forms (e.g. *preuit*, *preueut*, *R*, 370–71).

II. MEANING

Certain observations suggest that Vaugelas believes there to be some consistent relationship between the meaning suggested by the morphology of a word or composition of a phrase and the conceptual content, although he admits that it is not unusual for usage to distort this (*R*, 519). It is against reason that, over fifty years before, the expression *qu'ainsi ne soit* acquired a *ne* since it conveys no negative meaning; nevertheless, French contains 'certaines façons de parler, qui semblent dire tout le contraire de ce qu'on leur fait signifier' (*R*, 557). He suggests that the reason why *conjurateur* is (in his view, wrongly) preferred to *conjuré* is that it has an active form (*R*, 518–19) and considers it necessary to define *parricide* since its meaning is not that implied by its form (*R*, 338–39).⁸

What then does Vaugelas think meaning is? He acknowledges semantic structure, relying on speakers' ability to recognize synonyms and antonyms, words with related or totally different meanings, for instance, in the elaboration of his 'synonym rule'.⁹ When a word is defined in the *Remarques* it is often given a negative definition, Vaugelas telling us how its meaning differs from that of related words (*securité*, *R*, 43–44). He does not, however, restrict his treatment of meaning to conceptual or referential meaning. He is concerned with at least five of the seven types of meaning listed by Leech:¹⁰ the definition of *rais* is clearly referential (*R*, 192), connotative meaning is invoked in the observation on *horrible* and *effroyable* (*R*, 362–63), reflected meaning is suggested as a cause for the demise of *poitrine* and *face* (*R*, 60), questions of collocative meaning are raised in the discussion of the acceptability of the expression *s'immoler à la risée publique* (*R*, 120–23) and Vaugelas's interest in social meaning is obvious (*galant*, *R*, 476–78). He admits that a word may have a concrete and a figurative meaning (*parallele*, *R*, 106) and occasionally uses metaphors himself,¹¹ but he is wary of metaphorical explanations of word meaning, dismissing the explanation offered for the origin of the meaning of *propreté* as 'trop subtil, & trop recherché' (*R*, 6).

A. *Lexical Ambiguity: Polysemy and Homophony*

Vaugelas is rather inconsistent in his attitude towards lexical ambiguity. Mok suggests that part of the problem is that Vaugelas does not differentiate between the lexical ambiguity depending on polysemy and that stemming from homophony. As Mok notes, if he had, we might expect him to allow the first, but condemn the second.¹² This would then explain why the potential ambiguity of *dependre* is tolerated (R, 247), but condemned in the case of the homonyms *dautant que* and *d'autant que* (R, 326). The difficulty, however, of establishing a clear demarcation between polysemy and homophony is well-known.¹³ Moreover, Vaugelas is quite happy with the homophony of *croyance* and *creance* and even predicts, albeit incorrectly, that they will be spelt the same in the near future (R, 542). The existence of polysemy is tacitly assumed (*galant, galamment*, R, 476–78) and defended as a usual feature of most languages (R, 5). Yet while accepting that it would be virtually impossible to eliminate all instances of polysemy, Vaugelas apparently does not consider polysemy to be ideal.¹⁴ The avoidance of ambiguity is taken into account when evaluating a new word (*exaction*, R, 239), so that a new word is required to have one clear meaning. Lexical ambiguity may contribute to the demise of a word (*taxer*, R, 221; *là où*, R, 45–46), although Vaugelas adds that he considers this unjust. However, as we shall see below, avoidance of possible lexical ambiguity does not infallibly prevent the extension of the meaning of an existing lexical item when this is sanctioned by usage (*'Songer' pour 'penser'*, R, 85). Vaugelas therefore vacillates in his opinion of lexical ambiguity from complete acceptance to total rejection.

B. *Synonyms*

It is clear that Vaugelas believes in the existence of synonyms, for, as we have seen, the notion is used as the basis of a series of syntactic rules. However, he does not define synonyms nor explicitly question whether there are indeed true synonyms, but is simply concerned with how and when they may be used. For this purpose he apparently has in mind a general definition of synonyms such as that articulated in the 1694 Academy dictionary: 'qui a mesme signification qu'un autre mot'. Yet when he is differentiating semantically related words this definition will not suffice, and his idea of synonyms is probably closer to the qualified definition found in the Preface of the Academy dictionary:

Sur quoy on croit devoir avertir que le Synonyme ne respond pas tousjours exactement à la signification du mot dont il est Synonyme, & qu'ainsi ils ne doivent pas estre employez indifferemment l'un pour l'autre.

Vaugelas deals with the question of synonyms at length in the *Remarques* (R, *493–99). Unlike many of his contemporaries and seventeenth-century

successors, Vaugelas is in favour of the use of synonyms for he believes they serve stylistically as *ornements*, ‘comme vn second coup de pinceau qui acheue l’image’, and also aid clarity and communication. He adds the proviso, however, that the author’s discretion must be exercised and the technique not overworked: in general, synonym pairs are best positioned at the end of the phrase where they do not interrupt the sense. Moreover, *synonimes des phrases* are not recommended since the length of the repetition impedes comprehension at a point when the reader is eager to know what happens next. Examples of words considered synonymous are scattered throughout the *Remarques* (e.g. *aimer & cherir* (R, 215); *ruses & artifices* (R, 51); *orgueil & vanité* (R, 217)).¹⁵ The citation of *clemence & douceur* as synonyms (R, 219) suggests that Vaugelas counts as synonyms words which are synonymous in one of their meanings or only in certain contexts.

Fuchs is concerned about the discrepancy between Vaugelas’s theory of synonyms as articulated in the observation of that name and his predilection for differentiating the meaning of related words or near-synonyms.¹⁶ It is true that a large number of observations are concerned with dividing a semantic field between two lexical items, but this does not necessarily affect his attitude to synonyms. Vaugelas’s stance may alter according to whether he is the grammarian and lexicographer aiming to provide each word with a precise meaning and marking all the nuances and potential differences between semantically related words, or Vaugelas the translator and stylist who realizes that the treatment of certain words as synonyms in particular contexts may be necessary to convey an idea successfully or to vary the style (e.g. *parent & amy* (R, *477–78); ‘parce qu’icy *hautes & excellentes*, sont comme synonymes’ (R, *479)).¹⁷ Elsewhere, where precision is crucial, the differences rather than the similarities may be stressed: *incendie* and *embrasement* may be treated as synonyms with the latter placed first as the more familiar, or a slight difference of meaning may be emphasized if necessary (R, 126–27). The majority of examples of synonyms in the *Remarques* are found in the formulation and applications of the synonym rule; this demands a simple division of the lexicon into like and unlike in order to explain certain *syntactic* facts. Where the *semantic* is focused on, for instance in a definition, slight distinctions of emphasis and of connotation become important.

The inclusion of a large number of observations in which related words are distinguished foreshadows the care given in the following century to defining and restricting the meaning of words when the first dictionary of synonyms appeared.¹⁸ Ironically, as we have seen in Chapter 3, Vaugelas’s own usage, especially of semi-technical terms, is negligent. If Vaugelas’s usage is typical of the period, then it is unlikely that the majority of people used words with great precision, and this would explain the inclusion of some rather basic observations (*Temperature, temperament* (R, 74); *Terroir, terrain, territoire*

(*R*, 74–75)). The words differentiated may have a common etymon (*chaire*, *chaize*, *R*, 441), display formal (*consommer*, *consumer*, *R*, 300–02) or semantic (*soupçonneux*, *suspect*, *R*, 401) proximity, or belong to different registers (*matinier* is archaic except in the set expression *l'Estoile matinere*, *R*, 151–52). Vaugelas stresses the difficulty of formulating nuances of meaning and argues that the reader must learn to appreciate the distinctions for himself by noting the contexts in which each word is used by good authors (*R*, 447). This then perhaps furnishes some evidence to support Odette de Mourgues's contention that far from words having a precise and restricted meaning in Classical literature, they are vague, general, abstract and semantically unstable. Their precision of meaning comes from their careful placing in the context of a network of values which restricts their meaning.¹⁹

C. Extension and Restriction of Meaning

Vaugelas's desire to fix the meaning of words to ensure ease of comprehension means that often French words are assigned a restricted meaning, for example, *banquet* (*R*, 466–67) is restricted to usage in the religious sphere. Cases where the meaning of a word has been or is being extended are most often criticized (e.g. *proches* for *parens*, *R*, 94). One might have thought that the extension of meaning as a way of creating new words without adding to the lexical stock and avoiding long and clumsy derivatives would have appealed to the seventeenth-century taste for economy and brevity, but the preference for monosemy seems to outweigh other considerations. The extreme case of this preference for one form — one meaning is that of *parallele*, for which Vaugelas recommends different spellings for the concrete and figurative meanings (*R*, 106–08). He is also against the extension of the meaning of words through giving a different value to the suffix (*faisable*, *R*, 490; *pardonnable*, *R*, 566–67). Yet where semantic extensions have been confirmed in usage, they must be accepted (*songer* for *penser*, *R*, 85; *se resouuenir* for *considerer* or *songer*, *R*, 111–12).

III. NEOLOGISMS AND DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

Vaugelas's attitude to neologisms is more flexible than many commentators, aligning him with later grammarians, allow.²⁰ Various statements in the *Remarques* lead to the mistaken belief that Vaugelas condemns all neologisms (e.g. 'il n'est iamais permis de faire de nouveaux mots' (*R*, 569)), but the ban only applies to coined words created *ex nihilo*, which are virtually unknown in language. Vaugelas allows much greater freedom in the creation of derivatives (*R*, xi). He is critical of the neologisms of Ronsard and Du Vair and of the use of over-new words (*R*, 569), but his experience as a translator must have shown

him that new words are occasionally essential, and he is fully aware of the changing nature of the lexicon (R, x, 1). Strict conditions are imposed on neologisms, of which the first two are similar to those given by the present-day linguists, Carroll and Tanenhaus.²¹ Firstly, the new word must fill a semantic gap. Vaugelas explains that *transfuge* has been successful because ‘nous n’en auions point en nostre langue, qui exprimast ce qu’il veut dire’ (R, 449) and because it is economical in comparison to employing a paraphrase as was previously necessary. Secondly, there is an implied hierarchy of preferences of ways of creating new words, similar to Carroll and Tanenhaus’s minimax principle or principle of least effort. Coined forms are totally excluded, compounds are hardly mentioned, but derived forms are favoured and change of category is acknowledged, although not strongly encouraged. Surprisingly, borrowings are tolerated even though they come from outside the system. The third condition is placed on the creator of new words. While reluctant to admit that anyone has the right to produce them, if this falls to anyone, it must be the King, a favourite or a prominent Minister (R, xi), since these people are likely to be copied and the word will therefore quickly gain currency.²² Since one risks committing a *barbarisme* by using a new word, it must be introduced carefully. In the case of *insidieux* Vaugelas suggests that while in its infancy it should be preceded by a phrase such as ‘s’il faut vser de ce mot’, ‘s’il faut ainsi dire’ (R, 40–41). On the other hand, he recommends that his readers should not use *seriosité* until it is well-established: ‘laissons faire les plus hardis, qui nous frayeront le chemin’ (R, 255).

Vaugelas allows greater freedom for new phrases provided they do not closely resemble an already existing one (*éleuer les yeux vers le ciel*, R, ix, 3; cf. 569). In condemning lexical contamination, he is making a contextual point: while *élever* may be substituted for *lever* in some situations, it is not appropriate here. He also distinguishes between the spoken and written registers, noting that spontaneous creations may occur in speech, especially if said in jest:

car en parlant on sçait bien qu’il y a de certains mots que l’on peut former sur le champ, comme *brusqueté*, *inaction*, *impolitesse*, & d’ordinaire les verbaux qui terminent en *ent* comme *criement*, *pleurement*, *ronflement*, & encore n’est-ce qu’en raillerie. (R, 569)²³

Age also seems to be an important factor for Vaugelas in determining the acceptability of a formation; it is often sixteenth-century neologisms that are criticized. *Ambitionner* formed at the end of the sixteenth century is rejected, whereas the fourteenth-century creations, *affectionner*, *cautionner*, *proportionner* are accepted, despite the similarity of their formation. This is not to say that Vaugelas’s datings are always reliable. Rey indicates that, for instance, *insidieux*, which Vaugelas thinks Malherbe used first, is already found in Cotgrave’s dictionary, *transfuge*, termed ‘nouveau’, dates from the fourteenth century, and *pudeur*, attributed to Desportes, is already found in Montaigne.²⁴ However, as

Rey maintains, what is important is what Vaugelas and his contemporaries considered new and Vaugelas's estimation of this is confirmed by contemporary dictionaries. Table 9 compares the views of Nicot, Richelet, Furetière and the Academy on fourteen of the neologisms mentioned by Vaugelas.²⁵

TABLE 9. Neologisms

	NICOT (1609)*	RICHELET (1680)	FURETIÈRE (1690)	ACADEMY (1694)
<i>Insidieux</i> (R, 39)	✓	defined but 'pas reçu'	vieux mot escorché du Latin	style soustenu & poésie
<i>Securité</i> (R, 43)	—	same definition 'pas encore établi'	✓	✓
<i>Inuectiuer</i> (R, 119) (INVECTIVE)		†	✓	✓
<i>Intrigue</i> (R, 126)	—	✓	✓	✓
<i>Incendie</i> (R, 126)	—	✓ (à dessein)	✓ (grand feu)	✓ (grand embrasement)
<i>Conioncture</i> (R, 212)	—	✓ (Vaug)	✓	✓
<i>Feliciter</i> (R, 213)	—	✓	✓	✓
<i>Exactitude</i> (R, 239)	—	✓	✓	✓
<i>Seriosité</i> (R, 254)	—	pas établi-sérieux	✓ + sérieux	sérieux
<i>Faire piece</i> (R, 316)	—	†*	✓	✓
<i>Transfuge</i> (R, 448)	—	✓ (Vaug)	✓	✓
<i>Deuouloir</i> (R, 490)	—	pas en usage (Vaug)	—	—
<i>Pudeur</i> (R, 537) (PUDIQUE)		✓	✓	✓
<i>Insulter</i> (R, 537)	—	✓ (Vaug)	✓	✓

* Spelt NICOD on the title page.

KEY † only for comedy, burlesque, satire.

†* only when used figuratively in comedy, burlesque, satire.

Vaugelas, unlike many of his successors, has no difficulty in allowing neologisms which denote a new concept (*intrigue*, R, 126; *insidieux*, R, 39–41; *transfuge*, R, 448–49) and stresses the uniqueness of the meaning of the new words when introducing them (*securité*, R, 43–44). Since he is not in favour of coining new words, these are often borrowings. Neologisms providing a new means of expressing a concept already denoted by a term in the language are often convenient in replacing a cumbersome paraphrase (e.g. *inuectiuer* = *faire des inuectives*, R, 119).²⁶ Usually they are formed by derivation.

A. Change of Category

As we have already noted, Vaugelas acknowledges change of category as a means of creating a new word (R, 487–88). He is not, however, in favour of the

substantivization of *serieux* (R, 254–56), nor of *superbe* (R, 31), perhaps because in the case of new words he prefers each meaning to be expressed by a distinct form.

B. Derivation

Vaugelas favours derivation as the means of accommodating changes in the lexicon. However, of all possible formations, only a few manage to pass through the socio-linguistic filter and become established in good usage. Despite the fact that the formation *inuectiuier* conforms to a paradigm, it is not acceptable because it has not penetrated good usage ‘& il n’est pas permis de faire des verbes à sa fantaisie, tirez & formez des substantifs’ (R, 119). Well-formedness is therefore a prerequisite, but not a guarantee of success. For example, in addition, Vaugelas requires that new words should sound pleasant. Of *insidieux*, he writes: ‘il est beau & doux à l’oreille, ce qui me fait augurer qu’il se pourra établir’ (R, 40).

The examples of prefixation in the *Remarques* are mainly additions to a verbal base.²⁷ Prefixation is discussed primarily in two *remarques*, *Desbarquer*, *desembarquer* (R, 467–68) and *Deuouloir* (R, 490–92). Both illustrate Vaugelas’s primary concern with the formations as words, with their semantic aspect rather than with the derivational processes. Indeed, the first of these observations suggests that Vaugelas was not at all sure about the processes involved in the formations, apparently starting from the false supposition that all the negatives are derived from their positive counterparts (convenient semantically). Whereas this is probably the case for *desembarquer*, *desemparer*, *desenyurer*, *desennuyer* and *desensorceler*, some of the others mentioned are independent developments, produced in parallel with the forms beginning with *em-* or *en-* (e.g. *engager/degager* (*gage*→*gager*→*degager*); *embrouïller/desbrouïller*; *empaqueter/despaqueter*). He makes no mention of parasynthetic formation which would account for *emmancher*, *encourager*, *descourager*. Some of the cases are, as Vaugelas suggests, examples of simplification (*empestrer*, *despestrer*, *embarrasser*, *desbarrasser*). Unfortunately, however, he has grouped a number of different processes together, giving a false impression of the regularity of the simplification process.²⁸

Suffixation usually entails a change of syntactic category. Where several derived forms are possible, Vaugelas generally follows the prevailing seventeenth-century tendency to select one as the preferred form (e.g. *esc-lauage*, *esclautude*, R, 403–04), or to distinguish the possibilities semantically or chronologically (*matineux*, *matinal*, *matinier*, R, 151–52). Gone then is the multiplicity of forms providing variety and flexibility so typical of the Old and Middle French periods. Yet Vaugelas does still allow both *descouuerte* and *descouverture* (R, 487), showing himself to be not entirely inflexible.

It has already been mentioned that analogical formations are a support to new words and help to ensure their establishment. Two possible formations

may be supported by two different series of related words (e.g. *caniculier* and *caniculaire*, *R*, 360–61). There is no way of predicting which form will survive and Vaugelas is quite justified in invoking usage in such cases. Again, whereas in the case of *esclavage* and *esclauitude* Vaugelas prefers *esclavage* formed with the popular suffix if it is necessary to use one of them (*R*, 403–04), in the case of *exactitude* and *exacteté*, he favours the latinism and argues that *exactitude* only became established ('que j'ay veu naistre comme vn monstre') because it appeared first (*R*, 239–40).²⁹

C. Composition

Virtually no mention is made in the *Remarques* of composition, suggesting that this means of creating new words was little exploited in Vaugelas's time. Moreover, Vaugelas prefers the phrase *les pieds nuds* to the compound *nupieds* (*R*, 66). The gender of compounds is mentioned in the observation entitled *Sur le minuit*, in which Vaugelas maintains that the compound has the gender of the final noun (*R*, 78–79).³⁰

D. Borrowings

Borrowings differ from the other sources of neologism in that the material comes from outside the particular linguistic system. Vaugelas has surprisingly little to say about borrowings from foreign languages,³¹ especially if the source language is Latin or Greek which, because of the large number of learned borrowings made from the fourteenth century on and particularly in the sixteenth century, barely seem foreign to him and can easily establish themselves, particularly if they fill a conceptual gap (e.g. *transfuge*, *R*, 448–49). While a word like *insidieux* is completely unmotivated for someone without a classical background, it can penetrate good usage provided it is properly introduced (*R*, 39–41). We must assume that Vaugelas had no objections to Greek borrowings since he merely discusses how they should be spelt and pronounced in French (*R*, 202–09). Surprisingly, no comment is made about Italian loan words either. It is true that by Vaugelas's time the worst excesses of the sixteenth-century fashion for borrowing from Italian had been removed owing to the work of Henri Estienne³² and the natural processes of the language. Nevertheless, we might have expected some warning about over-zealous borrowing or affectation. Vaugelas approves of the three Italian loan borrowings which he only introduces in order to clarify details of spelling or pronunciation (*intrigue*, *R*, 126, *incognito*, *R*, 464–65) or to point to the asymmetry between the simple native and compound borrowed word (*conjoncture/jointure*, *R*, 212–13). *A l'improuiste* is preferred to the native *à l'impourueu* (*R*, 192) and of the two Italian calques mentioned *jamais plus* is accepted (*R*, 171), but *vers où* is censured because it disturbs the normal word order of French and violates syntactic collocation rules (*R*, 355).

IV. ARCHAISMS

Using an archaism is considered another means of committing a *barbarisme*. In this Vaugelas is quite typical of his age: for instance, archaisms are relegated to the Academy's dictionary of arts and sciences.³³ Marzys has provided thorough documentation of the fate of words labelled archaic by Vaugelas through examination of Littré and *Petit Robert*, and concludes that the results, rather than reflecting on the accuracy of Vaugelas's records, illustrate the differing attitudes to vocabulary in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.³⁴ Comparison with the entries in the dictionaries of Nicot, Richelet, Furetière and the Academy shows that while Vaugelas was not so accurate in his prediction of the demise of certain words as in his predictions for neologisms, he nevertheless generally mirrored contemporary feeling about which terms were falling out of use.³⁵ Whereas the majority of them (13) appear in Nicot, many of them have only qualified currency by the time of the publication of the Academy dictionary less than fifty years later (Table 10).

TABLE 10. Archaisms

	NICOT (1609)	RICHELET (1680)	FURETIÈRE (1690)	ACADEMY (1694)
<i>Magnifier</i> (R, 128)	✓	vx (Vaug)	vx	✓ (principalement de Dieu)
<i>Maint</i> (R, 151)	✓	†vx	poétique (only burlesque)	only in certain poetry
<i>Meshuy</i> (R, 171)	✓	—	✓	✓
<i>Deuers</i> (R, 172)	✓	vieilli, bas (Vaug)	—	—
<i>Partant</i> (R, 225)	✓	some say old, but still used	1) par consequent, donc 2) pourveu que — vieillit	—
<i>Souloit</i> (R, 241)	✓	vx (Vaug)	vx	vx (only really used in imperfect)
<i>Au demeurant</i> (R, 329)	✓	—	✓ (quotes Marot)	vx
<i>Cupidité</i> (R, 339)	✓	restricted to 'téologie [sic] & piété'	✓	✓
<i>Bailler</i> (R, 349)	✓	restricted usage	less in usage than <i>donner</i>	vieillit
<i>Corriual</i> (R, 357)	—	Vaug	vx	vx
<i>Complaintes</i> (R, 357)	✓	vx	vieillit, specialized	—
<i>Accoustumance</i> (R, 383)	✓	—	✓	✓
<i>Vouloir</i> (R, 442)	✓	poétique (Vaug)	✓	✓
<i>Quantesfois</i> (R, 480)	✓	—	vx (Malherbe)	—

KEY † only for comedy, burlesque, satire.

†* only when used figuratively in comedy, burlesque, satire.

CHAPTER 9

GRAMMAR AND STYLE: VAUGELAS'S IDEALS FOR LANGUAGE USAGE

To conclude this section, I want to return briefly to the question of what, if any, guiding principle lies behind Vaugelas's pronouncements in the *Remarques*. If we look for a response to this question in terms of a precise linguistic theory or definite grammatical stance, we will undoubtedly be disappointed, as many previous critics have been, for Vaugelas's *Remarques* lack the systematic methodology of a more formal grammar such as Chiflet's. The random presentation of the observations seems almost inevitably to lead to inconsistencies and contradictions in Vaugelas's comments and itself suggests that Vaugelas also looked to another tradition. Yet we must be equally careful not simply to dismiss the *Remarques* from any assessment of the history of grammatical writing in France, for I hope the previous chapters have shown that there is a core of sound grammatical comment containing many valuable insights into the behaviour of French which has influenced the subsequent development of the language. In order to do full justice to the work, we must see what complements or underlies this core of linguistic content. Perhaps the key to understanding Vaugelas's pronouncements can be found by pointing to the far more subjective and intangible goal of the work, the search for perfection, which suggests the close relationship between grammar and stylistics in the *Remarques*, the penetration of rhetorical concerns into the grammatical content. We have already seen much evidence for classifying Vaugelas's work as a rhetorically orientated grammar in the tradition of Quintilian and Varro, notably in the discussion of his ideals for language usage in Chapter 3, where we noted the juxtaposition of the more grammatical notions of *pureté* and *netteté* alongside the more stylistic qualities, *elegance*, *douceur*, *majesté*, *briefueté*, *propriété*, *force*, *nombre* and *naïfueté*. Both Davidson and Scaglione point out how the list of these qualities at the end of the Preface follows the traditional order running from correctness through elegance to rhythm (*R*, xv, 3).¹ Even *barbarismes* and *solecismes*, which infringe the demands of *pureté* and *netteté*, can become figures of style in Vaugelas's eyes if they have obtained the guarantee of good authors. We observed in Chapter 7 how such subjective criteria as *douceur* or euphony may form the basis of a linguistic judgement and how the rhetorical devices such as *syllepse*, *ellipse*, *pleonasmie*

and *hyperbate* can be used to explain grammatical anomalies. The title of the observation *Certaine Reigle pour vne plus grande netteté, ou douceur de stile* (R, 528) is indicative of this merging of the syntactic and stylistic and Vaugelas's tendency to blur the distinction between obligatory and optional rules.² Such is Vaugelas's desire for perfection that any word, expression or construction deemed inferior to another may as well not exist at all in his opinion:

On dira que c'est vn raffinement de peu d'importance, mais puis qu'il ne couste pas plus de le mettre d'une façon que d'autre, pourquoy choisir la plus mauuaise, & celle qui sans doute blessera vne oreille tant soit peu delicate, encore que bien souuent celuy qui est choqué de semblables choses, ne sçache pas pourquoy, ny d'où cela vient. (R, 528)

Again, one might view the changes made between the Arsenal manuscript and the published observations as stemming from a new and sharpened perception of what constitutes a perfect use of language. For instance, whereas higher demands are placed on the written language in the manuscript, in the *Remarques*, in theory at least, the same conditions are placed on the corresponding registers of both the written and spoken languages, Vaugelas being anxious to please his reader or listener in all situations. Indeed, the close relationship between grammar and style in many of the observations is mirrored in the revisions in Vaugelas's own use of language in formulating the manuscript comments and the final versions. Hand-in-hand with the reworking and amending of the grammatical content of the observations goes a modification of Vaugelas's style and a toning down of the youthful and vigorous formulations of the manuscript to avoid giving any offence to the sensitive ears of courtiers and women. Strong, forceful expressions, similes, parallels, metaphors and comparisons are therefore frequently eliminated before publication. Typical of his earlier usage is the way fads about language are compared to aversions for various items of food (MS, fol. 34^v), or the way the effect of adding *car* to a confused sentence is described in the following vivid terms: 'Il m'a semblé que c'estoit un flambeau que ie uenois d'allumer qui chassoit les tenebres et esclairoit toute la page' (MS, fol. 33^r). In addition, Vaugelas's style becomes less personal in the *Remarques*, with, for example, the first person singular personal pronoun being less used in an attempt to present the self-effacing attitude worthy of the *honnête homme*, and to lend a more objective air to his pronouncements, even when they may be based on a rather subjective judgement. The style of the published *Remarques* is therefore given extra care and polish, and a more mature and elegant tone is adopted in place of the more youthful style of the manuscript. The reworking of the grammatical pronouncements and the polishing of his own style are thus complementary facets of the process of elaborating what came to be known as the Classical style.

A quotation from the *Registres* of the Academy for 18 January 1638 cited by Pellisson and d'Olivet lends additional support to our conclusion about the blending of the grammatical and the stylistic in the *Remarques*, for it suggests that Vaugelas himself viewed the observations as embracing grammar, lexicography and stylistics. According to this record, Vaugelas divided his observations into three types:

La première, qui appartenoit proprement au Dictionnaire, ne regardant que les mots simples; la seconde, pour la construction, qui appartenoit à la Grammaire; la troisième, consistant en certaines règles, qui n'étoient pas proprement du ressort du Dictionnaire ni de la Grammaire, parce qu'elles ne regardoient ni le barbarisme ni le solecisme, les deux matières sur lesquelles la Grammaire et le Dictionnaire emploient toute l'étendue de leur juridiction, qui néanmoins, disoit-il, étoient très-nécessaires pour la netteté, l'ornement, la grâce, l'élégance et la politesse du style, et d'autant plus nécessaires, qu'il y avoit moins de personnes qui le sussent que de ceux qui savent écrire sans barbarisme et sans solécisme, desquels un style peut être affranchi, et ne laisser pas d'être extrêmement imparfait.³

How should we therefore classify the *Remarques*? Evidently the work has close affinities with rhetorics and courtesy books alike, and Vaugelas's pronouncements often seem to indicate more than what is merely correct and to present what is stylistically felicitous, to look beyond grammar to rhetoric, that branch of learning considered as the culmination of grammatical studies.⁴ Yet the observations only cover a fraction of the scope of a rhetoric and never transcend the bounds of the grammatical completely, since for Vaugelas there is no clear distinction between what is 'grammatical' and what is 'perfect' in the ideal for language usage which he promotes. In short, the work falls predominant within the scope of grammatical writing, but its rhetorical orientation ensures that it may be used to form the basis of an eloquent usage of French. The grounds for this classification will, I trust, become clearer in Part II when we see how, when Vaugelas himself acted as translator and stylist, he sometimes allowed himself greater flexibility than when speaking in his role as grammarian in the theoretical pronouncements of the *Remarques*.

PART II

VAUGELAS THE TRANSLATOR

CHAPTER 10

GRAMMAR AND TRANSLATION: THE DEVELOPMENT OF VAUGELAS'S THEORY OF TRANSLATION

I. INTRODUCTION

The art of grammar and the art of translation were viewed as complementary in the seventeenth century. When Malherbe was asked by his friends to produce a grammar of French, he referred them to his translations which he considered the best practical illustration of his ideas on French usage.¹ It is therefore important to see Vaugelas's translations as being intrinsically linked with his pronouncements on the language in the *Remarques*.

The two published translations by Vaugelas stand at either end of his adult career. The first, a translation of Cristóbal de Fonseca's *Discursos para todos los Evangelios de la Quaresma* (Madrid, 1614), appeared virtually unnoticed in 1615. In 1612 Vaugelas had visited Spain as interpreter for the Duc de Mayenne in his negotiations for the marriage of Louis XIII with Anne d'Autriche, and it is therefore possible that Vaugelas had heard Fonseca preach in person, for the Spanish Augustinian had acquired a considerable reputation. Vaugelas had a good command of Spanish; he testifies himself that he was chosen to accompany the Duc de Mayenne 'à cause de la grande pratique qu'il auoit de la langue Espagnole'.²

This early translation, ignored by many close contemporaries and successive commentators alike, now survives in only a very few copies. On the other hand, the existence, if not the detail, of Vaugelas's other translation, a version of Quintus Curtius's life of Alexander, is well-known.³ The work was a great publishing success, running to even more editions than the *Remarques* (there were over 40 editions of the translation before 1850), is still readily available, and has had a substantial amount written about it.⁴ The problems associated with the Quintus Curtius text do not therefore lie in lack of availability or information about the work, but rather stem from the length of time Vaugelas spent working on the translation. Rewriting, correcting and polishing it for some thirty years, Vaugelas was unable to decide on its publication during his lifetime and no definitive version from his own hand exists. It was therefore to Vaugelas's friends that the task fell of putting the translation into some final form for publication after his death in 1650. According to Du Ryer's account in the preface to the translation, Chapelain and Conrart, the editors of the first

published version which appeared in 1653, were faced with three different manuscript copies. One of these was marked as having been revised on the model of d'Ablancourt's translation of Arrian's life of Alexander,⁵ but was still in a confused and in places highly illegible condition and full of variants. The editors therefore had to decipher the manuscript and make choices between alternative renderings. Although they were both fully conversant with Vaugelas's ideas, they may well have been guided by their own personal tastes in this, for we have no indication of their methodology. The second edition, dated 1655, was based on the same manuscript. However, in 1659 a third and entirely new edition appeared, offering a different version of the Latin text and produced from a new manuscript which, it was claimed, had been discovered in the intervening period. This edition had the advantage of being based on a single copy described as 'beaucoup plus nette, & qui estoit celle à laquelle l'Auteur vouloit s'arrester'. Du Ryer suggests that Patru, the editor of this new version, did not merely reproduce the contents of the manuscript, but engaged in active editorial work: 'Et parce qu'en quelques endroits il [sc. l'Auteur] ne s'estoit pas encore déterminé, cette dernière Copie a été reveuë par Monsieur Patru, avec tant de soin & de zele pour la gloire de son amy . . .'.⁶ While Patru, like Chapelain and Conrart, was a personal friend of Vaugelas, he was also, significantly, the man to whom d'Ablancourt sent his translations for linguistic comment and Patru may have contributed to the allusions found to d'Ablancourt's translation of Arrian which feature more prominently in this version.⁷

While the protracted genesis of the work already hints that interesting insights about the evolution of Vaugelas's ideas on the theory of translation and on the correct use of French may be obtained from comparison of the versions of the translation, caution about making statements about Vaugelas's beliefs is essential since the scope of the role of the posthumous editors must always be borne in mind. Although a few shreds of evidence about the different manuscripts may be gleaned from Du Ryer's preface to the translation, neither I nor any of the previous commentators on the text have been able to find any of the manuscripts.

Another factor to take into account when considering the reliability of the text is the role of the publisher, especially as regards determining the orthography of it. As in the case of the *Remarques*, however, the status of the printing house concerned suggests that intervention by the printer was minimal, and since both the 1653 and 1659 editions were printed by Augustin Courbé, we can assume that similar, if not identical, printing conventions were applied to both manuscripts offered by the editors.⁸

In examining the translations I propose to focus on two main themes. Firstly, I wish to assess the influences on Vaugelas's ideas on translation and to trace the changes in his views as illustrated by his evolving translation practice. Secondly, I propose to consider the relationship between Vaugelas's theoretical

pronouncements on good usage and his own usage in the translations. I shall assess to what extent the usage of the translation corresponds to the recommendations of the *Remarques* and examine how his ideas on usage of language were modified during his lifetime. These two themes are, of course, intrinsically linked: in part at least, the concept of how to translate well determines the choice of style. Finally, I hope to suggest reasons for the discrepancies between Vaugelas's theory and practice as well as for the development in his ideas.

II. VAUGELAS'S THEORY OF TRANSLATION

Very little is known about Vaugelas's aims and intentions for *Les Sermons de Fonseca*, which may simply have been a juvenile exercise in translation. However, some clues about the principal influence on him at this time may be gathered from the preface to the Quintus Curtius translation, the Arsenal manuscript and the published *Remarques*. Du Ryer's preface to the Quintus Curtius translation states that when Vaugelas started translating Quintus Curtius (about 1620) it was to Coeffeteau, the translator of Florus's *Histoire romaine* (1615), that Vaugelas first looked for a model, imitating him initially 'jusqu'à ses défauts',⁹ and he appears to have been the dominant influence on Vaugelas in 1615 too. We know that Vaugelas frequented the daily gatherings at Coeffeteau's house when he arrived in Paris. Moreover, as we have noted, Vaugelas's admiration for Coeffeteau reaches its peak in the Arsenal manuscript and is somewhat tempered by the published version. Like d'Ablancourt, whom we shall discuss further below, Coeffeteau allowed himself a measure of freedom from his original, but he differed from him in two important ways. Firstly, as Urbain notes, while inaccuracies, repetitions, additions and extra explanatory commentary are to be found in Coeffeteau's translation of Florus, the number of 'infidelities' is nothing in comparison to the liberties displayed by d'Ablancourt.¹⁰ Secondly, while d'Ablancourt's adaptations tend towards concision through the removal of repetition and anything considered superfluous, Coeffeteau's changes generally involve elaboration, the addition of words and repetition for the sake of harmony, for explanation or as commentary.

Examination of Vaugelas's use of language in the 1615 translation confirms Coeffeteau's impact on Vaugelas's method of translation and use of language at this time. The sentences of the Fonseca translation are often long and contorted in their syntax, but their length cannot be blamed on the original, for we often find Vaugelas running together two or more separate sentences of the Spanish. The following is a typical example:

Fonseca, *Discursos*, fol. 233: Y ami esposa por mi son innumerables las historias humanas, y diuinas de Dauid, de Iosias, de Alexandro Magno, que respeto al sumo Sacerdote Constantino Magno, Theodosio, Carlomagno, que triumphanron de

poderosos enemigos, por auer respetado la autoridad de la Yglesia, poniendola siempre sobre su corona.

Otra los que la despreciaron, seimpre fueron viles: *Qui contemnunt me, erunt ignobiles*, Y a mi esposa por mi, como lo proudè entre los Hebreos, vn Saul, Ozias, Manases: entre los Romanos vn Pompeyo Magno, que profanò el Templo sagrado de Ierusalem, aunq̄ no se atreuiuo allegar a su thesoro: como afirma Cicerò: entre los Germanios vn Federico, vn Enrrico, &c. S. Tomas, nota, q̄ . . .

F, 517–18: Les Histoires sacrees et prophanes en font foy, celle de Daudid, de Iosias, d'Alexandre le Grand, qui porta de la reuerence au grand Prestre, de Constantin, de Theodose, & de Charlesmagne, qui triompherent de tous leurs ennemis, pour puissants qu'ils fussent, parce qu'ils respectoient la grandeur de l'Eglise, l'autre, que tous ceux qui n'en ont pas fait l'estat qu'ils deuoient, ont tousiours esté mesprizez, *qui contemnunt me, erunt ignobiles*, ainsi que parmy les Hebrieux nous en voyons des tesmoignages, en Saül, Ozias, & Menasses parmy les Romains, en Pompee, qui profana le sacré temple de Hierusalem, encore qu'il n'osast iamais mettre les mains dedans le thesoro, comme assure Ciceron, & parmy les Allemands vn Frederic, vn Henry: Et saint Thomas a remarqué . . .

Somewhat ironically, when Vaugelas criticizes overlengthy periods which diminish the clarity of the prose in the *Remarques*, it is to the usage of Coeffeteau, along with that of Amyot, that he points for his model of good sentence construction (*R*, 592). Vaugelas then clearly believes that in following Coeffeteau's model for construction, he is conforming to his ideals of clarity and lack of ambiguity. However, comprehension of the Fonseca translation is not only impeded at times by the length of the sentences, following Coeffeteau's tendency towards wordiness and expansion. It is also hindered, for instance, by the lack of punctuation to guide the reader, especially on the first reading. Many passages could be cited to illustrate the occurrence of complicated sentences and the dearth or unhelpful use of punctuation in the translation of Fonseca. Here is one such example:

Les Chrestieés croyèt en luy, & l'adorèt & si ne laissèt pas de l'offencer les Pharisiens ne le vouloyent pas recevoir, parce qu'ils eussent esté obligez en le suiuant, de renoncer à leurs auarices ambiôs, & hypocrisies, n'estât pas raisonnable qu'ils fussent si riches & orgueilleux à la suite d'vn maistre si pauvre & si humble; Ils ne le vouloient pas recevoir pour l'offenser apres l'auoir receu, nous autres ne sommes pas si côsidez, que cela; C'est dequoy nous deurions mourir de hôte, de croire en Dieu, & d'adorer le vice, la foy ne no⁹ [= nous] sert, que de sauf-conduit, pour n'estre pas tout à fait accablez de la iuste végeance du grand Dieu. (*F*, 405)

Further confirmation of Vaugelas's dependence on Coeffeteau at this time is afforded by the translation procedure adopted in 1615. Already Vaugelas's method of translation is fairly free, although not to the same degree as in his later translation. We have some help in making this evaluation through comparison with another version of the same text by James Mabbe of Magdalen College, Oxford, which appeared only 14 years later, in 1629.¹¹ Like Vaugelas, Mabbe was a recognised Spanish scholar and had recently been in

Spain between 1611 and 1616 in the party of Sir John Digby, ambassador to Madrid.¹² Comparing the Spanish text with Vaugelas's translation and also with that of Mabbe, it is evident that Vaugelas was very little affected by Fonseca's use of language. This is not to say that he loses sight of the original, for he clearly strives to keep to the spirit of the Spanish text. Rather, the changes introduced usually have the same purpose as those of Coeffeteau: to clarify what he believes is the force of the original by adding explanatory or illustrative material. Vaugelas then is not afraid to expand, elaborate on or modify the original and does not feel obliged to follow it word for word, matching its construction for construction. Although Mabbe cuts passages from the Spanish, particularly where it was necessary to make the text acceptable to his seventeenth-century Anglican reader, he is much more slavish in his adherence to Fonseca's choice of vocabulary and construction, with the result that his English version at times appears stilted and awkward. On the other hand, Vaugelas's text generally reads naturally like a typical example of early seventeenth-century French prose, and he shows a freedom and independence of mind in his rendering. This is in line with the stance adopted in the Arsenal manuscript, where he claims that a translation must not be a slavish copy of the original but must excel it (MS, fol. 90^v). Conscious of the diversity of languages, he realizes that there will of necessity be strengths and weaknesses in a translation vis-à-vis its original, according to the relative strengths and weaknesses of the two languages concerned:

Ceux qui ont la conoissance de plusieurs langues en uoyent à tous coups des exemples et particulièrement les bons traducteurs, à qui il arriuera en une mesme page de faire trois choses bien differentes, l'une d'egaler l'excellence de leur original, l'autre de n'y pouoir atteindre, et l'autre de la surpasser, ce qui ne prouient que de la diuersité des langues, lesquelles tout ainsi que les personnes ont leurs perfections et leurs manquements differents les uns des autres, tellement que si le Traducteur entend bien son mestier, il ne sera point trop fasché quand il ne rendra pas quelque pensee de l'Autheur avec la mesme grace que luy, parce que ce sera une merueille, si deuant qu'il ayt acheué la page il ne rencontre l'occasion de s'en reuancher en exprimant beaucoup plus elegamment la pensee de l'Autheur que ne fait l'Autheur mesme. (MS, fol. 28^v)

In the published *Remarques* too Vaugelas articulates his belief that each language has its own peculiar characteristics and that 'qui, par exemple, parle Latin comme font plusieurs, avec des paroles Latines & des phrases Françoises; ne parle pas Latin, mais François, ou plustost ne parle ny François ny Latin' (R, 509–10). Vaugelas makes every effort to avoid falling into this trap, as the following example illustrates:

Fonseca, *Discursos*,
fol. 62^r:

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

Mabbe, *Devout Contem-
plations*, pp. 75–76:

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

F, 134:

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

The next passage indicates well Vaugelas's tendency to expand and explain his original, while nevertheless keeping to the spirit of it, and also illustrates his use of long and complicated sentences:

Fonseca, *Discursos*,
fol. 138^r:

Pedis a vn pintor vna
imagen, sacaos vna,
desleola mucho mejor:
sacaos otra, no me
contenta del todo:
sacaos la mejor que
nunca hizo, dezis con
tibieça: Buena es,
enfadase, y quitaosla de
las manos.

Mabbe, *Devout
Contemplations*, p. 196:

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

F, 300–01:

Tout ainsi que si vous
auiez prié vn peintre
excellent de vous faire
voir de son ourrage, &
qu'il vous monstrast vn
tableau, & que vous luy
dissiez, celuy-là ne me
reuiet pas, voyons en
vn autre, s'il vous en
faisoit apporter plusieurs
de suite, où il ny eust rien
à reprendre en l'art de
peinture, & que vous ne
fussiez pour tant point
encore satisfait de toute

F, 300–01: (*continued*)

ceste varieté: Mais que vous le priassiez de vous laisser entrer dans son cabinet, & de vous montrer la plus rare piece de toutes, qu'il tiendroit pour vn chef d'œuure de son mestier, & qu'apres l'auoir considerée attentiuement, au lieu de l'admirer avec des exclamations comme vne merueille, vous luy dissiez froidement, elle est bonne, le peintre n'auoit-il pas occasion de se fascher, & de vous arracher le tableau d'entre les mains?

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

Fonseca, *Discursos*,
fols 167^v–168^r:

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

Mabbe, *Devout Contemplations*, p. 244:

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

F, 370:

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

It is not of course possible to say that Vaugelas was not affected at all by the Spanish he was translating. Occasionally on such points of detail as the

omission of the article, the use of the partitive, or the non-repetition of the subject pronoun there is reason to suspect that he may have been influenced by the Spanish original.¹³ However, since this is true only in selected cases, such evidence is by no means conclusive. Rather, the impression gained when reading the translation is that there is nothing which obviously strikes the eye as being Spanish rather than French.

It seems clear then that while working on the Lenten Sermons Vaugelas above all followed Coeffeteau both in his style and his technique of translating. This influence continued when Vaugelas started his translation of Quintus Curtius in 1620. The Latin text and the subject of the text alike were highly popular in the salon milieu,¹⁴ and it may even have been Coeffeteau who suggested the task to Vaugelas. While, as we have seen, Vaugelas was never slavishly attached to his original, it is true that when he was translating Fonseca and in the early part of the time spent working on the Quintus Curtius text he placed more value on fidelity and was more critical of inaccuracies than was later the case. Indeed, there is even a suggestion in the Arsenal manuscript that he believed that occasionally Coeffeteau did not pay enough attention to accuracy; having praised Coeffeteau at great length, he adds:

Je repete encore une fois que ie ne parle que du langage, car pour l'intelligence du sens peut estre qu'il n'y a pas tousjours apporté tout le soing qui y eust esté necessaire en quoy ie ne uoudrois pas l'excuser, mais il n'y auoit rien si aisé que d'euite ce blasme. (MS, fol. 40^v)

The passage continues with Vaugelas drawing a parallel between Coeffeteau and Amyot, the translator of Plutarch's *Vies*.¹⁵ He comments that although 'un des plus sçauants hommes de nostre siecle' had noted a very large number of inaccuracies in Amyot's translation, 'iamais Traducteur n'acquit plus de gloire avec plus de raison'. The man referred to is Bachet de Méziriac who, planning a translation of Plutarch himself, had noted some 2000 mistranslations or unfaithful renderings in Amyot's version.¹⁶ Vaugelas's respect for Amyot, together with the fact that Coeffeteau was in a sense a direct descendant of Amyot, precluded Vaugelas from completely supporting Méziriac and espousing his central belief that 'la qualité la plus essentielle à un bon Traducteur, c'est la fidelité'.¹⁷ Nevertheless, since it was Vaugelas who read out Méziriac's *Discours* to the French Academy on 19 December 1636, we may assume that he was not totally unsympathetic to the views expressed in it. The freedom favoured by Vaugelas in the early part of his career is therefore a somewhat measured freedom, a flexibility on the whole typified for him by Coeffeteau's style of translation.

It is probable that already in the 1630s parts of the Quintus Curtius translation were read in the salons and its appearance was anticipated with great excitement. For example, Chapelain expresses his eagerness to see the

translation in a letter to Vaugelas dated 10 July 1633,¹⁸ and three years later Balzac in a letter makes it clear that he has read at least part of the translation:

Tout cela me semble si François et si naturel, qu'il est impossible d'y remarquer vne seule ligne qui sente l'original Latin, & où le premier Auteur ait de l'avantage sur le second. L'Alexandre de Philippe estoit invincible, & celuy de Vaugelas est inimitable.¹⁹

However, the following year marked two important events in the genesis of the translation: the publication of the first of d'Ablancourt's eleven translations,²⁰ and the admission of its author to the Academy. The preface to Vaugelas's translation suggests that he was already attracted by d'Ablancourt's first translations, but the influence of d'Ablancourt on him became direct and decisive when d'Ablancourt's translation of Arrian's life of Alexander appeared in 1646. On Vaugelas's own admission²¹ this occasioned a complete revision of his own translation (see below). Further evidence of the dating of this turning-point is provided by the fact that there is no reference at all to d'Ablancourt in the Arsenal manuscript, whereas he is certainly alluded to in the published *Remarques* (e.g., R, 145, 458).

François and Mossner agree that Vaugelas never entirely freed himself from Coeffeteau's influence, nor totally adopted d'Ablancourt's techniques.²² Indeed, as will be shown, it is sometimes difficult to discern exactly where d'Ablancourt's impact manifests itself or to state in what respects the 1659 edition is closer to d'Ablancourt. Nevertheless, Vaugelas could not fail to be swayed by the prevailing tendency towards ever greater freedom. Malherbe, for instance, in his translation of Seneca 'n'avait pensé qu'à plaire, nullement à être fidèle'.²³ This movement towards increased independence from the original is allied to the growing aversion to pedantry as evidenced by the changes made between the jotting down of observations in the Arsenal manuscript and the publication of the *Remarques*. Another statement by Malherbe, describing his attitude to his translation of the 33rd book of Livy in the *Advertissement*, could equally well apply to Vaugelas's attitude in the *Remarques*: 'Ie sçay bien le goust du college, mais ie m'arreste à celuy du Loure'.²⁴

Once again we are forced to rely on indirect evidence of the change of emphasis in Vaugelas's views through comparison of the different texts and by deduction from comments recorded by Gaspard de Tende (using the pseudonym l'Estang) in his work *De la Traduction, ou Regles pour apprendre à traduire la langue latine en la langue françoise*.²⁵ In the preface of this work Gaspard de Tende lists nine rules, three of which he attributes to Vaugelas. The first states that it is essential for the translator to have a complete understanding of both languages, especially of Latin, so that one can 'bien entrer dans la pensée de l'Auteur qu'on traduit, & (de) ne pas s'assujettir trop bassement aux paroles'. Here again he implies that it is enough to follow the

original in spirit rather than to the letter ‘parce qu’il suffit de rendre le sens avec vn soin tres exact, & vne fidelité toute entiere, sans laisser aucune des beautez ni des figures qui sont dans le Latin’. The second rule, however, goes further. The translator must strive to find the right style in order to ‘conserver l’esprit & le genie de l’Auteur qu’on traduit’.²⁶ A translation must not seem like a copy but must read like an original, ‘vn ourage naturel, & vne production toute pure de nostre esprit’. Thirdly, the translator must always strive for greater *netteté*, and this can be achieved precisely by dividing up long periods: ‘parce que le discours qui est si lié & si étendu est beaucoup moins intelligible que celui qui est plus court & plus precis’.

The question of how far d’Ablancourt was instrumental in bringing about the change in Vaugelas’s method of translating has been much debated. Zeiler incorrectly implies that Vaugelas’s method of translating was initially faithful to the original and therefore concludes that the transformation was radical. Zuber, on the other hand, underestimates d’Ablancourt’s influence, and his claims that there is only a general similarity in their choice of vocabulary because Vaugelas copied the prevailing style and not d’Ablancourt specifically, and that d’Ablancourt only rarely influenced Vaugelas’s choice of sentence structure, are untenable.²⁷ As we shall see, d’Ablancourt’s impact on Vaugelas is felt both in general terms and in the actual choice of words, expressions and constructions, even to the extent of the inclusion of direct borrowings of details and of short passages with no counterpart in the Latin of Quintus Curtius.

Before looking in detail at this influence, we must briefly consider whether it is valid to compare the 1653 and 1659 versions of the translation and to argue that the 1659 edition is much more influenced by d’Ablancourt’s method and style. Since both the editions appeared posthumously, one must naturally be circumspect about making comments about chronology and changing linguistic usage. However, as I hope to show, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that the 1659 edition does illustrate Vaugelas’s last thoughts on the theory and practice of translation and so some tentative remarks about the development of Vaugelas’s ideas as represented in the 1653 and 1659 versions are valid.

Zeiler maintains that Vaugelas must have begun both the 1653 and the 1659 versions after 1646 since they both testify to d’Ablancourt’s influence on him, although this is much more noticeable in the case of the 1659 edition.²⁸ This dating is problematic, for if both versions were the result of reworking carried out in 1646–50 then they should both equally illustrate the language usage advocated by the *Remarques*, an argument used by Zeiler herself to dismiss the claim that Vaugelas is the author of the 1646 translation which I shall refer to later.²⁹ It is true, as will be illustrated in Chapter 12, that the 1653 and 1659 editions alike sometimes deviate from the usage recommended in Vaugelas’s pronouncements, but many of these discrepancies are removed by 1659. Perhaps then a more accurate suggestion would be that the manuscript forming

the basis of the 1653 edition was merely retouched after 1646, Vaugelas making rather superficial emendations to the text in his copying of d'Ablancourt, whereas the version published in 1659 was the result of a more major reworking of the text, involving not only the rewriting of complete passages after his reading of Arrian, but also an attempt to bring the language usage more in line with the *Remarques*.³⁰

D'Ablancourt is the chief and perhaps the most extreme representative of a group of translators paying little attention to fidelity to their originals, whose translations came to be known as 'belles infidèles'.³¹ In the preface to his translation of Arrian and in his *Remarques* on the translation d'Ablancourt explains what this freedom means: 'mon dessein n'est pas de rendre toutes les paroles de mon Auteurs, mais de n'oublier aucune circonstance ou particularité remarquable'.³² The liberty may involve 'correcting' the original author using material from other writers, in this case other historians of Alexander — Diodorus or Quintus Curtius (pp. 282, 285). For the most part, however, the emendations are from d'Ablancourt's own hand and he justifies these on the grounds that 'la diuersité des Langues & des stiles empeschent qu'on ne puisse marcher sur tous les pas de son Auteurs' (p. 274). The principal features of the alteration are the cutting of the original, the striving for concision and the removal of repetitions, since, it is claimed, the *delicatesse* of the French language cannot tolerate them: 'oultre que cét Auteurs est sujet à des repetitions frequentes & inutiles, que ma langue ny mon stile ne peuuent souffrir' (Preface). Occasionally additions are made to the original, but the main force of d'Ablancourt's *Remarques* is to justify differences involving reduction of Arrian's text.

Du Ryer's preface to Vaugelas's translation indicates that Vaugelas adopted a similar approach, although not carried out to the same degree. It also observes that Vaugelas too was intending to furnish his translation with notes containing some corrections and comments. Du Ryer cites some of these comments and adds after the last one: 'Cette dernière Note fait connoître, que le dessein de Monsieur de Vaugelas estoit, de corriger toutes les redites & toutes les affectations de Quinte-Curce, qui ne sont pas en petit nombre.'³³ It is claimed that the notes would have indicated more changes than actually appear in the text, perhaps suggesting Vaugelas's intention to move even further away from his original.

Vaugelas's method of translating and the role of d'Ablancourt in developing his ideas can best be illustrated by comparing the two published versions of the translation with the Latin original. A comment in the preface notes that Vaugelas did not always follow 'l'edition commune' but rather looked to others who had previously worked on Quintus Curtius's Alexander — Raderus, Acidalius and above all Freinshemius.³⁴ Since the Arsenal manuscript also gives its reference to Quintus Curtius from Raderus (MS, fol. 76^v), we may

assume that Vaugelas used the text and commentary on the original provided by Raderus to a large extent.³⁵

D'Ablancourt's influence is felt on the approach to the Latin and on the style alike. Sometimes both versions seem latinate,³⁶ but in general the 1653 version follows the Latin more faithfully and adheres more closely to the Latin construction, with the result that the 1653 translation often appears cumbersome and awkward in comparison to the greater elegance of the 1659 rendering. This is true both of short expressions (the latinate *qu'ils appellent* of 1653 (e.g. *QC* 1653, 269) is replaced by *qu'on appelle* in 1659 (*QC* 1698, I, 318)) and of longer passages:

Latin, III, 2:

Igitur castris ad
Babylonem positis, quo
majore animo
capesserent bellum,
universas vires in
conspectum dedit: &
circumdato vallo, quod
decem millium
armatorum
multitudinem caperet,
Xerxis exemplo,
numerum copiarum
iniit.

QC 1653, 211:

Après auoir donc campé
dans la plaine de
Babylone, pour animer
dauantage ses gens à la
guerre, il voulut faire
reueuë de toutes ses
forces; & ayant tiré à
l'exemple de Xerxes vne
tranchée en rond, dont
l'enceinte pouuoit tenir
dix mille hommes en
bataille, il reconnut le
veritable nombre de ses
troupes.

QC 1659 (1698, I, 253):

Il vint donc se camper
dans la plaine de
Babylone, & pour
animer davantage ses
gens, il voulut voir toutes
ses forces ensemble, & à
l'exemple de Xerxes,
tirant une
circonvallation qui
pouvoit contenir dix
mille hommes en
bataille, fit le
denombrement de ses
troupes.

There are numerous examples of the French of 1653 following the Latin closely and consequently appearing clumsy, whereas the 1659 text provides a neat and elegant solution:

VII, 1:

Te, quaeso, permittas
mihi id primum
defendere, quod a te
ultimum objectum est.

QC 1653, 508–09:

Mais permettez-moy,
Seigneur, de commencer
à nous défendre par où
vous auez acheuë de
nous accuser.

QC 1698, II, 96:

Mais permettez moi,
Seigneur, de répondre
premierement au
dernier reproche que
vous nous avez fait.

III, 3:

ipsi Pharnabazo tradit
imperium, quod ante
Memnoni dederat.

QC 1653, 215:

Et pour Pharnabase, il
luy donna le
commandement que
Memnon auoit
auparuant.

QC 1698, I, 258:

& mit Pharnabaze en la
place de Memnon.

Du Ryer in his preface records manuscript comments by Vaugelas which suggest the qualities of d'Ablancourt's style Vaugelas most admired: 'qui pour

le stile historique n'a personne, à mon avis, qui le surpasse, tant il est clair et débarassé, élégant & court', and indeed the greatest point of contrast between the two versions is the concision of that of 1659 compared to the wordiness of that of 1653. The reader only has to compare the number of pages of the 1653 and 1659 editions to confirm this obvious difference.³⁷ The conciseness may be achieved by cutting and refining the 1653 text, by removing unnecessary repetitions, synonyms or explanations. Selected examples must stand as representative of a large number of cases:

Cutting

III, 1	: in turrim, & situ & opere multum editam
QC 1653, 207	: sur vne tour fort esleuée, & de situation & de structure
QC 1698, I, 248	: sur une tour extremement eslevée

The cutting may mean that part of the Latin sense is not rendered:

III, 6	: projectisque amiculo & literis ante lectum
QC 1653, 229	: & jettant la lettre & son manteau par dépit, deuant le lect du Roy
QC 1698, I, 274	: & jettant la lettre, dit au Roy

Emphasis or reinforcement may be lost:

III, 1	: nec ratione, nec visu percipi posset
QC 1653, 209	: . . . descouir ni des yeux ni de l'esprit
QC 1698, I, 251	: . . . découvrir

Alternatively brevity may be attained by a different choice of expression, for instance, nominalization:

III, 3	: divinatio animi praesagentis
QC 1653, 215–16	: quelque pressentiment de ce qui luy deuoit arriuer
QC 1698, I, 258	: quelque pressentiment de l'avenir

Removal of explanatory clause

III, 10	: quippe semper circumjecta nemora petraeque, quantumcumque accepere vocem, multiplicato sono referunt
QC 1653, 244	: estant vne chose ordinaire en la nature qu'au moindre bruit qui éclate, les forests & les montagnes voisines retentissent & multiplient le son qu'elles reçoient

Omitted in QC 1659/1698.

An extended passage of such examples can be seen in the descriptive sections of Book III, Chapter 3.³⁸

Elsewhere, the revisions in 1659 do not reflect greater deviation from the Latin, but involve the removal of extra material which Vaugelas himself had added, following Coeffeteau's method:

- III, 2 : (statuit) ipse decernere
QC 1653, 211 : de commander luy-mesme son armée, & de combattre en personne son ennemy
QC 1698, I, 252 : de commander en personne son armée
 III, 1 : quae Hellesponto praesiderent
QC 1653, 210 : pour tenir l'Hellespont, & se rendre maistre de la mer
QC 1698, I, 252 : pour garder l'Hellespont

Adverbs or reinforcements added in 1653 are then naturally eliminated:

- IV, 2 : Legati respondent
QC 1653, 278 : Les Ambassadeurs luy respondirent superbement
QC 1698, I, 329 : Ils luy répondirent
 III, 5 : ereptum
QC 1653, 225 : ainsi mal-heureusement rauy
QC 1698, I, 268 : leur estoit ravi

An impression of greater brevity may be gained by dividing a long sentence into two or more discrete units:

- VII, 1 : Cum quid accidit tristius, omnes rei sunt; corporibus nostris, quae utique non odimus, infestas admovemus manus; parentes liberis si occurrant, & ingrati & invidi sunt.
QC 1653, 509 : Quand nous souffrons, nous sommes tous criminels, chacun s'émancipe de parler; nous faisons bien davantage, nous tournons nos mains violentes contre nous-mêmes, qu'on ne peut pas dire que nous haïssons, & durant cette fascheuse humeur, si les enfans rencontroient leurs peres, ils ne les regarderoient pas, à peine les pourroient-ils souffrir.
QC 1698, II, 96–97 : Quand nous souffrons, nous sommes tous criminels, chacun s'émancipe de parler, nous faisons bien davantage, & nonobstant l'amour propre nous tournons nos mains violentes contre nous-mêmes. En cette fâcheuse humeur, si les enfans recontroient leurs peres, à peine les pouvoient-ils [sic] souffrir.

Usually brevity goes hand in hand with elegance, but just occasionally there is the risk that the 1659 version has been cut so much that clarity has been sacrificed:

- III, 8 : Haec magnificentius jactata quam verius.
QC 1653, 237 : Mais tout cela n'estoit que paroles jettées en l'air avec plus de pompe que de verité.
QC 1698, I, 283 : Ces paroles estoient magnifiques, s'il y eust ajousté les effets.

The striving for concision and elegance and the ever increasing freedom from the original then not only affect the overall nature of the translation and influence the choice of construction; d'Ablancourt's impact is also felt keenly

on the style. Mossner comments on the paucity of tropes and the lack of local colour and images in d'Ablancourt's style in Arrian.³⁹ By 1659 many of the images and vivid details have disappeared and the style has become plainer, less direct and forceful, and more prosaic. Again space compels me to be highly selective in my illustrations:

Removal of imagery and vivid details (frequently not in the Latin):

III, 1	: in quem omnes intenderat curas
QC 1653, 210	: sur qui il auoit principalement les yeux
QC 1698, I, 252	: (qui estoit le seul de tous les Capitaines de Darius) qu'il redoutoit
III, 5	: & diei fervidissimum tempus coeperat
QC 1653, 224	: outre que c'estoit l'heure du iour que le Soleil lance ses rayons avec plus de violence
QC 1698, I, 268	: C'estoit encore au plus chaud du jour

Various linguistic features combine to make the style less immediate and graphic. For example, direct speech is replaced by indirect speech in a number of instances ('vous autres Perses entreprenez' (QC 1653, 270) → 'Car les Perses entreprennent' (QC 1698, I, 319)) and the less intimate *vous* substituted for *tu* (e.g. III, 6 in the King's address to Philip (QC 1653, 230/QC 1698, I, 274)). In one respect Vaugelas differs in his usage from d'Ablancourt in hardly using in 1659 the historic present. In the *Remarques* mention is made of its fine usage in d'Ablancourt's translation of Tacitus and it is implied that, used skilfully, it is a suitable tense for historic narrative (R, 457–59). Nevertheless, it is no longer favoured in 1659 and the problem of integrating the present tense into a passage of past tenses is thereby avoided:

III, 5	: Expiranti similem ministri manu excipiunt, nec satis compotem mentis in tabernaculum deferunt.
QC 1653, 225	: Aussi-tost ses gens le prennent entre leurs bras, & l'emportent en sa tente plus mort que vif, ayant perdu toute connoissance.
QC 1698, I, 268	: . . . si bien que ses gens l'emportèrent en sa tente qu'il auoit perdu toute connoissance.

In contrast to the large number of revisions made at the syntactic level, few changes are made to the choice of lexical items. While the part of speech used may be altered to achieve concision and the number of words employed reduced, the vocabulary of 1653 does not appear more latinized than that of 1659. It is likely that Vaugelas was never greatly influenced by the vocabulary of the original. Both versions contain rather anachronistic terms (e.g. *Seigneur*, QC 1653, 509/QC 1698, II, 96) and both, according to Bürger,⁴⁰ make use of the expressions listed and explained in the *Remarques* following the Arrian translation.

The changing attitude to the use of synonyms illustrates the difference in usage and style between the two versions of the Quintus Curtius translation,

and indeed between these and the early translation of Fonseca. Vaugelas's position in the *Remarques* is discussed in Chapter 8. There are numerous synonym pairs in the 1615 translation, but their use is judicious in the way later recommended in the *Remarques* (*R*, *493–99). Where Vaugelas apparently deems that two words are necessary to render sufficiently one Spanish one, he is not afraid to use a pair of synonyms, but he does not overuse the technique and even sometimes prefers to use one word where the Spanish has two:

- | | |
|---|--|
| Fonseca, <i>Discursos</i> , fol. 23 ^v | : Gozò esta ciudad en aquella hera de grandes glorias |
| F, 48 | : En ce temps-là elle estoit celebre & renommée pour beaucoup de raisons |
| Fonseca, <i>Discursos</i> , fol. 193 ^r | : La segunda, engaño notorio, pues prometió lo qu no podia cumplir |
| F, 428 | : Secondement, la fraude & le dol est tout evident, car il a promis ce qu'il ne peut tenir |
| Fonseca, <i>Discursos</i> , fol. 3 ^v | : Cargarà el Sabio su estomago por ventura, de ardor, que le abrase, y le consuma |
| F, 10 | : Quoy le sage voudra il charger son estomach d'une ardeur qui se consume? [Note the change of pronoun.] |

In some cases, as Zeiler notes, synonyms are added to the 1659 text at the end of sentences to produce a pleasing cadence.⁴¹ Elsewhere, in avoiding synonyms as part of the general trend towards brevity, Vaugelas appears to go beyond the pronouncements of the *Remarques* (even though the allusion in the text (*R*, 497–98) suggests that it is d'Ablancourt's usage which is put forward as a model there), and he not only removes the more obviously superfluous ones, which he himself had added to the 1653 version, as in:

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| iv, 1 | : pro sociis ipsos |
| QC 1653, 275 | : comme alliez & partisans de leur liberté |
| QC 1698, I, 325 | : comme partisans de leur liberté |

but also discards those which have a direct counterpart in the Latin and arguably have some reinforcing effect:

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| iii, 5 | : euntes, fame atque inopia debellari posse |
| QC 1653, 225 | : . . . la faim & la disette . . . |
| QC 1698, I, 269 | : . . . la faim . . . |
| iii, 5 | : Ingens sollicitudo, & pene jam luctus in castris erat |
| QC 1653, 225 | : . . . vn trouble & vne consternation . . . |
| QC 1698, I, 268 | : . . . une consternation . . . |

The crucial influence causing Vaugelas's change of ideas on the correct method of translation and hence on his style is d'Ablancourt. Nevertheless, this is not an unquestioning following of his idol, for in general the revisions also

coincide with the trend seen in the differences between the Arsenal manuscript and the published *Remarques* — a striving for elegance and polish, a desire for clarity and concision, the removal of much of the imagery and semi-poetical devices — in short, the development of the Classical style. In following d’Ablancourt, Vaugelas did not become a ‘Plagiator’ as Bürger claims,⁴² but was able to remain true to his principles. There are, of course, examples which contravene this basic trend, and these are partly due to the persisting influence of Coeffeteau’s prose on Vaugelas, but they are far outweighed by the increase of the features which we have already come to associate with the development in Vaugelas’s use of language.

Less interesting from our point of view, because they are only superficial, are the direct borrowings from d’Ablancourt.⁴³ Some care is needed when making claims about direct borrowings; many of Mossner’s examples are not very convincing since the French versions of d’Ablancourt and Vaugelas alike are closely tied to the Latin. Nevertheless, the instances are too numerous to be purely coincidental and indeed many cases of similarity have no counterpart in the original. Examples of direct copying occur in both the published versions of the Quintus Curtius translation but are more prominent in the later edition. Sometimes this affects small details, sometimes the resonances stretch over a longer passage. Since plenty of examples of direct borrowings are available in other writers on Vaugelas’s translation of Quintus Curtius, it will suffice to quote just one or two examples here:

iii, 5	QC 1653, 224	QC 1698, I, 268	D’Ablancourt, <i>Les Guerres d’Alexandre</i> , p. 50
regem invitavit liquor fluminis, ut calidum adhuc corpus ablueret	il luy prit enuie de s’y baigner tout eschauffé qu’il estoit	il luy prit envie de s’y baigner tout échauffé qu’il estoit	ou pour s’estre baigné dans la riuere de Cynde, tout échaufé qu’il estoit
iv, 1	QC 1653, 269	QC 1698, I, 317	D’Ablancourt, <i>Les Guerres d’Alexandre</i> , p. 62
Pauci regem sequebantur	Il courut toute la nuit avec peu de suite	Ce miserable Prince courut toute la nuit avec peu de suite	Darius ayant couru toute la nuit avec peu de suite

The following passage shows a combination of the features discussed above, including direct borrowings and revisions between the two published versions of Vaugelas’s Quintus Curtius:⁴⁴

III, 6

QC 1653, 229

QC 1698, I, 273

D'Ablancourt, *Les Guerres d'Alexandre*, p. 51

Quo viso Alexander levato corpore in cubitum, epistolam à Permenione missam sinistra manu tenens, accipit poculum & haurit interritus; tum epistolam legere Philippum jubet: nec à vultu legentis movit oculos, ratus, aliquas conscientiae notas in ipso ore posse deprehendere.

(le Medecin entre, la medecine à la main.) Le Roy se soulevant, & s'appuyant sur le coude, prit d'une main la lettre de Parmenion, & de l'autre le breuvage, qu'il auala sans délibérer. Puis donna la lettre à Philippe pour la lire, & tant qu'il la lût ne leua jamais les yeux de dessus luy, estimant pouuoir decourir sur son visage quelques marques de ce qu'il avoit dans l'ame.

(. . . le Medecin estant entré avec la medecine,) le Roy prit la lettre d'une main & le breuvage de l'autre, & l'ayant avallé sans crainte, il commanda à Philippe de lire la lettre, & tant qu'il la leut ne leva jamais les yeux de dessus luy, croyant pouvoir découvrir sur son visage quelques marques de ce qu'il avoit dans l'ame.

. . . mais sans témoigner aucune défiance d'une personne qu'il aimoit il luy donna la lettre d'une main & prit le breuvage de l'autre; de sorte qu'en mesme temps l'un beuvoit & l'autre lisoit, celuy-cy témoignant assez à son visage & à sa contenance, qu'il estoit innocent.

There has been some discussion about whether all the books show the same degree of borrowing from d'Ablancourt.⁴⁵ Direct borrowings occur throughout the translation, as Mossner's and Zeiler's examples show, but there do seem to be more in book IV, and to a less extent book III, than there are in the later books. In general there are fewer changes between the editions after book V, both with respect to the relationship of the translation to the original and with respect to the use of language. This would then suggest that Vaugelas intended to make even more revisions in line with d'Ablancourt's style, for he comments that book IV, the most difficult to translate, was the last one he revised. As I have mentioned earlier, Patru's role in the addition of d'Ablancourt's renderings must not be discounted. It is possible that Patru, if in doubt when faced with a passage in Vaugelas's manuscript which was confused and difficult to read, may have turned to d'Ablancourt's translation of Arrian for assistance and preferred the version closest to d'Ablancourt's. Indeed, it is even possible that Vaugelas noted d'Ablancourt's renderings in the manuscript for ease of reference and that they were extracted by Patru for the published work. However, the direct borrowings may simply be the result of the growing appeal of d'Ablancourt's renderings to Vaugelas. Their occurrence is in no way surprising, for as well as being quite typical of translation practice in the period,⁴⁶ they are symptomatic of Vaugelas's attitude to language and style, and illustrate the philosophy guiding many of the pronouncements in the *Remarques*, which favours linguistic conformism and discourages originality. Since Vaugelas obviously believed that d'Ablancourt had found the correct style for historical narration, there was no reason in his view to alter it. Imitation, however, did not stop at the general level; if his authority was also

thought to have found the *mot juste*, the expression which perfectly captured the spirit of the original, then this too was to be copied, there being no sense in introducing change for change's sake. Vaugelas's usage in the Quintus Curtius translation then clarifies well what he means when he advises his readers in the *Remarques* to imitate the language usage of the best authors of the day.

The same technique of direct borrowing is also adopted with regard to another more minor influence on Vaugelas's translation. Similarity between some passages of Vaugelas's translation and an anonymously published edition of 1646⁴⁷ led Bürger and Mossner mistakenly to believe that this was another version of Alexander's life by Vaugelas, the one still showing dependence on Coeffeteau.⁴⁸ This, of course, would be an interesting find, for then we would have a complete, if not definitive, version of the text by Vaugelas, published just one year before the appearance of the *Remarques*. Zeiler, however, correctly disproves this thesis by showing that the 1646 Wolfenbüttel edition is identical (even to the line) to the 1629 translation by Soulfour found in the Bibliothèque Nationale.⁴⁹ The similarities between the passages must therefore be attributed to conscious imitation by Vaugelas; he doubtless knew Soulfour, for Soulfour too was born in Savoy, was acquainted with François de Sales and was in the service of Madame de Nemours. The three examples below, quoted from Zeiler,⁵⁰ confirm that the similarities are not purely coincidental:

iii, 1, 17	Soulfour, <i>Histoire</i> , p. 146	QC 1653, 209–10
solvere adgressus, iniecerat curam ei [turbæ], ne in omen verteretur inritum incoeptum	Le Roy se trouvant engagé eut peur s'il n'en venoit à bout, qu'on en fist un mauvais presage	Cependant, le Roy se trouvant engagé à cette entreprise, eut peur que s'il n'en venoit à bout, on n'en fist mauvais presage
iv, 6, 28	Soulfour, <i>Histoire</i> , p. 253	QC 1653, 308
Vincam tamen silentium et, si nihil aliud, certe gemitu interpellabo.	Si vaincry-ie [sic] vostre silence ou si ie n'en tire autre chose pour le moins i'auray des souples.	si vaincry-ie [sic] ce silence obstiné, et si ie n'en tire autre chose, i'auray pour le moins des cris.
viii, 8, 11	Soulfour, <i>Histoire</i> , p. 578	QC 1653, 611
Non est diuturna possessio, in quam gladio inducimur;	Ce qui ne seroit appuyé que sur la pointe de nos espées, ne pourroit pas long-temps durer debout.	Ce qui n'est appuyé que sur la pointe de l'espee, ne peut pas long-temps demeurer debout.

I shall only mention in passing here other influences on Vaugelas's translation of Quintus Curtius. Du Ryer's preface notes that as with the *Remarques* Vaugelas was always willing to receive comments and criticisms from his friends and colleagues, that he noted down various possible versions about which he wished to seek the advice of his friends, using different marks to indicate which he liked least and what he deemed doubtful or superfluous. It is then feasible that part at least of the translation was seen by the future editors before Vaugelas's death. Certain observations included in the *Nouvelles Remarques* suggest that the Academy was consulted about various doubtful expressions from the translation, and Du Ryer confirms that the decisions of the Academy on certain questions were recorded in the margins of the manuscript.⁵¹

III. CONCLUSION

Coeffeteau was undoubtedly the dominant influence on Vaugelas while he was translating Fonseca and during the early part of his time spent working on Quintus Curtius. The dependence is evident in his method of translating and style alike: any 'infidelities' tend towards wordiness and expansion, elaboration or explanation of the original. During the latter part of his life Vaugelas came to be increasingly enamoured of d'Ablancourt's translations and his own renderings became even less faithful to the original. Now, however, the changes favour concision and cutting; brevity and elegance are striven for and anything deemed superfluous or repetitious is omitted. These revisions are not, however, the result of mere slavish copying of an idol, but go hand in hand with the developments in Vaugelas's ideas as witnessed in the differences between the Arsenal manuscript and the published *Remarques*; for example, in both cases there is a tendency towards adopting a plainer and more direct style.

This discussion of the development of Vaugelas's ideas on translation, involving the examination of his style in the translations, already points to our second consideration which I shall turn to in the next two chapters — the relationship of the language usage of the translations to the pronouncements of the *Remarques*. Since Vaugelas always showed some measure of freedom from his original, it is possible to consider the translations as illustrations of his own use of French and to assess what changes occurred in his usage between 1615 and his death.

CHAPTER 11

THE FONSECA TRANSLATION (1615)

Vaugelas's translation of Fonseca's *Discursos para todos los Euangelios de la Quaresma* is particularly valuable in that it enables us to compare his usage of French in 1615, at a time when he was still relatively young and fresh from the provinces, with his mature pronouncements in the *Remarques*.¹ Since the *Remarques* to some extent both reflected and became a textbook of good usage of language in the middle of the seventeenth century, the comparison of Vaugelas's use of language in 1615 with the judgements of the *Remarques* also gives us an insight into the wider question of the development of the French language during the first half of the seventeenth century. The language of the translation deviates from the usage recommended in the *Remarques* in a number of ways and, in many aspects of its use of vocabulary and constructions, it is akin to that of the Renaissance or early seventeenth-century authors. Yet the translation was clearly written in a period of transition, for already many of the characteristic features and worst excesses of the previous century have been removed, and points of grammar are adhered to for which Vaugelas was later to become the authority. I shall also compare, where appropriate, the usage of the translation with that of the Arsenal manuscript. Sometimes these overlap closely: for example, Vaugelas favours the suppression of the article in the expression 'uous tourniez uisage [uers la Prouence]' in the manuscript (MS, fol. 86^v) and this construction is found in the 1615 translation (e.g. *F*, 134), but the observation does not appear in the published *Remarques*. Similarly, he uses the present continuous quite freely both in the translation of Fonseca and in the manuscript (e.g. MS, fol. 7^v: 'Ainsi ie uais reconnoissant [sic] de plus en plus que c'est une distinction d'un grand usage que celle des Substantifs, ou des Adiectifs Synonimes ou approuchans, et de ceux qui sont entierement diuers ou contraires'; *F*, 595: 'ils vont tousiours accomplissant les desirs du corps'), whereas he restricts its usage in the *Remarques* to verbs of motion (*R*, 185–86). Sometimes the usage recommended in the Arsenal manuscript represents a mid-point between the early translation and the *Remarques*: for example, the word *ains* is used quite freely in the Fonseca translation. By the time of the manuscript, Vaugelas notes that *ains* is no longer used by the best authors or at Court and he expresses great regret that so useful a word has disappeared from currency (MS, fol. 4^r). By 1647 the word has disappeared so

completely from good usage that there is no longer any need to devote a whole remark to it, but it is just mentioned as a *barbarisme* (R, 568), probably the most damning label that Vaugelas gives. Finally, sometimes the manuscript and published *Remarques* agree, and usage in the translation represents an earlier stage in the evolution of the language: for example, the spellings *auecques* (F, 61) and *d'autant* (= because) (F, 43) used in 1615 are condemned in the manuscript (MS, fols 9^r, 23^r) and the published *Remarques* (R, 311, 326) alike. All this then underlines the necessity of viewing Vaugelas's work as a whole.

I. ORTHOGRAPHY

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

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

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

Certain features can only be attributed to lack of care either on the part of Vaugelas or the printer: for example, *leur pieds* (F, 54), *qu'vne hōme* (F, 82), *que vne* (F, 142), and the confusion of agreements in 'car la prescience diuine n'impose point vne necessité absoluë en nos actions, bien qu'elles les preuoye & predise' (F, 320). It is not clear whether we should interpret such orthographies as *qu'elle* (= *quelle*) *apparence* (F, 347), *tout sa race* (F, 80), *esloignee de quatre mille du Iordain* (F, 139) in the same favourable light. Inconsistencies abound, especially in the choice of single or double consonants. For instance, we find both *affin que* (F, 327) and *afin que* (F, 384); *luitant* (F, 60) and *luiteur* (F, 126); *secrettemēt* (F, 33) and *secretement* (F, 351); and in many cases the choice of the single or double consonant differs from the accepted dictionary norm today: *l'apetit* (F, 80), *notter* (F, 106), *moullu* (F, 117) etc. Other words appear in two or even three different forms, which testifies to the general

uncertainty and lack of stability on the question of orthography at the beginning of the seventeenth century (*meine* (F, 46)/*mene* (F, 69); *nompareilles* (F, 142)/*non pareille* (F, 426); *prouffit* (F, 33)/*profit* (F, 102)/*proffit* (F, 300)). There appears to be particular doubt as to the use of 'c'/'ç', 'çç' and 'ss': thus we find the orthographies *face* (F, 247, = 3rd person present subjunctive of *faire*), *respôce* (F, 70), *de ce picoter* (F, 88), *caueçon* (F, 415), *sucçons* (F, 209), *caparrassonner* (F, 221), *menasse* (F, 308) and *menace* (F, 331), with 'c', 'ç', 'çç' and 'ss' all representing the same sound.

The translation contains a number of forms generally used in the sixteenth century that compared with present-day spellings have extra letters which are sometimes etymological and sometimes purely fanciful. Thus there is a definite sixteenth-century quality in the appearance of the following sentence: 'Ysaac la nuit de ses nopces mit le lict de son espousee dans la mesme chambre . . .' (F, 20). The etymological spellings are too numerous to be given in full, and one or two examples must serve as an illustration: *coulpe* (F, 126), *nepueu* (F, 110), *assubiecty* (F, 217), *debte* (F, 249), *deub* (F, 383, = past participle of *devoir*), *faulsaires* (F, 440) etc. In other cases there is no etymological reason for the extra consonant (e.g. *inthime* (F, 431), *mathelots* (F, 197)). Some of the spellings used by Vaugelas were definitely old-fashioned in standard French by the beginning of the seventeenth century when the translation was done (e.g. *abbayer* (F, 242), *rafreschir* (F, 343), *serain* (F, 369)), so that we can assume that at this stage Vaugelas was in some respects conservative and his usage behind the general development of standards of spelling. There are also cases where consonants are omitted, (e.g. *exemt* (F, 458)), and we still find word-final 'd' and 't' removed before the ending 's' (e.g. *renars* (F, 143), *tu prens* (F, 342), *manquemens* (F, 556)). The representation of vowel sounds shows the same inconsistency (*eyme* (F, 238)/*ayme* (F, 239); *montagne* (F, 323)/*montaigne* (F, 452)), use of extra letters (*gaigner* (F, 89), *clairté* (F, 153), *seicheresse* (F, 203)) and substitutions (*se vanger* (F, 81), *parauanture* (F, 82)). Conventions as to the use of 'y' or 'i' are not yet fixed (*syrop* (F, 317), *aygreur* (F, 324), *simbole* (F, 386)), nor is the use of 'm' and 'n' as opposed to the tilde generalized. The abbreviation *vn'* before a feminine word beginning with a vowel is also still found ('vne foy, vn' amour, vne force, & vn' esperance' (F, 579)).

Forms which are today written as single words could still be divided up at the beginning of the seventeenth century: we therefore find the forms *tous jours* (F, 203), *à lors* (F, 100), and phrases such as 'Puis dôc que la delectation est engêdree par l'esperâce' (F, 291). The use of hyphens and accents is spasmodic, and, as we saw in the previous chapter,² there is a general dearth of punctuation.

Forms on which Vaugelas himself commented in the *Remarques* are, of course, particularly interesting. It seems that there are more cases of disagreement between Vaugelas's pronouncements on spelling in the *Remarques* and

usage in the translation than there are of agreement. The questions on which there is deviation fall into three general categories: those spellings which are condemned without qualification in the *Remarques*, those which are said to be not so good as others, but which are nevertheless acceptable, and those on which usage is said to have recently changed (and which were therefore probably quite acceptable at the time the translation was printed) or where it is still evolving. The following examples of 'errors' in the translation come under the first heading: *auèques* (F, 61; cf. R, 311); *encores que* (F, 132), *encor* (F, 138), *encor que* (F, 248; cf. R, 252); *d'autant que* (F, 43), written with an apostrophe and having the meaning 'because' (cf. R, 326); *dueil* (= 'duel', F, 127;³ cf. R, 493); *vn pact* (F, 459; cf. R, 372).⁴ As for the second category, Vaugelas states in the *Remarques* that he prefers *erondelle* and *hirondelle* to *arondelle*, although he does not totally ban the latter (R, 512). In the translation it is *arrondelle(s)* (sic) which occurs (F, 421).⁵ In the third category are those cases where we expect the older usage to be represented in the early translation, since the *Remarques* record a recent change in usage. Consequently Vaugelas's comments on the form of proper names ending in *-anus* in Latin (R, 143), together with the fact that no mention of the point is made in the manuscript, lead us to expect to find the forms ending in *-an* in the translation (e.g. *Tertullian* (F, 342) *Cyprian* (F, 622)). Similarly, since it is only in the *fautes d'impression* of the *Remarques* that Vaugelas recommends the spelling *de mesme* in preference to *de mesmes*, it is not surprising to find *de mesmes* used more commonly in 1615. On the other hand, he does not follow his own recommendation (R, 439; cf. MS, fol. 7^v) that in words beginning with *ad-* in which the 'd' is not pronounced, the 'd' should not be written, so that in the translation the 'd', as a general rule, appears in these words (e.g. *aduenir* (F, 435), *aduis* (F, 479), *aduenement* (F, 170), *advertissement* (F, 409), but *auantage* (F, 27)).

There are, however, a number of points on which Vaugelas's usage corresponds to his subsequent recommendations in the *Remarques*. Witness the following orthographies: *sans dessus dessous* (F, 16; cf. R, 44); *arsenac* (F, 137; cf. R, 474); *Dieu mesmes* (F, 377; cf. R, 23); *guerir* (F, 441; cf. R, 250); *Hierosme* (F, 298), *Hierusalem* (F, 314, 334; cf. R, 204); *doncques* (F, 309; cf. R, 392); *tomberont* (F, 335; cf. R, 82); *nauigent* (F, 372; cf. R, 66) etc.⁶

It is therefore true to say that the orthography of the published translation has features in common with both the highly etymological and inconsistent spelling of the previous century and the orthographies given by Vaugelas himself in the middle of the century. However, the text of 1615 undoubtedly appears old-fashioned in comparison either with the printed page of the *Remarques* or with the preferences stated in the observations, from the most commonly used words (for example, in 1615 *ceste* is generally used, whereas in 1647 *cette* is more usual) to the most specialized. Moreover, the variations and

hesitations in usage suggest an uncertainty as to the correct orthography of certain words which is not consistent with the move towards relative fixity of spelling generally favoured in the *Remarques*.

II. VERB MORPHOLOGY

In the realm of verb morphology, there is still much hesitation in 1615 between the older forms and the new analogical ones. For example, on page 435 Vaugelas uses the old form of the first person present indicative *ie croy que* without final 's', contrary to his recommendation in the *Remarques* (R, 131; cf. MS, fol. 96^v). The lack of stability in the verbal paradigms at this period is further illustrated by the fact that in the translation *treuuer* is much more frequently used than *trouuer*, and that *preuue* (F, 89) and *plouuoir* (F, 125) are also found (cf. R, 133–34).⁷ This impression of instability is reinforced by the appearance of the occasional odd-looking form, for instance, ' & Philon preuue, que tant que nous sommes iouyssons en ceste vie du bien d'autrui, que nous en auons l'vsufruit' (F, 381).

In the *Remarques* Vaugelas is critical of the contracted forms of certain verbs in the future and conditional when used in prose (R, 119, 413), but in the translation the contracted forms of *laisser* are far more common than the ones accepted today (*ils ne lairront pas* (F, 203), *lairroit* (sic) (F, 216), *lairrois* (F, 296) etc.) and forms such as *employra* (F, 646) also occur. Since the contracted forms of *laisser* and *donner* are also condemned in the Arsenal manuscript (MS, fol. 58^v; cf. fols 24^v, 25^r) we may hypothesize that these forms disappeared from good usage in the period between 1615 and the noting down of the observations in the Arsenal manuscript. It is also clear that Vaugelas formulated his ideas on the correct form of the past definite of the verbs *prendre*, *devenir*, *venir* etc. (R, 97, 98; cf. MS, fols 88^r, 95^v) after the translation was written, for the older forms (some with the glide 'd') are still often used (e.g. *deuindrent* (F, 131), *vindrent* (F, 671), *prinrent* (F, 311)), although the modern forms do also appear (e.g. *prirent* (F, 441)). As in the case of the present indicative, the use of final 's' is unstable both in the first person singular of the past definite (*i'eu* (F, 299)) and in the second person singular imperative (R, 189). The uncertainty as to the correct form of the second person singular imperative is witnessed by the fact that contradictory forms appear side by side in the same sentence: 'ne fais point le triste, & ne renfrongne point le sourcil, resiouy toy au contraire, & souuiens toy . . .' (F, 42); 'Mon enfant iette toy dans la prison de Dieu, demeure-y pieds & poings liez' (F, 414–15).⁸ However, Vaugelas does use the modern form of the infinitive *cueillir* (F, 171; cf. R, *483) and clearly differentiates between the usage of *recouurer* and *recouuir* (F, 318; cf. R, 17).⁹

The rather surprising fact that the imperfect subjunctive is not discussed at all in the *Remarques* is perhaps explained by the fact that this form of the verb is

frequently used by Vaugelas without problems in 1615. The past definite and imperfect subjunctive are occasionally confused, but this again may be due to an error on the part of the printer (e.g. 'de sorte que les Astres furent obeissants à Iosué, & son soldat ne le fust pas' (F, 669); 'nous acquerons des nouvelles forces, comme fist Elie' (F, 602)). The same is true of the odd mistakes found in the forms of the present subjunctive (e.g. *qu'il en prene* (F, 298), *Dieu te gard Pythagoras* (F, 434)). On the whole, however, Vaugelas's use of the subjunctive is unremarkable and coincides with the few recommendations on the subject in the *Remarques*: *ayt* (F, 192; cf. R, 90), *qu'il vous dise* (F, 431; cf. R, 349).

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

III. SYNTAX

A. Introduction

As we have seen in Chapter 7, in the *Remarques* Vaugelas advocates a clear and unambiguous syntax in which all the relationships are unequivocally marked, even if this involves redundancy. In his translation of Fonseca, however, there are many examples where these demands are not met and the recommendations of the *Remarques* are not followed. For instance, in the *Remarques* Vaugelas speaks disdainfully of the necessity of having to give the simple rule that *des* must be used before a plural noun used on its own in the nominative or accusative case, but that *de* is required when the noun is preceded by an adjective (R, 330–31; cf. MS, fol. 23^r). Nevertheless, this rule is rarely adhered to in the translation, and although *de* is occasionally found before a plural adjective + noun, the following examples represent the majority of cases: 'qu'ils doiuent enfanter des bonnes œures' (F, 41); 'la perte des biens du corps, apporte bien souuent des grands gains' (F, 457).

Another characteristic of the 1615 text is the omission of the article where in Modern French it would be compulsory.¹⁰ The incorrect use of articles is criticized in the *Remarques* in the observation which deals with solecisms, where there is a suggestion that Vaugelas's uncertainty of usage in 1615 may be due to his provincial upbringing:

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

In his translation of the Lenten Sermons, Vaugelas omits the article in a large number of cases, many of which are specifically criticized in the *Remarques*. In the following instances, the noun and verb seem to form a unified verbal expression (cf. Modern French: *faire face à*): *en tournât visage* (F, 134), *faire teste à* (F, 134), *que sa correction porte coup* (F, 508), *ont opinion qu'il . . .* (F, 751); from his comments on the expression *faire piece* in the *Remarques* (R, 318) we can deduce that by 1647 Vaugelas no longer tolerated such omissions of the article. In 1615 he is generally unsure about the use of the partitive article.¹¹ He describes the omission of the partitive in such phrases as *il a esprit & cœur* as a recent innovation, one of which he is highly critical since, he claims, the French language, like Greek, 'aime extrêmement les articles' (R, 170).¹² Cases of non-use of the article are still commonly found in the Fonseca translation: 'parce que les Apostres auoient pouuoir & permission d'en vser de la sorte' (F, 458); 'Saint Augustin . . . dit que la parole de Dieu, est esprit & vie en soy' (F, 572). Vaugelas points out in the *Remarques* that the question of the use of the article is one on which usage has changed since the time of Du Perron, Coeffeteau, and Malherbe. Then it was quite possible to write *c'est chose glorieuse*, but by 1647 he deems that the form *c'est vne chose glorieuse* is the only correct one (R, 220).¹³ Since the change is considered a recent one, and, as we have seen, it is the older usage which is still recommended in the manuscript, predictably such omissions are found in the translation written in the earlier period: 'de façon que si Dieu nous deliure des maux qui nous arriuent, c'est misericorde, & quand il les nous laisse, ce n'est nullement iniustice' (F, 704). Sometimes the use of a certain adjective occasions Vaugelas to omit the article: e.g. 'C'est pourquoy certain historié appelloit Tibere, *Cimbalum mundi*, la cloche du mōde' (F, 438). In general Vaugelas is not so strict about the use of articles in 1615 and is not so attentive to points of detail, for example: 'qu'Eleazare guerissoit grande quantité de Demoniacles' (F, 451); 'ce n'est pas merueilles, que . . .' (F, 612). Evidence of hesitation and uncertainty is not difficult to discern; compare the following: 'Cela est veritablement notre . . . que personne ne nous peut oster' (F, 381); 'Ma doctrine, ce dit-il, n'est pas mienne' (F, 676); 'que ma doctrine est la sienne' (F, 685). Such usages then contrast strongly with the recommendations made in the *Remarques*, where Vaugelas stresses the importance of the correct use of the articles, and indeed it is points of this kind that go to make up the clarity typically associated with Classical French prose.¹⁴

Another example of where Vaugelas's usage in 1615 may still be influenced by his provincial upbringing concerns the wrongful addition or omission of the negative particles *pas* and *point*. In the *Remarques* Vaugelas explains where it is correct to omit *pas* or *point* in negation and where it is intolerable, and states that he considers their misuse to be typical of the usage of those living beyond the Loire (R, 405–09; cf. MS, fols 70, 36^r). However, in his translation of

Fonseca he occasionally uses *pas* or *point* in combination with another negative particle, despite the fact that this is censured both in the manuscript (MS, fol. 70^r) and in the *Remarques* because of the pleonasm; for example *point* is used with *aucun* where it is no longer needed since *aucun* had by this time assumed a purely negative meaning from its constant usage in negative constructions: ‘& de fait saint Luc n’interpose point aucun espace de temps entre le banquet, & la mort du mauuais riche’ (F, 362; cf. R, 406). On the other hand, if we assume that his list in the *Remarques* of acceptable omissions of *pas* and *point* is complete, the following example would no longer be tolerated by him in 1647 after his many years of living at Court: ‘ce sexe nous frappe, si nous ne tenons sur nos gardes’ (F, 610), but as his discussion of the position of adjectives indicates (R, 182–85), the fact that he does not comment on this case, unfortunate though it may be in view of the licence allowed with the *si ne* construction, may simply be the result of his inability always to remember a complete list.

Vaugelas is also less rigorous in the translation about differentiating the syntactic usage of formally related words. In the *Remarques* he gives a fairly lengthy treatment to the question of when what he terms the ‘prepositions simples’, *sous*, *sur*, etc., should be used and when the ‘composées’, *dessous*, *dessus*, etc., are required and concludes that *sous*, *sur*, etc. are prepositions, whereas *dessous*, *dessus* have primarily an adverbial function (R, 124–26; cf. R, 568).¹⁵ He notes, however, the following exceptions to his rule: *dessous*, *dessus*, etc. are to be used as prepositions where two such prepositions follow (‘elle n’est ni dedans, ni dessus le coffre’), whether there is a contrast of meaning or not, and where there is another preposition immediately preceding (e.g. *par dessous*, *par dedans*). In the translation Vaugelas invariably breaks this rule and prefers to use the older construction: e.g. ‘de l’auantage qu’il a dessus nous’ (F, 27); ‘& si Dieu veille dessus eux’ (F, 133). There is therefore no difference made between this usage and the type represented in the following example: ‘qui apporta la loy de dessus la montagne’ (F, 323). Nevertheless, as we have seen in the discussion of the work as a translation, the freedom of the rendering suggests that, perhaps contrary to expectations, the use of language and choice of vocabulary in such instances is little affected by the Spanish original.

B. Agreement

The question as to whether an adjective following two co-ordinated nouns should agree with both nouns and therefore be plural or whether it need only agree with the second of the two nouns is a problematic one, and naturally depends at least in part on the interpretation of the meaning of the phrase. Vaugelas generally makes the adjective agree only with the second of the two nouns, even when the meaning makes it clear that the adjective refers to both

nouns: 'Nostre vie est vne guerre & vne tentation continuelle' (F, 133). The problem is more obvious when a change of gender is also involved: 'que sa mort ait apporté vn deuil, & vne tristesse nompareille à vn chacun' (F, 633); '& que les fers & les chaisnes y sont desia preparees pour moy, & m'attendent' (F, 800).¹⁶ Occasionally odd agreements appear in the translation which may be due to printing errors: 'C'estoit vn tesmoignage d'vn amour merueilleusement ardente & empressee à l'endroit des hommes' (F, 695); however, in this example, the hesitation may partly derive from the indeterminate status of the gender of *amour* (R, 389–90; cf. MS, fols 7^v, 37^r). Vaugelas breaks the rule he makes in the *Remarques* about the use of the adjective *vieux*, *vieil*, *vieille* (R, 377), by using *vieil* before a masculine noun beginning with a consonant: 'au vieil testament' (F, 438).

The same difficulty as to whether a singular or plural should be used after coordinated nouns occurs with the use of relative pronouns (e.g. 'La huictiesme, estoit la tiedeur & nonchalance avec laquelle ils demandoient les miracles' (F, 486)), verbal agreements ('la moisson & la recolte rēplira ton aire, & tes greniers' (F, 393)) and past participle agreements ('Il respond que l'enuie & la hayne, qu'ils auoient conceuë contre luy n'auoient pas besoing d'autres demons' (F, 456)).¹⁷ The rules set out in the *Remarques* (R, 175–81) for the agreement of the past participle are generally adhered to (e.g. with respect to preceding direct object, agreements with *rendre* and *faire*), although there are examples of lack of care. Vaugelas does not, however, follow his own later recommendation about the past participle agreement in the sentence: 'Certes ie m'apperçois, qu'vn des plus signalez tesmoignages, qu'il nous ayt laissé de son amour extreme, est (ce me semble) cestuy-cy . . .' (F, 341; cf. R, 153–54: *C'est vne des plus belles actions qu'il ayt jamais faites*).¹⁸

The observation entitled *Des Participes actifs* (R, 426–33) in which Vaugelas sets out his views on the use and agreements of the present participle is long and involved.¹⁹ Moreover, there are several areas where usage has changed on these questions since his time. Vaugelas firstly deals with the use of the present participles of *avoir* and *être* as auxiliary verbs: in this usage they are deemed to be gerundives and therefore invariable (e.g. *les hommes ayant veu*, *les hommes estant contraints*).²⁰ However, in the translation, plural agreement is found in such cases: 'lors qu'estants persecutez de Tite' (F, 314); 'tous ces membres estans pourris exceptees les leures' (F, 329).

Secondly, Vaugelas deals with the use of *ayant* in all other situations, under which he includes the use of all other active participles. It is by no means clear how he differentiates between the uses he considers as instances of the gerundive where there is no agreement, and instances of the participle where there is agreement; of the first type he gives as a paradigm, *les hommes ayant cette inclination*, and of the second, *je les ay trouuez ayans le verre à la main*. However, agreement in this second type only occurs with a masculine plural,

for there is, he claims, no feminine form of *ayant* and the feminine form of the other active verbs is very rarely used. The correct form for the present participle in the sentence *je les [sc. les femmes] ay trouuées ayant le verre à la main* is without agreement, despite the potential risk of taking *ayant* with *je* instead of with *femmes*. So strongly does he support invariability, that he is prepared to overlook one of his general principles and allow the sense to make up for the structural ambiguity, ‘comme il fait souuent en toutes les langues, & dans les meilleurs Autheurs’ (R, 428). Proximity of related elements of course favours the correct interpretation. There is a suggestion of a lack of understanding of the history of the present participle in French on Vaugelas’s part in the way he claims that in noting that the participle has no feminine form he is offering ‘vne Remarque nouvelle & fort curieuse’ (R, 427). Derived from Latin third declension adjectives, present participles had belonged to the regular class of Old French adjectives which had identical forms for the masculine and feminine singular, and masculine and feminine plural. Whereas pure third declension adjectives gained an analogical *e* in the feminine, the present participle was slower to conform, although by the seventeenth century such gender agreement was quite common, despite Vaugelas’s condemnation of it.²¹ To answer the objection that forms such as *changeante*, *concluante*, *effrayante*, *remuante* are found, he maintains that in this case the forms have a purely adjectival function. They may govern the same case as the verb from which they are derived (e.g. *approchante de*, *repugnante à*), but that does not mean that they have any verbal function. In the Fonseca translation examples are found which apparently contravene this second ruling concerning the use of *ayant* as a main verb, for example, ‘le remede . . . leur sembloit vn nouveau danger plus grand que le premier, ayants plus d’aprehension du secours que du mal’ (F, 126); ‘qui passoient le long du chemin de Ierico disants leur breuiaire’ (F, 504). Indeed, Vaugelas apparently prefers in general to make the present participle agree in the translation. Yet he uses neither feminine plural agreement nor the masculine singular or invariable form recommended in the *Remarques* with a feminine plural noun, but rather the older plural form unmarked for gender, consequently producing some rather strange looking agreements for the modern reader: e.g. ‘vne grande quantité de personnes qui pèsants d’estre bien aduisees, ou portees du desespoir . . .’ (F, 171).²²

The third case dealt with by Vaugelas in the *Remarques* is the use of *être* as a participle where it is not an auxiliary. Two possible uses are cited: as the substantive verb + noun (e.g. *estant malade*), or without a following verb or noun (e.g. *estant sur le point*). In the first instance he says *estant* is always invariable because it is considered a gerundive. In the second case, he argues that plural agreement may be used where applicable to avoid ambiguity (although not in the feminine), but that otherwise it is best not to make the agreement.²³ Once again these rulings are not followed in 1615, for example,

‘que ceux qui sont menez en triomphe par l’ambition, estans personnes releuées, & de qualité . . .’ (F, 351). There is therefore a great difference between the usage recommended in the *Remarques*, where invariability is tolerated in more cases, and Vaugelas’s earlier usage, where agreement of the present participle is much more general.

C. Government

There is not a great deal to say about verb government, as this seems to be a question on which there is a fair amount of agreement on usage between the two works and present-day usage. Vaugelas differs with his later ideas on two small points. Firstly, in 1615 *commencer* is generally followed by *de* (e.g. ‘il commença de parler’ (F, 647; cf. R, 424)) and *ressembler* is still sometimes used as a directly transitive verb (e.g. ‘En apparence nostre vie ressemble vne mort’ (F, 663;²⁴ cf. R, *480)). However, on the question of the correct construction of *seruir* (F, 40), *fournir* (F, 187) and *prier* (F, 413), Vaugelas already uses the modern constructions which he later recommends in the *Remarques* (R, 320, 479).²⁵ Occasionally odd deviations from modern usage are found (e.g. ‘se conuertit au sang’ (F, 380); ‘pretendit de faire’ (F, 320)), but this is generally an area about which very little can be learnt about the development of the French language during the first half of the seventeenth century by comparing the two works.

D. Co-ordination

In the chapter on syntax, we saw how the ‘synonym rule’ determined whether articles, pronouns or prepositions should be repeated before two co-ordinated nouns or verbs.²⁶ In the 1615 translation there is hesitation and inconsistency about the use of articles, pronouns and prepositions in co-ordinated phrases and examples occur which are at odds with the principles articulated in the *Remarques*. For instance, in repeating the indefinite article generally before the second of two nouns joined by ‘&’ even when these have the same or similar meaning, he is stricter than his ‘synonym rule’ (R, 214–18) suggests is necessary: ‘vne grādeur & vne sainteté si extreme’ (F, 63); ‘Le nom de *Mulier* porte quant & soy vn tas & vn assemblage d’imperfections’ (F, 226).²⁷ Yet usage in the translation of Fonseca is inconsistent for, where the article is preceded by a preposition, or a partitive is used, there is no set pattern as to whether the article is repeated or not (e.g. ‘il faut aussi auoir esgard au temps de la cure & de la guerison’ (F, 25²⁸); ‘ou de la singularité, & rareté de la chose’ (F, 66); ‘en la creation & redemption, & aux benefices generaux’ (F, 133)). Where the two nouns are of the same gender, the omission of the second preposition + article may lessen the clarity of the phrase, but it is nevertheless

relatively unimportant; where, however, the co-ordinated nouns are of different gender, the omission is far more problematic: e.g. 'à la conuersation & entretien' (*F*, 600).

The lack of repetition of subject and object personal pronouns in co-ordinated phrases is similarly curtailed in 1647. In the *Remarques* there is a fairly lengthy observation entitled *Suppreßion des pronoms personnels deuant les verbes* (*R*, 420–22) in which Vaugelas suggests where the suppression of the subject pronoun before the second of two verbs to which it applies is elegant and where its omission is an abuse, because 'plusieurs abusent de cette suppression, sur tout ceux qui ont escrit il y a vingt ou vingt-cinq ans; car en ce temps là, si nous en exceptons M. Coeffeteau & peu d'autres, c'estoit vn vice assez familier à nos Escriuains'.²⁹ Vaugelas gives two circumstances when the omission of the second subject pronoun is not allowed: firstly, when the construction changes, that is, for example, when there is a change of subject; and secondly, when the two verbs involved are separated by a disjunctive item like *mais* or *ou*. He vaguely refers to there being other cases where omission would be considered archaic in 1647, examples which he says can be deduced from reading authors using 'l'ancien stile'. Vaugelas's usage in 1615 often represents this older style. In the following example there are two separate clauses, the second of which is clearly disjoined from the first according to Vaugelas's definition by the use of 'Et neantmoins', yet the subject pronoun is not repeated:

Et comme vne personne qui n'a point d'ame ny de conscience ne craint pas la mort, & dit . . . Et neantmoins craint la paureté qui l'environne, la faim qui le presse, & l'ennemy qui le menace, qui ne craint pas Dieu qui le peut enseuelir dans les flammes eternelles de l'enfer & craint neantmoins le iuge qui le fait mener en prison. (*F*, 126)

Vaugelas equally breaks the second condition of the rule he lays down in the *Remarques*: 'de ceste feste, qui estoit l'vne des plus celebres entre toutes celles des Iuifs, ils la solemnisoient le quinzieme de Septembre, & continuoit l'espace de sept iours' (*F*, 791). Many of the examples are simple cases of non-repetition of the subject pronoun between co-ordinated verbs, a usage still apparently considered elegant by Vaugelas in the middle of the seventeenth century: 'pour les releuer de ceste peine, ie me suis aydé, & leur ay presté la main' (*F*, 586). In addition, the impersonal subject pronoun is frequently omitted in the Fonseca translation, even when it has not been previously stated (e.g. 'Desorte que l'vne & l'autre est grandement dangereuse, & ne se faut pas estonner si . . .') (*F*, 492), or the beginning of the sentence is given emphasis by the use of *si* (e.g. 'Et si faut sçauoir que . . .') (*F*, 180). On the other hand, Vaugelas's usage occasionally differs from that of Modern French in that a pleonastic pronoun is used where today it would be considered non-standard: 'La tétation si l'on la considere côme vn acte du Diable elle est mauuaise' (*F*, 135–36).

On the question of whether the direct object pronoun should be repeated before co-ordinated verbs, Vaugelas is dogmatic in the *Remarques* stating: 'Cette Reigle ne souffre point d'exception' (*R*, 495).³⁰ The direct object pronoun must be repeated in all cases, whether the co-ordinated verbs are synonymous or not. Nevertheless, exceptions to this rule are not difficult to find in Vaugelas's prose of 1615: 'mais Marcelle & les autres qui sont avec elle le descourent & manifestent haut & clair' (*F*, 461). This is also the case for the repetition of the reflexive pronoun: 'Sofar vn de ses amis l'accusa de s'estre vanté & enorgueilly de la pureté de sa conscience' (*F*, 674), and the repetition of the indirect object pronoun: 'qui ne cesse de luy piquer & deschirer le coeur' (*F*, 471).³¹ Again, the opposite fault of pleonasm is found: 'Ce sont certaines Metamorphoses, qu'il n'appartient qu'au peché & à la grace, de les faire' (*F*, 422). Thus Vaugelas's use of pronouns in the Fonseca translation is not yet guided by the principles enunciated in the *Remarques*.

The same problems arise with the repetition of the preposition before the second of two co-ordinated nouns or verbs (*R*, 214–18; MS, fol. 71^r). The difficulty of determining what Vaugelas considers 'synonimes, ou approchans' is also involved here. In the 1615 translation Vaugelas is obviously following the rule of non-repetition before 'synonimes, ou approchans' in the examples 'pour auoir occasion d'opprimer & accabler' (*F*, 92) and 'parce qu'ils les exhortent à la vertu & sainteté de vie' (*F*, 300), but it seems hardly possible to call the following two infinitives synonymous: 'il sollicitoit & pressoit Abraham de resusciter vn mort, & l'enuoyer à ses parents' (*F*, 288).³² In fact, it is generally the case that Vaugelas does not repeat the preposition before the second of two nouns or verbs (note, however, that in the greater number of cases the two nouns or verbs do have the same or similar meaning). In short, Vaugelas is less careful about repeating articles, pronouns and prepositions in 1615 and does not apply the 'synonym rule' rigorously.

Lack of care is also evident in his choice and application of co-ordinating conjunctions in negative sentences. Vaugelas's use of the *ny . . . ny* construction is hesitant; for instance, there are cases where the combination *ny . . . ou* is employed (*F*, 244). Similarly, in the following, positive and negative conjunctions are confused: 'Les merueilles que l'Escriture sainte racontent [sic] de Daud, d'Abysay frere de Ioab, de Banaias, & de Moab, ny mesmes de Sanson ne sont point esgales à ceste-cy' (*F*, 667^{33–68}).

E. Subordination

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

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

From the pattern we have already seen, it is not surprising to find Vaugelas invariably using this construction in 1615 in the way criticized in 1647: e.g. 'quelle charité desire il que . . .' (*F*, 79); 'Quelle place que l'on donne au Pere . . .' (*F*, 163); 'Ce pauvre garçon s'enfuit loing de Dieu, qui l'aimoit, pour le trouuer en quel lieu qu'il aille, irrité contre luy' (*F*, 416) etc.

The choice and application of relative pronouns, discussed in Chapter 7,³⁴ is an important example of a change in usage between the beginning and the middle of the seventeenth century as illustrated in the work of Vaugelas. He devotes a good deal of space in the *Remarques* to defining the scope of usage of the various relative pronouns (*lequel*, *qui*, *dont*, *quoy*, *où*), and recommending constructions to avoid the cumbersome and inelegant clause connections characteristic of earlier usage. *Lequel*, *auquel*, *duquel* etc. are still much more frequently used by Vaugelas in 1615 than the other relatives. Where usage has most changed concerns the choice of *qui* or *lequel*. Vaugelas frequently uses the relative *lequel* in sentences where it is called for neither to clarify any possible ambiguity if there are two possible antecedents of different gender³⁵ nor to add weight to the beginning of a narrative (*R*, 116; cf. *MS*, fol. 58^v), and which therefore appear archaic to the modern French reader:

Tertullia est de cest aduis lequel adiouste, que Dieu appelle sa vertu, le doigt, pour monstrier que le doigt, qui est la moindre chose, qui soit en luy, veut dire la toute puissâce de Dieu. (*F*, 450)

mais elle frappa celuy d'une femme appelée Marcelle, laquelle esprise d'admiration, & haussant la voix au milieu des docteurs, se prit à louer nostre Seigneur. (*F*, 459)

In general *duquel* etc. is used rather than the neater *dont*, for instance:

Ceste hypocrisie regarde directement la vaine gloire, de laquelle nous auons fait assez de mention par le passé. (*F*, 38)

pour signifier, que la seuerité & la douceur sont deux parties necessaires au Iuge, desquelles il doit tousiours estre accompagné. (*F*, 669)³⁶

Furthermore, in the possessive usage, *à qui* is preferred to *dont*: 'Vn Marcus Vibulus, à qui les Gabiens auoient tué deux enfans . . .' (*F*, 81). However, Vaugelas does make use of *quoy* (e.g. 'aussi bié que les rets & la ligne avec quoy il peschoit' (*F*, 551)). There are also instances of lack of attention over the use of relative pronouns, which may be careless errors on the part of Vaugelas or possibly on the part of the printer: 'c'est ce qui fit fleurir l'Empire sous Trajan, & qu'il rendit la reputation de ce gouvernement par tout le monde' (*F*, 651-52).

There is some hesitation over the choice of the interrogative pronoun in the Fonseca translation, a question not dealt with in the *Remarques*. The following examples show that, despite this omission, usage on this topic was not fixed at the beginning of the seventeenth century, at least, not in Vaugelas's mind:

'L'on demande quelle de ces trois conditions est la plus miserable' (F, 456); '& l'on ne scauroit dire, laquelle des deux est la plus furieuse' (F, 491). Note also the use of *quel* in 'le Conseil enuoya des Leuites à Saint Iean Baptiste . . . pour l'interroger & scauoir de luy quel il estoit' (F, 525). In negative interrogative clauses, Vaugelas sometimes omits the *ne*: e.g. 'regardants de tous costez, si on leur auoit point dressé de pieges' (F, 407). It is true that this omission is considered more elegant in the Arsenal manuscript (MS, fol. 65^r), but by 1647 he seems less certain which construction is the more elegant, having received conflicting advice from different people whose opinion he had asked in the meantime (R, 210). This once again suggests that Vaugelas's ideas were reworked and greatly influenced by the opinions of other people during his lifetime.

F. Word order

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

As we have seen, the modern position of clitic pronouns, whether personal or reflexive, was not established by the time of the *Remarques*.³⁷ In the Fonseca translation we naturally find the direct object pronoun more frequently placed before the finite verb: 'neantmoins il la voulut euite' (F, 315); 'Quand Darius se voulut faire Dieu . . .' (F, 237). In these examples the position of the direct object pronoun appears archaic to the modern reader, but the clarity of the sentence is not affected. In the following examples where two verbs are coordinated, however, there is the problem of clarity raised by Vaugelas himself in 1647: 'si l'on le veut domter, & battre son orgueil en ruine' (F, 441); 'Mais si elle est infidelle & desloyale à son mary, il la peut repudier, & se separer d'avec elle' (F, 623).

Occasionally indirect personal pronouns (other than the third person pronouns, *lui*, *leur*) appear after *le*, *la*, *les*, contrary to the modern usage favoured in the manuscript (MS, fol. 57^v) and in the *Remarques* (R, 33–34) (e.g. 'Pour les Anges, on les nous depeint ravis en extase' (F, 890)). Certain other features of the word order appear archaic today; for example, the lack of inversion in *incise* ('qu'il ne scauroit ce semble, l'estre dauantage' (F, 436³⁸)) and the use of the connective *si* with inversion ('si voulut il pourtant que . . .' (F, 236)). The

following is also rather awkward: 'Tous nos pechez de doux qu'il est, nous le rendent aspre & rude' (*F*, 196).

In 1615 Vaugelas allows himself greater flexibility with the positioning of the adjective than is usual today. In the *Remarques* (*R*, 182–85) he says that although some adjectives necessarily go before the noun, e.g. numerals, *bon*, *beau*, *mauvais*, *grand*, *petit* (note, however, *F*, 445 'en ce miracle dernier'), and some after, e.g. adjectives of colour, nevertheless with the great majority the ear must decide which ordering is best. Coeffeteau, he claims, tended to place the adjective before the noun, whereas modern authors prefer to put it in the post-nominal position.³⁹ Restrictions placed on the positioning of certain adjectives and combinations of adjectives today are apparently irrelevant to Vaugelas in 1615: e.g. 'c'est le priuilege du seul Dieu' (*F*, 765); 'des tresors de sa toute science' (*F*, 63); 'aux autres deux' (*F*, 729). In the translation he commonly places two conjoined adjectives before the noun to which they refer: 'vn doux & gratieux Zephyre' (*F*, 154); 'à cause qu'il nous priue d'vn essentiel & veritable bien' (*F*, 457). This is true even when the two conjoined adjectives are reinforced by *si*, which is not repeated as is advised in the manuscript and in the *Remarques* (*R*, *490; MS, fol. 85^v): 'côte vn si foible & chetif ennemy' (*F*, 451). The following combination also occurs, but is much rarer: 'vne mauuaise fin & lamentable' (*F*, 173).

Vaugelas's use of comparative and superlative adjectives is confused in the Fonseca translation. Firstly, he does not seem to differentiate between their forms (e.g. 'Table alphabetique des choses qui sont plus remarquables en ce liure'⁴⁰). Secondly, he uses comparatives and superlatives in combinations which produce constructions that are inelegant in their asymmetry:

Voulez-vous sçauoir vne des plus grandes miserres du monde, & plus digne de compassion. (*F*, 772–73)

qu'il n'y a point de meilleur secret ny plus puissant pour appaiser la colere de nos ennemis, que de leur respondre doucement. (*F*, 779–80; cf. *R*, 528; MS, fol. 77^v)

In the *Remarques* Vaugelas specifies for semantic reasons that the adverb should follow the verb it modifies.⁴¹ This is the pattern generally used in the translation, although Vaugelas does vary the word order to produce stylistic effects: 'tellement que si le Pape vouloit determiner quelque point, & establir vne erreur pour article de foy, infalliblement Dieu feroit vn miracle' (*F*, 329). Where his usage in 1615 differs most from that of Modern French is in the placing of an adverb modifying an adjective or adjectives, a question not specifically dealt with in the *Remarques*: e.g. '& cōduit par des personnes impitoyables & cruelles extrememēt' (*F*, 400); 'elle estoit bastie magnifiquement' (*F*, 465). The positioning of the adverb in the following sentence is problematic because it seems to indicate that the adverb modifies *adoree*, whereas the meaning of the sentence seems to suggest that it should rather be

placed before *tout le monde*: 'L'honneur est vne idole de vanité, qui est presque adreee par tout le monde' (F, 805). Vaugelas generally places adverbs of time at the beginning of clauses as he recommends in the *Remarques* (R, *461–62), but he uses *beaucoup* after the adjective rather than *de beaucoup* contrary to his advice in the *Remarques* (R, 485): 'il y a quelque chose de plus blasmable beaucoup que la flaterie' (F, 196).

Vaugelas states his preference for the position of the negative particles before an infinitive as a matter of style in the *Remarques*: 'Il est à noter qu'avec les infinitifs, *pas & point*, ont beaucoup meilleure grace estant mis deuant qu'apres' (R, 409). As we know, it later became a matter of syntactic necessity. Both orderings are possible in 1615, but the older positioning of the *pas* or *point* after the infinitive occurs more frequently: 'il defend seulement . . . de n'amonceler point les richesses pour vous seul' (F, 46).⁴²

H. Conclusion

Vaugelas's sentences in 1615 are often long, involved and contorted in their syntax. As we have seen, the length of the sentences cannot be blamed on the fact that the work is a translation, but rather appears to stem from his admiration for Coeffeteau's style at this time. Vaugelas's usage in this translation differs in a number of significant ways from the usage preferred in the *Remarques* and there are many examples of constructions which make the translation read like a typical late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century text and therefore distance it from the recommendations of 1647. For example, Vaugelas still occasionally uses *comme* rather than *que* in a comparison: '& bien que ces miracles ne fussent pas en si grand nombre pour lors, comme ils furent depuis' (F, 576; cf. R, 63, MS, fol. 83').

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

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

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

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

The clausal connections in the translation also characterize the text as typical of an earlier usage than that for which Vaugelas later became renowned:

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

C'est nostre vray Maistre, & vne des plus grandes graces que Dieu ayt faites à son Eglise, est de luy donner Iesus-Christ pour son maistre, lequel a fait reluire depuis la grandeur de ce bien fait particulièrement en deux effects entre autres: l'vn en bannissant les tenebres de nostre ignorance, ainsi que la lumiere du Soleil materiel enrichit le iour, & chasse l'obscurité de la nuit, afin que les yeux corporels puissent voir la beauté de ce monde: De mesmes la lumiere du Soleil spirituel enrichit le iour de la nouvelle loy, & bannit les tenebres de l'ancienne à raison dequoy ce temps là fut appellé, *Nox praecepsit* &c. (*F*, 192-93)

Vaugelas's use of French syntax in 1615 has not then yet reached that degree of clarity which he advocates in the *Remarques* in 1647 and which became so typical of Classical French prose, and we still find ambiguous phrases and unattached clauses in the translation:

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

Participle clauses are over-used and tend to be constructed rather loosely:

Quoy que c'en soit, estant question de pouruoir à deux necessitez, l'vne du corps, & l'autre de l'ame, l'vne du pain & l'autre de la foy, nostre Seigneur commença par celle de l'ame, comme la plus importâte, exerçât sa charge de Sauueur. (*F*, 647)

Notable also are certain latinate constructions which are typical of sixteenth-century usage. For instance, the *Que si* . . . construction is still used in 1615, although it was already becoming dated by the end of the previous century: 'Que si l'eloquëce des hommes a tât de force, que doit on croire de celle de Dieu?' (*F*, 797).

IV. VOCABULARY

The development of Vaugelas's use of language between 1615 and 1647 also shows up clearly when we come to examine his choice of vocabulary in 1615. Words and phrases are used which, by the time of the *Remarques*, would have been considered archaic and which can be characterized as belonging to an earlier usage. There are also a substantial number of instances where Vaugelas uses vocabulary specifically criticized in the *Remarques* as not belonging to good usage, although it is important to notice that a large proportion of these are items which Vaugelas designates as having recently disappeared from the usage of the Court and the best authors of the day, and which are still considered acceptable in the Arsenal manuscript. For example, in his Fonseca translation Vaugelas uses the preposition *deuers* in such expressions as *deuers*

l'Orient (F, 21), *deuers le Soleil* (F, 68), a preposition still deemed acceptable in the Arsenal manuscript where it is characterized as 'plus graue' (MS, fol. 24^v) and of which he says in the *Remarques*: 'Mais depuis quelque temps ce mot a vieilli, & nos modernes Escriuains ne s'en seruent plus dans le beau langage' (R, 172). We have seen that in the *Remarques* Vaugelas expresses regret that certain words have gone out of usage because they do not seem to have been replaced satisfactorily by vocabulary items expressing the same concept, and that these words are often still deemed acceptable in the manuscript or not mentioned as being problematic. It is therefore not surprising that we find him making use of these in his translation: for example, *soulois* (F, 39; cf. R, 241); *voire mesmes* (F, 85; cf. R, 42); *partant* (F, 211, 313, 316 etc.; cf. R, 225); *qu'il luy faisoit courre sus* (F, 364; cf. R, 434); *magnifier* (F, 436;⁴³ cf. R, 129).⁴⁴ The genre of the work he was translating may have influenced Vaugelas's choice of vocabulary to some extent, since he admits, for instance, that *magnifier* can pass 'dans vn grand Ouurage' (R, 129), and of the use of *superbe* as a noun (F, 18) he says in the *Remarques*:

Ce mot est tousiours adjectif, & jamais substantif, quoy qu'une infinité de gens, & particulièrement les Predicateurs disent, *la superbe*, pour dire *l'orgueil*. (R, 31)⁴⁵

However, there are other words and phrases used in the 1615 translation which are not characterized as recent losses from the language by Vaugelas, but which are nevertheless criticized. Certain expressions are condemned in the *Remarques* as belonging to the lower registers of the written language or to speech, but are nevertheless used in the translation: e.g. *quant & soy* (F, 15; cf. R, 52); *ce dit il* (F, 63; cf. R, 308); the repetition of *qui* to express 'some . . . others' as in 'qui est cause que plusieurs se plaignent, *qui* de la fortune, *qui* de la santé, & *qui* de la memoire' (F, 349; cf. R, 51);⁴⁶ *auparauant que* (F, 323; cf. R, 475); *de façon que* (F, 338; cf. R, 435) etc.⁴⁷ Moreover, semantic differentiations made in the *Remarques* are not adhered to: for instance, the translation still confuses the meanings of the two verbs *consumer* and *consommer* (F, 662⁴⁸), which are clearly differentiated in the *Remarques* (R, 300).

This is not to say of course that there is no common ground between the pronouncements made in the *Remarques* and the choice of vocabulary in 1615. In this respect the following points should be noted on which the two texts agree: *qu'ainsi ne soit* (F, 56; cf. R, 557); *les Septante lisent* (F, 122; cf. R, 420); *ces gens icy* (F, 195; cf. R, 366); *nostre franc arbitre* (F, 320; cf. R, 93); *iours caniculaires* (F, 442; cf. R, 360); *pour lors* (F, 445; cf. R, 192); *de ceste sorte* (F, 448; cf. R, 26); *pour subuenir à la nécessité d'Elie* (F, 483; cf. R, 38). Yet it is true that there are important differences in Vaugelas's use of vocabulary between 1615 and 1647 and that these changes to some extent mirror the general tendency for the number of lexical items to be reduced in the first half of the seventeenth century, for a word which has the same or a similar meaning with another word to disappear, and for there to be a tighter control over the use of vocabulary.

Apart from the points mentioned above, there are various words and expressions used by Vaugelas in his translation of Fonseca's Lenten Sermons which were probably going out of usage by the time he was writing and would almost certainly have been considered old-fashioned by the time the *Remarques* were published in 1647. The following are examples of such words and phrases: *feintise* (F, 33; 12th–16th c.); *à la dextre* (F, 96; 11th–16th c.); *irrision* (F, 196; 15th–16th c.); *il apert* (F, 312; 11th–16th c.); *lambruches* (F, 380; 15th–16th c.); *assiduellement* (F, 463; 16th c.).⁴⁹ It is these and numerous similar examples which give the text a definite sixteenth-century flavour.⁵⁰ Also worthy of note are the use of diminutives (e.g. *ce petit ventollin*, F, 509) and the evidence of semantic change in such phrases as: 'La seconde intelligence est ceste cy' (F, 682); 'nostre Seigneur dit à ses Apostres, à la veille de sa prison' (F, 779); 'lequel est aucunement esloigné du lieu ou la croix fut arboree depuis' (F, 895).

V. CONCLUSION

It is clear then that Vaugelas's usage in 1615 differs considerably from the usage recommended in the *Remarques* and cannot be taken as illustrative of his mature ideal of good prose style. The differences affect not only stylistic questions,⁵¹ but also the more central qualities of purity and clarity. How can we explain these discrepancies? Obviously a crucial explanation is that usage evolved during the first half of the century. In addition, since some at least of the usages illustrated in the translation are later specifically criticized by Vaugelas as regional, reference to biographical details may help us to answer this question in part. As we know, Vaugelas was born and spent most of his childhood in Savoy and it was not until 1607, a few years before the publication of the translation of Fonseca, that he went to live in Paris. We have already noted the impression made on the young and receptive Vaugelas by his new surroundings, and his new friends and acquaintances were precisely those men whom Adam lists as those helping to evolve a new prose style, a prose style which Vaugelas was to adopt and further develop and polish in his observations in the *Remarques*:

Le cardinal du Perron, le président du Vair, le dominicain Coeffeteau, Honoré d'Urfé enfin,⁵² faisaient dès 1610, aux yeux des gens de lettres, figure de réformateurs. Ils offraient dans leurs œuvres les modèles d'une prose pure, lumineuse, élégante, moderne.⁵³

Vaugelas was still very much enamoured of Coeffeteau's usage and style at this time, and he may have been encouraged by François de Sales, an old family friend, to translate the Lenten Sermons.⁵⁴ The changes may therefore provide further evidence of the various influences on Vaugelas, suggesting that to some extent Vaugelas's observations represent a collection of thoughts on French usage gathered from the leading authorities on language of the day.

CHAPTER 12

THE QUINTUS CURTIUS TRANSLATION (1653, 1659)

I. A COMPARISON OF VAUGELAS'S USE OF LANGUAGE IN 1653 AND 1659

Since Vaugelas was still working on his translation of Quintus Curtius at the time of the publication of the *Remarques* and continued to do so for the remaining three years of his life, the works are in a sense roughly contemporary. Interesting insights may therefore be gained by comparing the *Remarques* with the two versions of the translation of Quintus Curtius as representative of Vaugelas's mature use of language, highlighting the contrast between Vaugelas's theory and practice, the work of Vaugelas the grammarian and Vaugelas the translator. Already Vaugelas's contemporaries analysed the Quintus Curtius translation in this way for it had become, and continued to be for some time, a model of good style. Even some seventy years after the publication of the first edition of the translation, the Academy considered the text worthy of analysis and correction.¹ It was quoted in the examples of various grammarians — Bouhours, Ménage, Andry de Boisregard, Alemand — and hailed by Voltaire as 'le premier livre écrit purement'.² Vaugelas's translation was translated into English in about 1755³ and included in Nisard's *Collection des auteurs latins avec la traduction en français* in the middle of the next century. In the *Avertissement* to the volume containing Vaugelas's text Nisard justifies his decision to include Vaugelas's translation and not to offer a new version, as in the case of the other texts, on the grounds that he considers it to be 'l'un des premiers modèles de nostre langue classique'.⁴ Only in 1781 did two new translations of the Latin text appear, one by Beauzée and the other by Mignot.⁵

Such a comparison helps us, firstly, to see whether there are any significant differences as regards his usage in 1653 and 1659, and secondly, to highlight persisting discrepancies between the pronouncements of the *Remarques* and the usage of the versions of the translation. Previous commentators have been quick to point out examples where Vaugelas does not obey his own rules, as were the grammarians contemporary to Vaugelas. Such discrepancies exist in both the 1653 and 1659 texts and raise the question of why they should occur. Was Vaugelas really recording usage in the *Remarques*? Do the differences perhaps derive rather from a realization that freedom in adapting the rules is

required when a writer is faced not only with rendering the original satisfactorily, but producing a varied and pleasant-sounding piece of prose? Both versions infringe the recommendations of the *Remarques* in, for instance, the omission of the subject pronoun ('car tous n'auoient pas pris mesme route' (QC 1653, 269/QC 1698, I, 317)), the omission or non-repetition of the article ('car il auoit nouuelles que . . .' (QC 1653, 226/QC 1698, I, 270)), and the overuse of participle clauses:

- QC 1653, 506 : On amena donc Lyncestes de la prison, & luy ayant esté ordonné de déduire ses défenses, bien qu'il eust eu trois ans à se preparer, si est-ce que hésitant & tremblant, il ne dit que bien peu de ce qu'il auoit premedité.
- QC 1698, II, 92 : On amena donc Lyncestes de la prison, & luy ayant esté ordonné de parler & de se défendre, bien qu'il eut [sic] eu trois ans à se preparer, & si est-ce que tremblant & hesitant, il ne dit que bien peu de chose de ce qu'il auoit premedité.

Other ways in which the usage of both versions is contrary to the recommendations of the *Remarques* will be detailed below when discussing the Academy's commentary on the translation. Yet there are signs of a development between the two texts, for corrections are made to the 1659 edition which bring the language usage closer in line with the 1647 observations. Once again the main area of evolution is that of syntax and word order. There are only isolated and insignificant instances of revisions of spelling between the 1653 and 1659 editions, mainly involving the addition of accents (e.g. *esgalemment/également; meslez/mélez*), and while there is a significant difference in the number of words used, in the choice of expressions and in the attitude to synonyms, the alterations in the vocabulary used do not usually reflect evolution in the language, although occasionally archaisms are eliminated in favour of a different part of speech (e.g. *heur* (QC 1653, 276) → *heureux* (QC 1698, I, 327)) or replaced by a different lexical item (*exterminer* (= 'chasser') (QC 1653, 270) → *combattre* (QC 1698, I, 319)), or a more common word is preferred (*fameuse* (QC 1653, 278) → *celebre* (QC 1698, I, 328); *enseignes* (QC 1653, 214) → *drapeaux* (QC 1698, I, 256)).⁶ I therefore propose to focus almost entirely on the changes in construction and the ordering of the sentential elements, not only because these alterations are most numerous and most prominent, but because they involve fundamental changes to the structure of the language, the grammar of a language being less subject to change and therefore in a sense most characteristic of a language (*R*, x, 2).

As we have seen, some of the changes in Vaugelas's syntactic usage are occasioned by the desire to model himself on d'Ablancourt, for instance the division of long complicated sentences into shorter units. Many, on the other hand, relate directly to the *Remarques* and display the same tendencies which

have already been seen as characteristic of Vaugelas's approach to syntax — the updating of verbal syntax, the making explicit of all sentence relationships through the use of agreement, repetition and ordering of the words, the removal of ambiguity, the tightening up of clausal connections and the simplification of the sentence structure. In general then the syntax in 1653 is more complicated and less clear than in 1659, although already in 1653 great progress has been made from the usage in the Fonseca translation and the recommendations of the Arsenal manuscript. Since Vaugelas's syntactic theory has been treated at length in Chapter 7, I shall merely cite examples of the various processes, the force of which should by now be obvious.⁷

A. Agreement

Incorrect verbal agreement amended:

- QC 1653, 288 : La mer émeüe s'enfle peu à peu, & les vagues agitées par la violence des vens fait vne horrible tempeste.
 QC 1698, I, 340 : . . . font . . .

B. Co-ordination

(i) *Choice of conjunction* — an incorrect use of *ni* is removed:

- QC 1653, 262 : qu'il scauoit luy deuoir estre plus chere que tout l'or *ni* que toutes les richesses du monde
 QC 1698, I, 309 : qu'il scauoit leur deuoir estre plus chere que tout l'or du monde

(ii) *Repetition for clarity and the explicit marking of relationships*

In 1659 articles and subject pronouns are more used and prepositions and articles are repeated before the second of co-ordinated nouns for the sake of clarity:

Subject pronouns:

- QC 1653, 286–87 : Les Tyriens, quoy que puissans sur la mer, n'oserent toutefois se presenter au combat; *mais renfermerent* toutes leurs galeres dans leurs haures, pour en défendre l'entrée, où le Roy ne laissa pas de les attaquer, & d'en couler à fond trois des plus auancées.
 QC 1698, I, 339 : Les Tyriens, quoy que puissans sur la mer, n'oserent toutefois se presenter au combat, *mais ils mirent* leurs galeres tout autour de leurs murailles où elles estoient à couvert. Le Roy neanmoins ne laissa pas de les attaquer & d'en couler trois à fond . . .

Articles:

- QC 1653, 286 : en grande perplexité
 QC 1698, I, 338 : en une grande perplexité

- QC 1653, 269 : conceuës en termes si superbes, qu'il s'en offensa
extrêmement
- QC 1698, I, 318 : écrites en des termes si superbes, qu'il en fut extrême-
ment offensé

Prepositions:

- QC 1653, 276 : dans la Paphlagonie, & la Cappadoce
- QC 1698, I, 326 : dans la Paphlagonie & dans la Cappadoce

(iii) *Removal of ambiguity*

A construction *lousche* is avoided:

- QC 1653, 233 : ayant décampé & passé le fleuve de Pyrame sur vn
pont de batteaux, il se rendit à la ville de Malles, & son
second logement fut près de celle de Castabale
- QC 1698, I, 277 : & ayant passé la riviere de Pyrame sur un pont qu'il fit
faire, il arriva à la ville de Malles, & au second
logement à celle de Castabale

Vaugelas is also careful to eliminate any potential misunderstandings through the ambiguous use of possessives etc. ('De tous ses amis' (QC 1653, 507) → 'De tous les amis de ce malheureux' (QC 1698, II, 93)), and he replaces potentially ambiguous subject pronouns by a nominal expression or proper name:

- QC 1653, 508 : il luy fit donner vne iaeline qu'il prit de la main
gauche
- QC 1698, II, 95 : le Roy luy fit donner une javeline, qu'Amintas prit de
la main gauche

C. *Subordination*

(i) *Relative clauses*

Replacement of latinized *lequel* by *qui*:

- QC 1653, 227 : un nommé Philippe, Arcananien de nation, *lequel* luy
ayant esté donné dès son bas-âge . . . l'aymoit avec
vne tendresse & vne passion incroyable
- QC 1698, I, 271 : . . . *qui* l'ayant toujourns servy dès son bas âge, l'aimoit
non seulement comme son Roy, mais comme son
nourrisson

Incorrect use of *dont* for *d'où* rectified:

- QC 1653, 211 : il entra dans la Paphlagonie qui est frontiere des
Henetes, *dont* quelques-vns croyent que les Venetiens
tirent leur origine
- QC 1698, I, 252 : . . . *d'où* selon la creance de quelques-uns les Venitiens
tirent leur origine

(ii) *Replacement of a participle clause by a finite verb:*

- QC 1653, 285 : Alors cét amas de pierres qui soustenoit la terre estant renuersé, le reste fondit comme dans vn abysme
 QC 1698, I, 337 : Quand cet amas de pierres qui souëtenoit la terre fut renversé, le reste fondit comme dans un abysme

D. *Word Order*

There are a substantial number of significant changes in the ordering of the words between 1653 and 1659. In the majority of cases this involves the removal of inversion and changes in the 'natural' word order of subject-verb-complement:

- QC 1653, 210 : avec ordre de chasser des Isles de Lesbos, de Chio & de Co les garnisons des ennemis
 QC 1698, I, 251 : avec ordre de chasser les garnisons des ennemis des Isles de Lesbos, de Chio, & de Co
 QC 1653, 217 : & entre-deux estoit vn aigle d'or consacré
 QC 1698, I, 261 : avec un Aigle d'or entre-deux

Often an adverb is moved or dispensed with to avoid the need for inversion:

- QC 1653, 213 : en vain le feray-je vne autre fois
 QC 1698, I, 255 : il ne sera plus tems une autre fois

Or a pre-posed adjective is moved to after the substantive:

- QC 1653, 215 : la souueraine puissance
 QC 1698, I, 257 : la puissance souueraine

In general then by 1659 the usage has been revised to bring it more in line with the recommendations of the *Remarques*, although this is not infallibly the case. Usage varies greatly as regards the positioning of the direct object pronoun. In some cases both texts use the older ordering still favoured in the *Remarques* ('je vous veux montrer que' (QC 1653, 271/QC 1698, I, 320)), while in others Vaugelas's usage seems to look forward to future developments in replacing the older ordering with the modern one ('chacun le venant embrasser & luy rendre graces' (QC 1653, 231) → 'chacun venant l'embrasser & luy rendre grace' (QC 1698, I, 275)). Moreover, examples can be cited where the 1659 text shows the reverse trend to the *Remarques*, for instance in the case of verbal morphology (*ie crois* (QC 1653, 265) → *je croy* (QC 1698, I, 312)), syntactic agreement ('Le merite de la personne . . . & la vieillesse de son pere . . . les *touchoient* sensiblement' (QC 1653, 505) → 'Le merite & la dignité de la personne . . . & la vieillesse de son pere . . . les *touchoit* sensiblement' (QC 1698, II, 91)), the omission of subject pronouns (QC 1653, 273/QC 1698, I, 323) or the placement of adjectives (QC 1653, 215/QC 1698, I, 257). The cases where revisions are made contrary to the recommendations of the

Remarques are, however, outweighed by those which do revise the usage according to Vaugelas's theoretical observations. Furthermore, these changes illustrate Vaugelas's growing concern with *netteté*, *pureté* and *naïfueté*, just as the changes in the translation reflect his desire for greater *briefueté*, *elegance* and *douceur* of expression.

II. THE ACADEMY'S COMMENTARIES ON THE QUINTUS CURTIUS TRANSLATION: INFRINGEMENTS OF THE LETTER OR THE SPIRIT OF THE *REMARQUES*

As has already been noted, there are a considerable number of places in both editions of the translation where usage is contrary to the recommendations of the *Remarques*. My own research is here best supplemented by the Academy's comments and annotations on the 1692 Paris edition of the translation. It was, of course, a great tribute to Vaugelas that the language of his work should be considered worthy of a fairly detailed and meticulous study by members of the Academy. In 1904 François stated his intention to make a systematic analysis of this two-volume unpublished manuscript located in the Academy's archives, but the promise was not really fulfilled, for although in his study on purism and the Academy which appeared the following year the manuscript is described briefly, and a short extract from it is quoted, it is not examined in any detail.⁸ The manuscript lacks the comments on the first twenty-two pages, but otherwise is in very good condition, written in a clear, neat hand with very few erasures, additions or amendments. Some of the Academy's comments indicate changes in the language since the translation was written, and while these are valuable, they are of less interest to us, since they are not so much criticisms of Vaugelas as mere updatings. More significant are the others which indicate usages which clearly contravene the observations, either in actual detail or in spirit. There are variations in the degree of censure — some refer to niceties, some are preferences, some are strong criticisms — and in the length of comment. Frequently the corrected version is given without comment, sometimes a short explanation is proffered, but rarely is a long justification proposed. Working within the same framework as Vaugelas, the Academy uses the same critical vocabulary as that found in the *Remarques*, for example, *bas*, *netteté*, *mieux*, *lousche*, *negligence*.⁹

The 'corrections' cover a wide range of topics, although certain subjects recur continually, for instance, the problems of participle constructions, syntactic ambiguity and anachronistic expressions. Only two observations are devoted to orthography (*alte/halte* (I, 77); *bienfaiteurs/bienfaicteurs* (II, 57)), but a large number are concerned with the acceptability and currency of words and expressions.¹⁰ This category involves the choice of the *mot juste*, the

correct word or expression whether in form (*éplorés/éplorés* (II, 248), proper names e.g. *Eryce* (II, 171)) or in exact nuance of meaning (*terroir/terrein* (II, 157); *furieusement/avec furie* (I, 31)), or in the finding of the right register (*en cachette* — ‘du style familier’ (I, 61); *quitte cette crasse* — ‘Cela est trop bas’ (I, 47); *et Gentilhomme de la bouche* — ‘Cette expression ne convient pas dans l’histoire d’Alexandre’ (II, 269)), the correct degree of emphasis (*maligne* — ‘trop foible’ (II, 53)), or the acceptable combination (*air délibéré* not *mine délibérée* (I, 19)). Archaisms are severely censured, both those which have disappeared completely from good usage (*sus donc* (I, 94), *comme* for *que* (II, 235)) and those which are no longer suitable for the particular register and style (*tellement que* (I, 14)). Latinisms (*solliciter la fidélité de quelqu’un* (I, 15), *en vne perpetuelle vallée* (II, 18)) and other barbarisms (*tireurs de fronde* (I, 28), *sans conduite* (I, 98)) are indicated by the Academy, as are pleonasm (*se mit à recommencer* (I, 55)) and anachronisms (*fregate* (I, 65), *colonel* (I, 94)). A number of the Academy’s remarks criticize the selection of tense (*retournent/retournerent* (I, 86)) or mood (*n’ay/n’aye* (I, 136)), or condemn the mixing of tenses (*s’entrechoquoient si rudement . . . que les cables se laschent ou se brisent* (I, 57)). In this manuscript too the majority of observations are devoted to construction and word order and many of the suggestions made are familiar from previous discussion, concerning, for example, the agreement of participles (II, 54), of adjectives with co-ordinated nouns (I, 35) and of *tout* (I, 49), the choice of preposition (*sortit hors de sa tente/sortit de sa tente* (II, 137)), the omission of articles (II, 10), or subject pronouns (I, 16), and the choice of relative pronouns (*lequell/qui* (I, 54)) etc. Other syntactic problems touched upon by the Academy are the government of verbs (*se resolurent de/à* (I, 119)), comparative constructions (*si grande que/aussi grande que* (I, 20)), the difference between comparative and superlative constructions (I, 67), incorrect ellipsis (I, 128), and the omission of negative particles (II, 38). Overlong (I, 100) or ambiguous periods are criticized using Vaugelas’s own terms (*louche* (I, 56)), and the Academy is particularly severe on ambiguous or unattached participle clauses which, it is claimed, should normally refer to the nominative (I, 15). Numerous other cases could be cited. As for word order, the Academy, like Vaugelas, criticizes over-separation of syntactically related elements (e.g. relative and antecedent (I, 66) and the misplacing of adverbs (I, 49)). In one comment the ordering is censured because it gives a false impression of the chronology of the events:

II, 175. Pag.263¹¹

De sorte que Meléagre après avoir bien bû, luy dit le soir en soupant] Cela est mal arrangé. Il sembleroit que Meléagre eust desja bien bû avant que de souper avec Alexandre. Il falloit suivre l’Original et dire *Desorte que Meléagre le soir en soupant, luy dit après avoir bien bû.*

Although the Academy is mainly preoccupied with accuracy of usage in the Quintus Curtius translation, there are also comments on the style and fidelity of the translation.¹² *Negligences de style*¹³ picked out by the Academy include the careless repetition of the same lexical item in close proximity (*n'aguères* (I, 45)), *consonance* (I, 96), and other unpleasing combinations of sounds ('Cet *et ne sert qu'à rendre la phrase languissante*' (II, 23)). Sometimes the choice of metaphor comes under attack, for example:

I, 57. Pag.353

La mer ne fut pas la maistresse] Cette figure que M.D.V. continue dans tout ce recit est trop hardie dans vne Histoire, surtout lors qu'il ne s'agit que d'un événement ordinaire.

The Academy's observations on the Quintus Curtius translation are of especial interest for the study of Vaugelas since they contain for the most part criticism of the translation within the same frame of reference and use Vaugelas's own terms. The following representative example, illustrating a combination of points, is entirely in Vaugelas's paradigm:

I, 107. Pag.471

Le Roy fut touché d'une sainte crainte d'avoir violé les Dieux hospitaliers] *D'une sainte crainte* Epithete peu convenable, et consonance vicieuse. *D'avoir violé*, c'est un imparfait pour un present. *Violent les Dieux hospitaliers*, mauvaise expression. M.D.V. pouvoit dire, *Il fut frappé de la crainte religieuse de violer le respect de dieu aux Dieux hospitaliers*.

The Academy was not alone in paying Vaugelas the honour of annotating the translation. There is in the Bibliothèque Nationale a manuscript containing observations on the translation by Racine.¹⁴ The page numbers and quotations noted by Racine show that he used the 1653 version and looked at books III and X. Racine notes down quotations and underlines problems, indicating many of the same points as later noticed by the Academy, for instance 'Où faisant allumer *force flambeaux*' (fol. 84^v; *QC* 1653, 240), 'Reduire *en sa obeissance*' (fol. 84^r; *QC* 1653, 209), omission of subject pronouns (fol. 85^v; *QC* 1653, 261), awkward constructions ('Tant la peur est une passion insensee, *de craindre* mesme &c.' (fol. 85^r; *QC* 1653, 250)). In addition, an article published in 1764 gives six examples 'des contresens, & des omissions, qui peuvent être de quelque conséquence' noted by Dupuy from Vaugelas's translation.¹⁵

III. CONCLUSION

The differences between Vaugelas's theory as expressed in the *Remarques* and his practice suggest again that Vaugelas did not always faithfully record usage and at times prescribed rather than described. It is for this reason that many of his observations are noteworthy for their apparent modernity, for Vaugelas

was predicting and indeed guiding future trends. The second conclusion which can be drawn from the discrepancies is that the theory has to be adapted in practice and become more flexible to accord with the needs of the writer, for each linguistic problem is no longer considered in isolation but as part of a created whole.

Zeiler argues that the Quintus Curtius translation affords the best proof of the swift development in the French language in the first half of the seventeenth century.¹⁶ While numerous inconsistencies with the *Remarques* remain and indeed are very occasionally added, the 1659 edition shows a broad development in Vaugelas's use of language towards greater clarity and purity of language. This swift development is thrown into greater relief when the usage of the Quintus Curtius translation is compared with that of the Fonseca translation, for in the latter the differences with the *Remarques* are far greater in both a quantitative and qualitative sense. While the Fonseca translation reads like a typical early seventeenth-century piece of prose, the Quintus Curtius translation may be viewed as an early model of Classical style. The same concerns seen to guide the evolution between the two versions of the Quintus Curtius translation are in the main precisely those which have been seen to govern the changes between the Fonseca translation and the *Remarques* and between the Arsenal manuscript and the published observations, preoccupations generally considered characteristic of the development towards a Classical usage of French.

PART III
VAUGELAS 'HONNÊTE HOMME'

CHAPTER 13

THE POPULARITY OF THE *REMARQUES* IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: THE SOCIO-CULTURAL BACKGROUND

I. INTRODUCTION

There is no doubt that the *Remarques*, like the Quintus Curtius translation, were a great success in the seventeenth century. The book ran to more than twenty editions in the period up to 1738, at a time when, as Lough points out, the reading public was relatively small owing to widespread illiteracy.¹ Its success was as great in the provinces as in Paris: Martin and Lecocq record from their study of the accounts of one Grenoble bookshop that twenty-one copies of the work were sold in this one bookshop alone between 1647 and 1658, eight of them in 1649.² Moreover, it is well known that Pierre Corneille during his retirement from writing plays between 1652 and 1659 revised his earlier plays in line with the pronouncements of the *Remarques* and that Racine took a copy of them with him to Uzès so that he should not be corrupted by the language of the provinces.³ Molière in his *Femmes Savantes* of 1672 can refer to the linguistic norm associated with correctness and politeness as ‘parler Vaugelas’ without explanation, assured that his audience will understand the allusion.⁴ Not only does the Classical literature of the third quarter of the seventeenth century bear witness to the extent of the popularity and influence of Vaugelas’s work; as we shall see in the next chapter, the vast majority of the works on language produced in the next half-century owe a debt to Vaugelas’s book, whether in respect of content, form or style. In these too, many of the authors refer to Vaugelas’s ideas or decisions without explicitly mentioning him by name, apparently confident that their readers will know to whom they are referring. Reviews of different editions of the *Remarques* further confirm the popularity of Vaugelas’s work. Le Clerc begins his review by asserting how well known the *Remarques* are, Basnage de Beauval notes that ‘les *Remarques* de Mr de Vaugelas ont passé pour un chef-d’œuvre’, and Bernard comments that everyone is agreed on the usefulness of the *Remarques*.⁵

Why were the *Remarques* so popular with the public? If we consider their function in the society of the time and look at who purchased the work we may be better equipped to answer this question. The book was clearly not used in schools, for we know that at this time the primarily Jesuit educational

establishments aimed to teach their pupils to write Latin elegantly.⁶ Nearly all the lessons were conducted in Latin and the pupils were obliged to speak Latin all the time, even when conversing amongst themselves. French was taught from textbooks written in Latin and was considered relatively unimportant. In the teaching of Latin the grammar of Despauterius held sway for many years, and it was only later in the century in the Port-Royal schools that Lancelot's *Nouvelle Méthode pour apprendre facilement et en peu de temps la langue latine* (1644) written in French was introduced.⁷ The Preface of the *Remarques* confirms that the book was neither aimed at this audience, nor intended for foreigners (*R*, xiv, 4).

Lough establishes that writers generally aimed their works at the Court and the well-educated: living in an aristocratic society, writers wrote for the upper strata of that society, from the King and Court down to the more cultured sections of the middle class.⁸ Martin and Lecocq record that in Grenoble the majority of readers came from the *Cours de justice* and from the aristocracy of the town.⁹ For a work to be successful in Paris in the seventeenth century, Lough claims it had to appeal to the Court and especially to the ladies.¹⁰ This raises two questions: do our sparse records about purchasers of the *Remarques* confirm this claim and why should the Court wish to read a work on language?

II. THE PURCHASERS OF THE *REMARQUES*

From the small sample of purchasers mentioned in the records of Nicolas's bookshop in Grenoble we can gather a few shreds of evidence about the occupations and hence about the social status of those purchasing the *Remarques* as represented by the customers in this provincial town. The people who bought a copy of the *Remarques* in the period up to 1668 in Grenoble are listed in Table 11.¹¹ From Martin's analysis of the collections in various individuals' libraries in Paris at the time, we can gather that the occupations of the

TABLE 11. The Purchasers of the *Remarques* in Grenoble (1647–68)

S.d., à M. de la Salle, chastellain de Montfleuri, 1 ex. à 2l.
S.d., à M. Laigneau, 1 ex. (Philippe de Lagneau, gentilhomme ordinaire de la Chambre du Roi: bibliophile distingué il possédait 4000 volumes, mais fut, paraît-il obligé de vendre sa bibliothèque pour payer les dettes du Président Le Blanc)
1648, juillet, à M. Giraud, secrétaire de Mgr. de Servien, intendant en l'armée du Roi delà les Monts, un "observations de Vaugelas" à 5l. 5s. (Abel Servien, avocat en la Cour, nommé procureur général au Parlement par lettres du 31 août 1616, reçu le 22 mai suivant; nommé conseiller du Roi, maître des requêtes ordinaire de son hôtel en 1624; devint ensuite

- intendant de justice, police et finances de l'armée d'Italie, président du Conseil souverain établi à Pignerol et premier président au Parlement de Bordeaux; il allait rejoindre ce poste lorsqu'il obtint la charge de secrétaire d'Etat à la guerre)
- 1648, 6 août, à M^{lle} Du Portes, 1 ex. en veau fauve à 7l.
- 1649, (juin) à M. de Chebvrières, conseiller du Roi et Président au Parlement de Bourgogne, 1 ex, à 2l.
- 1649, (octobre) à M. Du Vivier, vice-bailli, 1 ex. à 2l. 10s.
- 1649, novembre, aux enfants de M. de Lionne, Président aux comptes, 1 ex.
- 1649, novembre, à M. Balme, le fils, avocat, 1 ex. à 2l. 5s.
- 1649, (novembre) à M. de Mombive, 1 ex. à 2l. 5s. (Avocat en la Cour, nommé conseiller au Parlement par lettres du 4 octobre 1649, reçu le 16 novembre suivant; nommé président en remplacement et sur résignation de son père par lettres du 28 février 1655, reçu le 13 mai suivant)
- 1649, 31 décembre, à M. de Chevrières, conseiller du Roi, 1 ex. [as above]
- S.d. (1649), à M. de Bernard, conseiller du Roi, 1 ex.
- 1649–50, à Lyon, sur l'ordre de M. Blache de Romans, 1 ex.
- 1650, mars, à M. Vireli, secrétaire de Mgr. de la Berchère, 1 ex. à 2l. 15s.
- 1650, 15 mars, sur le compte de M. Ruynat, procureur en la Cour, à Monsieur son fils, 1 ex. à 2l. 10s.
- 1650, juin, à M. Maxemi, 1 ex. à 2l. 10s. (Avocat en la Cour, remplace son frère Philippe dans l'office paternel de secrétaire du Parlement par lettres du 25 Juillet 1649 et reçu le 20 août suivant; ensuite nommé en 1659 maître auditeur à la Chambre des comptes)
- 1651, 8 septembre, à M. Roux, conseiller du Roi, pour M. de Tremini, 1 ex. in-8° à 2l. 10s.
- 1653, 6 mars, à Mgr. de la Berchère, 1 ex. à 2l. 15s.
- 1653, avril, à M. de Morard fils, conseiller du Roi, et trésorier, 1 ex. in-4°.
- 1653, décembre, à M. Marnais le fils, trésorier, 1 "Vaugelas"
- 1656, 8 mars, à M. Bonnet, étudiant en théologie à Die, 1 ex.
- 1658, 23 novembre, à l'homme de M. de Bonneval et sur son compte, 1 ex. in-4° à 5l.

Grenoble purchasers were representative, for Martin mentions a copy of the *Remarques* in the libraries of Jean Fabry, 'simple "conseiller du roi en ses conseils et en sa direction des finances"', Jean-François Le Grand, 'simple avocat au Parlement de Paris', and Louis de Lapara, 'Lieutenant général des armées du Roi, gouverneur de Montdauphin et chevalier de l'ordre militaire de Saint-Louis'.¹² The readers of the *Remarques* in Grenoble cover a wide range of people including a woman, a student, and even some children;¹³ the nobility

is also represented. However, the most common profession in this list is that of 'conseiller du roi', glossed by Mousnier as 'de nombreux officiers, membres de Parlements, baillis, sénéchaux, leurs lieutenants, trésoriers généraux de France'.¹⁴ These were the financial and judicial office holders of the seventeenth century. The cases of M. de Mombive and M. Maxemi are particularly interesting. M. de Mombive, baptized in 1635, started his career as 'avocat en la cour'. In the year he purchased the *Remarques* he was named 'conseiller au Parlement', a promotion which entailed a rise in society, and he went on to become 'président' of this Parlement. M. Maxemi was another young man (baptized 1631) who began as an 'avocat en la cour'. He purchased his copy of the *Remarques* in the period between being named 'secrétaire au Parlement' and entering this position; he later became 'maître auditeur à la Chambre des comptes'. These then were two young men buying the *Remarques* at a crucial stage in their career when they were beginning to rise in society. It seems that the *Remarques* were especially popular amongst the financial and judicial office holders, some of whom came from aristocratic families, but many of whom may well have purchased their offices and may have been thereby ennobled, becoming members of the 'noblesse de robe' legally, even if they were not accepted socially by the 'noblesse de race' as fellow nobles. In order to see why the *Remarques* should primarily appeal to such men, we need to examine briefly the socio-cultural background of the work. In Wagner's words:

les grammaires qui sont des œuvres beaucoup plus personnelles qu'on ne le penserait au premier abord, ne prennent toute leur signification que si on les rattache d'abord à leurs auteurs et en second lieu à leur époque ainsi qu'aux milieux où elles ont circulé.¹⁵

III. REASONS FOR THE POPULARITY OF THE *REMARQUES*

It is well known that the seventeenth century was a period of rapid social mobility in France, when a large number of new nobles were created, resulting in what Bitton calls 'confusion and fluidity of noble status'.¹⁶ Mousnier, for instance, comparing Charles Loyseau's analysis of French society in 1610 with that of Saint-Simon writing at the beginning of the next century, notes that whereas for Loyseau French society is essentially a society of orders still based on the value of military service, with the *noblesse d'épée* being held in higher esteem than the *noblesse de robe*, by Saint-Simon's time magistrates and civil servants are more highly honoured than the hereditary profession of arms.¹⁷ During the reign of Henri IV and increasingly under Louis XIII the *noblesse de robe* gradually replaced the *noblesse d'épée* in the civil service of the state, and as the century progressed commerce became more and more dominant. Saint-Simon, along with the majority of the old nobility, protests at this change in society and characterizes his age as that of the 'règne de vile bourgeoisie'.

This social mobility was essentially the consequence of economic changes and the increasing need of the growing absolute monarchy with its concomitant expanding bureaucracy to raise money. Members of the old nobility were suffering economically, forced into debt and compelled to sell their estates, for, unlike the middle class who could do business freely and thereby amass wealth, they were debarred from trade. The wealth acquired from commerce enabled the bourgeoisie to rise in society by various means. From the sixteenth century on, but particularly during two periods under Richelieu from 1614 to 1622 and from 1633 on, the sale of offices mushroomed to raise finance for such ventures as the Thirty Years War.¹⁸ Many of the offices brought with them noble status, for example, that of *secrétaire du roi* or *magistrat des Cours souveraines*. Members of the old nobility did not have the resources to purchase these offices and so a large number of new nobles was created. Another road to social mobility was through the acquisition of *seigneuries*. Bitton claims that between 1400 and 1550 in the region south of Paris, at least 52 of the 65 lay *seigneuries* changed hands once or more and that the majority of these were taken over by non-nobles. Although land transfers in themselves did not effect a change in personal status, once a wealthy *roturier* owned a noble estate, he was in an excellent position to assume an aristocratic life-style, establish marriage connections and finally to become a full nobleman.¹⁹ Ennoblements by means of royal letters patent also increased dramatically during the seventeenth century as Louis XIII and Richelieu transformed France into the absolute state epitomized by Louis XIV and Versailles. A few new families were embraced by the nobility through intermarriage, for occasionally the daughters of rich middle class families married nobles, who were forced to accept *roturier* brides to provide the money to save their ailing estates. Finally, there were those members of the bourgeoisie who held offices which did not entitle them to noble status, who nevertheless adopted a noble life style and, like the parodied M. Jourdain in Molière's *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, aped the nobility in behaviour and dress. It was very often representatives of this group who were subsequently able to buy ennobling offices and establish themselves by buying what Mousnier calls the 'insurance policy' of the *paulette*.²⁰ The rise to nobility was not normally effected in one generation and Mousnier adds that very often the family would fall into decline quickly once it adopted the noble life-style of luxury and generosity.²¹

The acquisition of noble status by members of the bourgeoisie and the change in society thereby engendered was not, however, as simple as it may first appear. While these men were legally new nobles, they were not necessarily accepted socially as such by the old nobility who were often hostile to them.²² Certain practical distinctions were made between the old nobles and the *anoblis*. For instance, the latter did not always enjoy the same tax exemptions, they had to stand at council meetings, they were obliged to sit on

the back row of the Estates and they were not allowed to vote with the nobles.²³ Outward manifestations of social difference were, however, often ignored. Loyseau relates, for example, how, despite the ordinances forbidding non-nobles to wear noble clothing, the wives of privileged office holders did so anyway.²⁴ Moreover, the change in society was not so great that the bourgeoisie wanted to abolish the traditional stratification of society. On the contrary, their desire to acquire noble status underlines the importance they attached to the noble way of life. While then the *noblesse d'épée* were most unwilling to accept the *noblesse de robe* as true nobility and fought to exclude them from the ranks of the nobility, the new nobility strove to become accepted socially and fully integrated into noble circles by adopting a noble way of life in behaviour and dress.

A key feature of this process of assimilation was the adoption of the use of language appropriate to life at Court. Strosetzki in his study of conversation in the seventeenth century summarizes well the central importance of a good command of language and the skills of conversation if one wished to succeed as an *honnête homme* in the Court society of the day.²⁵ He notes how the concept of the *honnête homme* also evolved during the course of the seventeenth century. From being a moral and religiously based notion, it became a quality defined in social terms.²⁶ The ability to speak well therefore became a key factor in the evaluation of a newcomer to Court; in the words of Morvan de Bellegarde writing in 1697, 'on decide du merite d'un homme sur la maniere dont il se tire d'une Conversation'.²⁷ Gradually it was no longer considered essential to be high born to be an *honnête homme*, and it was felt that *honnêteté* could be acquired either from books or from association with other *honnêtes gens*.²⁸ It was deemed the duty of the speaker to please his hearer and this was something to which he was obliged to direct all his efforts. This was particularly true for a conversation with a woman because, as Vaugelas himself implies, women are very difficult creatures to please and one displeasing word will make them stop listening and lose interest in their interlocuter completely!:

Il ne faut qu'un mauvais mot pour faire mespriser vne personne dans vne Compagnie, pour descrier vn Predicateur, vn Aduocat, vn Escricuain. Enfin, vn mauuais mot, parce qu'il est aisé à remarquer, est capable de faire plus de tort qu'un mauuais raisonnement, dont peu de gens s'apperçoient, quoy qu'il n'y ait nulle comparaison de l'un à l'autre. (R, IX, 2)²⁹

As Strosetzki notes, a large amount of literature was devoted to helping people improve their conversational skills, primarily courtesy books aimed at familiarizing young people, provincials etc. with the ways of Court, but also literary works, grammars and rhetorics.³⁰

All this suggests why the *Remarques* were purchased by those aspiring to rise in society, as is indicated by Martin's documents. The *Remarques* were popular at a time when French society was changing rapidly, with the number of office

holders and sale of offices increasing, and men striving to ape the nobility. Like the courtesy books, so popular in the period, the *Remarques* provided a way, for those aspiring to a position of respect in society, of acquiring the behaviour necessary to be acceptable in Court circles.³¹ With the extension of polite society to groups outside the traditional nobility, the *Remarques* were useful in providing a way for newcomers to learn the language of the Court, so that they no longer stood out as different, but through imitation conformed socially. Surely the greatest fear of the new noble striving for social integration was to appear ridiculous, and Vaugelas offers much advice as to how to avoid this:

Et il ne faut pas croire, comme font plusieurs, que dans la conuersation, & dans les Compagnies il soit permis de dire en raillant vn mauuais mot, & qui ne soit du bon vsage; où si on le dit, il faut auoir vn grand soin de faire connoistre par le ton de la voix & par l'action, qu'on le dit pour rire; car autrement cela feroit tort à celuy qui l'auroit dit, & de plus il ne faut pas en faire mestier, on se rendroit insupportable parmy les gens de la Cour & de condition, qui ne sont pas accoustumez à ces sortes de mots. Ce n'est pas de cette façon qu'il se faut imaginer que l'on passe pour homme de bonne compagnie; entre les fausses galanteries, celle-cy est des premieres, & i'ay veu souuent des gens qui vsant de ces termes & faisant rire le monde, ont creu auoir reussi & neantmoins on se rioit d'eux, & l'on ne rioit pas de ce qu'ils auoient dit, comme on rit des choses agreables & plaisantes. (*R*, VII, 3)

If this is indeed the purpose of the work, then the reasoning behind much of Vaugelas's linguistic theory is explained, for instance, the insistence on linguistic conformity and the need to choose the word which the listener himself would have chosen in order to please. The social consequences of not choosing the right word are stressed and the reader is continually warned not to use any personal peculiarities of language, but is urged to conform (*R*, III, 2). The overriding concern to please also helps to justify many of the individual pronouncements. For instance, Vaugelas's comments on syntax are underpinned by a constant preoccupation with the avoidance of any ambiguity as this distracts the reader and causes displeasure.³² The *Remarques* can then be seen as a kind of courtesy book, aiding the newcomer to adopt the correct manners for his society, and to act with *bienséance*,³³ establishing his position in polite society through displaying a good use of language.

To the modern reader, especially one who has not grown up in a society sharing the Frenchman's concern for his language, the idea of having to learn one's own language like this may appear somewhat strange. The speaker is encouraged to guard against his natural inclinations and to concentrate on refinements of language which create an inexplicable feeling of pleasure in the reader or hearer. In the observation which expresses a preference for co-ordination of two nouns of different genders if possible, Vaugelas admits that many people will consider such a concern an over-refinement, but he adds:

Aussi ie ne blasme point ceux qui n'en vseront pas, mais ie suis certain que quiconque suiura cet auis plaira dauantage, & fera vne de ces choses dont se forme

la douceur du stile, & qui charme le Lecteur, ou l'Auditeur sans qu'il sçache d'où cela vient. (R, *473)

As the last clause indicates, the speaker or writer must not, however, give the impression that he is making an effort, that is, his use of language must appear natural. Any obvious attempt to be learned is frowned upon and a clear distinction is maintained between the *savant* and the *pédant*, who pursues learning to the exclusion of the social graces.³⁴ As we have already seen, Vaugelas recommends that technical terms should be restricted to their specialized sphere; it would not, for instance, be appropriate for a noble to use a commercial term associated with trade and consequently the province of the middle class.

Where did this social integration take place? Lougee suggests that one of the places where those aspiring to rise socially could learn to *vivre noblement* was the salons where questions of language were much discussed.³⁵ It has already been noted that Vaugelas himself was a regular visitor to the salons of Madame de Rambouillet and Madame des Loges, where he probably tried out many of his ideas on language and made detailed observation of the linguistic habits of the salon-goers. Here too behaviour rather than social position was the key to advancement: in order to succeed one had to conform to the accepted etiquette, dress and use of language. Lougee suggests that in a sense the salons were an extension of the institutionalized Court which, since the sixteenth century, had embraced the city elite.³⁶ Increasingly in the salons money rather than social status was the common factor in the lives of the salon ladies; Lougee's analysis proves the diversity of the origin of salon ladies — noble and non-noble, titled and untitled, from families who had acquired titles and those who had inherited them — and contrasts this with the relative homogeneity of their wealth.³⁷ For instance, about half of the ladies on Somaize's list of *Précieuses* belonged to families outside the traditional nobility, to administrative, financial and *parlementaire* families, indeed to those families who had profited from the expansion of bureaucracy, the expedient of venality, and the system of tax farming to rise to positions of power and wealth.³⁸ The salons then were a place where old and new nobles could meet, a place of cultural fusion. It may well have been in the salons that Vaugelas came to realize the power a good use of language could have and saw the need for a work on good language usage which would help social aspirants to adapt themselves to their new environment. Manuals to give instruction on various aspects of culture were numerous³⁹ and, as we have seen, Vaugelas's work is closer in format and method of presentation to, for instance, Faret's *Honneste Homme* than to any previous grammar.

It was women then who came to be considered the arbiters of good taste and of social behaviour in the seventeenth century. The *Précieuses* in particular concerned themselves with questions of language. While this tended towards

extravagance and eccentricity in the second half of the century, as the exaggerated parodies of Molière and Somaize suggest, in many ways the *Précieuses'* concept of purism was inspired by Vaugelas's formulation. Magendie therefore summarizes their role in polite society in the following way: 'En un mot, elles ont appliqué l'esprit de politesse et l'élégance à la conversation'.⁴⁰

Certain features of the *Remarques* suggest that the work may have been written with the salon milieu as well as the Court in mind. Just as women dominated salon life, so they played a crucial role in the elaboration of the *Remarques*. Their speech is taken as the best source of information about good usage, since their judgements are generally not coloured by pedantry, and their reactions to a certain word or phrase are taken as a measure by which one may judge its acceptability. For instance, Vaugelas is reluctant to condone the use of *expedition* because:

j'ay bien pris garde, que des Dames d'excellent esprit lisant vn liure, où ce mot estoit employé au sens dont nous parlons, s'estoient arrestées tout court au milieu d'vn des plus beaux endroits du liure, perdant ou du moins interrompant par l'obscurité d'vn seul mot le plaisir qu'elles prenoient en cette lecture. (*R*, 370)⁴¹

The shift of emphasis from written to spoken usage between the manuscript and the published *Remarques* discussed in Chapter 5 might also be explained by referring to Vaugelas's growing realization of the importance of good linguistic usage both at Court and in the salons.

However, it is likely that it was not only to the *anoblis* that the *Remarques* appealed. Such works on etiquette and correct behaviour were also read by members of the old nobility who, stripped of their former role in society, found themselves 'unemployed'. Bitton points out that the majority of the nobility no longer participated in the most characteristically aristocratic form of military service because of the declining use of the *ban et arrière-ban*, the growing importance of the infantry and the breakdown of class segregation in military units.⁴² Moreover, since the administrative and judicial offices had become purchasable, the nobility had been unable to compete with the *nouveaux riches* for them, and with the growth of central government their role in the provinces was likewise lessened. In their idleness they turned to the Court and the salons for entertainment, to discussions on language, manners and etiquette.

Strosetzki goes so far as to suggest that since the nobility only had Court and salon life to preoccupy them, then the art of conversation became virtually a professional occupation for them. It was by their success in conversation that they were judged by their peers. If misunderstandings could be dangerous and perhaps even result in a duel, skill in conversation could bring favour from princes and perhaps as a consequence financial reward.⁴³ The ability to speak well then not only helped social integration but was also a means of finding

favour, of improving one's position, in short, as Ott terms it, of wielding power over others:

le bon usage pouvait devenir pour celui qui tenait compte du mécanisme des 'ressorts cachés', un instrument puissant et délicat pour gouverner les autres . . . moyen d'adaptation à la société, elle [sc. l'obéissance au bon usage] constituait également le dernier raffinement du machiavélisme.⁴⁴

Both the old nobility and the *anoblis*, once they had achieved the social integration desired, strove to exclude the entrance of new members to their ranks. They wished to remain an elite and so aimed at an increasingly refined use of language which would distance them from their social inferiors. Perhaps this is one reason why Vaugelas himself speaks of good usage being the possession of an elite and not of 'la lie du peuple', a recurring mark of condemnation in the *Remarques*. The idea of elitism is also fundamental to *préciosité*, whose very name suggests, in the Abbé de Pure's words, a desire to 'se tirer du prix commun des autres'.⁴⁵ Nor is it surprising that it is to the Court and to Paris that Vaugelas looks for his informants on good usage. The monarchy had gained considerably in prestige since the time of Catherine de Médicis, and with the growth of absolutism under Louis XIII and Richelieu all eyes became focused on the King and his immediate circle.⁴⁶

Reference to the socio-cultural milieu and historical background against which the *Remarques* were written thus not only helps to explain the popularity of the work, but also elucidates many of the methodological decisions made by Vaugelas. If the success of a work was dependent on its appeal to the Court and especially to the ladies as Lough suggests, then it is no wonder that the *Remarques* were so popular. Sorel's appreciation of the way in which people are judged in society highlights the particular appeal of the *Remarques* in facilitating social integration and guaranteeing social success:

On prend aujourd'huy pour des Hommes de basse condition & de peu d'esprit, ceux qui parlent mal François; au moins on les tient pour des Prouvinciaux qui n'ont iamais veu la Cour & le grand Monde, ou pour des Gens mal instruits. On doit donc s'étudier à la politesse du Langage, autant qu'à celle de la contenance, ou de la maniere de se vestir, et qu'à tout ce qui parest [sic] en l'exterieur; Il ne faut pas qu'il manque rien à celui qui se veut rendre parfait.⁴⁷

As the title of the work indicates, the *Remarques* are to be useful 'à ceux qui veulent bien parler et bien écrire', and Vaugelas's observations appear to have been successful precisely because they fulfilled this aim.

CHAPTER 14

THE INFLUENCE OF THE *REMARQUES*

I. INTRODUCTION

The impact of the *Remarques* has been wide-ranging and profound. Vaugelas, the *honnête homme* writing for polite society, had produced a best-seller and subsequent writers were quick to adopt the format or the style of presentation of the work for their publications or indeed to assimilate its contents. If, in Pellisson's words, Vaugelas's *Remarques* 'ont été choquées de plusieurs', they were nevertheless read, digested and copied; in short, 'elles s'établissent peu à peu dans les esprits et y acquièrent de jour en jour plus de crédit'.¹ Vaugelas's method and presentation inspired many and he helped to establish a new tradition of works containing observations on the French language, a large number of which appeared in the 1680s and 1690s despite the publication in 1660 of the Port-Royal *Grammaire generale et raisonnée*, which was to be so influential in the following century.² But the style of presentation and content of the work did not only influence the writers of grammars and treatises on language in the period immediately following its publication: Vaugelas's pronouncements have found their way into standard reference works for French, his descriptive methodology has been adopted, for instance, in an important contemporary grammar, Grevisse's *Le Bon Usage*, and his chosen format of short observations on problematic issues has probably contributed to the establishment of the French fashion for 'linguistic journalism', short articles devoted to 'faits de langage' in newspapers and journals. In a broader sphere, seventeenth-century works on rhetoric echo and develop many of Vaugelas's ideas, as do courtesy books and etiquette manuals, and the literature of the second half of the century for the most part respects Vaugelas's judgements and shares his concern for the value of *netteté* and *pureté*. Even today, when the observations themselves may be little read, the influence of the *Remarques* on grammatical writing and indeed on French usage is still evident.

II. THE INFLUENCE OF THE *REMARQUES* IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

A. *Works on the French Language*

Both the content and the format of the *Remarques* inspired Vaugelas's successors. Already in the 1650s material from Vaugelas's work was adopted

and assimilated by writers on the French language. In some cases the observations found their way, virtually unchanged, into collections of works on French. For instance, Jean Macé, under the pseudonym of 'le Sieur du Tertre', published in 1650 a collection of three works on language, a 'Methode generale et raisonnee; pour apprendre facilement les Langues, principalement la Latine', a treatise on orthographic problems, and a summary of Vaugelas's *Remarques* placed in alphabetical order, a format which, he claims, will aid the 'honnestes Gens' for whom Vaugelas intended the work.³ In his *Preface au lecteur* he makes no claim to be an original thinker, merely an editor: 'Je n'ay donc fait que cueillir ces belles, & iudicieuses Remarques. Je n'ay fait que les déuelopper des raisonnemens & des exemples, qui en déroboient souuant la ueuë & le profit'. After a brief summary of Vaugelas's conclusions on each point, Macé appends comments and criticisms from La Mothe le Vayer (see below) and those of another unnamed writer whose manuscript, Macé says, has provided much of the material for the rest of the work; the second edition (1652) also includes Scipion Dupleix's views, first published a year earlier. In d'Aisy's two volumes on the 'Genie de la langue françoise' Vaugelas's remarks are set next to those of Bouhours and Ménage.⁴ Like Macé, d'Aisy praises Vaugelas enthusiastically and disagrees with him only over his choice of a random presentation, maintaining that the subject of the various observations is not entirely unconnected but that there are numerous remarks 'dont la parfaite intelligence dépend de leur liaison & de leur rapport'.⁵ The *Avertissement* of the first volume makes it clear that he sees his role as being simply to collate the various comments on the same topic scattered in different parts of the works of the three authors. Popularization of the content of the *Remarques* continued even at the end of the century, for instance, in André Renaud's *Maniere de parler la langue françoise selon ses differens styles* of 1697.⁶ The role he assigns to usage (p. 10) is identical with that of the *Remarques* even though fifty years had elapsed and the Port-Royal grammar had long been in circulation. Once again the author's only claims to originality are in bringing together material not previously found in one volume and in his choice of ordering:

L'ordre que j'observe, c'est de parler d'abord de la nature de nôtre Langue, puis de ses propriétés essentielles, ensuite des moïens les plus universels de les aquerir; enfin je traite les divisions generales & les divisions particulieres des styles differens. (pp. 7-8)

However, examination of the chapter headings hints at influence from Vaugelas. For instance, Chapter Two deals with 'Trois qualités generales du beau Langage' — 'De la Pureté du Langage' (Article I); 'De la Clarté du Langage' (Article II); and 'De l'Exactitude du Langage' (Article III).

A second type of work into which the contents of Vaugelas's *Remarques* were assimilated was basic teaching grammars of French. Claude Irson's *Nouvelle Methode* of 1657 adapts Vaugelas's material for pedagogical aims

while incorporating more elementary material.⁷ He acknowledges usage as the ‘grand Maître des langues vivantes’, but he argues in his preface that it is a fallacy to believe that a language can be learnt without the help of grammatical rules, ‘puisque l’expérience nous fait voir des personnes qui ont plus profité en vn Mois dans la pratique des Régles de nôtre Langue, qu’elles n’auroient fait en dix ans par les conversations fréquentes & par l’vsage ordinaire’. The preface also comments on the generally low standard of language teaching and Irson decides to pay special attention to questions of ordering and presentation to aid the learner; he employs tables, lists and clear definitions, and moves from the simple to the more complicated in a step-by-step method. Vaugelas’s material appears mainly in the fifth chapter of the third book on syntax ‘Des mots et des phrases qui sont en vsage’, in the sixth chapter ‘Contenant trois Listes de quelques Noms dont le Genre est douteux’, and in the seventh, which lists words of doubtful pronunciation. It is thus, according to Irson, introduced to a wider audience, for he claims:

Il n’y a rien maintenant qui soit capable de détourner toute sorte de personnes d’apprendre la Grammaire; elle paroît sous vne autre forme, elle n’a plus ce masque hideux dont on l’avoit déguisée, & elle ne rebutera plus ceux qui en voudront avoir la connoissance. (Preface)

Like Macé, Irson gives a brief summary of Vaugelas’s conclusion without the discussion of the finer points of detail, but interspersed with a few other topics including examination of where usage has apparently changed since Vaugelas’s day. Irson is reluctant to question the correctness of Vaugelas’s observations and so he explains differences of judgement in terms of evolution of usage. For example, on the question of the acceptability of *recouvert* for *recouvré*:

RECOUVERT & recouvré ont deux significations & deux vsages differens; quoy-que du temps de Mr de Vaugelas on les ait confondus: car *recouvert* vient de *recourir*, & *recouvré* vient de *recouurer*, qui signifie *retrouuer*. (pp. 106–07)

Vaugelas’s observations not only found their way into works teaching elementary grammar. In 1659 with the appearance of Chiflet’s *Essay d’vne parfaite grammaire de la langue françoise* Vaugelas’s material was assimilated into another type of grammatical writing — grammars intended for foreigners — a school represented so admirably at the beginning of the century by the work of Maupas and Oudin.⁸ Chiflet aims his work both at French speakers wishing to perfect their language who, he says, should read the work right through, and at foreigners whom he advises to concentrate on the main points and omit the observations. His relationship to Vaugelas is quite clearly set out in the preface. He acknowledges his great debt to Vaugelas, but continues:

Je ne suis pas pourtant tellement idolatre de ses opinions, que ie n’en aye dit mon iugement, quâd i’ay creu qu’il estoit mesconté: & ie sçay bien que si cet excellent homme, qui a fait l’honneur de me visiter, il y a plus de trente ans, estoit encore en

vie; sa modestie ne s'offenseroit pas. L'auoüe franchement que i'ay beaucoup appris de ses Remarques; & que ie le choisirois volontiers pour le principal censeur & le judicieux correcteur de mes fautes, si Dieu ne l'auoit desja retiré au ciel.

While adopting Vaugelas's principles and authorities, once again Chiflet deems Vaugelas's random method of presentation unsuitable for his intended audience. In Part I of his grammar he orders his material according to the parts of speech, giving the categories applicable to them, and adds the definitions so lacking in the *Remarques* as well as tables for easy reference. For example, in the chapter dealing with verbs he gives very basic facts about their conjugation for the beginner, sets out verb tables, makes comparisons with other languages (drawing attention to particular sources of difficulty for foreigners) and indicates how to form the various tenses, conjugate irregular verbs and compose compounds. He gives instructions about the use of tenses, moods and the government of verbs and includes a very large number of exceptions. He admits the impossibility of reducing all the possible uses of verbs to rules, arguing that some can only be learnt from observing usage. The final section of the chapter contains the observations intended for the more advanced reader and comprises Vaugelas's comments on verbs given succinctly in alphabetical order. Chiflet's greater independence from Vaugelas is illustrated in his comments on *recouvré/recouvert*, where he criticizes Vaugelas for recording a mere passing fad:

C'est pourquoy, comme ie diray ailleurs, il ne faut pas ceder aux nouveautez impertinentes, quoy qu'elles durent quelque temps, & puis, comme vn torrent esoulé, se changent en boüe. Et M. de Vaugelas, qui auoit vne bonne maxime d'obeir à l'vsage, qu'il appelle le *Tyrans des Langues*, en vsoit vn peu trop rigoureusement; se portant avec trop de facilité à condamner de bons mots, & à en approuuer de mauuais, sur l'observation d'vn Vsage, dont il prenoit les mesures vn peu trop courtes. (p. 94)⁹

It is rather ironic that Chiflet should censure Vaugelas for being too receptive of neologisms, for later commentators, grouping Vaugelas with the more rigorous Bouhours, have blamed him for impeding the natural development of the language by not tolerating the use of new words and expressions. Chiflet perceptively foresees the danger that Vaugelas's decisions even where not founded on usage will become accepted and thereby influence the development of the language simply because of the authority of his name (p. 211). Yet it is fair to say that Chiflet's own work relies very heavily on the *Remarques* and could not have been composed without the material taken from them. Chiflet's work was very popular and therefore made Vaugelas's judgements known to a large audience, including Flemish readers at whom his grammar is primarily aimed.¹⁰ Foreigners and provincials were thus encouraged to adopt the linguistic habits of the Court and of the best authors, which helped to promote greater standardization of the language.

A similar treatment of Vaugelas's material is found later in the century with Alcide de Saint-Maurice's collection of observations 'sur les principales difficultez que les estrangers ont en la langue françoise'.¹¹ Alcide de Saint-Maurice also notes the mistakes peculiar to foreigners and adopts a part of speech format which he considers most suitable for his intended audience. However, unlike Chifflet's *Essay* his work is intended solely for foreigners and, since it is not aimed at complete beginners, dispenses with basic material. The preface therefore states that readers should already know how to decline and conjugate correctly and 'avoir parcouru plusieurs fois toutes les parties du Discours dans quelque bonne Grammaire'.

Marguerite Buffet's observations, the majority of which are culled from Vaugelas, are specifically intended for women.¹² Buffet concentrates primarily on niceties of language and stresses the social advantages of being able to speak well: it is through a good use of language that one gains and maintains the favour of the Prince at Court (p. 5). Although she claims that she has employed a new method because previous ones have proved unsuccessful or too slow, examination of the headings of her four sections indicate her dependence on Vaugelas. The first deals with 'termes barbares & anciens', the second with pleonasm, the third with 'mots corrompus & mal prononcez' and the last with 'quelques termes mal adaptez'. She abbreviates the *Remarques* to prevent her readers from becoming bored or dissatisfied (pp. 6–7) and, unlike the writers discussed above, retains the random method of presentation since a formal grammar would no doubt have deterred the women for whom she was writing. Her lists of mistakes commonly committed by women are enlightening about actual linguistic practice, for example:

On dit assez ordinairement, vous avez controuvé toutes ces choses; il faut dire vous avez supposé [sic] ces choses, quand ce sont personnes au dessous de soy, autrement il seroit trop injurieux. (pp. 28–29)

The book contains some features peculiar to Buffet, for instance, the section on the origin of alphabetical characters, but this minor work contributes little to the history of literature on the French language.

The content of the *Remarques* thus found its way into different types of works on language — compendiums, basic teaching grammars, grammars designed for foreigners and works especially for women — commonly in abridged form with the examples or details omitted, which has tended to encourage the idea that Vaugelas was dogmatic in his opinions. Usually this assimilation involved a change in the format and a structuring of the material to suit the purpose of the work. The *Remarques* continued to receive by various minor writers the same treatments as those mentioned above with only slight variations right up to the end of the seventeenth century, but at the same time there emerged an important group of writers of observations, including such

major figures as Bouhours, Ménage and Thomas Corneille, who retained Vaugelas's methodology and format, either assimilating Vaugelas's remarks, or amending or criticizing them, or providing new observations of a similar style.

Consideration of the influence of Vaugelas on subsequent writers on the French language would not be complete without some discussion of the writings of Bouhours. I do not intend to give a comprehensive account of Bouhours's work, for this has been done admirably by Rosset.¹³ But I think it is important to consider the ways in which Vaugelas and Bouhours differ, for it has partly been through confusion of the opinions of these two writers that a distorted picture of Vaugelas's views have been perpetuated. If anyone in fact tended to impede the natural development of the French language and was over-zealous in his attempt to purify the language, it was Bouhours rather than Vaugelas.

That Vaugelas is Bouhours's source of inspiration and main authority is indisputable. His acceptance of Vaugelas's Preface in its entirety for his *Remarques nouvelles* of 1675 reflects his general adoption of Vaugelas's theory, aims and methodology, as does his use in both the *Remarques nouvelles* and the later *Suite* (1687) of Vaugelas's chosen method of presentation, described as an 'agréable mélange de diverses choses, dont chacune subsiste séparément'.¹⁴ Yet despite this avowed allegiance to Vaugelas, Bouhours shows a surprising degree of independence from his master in certain respects. Notably, Bouhours is much more rigorous in his purism — a stance often mistakenly assigned to Vaugelas — for instance, in being much less tolerant of the use of neologisms or synonyms. Unlike Vaugelas, Bouhours will not accept derivations from existing words and, perhaps reacting against the worst excesses of the *Précieuses*, permits a neologism only when a new word is created with a new thing or when a suitable word is not available. Indeed he is even doubtful about the acceptability of a neologism in these cases:

N'est-ce pas le plus seur, de ne rien innover dans la Langue? On risque beaucoup, en faisant un nouveau mot: s'il est bien reçu, on aqiert [sic] peu de gloire; s'il est rebuté, on s'attire la raillerie du Public.¹⁵

The use of synonym pairs is condemned as pleonastic, since Bouhours maintains that one word should be able to express the concept adequately. The most significant difference between the two, however, is that Bouhours assigns more importance to the written language, concentrating on a written norm and written authorities and refinement of style;¹⁶ the *Remarques nouvelles* are said to be composed particularly 'pour régler le style, elles regardent moins le peuple, que les personnes qui se meslent un peu d'écrire' and the purpose of the *Suite* is summarized in the preface as 'de servir ceux qui veulent écrire correctement'. Moreover, Bouhours's view of Vaugelas was modified over the

years. While in the *Doutes* he asserts that Vaugelas's *Remarques* and his translation of Quintus Curtius are essential reading for the acquisition of an elegant style (p. 280), in the *Avertissement* of his *Suite* he qualifies the praise:

Quoy que ce soit un de nos Maistres, je ne le croy pas infaillible; & l'admiration que j'ay toujourns eu pour luy, ne m'a pas fermé les yeux sur les fautes qui luy ont echappé dans son Quinte-Curce.

He updates and modifies many of Vaugelas's decisions, notably in the section in the *Remarques nouvelles* entitled 'En quoy il ne faut point suivre les Remarques de M. de Vaugelas' (pp. 395–413) which criticizes fifty-one of Vaugelas's observations, and he pays particular attention to defining the meaning of words and to differentiating near-synonyms, claiming that since Vaugelas's day the French language has become more polished (p. 396). Thus while Bouhours maintains that he is continuing in Vaugelas's footsteps, he is more dogmatic than his model, and in some respects is closer to Malherbe, for he does not adopt in the main the flexibility and tolerance of approach found in the *Remarques* which makes Vaugelas's work so interesting and unique. This failure to distinguish Vaugelas's and Bouhours's position by some critics has led to unjustified criticisms of Vaugelas. For instance, he has been blamed for the divergence between the spoken and written language which is supposed to have occurred in the seventeenth century. However, as we have seen, Vaugelas pays attention to the spoken language and in the *Remarques* advises his readers to write as they speak. It is in the work of Vaugelas's successors, who superficially share the same theoretical positions and adopt the same style of observations, that the source of good usage is shifted firmly on to the written language.

It is a mark of Vaugelas's influence that Ménage, whom Streicher considers to be Vaugelas's greatest critic, nevertheless shares many features with him and can be seen as part of the tradition emanating from his work.¹⁷ Ménage's debt to Vaugelas is apparent in several respects. Firstly, he adopts the random ordering of remarks in his two volumes of observations, rather than that of a part of speech grammar, despite his reputation for erudition.¹⁸ Secondly, more than a quarter of his first volume of observations covers topics dealt with by Vaugelas whose decisions Ménage confirms, rejects or supplements. Crucially, Ménage declares the sovereignty of usage over grammatical rule and analogy, and, in theory at least, over etymology.¹⁹ However, in practice he pays particular attention to the history of the language and the etymologies of words. Where Vaugelas's view is synchronic, Ménage's is frequently diachronic:

L'Auteur des Remarques, en parlant du verbe *détromper*, qu'il a vu venir à la Cour, & de celui de *dévoloir*, dont Malherbe semble estre l'auteur, dit que ces verbes, & autres semblables, comme *défaire*, *dêmesler*, *desarmer* &c. Sont composez du simple & de la particule *de*, mais à laquelle on ajoûte une S, si le verbe commence

[sic] par une voyelle: *armer, desarmer*. Il se trompe. Ces mots sont composez de la preposition *dis* . . . (I, 85)

Elsewhere, Ménage looks to past generations of writers and grammarians for authority for a word (e.g. *plurier*, I, 8–10). In practice too Ménage's conception of the scope of good usage is broader than Vaugelas's, for at times he refuses to adjudicate between the usage of the Court and that of Paris ('A l'égard d'*Vrsulines*, & d'*Vrselines*, l'usage est partagé à Paris & à la Cour; & ainsi on peut dire l'un & l'autre' (I, 25)) and he tolerates the Gasconisms 'Je vous ay dit de faire cela' and 'Je vous demande de faire cela' on the grounds that since there are so many Gascons at Court these expressions are frequently heard there (I, 371). His criticism of Vaugelas and other writers is stringent and direct, lacking the tact and delicacy found in Vaugelas: for instance, after quoting the whole of Vaugelas's *remarque* entitled *Ployer, plier* Ménage dismisses it haughtily with the words: 'Cette remarque est nulle de toute nullité' (I, 57). The number of authors and grammarians he refers to and quotes far surpasses that in any of the other writers we have considered and ranges widely from Classical Latin and Medieval authors to sixteenth-century and contemporary French sources. These references together with the etymologies give Ménage's work its erudite air and sometimes make his prose heavy and difficult to read, perhaps illustrating why Vaugelas chose not to include too many learned references and technical terms. Yet it must be remembered that Vaugelas had great respect for Ménage and that the influence was reciprocal, Vaugelas asking Ménage's opinion about his decisions, if not always following his advice:

M. de Vaugelas me faisoit l'honneur de me communiquer ses Remarques devant que de les envoyer à son Imprimeur: mais il ne me faisoit pas toujourns celui de déferer à mes sentimens. Quand je lui renvoyay le caier, où il avoit fait cette observation, je me souviens que je lui écrivis qu'elle n'estoit pas absolument veritable. (I, 104)

Sharing Vaugelas's belief in the importance of clarity and precision, Ménage is, like Vaugelas, the *homme du monde*. But he is also the *savant*, and it is the impression of haughty disdain for the less erudite which pervades his writings that differentiates his work above all from Vaugelas's model.²⁰

Not surprisingly, Vaugelas's work was particularly an inspiration to members of the French Academy for, as Bouhours comments, Vaugelas's relationship to the Academy was of the closest kind:

Mais l'esprit de M. de Vaugelas ne vit-il pas encore dans l'Académie; ou plutôt n'estoit-ce pas l'esprit de l'Académie qui animoit M. de Vaugelas, quand il composoit ses Remarques . . . ?²¹

In 1687 Thomas Corneille published a new edition of the *Remarques* with notes on certain of the observations, intended merely to update Vaugelas's decisions, not to undermine his theoretical standpoint, and with an enlarged index.

Corneille's own role in the work is minimal, for he assimilates the opinions of Ménage and Bouhours, follows the advice of Mitton,²² appends Chapelain's comments and acknowledges his debt to the Academy for some of his decisions. Three years later twelve *Nouvelles Remarques* appeared in a collection which in the 1693 and 1695 Brussels editions is attributed to Furetière, but which were probably composed by Jacques Cassagne (or Cassagnes), another member of the Academy.²³ The twelve *Remarques* are undistinguished, lacking any preface or justification, and follow the by now normal format of heading and discussion with very few references to other works or authorities. Despite his avowed allegiance to usage, Cassagne at times seems to depend entirely on his own judgement and he is scathing about the Purists and their disputes over detail (p. 238), so that Streicher praises him for his 'critique éclairée, sans parti-pris, sans surcharge d'érudition'.²⁴ Yet it is the lack of these qualities that, in my opinion, makes Cassagne's comments rather lightweight and illustrate how observations can become dull and uninteresting in the hands of a second-rate writer.

Two other Academicians, Patru and Conrart, who also acted as editors of the Quintus Curtius translation, both remained faithful to Vaugelas's principles in their comments on the *Remarques*.²⁵ These principles were also adopted by the French Academy as a body and thus became official French linguistic policy, thereby further extending the scope of Vaugelas's influence. The Academy's dependence on Vaugelas is witnessed in two collections of observations and comments made by the Academy. The first was presented in 1698 by Tallemant who published some of the Academy's decisions to satisfy a public critical of the lack of works produced by the Academy.²⁶ Tallemant acts as secretary to the Academy's discussions, presenting their comments in a random order and aiming to model his style on Vaugelas's. Many of Vaugelas's *Remarques* are taken as starting points of the discussion and changes in usage are noted; for instance, Tallemant records the current preference for *cet homme-cy* over *cet homme icy*.²⁷ Tallemant's work was complemented in 1704 by an official publication of the Academy aimed to silence criticism about the non-appearance of its long-awaited grammar: a new edition of Vaugelas's *Remarques*, together with the Academy's observations on them.²⁸ The *Avertissement* indicates how, even at the beginning of the eighteenth century, it is considered unnecessary to comment on Vaugelas's preface since only the details of usage have modified.

Thus, even fifty years after the publication of the *Remarques*, the work was still venerated and considered worthy of comment. Further examples of influences could be multiplied, even in the work of those who rejected some of Vaugelas's tenets. Louis-Augustin Alemand, the editor of the *Nouvelles Remarques*, published his own *Nouvelles Observations, ou Guerre civile des François sur la langue* in 1688, giving an alphabetical treatment of 124

questions, covering the letters A, B and C, many of which had already been discussed by Vaugelas.²⁹ Noting changes in usage, he gives various opinions (including his own) from many different grammars in a rather weak and contorted style, which suffers from an unhelpful use of punctuation:

Sur 'Araignée' ou 'Aragnée'

Il n'est rien surquoy on ne dispute en Grammaire, cette question en est une preuve, ceux qui donnent tout à l'étimologie voudroient qu'on dit *Aragnée*; parce qu'il est plus conforme au latin *arana*, d'où il vient, les Parisiens disent presque tout *arignée*; enfin le grand nombre est pour *araignée*, M. Ménage se déclare pour ce dernier, quelque penchant qu'il ait pour le langage Parisien & pour les mots qui sentent le latin; l'Academie a aussi décidé qu'il falloit écrire *araignée* le J. Corneille préfere pareillement ce dernier à *aragnée*, qu'il ne rejette pourtant pas, on ne sçauroit donc faillir en disant *araignée*; à l'égard d'*aragnée* il peut passer, & on peut souffrir à des Parisiens *arignée*, pourvû que cela ne passe pas le discours ordinaire. (p. 147)

Alemand shows particular interest in documenting the history of grammatical writing (e.g. Question I) and in questions of pronunciation (e.g. Question III). Both he and another Jansenist writer, Andry de Boisregard, reserve special criticism for the Jesuit Bouhours. In his alphabetical *Réflexions* Andry gives usage as his authority, but his notion of acceptable usage is again broader than that of Vaugelas.³⁰ He argues that words classed as *bas* or *populaire* nevertheless have a role to play in the functioning of the language and he is in favour of retaining a choice of expressions (Preface). Discussing *acquiescer*, *acquiescement*, he says:

Consentir n'est-il pas meilleur, disent-ils? & quand il le seroit, ce qui n'est pas, est-ce une raison pour les rejeter? s'il falloit ne garder que les meilleurs mots & abolir tous les autres, on se verroit bien-tost réduit à des redites continuelles. (pp. 21–22)³¹

He follows the general trend since the *Remarques* of naming the people he criticizes, who include Vaugelas. Aimed at beginners and at confirming the tacit knowledge of more advanced learners, Andry's comments, however, often suffer from being too brief and simplistic.

Such wide-ranging influences underline the importance and influence of Vaugelas's *Remarques*. This is true both for the format, which initiated a new style of works on language giving random observations on current topics of importance, and for the content, especially the doctrine of the Preface on usage, which remained untouched even in 1704 when it gained the official support and acknowledgement of the French Academy. Vaugelas's doctrine of usage therefore also appears in works of a completely different format, such as François de Callières's successful *Des Mots à la Mode et des nouvelles Façons de Parler* which gives in dialogue form his opinion on various neologisms, particularly those affected in the jargon of the 'gens de qualité'.³² The

expanded title of the work indicates its relationship to the courtesy book aspect of Vaugelas's work ('Avec des observations sur diverses manières d'agir & de s'exprimer') and François de Callières consequently stresses the social importance of speaking well: 'C'est, Madame, répondit le Commandeur, en parlant juste, & en parlant bien qu'on se distingue par le langage, & non pas en affectant des manières nouvelles & extraordinaires de s'exprimer' (p. 50). Commentators on Vaugelas's observations remained true to the spirit of his work in noting the details of the changes in usage, while respecting his principles as he had predicted (*R*, x, 2). Even Antoine Arnauld, co-author of the *Grammaire generale et raisonnée*, supports the maxim 'Que l'usage est la Regle & le tyran des langues vivantes' in his seven reflections of 1707 with the words: 'Il faut demeurer d'accord que personne n'a fait, sur notre langue, des Remarques plus judicieuses que M. de Vaugelas, & qu'on ne peut lui contester le principe qu'il a pris, qui est, que c'est par l'usage qu'on doit juger des bonnes ou des mauvaises façons de parler'.³³ It is true that he thinks that this maxim has been carried too far, and he is particularly critical of those adopting a more extreme purist attitude such as Bouhours, whom he criticizes for making arbitrary decisions on points of doubtful usage, for making distinctions that do not exist between words, for not allowing a choice of expressions and for over-fastidiousness. He also disagrees with Vaugelas for not giving equal importance to the usage of the people of Paris as to the Court, questions Vaugelas's doctrine on neologisms and argues that in the case of new usage, unlike established usage, reason must be consulted. The Port-Royal *Grammaire generale et raisonnée* (1660) itself contains, according to its subtitle, 'plusieurs remarques nouvelles sur la Langue Françoisé'. Of course, Arnauld and Lancelot try to give explanations for their rules and apparent exceptions wherever possible within the framework of general grammar, and thus their work is quite different from Vaugelas's; yet even they are forced to admit that expressions from a previous period, for example, that have become fixed in the usage of a language cannot be reduced to rules. The chapter in their grammar entitled 'Examen d'une Regle de la Langue Françoisé: qui est qu'on ne doit pas mettre le Relatif apres vn nom sans article' is instructive on this point. Having offered explanations for Vaugelas's rule and reformulated the rule to embrace its apparent exceptions, Arnauld and Lancelot are left with a residue which can be explained only by invoking the notion of usage:

Or c'est vne maxime, que ceux qui trauillent sur vne langue viuante, doiuent tousiours auoir deuant les yeux; Que les façons de parler qui sont autorisées par vn usage general & non contesté, doiuent passer pour bonnes, encore qu'elles soient contraires aux regles & à l'analogie de la Langue: mais qu'on ne doit pas les alleguer pour faire douter des regles & troubler l'analogie, ny pour autoriser par consequence d'autres façons de parler que l'usage n'auroit pas autorisées. Autrement qui ne s'arrestera qu'aux bizarreries de l'usage, sans obseruer cette maxime, fera qu'une Langue demeurera tousiours incertaine, & que n'ayant aucuns principes, elle ne pourra jamais se fixer.³⁴

Once again this suggests that the Port-Royal grammarians and Vaugelas did share some common ground, and that rather than totally denying Vaugelas's stance Arnauld and Lancelot transcended it.

Ironically, even Vaugelas's opponents helped to spread the fame and the influence of the *Remarques*, since Vaugelas's work remained virtually untouched by their criticisms, thereby gaining in authority. I do not propose to discuss here Vaugelas's two main critics, François de la Mothe le Vayer and Scipion Dupleix, both of whom stood for a greater freedom of choice of expression, for their work falls outside the scope of this discussion.³⁵ Suffice it to say that their criticism had little effect, because their support for a rich and all-embracing lexicon — a doctrine which held sway at the time of Ronsard — could only appear old-fashioned to the new generation of writers on language of the second half of the seventeenth century (Dupleix was, after all, nearly eighty by the time of the publication of the *Remarques*).

B. *Other Works Influenced by Vaugelas in the Seventeenth Century*

Vaugelas's influence did not extend simply to writers of grammars and observations on the French language in the seventeenth century. A brief glance at a standard work on French Classicism indicates the debt of the Classical authors to contemporary works on the language and notably to the *Remarques*, and, if occasionally the details of Vaugelas's influence on, for instance, Pierre Corneille, Racine or Molière are questioned, the fact that Boileau speaks of Vaugelas as 'le plus sage . . . des Ecrivains de nostre Langue' testifies eloquently to the position of respect in which Vaugelas was held by the writers of the second half of the century.³⁶ Other works, such as the novels or the conversations of Mademoiselle de Scudéry, rather than directly borrowing Vaugelas's ideas on language, simply grew out of the same salon and Court background, although it must be remembered that here too Vaugelas's ideas helped to shape the notion of conversation.³⁷

A third and important field of influence is on books on rhetoric, especially in the section on *elocution*, described by Le Gras as the most important and most difficult part of rhetoric.³⁸ This is not surprising, for it has already been noted that in some respects Vaugelas's work straddles the traditional boundary between grammar and rhetoric. The Preface of the *Remarques* (*R*, xv, 3) alludes to the composition of a rhetoric by Patru, which will embrace much of the material of the *Remarques*, but go beyond it in scope and content. Le Gras claims in his preface that it is because this work has not appeared after twenty-four years that he has decided to undertake the task himself, so that his rhetoric may be seen as being in some ways complementary to Vaugelas's observations. The influence of Vaugelas on Le Gras manifests itself in several ways. In the preface Le Gras specifically refers to Vaugelas's work as 'tres-important &

tres-utile', adding that it 'contient de tres-beaux preceptes pour apprendre la pureté de nostre Langue, & à parler correctement'; however, since he considers that the content of the *Remarques* does not even exhaust the material for one of the five parts comprising a rhetoric (*Invention, Disposition, Elocution, Memoire* and *Prononciation*), he aims to supplement them. He adds that the section on *Elocution* is subdivided into two, the first part dealing with questions of *pureté* and *netteté* and the second with *Ornement du Langage* and *Figures de l'Eloquence*. In the former he is almost entirely dependent on Vaugelas, for instance, his treatment of *mauvais arrangement* is identical to Vaugelas's.³⁹ Le Gras's dependence on Vaugelas is also evident in more general terms: for instance, in his preface Le Gras stresses the supremacy of usage over reason and analogy.

Despite Le Gras's claim that Vaugelas's desire for a rhetoric had not been fulfilled, in fact Bary's *La Rhétorique françoise* had first appeared in 1653, twelve years before Le Gras's own work was published.⁴⁰ Here again Bary embraces in his sections on the correct use of language many of Vaugelas's decisions. His rhetoric contains two sections, one entitled 'De l'usage des mots' which differentiates pairs of related words and the other 'De l'usage des phrases', both of which for the most part simply list Vaugelas's decisions (omitting exceptions and explanations) from various observations, sometimes supplementing them with Dupleix's comments or with some personal contribution; the first lists, for example, the difference between *dépenser* and *dépendre*; *serge* and *sarge*; *hormis* and *fors* (p. 228). Bary, like Le Gras, shares many of Vaugelas's principles, including the central importance of clarity if one aims not to displease, and the need to refer to a Court and Academy milieu (pp. 226–27), and he quotes Vaugelas's ideas on synonymy (pp. 375–76).⁴¹

References to other works on rhetoric showing the impact of Vaugelas's ideas could once again be multiplied.⁴² Suffice it to say that his *Remarques* were read by a large number of authors and some of his ideas and pronouncements assimilated into a wide range of works, in some cases only as a passing allusion, but in others as a major contribution.

III. THE POPULARITY AND INFLUENCE OF THE *REMARQUES* FROM 1700 TO THE PRESENT DAY

The rapid succession of editions of the *Remarques* continued until 1738 when the edition containing the notes of Thomas Corneille and Patru appeared. After that the *Remarques* were not published again until 1880 when Chassang reproduced them with an introduction and notes as a historical text worthy of attention. Since then they have been issued in four new editions, the most important of which is that by Jeanne Streicher.⁴³ The distribution of editions seems to suggest that Vaugelas's work was no longer popular nor influential

from about the middle of the eighteenth century on. To some extent this is undoubtedly true: by the middle of the eighteenth century the grammars of the *philosophes* were predominant and grammars of usage were overshadowed by those following in the tradition of the Port-Royal *Grammaire generale et raisonnée*. Yet, to a lesser extent, Vaugelas's *Remarques* still influenced many eighteenth-century writers on language, who assimilated his ideas to varying degrees.⁴⁴

A. *Influence on Works on Language*

The influence of Vaugelas's ideas continued to be felt in at least four different types of works on the French language in the eighteenth century and subsequently. Firstly, and most obviously, there are those grammars and collections of observations still predominantly based on usage, for example, those of Buffier and d'Olivet.⁴⁵ Alexis François has charted well the course of 'la grammaire du purisme' in the eighteenth century and the reader is referred to his work.⁴⁶ While these authors at first sight apparently follow closely in Vaugelas's mould, there are significant shifts of emphasis in the interpretation of where good usage may be observed. Buffier, while stressing the sovereignty of usage over reason, substitutes 'la plus nombreuse partie' for 'la plus saine partie' in Vaugelas's definition, because of the difficulty of interpreting the latter notion. The idea of good usage being the prerogative of an elite is thereby weakened.⁴⁷ Secondly, there is a tendency to move away from looking to contemporary authors for authority. Buffier expresses a desire to fix the language as it is and prefers to turn to authors 'de réputation' rather than 'du temps'.⁴⁸ While Buffier still stresses the importance of the Court as an authority for good usage, François rightly observes that the political and social circumstances had changed since Vaugelas's day with the Court dispersing and more significance being attached to the life of the town of Paris with its salons, cafés and rendezvous for 'beaux-esprits'.⁴⁹ D'Olivet, however, no longer attaches prime importance to the spoken language: 'autre chose est de parler, ou d'écrire. Car si l'on veut s'arrêter aux licences de la conversation, c'est le vrai moyen d'estropier la Langue à tout moment'.⁵⁰ The reason for this has been stated above: the eighteenth-century writers simply believed that the French language had reached its peak of perfection in the usage of the Classical period.⁵¹ The usage-based grammars of the eighteenth century therefore have a predominantly conservative flavour.

The importance of usage as an authority also continues to be emphasized in the Academy dictionaries, although here too a change in interpretation is discernible. In the preface to the fifth edition of 1798 the decision not to consult the 'beau langage du beau monde' is made since 'le beau monde pense et parle souvent tres-mal'; rather *le bon langage* 'composé des vrais rapports des mots et

des idées' is preferred. These two notions, once identical for Vaugelas (*R*, vii, 1), are thus separated. In this and in the preface of the seventh edition, primary authority is granted to the written usage of the past: 'L'usage, en un mot, tel que le comprend l'Académie, embrasse les trois grands siècles qui ont marqué notre littérature d'une si forte empreinte, le dix-septième, le dix-huitième et le nôtre.'⁵²

In our century the concept of *bon usage* is notably represented in the work of Grevisse, termed by Bazui in the preface to the tenth edition of *Le Bon Usage* as 'le Vaugelas du vingtième siècle'.⁵³ In his *Petit Plaidoyer pour le bon langage* Grevisse views the ability to write and speak well as a duty, which gives the speaker prestige, 'une sorte d'estime et de considération dans le milieu où nous vivons'.⁵⁴ But it is not only in the work of Grevisse that the resonances of Vaugelas's concept of good usage are sounded. Albert Dauzat, for instance, in his *Guide du bon usage* defines good usage as 'l'usage de la classe cultivée de Paris à une époque donnée' and stresses the vital significance of clarity, the need to 'respecter la propriété des termes et surtout respecter la syntaxe'.⁵⁵

A second type of work in which Vaugelas's ideas continued to feature fairly prominently were the collections or compilations of observations and grammatical pronouncements about French, a genre made particularly fashionable in the eighteenth century by the prevailing conservative attitude.⁵⁶ Perhaps one reason why the *Remarques* were not newly published after 1738 is that the content still considered relevant and of value was included in these compendiums through which it was popularized and assimilated into 'accepted' rules. La Touche in the preface to his *L'Art de bien parler françois* declares his debt to Vaugelas, Ménage, Thomas Corneille and Bouhours, and his second volume is devoted to a summary of a selection of their *remarques* together with some of his own observations presented in alphabetical order. In the first volume too, comprising a basic part of speech grammar, La Touche occasionally refers to the *Remarques*, stating his position in relation to that of Vaugelas and adding 'corrections' where he deems it necessary.⁵⁷ This type of compilation is carried on in the work of De Wailly and Féraud and culminates in the *Grammaire des grammaires* of Girault-Duvivier, which ran to more than twenty editions in the first seventy-five years after the original edition (1811).⁵⁸ Vaugelas is the earliest grammarian cited by Girault-Duvivier and references to him are fairly sparse, partly because those decisions of Vaugelas still valid had either become accepted usage or had been reiterated elsewhere. Girault-Duvivier seeks a reasoned justification of his 'rules' in terms of logic and therefore prefers to cite the *philosophes*. There is already a suggestion in this work that Vaugelas is quoted mainly to indicate how a rule came into being, and this is also the way he is treated in a contemporary compilation of pronouncements on the good usage of French, Dupré's *Encyclopédie du bon français dans l'usage contemporain*. The editorial team take their comments from grammars which appeared almost

entirely in the post-Littré period, but Vaugelas is included in those references where his pronouncements mark the beginning of a contemporary usage or help to formulate a modern rule, as in the case of *héros*, *fors*, or past participle agreement.⁵⁹

Vaugelas's grammar of usage is usually contrasted with the general and rational grammars of the eighteenth-century *philosophes*, who, from Port-Royal on, tried to provide explanations for the behaviour of language and, wherever possible, formulate this in rules applicable to every language, thereby stressing the features common to all languages rather than focusing on the characteristics peculiar to French as Vaugelas had done. Thomas, for instance, criticized Vaugelas for being 'grammairien sans être philosophe, et c'est vouloir être astronome sans géométrie'.⁶⁰ Despite this fundamental difference in outlook, the *philosophes* nevertheless at times use Vaugelas's material and try to explain the language behaviour recorded in the *Remarques*. In this respect they tend to be rather conservative. For instance, Sahlin says of Du Marsais's general grammar, which cites Vaugelas, that it is 'essentiellement éclectique', and she comments on the role played by the *philosophes* in fixing a usage not always based on accurate observation because they were not concerned with observing language usage themselves:

De ce point de vue, l'influence de la grammaire générale a été nuisible car elle a raisonné et par conséquent stabilisé certaines règles arbitraires établies par Vaugelas et d'autres grammairiens, qui ne comprenaient pas toujours bien ce qu'ils observaient dans la conversation et qui par suite légiféraient parfois contrairement au génie de la langue.⁶¹

She adds that in this way the general grammarians tended to impede the natural development of the language, the most notable example of this process being the fixing of the rules for the agreement of the past participle, for instead of the validity of the rules being reassessed, they were fixed on the grounds that they had a rational basis. Again Girard, a key figure in the history of rational grammar, nevertheless speaks of usage as the *maître* and claims that 'dépendant toujours de la portion dominante, il s'apprend à la Cour & dans la Capitale'.⁶² He maintains, in theory at least, that each language must be considered according to its own usage and often at the end of a chapter on a part of speech discusses particular examples from the *Remarques*. Nevertheless, he and the other *philosophes* tend to attach a great deal of importance to the concept of analogy, which tends to produce a somewhat simplified picture of language behaviour and contrasts with Vaugelas's awareness of the complexity of usage. Not all the *philosophes* give so much space to Vaugelas's ideas: Restaut, while admitting in his *Principes généraux et raisonnés de la Grammaire française* that there are both general and particular principles for language, owes little, if anything, to Vaugelas and relies predominantly on Port-Royal.⁶³ To conclude, while the *philosophes* formed a distinct and significant school

opposed to the tradition initiated by the *Remarques*, they were nevertheless not entirely immune to the influence of usage-based works, and particularly Vaugelas's *Remarques*, which often provided their data.

A fourth and important area of influence of Vaugelas's *Remarques* is in the field of 'linguistic journalism'. François mentions the role of criticism in literary periodicals in the eighteenth century, notably in the *Mémoires de Trévoux*, *Journal des Savants*, *Pour et Contre*, *Année littéraire* and the *Journal encyclopédique*, all of which examined new grammatical works and provided reviews of them.⁶⁴ Perhaps the most famous of these 'journalistes grammairiens' in the eighteenth century was the Abbé Desfontaines. Today the very French fashion for discussing *faits de langage* in journals and newspapers must surely owe something to Vaugelas's method of commenting on problematic linguistic questions in short observations. In the twentieth century *chroniques de langage* feature or have featured in nearly all the major Paris newspapers and in the large weekly literary periodicals, in addition to there being journals such as *Vie et langage* devoted entirely to discussion of linguistic questions. In the pre-war period distinguished linguists like Grevisse in Belgium, Dauzat (*Le Monde*), Snell and Schöne (*L'Œuvre*) and Abel Hermant (*Le Temps*) in France all regularly wrote short pieces for newspapers and this tradition is continued for instance by Jacques Cellard in *Le Monde* on Sundays. Cellard, who reviews the different types of *chroniques* — anecdotal, defensive, prescriptive and descriptive — and examines their major preoccupations, concludes that all of them have a common 'field': 'c'est celui des tensions entre la norme et l'usage montant'.⁶⁵ Abel Hermant, who styled himself a modern Lancelot, was nevertheless close to Vaugelas in stressing the primacy of good usage and, on one occasion at least, he appeals to the reader to consider how Vaugelas would have reacted to a certain word or expression.⁶⁶ It is not only the attention of linguistic specialists that such columns attract; from Vaugelas on, the ability to be able to write and speak well has been a major concern of all educated Frenchmen and a pride in their language dictates that even non-specialists in linguistic matters are keenly interested in the development and the application of their language. Thus, when the French felt their language under threat from Anglo-American borrowings, newspapers and journals such as *Le Figaro littéraire* responded by sounding out public opinion about *franglais* words and criticizing those words deemed unnecessary. This might perhaps be seen as a modern counterpart to Vaugelas questioning his informants about various new words and recording his findings in the *Remarques*. It is not without some justification that the French have been termed a nation of grammarians, for even a popular radio station like *France Inter* which has a very large audience, broadcasts programmes about language. If then the details of Vaugelas's pronouncements are no longer always deemed relevant, he is nevertheless still followed in spirit.

Vaugelas has therefore continued to be influential although in different and perhaps less obvious ways, with his ideas being interpreted in various lights according to the prevailing linguistic attitude of the day. While some writers diverge dramatically from his standpoint, others, who ostensibly maintain a usage-orientated approach, nevertheless modify his ideas subtly and, in the extreme case, merely pay lip-service to him. Such was Vaugelas's reputation, however, that he has been a source of inspiration to foreigners as well as in France. For example, Manzoni in Italy adopted Vaugelas's approach to good usage, just as there are obvious parallels in Gottsched's ideas in Germany, and in England there appeared anonymously in 1770 a work entitled *Reflections on the English Language, In the Nature of Vaugelas's Reflections on the French* by Robert Baker.⁶⁷

B. *Vaugelas's Influence on the Development of the French Language*

School grammars, an important means through which language usage is influenced, have not been mentioned above, since Vaugelas's influence on them has not been as great as one might expect. Obviously the emphasis placed by Vaugelas on the value of being able to speak and write well has helped to ensure that importance is placed on the study of language in elementary schools in France, and some of his more general rulings, such as for the use of participles, have been assimilated with modifications into the accepted dogma recorded in school grammars. Nevertheless, Vaugelas seems to have had little direct influence on the detailed pronouncements of perhaps the two most important and most popular school grammars of the nineteenth century, that of Lhomond, first published in 1780 and re-edited and reprinted for more than 100 years, and that of Noël and Chapsal, first published in 1823 and constantly re-edited well into the 1880s.⁶⁸ Lhomond's grammar, for example, contains very basic material and there is only the occasional case where ideas articulated by Vaugelas are found (he is not named), for example, in the injunction that the pupil should not confuse *avant* and *auparavant* or *au travers* + *de* and *à travers*.⁶⁹ Noël and Chapsal's grammar, another basic textbook, including for the first time exercises, perhaps comes closest to Vaugelas's work in Chapter 15, which contains an alphabetical treatment of various difficulties; here the meanings of *consommer* and *consumer* are distinguished and the different usages of *matinal*, *matineux* and *matinier* detailed.⁷⁰ The somewhat restricted degree of influence may be explained by various factors. Firstly, much of Vaugelas's material, dealing with refinements and niceties of language, is far too sophisticated and complicated for a basic school text, and reference to past recommendations would only confuse the pupil. Secondly, as Chervel notes, nineteenth-century school grammar teaching was essentially based on part of speech grammar and Vaugelas's random presentation may

have discouraged writers of school grammars from searching in the *Remarques* for the required material.⁷¹ Thirdly, school grammars tended to focus on spelling and morphology and units larger than the word were, on the whole, neglected, except in the discussion of the tropes. Grammar was therefore taught through a number of spelling rules: whereas, for instance, exceptions to the rules of agreement for the past participle were originally founded on phonetic grounds, in a nineteenth-century school grammar they were typically generalized into grammatical rules formulated in terms of orthography.⁷²

Vaugelas's influence on the development of the language was therefore not principally through school grammars, for many of his detailed ideas were too advanced for such basic textbooks, although some of his more general notions, such as his concept of the ideal, clearly-ordered, well-constructed and unambiguous period are as important in these as elsewhere. Nevertheless, there is plenty of evidence that Vaugelas's observations did influence the subsequent evolution of the language and helped to standardize certain rules. How then did this influence come about? The assimilation of Vaugelas's ideas by the rationalist grammarians and the attitude of eighteenth-century writers on language to the Classical authors who, in the main, tended to follow his prescriptions, have been mentioned above. A key figure for the transmission and endorsement of Vaugelas's ideas in the nineteenth century was Littré, whose dictionary was highly influential. For Littré 'contemporary usage' in a broad sense embraces not only the current usage of his day, but French usage since Malherbe, from whom Littré dates the beginning of modern French.⁷³ Littré's tendency to be conservative and to prefer long-established usage favours the transmission of Vaugelas's pronouncements. In nearly every article which treats a question also discussed by Vaugelas, the latter's decision is either cited directly or given as representative of seventeenth-century opinion, and in more than half of these this is with approval. To quote one example, Littré notes under the heading *auparavant*: 'C'est Vaugelas qui a établi que *auparavant* devenait adverbe et cessait d'être préposition ou conjonction'. Significantly, then, it is a lexicographer who forms an important link in the transmission of Vaugelas's decisions, the lexicon being the repository of irregularities. Certainly, with the passage of time, many details of Vaugelas's usage have gone out of currency, but Vaugelas's influence on lexicography has been and remains great, with most of his decisions, for instance on the correct gender for particular nouns, being those still recorded by modern dictionaries. Vaugelas is also cited more than one hundred times in the articles contained in Dupré's *Encyclopédie du bon français*. Here more often a change in usage since Vaugelas's day is observed, but quite frequently authorities on French such as Brunot and Bruneau (*septante*), Thomas (*quelque*) and Martinon (*chose*) are forced to recognize the debt of the language to the author of the *Remarques*.

I do not intend to elaborate on the extent of Vaugelas's material influence on the language here, for in general I have commented on it in the detailed discussion of various aspects of language in the *Remarques* above. However, it is important to note that Vaugelas's ideas were influential in all aspects of language use. For instance, in the sphere of orthography and pronunciation his decisions on the correct pronunciation of infinitives ending in '-er', of 'oi'/'ai' in certain lexical items and verb endings, and of *guérir*, *août*, *héros* etc. have remained. In the realm of vocabulary his authority ensured the retention in usage of *autrui*, the acceptance of various new words including *pudeur*, *à l'improviste*, *incognito* and the loss of *partant*, *maint*, *corrival*, *nonante* etc. from current usage. His distinctions between the meanings of related words have also been adopted (e.g. *consommer/consumer*; *fureur/furie*) and there is a long list of words the gender of which Vaugelas helped to fix (e.g. *affaire*, *anagramme*, *doute*, *duché*, *erreur*, *étude* etc.). Various pronouncements on the correct form of nouns (*arsenal*, *caniculier*), verb forms (*vêtir*), conjunctions (*sur*, *sous*, *dessus*, *dessous* etc.), and adverbs (*quelque*) have remained, as have the details of the usage of many of the parts of speech (negative particles,⁷⁴ use of prepositions). Vaugelas's ideal of the perfectly constructed sentence in which all the syntactic relationships are clearly and explicitly marked is still that promoted in grammars today, and various details of syntactic usage have also remained fixed since the *Remarques* (e.g. agreement with various uses of the part participle, verb agreement with collectives, repetition of the article, the use of *dont*, *de* or *des* and the construction of certain verbs (*dire* etc.)). Perhaps his greatest influence has, however, been in promoting the idea of good French style, the value of *clarté* being epitomized in the work of Vaugelas. Just as in the seventeenth century Vaugelas was the man who personified the prevailing attitude to language, responding, as did Racine, to a need in the society, so today Vaugelas is a symbol for the tradition which favours discipline and precision in language use, demands that rules should be obeyed and only permits creativity within the scope defined by rules of grammar. Hatzfeld, who asks whether it is still legitimate to speak of good literary usage when writers are striving to diverge at all costs from normal usage, thereby creating a number of individual styles, nevertheless concludes that there are still enough authors who, like Camus, 'évitent à la fois la recherche et la platitude et donnent un magnifique exemple de liberté maîtrisée', and that such authors are the true authorities for good usage today.⁷⁵ In the education debate in France today, supporters of a classical French education require that pupils should be taught in *rédaction* and *composition* classes that the goal of writing is the formulation of ideas in good, clear French rather than primarily the expression of the inner self, and that children should not be encouraged to innovate in language usage. Vaugelas therefore above all serves as an authority within the tradition which places the highest value on the good usage of French that is still

a characteristic feature of French education. Antoine Adam argues that in contemporary times, when many authors write too quickly and without enough attention, Vaugelas can still instruct on the value of writing slowly and carefully, and on the need to give perfect expression to thought. He concludes:

Vaugelas est pour les écrivains un maître d'honnêteté. A toutes les époques, cette leçon est valable; de nos jours, elle est urgente.⁷⁶

CONCLUSION

In this analysis of Vaugelas's work, three major and interrelated perspectives have been adopted — the historical, the linguistic, and the sociolinguistic. Here I want to draw together the major conclusions resulting from each approach, and suggest what is, in my view, the value of such a study of Vaugelas.

Three main historical questions have guided the analysis. Firstly, what development can be discerned in Vaugelas's ideas on language and the usage of French? Secondly, what is his position in the history of grammatical or linguistic treatises? Thirdly, what is his influence and lasting effect on the writing of works on language and on the development of the French language?

The examination of the early translation, the Arsenal manuscript of the *Remarques*, the published observations and the two versions of the Quintus Curtius translation in turn has shown conclusively that both Vaugelas's attitude to language and his usage of French evolved greatly between 1615 and 1650. I shall return to the changes in theory and try at least partially to explain them when we review the sociolinguistic dimension of Vaugelas's work. As for his practice, the detailed examination of the works has illustrated that the changes affect all areas of language usage — pronunciation and orthography, vocabulary and semantics, morphology, syntax and word order, and style. Further confirmation of the development can be gathered from Vaugelas's letters to various friends and acquaintances and we are fortunate that those surviving date from 1606, when Vaugelas was still living in his native Savoy, to 1645, that is, they represent well the productive period of his life. There are two letters from Annecy dated 1606, two roughly contemporary to the Fonseca translation (1616, 1620), three which date from the time when a substantial number of the observations were probably finding their first expression (1630, 1630a, 1633), and two from 1645, the period of the final work on the *Remarques* and the revision of the Quintus Curtius translation.¹ Rather than repeating examples already discussed in the treatment of the major works, I shall cite a few examples from Vaugelas's letters as further illustration of the broad line of development of his usage. As the century progresses, the discrepancies between the usage recommended in the *Remarques* and Vaugelas's practice diminish in quantitative and qualitative terms. Moreover, his style gains in clarity and elegance.

Vaugelas's orthography becomes not only more streamlined but also more consistent. For example, in the two letters of 1606 the spellings are still overloaded with extra letters, whether etymological or purely fanciful (*effects*,

faict, ceste, soing), forms later proscribed in the *Remarques* are employed (*encor*) and the form *un'* is found before feminine words beginning with a vowel (*un'autre fois*). The same applies in general to the next three letters (e.g. 1616: *nepueu, soing, encor*), but by 1630–33 the forms *fait, encore, aiouste* appear side-by-side with *Court* and *besoing*.² In the realm of verb morphology there are only two examples of usages later criticized by Vaugelas, both of which appear early on (*treuverez* (1606a) and *face* (1616)).

Streicher has already pointed out that even in 1606 Vaugelas is concerned to find the 'mot juste', carefully choosing *condoloir* in preference to *consoler* in a letter to his aunt (1606a).³ Nevertheless, in the use of vocabulary there is evidence of change of usage. For instance, in 1616 the latinized *per* is used and *aucun* is still given a positive meaning. Even in the 1630s forms later censured by Vaugelas are used (*en mon endroit* (1630a), *proches* (for *parents*) (1633)), but once again by 1645 further progress has been made, and only the expression *si est-ce que* (1645a) appears dated. However, in the letters, as in the major works, the most numerous and most significant changes occur in the syntax and word order. In the early letters Vaugelas's sentences are long and rather confused in structure; he sometimes does not use articles (*par mesme moyen* (1606a)), or repeat prepositions ('toutes les puissances de l'une et l'autre Court' (1616)), he uses some archaisms like *esquels* (1606a), and the subject pronoun, notably the impersonal subject pronoun, is not consistently employed ('Et faut que . . .' (1616)). We also find an example of a *construction lousche* of the type forbidden by the *Remarques*: 'avec celuy que ie vous ay fait particulierement et a Messieurs vos enfans' (1606a). By 1630 there is much more repetition of syntactic markers and the periods are therefore more clearly articulated, although there is still the occasional example of an awkward construction: 'Je m'en entretiens quelquefois à l'hostel de Lorraine, où vous estes parfaitement chery et honoré, et avec le bon Monsieur de la Peyre' (1630a). Once again in 1645 the sentences are shorter and clarity and balance are improved, with, for instance, less use of participle clauses and use of the neater relative *dont* instead of *de laquelle*. The ordering of the words illustrates a parallel development in three broad phases. The early letters display a conservative attitude to adjective placement (*le ferme & agreable appuy* (1606a)), positioning of the negative particles around an infinitive (*pour faire iamais* (1616)), ordering of adverbs ('infailliblement cela en arresteroit le cours' (1616)), and positioning of the polite forms of address in such a way that, in the strict conditions imposed by the *Remarques*, they might be misconstrued ('Vous uoyez Monseigneur, pour finir par ou i'ay commencé . . .' (1620)). The middle period witnesses a reduction in such examples, but not their complete elimination, and there are still cases of inversion and orderings in which syntactically closely related forms are rather distant ('de ne dire pas' (1633); 'Et puis il y a si longtemps que . . .' (1633); 'à cause du grand applaudissement

qu'a eu avec toutes sortes de raisons sa premiere partie' (1630a)). By 1645 we see the disappearance of such infringements of Vaugelas's conception of a 'natural' word order, in which all the elements are immediately comprehensible in the linear sequence of the sentence, and morphologically and syntactically related forms are kept close together; now we find the type of balanced and clearly articulated period associated with Classical usage (e.g. 'Puis que je ne saurais assez vous remercier, de la Lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, ni assez vous temoigner à quel point elle m'a ravi, & par son éloquence, & par les marques de vôtre bonté dont elle est toute pleine . . . ' (1645a)).

The letters therefore illustrate three broad phases of development towards the usage favoured in the *Remarques* and traditionally associated with Vaugelas — the early period up to about 1620 when Vaugelas was still probably greatly influenced by his provincial background, the 1630s when Vaugelas's ideas on language were beginning to crystallize and he was becoming increasingly aware of the importance of purity and clarity of language usage, and the last period when his ideas were fully mature. These periods are represented by the Fonseca translation, the manuscript of the *Remarques*, and the published observations together with the Quintus Curtius translation respectively.

The problem of determining Vaugelas's predecessors, always a hazardous task, is in part lessened by additional information furnished by the Arsenal manuscript. His written sources are wide-ranging, but are primarily Classical Latin authors and French writers from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The principal classical sources of inspiration — Quintilian, Cicero and Varro — indicate clearly where Vaugelas stands in the tradition of rhetoric: not only does he derive much of his terminology and the key concepts of the work, *pureté*, *netteté* etc. from this tradition, but his views on the role of usage, reason, authority and antiquity also closely mirror and indeed imitate Quintilian's formulations. On the other hand, Vaugelas's classical grammatical predecessors are largely ignored. The main French written sources are Malherbe, Coeffeteau and Amyot. It has been suggested that criticism of Malherbe's use of French may well have been the starting point for the observations; only later did Vaugelas attach primary importance to the spoken usage of the Court as he himself became more involved with the life of the Court and salons. Coeffeteau and above all d'Ablancourt are key figures for the crystallization and development of Vaugelas's ideas on translation procedure. While few French grammatical sources are acknowledged in the *Remarques*, the manuscript suggests, as does the content of some of the observations, that Vaugelas was familiar with the grammars of his two immediate predecessors, Maupas and Oudin. However, as we have seen, Vaugelas was not only inspired by written material, he was also greatly influenced by the comments and criticisms of his friends and colleagues — notably of certain

fellow members of the Academy and salon milieu, Conrart, Chapelain, Patru and Ménage, to whom he showed his observations before publication. Their comments may well have played a significant role in the elaboration of the *Remarques* and their advice accounts for some of the modifications made both to the general theory of the work and to the detail of the discussion in individual observations.

All this raises the question of the degree of Vaugelas's originality in the *Remarques*. If much of his theory is derived from Quintilian and his information about the details of French usage is gathered from consultation with contemporaries, should the work be considered the result of the efforts of a collectivity? To some extent, certainly, the *Remarques* are clearly representative of current opinion in Court circles, Vaugelas representing his age in underlining the importance of clarity and purity of language; indeed, the topicality of the comments accounts in no small way for the success of the *Remarques*. Nevertheless, the work does have an original value, which lies partly in the unique combination of ideas Vaugelas put forward, and partly in the fact that it appeared modern and new at that time to stress the importance of a contemporary spoken, albeit elitist, norm for good usage, to underline the value of usage over reason, and to express a flexible attitude to language change and a clear methodology for eliciting a naïve judgement about details of French. The most striking new feature is the presentation of the material; the random ordering suited perfectly the audience for whom the work was intended and reflected accurately current hostility to anything considered overtly scholarly or pedantic.

The last chapter has clearly illustrated the extent and variety of Vaugelas's influence, ranging from the creation of a new genre of observations on language to material influence on the content not only of usage-based grammars, but also of rhetorics and even of the grammars of the *philosophes*, who, rationalizing Vaugelas's pronouncements, ensured their survival. The paradoxical fact has been indicated that where Vaugelas's influence seems most obvious, for example, in the work of Bouhours, the author is often less faithful to Vaugelas's ideas, for here, while Vaugelas's authority is explicitly acknowledged, the norm for good usage is no longer flexible or based on spoken usage, but fixed and reliant on the written language. Strange too is the fact that even today when the society forming the basis of the *Remarques* has disappeared and the *Remarques* are little read, Vaugelas's name is still honoured and his influence felt in various areas — such as the writing of *chroniques de langage*, and the stressing of the importance of good language usage, as well as, more obviously, in the principles underlying usage-based works. All this, together with the influence of Vaugelas on the development of the French language, surely makes him a figure worthy of study. As we have seen, the contents of the *Remarques* were repeated and reworked in various guises in the eighteenth

century and many of his pronouncements are still considered valid. This fact may be explained in part by the predictive power of the *Remarques*, by Vaugelas's ability to sense the trend of the evolution of French, but account must also be taken of the prescriptive nature of some of the observations, of Vaugelas's tendency not always to record good usage faithfully and his desire to make the language more regular and 'more perfect' than it actually was. Subsequent grammarians, neglecting the fundamental need to observe current usage, then merely regurgitated his pronouncements unthinkingly.

My second line of enquiry has been linguistic. Vaugelas's observations have been analysed, compared and contrasted with a view to distilling a clear idea of his views about various aspects of language behaviour and his overall concept of language. In this analysis I have centred on the tension between theory and practice in Vaugelas's work both in terms of the relationship between declared aims and intended methodology in the *Remarques* and actual realization in the observations themselves, and in terms of the relationship between Vaugelas the grammarian and Vaugelas the translator. This, of course, has necessitated addressing the question of whether there is indeed any coherent theory of language in the *Remarques*. In Chapter 2 I highlighted the numerous and often major discrepancies between stated aims and actual practice, the problems of doubtful usage, of the notion of *la plus saine partie*, of the relationship between usage and reason, of the indeterminate status of analogy, and of Vaugelas's grasp of history. All these difficulties are compounded by the vagueness of much of the presentation, the lack of definitions and explanations making it difficult to pin down precisely Vaugelas's meaning. From this discussion it became clear that while the Preface might superficially suggest that Vaugelas has a clear concept of language behaviour and of his intention in the *Remarques*, in practice the interpretation of the theory is problematic, since the theory allows for flexibility of application and manipulation and is consequently heavily weighted in Vaugelas's favour. Chevalier may then be justified in doubting whether Vaugelas has any coherent overall linguistic theory, but on points of detail Vaugelas does have some clear ideas of how language behaves, or how it should behave in his view, although these ideas are not always consistently followed. Underlying them there is a keynote of moderation. For example, Vaugelas is in favour of removing any obviously extraneous letters (*vng*, *escripre*) and aligning the spelling and pronunciation to some extent, but his reliance on usage prevents him from allowing such orthographies as *orthografe* and forces him to retain etymological letters and accepted non-phonological spellings. He is not totally averse to neologisms provided they are well-formed and useful, and he allows a moderate use of synonyms although he is also concerned to give words a clear and precise meaning and to make sure that the correct word for the register, style and context is always selected. His decisions in the realm of verb morphology are far more problematic: Vaugelas

does not seem to grasp the competition between forms created by sound laws and analogically created forms and his decisions are therefore unsystematic and contradictory. On the other hand, clear principles guide his pronouncements on syntax and word order: a sentence must be clearly and unambiguously constructed so that all the syntactic relations are made explicit, and the words are immediately comprehensible as they are read in the linear sequence of the sentence. All this then finds its justification when the sociolinguistic dimension of the work is considered.

I have also concentrated on the differences between theory in the *Remarques* and practice as illustrated in the two translations. While the contradictions between the Fonseca translation and the *Remarques* have largely been explained in terms of historical evolution and of Vaugelas's move to Paris, those between the Quintus Curtius translation and the *Remarques*, works which may be viewed as roughly contemporary, can perhaps best be accounted for in terms of the different aims and purposes of the works.

This leads on to the third major perspective, for in considering Vaugelas's work two broadly sociological or sociolinguistic questions have been addressed. The importance and impact of the *Remarques* may be explained to no small degree by the purpose of the work: to provide a means of succeeding in society, especially with the ladies at Court. But more than this, the linguistic content of the *Remarques* can only be fully appreciated and evaluated when viewed in the light of the sociological goal of the observations. The revisions between the Arsenal manuscript and the published observations illustrate the growing importance of the spoken language of the Court to Vaugelas which came with the realization of the power and advantage gained by a good command of language use. Ultimately then the linguistic is subsumed by the sociolinguistic, Vaugelas's theory of language depending on the desire to make communication as quick and easy as possible in order not to cause the listener any displeasure or make the interlocutor appear ridiculous, the worst possible fate to befall the *honnête homme*. Avoiding such ridicule would especially be the concern of the *nouveau riche* or the upper middle class man trying to rise in society and hoping to be accepted socially by the existing nobility, and there are indications that such men did indeed read the *Remarques* as an aid to self-betterment. The vocabulary used must therefore be familiar to the reader or hearer, and this accounts for the exhortation to avoid any word which is *bas*, too old or too new, over-technical or of the wrong register. Again, a clear and unambiguous syntax is vital, for if there is any difficulty of comprehension, the hearer will lose interest not only in the conversation, but in the speaker himself. The definitions of *pureté* and *netteté*, relying on such notions as *barbarisme*, are again dictated by the values of the society. Vaugelas is aware of variation in usage, that there is no one fixed standard, but he chooses to restrict himself to consideration, at least in the

published observations, of rather formal interpersonal communication at Court and rather elevated written style.

Vaugelas's growing interest in the spoken language of the Court reflects too his own situation. Coming from the provinces and from a family involved in the legal profession, he himself had to learn to adopt the ways and manners of the Parisian Court. His own desire to please and his deferential attitude to his 'betters' led him to preach a doctrine of linguistic deference, of conformism to the standard of the Court, of denying originality and self-expression in favour of imitation of accepted norms. From time to time I have pointed out that the difference between Vaugelas's work and that of Arnauld and Lancelot can be explained to some extent in terms of the different goals and intended audience of the two works. Vaugelas's letters add confirmation of the importance of the Court and the Academy to him, for he states proudly in 1645 that he has passed all his life at the Court, and in a letter of 1630 he stresses the attitude required in order to succeed there: 'Monseigneur se fait extrêmement aimer et estimer icy par sa sage conduite, et par la grande discretion dont il use enuers les Dames' (1630).

Secondly, a sociolinguistic viewpoint helps to account for the differences between the usage recommended in the *Remarques* and the actual usage of the Quintus Curtius translation. Vaugelas's choice of vocabulary is broader and more tolerant in the Quintus Curtius translation than the pronouncements of the *Remarques* would lead us to expect, for he uses words which the Academy criticizes, for example, as *bas*, archaic, not noble enough or not suitable for the context. Again, consideration of the different purposes of the work is instructive. Whereas in the *Remarques* Vaugelas is concerned to mark all potential nuances of meaning and to allow only words of a restricted register and currency, in order to ensure that his reader will not run the risk of being misunderstood, in the translations Vaugelas is the stylist anxious to produce a varied, lively and pleasant-sounding piece of prose, and the translator aware of the need to be flexible in the choice and combination of lexical items in order to render the original successfully.

Adoption of a sociological viewpoint is doubly valuable. Not only does it explain much of Vaugelas's theory and practice and align the work to the tradition of courtesy book writing, but it also provides valuable information in turn about the functioning of seventeenth-century society, underlining the importance of adopting acceptable behaviour, and notably linguistic behaviour, as a means of social assimilation in a period of rapid social mobility. The motto 'by his language you shall know him' seems to have been the keynote of the day. A study of Vaugelas therefore has wider resonances than the purely linguistic ones already mentioned. And indeed the social prestige attached to a good use of language and exploitation of the manipulative and persuasive power of language are still very much features of language usage in France today.

APPENDIX: LETTERS WRITTEN BY VAUGELAS

- 1606 Letter to Madame de La Faverge (Vaugelas's aunt) from Annecy, 'vers le printemps de 1606'. In Mugnier, 42, 261.
- 1606a Letter to Madame de la Faverge from Annecy, 4 July 1606. In Mugnier, 42, 262, and also in Streicher, *Remarques*, pp. xiv–xv.
- 1616 Letter to l'Abbé de la Mante à Turin, 31 March 1616. In B. Amidei, 'Quelques lettres inédites de personnages aux noms illustres du XVII^e siècle: Vaugelas — Honoré d'Urfé — Diane de Chateaumorand — Jean-Pierre Camus', *Revue savoisienne*, 77 (1936), 179–87 (pp. 180–82).
- 1620 Letter to the Duc de Nemours, Paris, 14 September 1620. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français, 3809, fol. 116. (Can also be found with typographical modifications in J. Orsier, 'A propos d'une lettre et de deux portraits de Claude Favre de Vaugelas', *Revue de Savoie*, 1 (1912), 133–40 (pp. 135–36)).
- 1630 Letter to Pierre d'Hozier, Paris, 21 June 1630. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français, 31,798, fol. 482. In Streicher, *Remarques*, pp. xxxiii–xxxiv.
- 1630a Letter to Pierre d'Hozier, Paris, 6 September 1630. In *Les Historiettes de Tallemant des Réaux*, edited by Monmerqué and Paulin Paris, third edition, 9 vols (Paris, 1854–60), III (1854), 229, and also in Streicher, *Remarques*, pp. xxxiv–xxxv.
- 1633 Letter to Charles de Menthon from Brussels, 19 December 1633. In O. Reverdin, 'Entre l'amour et l'entreprise: Quand Vaugelas cherchait à refaire sa fortune: Une Lettre inédite', *Journal de Genève*, 18 July 1950.
- 1645 Letter to Bauderon de Sénece, 23 April 1645. In *Les Harangues de maître Brice Bauderon, seigneur de Senecey* (Mâcon, 1685), p. 484, and also in Streicher, *Remarques*, p. xlv.
- 1645a Letter to Bauderon de Sénece, 24 August 1645. In Bauderon de Sénece, pp. 487–88, and also in Streicher, *Remarques*, pp. xlv–xlvi.

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NOTES TO THE PREFACE

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2. See, for instance, [J. A. Tell], *Les Grammairiens français depuis l'origine de la grammaire en France jusqu'aux dernières œuvres connues*, second edition (Paris, 1874), pp. 46–49, Ch. Bruneau, *Petite Histoire de la langue française*, 2 vols (Paris, 1955–58), I, 171, P. Rickard, *A History of the French Language* (London, 1974), p. 106, for favourable accounts; and M. Rat, *Grammairiens et amateurs de beau langage* (Paris, 1963), p. 42, J.-C. Chevalier and M. Arrivé, *La Grammaire: Lectures* (Paris, 1970), p. 31, J.-C. Chevalier, *Histoire de la syntaxe: Naissance de la notion de complément dans la grammaire française 1530–1750* (Geneva, 1968), p. 446, for more critical judgements.
3. See, for instance, my criticisms of Brunot's judgement that Vaugelas lacked any sense of the history of the language, Chapter 2, below.
4. *Histoire de l'Académie française par Pellisson & d'Olivet*, edited by Ch.-L. Livet, 2 vols (Paris, 1858), I, 228–37. Two examples of typical articles are those by M. J. Moore-Rinvulcri, 'Claude Favre de Vaugelas 1595 [sic]–1650', *Modern Languages*, 32 (1951), 84–87, and O. Jodogne, 'Sur la doctrine de Vaugelas', *Vie et langage*, 127 (1962), 516–22, 129 (1962), 664–69, 138 (1963), 465–69.
5. Claude Favre de Vaugelas, *La Préface des 'Remarques sur la langue françoise'*, edited by Z. Marzys (Neuchâtel and Geneva, 1984).
6. *Remarques sur la langue françoise par Vaugelas*, edited by A. Chassang, 2 vols (Paris, [1880]); [Claude Favre de Vaugelas], *Remarques sur la langue françoise viles à ceux qui veulent bien parler et bien écrire* (Paris, 1647; facsimile reprint with an introduction, bibliography and index by J. Streicher, Paris, 1934); *Commentaires sur les Remarques de Vaugelas par La Mothe le Vayer, Scipion Duplex, Ménage, Bouhours, Conrart, Chapelain, Patru, Thomas Corneille, Cassagne, Andry de Boisregard et l'Académie française*, edited by J. Streicher, 2 vols (Paris, 1936). The principal editions of the *Remarques* are listed in Streicher, *Remarques*, pp. li–lii. Throughout I shall quote from the first edition of the *Remarques* reprinted in Streicher's facsimile, using the cue-title plus the page number of the observation (e.g. *R*, 24) or the section and subsection of the Preface (e.g. *R*, IV, 2). An asterisk beside a page number indicates duplicated pagination (see below Chapter 1, note 25). The orthography of the first edition is retained except that 's' is substituted for long 'ss'.
7. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 3105.
8. *Les Sermons de Fonseque sur tous les Euangiles du Caresme: Auec vne Paraphrase perpetuelle sur toutes les parties des Euangiles. Traduits d'Espagnol en François par C. F. D. V. Oeuure remplie de Conceptions nouvelles, doctes, curieuses & deuotes, non seulement à l'usage des Predicateurs, & des doctes; mais de toutes personnes pieuses* (Paris, 1615).
9. Streicher announced a study of Vaugelas's use of language in this early translation at the beginning of her edition of the *Remarques*, a study unfortunately denied to us by her death. C.-G. Collet, 'Vaugelas a débuté dans les lettres en 1615', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 50 (1950), 369–78, provides a bibliographical and historical description of the translation.
10. The *Priuilege du Roy* dated 26 January 1615 is granted to 'C. F. D. Vaugelaz'. The copy I have consulted is located in the Bibliothèque de la Ville de Lyon; another copy is available in the Bibliothèque Municipale de la Ville de Nantes.

11. *Quinte Curce, De la vie et des actions d'Alexandre le Grand, De la Traduction de Monsieur de Vaugelas. Avec les Supplémens de Jean Freinshemius sur Quinte Curce, Traduits par Pierre Du-Ryer*, [edited by V. Conrart and J. Chapelain] (Paris, 1653); *Quinte Curce, De la vie et des actions d'Alexandre le Grand. De la Traduction de Monsieur de Vaugelas. Troisième Edition, Sur une nouvelle Copie de l'Auteur, qui a été trouvée depuis la première, & la seconde impression. Avec les Supplémens de Jean Freinshemius sur Quinte Curce, Traduits par feu Monsieur Du Ryer*, [edited by O. Patru] (Paris, 1659).
12. *Nouvelles Remarques de M. de Vaugelas sur la langue française. Ouvrage posthume. Avec des Observations de M****** [L. A. Alemand] *Avocat au Parlement* (Paris, 1690).

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. Adequate accounts of Vaugelas's biography can be found, for example, in Pellisson and d'Olivet, I, 228–37; Streicher, *Remarques*, pp. vii–I; G. Daumas, 'Notes sur l'enfance et la jeunesse provinciales de Claude Favre dit de Vaugelas (1585–1607)', *Revue des sciences humaines*, 16 (1951), 305–15.
2. [G. Ménage], 'Requête présentée par les Dictionnaires à Messieurs de l'Académie pour la réformation de la langue française', cited in Pellisson and d'Olivet, I, 477–88 (p. 484). Voiture's anecdote is cited in *Lettres de V. Voiture*, edited by O. Uzanne, 2 vols (Paris, 1880), II, 20.
3. [D. Bouhours], *Doutes sur la langue française proposez à Messieurs de l'Académie française par un gentilhomme de province* (Paris, 1674), p. 264.
4. Referred to by Pellisson and d'Olivet, I, 101.
5. Daumas, pp. 306–07. Daumas questions Streicher's hypothesis that Vaugelas was educated at the Collège Chappuisien at Annecy, since there is no documentary evidence to support this. Antoine Favre would probably have introduced his sons to basic legal problems, so that Vaugelas could speak with some authority about the 'langage du Palais'. For details of Antoine Favre's life, see F. Mugnier, 'Antoine Favre. Président de Genevois. Premier Président du Sénat de Savoie. 1557–1624', *Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société Savoisienne d'Histoire et d'Archéologie*, 41 (1902), 3–539, 42 (1903), 2–534, 43 (1905), 3–320, 44 (1906), 1–173, and E. Du Mesnil, 'Le Président Favre, Vaugelas et leur famille d'après les documents authentiques', *Revue du Lyonnais* (Troisième Série), 8 (1869), 369–82, 447–63, 9 (1870), 25–35, 85–94, 195–214.
6. Pellisson and d'Olivet, I, 233. Pellisson also quotes two short impromptus by Vaugelas, neither of which are of any literary merit (I, 233–34).
7. Mugnier, 41 (1902), 289–96.
8. Vaugelas states that he showed his *Remarques* to various people, three of whom read the work in its entirety (R, XIII, 4). Vaugelas's willingness to accept the advice of others is also confirmed by Ménage in his *Observations de Monsieur Ménage sur la langue française* (Paris, 1672), p. 104, and reiterated in *Observations de Monsieur Ménage sur la langue française. Seconde Partie* (Paris, 1676), pp. 70–71.
9. Letter from Faret to Vaugelas, Nantes, 30 August 1626 (*Recueil* [sic] *de lettres nouvelles*, edited by N. Faret, 2 vols (Paris, 1634), II, 233).
10. A. Granger, 'La Blanque de Vaugelas', *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique de Rambouillet*, 30 (1943), 30–31 (p. 30); H. Sauval, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris*, 3 vols (Paris, 1724), III, 62.
11. Chapelain, letter to Godeau, 25 December 1637 (*Lettres de Jean Chapelain, de l'Académie française*, edited by Ph. Tamizay de Larroque, 2 vols (Paris, 1880), I, 186). In another letter to Balzac dated 19 September 1638, Chapelain speaks of Vaugelas's 'vie de solliciteur, de questeur d'avis, et mesmes de dénonciateur de crimes' (Chapelain, I, 293). For details of Vaugelas's probable membership of the Compagnie, see C.-G. Collet, 'Vaugelas: Membre d'une société secrète: La Compagnie du Très-Saint-Sacrement de l'Autel', *Revue de Savoie*, October 1954, 17–24.
12. See, for example, C.-G. Collet, 'Sur la mort et la sépulture de Vaugelas. Sur le testament étrange et pitoyable qu'on lui a attribué', *Dix-septième siècle*, 1 (1949–50), 222–28.
13. Pellisson and d'Olivet, I, 110.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. W. M. Ayres, 'A Study in the Genesis of Vaugelas's *Remarques sur la langue françoise*: The Arsenal Manuscript', *French Studies*, 37 (1983), 17–34 (pp. 17–18). For other discussions of the Arsenal manuscript, see Z. Marzys, 'Pour une édition critique des *Remarques sur la langue françoise* de Vaugelas', *Vox Romanica*, 34 (1975), 124–39, and Marzys, *Préface*. Brackets are used in quotations from the manuscript where the writing is unclear, blotched or too close to the edge of the sheet to be legible. Those words or phrases for which Vaugelas uses a larger script in the manuscript for emphasis are here italicized.
2. Some sheets are out of place, and occasionally a letter of the alphabet is continued out of sequence elsewhere in the manuscript, presumably when Vaugelas ran out of space or wanted to make additions.
3. A marginal note amending the observation entitled *Mademoiselle* confirms that the observations were collected over a period of at least six or seven years (MS, fol. 61^v), while another comment suggests that Vaugelas may have begun noting down his observations even before Malherbe's death in 1628 (MS, fol. 16^v). The dates mentioned in the manuscript, 1645 (MS, unfoliated leaf occurring between fols 3 and 4) and 9–12 August 1647 (MS, fol. 98^r), which appear on odd sheets at the beginning and end, seem to suggest that Vaugelas was still adding to the manuscript almost twenty years after he first began working on it.
4. Ayres, 'Arsenal Manuscript', p. 19.
5. Nicolas Coeffeteau (1574–1623), whose famous *Histoire romaine contenant tout ce qui s'est passé de plus mémorable depuis le commencement de l'Empire d'Auguste iusques à celui de Constantin le Grand. Avec l'építome de L. Florus depuis la fondation de la Ville de Rome iusques à la fin de l'Empire d'Auguste* was published in Paris in 1621. For further details of Coeffeteau's influence on Vaugelas, see below, Chapter 4, pp. 56–57, and Chapter 10, pp. 141–46.
6. For instance, Vaugelas alludes to changes in the French language in his praise of the sixteenth-century translator, Amyot, '... tout ce que nous auons fait depuis luy, c'a esté de retrancher la moitié de ses phrases et de ses mots' (MS, fol. 40^v). See also *R*, *472. For discussion of the extent of Vaugelas's knowledge of the history of the language which embraced in the main only relatively recent changes, see below, pp. 23–24.
7. Notably on the question of the relative importance of written and spoken criteria discussed in Chapter 5, which suggests that the concept of the work changed fundamentally during its genesis.
8. I am grateful to Professor Rickard for pointing out a parallel here with Chapter 5 of Du Bellay's *Deffence, et illustration de la langue francoyse* (1549).
9. Pellisson and d'Olivet, I, 235; H. Sternischa, *Deux grammairiens de la fin du XVII^e siècle: L. Aug. Alemand et Andry de Bois-Regard* (Paris, 1913), p. 30.
10. Pellisson and d'Olivet, I, 235.
11. *Remarques sur la langue françoise de Monsieur de Vaugelas. Utiles à ceux qui veulent bien parler & bien écrire. Nouvelle Edition reveuë & corrigée. Avec des notes de T. Corneille*, 2 vols (Amsterdam, 1690 [first published Paris, 1687]), *Avertissement*.
12. H. Martin, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, 7 vols (Paris, 1885–96), III, 223.
13. The reference is to *Les Oeuvres de M^{re} François de Malherbe* (Paris, 1630). See below, pp. 55–57, and Ayres, 'Arsenal Manuscript', pp. 22–24.
14. See Chapters 10 and 12, below.
15. This refers to Jean Goulu's *Lettres de Phyllarque à Ariste. Où il est traité de l'Eloquence Françoise*, 2 vols (Paris, 1627–28), a work which criticizes the style of Guez de Balzac's letters. Goulu was a friend of François de Sales and Du Perron and was therefore probably also known personally by Vaugelas. See also Chapter 4, especially note 33.
16. Presumably influenced by the random format of the published *Remarques* and the arguments put forward by Vaugelas in the Preface to justify it (*R*, XI).
17. Ayres, 'Arsenal Manuscript', pp. 20–21.
18. See Ayres, 'Arsenal Manuscript', pp. 22–24, and below, pp. 55–56.
19. Chassang, II, 479–86.

20. See also Chapter 3, p. 40, and Chapter 4, p. 60. Another interesting omission is the observation, subsequently annotated in the margin 'pour q. curce', in which Vaugelas quotes Malherbe to support his belief that a translation must not be a slavish copy of the original but must excel it (MS, fol. 90^v).
21. Grillet records how Voiture teased Vaugelas about his constant reworking of the Quintus Curtius translation, likening him to Martial's barber who took so long to shave a beard that while he was shaving one side the other side grew back (J.-L. Grillet, *Dictionnaire historique, littéraire, et statistique des départemens du Mont-Blanc et du Léman*, 3 vols (Chambéry, 1807), II, 121).
22. H.-J. Martin and M. Lecocq, *Livres et lecteurs à Grenoble: Les Registres du libraire Nicolas (1645-1668)*, with H. Carrier and A. Sauvy, 2 vols (Geneva, 1977), p. 840. The majority of the first editions now surviving were printed by Veuve Camusat et Pierre le Petit. Vaugelas possibly originally granted his Privilege to this house and then subsequently transferred it to A. Courbé.
23. See also the preface of the *Grammaire de l'Académie française* (Paris, 1932), p. vii.
24. P. Delalain, *Les Libraires & imprimeurs de l'Académie française de 1634 à 1793: Notices biographiques* (Jean Camusat, Pierre le Petit, les trois Jean-Baptiste Coignard, Bernard Brunet, Ant. Demonville) (Paris, 1907), p. 28.
25. The pagination jumps from 256 to 297 and gatherings Ggg-Lll and Mmm-Qqq have the same pagination (457-496), the duplicated page numbers being marked with an asterisk. In some of the copies of the first edition and in other editions, this error begins on page 456.
26. See the Privilege of the 1664 Paris edition of the *Remarques* published by L. Billaine.
27. According to Streicher, the Preface was not written until 1646 (Streicher, *Remarques*, p. xlvi). Certainly the allusions to La Mothe le Vayer's *Considérations sur l'éloquence françoise de ce temps* of 1638 (R, IX) confirm that the Preface was written after this date.
28. A few of these are obviously related to topics dealt with in the manuscript. For instance, the manuscript treats the question of *Verbes regissans deux cas, mis avec vn seul* (R, 79-80), but not the related subject of *Vn NOM & vn VERBE regissans deux cas differens, mis avec vn seul cas* (R, 81).
29. See below, pp. 40-41.
30. *Avertissement*, R, [594].
31. For example, the page reference for *Absynthe* is given as 227 instead of 527.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. See, for example, M. Cohen, *Histoire d'une langue: Le Français (des lointaines origines à nos jours)*, fourth edition (Paris, 1973), p. 187; Brunot, *HLF*, IV (1913-24), 53-59; (A.) N. Chomsky, *Cartesian Linguistics: A Chapter in the History of Rationalist Thought* (New York, 1966), p. 54. For criticisms of this most unsatisfactory work by Chomsky, see, for example, V. Salmon, [Review of] 'N. Chomsky, *Cartesian Linguistics*', *Journal of Linguistics*, 5 (1969), 165-87; H. Aarsleff, 'The History of Linguistics and Professor Chomsky', *Language*, 46 (1970), 570-85.
2. For discussion of whether Vaugelas abides consistently by this simple dichotomy, see the section on *la propriété des mots & des phrases*, Chapter 3, pp. 47-49. In the manuscript the definition of good usage is broader and includes the usage of lawyers and preachers (MS, fol. 34^v), perhaps indicating his respect for his father and the family friend, François de Sales.
3. The main controversy centred on whether the language of the *Parlement* or the Court should be taken as the model for good usage. Pillot and Peletier, for example, recommended following in general the usage of the Court, while Pasquier, Théodore de Bèze and above all Henri Estienne were wary of Court usage. Even Maupas occasionally criticizes courtiers for being 'singes de nouveautés'. For further details of the debate, see H. Weinrich, 'Vaugelas und die Lehre vom guten Sprachgebrauch', *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, 76 (1960), 1-33 (pp. 16-19); Z. Marzys, 'La Formation de la norme du français cultivé', *Kwartalnik neofilologiczny*, 21 (1974), 315-32 (pp. 321-27); *La Norme linguistique*, edited by É. Bédard and J. Maurais (Québec and Paris, 1983), especially pp. 69-137.

4. See below, pp. 196–97, 200.
5. H. Estienne, *Deux dialogues du nouveau langage françois italianizé et autrement desguizé, principalement entre les courtisans de ce temps*, edited by P. M. Smith (Geneva, 1980), pp. 79–82.
6. That is, for sex, location and social group. The parameter of age is excluded. For an opposite view on using those unversed in Latin, see H. Estienne, *Deux dialogues*, p. 396.
7. For the role of women in the *Remarques*, see L. F. Flutre, 'Du rôle des femmes dans l'élaboration des *Remarques* de Vaugelas', *Neophilologus*, 38 (1954), 241–48. See also Chapter 13, pp. 196, 198–99.
8. L. H. Hillman, 'Vaugelas and the "Cult of Reason"', *Philological Quarterly*, 55 (1976), 211–24. This article contains an abridged version of the arguments of Hillman's doctoral thesis, 'Vaugelas and the Port-Royal Grammar: Usage and Reason in Seventeenth-Century French Grammar' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, 1972). Hillman is the extreme representative of this viewpoint, but other writers suggest that Vaugelas and the authors of the Port-Royal grammar share some ideas; see, for example, W. K. Percival, 'The Notion of Usage in Vaugelas and in the Port-Royal Grammar', in *History of Linguistic Thought and Contemporary Linguistics*, edited by H. Parret (Berlin and New York, 1976), pp. 374–82.
9. Hillman, 'Vaugelas and the "Cult of Reason"', p. 219.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 223.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 212–13. Cf. Marzys, *Préface*, pp. 14–15.
12. See, for example, Le Père C. Buffier, *Grammaire française sur un plan nouveau pour en rendre les principes plus clairs & la pratique plus aisée* (Paris, 1709), pp. 21–22, or Beauzée's discussion under the heading *Usage* in the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and d'Alembert.
13. Note, however, that Vaugelas's deference towards his 'betters' means that in practice this judgement is sometimes contradicted. Speaking of *debrutaliser*, probably created by Mme de Rambouillet, he says, 'Aussi a-t-il esté fait par vne personne, qui a droit de faire des mots, & d'imposer des noms, s'il est vray ce que les Philosophes enseignent, qu'il n'appartient qu'aux sages d'eminente sagesse d'auoir ce priuilege' (*R*, 492).
14. *R*, 509: 'on ne scauroit bien parler ny bien escrire qu'avec les phrases vsitées, & la diction qui a cours parmy les honnestes gens, & qui se trouue dans les bons Auteurs'.
15. D. Bouhours, *Les Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugene*, edited by F. Brunot (Paris, 1962 [based on the first edition, Paris, 1671]), p. 52. Cf. Vaugelas: 'le peuple n'est le maistre que du mauuais Vusage' (*R*, [viii]). The sociolinguistic aspect of the *Remarques* is further discussed in Chapter 13. For the possible origins of the expression 'la plus saine partie' in legal terminology, see H. Weinrich, 'Vaugelas und die Lehre vom guten Sprachgebrauch', and D. Janik, "'La plus saine partie de la Cour" — Herkunft und Bedeutung der Begründungsformel des "bon Usage" bei Vaugelas', in *Umgangssprache in der Iberoromania: Festschrift für Heinz Kröll zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by G. Holtus and E. Radkte (Tübingen, 1984), pp. 425–30.
16. See Chapter 4, below.
17. Rat suggests that Vaugelas may have helped Conrart and Chapelain draw up the list of best works of literature to be discussed by the Academy (M. Rat, 'La Vie discrète de Vaugelas', *Miroir de l'histoire*, 215 (1967), 92–99 (p. 94)). This list might then indicate what Vaugelas read and possible sources of inspiration to him (see also Chapter 4, pp. 62–63).
18. See, for example, *Si apres VINT & VN, il faut mettre vn pluriel ou vn singulier* (*R*, 147–49).
19. For details of the biographies of some of the early Académiciens, see Pellisson and d'Olivet, I, 147–320. Chapelain, for instance, was an accomplished linguist who spoke Italian and Spanish fluently (Pellisson and d'Olivet, II, 125–38 (p. 126)), and Patru's position as an authority on language is well known (Pellisson and d'Olivet, II, 149–58 (pp. 153–54)).
20. See below, p. 34.
21. Since the 'best users' are Vaugelas's authorities, the work was probably aimed at those just less than the best and who aspired to perfection. For evidence of who purchased the *Remarques*, see below, Chapter 13, section II.
22. See, for instance, *R*, 183. Since Vaugelas makes no claim to be writing a grammar of French, Pellat is unfair to criticize him for not doing so (J. C. Pellat, 'Vaugelas: Une Réputation

- usurpée?', *Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres de Mulhouse*, 8 (1976–77), 29–44 (p. 40). However, a few of the observations do seem to be directed at foreigners; see, for instance, the opening of the *remarque* entitled 'H', *aspirée, ou consone, & 'H', muëtte* (R, 194).
23. F. H. Colson, 'The Analogist and Anomalist Controversy', *Classical Quarterly*, 13 (1919), 24–36 (p. 32).
 24. Brunot, *HLF*, III, 50, note 2.
 25. Streicher, *Commentaires*, p. 785.
 26. See also R, 563–66, 153–54, 391–92, 152, 106–08. For Thurot's reservations about this, see Chapter 5, p. 70.
 27. In the edition of the *Remarques* containing the notes of Patru and Corneille (Paris, 1738) the numbering only runs to 547 because *Entaché* and *Inonder* are both numbered 530 and *De la netteté* and *Des equiuoques* are both numbered 547. My figures are, of course, only rough guidelines, as the observations, on account of their mixed content, cannot easily be categorized. I include the figures simply as a rough guide to the relative importance of the different categories.
 28. See, for example, *Ce qu'il vous plaira* (R, 4–5).
 29. Also discussed R, 26, 32.
 30. F. Brunetière, 'Vaugelas et la théorie de l'usage', in his *Études critiques sur l'histoire de la littérature française*, Septième Série (Paris, 1903), pp. 27–54 (pp. 34–47).
 31. See, especially, Z. Marzys, 'Vaugelas ou l'indifférence à l'histoire', *Annales de l'Université de Neuchâtel*, 1970–71, pp. 99–114. Neologisms are treated in further detail in Chapter 8, pp. 127–31.
 32. Marzys argues that although there is no longer a Court, good usage has always been based on 'le français cultivé' (Marzys 'L'Indifférence', p. 114). Grevisse, for example, echoes Vaugelas in defining good usage as 'le consentement des bons écrivains et des gens qui ont le souci de bien s'exprimer' (M. Grevisse, *Problèmes de langage*, 2 vols (Paris, 1961–62), I, 6). See also, below, pp. 214–15.
 33. For Vaugelas's changing views on the acceptability of *partant*, see Chapter 11, p. 177.
 34. Marzys ('L'Indifférence', p. 106) contends that the only domain where etymology is used to decide a point of usage, rather than being quoted as an explanation, is that of orthography. The spelling is not, however, always determined by etymology, for Vaugelas on occasions recommends that the spelling should be aligned to the pronunciation (see Chapter 5, p. 69.).
 35. For comment on this see below, p. 31.
 36. A conclusion also supported by looking at the principal influences on Vaugelas; see Chapter 4, below.
 37. F. de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*, edited by Ch. Bally and A. Sechehaye (Lausanne and Paris, 1916), p. 130. Vaugelas's feeling of regret at the loss of certain words, especially conjunctions, is somewhat difficult to reconcile with his belief that French has attained a degree of perfection. Perhaps the former might be associated with his predilection for the aristocratic.
 38. In spite of a statement in one observation (R, 324–25) that it is not his job to find an alternative to an unacceptable word or phrase, often, as here, Vaugelas does provide a solution. For those cases where Vaugelas does not offer a decision, see below, p. 34.
 39. Brunot, *HLF*, III, 54. Similar comments are found, for instance, in L. Kukenheim, *Esquisse historique de la linguistique française et ses rapports avec la linguistique générale*, second edition (Leiden, 1966), p. 33, or Y. Belaval, 'Vaugelas', in *Tableau de la littérature française*, edited by J. Gioni ([Paris], 1962), pp. 538–46 (p. 544).
 40. Brunetière, p. 32.
 41. For example, M. Galliot, 'Vaugelas: Père du français moderne', *Revue savoisienne*, 89 (1948), 79–91 (p. 86), or J.-P. Caput, *La Langue française, histoire d'une institution*, 2 vols (Paris, 1972–75), I, 260.
 42. He occasionally also attempts to establish usage at a time when certain developments were not completed, thereby creating complicated rules and exceptions. One such example is the case of the pronunciation of words spelt with 'oi' (R, 98–101).
 43. See below, Chapter 7, and Marzys, 'L'Indifférence', p. 111.

44. Vaugelas's knowledge of Latin is unquestionable: not only does he quote Latin extensively and accurately translate Quintus Curtius, but he also composes a dedicatory poem in Latin to his father's *Codex Fabrianus* (Geneva, 1640). When Balzac (quoted in Adam, 'Pour le troisième centenaire des "Remarques" de Vaugelas', *Mercur de France*, 300 (1947), 246–61 (p. 247)) and Ménage (*Observations. Seconde Partie*, p. 70) question Vaugelas's knowledge of the Ancients these comments must apply to the extent of Vaugelas's knowledge of Greek (Ménage may also be criticizing Vaugelas in part to undermine him as an authority for his enemy Bouhours).
45. For discussion of the difference of approach of Ménage and Vaugelas, see below, Chapter 14, pp. 207–08.
46. See, for instance, L'Abbé P.-J. T. d'Olivet, *Remarques sur la langue française* (Paris, 1767), pp. 246–47, and Chapter 14 below, pp. 214–15. Although Vaugelas supported a flexible contemporary spoken norm for good usage, many of his eighteenth-century successors did rely on his authority and therefore in practice his observations did help to fix French usage. In Maurais's words, Vaugelas was a victim of his own success (*Norme linguistique*, pp. 5–6).
47. This pronunciation is also said to be peculiar to 'plusieurs hommes dans la chaire, & dans le barreau'. Unfortunately, because of the rough and ready transcription used by Vaugelas, it is not clear what sound exactly he has in mind ([aʒəte] for [aʒtə] or [aʒtə]?).
48. For Vaugelas's attitude to borrowing, see below, Chapter 8, section iii, D (p. 131).
49. These may, of course, also be ones which record a change in usage etc.
50. MS, fol. 86^v, Malherbe.
51. Further examples are given in the detailed analysis of the contents of the *Remarques*, Chapters 5–8.
52. Vaugelas, '*Remarques sur la langue française*': *Extraits*, edited by R. Lagane (Paris, 1975), pp. 15–16. For examples of some of the discrepancies between Coeffeteau's usage and Vaugelas's, see Ch. Urbain, *Nicolas Coeffeteau: Dominicain, Évêque de Marseille: Un des fondateurs de la prose française (1574–1623)* (Paris, 1893).
53. Note that analogy is nowhere mentioned in the Arsenal manuscript.
54. See also R, v, 1. For discussion of the history and the development of the notion of analogy, see H. H. Christmann, 'Zu den Begriffen "génie de la langue" und "Analogie" in der Sprachwissenschaft des 16. bis 19. Jahrhunderts', *Beiträge zur Romanischen Philologie*, 16 (1977), 91–94; H. H. Christmann, 'Zum Begriff der Analogie in der Sprachbetrachtung des 16. bis 19. Jahrhunderts', in *Stimmen der Romania: Festschrift für W. Theodor Elwert zum 70. Geburtstag*, edited by G. Schmidt and M. Tietz (Wiesbaden, 1980) pp. 519–35; E. Siebenborn, *Die Lehre von der Sprachrichtigkeit und ihren Kriterien: Studien zur antiken normativen Grammatik* (Amsterdam, 1976), pp. 56–84.
55. Hillman, 'Vaugelas and the "Cult of Reason"', p. 218.
56. A. François, *Histoire de la langue française cultivée des origines à nos jours*, 2 vols (Geneva, 1959), I, 323.
57. H. Steinthal, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Römern mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Logik*, second edition, 2 vols (Berlin, 1890–91), II, 156. For discussion of Quintilian's influence on Vaugelas, see Chapter 4, pp. 57–59.
58. Analogy is only invoked explicitly in a handful of observations to resolve an uncertainty, although undoubtedly it contributed to other decisions.
59. The success of new words is, however, regulated by a social filter. See the discussion of neologisms, Chapter 8, Section III.
60. See also *Jours Caniculaires* where usage and analogy seem to be opposed: 'Mais quand le mot de *caniculaire*, auroit toute l'analogie pour luy, *caniculaire*, ayant l'usage pour soy doit preualoir, parce que l'analogie n'a lieu que là où l'usage l'autorise, ou bien où il ne paroist pas' (R, 361).
61. Kukenheim, *Esquisse*, p. 35. For the different meanings of 'raison', see the range of definitions given in the Academy dictionary of 1694 and Pascal's famous paradox which plays on the word *raison(s)* (B. Pascal, *Œuvres complètes* (Paris, 1963), p. 552).
62. Vaugelas's view is therefore essentially Platonic. For further details of the concern of English writers such as Bacon about the inadequacies of their language and the schemes of universal language planners to avoid the problems of natural language, see G. A. Padley,

Grammatical Theory in Western Europe 1500–1700: The Latin Tradition (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 184–207.

63. For Saussure, because the signs of language are arbitrary, they can only be understood according to their place in the system and the syntagmatic and associative relationships into which they enter (see, for example, Saussure, p. 144).
64. R. Donzé, *La Grammaire générale et raisonnée de Port-Royal: Contribution à l'histoire des idées grammaticales en France* (Berne, 1967), p. 38.
65. See, for instance, *Des equivoques*, R, 585–93.
66. This figure excludes, of course, the 'explanation' that the expression is in accordance with good usage, or that a term has changed its meaning or use, or statements about the *propriété* of a word.
67. Cf. P. Rickard, *The Embarrassments of Irregularity: The French Language in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 13–14. Rickard's figures are slightly different from mine because he includes explanations offered by others which Vaugelas rejects.
68. See also the discussion of *douceur* in Chapter 3, p. 50.
69. Etymology is also rejected as a reason, for example, in the observation entitled *Parallele* (R, 106).
70. Cf. R, 219, *477–80, 519–20. The need to repeat the article or not is therefore language specific and based on real world reasons: the difference depends on whether the two conjoined nouns are viewed as one unit or as two. See below, Chapter 7, pp. 108–09.
71. Cf. [A. Arnauld and C. Lancelot], *Grammaire generale et raisonnée. Contenant Les fondemens de l'art de parler; expliquez d'une maniere claire & naturelle; Les raisons de ce qui est commun à toutes les langues, & des principales differences qui s'y rencontrent; Et plusieurs remarques nouvelles sur la Langue Françoisse* (Paris, 1660), pp. 75–83.
72. See Padley, *Grammatical Theory in Western Europe 1500–1700: The Latin Tradition*, pp. 102–03.
73. H. Aarsleff, *From Locke to Saussure: Essays on the Study of Language and Intellectual History* (London, 1982), p. 9.
74. A. Arnauld, 'Regles pour discerner les bonnes et mauvaises critiques des traductions de l'écriture sainte en François. Pour ce qui regarde la langue, Avec des Réflexions sur cette maxime, que l'Usage est le tyran des Langues vivantes', in *Œuvres de Messire Antoine Arnauld, Docteur de la Maison et Société de Sorbonne* (Paris, 1775–81), viii (1777), 423–66 (p. 454).
75. Percival, p. 38.
76. See also R, 101–02; *457–58; 500–01. Once again theory and practice are at odds as a passage from the Preface makes clear: '. . . & que d'ailleurs ie serois coupable d'une lasche imposture enuers le public, de vouloir faire passer mes opinions particulieres, si i'en auois, au lieu des opinions generales & receuës aux trois tribunaux que ie viens de nommer' (R, xiii, 4).
77. Cf. Stéfanini: 'Vaugelas à une époque où l'on ne pouvait songer à une explication scientifique de la langue a eu précisément le mérite de n'y point songer, de ne pas la chercher dans les langues anciennes ou dans la logique'. (J. Stéfanini, 'Grammairiens classiques et classicisme grammatical', in *Hommage au Doyen Etienne Gros*, edited by G. Berger and others (Aix-en-Provence, 1959), pp. 165–72 (pp. 166–67)). This is, of course, only completely true for his theory, not his practice.
78. See, for example, W. Raible, 'Regel und Ausnahme in der Sprache', *Romanische Forschungen*, 92 (1980), 199–222 (p. 205).
79. As an illustration of the widely differing views held by various writers on Vaugelas, compare Brunetière's evaluation: 'Vaugelas n'a point posé ni proposé des lois; il a exprimé ses opinions, il a consulté des faits, et il a donné des conseils' (Brunetière, p. 52).
80. This observation again illustrates the problems engendered by the vagueness of 'la plus saine partie'. While Vaugelas here rejects majority usage, in '*Parce que*' & '*pource que*' (R, 47–48) he supports the more commonly used expression: 'Car i'oserois assureur que pour vne personne qui dira ou écrira *pource que*, il y en a mille qui diront & écriront l'autre'.
81. Vaugelas's method here is in germ that developed by Port-Royal (see Donzé, p. 43). Like them, he occasionally uses rhetorical figures to 'explain' usage, but he does so only in a

comparatively small number of cases and only in passing. See below Chapter 7, and Chapter 9, pp. 133–34.

82. Which he does, for instance, in the case of *bonheurs* cited above.
83. A change between the manuscript and the *Remarques* suggests that Vaugelas was anxious to defend his position as a Savoyard writing a book on good French usage. Whereas in the manuscript he asserts that there are four possible advantages or conditions which guarantee good usage, frequenting the Court, reading good books, consulting with those most competent in the language and fourthly being born 'au coeur de la France' (MS, fol. 11'), that is, being 'des urays françois' (MS, fol. 15'), in the published *Remarques* Vaugelas seems to suggest that this fourth factor is rather a disadvantage (*R*, II, 6).
84. For the comments of Vaugelas's successors, see below, pp. 201–12, and Streicher, *Commentaires*. Grevisse, in the historical sections of *Le Bon Usage*, eleventh edition (Paris and Gembloux, 1980) gives details of where the usage of the major authors of the period differs from the pronouncements of the grammarians.
85. Galliot, p. 88; Chevalier, *Histoire de la syntaxe*, p. 468; Brunot, *HLF*, III, 54–55; Pellat, especially p. 31.
86. Marzys contends that this precludes calling Vaugelas 'Classical' because for him 'le classicisme implique rationalité et durée' (Marzys, 'Formation de la norme', p. 327). Adam, on the other hand, maintains that the Classical theory of language finds its definitive form in Vaugelas's work (A. Adam, *Histoire de la littérature française au XVII^e siècle*, Volume I, *L'Époque d'Henri IV et de Louis XIII* (Paris, 1948), pp. 262–63), and Stéfanini concludes 'Mais le véritable classicisme, celui qui recherche avant tout la Nature et le Vrai, en grammaire c'est Vaugelas qui le représente avec éclat. Intuitivement il a en matière de langue usé d'une méthode, découvert des lois, un système que la linguistique moderne ne peut que confirmer et pesamment expliquer' (Stéfanini, 'Grammairiens classiques', p. 172).
87. Moore-Rinvulucri, p. 87.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. See above, p. 3, and Ayres, pp. 28–29. Occasionally, related observations do follow consecutively, e.g. '*H*', *aspirée, ou consono*, & '*H*', *muëtte* (*R*, 194–98), *Reigle pour discerner l' 'h', consono d'avec la muëtte* (*R*, 198–201), *De l' 'h', dans les mots composez* (*R*, 201–02).
2. For details of Valla's presentation, see Padley, p. 17, and L. Giard, 'Du latin médiéval au pluriel des langues, le tournant de la Renaissance', *Histoire, épistémologie, langage*, 6 (1984), 35–55 (pp. 42–43).
3. See above, pp. 10–11.
4. See below, pp. 196–200.
5. Cf. Chapter 5, pp. 67–68.
6. See Chapter 14, pp. 205–10.
7. *L'Honneste Homme ou l'Art de plaire à la court par Nicolas Faret*, edited by M. Magendie (Paris, 1925); U. Chevreau, *Lettres nouvelles de M^r. Chevreau* (Paris, 1642).
8. See Ayres, pp. 29–30, where the removal of learned references and legal vocabulary before the publication of the observations is also discussed.
9. And this despite the fact that Vaugelas strongly censures this approach to meaning in the *Remarques* (*R*, 590).
10. It is unlikely that Vaugelas was aware of the details of this regional usage. Gascon is probably mentioned since it was one of the more clearly differentiated dialects.
11. See, for example, A. Scaglione, *The Classical Theory of Composition from its Origins to the Present: A Historical Survey* (Chapel Hill, 1972), pp. 191–92. The influence of the classical rhetorical traditions and more particularly of Quintilian on Vaugelas is further discussed in the next chapter, and the relationship between grammar and rhetoric in the *Remarques* in Chapter 9.
12. L. Chiflet, *Essay d'une parfaite grammaire de la langue françoise. Ou le Lecteur trouuera, en bel ordre, tout ce qui est de plus necessaire, de plus curieux, & de plus elegant, en la Pureté, en l'Orthographe, & en la Prononciation de cette Langue* (Antwerp, 1659).

13. Chifflet, pp. 147–49. For Chifflet's preoccupation with a clear method, see J. Stéfani, 'Méthode et pédagogie dans les grammaires françaises de la première moitié du XVII^e siècle', in *Grammaire et méthode au XVII^e siècle*, edited by P. Swiggers (Leuven, 1984), pp. 35–48 (pp. 44–47).
14. In making a distinction between *pureté* and *netteté* and the other qualities, Vaugelas is following in the tradition which regarded purity and clarity as essentially part of the grammatical curriculum, and brevity, appropriateness and distinction (*ornatus*) as characteristically rhetorical in nature. However, there are also signs in Vaugelas's work that the distinction is beginning to be fudged and that the role of rhetoric is so overwhelming that it is seen to penetrate and guide even more explicitly grammatical observations (Scaglione, p. 400).
15. For the use of some of these terms in rhetorics and conversation manuals in the seventeenth century, see C. Strosetzki, *Konversation: Ein Kapitel gesellschaftlicher und literarischer Pragmatik im Frankreich des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main, 1978), pp. 35–55.
16. Cf. Chifflet, p. 147.
17. Purity is also vaguely defined in the Preface: 'ne consiste qu'à user de mots & de phrases, qui soient du bon Usage' (R, ix, 2).
18. H. Estienne, *Projet du livre intitulé De la precellence du langage François* (Paris, 1579), p. 21.
19. Bouhours, *Entretiens*, p. 41; *Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie française, dédié au roy*, 2 vols (Paris, 1694), i, 344.
20. See the discussion of Vaugelas's handling of syntactic questions in the *Remarques*, Chapter 7, especially pp. 90, 114–15.
21. Cf. Beauzée's definition of *clarté*: 'La clarté tient aux choses mêmes que l'on traite; elle naît de la distinction des idées' (cited in F. Guizot, *Nouveau Dictionnaire universel des synonymes de la langue française*, 2 vols (Paris, 1809), i, 193). The history of the concept *clarté* is discussed in H. Weinrich, 'Die clarté der französischen Sprache und die Klarheit der Franzosen', *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, 77 (1961), 528–44.
22. Chifflet, p. 148.
23. J. de La Bruyère, *Les Caractères de Théophraste traduits du grec avec Les Caractères ou les Mœurs de ce siècle*, edited by R. Pignarre (Paris, 1965), p. 85. See Chapter 8, p. 123.
24. In the *Remarques* Vaugelas also allows demands of metre to determine morphological forms (Ayres, 'Arsenal Manuscript', p. 27).
25. See Chifflet's definition of these, pp. 148–49. The three-fold division is an ancient one, see Strosetzki, p. 33; H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik: Eine Grundlegung der Literaturwissenschaft*, 2 vols (Munich, 1960), i, 519–25.
26. See Chapter 13, pp. 196–97.
27. Occasionally concerns of elegance and brevity are at odds, see, for example, *Lors* (R, 114–15).
28. For Vaugelas's dependence on Quintilian, see Chapter 4, pp. 57–59.
29. See the discussion of *usage douteux*, Chapter 2, p. 19.
30. Chifflet, p. 148.
31. For a discussion of the tendency towards brevity in Modern French, see L. C. Harmer, *The French Language Today: Its Characteristics and Tendencies* (London, 1954), pp. 110–62.
32. For discussion of the relationship between the spoken and written registers in the Arsenal manuscript and the *Remarques*, see Chapter 5, Section II.
33. The part of speech categories were, of course, initially distinguished for an essentially inflected language, and were therefore based on formal differences. Problems then arise when attempts are made to clarify an essentially uninflected language in this way.
34. Although a reference in the manuscript (MS, fol. 57^r) suggests that Vaugelas was aware that not all languages distinguish cases, 'Car les enfans sçavent aux plus basses classes que tout adiectif ou article qui tient lieu d'adiectif, suit non seulement le genre mais aussi le nombre et le cas (ce dernier s'entend des langues ou les cas se distinguent) du substantif auquel il se rapporte'.
35. Cf. Stéfani's discussion of Maupas, 'Méthode et pédagogie', pp. 40–41.
36. Priscian's grammar, of course, only listed eight, there being no article in Latin. Early French grammarians (excluding Palsgrave), trying to retain the same number of categories, either

- excluded the article (Dubois, Meigret, Garnier), or, following Greek grammar, included the article and either placed the interjection in the adverbial category (Pillot) or disregarded it completely (H. Estienne). Robert Estienne names nine parts of speech including the article, but still feels the need to add (incorrectly), 'comme ainsi ont les Latins', [R. Estienne], *Traicté de la Grâmaire Françoise* (Paris, 1569), pp. 14–15. For the relationship of Vaugelas to Maupas and Oudin, see Chapter 4, p. 63.
37. Cf. A. Oudin, *Grammaire françoise, rapportée au langage du temps* (Paris, 1632), pp. 264–301. Occasionally Vaugelas bases his subcategorization on a mixture of formal and semantic criteria. Adjectives, for example, are subcategorized as *verbaux* (R, 430), *numeraux* and *des couleurs* (R, 182–83).
 38. See Chapter 6, p. 81.
 39. In the case of participles the terms *actif* and *passif* may be used through interference from Latin grammar.
 40. Chevalier, *Histoire de la syntaxe*, pp. 467–68.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. For instance, under the heading 'De avec le participe passif' Vaugelas notes that his opinion differs from Malherbe's usage and adds, 'Il faut uoir comme en use M. Coeff. et s'en tenir là' (MS, fol. 67^r), and elsewhere he notes in the margin that he is going to consult the Academy about the correct conjugation of *il sied* (MS, fol. 86^v).
2. See also R, xiv, 2–3.
3. See Chapter 1, note 13. The quotations come from all parts of Malherbe's work, his poetry, prose and letters, but especially from his *Traitté des bien-faits de Seneque*. Vaugelas also mentions advice which Malherbe gave him personally (MS, fol. 94^r).
4. Ayres, 'Arsenal Manuscript', pp. 23–24.
5. Malherbe's comments on Desportes's use of French are discussed in F. Brunot, *La Doctrine de Malherbe d'après son commentaire sur Desportes* (Paris, 1891).
6. In several places in the manuscript Vaugelas distances himself from the over-fastidious attitude of the Purists whom he distinguishes from those concerned with achieving purity of language such as Coeffeteau (MS, fol. 74^r). This may suggest that he wished to stand apart from the rigid dogmatism of Malherbe and his school.
7. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 5420, Tome xi, 1^{ère} partie, 24–25.
8. Chassang, I, lxi.
9. Arsenal, 5420, Tome xi, 1^{ère} partie, 25.
10. For d'Ablancourt's influence on Vaugelas's method of translating, see Chapter 10, pp. 147–57. The *Clef de Conrart* cites d'Ablancourt on many more occasions than those suggested by Streicher, *Remarques*, p. 622. Madame la Marquise de Montausier was Julie d'Angennes, daughter of Mme de Rambouillet. Giry (1596–1666) was one of the group who met at Conrart's house from 1629 and became a member of the Academy in 1636. D'Avaux (1595–1650) was a diplomat who was a friend and protector of writers including Voiture and Balzac.
11. For Coeffeteau's influence on Vaugelas the translator, see Chapter 10, pp. 141–46.
12. E.g. *onguent* (MS, fol. 36^r): 'Et c'est une faute qu'a faite M. Coeff. dont il a esté iustement repry'. Cf. R, *458.
13. Marzys quotes a passage from the Arsenal manuscript praising Coeffeteau, *Préface*, p. 64.
14. Jacques Amyot (1513–93). His most famous translation is his version of Plutarch, *Les Vies des hommes illustres grecs et romains*, first published in 1559. There are similarities between the changes introduced by Amyot in the later editions of his work and Vaugelas's pronouncements; see Ch. Guerlin de Guer, 'La Langue d'Amyot, d'après les "Vies parallèles" de Démosthène et Cicéron; de Périclès et Fabius Maximus', *Le Français moderne*, 5 (1937), 1–10, 127–41, 231–42. For the close relationship between grammar and translation in the seventeenth century see Chapter 10, below, p. 139.
15. There are relatively few Greek authors mentioned in comparison to the wealth of Latin authors cited.
16. Scaglione, pp. 195, 400. See also Chapter 3, p. 43.

17. See, for example, F. de Dainville, *L'Éducation des Jésuites (XVI^e–XVIII^e siècles)* (Paris, 1978), p. 186.
18. *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian*, with an English translation by H. E. Butler, 4 vols (London and Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1969). The references give the book, chapter and section of the work. Cf. Horace, *De arte poetica*, 11.70–72 quoted by Vaugelas (*R*, x, 1). Vaugelas also quotes 1.58 (*R*, xi; 569).
19. See Chapter 2, pp. 26–28.
20. Quintilian, 1.6.1; 1.6.20; 1.6.39. Cf. Chapter 2, p. 21.
21. Quintilian, 1.6.2; 1.6.42. Cf. *R*, II, 5 where the authority of good authors is said to verify Court usage, and *R*, XIII, 1 where Vaugelas criticizes any particular usage by a favoured author which is contrary to good usage.
22. Quintilian, 1.6.27.
23. K. A. Ott, 'La Notion du "bon usage" dans les Remarques de Vaugelas', *Cahiers de l'Association Internationale des Études Françaises*, 14 (1962), 79–94 (p. 80).
24. Note, however, that Quintilian looks to educated men for details of good usage, whereas Vaugelas recommends consulting those who have not studied Latin and Greek, and women, following Cicero (see below, p. 60).
25. See Chapter 13, pp. 196–200.
26. Quintilian 1.5.6–54. See Chapter 3, pp. 47–48.
27. There is an obvious parallel here with the foreword of Geoffroy Tory's *Champ fleury* of 1529.
28. *Varro on the Latin Language*, with an English translation by R. G. Kent, 2 vols (London and Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1938), x, 51, 53, 60. (References give the book and the section of the work.)
29. See, for example, Varro, VIII, 26, 31.
30. E.g. *R*, 159, 163, 237, 415, *487, *494.
31. See, for example, Dainville, p. 270.
32. Padley, *Grammatical Theory in Western Europe 1500–1700: The Latin Tradition*, p. 17.
33. See Table 3, and Chapter 1, note 15. Although Vaugelas criticizes Goulu's decision on both occasions in the manuscript, there are nevertheless interesting parallels between the two writers. For instance, Goulu admires Quintilian and Coeffeteau and claims that good language must display *propriété*, *netteté*, *naiueté* (I, 144) and *pureté* (II, 49–50).
34. Charles Maupas's *Grammaire françoise* (Blois, 1607) was revised and much enlarged in its second edition of 1618, which was entitled *Grammaire et syntaxe françoise*. This edition was then reprinted with only very minor alterations in 1625 and 1632 as the third edition and also appeared in a Latin translation in 1623. In quoting Maupas, I have used the 1632 Rouen edition, the full title of which is *Grammaire et syntaxe françoise, contentant reigles bien exactes & certaines de la prononciation, orthographe, construction & usage de nostre langue, en faveur des estrangiers qui en seront desireux*.
35. Winkler mentions some examples where Vaugelas's work seems to follow and enlarge upon Oudin's grammar (É. Winkler, *La Doctrine grammaticale française d'après Maupas et Oudin*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie, 38 (Halle, 1912), p. 4). See also Brunot, *HLF*, III, 29.
36. See the quotation cited from the manuscript, Chapter 1, p. 9, and his criticism of grammarians, *R*, 469.
37. Robert Estienne is cited in the *Note liminaire* not for his grammar, but for his Latin dictionary. Ramus, '& plusieurs grands Grammairiens' (*R*, 194), is quoted on the pronunciation of *h aspiré*. Ramus's belief that the material for linguistic study comes from usage (Padley, *Grammatical Theory in Western Europe 1500–1700: The Latin Tradition*, pp. 84–85) may well have influenced Vaugelas.
38. Faret was a compatriot and a personal friend. For Faret's possible influence on the format of the *Remarques*, see Chapter 3, p. 41.
39. The manuscript (MS, fol. 3^v) indicates that Chapelain's ideas helped formulate Vaugelas's views on usage (cf. *R*, v, 2) and neologisms. For instance, Vaugelas quotes Chapelain's opinion that expressions established by usage 'par le consentement general de tous ceus qui parlent françois' are elegant, but that new ones cannot be created in imitation, for no one has the authority to do this.

40. François de Cauvigny, sieur de Colomby (c. 1588–1648) was a nephew of Malherbe and one of the first members of the French Academy. Vaugelas refers to *La Polyxene de Molière* (Paris, 1624).
41. Cited by Dom B. Mackey in his 'Étude sur Saint François de Sales prédicateur' in *Œuvres de Saint François de Sales*, Volume x, *Sermons-Volume iv* (Annecy, 1898), pp. lxi–lxii.
42. See Marzys, *Préface*, p. 42.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 11–12.
44. B. Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano con una scelta delle opere minori*, edited by B. Maier, second edition (Turin, 1964), pp. 73, 80, 141, 144 etc.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. The difficulty of categorizing the observations has already been mentioned, but I have provided some approximate figures to try and give some guidance about the relative importance of the different fields to Vaugelas. In addition, it may be noted that about 7% of the *Remarques* settle disputes about the gender of various nouns. I have not detailed them here as the observations are self-explanatory and there is little evidence of any change in Vaugelas's usage between the 1615 translation and the *Remarques*.
2. See Ayres, 'Arsenal Manuscript', pp. 25–27, Marzys's comments on my conclusion (Marzys, *Préface*, pp. 29–31), and my review of this work in *French Studies*, 39 (1985), 464–65.
3. Cf. the manuscript comment, 'qu'il ne faut rien escrire qui ne se die mais que tout ce qui se dit ne se doit pas escrire' (MS, fol. 13^v).
4. For example, 'Certes en parlant on ne l'obserue point, mais le stile veut estre plus exact' (R, 80).
5. See Chapter 13, pp. 196–200.
6. J. C. Scaliger, *De causis linguae Latinae libri tredecim* (Lyons, 1540), pp. 2–3.
7. My emphases. On the whole *parler* is used more consistently to refer to the spoken language, although examples such as 'C'est donc mal parler de dire, comme font quelques-vns de nos meilleurs Escriuains' (R, 225) do occur.
8. Examples are found R, 21, 188, 189–192, 252–53, 391–92. Vaugelas also mentions that the initial 'p' of *pseumes* is silent (R, 365) as is the 'c' of *bienfaicteur* (R, 336), although he prefers the 'c' to be omitted in this case. In his own usage, a silent 's' is often used to indicate the quality of a preceding vowel, see below, p. 70.
9. E.g. *conuent*, *monstier* (R, 502), *respondre* and *correspondre* (R, 371), *arsenal* (R, 474–75).
10. The 'd' had been restored unsystematically in the previous century. He also recommends that the spelling should suggest the pronunciation, for example, in *remerciment*, *agrément* (R, 413, 443) and *brelan* (R, 409–10).
11. According to Chiflet, the final 's' of *sens* was already pronounced to avoid the homonymy (Chiflet, p. 203).
12. Although 'i' is generally used for the vowel and 'j' for the consonant, Vaugelas is not entirely consistent in his usage (e.g. *ie*, *iuger*). The graphemes 'u' and 'v' are used as positional variants, with 'v' appearing initially and 'u' medially. This may be the printer's convention, for in the manuscript only 'u' is used. For details of Vaugelas's spelling in 1615, see Chapter 11, pp. 160–63.
13. J. Peletier du Mans, *Dialogue de l'ortographe e prononciacion françoese (1555), suivi de La Réponse de Louis Meigret*, edited by L. C. Porter (Geneva, 1966), pp. 30–33. Such technical systems would not be deemed suitable for Vaugelas's audience.
14. Although not expressed in terms of conjugations, Vaugelas's examples make it clear that this only applies to -er verbs, that is, he states that *ments-je*, *perds-je*, *romps-je* are the correct forms, not *menté-je*, *perdé-je*, *rompé-je*.
15. Ch. Thurot, *De la prononciation française depuis le commencement du XVI^e siècle, d'après les témoignages des grammairiens*, 2 vols (Paris, 1881–83), 1, lvii. Note, however, the uncertainty about the status of length at this period.
16. See, for example, Th. Rosset, *Les Origines de la prononciation moderne étudiées au XVII^e siècle d'après les remarques des grammairiens et les textes en patois de la banlieue parisienne*

- (Paris, 1911), pp. 173–80; Rickard, *Short History*, pp. 112–13; Cohen, *Histoire d'une langue*, pp. 189–92.
17. See Table 5.3. Nevertheless, this is probably Vaugelas's most significant contribution in the domain of pronunciation.
 18. See Table 5.1.
 19. Although Vaugelas gives the incorrect etymology for *loisir* (<*licere*>).
 20. This pronunciation was presumably adopted when reading aloud to indicate the spelling of the word and thereby avoid any ambiguity with the past participle.
 21. See the discussion of *douceur*, Chapter 3, p. 50.
 22. He is not, however, in favour of *on-z-a*, *on-z-ordonne*, which were perhaps used to avoid the problem of denasalization (R, 436). Vaugelas helped to establish in written French the use of the so-called '-t- of euphony', which was probably already pronounced in the sixteenth century although not written and which was almost certainly pronounced by 1647, as is confirmed by its appearance in the quasi-phonetic reproduction of the Dauphin's speech in Jean Héroard's Journal of 1601–28 in contrast with his conventional spelling (see G. Ernst, *Gesprochenes Französisch zu Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, 204 (Tübingen, 1985)). Note that in Vaugelas's usage in 1615 the 't' is not written, e.g. *y a il* (F, 44), *sera il* (F, 84), and indeed even in the text of the *Remarques* the 't' is not infallibly marked, e.g. 'combien y en a-il' (R, 572).
 23. This is another instance where it is not clear what sound Vaugelas is representing with his spelling. The 'eu' was probably an orthographic fancy for [ø], for it is unlikely that the vowel was ever a diphthong.
 24. To cite one small example, Vaugelas favours the form *l'onziesme* with elision (R, 77–78). The modern form without elision, which retains the identity of the word, perhaps on the analogy of the other numerals, is supported both by Patru and by the Academy (Streicher, *Commentaires*, pp. 159–61).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. For the history of the article category in French, see H. Yvon, 'La Notion d'article chez nos grammairiens', *Le Français moderne*, 23 (1955), 161–72, 241–55, 24 (1956), 1–13.
2. As Joly indicates, the formal definition of the article as a marker of gender, number and above all case (i.e., as a nominal marker) prevailed until the middle of the eighteenth century, with the notable exception of Arnauld and Lancelot's *Grammaire générale et raisonnée* (1660). Semantic definitions, based on the idea of determination, were not therefore current in Vaugelas's day (A. Joly, 'Le Problème de l'article et sa solution dans les grammaires de l'époque classique', *Langue française*, 48 (1980), 16–27 (pp. 18–19)).
3. J. Palsgrave, *L'Éclaircissement de la langue française par Jean Palsgrave, suivi de La Grammaire de Gilez de Guez*, edited by F. Génin (Paris, 1852 [first published 1530]), p. 65.
4. S.-G. Neumann, *Recherches sur le français des XV^e et XVI^e siècles et sur sa codification par les théoriciens de l'époque* (Lund, 1959), pp. 123–30 (p. 124).
5. R. Estienne, p. 22.
6. Cited in Winkler, p. 77, from the 1625 edition of Maupas's *Grammaire et syntaxe française*.
7. Arnauld and Lancelot, p. 52. The use of the term 'article indéfini' to refer to *un(e)* took a long time to establish itself, only becoming official usage with the 1910 *arrêté ministériel* (Neumann, p. 130).
8. Vaugelas gives two conflicting orders for enumerating the cases: *genitif—datif—accusatif—ablatif* (R, 117), the order given by Thrax (with the addition of the ablative), and *nominatif—accusatif—genitif—ablatif—datif* (R, *474–76), an ordering which indicates the syncretism.
9. For a recent discussion of the status of articles and pronouns, see P. M. Postal, 'On So-Called Pronouns in English', in *Readings in English Transformational Grammar*, edited by R. A. Jacobs and P. S. Rosenbaum (Waltham, Mass., Toronto and London, 1970), pp. 56–82. In French, of course, not only is there a formal similarity between the indefinite article *un* and the pronoun *un*, but also between the definite article *le* and the object pronoun

le. These last two may, however, be distinguished on the basis that the pronoun does not amalgamate with a preceding preposition as the article does, i.e. only *il vient de le faire* is possible, not **il vient du faire*.

10. Arnauld and Lancelot, pp. 55–58.
11. ‘Commence à n’estre plus gueres en vsage’ (R, 367).
12. Oudin, pp. 109–15.
13. See also R, 88–89. Discussion of the use of the imperfect subjunctive, and indeed of the use of tenses in general, is woefully lacking in the *Remarques* (but see R, 185–86, 308–09, 332–33, 457–59). There is an isolated observation concerned with the use of two subordinate clauses dependent on a negative main clause (R, 381–82).
14. About thirty of the observations are devoted to verb morphology and in a few others verb forms are discussed where they are affected by, for example, a change in pronunciation. Further discussion of verb morphology appears in Chapter 11, pp. 163–64.
15. Oudin p. 157. *Ménage*, Bouhours, Th. Corneille and the Academy all recommend *cueillera* (Streicher, *Commentaires*, pp. 839–44).
16. This is supplemented by a rather naïve idea of the relative lengths of the forms for the different tenses (R, 456).
17. Vaugelas was, of course, later criticized for his atomistic approach and his lack of ‘philosophy’, see below Chapter 14, p. 216.
18. Although there is some discussion of verbs used impersonally (R, 161; 539–41). Vaugelas’s stance contrasts, for example, with Pillot’s analysis, which is based on the primary distinction between personal and impersonal verbs (J. Pillot, *Gallicae linguae institutio, Latino sermone conscripta* (Antwerp, 1558 [first published Paris, 1550]), p. 63).
19. Note that the preference is not explicitly expressed and this has led other commentators to suggest that this is a clear example of Vaugelas not following Court usage (e.g. Wolf in *La Norme linguistique*, p. 112). Certainly in the Arsenal manuscript Vaugelas condemns *ie va* for *ie vais*, along with the older form *ie vois* (MS, fol. 95^v), and this may explain his reluctance to commit himself in the published text (see also the discussion of *recouuert* and *recouuré*, p. 87).
20. This reflects Vaugelas’s tendency to differentiate related words semantically (here morphological variants). See below, pp. 126–27.
21. This may be a case of Vaugelas relying on written sources, for Oudin also prefers the forms without palatal *n* (Oudin, p. 178).
22. Streicher, *Commentaires*, pp. 319–22. Neither Vaugelas nor his contemporaries mention the strong forms *assois* . . . *assoient*, which were probably just coming into usage in this period.
23. See also ‘*Valant*’, pour ‘*vaillant*’ (R, 35) and ‘*Valant*’, & ‘*vaillant*’ (R, 359–60).
24. Streicher, *Commentaires*, pp. 595–97.
25. Thomas Corneille in 1687 no longer accepts *il vesquit, il survesquit* (Streicher, *Commentaires*, p. 228).
26. Vaugelas rejects *recouurrir* for *recouurer* on the grounds that the former is not sufficiently used. For the comments of Vaugelas’s successors on this observation, see below, pp. 203–04.
27. Lanly notes that Rabelais, for instance, uses *vetissent* (A. Lanly, *Morphologie historique des verbes français: Notions générales, conjugaisons régulières, verbes irréguliers* ([Paris], 1977), p. 321).
28. My emphasis.
29. The compound verb *ressortir* behaves quite regularly (*ressortis, ressortissant*, R, 233).
30. The commentators on Vaugelas apparently agree with him that the pronunciation of the infinitive is bisyllabic, but that the first person present indicative is monosyllabic (Streicher, *Commentaires*, pp. 762–64).
31. Thomas Corneille points out the difficulties with this rule (Streicher, *Commentaires*, pp. 452–53). Both he and the Academy argue that the forms of the present singular of *hair* must formerly have been bisyllabic to account for the forms of the present indicative in the plural and of the present subjunctive (Streicher, *Commentaires*, pp. 453, 33).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1. Again, a sentence must not be overloaded with complements (*R*, 581, 584) because this might impede immediate comprehension. For the social consequence of this, see Chapter 13, p. 197.
2. Cf. Chevalier, *Histoire de la syntaxe*, p. 466.
3. See Chapter 2, p. 18.
4. Arnauld and Lancelot, pp. 141. Cf. [P. Ramus (P. de la Ramée)], *Gramerg* (Paris, 1562), p. 78. For a summary of the relationship between grammar and rhetoric in the *Remarques*, see Chapter 9, pp. 133–35.
5. Arnauld and Lancelot, p. 147.
6. Limits are, however, set on the scope of these criteria. Analogy may be cited to support a decision, but similar constructions must not be crossed (e.g. *Arriué qu'il fut* etc., *R*, 139); elliptical constructions may be a source of beauty, but essential elements must not be deleted (see below, pp. 108–09); change of construction is a useful source of variety (*Afin*, *R*, 394), but the rules of the language must not be infringed.
7. For example, that the adjective will agree in number and gender with the noun, see below, p. 92. In this Vaugelas follows in the tradition as outlined, for example, in Ramus's definition of syntax (Ramus, pp. 77–78).
8. Nevertheless, as Table 1 shows, Vaugelas does separate violation of agreement rules (*solecismes dans la construction*) from morphological problems (*solecismes d'un mot*).
9. See the discussion of *élever les yeux vers le ciel*, Chapter 8, p. 128.
10. See, for example, P. Matthews, *Syntax* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 246.
11. Only one observation is devoted to person agreement (*R*, 88–89), in which Vaugelas is at pains to preserve the general regularity of person agreement, even at the cost of paying more attention to the written than to the spoken language.
12. Vaugelas's knowledge of other languages was, of course, rather limited and almost entirely restricted to Romance languages. He knew Latin and Greek (see Chapter 2, note 44), Italian (see, p. xiii) and Spanish (see p. 139) and possibly came into contact with other European languages through visitors to his father's home (e.g. a Dutch boy 1601–03). This claim, which at first sight appears to be making a statement about universals, therefore probably simply arises from an awareness on Vaugelas's part of the similarities between the languages he knows, which are due to family resemblances.
13. See the quotation from the Arsenal manuscript (MS, fol. 57^r) cited in Chapter 3, note 34. Similar ideas are expressed by Maupas (*Grammaire et syntaxe française*, p. 113) and Oudin (p. 75).
14. See the discussion of doubtful usage, p. 19.
15. See below, pp. 196–97. Note, however, that agreement does show the gender of the noun.
16. Cf. Ramus, p. 78; Arnauld and Lancelot, p. 140.
17. Dupleix criticizes Vaugelas's use of *regir*, arguing that it is the verb which governs the nominative singular (Streicher, *Commentaires*, p. 512). This would give a model similar to dependency grammar, with the verb acting as the pivot of the sentence. Elsewhere (*R*, 482) there is an indication that Vaugelas also considers the verb to be the key element of the sentence, see below, p. 114.
18. Cf. MS, fol. 24^r: 'Mais parce que cela ne reçoit point de difficulté, ie n'en parlois point, estant chose toute ordinaire dans la grammaire de toutes les langues qu'un mesme mot dans une oraison parfaite qu'ilz appellent reçoit plusieurs constructions deuant et derriere'.
19. The same tolerance of either singular or plural agreement depending on the focus is found in the observation entitled *Ni la douceur, ni la force n'y peut rien* (*R*, 150).
20. Perhaps in the second example Vaugelas considers *quelque chose* to be equivalent to *une chose*. He does not discuss the related dispute about the gender of *personne* in the negative construction *ne . . . personne*.
21. This is the older usage; nevertheless, the concept of proximity still plays a role in Modern French adjectival agreement (see, for example, Grevisse, *Le Bon Usage*, p. 404). Word order also determines, for instance, when the form *bel* may be used (*R*, 328–29), for Vaugelas only allows it in the pre-nominal position.

22. Cf. Vaugelas's analysis of 'C'est vne des plus belles actions, qu'il ayt jamais faites', where there is an implication that the closeness of *que* and *actions* is significant, although two other reasons for the plural agreement are discussed at greater length (R, 153–54).
23. Significantly, the observation does not appear in the Arsenal manuscript.
24. Streicher, *Commentaires*, p. 655. Perhaps Vaugelas was confusing this construction with the use of the pronoun *tout* to summarize a number of previously stated plural subjects (see J.-C. Chevalier and others, *Grammaire Larousse du français contemporain* (Paris, 1964), p. 382). It is surprising that Vaugelas accepts this example as good usage, for the verb forms which have to be understood with the first two nouns are not identical to the one expressed. Both Dupleix and La Mothe le Vayer criticize Vaugelas for this (Streicher, *Commentaires*, pp. 652–55).
25. See, for example, the comment on *personne*, Table 7.
26. Grevisse, *Le Bon Usage*, p. 505. In Modern French *tout* is variable before *autre* when it refers to a noun (= 'n'importe quel'), but invariable when it modifies *autre* (= 'entièrement, tout à fait'), see Grevisse, *Le Bon Usage*, p. 506.
27. See also the rules of agreement given for *la plupart* and *personne* (Table 7).
28. See Brunot, *HLF*, III, 483.
29. Although in an addition in the manuscript (MS, fol. 57^r) Vaugelas admits that the plural is also heard at Court.
30. Grevisse, *Le Bon Usage*, p. 551.
31. Contrast, however, such expressions as *je l'ai échappé belle* where the feminine form has a 'neuter' value. In the Arsenal manuscript, Vaugelas discusses what he claims is the related example of 'Excusez la betise, ou la folie comme que ce soit que uous le uouliez nommer, de ces oeuvres miserables' (MS, fol. 57^r) where he claims that *le* must be used because 'il n'a point de substantif auquel il se refere, quoy que d'abord il uous semble qu'il y en ayt deux', i.e., the pronoun refers to the whole clause rather than to a particular lexical item. See also the discussion of Malherbe's 'les choses ne nous succedent pas comme nous le desirons' (R, 28).
32. Another example of flexibility is the discussion of agreement with *l'vn et l'autre* (R, 141).
33. This example of course suggests that plural agreement is correct.
34. The *tolérances*, which update those of the *arrêté du 26 février 1901*, are quoted in Grevisse, *Le Bon Usage*, pp. 1426–39 (see especially 1428–32), and the problems of agreement with a collective subject, pp. 948–55.
35. Vaugelas follows his predecessors without comment in maintaining a distinction (based on the double origin of the *-ant* form) between the gerundive which is indeclinable and the participle which in his view inflects for number, but not for gender (see also R, 187–88, which contains a point of interest for Vaugelas as the translator of Quintus Curtius). Dupleix, however, argues that just because the *-ant* form is invariable, it is not necessarily a gerundive which he claims is always preceded either explicitly or tacitly by *en* (Streicher, *Commentaires*, pp. 736–37).
36. See H. Breitingen, *Zur Geschichte der französischen Grammatik (1530–1647)* (Frauenfeld, 1868), pp. 41–42.
37. Grevisse, *Le Bon Usage*, p. 910. The transmission of Vaugelas's ideas and his role in establishing the rules for past participle agreement are discussed in Chapter 14, pp. 218–19.
38. See also the discussion of agreement with collectives and quantifiers, above pp. 94–97.
39. For present-day usage and the history of the use of these participles, see Grevisse, *Le Bon Usage*, pp. 911–13.
40. The correct complement for certain prepositions is mentioned in two observations: *Au trauers, & à trauers* (R, 250) and *Pres, aupres* (R, 368–89).
41. The manuscript indicates that the examples are from Malherbe (MS, fol. 96^r).
42. Cf. *euiter aux inconueniens* formed by contamination with *obuier aux inconueniens* (R, 248–49).
43. See also the discussion of *plaire* (R, 355–57).
44. Cf. the discussion of *se fier*, where the scale depends on the relative currency of the expressions (R, 533–35), and of *fournir* (R, 320), *inonder* (R, 543), and *enuoyer* (R, 382).

45. Once again the vagueness of the terms (*esloigné, proche*) is unhelpful.
46. The feeling of regret is echoed by Chiflet, pp. 125–26.
47. But see R, 82, where he apparently accepts it. For Vaugelas's changing views on the acceptability of *partant*, see Chapter 11, p. 177.
48. See Chapter 1, p. 8 and Chapter 11, pp. 159–60.
49. Vaugelas's attitude to synonyms is discussed in Chapter 8, pp. 125–27. Cf. R. Quirk and others, *A Grammar of Contemporary English* (London, 1972), p. 569: 'In effect, every case of ellipsis involves some semantic difference, since it suggests a closer connection than would be felt if the forms occurred in full'.
50. Patru argues that 'd'un plus furieux ny d'un plus rude combat' is more usual and that it is essential to repeat *d'un*. The Academy only agrees with Vaugelas's rule if the adjectives are absolute synonyms and maintains that this is not the case with *furieux* and *rude* (Streicher, *Commentaires*, pp. 79–80).
51. Streicher, *Commentaires*, p. 235.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 236.
53. See also *Tant & de si belles actions* (R, 348–49). According to Antoine, 'la coordination asymétrique . . . n'est jamais sortie d'usage, et elle "tient" encore aujourd'hui aux deux ailes de la langue: ici procédé du style, et là usage commun au parler non surveillé' (G. Antoine, *La Coordination en français*, 2 vols (Paris, [1958–62]), II, 1336). For examples where asymmetrical constructions are tolerated in Modern French, see Chevalier and others, *Grammaire Larousse*, pp. 405–06.
54. Vaugelas is not, however, a reductionist in the sense that he does not attempt to reduce all 'multiple subjects' of linguistic expression to 'simple subjects' as Dik suggests Port-Royal would have done (S. C. Dik, *Coordination: Its Implications for the Theory of General Linguistics* (Amsterdam, 1972), p. 119).
55. The expansion would have to be something like, *il sait les [deux] langues [à sçavoir] [la langue] Latine & [la langue] Grecque*.
56. *Et*, of course, may be repeated in a sentence where it is used as a phrasal as well as a clausal conjunction, although the resulting sentence may be stylistically infelicitous.
57. Antoine, II, 920.
58. This homogeneity is implied by Vaugelas's definition of a period as 'vne partie de l'oraison qui a son sens tout complet' (R, 4), which, however, follows closely traditional definitions.
59. Vaugelas avoids using the construction in his translation of Quintus Curtius. He also considers in the *Remarques* when the demonstrative pronoun *celuy* etc. may be used sentence-initially to refer to a noun in a previous sentence. He argues that it is unacceptable when the pronoun refers to an abstract noun, but that it can be used when its antecedent is a concrete object or a person. He admits that despite the fact there is probably some reason for this difference, he has not yet found it (R, *459–60).
60. As Professor Rickard pointed out to me, Vaugelas only considers *mais que* meaning 'quand', and makes no mention of the fact that it could also be used in the sense of 'pourvu que', a sense which is perfectly compatible with the second of his examples. Indeed 'pourvu que' was its usual meaning throughout the Middle Ages and the sixteenth century. Other contemporary examples suggest that this conjunction could also be used for 'sitôt que' (see J. Dubois and R. Lagane, *Dictionnaire de la langue française classique* (Paris, 1960)).
61. R, 48–50, 54, 55–57, 91, 115–18, 343–45 etc. The term *relatif* apparently implies an anaphoric relation for Vaugelas (R, 388). Thus *le* used anaphorically, for example, will also be termed *relatif* (R, 33).
62. For changes in Vaugelas's usage, see Chapter 11, p. 172.
63. Oudin, p. 101.
64. Streicher, *Commentaires*, p. 111.
65. See also *Le voyla qui vient* (R, 353).
66. Once again, however, there is a crucial difference in the scope of application of such a principle. See, for example, the limitations noted in footnote 54 above.
67. Grevisse, *Le Bon Usage*, p. 1379.
68. See Chapter 11, pp. 171–72, for usage in Vaugelas's 1615 translation.
69. Grevisse, *Le Bon Usage*, p. 484.

70. Maupas, *Grammaire et syntaxe française*, pp. 251–52. For a discussion of the concept of a 'natural' word order see, for example, P. M. Clifford, 'The Grammarians' View of French Word Order in the Sixteenth Century', *Philological Quarterly*, 53 (1974), 380–88 (especially p. 381) and C. Lecointre, 'De la *Nouvelle Méthode par apprendre la langue latine à la Grammaire générale et raisonnée*', *Verbum*, 4 (1982), 181–90 (especially p. 188).
71. The manuscript (MS, fol. 88^r) hints that this may be a prescriptive statement since neither Coeffeteau nor Malherbe followed his rule consistently. Thomas Corneille, however, is even stricter on this point and is unhappy about 'pour de là passer en Italie' (Streicher, *Commentaires*, p. 131).
72. Vaugelas's neglect of the spoken language is also evident from the fact that intonation and prosody are not mentioned as possible means of resolving ambiguity, despite the attention paid to euphony.
73. See above, p. 52. The relationship between grammar and style in the *Remarques* is further discussed in Chapter 9.
74. Vaugelas's rules for adverb placement are in part at least prescriptive; see Brunot, *HLF*, III, 683.
75. Streicher, *Commentaires*, p. 376.
76. Perhaps Vaugelas considered this unnecessary since Henri Estienne had already occupied himself with the problem (H. Estienne, *Hypomneses de Gall. lingua, peregrinis eam discuntibus necessariae: quaedã verò ipsi etiam Gallis multum profuturæ* ([Geneva], 1582), pp. 154–58).
77. Streicher, *Commentaires*, pp. 585–86.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 885.
79. Maupas and Oudin devote a considerable amount of space to discussion of impersonals (Brunot, *HLF*, III, 525–26), but they are almost completely neglected by Vaugelas (see *Souvenir*, R, 161). In his own usage subject and impersonal verb are inverted in the text ('Or est-il que . . .', R, 149), but his examples of inversion are not restricted to impersonals (see the example in '*SI*', pour '*si est-ce que*', R, 62–63).
80. P. M. Clifford, *Inversion of the Subject in French Narrative Prose from 1500 to the Present Day*, Publications of the Philological Society, 24 (Oxford, 1973), p. 77. Cf. Streicher, *Commentaires*, pp. 129–30.
81. Clifford, *Inversion*, p. 119, 139. Clifford's statistics derived from analysing texts of different periods indicate that the years 1600–1650 show a marked fall in the number of inversions (0.74 inversions per page vs. 1.50 for the preceding 50 years), but that the number levels out in the second half of the century (p. 422).
82. *Ibid.*, p. 431.
83. Brunot, *HLF*, III, 680. The manuscript (MS, fol. 57^v) indicates that the examples Vaugelas criticizes are from Malherbe.
84. The omission was, of course, common in Old French, *li* being usual for *le li*. Such omissions are still found in popular French.
85. The Academy modifies Vaugelas's total condemnation of the sound of *m'y*, and asserts that it is only to be avoided when it comes after the verb in final position; *il m'y donna place*, for example, is quite acceptable (Streicher, *Commentaires*, p. 186).
86. Brunot, *HLF*, III, 682; Streicher, *Commentaires*, p. 185.
87. See, for example, R. S. Kayne, *French Syntax: The Transformational Cycle* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England, 1975), who provides the classical generative analysis. In his system unstressed pronominal complements are basically introduced in post-verbal position (like lexically specified complements) and are then cliticized by a movement transformation, 'clitic placement', by which they 'climb' to the pre-verbal position. A separate cyclic rule '*se*-placement' deals with reflexive pronouns.
88. Unfortunately Vaugelas does not include discussion of clitic placement with *faire* (where clitic climbing is obligatory), nor examples of the type *je le fais (vois) venir*, where the *le* is the subject and not the object of the lower verb, nor examples with catenative verbs.
89. Y. Galet, *L'Évolution de l'ordre des mots dans la phrase française de 1600 à 1700: La Place du pronom personnel complément d'un infinitif régime* (Paris, 1971), pp. 54–57. In the

eighteenth century some grammarians still supported the older usage, relying on the authority of the past and on Vaugelas's ruling (p. 57).

90. *Ibid.*, p. 323.
91. *Ibid.*, pp. 405–06.
92. *Ibid.*, p. 359. Another possible reason for the change which is not mentioned by Vaugelas is the difficulty of selecting the auxiliary when the verb is reflexive (Galet, p. 350). (Cf. Italian *verbi servili* which take the auxiliary of the lower verb.)
93. Surprisingly, Vaugelas does not demand the repetition of the pronoun for clarity's sake, although the Academy advises it (Streicher, *Commentaires*, p. 283). For usage in the Fonseca translation, see Chapter 11, p. 173.
94. See above, p. 115, and note 76.
95. Streicher, *Commentaires*, p. 101.
96. J. Damourette and E. Pichon, *Des mots à la pensée: Essai de grammaire de la langue française*, 7 vols (Paris, 1927–40), II, 114–17.
97. Vaugelas does not comment on how this relates to his statement made elsewhere that *beau* always precedes the noun (*R*, 182). Henri Estienne, on the other hand, in his *Precellence*, notes that while certain adjectives have different meanings according to their position in relation to the noun, this distinction is neutralized when the adjective in question is combined with another adjective (Clifford, 'Grammarians' View', p. 385).
98. Streicher, *Commentaires*, pp. 307–08.
99. In addition, Vaugelas attempts to characterize exceptions to his rule, for instance, adverbs of time (see also below, Chapter 11, p. 175).
100. One of the examples in the observation entitled *De la netteté du stile* perhaps suggests that Vaugelas was aware that adverbs may modify other adverbs (*R*, 584–85), but he does not mention that they can modify an adjective, or even a noun or a whole clause. In Latin the adverb tended to be next to the verb, but in Old French the position of the adverb generally was not fixed, unless it was the focus of the sentence, when it was usually sentence-initial.
101. Note, however, in the discussion of the use of *lequel*, *laquelle* (*R*, 115–18) the example, 'Il y auoit à Rome vn grand Capitaine, lequel par le commandement du Senat, &c.' (*R*, 116) in which the adverbial phrase is placed at the beginning of the clause directly after the relative pronoun.
102. Vaugelas makes no mention of the alternative ordering, 'comme il fut arrivé, le Roy commanda', with backward pronominalization. Such a sentence is, of course, potentially ambiguous, since the *il* could be taken to refer to someone else. Moreover, if immediate comprehension of the elements in linear sequence is required, it is essential to have the full noun in the subordinate clause when this comes first.
103. The notable exception to his discernment of the trend of subsequent usage concerns the position of clitics.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 8

1. Typified by Ronsard's comment, 'Plus nous aurons de mots en nostre langue, plus elle sera parfaite' (P. de Ronsard, *Œuvres complètes*, edited by G. Cohen, 2 vols ([Paris], 1950), p. 1006).
2. See, for example, Bouhours, *Doutes*, pp. 244–45, or Bouhours, *Entretiens*, pp. 50–51. Further comments are made below, pp. 206–07. Vaugelas is not then working with the 'almost pathologically restricted lexicon' of late seventeenth-century polite French society (R. Posner, 'Lexical Gaps and How to Plug Them', in *Language, Meaning and Style: Essays in Memory of Stephen Ullmann*, edited by T. E. Hope and others (Leeds, 1981), pp. 117–35 (p. 133)).
3. See Chapter 1, p. 4, and Chapter 11, p. 177.
4. For illustrations of Vaugelas's comments on dialectal words, see *R*, 76–77, 136–39, 222, 353, 372–73, 392–93, 434, and on technical terms, see, for example, the observation entitled *Expedition* (*R*, 369–70). The label *bas* is discussed above, pp. 48–49, and neologisms and archaisms are treated below, pp. 127–32.

5. Note, however, that Vaugelas does not recommend banning every word or expression about which some people are uncertain (e.g. *Mais mesmes*, *R*, 22–23).
6. Although it was Chapelain's project which was adopted for the dictionary, comparison of the *Remarques* with the policy outlined in the preface of the 1694 dictionary (rejection of very new words, archaisms, technical terms and of terms 'd'emportement ou qui blessent la pudeur') confirms Vaugelas's influence on the undertaking.
7. Saussure, p. 231.
8. He also admits the possibility of one word having both an active and a passive meaning (*estime, ayde*, *R*, 562–63).
9. See Chapter 2, pp. 31–32, and Chapter 7, p. 108.
10. G. Leech, *Semantics: The Study of Meaning*, second edition (Harmondsworth, 1981), pp. 9–23.
11. For example, in his explanation of the use of synonyms (*R*, *494–95). For discussion of Vaugelas's growing uneasiness with the use of metaphors, see Ayres, 'Arsenal Manuscript', p. 30, and below, p. 134.
12. Q. I. M. Mok, 'Vaugelas et la "désambiguïation" de la parole', *Lingua*, 21 (1968), 303–11 (p. 305).
13. See, for instance, J. Lyons, *Semantics*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1977), II, 550–69.
14. See also *R*, 538–39. Vaugelas seems to suggest that one possible way of resolving a potential ambiguity is through homophones having a different gender (*voile* (*R*, 460–61), *personne* (*R*, 6–9), *œuvre(s)* (*R*, 34–35), *pourpre* (*R*, 58–59), *amour* (*R*, 389–90)). Since Vaugelas considers these as one word with two different genders, gender is apparently extraneous for him. However, in the case of *poste* (*R*, *458–59), Vaugelas gives two separate etymons for the masculine and feminine forms and implies they are different words.
15. For the problem of distinguishing synonyms from 'approchans', see Chapter 3, pp. 42–43. In the manuscript Vaugelas also maintains that to condemn all synonyms would be to impoverish the language (MS, fol. 31').
16. C. Fuchs, 'La Synonymie dans les *Remarques* de Vaugelas (1647): Théorie explicite et conceptions implicites', *Historiographia Linguistica*, 6 (1979), 285–93 (p. 286). Fuchs attempts, not very successfully, to relate Vaugelas's practice to 'usage' and 'reason', concluding that his practice does not permit one to formulate Vaugelas's theory of synonyms in such a way that usage can be said generally to dominate over reason. This seems rather forced.
17. See the discussion of the use of synonyms in the translations, Chapter 10, pp. 153–54.
18. Abbé G. Girard, *La Justesse de la langue françoise, ou les différentes significations des mots qui passent pour synonymes* (Paris, 1718).
19. O. de Mourgues, *Quelques Paradoxes sur le classicisme: The Zaharoff Lecture for 1980–81* (Oxford, 1981). See also P. Bayley, 'Fixed Form and Varied Function: Reflections on the Language of French Classicism', *Seventeenth-Century French Studies*, 6 (1984), 6–21.
20. For example, Louis Guilbert, in *La Créativité lexicale* (Paris, 1975), speaks of Vaugelas's 'ostracisme absolu' of new words (p. 35).
21. J. M. Carroll and M. K. Tanenhaus, 'Prolegomena to a Functional Theory of Word Formation', in *Papers from the Parasession on Functionalism, 17 April 1975*, edited by R. E. Grossman, L. J. San and T. J. Vance (Chicago, 1975), pp. 47–62 (p. 51).
22. Note his tolerance for *debrutaliser* because of his respect for Madame de Rambouillet (*R*, 492).
23. Vaugelas incorrectly considers the nominal suffix to be *-ent*, rather than *-ement*. His authority seems to have been enough to guarantee the establishment of *inaction* and *impolitesse*. *Ronflement* was in fact a sixteenth-century formation, spontaneously recreated by Vaugelas. *Brusqueté* never gained currency.
24. É. Rey, *Vaugelas et la société polie du XVII^e siècle vue à travers son œuvre* (Bourg-en-Bresse, 1900), pp. 25–26. One might also qualify Rey's datings! For example, the fourteenth-century attestation of *transfuge* is an isolated one, but the word is certainly found in Cotgrave's dictionary (1611). *Pudeur* was apparently never used by Desportes and is in fact attested as early as 1545 in Pierre de Changy's translation of Luis de Vivés's *De institutione feminae* (see P. Rickard, 'Les Essais de Montaigne et le Dictionnaire franco-anglais de

- Cotgrave (1611): Problème lexicographique', *Cahiers de lexicologie*, 47 (1985), 121–137 (p. 129).
25. J. Nicot, *Grand Dictionnaire [sic] françois — latin*, enlarged edition (Rouen, 1609); P. Richelet, *Dictionnaire françois*, 2 vols (Geneva, 1680); A. Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, 3 vols (La Haye and Rotterdam, 1690).
 26. Note, however, that the meaning of *ambitionner* is not exactly equivalent to 'avoir des ambitions' (R, 346).
 27. The exceptions are *corruial* and *complaintes* which are deemed archaic (R, 357–58), and *preallable* (sic), really a parasynthetic formation, which is discussed because of its 'hybrid' nature (R, 484).
 28. From the semantic viewpoint *enuelopper* and *desuelopper* do not fit in with the others because they are not direct antonyms.
 29. Since education was still primarily in Latin, few problems of integration would arise. The latinism may have been favoured because of its precise meaning. No mention is made of *exactesse*, another possible formation which was used at this period.
 30. For a recent view of the gender of compounds, see Chevalier and others, *Grammaire Larousse*, pp. 168–69.
 31. Vaugelas's dislike of borrowings from dialects and his reluctance to allow technical terms into good usage are dealt with above, p. 123.
 32. See especially H. Estienne, *Deux dialogues* and H. Estienne, *Precellence*.
 33. *Le Dictionnaire des Arts et des Sciences Par M. D. C.* [Thomas Corneille] de l'Académie Française, 2 vols (Paris, 1694). These constitute volumes 3 and 4 of the first Academy dictionary (1694).
 34. Z. Marzys, 'L'Archaïsme, Vaugelas, Littré et le "Petit Robert"', *Le Français moderne*, 46 (1978), 199–209. Marzys argues that the phonological, morphological and syntactic facts considered archaic by Vaugelas have, however, almost invariably disappeared from usage as predicted (p. 202).
 35. Since Richelet's dictionary is largely eclectic and the *Remarques* one of its sources, Richelet rarely disagrees with Vaugelas. Furetière's and the Academy's dictionaries are more independent and tend to be conservative in their retention of archaisms, although in general they confirm his predictions about neologisms. Some words (e.g. *accoustumance*) may have been revitalized.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 9

1. H. M. Davidson, *Audience, Words and Art: Studies in Seventeenth-Century French Rhetoric* ([Columbus], 1965), p. 7; Scaglione, p. 191.
2. Th. Corneille classifies it as a stylistic preference, Streicher, *Commentaires*, p. 891.
3. Pellisson and d'Olivet, I, 101–02. The lexicographical aspect of the work may account for Littré's role in the transmission of Vaugelas's ideas, see Chapter 14, p. 219.
4. For parallels between the *Remarques* and courtesy books, see Chapter 3, pp. 40–41, and Chapter 13, pp. 196–200.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 10

1. A. Baillet, *Jugemens des savans sur les principaux ouvrages des auteurs. Revûs, corrigés & augmentés par M. de la Monnoye*, 7 vols (Paris, 1722), III, 122.
2. Mémoire autographe de Vaugelas, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français, 18470, fol. 362.
3. For bibliographical details of both translations and information about the availability of the Fonseca translation, see above, Preface, notes 8–12.
4. See especially the competent thesis by W. Zeiler, 'Kritische Untersuchungen zur Quintus Curtius-Übersetzung von Vaugelas' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Cologne, 1966), and the article by A. François, 'Note sur le "Quinte-Curce" de Vaugelas', in *Mélanges de philologie offerts à Ferdinand Brunot* (Paris, 1904), pp. 137–61. In this

François provides a list of some of the principal editions of Vaugelas's translation of Quintus Curtius (p. 145).

5. *Les Guerres d'Alexandre par Arrian. De la Traduction de Nicolas Perrot, Sieur d'Ablancourt. Sa Vie tirée du Grec de Plutarque, et ses apophtegmes de la mesme Traduction* (Paris, 1664 [first published Paris, 1646]).
6. This paragraph was added to Du Ryer's preface to the first edition from the third edition on. From 1664 this additional paragraph appeared after La Mothe le Vayer's 'Jugement de Quinte-Curce', and is here quoted from the 1698 Paris edition (see below, note 8).
7. See below, pp. 155–57.
8. The post-1659 editions are all based on the third edition. When quoting the version first published in 1659 I have used the 1698 Paris edition published in two volumes by J. L. Billaine since this could also be used for quoting the Latin text and was readily available to me. The differences in orthography between the 1653 and 1659 editions are insignificant (see below, p. 180), and the orthography and typography of the 1698 quotations are therefore not relevant to the argument, the conventions not being due to Vaugelas, but reflecting subsequent changes in usage.
9. For further details of Vaugelas's relationship to Coeffeteau, see Chapter 4, pp. 56–57.
10. Urbain, pp. 268–69.
11. Ch. de Fonseca, *Devout Contemplations Expressed In two and Fortie Sermons vpon all ye Quadragesimall Gospells*, translated by J[ames] M[abbe] (London, 1629).
12. P. E. Russell, 'A Stuart Hispanist: James Mabbe', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 30 (1953), 75–84 (pp. 77–79).
13. See Chapter 11, pp. 164–65 (especially notes 10 and 11), 170, 171 (note 32).
14. Du Perron calls Quintus Curtius 'le premier de la Latinité' in *Perroniana et Thuana*, second edition (Cologne, 1669), p. 296, and Streicher records Madame de Rambouillet's comment 'qu'elle ne vouloit pas d'autre galant qu'Alexandre' (Streicher, *Remarques*, pp. xxii–xxiii). There had already been three other translations of the Quintus Curtius text in the century by Nicolas Séguier (1614), Nicolas de Souffour (1629) and Bernard Lesfargues (1639) (see also below, p. 157).
15. All the seventeenth-century translators held Amyot in respect (R. Zuber, *Les "Belles Infidèles" et la formation du goût classique: Perrot d'Ablancourt et Guez de Balzac* ([Paris], 1968), p. 19), and Vaugelas undoubtedly greatly admired Amyot's use of language (see Chapter 4, p. 57), but he does not seem to have specifically adopted Amyot as a model for his method of translation.
16. Claude-Gaspard Bachet de Méziriac was a mediocre poet but 'excellent grammairien, habile helléniste et critique distingué' (*Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: Le Dix-Septième Siècle*, edited by G. Grente and others (Paris, 1954), p. 694). He was admitted to the French Academy in 1635, despite his absence from Paris. The text of Méziriac's *Discours* is given in *Menagiana ou Les Bons Mots et remarques critiques, historiques, morales & d'érudition, de M. Menage, Recueillis par ses Amis*, 4 vols (Amsterdam, 1713–16), iii, 503–59.
17. *Menagiana*, iii, 507.
18. *Lettres de Jean Chapelain*, i, 41.
19. J. L. Guez de Balzac, *Les Œuvres de Monsieur de Balzac*, 2 vols (Paris, 1665), i, 415.
20. *L'Octavius de Minucius Felix*, translated by N. Perrot d'Ablancourt (Paris, 1637). For details of the editions of this and other translations by d'Ablancourt, see Zuber, "*Belles Infidèles*", pp. 445–46.
21. Quoted in Du Ryer's preface to the translation.
22. François, 'Note sur le "Quinte-Curce" de Vaugelas', p. 155; W. Mossner, *Die Übersetzungsweise des Nicolas Perrot, Sieur d'Ablancourt und ihre Einwirkung auf Vaugelas* (Nuremberg, 1927), p. 89.
23. Cited by F. Hennebert, *Histoire des traductions françaises d'auteurs grecs et latins, pendant le XVI^e et le XVII^e siècles* (Amsterdam, 1968 [reimpression of the Brussels, 1861 edition]), p. 159.
24. Malherbe, p. 472.
25. [G. de Tende], *De la Traduction, ou Regles pour apprendre à traduire la langue latine en la langue française. Tirées de quelques-vns des meilleures Traductions du Temps. Par le S^r de l'Estant* [pseud.] (Paris, 1660).

26. A similar theoretical statement is found in the preface to Amyot's translation of Plutarch's *Vies*: 'L'office d'un propre traducteur ne gist pas seulement à rendre fidèlement la sentence de son autheur, mais aussi à adombrer la forme du style et manière de parler d'iceluy', quoted in E. Cary, *Les Grands Traducteurs français* (Geneva, 1963), p. 17, who, incidentally, makes no mention of Vaugelas. In practice Amyot concentrated more on the latter concern than on the former.
27. Zeiler, p. 52; Zuber, "*Belles Infidèles*", p. 125. Zuber is also incorrect in his suppositions as to what are allusions to d'Ablancourt in the *Remarques*. For instance, he attributes the allusions on R, 461*, 468* to d'Ablancourt (Zuber, p. 121), whereas the Arsenal manuscript makes it clear that the references are to Malherbe (MS, fol. 37^r, 86^v).
28. Zeiler, p. 99.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 47–49.
30. The emendations to bring the usage more in line with the *Remarques* may have been carried out late in Vaugelas's life when he was revising books III and IV, the last books to be reworked. This would then explain why there are more changes in linguistic usage between the versions in books III and IV than elsewhere (see also below, note 45). For examples of the changes, see Chapter 12, pp. 179–84.
31. The label comes from Ménage who, criticizing d'Ablancourt's method of translating, said of the translations: 'Elles me rappellent une femme que j'ai beaucoup aimée à Tours, et qui était belle mais infidèle' (Cary, p. 29).
32. D'Ablancourt, *Les Guerres d'Alexandre*, Preface.
33. The comment in the preface reads (cited from *QC*, 1698): 'Je diray encore que dans le neuvième livre, page 310. tome 2. à côté de ces paroles, ESTANT ESCHAPPÉ DE CE DANGER, il avoit mis, CUM AMNI BELLUM FUISSE CREDERES, J'ay supprimé cela, tant parce qu'il y a trop de jeu & d'affectation, qu'à cause qu'il a déjà employé la mesme pensée ailleurs, ce qui luy arrive souvent, & qu'il faut corriger dans la Traduction, avec la permission des Critiques'.
34. Freinshemius's supplements to Quintus Curtius are translated by Du Ryer and published with Vaugelas's translation.
35. M. Raderus, *Ad Q. Curtii Rufi, de Alexandro Magno historiam, prolusiones, librorum synopsis, capitulum argumenta, comentarii* (Cologne, 1628).
36. See, for example, the quotation from *QC*, 1653, 506/*QC*, 1698, II, 92, in Chapter 12, p. 180.
37. The typography of the 1653 and the 1659 editions is identical. Book III takes up 58 pages in the 1653 version, but only 51 pages in the 1659 edition.
38. There are, of course, counter-examples where the 1659 version is expanded, for example:
 VII, 1 : & non inanes quoque species anxio animo figuraret.
QC 1653, 512 : & qu'elle vous remplisse [sic] l'esprit de ces vaines terreurs.
QC 1698, II, 100 : & qu'elle ne vous remplit [sic] point l'esprit de ces terreurs vaines & sans fondement.
- However, the quotations given in the text reflect the general trend of the revisions.
39. Mossner, p. 67.
40. H. Bürger, 'Vaugelas' Quintus Curtius Übersetzung' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Erlangen, 1918), p. 99.
41. Zeiler, pp. 70–72.
42. Bürger, p. 42.
43. A large number of examples is cited in Mossner, pp. 90–95, François 'Note sur le "Quinte-Curce" de Vaugelas', pp. 155–59, and Zeiler, pp. 53–55, which conclusively establish their existence.
44. My emphasis.
45. François, 'Note sur le "Quinte Curce" de Vaugelas', p. 157; Mossner, p. 90; Zeiler, p. 55. I have made detailed study of books III, IV and VII. This is because books III and IV being the last to be revised differ in certain ways from the other books (see above, note 30), of which book VII is taken as representative.
46. The title of another version of Quintus Curtius's text by B. Lesfargues (published anonymously) is instructive: *Histoire d'Alexandre le Grand, tirée de Q. Curce et autres* (Paris, 1639).

47. *Histoire d'Alexandre le Grand. Escrite par Q. Curse Cheualier Romain. Traduction Nouvelle* (Paris, 1646). The text is located in the Herzogliche Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel.
48. Bürger, pp. 1–56; Mossner, pp. 87–88.
49. *Alexandre françois, image de la fortune et de la vaillance à la noblesse françoise, ou l'Histoire de Quintus Curtius, des faits d'Alexandre le Grand, nouvellement traduite en françois, par N. de Soulfour, sieur de Glatigny, et les deux premiers livres imitez de Justin, Arrian et Diodore Sicilien* (Paris, 1629). As Zeiler suggests, the publisher probably published the translation anonymously with a deliberate allusion to Vaugelas in the preface in order to boost sales and omitted the original preface which contained ideas no longer in tune with current views, since it preached the value of fidelity over eloquence (Zeiler, p. 30).
50. Zeiler, pp. 36, 42, 46 (retaining Zeiler's version of the Latin text and typographical conventions).
51. See Chapter 1, p. 8.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 11

1. Full bibliographical details of the translation are given in Collet, 'Vaugelas a débuté dans les lettres en 1615', pp. 369–70.
2. See Chapter 10, p. 142.
3. Note, however, *duel*, *F*, 453.
4. Of these *auèques* (MS, fol. 9^r) and *d'autant* (= because) (MS, fol. 23^r) are also condemned in the Arsenal manuscript, *duel* is not mentioned, *pact* (MS, fol. 88^r) is still allowed, and there is evidence of Vaugelas hesitating about the acceptability of *encor* and *encores*: on folio 26^v an observation in which *encor*, *encore* and *encores* are all accepted is crossed out. On the next folio (MS, fol. 27^r), in another observation which is also deleted, *encor* and *encore* are both allowed, to be used according to the phonetic context, but *encores* is condemned.
5. In the manuscript both *arondelle* and *irondelle* are deemed acceptable, although *irondelle* is considered better; *erondelle* is not yet mentioned (MS, fol. 8^r).
6. Note, however, that both *guarison* and *guerison* are used on the same page (*F*, 555), and that *Ierusalē* (*F*, 198) and *Hieremie* (*F*, 305) are also found.
7. In the manuscript Vaugelas already prefers *trouuer* and *prouuer*, which he notes are the forms used by Coeffeteau, and he condemns Coeffeteau for using *plorer* and *florir* rather than *pleurer* and *fleurir* (MS, fols 49^r, 90^r).
8. Perhaps rather surprisingly no mention is made of this in the manuscript.
9. Cf. '*Recouuert*' pour '*Recouuré*' (MS, fol. 78^r), *Recouurir* (MS, fol. 78^r). *Cueillir* is not discussed in the manuscript.
10. Although there may be some cases of influence from the Spanish, Vaugelas certainly also omits the article in places where omission would be intolerable today and he is clearly not following the original: Fonseca, fol. 62^r: 'En la guerra corporal mayor valentia es pelear, que huir: pero en la espiritual mas segura està la vitoria en huir . . .'; *F*, 134: 'En la guerre du corps il est honorable de faire teste à son ennemy, & grâdement honteux & ignominieux de s'en fuir, mais en celle de l'ame, & au cōbat spirituel, la victoire est plus assurée en tournât visage, & il faut vaincre en fuyât cōme les Parthes . . .'
11. Note the lack of the partitive article from classical Spanish onwards which may have affected Vaugelas's usage.
12. Not discussed in the manuscript.
13. See Chapter 1, p. 4.
14. See also the discussion of the repetition of articles with co-ordinated nouns below, pp. 169–70.
15. The distinction is also made in the Arsenal manuscript (MS, fols 24^r, 47^r).
16. The agreement is probably affected by the 'synonym rule' (See *R*, 82–85; MS, fol. 9^v). Vaugelas's handling of agreement questions is also discussed in Chapter 7, pp. 91–101.
17. My emphasis. Again, some of these examples may be affected by the 'synonym rule'.
18. This is to be expected since the observation does not appear in the Arsenal manuscript and the wording of the published observation ('I'ay appris que . . .', *R*, 153) suggests that

- Vaugelas had recently changed his mind. For further details of agreement of past participles, especially with a collective, see Chapter 7, pp. 94–97, 100–05.
19. Vaugelas is obviously struggling to formulate his views on the agreement of the present participle in the manuscript. For instance, the words 'i'en doute' are added in the margin against his comment that *estants* is never used (MS, fol. 26^v), and on folio 48^v Vaugelas expresses uncertainty about finding a rule and does not discuss the problem of feminine agreement.
 20. Vaugelas's distinction between gerundives and participles is discussed in Chapter 7, note 35.
 21. See Grevisse, *Le Bon Usage*, p. 895.
 22. My emphasis.
 23. Vaugelas's seventeenth-century successors already dispute his judgements about the use of *ayant* without a following participle, and Corneille, Andry and the Academy all decide that *ayant* and *estant* are always invariable (Streicher, *Commentaires*, pp. 739–41).
 24. Incorrectly paginated 693. In the manuscript Vaugelas already favours *commencer* + *à* (MS, fol. 44^r), but changes his mind about *ressembler* on the advice of a friend and differentiates between *ressembler* + *à* used when the verb expresses 'la uray image d'une chose' and *ressembler* used transitively to refer to 'toute sorte de similitude, et particuliere-ment celle des actions' (MS, fol. 82^v).
 25. Cf. MS, fols 38^r, 48^r, 86^r.
 26. See Chapter 7, p. 108.
 27. This more rigorous attitude is, however, already suggested in the *Remarques* (R, 214–15, *477–80), and indeed even in the manuscript (MS, fols 6, 71^r)
 28. Incorrectly paginated 29.
 29. In the manuscript Vaugelas is still struggling to formulate a rule for when the subject pronoun must be repeated. On folio 87^r he expresses his uncertainty, as he does on folio 88^v where he suggests various factors which might be influential, that is whether the conjoined clauses are both affirmative, both negative or one affirmative and one negative (cf. MS, fol. 68^r), or whether the two pronouns are distant.
 30. Not in the manuscript.
 31. We may also note that even the verb is not necessarily repeated, even though it may have to be understood from a different sentence: e.g. 'Saint Augustin dit que la multiplication commença dans les mains de nostre Seigneur, & S. Christostome qu'elle fut continuee aux mains des Apostres. Saint Hilaire, qu'elle dura iusques dans les mains mesmes des Apostres' (F, 652).
 32. In some cases of non-repetition of the preposition Vaugelas may have been influenced by the Spanish original, where repetition is not used: e.g. Fonseca, fol. 6^r: 'Para esso nació el hombre en el mundo para temer a Dios, y guardar sus mādamientos'; F, 15: '... pour autre chose que pour craindre Dieu, & garder ses commandemens . . . '.
 33. Incorrectly paginated 697.
 34. Chapter 7, pp. 110–11.
 35. As in, for example, 'on demettra vn homme de sa charge, lequel en sera plus capable, que celuy qui luy succedera' (F, 409).
 36. Vaugelas does, however, use *dont* as a substitute for *d'où*: 'tout ainsi que l'eau viue est vnice inseparablement avec la fontaine, dont elle coule' (F, 597). In the *Remarques* this substitution is criticized in such cases (e.g. 'le lieu dont je viens'), although it is permitted in the example 'la race (la maison) dont il est sorti' (R, 344; MS, fol. 23^r).
 37. See Chapter 7, pp. 118–19.
 38. Incorrectly paginated 438.
 39. See Chapter 7, p. 119.
 40. Unpaginated. See R, 75–76; MS, fol. 5^r.
 41. See Chapter 7, pp. 91, 120.
 42. In the manuscript Vaugelas notes that Coeffeteau always places the *pas* or *point* after the infinitive, but he adds that he considers the other ordering 'plus doux' (MS, fol. 69^r).
 43. Incorrectly paginated 438.
 44. Of these *souloit*, *voire mesme* and *courir sus* are not discussed in the manuscript, although Vaugelas does comment on the different uses of *courre* and *courir* (MS, fol. 15^r; R, 256).

Note here especially the use of the dative pronoun before *faisoit courre sus* which Vaugelas expressly criticizes. *Deuers* (MS, fol. 24^v) and *magnifier* (MS, fol. 61^r) are still favoured in the manuscript, and from the comment which discusses the use of *pource* for *partant*, it is implied that *partant* is also acceptable (MS, fol. 88^r).

45. In this case Vaugelas's opinion is the same as in the manuscript (MS, fol. 85^v).
46. Vaugelas elsewhere uses the modern construction recommended in the *Remarques: Les vns . . . Les autres* (F, 439).
47. *Ce dit il, quant et moy*, and this usage of *qui* are also criticized in the manuscript (MS, fols 13^v, 74^v), but the other expressions are not discussed there.
48. Incorrectly paginated 692.
49. The dates given in parentheses are those suggested by R. Grandsaignes d'Hauterive in his *Dictionnaire d'ancien français, Moyen Âge et Renaissance* (Paris, 1947) for the currency of the word or expression. Although they are only approximate guidelines, they do give some idea as to whether the word or expression had been used since the Old French period, or whether it was a later innovation.
50. E.g., *les peres de ça bas* (F, 87); *à raison dequoy* (F, 184); *il ne les mena pas sur la montagne tres-tout quand & luy* (F, 273); *à la mienne volonté* (F, 295); *qu'il auoit besoin d'icelles* (F, 302); *bastants* (F, 835); *de prime face* (F, 875).
51. For instance, while there is some evidence of a desire for elegance in 1615 in the use of *l'on* rather than *on* (e.g. 'L'on demède [sic] dans l'eschole lequell des deux est le plus gräd . . . ' (F, 618)), there are instances of unpleasant combinations of sounds (e.g. '& a on en horreur l'election des sceptres, & des couronnes' (F, 479)).
52. Honoré d'Urfé, a friend of Vaugelas's father, visited the family home in Chambéry when he lived in the town while wounded from his service for the Duc de Nemours. Antoine Favre helped to publish d'Urfé's *Epistres morales* in 1598 (Mugnier, 41 (1902), 20–23).
53. Adam, 'Troisième centenaire', p. 250.
54. Cf. Streicher, *Remarques*, p. xx; see also Collet, 'Vaugelas a débuté dans les lettres en 1615', pp. 374–75, who supports Streicher's contention and suggests other reasons why Vaugelas may have undertaken the translation.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 12

1. Paris, Archives de l'Institut de France, Manuscript headed 'Remarques de l'Académie Française sur le Quinte-Curce de Vaugelas, commencées en 1723. Les premiers feuillets, tant du premier tome que du second, ont été égarez'. According to François, work actually began on the commentary in 1719 and finished 26 September 1720 (in the volume by him in Brunot, *HLF*, vi (1930–33), 878). This commentary is discussed below, pp. 184–86. The Academy's Archives also include a *Dossier Vaugelas* which contains an engraved portrait, a few references to books and articles which discuss Vaugelas, cuttings from newspapers and journals, and a document signed by Vaugelas dated 18 December 1618.
2. François, 'Note sur le "Quinte-Curce" de Vaugelas', p. 137. Vaugelas's influence on various seventeenth-century grammarians is discussed in Chapter 14.
3. Anon., *The History of the Life and Actions of Alexander the Great. From the Time of his Birth, to that of his Death, who afterwards was Embalmed. In ten books. Translated from the French of Monsieur de Vaugelas: Which Work he was above thirty years in perfecting* (London, [c. 1755]).
4. *Cornelius Nepos, Quinte-Curce, Justin, Valère Maxime, Julius Obsequens: Œuvres complètes avec la traduction en français*, edited by D. Nisard (Paris, 1850).
5. See François, 'Note sur le "Quinte-Curce" de Vaugelas', pp. 150–51.
6. On the choice of vocabulary, Zeiler notes that the 1659 edition avoids technical terms and that both versions tend to favour words familiar to seventeenth-century readers, which gives the translation a certain anachronistic flavour (Zeiler, p. 88). This last point is illustrated in the discussion of the Academy's comments on the translation, below p. 185.
7. The emphases in the examples are mine throughout Section 1.

8. A. François, *La Grammaire du purisme et l'Académie française au XVIII^e siècle: Introduction à l'étude des commentaires grammaticaux d'auteurs classiques* (Paris, 1905). See also Brunot, *HLF*, vi, 877–78, 886–95.
9. See Chapter 3, Section II, A.
10. Occasional occurrences of lexical ambiguity are also noted, for instance that engendered by the polysemy of *laisser* (II, 225). In the citing of the examples, the first of each pair is that used by Vaugelas and criticized by the Academy, and the second is the suggested replacement. The figures in brackets refers to the volume and page number of the Academy manuscript.
11. The page numbers quoted in the Academy manuscript refer to the 1692 Paris edition of the translation which includes the Latin text. According to François the page references also correspond to the 1709 Paris edition (Brunot, *HLF*, vi, 895).
12. For instance, fault is found with the translation because of misunderstandings of the original (I, 31), or because the rendering is considered too vague (I, 42) or deemed to have the wrong emphasis or shade of meaning (II, 28). The following is a typical comment on the translation: I, 41. Pag. 319 Mais aussi en justice et en toutes sortes de vertus] Ce que dit icy Sisygambis devient trop injurieux à Darius son fils par la faute du Traducteur qui adjuste à l'Original *Toutes sortes de vertus*. D'ailleurs *aequitas* en cet endroit signifie bien moins *justice*, que *bonté* ou *generosité*.
13. Note again the parallel with Vaugelas's terminology.
14. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français, 12887, fols 83–87. These observations have been published in modernized spelling in J. Racine, *Œuvres complètes*, edited by R. Picard, 2 vols (Paris, 1950–60), II, 992–96. Vaugelas's translation may have been read by Racine as preparation for writing his play *Alexandre le Grand* (first performed in 1666). Racine certainly admits in the second preface to the play that the subject of the play is taken primarily from Quintus Curtius, book VIII.
15. 'Réflexions sur les moyens de perfectionner les bons Traductions Françaises des anciens Auteurs, & quelques remarques à ce sujet', *Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Avec Les Mémoires de Littérature tirés des Registres de cette Académie, depuis l'année M. DCCLVIII, jusques & compris l'année M. DCCLX*, 29 (1764), 322–31 (p. 323).
16. Zeiler, p. 16.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 13

1. J. Lough, *An Introduction to Seventeenth Century France* (London, New York and Toronto, 1954), p. 173.
2. Martin and Lecocq, *Livres et lecteurs à Grenoble*, p. 840.
3. E. Braun, *Die Stellung des Dichters Pierre Corneille zu den "Remarques" des Grammatikers Vaugelas* (Kaiserslautern, 1933); L. Racine, 'Mémoires sur la vie et les ouvrages de Jean Racine', in Racine, *Œuvres complètes*, I, 5–102 (p. 17). As well as annotating the *Remarques*, Racine also studied Vaugelas's Quintus Curtius translation and some of d'Ablancourt's translations.
4. *Les Femmes savantes* (1672), Act II, Scene 7, l. 606. See also II.6.459–62, II.7.521–34.
5. [J. Le Clerc], [Review of] '*Remarques sur la Langue Française de M. DE VAUGELAS, utiles à ceux qui veulent bien parler & bien écrire. Nouvelle Edition revuë & corrigée avec des Notes de T. CORNEILLE* (Paris, 1687)', *Bibliothèque universelle et historique de l'année 1687*, 7 (1688), 181–95 (p. 182); H. Basnage de Beauval, [Review of] '*Observations de L'Académie Française sur les remarques de Vaugelas, Tom. I. & II. Seconde édition, revuë & corrigée avec soin* (La Haye, 1705)', *Histoire des ouvrages des savans. L'Année 1705*, 21 (1721), 113–14 (p. 113); J. Bernard, [Review of] '*Observations de l'Académie Française sur les Remarques de Mr. de Vaugelas. Seconde Edition revuë & corrigée avec soin* (La Haye, 1705)', *Nouvelles de la république des lettres* (July 1705), 61–75 (p. 61).
6. G. Compayré, *Histoire critique des doctrines de l'éducation en France depuis le seizième siècle*, 2 vols (Paris, 1879), I, 183–84. The situation was slightly better in the Oratory schools, where at least preliminary grammatical classes were in French (Compayré, I, 218).

7. Padley, *Grammatical Theory in Western Europe 1500–1700: The Latin Tradition*, pp. 20, 211–12.
8. Lough, p. 206.
9. Martin and Lecocq, p. 102.
10. Lough, p. 206.
11. The list of purchasers is taken from Martin and Lecocq, p. 840, and the biographical details about Laigneau, Giraud, Mombive and Maxemi from pp. 202, 252–53, 216. Martin and Lecocq give the following details: 'VAUGELAS (Claude Favre de). *Remarques sur la langue françoise*, Paris, P. le Petit 1647. In 4°. Sans doute contrefaçon de Piot'. Entries in the bookseller's catalogue are in the form: 'Remarques de Vaugelas', 'Vaugelas', or 'Observations de Vaugelas'. See also L. Desgraves 'L'Inventaire du fonds de livres du libraire bordelais Jacques Mongiron–Millanges en 1672', *Revue française d'histoire du livre*, 3 (1973), 125–74, who lists 2 copies of the *Remarques* (p. 128).
12. H.-J. Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société à Paris au XVII^e s (1598–1701)*, 2 vols (Geneva, 1969), pp. 523–25, 947.
13. Interestingly, as Martin and Lecocq suggest (p. 210), many of the other books purchased for M. de Lionne's children in 1649 were school textbooks, although the *Remarques* do not seem to fit into this category.
14. R. Mousnier, *Les Hiérarchies sociales de 1450 à nos jours* (Paris, 1969), p. 64.
15. Quoted in C. P. Bouton, *Les Grammaires françaises de Claude Mauger à l'usage des anglais (XVII^e siècle)* (Paris, 1972), p. 25.
16. D. Bitton, *The French Nobility in Crisis 1560–1640* (Stanford, 1969), p.v. See also R. Mousnier, *La Plume, la faucille et le marteau: Institutions et société en France du Moyen Âge à la Révolution* (Paris, 1970); R. Mousnier, *Les Institutions de la France sous la monarchie absolue 1598–1789*, 2 vols (Paris, 1974–80).
17. Mousnier, *Institutions*, I, 14–33.
18. Cf. Ch. Loyseau, *Cinq Livres du droit des offices, avec le livre des seigneuries et celui des ordres*, second edition (Paris, 1613), pp. 291, 392.
19. Bitton, p. 94.
20. Mousnier, *Institutions*, II, 48.
21. The possible course of a man's rise in society is charted by Mousnier in his chapter entitled 'French Institutions and Society 1610–61', in *The New Cambridge Modern History*, Volume IV, *The Decline of Spain and the Thirty Years War 1609–48/59*, edited by J. P. Cooper (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 474–502 (p. 478).
22. The attitude of the nobility to the new nobles is seen clearly in the *cahier* of the Second Estate prepared for the Estates General of 1614 in which it is strongly argued that the feudal privileges of the nobility should be maintained. Hayden notes that seven paragraphs in the chapter on nobility are directed against those pretending to nobility, including those who had purchased seigneuries. The nobility demanded that all letters of ennoblement given less than thirty years before should be revoked, unless the holders had performed some important military service, and that judicial and financial officers should not be made nobles (J. M. Hayden, *France and the Estates General of 1614* (Cambridge, 1974), p. 185).
23. Bitton, p. 95.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
25. Strosetzki, *Konversation*, pp. 12–13.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
27. L'Abbé J. B. Morvan de Bellegarde, *Modeles de conversations pour les personnes polies*, second enlarged edition (Paris, 1698), *Avertissement*.
28. Strosetzki, p. 129.
29. See also the quotation from the *Remarques* (R, 370) cited below, p. 199.
30. Strosetzki, p. 8. See also M. Magendie, *La Politesse mondaine et les théories de l'honnêteté, en France, au XVII^e siècle, de 1600 à 1660* (Paris, 1925). One may cite as examples of such courtesy books, E. Du Refuge, *Traité de la Cour, ou Instruction des courtisans*, dernière édition (Paris, 1658 [first published in 1616]), in which Du Refuge notes that *Decence* is composed of good speech, countenance and clothes (p. 6), or J. de Caillière's, *La Fortune des gens de qualité et des gentils-hommes particuliers* (Paris, 1668).

31. Ott comes to a similar conclusion, but fails to elaborate on why there was a particular demand for such words in seventeenth-century France (Ott, 'La Notion du "bon usage"', p. 86); this article summarizes the main conclusions of Ott's doctoral thesis, K. A. Ott, 'Die Sprachhaltung des 17. Jahrhunderts in den "Remarques sur la langue françoise" von Cl. F. de Vaugelas' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Heidelberg, 1947).
32. See, for example, *R*, 112–14, and the discussion in Chapter 7, above, p. 108.
33. Le Gras notes that *bienséance* 'a quelque rapport aux devoirs de la civilité, au compliment, & à la politesse' (Le Gras, *Le Rethorique [sic] françoise, ou les preceptes de l'ancienne et vraye éloquence* (Paris, 1671), p. 238). It consists of speaking in a way suitable for the subject matter, the addressee, the place etc. and is thus obviously related to Vaugelas's *propriété des mots & des phrases*.
34. See C. C. Lougee, *Le Paradis des Femmes: Women, Salons and Social Stratification in Seventeenth-Century France* (Princeton, 1976), p. 29.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 212.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 5. The same idea is expressed in the elaboration of Vaugelas's definition of good usage (*R*, II, 3).
37. Lougee, pp. 122, 128.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 131. Antoine Badeau, Sieur de Somaize, *Le Grand Dictionnaire [sic] des Pretieuses*, 2 vols (Paris, 1661).
39. Lougee mentions, for instance, Bary's *Esprit de cour* (1665) and Du Bosc's *Nouveau Recueil* (1642) (Lougee, p. 53).
40. Magendie, p. 591. Fumaroli assigns a double role to women in the Court: 'Si la présence féminine encourage "la douceur" courtoise, elle stimule aussi, parmi les gentilshommes, le goût de briller, et de briller aux dépens des autres interlocuteurs mâles' (M. Fumaroli, 'Le "Langage de cour" en France: Problèmes et points de repères', in *Europäische Hofkultur im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, edited by A. Buck and others, 3 vols (Hamburg, 1981), II, 23–32 (p. 26).
41. Magendie cites Tallemant's account of how Angélique d'Angennes 's'évanouissait quand elle entendait un méchant mot' (Magendie, p. 131).
42. Bitton, pp. 28–29.
43. Strosetzki, pp. 147–49; p. 33. See also N. Elias, *La Société de cour*, translated by P. Kamnitzer (Paris, 1974), especially p. 103.
44. Ott, 'La Notion du "bon usage"', pp. 93–94. See also P. Dumonceaux, *Langue et sensibilité au XVII^e siècle: L'Évolution du vocabulaire affectif* (Geneva, 1975), especially p. 465.
45. Quoted from *La Précieuse ou le mystère des ruelles* (Paris, 1656), in Magendie, p. 569.
46. As Fumaroli notes ('Le "Langage de cour" en France', p. 30), the growing authority of the Court went hand in hand with a decline in prestige of the *Parlement*, the University and sixteenth-century encyclopedic Humanism.
47. Ch. Sorel, *La Bibliothèque françoise* (Paris, 1664), p. 2.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 14

1. Pellisson and d'Olivet, I, 113–14.
2. I have grave reservations about the label 'Vaugelas's school' (see, for example, Padley, *Grammatical Theory in Western Europe 1500–1700: The Latin Tradition*, p. 220) since it is sometimes used rather casually. Far too often Vaugelas and Bouhours, for instance, have been lumped together and Vaugelas has been credited as a consequence with extreme ideas he did not support (see below, pp. 206–07).
3. [J. Macé], *Méthode vniuerselle pour apprendre facilement les langues, pour parler purement et écrire nettement en François. Recueillie par le Sieur de Tertre* [pseud.], second edition (Paris, 1652). Note the juxtaposition of a general grammar with Vaugelas's usage-based observations, theoretical positions which increasingly diverged as the century progressed. In 1673 the 'Méthode generale et raisonnée' no longer features in his collection now entitled *La Politesse de la langue françoise, pour parler purement et écrire nettement*, fourth edition (Paris, 1673).
4. [J. d'Aisy], *Le Genie de la langue françoise. Par le Sieur D*** (Paris, 1685); *Suite du Genie de la langue françoise. Par le Sieur D*** (Paris, 1685).

5. D'Aisy, *Genie, Avertissement*.
6. [A. Renaud], *Maniere de parler la langue françoise selon ses differens styles* (Lyon, 1697).
7. C. Irson, *Nouvelle Methode pour apprendre facilement les principes et la pureté de la langue françoise* (Paris, 1657). Irson covers a wider range of topics than Vaugelas and includes, for example, a treatise on letter-writing.
8. For further discussion of Chiflet, see Chapter 3, pp. 43, 45.
9. In addition, Chiflet criticizes Irson for explaining his different decision in terms of a change in usage. See also Chiflet's comments on Vaugelas's rules for the pronunciation of final consonants, Table 6.
10. Part I of his work concludes with hints on how to teach French and a section covering errors frequently made by Flemish speakers.
11. [A. de Saint-Maurice], *Remarques sur les principales difficultez que les estrangers ont en la langue françoise* (Paris, 1672).
12. M. Buffet, *Nouvelles Observations sur la langue françoise, Où il est traité des termes anciens & inusitez, & du bel usage des mots nouveaux* (Paris, 1668).
13. Th. Rosset, *Entretien, Doutes, Critique et Remarques du Père Bouhours sur la langue françoise 1671–1692* (Grenoble, 1908).
14. D. Bouhours, *Remarques nouvelles sur la langue françoise* (Paris, 1675), *Avertissement*. Bouhours does, however, admit that in order to understand some of the observations it is necessary to read the book straight through. See also Bouhours's *Suite des Remarques nouvelles sur la langue françoise* (Paris, 1737 [first published 1687]).
15. Bouhours, *Doutes*, pp. 66–67.
16. There seems to be little doubt in Bouhours's mind as to who constitute the 'plus saine partie des Autheurs'. He addresses his *Doutes* to the members of the French Academy as the arbiters of good taste with the words, 'C'est à vous, MESSIEURS, à décider là-dessus: l'usage est le maistre de la Langue: mais vous estes les interpretes de l'usage' (p. 13). Moreover, Bouhours names and quotes at length the written sources he criticizes to prevent readers from copying their mistakes.
17. Streicher, *Commentaires*, p. xxvi. For the history of the quarrel between Bouhours, the representative of *politesse*, and the erudite *Ménage*, see Streicher, *Commentaires*, pp. xxxiii–xxxiv.
18. *Observations de Monsieur Ménage sur la langue françoise* (Paris, 1672); *Observations de Monsieur Ménage sur la langue françoise. Seconde Partie* (Paris, 1676).
19. Ménage, *Observations*, I, 154, 171, 141.
20. This dual outlook sometimes creates tensions and inconsistencies in his work. For instance, in Volume I of his *Observations Ménage's* choice between different pronunciations is sometimes based on etymology (e.g. *charte, chartre*, p. 247), sometimes on usage (*apostume, apostème*, p. 215), and is sometimes apparently rather arbitrary (*Iuridiction, Iurisdiction*, p. 116).
21. Bouhours, *Doutes*, pp. 147–48. Note also Tallemant's claim that Vaugelas 'estant Secretaire de l'Académie, a composé une grande partie de son Livre sur les doutes qui y sont continuellement agités' ([P. Tallemant], *Remarques et décisions de l'Académie françoise. Recueillies par M. L. T.* (Paris, 1698), *Avertissement*).
22. Damien Mitton (1618–90) was, together with Méré, the theoretician of *honnêteté* and was apparently greatly admired by Thomas Corneille for his fine taste concerning the beauty of language (Grente and others, pp. 698–99).
23. L'Abbé A. Furetière, *Essais de lettres familiares sur toutes sortes de sujets, Avec un Discours sur l'Art Epistolaire. Et quelques Remarques nouvelles sur la Langue Françoise*, new revised and enlarged edition (Brussels, 1695), pp. 223–56. For the authorship, see Streicher, *Commentaires*, p. lii, and A. Cioranescu, *Bibliographie de la littérature française du dix-septième siècle*, 3 vols (Paris, 1965–66), p. 524.
24. Streicher, *Commentaires*, p. lii.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. xlv–xlix. For the role of Patru and Conrart in editing Vaugelas's translation of Quintus Curtius, see Chapter 10, pp. 139–40.
26. See above, note 21.
27. Tallemant, p. 169.

28. *Observations de l'Académie française sur les Remarques de M. de Vaugelas* (Paris, 1704).
29. [L.-A. Alemand], *Nouvelles Observations, ou Guerre civile des François sur la langue* (Paris, 1688).
30. [N. Andry de Boisregard], *Réflexions sur l'usage present de la langue française, ou Remarques nouvelles et critiques touchant la politesse du langage* (Paris, 1689). This was followed by *Suite des Réflexions critiques sur l'usage present de la langue française. Par M^r. A. D. B.* (Paris, 1693).
31. Compare Vaugelas's attitude quoted above in Chapter 3, p. 52.
32. [F. de Callières], *Des Mots à la Mode, et des nouvelles Façons de Parler* (La Haye [Paris], 1692).
33. Arnauld, *Œuvres*, viii, 454.
34. Arnauld and Lancelot, Part II, Chapter 9, pp. 82–83. For further discussion of the relationship between Arnauld and Lancelot's and Vaugelas's ideas, see Chapter 2, pp. 28–29, 33–34.
35. See Streicher, *Commentaires*, pp. xiii–xxvi, 963–98.
36. A. Adam, *L'Âge classique I, 1624–1660* (Paris, 1968), pp. 79, 108; N. Boileau, *Œuvres complètes*, edited by A. Adam and F. Escal ([Paris], 1966), p. 493. Braun in *Die Stellung des Dichters Pierre Corneille* argues that Vaugelas's influence on Pierre Corneille is not as great as, for instance, Brunot claims, since while he changes some points to bring them in line with Vaugelas's pronouncements, others are not changed or only occasionally altered, or indeed sometimes even altered back.
37. For example, in her *Conversations morales ou La Morale du Monde*, 2 vols (Paris, 1686) she discusses 'la tyrannie de l'usage', in which she includes language (p. 104–07). See also Magendie, pp. 683–84, and above, Chapter 13, Section III.
38. Le Gras, Preface.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 182. Some of the common features are, of course, probably due to the fact that Vaugelas, like the seventeenth-century rhetoricians, depends heavily on Quintilian and, to a lesser extent, Cicero. See Chapter 4, pp. 55–59, 60.
40. R. Bary, *La Rhétorique française ou pour principale augmentation l'on trouve les secrets de notre langue*, new revised and enlarged edition (Paris, 1673).
41. Magendie maintains that Bary's work is 'en beaucoup d'endroits, un manuel commode de conversation et de beau style' (p. 818).
42. See, for example, Strosetzki, pp. 58–66. As we have seen in the previous chapter, there are also striking parallels between Vaugelas's *Remarques* and certain courtesy manuals.
43. The other editions are the abridged version edited by Lagane which appeared in 1975, and editions published c. 1943 by Les Éditions du Raisin, Paris and in 1981 by Éditions Champ Libre, Paris.
44. Of necessity I can only provide a brief outline of Vaugelas's influence here and must be selective in my examples. For further details, see, for instance, J.-P. Seguin, *La Langue française au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1972), especially pp. 61–73.
45. Vaugelas is also cited on specific topics. D'Olivet quotes Vaugelas frequently in his 100 *Remarques sur Racine* (published in d'Olivet, *Remarques*, pp. 253–389) and in his *Essais de grammaire* he quotes and comments on Vaugelas's examples for the agreement of past participles (*ibid.*, pp. 211–50), examples regularly discussed in the eighteenth century (see also, Abbé F.-S. Régnier-Desmarais, *Traité de la grammaire française* (Paris, 1706), pp. 485–517).
46. François, *Grammaire du purisme*.
47. Buffier, pp. 10, 21–22.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 22.
49. François, *Grammaire du purisme*, p. 137.
50. D'Olivet, pp. 246–47.
51. See, for example, F. M. A. de Voltaire, *Œuvres complètes*, edited by L. Moland, Volume XIV, *Siècle de Louis XIV: I* (Paris, 1878), p. 552.
52. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, seventh edition, 2 vols (Paris, 1878), p. x.
53. Grevisse, *Le Bon Usage*, p. x.
54. M. Grevisse, 'Petit Plaidoyer pour le bon langage', *Journal de la librairie*, 7–8 (1955), 195–97 (p. 195).

55. A. Dauzat, *Le Guide du bon usage: Les Mots, les formes grammaticales, la syntaxe* (Paris, 1955), pp. 7, 16.
56. In the nineteenth century Francis Wey produced a new volume of observations modelled on Vaugelas's entitled *Remarques sur la langue française au dix-neuvième siècle, sur le style et la composition littéraire*, 2 vols (Paris, 1845), which he claimed was the largest collection of observations since Vaugelas (p. 8).
57. P. de la Touche, *L'Art de bien parler françois, qui comprend tout ce qui regarde la Grammaire & les façons de parler douteuses*, 2 vols (Amsterdam, 1696). For example, he argues contrary to Vaugelas that *jusque* and not *jusques* is better before a word beginning with a consonant (p. 262).
58. N.-F. de Wailly, *Principes généraux et particuliers de la langue française*, ninth edition (Paris, 1780 [first published as *Grammaire française*, 1754]); [J. F. Féraud], *Dictionnaire grammatical, de la langue française* (Paris, 1761); Ch.-P. Girault-Duvivier, *Grammaire des grammaires, ou Analyse raisonnée des meilleurs traités sur la langue française*, fifth edition, 2 vols (Paris, 1822 [first published 1811]).
59. P. Dupré, *Encyclopédie du bon français dans l'usage contemporain: Difficultés, subtilités, complexités, singularités*, edited by F. Keller, J. Batany and others, 3 vols (Paris, 1972), pp. 1208, 1042, 1871, 1876. Vaugelas is also cited to show how usage has changed on a certain point, which is the way he is treated in the historical sections of Grevisse's *Le Bon Usage*.
60. Brunot, *HLF*, vi (1930–33), 900.
61. G. Sahlín, *César Chesneau du Marsais et son rôle dans l'évolution de la grammaire générale* (Paris, [1928]), pp. xiv, 23.
62. L'Abbé G. Girard, *Les Vrais Principes de la langue française*, 2 vols (Paris, 1747), I, 20. Droixhe also notes a certain rehabilitation of usage among the rationalists, notably Beauzée. Since their logical approach held the danger that they would become totally detached from linguistic reality, from about the middle of the eighteenth century on, while still above all concerned with general and rational grammar, they began to note that there was a dual system of general and particular principles (D. Droixhe, *La Linguistique et l'appel de l'histoire (1600–1800): Rationalisme et révolutions positivistes* (Geneva, 1978), pp. 239–43).
63. P. Restaut, *Principes généraux et raisonnés de la Grammaire française*, fourth edition (Paris, 1741 [first published 1730]).
64. François, *Grammaire du purisme*, p. 85.
65. J. Cellard, 'Les Chroniques de langage' in *La Norme linguistique*, pp. 651–66 (p. 663). Cellard considers that the genre, which was at its peak from 1930 to 1935 and from 1960 to 1965, is on the decline in France today, although not in Belgium or Québec (p. 653).
66. Some of Hermant's *chroniques* have been published together as [A. Hermant], *Remarques de M. Lancelot pour la défense de la langue française. Avec une préface de M. Abel Hermant* (Paris, 1929), *Nouvelles Remarques . . .* (Paris, 1929), and *Chroniques de Lancelot du Temps*, 2 vols (Paris, 1936–38). The reference here is to *Chroniques*, II, 265–70.
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69. Lhomond, p. 69.
70. Noël and Chapsal, pp. 180–92.
71. A. Chervel, . . . *et il fallut apprendre à écrire à tous les petits Français: Histoire de la grammaire scolaire* (Paris, 1977), p. 57.

72. Ibid., p. 43.
73. É. Littré *Dictionnaire de la langue française*, 2 vols and supplement (Paris, 1863–72, 1877), I, iv.
74. G. Price, “‘Point nie bien plus fortement que pas’ — Vaugelas que veut-il dire?”, in *Festschrift Kurt Baldinger zum 60. Geburtstag 17. November 1979*, edited by M. Höfler, H. Vernay and L. Wolf, 2 vols (Tübingen, 1979), I, 245–54. Price illustrates how Vaugelas’s statement ‘point nie bien plus fortement que pas’ has been taken out of context and continually quoted, giving a false impression of Vaugelas’s stance. Nevertheless, it is this statement which has become part of accepted grammatical doctrine.
75. H. Hatzfeld, ‘Le “Bon Usage” actuel: Langue littéraire et langue parlée’, *Cahiers de l’Association Internationale des Études Françaises*, 14 (1962), 39–61 (p. 60).
76. A. Adam, ‘Troisième centenaire’, p. 261.

NOTES TO THE CONCLUSION

1. Full details are given in the Appendix. The usage in the letters of 1616 and 1620 does not differ significantly from that of the two earlier letters, suggesting that, at the time of the publication of his translation of Fonseca, Vaugelas was still influenced by his provincial background and had not yet fully adopted Court usage.
2. No conclusion can be drawn about the orthography of the letters dated 1645, since it apparently reflects the conventions of the 1685 printer.
3. Streicher, *Remarques*, p. xiv. Note, however, that Vaugelas is not an infallible source of information about usage. In a letter to d’Hozier (1630a) he relates how he has forgotten to address one of his letters to him and tells d’Hozier that he will have to collect it himself from the post, but he confesses that he cannot remember the term for such letters!

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INDEX OF NAMES

- Ablancourt, N. Perrot d' xiv, 56, 61, 62,
140, 141, 147, 148-51, 152-53, 154-55,
156, 158, 180, 224, 240 n10, 252 n20, 253
n27, 31, 257 n3
- Académie florimontane xiii-xiv, 64
- Académie française xiii, xiv-xv, 3, 5, 8, 9,
10, 12, 16-17, 26, 38, 46, 62, 63, 65, 86,
87, 94, 96, 98, 99, 100, 103, 105, 116, 118,
120, 124, 125, 129, 132, 135, 146, 147,
158, 179, 180, 184-86, 208, 209, 210, 213,
214-15, 225, 228, 233 n23, 234 n17, 19,
236 n61, 240 n10, 242 n40, 243 n24, 244
n15, 31, 247 n50, 248 n85, 251 n33, 35,
252 n16, 255 n23, 256 n1, 6, 257 n10, 11,
260 n16, 21
- Acidalius 149
- Aisy, J. d' 202
- Alemand, L.-A. 5-10, 179, 209-10,
- Amyot, J. 3, 23, 57, 61, 62, 142, 146, 224,
232 n6, 240 n14, 252 n15, 253 n26
- Andry de Boisregard, N. 103, 105, 179, 210,
255 n23
- Apuleius 61
- Arnauld, A. (see Port-Royal)
- Arrian 61, 62, 140, 147, 149, 153, 156
- Augustine, St. 61
- Avaux, C. de Mesmes, comte d' 56, 62, 240
n10
- Baker, R. 218, 262 n67
- Balzac, J. L. Guez de xiv, 56, 62, 63, 147,
231 n11, 232 n15, 236 n44, 240 n10
- Bary, R. 213, 259 n39, 261 n41
- Basnage de Beauval, H. 191
- Bauderon de Séneccé, B. 229
- Beauzée, N. 179, 234 n12, 239 n21, 262 n62
- Bembo, P. 63, 64
- Bentivoglio, G. 63, 64
- Bernard, J. 191
- Bertaut, J. 62
- Bérulle, P. de 62
- Bèze, T. de 233 n3
- Boccaccio, G. 63
- Boileau, N. 212
- Bouhours, D. xiii, 16, 46, 103, 105, 123,
179, 202, 204, 206-07, 208, 209, 211, 215,
225, 236 n44, 244 n15, 259 n2, 260 n14,
16, 17
- Bruneau, Ch. 219
- Brunetière, F. 20, 23-24, 25, 237 n79
- Brunot, F. ix, 18, 23, 38, 219, 230 n3
- Bürger, H. 153, 155, 157
- Buffet, M. 205
- Buffier, C. 214, 234 n12
- Caesar (Gaius Julius) 61
- Caillière, J. de 258 n30
- Caligula 61
- Callières, F. de 210-11
- Cassagne, J. (or Cassagnes) 103, 105, 209
- Castiglione, B. 64
- Cellard, J. 217, 262 n65
- Chapelain, J. xiv, 5, 11, 30, 62, 63, 139-40,
146, 209, 225, 231 Intro n11, 234 n17, 19,
241 n39, 250 n6
- Chapsal, C.-P. (see Noël, F.-J. M. &
Chapsal, C.-P.)
- Chassang, A. ix, 9, 56, 213
- Chaudebonne, Mme de xiv
- Chevalier, J.-C. 38, 54, 226
- Chevreau, U. 41
- Chiflet, L. 43, 45, 47, 50, 52, 54, 76-77, 133,
203-04, 205, 239 n13, 25, 242 n11, 247
n46, 260 n9, 10
- Chomsky, N. 13, 233 n1
- Cicero 60, 61, 64, 224, 241 n24, 261 n39
- Coeffeteau, N. xiv, 3, 4, 21-22, 26, 38,
56-57, 60, 62, 67, 118, 120, 141-42, 143,
146, 147, 151, 155, 157, 165, 170, 174,
175, 178, 224, 232 n5, 236 n52, 240 n1, 6,
12, 13, 241 n33, 248 n71, 254 n7, 255 n42
- Colomby, F. de Cauvigny, sieur de 62, 63,
242 n40
- Conrart, V. xiv, 56, 62, 139-40, 209, 225,
234 n17, 240 n10, 260 n25
- Corneille, P. 99, 191, 212, 261 n36
- Corneille, Th. 5, 18, 86, 87, 98, 103, 105,
116, 206, 208-09, 213, 215, 235 n27, 244
n15, 25, 31, 248 n71, 251 Ch n2, 255
n23, 260 n22

- Corradus, Q. M. 60, 61
 Cureau de la Chambre, M. 5–6, 62, 69
- Dante 63, 64
 Dauzat, A. 215, 217
 Demosthenes 61
 Desfontaines, P.-F. Guyot 217
 Des Loges, Mme xiv, 198
 Desmarests de Saint Sorlin, J. 56, 62
 Desportes, P. 55, 62, 128, 240 n5, 250 n24
 Diodorus 149
 Dionysius of Helicarnassus 61
 Dionysius Thrax 243 n8
 Donatus 53, 60, 65
 Du Bellay, J. 23, 60, 62, 232 n8
 Dubois, J. 80, 82, 84, 90, 240 n36
 Du Bosc, J. 259 n39
 Du Marsais, C. C. 216
 Du Moulin, P. 62
 Du Perron, J. Davy xiv, 21, 62, 165, 178,
 232 n15, 252 n14
 Dupleix, S. 102, 104, 108, 111, 202, 212,
 213, 245 n17, 246 n24, 35
 Dupré, P. 215–16, 219, 262 n59
 Dupuy 186
 Du Refuge, E. 258 n30
 Du Ryer, P. 139, 140, 141, 149, 150, 158,
 252 n6, 253 n34
 Du Vair, G. 62, 63, 127, 178
- Estienne, H. 13, 45–46, 60, 62, 119, 131, 233
 n3, 234 n6, 240 n36, 248 n76, 249 n97
 Estienne, R. 62, 63, 80, 81, 84, 90, 240 n36,
 241 n37
- Faret, N. xiv, 41, 62, 63, 198, 231 n9, 241
 n38
 Favre, A. xiii, xiv, 64, 231 n5, 233 n2, 236
 n44, 256 n52
 Féraud, J. F. 215
 Florus 61, 141
 Fonseca, C. de x, 139, 141–42, 143, 144–46,
 154, 254 n10, 255 n32
 Translation of xv, 109, 139, 141–46,
 154, 158, 159–78, 181, 187, 224, 227,
 251 Ch10 n3, 254 n10, 255 n32, 263 n1
- François, A. 27, 147, 184, 214, 256 n1, 257
 n11
 François de Sales xiii, 64, 157, 178, 232 n15,
 233 n2
 Freinshemius, J. 149, 253 n34
 Furetière, A. 129, 132, 209, 251 n35
- Garnier, J. 80, 114, 240 n36
 Gellius, Aulus 61
 Girard, G. 216
 Girault-Duvivier, Ch.-P. 215
 Giry, L. 56, 62, 240 n10
 Godeau, A. 62, 63, 231 n11
 Gombauld, J. Ogier de 62, 63
 Gomberville, Marin Le Roy de 62
 Gottsched, J. C. 218
 Goulu, J. 62, 63, 232 n15, 241 n33
 Grevisse, M. 97, 99, 103, 105, 113, 201, 215,
 217, 235 n32, 238 n84, 246 n26, 39, 262
 n59
 Guarini, (G.) B. 63
- Hermant, A. 217, 262 n66
 Hillman, L. H. 14–15, 27, 29, 30, 34–35, 234
 n8
 Horace 61, 241 n18
 Hozier, P. d' 229, 263 n3
- Irson, C. 202–03, 260 n7, 9
- Justin 61
- La Bruyère, J. de 47
 Lancelot, C. (see Port-Royal)
 La Mante, Abbé de 229
 La Faverge, Mme de 229
 La Mothe le Vayer, F. de 62, 102, 104, 111,
 202, 212, 233 n27, 246 n24, 252 n6
 La Touche, P. de 215, 262 n57
 Le Clerc 191
 Le Gras 212–13, 259 n33
 Lesfargues, B. 252 n14, 253 n46
 Lhomond, C.-F. 218
 Littré, É. 132, 216, 219, 251 Ch 9 n3
 Livy 61, 147
 Louis XIII 139, 194, 195, 200
 Loyseau, Ch. 194, 196
 Lucian 61
- Mabbe, J. 142–45
 Macé, J. 202, 203, 259 n3
 Macrobius 61
 Magnon, J. de 62
 Malherbe, F. de xiv, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 21, 23, 25,
 55–57, 62, 63, 67, 68, 94, 102, 110, 111,
 120, 121, 123, 128, 132, 139, 147, 165,
 207, 219, 224, 232 n3, 13, 233 n20, 240
 n1, 3, 5, 242 n40, 246 n31, 41, 248 n71,
 83, 253 n27

- Manzoni, A. 218
 Marot, C. 62, 100, 102, 104, 132
 Martial 61
 Martinon, Ph. 219
 Marzys, Z. 64, 132, 232 n1, 235 n32, 34, 238 n86, 242 n2, 251 n34
 Maupas, Ch. 53, 62, 63, 80, 81, 99, 114, 118, 203, 224, 233 n3, 239 n35, 241 n34, 245 n13, 248 n79
 Mazarin, J., cardinal 62
 Meigret, L. 80, 82, 84, 90, 240 n36
 Ménage, G. xiii, 24, 86, 102, 104, 179, 202, 206, 207–08, 209, 215, 225, 231 n8, 236 n44, 45, 244 n15, 253 n31, 260 n17, 20
 Menthon, Ch. de 229
 Méziriac, C.-G. Bachet de xiii, xiv, 62, 146, 252 n16
 Mignot, V. 179
 Mitton, D. 209, 260 n22
 Molière, F. de 62, 63, 242 n40
 Molière, J.-B. Poquelin, dit 99, 191, 195, 199, 212
 Montaigne, M. Eyquem de 62, 68, 128
 Montausier, Madame la Marquise de (= Julie d'Angennes) 56, 62, 240 n10
 Morvan de Bellegarde, J.-B. 196
 Mossner, W. 147, 153, 155, 156, 157

 Nemours, duc de xiv, 229, 256 n52
 Nicot, J. 62, 63, 129, 132
 Nisard, D. 179
 Noël, F.-J. M. & Chapsal, C.-P. 218

 Olivet, P.-J. T. d' 5, 135, 214, 231 n1, 236 n46, 261 n45
 Oudin, A. 53, 63, 82, 83, 111, 118, 203, 224, 240 n37, 241 n35, 244 n21, 245 n13, 248 n79
 Ovid 61

 Palsgrave, J. 80, 239 n36
 Pasquier, É. 233 n3
 Patru, O. xiv, 62, 87, 100, 103, 105, 140, 156, 209, 212, 213, 225, 234 n19, 235 n27, 243 n24, 247 n50
 Peletier du Mans, J. 70, 233 n3, 242 n13
 Pellisson, P. ix, xiii, 135, 201, 231 n1, 6
 Perrot d'Ablancourt (see Ablancourt, N. Perrot d')
 Petrarch 63, 64
 Pillot, J. 233 n3, 240 n36, 244 n18
 Pliny (the Younger) 61
 Plutarch 57, 61, 146, 240 n14, 253 n26

 Pomponius Marcellus 61
 Porchères, H. de Laugier, sieur de 62
 Port-Royal xi, 13, 15, 28–29, 33–34, 81, 90, 102–05, 112, 114, 192, 201, 202, 211–12, 214, 216, 228, 234 n8, 237 n71, 81, 243 n2, 247 n54, 261 n34
 Précieuses 123, 198, 199, 200
 Priscian 53, 60, 61, 65, 239 n36

 Quintilian 27, 45, 57–59, 61, 64, 133, 224, 225, 238 n11, 241 n24, 33, 261 n39
 Quintus Curtius Rufus x, 61, 148, 149, 150–53, 154, 155, 156, 157, 252 n14, 253 n34, 46, 257 Ch12 n14, Ch13 n3
 Translation of xv, 7, 8–9, 10, 139–40, 141, 146–47, 148–58, 179–87, 191, 207, 209, 222, 224, 227, 228, 233 n21, 236 n44, 246 n35, 247 n59, 251 Ch 10 n4, 253 n36

 Racan, H. de Bucil, seigneur de xiv
 Racine, J. 99, 186, 191, 212, 220, 257 n14, 257 n3
 Raderus, M. 61, 149–50
 Rambouillet, M. de 62
 Rambouillet, Mme de xiv, 62, 198, 234 n13, 240 n10, 250 n22, 252 n14
 Ramus, P. (P. de la Ramée) 62, 63, 80, 241 n37, 245 n7
 Régnier-Desmarais, F.-S. 261 n45
 Renaud, A. 202
 Restaut, P. 216
 Richelet, P. 129, 132, 251 n35
 Richelieu, A.-J. Du Plessis, cardinal de 62, 195, 200
 Ronsard, P. de 62, 63, 127, 212, 249 n1

 Saint-Maurice, A. de 205
 Saint-Simon, L. de Rouvroy, duc de 194
 Saussure, F. de 23, 29, 124, 237 n63
 Scaliger, J. C. 32, 61, 68
 Scudéry, Mlle de 212, 261 n37
 Séguier, N. 252 n14
 Séguier, P. 62
 Senault, J.-F. 62
 Seneca ('the Elder') 61
 Seneca ('the Philosopher') 61, 147
 Somaize, A. Badeau de 198, 199
 Sorel, Ch. 200
 Souffour, N. de 157, 252 n14, 254 n49
 Streicher, J. ix, x, 12, 207, 209, 213, 223, 230 n6, 9, 231 n5, 233 n27, 252 n14, 256 n54
 Suetonius 61

- Tacitus 61, 153
 Tallemant, P. 103, 105, 209, 259 n41, 260
 n21
 Tasso, T. 63, 64, 94
 Tende, G. de 147–48
 Terence 61
 Tertullian 61
 Théophile (see Viau, Th. de)
 Thomas, A. L. 216
 Thomas, A. V. 219
 Tory, G. 241 n27
 Tribonian 61

 Urfé, H. d' xiii, 178, 256 n52

 Valla, L. 9, 40, 60, 61, 238 n2
 Varchi, B. 64
 Varro 59–60, 61, 64, 133, 224
 Vergil 61
 Viau, Th. de xiv
 Voiture, V. xiii, xiv, 62, 63, 233 n21, 240
 n10

 Wailly, N. F., de 215
 Wey, F. 262 n56
 Witart, C. 62

 Zeiler, W. 148, 154, 156, 157, 187, 256 n6

