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" Par ailleurs: Something new or more of the same? The contributions of a contrastive corpus-oriented approach"

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More of the same or something different?

An analysis of the French discourse marker *par ailleurs* in academic writing

1. Introduction

Our study will focus on the use of the discourse marker (DM) *par ailleurs* (literally “by elsewhere”) in modern French, in a corpus of academic writing. The literature on DMs is extensive and the various definitions are often non-consensual. We will however take as our starting point the fairly uncontroversial definition given by Schourup (1999) of DMs as “syntactically optional connective expressions”. We propose also to situate our study within a firm textual framework. If earlier work on DMs focused more on the signaling of inter-sentential connections, more recent work has also emphasized the importance of considering the role of DMs in relation to the overall discourse topic (Charolles 2017; Fraser 2009). Certain markers, termed “topic orientation” markers by Fraser (2009), appear to play a specific role in guiding interpretative operations. In French one such marker that can play a part in signaling the structure of the emerging discourse, and thus helping to follow the general topic of the text, is *par ailleurs*.

While the literal compositional meaning of the sequence *par ailleurs* is fairly transparent¹, its use in a discourse-marking capacity is considerably more problematic and its pragmatic status and meaning are the focus of some controversy. Dictionaries and pedagogical grammars for learners of French have diverse views on its functions and definitions vary considerably. Some prefer to avoid mentioning its role as a DM altogether. This is the case for example of the Larousse and Littré dictionaries. Grieve in his dictionary of contemporary French connectors declares *par ailleurs* to be “one of the most difficult of French connectors for speakers of English to get a purchase on” (1996: 370).

This difficulty is undoubtedly compounded by the fact that as a DM *par ailleurs* is also often confused nowadays with *d’ailleurs* and in order to better distinguish the two markers and understand the modern uses of *par ailleurs* it is therefore useful to consider the respective development of the two expressions. As Fagard and Charolles’s diachronic study (2018) underlines, the two expressions have followed a different, but parallel development, with that of *par ailleurs* as a DM being a far more recent phenomenon. In medieval French the sequences [*de + ailleurs*] (literally “from

¹ The Harrap’s New Standard dictionary (1981) translates it for example as “by another way, route”.

another place”) and [*par + ailleurs*] (literally “by or through another way”) were mainly used in a transparent compositional sense, in sequences such as: *passer par ailleurs* (to pass through another place); *de France et d’ailleurs* (from France and elsewhere).

Etymologically the evolution of *par ailleurs*, *ailleurs* and *d’ailleurs* is retraced as follows by the TLFi: firstly *ailleurs*, (XIthC) (a) then a concrete meaning of *par ailleurs* (1160) (b) followed by *d’ailleurs* attested in 1174 (c):

- a) XIthC. **ailleurs** ‘in another place’ *in alio loco
(*La Vie de Saint Alexis*, éd. Storey, 194 : *Andreit Tarson espeiret ariver, Mais ne puet estra, ailurs l’estot aller* ‘)
- b) 1160 **par aillurs** ‘through another place’
(Wace, *Roman de Rou*, éd. Andresen, 3, 369 ds T.-L. : *N’i poeit par aillurs passer*)
- c) 1174 **d’ailors** ‘from another place’
(Benoît, *Chr. des ducs de Normandie*, éd. C. Fahlin, 6845 : *Estranges sui, d’ailors venuz*)

(TLFi, <http://www.cnrtl.fr/definition/ailleurs>)

However, from the sixteenth and seventeenth century onwards adverbial non-compositional use of *d’ailleurs* began to develop. Fagard and Charolles (2018: 357) cite the following extract from a seventeenth century play by Corneille, where the sense of the two component parts of the expression *de + ailleurs* seems to have given way to a single expression, adding a further point by combining with the adversative connector *mais* (“but”) to signal an oppositional or contrastive meaning:

1. J’en veux bien faire essai ; mais **d’ailleurs**, quand j’y pense, Peut-être seulement le nom d’époux t’offense, Et tu voudrais qu’un autre... (Pierre Corneille, *La Place Royale*, 1682)

“I’m willing to try; but **however**, when I think about it, perhaps only the term of husband offends you, and you would like another...”.

In contemporary usage, *d’ailleurs* has since expanded to take on more “expressive functions” (Traugott 1995). Most commentators, following Ducrot (1980), have today come to see justification as being one of its core values. In (2) the speaker makes a point in support of his first statement. The function of *d’ailleurs* here is to bring to a

close any possible doubt the listener might have had about the identity of the person discussed:

2. Je connais bien cet homme, il est **d'ailleurs** mon parent (Gougenheim, *Dictionnaire fondamental de la langue française* 1958; example cited by Grevisse 1969).

"I know this man well, he is **after all** one of my relatives"

The development of *par ailleurs* appears to have been slower. Adverbial non-compositional use of the marker appeared only in the late eighteenth century. Fagard and Charolles hypothesize that *par ailleurs* firstly took on some of the functions of *d'ailleurs*, before coming to specialize in a text structuring capacity, often signaling an additional point as in (3) or a change of discourse topic, as in the extract they cite (2018: 352) below in (4):

3. Le président-candidat a **par ailleurs** estimé qu'il y avait « beaucoup trop » d'armes en France. (*Le Nouvel Observateur*)

"The presidential candidate **moreover** took the view that there were "far too many" weapons in France."

4. Ce n'est donc ni par hasard ni par erreur que la loi française sur la presse réglemente à la fois l'injure, la diffamation et le droit de réponse. D'où la nécessité évidente d'une réglementation spéciale. **Par ailleurs**, s'il est certain que la protection de l'individu contre les abus de la presse ne met pas en jeu les mêmes problèmes généraux que l'organisation d'un régime juridique de la presse envisageant les rapports du journaliste et de l'état, il n'en est pas moins vrai que les deux questions ne peuvent jamais être complètement isolées. (Julien Cain (dir.), *La Civilisation écrite*, 1939)

"It is not therefore by chance or by mistake that French law relating to the press regulates at once insult, defamation and right of reply. Hence the fact that specific regulation is obviously necessary. **On the other hand**, while it is certain that protecting individuals from press abuse does not involve the same general problems as organizing a system of law relating to the press that encompasses the relationship between the journalist and the state, the fact

remains that the two issues can never be raised in complete isolation from each other”.

The etymological parallel can however make the distinction between *d'ailleurs* and *par ailleurs* rather ambiguous. There are cases where the two DMs could be interchanged, even in an argumentative concessive context such as (1) above. As Vanderbauwhede and Lamiroy (this issue) point out the evolution of the two expressions from locational adverbs to contextually polysemic discourse markers has not happened at the same pace. Basing their claim on Traugott's (1995) notion of pragmatic strengthening, they show that whereas *par ailleurs* has primarily connective functions situated at the text level, *d'ailleurs* has already reached the final stage of its evolutionary development, taking on expressive and subjective functions (see example (2) above, where its replacement by *par ailleurs* would result in a change of meaning).

The difficulty of stabilizing the meaning of *par ailleurs* has led to some very prescriptive remarks by the “Académie française,” which strongly warns against confusing *par ailleurs* with *d'ailleurs* and instructs users to respect the nuances associated with each:

« Ces deux expressions ne doivent pas être confondues (...). On s'efforcera de garder à chacune de ces expressions ses nuances et de ne pas employer l'une pour l'autre. » (www.academie-française.fr/d'ailleurs-par-ailleurs)

“These two expressions must not be confused. It is important to keep the nuances associated with each and not use one in place of the other”.

Such injunctions however are rather unhelpful for linguists, translators and learners of French alike, for as well as not explaining the respective diachronic development of the two expressions, they also do not take into account the specificities of contemporary use. No information is given about the question of register or genre variation. This is also the case for most of the dictionaries and teaching manuals we consulted. Is *par ailleurs* used in the same way in writing and in speech? Does the degree of formality of the discourse situation also affect the way the DM functions? In order to determine how *par ailleurs* is actually used and understood, we believe it is necessary to stabilize the contextual variables as far as possible and focus on the analysis of specialized situated corpora. In such corpora, regularities observed in the

use of the marker can be compared with each other and related to specific patterns of use inherent in the discourse situation.

We have therefore chosen to base our analysis of *par ailleurs* on a corpus of modern academic writing, a collection of PhD abstracts containing both an original French version and an English translation. Our study will explore the polyfunctionality of *par ailleurs*, examining how the same marker can be used for a variety of functions, expressing different contextual meanings.

In the next section we will describe in more detail the main characteristics of this specialized corpus, before going on to outline the methodology applied. In section 3 we describe the results of analysis of the five discursive functions identified for the French DM and their correlations with other formal and functional categories. In section 4 we focus more specifically on the translation equivalents of the DM in English and the ways in which they can corroborate or refine the categories presented in section 3. Section 5 concludes and suggests some future research paths.

2. Corpus and methods

2.1 Corpus details

The corpus compiled for this study consists of one hundred short parallel texts: one hundred original French texts and their translations into English. They are PhD thesis abstracts in various subjects in the humanities and social sciences extracted from the French HAL database² and were selected on the criterion of containing at least one occurrence of the marker *par ailleurs*. The total number of words in the French subset is 31,487, and that of the English translations 27,799, with an average length of 280-300 words per abstract.

We are thus dealing with short standalone texts, with their own narrative coherence, rather than just extracts of text. The length of the abstracts makes it possible to examine the occurrences of *par ailleurs* in their complete contexts. An important advantage for us was the availability of the English translation. For PhDs published in French, the HAL database requires an English translation of the abstract. Another

² The HAL open archive contains PhD theses and scholarly articles: <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr>.

advantage is the fact that we were able to check the direction of the translations (French into English), a criterion which is often difficult to ascertain in very large and more general databases. We view the translation here as a heuristic device. The way *par ailleurs* is translated can reveal how the speaker perceives the French marker to function in the source text and can be seen as complementary to the semantic analysis of the monolingual data (see Noël 2003; Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberghe 2004).

It should be noted that the abstracts were not translated by professional translators but by the French PhD students themselves and that in consequence the English formulation is not necessarily fluid or native-like. We believe nonetheless that the translations can still provide useful information about the speakers' perception of the meaning of the marker in French. A verification of the translations by the second author (a native English speaker) also revealed them to be largely accurate.

Finally, it is important to underline the specificity of this corpus. Although the expression *par ailleurs* exists both in French oral and written discourse, our corpus is an exclusively written one. With the advent of online depositories, PhD abstracts have become increasingly important for the promotion and visibility of their authors' research (Bordet 2011). The abstracts forming our corpus are highly planned texts with a strong degree of internal cohesion. As they are limited in length, there is no space for anything that is not strictly related to the topic. Parenthetical remarks are therefore unlikely. Unlike the PhD dissertations themselves which contain numerous headings and subsections, the abstracts also contain few, if any, indicators of formal structure and therefore rely more on connectives for guiding the reader. Such aspects can be expected to have an impact on the types of topic orientation markers found.

2.2 Methods

The methodology is based on the analysis of a number of formal and functional features of the French marker. We firstly distinguished three positions within the sentence: initial, medial and final. We considered as sentence initial, items occurring at the start of a sentence or just after a conjunction, as final items occurring at the

end of a sentence and as medial all other cases between these two positions. Examples (5), (6) and (7) exemplify these three positions; initial, medial and final respectively.

5. Notre corpus ne se limitant pas à la sphère germanophone, nous abordons l'image du Rhin suisse sous un angle comparatiste (...). **Par ailleurs**, notre enquête s'inscrit dans l'évolution de la perception du paysage (7C)³

As our corpus is not limited to the German speaking area, we examine the Swiss Rhine from a comparative point of view (...). **Furthermore**, our investigations lie in the evolution of the perception of the landscape in its natural as much as in its cultural expressions. (7C, translation)

6. Souhaitent-ils **par ailleurs** affirmer leur inscription dans une littérature régionale pour mieux s'ouvrir à la mondialité, comme définie par Édouard Glissant ? (24C)

Do they **besides** wish to assert their inscription in a regional literature to open better to the "mondialité" as defined by Édouard Glissant? (24C, translation)

7. Une telle automatiser de la création de connaissance constitue (...) une réelle valeur ajoutée pour la compréhension des interactions entre les acteurs car elle apporte un ensemble de connaissances qui (...) revêtent un caractère global, insaisissable **par ailleurs**. (29C)

Such an automation of knowledge creation is (...) a real high value added to help the understanding of the interactions between the players. It provides a set of knowledge, which are more comprehensive. They are more elusive **anywhere else**. (29C, translation)

A second stage of annotation involved noting the text position of the occurrence (text-initial, middle of text, text-final), and the presence or not of other discourse markers in the preceding or following sentences. The latter criterion was important so as to be able to evaluate the potential role of *par ailleurs* in combination with other markers, in structuring or sequencing a list for example (*cf.* Hempel & Degand 2008). We also noted any particular type of syntactic arrangements the marker was associated with,

³ All examples extracted from our corpus of French PhD abstracts and their translations are indicated by a reference number (1-100) in brackets, followed by the letter C (corpus).

such as interrogation, *if*-sentences and parenthesis, in order to be able to spot other possible regularities.

We then annotated what we considered to be the discursive function of the French marker, taking into account the complete context (upstream and downstream). For this we adopted a bottom-up corpus driven approach, loosely basing our categorization on Fraser's "Topic orientation markers" category (2009). Fraser proposes Topic Orientation Markers as a type of Discourse Management marker⁴. The main purpose of such markers according to Fraser is to signal a meta-comment on the structure of the emerging discourse. The four basic classes of Topic Orientation Markers suggested by Fraser, along with a selection of his example expressions are repeated here:

- i. Return to a prior topic: *back to my point; to return to the prior topic*
- ii. Add to or continue with the present topic: *as I was saying, if I might go on, to continue*
- iii. Digress from the present topic: *before in forget, by the way, in passing*
- iv. Introduce a new topic: *on a different note, turning to new topic* (2009: 894).

It understandably proved difficult to fit all of Fraser's categories neatly on to our French corpus data. We firstly found it necessary to add a further category, that of "alterity". The need for this supplementary category is undoubtedly linked to the original spatial or "otherness" quality of the adverb *ailleurs* and the use of *par ailleurs*, particularly when occurring as the second part of a binary structure introduced by *d'une part* ("on the one hand"), to indicate a second (different) aspect of the main topic or to present the topic from a different perspective. This value can be illustrated, in our corpus by the following occurrence:

8. Le centrage de la thèse sur les villes moyennes relève d'un double constat. **D'une part**, il existe peu de travaux sur la question pour ces objets géographiques, l'essentiel des publications traitant des grandes métropoles. **Par ailleurs**, les caractéristiques spatiales et démographiques de ces territoires entraînent des opportunités, mais aussi des obligations de répondre à des enjeux socio-environnementaux en pleine recrudescence. (60C)

⁴ Discourse Management Markers are one of the four general types of pragmatic marker identified by Fraser (1996; 2009)

The focus of the thesis on medium-sized cities stems from a double argument: **on one hand**, there is little preexisting critical work in this area as most publications treat large metropolises. **On the other hand**, the spatial and demographic characteristics of these territories imply opportunities, but also obligations to respond to the renewed socio-environmental stakes. (60C translation)

In this excerpt (from a PhD abstract in geography), the writer is justifying his choice of PhD topic. After signaling the first point with the aid of the marker *d'une part*, the writer uses *par ailleurs* to introduce the second reason. The point introduced is different from the first but is not presented as being any less important. The function of the marker here seems in all respects very similar to that of *d'autre part* in the traditional binary structure *d'une part; d'autre part* ("on the one hand"; "on the other hand").

We also added supplemented the addition/continuation category, that of enumerative addition to take account of the cases where *par ailleurs* co-occurred with a series of other markers. However, Fraser's category "Introduce a new topic", proved not to be productive. There were no instances in our sample of *par ailleurs* being used to signal a brand-new topic and this category was therefore discarded.

After these adjustments, the five main categories of discourse functions retained were as follows: return to a prior topic, addition or continuation, enumerative addition, alterity and pure digression. All 100 occurrences were analyzed by the two authors and areas of disagreement were discussed until a consensus was reached. The final stage of the analysis involved identifying the English translations of the marker. If *par ailleurs* wasn't translated, this fact was noted. The translations were also checked for accuracy.

In the following section the main results of this discursive analysis are presented and various correlations will be made with the positional and syntactic features examined. We then study more specifically the results of the translation phase of the investigation, to see to what extent this analysis enables us to corroborate or refine the results concerning the discourse functions of *par ailleurs* in this corpus.

3. Results (1): Discourse functions

The analysis reveals a number of interesting tendencies concerning the discourse functions of *par ailleurs*, particularly when correlated with the other text characteristics analyzed. The dominant function in our data is clearly that of addition, (58%), with 15% of these occurrences also forming part of a list of markers (see Table 1).

Table 1: Discourse functions

1.Addition/ Continuation	2. Enum. Addition	3. Return	4. Digression	5. Alterity	Literal
43%	15%	22%	7%	11%	2%
58%					

Although pure digression appears fairly rare in our data (7%), we can also observe a number of cases of alterity (11%). The category of signaling a return to previous topic (22%), is also productive particularly when the DM is used towards the end of the text. The remaining 2% of cases concern literal uses of the expression, used in a non-discourse marker capacity.

We propose now to describe the results in more detail, commenting where relevant on the correlations observed between the discourse functions and the other text characteristics analyzed.

3.1 Addition/continuation

As noted above, ‘addition’ represents a large proportion of the results: 58 %. If we firstly consider the case of addition/continuation (43 occurrences) we note that the position in the sentence is mainly initial; 29 out of the 43 occurrences are in sentence initial position and 14 in sentence medial position.

The following extract shows a fairly typical example of addition from our dataset. The writer is describing the methodology adopted in his/her PhD thesis. After detailing a first benefit of the software package used, the adjunction of the DM *par ailleurs* at the start of the second sentence signals the mention of another benefit of the software. The writer is continuing with the same topic but is adding extra information:

9. Du point de vue méthodologique, l'étude repose sur l'utilisation du logiciel Weblex (<http://weblex.ens-lsh.fr/wlx/>), qui permet de comparer les différentes transcriptions de mots et de locutions caractéristiques de l'oral, et de mettre en évidence les choix techniques ou esthétiques des transpositeurs et de l'écrivain. **Par ailleurs**, à l'intérieur du corpus littéraire, on peut faire apparaître des profils linguistiques pour les différents personnages, ou encore dessiner une évolution stylistique du traitement de la fiction langagière sur trente ans (1968-1998). Du point de vue théorique, la question centrale est celle de la nature des « filtres » de l'oral. (4C)

Methodologically, I used the Weblex software (<http://weblex.ens-lsh.fr/wlx/>), which allows one to compare the various transcriptions of words and idioms typically found in spoken language and to uncover the technical or aesthetical choices of transcribers or writers. **Moreover**, the software helps extracting the linguistic profiles of characters and the stylistic changes in the intertwining of language and narrative fiction over thirty years (1968-1998). Theoretically, the main question is what «filters» are used in representing spoken language (...). (4C, translation)

The following example illustrates a case where the DM indicating addition appears in sentence medial position. The topic being discussed is that of journalists' borrowings and codeswitching, which the writer analyzes from both the 'how' and the 'why' perspectives. The value of addition/continuation is clearly underlined though the two verbs *analyser* (analyze) and *traiter* (address), both referring to the research process.

10. Nous y analysons la façon dont les journalistes empruntent et alternent avec les langues citées. Les résultats tirés du corpus nous ont permis de dresser une typologie et une analyse de l'intégration morphosyntaxique et discursive des emprunts et des manifestations d'alternance codique en français. Est traitée, **par ailleurs**, la question des motivations du recours aux procédés d'emprunts et d'alternance codique : nous démontrons que les choix de langue constituent souvent des stratégies communicatives, notamment lors de l'alternance français-arabe marocain. (3C)

We analyze the way journalists borrow words and switch between these languages. The results of this analysis were then used to draw up a typology to study the integration of borrowings and codeswitching on the grammatical and discourse level. The question of the reasons for using borrowings and codeswitching was **also** addressed. (3C translation)

When the analysis of the discourse functions is correlated with that of textual position, it is clear that mid-text position is favored for the majority of examples indicating basic addition (35 out of 43 = 81%). The remaining examples occur at the end of the text (with however only two occurrences in the very last sentence). Addition is present in the early part of the text in only one case (see example 9 above).

3.2 Enumerative addition

In the subcategory of enumerative addition, we have classified the occurrences of *par ailleurs* which co-occur with other DMs, in the preceding or following clauses. In (11) below, *par ailleurs* is used as part of a series of markers: *d'une part*, *d'autre part*, *par ailleurs*, *enfin* ("first, on the one hand, secondly, thirdly"). The writer is setting out in detail several causes of postcolonial violence. The text-structuring role of *par ailleurs* in this sequence is very clear, directly signaling to the reader how the clause it introduces is to be interpreted with regard to this overall discourse topic and to the surrounding clauses (and thus contributing to the clearness and legibility of the text). It is interesting to note that the English translation chosen for *par ailleurs* in this particular example is "secondly" (see below). The choice of this more precise numerical expression can be seen an explicit indication of the writer perception of this enumerative (linear) structuring capacity of the French marker.

11. Ce travail tente de démontrer que la violence en postcolonie est causée **d'une part**, par la quête du pouvoir (...) et **d'autre part**, par la résistance opposée par les marginalisés contre toute forme de domination. **Par ailleurs**, la situation chaotique (...) est tributaire (...) des élites politiques (...). **Enfin**, la folie et la violence (...) s'inscrivent dans la logique de la démarche postcoloniale (...). (30C).

This work demonstrates: **First**, that violence in postcolonial era is provoked **on one hand** by the quest for power (...); **and on the other hand**, by the resistance presented by the marginalized against all forms of domination. **Secondly**, that chaotic situation undergone by Africans nowadays originates (...) from the political elites who are still mentally colonized and imitate the attitudes of the colonizers. - **Thirdly**, that madness and violence (...).(30C translation).

The sentence position of enumerative *par ailleurs* in our corpus is overwhelmingly initial. Only two occurrences appear in sentence medial position. Hempel & Degand (2008) also noted the preference for initial position of sequential markers, with initial position in the sentence providing readers with a particularly powerful indication of text organization (see Charolles 2005).

As with the category of basic addition, the textual position for enumerative additions is also mainly 'mid-text' (for 11 out of the fifteen occurrences). The remaining four occurrences appear towards the end of the text. None of the enumerative occurrences of the marker are at the beginning of the text, nor in the concluding sentence. This text position preference is logical in a planned structured text where it would be unusual to introduce an addition in the conclusion or at the text outset.

3.3 Return to previous topic

The occurrences classified in this category are used to signal the speaker/writer's intention to return to a previous discourse topic. Once again, the DM is not used to propose a different topic but rather to refine a topic that has already been introduced. One of the key values of this category (22%) is a reformulation or development of what has been said previously. In the following extract several aspects of the collective movement in favor of the alleged spy Dreyfus have already been mentioned: *massivement, engagement, conscience collective* "massive commitment, collective awareness, collective mobilization"). These are subsequently summarized with the demonstrative *cette mobilisation*, which is signaled with the aid of the DM *par ailleurs*:

12. En s'engageant *massivement* dans l'affaire Dreyfus, les écrivains n'ont pas seulement redéfini les formes de *l'engagement* (...). L'affaire Dreyfus a tout d'abord été une prise de *conscience collective* construite autour d'un

discours idéologique sous-jacent. (...) un mouvement qui a bouleversé la société littéraire jusque dans ses cercles intimes, dont la *force de mobilisation* ne laissait que peu de place aux voix dissidentes. La *dimension collective* de cette *mobilisation* a **par ailleurs** directement influencé le texte de l'affaire Dreyfus : dessinant entre les discours polémiques un intertexte à la fois idéologique et stylistique, les écrivains ont construit au croisement de leurs articles de combat une rhétorique dreyfusarde. (78C)

Through their *massive commitment* in the Dreyfus Affair, French writers have not only redefined the ways of commitment (...). The Affair was a case of *collective awareness* linked to an underlying ideological debate. (...) a *collective mobilization*, (...) leaving little room for dissident voices. *The collective aspect of the mobilization* has *moreover* directly influenced the Dreyfus literature: creating between the lines of the debate an ideological and rhetorical unity (...). (78C, translation)

When used in this sense, *par ailleurs* can also have a conclusive role, enabling the writer not only to sum up but also to bring a theme or line of argument to a close. In the following extract the marker appears in the last sentence of the text. The writer is summing up concerning the usefulness of the IPAAS technique (the subject of the thesis) in writing more secure web applications.

13. Dans cette thèse, nous avons conduit deux études de recherche empirique, analysant un grand nombre d'applications web vulnérables. Nous avons assemblé une base de données contenant plus de 10.000 rapports de vulnérabilités depuis l'an 2000. Avec ces résultats empiriques comme base, nous présentons notre solution IPAAS qui aide les développeurs novices en termes de sécurité à écrire des applications sécurisées par défaut. (...) Nous montrons **par ailleurs** que cette technique améliore de manière probante la sécurité des applications web. (99C)

In this thesis, we conduct two empirical studies on a large number of web applications vulnerabilities with the aim of gaining deeper insights in how input validation flaws have evolved in the past decade and how these common vulnerabilities can be prevented. With these empirical results as foundation,

we present IPAAS which helps developers who are unaware of security issues to write more secure web applications than they otherwise would do. (...) We show «Ø» that this technique results in significant and tangible security improvements for real web applications. (99C, translation)

The great majority of occurrences classified in this category are situated towards the end of the text, often in the last or second to last sentence (fifteen out of 22) or in mid-text position (six out of 22) occurrences. This preference follows on logically from the idea of refining or concluding points that have already been made. The textual position appears in this case a salient criterion. On the other hand, the results concerning sentence position are less clear-cut, with a fairly even split between medial position (eight out of 22) and initial position (fourteen out of 22).

3.4 Digression

The category of digression is not a productive one in our corpus, accounting for only 7% of occurrences of *par ailleurs*, due we believe to the highly planned character of the written texts analyzed.

Following Pons Bordería and Estellés Arguedas, we understand digression as involving a temporary shift to a different, although normally related, topic with “endpoint” being a key notion in its definition. Pure digression as we understand it is identified after the fact (2009: 925). All the examples of *par ailleurs* indicating pure digression that we have identified appear in sentence medial position and play a characteristic syntactic role, introducing an apposition or comment clause as illustrated in (14).

14. Mais, en fonction de son parcours biographique personnel et professionnel (...) l'acteur est et demeure, comme l'a **par ailleurs** souligné Antoine Prost (1996), « un facteur décisif » dans la mise en place ou non des réformes scolaires. (87C)

But, in terms of his lifestory, (...) the actor is and remains, as **also** stressed Antoine Prost (1996), “a decisive factor” in the establishment or (sic) non-school reforms. (87C translation).

The text position of the examples signaling digressions is varied.

3.5 Alterity

The use of *par ailleurs* with an alterity value (11% of all occurrences) represents an argumentative function of the marker. Although akin in some ways to digression, in that a transition to a different aspect of the discourse topic is indicated, the shift in this case is not signaled out as a temporary one. The DM often seems to co-occur with a conditional construction with *si* (“if”). This was already the case with the example cited by Fagard and Charolles in (4) above and is also the case in several examples from our PhD abstracts as illustrated in (15).

15. Cette étude, qui s’appuie sur un large corpus emprunté à l’auteur égyptien et qui se fonde sur une approche transversale des textes, voudrait contribuer à forger des outils d’analyse pertinents au-delà d’une œuvre singulière. **Par ailleurs, si** le principal point de vue adopté est littéraire, l’étude voudrait également jeter les fondements d’une approche interdisciplinaire des écritures polémiques, prenant en compte, en particulier, les apports de la linguistique et de la sociocritique. (10C)

This study, which is based on an extremely diversified corpus and which is grounded on a transversal approach to the texts, contributes to forge relevant tools for analysis beyond any singular work herein. **In addition, if** the adopted point of view is principally literary, the study also proposes the bases for an interdisciplinary model in the study of the polemical writings, taking into account, primarily, the contributions of linguistics and the socio-criticism (10C translation)

In (15), one “point of view” is set in opposition to another. Although recognizing the literary basis of the study the writer wants to underline the interdisciplinary perspective of his/her study. The invitation to the reader to consider this alternative is further reinforced by the space-building role of the *si* construction (Dancygier 1998) enabling the writer to open out the argumentative space. The reader’s attention is therefore directed towards a new, albeit related, topic of discourse.

In the majority of cases in our corpus where *par ailleurs* is used in a concessive or oppositional context, its textual position is either mid-text (4 occurrences) or end of

text (6 occurrences). There is only one example of this category at the beginning of the text. There is a slight preference for initial sentence position (8 occurrences) rather than medial position (3 occurrences).

3.6 Literal value

The concrete semantic value of *par ailleurs* (literally “by or via elsewhere”) was only identified in 2% of cases, in other words in only two occurrences in the corpus. This suggests that, despite its not being always mentioned in dictionaries or pedagogical grammars for learners, *par ailleurs* appears nowadays to be primarily used as a discourse marker.

Moreover, in one of these two literal occurrences identified, the line between a literal interpretation of the marker and an interpretation as a DM is not clear-cut. In (16) below, the meaning of *par ailleurs* could be considered ambiguous, illustrating well what Heine (2002) and others described as a bridging context. As Heine emphasizes, grammaticalization is a continuous process, involving intermediate overlapping stages. Different stages of evolution tend to be reflected in the form of different context clusters. In the case of *par ailleurs*, the two main clusters that can be distinguished are the source meaning of the spatial adverb *ailleurs* (probably from the Latin **in alio loco* (XIth C)) and the pragmatic uses of *par ailleurs* as a discourse marker. In between the two, source and target meanings can co-exist, thanks to the metaphorical conceptualization of space (as described in detail in Fagard and Charolles 2018). New meanings are foregrounded while the original meaning persists in the background in bridging contexts (Evans and Wilkins 1998:5). In (16), although the reading is additive, referring to something that was mentioned before, the original spatial meaning lingers in the background.

16. L'étude, dans le cadre des agricultures déterritorialisées, souligne les difficultés de mise en concordance des représentations de l'espace entre élus et agriculteurs. (...). Le principe d'une contractualisation entre décideurs et agriculteurs repose sur des politiques de confortement des trajectoires de diversification par les services. Les programmes engagés ne solutionnent néanmoins pas les facteurs de « décrochage » **par ailleurs** évoqués. (56C)

The study underlines how difficult it is to make the representations of the territory concord, between the elected representatives and the farmers (as far as deterritorialized agricultures are concerned). The principle of a contractualization between decision makers and farmers depends on policies of reinforcement of trajectory diversification by services. Nevertheless, the programmes engaged do not solve the factors of “dropping out” **mentioned above**. (56C, translation)

Interestingly, the translation chosen by the student suggests that he/she probably intended it to be understood in a spatial sense, “mentioned above”, in other words mentioned in another place in the text. The spatial value is metatextual, referring to another location in the text.

In the second occurrence we classified in this category, the value is preponderantly spatial. The author is referring to the fact that the knowledge needed cannot be obtained from any other source (or place):

17. Une telle automatisation de la création de connaissance constitue, en sus de l’approche humaine « sur le terrain », une réelle valeur ajoutée pour la compréhension des interactions entre les acteurs car elle apporte un ensemble de connaissances qui, prenant en compte des entités plus larges, revêtent un caractère global, insaisissable **par ailleurs**. (28C)

Such an automation of knowledge creation provides, in addition to the human approach “in the field”, a real added-value in terms of understanding the interactions between the players. It provides a set of knowledge, which by taking into account larger entities, is more comprehensive and cannot be accessed **anywhere else**. (28C translation)

4. Results (2): Translations patterns

4.1 *Par ailleurs* translated by one of several English markers

The translation patterns noted also help to further refine these initial results. Table 2 below shows how *par ailleurs* was translated into English.

Table 2. Translation of *par ailleurs* in the English abstracts

English translation	Number (100)	Sentence position
Moreover	24	20 initial, 4 medial
Also	16	1 initial, 15 medial
Additionally	1	1 initial
In addition	10	11 initial
Further	1	1 medial
Furthermore	12	12 initial
Besides	10	9 initial, 1 medial
Indeed	2	2 initial
In parallel	1	1 initial
On the other hand	2	2 initial
While	1	1 medial
Secondly	1	1 initial
Misc (into the bargain, mentioned above, anywhere else)	3	1 initial, 2 final
No translation	16	

The most popular translation used by the French writers is *moreover* (mainly in initial position), followed by *in addition* and *furthermore* solely in sentence initial position and *also* mainly in sentence medial position. These four markers, which account together for over 60% of the occurrences, are all strongly associated with addition in English. From this point of view, the analysis of the translations can be seen to confirm our functional analysis of the French term. Below are reproduced two examples with “moreover” and “in addition”, which both also firmly convey the additive quality associated with *par ailleurs* in this particular context.

18. **Par ailleurs**, les épitaphes permettent de distinguer ce qui relève des représentations collectives et des représentations individuelles. (79C)

Moreover, the epitaphs make it possible to distinguish what belongs to the collective representations from what belongs to the individual. (79C; translation)

19. L'étude intègre, **par ailleurs**, une dimension comparative grâce à la mise en regard de caractéristiques précises des contextes français et allemand. (34C)

In addition, the study has a comparative dimension since it also compares certain precise features of the French and German systems. (34C translation)

It is interesting to note that different groups of translations are more particularly associated with just one of the four functions explored. In the same way as *moreover* is principally associated with addition the markers *while* and *on the other hand* are associated with alterity. This suggests that the non-native speaker writers in our corpus are sensitive to these different functions when choosing a translation. However, despite being able to point to some regularities, the fact remains that there is no standard equivalent for the DM *par ailleurs* in English. Over 12 very varied English markers are mobilized to translate the French marker. This result is very similar to that reported by Vanderbauwhede and Lamiroy (this issue), who in their parallel French-Dutch corpus found 15 different translations for *par ailleurs* in Dutch.

There are also no direct correspondences between the type of discourse functions identified and one specific English marker. Each of the main categories of *par ailleurs* analyzed appears to be associated with several possible translations. The contrastive category of alterity, although only accounting for 11% of occurrences, is associated with four different English translations: *while*, *on the other hand*, *furthermore*, *indeed*.

How can we account for the plethora of terms in English? The explanation cannot be to introduce variety in the translation since the scripter of each abstract is different. Our results also confirm the point made by Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberghe that the semantic under-specification of pragmatic markers leads to a number of different translations representing different functions and implicatures (2004: 1786). The different translations as well as underlining the contextual polysemy of the French marker, also perhaps suggest that the English equivalents are not grammaticalized to the same extent, a point to which we return below (see section 5).

4.2 *Par ailleurs* untranslated in English

It is interesting to look at the cases where *par ailleurs* is not translated into English. In 16 cases the DM is not translated at all in the English abstracts. It is of course possible that the absence of translation is related to the fact that translators were non-native speakers of English and did not have the necessary language skills to always find a suitable translation for the marker. This result confirms however the tendency observed in a previous pilot study conducted by the authors using the Europarl parallel corpus, where we found 20% of *par ailleurs* occurrences to be untranslated (Anonymized). Vanderbauwhede and Lamiroy (this issue) also found that the French discourse marker is not translated in 30% of cases in Dutch. As previous commentators have observed (Grieve 1996; Lamiroy and Vanderbauwhede 2016) the use of explicit connecting devices is an important typological feature of French compared with other languages (for English, see Lewis 2006, Rosette 2007).

In (20) the student writer uses the expression *par ailleurs* to underline the fact that the author under consideration was well-respected, in implicit contrast to the less well-known corpus of the author's work he/she is studying. However, this effect is difficult to replicate in English and the writer decided simply not to attempt a translation. As the scope of *par ailleurs* is only local, qualifying *un écrivain reconnu* ("acclaimed writer"), its omission is unproblematic.

20. En somme, cette thèse de doctorat vise à faire connaître un corpus moins fréquenté de l'œuvre d'un écrivain reconnu **par ailleurs** et considéré comme un classique de la littérature québécoise contemporaine (...) (33C),

In conclusion, this thesis aims at revealing a less frequented side of an "Ø" acclaimed writer's work, considered as a classic of contemporary Quebec literature. (33C, translation)

In half of the cases where *par ailleurs* is not translated into English the occurrence is in medial sentence position, a high proportion given that medial position is less frequent overall in our corpus (35%) in comparison to initial position. This perhaps suggests that when *par ailleurs* is used in initial position, a translation is also felt to

be necessary in English, confirming the greater importance of the structuring role of these markers in sentence initial position.

5. Conclusions

The corpus-based analysis has enabled us to underline the contextually polysemic nature of the DM *par ailleurs*. We have seen that in its discourse-marking capacity *par ailleurs* can be associated with five discourse functions: 1) basic addition or continuation, 2) enumerative addition, 3) return to a prior topic, 4) alterity and 5) digression. The additive value is clearly the predominant function. In the first two categories, the DM signals the continuation or the development of the same discourse topic, with an explicit text-structuring role in the case of enumerative addition. The function “return to a prior topic” also plays an important role in the context of the PhD abstracts. Once again however the transition is not to a new topic but indicates a reformulation or a summary of previous points. On the other hand, the occurrences of *par ailleurs* we have categorized as signaling alterity can be considered to play a role in signaling a transition to a related but **different** discourse topic. Occurrences signaling what we have termed digression also indicate a transition to a different topic, even if it is only a temporary one (see above).

Our analysis has also shown that these five functions can be linked to different syntactic and textual features. As table 3 below indicates, a certain number of correlations can be made between the five discourse functions and the sentence and textual positions of *par ailleurs*.

Table 3: Discourse functions of *par ailleurs*, textual and sentence position

Discourse function	Sentence position	Text position
Basic Addition	Mainly initial	Mid-text position
Enum. Addition	Initial position	Mid-text position
Return	Initial and medial	Text final position

Alterity	Mainly initial	Mid or text final position
Digression	Medial	Varied

Initial sentence position is shown for example to be firmly associated with enumerative addition, basic addition and alterity, whereas digression is characterized in our corpus by sentence medial position. Results concerning the text positions of the five categories also indicate some fairly strong preferences. Whereas enumerative and basic additions occur more in mid-text position, the category of return to previous topic is strongly correlated with text final position.

Clearly our corpus of PhD abstracts constrains the use and type of markers involved. Abstracts, as a genre, are short synthetic texts and as such are undoubtedly less conducive to the expression of digression or topic shifts than many other discourse genres. However, we believe that these initial results warrant further analysis and that our corpus can provide a useful yardstick with which to compare and identify genre-specific uses of the marker. An analysis of *par ailleurs* in oral discourse, or in a corpus of informal or unplanned written texts, would undoubtedly use the categories explored in different proportions and perhaps even require the use of other discourse functions, such as that of “New topic” (see Fraser 2009). However, the present analysis has enabled us to identify some contemporary uses of the marker which we believe could usefully inform future studies. It also suggests that *par ailleurs* and *d’ailleurs*, at least in writing, are perhaps not as close in meaning and use as some commentators have suggested (see introduction).

Finally, the analysis of the translations of *par ailleurs* has enabled us to confirm the tendencies observed concerning the main discourse functions of the French marker. The most popular English translations are markers strongly associated with addition or continuation, bearing out our functional analysis of the French term. However, the fact that there is no recognized standardized translation and that we have found 12 different terms used also leads us to raise questions about the respective degree of grammaticalization of the markers in the two languages.

One explanation might be that the marker *par ailleurs* is more grammaticalized in French than its equivalents in English. As noted above (see table 2), the four dominant contemporary equivalents of *par ailleurs* in English are in our corpus: *in addition, moreover, also, furthermore*. According to the Hansard Parliament corpus⁵ the use of these four markers has increased in English over recent years. The Hansard speeches taken from the 19th and 20th centuries show not only this steady increase of the four English markers in the last century, but also how infrequent they were in 1803 (see Table 4). This can be compared to French *par ailleurs*, already in use since the 15th century, mainly as a spatial marker and which acquired different meanings towards the 19th century, as retraced briefly in the introduction and as shown in detail in Fagard and Charolles (2018).

Table 4: COCA results, corpus Hansard

DM	(1803-1810)	(1880-1890)	(1960-1970)	(1990-2000)
Furthermore	3	193	2844	5261
Moreover	65	2277	5036	6967
In addition	211	3381	11257	14926
Also	3647	41433	135753	216363

To explore this hypothesis, a second English corpus was consulted, composed with Google Books and a set of fiction, linked to a database (Google Books, British English, 34 billion words, Brigham Young University). The results are very similar, showing a strong expansion in the markers around 1800 and a steady increase in the 20th century.

In diagram 1 below, dates are indicated on the abscissa, and occurrences are indicated on the ordinate. Results are retrieved from the COHA Google books corpus (34 billion words). In diagram 2, two different measures are used to represent the number of occurrences on the ordinate on the left, the values are indicated for the following DMs: *moreover, furthermore, in addition, besides*. On the right, the values

⁵ COCA-COHA, The Corpus of Historical American English: 400 million words, 1810-2009. <http://corpus.byu.edu/coha/>. Results retrieved from HANSARD, British Parliament texts 1803-2005, 1.6 billion words.

of the DM *also*, much higher, are on a different scale, starting at 51 812 occurrences in 1800 and rising to 11 044 175 occurrences.

Diagram n°1: 16th to 18th century results in COHA-Google books corpus

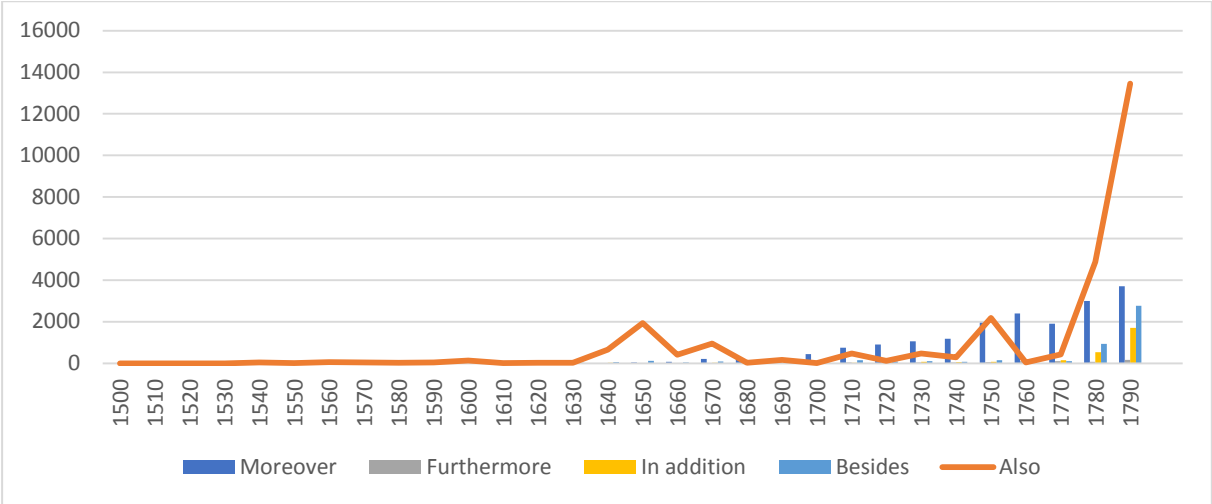
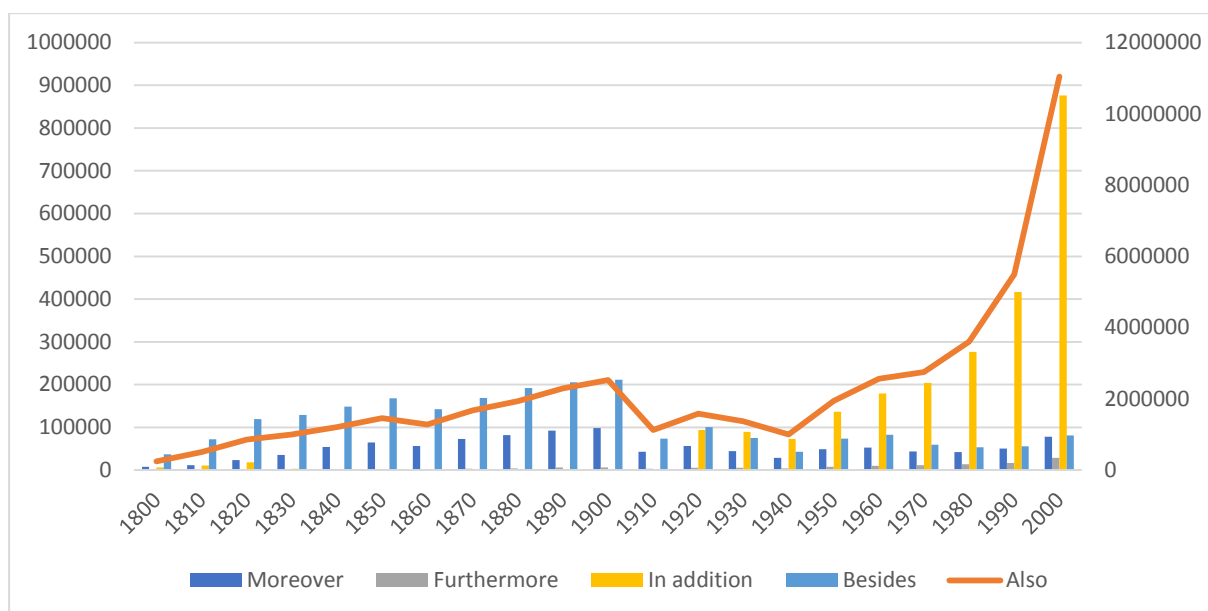


Diagram n°2: 18th to 21st century results in COHA-Google books corpus



The fact remains however that the French DM *par ailleurs* shows a stronger tendency towards grammaticalization compared to its equivalents in English. The explanation for this is quite simply explained: the more a word is used, the more it acquires new meanings and shows a greater tendency towards grammaticalization (Traugott and Trousdale 2013). The case of *par ailleurs* seems to be an extreme example of the tendency.

Another interesting avenue of research concerns the language-specific use of DMs. As well as containing a variety of English translations of *par ailleurs*, our corpus also contained a number of cases where the translation of the French marker is not arguably necessary. Both these facts suggest that we need to look again at the wider question asked by Schourup (1999) concerning the universality of discourse markers and the extent to which languages share a basic set of DMs with the same core pragmatic meanings.

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Title

More of the same or something different ?
An analysis of the French discourse marker *par ailleurs* in academic writing

Highlights

Analysis of the discourse functions of French *par ailleurs* in a corpus of academic writing

Dominant function of *par ailleurs* in the data is 'addition/continuation' (58%)

Par ailleurs is translated in 12 different ways in English

Translation of the marker into English as a heuristic to refine meaning

The genre constrains the use and type of markers involved

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