

# VARIATION IN FUTURE TEMPORAL REFERENCE IN SOUTHERN FRANCE

by

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(Under the Direction of Diana Ranson)

## ABSTRACT

Using two corpora from Southern France, this dissertation sets out to determine the linguistic and extra-linguistic environments that affect the alternation between the periphrastic future, as in *je vais chanter* ‘I am going to sing,’ and the inflected future, as in *je chanterai* ‘I will sing.’ Additionally, the present study seeks to broaden the traditional variationist methodology to establish the meaning and functions of the periphrastic and the inflected future in spoken French from Southern France.

Much work has been done on the alternation between future variants in varieties of Canadian French (e.g. Poplack & Turpin 1999; Poplack & Dion 2009), yet only a few quantitative analyses of Hexagonal French exist (Roberts 2012; Edmonds & Gudmestad 2015; Villeneuve & Comeau 2016). Therefore, this study begins with a quantitative analysis of potential linguistic factors to determine whether the semantic, syntactic, and social constraints posited by the previous studies are shared by both Canadian and Hexagonal French varieties. The results of the quantitative analysis, which identify *temporal distance*, *grammatical person*, *polarity*, *verb class*, and *age* as significant factor groups, inform the targeted factor groups in the pragmatic analysis that blends both quantitative and qualitative approaches. The pragmatic analysis provides a close examination of discourse level factors, revealing that *temporal distance*

may not constrain the variables solely on the distinction between proximate and distal eventualities and that, instead, prior circumstances pragmatically constrain variant selection. Finally, the pragmatic trends that emerge from this blended approach serve as factor groups in a native speaker context completion task.

Overall, the usage rates of the future variants in the corpora for this study differ from those of the Canadian French studies, reflecting the different developmental paths of the individual language varieties. The results of the quantitative and qualitative analysis along with the native speaker questionnaire indicate that the periphrastic future denotes speaker certainty due to an awareness of previous eventualities that positively affect the realization of the future proposition while the inflected future expresses deontic modality through promises and dynamic modality through speaker willingness.

INDEX WORDS: sociolinguistic variation, pragmatics, quantitative and qualitative analysis, morphosyntactic variation, future temporal reference, Southern France, French

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DEDICATION

*To my two nuclear families (R, D, B + J, O, F)*

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## 1.1. Introduction

French future temporal reference is primarily expressed by one of the following three forms: the periphrastic future (PF), also known as *futur proche*, in (1a), the inflected future (IF), also known as *futur simple*, in (1b), and the futurate present (FP) in (1c).

(1) a. *Elle va chanter, peut-être, une chanson.* [2MF55]<sup>1</sup>

She **is going to** sing, maybe, a song.<sup>2</sup>

b. *Chez nous, les enfants reprendront fin août.* [7MF40]

In France, children **will return** [to school] at the end of August.

c. *La semaine prochaine il y a le ministre de finances qui vient à Montpellier.* [2MM56]<sup>3</sup>

Next week, there is the Minister of Finance who **is coming** to Montpellier.

Traditionally, the periphrastic future (PF) has been described as referring to proximate eventualities while the inflected future (IF) refers to distal eventualities (Poplack & Dion 2009: 562). Inchoativity, certainty, and subjectivity are often associated with the PF, whereas the IF is linked with conjecture, negative contexts, and neutrality, which Grimm (2010: 84) defines as a “psychological separation with the event,” (e.g. Fleischman 1982; Confais 1995; Celle 2005;

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<sup>1</sup> Codes refer to section of corpus, speaker sex and age in the Montpellier – Rognes Corpus (Ranson 2005-2006).

<sup>2</sup> All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

<sup>3</sup> A pilot study conducted on a portion of the Montpellier-Rognes (Ranson 2005-2006) corpus revealed a very low frequency of the futurate present (2.9%, N=8/273). Thus, due to the low number of tokens of futurate present in the pilot study and in support of previous studies (Emirgianian & Sankoff 1986; Comeau 2011; Roberts 2012), the futurate present will not be included in the present study.

Poplack & Dion 2009). Socially, the PF is thought to be used more by younger speakers in more informal discourse, while the IF is reserved for formal discourse and often used only by older speakers (e.g. Poplack & Turpin 1999; Wales 2002). Much work has been done on the variation among future variants in varieties of Canadian French, yet fewer quantitative analyses of Hexagonal French have been carried out. These include Roberts (2012), whose speakers come from Minervois, Lot, Brittany, and Paris, Edmonds and Gudmestad (2015), whose speakers are from Southwestern France, and Villeneuve and Comeau (2016), who investigated the French spoken in Vimeu in Northern France. Using two corpora from Southern France, this dissertation sets out to determine the linguistic and extra-linguistic environments that affect the alternation between the PF and the IF and possible areas of specialization of the variants, such as the categorical use of the IF with negative utterances in Canadian French (Emirikian & Sankoff 1986). Additionally, the present study offers not only a variationist analysis, but also a pragmatic analysis in order to explore the meaning and functions of the PF and the IF in spoken Southern French.

This introductory chapter touches upon the use of quantitative analysis in sociolinguistic research as a method for determining the effects of linguistic and social factors on language, rendering a detailed description of variation in language. The present study follows the methods of variationist sociolinguistics, but also contains separate analyses to determine the meaning of the variants. This chapter outlines the present methodology that investigates both the patterns of variation and meaning of the future variants. Chapter 1 is organized in the following fashion. Section 1.2 presents the research questions for the present study. Section 1.3 briefly

discusses the methods used in a variationist linguistics study and provides the methodology of the present analysis. Finally, Section 1.4 outlines the content for the chapters in this dissertation.

## **1.2. Research Questions**

While some linguistic variables clearly illustrate the divide between written and spoken French, such as the almost categorical deletion of *ne* in spoken French (Coveney 1989), this division is not as apparent in the alternation between the periphrastic future (PF) and the inflected future (IF) in Hexagonal French. French descriptive grammars (Bauche 1920; Imbs 1960; Fleischman 1982; Gagnon 1990; Sundell 1991), Canadian French variationist studies (Poplack & Turpin 1999; Wagner & Sankoff 2011) and Hexagonal French variationist studies (Roberts 2012; Edmonds & Gudmestad 2015) link the IF with formality and the PF with informality. Thus, as the more informal variant, the PF is more likely to occur in spoken French (Imbs 1960: 57). However, both variants have been found to occur in newspaper articles (Wales 2002), weather broadcasts (Blondeau & Labeau 2016), and natural spoken discourse (e.g. Poplack & Turpin 1999; Roberts 2012; Villeneuve & Comeau 2016); therefore, level of formality may not be the only distinction between the variants. The following research questions seek to clarify the meanings and functions of the IF and the PF.

- 1. What are the rates of usage for the future temporal reference variants? How do these rates compare with those of other studies of Hexagonal French (Roberts 2012; Edmonds & Gudmestad 2015; Villeneuve & Comeau 2016)?**

The quantitative analysis of the PF and IF in two corpora of spoken French from Southern France will determine the rates of usage. These results will be compared with those of other studies of French future temporal reference to locate geographical areas where the IF remains

productive or where it may be disappearing from spoken French (Emirkanian & Sankoff 1986; Grimm 2016).

## **2. What are the social and linguistic conditioning environments of the variants?**

The quantitative variationist analysis will reveal linguistic and extra-linguistic conditioning environments of the PF and the IF. Among the social factors tested, the factor group of age will help determine whether the variation between the PF and the IF is stable or whether there is a change in progress, and, if so, the direction of the change. In a synchronic analysis, the distribution of a linguistic variant at one point in time across different age groups can indicate the direction of language change (Labov 2001; Sankoff 2006; Tagliamonte 2012; Wagner 2012).

The linguistic factors conditioning variant selection will allow for a better understanding of the patterns of alternation between the variants. It may also turn out that the variants do not share the same conditioning environments. For instance, negative environments may be an area of specialization of the IF in Hexagonal French as has been found for Canadian French studies (e.g. Emirkanian & Sankoff 1986; Poplack & Turpin 1999; Poplack & Dion 2009; Comeau 2015).

## **3. What are the meanings of the variants?**

To determine the meaning or meanings of the variants, the present analysis includes qualitative data and a broad circumscription of the linguistic variables allowing for investigation of temporal and non-temporal uses of the PF and IF. Trends that emerged during the quantitative analysis will be further examined under a pragmatic lens, such as a correlation between the topic of discussion or subjectivity with the PF or IF. Finally, the results of the extended pragmatic analysis will be further tested in the form of a linguistic questionnaire which will provide further information on the proposed meanings of the variants.

#### **4. What predictions can be made about the future variants based upon their origins, semantic generalizations, and grammaticalization paths?**

The results of the quantitative and qualitative analyses will determine whether the alternation of the PF and IF represents a change in progress or stable variation. A comparison of these results with those of previous diachronic studies (e.g. Villeneuve & Comeau 2016; Abouda & Skrovec 2015; Wagner & Sankoff 2011) will provide a background for predictions about the future of the future variants.

This dissertation seeks to not only determine the linguistic and extra-linguistic conditioning environments of the future temporal reference variants, but also to incorporate the role of meaning and the possible multifunctionality of the variants.

#### **1.3. Methodology of the Present Study**

The lengthy debate on the inclusion of syntactic variants within the variationist framework raised the question of the necessity of semantic equivalence of the targeted syntactic variables (Lavendera 1978; Weiner & Labov 1983; Romaine 1984; Winford 1994). Sankoff and Thibault (1981) and Romaine (1984) demonstrated that the variationist framework could account for functionally equivalent variants, as long as the goal of the linguistic analysis was to describe the social and stylistic behavior of the syntactic variants (Garcia 1985: 198; Coveney 2007). However, can the variationist framework account for variants that express multiple functions, as is the case with discourse-pragmatic features, such as the use of *like* (D'Arcy 2015) or *right* (Denis & Tagliamonte 2016) or syntactic constructions such as *will* or *going to* (Torres Cacoullos & Walker 2009)? In their study of French future variation in Canadian French, Poplack and Turpin (1999: 140) attempted to operationalize possible discursive meanings to

establish the “semantic, pragmatic or more recurrently, *psychological* considerations underlying the speaker’s message” (emphasis in original). The results of Poplack and Turpin’s (1999 :161) study indicated that the future variants were interchangeable in multiple contexts. The present study, also, quantitatively examines semantic (e.g. temporal distance) and pragmatic (e.g. certainty) factor groups by conducting separate linguistic, social and pragmatic quantitative analyses in addition to a pragmatic qualitative discussion. The pragmatic analysis includes all forms of the future variants, rendering a more complete picture. Therefore, including non-quantifiable data is beneficial when dealing with syntactic variants that may express multiple functions, such as the future variants of the present study. The aim of this dissertation, then, is to blend the variationist quantitative analysis of linguistic and social factors with a pragmatic quantitative and qualitative analysis to ascertain the possible meanings of the periphrastic and inflected future in spoken Southern French. To achieve this, the present study proposes a methodology that includes three stages of analysis: a quantitative analysis, a pragmatic analysis, and a native speaker questionnaire.

The quantitative analysis pinpoints the social and linguistic conditioning environments of the future variants. Coveney (2007: 104) underscores the importance of the quantification of syntactic variables, stating that it “is the only method of discovering whether there is an element of social differentiation [or] change.” For instance, an examination of the distribution of the targeted linguistic variables, such as the future variants, across different age groups at a specific point in time may reveal language change (Labov 1972: 133). However, coding for pragmatic and semantic environments is often difficult, if not impossible. For example, operationalizing the pragmatic notion of speaker certainty is difficult since the present analysis relies on the

information available in the discourse context. Without ample adverbial specification or specific details about the events leading up to the future eventuality, it may be impossible to know the intended temporal distance for the realization of the future eventuality or the speaker's level of certainty. This study attempts to mitigate these concerns by a broad circumscription of the variable context, such that the whole discourse context may reveal the speaker's intention. For example, in (2), the speaker expresses his certainty that the French population will gain weight in twenty years. An investigation of the complete conversation reveals that the arrival of fast food restaurants is the basis for this prediction.

(2) *Je suis sûr que dans vingt ans il y **aura** beaucoup d'obèses en France.* [2MM56]

I am sure that in twenty years, there **will be** a lot of obese people in France.

Therefore, to fully understand when and how speakers use the PF and IF, the present analysis includes the entire discourse context in the analysis.

Further complicating a quantitative analysis is that linguistic “properties, both semantic and grammatical, persist from the previous stage,” since language change is gradual (Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos 2008:11; Torres Cacoullos & Walker 2009). For example, as the PF grammaticalized from the construction, *aller* ‘to go’ followed by an infinitive, speakers initially employed the PF with motion verbs, such as *partir* ‘to leave’ or *marcher* ‘to walk.’ However, the PF has grammaticalized into a future form that retains the notion of intention as opposed to that of spatial movement. Different linguistic features may also function similarly, such as the use of both the Spanish present perfect and the preterit with a past perfective reading (Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos 2008: 11-12), or the use of both future temporal reference variants to denote distal eventualities (Poplack & Dion 2009: 574). Thus, due to the numerous possible functions of

one linguistic variable, Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos (2008: 11) suggest that the circumscription of the variable include the multiple grammatical stages and meanings of the variants.

Therefore, the present methodology begins by broadly circumscribing the variants to perform a quantitative analysis, investigating the previous semantic generalizations of the variants (i.e. temporal distance, adverbial specification), the use of the variants at the sentential level (i.e. polarity, grammatical person, verb), and the potential conditioning social environments of the variants (i.e. age, sex, education). The social and linguistic patterns that emerge from the quantitative analysis are then used to create focus areas in the pragmatic analysis. For example, formality may be a factor in the selection of the future variant; however, the linguistic factor groups may not reveal this trend. It is thus important to extend the analysis of formality pragmatically to include factor groups that address the level of the discourse, such as the conversation topic or an awareness of an interlocutor. Therefore, the results gleaned from the quantitative analysis will guide the pragmatic analysis.

The pragmatic analysis begins with the inclusion of previously excluded non-temporal tokens. Since the PF and the IF perform multiple functions, such as the use of the IF to denote epistemic modality in addition to future temporal reference, the pragmatic analysis includes all previously excluded tokens to be investigated qualitatively to determine all possible meanings of the variants (Aaron 2010; Pichler 2010: 597-598; 2013: 47; Cheshire 2016). The factor groups in the variationist approach stem from patterns that emerged in the quantitative analysis, such as division between formal and informal uses of the variants. In the pragmatic analysis, these patterns are observed from different angles, such as the topic of the conversation and the

psychological contextual factors, which include the “speaker’s assessment of the reliability of their propositions,” and the “speaker’s attention to and awareness of their interlocutors” (Traugott 2003; Pichler 2013: 46). For example, in (3a), the speaker expresses his personal opinion of the future proposition by adding *je suis sûr que* ‘I am sure that.’ In (3b), the use of the object pronoun, *vous* ‘you,’ illustrates the speaker’s interaction with an interlocutor.

(3) a. *Je suis sûr que dans vingt ans il y aura beaucoup d’obèses en France* [2MM56]

I am sure that in twenty years, there **will be** a lot of obese people in France.

b. *Je vous donnerai tout à l’heure mais en aparté,*

*le eum l’adresse d’un restaurant.* [7RF40]

I **will give** you soon, but in private, the uhm, the address of a restaurant.

The present study tests the pragmatic factors both quantitatively and qualitatively. The pragmatic analysis offers a more precise view into the use of the variants, as it incorporates both temporal and non-temporal uses of the variants.

While the quantitative and qualitative analyses in the present methodology examine data from two spoken corpora from Southern France, the final stage includes native speaker preferences through a questionnaire. In this stage, native speakers provide responses to contexts that reflect possible factors affecting future variant choice that emerged during variationist and pragmatic approaches, such as planned events, dismissive future and formality. The results of the native speaker survey, then, show that some factors may constrain the selection of future variants more than others. Thus, by combining the results of the native speaker questionnaire with the quantitative and qualitative approaches, the present study further defines the functions of the future temporal reference variants.

The methodology proposed in this section includes analyses in addition to the variationist approach to illustrate different aspects of the distribution of the future variants, aspects that may not be observed by only one approach, such as the pragmatic nature of the future variants. Therefore, the present study adopts a three-step approach that begins with a quantitative variationist analysis, followed by a quantitative and qualitative pragmatic analysis, and concludes with a native speaker questionnaire. The next section outlines the chapters in this dissertation.

#### **1.4. Dissertation Outline**

As shown in the research questions presented in Section 1.2, the current study aims to locate not only the conditioning environments of the periphrastic and the inflected future but also their meanings. To determine the meanings of syntactic variants, the present study proposes blending a variationist approach with a quantitative and qualitative pragmatic analysis. As outlined above in Section 1.3, this study adopts a three-part process which begins with the variationist framework in order to provide a quantitative examination of the potential linguistic and social constraints on future variants and to be able to compare the results of these analyses with those of previous variationist studies. Then, the present study investigates the pragmatics that may influence variant selection through a quantitative and qualitative analysis. Finally, native speaker responses to a questionnaire test the pragmatic trends that emerged from the quantitative and qualitative analyses. Specifically, the remainder of this dissertation is organized as follows. Chapter 2 discusses the grammaticalization paths and the semantic generalizations of the future temporal reference variants. Chapters 3 and 4 quantitatively examine the influence of linguistic and social factors, respectively, on the selection of the periphrastic and inflected future

in spontaneous speech. Chapter 5 investigates potential pragmatic constraints through a quantitative analysis, while Chapter 6 presents a qualitative analysis of pragmatic factors. Chapter 7 presents the results of a native speaker questionnaire that tests the validity of the meanings of the future temporal reference variants gleaned from the quantitative and qualitative analyses. Finally, Chapter 8 concludes the dissertation, summarizing the results of the analyses and addressing methodological limitations and areas of future research.

CHAPTER TWO: A HISTORICAL AND SEMANTIC ACCOUNT  
OF THE FUTURE VARIANTS IN FRENCH

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### 2.1. Introduction

The co-existence of the future temporal reference variants in Modern French has led scholars to postulate the meanings of the variants to pinpoint an area of specialization of the inflected future (IF), in (1a), as the less certain, more distal variant, and the periphrastic future (PF), in (1b), as more certain and linked with proximal eventualities (Söll 1983; Gagnon 1990; Confais 1995; Helland 1997; Gadet 2010).

(1) a. *Tous les jeunes seront là.* [8MF25]

All of the young people **will be** there.

b. *Tu vas rester là.* [8MF25]

You **are going to stay** there.

Empirical studies also investigated the usage of the future variants, suggesting a change in progress pointing toward the disappearance of the IF in Canadian French outside of negative utterances (Emirikian & Sankoff 1986) and highly formal speech (Poplack & Turpin 1999).

Overall, the rates of usage of the IF tend to be much lower than those of the PF, with lower rates of the IF in Canadian French (Emirikian & Sankoff 1986; Zimmer 1994; Chevalier 1996; Poplack & Turpin 1999; Grimm 2010; Grimm & Nadasdi 2011; Wagner & Sankoff 2011;

Grimm 2016) than in Hexagonal French (Jeanjean 1988; Fleury & Branca-Rosoff 2010; Roberts 2012; Abouda & Skrovec 2015; Edmonds & Gudmestad 2015; Villeneuve & Comeau 2016).

To determine whether the use of the IF in Modern French represents a change in progress towards its loss, it is essential first to examine the history of the future variants from Latin to Modern French. The future in Classical Latin was a synthetic inflected form ending in -BO, as in AMABO 'I will love.' Later, a new analytic periphrastic *have*-future developed, such as AMARE HABEO, literally 'to love I have.' In Latin, as in Modern French, a period of coexistence of an inflected future and a periphrastic future ended when the inflected future was lost. Thus, an investigation into the loss of the BO-future in Latin in Section 2.2 may shed light on the potential disappearance of the IF in Modern French. Section 2.2 also considers the process of grammaticalization in the transition of an analytic form like AMAREHABEO to a synthetic form like French *aimerai*. The emergence of French *je vais aimer*, the new periphrastic future, continues the cycle between synthetic and analytic forms. Section 2.3 outlines the first attestations of the Modern French future variants. Finally, Section 2.4 presents the meanings associated with the French future variants.

## 2.2. Future Temporal Reference in Latin

This section shows the parallels between the future variants in Latin and Modern French and the grammaticalization from the analytic Latin *have*-future to the synthetic future in Modern French. The sequence in (2) illustrates the developmental stages of future temporal reference that led to the synthetic future in Modern French. Of particular interest is the cyclic pattern between analytic and synthetic forms.

(2) \*AMA-BHO > AMABO → AMAREHABEO > *j'aimerai*

After a brief presentation of the BO-future, this section considers the phonological and morphological reasons for its disappearance and the emergence of the *have*-future.

Speakers of Classical Latin expressed future temporal reference by either a synthetic future, the BO-future,<sup>4</sup> or the *praesens pro future*, the futurate present. The BO-future, for example AMABO, developed from the Proto-Indo-European analytic future structure<sup>5</sup>, \*AMA-BHO. The first part of \*AMA-BHO is the stem of the verb, ‘to love,’ and the second part is an auxiliary derived from the verb ‘to be.’ In this analytic form, the auxiliary, ‘to be,’ expresses future temporal reference, with an original meaning similar to ‘I am to love’ in English. Illustrated in (2), above, the analytic Proto-Indo-European form became synthetic as the BO-future in Latin. The synthetic BO-future was eventually replaced by the analytic *have*-future in Latin which then became the synthetic inflected future in French.

The most widely-accepted explanations for the disappearance of the BO-future and the ultimate rise of the Latin periphrastic *have*-future are the phonological and morphological hypotheses. The phonological hypothesis is based on the merger of [b] and [w] in Late Latin, which neutralized the perfect and future conjugations (Anderson & Rochet 1979: 184; Fleischman 1982: 41; Posner 1997: 320). For instance, the merger between these two sounds would lead to ambiguity of future 3sg CANTABIT and imperfect 3sg CANTAVIT (Anderson 1979: 27). The morphological hypothesis for the disappearance of the future conjugations in Latin is based on the presumed desire of the speakers to establish a regular means of expressing the

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<sup>4</sup> In addition to the BO-future, which will be the form discussed in this dissertation, there were three other futures in Latin that developed from various subjunctive forms: the *-e-* future, the *-s-* future, and the *-r-* future. For a complete discussion of the emergence and disappearance of these futures see Fleischman (1982: 33-35).

<sup>5</sup> Anderson and Rochet (1979: 182-183) note that the future in Latin evolved from the subjunctive periphrasis, \**bhu*, and not Proto-Indo-European. The fact that the conjugations of future anterior and perfect subjunctive are equal for all persons except for first person singular (future anterior = CANTAVERIS; perfect subjunctive = CANTAVERIM) support the link between future and subjunctive.

future across the four conjugations. This was not the case in Classical Latin, since the first conjugation in -ARE formed its future with -BO, e.g. AMABO, whereas the other conjugations formed their future in -AM, as in third conjugation DUCAM (Fleischman 1982: 41; Posner 1996: 177). However, as Harris (1978: 8) notes, phonetic erosion cannot necessarily be completed prior to the creation of the new *have*-future, as this would leave a “hiatus which, given the communicative function of language, is inconceivable.” Therefore, phonetic erosion is a likely hypothesis for the loss of the BO-future, yet the neutralization would not have been completed prior to the creation of the *have*-future. One assumes then that the BO-future coexisted for a time with the periphrastic *have*-future, which was used in more popular speech (Fleischman 1982: 50; Pinkster 1987: 213). For instance, preachers adopted the *have*-future in sermons designed to communicate with the common people (Fleischman 1982: 53).

Therefore, the analytic *have*-future existed alongside the synthetic BO-future in Late Latin in the same way that the now synthetic *have*-future exists alongside the analytic *go*-future in Modern French. Unlike the Latin BO-future, the IF in Modern French is not facing phonetic erosion or irregularity across conjugation classes. There are, however, many irregular future-tense stems that would no longer be needed, if the IF were lost. Furthermore, the potential disappearance of the IF in Modern French would result in the replacement of a synthetic form by an analytic form in the same way that the synthetic BO-future was replaced by the analytic *have*-future. The following section considers the role of grammaticalization in the cyclic pattern between analytic and synthetic forms from the emergence of the Latin BO-future to the emergence of the analytic *go*-future (the PF) in Modern French.

### 2.2.1 Analytic and Synthetic Patterns and Grammaticalization

The evolution of future forms from Proto-Indo-European to Latin to French illustrates a cyclic process that alternates between analytic and synthetic forms. This alternating process is illustrated through diachronic and synchronic phases in Table 2.1. In each diachronic phase, an analytic structure transitions into a synthetic structure over time as the periphrastic form agglutinates and adopts the “future-tense function of its co-present synthetic form” (Fleischman 1982: 106). In contrast with the diachronic phase, the synchronic phase illustrates the co-existence of the synthetic and analytic forms in the same time.

Table 2.1. *Analytic and synthetic cycles* (adapted from Pulgram 1963: 37<sup>6</sup>; Anderson 1979: 29; Fleischman 1982: 104)

Diachronic Phase I	Structure Analytic	Form *AMA-BHO	Stage of the language Proto-Indo-European
	↓	↓	
Synchronic Phase I:	Synthetic AMABO/AMAREHABEO	AMABO	Classical Latin Later Latin
Diachronic Phase II	Analytic	AMAREHABEO	Later spoken Latin
	↓	↓	
Synchronic Phase II:	Synthetic J'aimerai/je vais aimer	<i>J'aimerai</i>	Modern French Modern French
Diachronic Phase III	Analytic	<i>Je vais aimer</i>	Contemporary French
	↓	↓	
	Synthetic	<i>Je *vaisaimer</i>	Contemporary French

<sup>6</sup> Pulgram's (1963: 37) synthetic and analytic cyclic diagram, in Table 2.1', is illustrated horizontally, using > to indicate developmental linguistic changes and → to indicate replacements.

Table 2.1'. Pulgram's (1963: 37) *chain of future tense forms*

\*AMA-BHO > AMABO → AMARE HABEO > *J'aimerai* → *je vais aimer* > *je \*vaisaimer* → ?

Pulgram (1963: 37) distinguishes between “developments” in the diachronic phases from analytic to synthetic and “replacements” in the synchronic phases from synthetic to analytic. The developmental linguistic changes involve regular sound changes that occur beyond “the control and attention of the speaker,” while the replacements result from speakers’ choice of one variant over the other. Therefore, speakers of Latin during Synchronic Phase I used both the BO-future and the *have*-future until the *have*-future became increasingly more frequent and the BO-future fell into disuse. Then, in Diachronic Phase II, Latin AMAREHABEO developed into the Modern French synthetic future, *j’aimerai*.

It is in Synchronic Phase II and Diachronic Phase III that one may make predictions regarding the future of the synthetic future in Modern French. Has the synthetic form almost entirely disappeared, except for certain contexts (i.e. negative sentences) as previous Canadian French variationist studies suggest (e.g. Emirkanian & Sankoff 1985; Poplack & Dion 1999)? If so, then has the analytic future grammaticalized to a point where it is now becoming synthetic, following the cyclic pattern of analytic and synthetic forms? For instance, Pulgram (1963:36) suggests that *je vaisaimer* is already a new synthetic future variant since the syllable *vais* is homophonous in both *je vais aimer* and *je vais en ville*, yet conveys two different meanings. Therefore, the two forms of *vais* could be distinguished as a bound morpheme and a free morpheme. A separate argument in favor of the existence of a synthetic future form with *aller* comes from varieties of French and French creoles that do not inflect for subject agreement when expressing future temporal reference. These uninflected forms, as in *je va* instead of *je vais*, possibly borrowings from Picard, spread to America in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century (Wittman 1995: 292). Therefore, in certain varieties of French, such as in Baie Sainte-Marie Acadian French

(Comeau 2011: 5) or Louisiana French (Valdman & Rottet 2009: 22) the inflected form of the verb *aller* is [va] for the singular forms in Baie Sainte-Marie Acadian French and for all forms in Louisiana French. This study, though, focuses on Synchronic Phase II to determine whether speakers from Southern France are replacing *j'aimerai* by *je vais aimer*. The following section presents the process of grammaticalization during the Diachronic Phase II when AMAREHABEO changes to *j'aimerai*.

### 2.2.2 Grammaticalization of the Inflected Future

Kurylowicz (1965: 69) coined the term grammaticalization<sup>7</sup> to describe the process by which grammatical morphemes emerge from lexical or less grammatical morphemes. To illustrate an advanced stage of grammaticalization, Kurylowicz (1965: 68-69) offers the French grammaticalization of a Latin phrase, shown in (3).

(3) Latin: HABEO LITTERAS SCRIPTAS > French: *j'ai écrit la lettre* (Kurylowicz 1965: 69)

While the example in (3) illustrates the grammaticalization of the French *passé composé*, a similar process occurs in the transition from the Latin *have-future*, AMAREHABEO, to the French inflected future, *j'aimerai*. This section discusses the process of grammaticalization of the French inflected future following four cross-linguistic parameters: semantic change, the affixation of grammaticalizing morphemes, the decategorialization of morphosyntactic properties, such that the grammatical morpheme loses its syntactic features, and phonetic erosion (Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca 1994: 106; Lamiroy 1999: 37).

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<sup>7</sup> Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994 :4) selected “grammaticization” over “grammaticalization” as it was “shorter” and “more elegant” when both terms were used equally in 1983. The term “grammaticalization” occurs more often in current literature, however. In contrast, Hopper and Traugott (1993: xv-xvi) use the term “grammaticalization” as it was the original term used to describe the process of lexical items and constructions gaining grammatical functions.

Table 2.2 details Diachronic Phase II, in Table 2.1, by illustrating the semantic and structural changes that occurred as AMAREHABEO became *j'aimerai*, the Modern French inflected future form (IF).

Table 2.2. *Diachronic Phase II: Evolution of AMAREHABEO* (adapted from Fleischman 1982: 71).

Language	Form	Meaning
Classical Latin	AMARE [infinitive] HABEO [main verb]	'I have something to love/like/ I have to love/like (something).'
Spoken Latin	AMARE [main verb] HABEO <sup>8</sup> [auxiliary]	'I have to love/like → I will love/like'
Romance (French)	<i>aimerai</i> <sup>9</sup> <i>aim e – r – ai</i> [verb stem] - [tense/mood] – [person]	'I will love/like'

First, there is the semantic change of HABERE as it transitions from a main verb in Classical Latin into an auxiliary that expresses future temporal reference in Spoken Latin. In Classical Latin, HABERE was the main verb and meant “*I have (something).*” Then, in Spoken Latin, HABERE began to be employed as an auxiliary and gradually assumed modal values referring to desire, obligation, or possibility, as in (4) (Alkire & Rosen 2010: 164).

(4) DE...SOMNUS QUID **HABEMUS DICERE**?

Concerning... dreams what have we to say (what can we say)?

(Cicero, *Academicae Quaestiones* 2, 136, as cited in Alkire & Rosen 2010: 164)

<sup>8</sup> Alkire and Rosen (2010: 166) indicate that the periphrastic future AMARE HABEO had already merged into a single word with reduced forms of HABEO as inflections even before the first documents written in Romance.

<sup>9</sup> Since the inflectional endings in French are not identical to the present-tense forms of HABERE in the earliest examples of French, the inflectional endings in French must have grammaticalized earlier than in other Romance languages (Posner 1997: 322).

Thus, a semantic bleaching of HABERE occurs as its original meaning of *to have* is lost as it transitions into an auxiliary with future and modal values. The grammaticalization path of the IF, then, began with the sense of obligation, which includes a notion of future purposes, influenced by the meaning of HABERE as an auxiliary in Spoken Latin (Fleischman 1982: 71; Hopper and Traugott 1993:42-44). The modal value of desire and obligation that originated in the form AMAREHABEO is not necessarily entirely lost in the new form, *aimerai*. While the original senses do gradually weaken, the original meaning can reappear in certain contexts as in the use of the inflected future to denote volition and obligation through a promise (Bybee & Pagliuca 1987: 112-113).

Next, the concept of the decategorialization of morphosyntactic properties occurs as HABERE transitions from a main verb to an auxiliary. During the process of grammaticalization, the grammaticalizing element may lose its original syntactic privileges as a major lexical category, such as a verb or noun, and adopt a secondary function, such as an adjective or adverb (Lamiroy 1999: 36). Thus, the evolution of HABERE from a main verb to an auxiliary in a periphrastic construction illustrates the concept of decategorialization of morphosyntactic properties as HABERE loses its syntactic category as a main verb and comes to be used as an auxiliary alongside an infinitive in Spoken Latin to denote desire or possibility. Therefore, it is the creation of the periphrastic construction, AMAREHABEO, that ultimately gives rise to the inflected future in French through the grammaticalization parameter of affixation.

Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca (1994: 106) find that the affixation of grammatical morphemes “is parallel to the growing functional dependence of grams<sup>10</sup> and their conceptual

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<sup>10</sup> Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994) define *gram* as any grammatical morpheme, unbound or bound.

cohesion with lexical stems.” Table 2.2 illustrates both the “dependence” and “conceptual cohesion” of HABERE. For instance, while HABERE is not attached to the main verb in Spoken Latin, its decategorialization from a main verb to an auxiliary employed in a periphrastic construction denoting desire or possibility sets up the scenario for the inflected future in French, as a “conceptual entity” (Heine 1993: 30). Thus, as HABERE is dependent in the periphrastic construction, AMAREHABEO, it attaches to the main verb in French, *aimer*, to create the inflected future, *aimerai*.

Another parameter of grammaticalization is phonetic erosion, which is related to the previous parameters. As *aimerai* evolved from AMAREHABEO, shortened forms of HABERE were used as inflectional endings. Illustrated in (5), HABERE was shortened to \*[ajo] in first person singular, which became *-ai* [e], after sound changes took place.

(5) Latin: AMARE\*[ajo] > *J'aimerai*

Phonetic erosion is also evident in the future stems as the stress shifts to the ending and the former thematic vowel of the infinitive is lost or reduced to a schwa through syncope. For instance, Posner (1997: 322) notes that “forms like *finirai* are transparent, whereas the relationship between *mener* [mne] and *mènerai* [mènre] is less so.” Furthermore, Posner (1997: 322) points out that the verb stem of the early inflectional future is not identical to the infinitive of the verb, as it is today in most verbs ending in *-ir* (*servir* → *je servirai*). It was not until the 16<sup>th</sup> century, that analogical forms based on the infinitival form appeared, most notably in the *-ir* verbs: (*bouillir* → *bouillirai*) (Posner 1997: 322).

Additionally, frequency influences phonological reduction and the affixation of grammatical morphemes, as is the case in (6), where *I'm going to* can be reduced to *I'm gonna* and then to [aimə̃ə] (Bybee 2003: 616) and even further to [ajmə].

(6) *I'm going to* > *I'm gonna* > '*Imana*' [ajmə̃ə] > '*Ima*' [ajmə]

Thus, the higher the frequency of the word, the more it may be reduced (Lamiroy 1999: 37; Bybee 2003: 616). Frequency also impacts the semantics of the grammaticalizing construction, where the new construction can be used in “new contexts with new pragmatic associations” (Bybee 2003: 604).<sup>11</sup> The expanded use of HABERE as both a main verb and auxiliary illustrates this type of frequency.

The sequence in (7) illustrates the four major parameters of grammaticalization.

(7) Classical Latin AMARE[HABEO<sub>MAIN VERB</sub>] > Spoken Latin [AMAREHABEO<sub>AUXILIARY</sub>]  
> French *aimerai*

The meaning of HABERE changed as it transitioned from a main verb to an auxiliary in a periphrastic construction denoting desire or obligation. Additionally, the transition from a main verb to an auxiliary illustrates the decategorialization of morphosyntactic properties, as HABERE transitioned from a major syntactic element, a main verb, to a more dependent syntactic element, an auxiliary. The creation of the periphrastic construction AMAREHABEO led to the affixation of

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<sup>11</sup> The English construction *I'm going to* also illustrates this concept. Shown in (ia), before the construction *I'm going to* grammaticalized to denote future temporal reference, it appeared only in utterances where the subject was moving towards a goal. The grammaticalized construction in (ib) denotes future temporal reference. Finally, as frequency has shortened the construction to *gonna*, it is no longer accepted as a construction expressing movement, in (ic). (Pulgram 1963: 37).

- (i) a. I'm going to Athens.  
b. I'm going to play the piano.  
c. \*I'm gonna Athens.

HABERE to the infinitive to denote future temporal reference in Modern French. Finally, phonetic erosion, another parameter of grammaticalization, is evident in the shortened form of HABERE attached to the infinitive in the inflected future in Modern French, *aimerai*. Overall, the main parameters of grammaticalization that have been attested cross linguistically are evident in the transition from AMAREHABEO in Latin to *aimerai* in French.

### 2.2.3 Grammaticalization of the Periphrastic Future

The cyclic pattern between synthetic and analytic constructions continues in Modern French with the creation of the periphrastic future *aller* + an infinitive. This construction is also undergoing grammaticalization in Modern French through semantic change and decategorialization of morphosyntactic properties. The periphrastic future, evolved from *aller*, meaning ‘to go,’ followed by an infinitive, as in, *je vais aimer*, ‘I am going to like/love.’ Verbs of movement are common sources of future markers<sup>12</sup> (Bybee & Pagliuca 1987; Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca 1994). However, in order for a movement verb to be grammaticalized into a future construction, there must be a sense of movement towards a goal, such that the “agent is on a path moving toward a goal” (Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca 1994: 268). *Aller*, ‘to go,’ originated as a spatial movement verb which included a sense of movement in time, or intention. As it grammaticalizes into a future variant, *aller* loses its spatial meaning, yet retains a sense of intention, and occurs in contexts where the agent is not moving spatially to fulfill the intention (Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca 1994: 269; Gougenheim 1971; Fleischman 1982). Therefore, in *je vais aimer*, ‘I am going to like/love,’ the agent is no longer moving spatially to fulfill the goal, yet is intending to fulfill the goal of liking or loving in the future.

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<sup>12</sup> Cross-linguistically, the most frequent verbs of movement used in future temporal reference are *come* and *go*. This includes similar verbs such as *reach*, *approach*, and *near* (Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca 1994: 252-253).

In addition, the original movement verb required an animate agent as subject; however, as the spatial movement meaning gradually weakened into future movement, the requirement of subject animacy weakened and was lost (Bybee & Pagliuca 1987: 112). Variationist studies make use of token frequency to show how languages change over time and to discover patterns of language use, which could reveal paths of grammaticalization (Torres-Cacoullos 2011: 150-151). The frequency of a grammaticalizing construction is illustrated in Aaron's (2006) variationist study of the grammaticalization of the periphrastic future in Spanish, *ir a + infinitive*. As the frequency of the periphrastic future in Spanish increases in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the use of temporal adverbials denoting future temporal reference decreases with the periphrastic future, illustrating the grammaticalization of the construction *ir a + infinitive* into the periphrastic future (Aaron 2006: 268-270).

Thus, the transition of the main verb *aller* denoting movement to an auxiliary denoting future temporal reference illustrates the grammaticalization parameter of semantic change due to the meaning differences and the decategorialization of morphosyntactic properties as *aller* expanded its use from a main verb to an auxiliary. Furthermore, following the analytic to synthetic pattern, *je vais aimer* could ultimately transition into a new synthetic form, such as *\*vaisaimer* (Pulgram 1963: 36). While this form exists only in Baie Sainte-Marie Acadian French (Comeau 2011: 5) and Louisiana French (Valdman & Rottet 2009: 22), this type of phonetic erosion and loss of syntactic freedom is the next step predicted in the grammaticalization of *aller + infinitive*.

### 2.3. First attestations of future variants in Latin and French

The synthetic future in Classical Latin existed alongside the futurate present, or *praesens pro futuro*. As previously noted, the Latin synthetic BO-future, *AMABO*, was ultimately lost and replaced by the periphrastic *have*-future, *AMAREHABEO*. The exact timing of the creation of the *have*-future and the loss of the BO-future is somewhat uncertain. Pinkster (1987: 214) suggests that *AMAREHABEO*, denoting future temporal reference, existed at an early date, which would explain why it was this analytic form that was adopted as the Romance future form. Pinkster's (1987) argument for an early emergence of the *have*-future is supported by evidence from Fredegar's Chronicle in the early seventh century which contains the first example of the *have*-future in its synthesized Romance form, *daras* 'you will give' (Pinkster 1987: 214; Posner 1996: 177; Posner 1997: 320). The first part of the response, in (8), also illustrates the BO-future: *non dabo*, 'I will not give.'

(8) *el ille respondebat 'non dabo,' Justinianus dicebat 'daras'*

'And he answered "I will not give," Justinianus said "you will give."'

(Anderson & Rochet 1979: 183)

Two centuries after the appearance of *daras*, examples of the French inflected future (IF) were documented in the Strasbourg Oaths pronounced in 843 and documented in a manuscript from 1000: *prindrai* 'I will take' and *salvarai* 'I will assist' (Eginhard et al. 1824; Fleischman 1982: 68; Posner 1997: 320). The early French inflected future forms, in (9a) and (9b), are morphologically similar to *daras*. The infinitive of the verb contains an inflectional suffix marking for grammatical person and number.

(9) a. *prindrai*

prindr-**ai**

take.INF-1S.FUT

‘I **will take.**’

b. *salvarai*

salvar-**ai**

assist.INF-1S.FUT

‘I **will assist.**’

Even though it was not until the sixteenth century that the periphrastic future (PF) began to appear in grammar books as a future temporal reference marker (Antonini 1753), the PF occurs in poetry from the thirteenth century on, as illustrated in (10).

(10) *Symonz le veilz de Pouille trai lo bàràanc aceré, vai ferir Nabigam*

Simon the old from Pouille pulls/hits the sharp ravine, [I] **am going to hurt** Nabigam.

(Anonymous 1225)

The construction, *aller* + infinitive was first named *le futur prochain*, a near future, which marked an action that was set to happen *bientôt*, ‘soon’ according to Antonini (1753: 327-328). In their study of French grammars, Poplack and Dion (2009: 562) found that the PF is first described as expressing proximal future temporal reference by grammarians in the sixteenth century. In some early examples of the PF, it is “accompanied by a point-of-time adverb which by itself carried the meaning of (general proximity) futurity” (Fleischman 1982: 84). The example in (11) illustrates the use of the adverb *dans peu* ‘soon,’ to indicate proximity, in a text by Molière from 1672.

(11) *Venez, on va dans peu vous les faire savoir.*

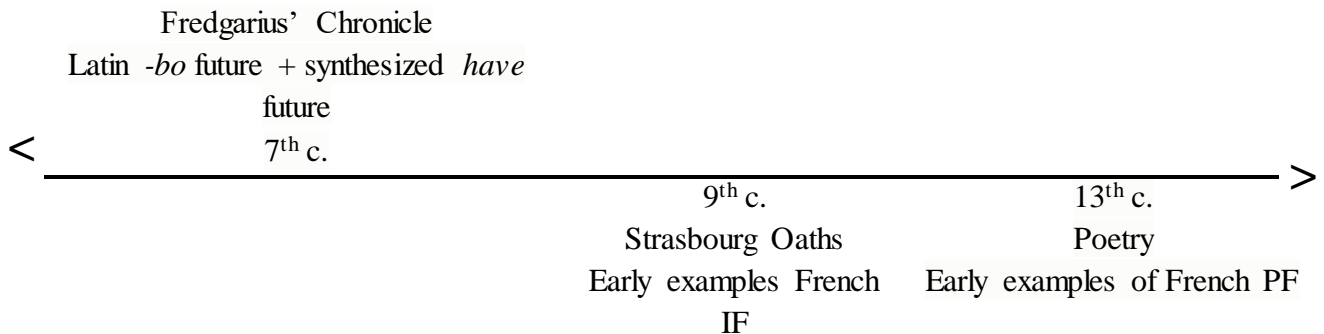
Come now, we'll let you know *soon*.<sup>13</sup>

(Molière, *Les Femmes Savantes* 1672, as cited in Fleischman 1982:84)

The collocation of proximal temporal adverbs with PF lessened as the verb phrase (*aller* + infinitive) grammaticalized into a construction denoting future temporal reference.

The future variants in French, the IF and the PF, have therefore coexisted since before the sixteenth century. The timeline in (12), summarize the chronology of future variants in the history of French discussed in this section. The synthetic *have*-future first appears alongside the BO-future in Fredegarius' Chronicle from the 7<sup>th</sup> century (Anderson & Rochet 1979:183). The earliest written evidence of Old French, the The Strasbourg Oaths from the 9<sup>th</sup> century contains inflected future forms (Eginhard et al. 1824; Fleischman 1982: 68; Posner 1997: 320). Finally, the PF construction is attested in French poetry as early as the 13<sup>th</sup> century. It is therefore possible to assert that the IF is an older form in French than the PF.

(12) Timeline of future temporal reference attestations



<sup>13</sup> Emphasis and translation belong to Fleischman (1982).

## **2.4. The Semantics of the Future Variants**

Future temporal reference refers to an eventuality that will take place after the time of utterance (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 244). One can have intentions, make predictions, or schedule events, but future temporal reference may not hold any truth values (Dahl 2000). Typological literature (Bybee & Pagliuca 1987; Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994) shows that future markers often have both modal and temporal meanings. In French, future temporal reference may express epistemic modality, which refers to the speaker's judgments about the truth of the proposed eventuality, or dynamic modality, which refers to the eventuality of the proposition that has not been actualized (Palmer 2001). Temporally, the future variants are often contrasted as either referring to a proximal or distal eventuality, in addition to having present relevance (Fleishman 1982) or a direct link to the present (Söll 1983; Gagnon 1990; Confais 1995; Helland 1997; Gadet 2010). The following section presents the modal qualifications, with a special focus on *certainty* and *possibility*, and temporal reference proposed for the IF and the PF in the literature.

### **2.4.1. Modal qualifications**

#### **2.4.1.1. Modality and the IF**

While future temporal reference denotes eventualities that have not yet taken place and are thus uncertain, modality is the subjective description of these potential eventualities. Modality reflects the “status of the proposition” (Palmer 2001: 8) and is the “[grammaticalization] of speakers’ (subjective) attitudes and opinions” (Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca 1994: 176). Palmer (2001: 8-9) organizes his modality framework under two main branches: propositional modality and event modality. Palmer (2001) also discusses evidential modality which is left out of this

table since it does not play a role in French future temporal reference. Epistemic and evidential modality, which refer to the speaker’s attitude towards the realization of the proposed eventuality, are housed in propositional modality. Event modality contains deontic and dynamic modality, which refer to the potential eventuality, the realization of which is outside of the speaker’s control. Deontic modality refers to non-realized speaker external eventualities, such as giving permission or directives. Palmer (2001:22) categorizes “obligation” as a deontic modal value when a speaker imposes the realization of an eventuality on an external agent. Palmer (2001: 22) also places “commissives” under the category of deontic modality. Dynamic modality reflects the speaker’s internal desire to complete a potential eventuality, such as a speaker’s willingness or desire. Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca’s (1994: 177) modal framework includes four types of modality: agent-oriented, speaker-oriented, epistemic, and subordinating moods (Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca 1994: 177). Table 2.3 illustrates possible modal interpretations of the IF, organized under Palmer’s (2001) propositional and event modality framework. Included in Table 2.3 are grammars that describe the uses of the IF and studies investigating the uses of the IF.

Table 2.3. *Possible modal readings of the IF.*

Palmer (2001)	Propositional Modality	Event Modality	
	Epistemic	Dynamic	Deontic
	<i>assumptive, speculative</i>	<i>Internal (willingness, ability)</i>	<i>External (permission, “commissive”)</i>
Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca (1994); Dahl (2000)	Epistemic: <i>possibility, inferred certainty, expected futures, probability</i>	Agent-oriented: <i>(obligation, ability, desire)</i>	Speaker-oriented: <i>(directives: demands, commands, requests)</i>

Martin (1981;1987); Riegel, Pellat, & Rioul (1997);Hollerbach (1994)	<i>mitigation, shock, prediction,          conjecture</i>	<i>promise,          willingness</i>	<i>orders</i>
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Epistemic modality refers to assertions that demonstrate how committed the speaker is to the truth of the proposition (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 179). Palmer (2001: 24) identifies three possible epistemic qualifications, *deduction* which is “inference from observable evidence”, *assumption* which is “inference from what is generally known” and *speculation*. The latter two are possible readings from a future form, listed in Table 2.3 (Palmer 2011:24). Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994: 179) define the three common types of epistemic modality as “possibility, probability, and inferred certainty.” Regarding the future, Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994: 248) distinguish between future certainty and future possibility. In the former category, the speaker is sure that the eventuality will occur based upon known evidence. Thus, with future possibility, the speaker expresses a lower degree of certainty for the realization of the proposed eventuality. A third future category, labeled an “expected futures” (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 249) or a scheduling future (Dahl 2000: 3), describes the use of the futurate present, as in (13).

(13) *Elle vient à cinq heures.*

She **is coming** at 5.

Categorized as epistemic, dynamic, or deontic in Table 2.3 by Riegel, Pellat, and Rioul (1997: 313-314), the IF contains deontic modal values, such as orders, and epistemic modal values, such as promises, predictions, mitigation, shock or outrage, and conjecture, illustrated in

(14). In addition to the aforementioned modal qualifications, Martin (1981: 82-83) includes a sense of willingness as a meaning of the future, shown in (14g).

(14) a. *Tu me copieras cent fois cette phrase.* [order]

You **will copy** this sentence 100 times for me.

b. *Je reviendrai.* [promise]

I **will come back.**

c. *Et les oiseaux auront le sourire* [prediction]

And the birds **will be smiling**<sup>14</sup>

d. *Ce sera tout, Madame?* [mitigation]

This **will be** all, Madame? (Hollerbach 1994:217)

e. *Quoi ! Une autoroute traversera ces bocages !* [outrage]

What ! A highway **will go** through the countryside!

f. *J'ai trouvé ce beau livre sur le bureau:*

*ce sera le cadeau d'une admiratrice.* [conjecture]

I found this beautiful book on the desk;

this **must be** a present from an admirer. (Riegel, Pellat, & Rioul 1997: 313-314)

g. *Vous l'aurez demain.* [willingness/promise]

**You'll have** it tomorrow. (Palmer 2001: 105)

Palmer (2001: 105) describes the use of the IF in French as expressing dynamic modality as a “commissive,” a category similar to Martin’s (1981:82) willingness. Dynamic modality applies

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<sup>14</sup> Riegel, Pellat, and Rioul (1997: 314) cite Pierre Delanoë for the translation of Bob Dylan’s song *When the ship comes in*. The French translation of Dylan’s song comes from Hughes Aufrey (<http://musique.ados.fr/Hugues-Aufrey/Le-Jour-Ou-Le-Bateau-Viendra-t63099.html>). The original lyric in English is “And the seagulls, they’ll be smiling” (<http://bobdylan.com/songs/when-ship-comes/>)

to the willingness or ability of the speaker. Therefore, when the IF has a “commissive” meaning, the speaker has committed to the completion of the future eventuality (Palmer 2001: 72).

Finally, in addition to the above modal qualifications of the IF, there is also the general truth reading (Martin 1981: 83), also labeled “characteristic behavior” or “timeless truths” (Larreya 2000: 118, 123), illustrated in (15).

(15) *En Amérique...une femme se mettra du maquillage et s'habillera bien pour elle-même.*<sup>15</sup>

In America...a woman **will make herself up** and **dress** elegantly for herself.

(Larreya 2000: 118)

With habitual utterances, such as in (15), the eventualities known by the speaker prior to the utterance are implicit. Additionally, Martin (1981: 83) suggests that if there is a modal reading of habitual utterances, it would be categorized as a weak *order*, citing the use of the IF with mathematical equations: *Si x = 3, on aura pour y....* ‘If x is 3, we will get \_\_\_ for y’ (Martin 1981: 83). The general truth reading has not been categorized as a modal qualification in Table 2.3, yet is a possible reading of the IF.

#### 2.4.1.2 Certainty and possibility

In English, epistemic modality is readily associated with *will* (Bybee & Pagliuca 1987; Celle 2005) In (16), the speaker hypothesizes that the person knocking on the door is John, using *will* to express this possibility.

(16) Someone is knocking. That’ll be John. (adapted from Celle 2005: 192)

In French, the IF has also been assigned epistemic modal values (Martin 1981, 1987; Confais 1995; Riegel, Pellat, & Rioul 1997; Dendale 2001; Palmer 2001; Celle 2005). Looking

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<sup>15</sup> Translation is from Larreya (2000: 118). Larreya (2000) notes that the PF and FP are also accepted when describing characteristic behaviors.

specifically at the conjectural use of the IF, scholars have shown that while the IF may contain a conjectural reading, this reading is far less frequent than the expression of conjecture with the *anterior future*<sup>16</sup> in contemporary French (Tasmowski & Dendale 1999; Dendale 2001; Celle 2005). For the IF to have a conjectural reading, there must be an eventuality that is possible, yet uncertain, that has already been mentioned in the discourse, and that the future may confirm, as in (17a) (Celle 2005: 187), or that the future may solve, as in (17b) and (17c) (Tasmowski & Dendale 1999: 332).

(17) a. *On sonne. Ce sera le facteur.*

Someone is knocking. That **will be** the mailman. (Martin 1987:117)

b. *Ça sera quelque proscrit, décida-t-elle.*

That **will be** some outcast, she decided.

c. *Ca ne sera rien.*

**It'll be** nothing. (Tasmowski & Dendale 1999: 332)

The conjectural reading of the IF is also limited to *avoir* and *être* (Tasmowski & Dendale 1999; Dendale 2001). In a study comparing epistemic *devoir* and epistemic uses of the IF, Dendale (1999) concluded that unlike the conjectural use of *devoir*, the verification of the truth of the proposition comes from the speaker when the IF is used. Therefore, Dendale (2001:18) labels epistemic IF an “alethic” marker, as it denotes the speaker’s evaluation of the truth. Furthermore, epistemic IF carries a higher degree of speaker certainty than *devoir* as this certainty can be translated into speaker confidence through calming, encouraging, assuring utterances (Dendale

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<sup>16</sup> The anterior future is formed with an auxiliary, either *être* or *avoir*, conjugated in the IF, followed by a past participle. It is often used to express supposition.

(ii) *Elle revient déjà: elle **aura manqué** son train.*

She is coming back already : She **must have missed** her train.

2001:17-18). Dendale (2001:18) suggests that the pragmatic difference between *devoir* and epistemic IF is the difference between *être certain* ‘being certain’ and *paraître certain* ‘seeming certain’.

Larreya (2000) investigated the differences between the periphrastic future and simple future in English, Italian, and French.<sup>17</sup> He suggested that in French while certain meanings, such as habitual actions, or characteristic behaviors, shown in (18) and orders, as in (19), can be expressed with any of the future variants in French, in other areas not all variants are possible.

(18) *En Amérique...une femme se mettra/va se mettre/met du maquillage.*

In America...a woman **will put on/is going to put on/puts on** makeup.

(Larreya 2000: 118)

(19) *Linda, vous m'appellerez/allez m'appeler/m'appelez ce numéro, s'il vous plait.*

Linda, you **will call me/are going to call me/call me** at this number, please.

(Larreya 2000: 119)

Areas of contrast between the future variants in French include conjecture, intention, and prediction (Larreya 2000). Larreya (2000: 126) points out that while some varieties of French make use of the PF and the IF to denote conjecture, the futurate present is the most widely used variant in conjectural utterances.<sup>18</sup> Additionally, speakers express intention by using the PF. This is not surprising since the PF grammaticalized from a construction that denoted intention due to movement, as an agent moving towards a goal.

Thus, the IF can express epistemic, dynamic, and deontic modal qualifications, such as conjecture, orders, and willingness, in addition to habitual truths, encouragement, and outrage

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<sup>17</sup> Distinctions between French, English, and Italian are based on the author's own insight (Larreya 2000).

<sup>18</sup> Larreya (2000: 126) does not list the varieties that employ the PF and the IF in conjectural utterances.

(Riegel, Pellat, & Rioul 1997: 313-314). Examples (16-19) have illustrated the conjectural uses of the IF, which include a high degree of speaker confidence in the outcome of the eventuality.

The focus now turns to possible temporal and aspectual distinctions between the future variants.

**2.4.1.3. Temporal, and Aspectual Distinctions of the IF and PF**

This section provides an overview of the temporal and aspectual qualification of the PF and the IF, summarized in Table 2.4. Beginning with the temporal distinctions, Poplack and Dion (2009: 568) found that 59% of grammarians from 1530 to 1999 associate proximity with the PF. *Le bon usage* (Grevisse &Goosse 2011: 1092) also assigns a proximal reading to the PF, noting that with more distant eventualities, the eventuality must be inevitable, such as death: *Je vais mourir*, ‘I am going to die.’

Table 2.4. *Temporal and Aspectual Distinctions of the IF and the PF*

PF	IF
Temporal	
Proximate eventualities (Poplack & Dion 2009: 568) Linked to present (Söll 1983; Sundell 1991; Confais 1995; Helland 1997) Anchored in the present (Jeanjean 1988) Continuation of the present (Gagnon 1990) Distal eventualities in informal speech (Gougenheim 1971: 107)	Distal eventualities (Dahl 2000; Gadet 2010)
Aspectual	
Present Relevance (Fleischman 1982: 95-98) Intention, assumed eventualities, inception Preparatory phase Steps taken in the present to the realization of a future eventuality (Vet 1993)	Steps not yet taken in the present to the realization of a future eventuality (Vet 1993)

Implication Theory  
Pre-existing circumstances (Larrey 2000)

No pre-existing circumstances (either variant  
is optional) (Larreya 2000)

It has also been suggested that the PF is anchored in the present (Jeanjean 1988; Blanche-Benveniste 2010), a continuation of the present (Gagnon 1990), or linked to the present (Söll 1983; Sundell 1991; Confais 1995; Helland 1997). Confais (1995) argues that while the PF is linked to the present, it does not always have to coincide with a proximate eventuality. Thus, while the PF is traditionally linked with the present and renders a proximal reading, the IF is linked with remote events (Dahl 2000; Gadet 2010). In contrast, Gougenheim (1971: 107) suggests that the PF can occur with distal eventualities in familiar, less formal speech.

Turning to the aspectual distinctions in Table 2.4, Fleischman (1982: 95-98) notes that, since both the PF and the IF are compatible with proximal and distal future eventualities, the distinguishing meaning between the variants is not one of temporal proximity but of present relevance, which is neither temporal nor modal in nature. Present relevance consists of values inherent to the PF, such as intention, assumed events, and inception, which “presuppose a volitional agent and that the seeds of the future have already been planted in the present” (Fleishman 1982: 96).<sup>19</sup> The qualities of imminence and inception refer to the ability of the PF to link the prospective eventuality with the present. The examples in (20) illustrate the inchoative nature of the PF as compared with the durative nature of the IF, such that the meaning of (20a) implies the child will have been crying before entering.

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<sup>19</sup> A “volitional agent” is not uncommon with movement verb futures, such as the PF, as “the subject is on a path moving toward a goal.” The notion of a “volitional agent” has also been associated with agent-oriented modalities, such as desire, willingness, or obligation that appear in various contexts with IF, stemming from the original sense of the periphrastic future formed with HABERE in Latin (Bybee & Pagliuca 1987:117). However, in present relevance, a volitional agent refers to the active participant involved in the inception of the eventuality.

(20) a. *Si tu entres, elle pleurera.*

If you go in, **she'll cry**.<sup>20</sup>

b. *Si tu entres, elle va pleurer.*

If you go in, she **is going to cry**. (Schogt 1964:7, cited in Fleischman 1982:94)

The ability of the PF to convey inchoativity is due to its link with the present. Additionally, to illustrate the ability of the PF to include present reference, Vet (1993: 74) compares the examples in (21a) and (21b).

(21) a. *Je vois que Pierre va se fâcher.*

I see that Pierre **is going to be angry**.

b. *Je vois que Pierre se fâchera.*

I see that Pierre **will be angry**. (Vet 1993: 74)

In (21a), the speaker is actively seeing the change in Pierre as he becomes angry. Yet, in (21b), the verb *voir* denotes an understanding or belief that at some point in time in the future Pierre will be angry, but the change is not happening right now as it is with the PF.

Vet (1993:75) theorizes that the difference between (22a) and (22b) hinges upon whether conditions have been met for the act of writing to be in what he calls “the preparatory phase.” In (22a), the act of writing is in the preparatory phase, yet in (22b), it is not. Therefore, a speaker using the PF expresses a higher level of certainty over the realization of the described eventuality, as he is personally involved in the preparatory phase.

(22) a. *Je vais écrire cette lettre.*

**I am going to write** this letter.

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<sup>20</sup> Translations are from Fleischman (1982: 94).

b. *J'écrirai cette lettre.*

I **will write** this letter.

(Vet 1993: 75)

Similarly, other scholars have proposed that the speaker's level of certainty is lower with the IF than the PF. Thus, an assertion given in the IF represents a future eventuality for which the speaker cannot provide evidence at the time of utterance (Franckel 1984; Confais 1995: 399; Celle 2005: 187). Conversely, use of the PF suggests that the speaker has proof to support the assertion. Confais (1995: 399) illustrates this point with the examples in (23a) and (23b). In (23a), the speaker knows that Marie is pregnant, based upon previous discourse or extra-linguistic clues. For example, she might have shared this news with the speaker, or he may have deduced this from her appearance. In (23b), the use of the IF suggests that Marie's having a baby is less certain.

(23) a. *Marie va avoir un bébé.*

Marie is going to have a baby.

b. *Marie aura un bébé.*

Marie will have a baby.

(Confais 1995:399)

Speaker involvement or subjectivity is also associated with speaker certainty (Fleischman 1982; Vet 1993). Fleischman (1982: 97) argues that the PF is subjective, as it "presupposes a degree of participation, interest, or personal involvement in the event." The speaker's subjectivity of an event is illustrated in (24) where the use of the PF highlights the speaker's personal certainty of the arrival of his friend.

(24) *Dès qu'il viendra – car il va venir –*

As soon as **he comes** – and he **is going to come**. (Fleischman 1982: 97, her translation)

Damourette and Pichon (1911-1936: 109-111) and Schrott (2001) have also applied the term “*allure extraordinaire*” to the PF, suggesting that the non-temporal uses of the PF illustrate the speaker’s opinion of the realization of the eventuality, which is based upon the speaker’s involvement in the conditions leading up to the proposed eventuality.

According to Larreya (2000: 122-125), the key difference of modal usage between the IF and PF is prediction based on implication. When the IF is used, the expression denotes a “necessary consequence,” or an implication, such that condition (A) implies a consequence (B), represented as  $A \Rightarrow B$  (Larreya 2000: 121). The speaker establishes a link between two sets of facts, one of which may be known to the speaker, or believed by the speaker. In (25a), the speaker believes that if the interlocutor resigns, the action will be regretted. This is contrasted with the use of the PF in (25b), which expresses assumption through necessary consequence, yet the set of facts known to the speaker are actually pre-existing conditions.

(25) a. *Alors tu veux démissionner ! Tu le regretteras/vas le regretter.*

‘So you want to resign! You **will regret** it.’ (\*are going to regret it)

b. *Alors tu as démissionné ! Tu vas le regretter.*

‘So you resigned! You **are going to regret** it!’ (I’m sure **you’ll regret** it!)<sup>21</sup>

(Larreya 2000: 117)

The crucial difference is that the act of resigning has not yet occurred in (25a), while in (25b), the interlocutor has resigned, thus creating pre-existing circumstances. Larreya (2000: 121) hypothesizes that in French, the PF is accepted with implications and pre-existing situations since imperfectivity is neutralized in French where, for example, *il mange* can mean either *he’s*

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<sup>21</sup> Larreya (2000: 117) notes the acceptance of *will* in English in due to its modal qualifications.

*eating* or *he eats*. The situation in (25a) is perfective, as there are no pre-existing conditions, and thus no habitual, continuous, or iterative eventualities. In (25b), the act of resigning has already happened, therefore, the state of being resigned occurred prior to the utterance. Thus, an imperfective marker (*aller* + infinitive) is used with *regretter*. Figures 2.1 and 2.2 illustrate the difference in reference points for each utterance in (25). In Figure 2.1, the time of utterance is represented by TU. Thus, there are no pre-existing circumstances, so a perfective marker is used, either the IF or the PF. In Figure 2.2, the reference point is included in the pre-existing circumstances, which limits the future variant to PF since it can also act as an imperfective marker.

Figure 2.1. *Implication and the IF or the PF*



Figure 2.2. *Pre-existing circumstances and the PF*



(adapted from Larreya 2000: 124)

Larreya's (2000) implication theory is not unlike Vet's (1993) "preparatory phase" theory, as the distinction between the IF and the PF is based upon whether previous conditions have been met prior to the realization of the future eventuality.

Therefore, what has been shown in examples (20-25), then, is that the PF and the IF contain both temporal and aspectual qualities, in addition to the modal values discussed in Section 2.4.1. Both variants denote proximal and distal eventualities and some qualities inherent to the PF, such as imminence, inception, and intention, which cannot be defined temporally or aspectually. Hence, Fleischman (1982) proposes present relevance as an area of specialization of the PF, whereas Vet (1993) defines the PF as a marker of prospective aspect that includes a preparatory phase, and Larreya (2000) suggests that the distinction between the PF and the IF is based upon implication. Overall, uncertainty and reference to hypothetical or distal eventualities are values proposed for the IF. In contrast, proximal eventualities, subjectivity, and speaker certainty are commonly associated with the PF.

## **2.5. Conclusion**

This chapter has shown that the Latin synthetic BO-future, like AMABO, came from the Proto-Indo-European analytic form, \*AMA-BHO. In the Late Latin period, the Latin *have*-future replaced the synthetic BO-future form. This most likely occurred due to the phonological merger of the [b] and [w], which neutralized the perfect and future conjugations (Anderson & Rochet 1979: 184; Fleischman 1982: 41; Posner 1997: 320) and the desire for a single means of expressing future in all four conjugation classes, rather than the two existing means, namely, the BO-future for the first conjugation -ARE verbs and the -AM future for second, third, and fourth conjugation verbs (Fleischman 1982: 41; Posner 1996: 177). Before its disappearance, the Latin

BO-future most likely co-existed with the *praesens pro futuro*, the futurate present, and a periphrastic future, the *have* future. Illustrated in Section 2.2.1, diachronic and synchronic phases of the evolution of future verb forms go through an analytic-synthetic cycle. During a diachronic phase, a change takes place over a period of time, in this case the transition from an analytic form to a synthetic form. During the synchronic phases, speakers employ both the analytic and synthetic forms. The analytic and synthetic cycle, then, continues as the synthetic, inflected future form in Modern French emerged from the analytic *have* future form in Latin.

Section 2.2.2 outlined the semantic change, the affixation of grammaticalizing morphemes, the decategorialization of morphosyntactic properties, such that the grammatical morpheme lost its syntactic features involved in the evolution of the *have* future in Latin to the inflected future in Modern French (Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca 1994: 106; Lamiroy 1999: 37). It was shown that HABEO, in the analytic form AMAREHABEO, evolved from a main verb denoting possession to an auxiliary containing a sense of obligation, such as *to have to do something*, thereby undergoing semantic bleaching. The transition of HABEO from a main verb to an auxiliary also illustrates the decategorialization of morphosyntactic properties as HABEO no longer functions as a major syntactic element (e.g. main verb). The transition of HABEO to the inflected future in Modern French, *aimerai*, illustrates the affixation of grammaticalizing morphemes.

This chapter also detailed the grammaticalization process involved in the creation of the Modern French periphrastic form, *aller* + an infinitive. Section 2.2.3 outlined the process by which a movement verb, *aller* ‘to go,’ grammaticalized into a future variant, losing its spatial meaning, yet while retaining a sense of intention, such as an “agent is on a path moving toward a

goal' (Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca 1994:268). In addition to the futurate present, the future variants, the IF and the PF, coexisted before the sixteenth century, summarized in the timeline in Section 2.3.

Section 2.4 of this chapter considered the various modal and temporal qualifications of the future variants. The IF is associated with epistemic modality, occasionally denoting conjecture, possibility, and prediction (Martin 1981, 1987; Riegel, Pellat, & Rioul 1997; Hollerbach 1994; Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca 1994; Palmer 2001). Temporally, scholars link the PF with more proximal eventualities due to its tie to the present (Söll 1983; Sundell 1991; Confais 1995; Helland 1997), while the IF is associated with distal eventualities (Dahl 2000; Gadet 2010). However, Fleischman (1983) and Vet (1993) suggest that a binary temporal classification of the PF and IF, such as the use with distal or proximal eventualities, may not be the most accurate distinction. Instead, non-temporal distinctions may be more accurate such as the use of both PF and IF with implications, while the IF tends not to be used with pre-existing situations (Larreya 2000). Similarly, Vet (1993) notes that steps must be taken in the present toward the realization of the future eventuality for a speaker to employ the PF. Fleischman (1982) associates the PF with intention, assumed eventualities, and inception in her theory of "present relevance."

Overall, this chapter has traced the evolution of the IF from Latin and the PF from a movement verb and considered the modal, temporal and aspectual distinctions of the future variants. In the following chapter, these distinctions will be operationalized into possible conditioning factors in the selection of the IF and the PF for the quantitative analysis of this study.

### 3.1. Introduction

Since the 17<sup>th</sup> century grammarians have attempted to define the function of the future temporal reference variants in French, assigning proximal values to the PF and the notion of uncertainty to the IF (Poplack & Dion 2009). In contrast, variationist studies have shown that these semantic qualifications do not always apply each time a speaker employs the PF or the IF (e.g. Poplack & Turpin 1999; Poplack & Dion 2009). These variationist studies, then, illustrate that “the distinctions [in] grammatical function among different surface forms can be neutralized in discourse,” and thus, it is only “upon reflection” that speakers may hypothesize why one variant was preferred (Sankoff 1988: 153). Therefore, the present study performs a quantitative analysis to identify the linguistic and extra-linguistic environments that condition the selection of the PF or the IF. Where possible, the grammarians’ distinctions between the variants are operationalized, for example, by investigating the link between neutrality, which Grimm (2010: 84) defines as a “psychological separation with the event,” and the IF (Confais 1995; Sundell 1991; Poplack & Dion 2009) by creating a grammatical person factor group that codes for inanimate and animate subjects. However, some semantic attributes are more difficult to operationalize, such as the notion of certainty, which is often assigned to the PF (Fleischman 1982; Confais 1995; Poplack & Dion 2009). Some Canadian French studies (Poplack & Turpin 1999; King & Nadasdi 2003; Grimm & Nadasdi 2011; Comeau 2015) and one Hexagonal French

study (Edmonds & Gudmestad 2015) tested the notion of certainty by coding for the presence of a certainty marker (*certainement* ‘certainly’). However, the certainty factor group was not always a significant conditioning environment in these studies (Poplack & Turpin 1999; Grimm & Nadasdi 2011; Comeau 2015), since speakers do not always indicate certainty or uncertainty with an adverb. Thus, the quantitative analysis will be followed by a qualitative analysis in Chapter 5 that further investigates the role of the discourse context.

This chapter presents a quantitative analysis of the semantic and syntactic properties of the future temporal reference variants. This analysis includes factors relating to the verb (verb class, verb irregularity and transitivity), the subject (grammatical person), and to the sentence (polarity). Semantic factors that take into account the broader discourse context include temporal distance and adverbial specification. In Chapter 4, a separate multivariate analysis tests the significance of the social factors of age, sex, and educational level on variant selection. Chapter 5 investigates the potential pragmatic factors, such as certainty, contingency, subjectivity, and conversation topic. This chapter is organized as follows. Section 3.2 describes the selected corpora. Next, Section 3.3 defines the variable context by outlining the tokens excluded from the quantitative analysis. Section 3.4 reveals the overall distribution of variants, which is compared with previous Hexagonal French studies (Jeanjean 1988; Fleury & Branca-Rosoff 2010; Roberts 2012; Abouda & Skrovec 2015; Edmonds & Gudmestad 2015; Villeneuve & Comeau 2016) and Canadian French studies (Emirikian & Sankoff 1986; Zimmer 1994; Chevalier 1996; Poplack & Turpin 1999; King & Nadasdi 2003; Grimm 2010; Grimm & Nadasdi 2011; Wagner & Sankoff 2011; Comeau 2015; Grimm 2016) in an effort to situate the present study in terms of the global use of French future temporal reference. The present study divides the results into two

sections. Section 3.5 presents and discusses the quantitative results of the significant linguistic factors. Then, Section 3.6 examines the linguistic factors that were not statistically significant. Finally, Section 3.7 concludes this chapter by providing a summary of the quantitative results of the linguistic factors.

### 3.2. Corpora

The present study extracted tokens of the future variants from two corpora: the Montpellier - Rognes Corpus (Ranson 2005-2006) (henceforth CMR) and the *Projet de la Phonologie du Français Contemporain* (henceforth PFC) (Durand, Laks & Lyche 2002, 2009). As this study concentrates on the speech of southern France, data were taken only from speakers who were originally from southern France. As outlined in Table 3.1, the CMR contained 16 hours and 15 minutes of interviews with speakers from southern France. There were 16 female participants and 14 male participants. The PFC contained 10 hours and 45 minutes of interviews with speakers from southern France. The interviews included 29 female participants and 21 male participants.

Table 3.1. *Summary of Corpora*

Corpus	Speakers		Time
CMR	Female: 16 Male: 14	Total: 30	16 hrs. 15 mins
PFC	Female: 29 Male: 21	Total: 50	10 hrs. 45 mins
Total	Female: <b>45</b> Male: <b>35</b>	Total: <b>80</b>	<b>27 hrs.</b>

The combined corpora contained 27 hours of interviews with 80 participants. Thirty-one (38.8%) of the participants were between 18 and 39 years old, while forty-nine (61.2%) were between 40 and 82. The majority of the participants had passed their *baccalauréat* (67.5%).<sup>22</sup> The participants in the CMR were from the cities of Montpellier or Rognes or the surrounding regions. Participants in the PFC corpus were from the southern towns of Biarritz, Douzens, Toulouse, Lacaune, Aix-Marseille, Marseille, and Rodez. Not all of the southern towns are in close proximity. Montpellier (143 km), Marseille (50 km), and Aix-Marseille (22 km) are less than one hundred miles from Rognes; yet, Biarritz (680 km), Toulouse (378 km), Rodez (315 km), Lacaune (279 km), and Douzens (267 km) are over 150 miles from Rognes.

It is important to consider the context in addition to the demographic metadata in order to account for the possible pragmatic and semantic constraints on the selection of the PF or the IF (Pichler 2010). Table 3.2 provides an outline of the contextual factors that may affect variant selection.

Table 3.2. *Contextual Metadata* (adapted from Pichler 2010: 587)<sup>23</sup>

Factor	Textual metadata	Examples
Discourse	Speech event	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>One to one/one to many</b></li> <li>• <b>Spontaneous/ not spontaneous</b></li> <li>• <b>Structured/ unstructured</b></li> <li>• <b>Discussion/narrative</b></li> </ul>
Semantic	Topic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>General/ specific</b></li> <li>• <b>Prepared/ not prepared</b></li> </ul>

<sup>22</sup> The *baccalauréat* is a group of exams taken by 18 year olds, which when passed, qualifies students to continue at the university level. Passing the *baccalauréat* can be compared to earning a high school diploma in the United States.

<sup>23</sup> See Pichler (2010: 587) for the complete table. Factors that were not recorded in the meta data for the corpora used in this study were removed. For example, the “physical” factor was removed, since the author of the present study could not distinguish the physical distance between the speakers by listening to the interviews.

Social	Speaker Roles/Relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Peers/</u> <b>interviewer/interviewee</b></li> </ul>
Psychological	Speaker attitudes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Objective/subjective</b></li> <li>• <b>Phatic/informational</b></li> </ul>
Stylistic	Formality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Formal/informal</u></li> </ul>

The examples of the contextual factors in bold in Table 3.2 highlight the factors that remain constant for each speaker in both corpora. In each situation, there is one interviewer and one or more interviewees. None of the conversations is structured or guided and the interviewer participates in each conversation. The topics of conversation were not preplanned by the interviewer. Some of the conversations contained general topics, such as weather or upcoming events within the city. Other topics were more specific, such as a participant's upcoming trip or future work. Similarly, the general topics tended to be more informational while some of the specific topics were personal, evoking opinions and demonstrating the speaker's attitude towards the topic.

In Table 3.2, the underlined contextual factors indicate areas where the corpora may differ. There were often friends, cousins, or other family members present during the PFC interviews. This allowed for more discussion among the interviewees than a one-on-one scenario between an interviewer and an interviewee. Also, the interviewer in the PFC was often a peer, either a friend or family member of the participant.<sup>24</sup> Because of the presence of family members and friends in many of the PFC interviews, the unguided discussions tended to be more informal.

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<sup>24</sup> When the interviewer was a friend or family member, they were categorized as a participant with ample metadata. Additionally, when a family member served as an interviewer, there was a PFC representative present. Information regarding participants' backgrounds and the nature of the interview is stored under each participant's identification code. To view an example of a participant's metadata that contains multiple interviewers, see "commentaires informelles" <http://research.projet-pfc.net/locuteurs.php?id=179>.

The PFC participants used the second person singular pronoun *tu* with each other; whereas in the CMR, the interviewer was always, with one exception, addressed with formal *vous*.

Table 3.3 shows the usage rates of the future variants for each corpus. The CMR displays a slightly lower usage rate of the PF (53.3%) than that of the PFC (60.3%). Consequently, the IF occurred slightly more in the CMR (46.7%) than in the PFC (39.7%). However, the difference in the distribution of the future variants between the two corpora was not significant ( $\chi^2 = 2.19$ ;  $p = 0.14$ ).

Table 3.3. *Distribution of the PF and the IF across the Corpora*

Corpus	CMR	PFC	Total
PF	136 53.3%	117 60.3%	253 56.3%
IF	119 46.7%	77 39.7%	196 43.7%
Total	255	194	449
$\chi^2 = 2.19$ ; $p = 0.14$			

The presentation of the contextual metadata in Table 3.2 and the future variant distribution in Table 3.3 provide the background of the present corpora. The qualitative analysis in Chapter 5 that will take into account the possible contextual factors, such as topic or subjectivity, as conditioning the use of the future variants.

### 3.3. Envelope of Variation

Following variationist methodology, when two or more linguistic variants are compared, the “envelope of variation,” or the variable context where both variants can occur, must be defined (Torres-Cacoullos 2011; Tagliamonte 2012). In accordance with Schwenter and Torres-Cacoullos (2008), to include all possible meanings and functions of the future variants, the

present study defines the variable context in a broad manner. The present analysis takes a form-to-function approach to defining the envelope of variation since the focus is only on the future temporal reference expressed by the PF and IF. The present study considers the discourse surrounding each token of future temporal reference as it often contains clues to the reference time of the proposed eventuality, provides evidence for non-temporal uses of the future variants (i.e. epistemic modality), discussed in Chapter 5, and indicates the speaker's attitudes towards the proposed eventuality, such as speaker certainty, also discussed in Chapter 5.

### 3.3.1 Exclusions

The temporal uses of the future variants have been a central focus of variationist studies for some time (e.g. Poplack & Turpin 1999; King & Nadasdi 2003; Roberts 2012). Therefore, all tokens of future variants that do not contain future temporal reference were excluded from the quantitative analysis. The present analysis excluded fixed expressions that did not show subject variation, did not vary between the PF or IF, and did not function temporally within the utterance. Illustrated in (1), expressions such as *on va dire*, *il faudra*, and *ça va aller* (N=31) were excluded.

(1) *Je parle avec l'accent, on va dire, de Toulouse.* [12MM65]

I speak with the accent, **we'll say**, from Toulouse.

Habitual actions (N=12), in (2), were also removed as they do not refer to a future eventuality.

Additionally, the present study excluded utterances that contained *aller* denoting spatial movement (N=5), as in (3) and in the imperative example in (4).

(2) *Les Hollandais viennent..., ils vont venir au mois de avril mi-juin, et juillet août ils repartent chez eux parce qu'il fait vraiment trop chaud ici.* [5RM45]

The Dutch come...., they **are going to come** in April, mid-June, and July, August, they go back home again because it is really too hot here.

- (3) *Je vais voir J. dans la chambre d'à côté.* [4MF50]

I **am going to see** J. in the next room.

- (4) *Tu as vu la photo ? Va voir la photo là-bas.* [Lauc81acc1]

Did you see the picture ? **Go see** the picture over there.

Additionally, since all tokens that referred to an eventuality that was set to occur after the speech time were retained, there were two instances where the future variant contained epistemic modality in the form of conjecture. In the present study, these two instances of an unambiguous epistemic reading with the IF, in (5), were not considered in the quantitative analysis, but were retained for the pragmatic analysis.

- (5) *Oui, il y a, en tout cas il y a une raison....Je ne sais pas si c'est exactement celle que je vous dis mais je crois que ça sera, que ça .... ça a un rapport avec ça parce que sinon il n'y a aucune raison qu'ils aient un animal ...* [13MF26]

Yes, there is, in any case, there is a reason... I don't know if it's exactly the one I'm telling you, but I believe that **this must be**, that this...this has a connection with this because if not, there is no reason that they have an animal...

The corpora also contained temporal future variants that had epistemic values, accompanied by adverbs or phrases, such as *peut-être* 'maybe' or *je ne sais pas* 'I don't know.' These instances were retained in the quantitative analysis to investigate possible grammaticalization paths of the IF. It is possible that the IF may be used in epistemic contexts in French, even though this use is far less frequent than in English (Celle 2005) or in Spanish (Aaron 2014). Aaron (2014: 235)

provides evidence for the continued grammaticalization of the synthetic future in a diachronic study of Spanish, reporting that with “the bleaching of intentionality (and certainty) in 17<sup>th</sup> century [synthetic future] usage allowed the [synthetic future’s] nearly dormant epistemic meaning to gain salience.” Therefore, in order to fully define the future variants, all cases of the IF, or the PF, that contain both temporal and modal values will be considered in the quantitative analysis.

### 3.4. Overall Distribution of Variants

Having excluded the tokens of the PF or the IF that do not denote future temporal reference or that do not contain any variation (N=49), it is possible to answer the first part of Research Question 1 which asked for the rates of usage for the future temporal reference variants. Of the 449 tokens considered the rate of usage of the PF accounted for 56.3% of these tokens and the IF for 43.7%, as shown in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4 *Overall Distribution of Variants*

	N=	%
Inflected Future (IF)	196	43.7
Periphrastic Future (PF)	253	56.3
Total	449	100%

With respect to the second part of Research Question 1: How do these rates compare with other French varieties? The distribution of future variants in the present analysis does not differ from that of other studies of Hexagonal French in the same time period. In Figure 3.1, the distribution percentages of the present analysis, marked by an arrow, are compared with those of other spoken Hexagonal French studies<sup>25</sup> (Jeanjean 1988; Fleury & Branca-Rosoff 2010; Roberts

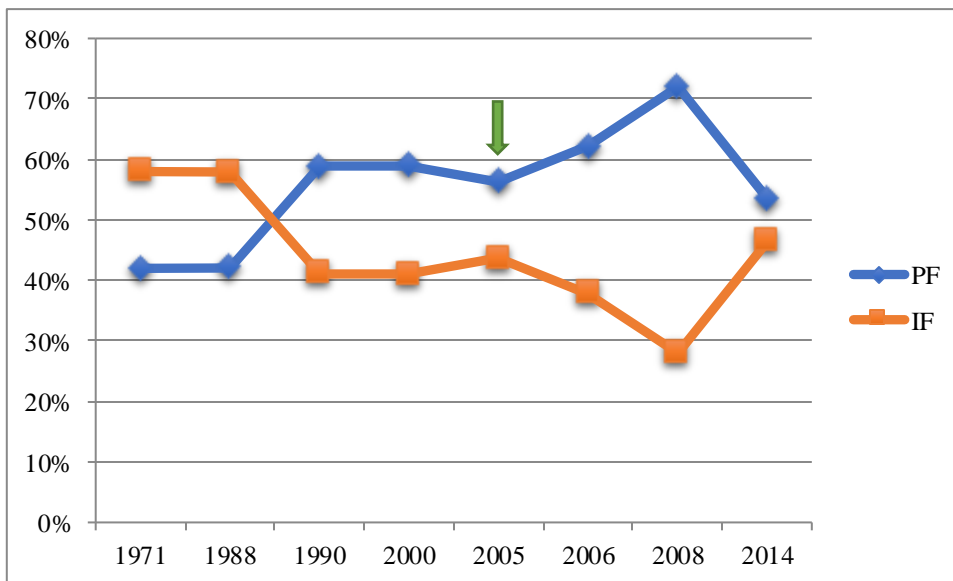
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<sup>25</sup> See Appendix A for a complete summary of each study.

2012; Abouda & Skrovec 2015; Edmonds & Gudmestad 2015; Villeneuve & Comeau 2016).

Beginning in 1971, the Hexagonal French studies demonstrate a low percentage of the IF, 28% in 2008 (*les Enquêtes sociolinguistiques à Orléans* (ESLO2): Abouda & Skrovec 2015). In comparison with the previous Hexagonal French studies, the present analysis contains the highest percentage of the IF (43.6%) since 1971 (IF 58%; *les Enquêtes sociolinguistiques à Orléans* (ESLO1): Abouda & Skrovec 2015). However, in 2014, the gap between the PF and the IF narrows, illustrated by Edmonds and Gudmestad's (2015) study of a corpus from southwest France. It is important to note, then, that the two studies, since 1988, the present analysis and Edmonds and Gudmestad (2015), that report a higher percentage (44% and 46%, respectively) of the IF are based on copora from Southern France. These results indicate that Southern French speakers may use the IF as a higher rate than Northern French speakers.

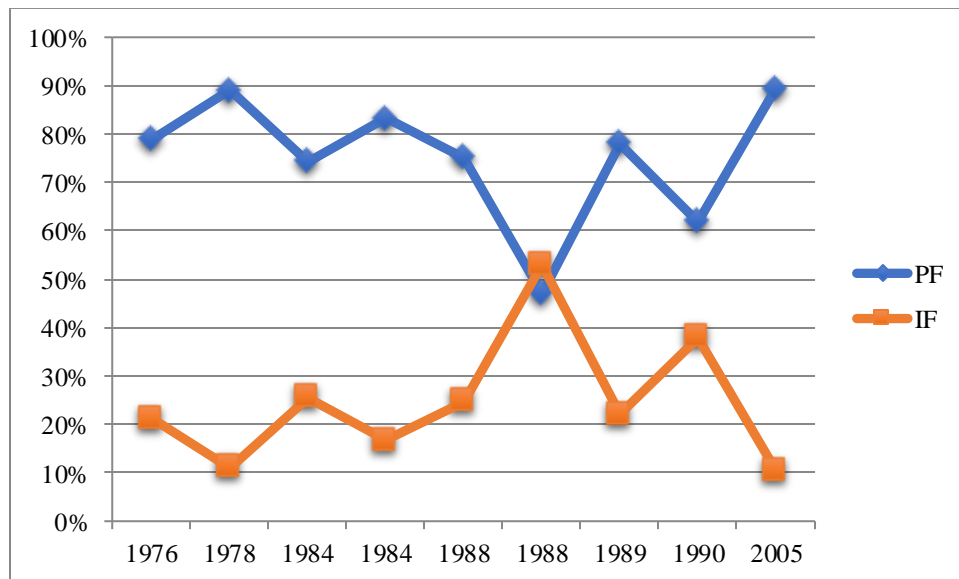
Figure 3.1 *Distribution of the PF and the IF in Hexagonal French studies*<sup>26</sup>



<sup>26</sup> The present data, marked by the arrow, were recorded in 2002 and then from 2005-2006. The 1988 data comes from two studies (Jeanjean 1988; Bilger 2001), who both investigated the corpus by Groupe Aixois de recherche en

Figure 3.2 displays the distribution of the PF and the IF in Canadian French corpora dating from 1976 to 2005 (Emirikian & Sankoff 1986; Zimmer 1994; Chevalier 1996; Poplack & Turpin 1999; King & Nadasdi 2003; Grimm 2010; Grimm & Nadasdi 2011; Wagner & Sankoff 2011; Comeau 2015; Grimm 2016). Future temporal reference in varieties of French from Canada is overwhelmingly expressed by the PF. The exception to this trend is the 1988 Acadian French corpus from Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, which contains a “conservative” variety of Canadian French (King & Nadasdi 2003: 323). Another Acadian French corpus from 1990 (Comeau 2015) revealed a higher percentage of the IF (38%) than other Canadian French varieties, yet, the PF appeared at a higher rate.

Figure 3.2. *Distribution of the PF and the IF in Canadian French studies*




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syntaxe (GARS) from the Université de Provence. The GARS corpus contains interviews dating from 1975 (Bilger 2002).

The comparison of Hexagonal French and Canadian French studies illustrates the different developmental trends of the two French varieties. The more conservative varieties of Canadian French (King & Nadasdi 2003; Comeau 2015) exhibit future variant distributions with more nearly equal percentages of the PF and IF similar to those of Hexagonal French. Yet, the majority of the Canadian French studies reveal very low usage rates of the IF (Emirikian & Sankoff 1986; Zimmer 1994; Chevalier 1996; Poplack & Turpin 1999; Grimm 2010; Grimm & Nadasdi 2011; Wagner & Sankoff 2011; Grimm 2016); while the present analysis and the Hexagonal French studies indicate a relatively more frequent use of the IF (Jeanjean 1988; Fleury & Branca-Rosoff 2010; Roberts 2012; Abouda & Skrovec 2015; Edmonds & Gudmestad 2015; Villeneuve & Comeau 2016). In the following section, the quantitative analysis reveals whether the effects of the linguistic constraints on the future temporal reference variants are the same for both varieties.

### **3.5. Quantitative Analysis**

In accordance with variationist methodology, the data are analyzed using a variable rule tool that determines the effect of each factor group on the dependent variable, which in turn allows the analyst to create rules for the use of one variant over another. The present study used the statistical tool Goldvarb X (Sankoff, Tagliamonte, & Smith 2005), which is a variable rule analysis program that employs a stepwise logistic regression model to predict the probability of the dependent variable. During the “stepping up/stepping down” procedure, Goldvarb X retains the factor groups that are statistically significant, while rejecting those selected as not significant. Goldvarb X also assigns factor weights to the levels within a factor group, revealing a hierarchy of factor levels and factor groups that condition the dependent variable. This constraint ranking

for each factor will indicate whether the proposed linguistic or extra-linguistic hypotheses are supported.

While Goldvarb X is a good fit for this study, it is not without its drawbacks. First, Goldvarb X works best when the dependent variable is binomial, as it is with the present study (i.e. PF vs IF). Goldvarb X cannot perform statistical tests when a factor group contains fewer than two tokens.<sup>27</sup> This means that the analyst may need to conflate factor levels. Additionally, Goldvarb X is very particular with the type of coding string it will compute. For example, this program will not accept continuous factor groups such as age or lexical items such as individual names (Tagliamonte 2012). The coding issues with Goldvarb X are often easily solved by re-thinking factor group levels, when only one or zero tokens exist in a level, or by creating groups for age since continuous data are not accepted.

Another drawback is that Goldvarb X is a fixed-effects logistic regression model, which means that it does not take into consideration the effect of the individual as distinct from gender, age, or another group membership (Paolillo 2013: 90). When considering the effect of the individual, it is important to remember the basis of variationist theory, which states that the individual is a representative of a speech community (Labov 1963). Furthermore, variationist studies (Sankoff, Blondeau & Charity 2001: 153; Tagliamonte 2012) have shown that most speakers remain consistent with the linguistic trends for their community and extra-linguistic group (i.e. age, sex, education level). Therefore, to mitigate the effects of the individual within the present study's statistical analysis, speakers will be grouped by age, sex, and education level.

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<sup>27</sup> Goldvarb X uses Chi-squares, or  $G^2$ , calculations to predict the probability of the dependent variable. Chi-squares are not reliable when the token count for a given factor level is below 5 (Paolillo 2013: 99). If a factor group consistently has fewer than 5 tokens in a given factor level and these levels cannot be conflated, then the Fisher's exact test may be used to show statistical significance.

The present study will also employ the statistical program JMP Pro to test effects of individual speaker and compare these results with those of the extra-linguistic groupings in Goldvarb X. Finally, the statistical analysis of the extra-linguistic factors will be conducted separately from the linguistic factors in order to limit the possibility of significant factors being found to be non-significant or non-significant factors being reported as significant (Tagliamonte 2012: 130-131; Roberts 2015: 59-60)<sup>28</sup> and to be uniform with previous French variationist studies (Roberts 2015: 60; e.g. Poplack & Turpin 1999; Poplack & Dion 2009; Roberts 2012). Furthermore, the results of the quantitative analysis of the social factors will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Ultimately, the goal of the quantitative analysis is to test the predictions made about the data, revealing which factor groups constrain the use of the PF or the IF. Therefore, to understand the meaning and function of the future variants, the present study coded for the linguistic factors of TEMPORAL DISTANCE, GRAMMATICALPERSON, VERB CLASS, POLARITY, TRANSITIVITY, ADVERBIAL SPECIFICATION, and VERB IRREGULARITY. The following sections presents the previous literature for each linguistic factor followed by the overall output of the multivariate analysis and a description of the individual factor group results.

### **3.5.1. Linguistic Factors**

In accordance with the previous variationist studies and the traditional values assigned by grammarians to the future variants, the present analysis selected the factor groups of TEMPORAL DISTANCE, GRAMMATICALPERSON, VERB CLASS, POLARITY, TRANSITIVITY, ADVERBIAL SPECIFICATION, and VERB IRREGULARITY as possible predictors in the selection of IF or PF. The results of the variable rule analysis revealed that only TEMPORAL DISTANCE, GRAMMATICAL

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<sup>28</sup> Tagliamonte (2012: 130) notes that Type II errors, finding factors not significant when they are in fact significant is more common in random effects models than in fixed-effects models, such as Goldvarb X.

PERSON, VERB CLASS, and POLARITY were significant in predicting the use of the future variants. The following subsections discuss the selection of each factor group, present a hypothesis based upon the previous literature for the factor group, and examine the results of the variable rule analysis for each factor group.

### **3.5.1.1. Grammatical Person: Previous Studies and Coding**

According to descriptive grammarians (Confais 1995; Sundell 1991) and some variationist studies (Poplack & Dion 2009; Wales 2002), the IF is the more formal variant, associated with written contexts and formal discourse. Other descriptive accounts link the PF with subjectivity, personal involvement and volition (Fleischman 1982; Bybee & Pagliuca 1987; Vet 1993). Additionally, Gougenheim (1971: 98-99) found that in written theatrical dialogues, the PF occurred more often in spoken discourse especially with first person singular, *je*. Wales (2002: 90) also noted a high rate of the first person singular with the PF in written quotations in newspapers. Grimm (2010) found that the first person subjects favor the PF, whereas Roberts (2012) and Poplack and Turpin (1999) showed that formal *vous* favored IF. Additionally, Poplack and Turpin (1999: 149) found that subjects other than formal *vous* did not favor nor disfavor the IF or the PF. In newspaper advertisements that address the reader with *vous*, the IF occurred frequently, yet as a factor group, grammatical person did not constrain variant selection in a study of written French future variation (Wales 2002: 81).<sup>29</sup> In a study of televised weather bulletins of Hexagonal and Canadian French, Blondeau and Labeau (2016: 251-252) reported a favoring of the IF with pronouns and a disfavoring of the PF with nominal subjects in the Quebec corpus. Grammatical person was not significant in the Hexagonal French corpus of

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<sup>29</sup> Wales (2002) noted that newspaper articles contain primarily third person subjects.

prepared weather reports (Blondeau & Labeau 2016: 252). Finally, a Hexagonal French study (Bilger 2001: 188) reported a high usage rate of the IF with *on*, *ce*, and *ça*, while the PF occurred more frequently with *qui*, as in *il y a ... qui*, ‘there are ... who.’ The present study hypothesizes that the PF will favor first person subjects, while formal *vous* will favor IF. However, the present study also predicts that non-volitional subjects will be linked to the IF and volitional subjects to the PF. The grammatical person factor group was therefore divided into eleven categories: a) formal *vous* b) *je* c) *on* meaning *nous* d) general *on* e) *nous* f) *tu*, *il/s*, *elle/s*, plural *vous* g) animate nominal subject h) inanimate nominal subject i) *ça* j) impersonal *il*, and k) *ce*<sup>30</sup>, illustrated in (6a-k).

(6) a. *Vous le trouverez sans problème.* [14RF53]

You **will find** it with no problem.

b. *J'y retournerai parce que vraiment c'est beau.* [3MF56]

I **will return** there because really it is beautiful.

c. *On préparera nos sandwiches.* [2MF55]

We **will prepare** our sandwiches.

d. *On aura l'occasion de voir une très belle exposition sur Aix.* [7RF40]

We **will have** the chance to see a very beautiful exposition about Aix.

e. *Nous allons faire nos emplettes nous-mêmes.* [2MF55]

We **are going to do** our shopping ourselves.

f. *Tu vas rester là.* [8MF25]

You **are going to stay** there.

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<sup>30</sup> Other types of demonstrative pronouns, such as *cela*, *celui*, were absent from the data.

g. *Tous les jeunes seront là.* [8MF25]

All of the young people **will be** there.

h. *Les cours reprendront à quel moment ?* [7RF40]

Classes **will start** back when ?

i. *Je pense que ça va attirer les foules.* [7RF40]

I think that this **will attract** crowds.

j. *Il y a aura les caméras de télévision.* [2MM56]

There **will be** television cameras.

k. *Ce sera des contacts différents.* [11RM24]

This **will be** different contacts.

Since the PF originated in a construction that referred to a volitional agent on a path towards a goal, the animate subjects that reflect personal involvement with the presence of a volitional agent, such as *je, nous, or on* meaning *nous* are predicted to favor the PF. In addition, the present study expects that the inanimate, non-volitional subjects, such as *ce* or impersonal *il*, will favor the IF, as well as formal *vous*.

### 3.5.1.2. Polarity: Previous Studies and Coding

Variationist studies of future temporal reference found sentential polarity to be a highly significant factor in future variant selection. This factor is widely discussed in studies of Hexagonal French (Franckel 1984; Jeanjean 1988; Laurendeau 2000; Roberts 2012; Edmonds & Gudmestad 2015; Villeneuve & Comeau 2016), varieties of Canadian French (Deschaies & Laforge 1981; Emirikian & Sankoff 1985; Zimmer 1994; Poplack & Turpin 1999; King & Nadasdi 2003; Blondeau 2006; Poplack & Dion 2009; Grimm 2010; Wagner & Sankoff 2011;

Grimm & Nadasdi 2011; Comeau 2011, 2015), as well as in the French of Martinique (Roberts 2013) and certain varieties of Spanish (Orozco 2005; Aaron 2006; Osborne 2008; Blas-Arroyo 2008). Overall, sentential polarity has been a more significant factor in variant selection in varieties of French from Canada, specifically Laurentian varieties, than in Hexagonal French or Spanish varieties.<sup>31</sup>

In his study of the Beeching corpus, composed of spoken French interviews from Minervois, Lot, Brittany, and Paris, Roberts (2012) noted that negative sentences favored the IF, while Edmonds and Gudmestad's (2015) study of Southwestern French and Villeneuve and Comeau's (2016) study of Vimeu French did not find this factor to significantly affect variant choice. Additionally, Roberts (2013) showed that sentential polarity was not a significant factor upon variant selection in Martinique French. However, in Canadian French, negative sentences occurred almost categorically with the IF, leading Poplack and Turpin (1999: 160) to note that negative contexts are the last place the IF is used productively in spoken French.<sup>32</sup> Because the IF occurs so frequently with negative sentences in Canadian French, some researchers (Poplack & Turpin 1999; Poplack & Dion 2009; Comeau 2015) have questioned the absence of discussion on the influence of polarity by early grammarians. Comeau (2015) suggests that this constraint may be a later innovation of the IF,<sup>33</sup> while other studies offer their own explanations for the

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<sup>31</sup> Blas-Arroyo (2008) reported a high usage rate of IF: 54% in Peninsular Spanish, yet negative contexts favored PF. Orozco (2005:63) showed that PF was more frequent in negative and interrogative utterances, supporting the hypothesis that PF is becoming the default future in Columbian Spanish, acquiring some semantic notions of modality. Finally, in her real-time study of written and spoken Spanish from the mid- 13<sup>th</sup> century to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Aaron (2006) noted that sentential polarity was a significant factor only in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, where negative contexts favored IF.

<sup>32</sup> Sentential polarity was not significant in two studies of conservative varieties of Acadian French (King & Nadasdi 2003; Comeau 2011, 2015).

<sup>33</sup> In support of Comeau's (2015) argument of the collocation of the IF and negative environments as a later innovation, an early French grammar on negation (Damourette & Pinchon 1911-1936 :110) cites examples of the PF in negative contexts from written texts dating from 1907.

effect of negative contexts on the IF. Deschaies and Laforge (1981: 27-29) and Jeanjean (1988:253) link negative contexts with the hypothetical nature of the IF. Similarly, Laurendeau (2000:288) notes that the IF frequently occurs in negative contexts because both negation and the IF are non-assertions, thus both contain modal qualities. Poplack and Dion (2009:575) accept Laurendeau's (2000) semantic description of the IF, yet add that this does not explain why the PF is almost nonexistent in negative sentences. In an effort to explain the polarity constraint on the IF, Poplack and Dion (2009: 576) explored, and ultimately rejected, a structural hypothesis, which investigated the avoidance of inserting the negative marker *pas* between *aller* and the infinitive verb for cognitive or prosodic reasons.<sup>34</sup> For example, they hypothesized that speakers would avoid the addition of *pas* between *aller* and the infinitive, illustrated in (7a). However, the high frequency of direct and indirect object clitics, in (7b), reflexive clitics, in (7c), and adverbs, in (7d), that hold this position in PF utterances led to the rejection of this hypothesis (Poplack & Dion 2009: 576).

(7) a. *Il va pas rester quarante ans là-bas.* [8MF25]

He **is not going to stay** forty years there.

b. *Tu vas me dire toutes les mères disent ça.* [RodM74]

You **are going to tell** me (that) all of the mothers say that.

c. *La personne va lui-même<sup>35</sup> se mettre en question.* [1RF42]<sup>36</sup>

The person **is going to put** himself into question.

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<sup>34</sup> Comeau (2016: 214) argues that the low usage rate of PF in negative contexts is due to structural reasons according to generative theory, yet not to the intervening elements as proposed by Poplack and Dion (2009).

<sup>35</sup> Speaker used *lui-même* instead of the standard *elle-même*.

<sup>36</sup> There were no examples of reflexive clitics that occurred between *aller* and the infinitive in the present study. This example is taken from a pilot study that did not limit its speakers to southern France. This speaker is from Guadeloupe.

d. ...*parce que ça va certainement attirer beaucoup de monde.* [7RF40]

...because that **is certainly going to attract** lots of people.

Some real-time studies reported an overwhelming tendency for the IF to occur in negative contexts (Blondeau 2006; Poplack & Dion 2009). However, Grimm (2010) found an increase of the PF in negative contexts between 1978 and 2005 in 15 to 18 year olds in four Ontario communities. Then, in a study on language restriction in Ontario, Grimm and Nadasdi (2011: 186) found that in more restricted environments, such as a school setting, the usage rate of the PF in negative contexts increased. While Grimm's (2010) and Grimm and Nadasdi's (2011) studies are of particular interest as they are the first to show a possible turn towards the PF in negative contexts in Canadian French, they leave open the question of workplace formality and the IF. Sociolinguistic and semantic reasoning for the abundance with the IF in negative contexts will be further discussed in Section 3.5.2.3.

In addition, a link between the omission of *ne* in negative utterances and formality and age has been shown in speakers in northern France (Coveney 1989: 122-126, 347-348). Speakers tend to omit *ne* less when in more formal situations and younger speakers had the highest omission rates (Coveney 1989: 347). To test for a link between the IF and formality, the present study coded each factor as either negative *ne* (8a), negative without *ne* (8b), or affirmative (8b).

(8) a. *On n'aura pas tous les ingrédients.* [12MM55]

We **will not have** all of the ingredients.

b. *Ce sera pas tenable je crois.* [TouF24]

This **will not be** tenable, I believe.

c. *Je vais être en vacances au mois d'août.* [7MM25]

**I am going to be** on vacation in August.

In accordance with Roberts' (2012) Hexagonal French study, the present study anticipates sentential polarity will be a significant factor that favors the use of the IF over the PF.

Furthermore, this study expects negative *ne* to be used more often by older speakers and most likely with the IF due to its level of formality.

### **3.5.1.3. Temporal Distance: Previous Studies and Coding**

Since 1530, prescriptive (Poplack & Dion 2009<sup>37</sup>; Grevisse & Goosse 2011<sup>38</sup>) and descriptive grammarians (Gadet 2010) have overwhelmingly assigned a proximal reading to the PF and a distal reading to the IF. This distinction has led variationist studies to test temporal distance as a possible predictor of variant selection. However, the effect of distance is not the same in all of these studies. Some French studies (King & Nadasdi 2003; Comeau 2015; Edmonds & Gudmestad 2015; Villeneuve & Comeau 2016; Blondeau & Labeau 2016: 252<sup>39</sup>) and one Spanish study (Orozoco 2005) found temporal distance to be highly significant, reporting that proximate eventualities favor the PF, and distal eventualities favor IF. Others (Poplack & Turpin 1999; Osborne 2008<sup>40</sup>) reported a minor effect upon selection of the PF with the immediate future. A third group (Blondeau 2006; Grimm 2010; Grimm & Nadasdi 2011; Roberts 2012) found that temporal distance was not a significant factor in variant selection.

Temporal distance has previously been coded for specific time intervals of the anticipated eventuality, such as within the hour, within the day, within one or two weeks, and so on (King &

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<sup>37</sup> In addition to their variationist study, Poplack and Dion (2009) provide an overview of the meanings assigned to the PF and the IF by prescriptive grammars dating from 1530.

<sup>38</sup> The PF denotes distal eventualities, only when this eventuality is inevitable such as death: *Je vais mourir* (Grevisse & Goosse 2011: 1092)

<sup>39</sup> Temporal distance was only significant in the Quebec corpus, and not the French corpus, of prepared speech in weather bulletins (Blondeau & Labeau 2016: 252)

<sup>40</sup> Osborne (2008) investigated future variation in Andalusian Spanish.

Nadasdi 2003; Comeau 2015; Villeneuve & Comeau 2016). Illustrated in (9a-f), the present study created six time interval categories for the anticipated eventualities: a) within the hour; b) within the day; c) within the week; d) within the month (or season); e) a distant future (i.e. within one or more years); and f) unspecified. Since there were very few temporal adverbials<sup>41</sup>, classifying the temporal distance was not always obvious. If no adverbial was present, information regarding temporal distance was located in the preceding context. If the preceding context was not sufficient to classify the token in the first five categories, it was included in the unspecified category.

(9) a. *On **dira** pas notre nom.* [16MM29]

We **will not say** our name.

b. *On fait l'exam et après on **va faire** un match de foot.* [8MM28]

We are taking the exam and afterwards, we **are going to play** soccer.

c. *la semaine prochaine... il y **aura** les caméras de télévision,  
les radios, tout ça.* [2MM56]

Next week... there **will be** television cameras, radios, all of that.

d. *Cet été, je **travaillerai** en tant qu'ambulancier.* [11RM24]

This summer, I **will work** as an ambulance driver.

e. *Cette année, ça s'**appellera** master un.* [8MF25]

This year, that **will be called** Master's one.

f. *Ça **va pas être** très rassurant.* [MarF18]

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<sup>41</sup> A brief summary of temporal adverbials within the corpus reveals only one example of *semaine* (used as 'next week' as opposed to 'this week'), *tout à l'heure* 'later,' and *maintenant*, 'now.' There were two or more examples of the following adverbials: *demain* 'tomorrow', *au mois de*, 'in the month of', *année*, 'year,', *à l'instant*, 'this instant,' and specific months with 'in.'

That **is not going to be** very reassuring.

Finally, to illustrate a possible preference for the IF when making promises, *après* ‘after’ was also included within the temporal distance factor group, illustrated in (g).

g. ...*après je vous expliquerai*. [3RM55]

I **will explain** it to you afterwards.

The goal of including *après* ‘after,’ in (9g), into the coding for temporal distance is to tease apart modal and temporal uses of the IF. When a speaker uses *après*, there is very little indication of when the anticipated reality will occur. The speaker expresses willingness to complete the suggested eventuality, reflecting the speaker’s internal desire to complete a potential eventuality, and is thus an expression of dynamic modality (Martin 1981: 82-83; Palmer 2001: 72).

Additionally, the use of *après* to make a promise<sup>42</sup> often signals the end of the topic and the start of a new subject. Chapter 5 revisits conversation topics and the awareness of the interlocutor as part of the pragmatic analysis. Therefore, since the IF contains modal values (e.g. Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 249; Palmer 2001), the present study expects to see a higher rate of *après* with the IF. Furthermore, in accordance with previous variationist studies (King & Nadasdi 2003; Comeau 2015; Edmonds & Gudmestad 2015) and the grammarians’ semantic generalizations of the IF and the PF, the present study anticipates proximate eventualities to favor the use of the PF.

#### 3.5.1.4. Verb Class: Previous Studies and Coding

As the PF grammaticalized from a movement future marker that originally denoted an agent moving on a path towards a goal, it initially collocated with human subjects and carried a

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<sup>42</sup> Note that not all uses of *après* indicate promises. For example, in (i), the realization of the eventuality of playing soccer will occur after taking the exam. The use of *après* signals the order of these two events.

(i) *On fait l’examen, et après on va faire un match de foot*. [8MM28]

We (will) take the exam, and afterwards, we **are going to play** soccer.

sense of intention (Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca 1994:268). The linguistic environments where the PF occurs expands as it grammaticalizes from a movement future marker to a future marker that denotes prediction (Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins 1994: 270). Therefore, an earlier, less grammaticalized version of the PF would avoid verbs of motion to express future reference until it had further grammaticalized into a future variant (Poplack and Tagliamonte 1999: 336). Poplack and Tagliamonte (1999:333) tested the notion of verb class as a predictor of future variant selection in early and modern African American English speaking communities, revealing a disfavoring of the PF by verbs of motion in communities settled between the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. However, this factor was not significant in variant selection in the modern, urban Ottawa corpus, suggesting a bleaching of the original lexical content of the PF and its advanced grammaticalization stage (Poplack & Tagliamonte 1999: 333-336). In contrast, a study of historical and modern Spanish (Aaron 2006: 269; 2010: 9) found that dynamic and motion verbs favored the PF in 20<sup>th</sup> century speech, while stative verbs disfavored the PF. Beginning in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the PF collocated more with dynamic verbs than with motion or stative verbs (Aaron 2010:11-12). Aaron (2010: 18-19) suggests that the link between the PF and non-stative verbs is the last “stronghold of the lexical origins of PF.” Thus, the results of the historical Spanish study (Aaron 2010) indicate that the PF may be expanding its usage to new linguistic environments, such as non-volitional subjects, without losing its original movement meaning.

Poplack and Malvar (2007: 145) also tested the lexical origins hypothesis in Brazilian Portuguese, finding that non-motion verbs favored the IF from the 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. However, as the PF grammaticalized into a future marker, it lost the original sense of movement and was favored with non-motion verbs in 20<sup>th</sup> century written Brazilian Portuguese, yet was not

a significant factor in 20<sup>th</sup> century speech (Poplack & Malvar 2007: 145). In their study of Quebec English, Torres-Cacoullos and Walker (2009: 338), who coded for motion, telic, and stative verbs, found that the PF had grammaticalized to occur with verbs outside of those within the motion class, as lexical verb class was not significant. The factor group VERB CLASS was a significant constraint on the future variants in modern Spanish (Aaron 2006, 2010) and early settled African American communities (Poplack & Tagliamonte 1999). Therefore, the present study tests this factor group by coding for a) motion verbs (i.e. *aller* ‘to go,’ *partir* ‘to leave’) b) dynamic (non-motion) (i.e. *manger* ‘to eat,’ *chercher* ‘to look for’) verbs and c) stative verbs (i.e. *être* ‘to be,’ *pouvoir* ‘to be able to’), illustrated in (10a-c).

(10) a. *On va aller à Washington en décembre.* [8MM28]

‘We are going to go to Washington in December.’

b. *On va la chercher.* [3MF56]

‘We are going to look for it.’

c. *Ça va être au poil.* [BiaM61]

‘That is going to be great.’

The present study hypothesizes that, in accordance with Aaron (2010), verbs of movement will favor the PF, retaining its original movement meaning.

### 3.5.1.5. Transitivity: Previous Studies and Coding

Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994: 268-270) discuss the cross-linguistic evolution of movement verbs as they transition into future markers. On one side of the grammaticalization continuum exist movement verbs that retain a sense of movement and avoid collocation with other movement verbs when denoting future tense (Poplack & Tagliamonte 1999). These early

future ‘grams’ are also found more frequently with animate subjects stemming from the original sense of an agent moving towards a goal (Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca 1994: 269). The present study tests whether animate subjects favor the PF in the factor group GRAMMATICALPERSON. Another way to test the role of volitional agents in variant selection is to code for *transitive* and *intransitive* verbs, since the direct objects of transitive verbs are assumed to be controlled by the subject (Torres-Cacoullous & Walker 2009: 331). The present study coded the data as either *transitive* or *intransitive*, shown in (11a) and (11b).

(11) a. *Vous allez voir la maison.* [6RF74]

You **are going to see** the house.

b. *On va rester ici.* [13RF22]

We **are going to stay** here.

In accordance with the original meanings of the PF, which include a volitional agent moving towards a goal, the present study expects transitive sentences to favor the PF.

### **3.5.1.6. Adverbial Specification: Previous Studies and Coding**

Poplack and Turpin (1999: 149) found that specific temporal adverbials favored the futurate present (FW=0.75), most likely to distinguish future temporal reference from a present or habitual reading. In addition, the same study (Poplack & Turpin 1999: 149) reported a preference for the IF by non-specific adverbials (FW=0.85). Poplack and Dion (2009) found that the presence of an adverbial slightly favored the IF. Similarly, Comeau (2015) showed that the lack of an adverbial predicts the selection of the PF. Spanish studies (Aaron 2006; Blas-Arroyo 2008; Osborne 2008) and one Canadian French study (Blondeau & Labeau 2016: 252<sup>43</sup>) reported

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<sup>43</sup> Adverbial specification was significant only in the Quebec corpus, not in the French corpus, of prepared speech for weather reports (Blondeau & Labeau 2016: 252).

a significant favoring of the IF by non-specific adverbs. Hexagonal French studies (Roberts 2012; Edmonds & Gudmestad 2015; Villeneuve & Comeau 2016) did not find this factor to be significant.

The present analysis coded for a specific adverbial, a temporal adverb denoting a specific time, in (12a), a temporal adverb denoting a non-specific time, in (12b), and absence of an adverbial, in (12c).

(12) a. ...*et maintenant, ça va être l'inverse.* [7MM25]

...and now, that **is going to be** the opposite.

b. ...*donc après il y aura dégustation du vin.* [18MF43]

...so afterwards, there **will be** a wine tasting.

c. *On va s'arrêter là.* [12MM65]

We **are going to stop** there.

In accordance with the previous Hexagonal French studies (Roberts 2012; Edmonds & Gudmestad 2015; Villeneuve & Comeau 2016), this study does not expect this factor to be significant. However, it is possible to see a link between the IF and non-specific adverbials.

### 3.5.1.7. Verb Irregularity: Previous Studies and Coding

Poplack (1992) found that morphologically irregular inflected verbs (*être* 'to be,' *avoir* 'to have,' *aller* 'to go,' *avoir* 'to have') were more likely to be conjugated for subjunctive in Canadian French; however, a similar study did not find any effects of morphologically irregular inflected verbs on the selection of future variant (Poplack 2001: 418). In their study of the use of the future variants in the planned speech of weather broadcasts in Quebec and France, Blondeau and Labeau (2016: 251) found that the IF occurred significantly more often with irregular

inflected verbs in both broadcasts. The present study tested the impact of verb irregularity by coding for irregular inflected verbs, such as *faire* ‘to do’ in (13a), or regular inflected verbs, such as *louer*, ‘to rent,’ in (13b).

(13) a. *J’ai du mal à y imaginer le nombre de kilomètres que nous **ferons** par jour.* [7RF40]

I have a hard time imagining the number of kilometers that we **will do** each day.

b. *On va **louer** un gîte.* [13RM26]

We **are going to rent** a cabin.

The present analysis expects to see a link between the IF and irregular inflected verbs, in accordance with Blondeau and Labeau (2016).

### 3.5.2. Quantitative Results

Table 3.5 displays the results of the linguistic factors that contribute to the selection of the PF versus the IF in the present corpora. The results were calculated using Goldvarb X (Sankoff, Tagliamonte, & Smith 2005), a variable rule analysis tool that retained TEMPORAL DISTANCE, GRAMMATICALPERSON, VERB CLASS, and POLARITY as significant factor groups that condition the selection of the PF.

Table 3.5. *Multivariate analysis of the linguistic factors that condition the selection of the PF*

Input	0.563		
Significance	p=0.009		
Total N	449		
	FW	%	N
GRAMMATICAL PERSON			
<i>On</i> impersonal	.68	70.6	12
<i>On (nous)</i>	.60	63.6	49
<i>Ça</i>	.60	54.5	30
<i>Je</i>	.53	68.6	70
<i>Il(s)/elle(s)/tu/plural vous</i>	.52	56.7	51
Inanimate nominal subject	.44	47.6	10
Animate nominal subject	.41	45.2	14
<i>Nous</i>	.27	44.4	4
Formal <i>vous</i>	.23	30.3	10
Impersonal <i>il</i>	.19	21.4	3
<i>Range</i>	49		
TEMPORAL DISTANCE			
Within one month / season	.76	77.9	53
Within the day	.71	72.7	24
Within the hour	.58	69.6	39
Within the week	.52	54.5	12
Distant	.42	48.7	57
Unspecified	.36	44.4	68
<i>Range</i>	40		
POLARITY			
Affirmative	.53	58.7	237
Negative without <i>ne</i>	.41	46.4	13
Negative <i>ne</i>	.14	17.6	3
<i>Range</i>	39		
VERB CLASS			
Motion	.62	70	91
Dynamic	.61	66.1	115
Stative	.28	32.4	47
<i>Range</i>	34		

The factor groups are ranked by range of factor weight. According to this approach, the higher the range the more variation is accounted for by the factor group (Tagliamonte 2012: 127-128). The *input* (0.563) indicates the overall variation of the data sample. Thus, the rate of the occurrence of the PF in the data is 56.3%, while the rate of the IF is 43.7%. Illustrated in Figures 3.1 and 3.2 in Section 3.2, the overall rate of occurrence of the PF and the IF is similar to that of recent Hexagonal French studies, such as Roberts (2012), who reported an overall rate of the PF as 58.8% and IF 41.2%, in a corpus of northern and southern France. Edmonds and Gudmestad (2015) reported a rate of 44% for the PF, 38% for the IF, and 18% for the futurate present in their study of southwestern France. Most recently, in a study of Vimeu French<sup>44</sup>, Villeneuve and Comeau (2016: 327) found an even higher rate of the PF (62.2%, IF = 37.8%).<sup>45</sup> Thus, the overall rate of variation exhibited in the present study is consistent with the rates reported by other Hexagonal French studies (Roberts 2012; Edmonds & Gudmestad 2015) yet the rate of the PF is lower than in Vimeu French (Villeneuve & Comeau 2016).

### 3.5.2.1. Grammatical Person Results

While the results of GRAMMATICALPERSON were significant ( $p=0.001$ ), they did not reveal a strong animacy distinction between the PF and the IF. The animate pronoun *nous* disfavored the PF (FW=0.27) while the inanimate and animate nominal pronouns showed almost no preference for either variant (FW =0.44 and 0.41). The categories with the highest factor

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<sup>44</sup> Vimeu French is spoken in Vimeu, a rural area of northern France where French is spoken alongside Picard, a Gallo-Romance regional language (Villeneuve & Comeau 2016).

<sup>45</sup> See Appendix A for a summary of previous research on French future temporal reference.

weights in preference for the PF were general *on* (FW=0.68) and *on(nous)* (FW= 0.60). The high usage rate of *on (nous)* with the PF (N= 49; 63.6%) may be the reason that *nous* disfavored the PF. There was one example of subject doubling with *nous, on*, illustrated in (14). As prescriptive grammarians (L’Huillier 1999: 491) label subject doubling as informal, it is surprising that *on* occurred with the IF.

(14) *Nous, à la trente ans, on sera super épanoui.* [Rodm28]

Us, at 30, **we’ll be** super curvy.

There may be other reasons for the speaker to employ the IF outside of the formality distinction between the future variants. For example, it is possible that the IF was used instead of the PF to denote the speaker’s uncertainty about the realization of the somewhat distant future eventuality. Finally, there were very few examples of general *on* (N=17), the majority occurred with the PF (70.6%).

GRAMMATICALPERSON was significant with results revealing a disfavoring of the PF with formal *vous* (FW=0.23) and impersonal *il* (FW=0.19). The use of the IF with the more formal variants supports the previous literature that linked the IF with written (Gagnon 1990; Sundell 1991; Wales 2002) and non-volitional contexts (Confais 1995; Poplack & Dion 2009). Since the IF is associated with non-volitional subjects it should collocate more freely with inanimate subjects. This notion is not only supported by the disfavoring of the PF with impersonal *il*, but also by the lack of data with *ce* and the PF. The pronoun *ce* is more formal than the pronoun *ça* and often occurs with *être*, according to one prescriptive grammarian (L’Huillier 1999: 543-546). As the more formal variant, it is expected to occur with the IF and in spoken corpora so that one predicts that the rate of occurrence of the PF should be lower with *ce* than with *ça*. Therefore, it

is not surprising that there were only 9 instances of *ce*, all of which (100%, N=9/9) occurred with *sera*, ‘will be.’ However, since all of the tokens with *ce* occurred with IF, this category was conflated with formal *vous*, since both are formal variants. Therefore, the results of GRAMMATICALPERSON suggest that formality plays a role in future variant selection as the more formal subject pronouns, formal *vous* and *ce*, disfavored PF. Further support that formality plays a role in variant selection is the slight preference for the PF by *on* (*nous*) (FW=0.60) and *ça* (FW=0.60). The replacement of *nous* by *on* and the use of *ça* are rare in formal French (L’Huillier 1999: 491, 546). The slight preference by the PF for these pronouns may suggest that the PF is used more in informal language. However, Bilger (2001: 183) highlighted the frequency of *on* in spoken French, even finding that the IF occurred more often with *on*.

Table 3.6 illustrates the use of the PF and the IF with personal pronouns, animate and inanimate nominal subjects.

Table 3.6. *Distribution of personal pronouns, animate and inanimate nominal subjects with PF and IF (p=0.001)*

	<i>on</i>	<i>on</i> ( <i>nous</i> )	<i>ça</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>tu, il/s,</i> <i>elle/s,</i> plural <i>vous</i>	Inanim. nominal subject	Anim. nominal subject	<i>nous</i>	Formal <i>vous, ce</i>	Imp. <i>il</i>
IF	5	28	26	32	39	11	17	5	22	11
196	29.4%	36.4%	46.4%	31.4%	43.3%	52.4%	54.8%	55.6%	<b>68.7%</b>	<b>78.6%</b>
PF	12	49	30	70	51	10	14	4	10	3
253	<b>70.6%</b>	63.6%	53.5%	<b>68.6%</b>	56.7%	47.6%	45.2%	44.4%	30.3%	21.4%
449	17	77	56	102	90	21	31	9	32	14
	3.8%	17.2%	12.4%	22.7%	20%	4.7%	6.9%	2%	7.1%	3.1%

Overall, the quantitative analysis did not support the present hypothesis that links animacy with the PF. Instead, the PF occurred with inanimate subjects, which is an environment originally associated with the IF (e.g. Poplack & Dion 2009). These results indicate a potential bleaching of

the original semantics of the PF, which contained a volitional subject on a path towards a goal. Furthermore, while the results point towards a collocation between the PF and inanimate subjects, such as *on* and *ça*, formality may also play a role. Thus, these results revealed a link between informal pronouns and the PF, in support of the previous descriptive grammarians (Gagnon 1990; Sundell 1991) and studies (e.g. Wales 2002; Blondeau & Labeau 2016) that cite the IF as a formal variant.

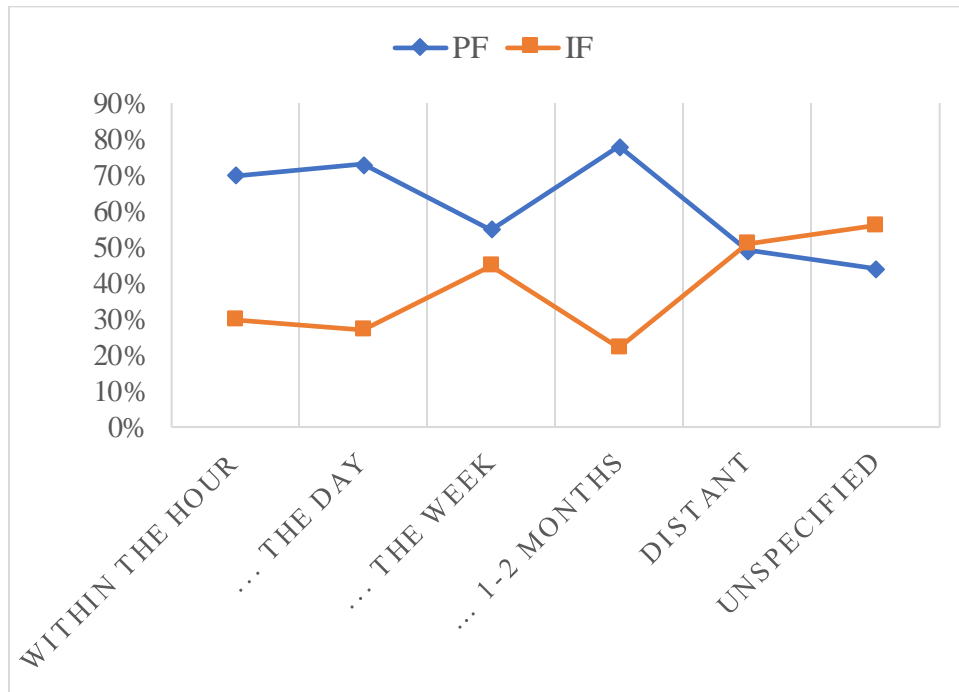
### 3.5.2.2. Temporal Distance Results

As temporal distance has long been a distinguishing factor in the selection of future variant (e.g. Poplack & Dion 2009; Gadet 2010; Grevisse & Goosse 2011), it is not surprising that this factor group was significant. The results of the present analysis illustrate a preference for the PF with eventualities that were to occur within the day of utterance (FW = 0.71) and a slight preference for those set to occur within the hour (FW=0.58). Eventualities that were anticipated to occur next season or within the month strongly favored the PF (FW=0.76). Eventualities set to occur within the week did not reveal a strong preference for the PF (FW=0.52). Similarly, unspecified eventualities disfavored the PF (FW=0.36). Then, in support of previous Hexagonal French studies (e.g. Edmonds and Gudmestad 2015) and Canadian French studies (e.g. Comeau 2015), eventualities that were anticipated to occur in the distant future, such as within one or more years, slightly disfavored the PF (FW=0.42). Finally, the category coded as *après* supported the present study's hypothesis that the PF would be disfavored when using *après* as a topic ending marker or to make promises, which resulted in zero tokens of the PF with "promise *après*." There were very few tokens of the IF with *après* (N=6). It was necessary to recode these tokens as *unspecified* since it was impossible to

determine when exactly the speaker intended for the realization of the future eventuality to occur.

Figure 3.3. illustrates the rate of usage for each temporal distance category.

Figure 3.3. *Temporal distance categories with PF and IF*



The categories are organized by temporal distance, beginning with the most proximate eventualities. Except for eventualities set to occur within the week, or the next day, the PF occurs more in proximate eventualities and those set to occur within a few months or years. While the rate of usage of the IF never drops below 20%, it occurs more with distant eventualities and eventualities for which the time of the eventuality cannot be determined.

The distribution of the IF and the PF in Table 3.7 reveals the frequency of the PF with eventualities that are set to occur within the day of utterance (72.7%) and within the hour (69.6%).

Table 3.7. *Distribution of IF and PF and Temporal Distance* ( $p = < 0.001$ )

	Within the month	Within the day	Within the hour	Within the week	Distant	Unspecified	Total
IF	15 22.1%	9 27.3%	17 30.4%	10 45.5%	60 <b>51.3%</b>	85 <b>55.6%</b>	196
PF	53 <b>77.9%</b>	24 <b>72.7%</b>	39 <b>69.6%</b>	12 54.5%	57 48.7%	68 44.4%	253
Total	68 (15.1%)	33 (7.3%)	56 (12.5%)	22 (4.9%)	117 (26.1%)	153 (34.1%)	449

The TEMPORAL DISTANCE results support the descriptive grammarians' (e.g. Gadet 2010) and prescriptive grammarians' (Grevisse & Goosse 2011:1092) classification of the PF with temporal proximal eventualities and the IF with more distal eventualities and also two Hexagonal French studies: Edmonds and Gudmestad's (2015) and Villeneuve and Comeau (2016). However, while the results indicate a preference for the PF in more proximate eventualities (e.g. *within the day*), both variants occur in both proximal and distal eventualities. Both variants denote eventualities that are set to occur within the week (FW=0.52). Additionally, there is only a slight disfavoring for the PF with distal eventualities (FW=0.42). Previous descriptive accounts (Gougenheim 1971: 107; Fleischman 1982: 95-98) of the future variants note that the PF and the IF may indicate both proximal and distal eventualities, leading Fleischman (1982: 96) to suggest non-temporal distinctions of the future variants. In a study of early and contemporary Brazilian Portuguese, Poplack and Malvar (2007:147) showed that the PF does not always reference proximal eventualities in contemporary use, suggesting that the PF has grammaticalized to a future variant that can denote either proximal or distal future eventualities. However, it may not

be temporal distance that is significant here, but imminence due to the effects of actions taken prior to the future proposition (Fleischman 1982:96; Vet 1993: 75).

Imminent eventualities, such as those set to occur within the hour, were the most significant in a statistical comparison of temporal distances of Vimeu French (Villeneuve & Comeau 2016: 300). The present study also found that eventualities that were more imminent, such as within the day or within the hour, were more likely to occur with the PF. Fleischman (1982: 95-98) linked the PF with imminence as the PF contains values of present relevance, inception, and intention. Confais (1995: 399) identified an association between the PF and speaker certainty of the realization of the eventuality. Furthermore, Vet (1993: 75) noted that this speaker certainty is most likely due to a preparatory phase, during which steps are taken towards the realization of the proposed eventuality. Fleischman (1982: 96) argued that present relevance is neither temporal nor modal; instead, the speaker's volition and intention of the realization of the future eventuality influences the selection of the future variant. Villeneuve and Comeau (2016: 331) operationalized this sense of imminence by coding for the temporal distance category of *within the hour*. Poplack and Turpin (1999: 152) operationalized imminence as its own factor group, by coding for imminent and non-imminent eventualities. The Vimeu French study (Villeneuve & Comeau 2016) found the category of *within the hour* to be significant, while Poplack and Turpin's (1999: 152) Ontario French study did not find the category of imminence to be significant in the selection of PF or IF. Imminent eventualities disfavored the selection of futurate present, which they note is most likely due to an interaction between the adverbial specification factor group (Poplack & Turpin 1999: 152).

The present study revealed a strong preference for the PF with eventualities set to occur within the month or season (FW=0.76). As this is a more distal eventuality, one would expect it to disfavor the PF. The strong preference for the PF in the *within a month* category is most likely due to the certainty of the speaker with planned events. A cross tabulation of TEMPORAL DISTANCE with ADVERBIAL SPECIFICATION reveals that within the category of *within a month* and *presence of an adverbial*, the majority of the utterances contained a temporal adverbial and the PF (80.7% N=21/26). Temporal adverbials included *cet été* ‘this summer,’ *ce mois*, ‘this month,’ *dans deux mois*, ‘in two months,’ denoting a preference for the PF with planned or scheduled eventualities. Therefore, the strong preference for the PF with eventualities set to occur *within the month or next season* highlights a link between the PF and planned events in addition to suggesting that the PF and IF occur in the same temporal environments. Thus, in order to test the role of imminence and previous events leading up to the future proposition, the present study will first compare the quantitative results of TEMPORAL DISTANCE with the pragmatic analysis of planned events in Chapter 5 and include the factor group of previous events in the context completion task in Chapter 7.

### 3.5.2.3. Polarity Results

Since POLARITY is a widely discussed significant factor that, with very few exceptions<sup>46</sup>, favors the IF in Hexagonal French (Jeanjean 1988; Roberts 2012) and various Canadian varieties (e.g. Deschaies & Laforge 1981; Blondeau 2006; Poplack & Dion 2009; Wagner & Sankoff

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<sup>46</sup> POLARITY was not a significant factor in variant selection in Edmonds and Gudmeststad’s (2015) Hexagonal French study, Robert’s (2015) Martinique French study, nor in Acadian studies (King & Nadasdi 2003; Comeau 2011; 2015). Additionally, Blas-Arroyo (2008) reported that negative sentences showed a slight preference for PF in Castellon Spanish; however, this was explained as a result of an over-representation of positive sentences in the corpus.

2011), it is not surprising that this factor group was significant in the present study ( $p = < 0.001$ ). The results of the present study revealed a very slight preference for PF in affirmative contexts (FW=0.53) and a clear disfavoring of the PF in negative contexts when *ne* is not omitted (FW=0.14), which supports the previous literature that links the IF with formality (Gougenheim 1971: 107). However, there are negative contexts with PF in the present study, evidenced through the very slight disfavoring of the PF when negative utterances do not contain *ne* (FW=0.41). The distribution of the PF and the IF in affirmative and negative contexts in Table 4.7 reveals that 90% of the future tokens are in affirmative contexts. Also, evident in Table 3.8 is the very low rate of the PF in negative *ne* utterances (17.6%), highlighting the association between IF and formal situations.

Table 3.8. *Distribution of PF and IF in Affirmative and Negative Contexts.* ( $p = < 0.001$ )

	Affirmative	Negative <i>ne</i>	Negative without <i>ne</i>	Total
IF	167 41.3%	14 <b>82.4%</b>	13 46.4%	196
PF	237 <b>58.7%</b>	3 17.6%	15 53.6%	253
Total	404 (90%)	17 (3.8%)	28 (6.2%)	449

Roberts (2012: 101) noted that 34% of negative contexts occurred with the PF, illustrating the productivity of the PF in negative contexts in Hexagonal French. Similarly, Grimm (2010: 88) found that the PF was used in negative contexts more in 2005 (26%) than in 1978 (0%). Wales (2002: 81) also reported occurrence of the PF in negative environments in a written corpus of newspaper articles. In support of Roberts (2012), Grimm (2010), Wales (2002), and the present

study found that the PF is also productive in negative environments with or without *ne* (35.6%, N=16/45).

Villeneuve and Comeau (2016: 328) investigated the relationship between educational status and sentential polarity in Vimeu French. While the factor group POLARITY was not significant, sentential polarity and the use of negative *ne* correlated with educational status (Villeneuve & Comeau 2016: 328). The present analysis, then, tested for a correlation between the social factor groups of sex, age, and educational status and sentential polarity following Villeneuve & Comeau (2016). The present study, however, did not find any link between social factors and POLARITY, illustrated in Table 3.9.

Table 3.9. *Social Factors and Use of ne*

SEX	$\chi^2 = 0.02$ ; p=0.99	female speakers 67% (12/18)
AGE	$\chi^2 = 5.11$ ; p=0.07	older (>40) speakers 77% (14/18)
EDUCATION	$\chi^2 = 1.93$ ; p=0.38	+ bac speakers 56% (10/18)

While the quantitative analysis revealed no statistical significance between social factors and the use of negative *ne*, the results did reveal a higher usage rate of *ne* with female participants (67%), older speakers (77%), and speakers who have passed the *baccalauréat* (56%). While female speakers and speakers who have passed their *baccalauréat* exhibit a slightly higher percentage of *ne* retention, it is age that seems to correlate most strongly with the retention of *ne*. These results, then, support those of Coveney (1989: 126) who found that age was a predictor of *ne* deletion, while educational status and sex did not show strong tendencies to either the deletion or retention of *ne*.

The results of the variable rule analysis and the distribution in Table 3.8 provide further support for the link between the PF and informality. The present study found that of the negative utterances in the corpora, the rate of negative *ne* omission was slightly higher than that of negative *ne* retention (55.6% vs 44.4%). Characteristic of informal discourse (Coveney 1989: 122-126, 347), the omission of negative *ne* occurs more with the PF (82%, N=13/16), underlining the link between the PF and informality. Overall, the results of sentential polarity indicate that negative utterances disfavor the PF, yet the PF is productive in negative environments, unlike the results of Canadian French studies (Poplack & Turpin 1999; Poplack & Dion 2009; Comeau 2015).

### 3.5.2.4. Verb Class Results

Table 3.10 displays the distribution of the PF and the IF with motion verbs, dynamic (non-motion) verbs, and stative verbs. The higher percentage of the PF with motion verbs (70%) points to the retention of the original meaning of *aller* + infinitive to denote an agent moving towards a goal.

Table 3.10. *Distribution of Verb Class and PF and IF* (p=<0.001)

	<i>Motion</i>	<i>Dynamic (non-motion)</i>	<i>Stative</i>	<i>Total</i>
IF	39 30%	59 33.9%	98 <b>67.6%</b>	196
PF	91 <b>70%</b>	115 <b>66.1%</b>	47 32.4%	253
Total	130 (29%)	174 (38.8%)	145 (32.3%)	449

The statistical analysis revealed a slight preference for the PF by motion (FW=0.62) and dynamic verbs (FW=0.61). More importantly, though, the quantitative analysis showed a disfavoring of the PF for stative verbs (FW=0.28), illustrating that the PF still retains some of its original semantics (Aaron 2010: 18-19). These results, then, do not support the semantic bleaching reported by Poplack and Tagliamonte (1999: 333, 338), as motion verbs in their study disfavored the PF (FW=0.34, 0.35, 0.33, 0.32) in more conservative speech communities in an effort to avoid “redundancy,” reflecting a time when *going to* was seen as primarily a motion verb. In less rural, younger communities, *going to* did not show preference for either motion verbs or stative verbs (FW=0.51), illustrating the loss of its original semantics (Poplack & Tagliamonte 1999).

The PF, then, retains some its original semantic distinctions, evidenced through the preference of the PF for motion verbs, whereas other areas of original semantic qualifications are lost, such as the loss of a volitional agent. The expansion of use of the PF suggests that the PF is most likely located in an advanced stage of grammaticalization due to its collocation with non-human subjects, but still retains some of its original movement meanings.

### **3.6. Linguistic Factors not found to be significant**

#### **3.6.1. Transitivity Results**

The multivariate analysis did not retain the TRANSITIVITY factor group as significant. However, since TRANSITIVITY tests for volitional subject, which is also tested with GRAMMATICALPERSON, this factor group was also tested separately to see whether there were possible interactions. Yet, Chi-square results confirm that TRANSITIVITY is not a significant factor

in variant selection ( $\chi^2 = 2.24$ ,  $p = 0.13$ ) Table 3.11 displays the distribution of transitive and intransitive verbs with the IF and the PF.

Table 3.11. *Distribution of transitive and intransitive verbs with PF and IF.*

	Transitive	Intransitive	Total
IF	135 46.4%	61 38.9%	196
PF	156 53.6%	97 <b>61.4%</b>	253
Total	291 (64.8%)	158 (35.2%)	449

Overall, the data contained more transitive verbs than intransitive (64.8%). The distribution of transitive verbs between variants is almost equal (IF = 46.4%; PF = 53.6%). Torres-Cacoullos and Walker's (2009) study of spoken future variation tested for transitivity and did not find it to be significant. Wales' (2002: 81) study of written future variation in newspapers did not find transitivity to be a constraint on variant choice either. The results of the factor group TRANSITIVITY and that of GRAMMATICALPERSON, then, indicate that the PF no longer retains its original meaning of an agent moving towards a goal. Instead, the use of the PF with intransitive verbs and inanimate subjects suggests that there is a bleaching of its original sense of intention from a volitional subject.

### 3.6.2. Adverb Specification Results

The present analysis hypothesized that the presence of a specific adverbial would favor the selection of the IF, in accordance with Poplack and Turpin (1999) and Comeau (2015). However, the quantitative analysis did not support this hypothesis ( $\chi^2 = 2.14$ ,  $p = 0.35$ ). Table 3.12 presents the distribution of the presence and absence of adverbials with the IF and the PF.

Table 3.12. *Presence and absence of adverbials with the IF and the PF.*

	Presence of a specific adverbial	Presence of a non-specific adverbial	Absence of an adverbial	Total
IF	22 40.7%	28 <b>52.8%</b>	146 42.7%	196
PF	32 <b>59.3%</b>	25 47.2%	196 <b>57.3%</b>	253
Total	54 (12%)	53 (11.9%)	342 (76.2%)	449

The percentage of the PF and the IF with and without adverbials were almost equal (PF = 59.3%; IF = 40.7%). The studies of Hexagonal French (Roberts 2012; Edmonds & Gudmestad 2015; Villeneuve & Comeau 2016) did not find this factor group to be significant either. <sup>47</sup>

### 3.6.3. Verb Irregularity Results

The present analysis hypothesized that irregular verbs would disfavor the PF; yet, this factor group was not significant when tested with the other potential linguistic conditioning environments. These results, though, may be due to an interaction between the VERB CLASS factor group since many irregular verbs are also stative verbs. To detect possible interactions, this study performed crosstabulations of the VERB CLASS and VERB IRREGULARITY factor groups. The results of the crosstabulation illustrate that 91% (N=132/145) of the stative verbs are also irregular verbs, indicating an interaction between the factor groups. Non-stative irregular verbs in the present corpora include *aller* ‘to go,’ *faire* ‘to do’, and *venir* ‘to come.’ A Chi-square test

<sup>47</sup> In the pilot study that included a reduced portion of the CMR, out of the 8 tokens of futurate present in the present corpus, 4 (50%) occurred with an adverbial and 4 (50%) occurred without an adverbial. Those that occurred without an adverbial contained a motion verb that collocated with futurate present, illustrated in (ii) (Dahl 2000: 312):

(ii) *Ils arrivent à la Mosson.* [9MF25]  
They **are arriving** at the Mosson [stadium].

reveals that verb irregularity is a significant factor in variant selection ( $\chi^2 = 23.49$ ,  $p = <0.0001$ ).

Table 3.13 shows the distribution of the PF and the IF with irregular verbs.

Table 3.13. *The PF and the IF with Irregular Verbs*

	Regular Verb	Irregular Verb	Total
IF	79 33.1%	117 55.7%	196
PF	160 <b>66.9%</b>	93 44.3%	253
Total	239 (53.2%)	210 (46.8%)	449

There was a higher percentage of the PF with regular verbs (66.9%) and a slightly higher percentage of the IF with irregular verbs (55.7%). The present results support those of Blondeau and Labeau (2016) who report a higher rate of usage of the IF with irregular verbs in planned spoken speech, which usually contains more formal language than unguided conversations (Labov 1966). Therefore, to find that the PF disfavors irregular verb forms a less formal atmosphere than planned speech points towards irregular verb forms as an area of specialization for the IF. Chapter 5 revisits the impact of irregular verbs on variant selection by examining the distribution of irregular verbs.

### 3.7. Conclusion

Chapter 3 has examined quantitatively the influence of the linguistic factors on the use of the future variants, the PF and the IF, to further define their semantic and syntactic properties in Hexagonal French. Blending two corpora, the CMR (Ranson 2005-2006) and the PFC (Durand, Laks, & Lyche 2002, 2009), the present study reported a slightly higher rate of occurrence of the PF (56.3%) than the IF (43.7%). The rate of the PF in these findings was marginally lower than

those of other Hexagonal French studies (e.g. Fleury & Branca-Rosoff 2010; Roberts 2012). However, one other study from southern France (Edmonds & Gudmestad 2015) reported a similar distribution (PF: 54%; IF: 46%). Therefore, the IF tends to be higher in southern Hexagonal French in comparison with other Hexagonal French varieties.

The multivariate analysis conducted by Goldvarb X (Sankoff, Tagliamonte, & Smith 2005) retained GRAMMATICALPERSON, POLARITY, TEMPORAL DISTANCE, and VERB CLASS as significant linguistic predictors of variant selection. The results of GRAMMATICALPERSON highlighted a bleaching of the original semantics of the PF, as the PF no longer collocated with volitional subjects. However, formality seems to constrain the use of the PF, evidenced by the confluence of informal pronouns (e.g. *on*, *ça*) and the PF. Formality also played a role in the results of POLARITY. While negative utterances favored the IF overall, the PF occurred more with the omission of negative *ne*, a characteristic of informal discourse (Coveney 1989: 122-126). Considering the IF, the quantitative results reveal an association between the IF and formal environments, such as the high usage rate of the IF with formal *vous* and negative utterances that contain *ne*. Finally, of the factors relating to the verb, VERB CLASS was significant and fit into the whole model output by Goldvarb X. These results showed that the PF retained some of its original semantics as it was favored by verbs of motion. Additionally, VERB IRREGULARITY was also a significant conditioning environment, yet not selected by Goldvarb X since most stative verbs, in the VERB CLASS factor group, are also morphologically irregular.

The quantitative analysis, summarized in Table 3.14, highlights stylistic differences between the future variants. For example, the PF occurs in informal environments (shaded in Table 3.14), such as with informal pronouns (*on*, *ça*) and the omission of negative *ne*.

Additionally, the variants continue to serve different semantic functions, evidenced by the disfavoring of the PF with distal eventualities, stative and irregular verbs.

Table 3.14. *Summary of the Quantitative Analysis Results.* (Informal environments shaded)

	PF	IF
Grammatical Person	Informal pronouns ( <i>on, ça</i> )	✓
	Formal pronouns ( <i>ce, vous</i> )	✓
Polarity	Affirmative (and a higher percentage of negative <i>ne</i> omission)	✓
	Negative <i>ne</i>	✓
Temporal Distance	Planned events	✓
	Unspecified; Distant events	✓
Verb Class	Motion and Dynamic verbs	✓
	Stative verbs	✓
Verb Irregularity	Morphologically regular inflected verbs	✓
	Morphologically inflected verbs	✓

However, the quantitative analysis also revealed shared linguistic environments. For example, while distal eventualities were disfavored by the PF, proximate eventualities did not necessarily favor the PF. Therefore, it is unclear whether the variants can be distinguished by temporal distance or whether there are stronger constraints on the selection of the PF or the IF that are more pragmatic than semantic, such as speaker certainty? Additionally, are there pragmatic constraints on the variants that were not able to be operationalized in the quantitative analysis? Moving forward, Chapter 4 presents the multivariate analysis of the extra-linguistic factors of age, sex and education level. Then, Chapter 5 provides a quantitative analysis of pragmatic factors and Chapter 6 qualitatively addresses non-quantifiable pragmatic factors in an effort to include any possible pragmatic or semantic constraints on the variants that were not able to be addresses in the present quantitative analysis.

#### 4.1. Introduction

Chapter 3 presented a description of the present corpora in comparison with previous Hexagonal French studies (Jeanjean 1988; Fleury & Branca-Rosoff 2010; Roberts 2012; Abouda & Skrovec 2015; Edmonds & Gudmestad 2015; Villeneuve & Comeau 2016) and Canadian French studies studies (Emirikian & Sankoff 1986; Zimmer 1994; Chevalier 1996; Poplack & Turpin 1999; King & Nadasdi 2003; Grimm 2010; Grimm & Nadasdi 2011; Wagner & Sankoff 2011; Comeau 2015; Grimm 2016). Chapter 3 also provided a quantitative analysis detailing the significance of the linguistic factors of GRAMMATICALPERSON, TEMPORAL DISTANCE, POLARITY, VERB IRREGULARITY, VERB CLASS, ADVERBIAL SPECIFICATION, and TRANSITIVITY on the selection of the future variants, the PF and the IF. This chapter serves as an extension of the previous chapter, with the focus on social factors that may impact the choice of the PF or the IF. Thus, the goal of this chapter is to determine the effects of age, sex, and education level on the use of the future variants in the present corpora: the CMR (Ranson 2005-2006) and the PFC (Durand, Laks & Lyche 2002, 2009).

The results of a quantitative analysis of social factors specifically that of age, can provide further insight into the directions of change for future variants. The distribution of the variants across different corpora (see Chapter 3) provides some support for the hypothesis that the increase in the usage of the PF is a change in progress. However, the IF in Hexagonal French

does not exhibit the low usage rates seen in Canadian French that lead researchers to postulate the disappearance of the IF (Emirikian & Sankoff 1986). Therefore, the results of the social categories of SEX, AGE, and EDUCATION illustrate whether the usage rates of the PF and the IF point towards a change in progress or whether these usage rates are somewhat stable. This would suggest that, even though the usage rate of the IF is lower than the PF, the IF has not lost its areas of specialization (e.g. formal style, uncertain eventualities). This chapter begins by detailing the importance of considering the social constraints on a linguistic variable to determine the potential direction of change, in Section 4.2. Next, Section 4.3 reveals the results of the quantitative analysis of the social factors of AGE, SEX, and EDUCATION. Section 4.4 concludes this chapter by providing a discussion of the results.

#### 4.2. Social Factors and Language Change

The overall goal of investigating social constraints, such as age and sex, is to determine whether the variation between the PF and the IF is a change in progress or stable. Table 4.1 outlines four possible patterns of individual and community change revealed in apparent and real-time studies (Labov 1994: 83).

Table 4.1. *Individual and Community – Level Patterns of Change* (Labov 1994: 83)

	Individual	Community
Stability	Stable	Stable
Age-grading	Unstable	Stable
Generational Change	Stable	Unstable
Communal Change	Unstable	Unstable

When the given data reveal no variation, there is no change in the individual or community, labeled as *stability* in Table 4.1. If the individuals alter their patterns of speech throughout their

lifetimes, yet the community does not change, then this is *age-grading*.<sup>48</sup> Next, Labov (1994: 84) notes that *generational change* is the “normal type of linguistic change” that occurs when new individuals enter a speech community. These individuals’ pattern of speech remains stable while the community gradually changes across successive generations. Finally, *communal change* refers to a community where individuals and the community as a whole simultaneously acquire new forms or alter existing linguistic elements.

Synchronic or apparent time studies, such as the present analysis, that investigate the distribution of a linguistic variant at one point in time across different age groups, reveal indistinguishable results of either an age-grading or generational patterns (Sankoff 2006; Tagliamonte 2012; Wagner 2012). However, sociolinguistic theories may be used as diagnostics to disambiguate an age-grading pattern from a generational pattern. For example, Wagner (2012: 374) points out that since men produce more non-standard variants than women in any age group (Labov 2001), “apparent time studies in which men are the most frequent users of a variant might be more indicative of age grading than change.” Wagner (2012: 374-375) also cites trend differences in social classes as a further diagnostic for age-grading. Social classes that exhibit different trends from other social groups, such as a pattern of stability in some social groups and not in others may reveal age-grading, since in generational change one social class tends to lead the change (e.g. *changes from above* or *below* (Labov 1994)). While the present apparent time study takes Wagner’s (2012) diagnostics into account, it has also been shown that when apparent time studies have been repeated to test for either age-grading or generational patterns, the studies

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<sup>48</sup> Wagner (2012: 378) redefines age-grading as “a repetition of age-appropriate linguistic behavior in each generation *whether or not the linguistic variable is stable in the community.*”

do not show any evidence of age-grading alone and thus suggest that apparent time studies are able to predict a change in progress (Sankoff 2006: 106).

The present study conducted separate multivariate analyses of the extra-linguistic factors from the linguistic factors in order to limit the possibility of significant factors not being found significant or non-significant factors being reported as significant (Tagliamonte 2012: 130-131; Roberts 2015: 59-60)<sup>49</sup> and to be uniform with previous French variationist studies (Roberts 2015: 60; e.g. Poplack & Turpin 1999; Poplack & Dion 2009; Roberts 2012). Furthermore, in accordance with variationist theory, the individual is a part of a speech community (Labov 1966); however, to ensure the most accurate statistical analysis, social factors were grouped by sex, age, and education level (i.e. with or without a *baccalauréat*) when using Goldvarb X (Sankoff, Tagliamonte, & Smith 2005). The grouping of social factors mitigates any possible individual effects which could alter the outcomes of the statistical analysis.

### **4.3. Quantitative Analysis of the Social Factors**

#### **4.3.1. Social Factors: Previous Studies and Coding**

The previous literature that investigated the social factor of SEX has resulted in mixed results. Comeau (2011) and Grimm & Nadasdi (2011) found that women tend to favor the PF, while another study (Grimm 2010) found that men favored the PF. However, the majority of studies that looked into SEX as a conditioning factor found that it was not significant (Poplack & Turpin 1999; Sankoff & Wagner 2006; Wagner & Sankoff 2011; Roberts 2012; Villeneuve & Comeau 2016). The present study hypothesizes that women will favor the PF, which will support

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<sup>49</sup> Tagliamonte (2012: 130) notes that Type II errors, finding factors not significant when they are in fact significant is more common in random effects models than in fixed-effects models, such as Goldvarb X.

the notion that the increase in the PF in spoken French is a change in progress, and not age-grading.

Canadian French studies that tested for AGE have shown that older speakers favor the IF (Zimmer 1994; Poplack & Turpin 1999; Sankoff & Wagner 2006; Wagner & Sankoff 2011). Real time studies of Canadian French argue either for the gradual replacement of the IF by the PF (Zimmer 1994) or for the increased use of the IF as speakers age, which was considered to be evidence of age-grading (Sankoff & Wagner 2006; Wagner & Sankoff 2011). Sankoff and Wagner (2006) found that older speakers favored the IF, but only those in the higher socio-economic groupings. This study also concluded that the effects of age represented an age-grading pattern and not generational change, suggesting that the change from the IF to the PF as a default future is nearly complete (Sankoff & Wagner 2006: 210-213). In contrast, the social factor of AGE was not a significant factor in one Canadian French study (Comeau 2011) and two Hexagonal French studies (Roberts 2012; Villeneuve & Comeau 2016). In support of the previous Canadian French studies (Zimmer 1994; Poplack & Turpin 1999; Sankoff & Wagner 2006; Wagner & Sankoff 2011), the present analysis expects older speakers to disfavor the PF.

The role of EDUCATION was significant in variant selection in two Hexagonal French studies (Roberts 2012; Villeneuve & Comeau 2016) and one Martinique French study (Roberts 2013, 2015), revealing a preference for the PF by speakers with less education. Roberts (2012: 103) noted that the effects of education were visible only at the university level, as he coded for three education categories: a) no *baccalauréat*, b) *baccalauréat*, c) some university or a completed degree. In their study of Portuguese, Poplack and Malvar (2009: 161) found that the PF occurred more than the IF across all education levels. However, Poplack and Dion (2009:

581) reported no effects of education on the selection of the PF or the IF in Canadian French. In accordance with the Hexagonal French studies (Roberts 2012; Villeneuve & Comeau 2016), the present study anticipates EDUCATION to constrain the selection of future variant, such that speakers with their *baccalauréat* will disfavor the PF. This study coded the social factors in groups: a) younger (22-39) female speakers with the bac, b) older (40-82) female speaker without the bac, c) older (40-82) female speakers with the bac, and the same for the men.

### 4.3.2. Social Factor Results

Table 4.2 shows the quantitative results of the grouped social factors.

Table 4.2. *Extra-linguistic factors and the selection of the PF*<sup>50</sup>

Input	0.55		
Significance	p=0.006		
Total N	405 <sup>51</sup>		
	FW	%	N
EXTRA-LINGUISTIC FACTORS			
Male, Younger, +BAC	.64	68.5	37
Female, Younger, +BAC	.60	64.8	70
Male, Older, +BAC	.55	60	21
Female, Older, -BAC	.48	52.8	38
Male, Younger, -BAC	.38	42.9	3
Female, Older, +BAC	.38	42.5	34
Male, Older, -BAC	.34	38.8	19
<i>Range</i>	<i>30</i>		

<sup>50</sup> The extra-linguistic factors were also tested using a mixed effects model, JMP, in an effort to take into account the random effects of the individual. The results of the mixed effects model were similar to those of Goldvarb X which found that the whole model was significant ( $\chi^2 = 11.39$ ;  $p = 0.009$ ). Additionally, AGE was selected as the significant category within the whole model.

<sup>51</sup> 44 tokens were removed due to insufficient metadata.

The grouped extra-linguistic factors reveal a slight preference for the PF by younger male participants who have passed their *baccalauréat* (FW=0.64). Older male participants without a *baccalauréat* show a disfavoring for the PF (FW=0.34). The results of the grouped social factors do not reveal any patterns for sex as a social factor; however, the groupings point toward a disfavoring of the PF by older speakers and a preference for the PF by speakers who have passed the *baccalauréat*. When testing the social factors of AGE, SEX, and EDUCATION (with or without a *baccalauréat*) separately from the social grouping factor group, only AGE (p=0.003) was significant.

The fact that SEX was not significant in the present study does not support some previous Canadian French studies (Comeau 2011; Grimm & Nadasdi 2011) which reported a preference for the PF by female speakers. Table 4.3 illustrates the frequency of the PF and the IF with male and female speakers.

Table 4.3. *The PF and the IF with Male and Female Speakers.*

	Male	Female	Total
IF	67 40.9%	128 44.9%	195
PF	97 59.1%	155 55.1%	252
Total	164 (36.7%)	283 (63.3%)	447

Table 4.3 illustrates that both men (59.1%) and women (55.1%) use the PF slightly more than the IF. Two Canadian French studies (Poplack & Turpin 1999; Wagner & Sankoff 2011) and one Hexagonal French study (Roberts 2012) did not find SEX to be significant either.

Turning to the social factor group of AGE, the present study revealed a slight preference for the PF by younger speakers (FW=0.64; 0.60) and a disfavoring of the PF by older speakers (FW=0.38, 0.34). These results support the previous literature on Canadian French (Zimmer 1994; Poplack & Turpin 1999; Wagner & Sankoff 2011). Yet, AGE was not significant in two Hexagonal French studies (Roberts 2012; Villeneuve & Comeau 2016). Table 4.4 illustrates the use of the PF and the IF with two age groups: a) under 39 and b) over 40.

Table 4.4. *Use of the PF and the IF with two Age Groups* (p=0.003)

	Under 40 <sup>52</sup> (Avg. Age: 26.9)	Over 40 (Avg. Age: 59.9)	Total
IF	63 36.2%	120 <b>51.9%</b>	183
PF	111 <b>63.8%</b>	111 48.1%	222
Total	174 (43%)	231 (57%)	405

The distribution in Table 4.4 reveals a higher rate of the PF with younger speakers (63.8%) and of the IF with older speakers (51.9%).

Looking back to the factor weights in Table 4.2, participants who had passed their *baccalauréat* showed a slight preference for the PF (FW=0.64, 0.60, 0.55). One exception was that older female speakers who had passed their *baccalauréat* disfavored the PF (FW=0.38). The distribution in Table 4.5 does not show a strong preference for one variant over another based upon EDUCATION.

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<sup>52</sup> Ages in the “Under 40” group include: 18,20,21,22,23,24,25,26,27,28,29,30,31,32,35,37,38,39. Ages in the “Over 40” group include: 40,43,45,48,49,52,53,54,55,56,57,61,64,65,66,69,71,73,74,75,76,81,82.

Table 4.5. *Use of the PF and the IF by Speakers with and without a Baccalauréat*

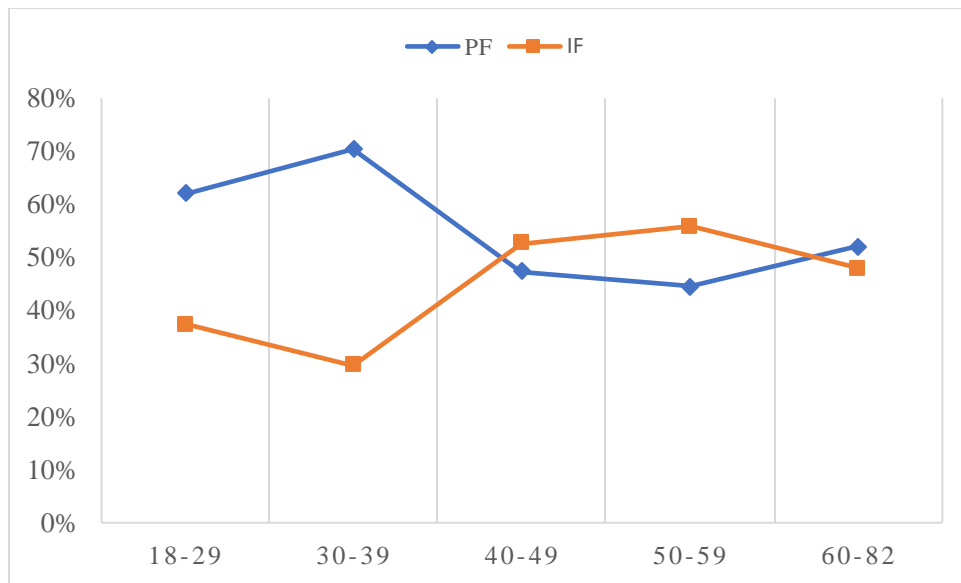
	With <i>baccalauréat</i>	No <i>baccalauréat</i>	Total
IF	115 41.5%	68 53.1%	183
PF	162 58.5%	60 46.9%	222
Total	277 (68.4%)	128 (31.6%)	405

There is only a slightly higher rate of usage of the PF (58.5%) with speakers who have passed their *baccalauréat*. These results differ from those of Villeneuve and Comeau (2016: 327) who found that EDUCATION was the strongest social factor in variant choice in Vimeu French, reporting a preference for the PF for speakers without a *baccalauréat*. Roberts (2012:103; 2015: 60) reported a preference for the PF by speakers without a *baccalauréat* in Hexagonal French and in Martinique French. However, a study on future temporal reference in Portuguese (Poplack & Malvar 2009: 161) and a Canadian French study (Poplack & Dion 2009: 581) reported no effects of education on the selection of a future variant. The results of the present study, then, indicate that EDUCATION was not significant when tested as a model with SEX and AGE. However, when EDUCATION was tested separately, without the influence of AGE it was reported as significant ( $p=0.03$ ), showing a slight preference for the PF by speakers with a *baccalauréat*. These results are surprising since it was predicted that speakers with a *baccalauréat* would show a preference for IF based on the results of Villeneuve and Comeau (2016). There are only two social groupings where one group has a *baccalauréat* and the other does not, as shown in Table 4.2: older females with and without the *baccalauréat* and younger males with and without the

*baccalauréat*. The older females without the *baccalauréat* favored the PF (FW =0.48 vs. 0.38), but the younger males with the *baccalauréat* favored the PF (FW=0.64 vs. 0.38).<sup>53</sup>

Overall, the selection of the PF or the IF is constrained by AGE, evident in the social groupings in Table 4.15. In support of the previous Canadian French studies (Zimmer 1994; Poplack & Turpin 1999; Sankoff & Wagner 2006; Wagner & Sankoff 2011), the PF was favored by younger speakers and disfavored by older speakers. To achieve a closer look at the distribution of the PF and the IF across generations, the present analysis divided the two age groups by generation. Figure 4.1 displays the usage rate of the PF and the IF across the multiple generations.

Figure 4.1. *Generational use of the PF and the IF.*



There is a curve in Figure 4.1 that begins with the higher usage rate of the PF by the younger generations. This curve drops in the middle-aged generations, such as 40-49, 50-59, and slightly

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<sup>53</sup> Returning to the whole model test in JMP, EDUCATION was not significant.

rises in the older generations. The distribution of age in apparent time studies displays a curvilinear pattern, which demonstrates a peak in the non-standard variant in the adolescent age group (Labov 2001: 142-145). Adolescents do not have societal pressures to adhere to the linguistic norm, while adults are under more pressure due to their desire to fit in at their place of work (Labov 2001; Tagliamonte 2012). The curve in Figure 4.1 is not unlike these theories of age; however, why, then, is there a slight rise in the usage of the PF with the older generations (ages 60-82)? Do these results represent a pattern of age-grading in which younger speakers routinely increase their usage of the PF only to decrease their usage as they age, while the use of the PF and the IF in the community remains stable? Or, does this upward turn by the older generation represent a communal change in progress in which every generation is increasing its rate of usage of the PF?

Without a real-time study that diachronically analyzes the speakers' use of the PF and the IF, it is difficult to tell whether these results point to a generational change. In a real-time study of future temporal reference, Sankoff and Wagner (2006: 212) reported a rise in the PF by younger speakers, yet the year of the recording for each corpus was not significant, pointing towards age-grading and not a change in progress. The same study (Sankoff & Wagner 2006: 211-212) found that the lower social class remained stable, while the upper class revealed a lower rate of the PF. The absence of a clear social class trend and no effect of the year of recording led Sankoff and Wagner (2006: 213) to conclude that the rise in the PF in younger speakers was due to age-grading and that the posited replacement of the IF by the PF had slowed considerably.

In an effort to test whether the rise in the PF in younger speakers in the present corpus was an example of age-grading, the present study conducted two additional multivariate analyses with the older speakers, consisting of 231 tokens, and the younger speakers, consisting of 174 tokens. The current aim in these additional analyses, then, was to look for a relationship between the selection of the PF and the IF and linguistic factors based upon the speaker's age. Conducting generational multivariate analyses should reveal whether the speakers are using the future variants in the same way. If both variants are constrained by the same linguistic factors, then the difference in variant usage by age may be an example of age-grading or even stylistic differences (i.e. formal vs. informal). If the linguistic conditioning environments are different for the two age groups, then the spike in usage of the PF by younger generations may be an example of a change in progress. Illustrated in Table 4.6, VERB CLASS was the only shared significant linguistic factor. TEMPORAL DISTANCE was significant in the older speakers' group.

Table 4.6. *Results of Older and Younger Speaker Multivariate Analysis.*

Older Speakers				Younger Speakers			
	Input	0.47			Input	0.64	
	Significance	p=0.000			Significance	p=0.004	
	Total N	231			Total N	174	
	FW	%	N		FW	%	N
VERB				VERB			
CLASS				CLASS			
Motion	.72	66.7	44	Dynamic	.61	73.4	47
Dynamic	.62	56.3	17	Motion	.56	70.7	41
Stative	.21	21.8	49	Stative	.30	44.2	23
<i>Range</i>	<i>.51</i>			<i>Range</i>	<i>.30</i>		
TEMPORAL				TEMPORAL	NS		
DISTANCE				DISTANCE			
Within one month	.91	85.7	24	Within one month	NS		
Within the hour	.66	74.1	20	Within the hour	NS		
Within the day	.66	62.5	15	Within the day	NS		
Distant	.41	33.9	20	Distant	NS		
Unspecified	.31	32.9	27	Unspecified	NS		
Within the week	.30	36.2	4	Within the week	NS		
<i>Range</i>	<i>.61</i>						

Illustrated in Table 4.6, the linguistic factor of VERB CLASS was the only factor selected as a significant conditioning environment for the use of the PF or the IF in both the older and younger speakers' group. Motion verbs strongly favored the PF in the older speaker group (FW=0.72), while there was almost no preference for the PF by motion verbs in the younger speaker group (FW=0.56). Stative verbs disfavored the PF in both groups (FW=0.21; 0.30), indicating a possible area of specialization for the IF. In addition, dynamic verbs showed a slight preference

for the PF in both groups (FW=0.62; 0.61). TEMPORAL DISTANCE was significant only in the older speaker's group, which suggests that proximate and distal eventualities no longer constrain the use of the PF or the IF by younger speakers. In contrast, older speakers preferred the PF with more proximate eventualities, such as within the hour (FW=0.66). The PF was also slightly disfavored by distant eventualities (FW=0.41). However, these temporal distinctions seem to be fluid since the PF was strongly favored by eventualities set to occur within the month or next season (FW=0.91), and disfavored by eventualities set to occur within the week (FW=0.30). These results suggest that a temporal distinction of the future variants may actually be a certainty distinction based upon eventualities leading up to the future proposition (e.g., Vet 1993; Confais 1995). Thus, to investigate further the effect of previous eventualities, Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 revisit this theme in the pragmatic analysis of conversation topic and the context completion task.

The crucial point of this analysis, then, is that older speakers still exhibit traces of the original semantics of the PF, such as the collocation with the PF and motion verbs, while the original semantics of the PF is not as strong a predictor with the younger speakers. Therefore, this could be an example of a communal pattern of linguistic change as both the speaker and the community show patterns of variation. The present analysis considers speaker variation as the variation between the use of the PF and the IF across multiple generations seen in Figure 4.1 and community variation as the variable usage rates of the PF and the IF reported by the previous Hexagonal French studies (see Chapter 3, Section 3.4). For example, then, as younger speakers tend to be the leaders of linguistic change (Labov 2001), the PF is further along the grammaticalization continuum with the younger speakers, seen in the weak collocation of the PF

with motion verbs (FW=0.57). Furthermore, it is possible that the older speakers are also participating in linguistic change (Labov 2001: 447; Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2007: 213), since the PF of the older speakers is not as advanced along the grammaticalization continuum, evidenced through the significance of TEMPORAL DISTANCE and collocation of the PF with verbs of motion. Hypothetically, then, if interviews were conducted with the same speakers today, (i.e. ten years later), there would not be as strong a preference for the PF with motion verbs by the older speakers of today (i.e. some of the younger speakers in the present study), illustrating that both the older and younger speakers are simultaneously expanding the use of the PF. However, with the absence of diachronic data to support this argument, this hypothesis can only be supported by trends in the data, such as the consistently higher usage rate of the PF in Hexagonal and Canadian French studies and the generational multivariate analyses that highlight shared significant constraint environments, such as the collocation of motion verbs with the PF.

#### **4.4. Conclusion**

This chapter has discussed the results of the quantitative analysis of social factors, highlighting the importance of a multi-generational view on the usage of the PF and the IF in determining the direction of potential language change. When testing the social factors as multiple groupings of age, sex, and educational level, the groupings were significant. Yet, when tested separately using a mixed effects model (JMP), only AGE was significant. The distribution of the PF and the IF across the age groups revealed a curve that led to the question of age-grading versus generational change. Therefore, the present analysis attempted to tease apart these possible patterns of change by conducting generational multivariate analyses. The linguistic factor of VERB CLASS was the only significant factor group shared by the two age groups, suggesting that both age groups share an underlying grammar of the use of the PF, yet the PF is

increasing at different rates across the different generations. These findings lead to the hypothesis that the PF and the IF are not necessarily demonstrating a change in progress across generations, but rather a communal change.

The analysis of the social factors in the present chapter has focused on the potential for the future variants to be in the process of a communal change. In Chapter 5, the focus shifts to investigate the meaning of the future variants. Thus, while the present chapter has provided valuable insight into the expansion of the use of the PF across multiple generations, this study also aims to determine the meaning or meanings of the PF. Therefore, Chapter 5 investigates the pragmatic meanings assigned to the variants through a quantitative and qualitative analysis.

### 5.1. Introduction

The results of the quantitative analysis in Chapter 3 revealed that the PF and the IF differ stylistically, evidenced by the preference for the PF in informal environments (e.g. with the informal pronouns (*on* (meaning *nous*) and *ça*) and *ne* deletion); yet the variants share some linguistic environments, such as referring to proximal eventualities. Following Schwenter (2011: 143-144), the analysis presented in this chapter assumes that a pragmatic distinction based on formality is not sufficient to capture the distinctions between the PF and the IF. The goal of this chapter, then, is to extend the traditional variationist framework beyond the linguistic factors tested in Chapter 3 to the level of discourse and to conduct a multivariate analysis of pragmatic hypotheses gleaned from the results of Chapter 3 and the previous literature. This will involve testing some hypotheses quantitatively and qualitatively. The pragmatic qualitative analysis occurs in Chapter 6 while this chapter presents the quantitative analysis of pragmatic factors that can be operationalized, such as contingency or subjectivity. This chapter is organized as follows. Section 5.2 outlines the pragmatic hypotheses to be tested in the present quantitative analysis and the qualitative analysis in Chapter 6. Section 5.3 presents the methodology. Section 5.4 provides the background for the pragmatic factors and coding schemes. Section 5.5 discusses the quantitative results and provides a qualitative analysis of the use of the PF and the IF contextually, for example, according to conversation topic and psychologically, such as,

according to the awareness of the interlocutor. Finally, Section 5.6 summarizes the pragmatic quantitative analysis.

## 5.2. Pragmatic Hypotheses

While the factor group of temporal distance was significant in the quantitative analysis presented in Chapter 3, the distribution of the temporal factor levels did not reveal a clear preference for one variant over another. The PF was disfavored in distal eventualities, yet was slightly favored with eventualities set to occur with one or more years and highly favored with those occurring within one or more months. These results and the previous literature that distinguish the PF and the IF based upon degree of certainty (e.g. Fleischman 1982; Lansari 2010) support the first pragmatic hypothesis stated in (1).

(1) *The PF is more certain.*

The present analysis seeks to test the idea that the speaker's greater certainty of the realization of an event favors the selection of the PF. The fact that proximal temporal distance favors the PF could be the result of a higher degree of certainty since proximal eventualities tend to have more certain realization than more distant ones. Hypothesis 1 will be tested by a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the conversation topic and utterance type on the assumption that more certain future events will appear in topics such as school and travel and that epistemic matrix phrases indicating certainty will favor the PF, while those expressing uncertainty and questions will disfavor the PF. In addition, this chapter tests Hypothesis 1 by investigating the role of certainty adverbials, such as *certainement* 'certainly' and contingent utterances, such as those containing a *si* clause, as potential pragmatic constraints on the selection of the PF and IF.

The second pragmatic hypothesis, in (2), tests the use of the PF in subjective utterances.

(2) *The PF is more subjective.*

Descriptive grammarians (Confais 1995; Sundell 1991) associate the notion of neutrality in the form of non-subjective utterances with the IF, yet the present analysis did not find animacy to be a distinguishing factor. Furthermore, the grammatical subject *je* 'I' showed almost no preference for the PF (FW=0.53). The present analysis hypothesizes that the notion of subjectivity is related to speaker certainty. Hypothesis 2 will be tested by a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the psychological contextual factors of *subjectivity*, that is, the "speaker's assessment of the reliability of their propositions," and *intersubjectivity*, which refers to the "speaker's attention to and awareness of their interlocutors" (Traugott 2003; cf. Pichler 2013: 46).

The third hypothesis stems from the quantitative results of Chapter 3 that revealed a preference for the PF with informal grammatical subjects, such as *on* and *ça*, and *ne* deletion. The quantitative results also underscored a link between the IF and the grammatical subjects, *ce* and formal *vous*, which are prescriptively recommended in formal contexts (L'Huillier 1999: 491, 596). Additionally, the previous literature suggests that the IF is the more formal variant (Confais 1995; Sundell 1991; Wales 2002; Poplack & Dion 2009) and that the PF is less formal (Bauche 1920; Imbs 1960; Poplack & Turpin 1999).

(3) *The PF is the less formal future variant.*

Formality will be qualitatively analyzed as the use of the PF and the IF are detailed for each conversation topic. The following section presents the methodology and the results of the quantitative analysis of the pragmatic hypotheses.

### 5.3. Methodology

As contextual factors may affect variant frequency, when comparing corpora it is important to investigate the textual metadata for each corpus (Pichler 2010: 586). The present study presented a comparison of the corpora in Chapter 3, Section 3.2, yet it is important to highlight here that, overall, both corpora were similar, shown in Table 5.1. The bold descriptions are those that are shared by the corpora, while the underlined descriptions show the differences.

Table 5.1 *Contextual Metadata* (adapted from Pichler 2010: 587)<sup>54</sup>

Factor	Textual metadata	Examples
Discourse	Speech event	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>One to one/one to many</b></li> <li>• <b>Spontaneous/ not spontaneous</b></li> <li>• Structured/ <b>unstructured</b></li> <li>• <b>Discussion/narrative</b></li> </ul>
Semantic	Topic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>General/ specific</b></li> <li>• Prepared/ <b>not prepared</b></li> </ul>
Social	Speaker Roles/Relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Peers/</u> <b>interviewer/interviewee</b></li> </ul>
Psychological	Speaker attitudes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Objective/subjective</b></li> <li>• <b>Phatic/informational</b></li> </ul>
Stylistic	Formality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Formal/informal</u></li> </ul>

The PFC interviews were often conducted in a group where the interviewer was either a friend or family member. This difference is evident under the social factor as *peers* and stylistic factor as *formal*. While the conversations in the CMR were not guided, the interviewer was rarely a close acquaintance of the participant which resulted in more frequent use of singular *vous* (87.5%

<sup>54</sup> See Pichler (2010: 587) for complete table. Factors that were not recorded in the metadata for the corpora used in this study were removed. For example, the “physical” factor was removed, since we could not distinguish the physical distance between the speakers by listening to the interviews.

N=21/24) than in the PFC (12.5%, N=3/24). The difference between the two corpora in the use of *vous* was significant ( $\chi^2= 22.59$ ,  $p=0.007$ ).

Since the goal of this chapter is to move beyond the quantitative analysis of linguistic factors to further explore the data, locating patterns or trends that could determine the functions as well as the meanings of the future variants, all of the possible uses of the PF and the IF must be considered. Linguistic variants, like the PF and the IF, are often multifunctional and can be used multifunctionally within a conversation, thus, all of the functions of each variant should be analyzed (Aaron 2010; Pichler 2010: 597-598; 2013: 47; Cheshire 2016). Therefore, non-temporal uses of the PF and the IF will be considered in the present analysis if there is evidence of variation. All habitual and epistemic uses will be included (N=17), while fixed expressions that do not show variation, such as *on va dire* will be analyzed separately. The present chapter, then, investigates a total of 466 tokens for potential pragmatic constraints on the selection of the PF and the IF. Turning to the pragmatic hypotheses presented in Section 5.2, the present analysis coded for TOPIC of conversation to test for formality and certainty of the future variant and SUBJECTIVITY, to investigate the speaker's awareness of the interlocutor. This study also operationalized the notions of CERTAINTY and CONTINGENCY by investigating the use of the future variants with certainty adverbials, such as *certainement* 'certainly,' and contingent utterances, such as those containing a *si*, 'if,' clause.

## **5.4. Pragmatic Factors**

### **5.4.1 Subjectivity and Intersubjectivity: Previous Studies and Coding**

In Chapter 3, the quantitative analysis showed that GRAMMATICALPERSON was a significant factor in the selection of future variant. These statistical results, however, did not

support the previous studies that have linked the IF with third person, inanimate subjects (Confais 1995; Sundell 1991; Wales 2002; Poplack & Dion 2009). Furthermore, while it was shown that formal *vous* disfavored the PF, in accordance with Poplack and Turpin (1999) and Roberts (2012)'s findings, the present study did not find that first person pronouns favored the PF, which as was reported by a study on Hexagonal French newspapers (Wales 2002) and two Canadian French studies (Poplack & Turpin 1999; Grimm & Nadasdi 2010). These results, then, reveal a formality distinction between the PF and the IF as opposed to a distinction based upon subject animacy, suggesting that the original meaning of the PF as expressing movement by a volitional subject has bleached (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 270; Poplack & Tagliamonte 1999: 332). This section tests the pragmatic factor group of SUBJECTIVITY to investigate further the role of the volitional subject in variant selection. The focus, though, is no longer on the grammatical subject, but on the psychological difference between the subjectivity of offering one's opinion and the intersubjectivity of reacting to the interlocutor.

The notion of subjectivity is considered to be bipartite, in accordance with Traugott (2003: 125) and Pichler (2013: 46) who distinguish between subjective (interpersonal) functions and intersubjective functions. Subjective utterances "indicate [the] speaker's relation and attitude towards their propositions" (Pichler 2013: 46). Intersubjective utterances underscore the speakers' awareness of their interlocutors, through promises, mitigation, or orders, and thus are expected to occur more often with the IF (Riegal, Pellat & Rioul 1997: 313 -314)<sup>55</sup>. The data

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<sup>55</sup> In her English and French translation study of future temporal reference, Celle (2005: 183) states that IF cannot be used to underscore the intersubjectivity of *shall*. Instead, a modal, such as *devoir*, must be used. Intersubjectivity in the present analysis is taken to mean an awareness of the interlocutor evidenced through the use of *tu*, *vous*, questions, promises, orders, and utterances of mitigation. Similarly, Traugott (2003: 135) states that intersubjectification is an "extension" of subjectivity (interpersonal functions) and results in the desiging of utterances for an intended audience."

were grouped into two categories: a) subjective and b) intersubjective. Utterances that expressed a speaker's personal opinion or belief were grouped as subjective, as in (5a). These utterances may begin with a first person pronoun, but this is not a requirement. In (5a), the speaker is discussing an upcoming trip to California with her family. This is classified as subjective, since it is her opinion that her family will like everything. Instances of mitigation, promises, or any other indication of the speaker's awareness of the interlocutors were classified as intersubjective, as in (5b). Earlier in the conversation the interviewer stated that she had a map with her, so as not to get lost. Later, the speaker notes that the interviewer will bring her map with her when she is travelling. This awareness of the interlocutor is classified as intersubjectivity. In addition to the use of the second person pronouns, *tu* and *vous*, uses of a second person object pronoun, as in (5c) and responses to questions, as in (5d), were also classified as intersubjective.

(5) a. *On **aimera** tout.* [7RF40]

We **will like** everything.

b. *Vous **l'amènerez**.* [11RM24]

You **will bring** it with you.

c. *...après, je vous **expliquerai*** [3RM55]

Afterwards, I **will explain** it to you.

d. *Où est-ce qu'il passe chez toi ?*

*Cette année, il **va passer** dans le nord du département.* [ToulouseM27]

Where is he going to pass in your region?

(speaking of a bicyclist in the Tour de France)

This year, he **is going to pass** in the north of the region.

The PF grammaticalized from a construction that denoted an agent who was on a path, moving towards a goal. The use of the PF assumes “a degree of participation, interest, or personal involvement in the event” (Fleischman 1982: 97). Therefore, one might expect to see a preference for the PF in subjective utterances. However, the quantitative analysis in Chapter 3 did not find volitional agents to be a significant predictor of the PF. For instance, there was almost no preference for the PF by *je* (FW = 0.53), *il(s)*, *elle(s)*, *tu*, or plural *vous* (FW= 0.52), or animate nominal subjects (FW=0.41). Instead, the PF was favored by informal subjects, evidenced by the preference for the prescriptively informal subject *ça* (FW= 0.60). Since this factor group does not concentrate only on the grammatical subject, the present study expects to see a preference for the PF by subjective utterances representing a retention of the original meaning of the PF which denotes a volitional agent on a path toward a goal. Additionally, the IF has been associated with the realm of deontic modality that includes the speaker’s awareness of the interlocutor to denote permission and willingness<sup>56</sup> (Palmer 2001), requests (Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca 1994; Dahl 2000) and orders (Martin 1981; 1987; Hollerbach 1994; Riegel, Pellat & Rioul 1997). Specifically, the notion of ability or willingness is a meaning that is potentially retained from the grammaticalization of the IF (Bybee & Pagliuca 1987:117). Thus, the present study expects that the PF will be disfavored by intersubjective utterances.

#### **5.4.2. Conversation Topic: Previous Studies and Coding**

Since the IF is linked with formality in previous studies (Gagnon 1990; Sundell 1991; Poplack & Turpin 1999; Wales 2002; Roberts 2012), one would predict that topics considered

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<sup>56</sup> The notion of willingness falls under the category of dynamic modality (Palmer 2001) or agent-oriented modality (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994) and is a meaning that stems from the original sense of the periphrastic future formed with HABERE in Latin (Bybee & Pagliuca 1987:117).

more formal would contain more instances of IF, while informal topics would show a preference for the PF (Bauche 1920; Imbs 1960; Poplack & Turpin 1999). However, Wales (2002) did not find formality to favor the IF in a study on future temporal reference in newspapers from 1994 to 1997. Wales (2002:90) reported an alternation between future variants in most sections, yet, the PF occurred more frequently in quoted speech, most likely due to the use of first and second person. In the weather section, the use of the PF linked current events with future forecasts, in (6), while the IF detailed weather events for later in the same day or farther in the future (Wales 2002: 89-90).

(6) *Après les pluies de la nuit, c'est un temps très variable qui va s'établir aujourd'hui.*

After last night's rains, a variable weather pattern **will establish** itself today.

Both the IF and the PF were used in political articles, in which the PF indicated current governmental plans to be realized in the proximate future, while the IF was used to describe future actions (Wales 2002: 88-89). Wales (2002: 89) noted a tendency for the PF to "link the news to the reader's current world," while the IF referred to a "later situation." The overall conclusion of Wales' (2002) topic study revealed that reference time constrained variant selection exhibiting a preference for the PF with eventualities that are expected to occur in the near future. Therefore, the present study expects to see an alternation between the variants in most topics, with a higher percentage of the PF with eventualities that are more definite and set to occur in the more proximate future.

#### **5.4.3. Certainty: Previous Studies and Coding**

Descriptive grammarians (Fleischman 1982; Vet 1993; Confais 1995) posit a link between speaker confidence in the realization of the future eventuality and the PF (or the futurate

present), while the IF is reserved for more uncertain outcomes. Yet, previous variationist studies have not always found this factor to be statistically significant (Poplack & Turpin 1999; Grimm & Nadasdi 2011; Comeau 2015). Still, others (King & Nadasdi 2003; Edmonds & Gudmestad 2015) showed that uncertain eventualities favored the IF, while more imminent eventualities favored the PF.

When coding for certainty, the present study relied on discourse clues such as adjectives, adverbs, and context. Contextual clues include information from the previous discourse that reveals the speaker's certainty. For example, a speaker may reference an upcoming job that she has already accepted, shown in (7b). However, such clues were not always present and the sentence remained ambiguous. Therefore, following Edmonds and Gudmestad (2015), this factor group was divided into three categories: a) presence of a certainty marker (*certainement* 'certainly') or a contextual clue, b) presence of an uncertainty marker (*peut-être* 'maybe') and c) no marker. In (7a), the sentence contains the certainty marker, *certainement*, used with the PF. In (7b), the speaker first employs the PF in reference to her upcoming teaching position in Venezuela and then the speaker uses the IF the uncertainty marker, *peut-être*.

(7) a. ...*parce que ça va certainement attirer beaucoup de monde.* [7RF40]

...because that **is certainly going to attract** many people.

b. *l'année prochaine je vais partir au Venezuela ... travailler comme prof de français et ensuite peut-être que je prendrai, je ferai un DESS ou un master 2.* [6MF20]

Next year I **am going to leave** for Venezuela.... to work as a French teacher and afterwards, maybe I **will take, I will do** a DESS<sup>57</sup> or a Master's.

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<sup>57</sup> A DESS is a higher education degree similar to a Master's Degree in the United States. (DESS = *diplôme d'études supérieures spécialisées*)

In accordance with the traditional distinctions between the future variants and Edmonds and Gudmestad's (2015) study of Hexagonal French, the present study expected certainty to favor the selection of the PF, whereas uncertainty markers would favor the IF.

#### **5.4.4. Contingency: Previous Studies and Coding**

The IF is often assigned a hypothetical value (e.g. Gardes-Tamine 1988; Confais 1995; Laurendeau 2000). However, in an early study of the IF and the PF, Deschaies and Laforge (1981:33-34) found that the PF occurred more frequently in conditional contexts (94.3%) than the IF (5.7%), such as following *si*. In addition, Deschaies and Laforge (1981:32) reported a higher usage rate of the PF (91.1%) with *quand*. Poplack and Turpin (1999) also investigated the notion of contingency as a possible factor in variant selection. If the realization of an eventuality was dependent upon the realization of another event, it was coded as contingent. Conversely, if the unconditional eventuality was assumed, it was coded as assumed (Poplack & Turpin 1999: 153). Blondeau (2006: 90-91) expanded on Poplack and Turpin's (1999) coding system, by looking at the use of *si* followed by the future variant in the apodosis of a conditional statement, the use of *quand* or a temporal adverbial followed by the future token, and the use of some other contingency marker, such as *peut-être* 'maybe.' Wagner and Sankoff (2011) adopted Blondeau's (2006) coding model and further specified the category of *quand* followed by a future variant, by separating utterances with the future variant in the matrix clause and those in the subordinate clause. The results of these studies (Poplack & Turpin 1999; Blondeau 2006; Wagner & Sankoff 2011) showed a preference for the IF with contingent eventualities, which supports the hypothetical values originally assigned to the IF.

The present study adopted Wagner and Sankoff's (2011) and Blondeau's (2006) coding framework that tested for four possible contingency forms and one non-contingent form. Example (8) illustrates the contingency categories. In (8a), the future variant occurs in the apodosis of a *si* clause.<sup>58</sup> The use of *quand* or another temporal adverbial followed by either a future variant in the subordinate clause, as in (8b) or the matrix clause, in (8c) was also coded. A fourth category included expressions that indicated that the speaker was not committed to the proposition (Lyons 1977: 793-796; Wagner & Sankoff 2011: 289). These expressions are epistemic and non-temporal; however, the difference between epistemic and temporal use is sometimes ambiguous, as the temporal use may have epistemic values, for example, with the addition of *maybe* (Aaron 2014). Following Wagner and Sankoff (2011), this fourth category, illustrated in (8d), includes epistemic markers such as *je ne sais pas*, 'I don't know', or *il paraît que*, 'it seems that,' and thus both temporal and epistemic uses of the future variants.<sup>59</sup> Finally, in (8e), utterances that did not contain contingency were coded as non-contingent.

(8) a. *Si vous allez vous y promener vous **pourrez** rencontrer*

*quelques pans de mur des grottes.* [9RF56]

If you are going to walk there, you **will see** some sections of cave walls.

b. ***Quand** tu verras le paysage, tu ne penseras plus au soleil.* [3MF56]

When you (**will**) see the countryside, you will not think about the sun anymore.

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<sup>58</sup> In accordance with Wagner and Sankoff (2011: 289), the two tokens with PF in the protasis were excluded as there was no variation in this environment. One of these examples also contained PF in the apodosis.

<sup>59</sup> Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994: 195) note that crosslinguistically epistemic values develop later and have evolved from an agent-oriented sense, such as obligation or intention. Aaron (2014) provides further evidence for the continued grammaticalization of the synthetic future in a diachronic study of Spanish. Aaron (2014: 235) showed that with "the bleaching of intentionality (and certainty) in 17<sup>th</sup> century [synthetic future] usage allowed the [synthetic future]'s nearly dormant epistemic meaning to gain salience."

c. *Quand je retourne sur Martigues je vais les voir.* [11RM24]

When I return to Martigues, I **am going to see** them.

d. *Je sais pas s'il va trouver la différence.* [DouzM52]

I don't know he **is going to find** the difference.

e. *...parce que ça va certainement attirer beaucoup de monde.* [7RF40]

...because that **is certainly going to attract** lots of people.

Following the grammatical accounts of the IF as containing hypothetical values and the results of previous studies (Poplack & Turpin 1999; Blondeau 2006; Wagner & Sankoff 2011), the present study anticipates contingency to be a predictor of the IF.

### **5.5. Pragmatic Factor Results**

As in Chapter 3, the present analysis employed the variable rule analysis program Goldvarb X (Sankoff, Tagliamonte, & Smith 2005) to determine the effect of each factor group on the selection of the PF and the IF. Table 5.2 displays the results of the pragmatic factors that affect the choice of the PF.

Table 5.2. *Multivariate analysis of the pragmatic factors that condition the selection of the PF*

Input	0.577		
Significance	p < 0.000		
Total N	466		
	FW	%	N
CONTINGENCY			
<i>Si</i> clauses	.82	84.2	16
Non-contingent	.51	58.7	226
Other contingency element	.38	47.6	20
<i>Quand</i>	.19	25	5
<i>Range</i>	.63		
SUBJECTIVITY			
Subjective Utterances	.55	61.5	235
Intersubjective Utterances	.30	38.1	32
<i>Range</i>	.25		
Not selected as significant: TOPIC, CERTAINTY			

The multivariate analysis retained SUBJECTIVITY and CONTINGENCY as significant predictors of the PF and the IF. The following section describes the results for each pragmatic factor.

### 5.5.1. Subjectivity and Intersubjectivity Results

The multivariate analysis selected SUBJECTIVITY as significant (p < 0.0001). The results support the present study's hypothesis that intersubjective utterances and those with epistemic matrix phrases would disfavor the PF due to the link between the IF and epistemic modality. This disfavoring is most evident with intersubjective utterances (FW=0.32) most likely since the PF was already shown to disfavor *vous* in the results of Chapter 3. However, not all intersubjective utterances begin with *vous* or *tu* since intersubjectivity includes promises and mitigation. For example, in (9), the speaker promises to give the address of a restaurant to the interlocutor at a later time.

(9) *Je vous donnerai tout à l'heure mais en aparté, le eum l'adresse d'un restaurant* [7RF40]

I will give you soon, but in private, the uhm, the address of a restaurant.

Table 5.3. shows the rates of usage of the PF and the IF distribution in subjective and intersubjective utterances.

Table 5.3. *Distribution of the PF and the IF in Subjective Utterances* ( $p < 0.001$ )

	Subjective	Intersubjective	Total
IF	151 38.9%	48 <b>61.5%</b>	199
PF	237 <b>61.1%</b>	30 38.5%	267
Total	388 (83.3%)	78 (16.7%)	466

Intersubjective utterances that demonstrate an awareness of the interlocutor by the speaker contained a higher rate of the IF (61.5%).<sup>60</sup> These findings are in accordance with descriptive (Hollerbach 1994: 217), prescriptive grammarians (Riegal, Pellat & Rioul 1997: 314-315) and Wales (2002) who associates the use of the IF with utterances that demonstrate an awareness of the interlocutor.

In support of the present study's hypothesis and the results of Wales (2002) and Grimm (2010), the PF was slightly favored by subjective utterances (FW=0.55). These results are similar

<sup>60</sup> Lansari (2009: 218-219) notes that the PF expresses intersubjectivity in *si* clauses. The use of the PF in *si* clauses is rare, thus the majority of *si* followed by the PF is used to rephrase the interlocutor's expression in a way of saying "if you're telling me X, then..." (Lansari 2009: 219). The present study has two examples of *si* followed by the PF from the same speaker, however, neither instance reflects the interlocutor's proposition and so neither is intersubjective and so neither is intersubjective.

to those of the volitional grammatical subjects, such as *je*, *il(s)/elle(s)*, and *nous*, reported in Chapter 3, in which there was little to no preference for the PF (FW=0.53 (*je*); FW=0.52 (*ils/elles*); FW=0.27 (*nous*)). This slight preference underscores the notion that the PF is no longer attached to the meaning of an agent moving on a path to a goal. Both the pragmatic factor group of SUBJECTIVITY and the linguistic factor group of GRAMMATICALPERSON suggest the bleaching of the original meaning of the PF.

Overall, the goal of testing the alternation of the PF and the IF in subjective and intersubjective utterances is to move beyond the linguistic factor group of grammatical person to operationalize the psychological variation between awareness of self and interlocutor. The results successfully pinpointed an association between the IF and deontic modality, such as promises (Palmer 2001). Additionally, speakers alternate between the PF and the IF and only slightly favor the PF in subjective utterances, further distancing the PF from its original semantic content. The combination of the grammatical person results from Chapter 3 and the present results provide deeper insight into the nature of the variants in that speakers tend to employ the IF as the more formal variant and as an awareness of one's interlocutor.

### **5.5.2. Contingency Results**

In accordance with some Canadian French varieties (Emirikian & Sankoff 1985; Poplack & Turpin 1999; Blondeau 2006; Wagner & Sankoff 2011), the present study found CONTINGENCY to be significant, yet not necessarily in the selection of the IF. Table 5.4 shows the distribution of the PF and the IF in contingent and non-contingent utterances. There were only 20 tokens with *quand* and 19 with *si*-clauses in the present corpus.

Table 5.4. *Distribution of contingent and non-contingent examples of PF and IF* (p < 0.001)

	<i>Si</i> clause (apodosis)	<i>Quand</i>	Other contingency	Non- contingent	Total
IF	3 18.8%	15 <b>75%</b>	22 52.4%	159 41.3%	199
PF	16 <b>84.2%</b>	5 25%	20 47.6%	224 58.7%	265
Total	19 (4.1%)	20 (4.3%)	42 (9%)	383 (82.6%)	464 <sup>61</sup>

The majority (82.6%) of the utterances in the present corpus reference non-contingent, assumed eventualities, which statistically favor neither the PF nor the IF (FW =0.51). Surprisingly, *si*-clauses favor the PF (FW= 0.82) while *quand* clauses disfavor the use of the PF (FW=0.19). These results are unexpected as the PF tends to be rare in *si*-clauses (Lansari 2009) and previous descriptions of the IF label the variant as a hypothetical marker (e.g. Gardes-Tamine 1988; Confais 1995; Laurendeau 2000).

Therefore, in contrast with the present study, which found that only *quand* as a contingency marker disfavored the PF, previous studies of Canadian French (Poplack & Turpin 1999; Blondeau 2006; Wagner & Sankoff 2011) reported CONTINGENCY as a significant factor, noting that contingent eventualities favor the IF. The IF was slightly favored by *si*-clauses (FW = 0.56) in Blondeau's (2006: 91) study and Wagner and Sankoff's (2011:269) study (FW=0.69). Then, while Blondeau (2006: 91) found that the IF was only slightly favored by *quand* clauses (FW=0.61), Wagner and Sankoff (2011: 269) reported a higher preference for the IF with *quand* clauses (FW=0.86). In contrast, Emirikian and Sankoff (1985:401) noted that *quand* clauses

<sup>61</sup> Total is 464 since the two tokens with PF in the protasis were removed from the analysis as there was no variation in this position.

(59.4%) occur more frequently with the PF in Montreal French, however, their study reported a very low usage rate of the IF (21%). Other contingency expressions favored the IF in Blondeau's (2006:91) study (FW=86), Wagner and Sankoff's (2011:269) study (FW=0.75), and in Emirkanian and Sankoff's (1985: 401) study, which surprisingly reported a higher frequency of the PF with hypothetical sentences (82.9%), and sentences expressing conjecture (84.6%).

Poplack and Turpin (1999: 153) found that CONTINGENCY was not a significant factor in predicting the PF, only the IF, since the IF occurred more frequently in contexts where the realization of the eventuality was dependent upon another eventuality, and thus more hypothetical. CONTINGENCY was not a significant factor in Roberts' (2012) study of Hexagonal French, in King and Nadasdi's (2003) study of two Prince Edward Island communities and one community in Newfoundland, nor was it significant in Grimm and Nadasdi's (2011) study of four communities in Ontario.

The CONTINGENCY results showed that *si*-clauses favor the PF, while *quand* disfavors the PF. It is not surprising that *quand* occurs more with the IF, since the IF occurs after *quand* in the subordinate clause and often in the matrix clause (L'Huillier 1999: 109-110). In the majority of the *quand* tokens (75%), the IF occurred in either clauses or just the subordinate clause. There was one example, illustrated in (10), where the speaker started the *quand* utterance with the IF and finished with the PF.

(10) *Quand il arrivera maintenant, il va me dire autre chose.* [DouzF75]

When he arrives (will arrive) now, he **is going to tell** me something else.

Example (10) shows that the PF occurs in the matrix clause of a *quand* utterance, which is an area that prescriptive grammarians (L'Huillier 1999: 109-110) associate with the IF. It is possible

that the use of the PF in example (10) indicates a shared environment, which was reported in Deschaies and Laforge's (1981: 33-34) early study of Canadian French. However, the use of the PF in the matrix clause by this speaker is interesting since her usage rate of the PF is only 29% (N=2/7). This study posits, then, that this example illustrates the speaker's subjectivity towards the realization of the two eventualities: the arrival and the telling. Descriptive grammarians (Fleischman 1982; Vet 1993; Confais 1995) note that the use of the PF indicates a higher level of speaker certainty due to conditions that have been met prior to the time of utterance. Fleischman (1982: 97) demonstrates the difference in speaker certainty in the example given in (11).

(11) *Dès qu'il viendra – car il va venir –*

As soon as he comes – and he **is going to come** (Fleischman 1982: 97)<sup>62</sup>

The speaker in (11), then, repeats himself to express his certainty that the subject is going to come. Therefore, in example (10) the speaker conveys a high level of certainty that the subject is going to tell her something different, due to background knowledge.

Turning to the results of *si*-clauses, it is surprising that the PF is favored. When the apodosis of a *si*- clause contains a verb marked for future, the protasis contains a verb in present tense (Hawkins, Towell & Lamy 2015: 240). Prescriptive grammars (Grevisse & Goosse 2011; Riegel, Pellat & Rioul 2009) often only recommend IF in the apodosis of *si*-clauses. Or, they underscore the general rule of *si*-clauses, noting that the PF should never be used in the protasis of the *si*-clause (Hawkins, Towell & Lamy 2015: 240). The results of the present study indicate that variation between the PF and the IF occurs in the apodosis. Does this alternation represent an alternation in meaning?

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<sup>62</sup> Translations are from Fleischman (1982: 97).

Fleischman (1982:91-92) highlights the distinction between assumed and contingent events, claiming that when the PF is employed, the event is considered assumed, since the use of the PF “presuppose[s] at the moment of utterance, the prior fulfillment of all conditions necessary for the future event.” Thus, the PF does not require reference to other events in the discourse to be complete. Examples (12a) and (12b) illustrate this contrast in English. In (12a), the rock’s falling is contingent upon the removal of the wedge, while in (12b) the events leading up to the rock’s falling have all been met.

(12) a. That **rock’ll fall** (if you pull the wedge out from under it)

b. That rock is **going to fall**. (Fleischman 1982:92)

This does not mean that the PF cannot occur with *si*-clauses in general. Instead, the difference between the IF and the PF in *si*-clauses or with *quand* is a contrast between simple and inchoative futures (Fleischman 1982: 94). Examples (13a) and (13b) illustrate this contrast.

These examples are more or less synonymous, with the possible durative reading applied to (13a), whereby the act of crying started before your entrance, such that when you enter, you will see her crying. Thus, the use of the PF in *si*-clauses may refer to its inchoative meaning.

(13) a. *Si tu entres, elle pleurera.*

If you go in, **she’ll cry**.<sup>63</sup>

b. *Si tu entres, elle va pleurer.*

If you go in, she **is going to cry**. (Schogt 1964:7, cited in Fleischman 1982:94)

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<sup>63</sup> Translations are from Fleischman (1982: 94).

Looking at data from the present corpus, the example in (14a) could have an inchoative reading, where they will not become angry if you call the language a dialect. An inchoative reading is also possible with (14b), where the vacation will start in August, if there is not another job.

(14) a. *Ils vont pas se fâcher si vous leur dites que c'est un dialecte.* [12MM65]

They are not going to get angry if you tell them that it's a dialect.

b. *Je vais être en vacances au mois d'août, si je ne trouve pas un autre travail.* [7MM25]

I am going to be on vacation in August, if I do not find another job.

However, there are other examples in the present corpus that do not have an inchoative reading such as (15).

(15) *Si je retourne, je vais faire la descente du Nil.* [3MF56]

If I return, I **am going to go** down the Nile.

The reading of (15) is almost synonymous with (15'), which replaces the PF with the IF.

However, the example in (15) retains a sense of certainty. If the speaker returns to Egypt, it is more certain in (12) that she will take a trip down the Nile, than in (15').<sup>64</sup>

(15') *Si je retourne, je ferai la descente du Nil.* [3MF56]

If I return, I **will go** down the Nile.

Therefore, the results of the present study show that *si*-clauses favor PF, regardless of possible constraints, such as affective, inchoative, or contrary to belief readings, suggesting that the PF is developing some of the modal attributes, such as a hypothetical nature, originally assigned to the IF.

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<sup>64</sup> Many thanks to Guillaume Galibert for his native speaker intuition in comparing (15) and (15').

### 5.5.3 Certainty Results

The present analysis expected to see an association between the PF and certainty markers. However, the multivariate analysis did not select this factor group to be significant. Table 5.5 shows the distribution of the PF and the IF and certainty markers.

Table 5.5. *The PF and the IF with Certainty Markers*

	Certainty Marker	Un-Certainty Marker	No Marker	Total
IF	12 32.4%	30 <b>54.5%</b>	157 41.2%	199
PF	25 <b>67.6%</b>	25 45.5%	217 58.8%	267
Total	37 (7.9%)	55 (11.8%)	374 (80.3%)	466

The present data did not contain very many certainty markers (N=13), the majority of which did collocate with the PF (61.5%). In contrast, King and Nadasdi's (2003) Canadian French study and Edmonds and Gudmestad's (2015) Hexagonal French study reported that uncertainty markers favored the IF. While again not significant, it is important to note that uncertainty markers occurred more frequently with the IF (56.2%) in the present study. Therefore, the present study believes that an association between the PF and certainty cannot be made based upon the presence or absence of a certainty marker. Instead, this study posits that the notion of certainty stems from whether previous circumstances and conditions have been met (Vet 1993; Confais 1995). This argument is tested in two ways. First, the following section investigates qualitatively the role of certainty and topic of conversation. Then, Chapter 6 includes previous events as a factor in the context completion task.

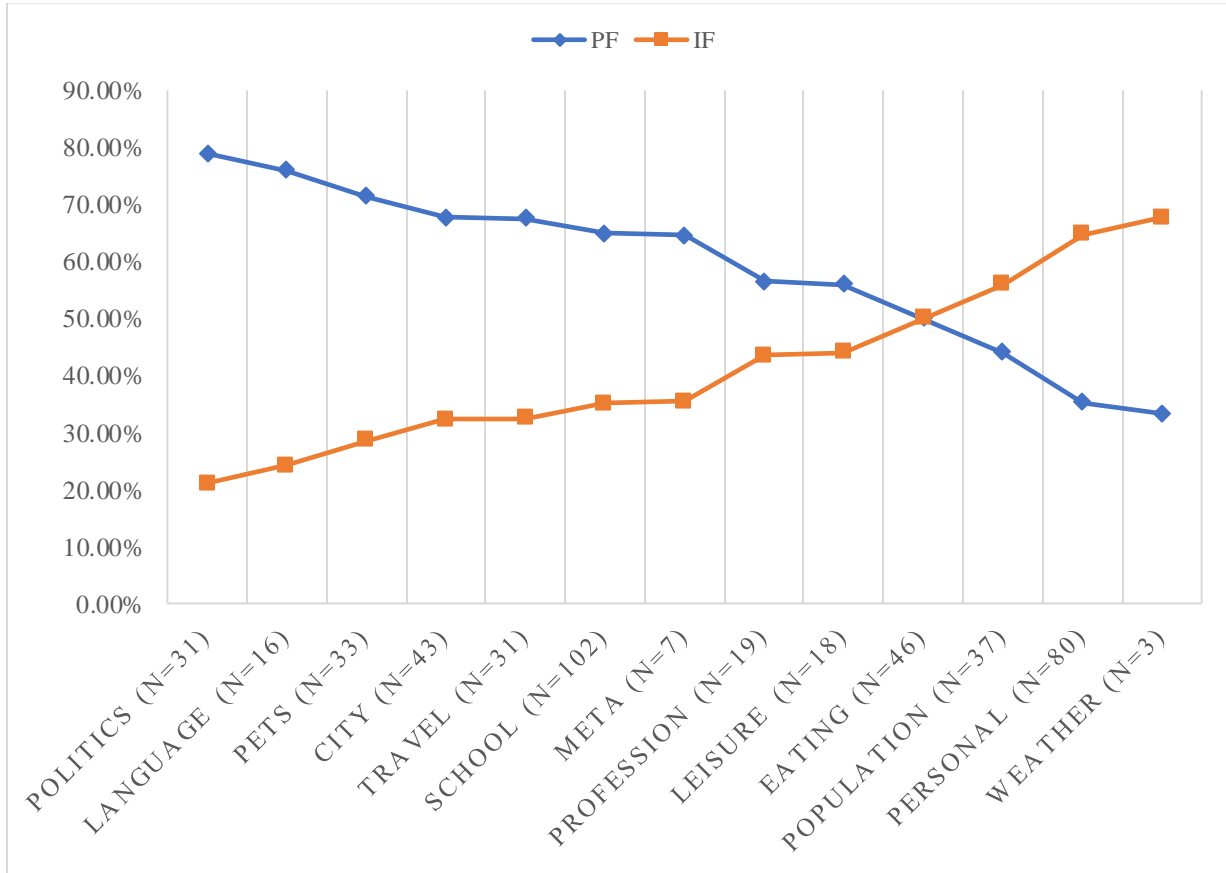
#### 5.5.4. Conversation Topic Results

While there was an array of topics discussed, many conversations discussed school (N=37<sup>65</sup>) and travel (N=80). This may be due to the fact that the interviewer of the CMR is a university professor who had travelled to southern France from the United States. Similarly, in the PFC, the participants often discussed their vacation plans that usually included some travel. The participants also talked about their profession (N=46), politics (N=19), leisure activities (N=43), eating (N=16), language (N=33), and population predictions (N=18). Many participants discussed themselves, their friends, and their family (N= 102). A few conversations discussed the weather (N=3) and pets (N=7). Another topic of conversation was the structure of the conversation itself, such as topic selection, the start or end of the recording, what the participant will add before the recording ends, and the next interviewee. This subject was labeled “meta” (N=31) for metadiscourse. Figure 5.1 shows the percentage of use of either the IF or the PF for the various topics of conversation.

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<sup>65</sup> Numbers reflect number of future tokens for each conversation topic.

Figure 5.1. *Topic of Conversation and Percentage of PF or IF*



The topics that contained a higher rate of the IF were PERSONAL (65%, N= 66/102), POPULATION (56%, N=10/18), and WEATHER (68%, N=2/3). One topic, EATING, contained an equal number of tokens of the IF and the PF (N=8/16). Topics that contained a higher percentage of the PF included: CITY (66.7%, N=20/31), LANGUAGE (76%, N=25/33), LEISURE (56%, N=24/43), META (65%, N=20/31), PETS (71%, N=5/7), POLITICS (79%, N=15/19), PROFESSION (57%, N=26/46), SCHOOL (65%, N=24/37), and TRAVEL (67%, N=54/80). This study did not find this factor group to be significant in the multivariate analysis of pragmatic factors. Therefore, the following sections qualitatively analyze the distribution of topics and the alternation between the PF and the IF.

#### 5.5.4.1. Topics with a Higher Rate of the IF

Of the thirteen broad subjects discussed in the corpora, only three (PERSONAL, POPULATION, and WEATHER) contained more instances of IF than PF. The conversations labeled as PERSONAL included discussions about making friends, having children, stating promises, and predicting speakers' own futures. Discussions within POPULATION included societal predictions, such as population growth or movement of ethnic groups. Finally, the topic of WEATHER included forecasts. Turning first to the topic of WEATHER, example (16) illustrates the use of the IF to predict the temperature. In the hypothetical situation of the interlocutor visiting Lille, the speaker predicts that it will be cold there, in (16).

(16) *Si vous allez à Lille, il **fera** moins dix.* [13MF26]

If you go to Lille, it **will be** minus 10.

Hypothetical and uncertain eventualities are often associated with the IF (Gardes-Tamine 1988; Confais 1995; Laurendeau 2000). Therefore, it is not surprising that the majority of the WEATHER utterances contained the IF (N=2/3) due to the inherent uncertainty of predicting the weather.

The one example of the PF indicated a habitual action, illustrated in (17)

(17) *Entre mai et septembre il **va pleuvoir** cinq jours à peu près* [11RM24]

Between May and September it **is going to rain** for about five days.

Example (17), then, supports the previous literature that has found that habitual actions may be expressed by the IF, the PF, or the futurate present (Larreya 2000:118).

The PERSONAL topics ranged from discussing one's future to making friends. In (18), the speaker talks about returning to painting once her children are older, yet is uncertain about when this may happen.

(18) *Quand mes enfants seront plus grandes peut-être que j'aurai l'occasion de m'y remettre*  
[à la peinture] [7RF40]

When my children are older, maybe I **will have the chance** to return to painting.

The realization of the eventuality of returning to painting is not proximate and is also contingent on her children being older, in (18), illustrating a link between the IF and contingent eventualities (Poplack & Turpin 1999: 152-153). The use of *peut-être*, 'maybe,' suggests that the speaker is not fully committed to returning to painting or that it is nearly impossible to assign an exact date to when her children will be old enough for her to return to painting. The speaker is, therefore, predicting that she will return to painting once her children have reached a certain age.

Another example of uncertainty and distal eventualities with the IF occurs in the POPULATION topic. In (19), the speaker was describing the arrival of fast food restaurants and predicts that the population is going to gain weight.

(19) *Je suis sûr que dans vingt ans il y aura beaucoup d'obèses en France* [2MM56]

I am sure that in twenty years, there **will be** a lot of obese people in France.

In (19), the speaker makes a prediction about the state of the population in twenty years. While the speaker adds certainty with *je suis sûr* 'I am sure,' predicting distal eventualities is inherently uncertain. The examples in (18) and (19) support the previous literature on the reference to distal eventualities by the IF (e.g. Grevisse & Goosse 2011: 1092; Poplack & Dion 2009:568), and the association of the IF with uncertainty (e.g. Confais 1995; Edmonds & Gudmestad 2015: 29) and prediction (e.g. Aaron 2010: 23; Riegal, Pellat & Rioul 1997: 313).

While examples (18) and (19) coincide with the previous grammarians' descriptions of the IF, not all examples do. For example, from the PERSONAL topic, the use of the IF in example

(20) does not refer to a distal eventuality. In (20), the speaker discusses his summer job, which is set to happen *cet été*, ‘this summer,’ in a few months. In this new job, the speaker anticipates making new acquaintances.

(20) *Cet été, je travaillerai en tant qu’ambulancier donc ça fera aussi des contacts aussi avec les personnes... ce sera des contacts différents.*<sup>66</sup> [11RM24]

This summer, I **will work** as an ambulance driver, so that **will also create** contacts, also with people... this **will be** different contacts.

Since both the IF and the PF have been attested with proximate and distal eventualities (Fleischman 1982; Vet 1993; Confais 1995), the use of *travaillerais* with *cet été* is not too surprising. What is worth pointing out is the speaker’s possible use of the IF to denote prediction and possibly intention, a quality that is usually ascribed to the PF (Bybee & Pagliuca 1987). Yet, in (20), the speaker uses the IF seemingly to express his intention of making new friends or to predict that he will make new friends. When considering the entire discourse, it is clear that the speaker is predicting that he will make new contacts this summer, as he has done in previous summers as illustrated by the dialogue in (21), which is prior to the example in (20).

(21) *... depuis l’âge de seize ans j’ai travaillé tous les étés, et c’est vrai qu’au fur et à mesure j’ai toujours fait des emplois où il y avait du contact avec des personnes...* [11RM24]

...since the age of 16, I have worked every summer, and it’s true that bit by bit I have always done jobs where there was contact with people...

Including the entire discourse in the analysis, it is now clear that based upon the speaker’s previous experiences with summer employment, he predicts that he will make acquaintances as

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<sup>66</sup> The verb *travaillerais* was counted as a PROFESSION topic.

an ambulance driver this summer. Thus, this study posits that the use of the IF in (20) illustrates the epistemic modal value of prediction.

Labeled as statements of “willingness” (Martin 1981: 82) and “commissives” (Palmer 2001: 105), promises are an example of dynamic modality as they indicate the willingness or ability of the speaker. Promises indicate the speaker’s awareness of the interlocutor, but also an awareness of one’s own ability to fulfill the promise. Therefore, promises were included in the PERSONAL topic. Example (22) illustrates the use of IF to express dynamic modality.

(22) *...je vous **amènerai** chez ma fille et vous **verrez**... c’est la Provence.* [6RF74]

I **will bring** you to my daughter’s house and you **will see**...it’s Provence.

In (22), the speaker employs IF to express her willingness for the interviewer to see Provence.

Often, promise statements occur at the end of a dialogue, suggesting an end to the topic, a function, which Ranson (personal communication, October 14, 2016) has called *dismissive futures*. Example (23) illustrates a dismissive future. The speaker uses the IF to promise to explain the meaning of the “the circle of Rognes,” however, the speaker has no intention of doing so in the immediate future. The speaker introduces the subject of this inner circle of Rognes, but instead of immediately defining this group, he continues describing the current population of Rognes.

(23) *Alors ils adhéraient aux associations... ils venaient au cercle, c’est une institution très imp- très importante le cercle de Rognes* [3RM55]

-- *ah oui*

*après je vous **expliquerai** ce que c’est*

-- *oui oui, j’aimerais bien savoir*

*par contre là maintenant on a toute une population qui passe, il y a il y a un roulement continu,...*

So, they joined associations....they came to the circle, it's a very important institution, the circle of Rognes

--ah, yes

Afterwards, **I'll explain** to you what it is

--yes, yes, I would like to know

On the other hand, there, now, we have a population who moves, there is, there is a continuous circulation...

Therefore, the speaker in example (23) made use of the IF to express his willingness to further define his reference to the inner circle of Rognes, but not immediately. The speaker never returned to this subject during his interview, highlighting the use of the IF to end the discussion of the inner circle of Rognes and thus supporting the suggested meaning of the dismissive future. There were very few examples (N=5) of this dismissive future.<sup>67</sup> The slight majority of the examples (60%, 3/5) contained *je vous expliquerai*, 'I will explain to you,' and the other two contained *donnerai*, illustrated in (24).

(24) *je te le donnerai, mais...* [14RF53]

**I will give** it to you, but ...

In (24), the speaker has dialed an international wrong number and is trying to figure out why the number she has did not work. She offers to give the number to her husband for him to help solve the problem, but as she says this, she begins to analyze the problem of area codes and never

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<sup>67</sup> All (N=5) examples of the dismissive future came from the CMR.

gives him the number. While the utterance in (24) does not signal an end to the discussion of the wrong number, it does signal an end to giving the number to her husband for help. The conjunction *mais* ‘but’ indicates that she has moved on to solving the problem herself. While there were not many examples of a dismissive future in the present corpora, the examples presented here provide evidence for the use of the IF to end a discussion with a promise that most likely will never be realized.

Section 5.5.4.1 has provided an overview of the instances of the IF in WEATHER, PERSONAL, and POPULATION. The uses of the IF include forecasting the weather, making predictions about personal futures and possible population statuses, as well as demonstrating the speaker’s willingness to realize the proposed eventualities through promises. In support of Wales’ (2002) study of future temporal reference in newspapers, the present study noted the use of the IF with weather forecasts and future eventualities that are entirely definite (i.e. personal future predictions). Overall, PERSONAL conversations contained a higher percentage of IF (68%) than PF (32%), most likely due to the speakers’ uncertainty and predictions about their future. Similarly, the use of the IF with weather (75%) and population (68%) predictions highlights the use of the IF to denote uncertainty, such as when making weather forecasts or predicting the state of the future population. The following section considers the use of PF in the topics of SCHOOL, CITY, LANGUAGE, POLITICS, and LEISURE.

#### **5.5.4.2. Topics with a Higher Rate of the PF**

The conversation topics containing the higher percentage of the PF were POLITICS (78.9%), LANGUAGE (76%), PETS (71.4%). CITY (67.7%), SCHOOL (64.8%), and LEISURE (56%). Since the PF has been associated with informal discourse (e.g. Bauche 1920; Imbs 1960; Poplack

& Turpin 1999), one would expect more formal topics of conversation to contain higher rates of the IF. Therefore, it is surprising that the topic of POLITICS and CITY contain more occurrences of the PF. Conversely, one would expect the more informal topics such as EATING or PETS to show a higher rate of PF, which is true only of PETS [EATING (PF = 50%)]. Since the conversations were not guided and, in many cases, conducted in the participant's home or familiar restaurant, the discussions may have been deemed more informal. For example, in the POLITICS topic, the participants discuss the future of their president in a joking, jovial manner highlighting the informality of the conversation. Thus, while the notion of formality as a predictor of the PF or the IF was operationalized in the quantitative analysis in the factor group GRAMMATICALPERSON [Formal *vous* and *ce* disfavored the PF (FW=0.23)], formality may not be a predictor of the PF or the IF as a contextual factor since the interviews were primarily relaxed, informal discussions. The following section, then, explores the high percentage of the PF in the topics of LANGUAGE, POLITICS, SCHOOL, CITY, LEISURE, and PETS.

Conversations within LANGUAGE indicated a high level of speaker certainty for learning languages, such as when a speaker travels to Spain, she *is going to* learn Spanish. The use of the PF in LANGUAGE is most likely due to the subjective nature of learning a new language. In POLITICS, speakers used the PF to express certainty of political changes and to make political jokes. For example, in (25), the speaker expressed his dissatisfaction with former president Jacques Chirac. To remove the president from office, the speaker planned to send him to the United States, in (25).

(25) *Votre prochain président va s'appeler Jacques Chirac... on va vous l'envoyer.* [16MF]<sup>68</sup>

Your next president will be called Jacques Chirac... we **are going to send** him to you. Even though sending Jacques Chirac to the United States is impossible, the use of the PF seems to highlight the speaker's desire to see this happen. While the example in (25) is amusing, the conversations in POLITICS made use of the PF to indicate specific plans that targeted the current situation, similar to the findings of Wales (2002). For example, in (26), the speaker refers to the complications in the Middle East, stating his support of the decision of the United States to continue to take oil from this region.

(26) *C'est rassurant que vous allez ressortir du pétrole.* [10RM28]

It's reassuring that **you are going to extract** oil again.

The use of the PF in discussing the recent political decisions of the United States refers to Wales' (2002: 89) account of the PF as a link between the speaker's current world and the future eventuality. Therefore, in (26), the use of the PF designates the action of re-extracting oil as a current, immediate plan. In contrast with the use of PF to denote an immediate future, the same speaker later in the conversation employs the IF, in (27), to denote a more distant future or "later action" (Wales 2002: 89). In (27), the interviewer asks the participant what he expects to see in the upcoming election, which at the time of recording was a year in the future.

(27) *On aura une femme* [10RM28]

We **will have** a woman [candidate].

Therefore, in support of Wales' (2002: 89) study of newspapers, political discussions make use of the PF to denote current and immediate plans while the IF indicates "later situations."

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<sup>68</sup> Age metadata missing from this speaker.

The topic of SCHOOL included conversations about where the participant will go to school, how long they will be in school, and what they will study. The higher rate of the PF (64.8%) suggests that speakers expressed certainty and volition (Fleischman 1982: 96) with regards to discussing education. Furthermore, the slightly lower rate of the IF (35.1%) indicated the speakers' uncertainty with regards to upcoming school endeavors. In example (28), the speaker is not sure which graduate program she will begin and employs the IF with *peut-être*, 'maybe,' to denote her uncertainty.

(28) ...*peut-être que je prendrai, je ferai un DESS<sup>69</sup> ou un master 2.* [6MF25]

...maybe I **will take**, I **will do** a DESS or a Master's.

However, uncertainty is also expressed with PF and *je ne sais pas* 'I don't know,' illustrated in (29).

(29) ...*je sais pas trop à quoi ça va me servir dans l'enseignement du FLE* [6MF25]

...I really don't know how that **is going to be useful** to me in teaching French as a foreign language (FLE).

With examples of uncertainty with the PF, the notion of certainty may not be a predictor in this topic. Instead, subjectivity may be the reason for the high rate of PF in SCHOOL. Half (51%) of the total (N=37) SCHOOL utterances contained a first person subject (i.e. *je, nous, on (nous)*). Of these examples, the majority (79%) contained the PF. Therefore, while the quantitative results of GRAMMATICALPERSON did not reveal a preference for the PF (*je* : FW=0.53; *nous*: FW=0.23; *On(nous)*: FW=0.60), there is seems to be a link between expressing one's scholarly plans and

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<sup>69</sup> A DESS is a higher education degree similar to a Master's Degree in the United States. DESS stands for *diplôme d'études supérieures spécialisées* 'diploma of specialized higher education studies.'

the PF. Similarly, Section 5.5.1 of this chapter illustrated that the PF is favored in subjective utterances.

Next, the topic of CITY contained a high rate of the PF (67.7%), most likely due to planned events. Subjects related to CITY included infrastructure planning, such as building a new street, when and which city events will happen, and activities within upcoming expositions and fairs. In (30), the speaker expresses her confidence in the arrival of a lot of visitors for an upcoming exposition through the use of the PF and *certainement* ‘certainly.’

(30) *parce que ça va certainement attirer beaucoup de monde...cet été.* [7RF40]

because that **is certainly going to attract** a lot of people...this summer.

The CITY discussions involved large scale planned events that take months of organizing, suggesting the high level of speaker certainty of the realization of the eventuality. The use of the PF and planning is also seen in Wales’ (2002: 88-89) newspaper study which showed that events that were connected to the readers’ current worlds, such as immediate city infrastructure plans, contained more instances of the PF. It is possible that planned events were the reason for the higher percentages of the PF in the topics of LEISURE and TRAVEL, also in support of Wales (2002). Speaker volition may be a possible reason, as well, since, over half (52%) of the utterances contained either *je, nous, or on (nous)*, just as they did for SCHOOL. Of these, over half contained PF (65%).

To conclude, this section has analyzed the use of the PF and the IF within specific subjects of conversation. Illustrated in Table 5.6, the IF is used more with the topics of WEATHER, PERSONAL, and POPULATION. This is most likely due to the inherent uncertainty of forecasts and one’s own personal future.

Table 5.6. *Distribution of Topics and the PF and the IF*

	N	PF	IF
Travel – <i>future vacations, planned and unplanned</i>	80	<b>67%</b>	33%
School – <i>where the participant will go to school, when/how long the participant will finish/start school, what the participant will do in school and after school</i>	37	<b>64.8%</b>	35.1%
Meta – <i>discussing what the participant will talk about, who will participate, when the recording will start/stop</i>	31	<b>64.5%</b>	35.5%
City – <i>infrastructure planning, adding new roads, when city events will happen, what will happen during the new fairs and exhibitions</i>	31	<b>66.70%</b>	33.30%
Politics – <i>future political events, elections, where the president will be in the future</i>	19	<b>78.9%</b>	21.1%
Pets – <i>talking to or about one's pets</i>	7	<b>71.4%</b>	28.6%
Population – <i>making predictions about the future of the population</i>	18	44%	<b>56%</b>
Personal – <i>making friends, discussing own future</i>	102	35.3%	<b>64.7%</b>
Weather – <i>effects of drought, forecasts</i>	3	33%	<b>68%</b>
Total	466		

Topics that contained more instances of the PF included more examples of scheduled or planned events, and thus a higher level of speaker certainty. Therefore, the semantic distinction between the IF and the PF is that topics which denote future eventualities that are considered more imminent, such as planned events in LEISURE conversations or set dates in SCHOOL conversations, contain more instances of the PF. These results support those of Wales (2002:90) who found a preference for PF with eventualities that were linked with the speaker's current situation.

## 5.6. Conclusion

This chapter investigated the alternation of the PF and the IF contextually in topics of conversation and psychologically by considering subjectivity and intersubjectivity, as well as by testing the significance of certainty and contingency on variant selection. The statistical results indicated that of these pragmatic factors, only SUBJECTIVITY and CONTINGENCY significantly influenced the selection of the PF and the IF. Psychological factors pertaining to the subjectivity of the utterance revealed trends in occurrence rates of the future variants that support two pragmatic hypotheses: a) the PF is subjective and b) the PF is less formal. Subjective utterances occurred more with the PF, while intersubjective utterances contained more examples of the IF. The link between the IF and an awareness of the interlocutor suggests that speakers employ the IF as the more formal variant to denote modal meanings, such as willingness, permission, or promises. Additionally, this modal use of the IF represents the retention of semantic content from grammaticalization as the IF grammaticalized from a Latin construction that carried a sense of willingness or ability (Bybee & Pagliuca 1987: 117). The tendency of the IF to denote an awareness of the interlocutor is an important pragmatic distinction that will be further explored in the use of promises in the context completion task in Chapter 6.

The pragmatic factor of CONTINGENCY was significant despite the fact that the majority of the corpus was non-contingent (82.6%). The results of CONTINGENCY revealed a preference for the PF with *si*-clauses which may indicate the expansion of the PF into modal environments, such as those containing a hypothetical nature. However, since the instances of *si*-clauses comprise only 4.1% (N=19) of the data, further investigation is necessary. The proposed link between the PF and uncertainty neither coincides with the results of SUBJECTIVITY which indicate

the use of the IF to denote willingness and promises nor the use of the IF with uncertain topics such as weather or population trends.

The quantitative analysis did not retain the factors of CERTAINTY and TOPIC as significant. Operationalizing the pragmatic factor of CERTAINTY was difficult due to the combination of a lack of adverbial specification and information in the discourse context to indicate speaker certainty. A closer look at the distribution of the certain and uncertain utterances showed a tendency for the PF to occur more with certain utterances. However, since the CONTINGENCY results were not significant, the present findings do not support the hypothesis that states that the PF is the more certain future variant. Instead, this study argues for a further investigation into the reason a speaker may be certain, such as the speaker's knowledge of prior circumstances that may affect the realization of the proposed future eventuality. Therefore, the present analysis examined the role of planned events and future selection in the TOPIC factor group.

TOPIC was not significant either; however, a qualitative analysis of the distribution of the PF and the IF across the topics of conversation located subjectivity and speaker certainty themes. The results of the analysis of conversation topic emphasized the link between the PF and planned events (Wales 2002) that was initially discussed in reference to temporal distance in Chapter 3. For instance, the PF occurred more in conversations that involved confirmed eventualities, such as city infrastructure projects or academic events. The IF occurred more with uncertain events, such as predicting the weather. The examination of TOPIC, then, lends support to the pragmatic hypothesis that the PF is more certain through the use of the PF with planned eventualities.

Table 5.7. summarizes the findings of the present chapter. The investigation of pragmatic factors has revealed a trend of the IF to occur with uncertain eventualities, such as weather

discussions, with uncertain adverbial markers, such as *peut-être* ‘maybe,’ and when referring to an interlocutor. The pragmatic analysis, then, supports the use of the IF in utterances that convey agent oriented modality, such as willingness, and in more formal contexts, such as addressing one’s interlocutor.

Table 5.7. Results of the Quantitative Pragmatic Analysis

		PF	IF
Contingency	<i>Si</i> -clauses	✓	
	<i>Quand</i>		✓
Subjectivity	Subjectivity	✓	
	Intersubjectivity: Awareness of one’s interlocutor		✓
Topics	Planned events: <i>city, school, travel</i> (NS) <sup>70</sup>	✓	
	Uncertain events: <i>weather, population trends</i> (NS)		✓
Certainty	Certain Eventualities (NS)	✓	
	Uncertain Eventualities (NS)		✓

Turning the focus to the PF, the results are not as clear. This study hypothesized that the PF was the more subjective, more certain, and less formal variant. The results of the factor group of SUBJECTIVITY revealed a slight preference for the PF in subjective utterances. However, the quantitative analysis did not entirely support the use of the PF as the more certain and less formal variant. The factor group of CERTAINTY was not significant; yet, there was a link between the PF and planned eventualities.

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<sup>70</sup> Not significant

Overall, the pragmatic analysis has addressed some of the outstanding questions from Chapter 3. Chapter 5 has shown that there are pragmatic constraints on the future variants, such as the use of the IF to denote an awareness of one's interlocutor. The present results also indicate that speaker certainty and planned eventualities are not only associated with the PF but also coincide and thus could potentially affect the temporal distance results that link the PF with proximal eventualities. Moving forward, this study aims to determine whether the IF is favored in modal environments and whether planned eventualities influence the selection of the PF. The following chapter returns to the present pragmatic hypotheses in the pragmatic qualitative analysis of the PF and the IF in non-temporal utterances and at the sentential level. Then, Chapter 7 tests the overarching semantic and pragmatic trends that emerge from the linguistic and pragmatic analyses in a native speaker context completion task.

### 6.1. Introduction

This chapter extends the quantitative pragmatic discussion in Chapter 5 to include non-quantifiable pragmatic factors such as the non-temporal uses of the future variants. Chapter 5 considered pragmatic hypotheses that identified the PF as the more certain, more subjective, and less formal variant. The present chapter readdresses these hypotheses in addition to adding one more, in (1).

(1) *The IF is favored to denote epistemic eventualities.*

This final pragmatic hypothesis investigates the non-temporal use of the PF and the IF. Abouda and Skrovec (2015) and Larreya (2000) maintain that there is a potential increase in the epistemic uses of the PF. Evidenced by the distribution of contingent examples of the PF and the IF, epistemic matrix phrases, such as *je ne sais pas si*, “I don’t know if,” or *peut-être*, ‘maybe,’ occur with both the PF (48.8% N=20/41) and the IF (51.2% N=21/41). However, following Celle (2005), the present analysis expects to see very few instances of the PF denoting conjecture and an overall higher rate of the IF with epistemic matrix phrases. A qualitative analysis of all non-temporal uses of the future variants will test this final pragmatic hypothesis.

This chapter, then, aims to further pinpoint the multifunctionality of the future variants by including all of the functions of each variant in the qualitative pragmatic analysis, as was done for the quantitative pragmatic analysis in Chapter 5 (Aaron 2010; Pichler 2010: 597-598; 2013:

47; Cheshire 2016). As an extension of the quantitative pragmatic analysis in Chapter 5, this chapter investigates the same data of 466 tokens, which include habitual and epistemic uses (N=17). The qualitative discussion will return to the main pragmatic hypotheses that link certainty, informality, and subjectivity with the PF and uncertainty with the IF. Section 6.2 details the use of the PF and IF within the realm of modality, examining the potential increase in epistemic modality and the PF (Abouda & Skrovec 2015; Larreya 2000). Section 6.3 analyzes the variation of the PF and IF at the sentential level, considering the role of the individual verb in variant selection, such as a preference for one variant due to *frequency* and *irregularity* (Poplack 1992), and the use of the PF and the IF in the small data set of questions. Also, Section 6.3 revisits sentential polarity, looking at possible reasons for the preference of the IF in negative contexts. Finally, Section 6.4 concludes this chapter by providing a description of the future variants according to the complete pragmatic analysis.

## **6.2. Variation in Modal and Non-Temporal Utterances**

This section explores modal and non-temporal uses of the PF and the IF. While the PF has been associated with non-temporal utterances, such as habitual statements, the PF almost always contains an underlying temporal meaning (Larreya 2000). The IF, on the other hand, occurs more often in non-temporal utterances such as those with epistemic values (Celle 2005). Section 6.2.1 examines the use of habitual utterances with the PF and IF in the present corpora. In Section 6.2.2, examples of conjecture will be discussed. Finally, Section 6.2.3 outlines the possible meanings and uses of *on va dire*.

### 6.2.1 Habitual utterances

Utterances with the PF or the IF can denote habitual actions or characteristic behaviors (Damourette & Pichon 1911-1936: 116; Martin 1981; Larreya 2000, 2005; Abouda & Skrovec 2015). Abouda and Skrovec (2015: 12-16), in their diachronic analysis of the use of the IF and the PF from 1968 to 2008 in Hexagonal French, reported an increase in the use of the PF with habitual utterances that denoted “typicalization” but not in generic truths, noting that the former refers to a repeated activity, while the latter denotes constant states or events that are usually performed by a group. For example, in (1), the speaker uses the IF to signal generic truth in mathematics.

(1) *Si x = 3, on **aura** pour y....*

If  $x = 3$ , we (one) **will have** for  $y...$  (Martin 1981: 83)

Then, in (2), the use of PF refers to a typical action that is not necessarily constant. The speaker discusses the vocabulary of Parisians.

(2) *...on **va facilement prononcer** des hein des des gros mots...*

...we **are going to easily pronounce** the uh the the bad words...

(Abouda & Skrovec 2015: 13)

Overall, there were very few clearly habitual expressions in the present corpora. These included statements about language (N=3) and statement regarding repeated activities indicated by an adverbial (N=12). There were more instances of the PF (92%, N=11/12) with habitual activities than the IF.<sup>71</sup> Illustrated in the dialogue in (3), the one example of the IF occurred with a stative verb, in support of Abouda and Skrovec (2015) who associate constant states with the

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<sup>71</sup> There were two cases of generic truths which will be analyzed in Section 5.2 due to their possible conjectural meaning.

IF. It is important to note, though, that the use of the IF to denote a repeated action occurred after the use of the present tense, followed by the PF, also to denote habitual actions.

(3) F : *Mais, euh, mais autrement le vendredi c'est très hétéro. Et, ça, ça marche pas. Les gays ne **sortent** pas le vendredi.* [16MF]<sup>72</sup>

D : *Umm. Donc, il y a comme des jours différents*

M : *Oui, oui. Mais, même, même, y a des périodes, aussi; il y a des boîtes qui **vont bien marcher** à certaines périodes, et à d'autres périodes, il y **aura personne*** [16MM28]

F : But, uh, but otherwise Fridays are very hetero. And, it, it doesn't work well [it's not busy]. Gay people **do not go out** on Fridays

D: Umm. So, there are different days

M: Yes, yes, but, even, there are even some times, also; there are clubs that **are going to be packed [work well]** at certain times, and at other times, there **will be** no one.'

The example in (3) is important because it shows variation in habitual expressions. The first speaker in (3) makes use of a present tense verb, *sortent* 'to go out,' to denote a repeated action. Since this sentence is not a specific generic truth, the speaker most likely employed present tense due to the incompatibility of the PF and the IF with the broad interpretation of the repeated eventuality of *all* gay people choosing to not go out on Fridays (Larrea 2005: 348). Then, the second speaker uses both the PF and the IF to describe times when the night clubs will be busy and when they will not be full. The distinction between the PF and the IF here is not necessarily due to Abouda and Skrovec's (2015: 16) theory associating the IF with constant states, since both the PF and the IF refer to a club is habitually busy and when it is not. Possibly, the

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<sup>72</sup> Age metadata missing for this speaker.

distinction lies in the polarity of the sentence, since the speaker used the PF in the positive utterance and the IF with the negative utterance. However, since there were examples of PF in negative utterances, this explanation does not seem likely.

Since utterances with the PF denote a link to the present (e.g. Confais 1995) and that the speaker is aware of background information to support the realization of the proposed eventuality (Fleischman 1982; Vet 1993), the use of the PF in (3) suggests that the speaker knows when the night club will be busy. Supported by the surrounding discourse, it is apparent that the speaker is knowledgeable of the local night clubs. However, the use of the IF in (4) is curious since the speaker has demonstrated his experience with the night clubs. Possible reasons for the use of the IF in (3) could be the link between the IF and negative sentences, although unlikely, the link between the IF and stative verbs<sup>73</sup>, or that the expression *il y a*, 'there is/are,' collocates more with the IF than the PF.<sup>74</sup> The quantitative results showed a disfavoring of the PF with impersonal *il* (FW=0.15). Additionally, the distribution of *il y a* and future variants reveals a higher percentage of the IF (77%, N=10/13) than the PF (23%. N=3/13). So, while example (3) introduces more questions than answers, the results of this section indicate that the

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<sup>73</sup> See Section 6.3 this chapter.

<sup>74</sup> When two French native speakers were presented with the dialogue in (3) and a similar dialogue in (3') seen here, both preferred the second one, dialogue (3'). When asked why, both cited dialogue (3') as sounding more "natural."

(3') F : *Mais, euh, mais autrement le vendredi c'est très hétéro. Et, ça, ça marche pas. Les gays ne sortent pas le vendredi.* [16MF]

D : *Umm. Donc, il y a comme des jours différents*

M : *Oui, oui. Mais, même, même, y a des périodes, aussi; il y a des boîtes qui vont bien marcher à certaines périodes, et à d'autres périodes, il va y avoir personne* [16MM28]

F : But, uh, but otherwise Fridays are very hetero. And, it, it doesn't work well [it's not busy]. Gay people **do not go out** on Fridays

D: Umm. So, there are different days

M: Yes, yes, but, even, there are even some times, also; there are clubs that **are going to be packed [work well]** at certain times, and at other times, there **isn't going to be anyone.**'

PF occurs more often in habitual utterances than the IF, which supports previous studies (Abouda & Skrovec 2015) and analyses (Larreya 2005).

### 6.2.2 Conjecture

Descriptive grammarians (Tasmowski & Dendale 1998; Dendale 2001; Celle 2005) report that the IF may contain a conjectural reading, although this is becoming increasingly rare.<sup>75</sup> The conjectural reading of the IF is limited to the verbs *avoir* and *être* and must contain an underlying tone of future temporal reference, such that the proposed eventuality will be confirmed in the future (Tasmowski & Dendale 1998; Dendale 2001). Additionally, for the IF to contain a conjectural reading, the proposed eventuality must have been already mentioned in the discourse, and, thus, the future may confirm its realization (Celle 2005: 187).

The epistemic IF in French is not as frequent as in other languages, such as English (Celle 2005) or Spanish (Aaron 2010). In fact, the conjectural use of the IF is increasingly rare, such that most of the examples used by scholars are older or from familiar speech (Dendale 2001: 4). The fact that the present study only contains two examples of the IF to denote conjecture supports Dendale's (2001) findings. In (4), the speaker notes that the Provençal language must be close to the Piedmontese dialect of Italian due to linguistic similarities. The speaker is creating a hypothesis based upon her knowledge of the similarities between languages.

(4) *Le provençal sera proche un peu du piedmont* [6RF74]

The Provençal [language] **must be/will be** a little close to the piedmont [region].

Additionally, the examples marked as having a conjectural reading are slightly ambiguous as there is also a temporal meaning. In (5), the speaker and the interviewer are discussing reasons

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<sup>75</sup> Yet, the expression of conjecture is far more frequent with *anteriorfuture* in contemporary French (Tasmowski & Dendale 1998; Dendale 2001; Celle 2005).

for dog ownership by homeless people and animal protection laws. The speaker proposes several possible scenarios for the ownership of dogs by homeless people and then notes that she is not certain that her reasoning is accurate, but she thinks that it must be.

(5) *Oui, il y a, en tout cas il y a une raison....Je ne sais pas si c'est exactement celle que je vous dis mais je crois que ça sera, que ça s'en rapproche en tout cas.... ça a un rapport avec ça parce que sinon il n'y a aucune raison qu'ils aient un animal ...* [13MF26]

Yes, there is, in any case, there is a reason... I don't know if it's exactly what I'm telling you, but I believe that **this must be**, that it is close to it in any case...this has a connection with that this because if not, there is no reason that they have an animal...

The use of the IF in (5) seems to contain a conjectural reading as the proposed eventuality of why homeless people sometimes own dogs has already been noted in the previous discourse. Also, the speaker uses *je ne sais pas*, 'I don't know,' to indicate her uncertainty with her proposed reasoning. Yet, in contrast, she follows this statement of uncertainty with *je crois*, 'I believe,' stating her certainty of her hypothesis. The second sentence in (5) contains further support for the speaker's hypothesis, such that she believes her reasoning must be close to the truth. Thus, the speaker presents her reasoning employing the IF with *être* as an epistemic marker, thereby providing support for her hypothesis. Finally, there were no examples of the PF and conjecture in the present corpus, which is not surprising as Celle (2005: 187) points out that utterances with the PF cannot contain a conjectural reading.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Larreya (2000) notes that some varieties of French contain a conjectural reading of PF, however he neither lists these varieties nor gives examples.

### 6.2.3 *on va dire*

In addition to habitual utterances, Abouda and Skrovec's (2015: 17) diachronic study revealed an increase of the PF in the use of *on va dire*, 'let's say,'<sup>77</sup> from 1968 to 2008, and a decrease in *disons* 'let's say.' The expression *on va dire* is primarily fixed with the ability to include an adverbial, such as *on va juste dire*, or a negative marker, *on va pas dire* (Lansari 2010: 133). This expression is used to denote an approximation (Abouda & Skrovec 2015: 17) or uncertainty (Lansari 2010: 127). The example in (6) illustrates the use of *on va dire* to denote an approximation and uncertainty of the speaker.

(6) *C'était c'était on va dire euh dix minutes...*

It was, it was **we'll say** ten minutes.... (Abouda & Skrovec 2015 : 17)

The use of *on va dire* in (6) suggests that the speaker is not entirely certain of the length of time given. Lansari (2010: 127-128) notes that the use of *on va dire* is a form of epistemic modality due to the speaker's uncertainty about the proposed eventuality or that what the speaker is about to say is not perfect. She, thus, argues for the treatment of *on va dire* as a way of making the interlocutor aware of the speaker's uncertainty and therefore distances the speaker from the proposition (Lansari 2010).

The expression *on va dire*, then, serves as a pragmatic discourse marker that contains an epistemic reading of uncertainty. The present study contained 23 examples of *on va dire*, which appeared at the end of an utterance, following either a noun, adjective or number and in the middle of an utterance, occurring before a noun or adjective. The example in (7) illustrates the use of *on va dire* in the middle of an utterance and before a noun.

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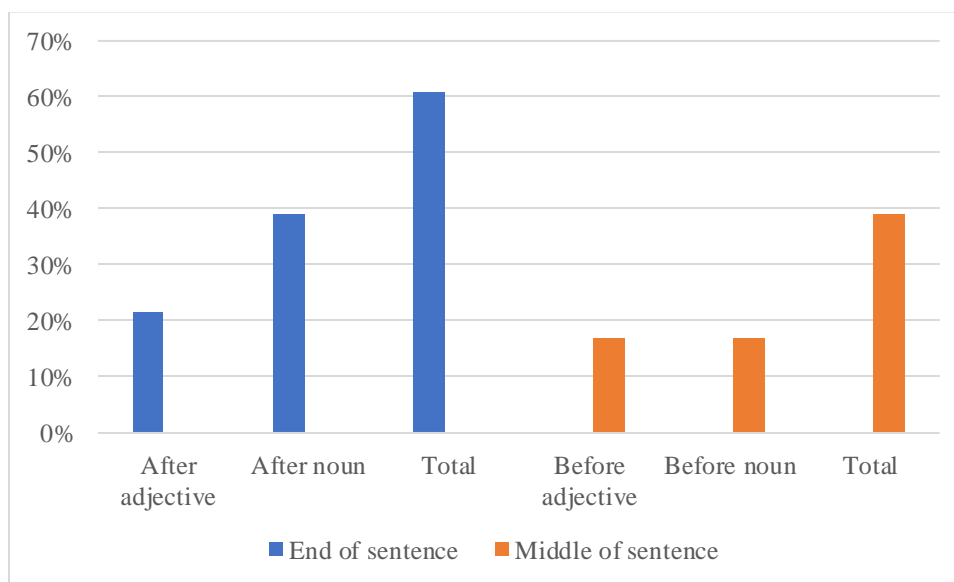
<sup>77</sup> Directly translated, the expression *on va dire* means 'we're going to say.'

(7) *En plus, il y a des mots qui sont on va dire techniques...* [8MM28]

Also, there are words that are, **let's say**, technical...

The speaker is not entirely content with the description of the “words” as “techniques,” thus he inserts *on va dire* to distance himself from this description. The distribution of *on va dire* and sentential position is displayed in Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1. *Distribution of on va dire and Sentential Position.*



The majority of the instances of *on va dire* occurred at the end of the sentence (61%, N=14/23).

Of these, there were more examples of *on va dire* after a noun (39%, N=9/23). The expression *on va dire* is non-temporal, expressing epistemic modality by indicating the speaker’s uncertainty with preceding or following utterance. The goal of the investigation of *on va dire* is simply to show a realm of modality where PF frequently occurs.<sup>78</sup> Future studies should further investigate

<sup>78</sup> A look at the distribution of *on va dire* and age in the present corpus does not reveal a tendency for this pragmatic marker with any age group. Instead, speakers over forty (65%) employed *on va dire* more than the under forty speakers (35%).

the rise of *on va dire* in comparison with the posited loss of *disons* (Abouda & Skrovec 2015: 17).

In summary, Section 6.2 has outlined variation of the PF and the IF in modal and non-temporal utterances. In habitual utterances, the PF occurred more often than the IF in the present corpus. These findings are supported by previous studies that have either also found a higher frequency of the PF with habitual utterances (Abouda & Skrovec 2015) or have shown habitual utterances to be one of the many functions of the PF (Vet 1993). This section also discussed the one example of pure conjecture which was expressed by the IF. The low number of conjectural utterances has been documented in the previous literature as has the incompatibility of the PF with a conjectural reading (Tasmowski & Dendale 1998; Dendale 2001; Celle 2005).<sup>79</sup> Finally, the expression *on va dire* was investigated as a non-temporal, pragmatic discourse marker that denotes uncertainty of the speaker's choice of words to complete the sentence and potentially uncertainty of the speaker's proposition. This expression made up only 5% of the total tokens (N=23/460) and occurred more frequently at the end of an utterance. While more research is needed to suggest a rise in *on va dire* in comparison with *disons*, the present study has shown that *on va dire* distances the speaker from the proposed eventuality. Overall, the qualitative analysis indicated variation between the future variants in the realm of habitual utterances and that conjectural utterances remain an area of specialization of the IF.

### **6.3. Sentential Variation**

In conjunction with the collocation of the PF with *dire* in the fixed expression *on va dire*, the present analysis now turns to the sentential level to investigate the role of verb frequency and

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<sup>79</sup> Larreya (2000) suggests that the PF can occur with some varieties of French.

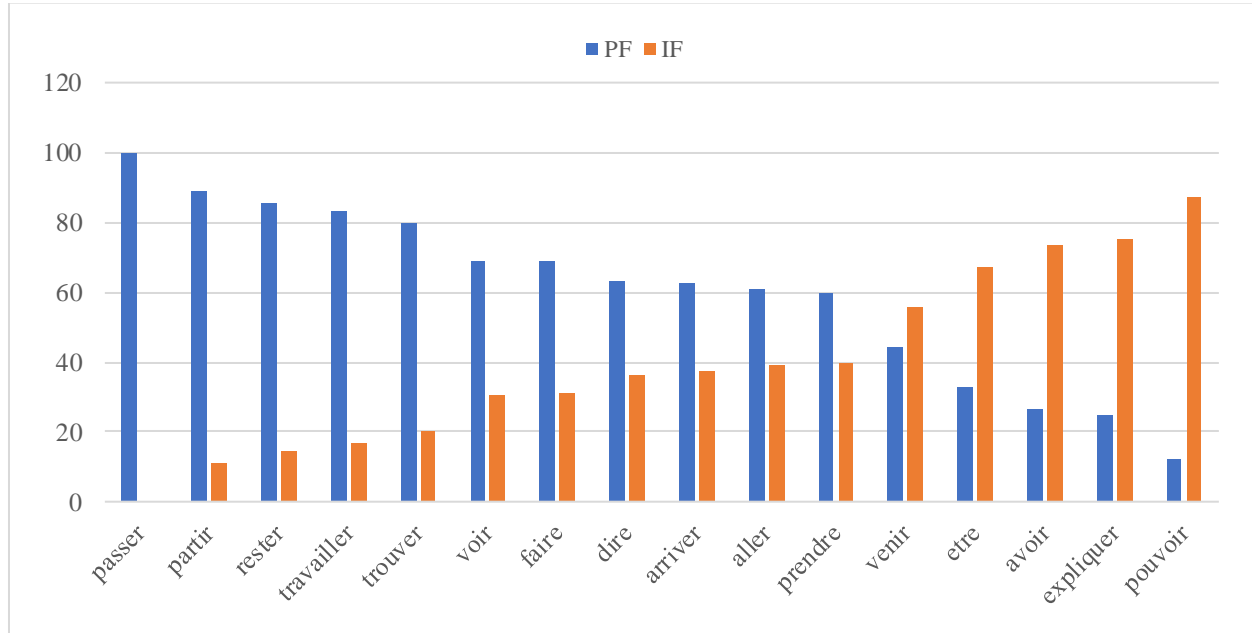
irregularity (Poplack 1992), the effect of the verb on polarity, and the use of the IF in the small data set of questions. In Chapter 3, verb class was shown to be a significant predictor of future variant, indicating the semantic retention of a sense of movement by the PF. Section 6.3.1 sets forth to further investigate the relationship between verb type and selection of IF. In Section 6.3.2, theories behind the link between the IF and sentential polarity are re-visited. Finally, Section 6.3.3 investigates the use of the PF and the IF in interrogatives.

### **6.3.1. Verb Frequency and Irregularity**

Poplack (1992, 2001) showed that irregular inflected verbs (*être* ‘to be’ *avoir* ‘to have’ *aller* ‘to go’) were more likely to be conjugated in the subjunctive. However, Poplack (2001: 418) found no correlation between irregular verbs and future variant selection. The same study (Poplack 2001: 418) also found that selection of the future variant was not due to token frequency or conjugation class. Sentential polarity was the only linguistic environment that showed a productive use of the IF (Poplack 2001: 418). Blondeau and Labeau (2016: 251) found in their study of the use of the future variants in the planned speech of weather broadcasts in Quebec and France that the IF occurred significantly more often with irregular verbs in both broadcasts. The goal, then, of the present section is to determine whether verb frequency and conjugation class favor one future variant over another.

Figure 6.2 displays the most frequent verbs in the data. These 16 verbs occurred at least five times in the corpora.

Figure 6.2. *Most Frequent Verbs*



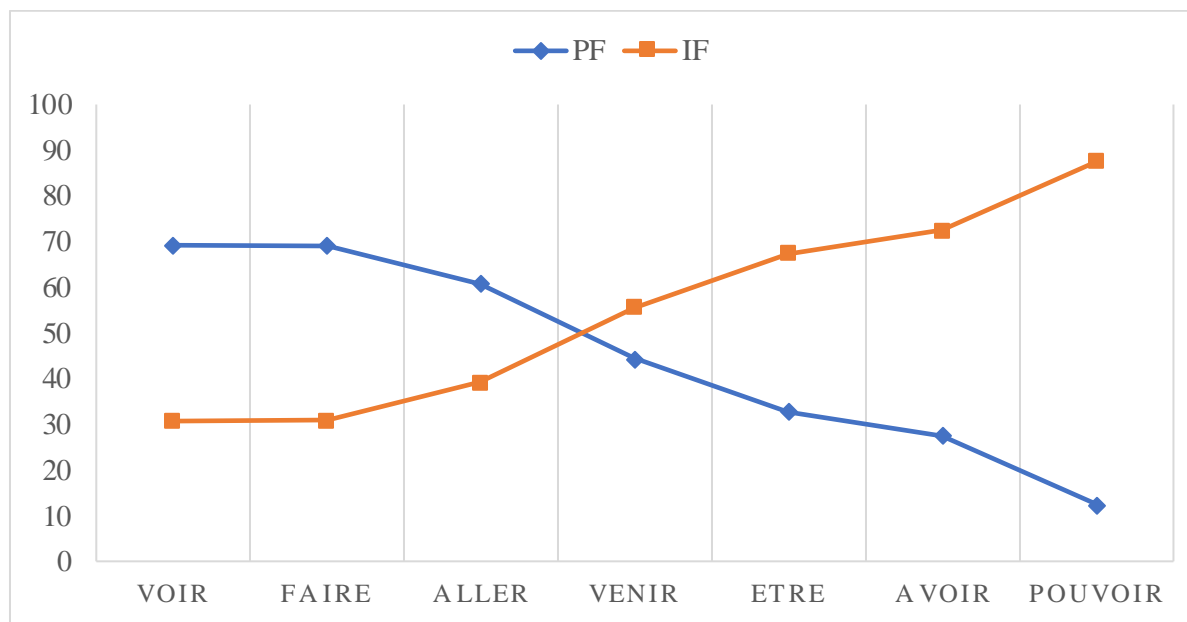
The slight majority of the most frequent verbs (68.9% N=11/16) occurred more with the PF. These included verbs of motion (e.g. *aller* ‘to go’ *arriver* ‘to arrive’), dynamic (non-motion) verbs (*rester* ‘to stay’ *dire* ‘to say’), and one stative verb (*voir* ‘to see’). The frequent verbs that occurred with the IF were: *avoir* ‘to have,’ *être* ‘to be,’ *expliquer* ‘to explain,’ *pouvoir* ‘to be able to,’ and *venir* ‘to come.’ Since the majority (80%) of verbs that occur more with the IF contain irregular future forms, it is surprising to see *expliquer* in this list. Of the 5 instances of *expliquer*, the IF occurred more often than the PF (80% N=4/5). Within these four instances, there were three promises to explain a certain topic “later.” For example, in (8), the speaker promises to explain what they are talking about later.

(8)...après je vous **expliquerai** ce que c’est. [3RM55]

... afterwards, I **will explain** to you what it is.

Figure 6.3 reveals a closer look at the distribution of verbs by investigating the use of the PF and the IF in only irregular inflected verbs.<sup>80</sup>

Figure 6.3. *Distribution of Irregular Verbs with the IF and the PF*<sup>81</sup>



The slight majority of instances of the IF with irregular verbs (57%, N=4/7) is significant ( $\chi^2=26.85$ ,  $p<0.001$ ).<sup>82</sup> Apart from *voir* ‘to see,’ all stative irregular verbs occur more with the IF.<sup>83</sup>

The verbs *aller* ‘to go’ and *faire* ‘to do’ most likely occur more with the PF due to movement connotations, which stems from the original meaning of the PF of an agent moving towards a

<sup>80</sup> Verb irregularity was not found to be significant in the quantitative analysis in Chapter 3 due to its interaction with the verb class factor group.

<sup>81</sup> The verbs in this chart contained five or more occurrences in the data. Other irregular inflected verbs with fewer than 5 occurrences were: *devoir* (N=2: 1PF/1 IF); *tenir* (N=1 PF); *vouloir* (N=1 PF); *savoir* (N=2 IF)

<sup>82</sup> Poplack (2001) did not find irregular verbs to be a predictor of the IF, even when all negative tokens were removed. When all of the negative tokens (N=45) are removed from the present analysis, the effects of irregular verbs on the IF remain significant ( $\chi^2=24.78$ ,  $p<0.001$ ).

<sup>83</sup> With the exceptions of *devoir* (N=2: 1PF/1 IF); *vouloir* (N=1 PF). Also *savoir* (N=2 IF) occurs more often with the IF than the PF, yet only occurs twice in the corpus and thus is not included in figure 6.3

goal. It is possible that a lexical effect of the high frequency of *on va voir* is responsible for the higher rate of *voir* ‘to see’ with the PF, seen in (9).

(9) *On va voir une bonne saison de fruits* [5RM45]

We **are going to see** a good fruit season.

However, *on va voir* only comprises 13% (N=5/13) of the PF data, which contains an example of the PF with *voir* with each subject pronoun.

The higher frequency of the IF with *avoir* and *être* may be due to the fact that these verbs occur more with inanimate subjects. For example, there may be a lexical effect of *il y a*, ‘there is/are,’ which occurred at a frequency of 77% with the IF. Also, the distribution of subjects with *être* revealed that of the 24 instances of *ça* with *être*, 67% occurred with the IF (N=16). It is not surprising, then, that first-person subjects (*je*, *on (nous)*, *nous*) only account for 20% of the data with *avoir* and *être*, providing further support for the link between the PF and subjectivity and speaker certainty. The higher percentage of the IF with *pouvoir* was also evidenced in Jeanjean’s (1988) study of Hexagonal French. Jeanjean (1988: 252) argued that the IF was preferred with *pouvoir* since the IF refers to eventualities that are less certain, more hypothetical.<sup>84</sup>

While there is variation in the realm of irregular verbs, the IF is slightly more frequent, which supports Blondeau and Labeau’s (2016) findings. Blondeau and Labeau (2016: 249-251) reported a higher percentage of the IF in the Hexagonal French weather broadcasts, in addition to its collocation with irregular verbs. In contrast, Poplack’s (2001) investigation of the role of irregular verbs and the IF in a spoken French corpus from Quebec did not reveal any trends. It is important to note that planned speech such as the corpus in Blondeau and Labeau’s (2016) study

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<sup>84</sup> The same study (Jeanjean 1988: 252) reported a higher percentage of the PF with *falloir*, which was not the case in the present study. Examples of *falloir* (N = 7) in the present data occur categorically with the IF.

tends to contain more formal language than unguided conversations (Labov 1966), and that the IF, as the more formal variant, tends to occur more in formal written registers (Fleischman 1982).<sup>85</sup> Therefore, Blondeau and Labeau (2016: 254-255) suggest that even though the IF may be on a downward trend in spoken Canadian French, it is still productive in formal speech and specifically with irregular verbs. The present analysis, then, lends support to this idea, finding that in corpora of spoken Hexagonal French, the IF occurs less frequently (43.6% vs 56.4% of PF), yet is productive with irregular verbs.

### 6.3.2. Sentential Polarity

While many Canadian French studies (Deschaies & Laforge 1981; Emirkanian & Sankoff 1986; Poplack & Turpin 1999; Poplack & Dion 2009; Comeau 2015) have noted the significant effect of negative utterances on the selection of the IF, only one Hexagonal French study (Roberts 2012) reported similar results. Thus, the IF in Canadian French tends to occur more often in negative utterances than in Hexagonal French. However, the present analysis reported a preference for the IF with negative utterances in support of Roberts' (2012) results. Scholars have hypothesized that the sentential polarity distinction between the PF and the IF is due to the link between the hypothetical nature of both the IF and negation (Deschaies and Laforge 1981: 27-29; Jeanjean 1988: 253), the modal values of the IF and negation (Laurendeau 2000: 288) and the complex processing of *pas* and *aller*, a structural hypothesis, that was ultimately rejected (Poplack & Dion 2009: 576). Palmer (2001: 52) finds that cross-linguistically, negation (and interrogatives) are "members of an epistemic modal system." Palmer (2001: 53) goes on to note that linking negation and modality is not surprising as "these can be seen as non-assertive,"

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<sup>85</sup> Wales' (2002) study of newspaper articles and the use of the future variants found that both variants are used in written contexts.

reflecting Laurendeau's (2000: 288) explanation of negation and the IF. There is some evidence from the present study to support Palmer (2001) and Laurendeau's (2000) theory that bases the link between negation and the IF on non-assertions. First, the categories of *unspecified* (12%, N=10/84) and *distant* (25%, N=11/44) in the TEMPORAL DISTANCE factor group contained more negative sentences with the IF than the other TEMPORAL DISTANCE categories. Additionally, these two categories disfavored the use of the PF (FW=0.36, 0.30), thus there were more occurrences of the IF in *unspecified* (N= 84/151) and *distant* (N=44/64) utterances. Eventualities that lack temporal adverbials or that are set to occur in the far distant future contain a lower level of speaker certainty; they are possibilities and predictions, and, hence, part of the epistemic modal system. Additional support for the modality link between the IF and negation comes from modal verbs (L'Huillier 1999: 273), such as *vouloir* 'to want,' *devoir* 'must,' *pouvoir* 'can'. Yet, the modal verbs *vouloir* (N=1) and *devoir* (PF: N=1; IF N=1) occur very few times and primarily contain the PF. The modal verb *pouvoir* occurs at a higher rate with the IF (N=14/16) and 100% (N=4) of the negative utterances with *pouvoir* contain the IF. While these numbers are small, the analysis of the relationship between the IF and negation due to modality is strengthened by these results. <sup>86</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> An analysis of subjunctive might reveal further support for the modality link between the IF and negation. For example, subjunctive is not an assertion but an expression of the speaker's doubts upon the proposition (Palmer 2001: 111). Negative matrix clauses often trigger the use of subjunctive in the subordinate, expressing doubt, uncertainty, or an opinion (L'Huillier 1999: 153-167). In (ia), the positive matrix clause is followed by the indicative *est*. While in (ib), the use of subjunctive with the negative matrix clause places stress on the utterance as an opinion. In (ic), the use of indicative with a negative matrix clause places on the eventuality and not the speaker's opinion.

- (i) a. *Ils pensent que c'est faisable.*  
 They think that it is feasible.  
 b. *Ils ne pensent pas que ce soit faisable.*  
 They do not think that it is feasible.  
 c. *Ils ne pensent pas que c'est faisable.*  
 They do not think that it is feasible.

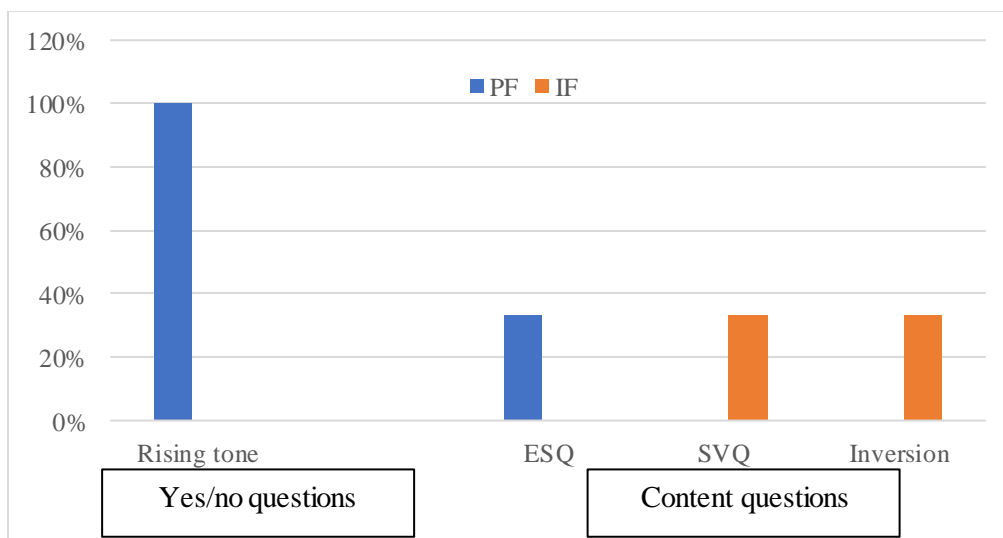
Future research into subjunctive may reveal a link between a speaker's notion of possibility, prediction, or what is essentially not real and the use of IF and negation.

### 6.3.3. Questions

Scholars have consistently identified linguistic and extra-linguistic trends in question formation. Linguistically, question words such as *quel*, *combien*, and *quoi* frequently occur at the end of a question utterance (i.e. Subject-Verb-Question word) and are preceded by a preposition (Coveney 1995: 161). Extra-linguistically, *in situ* questions indicated by a rising tone rather than any change in word order are less formal (Coveney 1996: 233), more frequent than other interrogative structures (Elsig 2009: 15) and favored by all social factor groups (e.g. age, gender, socio-economic status) (Farmer 2013: 69). The next most frequent variant are questions with *est-ce que* (Elsig 2009: 15; Farmer 2013: 64). Finally, questions that are formed by inversion are considered more formal than the other variants (Gadet 1989; Coveney 1996; Di Vito 1997; Dewaele 1999; Elsig 2009; Farmer 2013)

The small data set of questions (N=6) revealed some variation of future variant and question formation. Figure 6.4 details the distribution of yes/no questions and content questions with the PF and the IF.

Figure 6.4. *Distribution of Questions and the PF and the IF*



Underscoring the use of the PF as the informal future variant (Bauch 1920; Imbs 1960; Poplack & Turpin 1999), the PF occurs more with the informal, more frequent yes/no question formation of rising tone (N=3) (Coveney 1996; Elsig 2009; Farmer 2013). There were no examples of a yes/no question with inversion. An example of a rising tone question is illustrated in (10).

(10) *Après, ils vont remonter par Bordeaux?*

Afterwards, they **are going to return** by Bordeaux ?

There were so few content questions (N=3) that it is impossible to note any trends. The more common content question variant with *est-ce que* (Farmer 2013: 64) occurred with the PF which is the more common future variant in the present study and others (e.g. for Canadian French: Chevalier 1996; Poplack & Turpin 1999; Comeau 2015<sup>87</sup>; for Hexagonal French: Roberts 2012; Edmonds & Gudmestad 2015; Villeneuve & Comeau 2016). The IF occurred in one example of the question formation Subject – Verb – Question, in (11a), and in one example of a content question formed by subject-verb inversion, illustrated in (11b).

(11) a. *Les cours reprendront à quel moment?* [7RF40]

Classes **will start back** when [at what moment] ?

b. *Comment pourrez-vous comprendre l'histoire ?* [1RF23]

How **will you be able to** understand the story ?

As the more formal content question variant, the question with inversion in (11b) (Coveney 1996; Di Vito 1997; Dewaele 1999; Elsig 2009; Farmer 2013) occurred with the formal future variant, the IF (Gagnon 1990; Sundell 1991; Poplack & Turpin 1999; Wales 2002; Roberts 2012). While the question data set is highly limited (N=6), the use of the PF and the IF with question

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<sup>87</sup> One Canadian French study reported a higher percentage of the IF in Acadian French (King & Nadasdi 2003).

formation does follow the previous literature on interrogatives, which proposes that the more informal question variants occur more with the informal future variant, the PF.

This section, then, provided an analysis of the most frequent verbs with the use of the IF and the PF. It was shown that most frequent irregular verbs (*avoir, être, venir, and pouvoir*) occur more with the IF than with the PF; yet, some irregular verbs occur more in the PF (*aller, faire, and voir*). The slight majority of the irregular verbs with the IF supports previous research (Blondeau & Labeau 2016) that also noted an association with the IF in Hexagonal French and Canadian French with irregular verbs. Then, Section 6.3.2 illustrated the use of the IF with the more formal question formation variants, supporting previously noted formality trends in question formation, such as the use of inversion in more formal discourse (e.g. Coveney 1996). This section has therefore shown that the IF occurs more with irregular verbs and more formal question formations. The PF, on the other hand, occurred slightly more (68.6%) than the IF with frequent verbs overall and with some irregular verbs, suggesting that while the IF is used more with irregular verbs, it is not an area of specialization, but an example of a shared environment with the PF. Furthermore, while the results of question formation and the IF and the PF require more question tokens, this chapter observed a trend for the use of the PF with informal question variants.

#### **6.4. Results of the Qualitative Pragmatic Analysis**

Looking back to the linguistic quantitative results in Chapter 3, the PF and IF served different semantic functions, such as the use of the PF with proximal eventualities and dynamic verbs compared with the higher usage rate of the IF with distal eventualities and motion verbs. In addition, there was stylistic variation, as evidenced by the use of the PF with informal pronouns

(*on, ça*) and negative utterances with *ne* deletion. However, the quantitative analysis raised some questions about the meaning of the variants. For example, if the PF occurs more in proximal eventualities, why does it also occur more in eventualities that are set to occur in one or two months? Additionally, if the IF is projected to occur more with uncertain eventualities (Fleischman 1982; Franckel 1984; Vet 1993; Confais 1995), why was the PF favored by *si*-clauses, shown in Chapter 5? How might the variants be constrained pragmatically? The pragmatic analyses in Chapter 5 and the present chapter set out to fill in the gaps left by the quantitative analysis of the linguistic factors, in Chapter 3, and the social factors, in Chapter 4.

The present chapter qualitatively examined the non-temporal uses of the future variants to test the notion that the IF can denote epistemic modality. Additionally, this chapter investigated the variation between the PF and IF at the sentential level. The investigation of non-temporal utterances revealed the almost categorical use of the PF with habitual utterances. In addition, the present analysis found that conjectural utterances with the IF were rare, following previous studies (Tasmowski & Dendale 1998; Dendale 2001; Celle 2005). There were, however, two examples of conjecture with the IF and the verb *être*. The low token count of conjecture with the IF in the present analysis suggests that conjecture in spoken French is most likely expressed by *devoir* instead of a future variant (Dendale 2001). Thus, the present findings support the hypothesis that links epistemic modality with the IF, since there were no examples of the PF denoting conjecture. However, the data set of conjectural IF was small. Section 6.2 also accounted for the use of *on va dire* as a rising non-temporal discourse marker that indicates the speaker's uncertainty of the proposition. While more research is needed in this area, the present analysis showed that this marker occurred more at the beginning of an utterance before a noun or

adjective. The expression *on va dire* may be one of the only environments where the PF expresses uncertainty.

Next, the qualitative analysis questioned the role of sentential variation as a predictor of the PF and the IF by investigating the role of verb frequency and questions. The present analysis found that the slight majority of irregular verbs occurred more with the IF. Not all previous studies have found verb frequency to be a determiner in variant selection (Poplack 2001: 418). However, Blondeau and Labeau (2016), in their study of planned discourse of weather, reported a link between irregular verbs and the IF. Finally, this section looked at the role of questions. The data set was very small (N=6), however the available questions revealed an association between the PF and informal question formation, such as using a rising tone to denote a yes or no question (e.g. Coveney 1996). Table 6.1. summarizes the results of the qualitative analysis.

Table. 6.1. *Results of the Qualitative Pragmatic Analysis*

		PF	IF
Non-temporal qualifications	Habitual	✓	
	Conjecture		✓
Sentence	Irregular Verbs		✓
	Informal Questions	✓	

## 6.5. Conclusion

As of now, it is possible to define the future variants according to the linguistic, social, and pragmatic analyses, summarized in Table 6.2. The PF serves as an informal variant that indicates a higher degree of speaker certainty, most likely due to the of the PF with planned eventualities. The IF, on the other hand, carries modal undertones, such as willingness and conjecture. Speakers employ the IF in more formal contexts, such as addressing one's

interlocutor. Linguistically, the PF collocates with informal pronouns, such as *on* and *ça*, motion and regular inflected verbs. In contrast, stative and irregularly inflected verbs as well as negative utterances tend to occur more with the IF. Speaker employ the IF more than the PF in negative utterances, unless there is *ne* deletion. The social factor analysis revealed a favoring for the PF by younger speakers.

Table 6.2. *Social, Linguistic, and Pragmatic Distinctions of the Future Variants*

	Social Distinctions	Linguistic Distinctions	Pragmatic Distinctions
PF	Younger speakers	Affirmative Proximate Eventualities Regular inflected Motion verbs	Subjectivity Certainty/planned events Informal <i>Si</i> -clauses
IF	Older speakers	Stative verbs Irregular inflected Negative Distal Eventualities	Awareness of interlocutor Conjecture Formal <i>Quand</i> clauses

The final step in the present methodology tests the major themes that have emerged from the linguistic, social, and pragmatic analyses in a native speaker questionnaire. The target factors include formality, certainty and planned events, and promises. Thus, Chapter 7 presents the results of a context completion task to reveal which of these highlighted trends may be more operable than others, ultimately determining the meaning of the future temporal reference variants.

## 7.I. Introduction

The results of the linguistic and social quantitative analyses (in Chapters 3 and 4) and the pragmatic quantitative and qualitative analysis (in Chapters 5 and 6), present the multiple factors that affect the future variant choice. The linguistic and pragmatic quantitative analyses revealed the significance of discourse level factors, such as CONTINGENCY and TEMPORAL DISTANCE, sentential factors, such as GRAMMATICALPERSON and NEGATION, and the social factor group of AGE. However, a close examination of these results suggest that TEMPORALDISTANCE may not constrain the variables solely on the distinction between proximate and distal eventualities. Similarly, GRAMMATICALPERSON does not always reveal a strong preference for first person singular by the PF. In Chapter 5, the pragmatic analysis provided a close examination of these results to expose the importance of *formality* and *previous events* on variant selection. The goal of this chapter, then, is to determine the influence these discourse-pragmatic contexts have upon future variant selection using context completion tasks. Thus, the present methodology gleans trends that emerged from the quantitative and qualitative analyses of natural spoken data in the corpora and applies these trends in the controlled environment of a discourse completion task to test for statistical significance. This chapter is organized as follows. Section 7.2 discusses the major trends exposed by the previous analyses and the relevant previous

studies. Section 7.3 presents the methodology for the context completion tasks. Finally, Sections 7.4 and 7.5 detail the results of the study and provide a discussion of these results.

## **7.2. Highlighted Trends**

The results of the quantitative and qualitative analyses of future selection in spontaneous conversation indicated that future temporal reference is not constrained by a single factor. Instead, multiple factors are acting simultaneously upon the selection of the PF or the IF. Specifically, three main factors that constrain future variant selection are: planned eventualities, formality, and dismissive contexts. This section provides the rationale for the selection of these contexts based on the results of the present study and the relevant literature.

### **7.2.1. Previous Events**

Since the PF and the IF both locate eventualities in the proximate and distal futures, a notion illustrated in the linguistic quantitative results of the present study (Chapter 3 Section 3.5.1.8.) and supported by previous research (Fleischman 1982; Confais 1995), the future variants may not be able to be defined strictly temporally. This idea led descriptive grammarians (Fleischman 1982; Vet 1993; Larreya 2000) to posit other realms of distinction, yielding several compelling arguments for the areas of specialization of the PF and the IF. Fleischman's (1982) theory of present relevance distinguishes the PF from the IF aspectually as opposed to temporally or modally. The PF contains present relevance (or prospective aspect), which includes the notions of imminence, inception, assumed events, and intention (Fleischman 1982: 96). Fleischman (1982:96) notes that the PF is employed when "the seeds of the future action have been planted in the present." The idea that steps have already been taken to realize the proposed eventuality is similar to Vet's (1993) notion of the preparatory phase. Example (1) illustrates the

contrast of the PF and the IF in the classic example of *va se marier* ‘is going to get married’ and *se mariera* ‘will get married.’ In (1a), there may not be any plans for the subject to get married, while in (1b), the reader understands that some actions have been taken towards the marriage of the subject, such as an engagement.

(1) a. *Elle se mariera.*

She will get married.

b. *Elle va se marier.*

She is going to get married.

The utterance in (1b) illustrates intention on the part of the subject and that steps prior to the time of utterance have been taken to realize her marriage. The IF, in (1a), does not suggest that any steps have been taken towards marriage, thus underlining the link between the PF and speaker intention (Fleischman 1982) and a preparatory phase (Vet 1993).

Similarly, Larreya (2000:117) distinguishes between the use of the IF and the PF based on whether the utterance denotes a “necessary consequence” or facts stemming from “pre-existing circumstances.” Speakers employ either the IF or the PF when the antecedent implies a “necessary consequence,” such that one condition leads to a consequence. Example (2a) illustrates a necessary consequence, as the possibility of resigning will be regretted if it happens. However, if the condition of the necessary consequence has already happened, then it is considered “pre-existing circumstances,” which occurs only with the PF, shown in example (2b).

(2) a. *Alors tu veux démissionner ! Tu le regretteras/vas le regretter.*

So you want to resign! You will regret it. (\*are going to regret it)

b. *Alors tu as démissionné ! Tu vas le regretter.*

So you resigned! You are going to regret it! (I'm sure you'll regret it!)<sup>88</sup>

(Larreya 2000: 117)

The pre-existing conditions distinction (Larreya 2000) is similar to Vet's (1993) preparatory phase distinction in that states or events have taken place prior to the moment of speech and the consequences, such as *tu vas le regretter* collocate with the PF. Confais (1995: 284-285) also touched on the occurrence of the PF with pre-existing conditions, yet labeled this distinction as either having proof for the future realization and being more certain (PF) or not having proof for the future realization and being less certain (IF).

Furthermore, the present study provides evidence of the planned eventuality distinction between the IF and the PF. The results of the quantitative analysis reveal that while the PF occurs more with the proximate eventualities, the IF occurs in the same temporal environments. These findings suggest that the original temporal distinction between the PF and the IF, which places the PF with proximal eventualities and the IF with distal eventualities (e.g. Poplack & Dion 2009; Gadet 2010; Grevisse & Goosse 2011), may not constrain future variant selection. Thus, non-temporal theories, such as Vet's (1993) preparatory phase theory, play an important role in distinguishing between the future variants. Yet, while the present analysis reports the use of the PF and the IF in shared temporal environments, there is also a tendency for more proximal eventualities to occur with the PF, leading to the question: how does temporal distance indicate speaker certainty?

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<sup>88</sup> Larreya (2000: 117) notes the acceptance of *will* in English is due to its modal qualifications.

Starting with the time of utterance (TU), Figure 7.1 illustrates the use of the PF and the IF across six categories of temporal distance: *Within the hour, within the day, within the week, within the month (or season), distant, and unspecified eventualities*. The shaded portions in Figure 7.1. locate the higher rates of usage of each variant with respect to the time of utterance. Thus, the results of the quantitative analysis indicate that the PF occurs more with eventualities set to occur in a time period that is temporally proximate to the time of utterance and the IF occurs with more distal eventualities.

Figure 7.1. *Temporal distance and the PF and the IF*

	TU →					
	hour	day	week	month	distant	unspecified
PF	<b>69.6%</b>	<b>72.7%</b>	<b>54.5%</b>	<b>77.9%</b>	48.7%	44.4%
IF	30.4%	27.3%	45.5%	22.1%	<b>51.3%</b>	<b>55.6%</b>

The present study, then, hypothesized that the preference for the PF with proximal eventualities was most likely due to the link between the PF and the present (Fleischman 1982; Jeanjean 1988), speaker certainty due to pre-existing conditions (Vet 1993; Confais 1995; Larreya 2000) and planned events (Wales 2002). The qualitative analysis tested this hypothesis by comparing conversation topics that contained more planned eventualities, such as school, city, and travel, with those that reference uncertain eventualities, such as weather or population trends. The present study found that when speakers discussed topics with more certainty, they employed the PF, illustrated in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1. *Distribution of the PF and the IF across Conversation Topic.*

	N	PF	IF
Travel – <i>future vacations, planned and unplanned</i>	80	<b>67%</b>	33%
School – <i>where the participant will go to school, when/how long the participant will finish/start school, what the participant will do in school and after school</i>	37	<b>64.8%</b>	35.1%
Meta – <i>discussing what the participant will talk about, who will participate, when the recording will start/stop</i>	31	<b>64.5%</b>	35.5%
City – <i>infrastructure planning, adding new roads, when city events will happen, what will happen during the new fairs and exhibitions</i>	31	<b>66.70%</b>	33.30%
Politics – <i>future political events, elections, where the president will be in the future</i>	19	<b>78.9%</b>	21.1%
Pets – <i>talking to or about one’s pets</i>	7	<b>71.4%</b>	28.6%
Population – <i>making predictions about the future of the population</i>	18	44%	<b>56%</b>
Personal – <i>making friends, discussing own future</i>	102	35.3%	<b>64.7%</b>
Weather – <i>effects of drought, forecasts</i>	3	33%	<b>68%</b>

In contrast, the IF occurred more in uncertain eventualities, such as predicting population trends, discussing future personal situations, and describing the upcoming weather.

The results of the quantitative and qualitative analyses, then, support the previous literature that links the PF with planned eventualities (Wales 2002) and speaker certainty based on pre-existing circumstances (Vet 1993; Confais 1995; Larreya 2000). Thus, the present study includes “planned eventualities” as a factor group in the linguistic questionnaire to determine the impact of pre-existing conditions on variant selection.

### 7.2.2. Formality

Previous variationist (Poplack & Turpin 1999; Wales 2002; Roberts 2012) and non-variationist studies (Bauche 1920; Imbs 1960; Gagnon 1990; Sundell 1991) link the IF with

formality and the PF with informality. The quantitative and qualitative results support these previous accounts of the variants. The formality distinction between the PF and the IF is evident through the preference for the PF with informal pronouns (e.g. *on*, *ça*). In contrast, the formal pronouns, such as *nous* (as opposed to *on*), formal *vous*, and *ce*, collocated with the IF. Formality also played a role in negative utterances. The IF occurred more with negative utterances, which was predicted by the previous literature of Hexagonal French (Franckel 1984; Jeanjean 1988; Laurendeau 2000; Roberts 2012; Edmonds & Gudmestad 2015; Villeneuve & Comeau 2016), and Canadian varieties (Deschaies & Laforge 1981; Emirkanian & Sankoff 1985; Zimmer 1994; Poplack & Turpin 1999; King & Nadasdi 2003; Blondeau 2006; Poplack & Dion 2009; Grimm 2010; Wagner & Sankoff 2011; Grimm & Nadasdi 2011; Comeau 2011, 2015). However, when the PF occurred in negative utterances, the *ne* was more likely to be omitted, signaling a connection between the informal *ne* omission (Coveney 1989) and the use of the PF. Thus, since the quantitative results supported the previous literature that link formality with the IF, the factor group of formality was included in the linguistic survey to determine its role in variant selection.

### 7.2.3. Dismissive Contexts

The dismissive future refers to when a speaker makes a promise to complete a request by the interlocutor, yet the speaker has no intention of completing the action or he or she wants to end that topic of conversation. For example, in (3), the speaker's husband has asked to help her with an international telephone number. She tells him that she will give it to him, but she never releases the number. Instead, she begins to work through the confusion herself.

(3) *je te le donnerai, mais...*

I **will give** it to you, but ...

The use of the IF in (3), then, can be classified as a dismissive future, since the speaker employed the IF to make a promise that the speaker did not intend to actualize. In addition, the dismissive future may also refer to a speaker's desire to change the topic of the conversation. For instance, in example (3), the speaker's husband offers to help with the number, but the speaker may not want his help, and therefore dismisses him by making a promise that she will not keep.

Support for the use of the IF with dismissive future comes from the investigation into the subjective and intersubjective uses of the future variants. The notions of subjectivity and intersubjective refer to an awareness of oneself and one's interlocutor, respectively. The results revealed a disfavoring of the PF with intersubjective utterances ( $FW=0.32$ ). This supports the link between the IF and the realm of modality that includes the speaker's awareness of the interlocutor to denote permission, willingness (Palmer 2001), requests (Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca 1994; Dahl 2000) orders and promises (Martin 1981; 1987; Hollerbach 1994; Riegel, Pellat & Rioul 1997). Therefore, the association between the IF and the dismissive future is supported by its collocation with utterances that denote an awareness of the interlocutor. To further investigate the impact promises, specifically dismissive promises, have upon variant selection, this factor group was included in the linguistic survey.

The factors highlighted in this section influence the following research questions and the design of the linguistic survey. First, do particular contexts influence future variant selection? Second, is one context more operable than another? Specifically, will one factor group adhere to the previous assumptions of variant selection? Based upon the results in the qualitative and quantitative chapters of this dissertation, this study hypothesizes that the occurrence of previous events and formality will predict the selection of the PF. Additionally, it is likely that the link

between the IF and modality is present, thus influencing the selection of the IF in contexts with promises. The results of the linguistic survey will provide some insight on these questions and the nature of future variant selection.

### 7.3. Methodology

#### 7.3.1. Participants

This study recruited native French speakers in an online French chat room<sup>89</sup> and through email contact. A total of 19 participants took part in the study. Of this total, 21.1% (N=4) were women and 78.9% (N=15) were men. Their ages ranged from 18 to 37, with the slight majority of the participants being 26 or older (52.6%, N=10). Some (42.6% N= 8) of the participants came from southern France (e.g. Biarritz, Issoire, Lyon). However, this portion of the investigation into the meanings of the future variants was not limited to southern speakers. Table 7.2 displays the demographic summary of the survey participants. The background information and individual responses are available in Appendices C and D.

Table 7.2. *Background of the Survey Participants*

Age		Sex		Hometown	
25 and under	26 and over	Female	Male	South	North
47.4% (N=9)	52.6% (N=10)	21.1% (N=4)	78.9% (N=15)	42.6% (N=8)	52.6% (N=11)
Total: 19 Participants <sup>90</sup>					

The analysis includes only participants with complete demographic information.

<sup>89</sup> [www.reddit.com/r/france](http://www.reddit.com/r/france)

<sup>90</sup> The present analysis excluded four participants due to incomplete background information (N=1), the omission of several questions (N=1; 15 omitted questions), and being a non-native speaker (N=2).

### 7.3.2. Contextualized Questionnaire

The participants completed an online contextualized questionnaire that consisted of 35 questionnaire items. Each item described a given context in two to three sentences. There were 17 contexts that targeted the three factor groups in question (e.g. previous events (N=6), formality (N=5), and dismissive future (N=6)). Based on the contexts, the participants selected the most natural response out of three possibilities: a) a response containing the PF b) a response containing the IF or c) no preference. Example (4) shows a context and the possible responses. This context tests the selection the future variant based upon the existence of previous events that have already occurred, since the *soirée* has already happened.

(4) *Vous venez d'une soirée et vous voyez votre ami Félix qui n'a pas pu y aller. Vous lui dites :*

- a. *Je vais te raconter comment ça s'est passé.*
- b. *Je te raconterai comment ça s'est passé.*
- c. *Aucune préférence*

You are coming from a party and you see your friend Felix who couldn't go. You tell him:

- a. I am going to tell you how it went.
- b. I will tell you how it went.
- c. No preference

The remaining 18 contexts contained responses in *passé composé* or *imparfait* and questions with and without *est-ce que*. These contexts served as distractor items and followed the same format as the target factor group contexts. The online questionnaire randomized the order of the contexts for each participant to avoid question order bias. All participants completed all 35 items. Finally, there was no time limit on the completion of the questionnaire.

A contextualized questionnaire was selected for several reasons. First, since all of the participants are exposed to the same linguistic situations, the data are easily comparable (Gudmestad 2006: 174). Second, and along the same lines, since both sentential and contextual factors have been shown to constrain the selection of the future variant (e.g. sentential polarity or temporal distance), a questionnaire allows the researcher to control for the presence and absence of linguistic features (Gudmestad 2006: 174). Furthermore, a contextualized questionnaire is not a test of grammaticality. Instead, the results display the participants' preferences to highlight the importance of different discursive elements (e.g. previous events) in the context (Geeslin & Guijarro-Fuentes 2006:80). Thus, while natural speech is important, it would be difficult to target these factor groups in a less controlled environment.

### **7.3.3. Data Coding**

Each item in the contextualized questionnaire was coded as a single token of future temporal reference. Thus, each token was coded for the dependent variable, selection of the PF, the IF, or no preference, and the independent variables, presence or absence of a previous event, of formality, and of a dismissive future. In addition to the three targeted factor groups, the present study coded for the sex of the interlocutor as designated by the given context and for verb type as either stative or not stative. Given the small number of participants, individual and social variables were not analyzed in the present study. The coding scheme is summarized in Table 7.3.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> The format of the coding scheme is adapted from Geeslin and Guijarro (2006: 82), who investigate copula use in native and non-native Spanish speakers.

Table 7.3. Summary of the Coding Scheme

Variable	Categories	Example
Previous Event	[+ occurrence of previous event] [- occurrence of previous event]	<p><i>Votre frère vous propose de jouer au football dans la maison mais votre mère l'a interdit. Vous dites :</i></p> <p><i>a. Maman va être fâchée.</i> <i>b. Maman sera fâchée.</i> <i>c. Aucune préférence</i></p> <p>Your brother suggests playing soccer in the house. You know that your mother does not like this. You say:</p> <p>a. Mother is going to be angry. b. Mother will be angry. c. No preference</p>
Formality	[ + formality] [- formality]	<p><i>Votre nouveau collègue ne connaît pas la gastronomie de chez vous. Vous lui dites :</i></p> <p><i>a. Je vais vous montrer les meilleurs plats de notre région.</i> <i>b. Je vous montrerai les meilleurs plats de notre région.</i> <i>c. Aucune préférence</i></p> <p>Your new colleague is not familiar with the cuisine from your region. You tell him:</p> <p>a. I am going to show you the best meals in our region. b. I will show you the best meals in our region. c. No preference</p>
Dismissive	[ + plans to actualize the promise] [- plans to actualize the promise]	<p><i>Vous êtes avec vos amis. Un de vos amis n'a pas compris une blague. Vous n'avez pas envie de la lui expliquer, alors vous lui dites :</i></p> <p><i>a. Je vais te l'expliquer plus tard</i> <i>b. Je te l'expliquerai plus tard</i> <i>c. Aucune préférence</i></p> <p>You are with your friends. One of your friends did not understand a joke. You don't want to explain it to him, so you tell him:</p> <p>a. I am going to explain it to you later. b. I will explain it to you later. c. No preference</p>

Interlocutor	Male Female	<i>Votre amie, Colette, cherche un nouveau poste. Elle veut déménager à Montpellier, mais elle n'a pas d'offres d'emploi à Montpellier jusque là. Vous dites, courage,</i> <i>a. Tu vas habiter à Montpellier.</i> <i>b. Tu habiteras à Montpellier.</i> <i>c. Aucune préférence</i>
Verb Type	[+ stative] [- stative]	Your friend, Colette, is looking for a job. She wants to move to Montpellier, but she does not have any job offers there. You tell her: keep trying, a. You are going to live in Montpellier. b. You will live in Montpellier. c. No preference

To determine the independent variables that were significantly related to the selection of future variant, the current study ran two sets of statistical analyses. The first test performed Chi-square analyses which revealed the targeted individual independent variables (e.g. previous event, formality, and dismissive future) that were significant in the selection of future variant using the statistical program JMP. The second statistical test performed a stepwise regression that looked at all of the independent variables included in this study and selected the variables that contribute significantly to the selection of the future variant. The present study employed the statistical program Goldvarb X (Sankoff, Tagliamonte, & Smith 2005), which requires a binary dependent variable. Since the contextualized questionnaire offered three responses types (e.g. PF, IF, or no preference), the present analysis collapsed the three possible responses into either PF is acceptable (e.g. PF or no preference) or not acceptable (IF) to create a binary dependent variable (Geeslin & Guijarro 2006: 85). Another reason to conflate 'no preference' with the PF is based on the low percentage of 'no preference' responses. Illustrated in Table 5, there were only 25 'no preference' responses. The statistical analysis, then, seeks to establish which factor groups

influence the selection of the future variants and to determine in which factor groups the PF is more acceptable.

#### 7.4. Results

The present study collected 323 tokens from 17 contexts. Table 7.4 illustrates the distribution of response type. The majority of the participants selected either PF or IF. Therefore, since only 7.7% of the responses were ‘no preference,’ this category was added to the PF response tokens, creating two response categories: PF is preferred (PF and no preference) and PF is not acceptable (IF).

Table 7.4. *Overall Distribution of Future Variant Selection*

Response	Tokens	%
PF	138	42.7%
IF	160	49.5%
No Preference	25	7.7%
Total	323	100%

The goal, then, is to determine whether the targeted factors influence the selection of future variant. To examine the effect of the individual factor groups, this study performed a Chi-square test on the targeted factor groups. Table 7.5 reveals the significant effect of the occurrence of a previous event on future variant selection ( $\chi^2 = 29.215, p < 0.001$ ). When the context contained a previous circumstance that had already been actualized, the participants preferred the PF (92.9% N=53). However, if the previous eventuality had not yet occurred, participants selected the PF (49.1%, N=28) and the IF (50.8%, N=29). These results, then, indicate a preference for the PF when previous events have occurred.

Table 7.5. *Distribution of Future Variant Selection and Previous Event*<sup>92</sup>

[+occurrence of previous event]			[- occurrence of previous event]		
Response	Tokens	%	Response	Tokens	%
PF	53	<b>92.9%</b>	PF	28	49.1%
IF	4	7.1%	IF	29	<b>50.8%</b>
Total <sup>93</sup>	57		Total	57	

$\chi^2 = 29.215, df=1, p < 0.001$

Shown in Table 7.6, the effect of the formality factor group on future variant selection is also significant ( $\chi^2 = 18.371, p < 0.001$ ). If the context described a formal situation, such as speaking with one's supervisor or colleague, participants selected the IF (68.4%) slightly more than the PF (31.6%). If the context was less formal, such as speaking with a friend or family member, there was a higher rate of preference for the PF (75.4%).

Table 7.6. *Distribution of Future Variant and Formality*

[+formality]			[- formality]		
Response	Tokens	%	Response	Tokens	%
PF	12	31.6%	PF	43	<b>75.4%</b>
IF	26	<b>68.4%</b>	IF	14	24.6%
Total <sup>94</sup>	38 <sup>95</sup>		Total	57	

$\chi^2 = 18.371, df=1, p < 0.001$

<sup>92</sup> To confirm the minimal effects of conflating the PF with 'no preference' on the Chi-square analyses, separate tests were performed. The results of these tests confirm that including the 'no preference' response in the Chi-square analysis does not affect the significance of the factor group on future variant selection. Appendix B contains the Chi-square tests with three response categories.

<sup>93</sup> Participants selected 'no preference' at a rate of 10.5% (N=6) when the context contained a previous event and only 7% (N=4) when there was no previous event.

<sup>94</sup> Participants selected 'no preference' at a rate of 10.5% (N=4) in formal contexts and 10.5% (N=6) in informal contexts.

<sup>95</sup> One context was removed from the online questionnaire due to research error. The difference in tokens for the formality factor levels does not affect the significance.

The final targeted factor group was that of the dismissive future, which investigated the role of promises. This factor group was divided into two types of promises: a) those that the speaker plans to actualize and b) those that the speaker has no intention of actualizing. The results of this factor group were not significant ( $\chi^2 = 0.049$ , NS). Instead, participants selected the IF for both promise scenarios (75.4% and 77.2%). These results support the link between the IF and deontic modality (Palmer 2001) and not an association between the IF and dismissing a promise. Thus, in the presence of a promise, the IF was more likely to be selected, whether the speaker intended to fulfill the promise or not, shown in Table 7.7.

Table 7.7. *Distribution of Future Variant and Dismissive Future*

[ + plans to actualize the promise]			[ - plans to actualize the promise]		
Response	Tokens	%	Response	Tokens	%
PF	11	19.3%	PF	11	19.3%
IF	43	<b>75.4%</b>	IF	44	<b>77.2%</b>
Total <sup>96</sup>	57		Total	57	

$\chi^2 = 0.049$ , df=1, NS

Analyzing the targeted factors individually has shown that participants significantly favor the PF if the context contained prior events and if the context was informal. In contrast, participants selected the IF more when the contexts were more formal and contained a promise, whether the speaker intended to act on the promise or not. Furthermore, it was shown that when analyzed individually, the occurrence of previous events and formality were both significant predictors of the PF. Next, the regression analysis addressed the second research question to determine whether one factor group is more operable than another in future variant selection.

<sup>96</sup> Participants selected 'no preference' at a rate of 5.3% (N=3) when the context specified the speaker's plans to actualize the promise and only 3.5% (N=2) when the speaker did not indicate plans to actualize the promise.

The regression analysis included all of the independent variables as possible predictors of the selection of the future variant. Shown in Table 7.8, the results of a Goldvarb X analysis (Sankoff, Tagliamonte, & Smith 2005) retained the factor groups of previous event, formality, and dismissive future as significant.

Table 7.8. *Multivariate analysis of the contextual factors that condition the selection of the PF*<sup>97</sup>

	Input Significance	0.53 p=0.001	
	Total N	323	
	FW	%	N
PREVIOUS EVENT			
Occurrence of previous event	.85	93	53
No occurrence of previous event	.41	41.4	110
<i>Range</i>	44		
DISMISSIVE FUTURE			
No promise	.64	65.1	136
Plans to actualize the promise	.26	24.6	14
No plans to actualize the promise	.24	22.8	13
<i>Range</i>	40		
FORMALITY			
Informal context	.54	53	151
Formal context	.25	31.6	12
<i>Range</i>	29		

<sup>97</sup> Since the PF was conflated with the 'no preference' response, the factor weights reveal a preference for the allowance of the PF as opposed to the selection of the PF. However, we must also consider the low overall percentage of the 'no preference' response (7.7%). In Appendix D, Table 9b shows the multivariate results when the 'no preference' response is conflated with the IF. This model retained the same factor groups as the run shown in Table 9 as significant with one difference. The dismissive future factor group revealed a higher factor weight range (range = 37) and was thus ranked higher than the previous event (range = 32) and formality (range = 32) factor groups.

Similar to the Chi-square results, the regression analysis indicated a higher probability of the use of the PF with contexts that contained previous events (93%). When the context did not specify a previous event or if the previous event had not yet occurred, the PF was slightly disfavored (FW=0.41).

In an effort to account for the contexts that did not contain promises, the dismissive factor group included three factor levels: a) contexts without promises; b) contexts that specified the speaker's plans to actualize the promise; c) contexts that did not specify the speaker's plans to actualize the promise. Compared with the Chi-square results for this factor group, the addition of this third factor level affected the significance of this factor group. With three factor levels, this factor group was significant since participants favored the PF when the context does not contain a promise. However, when there is a promise, the PF was disfavored (FW=0.26, 0.24). Therefore, this factor group was not significant when tested individually due to the higher usage rate of the IF for both promise scenarios.

The factor group of formality illustrates a slight tendency for the PF (FW=0.54) to be selected with informal contexts, while formal contexts disfavored the PF (FW=0.25). Factors not selected as significant include the stativity of the verb and the sex of the interlocutor. Overall, the multivariate analysis revealed that the three targeted factor groups have a combined significant effect upon the selection of the future variant ( $p < 0.001$ ).

## **7.5. Discussion**

The results of the contextualized questionnaire provide evidence for the influence of discourse-pragmatic contexts on future variant selection. The present study targeted three main

factor groups: previous event, formality, and dismissive future. The results of the multivariate analysis confirm the present hypotheses which predicted the importance of previous events and context formality as future variant predictors. Furthermore, participants employed the IF with both promise situations (e.g. dismissive or not dismissive), supporting the link between the IF and modality. This section discusses these results in detail, linking the present findings to results of the quantitative and qualitative analysis of this dissertation and to the previous literature.

### **7.5.1 Previous Events**

In support of the descriptive grammarian accounts (e.g. Gadet 2010; Grevisse & Goosse 2011), the quantitative results of the present study revealed a preference for the PF with proximate eventualities. However, less proximate eventualities, such as those set to occur within a month, also favored the PF. The IF also occurred with proximate eventualities, leading to the question of whether temporal distance is truly constraining variant selection. The quantitative analysis questioned the notion of planned eventualities and variant choice by investigating the conversation topic. This analysis reported a link between the PF and topics that contain a higher level of speaker certainty, such as attending school or traveling. Topics that contained less certainty, such as personal futures or the weather, occurred more with the IF. Others (Fleischman 1982; Vet 1993; Confais 1995; Larreya 2000) have also questioned the link between the PF and proximate eventualities, suggesting that previous circumstances that lead to the speaker's certainty of the proposed eventuality may have more to do with the variant selection than temporality. Thus, the combination of the quantitative and qualitative results of the present study and previous non-temporal accounts (e.g. Vet 1993; Larreya 2000) of the future variants led to

the inclusion of the previous event factor group into the contextualized questionnaire to determine its role in future variant selection.

Based upon the individual Chi-square analysis and multivariate results, the previous event factor group plays a significant role in the selection of the PF and the IF. These results support the notion that the PF and the IF are not necessarily distinguished temporally, but by previous circumstances that have already been set in motion (Vet 1993; Larreya 2000).

Therefore, the collocation of the PF with temporally proximate eventualities has more to do with steps that have already been taken to realize these proximate eventualities than with the proximity itself. Meaning, it is likely that when speakers utilize the PF with proximate eventualities, some prior conditions have been met for these eventualities to be realized. In comparison, the IF may not favor distal eventualities; instead, it is less likely that these prior circumstances have been met in regard to distal eventualities. In example (5), the speaker uses the PF to denote an eventuality that is set to occur next year and then switches to the IF to discuss eventualities that are set to occur after a year.

(5) *...l'année prochaine je **vais partir** au Venezuela...travailler comme prof de français et ensuite peut-être que je **prendrai**, je **ferai** un DESS<sup>98</sup> ou un master 2.*

...next year, I **am going to leave** for Venezuela... to work as a French professor and next, maybe, I **will take**, I **will prepare** a DESS or a Master's.

The use of the PF with a seemingly distal eventuality most likely occurs due to the previous events that have been taken towards the speaker leaving for Venezuela. The speaker may have already purchased her ticket or confirmed her teaching position in Venezuela. The realization of

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<sup>98</sup> A DESS is a higher education degree similar to a Master's Degree in the United States. (DESS = *diplôme d'études supérieures spécialisées*)

preparing a DESS or Master's is less certain because the speaker has probably not yet enrolled in a program, hence the use of the IF. Therefore, the link between the PF and proximate eventualities stems from speaker certainty based upon steps taken towards the realization of the eventuality (Vet 1993; Confais 1995; Larreya 2000).

### 7.5.2. Dismissive Future

Since modality is the “[grammaticalization] of speakers’ attitudes and opinions” (Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca 1994: 176), when the IF is employed, the listener gains insight into the speaker’s personal attitudes towards the future proposition. In addition, previous descriptive grammarian accounts of the IF (e.g. Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca 1994; Hollerbach 1994; Riegel, Pellat, & Rioul 1997; Palmer 2001) assign modal meanings, such as a speaker’s willingness to actualize the proposed eventuality, to the IF. The qualitative analysis of this dissertation investigated the speaker’s awareness of one’s interlocutor by examining the use of the PF and the IF in subjective and intersubjective utterances. Since the PF was disfavored by intersubjective utterances, these findings suggested that the IF occurs more when the speaker demonstrates an awareness of the interlocutor to give permission, to show willingness, or to make promises.

The notion of the dismissive future stems from the use of the IF with promises that the speakers do not intend to fulfill. In example (6), the speaker is detailing the history of the city of Rognes. He mentions different groups to which people belonged, but he does not describe the groups in detail. Instead, he promises to give an explanation “later.”

(6) ...*après je vous expliquerai*. [3RM55]

I **will explain** it to you later.

The speaker never returns to the topic of these groups, never fulfilling his promise to his interlocutor. Therefore, promises that the speaker does not intend to complete are labeled ‘dismissive future.’ These promises are contrasted with those that the speaker does fulfill. The results of the present study revealed a higher percentage of the IF with any type of promise, supporting the link between the IF and deontic modality, as the speaker commits himself to the proposed eventuality, and dynamic modality, as the speaker expresses the willingness to complete the proposed eventuality (Palmer 2001). In addition, this factor group reported the lowest percentage of the ‘no preference’ response (4.4%, N=5/114). Since participants selected the IF with both types of promises, the individual Chi-square results were not significant. However, the regression analysis retained this factor group as significant because of the inclusion of contexts that did not contain promises. The higher percentage of the PF in the contexts with no promises significantly contrasted with the two types of promises which disfavored the use of the PF. These findings, then, are important as they support the link between the IF and an awareness of one’s interlocutor.

### **7.5.3. Formality**

The quantitative analysis in the present dissertation supported a link between the PF and informal contexts. The PF occurred more with informal pronouns, such as *on* or *ça*, and in negative contexts when the *ne* has been omitted. Additionally, previous accounts of the future variants associate informality with the PF (Bauche 1920; Imbs 1960; Poplack & Turpin 1999) and formality with the IF (Gagnon 1990; Sundell 1991; Poplack & Turpin 1999; Wales 2002; Roberts 2012). To test the significance of formality on variant selection, the contextualized questionnaire included both formal and informal contexts. This factor group was significant as

both an individual influence on variant choice and as part of the whole model. However, while the results of the regression analysis retain the factor group of informality as significant, it is less significant ( $p < 0.01$ ) than the previous event factor ( $p < 0.0001$ ) and the dismissive future factor ( $p < 0.0001$ ). On the one hand, the previous event and dismissive future factors are more operable than the formality factor, but, on the other hand, formality plays a role in variant selection. Thus, when presented with an informal context, participants were more likely to select the PF (75.4%). In contrast, in response to formal contexts, the usage rate of the IF was 68.9%. Overall, these results support an association with the PF and informality, but also indicate that the formality factor group is not as strong of a predictor of variant selection as the previous event or dismissive future factor group.

The first research question asked whether particular contexts influence future variant selection. With the occurrence of previous events, informal contexts, and the absence of a promise participants prefer the PF. In contrast, formal contexts and contexts that contain a promise whether the speaker intends to fulfill this promise or not predict the selection of the IF. In response to the second research question, the regression analysis has also revealed a hierarchy of operable factor groups. This study has shown that the previous event factor group is a stronger predictor of the PF than the dismissive future and the formality factor groups. Therefore, the results of the contextualized questionnaire supported the present hypotheses that expected to see the influence of the targeted factor groups on future variant selection.

## **7.6. Conclusion**

The goal of the contextualized questionnaire, then, was to further examine the trends that emerged from the quantitative and qualitative analyses of the present dissertation in a

controlled atmosphere. All of the targeted factor groups (e.g. previous events, dismissive future, and formality) influenced the selection of the PF and the IF. These results shed light on the nature of the future variants in French in several ways. First, the notion of temporal distance as a predictor of future variant needs to be questioned. The present results indicate that temporal proximity may not be influencing the PF; instead, the occurrence of previous events prior to the future proposition predict the use of the PF. Second, the link between the IF and deontic and dynamic modality is still strong, supported by the higher usage rate of the IF when the context contained a promise. These results suggest that the notions of speaker willingness and desire are still associated with the IF. Finally, while not as strong a predictor of future variant, the present results support the association between the PF and informality (Bauche 1920; Imbs 1960; Poplack & Turpin 1999).

A contextualized questionnaire proved to be an important final step in the present study. This final stage in the present methodology tested and supported the results from the quantitative and qualitative analyses in this dissertation. The following chapter discusses the importance of follow-up surveys within a variationist framework and how this method may affect future variationist studies. The next chapter also concludes this dissertation by providing a summary of the results for each chapter.

### **8.1. Introduction**

This study has examined the variable usage and meanings of the future temporal reference variants in spoken Southern Hexagonal French. The present analysis is set apart from previous sociolinguistic studies in that this study quantitatively and qualitatively examined the role of pragmatics to determine the meaning of the future variants. The present analysis consisted of three main stages which included a linguistic and extra-linguistic quantitative analysis, a quantitative and qualitative pragmatic analysis, and a native speaker context completion task. The linguistic and social quantitative analyses revealed highly operable factor groups, such as temporal distance and grammatical person. To determine the role of pragmatics, this analysis conducted a pragmatic analysis that examined discourse level factors, such as conversation topic and subjectivity. Finally, a thematic analysis of the linguistic, social and pragmatic analyses revealed three main themes (planned events, formality, and dismissive future) that served as the factor groups in a native speaker context completion questionnaire. This chapter discusses the findings of the sociolinguistic analyses in relation to the original research questions, in Section 8.2. Section 8.3 considers the limitations of the study which includes suggestions for methodological improvements. Section 8.3 outlines possible directions for future research and concludes this dissertation.

## 8.2. Research Questions

The research questions for the present study were as follows:

1. **What are the rates of usage for the future temporal reference variants? How do these rates compare with other Hexagonal French studies (Roberts 2012; Edmonds & Gudmestad 2015; Villeneuve & Comeau 2016)?**
2. **What are the social and linguistic conditioning environments of the variants?**
3. **What are the meanings of the variants?**
4. **What predictions can be made about the future variants based upon their origins, semantic generalizations, and grammaticalization paths?**

This section addresses these research questions by discussing the usage rates of the future variants in comparison with other French varieties in Section 8.2.1., the overall results of the quantitative analysis, the pragmatic analysis, and the context completion questionnaire in Section 8.2.2., and finally the predictions for the future variants based upon the results of this study and the variants' origins in Section 8.2.3.

### 8.2.1. Rates of Usage for the PF and the IF

Discussed in Chapter 3, the usage rates of the present analysis (PF = 56.3% and IF = 43.7%) were similar to those of studies of Hexagonal French corpora from 1990 (Roberts 2012; PF = 58.8%; IF = 41.2%), 2000 (Fleury & Branca-Rosoff 2010; PF= 59%; IF = 41%), and 2006 (Villeneuve & Comeau 2016; PF= 62.2%, IF = 37.8%). These rates differ from earlier Hexagonal French corpora which report higher rates of the IF than the PF (Jeanjean 1988; Bilger 2001; Abouda & Skrovec 2015, 1968 corpus: PF: 42% IF: 58%) and more recent Hexagonal French corpora which contain either a much higher rate of the PF (Abouda & Skrovec 2015,

2008 corpus: PF = 72%, IF = 28%) or an almost equal usage rate (Edmonds & Gudmestad 2015, 2014 corpus: PF = 44%, IF = 38.1%, FP: 17.9%).

Canadian French studies (Emirikian & Sankoff 1986; Zimmer 1994; Chevalier 1996; Poplack & Turpin 1999; King & Nadasdi 2003; Grimm 2010; Grimm & Nadasdi 2011; Wagner & Sankoff 2011; Comeau 2015; Grimm 2016), on the other hand, reported much wider variant distribution than the Hexagonal French studies (Jeanjean 1988; Fleury & Branca-Rosoff 2010; Roberts 2012; Abouda & Skrovec 2015; Edmonds & Gudmestad 2015; Villeneuve & Comeau 2016). For instance, Grimm (2016) reported a usage rate of 68% for the PF, 9% for the IF, and 22% for the FP in a 2005 corpus from Ontario. However, one study from Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland (King & Nadasdi 2003) noted a higher usage rate of the IF (53%) than the PF (47%), which they believe is due to the limited language contact with other varieties of Canadian French.

Geographically isolated communities, such as Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, lack the contact with the rest of Canada to continue on a similar linguistic developmental path. Along the same lines, the overall different usage rates of the PF and the IF reveal the different linguistic trajectories of Canadian French and Hexagonal French. Differences between the French varieties are not altogether surprising as they are developing on different trajectories, which is evident in other linguistic areas and not just future temporal reference. For example, uninflected forms, such as *je va* instead of *je vais*, occur in Acadian French (Comeau 2011: 5) and Louisiana French (Valdman & Rottet 2009: 22). Additionally, Fox (2006) provides evidence of 17<sup>th</sup> century pronunciations of the third person plural *-ont/-ent* as [õ] in a French speaking community in Gardner, Massachusetts. Therefore, since different language varieties develop on

separate paths, it is not too surprising to see the difference in the usage rates of the future variants in Hexagonal and Canadian French.

## **8.2.2. Quantitative, Pragmatic, and Context Completion Results**

### **8.2.2.1. Linguistic Trends**

The methodology of the present study included three separate analyses: a linguistic and social quantitative analysis, a quantitative and qualitative pragmatic analysis, and a context completion questionnaire. The quantitative analyses employed a multivariate analysis using the statistical program Goldvarb X (Sankoff, Tagliamonte, & Smith 2005) to determine the linguistic, social, and pragmatic conditioning environments of the PF and IF. The multivariate analysis selected the factor groups of GRAMMATICALPERSON, POLARITY, TEMPORAL DISTANCE, and VERB CLASS as significant linguistic predictors of variant selection. The factor group of VERB IRREGULARITY was also significant, yet not identified by Goldvarb X due to interactions between factor groups. In addition, the present analysis tested the social factors of AGE, SEX, and EDUCATION in a separate Goldvarb X run, finding that only age was a significant predictor of the PF and the IF. Next, the pragmatic analysis examined the data by operationalizing the discourse level factor groups of conversation topic, subjectivity, certainty, and contingency. The themes that emerged from these two analyses became the factor groups for the context completion questionnaire. Thus, the native speaker questionnaire tested the roles of formality, the dismissive future, and previous eventualities.

The findings of the linguistic quantitative analysis revealed multiple significant factor groups, such as TEMPORAL DISTANCE and GRAMMATICALPERSON. However, a closer look into these factor groups revealed several trends. First, the use of the PF with informal pronouns (e.g.

*on, ça*), negative environments with *ne* deletion, and with younger speakers supports the association between the PF and informality (Bauche 1920; Imbs 1960; Poplack & Turpin 1999). The pragmatic analysis, too, investigated the link between informality and the PF by examining the use of the PF with informal contexts and subjectivity. This study concluded that since the interviews from which the data were extracted were generally relaxed, the topic of conversation could neither support nor negate a potential association between the PF and informality. The factor group of subjectivity hinted at the use of the PF with informal contexts since the PF was disfavored with intersubjective utterances which tend to be more formal. Finally, the present analysis tested formality in the controlled environment of the context completion questionnaire, finding that participants favored the use of the IF with formal contexts and the use of the PF in informal contexts. Thus, the occurrence of the formality trend in all three analyses provides further support for the link between the PF and informal contexts and the IF with formal contexts.

The dismissive future theme emerged from the modal classifications of the IF (Martin 1981; 1987; Hollerbach 1994; Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca 1994; Riegel, Pellat & Rioul 1997; Dahl 2000; Palmer 2001; Celle 2005; Poplack & Dion 2009) and the intersubjective nature of the IF determined by the pragmatic analysis in Chapter 5.<sup>99</sup> The dismissive future refers to a promise that the speaker does not intend to actualize in addition to a speaker's desire to end the conversation. The results of the context completion questionnaire revealed a link between the IF

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<sup>99</sup> The pragmatic analysis in Chapter 5 also investigated the role of hypothetical situations and epistemic modality through contingent and non-contingent eventualities. The results did not follow the previous literature (Poplack & Turpin 1999; Blondeau 2006; Wagner & Sankoff 2011) which linked hypothetical eventualities with the IF. Instead, hypothetical eventualities favored the PF. These contrastive results will be discussed in the limitations of the research.

and any type of promise, whether the speaker intended to fulfill the proposition or not. These findings, in addition to the association between the IF and intersubjectivity, support the notion that the IF expresses deontic modality evidenced by the speaker's commitment to fulfill the promise and dynamic modality seen in the speaker's willingness to complete a future proposition (Palmer 2001).

A third theme that emerged was the role of prior circumstances leading up to a future eventuality. Many variationist studies (King & Nadasdi 2003; Poplack & Dion 2009; Comeau 2015; Edmonds & Gudmestad 2015; Villeneuve & Comeau 2016; Blondeau & Labeau 2016: 252) reported the significance of temporal distance in predicting the selection of the PF or the IF. Similarly, since 1530, grammarians have assigned a proximal reading to the PF and a distal reading to the IF (Poplack & Dion 2009; Gadet 2010; Grevisse & Goosse 2011). The present analysis, too, found the role of temporal distance to be a significant factor of variant selection. There was also overlap in the temporal uses of the PF and IF; yet, the more proximate eventualities were statistically favored by the PF. Therefore, the present analysis considered several non-temporal distinctions between the PF and the IF, such as influence of pre-existing conditions upon the selection of the PF (Larreya 2000).

The pragmatic analysis investigated the role of previous events in the prediction of the PF through conversation topics, finding that topics that included a higher degree of speaker certainty, such as discussing school or travel, contained a higher usage rate of the PF. The context completion questionnaire also found that contexts with previous events significantly predicted the selection of the PF. The results of the three analyses, then, support the non-temporal distinctions that underscore the importance of prior circumstances (e.g. Fleischman

1982; Vet 1993; Larreya 2000). These results also highlight the subjective nature of future variant selection in terms of certainty or doubt (Confais 1995; Poplack & Dion 2009) and “the subtle semantic or pragmatic distinctions in the message the speaker wishes to convey” (Poplack & Malvar 2007: 137). Thus, due to the difficulty of operationalizing a discourse-pragmatic constraint, such as speaker certainty or intention, in one quantitative analysis, this study identified some of the pragmatic nuances associated with future variant selection by supporting the quantitative data with a quantitative and qualitative pragmatic analysis and a native speaker contextualized questionnaire.

#### **8.2.2.2. Social Trends**

The social quantitative analysis examined the influence of the social factors of age, sex, and education, finding only age as a statistically significant predictor of future variant. The results revealed a slight preference for the PF by younger speakers (younger male: FW = 0.64; younger female: FW = 0.60). Additionally, younger speakers employed the PF at a higher rate (63.8%) while older speakers had a slightly higher usage rate of the IF (51.9%). Since the data contained a rise in the PF in younger speakers, the present analysis tested for the possibility of age-grading by conducting two additional multivariate analyses with the older and younger speakers as separate groups. If the results of these separate analyses indicated that the two age groups were using the variants in the same environments, then the data would reveal an age-grading pattern. However, the multivariate analysis retained the factor groups of verb class and temporal distance as significant with the older generation and only the factor group of verb class with the younger generation. Furthermore, the older generation favored the use of the PF with motion verbs (FW = 0.72), while the younger generations showed almost no preference for the

PF with motion verbs (FW= 0.56). Additionally, both generations disfavored the use of the PF with stative verbs (older: FW = 0.21, younger: FW = 0.30). The complete quantitative analysis also revealed a disfavoring of the PF with stative verbs (FW= 0.28) and irregular inflected verbs,<sup>100</sup> pointing a potential area of specialization for the IF.

Overall, the outcome of the generational multivariate analyses revealed two key aspects of the development of the PF and the IF. First, the tendency for the older generation to employ the PF with motion verbs suggests that the original semantics of the PF may still be operable with older speakers. Second, the rise in the PF with younger speakers may be an example of a communal pattern of linguistic change since there is both speaker variation (i.e. variation between the use of the PF and the IF across multiple generations) and community variation (i.e. variable usage rates of the PF and the IF reported by previous Hexagonal French studies). Finally, the present study posited that if one conducted interviews with the same speakers today (i.e. ten years later), one would not witness as strong a collocation between the PF and motion verbs with the older generation as was shown in the present data. Thus, in the absence of diachronic data, the present study hypothesized the expansion of the use of the PF by both the younger and older generations.

### **8.2.2.3. Meanings and Predictions**

Considering the results of the quantitative analysis, pragmatic analysis, and the context completion questionnaire as well as the semantic generalizations and origins of the variants, a complete picture of the meanings and uses of the future variants is now available. Table 8.1

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<sup>100</sup> Verb irregularity was not significant in the whole model test due to interactions with factor group of verb class, since many stative verbs are also irregular inflected verbs. This factor was significant when tested individually ( $\chi^2 = 23.49$ ,  $p < 0.0001$ )

summarizes the present findings of possible modal classifications of the IF compared with previous descriptions.

Table 8.1. *Modal Meanings of the IF.*

Previous Literature	Modal	Current Analysis
IF		IF
Epistemic: assumptive, inferred certainty, prediction (Martin 1981; 1987; Riegal, Pellat, & Rioul 1997; Hollerbach 1994; Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca 1994; Tasmowski & Dendale 1998; Dahl 2000; Palmer 2001; Dendale 2001; Celle 2005)		Conjecture
Agent-oriented: obligation, ability, desire (Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca 1994)		Promises, dismissive future
Speaker-oriented: directives: demands, commands, requests (Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca 1994)		Intersubjectivity, awareness of one's interlocutor

The IF grammaticalized from the analytic *have*-future in Latin and thus, originally, contained a sense of obligation, such as *have to do something*. This original sense is still apparent in the modal uses of the IF to denote willingness, ability, or permission (Palmer 2001), obligation, desire, or commands (Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca 1994; Dahl 2000), as well as promises or orders (Martin 1981; 1987; Riegal, Pellat, & Rioul 1997; Hollerbach 1994). The present analysis found that the IF collocates with contexts that contain promises and speaker-oriented modal meanings, such as demands, requests, or commands. Scholars (Tasmowski & Dendale 1998; Dendale 2001; Celle 2005) also link the IF with epistemic modality; yet, they note that this use of the IF is becoming rare. In support of the scarcity of examples of the use of the IF to denote conjecture, then, the present analysis found only two examples of epistemic IF. Overall, the data

from Southern France indicated that speakers favor the use of the IF to direct or request, thus indicating an awareness of one’s interlocutor, as well as to denote the speaker’s ability or desire to realize a future proposition.

Table 8.2 illustrates the temporal and aspectual meanings of the future variants according to the present findings. Grammarians (e.g. Poplack & Dion 2009) ascribe a proximal reading to the PF and a distal reading to the IF. However, since there is variable use of the PF and the IF with temporal distance, some scholars argue for an aspectual (Fleischman 1982) or non-temporal (Vet 1993; Larreya 2000) account of the future variants. The quantitative analysis highlighted a preference for the PF by proximate eventualities, however, the “proximate” eventualities extended to one or two months. Therefore, a further investigation revealed the influence of the existence of prior circumstances leading up to the future proposition in the prediction of the PF. In addition, the context completion task indicated almost no preference between the variants when the context did not contain previous events (FW = 0.41).

Table 8.2. *Temporal and Non-temporal Meanings of the PF and the IF*

Temporal	
PF	IF
Proximate eventualities favored	Distal and unspecified eventualities favored
Non-temporal	
Intention and assumed eventualities based on the existence of previous events	
Previous events predict the selection of the PF	No previous events slightly disfavored the use of the PF

These findings indicate traces of the grammaticalization path of the PF, which began with an agent on a path moving towards a goal, as the PF denotes intention and certainty due to the existence of prior circumstances.

In addition to the modal and temporal findings, the present analysis found a link between the IF and formality, irregularly inflected and stative verbs, and negative utterances. In contrast, motion and dynamic verbs, regularly inflected verbs, affirmative utterances, and informal pronouns favored the PF. The present findings also suggested that the PF and the IF share some of these linguistic environments. For instance, the PF occurs with negative utterances more than the IF, if the *ne* is omitted, providing further evidence for the link between the PF and informality. In addition, the collocation of the PF with motion verbs is not as strong with younger speakers, suggesting that the PF is moving away from its original sense of an agent moving towards a goal. Further supporting the bleaching of the original meaning of the PF was the low to non-existent preference for the PF by first person subjects (FW=0.55 (*je*); FW=0.31 (*nous*)).

Based on the results of the generational multivariate analysis of two corpora from Southern Hexagonal France, the present study predicted that the use of the PF will continue to expand beyond its original association with motion verbs and proximal eventualities. When considering the preference for the PF with contexts that contain prior circumstances in a current native speaker questionnaire, it is now clear the PF does not designate a specific time interval. Instead, the PF denotes speaker certainty due to an awareness of previous eventualities that positively affect the realization of the future proposition. The generational analysis in Chapter 5 also revealed that the use of the PF by the younger generation is expanding beyond its original

collocation with motion verbs. Thus, as the PF loses its original semantics, it is becoming the future variant that is used more often. The IF, on the other hand, still contains some of its original semantics of speaker willingness and obligation. Overall, the expansion of the PF represents a change in progress as the PF becomes the more standard future variant and the IF becomes the more specialized variant used with stative and morphologically irregular verbs and in more formal contexts.

### **8.3. Limitations of the Study and Future Research**

The present analysis consisted of several limitations. Looking first at the factor groups of the quantitative analysis, the role of contingency needs more attention. This factor group was significant. However, instead of revealing an association between the IF and hypothetical situations (Poplack & Turpin 1999; Blondeau 2006; Wagner & Sankoff 2011), contingent contexts with *si* favored the PF. It is possible that in the few examples (N = 16) with *si*, the speakers felt certain of the realization of the proposition and thus employed the PF. Yet, further analysis of the PF and the IF in contingent utterances may reveal different results, such as a link between the IF and hypothetical contexts as was originally hypothesized. The use of the IF to denote epistemic modality also requires further investigation due to a limited number of tokens (N = 2). While this may suggest that the IF is rarely used to denote epistemic modality (Tasmowski & Dendale 1998; Dendale 2001; Celle 2005), a further investigation is needed. This study proposes targeting the IF in epistemic contexts in a context completion questionnaire or examining the use of the IF in spoken French from towns that border Spain, since epistemic IF in Spanish is more widely employed (Aaron 2014). The overall findings highlight the modal values

of the IF; therefore, this study expects that in a broader corpus, there would be more evidence of epistemic IF in French.

The context completion questionnaire served as support for several major trends that emerged from the quantitative and pragmatic analyses. A potential limitation of the questionnaire, though, was the lack of data from older speakers and women. In the future, a questionnaire that includes older and female participants and that targets all of the significant factor groups from the quantitative analysis would provide more insight on how speakers employ the future variants. Thus, some of the outstanding questions in this study, such as the use of the PF and IF in contingent utterances, could be answered through a native speaker questionnaire.

Furthermore, replicating this study with different varieties of French may reveal different constraints on the PF and the IF. For example, temporal distance is not always a predictor of variant choice in Canadian French varieties (Blondeau 2006; Grimm 2010; Grimm & Nadasdi 2011). Thus, is the use of the PF in these Canadian French varieties not constrained by the existence of previous events, as was found in the present analysis? This study could also be expanded to include French language learners to determine whether the linguistic conditioning environments are shared with native French speakers and at what level of the learning process these trends begin to appear.

In conclusion, this dissertation has presented a variationist framework that combines a linguistic and social analysis, a pragmatic analysis, and a context completion questionnaire to determine the role of meaning in future variant selection. The present study used this variationist framework to investigate the variable use of the periphrastic and inflected future variants in southern Hexagonal French. The present results not only shed light on how speakers employ the

future temporal reference variants but also on how an expanded variationist approach addresses potential pragmatic constraints.

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APPENDIX A

*Complete List of Canadian French and Hexagonal French Variationist Future Studies*

Canadian French Studies		
Authors	Corpus	Distribution of Tokens
Deschaies & Laforge (1981)	Quebec Metropolitan French	
Emirkanian & Sankoff (1986)	Sankoff – Cedergren 1976 Corpus of Montreal French	PF: 78.9% (N=1093) IF: 21.3 (N=291)
Zimmer (1994)	Montreal French Corpus 1984	PF: 83.3% (N=1135) IF: 16.7% (N=227)
Chevalier (1996)	New Brunswick Corpus 1988	PF: 75.2% (N=438) IF: 24.7% (N=144)
Poplack & Turpin (1999)	Ottawa-Hull Corpus 1989	PF: 73% (N=2627) IF: 20% (N=725) FP: 7% (N=242)
King & Nadasdi (2003)	Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland Corpus 1987-1988	PF: 47% (N=323) IF: 53% (N=362)
Blondeau (2006)	Montreal French Corpus 1971, 1984, 1995	1971 : PF : 86% <sup>101</sup> IF : 14% 1984 : PF : 77% IF : 23% 1995 : PF : 78% IF : 22%
Poplack & Dion (2009)	Ottawa-Hull Corpus 1989; <i>Récits du français québécois d'autrefois</i> 2007 – folklore collected in the 1940s and 1950s	PF : 56% (2630) IF : 36% (1663) FP : 95 (398)

<sup>101</sup> Blondeau (2006) does not report token number.

Grimm (2010)	Mougeon – Beniak Corpus of Ontario French 1978, 2005 <sup>102</sup>	1978: PF: 86.5% (N=154) IF: 13.5% (N=24) 2005: PF: 89.5% (N=815) IF: 10.5% (N=96)
Comeau (2015)	Baie Sainte-Marie Acadian French 1990	PF : 62% (N=425) IF : 38% (N=257)
Grimm & Nadasdi (2011)	Mougeon – Beniak Corpus of Ontario French 1978	PF: 89% (N=1097) IF: 11% (N=135)
Wagner & Sankoff (2011)	Montreal French Corpus 1971-1984	PF 74.4% (N=3161) IF: 25.6% (N=1085)
Grimm (2016)	Mougeon – Beniak Corpus of Hawkesbury Ontario French 2005	PF: 68% (N=410) IF: 9% (N=56) FP: 22% (134)
Hexagonal <sup>103</sup> French Studies		
Authors	Corpus	Distribution of Tokens
Jeanjean (1988)	Groupe Aixois de Recherche en syntaxe - Université de Provence (GARS)	PF: 42.2% (N=190) IF: 57.8% (N=260)
Bilger (2001)	1 <sup>st</sup> Corpus: Interview at a Post Office unknown date 2 <sup>nd</sup> Corpus: Groupe Aixois de Recherche en syntaxe - Université de Provence (GARS)	Little corpus: PF: 37.8 (N=31) IF: 62.25 (N=51) Big corpus: PF: 44% IF: 56%
Fleury & Branca-Rosoff (2010)	Parisian French Corpus 2000	PF: 59% (N=333) IF: 41% (N=232)
Roberts (2012)	Beeching Corpus of Northern and Southern France 1980-1990	PF: 58.8% (N=255) IF: 41.2% (N=179)
Abouda & Skrovec (2015)	<i>Les Enquêtes sociolinguistiques à Orléans</i> (ESLO) ESLO1 1968-1971 ; ESLO2 2008	1968-1971 : PF : 42% (N=715) IF : 58% (N=985) 2008 : PF : 72% (N=1204) IF : 28% (N=466)

<sup>102</sup> Grimm (2010) collected data only from 15 – 18 year olds.

<sup>103</sup> Hexagonal French refers to the French spoken in France.

Edmonds & Gudmestad (2015)	Southwest France Corpus 2014	PF: 44% (N= 396) IF: 38.1% (N=343) FP: 17.9% (N=161)
Villeneuve & Comeau (2016)	Vimeu French Corpora: 1946; 1956; 1966; 2006	1946: PF: 11.6% (N=13) IF: 88.4% (N=99) 1956: PF: 17.1% (N=24) IF: 82.9% (N=116) 1966: PF: 19.9% (N=28) IF: 80.1% (N=113) 2006: PF: 62.2% (N=166) IF: 37.8% (N=101)

APPENDIX B

*Effects of the Individual Factor Groups with all Response Types*

*Distribution of future variant selection and previous event*

[+occurrence of previous event]			[- occurrence of previous event]		
Response	Tokens	%	Response	Tokens	%
PF	47	<b>82.5%</b>	PF	24	42.1%
IF	4	7%	IF	29	<b>50.8%</b>
No Preference	6	10.5%	No Preference	4	7%
Total	57		Total	57	
$\chi^2 = 29.361, df=2, p < 0.001$					

*Distribution of future variant and formality*

[+formality]			[- formality]		
Response	Tokens	%	Response	Tokens	%
PF	8	21.1%	PF	37	<b>64.9%</b>
IF	26	<b>68.4%</b>	IF	14	24.6%
No Preference	4	10.5%	No Preference	6	10.5%
Total	38		Total	57	
$\chi^2 = 20.496, df=2, p < 0.001$					

*Distribution of future variant and dismissive future*

[ + plans to actualize the promise]			[ - plans to actualize the promise]		
Response	Tokens	%	Response	Tokens	%
PF	11	19.3%	PF	11	19.3%
IF	43	<b>75.4%</b>	IF	44	<b>77.2%</b>
No Preference	3	5.3%	No Preference	2	3.5%
Total	57		Total	57	
$\chi^2 = 0.213, df=2, NS$					

APPENDIX C

<i>Demographic Information of Participants of the Context Completion Questionnaire</i>				
Participant #	Votre âge:	Votre sexe:	Votre ville natale:	Lieu de résidence actuelle depuis quelle année:
1	31	F	Lyon	5
2	25	M	Lyon	2017
3	26	M	Dijon	2010
4	22	M	Gap	2013
5	31	M	Rambouillet	1
6	18	M	Toulon	2003
7	37	M	Amiens	2007
8	23	M	Lorient	1997
9	17	M	Paris	5
10	35	F	Lyon, France	2012
11	32	F	Paris	2015
12	37	M	Besançon	2003
13	27	M	Alfortville	1990
14	26	F	Neuchâtel	2015
15	22	M	Rennes	1995
16	27	M	Montigny-le-Bretonneux	2013

APPENDIX D

*Participants' Responses in the Context Completion Task*

	Previous Event	Previous Event	Previous Event
	Vous avez rendez-vous avec votre ami, Félix, pour aller à une soirée demain soir. Mais, Felix vient de vous dire qu'il ne peut pas y aller. Puisqu'il s'intéresse beaucoup à la soirée, vous lui dites:	Vous venez d'une soirée et vous voyez votre ami Félix qui n'a pas pu y aller. Vous lui dites :	Votre frère vous propose de jouer au football dans la maison mais votre mère l'a interdit. Vous dites :
Participant #			
1	Je te raconterai comment ça s'est passé.	Je vais te raconter comment ça s'est passé.	Aucune préférence
2	Je te raconterai comment ça s'est passé.	Je vais te raconter comment ça s'est passé.	Maman va être fâchée.
3	Je te raconterai comment ça s'est passé.	Je vais te raconter comment ça s'est passé.	Maman va être fâchée.
4	Je te raconterai comment ça s'est passé.	Je vais te raconter comment ça s'est passé.	Maman va être fâchée.
5	Je vais te raconter comment ça s'est passé.	Je vais te raconter comment ça s'est passé.	Maman va être fâchée.
6	Je vais te raconter comment ça s'est passé.	Je vais te raconter comment ça s'est passé.	Maman sera fâchée.
7	Je te raconterai comment ça s'est passé.	Je te raconterai comment ça s'est passé.	Maman va être fâchée.
8	Je te raconterai comment ça s'est passé.	Aucune préférence	Maman va être fâchée.
9	Aucune préférence	Aucune préférence	Maman va être fâchée.

10	Je vais te raconter comment ça s'est passé.	Je vais te raconter comment ça s'est passé.	Maman sera fâchée.
11	Je te raconterai comment ça s'est passé.	Je vais te raconter comment ça s'est passé.	Maman va être fâchée.
12	Je te raconterai comment ça s'est passé.	Aucune préférence	Maman va être fâchée.
13	Je te raconterai comment ça s'est passé.	Je vais te raconter comment ça s'est passé.	Maman sera fâchée.
14	Je te raconterai comment ça s'est passé.	Je te raconterai comment ça s'est passé.	Maman va être fâchée.
15	Je te raconterai comment ça s'est passé.	Aucune préférence	Maman va être fâchée.
16	Je te raconterai comment ça s'est passé.	Je vais te raconter comment ça s'est passé.	Maman sera fâchée.
17	Je te raconterai comment ça s'est passé.	Je te raconterai comment ça s'est passé.	Maman va être fâchée.
18	Je te raconterai comment ça s'est passé.	Je vais te raconter comment ça s'est passé.	Maman va être fâchée.
19	Je te raconterai comment ça s'est passé.	Je te raconterai comment ça s'est passé.	Maman sera fâchée.
	Previous Event	Previous Event	Previous Event
Participant #	Vous êtes à la maison avec votre frère qui vient de casser une fenêtre avec ballon de football. Vous entendez votre mère qui arrive. Vous dites :	Votre amie, Colette, cherche un poste de travail. Elle vient d'avoir une offre d'emploi à Montpellier. Vous êtes ravi(e) pour elle, alors vous dites :	Votre amie, Colette, cherche un nouveau poste. Elle veut déménager à Montpellier, mais elle n'a pas d'offres d'emploi à Montpellier jusque là. Vous dites, courage,
1	Maman va être fâchée.	Colette va habiter à Montpellier !	Tu habiteras à Montpellier.
2	Maman va être fâchée.	Colette va habiter à Montpellier !	Tu habiteras à Montpellier.

3	Maman va être fâchée.	Colette va habiter à Montpellier !	Tu habiteras à Montpellier.
4	Maman va être fâchée.	Colette va habiter à Montpellier !	Tu vas habiter à Montpellier.
5	Maman va être fâchée.	Colette va habiter à Montpellier !	Tu vas habiter à Montpellier.
6	Maman va être fâchée.	Colette va habiter à Montpellier !	Aucune préférence
7	Maman va être fâchée.	Colette va habiter à Montpellier !	Tu vas habiter à Montpellier.
8	Maman va être fâchée.	Colette va habiter à Montpellier !	Tu vas habiter à Montpellier.
9	Maman va être fâchée.	Colette va habiter à Montpellier !	Tu vas habiter à Montpellier.
10	Maman va être fâchée.	Colette va habiter à Montpellier !	Tu habiteras à Montpellier.
11	Maman va être fâchée.	Colette va habiter à Montpellier !	Tu vas habiter à Montpellier.
12	Maman va être fâchée.	Colette va habiter à Montpellier !	Tu habiteras à Montpellier.
13	Aucune préférence	Colette va habiter à Montpellier !	Tu habiteras à Montpellier.
14	Aucune préférence	Colette va habiter à Montpellier !	Tu habiteras à Montpellier.
15	Maman va être fâchée.	Colette va habiter à Montpellier !	Aucune préférence
16	Maman va être fâchée.	Colette va habiter à Montpellier !	Tu vas habiter à Montpellier.
17	Maman va être fâchée.	Colette va habiter à Montpellier !	Tu vas habiter à Montpellier.
18	Maman va être fâchée.	Colette va habiter à Montpellier !	Tu habiteras à Montpellier.
19	Maman va être fâchée.	Colette va habiter à Montpellier !	Tu habiteras à Montpellier.

	Dismissive Future	Dismissive Future	Dismissive Future
Participant #	Vous êtes avec vos amis. Un de vos amis n'a pas compris une blague. Vous voulez lui expliquer la blague plus tard alors vous lui dites :	Vous êtes avec vos amis. Un de vos amis n'a pas compris une blague. Vous n'avez pas envie de la lui expliquer, alors vous lui dites :	Laure est venue avec sa grand-mère à la fête d'anniversaire de Yassine. Elle est gênée d'être avec sa grand-mère. Alors, quand Yassine lui demande avec qui elle est venue, Laure répond :
1	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je t'expliquerai.
2	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je t'expliquerai.
3	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je t'expliquerai.
4	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je vais t'expliquer.
5	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je vais t'expliquer.
6	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je vais t'expliquer.
7	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je t'expliquerai.
8	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je vais t'expliquer.
9	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je t'expliquerai.
10	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je vais t'expliquer.
11	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Aucune préférence
12	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je t'expliquerai.
13	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je t'expliquerai.
14	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je t'expliquerai.
15	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je t'expliquerai.
16	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je vais t'expliquer.

17	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je t'expliquerai.
18	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je t'expliquerai.
19	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je te l'expliquerai plus tard	Je t'expliquerai.
Participant #	Dismissive Future Laure est venue avec sa grand-mère à la fête d'anniversaire de Yassine. Elle est fière d'être arrivée avec sa grand-mère. Alors, quand Yassine lui demande avec qui elle est venue, Laure répond :	Dismissive Future Yassine prend des photos à sa fête d'anniversaire. Sa petite sœur veut les voir. Yassine ne veut pas les lui montrer, alors elle dit :	Dismissive Future Yassine prend des photos à sa fête d'anniversaire. Sa petite sœur veut les voir. Yassine veut les lui montrer mais après la fête, alors elle dit :
1	Je t'expliquerai.	Je te les montrerai.	Je te les montrerai après.
2	Je t'expliquerai.	Je te les montrerai.	Je te les montrerai après.
3	Je vais t'expliquer.	Je vais te les montrer.	Je te les montrerai après.
4	Je vais t'expliquer.	Je vais te les montrer.	Je te les montrerai après.
5	Je vais t'expliquer.	Je te les montrerai.	Je te les montrerai après.
6	Je vais t'expliquer.	Je vais te les montrer.	Je te les montrerai après.
7	Je t'expliquerai.	Je te les montrerai.	Je te les montrerai après.
8	Je vais t'expliquer.	Je vais te les montrer.	Je te les montrerai après.
9	Je t'expliquerai.	Aucune préférence	Je vais te les montrer après.
10	Aucune préférence	Je te les montrerai.	Je vais te les montrer après.
11	Aucune préférence	Je vais te les montrer.	Je te les montrerai après.
12	Aucune préférence	Je te les montrerai.	Je te les montrerai après.
13	Je t'expliquerai.	Je te les montrerai.	Je te les montrerai après.
14	Je vais t'expliquer.	Je te les montrerai.	Je te les montrerai après.

15	Je t'expliquerai.	Je te les montrerai.	Je te les montrerai après.
16	Je vais t'expliquer.	Je te les montrerai.	Je te les montrerai après.
17	Je vais t'expliquer.	Je te les montrerai.	Je te les montrerai après.
18	Je vais t'expliquer.	Je te les montrerai.	Je te les montrerai après.
19	Je t'expliquerai.	Je te les montrerai.	Je te les montrerai après.

Formality

Formality

Formality

Participant #	Vous décidez de faire connaître la cuisine française à une amie américaine. Vous lui dites :	Vous décidez de faire connaître la cuisine française à votre cousine américaine. Vous lui dites :	Votre frère ne connaît pas la gastronomie de chez vous. Vous lui dites :
1	Je vous inviterai chez moi et vous mangerez des crêpes bien françaises .	Je t'inviterai chez moi et tu mangeras des crêpes bien françaises!	Je vais te montrer les meilleurs plats de notre région.
2	Je vais vous inviter chez moi et vous allez manger des crêpes bien françaises .	Je t'inviterai chez moi et tu mangeras des crêpes bien françaises!	Je vais te montrer les meilleurs plats de notre région.
3	Je vais vous inviter chez moi et vous allez manger des crêpes bien françaises .	Je t'inviterai chez moi et tu mangeras des crêpes bien françaises!	Je vais te montrer les meilleurs plats de notre région.
4	Je vous inviterai chez moi et vous mangerez des crêpes bien françaises .	Je vais t'inviter chez moi et tu vas manger des crêpes bien françaises !	Je vais te montrer les meilleurs plats de notre région.
5	Je vais vous inviter chez moi et vous allez manger des crêpes bien françaises .	Je vais t'inviter chez moi et tu vas manger des crêpes bien françaises !	Je vais te montrer les meilleurs plats de notre région.
6	Je vais vous inviter chez moi et vous allez manger des crêpes bien françaises .	Je vais t'inviter chez moi et tu vas manger des crêpes bien françaises !	Je vais te montrer les meilleurs plats de notre région.

7	Je vous inviterai chez moi et vous mangerez des crêpes bien françaises .	Je vais t'inviter chez moi et tu vas manger des crêpes bien françaises !	Je vais te montrer les meilleurs plats de notre région.
8	Je vous inviterai chez moi et vous mangerez des crêpes bien françaises .	Je vais t'inviter chez moi et tu vas manger des crêpes bien françaises !	Je vais te montrer les meilleurs plats de notre région.
9	Aucune préférence	Aucune préférence	Je vais te montrer les meilleurs plats de notre région.
10	Aucune préférence	Je vais t'inviter chez moi et tu vas manger des crêpes bien françaises !	Je vais te montrer les meilleurs plats de notre région.
11	Je vais vous inviter chez moi et vous allez manger des crêpes bien françaises .	Je vais t'inviter chez moi et tu vas manger des crêpes bien françaises !	Je vais te montrer les meilleurs plats de notre région.
12	Aucune préférence	Je t'inviterai chez moi et tu mangeras des crêpes bien françaises!	Je te montrerai les meilleurs plats de notre région.
13	Je vous inviterai chez moi et vous mangerez des crêpes bien françaises .	Je vais t'inviter chez moi et tu vas manger des crêpes bien françaises !	Je vais te montrer les meilleurs plats de notre région.
14	Je vous inviterai chez moi et vous mangerez des crêpes bien françaises .	Je t'inviterai chez moi et tu mangeras des crêpes bien françaises!	Je vais te montrer les meilleurs plats de notre région.
15	Je vous inviterai chez moi et vous mangerez des crêpes bien françaises .	Je vais t'inviter chez moi et tu vas manger des crêpes bien françaises !	Je vais te montrer les meilleurs plats de notre région.
16	Je vais vous inviter chez moi et vous allez manger des crêpes bien françaises .	Je vais t'inviter chez moi et tu vas manger des crêpes bien françaises !	Je vais te montrer les meilleurs plats de notre région.
17	Je vais vous inviter chez moi et vous allez manger des crêpes bien françaises .	Je vais t'inviter chez moi et tu vas manger des crêpes bien françaises !	Je vais te montrer les meilleurs plats de notre région.

18	Je vais vous inviter chez moi et vous allez manger des crêpes bien françaises .	Je vais t'inviter chez moi et tu vas manger des crêpes bien françaises !	Je vais te montrer les meilleurs plats de notre région.
19	Aucune préférence	Je t'inviterai chez moi et tu mangeras des crêpes bien françaises!	Je vais te montrer les meilleurs plats de notre région.

Participant #	Formality Vous êtes au supermarché. La caissière vous demande :	Formality À votre travail, il y cinq employés dans votre groupe. Le nouveau patron vous invite chez lui :
1	Ce sera tout ?	Vous allez dîner chez moi ce soir !
2	Ce sera tout ?	Aucune préférence
3	Ce sera tout ?	Aucune préférence
4	Ce sera tout ?	Vous dînerez chez moi ce soir !
5	Ce sera tout ?	Vous dînerez chez moi ce soir !
6	Ce sera tout ?	Vous dînerez chez moi ce soir !
7	Ce sera tout ?	Vous allez dîner chez moi ce soir !
8	Ce sera tout ?	Vous dînerez chez moi ce soir !
9	Ce sera tout ?	Vous allez dîner chez moi ce soir !
10	Ce sera tout ?	Aucune préférence
11	Ce sera tout ?	Vous allez dîner chez moi ce soir !
12	Ce sera tout ?	Vous allez dîner chez moi ce soir !
13	Ce sera tout ?	Vous dînerez chez moi ce soir !
14	Ce sera tout ?	Vous dînerez chez moi ce soir !
15	Ce sera tout ?	Vous dînerez chez moi ce soir !
16	Ce sera tout ?	Vous allez dîner chez moi ce soir !

17	Ce sera tout ?	Vous allez dîner chez moi ce soir !
18	Ce sera tout ?	Vous dînerez chez moi ce soir !
19	Ce sera tout ?	Vous allez dîner chez moi ce soir !