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Adverbials with preposition and adjective in Saguenay–Lac-St-Jean (Quebec) based on field research: individual portraits

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2023

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Dedication

A very special thank you goes to our 34 voluntary informants in Saguenay – Lac-St-Jean. They accepted to give of their precious time and energy for this research project and showed high commitment. Without them, this study would not have been possible. We are deeply indebted to them. It is to them that we dedicate this work.

Abstract

For the analysis of language variation, observing the competition between different types of adverbs and adverbials is particularly challenging. Yet, despite the long tradition of Romance linguistics, certain features in the adverbial system remain unexplained. This is the case of adverbials built with a preposition and an adjective following the pattern <PREP + ADJ> like French *pour de bon* ‘for real’ and *en bref* ‘soon’. This paper focuses on French, more exactly on field inquiries realized in Eastern Quebec. Results are presented by the means of individual portraits on adverbials built with some forty adjectives. Each portrait shows their current recognition, vitality and semantic and morphosyntactic variation as well as their competition with other adverbs mentioned by the informants. This document is the appendix to a research article by Wissner & Gagnon to be published by De Gruyter.

Key-words: Adverbial, variation, French in Quebec, sociolinguistic field study, statistics

Résumé

Pour analyser la variation linguistique, la compétition entre différents types d’adverbes et d’adverbiaux constitue un champ particulièrement prometteur. Pourtant, malgré la longue tradition de la linguistique romane, certains éléments du système adverbial restent inexpliqués. C’est le cas des adverbiaux construits avec une préposition et un adjectif selon le modèle <PREP + ADJ>, comme le français *pour de bon* et *en bref*. La présente étude se concentre sur le français, plus exactement sur des enquêtes de terrain réalisées dans l’Est du Québec. Les résultats sont présentés sous la forme de portraits individuels d’adverbiaux construits avec une quarantaine d’adjectifs. Chaque portrait aborde leur reconnaissance actuelle, leur vitalité et leur variation sémantique et morphosyntaxique ainsi que leur concurrence avec d’autres adverbes mentionnés par les informateurs. Ce document constitue une annexe à un article de Wissner & Gagnon en cours pour De Gruyter.

Mots-clés: Adverbial, variation, français au Québec, enquête de terrain sociolinguistique, statistiques

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I. Introduction

Despite the long tradition of Romance linguistics, certain features in the adverbial system remain unexplained. Derivational adverbs in -MENTE (e.g. It. *serenamente* “calmly”) are widely analyzed, whereas adjective-adverbs (adjectives with adverbial functions, also called short adverbs), as in Fr. *allez, on y va tranquille* “let’s take our time”, and adverbials, built following a pattern <PREP + STEM>, such as Rom. *într-adevăr* “really” (literally “in truth”) receive very little attention in Romance grammars. This more specifically concerns adjective-based adverbials like Sp. *por las buenas* “voluntarily, for good” or Fr. *en bref* “soon” and *pour de bon* “for real”. This situation might be explained by their historical belonging to informal usage and, thus, an overall restriction to peripheral or regional varieties in nowadays usage (Hummel *et al.* 2019).

Combining variational, morphosyntactic, semantic and pragmatic approaches, the “Adjective Adverb Interfaces in Romance” Research group at Graz University¹ first studied short adverbs² (Hummel & Gazdik 2021 for French) in comparison with derivational adverbs (2013-2016). In a second step, the group examined adverbials built with a preposition and an adjective following the pattern <PREP + ADJ> (2018-2022). The present project focuses on such prepositional adverbials in contemporary 21st century French in Quebec, in a highly conservative variety, in the Saguenay–Lac-St-Jean area. In the following, 37 individual portraits of adverbials provide complementary information to their sociolinguistic analysis in Wissner & Gagnon (forthcoming). They are based on qualitative inquiries realized in the field from 2021 to 2022 with 34 informants from different age groups. Data is statistically processed using different statistical methods (Wissner & Roy forthcoming).

The table below presents all 41 tested items (4 of which were excluded); the first 25 of them belong to Romance types that were tested in all Romance languages within the Third Way Project. The remaining 16 are specific to the French questionnaire. Items are presented following numeral codes attributed in a Pan-Romance approach according to Wissner (forthcoming).

Table 1: List of prepositional adverbials of the sample

Nr.	Item	Modification if restricted	Paraphrase	Structure tested in test sentences
1	<i>en bref</i>	verb-adjacent	“very soon”	<i>Il espérait le revoir en bref, et reviendrait en bref.</i>
2	<i>par *ciec</i>	excluded:	not attested in French	
3	<i>pour (tout) de bon</i>	verb-adjacent; with (semi-) copulas	“definitely, truly”	<i>C’est fait pour/tout de bon.</i>
4	<i>(*)de fixe</i>	verb-adjacent	“regularly”	<i>Il gagne 3000 dollars de fixe.</i>
5	<i>pour (très) certain (donner ~)</i>	lexicalized	“ascertain that something is true”	<i>Il me l’a tellement donné pour certain que j’ai fini par le croire.</i>
6	<i>en continu</i>	verb-adjacent	“continuously, forever, constantly, non-stop”	<i>Je cherche un coéquipier qui connaît bien la matière mais qui ne parle pas non plus en continu pendant deux heures.</i>
7	<i>(tout) à drette</i>	with (semi-) copulas	“on the right (hand)-side”	<i>Elle se trouvait à drette/droit/droite.</i>
8	<i>en spécial</i>	with (semi-) copulas	“discounted (on flyers); on offer on the menu (in restaurants)”	<i>Le beurre est en spécial cette semaine.</i>
9	<i>à l’extrême</i>	verb-adjacent; with	“extreme, to the extreme”	<i>Avec l’élevage intensif, on pousse</i>

¹ Financed by the Austrian Science Fund FWF, project number P 30751-G30, director: Martin Hummel.

² Such short adverbs seem to be aimed at by a forthcoming article on the ‘adverbial adjectif’ in the *Encyclopédie grammaticale du français* (EGF) by Corminboeuf.

		(semi-) copulas		trop à l'extrême les animaux.
10	<i>en gros</i>	phrase modifier in initial position; verb-adjacent	“to sum up”	<i>Avant de me rendre au Lac, on m'a dit: en gros, la route est longue, mais les paysages en valent la peine!</i>
11	<i>à l'improviste</i>	verb-adjacent; with (semi-) copulas	“unexpectedly, suddenly, unforeseen”	<i>On t'a déjà raconté l'histoire du Survenant qui surgit à l'improviste?</i>
12	<i>au large</i>	with (semi-) copulas	“far away, in the distance (on land); offshore”	<i>En décrivant son village d'enfance, elle m'a dit qu'elle avait vécu au large.</i>
13	<i>de léger</i>	with (semi-) copulas	“without thinking, mindlessly”	<i>On ne se lance pas dans une chose comme celle-là de léger.</i>
14	<i>à plein</i>	verb-adjacent; with (semi-) copulas	“completely, totally, absolutely”	<i>Elle a profité à plein de ses vacances.</i>
15	<i>de *plene</i>	excluded:	not attested in French	
16	<i>de sec</i>	with (semi-) copulas	“[dressed] with light clothes”	<i>Ils étaient vêtus de sec.</i>
17	<i>d'ordinaire</i>	verb-adjacent; with (semi-) copulas	“ordinarily”	<i>D'ordinaire, elle ne nous causait pas de la sorte.</i>
18	<i>pour le sûr</i>	verb-adjacent	“certainly, with no doubt”	<i>Il lui a assuré qu'il allait revenir tantôt pour le sûr.</i>
19	<i>au sérieux (prendre ~)</i>	lexicalized	“take seriously”	<i>Il faut prendre les gens au sérieux, sans préjugés.</i>
20	<i>pour vrai</i>	verb-adjacent	“in reality, truly; [used for emphasis or to state or ask about the truth or fact of something] really; totally”	<i>En une semaine seulement on ne peut pas connaître une région pour vrai, mais que ça donne une idée.</i>
21	<i>en brave</i>	verb-adjacent	“bravely”	<i>Dans le temps, il était vital d'avoir, par famille, au moins une vache ou un cheval qui se conduise en brave.</i>
22	<i>de court prendre ~</i>	lexicalized	“catch off guard or unprepared”	<i>Mieux vaut pas se laisser prendre de court.</i>
23	<i>à mal (aller ~)</i>	lexicalized, with (semi-) copulas	“[for persons] to be ill”; [for objects] to get worse”	<i>Ça va à mal.</i>
24	<i>de *diaire</i>	excluded:	not attested in French	
25	<i>*de seguida</i>	excluded:	not attested in French	
26	<i>à blanc</i>	verb-adjacent; with semi- copulas	“completely; to the extreme”	<i>Les arbres avaient brûlé à blanc.</i>
27	<i>en clair</i>	verb-adjacent; phrase modifier	“clearly, explicitly, intelligibly; clearly, to sum up”	<i>Je m'exprimais pourtant en clair.</i>
28	<i>à couvert</i>	with semi- copulas	“in a secret way”	<i>Il faut parfois agir à couvert.</i>
29	<i>en dernier</i>	phrase modifier	“[outside an enumeration] after consideration; ultimately, to finish”	<i>En dernier, il s'était décidé pour porter une cravate.</i>
30	<i>par exprès</i>	verb-adjacent	“on purpose”	<i>Nos enfants font parfois des bêtises par exprès.</i>
31	<i>en grand</i>	verb-adjacent; with semi- copulas	“in an exaggerated, showy way”	<i>Elles ont fait les choses en grand.</i>
32	<i>à lège</i>	verb-adjacent	“unloaded, without loading [of materials]”	<i>Les camions partaient avec leur charge et revenaient à lège.</i>
33	<i>au long</i>	verb-adjacent	“at length, in detail”	<i>Bavarde, elle s'étendait (bien) au long sur son sort.</i>
34	<i>en neuf</i>	verb-adjacent; with semi- copulas	“in a different way, on new bases; as if it were the first time, afresh”	<i>Ils ont voulu recommencer en neuf.</i>
35	<i>à noir</i>	verb-adjacent	“completely, in full”	<i>C'est terrible quand une forêt brûle à noir.</i>

36	<i>au parfait</i>	verb-adjacent; with semi- copulas	“to perfection, in every possible way or to the greatest possible degree”	<i>Une personne méticuleuse arrive à imiter les autres au parfait.</i>
37	<i>à la rebours</i>	verb-adjacent; with semi- copulas	“in the wrong way, in reverse, unlike, the other way around”	<i>Y en a assez, il fait tout à la rebours.</i>
38	<i>de travers</i>	verb-adjacent; with semi- copulas	“the wrong way round”	<i>Ils ont bûcher les arbres de travers.</i>
39	<i>(p’)en toute</i>	adverb of negation	“not at all”	<i>J’en veux pas pantoute; Je lui en ai pas prêté pantoute; Le bois se tient pas pantoute; -T’as-tu suivi des cours de langues? – Pantoute.</i>
40	<i>en premier</i>	[verb-adjacent]	[outside an enumeration] “initially, first of all, at the beginning”	<i>Elle m’a dit que pour donner son âge, il fallait en premier qu’elle compte.</i>
41	<i>au ras</i>	verb-adjacent; with semi- copulas	“at the same height (as), closely past (to), close by”	<i>Il entretient sa pelouse avec soin, il coupe son herbe au ras.</i>

In each portrait, the presence of numerous associated prepositional adverbials that were explicitly tested or mentioned during the inquiries (140) – leading to a total of 177 prepositional adverbials – highlights their semantic, functional and morphosyntactic variation as well as their competition with other adverbials or short adverbs. Like all 177 PAs, associated items such as short adverbs or adjectival usages dealt with here were tested during the inquiries or explicitly mentioned by the informants; their list is therefore not exhaustive.

PAs are submitted to a differential historico-varietal analysis where items of geolinguistic anchorage are compared with current Reference French (in the following ‘Ref.’), as represented in major grammars and dictionaries of French (cf. Poirier 2005: 518). Their definition and varietal anchorage are based on a critical cross-analysis of inquiry results with historical, mainly metalinguistic data (Wissner 2023b for exact references). On the one hand, this written corpus informs on (mainly informal) usage in North America. It includes resources like the *Glossaire du parler français au Canada* (GPFC), the *Grammaire comparée des français d’Acadie et de Louisiane* (GraCoFAL) or texts gathered in the computerized lexical file of the *Trésor de la langue française au Québec* (TLFQ). On the other hand, it includes references that inform on French (and secondarily dialects) in Europe, like the *Trésor de la langue française* (TLF), the *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (FEW) or the *Dictionnaire du moyen français* (DMF). This allows examining the distribution of each of these PAs within Quebec and more generally in North America as well as their historical depth and continuity with European varieties. Their classification, limited to the mention of areas or periods where items are (or were) attested in the history of French, is summarized in a final index that presents their distribution in space and time.

For each tested adverbial type, the reader will find a brief description. Items explicitly provided by the informants that are not attested in our written corpus are explicitly highlighted (underlined).

A first line provides a synthesized historico-varietal description, based on the comparison of inquiry results with written sources (cf. references). Square brackets present the adverbial’s varietal belonging to unmarked Reference French [Ref.] or to French in Quebec [Quebec], for instance. The rest of the adverbials’ description is based exclusively on the inquiries. After a test sentence used during the inquiries figures the main adverbial’s recognition by the informants, its perceived frequency in their surroundings and its estimated vitality in French in Saguenay–Lac-St-Jean. A last paradigmatic section presents other adverb(ial)s and phenomena associated, by the informants, with each adverbial type. All usages were tested during the inquiries or explicitly provided by the informants.

II. Analysis: Individual Portraits

1. *En bref*

[Ref.: archaic / Quebec French: ageing?] [verb-adjacent] “very soon” (*in brief*)

J’ai entendu un Monsieur dire à un ami qu’il espérait le revoir en bref, et qu’il reviendrait en bref. (“I heard a man tell a friend that he hoped to see him again in brief, and that he would come back in brief.”)

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

As a verb-modifier (and not as a phrase modifier, analyzed below) this adverbial is little known (1.6). Only 5/34 informants (15%) recognized it, four of which are aged between 51 and 80. The latter four are also the only ones who recognized it locally (question A.2: little known 1.3). Statistically, the age-correlation is insignificant according to the *t*-test ($p=0.06$); it is however significant according to the Fisher test ($p=0.04$, weak dependency) for local recognition. The eldest informant amongst those who recognize the verb-modifier (speaker #33, referred to as S33) is a direct descendant of the first settlers in the area originally from Malbaie in Charlevoix, recruited by the *Société des vingt-et-un*.

Perceived frequency (B.1)

Felt as not frequent (5.3): all 4 informants (100%) who recognized the adverbial locally were aged between 51 and 81, and consider its usage as rare. For the 18-29 and 30-45 age groups, no data could be retrieved.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital – (2.5): the adverbial is little vital. However, data varies considerably between the different age groups in quantitative terms: the item is not vital (0.9) in the group of speakers aged 30 to 45, while it is little vital (1.8 / 3.2 respectively) in the group of speakers aged 18 to 29 and those aged 46 to 65, and rather vital (4.4) in the group of speakers aged 66 or more. Statistically, there’s a significant age-correlation ($p=0.02$, weak dependency) for vitality between the younger (18-45) and the elder (46+) speakers. More specifically, confronting age groups as compared to each other shows that the item’s vitality is significantly different in the group of speakers aged 30 to 45 (not vital) as compared to the group of speakers aged 66 or more (rather vital) ($p=0.02$) (the difference with the other age groups is insignificant). Indeed, 4/5 informants who recognize the item are aged between 51 and 81. Overall, results clearly suggests decrease in usage in the examined dialect in apparent time (ongoing change).

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

• *En bref* [phrase modifier in initial position] [Ref.] “to sum up” has been recognized by 27/34 informants (79%): it is very well known (7.8). Among them, two informants (S7 and S8) specified that the item is not used locally (A.2).

It is considered as frequent (7.8): 8/25 informants (32%) described its usage as rare, 15/25 (60%) as frequent, and the last 2/25 (8%) as very frequent.

• *Bref* [short adverb] [Ref.] was also mentioned with the same meaning by 11/34 informants (32%) as being used locally.

2. *Par *ciec*

Item reconstructed for Pan-Romance purposes (Latin <CAECU(M)), excluded here.

3. *Pour de bon*

[Ref.] [verb-adjacent; with (semi-)copula] “definitely, truly”, [France informal; Quebec French] *tout de bon* (the same)

*J’entends souvent dire que quelque chose est fait **pour/tout de bon*** (“I often hear that something is done *for good.”)

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

The adverbial *pour de bon* [Ref.] has been recognized by all 34 informants (100%): it is very well known (9.8). All 34 informants also agreed that the adverbial can be used with the verb *s’endormir*.

Perceived frequency (B.1)

Felt as frequent (9.0): 24/26 informants (92%) consider the adverbial is used frequently, and the other 2 (8%) consider it is used very frequently.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital + (9.4): the adverbial is very vital in all age groups. This suggests stability in usage.

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

The initially selected adverbial *tout de bon* [Quebec], recognized by one informant (3% – S19, aged 66 or more), is only little known. The latter considers it as not frequent (6.7).

- [C.1] (*tout*) *à bon* [Modern French (17th c.)] “definitely, truly”, e.g. *s’endormir tout à bon*, has not been recognized at all.
- [C.2] *À la bonne* [argot, lexicalized] in *avoir quelqu’un à la bonne* “appreciate, like someone” is recognized by four rather younger informants aged 25 to 54 (12%): it is little known (1.3). It is considered as not frequent (6.7) by the only informant (a younger man) who provided an answer.

Remark

The sequence *pour tout de bon*, a dialectalism attested in Acadia and Quebec, was not tested during the inquiries.

4. (*)*De fixe*

[Ref.: hapax or sporadic] [verb-adjacent] “regularly”

*J’ai entendu un Monsieur sur le Vieux-Port dire à quelqu’un qu’il gagnait 3000 dollars **de fixe***. (“I overheard a gentleman on the Old Port telling someone that he earned \$3,000 every month.”)

This PA, included in our corpus only by TLF (hapax?), is unknown (0.2).

5. *Pour certain*

[Ref.] “for sure” [lexicalized, verb-adjacent] *donner (quelque chose) pour certain* “ascertain that (something) is true”

*L’autre jour, un ami m’a dit quelque chose que je ne pouvais pas croire, mais il me l’a tellement donné **pour certain** que j’ai fini par le croire*. (“The other day a friend told me

something I couldn't believe, but he presented it to me with such certainty that I ended up believing him.”)

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

The adverbial is little known (2.2): Only 7/34 informants (21%) recognized the form (no age or gender correlation); five of them also confirm its local usage (question A.2), where it is also little known (1.6).

Perceived frequency (B.1)

It is felt as not frequent (4.4): the 7 informants who recognized the adverbial all consider it is rarely used.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital – (2.6): the adverbial is little vital. More precisely, it is little vital in the groups of informants aged between 30 and 45 as well as 66 or more (3.0 / 3.2 respectively), but rather vital in the groups of informants aged between 18 to 29 and 46 to 65 (3.6 / 4.2 respectively). This quantitative difference, which does not display a clear interpretational tendency, is not confirmed by statistics.

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

- ***Pour (très) certain (que)*** [Europe: archaic; Quebec] “for very certain (that)” was recognized by only one elder informant (S12). Another informant with high language awareness (S20, a young informant aged under 30) was not sure but believed she may have heard it in the speech of French friends [cf. Ref.: *pour sûr et certain que*]. All other informants mentioned that it is more common in the area to hear *c’est certain (que)* “it is sure (that)” (sequence not relevant).

- ***Certain*** [short adverb] “for sure” was mentioned as a similar form used in the area by 2/34 informants (6%), two younger men.

6. *En continu*

[Ref.] [verb-adjacent; with (semi-)copula] “continuously, forever, constantly, non-stop”

Je cherche un coéquipier qui connaît bien la matière mais qui ne parle pas non plus en continu pendant deux heures. (“I’m looking for a teammate who knows the topic well but who doesn’t talk non-stop for two hours either.”)

Recognition: general recognition (A.1)

The adverbial is very well known (7.8): 27/34 informants (79%) recognized the form. Yet, the item seems less recognized by informants aged 66 or more: 5/7 informants who did not recognize it are aged 66 or more. The adverb’s recognition is indeed age-dependent: it is very well known (8.2 / 8.5 / 9.3) by the inquired informants from the three age groups under 66, whereas it is only well known (3.9) by those aged 66 or more. 16 informants mentioned using the adverbial with the verb *travailler*, 12 in collocation with *faire quelque chose*, and 11 with the verb *parler*.

The comparison of age groups as compared to each other shows that the item’s recognition is significantly different in the group of informants aged 66 or more as compared to the groups of informants aged 30 to 45 ($p= 0.03$) but even more so to those aged 46 to 65 ($p= 0.01$): the most important difference lies between the two informant groups above 45; this does not correspond to an expected tendency regarding change in apparent time (the difference with the youngest informant group is insignificant).

Recognition: local recognition (A.2)

The adverbial is well known locally (6.7): 25/27 informants (93%) who recognized the form say they have heard it locally. Statistically, there's a significant age-correlation ($p=0.04$, weak dependency) for local recognition between the group of informants aged 66 or more and the mean of the other age groups. More exactly, confronting age groups as compared to each other shows that the item's local recognition is significantly different in this group as compared to the informants aged 30 to 45 ($p=0.01$) (the difference with the other age groups is insignificant).

Perceived frequency (B.1)

It is felt as not frequent (5.8): 17/25 informants (68%) consider the adverbial is rarely used, while the other 8/25 (32%) consider it is used frequently. However, this low frequency is due to answers of informants aged 46 or more (4.0). Actually, the adverbial is felt as frequent in the combined group of younger informants (7.0) and more specifically in the group of informants aged 30 to 45 (7.8). The difference is relevant in statistical terms, both between the two major age groups and between informants aged 30 to 45 (7.8), on the one hand, and 46 to 65 (4.6), on the other ($p=0.03$ / $p=0.03$: weak dependency).

This tendency is confirmed by the item's recognition, which is high in the groups of informants aged 65 and less, but lower in the upper age group (well known). This suggests an increase in usage in the examined dialect in apparent time (ongoing change); due to the historical anchorage of this item in European French, this possible increase in Saguenay–Lac-St-Jean indicates that younger informants lead in the active transfer of this item from European French.

This is confirmed by a corpus-based analysis. Indeed, it is not attested in the North-American corpus TLFQ, which displays other variants and synonyms, some of which it may come to replace progressively, notably [Old, Middle, Modern French] *continuellement* (not mentioned by the informants), well attested especially from the 16th to the 19th century (in 340 quotes from ca. 1538 onwards, as opposed to 201 quotes from the 20th/21st c.). *En continu* also coexists with other synonyms in apparent free competition, like [Ref.] *sans cesse*, rather frequent (altogether twice as frequent as *continuellement*), notably from the 20th century onwards though already well attested throughout North-American history from the 16th to the 19th century, or [Ref.] *sans arrêt*, explicitly mentioned by one informant though almost three times less frequent than *sans cesse* in TLFQ, which only attests *sans arrêt* from the 20th century onwards and with still more frequency than [Ref.] *sans s'arrêter* (more than 6 times less frequent than *sans arrêt* but already sporadically attested in the 17th, 18th and 19th c.). Other variants like dialectal [Western France] *de continu* and synonymic periphrases like [Ref.] *sans répis* or *de façon continue* are not attested at all by TLFQ.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital (6.9): the adverbial is vital. However, data varies considerably between the different age groups in quantitative terms: the item is actually rather vital (4.2) in the group of speakers aged 66 or more, while it is vital (7.1) in the group of speakers aged 18 to 29 and those aged 46 to 65, and very vital (7.6) in the group of speakers aged 30 to 45. Statistically, the age-correlation is insignificant ($p=0.09$) between the younger (18-45) and the elder (46+) speakers when using Roy's calculator for 'Vitality'. According to Welch's *t*-test as implemented in Roy's calculator (Wissner & Roy forthcoming), the same age-correlation is estimated to be statistically significant ($p=0.02$, weak dependency). Nevertheless, this significance is to be relativized for technical reasons addressed by Wissner & Roy.

Confronting age groups as compared to each other shows that the item's vitality is significantly different in the group of speakers aged 66 or more as compared to the groups of

speakers aged 18 to 29 and 46 to 65 ($p=0.04$), and even more so to the group of speakers aged 30 to 45 ($p=0.01$). This statistical difference shows an increase in vitality (change in apparent time); the fact that the group of speakers aged 30 to 45 displays a higher vitality than the youngest speaker group may indicate a sign of legitimacy, more exactly its belonging to the standard (norm of usage) rather than to the informants' stock of vernacular usage.

7. *À drette*

[Ref. / Quebec: ageing?, Ontario] [with (semi-)copula] *à droite*, [dialectal: Western France] (*ben / bien*) *à dret*, *à drette* “on the right (hand-)side”

Entend-on plutôt qu'on se trouve à drette [Quebec] / *à droit* [archaic] / *à droite* [Ref.]? (“Do you rather hear that one is situated ‘on the right (hand-) side’?”)

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

The pronunciation *à drette* [Quebec], which reflects the local pronunciation in Quebec of the standard form *à droite* [Ref.], is well known (5.6): it was recognized by 19/34 informants (56%), slightly more by elder informants (recognition of 75%, as opposed to a recognition of 39% by informants aged 45 or younger), and particularly less by informants aged 30 to 45 (20%). More precisely, the recognition of the adverb's local pronunciation is clearly age-dependent: it is well known (6.1 / 7.1 / 7.1 respectively) by informants aged 18 to 29, 46 to 65 and 66 or more, but only little known (2.4) by informants aged 30 to 45. 7 informants also mentioned that they associate the adverbial with elder informants. Statistically, the 30-45 age group displays a significant difference with the mean of the other age groups ($p=0.03$, weak dependency).

More exactly, comparing age groups to each other shows that the item's recognition is significantly different in this group of middle-aged informants (aged 30 to 45) as compared to older informants, that is: the groups of informants 46 to 65 and 66 or more ($p=0.02$ for both) (the difference with the youngest age group is insignificant).

The item's association, by some informants, with elder informants is confirmed insofar as it is better known by informants aged 46 and more, but negated by the fact that this difference is not significantly different from the youngest informants (aged under 30). This corresponds to expected general tendencies insofar as informants aged 30 to 45, generally settled or are settling in the job market and often in charge of their own children, are expected to tend to detach themselves from vernacular usages from their youth (Wissner forthcoming), which the tested dialectalism belongs to.

Perceived frequency (B.1)

It is felt as not frequent (4.6), though it is well known: the 6 informants who answered all consider that it is rarely used.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Rather vital (5.3): the adverbial is rather vital. However, data varies considerably between the different age groups: the item is rather vital (3.5) in the group of speakers aged 30 to 45 (as for male informants, 5.4), but vital (5.9 / 6.6 / 6.8) in the other three age groups (as for female informants, 5.6). Statistically, there is a significant age-correlation ($p=0.04$, weak dependency) for vitality between the group of speakers aged 30 to 45 (rather vital), and the mean of the other age groups (vital), as well as compared to the speakers aged 46 to 65 and 66 or more ($p=0.03$ for both) (vital). It is to be added that Roy's calculator provides an insignificant age-correlation ($p=0.09$) between the younger (18-45) and the elder (46+)

speakers, whereas Welch's *t*-test estimates the same age-correlation to be significant ($p=0.04$, weak dependency), probably due to technical reasons (averaging, as for *en continu*).

The decrease in vitality is not progressive (no difference between the two upper age-groups): it excludes the group of younger speakers, in which it remains vital; considering furthermore that its perceived frequency is stable, this age-distribution probably hints at the item's vernacularity, responsible for its reduced recognition in the group of young adults (aged 30 to 45). Indeed, the latter, settled or settling in the job market, are expected to tend to detach themselves from vernacular usages. The PA's explicit association with the speech of the elderly (cf. A.1) further confirms its emblematic value. However, this vernacularity is not confirmed by the merely quantitative gender distribution according to traditional criteria (higher vitality amongst female speakers).

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

- [Variant] *À dwette* [Quebec (Saguenay–Lac-St-Jean)] (same meaning), which reflects the local pronunciation in Quebec of the standard form *à droite* [Ref.], was mentioned by 8/34 informants (24%: little known, 2.5), mainly by men (6/8), and mainly by informants aged 45 or less (39%), as opposed to informants aged 46 or more (of whom only 6% mentioned it). More exactly, the age group that recognized the adverbial best is the group of 30- to 45-year-olds (recognition of 50%). Two male informants also mention that they associate the adverbial with younger informants.

- *Tout drette* [Quebec] (same meaning) was recognized by 22/34 informants (65%). The two groups recognizing this form best are aged 18 to 29 and 66 or more, that is: on both extreme ends: both attained a 75% recognition rate. This is confirmed by the informants' representation: two young men (under 30) associated the adverbial with adolescents, whereas four women (one under 30, three above 65) associated the adverbial with rather elderly people. This distribution seems to indicate a vernacular status.

However, though very well recognized, it is also considered not frequent (5.3) or even rare by the 4 informants who provided an answer. Eight other informants attributed it to adolescents (two younger speakers) or to elder speakers (it is felt as very old, "très vieux", by four informants) or to informal technical French (it is felt as "jargon" by two elder informants).

- *Tout dwette* [Quebec (Saguenay–Lac-St-Jean)] (same meaning) was mentioned by 8/34 informants (24%: little known, 2.5), notably by informants in the 20s and 30s (35%, against a recognition of 12% amongst the informants aged 46 or more). This is confirmed by the informants' representation: two male informants also mention that they associate *tout dwette* mainly with younger informants.

- The variant *à droite* [Ref.] was recognized by all informants (very well known, 9.8).

- [C.1] *au droit, à droit* [Ref.: old] "on the way; straight ahead" :

The initial form *au droit* "on the way" [Ref. Old], also "straight ahead" [Ref. 17^e s.] is unknown (0.2).

- *À droit* [Ref.: archaic; Quebec] "on the right (hand-)side": not recognized at all (unknown).

- *Tout droit* [Ref.] "straight ahead" has been recognized by 33/34 informants (97%): it is very well known (9.5); the other informant exclusively recognized *tout drette* (see below). Only five of them, all from the group of speakers aged 46 or more, recognized [Ref.] *tout droit* exclusively.

- *Tout drette* [Quebec] "straight ahead" has been recognized by 26/34 informants (76%), one of whom (aged 67) recognized exclusively this variant; it is very well known (7.5). Eight other informants attributed it to adolescents (two younger speakers) or to elder speakers (it is

felt as “très vieux” by four informants) or to informal technical French (it is felt as “jargon” by two elder informants).

- **Tout dwette** [Quebec (Saguenay–Lac-St-Jean)] “straight ahead” has been recognized by only six informants (18%): it is little known (1.9); four of them belong to the group of speakers aged 45 or less, and two (one younger, one elder) attributed it exclusively to younger informants.
- **Droit** [short adverb] [Ref.] “straight; with precision” (ex.: *couper droit* “cut straight”) was recognized by 30/34 informants (88%): it is very well known (8.7).
- **Droit** [short adverb] [Old French, Norman] “correct in moral terms” (ex.: *agir droit*) was recognized by 28/34 informants (82%). This form, attested in Old French and in the Norman dialect (FEW), not mentioned in the Canadian metalinguistic corpus, is very well known in Quebec. Considering the inquiries’ results and dialectal data, this short adverbial could be interpreted as dialectal [Quebec]; however, it belongs to Reference French (*filer droit, faire marcher droit, TLF droit* (2) II.C “according to moral principles”).
- **Droit** [short adverb] “the shortest, the quickest” (ex.: *couper droit*) was mentioned by two informants.
- [C.2] **En direct** [Ref.] “simultaneously”, late learnt lean-word (same stem, different basis): Item recognized by all informants (100%): it is very well known (9.8).
- Other variants such as *à direct, pour direct, sur direct* have not been recognized.
- **Direct** [short adverb] [Modern French, informal; since 13th c.; also Switzerland] “directly, straight away” was recognized by 31/34 informants. It is considered frequent (9.0) by the 2 informants who commented its frequency. Two young men (aged under 30) commented that they consider that this form is only used by young people and that they cannot imagine their grandparents say this.

8. *En spécial*

[Quebec] [with (semi-)copula] “discounted (on flyers); on offer on the menu (in restaurants)”

Ma mère m’a dit que le beurre était en spécial cette semaine. (“My mother told me that this week, butter was discounted.”)

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

The adverbial is very well known (9.8): it has been recognized by all 34 informants (100%).

Perceived frequency (B.1)

It is felt as very frequent (9.5): 14/34 informants (41%) consider the adverbial is used frequently; the other informants (20/34 – 59%) consider it is used very frequently.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital + (9.5): the adverbial is very vital in all age groups.

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

- **En especial** [Europe: archaic] “in particular, mainly”

J’aime tous les livres de la série Outlander, en especial le premier tome. (“I love all the books in the Outlander series, especially the first volume”)

This adverbial is little known (0.8): only 2/34 informants (6%) recognized the adverb: two women from the same family. It is felt as not frequent (6.2): the only 2 informants who

answered, two women (mother and daughter, inquired together, the latter with high language awareness), consider it as rare (for male informants and for the 30-45 and 46-65 age groups, no data could be retrieved).

It is therewith overall little vital (vital – (2.2)). Differences in the item’s age-distribution – it is not vital in the group of speakers aged 30 to 45 as compared to both extreme age groups ($p=0.03$) – and in its gender-distribution – showing no vitality in the group of male speakers ($p=0.007$) – are both statistical. However, they are not considered relevant here as measures are based on only two positive answers, from two women from Chicoutimi from the same family (mother and daughter, inquired together), though both are well-anchored in their local group (rare trips only to non-francophone areas).

- [C.2] *Par especial* [Europe: archaic] “in particular, mainly” has not been recognized at all.
- [C.2] *Par special / par spécial* [Europe: archaic] “in particular, mainly” has not been recognized at all.

Remark

Concerning the vitality of *en especial*, it is to be added that data varies considerably between the different age groups: the item is not vital (0.9) in the group of speakers aged 30 to 45, while it is little vital (3.2 / 1.1 / 3.2) in the other three age groups. The comparison of age groups as compared to each other shows that the item’s vitality is significantly different in the group of speakers aged 30 to 45 as compared to the groups of speakers aged 18 to 29 ($p=0.03$) and to those aged 66 or more ($p=0.03$). Data also varies significantly between both gender groups: the adverbial is not vital (0.6) for the male speakers but little vital (2.8) for the female speakers. More precisely, there’s a statistically significant gender-correlation ($p=0.007$, weak dependency) for the vitality between the female and male speakers, the former displaying a slightly higher vitality.

9. À l’extrême

[Ref.] [verb-adjacent; with (semi-)copula] “extreme, the extreme”

Dans un reportage, j’ai entendu qu’avec l’élevage intensif, on pousse trop à l’extrême les animaux. (“In a report, I heard that with intensive breeding, animals are pushed too far”)

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

The adverbial is very well known (8.7): Only 4/34 informants (12%) did not recognize the item. More precisely, it is very well known (9.3 / 7.6 / 9.3 respectively) by the inquired informants (aged 18 to 29, 30 to 45 and 46 to 65) except for the group of informants aged 66 or more, where it is only well known (7.1). The verbs *aller*, *manger*, and *se réjouir* were associated with the adverbial by 8, 7 and 7 informants respectively.

Perceived frequency (B.1)

It is felt as frequent (8.3): 6/30 informants (20%) consider the adverbial is only rarely used while 22/30 (73%) consider it is used rather frequently; the remaining 2/30 (7%) even consider it is used very frequently.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital + (8.4): The adverbial is very vital. Data varies slightly between the different age groups: the item is vital (7.3 / 7.0 respectively) in the group of speakers aged 30 to 45 and those aged 66 or more, while it is very vital (8.6) in the group of speakers aged 18 to 29 and those aged 46 to 65. This quantitative difference, which does not display a clear interpretational tendency, is not confirmed by statistics. This rather suggests stability in usage.

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

- [C.2] *Vers l'extrême* [nominalized, mainly adjective, like *jusqu'à/dans l'extrême*, used as adjectives and in attributive function] [Réf.] has been recognized by 23/34 informants (68%): it is well known (6.8). Nevertheless, it is considered not frequent (6.2) by the two informants who commented its frequency.

10. En gros

[Ref.] [phrase modifier in initial position; verb-adjacent] “sum up; roughly”

Avant de me rendre au Lac, on m'a dit: en gros, la route est longue, mais les paysages en valent la peine! (“Before I went to the Lake, I was told: basically, without going into detail, the road is long, but the scenery is worth it!”)

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

The item has been recognized in phrase initial position (“to sum up”) by 32/34 informants (94%): very well known (9.2) adverb. Only two women aged 66 or more did not recognize it at all, and two younger informants in their twenties, inquired together, mentioned their grandparents would never use it. More precisely, the adverbial is very well known (9.3 / 9.4 / 9.3 respectively) by the inquired informants (aged 18 to 29, 30 to 45 and 46 to 65) except for the group of informants aged 66 or more, where it is only well known (7.1).

- [Variant] The second meaning of *en gros* [verb-adjacent] “roughly” [Quebec] has been recognized by only one informant, a man above 65 (3% – little known). This confirms the usage of this localism (*parler en gros* “speak crudely”), retrieved only in the Saguenay area (in Anse-St-Jean) during Lavoie’s enquiries (1985: question 2935) according to our data – with a similar meaning than *à la grosse* “roughly, hastily”, retrieved for the first part of the 20th century in Canada and Acadia (TLFQ in a text from 1945, Poirier 1995 [before 1932]) and the Western dialect [Anjou] for the 19th century (Verrier/Onillon 1908 > FEW IV: 280a). This may indicate a loss of usage of this dialectalism in Saguenay in apparent time (ongoing change).

Perceived frequency (B.1)

The phrase modifier is felt as frequent (8.6): 5/32 informants (16%) consider the phrase modifier as not frequent, whereas 21 others (65%) consider it as frequent and the remaining 6 (19%) consider it is very frequently used. It is felt as more frequent by the group of informants aged 45 or less (9.2) than by the group of informants aged 46 or more (7.6). Statistically, this age-correlation is significant ($p=0.007$, weak dependency). More exactly, the adverbial is considered not frequent (6.6) in the group of informants aged 46 to 65, but very frequent (9.4) in the group of informants aged 30 to 45. This partly corroborates results on the adverb’s recognition since the eldest speakers, aged 66 or more, are those who recognize it less (in this group, it is well known, instead of very well known); two informants in their twenties, inquired together, also mentioned their grandparents would never use it. This could possibly confirm an increase in usage of the phrase modifier in apparent time (ongoing change). This would be coherent with the general trend according to which adverbials tend to modify verbs first.

However, this cannot be confirmed with the TLFQ corpus: it does not attest the phrase modifier at all; the [Ref.] synonym *pour résumer* is only attested in Quebec in recent texts too, very sporadically (1963, 1997, 2007).

On the contrary, the verb modifier “roughly” is considered not frequent (6.7) by the only informant who recognized the adverbial.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital + (8.9): the phrase modifier is very vital. Data varies slightly between the different age groups: the item is vital (7.2) in the group of speakers aged 66 or more, while it is very vital (8.6 / 8.9 / 8.0) in the other three age groups. This quantitative difference is not confirmed by statistics. However, it is due to significant age-differences in the item's recognition, which clearly increases (speakers aged 66 or more are those who recognize it less), and its (coherent) perceived frequency, clearly higher below 46 (more specifically so in the group of informants aged 30 to 45).

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

- [C.2] *au/en gros* [lexicalized, with a semi-copula] in [Quebec] *aller au gros* “defecate”, has only been recognized by one informant (from Chicoutimi), a man aged 80: it is little known (1.3).
- [C.2] *à la grosse* [Canada, Acadia, dialectal: Anjou] “coarsely, roughly; hastily, carelessly” is unknown.
- [C.2] *à la grosse* [Ref.: Marin French], ellipse of *à la grosse aventure* “with great risk of loss or profit”, is also unknown.
- [C.1] *en gros* [Ref.] “in large quantities” has been recognized by all 34 informants (100%): it is very well known (9.8). It is also considered frequent (9.0) by the two informants who commented its frequency.
- [C.2] *gros* [short adverb] [Ref.] “a lot” has been recognized by 31/34 informants (91%). The only three informants who did not recognize the item are elder informants (66 or older). It is also considered frequent (9.0) by the four informants who commented its frequency.
- *Tout plein gros* [synonym] [Quebec] “a lot” was mentioned by one female informant under 46.

11. À l'improviste

[Ref.] [verb-adjacent; with (semi-)copula] “unexpectedly, suddenly, unforeseen”

On m'a déjà raconté l'histoire du Survenant qui surgit à l'improviste. (“I was once told the story of the Survenant who appears unexpectedly”)

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

The adverbial is very well known (9.8): all 34 informants (100%) recognized the adverb. 24 informants mentioned using the adverbial with the verb *arriver* “arrive”, 18 with the verb *débarquer* (same meaning), 12 with the verb *attaquer* “attack” and 14 with the verb *rencontrer* “encounter”.

Perceived frequency (B.1)

It is felt as frequent (8.3): 6/34 informants (18%) consider it is not used frequently, but the rest of them (28/34 – 82%) consider it is.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital + (9.2): the adverbial is very vital in all age groups. This suggests stability in usage.

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

- [C.2] *d'improviste* [Modern French (17th century)] “unexpectedly, suddenly, unforeseen” is unknown.

12. *Au large*

[Europe: 16th-17th c.; Quebec, Louisiana; creole] [with (semi-)copula] “far away, in the distance (on land); offshore” (*être au large, rester au large, partir au large*)

En décrivant son village d'enfance, un informateur m'a dit qu'il avait vécu au large. (“Another informant, describing his childhood village, told me that he had lived in the distance.”)

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

The item with the meaning “far away, in the distance; offshore” is very well known (8.7): it is recognized by 30/34 informants (88%).

More precisely, the adverbial is very well known (9.3 / 9.3 / 8.2 respectively) by informants aged 18 to 29, 46 to 65 and 66 or more, but only well known (6.8) by informants aged 30 to 45. 15 of the 30 informants who recognized the adverbial (50%) specified that for them, the meaning of *au large* is specifically related to water (i.e. the meaning that corresponds to [Ref. Fr]: “on the open sea, offshore”).

In other words, the North American acceptance “far away, in the distance (on land)”, tested by the sentence, is clearly known by at least 15/34 informants (44%): it is at least well known (4.4). It corresponds to the meaning specifically provided by a young informant (aged 26), “far away, out of the way”. 28 out of the 30 informants (82%) who said they knew the adverbial also considered it as being used locally (question A.2), where it is very well known (8.1). Only two elderly men specified the adverbial is not used locally; the eldest of them, aged 80, is a direct descendant of the first settlers in the area. Seven informants mentioned using the adverbial with the verb *être* “be”, two with the verb *rester* “stay”, two others with the verb *partir* “leave”.

The inquiries show that this adverbial is well anchored in contemporary usage in the target area, whilst it is nowadays reduced to the maritime context in Reference French (Antidote). It goes back to Middle French (“in the distance, far from the houses”, 1530, FEW X: 184a). This explains its presence not only in French in Quebec (ALEC, Dulong 1998) but also in Louisiana (DLF) as well as in creole [Louisiana, Guadeloupe] (DECA). This areology confirms its status as a Northern (and Central) American dialectalism.

Perceived frequency (B.1)

It is felt as not frequent (6.9), though it is very well known: 13/26 informants (50%) consider the adverbial is not frequently used, and the other half considers it is frequently used. Therefore, the item's felt frequency is at the very top end of low frequency (1-6.9). More exactly, this estimation is age and gender related: it is felt as not frequent by elder informants (aged 46 or more) (6.4) and by the group of male informants (6.9) (more exactly 6.6 by those aged 46 to 65; 6.9 by those aged 66 or more). On the contrary, it is felt as frequent by younger informants (aged 45 or less) (7.2), more exactly by those aged 18 to 29 (7.2) and even more so by those aged 30 to 45 (8.0); it is also felt as frequent by female informants (7.2). This gender-distribution requires further explanations. Considering the age-distribution, it seems to be in apparent contradiction with the item's recognition insofar as the adverbial is very well known except in the group of informants aged 30 to 45 (where it is only well known), which is the same group for whom it is most frequent. Yet, these different quantitative differences are not relevant in statistical terms; furthermore, they are not correlated with possibly relevant criteria considered during the inquiries such as the informants' educational level, their usage of media or their leisure activity types. They do not seem to allow for any further qualitative conclusions.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital + (7.9): the adverbial is very vital. Data varies slightly between the different age groups: the item is vital (6.8 / 7.0 respectively) in the group of speakers aged 30 to 45 and those aged 66 or more (as for male informants: 7.2), but it is very vital (8.2 / 8.0 respectively) in the group of speakers aged 18 to 29 and those aged 46 to 65 (as for female informants: 8.3). These quantitative differences, which do not display a clear interpretational tendency, are not confirmed by statistics. Indeed, the item's perceived frequency is statistically higher in the group of informants aged 45 or less and more specifically so in the group of informants aged 30 or less (as in the group of female informants); however, it also displays a statistically relevant reduced recognition in the group of informants aged 30 to 45 (for whom it is well known, and not very well known). Nevertheless, the item's excellent statistically confirmed recognition and frequency and its quantitative vitality in the area in general, in particular in the group of younger speakers aged 30 or less, indicates clear conservation in usage. This contrasts with its loss from French in Europe (cf. FEW). This may accompany its legitimacy, possibly indicated by its excellent vitality amongst female speakers.

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

- [C.1] **au large** [Europe: archaic] “easily; at ease” tested with the sentence *Y en a pour qui c'est plus facile de se mettre au large pour faire des discours* has not been recognized (0%).
- **Large** [short adverb] [with copula] “indulgent, not severe” (cf. Middle French *être à large* “act generously”, DMF) has been mentioned by one informant (3%), a man over 46.
- [C.1] [informal?] One (younger, female) informant (aged 26) also mentioned *se faire mettre au large* “get sidelined”. This usage has also been retrieved during Lavoie's local inquiries in Charlevoix (St-Fidèle) and Côte-Nord (Sault-au-Mouton) (*envoyer au large* “send away, fuck off”, 1985: question 2867). In spite of its scarce representation in French lexicography, this usage does not seem to be a pure localism. Indeed, it also seems to belong to informal European French: *va au large* “piss off” seems to be well used, mainly in the past and in informal situations, according to informal inquiries realized in 2022 (testimony of a speaker in their fifties in South-Eastern France: Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes).
- [C.2] ***en large** [with enunciative verbs] “in detail” (or “roughly”?), e.g. *raconter quelque chose en large* (Cf. Middle French *de long et de large*, Modern French *en long et en large*, FEW V: 408a), under the influence of *raconter quelque chose en long (et en large)*, tested with the question *Puis-je raconter quelque chose en large, de large, ou à large?*, has been recognized by 3 informants in their twenties and sixties (9%): it is little known (1.0). However, the exact meaning (where “in detail” was expected) has not been tested explicitly. The fieldworker, native of the area, adds that *en large* could also mean the opposite, “roughly, without going into detail”, possibly a calque of English at large (same meaning).
- [C.2] **de long en large** [Modern French (since 19th century), Ref.] [lexicalized, verb-adjacent] (same meaning) has been mentioned by 7 informants (21%).
- [C.2] *en long et en large* [Ref.] [lexicalized, verb-adjacent] “at length, in depth, in an overly detailed way” has been recognized by 30/34 informants (88%): it is very well known (8.7). It is also considered as frequent (9.0) by the two informants who commented its frequency.
- [C.2] **sur le long et/puis sur le large** [Quebec] [lexicalized, verb-adjacent] (same meaning) has been recognized by 6/34 informants (18%): it is little known (1.9). Furthermore, it is considered not frequent (6.2) by the 2 informants who commented its frequency.
- [C.2] **sur le long** and **sur le large** [Ref.?] [nominalized] “lengthwise” (cf. Modern French *en long*, same meaning) have been mentioned by one informant (3%).

13. *De léger*

[Ref.: literary, rare] [with (semi-)copula] “without thinking, mindlessly”

En lisant Le Devoir à l'aéroport, j'ai noté la phrase suivante: « On ne se lance pas dans une chose comme celle-là de léger ». (“While reading Le Devoir at the airport, I noticed the following sentence: ‘You do not go into something like that mindlessly’.”)

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

The adverbial is little known (0.8): only 2/34 informants (6%), inquired together, aged 57 and 61 (and estimated as having an average language consciousness), recognized the item; they attribute it to spoken language and to speakers roughly aged 60 or more.

Perceived frequency (B.1)

It is felt as not frequent (6.2): the only two informants who recognized the adverbial consider it as not frequent.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital – (2.2): the adverbial is little vital. Differences in the item’s age-distribution – it is rather vital only in the group of informants aged 46 to 65 ($p=0.03$ as compared to groups of speakers 18 to 29 and 66 or more, where it is little vital; $p=0.01$ as compared to speakers aged 30 to 45, where it is not vital) – are statistical, though not considered as relevant here as they are based on only two positive answers (from a couple, both retired nurses from Laterrière, who were inquired together).

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

- [C.1] *de léger* [Middle/Modern French: old] “too easily” has not been recognized at all (0%).
- [C.1] *de léger* [Ref.: literary, rare] [with semi-copular] “with/in light clothes” has been recognized by 4/34 informants (12%); it is little known (1.3).
- [C.2] *à la légère* [Modern French, Ref.] “without thinking, mindlessly”, is particularly well known in [semi-lexicalized, with semi-copula] sequences: *agir à la légère* is recognized by 30/34 informants (88%: very well known, 8.7) and is felt as frequent by 6 of them though not frequent by another two. *Prendre une chose à la légère* is recognized by all 34 informants (100%), eight of which mentioned it is frequent as well; four informants also mentioned it is used by everyone, and two more attribute its use to educated people.

This adverbial is frequent: its collocational usage with *prendre* is considered as frequent by all 8 informants (100%) who commented its frequency (8.9); in collocation with *agir*, 2/8 informants (25%), both elder, consider it as rare but the other six (75%) who commented its frequency consider it as frequent (8.1).

- [C.2] *à la légère* [Ref.: literary, rare] used in other sequences as in [with (semi-)copula] *vêtu à la légère* “dressed in a skimpy way” has been recognized by 12/34 informants (35%): it is little known. Furthermore, it is felt as not frequent by the only informant (in their thirties) who answered to the frequency-question; it is also felt as old by an informant (in the sixties) who confirms its local usage (question A.2).
- [C.2] *léger* [short adverb] (same meaning) has also been mentioned by 5/34 informants (15%) as being a form similarly used locally.

Remark

Concerning the vitality of *de léger*, it is to be observed that data varies considerably between the different age groups: the item is not vital (0.9) in the group of speakers aged 30 to 45,

while it is little vital (1.1) in the group of speakers aged 18 to 29 and those aged 66 or more, and rather vital (3.8) in the group of speakers aged 46 to 65. Statistically, the age-correlation is insignificant ($p=0.08$) between the younger (18-45) and the elder (46+) speakers according to the “Vitality - 2 & 4 age groups” tab of Roy’s calculator, whereas Welch’s (less strict) t -test estimates that the same age-correlation is weakly significant ($p=0.008$). Confronting age groups as compared to each other also shows that the item’s vitality is significantly different in the group of speakers aged 46 to 65 as compared to the group of speakers aged 18 to 29 ($p=0.03$), to the group of speakers aged 66 or more ($p=0.03$), and even more so to the group of speakers aged 30 to 45 ($p=0.01$).

14. *À plein*

[Ref.: archaic; Quebec] [verb adjacent; with (semi-)copula] “completely, totally, absolutely”

Une des personnes que j’ai pu interviewer m’a raconté qu’elle a profité à plein de ses vacances. (“One of the people I interviewed told me that she made the most of her holidays.”)

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

This adverbial is well known (5.6): 19/34 informants (56%) recognized the item. More precisely, the adverbial is very well known (8.2 / 8.2) by the two groups of informants aged 46 or more, but only little known (2.9 / 3.2) by the two groups of informants aged 45 or less. Statistically, the item’s recognition is very significantly different between the two major age groups ($p=0.001$, strong dependency). More exactly, the comparison of each more fine-tuned age group to each other age group confirms this difference. On the contrary, the comparison of the four age groups to the mean of the other groups shows no statistical difference. This confirms the methodological importance of comparing age group values to exact values rather than the mean of all values.

More precisely, comparing each more fine-tuned age group to each other shows that the difference even slightly increases from the informants aged 30 to 45 ($p=0.02$) to those that are younger than 30 ($p=0.01$). This decreasing recognition confirms expected general tendencies for ongoing change in apparent time, according to which informants in the upper age group are considered as potential linguistic conservators as compared to their previous life stages, which also includes the preservation of vernacular forms (Wissner forthcoming), which the tested dialectalism may belong to.

One informant (S23) who recognized the adverbial *à plein* mentioned that [Ref.] *à fond* (built following the <preposition + noun> pattern) is more used in his surrounding in this specific context. Another (S10) did not recognize the adverbial *à plein* and mentioned that [standard] *au max* is more used in his surrounding in this specific context.

Perceived frequency (B.1)

It is felt as not frequent (5.5): 14/19 informants (74%) consider its use is not frequent; only five (26%) consider its use as frequent. More exactly, the item is felt as not frequent except for the group of male informants and for the group of speakers aged 66 or more (gender and age difference), who both consider it as frequent (7.2 / 7.5). Yet, these quantitative differences are not relevant in statistical terms; they do not seem to allow for any further qualitative conclusions, notably concerning gender.

However, the age-distribution seems to corroborate the item’s statistical decrease of recognition (progressive decrease in the two age groups of speakers under 46), providing a valuable complementary information on the item’s loss of usage in apparent time (ongoing change).

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

The adverbial is rather vital (5.4). However, data varies considerably between the different age groups: the item is rather vital (3.8 / 3.9 respectively) for the speakers aged 18 to 29 and those aged 30 to 45 (as well as for male informants, 5.2), while it is vital (7.1) for the speakers aged 46 to 65 (as well as for female informants, 5.8), and very vital (7.6) for those aged 66 or more. Gender-differences indicating higher vitality amongst female speakers are merely quantitative. Statistically, the age-correlation is significant ($p=0.001$, strong dependency) between the younger (18-45) (rather vital) and the elder (46+) (very vital) speakers according to Roy's calculator (vitality). According to Welch's t -test, this difference is even more highly significant ($p<0.001$, high dependency).

Confronting age groups as compared to each other shows that the item's vitality is significantly different in the group of speakers aged 18 to 29 (rather vital) as compared to the speakers aged 46 to 65 (vital) ($p=0.02$) and even more so to the speakers aged 66 or more (very vital) ($p=0.01$). The vitality is also significantly different in the group of speakers aged 30 to 45 as compared to the speakers aged 46 to 65 ($p=0.02$) and the speakers aged 66 or more ($p=0.01$), again with progressive decrease from one age group to the other (rather vital – vital – very vital). These results show a clear progressive loss of vitality from one age group to the other (ongoing change). They provide more precision than the statistical decrease observed in recognition between the two groups of informants under 46 and the quantitative difference in the item's perceived frequency (frequent only for the group of speakers aged 66 or more).

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

- [Variant] *tout à plein* [lexicalized] [Europe: archaic] “completely, totally” (FEW IX: 59b-60a I.1) – has not been recognized at all (0%).
- [C.1] *en plein* [Ref.: ageing or rare?; Quebec] [used as a phrase modifier, notably for emphasis] “completely, totally, absolutely” – attested as an adverbial in Reference French (*éclairer en plein*, TLF) and in Quebec where it is also used as a phrase modifier (Clapin 1894, TLFQ, Villers 2003), next to *en plein* “in great quantities” in traditional Quebec French (*Y a du monde en plein*, Clapin 1894, ALEC) (cf. Louisiana *tout en plein* “clairement” “clearly, explicitly”, DLF) – has been recognized by 30/34 informants (88%) in a sequence like *C'est en plein ça!* (“that's exactly it!”): it is very well known (8.7). However, the informants did not recognize usages with verbs such as *aimer* or *fonctionner*. Furthermore, it is considered frequent (9.0) by the two informants (younger women) who commented its frequency, especially when it is used in the expression *c'est en plein ça!*. One (elder) informant considers it as more spoken than written.
- [C.1] *à plein* (1) [Europe: archaic; Acadia, Quebec: traditional] “in quantity” and (2) [Acadia, Quebec] “a lot, very much” have not been recognized at all (0%).
- [Variant] *tout plein* “a lot, in quantity” – which seems to have always been part of colloquial usage and is deeply rooted in the dialects (FEW IX: 62b Comment) – was mentioned by 3/34 informants (9%) as being a form similarly used locally.
- [C.2] *à plein* [Quebec: rare] “[in reference to water] deep” – retrieved during Lavoie's inquiries in Charlevoix (1985: question 232) – has not been recognized at all (0%) for this specific meaning, but one informant (3% – S9) mentioned a different meaning: “at high tide”. This new meaning, not attested in our sources, is coherent with historical data: it probably integrates a semantic extension of the adjective *plein* “round, full (face, throat)”, attested since the 11th century, undoubtedly in analogy to the Modern French adjective *pleine* [feminine, nominalized] used in reference to the sea when the tide reaches its maximum (since 1636, Corneille, cf. FEW IX: 59a I.1).

Remark

The main item is attested in contemporary Quebec (19th-20th century texts in TLFQ; Antidote, Villers 2003) as well as in Reference French from Old French to 18th century Modern French (DMF, FEW; TLF mainly quotes 19th century and regional authors from France like Bernanos and Giono).

15. *De *plene*

Item reconstructed for Pan-Romance purposes, excluded here (there is no learnt lean-word in French based on Latin PLENU(M)). The adverbial *de plein* “completely” which continues PLENU(M), only attested in Middle French, has not been recognized.

16. *De sec*

[Ref.: rare] [with (semi-) copula] “[dressed] with light clothes”

On s’est demandé si on peut dire être vêtu de léger; peut-on aussi être vêtu de sec? (“We wondered if one can say that one is *lightly clothed*; can one also be dressed with light clothes?”)

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

The adverbial usage of the adjective *sec*, formed by ellipsis of *de vêtements secs*, is little known (0.8): only 2/34 informants (6%) recognized the item: two men in their thirties (inquired separately).

Perceived frequency (B.1)

Felt as not frequent (6.2): the only 2 informants who recognized the adverbial consider it is not frequently used.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital – (2.2): the elliptic usage of this item, historically speaking an adjective, is little vital. Differences in the item’s age and gender distribution – it is only rather vital in the group of informants aged 30 to 45 ($p=0.04$ as compared to each of the other groups) and in the group of male informants ($p=0.007$) – are statistical, though not considered relevant here as they are based on only two positive answers, from two younger men in their thirties (though inquired separately).

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

- **Sec** [short adverb] “dryly” has been mentioned by 4/34 informants (12%).
- [C.2] **à sec** [Middle/Modern French (France: very informal)] [with semi-copula] “in need; ruined” has been recognized by all 34 informants (who did not comment its frequency): it is very well known (9.8).
- [C.2] **à sec** [Old/Middle/Modern French, Ref.] [with full verbs] “placed out of the water” (*mettre quelque chose à sec, effectuer des travaux à sec*) has been recognized by 7/34 informants (21%): it is little known (2.2). One male informant in the thirties gave an example, *driller [= percer] à sec ça marche pas, ça prend de l’eau*. A semantic extension, [attributive] “dry” as in *mon verre est à sec*, was also mentioned by a male informant in the thirties who also recognized its usage in reference to tears, in **souffrir/pleurer à sec* “suffer/cry without tears”.
- [C.2] **à sec** [Louisiana] [with copula] *être à sec* “be in a dry area” has not been mentioned.

- [C.2] *à sec* [Ref.] [with copula] *être à sec* “lack ideas, inspiration” has not been mentioned.
- [C.2] *à sec* [Quebec: Charlevoix] [with copula] *être à sec* “lack something (other than money or ideas)” has not been mentioned.

Remark

Considering the vitality of the main item *de sec*, it is to be observed that in mere statistical terms, data varies considerably between the different age groups: the item is little vital (1.1) for the speakers aged 18 to 29, 46 to 65 and 66 or more, while it is rather vital (3.5) for the speakers aged 30 to 45. Statistically, the age-correlation is insignificant ($p=0.15$) between the younger (18-45) and the elder (46+) speakers according to the Roy’s calculator (Vitality tab), though significant according to Welch’s (less strict) *t*-test ($p=0.01$, weak dependency). Confronting age groups as compared to each other also shows that the item’s vitality is significantly different in the group of speakers aged 30 to 45 as compared to the groups of speakers aged 18 to 29, 46 to 65, and 66 or more ($p=0.04$ for all three). Data also varies significantly between both gender groups: the adverb is not vital (0.6) for the female speakers but little vital (2.8) for the male speakers. More precisely, there’s a statistically significant gender-correlation ($p=0.007$, weak dependency).

17. *D’ordinaire*

[Ref.] [verb adjacent; with (semi-) copula] “ordinarily”

D’ordinaire, elle ne nous causait pas de la sorte. (“Ordinarily, she didn’t talk to us that way.”)

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

The adverbial *d’ordinaire* is very well known (9.0): it has been recognized by 31/34 informants (91%). It seemed ‘little frequent’ and/or ‘old’ to informants who recognized it, but it was not felt as foreign or borrowed.

Perceived frequency (B.1)

Felt as not frequent (5.5) in spite of its excellent recognition (very well known): 8/10 informants (80%) consider it as not frequent. Only two informants (20%) consider it as frequent. More exactly, the item is felt as not frequent except in the group of male informants and the group of speakers aged 66 or more, who both consider it as frequent (7.3). Yet, these quantitative differences are not relevant in statistical terms; they do not seem to allow for any further qualitative conclusions. Furthermore, they are not confirmed by tendencies in terms of recognition (the eldest age group displays weaker recognition than the other three age groups) which, in addition, are merely quantitative (no statistical differences). According to the gathered data, the adverbial currently seems to benefit of a wide historical anchorage and undoubtedly a high status (it is part of Reference French); this combination probably explains its excellent recognition in spite of a median perceived frequency.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital + (7.9): the adverbial is very vital. Data varies slightly between the different age groups: the item is only vital (6.7) in the group of speakers aged 30 to 45, but it is very vital (7.8 / 7.8 / 8.2) in the three other age groups. This quantitative difference is not confirmed by statistics. This suggests stability in usage. It does not corroborate tendencies observed on the item’s recognition (stable over time) and quantitative observations in terms of its perceived frequency (low, except for male informants and informants aged 66 or more, who both consider it as frequent).

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

- [C.1] (*comme/plus qu'*) à l'*ordinaire* [Ref.] has been recognized by 25/34 informants (74%): it is very well known (7.3). However, it is not frequent (6.9) in spite of its excellent recognition: 5/9 informants consider it as rare, the other four consider it as frequent.
- [C.1] The targeted adverbial *par ordinaire* has not been recognized at all in its originally tested presupposed meaning “extraordinarily” following a contemporary Quebec attestation (0% – Unknown – 0.2). It has been replaced, for the statistical measures, by *d'ordinaire*,
- [C.2] *pour l'ordinaire* [Modern French: 17th century] (the same) has not been mentioned by the informants.
- **Ordinaire** [short adverb] “ordinarily”, a Type A adverb used with the negation *pas*, pronounced [paʁdineʁ] in standard Quebec French, has been explicitly mentioned by 30/34 informants (88%), correcting the tested sequence *il est grayé [= équipé] par ordinaire* “he is perfectly well equipped (more than an average person)”. It is very well known (8.7): more exactly, it is very well known (9.3 / 8.5 / 9.3) by the inquired informants aged 65 or less, while is only well known (6.1) by the group of informants aged 66 or more. The adverbial is felt as frequent (7.0): 9/18 informants (50%) consider it is not frequently used but the other half (50%) considers it is.

Remark

Par ordinaire “extraordinarily?” is a hapax found in Quebec French, drawn from a contemporary text, *Le soleil* 2006: “*Le cher ce fils n'a pas beaucoup de jarnigoine [= intelligence], mais du bord sexuel il est grayé [équipé] par ordinaire.*” (“This dear son is not very intelligent, but on the sexual side he is perfectly well equipped.”) (TLFQ).

The excellent recognition of the short adverb *ordinaire* indicates that the initially tested *par ordinaire* (in the sentence *il est grayé par ordinaire*) constitutes undoubtedly a typing/editing mistake for <pas ordinaire>. This confirms the need for very careful processing of hapaxes.

18. Pour le sûr

[Middle/Modern French, French: France sporadic, dialectal; Acadia, Quebec: traditional]
[verb-adjacent] ‘certainly, with no doubt’

En allant visiter ma grand-mère dans son foyer, j'ai entendu le monsieur d'à côté dire qu'il allait revenir tantôt pour le sûr. (“On my way to visit my grandmother in her home, I heard the man next door say that he would be back soon for sure.”)

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

Little known (0.8): only 2/34 informants (6%), aged 57 and 69 – interviewed separately – recognized the item (another informant was not sure). Two others mentioned the form sounded weird to them.

Perceived frequency (B.1)

It is felt as not frequent (5.8): according to the answers of the only the informants (9%) who commented its frequency, this adverbial is to be considered as not frequent.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital – (2.1): the adverbial is little vital for all informants. This suggests stability in usage. However, the answer is based on only three positive answers (of informants in the thirties, fifties and sixties).

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

- ***Pour le sûr*** [phrase modifier in initial and in final position] [Acadia, Quebec] has not been recognized at all (0%).
- ***Pour sûr (que)*** [phrase modifier] [Ref.] has been recognized by 16/34 informants (47%): it is well known (4.4). More exactly, *pour sûr que* [Ref.] has been recognized by 10/34 informants (29%), it is little known (3), similarly to *pour sûr* [Ref.: archaic(?)], recognized by 11/34 informants (32%), also little known (3.3). More exactly, the latter, *pour sûr*, has been recognized by 10/34 informants (29%) in initial position [Ref.: archaic] and by 7/34 informants (21%) in final position [Ref.: archaic?] (both are little known). Furthermore, it is felt as not frequent (4.6): all 6 informants who answered to the frequency-question consider it as not frequent.
- ***Sûr*** [short adverb] has been mentioned or is used by 12% of the informants: three informants mention that they rather hear [Ref.] *C'est sûr que*; a fourth informant very frequently uses [Ref.] *c'est sûr* during the interview.
- ***Pour de sûr*** [Ref. archaic?] (cf. Grevisse 1305, who quotes Céline [1932]) and *comme de sûr* [Argot] have not been tested.

19. *Au sérieux*

[Ref.] [verb-adjacent] [lexicalized *prendre quelqu'un au sérieux* “take seriously (a person)”]

Un vieux voisin me dit toujours qu'il faut prendre les gens au sérieux, sans préjugés. (“An elder neighbor always tells me that one has to take people seriously, without prejudice.”)

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

The adverbial *au sérieux (prendre quelqu'un)* [Ref.] has been recognized by 33/34 informants (97%): it is very well known (9.5).

Perceived frequency (B.1)

It is felt as frequent (8.8): 4/33 informants (12%) consider it as not frequent, 21 others (64%) consider it as frequent; the remaining 8 consider it is very frequent. Overall, it is frequent except for the group of speakers aged 30 to 45, who consider it as very frequent (9.5); this may be interpreted as a sign of legitimacy. Yet, this quantitative difference is not relevant in statistical terms, which corroborates the item's recognition (very good in all age groups).

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital + (9.1): the adverbial is very vital in all age groups. No specific age-distribution can be observed, as for the item's recognition (its particularly high perceived frequency in the group of speakers aged 30 to 45 is merely quantitative). This suggests stability in usage.

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

- ***Au sérieux (prendre quelque chose)*** [Modern French, Ref.] “(to take s.th.) seriously” has been recognized by all 34 informants (100%): it is very well known (9.8). Furthermore, it is felt as frequent (8.9): all 6 informants who commented its frequency consider it as frequent.
- ***Au sérieux (se prendre)*** [Modern French, Ref.] “take oneself seriously” has been recognized by 32/34 informants (94%): it is also very well known (9.2). Furthermore, all four informants who commented its frequency consider it as frequently used.
- ***Sérieux*** [short adverb] [Modern French, informal] “serious(ly)” has been mentioned by three informants (9%).

20. *Pour vrai*

[Old/Middle/Modern French (France: up to 19th c.; Quebec: contemporary] (also Middle French *pour tout vrai, par vrai, par tout vrai*) [verb-adjacent] “in reality, truly”; [used to emphasize an opinion or statement, or another adjective or adverb; used to state or ask about the truth or fact of something] “really, totally”

*Une amie vient me visiter bientôt. Je lui ai dit qu'en une semaine seulement elle ne peut pas connaître la région **pour vrai**, mais que ça lui donnerait une idée.* (“A friend is coming to visit me soon. I told her that in just one week she can’t really get to know the area, but that it would give her an idea.”)

Recognition (A.1)

The adverbial *pour vrai* modifying a full verb is very well known (9.2): 32/34 informants (94%) recognized the item, without collocational restriction. In Reference French, the adverbial is still mentioned, but is used in collocation with verbs such as *accepter, prendre, reconnaître, retenir, tenir* (TLF).

During the inquiries, five verbs were mentioned by the informants as being often used with the adverbial: *savoir quelque chose* “know something” (14), *s’énervé* “get angry” (15), *dormir* “sleep” (16), *accepter quelque chose* “accept something” (9), and *retenir quelque chose* “remember something” (10). The verb *tenir*, which enters into the lexicalized locution [Ref.] *tenir (quelque chose) pour vrai* “consider something to be real”, which survives in Reference French, has not been mentioned.

Recognition (A.2)

Very well known locally (8.7). Among the 32 informants who knew the item, 30 (94%) recognized it as being used locally.

Perceived frequency (B.1)

Felt as frequent (8.7): only 3/30 informants (10%), all elder speakers, consider that the adverbial is rarely used, and only four others (13%), all younger speakers, consider it is very frequently used; the other 23 informants (77%) consider it is used frequently. More exactly, the item is felt as frequent except in the group of speakers aged 30 to 45, where it is felt as very frequent (9.3). This may be interpreted as a sign of legitimacy, also indicated by the item’s excellent local recognition. The age-dependency of the estimation of frequency is confirmed statistically using the *t*-test: it is higher in the group of younger informants (aged up to 45) as opposed to elder informants (aged 46 or more) ($p=0.04$, weak dependency). This dependency is not linked to the item’s recognition (which is excellent in all age groups).

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital + (8.9): the adverbial is very vital in all age groups. No specific age-distribution can be observed, as for the item’s recognition; its particularly high perceived frequency in the group of speakers aged 30 to 45 (confirmed by statistics only with the *t*-test) may be interpreted as a sign of legitimacy. This suggests stability in usage.

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

• ***Pour vrai*** [Middle/Modern French (France: up to 19th century; Quebec: contemporary] [used to emphasize an opinion or statement] [phrase modifier in initial position] “really, totally” (*Pour vrai, je suis incapable de bluffer*) has also been recognized by 31/34 informants (91%): it is very well known (9.0). Furthermore, it is felt as frequent (8.0): two informants (two elder men) consider it as not frequent, whereas two others consider it as very frequent.

- **Pour vrai** [Quebec] [used to emphasize an opinion or statement] [phrase modifier in final position] “really, totally” (*elle s’en souvenait pour vrai*) has been recognized by 31/34 informants (91%): it is very well known (9.0). However, it is felt as not frequent (6.2) according to the two informants who commented its frequency. This reduced frequency is not linked to the item’s recognition, excellent both for the phrase modifier and the verb-adjacent.

- [C.2] **pour le vrai** [Modern French: old or regional; Quebec: contemporary] [verb-adjacent; phrase modifier] [used to emphasize an opinion or statement] “really, truly” [nominalized] (*faire un bisou pour le vrai; C’est rien d’autre qu’un jeu. Pour le vrai, là*) has been recognized by 8/34 informants (24%): it is little known (2.5) in spite of its presence in recent dictionaries (DQF, Antidote). More exactly, all eight recognized it in verb-adjacent usage, whereas only half of them (4/34 informants – 12%) also recognized the phrase modifier, which is also little known (1.3). Furthermore, it is felt as not frequent (4.6) according to all six informants who commented its frequency. This is concordant with its recognition.

- [C.2] [Modern French, Ref.] **pour de vrai** “really, truly” has been recognized by 33/34 informants (97%) in absolute usage (very well known, 9.5), by 32/34 informants (94%) as a phrase modifier (tested in final position) (very well known, 9.2), and by 30/34 informants (88%:) as a verb-adjacent (also very well known, 8.7).

Pour de vrai [verb-adjacent] (same meaning) [Ref. since 19th c.] is considered as frequent by two informants and even very frequent by two others. Altogether, it is felt as very frequent (9.4). Its absolute usage as a phrase modifier is also felt as frequent (9.0) according to the two informants who answered. On the contrary, *pour de vrai* [phrase modifier, in final position] [Ref.] (same meaning), though very well known too, is considered as not frequent by all four informants who commented its frequency (5.3).

Competition

When asked which adverbial form is more used between *pour de vrai*, *pour le vrai* and *pour vrai*, 25/34 informants answered “equally *pour de vrai* and *pour vrai*”, 8/34 informants answered “only *pour vrai*”, and only one informant answered “only *pour de vrai*”. The recognition of the adverbial with its diverse variants and functions, overall well known (6.8), increases as follows:

- “Little known”: *pour le vrai* as a phrase modifier (1.3) and as verb-adjacent (2.5), and both are expectedly felt as not frequent.
- “Very well known”: *pour de vrai* as verb-adjacent (8.7) (which receives the highest appreciation of frequency with 9.4) and as a phrase modifier in final position (9.2) (though it is felt as not frequent).
- “Very well known”: *pour vrai* used as a phrase modifier in phrase initial and final position (9.0) and as verb-adjacent (9.2), and both are expectedly felt as frequent.

Similarly, the estimated frequency between the adverb’s variants and functions, overall frequent (7.3), increases as follows:

- “Not frequent”: *pour le vrai* as verb-adjacent and phrase modifier (4.6) (which is indeed little known), and *pour de vrai* as a phrase modifier (5.3) (even though it is very well known)
- “Frequent”: *pour vrai* as a phrase modifier in initial position (8.0) and as verb-adjacent (8.7), and *pour de vrai* in absolute usage (9.0) (all of which are indeed very well known)
- “Very frequent”: *pour de vrai* as verb-adjacent (9.4) (which is indeed very well known).

- [C.2] The initially targeted sentence modifier **au vrai** [Modern French: Ref. old or regional, Quebec traditional] “in fact; really, totally, truly” (in initial or parenthetical position) (e.g., *Au vrai, de souffle court, il n’allait jamais jusqu’au bout*, Mauriac, TLF; *On ne sait plus au vrai ce qu’on entend*) has not been recognized at all. Two informants mentioned that they rather hear *en vrai* [phrase modifier in initial and parenthetical position].

- [C.2] **en vrai** [Old/Middle French; Modern French: Lyon area; Quebec] “really, for good, indeed” [verb adjacent; phrase modifier] (*Tu vas y aller, en vrai?; c’était pas en vrai*) has been recognized by 8/34 informants (24%): it is little known (2.5). Two informants mentioned that they hear sentences like *en vrai, il est pas si petit que ça*.
- [C.2] [lexicalized] [Ref.] **à vrai dire** and **pour dire vrai** have been recognized by 29/34 informants (85%) (13 confirmed they hear the former, 10 the latter): they are very well known (8.4).
- **Vrai** [short adverb] [dial. (South, West) since Middle Dauphiné, Ref. since 18th c. (informal)] “right?; it’s true, is it not?” has been recognized by 23/34 informants (68%). It is felt as not frequent (5.3) according to all four informants who commented its frequency.

Remark

The adverbial *au vrai* [Old/Middle French] “in line with reality, accurately, faithfully” [verb-adjacent, with enunciative verbs] (e.g., *Contez-nous la chose au vrai*), potentially exported at the same time as the phrase modifier (excluded from our list), has not been recognized at all.

21. *En brave*

[Middle/Modern French, Ref.: old, sporadic; Quebec: common] [verb-adjacent] “bravely” (*se conduire en brave, se battre en brave, ...*)

En me documentant sur l’histoire du Saguenay–Lac-St-Jean, j’ai lu que dans le temps, il était vital d’avoir, par famille, au moins une vache ou un cheval qui se conduise en brave. (“While researching on the history of the Saguenay-Lac-St-Jean region, I read that in the past, it was vital for each family to have at least one cow or horse that behaved bravely.”)

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

The adverbial has been recognized by 26/34 informants as a whole (76%), that is by all except six, almost exclusively young informants, aged 36 or less (the remaining two were not sure if they recognized the adverbial or not): it is very well known (7.5). More exactly, all 26/34 (76%) – two of whom associate the item with films – recognize the adverb’s usage in reference to humans (7.5: very well known), but only 1/34 (3%) – a 25-year-old teacher who displays a diversified use of written and audio-visual media – recognizes the adverb’s usage in reference to animals (0.5: little known), which he considers not frequent.

When both usages of the form are combined, the adverbial on a whole is more precisely very well known (7.6 / 8.2 respectively) by the groups of speakers aged 30 to 45 and 46 to 65, but only well known (6.1 / 7.1 respectively) by the groups of speakers aged 18 to 29 and 66 or more. This age-distribution indicates the item’s belonging to the standard (norm of usage). With view to its loss of usage in Reference French, it could be considered as a ‘dialectalism in frequency’ in Quebec French, at least in the inquired area. However, the absence of data on its frequency in reference to humans does not allow confirming this hypothesis.

Perceived frequency (B.1)

It is felt as not frequent (6.7): the only informant who answered the frequency-question considers the adverbial as not frequent. No data was collected on the item’s usage in reference to humans as in *se conduire en brave* (which is very well known). Even though the items’ excellent recognition in reference to humans could indicate a higher frequency in Quebec French as compared to Reference French, at least in the inquired area, this cannot be confirmed due to the absence of answers on its perceived frequency.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital (7.1): the adverbial is vital. However, data varies considerably between the different age groups: the item is very vital (7.8) in the group of speakers aged 46 to 65, while it is vital (6.0 / 7.3 / 6.8) in the other three age groups. These quantitative differences are not confirmed by statistics, especially since observations on its perceived low frequency are based on the answer of only one informant; they only partly confirm tendencies observed on the item's recognition, which was higher for both intermediate age groups of speakers (settled in working life). However, these values suggest that this item is more vital in the inquired area in Quebec (where a decrease in vitality is not confirmed) than in Reference French (where it is archaic or sporadic).

22. De court

[Modern French (Ref.?)] [lexicalized, verb-adjacent] (*prendre de court*) “catch off guard or unprepared”

J'ai entendu une jeune femme dans la rue dire à son amie qu'il ne fallait pas qu'elle se laisse prendre de court. (“I heard a young woman in the street telling her friend that she shouldn't be caught off guard.”)

Recognition (A.1)

Very well known (9.2): 32/34 informants (94%) recognized the adverb. Two of them (aged 29) confirm that the adverbial is mainly used in passive voice (*se faire prendre de court*).

Recognition (A.2)

Very well known locally (9.2). Among the 28 informants who answered this question, 26 (93%) recognized the form as one being used locally.

Perceived frequency (B.1)

It is felt as frequent (8.8): only 1/24 informant (4%) considers the adverbial is not frequent while the other 23/24 (96%) consider it as frequent.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital + (8.9): the adverbial is very vital in all age groups. This confirms stability in usage.

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

- **De court** (*tenir*) [Middle/Modern French, Ref. (old?)] “leave little freedom” has not been recognized at all (0%).
- **De court** (*se plier la patte*) [Quebec: Saguenay (St-Ambroise)] “throw mud or snow” has not been recognized at all (0%).
- **De court** [with copula] [Quebec] “short of money” has been recognized by only 2/34 informants (6%): two elder men aged 66 or more, one of which, the eldest, aged 80, is a direct descendant of the first settlers in the area, originating from Malbaie (Charlevoix).
- [C.2] **à court** [with copula] [Modern French, Ref.] “short of money” (cf. [Réf.] *à court de* “short of”) has been recognized by all 34/34 informants (100%): it is very well known (9.8), like the synonym *à sec*. Furthermore, it is felt as frequent (9.0) according to the four informants who commented its frequency.

23. *À mal*

[Ref.: old; Quebec: rare] [lexicalized, with (semi-)copula] (*aller à mal*) “[for a person] be ill; [for an object] get worse”

Avez-vous déjà entendu dire que quelqu'un va à mal 'est malade' ou qu'une chose va à mal 's'empire'? (‘Have you ever heard that someone is sick, or that something goes worse?’)

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

The adverbial *à mal* [used with semi-copula] has been recognized by 5/34 informants (15%): it is little known (1.6). Informant S6 mentioned he associates the adverbial with (often grumpy) old men.

Perceived frequency (B.1)

It is felt as not frequent (6.2): the only two informants who commented its frequency consider it is rarely used.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital – (2.8): the adverbial is little vital. However, data varies considerably between the different age groups: the item is little vital (2.1 / 2.6 / 1.1 respectively) in the group of speakers aged 18 to 29, 30 to 45 and 66 or more, but it is rather vital (3.8) in the group of speakers aged 46 to 65. Confronting age groups as compared to each other confirms that the item’s vitality in this age group of elder adults (46-65) is significantly higher (also confirmed by statistics) than in the group of speakers aged 66 or more ($p=0.03$) (the difference with the other age groups is insignificant). This result does not display a clear interpretational tendency. However, the item’s increase in vitality in the group of elder adults confirms that it cannot be considered as ‘ageing’ or ‘aged’ as in Reference French (TLF) in the analyzed variety: it is simply rather rare (as already indicated by its mere recognition).

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

- *À mal* (*mettre*) [Modern French, Ref.: old] “rape; abuse” has been recognized by 6/32 informants (18%): it is little known (1.9). Insofar as five of these informants are aged 35 or less (the sixth is aged 55), this usage cannot be considered as old or ageing in Quebec: in the target dialect, it seems rather rare (sporadic). Furthermore, it is felt as not frequent (6.2) according to both informants who mentioned its frequency.
- *À mal*, [C.2] *en mal* (*prendre quelque chose*) [Modern French (*en mal* also Old French), Ref.: old] “take something the wrong way”, has been recognized by 3/34 informants (9%): it is also little known (1.0).
- *À mal* (*interpréter quelque chose*) [Modern French, Ref.: old] “see the bad side of something”, has been recognized by 2/34 informants (6%): it is also little known (0.8).
- [C.2] *à de mal*: the initially targeted item [traditional Quebec] [lexicalized] *à de mal* in *trouver quelque chose à de mal* “be deprived by the absence of, miss something” (*J’ai pas mon cigare, je le trouve à d’mal*) (< [Middle French; dialectal: West] “find (something) annoying, tedious; take something badly”) is unknown (0.2).
- *Mal* [short adverb] [Ref.] (*parler mal, mal parler, aller mal*) “not well; the wrong way” (“speak badly”), has been mentioned by 3/34 informants (9%).
- [C.2] *en mal* (*tourner/virer quelque chose*) [semi-lexicalized] [Ref.: old?] “emphasize the negative side of something”, has been mentioned by 1/34 informants (3%): it is also little known (0.5). Furthermore, it is felt as not frequent (6.2).

- [C.2] *en mal* [Ref.] (*parler en mal de quelqu'un*) “speak badly of someone” has been recognized by 34/34 informants (100%): it is very well known (9.8). Furthermore, it is frequent (9.0) according to both informants who answered. This confirms its excellent recognition (100%) in the target dialect, in spite of its loss of usage in France (cf. TLF).

Altogether, the adverbial including a double preposition – the only one attested in the North American sources browsed for this study as being part of traditional Quebec French (GPFC) – is the only one that is not recognized at all. On the contrary, *parler en mal de quelqu'un* is very well known in the analyzed dialect, whereas it is ageing in France according to TLF. All other tested usages having *mal* as a lexical basis – of which *à de mal* and *prendre à mal* go back to Middle French, *prendre en mal* to Old French (Chrestien) (FEW) – are little known, that is probably rare in usage: they are recognized by between one and six (generally different) informants, whereas they seem rather old in France (TLF).

Remark

Concerning the main item *à mal*, data on local recognition (A.2) was not collected directly. Therefore, for this specific item, the data used for local recognition has been obtained and interpreted by inference with the recognition (A.1) data and the interviews.

24. *De *diaire*

Item reconstructed for Pan-Romance purposes (Latin < DIARIU(M)), excluded.

25. (*)*De seguide*

Item attested in Bernese, used for Pan-Romance purposes (Latin < *SEQUITU(M)) only, excluded here: French only uses noun-based adverbials like *tout de suite*.

26. *À blanc*

[Quebec] [verb-adjacent; with semi-copula] “completely; to the extreme”

En me documentant sur l'histoire de la région, j'ai lu que suite à un grand feu dans certains secteurs, les arbres avaient brûlé à blanc “tous brûlé”. (“While researching the history of the area, I read that after a big fire in some areas, the trees had all burned.”).

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

Little known (1.3): 4/34 informants (12%) recognized this meaning, however in collocation with *bûcher* “log” [in reference to a forest] *bûcher à blanc* “cut the whole of a forest” (synonym *au complet* “completely”), whereas its adjectival usage ([Réf.] *faire une coupe à blanc*) is very well known (8.7). Ten informants (29%) explicitly associate the adverbial with the terminology of forestry. No generational differences could be identified. However, the recognition of the adverbial progressively regresses in quantitative terms from the eldest speaker group (9.3) to the youngest speaker group, where it is only well known (7.1)., whereas its felt frequency statistically regresses from the speaker group aged 66 or more to younger speakers.

Perceived frequency (B.1)

It is felt as frequent (7.3): 2 out of 4 informants (50% – both aged 30 to 45) who commented the item’s frequency consider the adverbial is not frequent (6.2), but the other 2 (50% – both aged 66 or more) consider it as frequent (9.0). This difference suggests a decrease of the item’s perceived frequency but is not confirmed by statistics.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital – (2.8): the adverbial is little vital, as opposed to the adjectival usage as in *faire une coupe à blanc* [Ref.], which is very vital (8.2). Data varies slightly between the different age groups: the item is little vital (1.1) in the groups of speakers aged 18 to 30 and 46 to 65, as well as for female informants (2.5), but rather vital (3.5 / 4.2 respectively) in the groups of speakers aged 30 to 45 and above 65 as well as for male informants (3.4).

These quantitative differences are confirmed by statistics when comparing each age group to one another. This is due to the fact that speakers under 30 and between 46 and 65 do not recognize the item, in addition to a difference in perception of its frequency (it is not frequent for both younger speakers but very frequent for both elder speakers who recognized it). There is a significant difference in vitality between both groups who did not recognize it and the other two groups ($p=0.01$ when compared with the upper age group; $p=0.04$ when compared to the group of speakers aged 30 to 45). In other words: considering its unexpected pattern of recognition but its excellent recognition above 65, the adverbial *à blanc* is statistically more vital above 65 and, secondarily, in the group of speakers aged 30 to 45.

This suggests decrease in usage in the examined dialect in apparent time (ongoing change). It is worthwhile to observe that the adjective usage [Ref.] (*coupe à blanc*) similarly displays a quantitative decrease in usage (though a higher recognition amongst male informants), following an expected pattern of ongoing change: it is very vital above 65 but only vital in all three age groups under 65, again notably due to a statistically confirmed increased perceived frequency in the eldest speaker group, along with a quantitative decrease of recognition. This is most probably due to extralinguistic factors insofar as forestry used to play a major economic role in the Saguenay–Lac-St-Jean area, whereas younger generations live in a more urbanized environment.

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

(I.)

- *À blanc* [Quebec] *chauffer à blanc* [in reference to a wood stove] “(to heat up) very strongly” (*chauffer*) (same meaning as above, but different collocation) has been recognized by 10/34 informants (29%): it is little known (3). Furthermore, it is felt as not frequent (3.8) according to all ten informants who commented its frequency.

- *À blanc* [Middle/Modern French, Ref.] (*chauffer, geler, buleter, rougir...*) [in reference to the colour] “so that it becomes white”, elicited with verbs such as *fourbir, geler*, has not been mentioned by the informants.

- *À blanc* (*saigner quelqu'un*) [Modern French Ref.] [ext.] [lexicalized] “depleting someone’s financial resources, taking all their money” has been recognized by 31/34 informants (91%): it is also very well known (9.0). Furthermore, it is felt as frequent (7.2): 4/8 informants consider it as not frequent, but the other four who commented its frequency consider it as frequent.

- *À blanc* (*voter*) [ext.] [Quebec] [lexicalized] “(to vote) without exception, almost unanimously” has not been recognized at all (0%).

- (*Tout*) *à blanc* [adjective] [West of France; Quebec] “completely covered (with water, snow, frost etc.)”, has not been recognized at all in this specific meaning (0%).

However, one elder informant from Saguenay (aged 80) mentioned the adverbial with a different meaning: “[in reference to wood] completely sandblasted” (not mentioned in our metalinguistic and textual corpus), notably in adjectival function (*Ma galerie [= balcon qui s’étend sur toute la façade d’une maison, pourvu d’un escalier qui descend jusqu’au sol] est tout à blanc*).

(II.)

- **À blanc** [Middle/Modern French, Ref.] [referring to a firearm] “without (live) ammunition” has been mentioned by 2/34 informants (6%) with the verb *tirer*: *tirer des balles à blanc* “shoot blanks”.
- **À blanc (tirer)** [very informal?] [lexicalized] “ejaculate sterile/infertile semen”, not mentioned in our metalinguistic and textual corpus, has been mentioned by three young informants in their thirties (9%).
- [Noun-based] **à bloc, à fond** [Ref.] (syn. of *à blanc* “completely; the extreme”), e.g. *chauffer le poêle à bloc, à fond*, has been mentioned by one informant who did not recognize this tested adverb *à blanc*.
- [Noun-based] **à net, à plat** [Quebec: East] (syn. of *à blanc* “completely; the extreme”), e.g. *brûler à net, brûler à plat* (Lavoie 1985: question 2028) “burn completely”, have been recognized by one informant, a younger man from Chicoutimi-Nord, butcher, who is not in direct contact with other varieties of French (no frequent or long travels) (3% – little known); however, he specified that he would not use it with the verb *brûler*. → also see *à noir*.
- [Short adverb, noun-based] **net** [Quebec?] (*brûler*) (same meaning) has been mentioned by another informant (3% – little known) as a synonym to *brûler à blanc/noir* “completely”.
- [C.2] [adjective] **en blanc** [Ref.] [nominalized] was mentioned by four informants: two younger informants mentioned *chèque en blanc* “blank check”, and two elders, *mariage en blanc* “symbolic wedding renewal”.

27. En clair

[Modern French, Ref.] [verb-adjacent; phrase modifier] “clearly, explicitly, intelligibly; clearly, to sum up”

Dire, écrire, exprimer en clair “en langage sans équivoque”. (“To say, write, express in clear, ‘unambiguously.’”)

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

En clair “clearly, explicitly, intelligibly” [Modern French, Ref.] (TLF, Antidote) has been recognized by 13/34 informants on a whole (38%): it is well known (3.9). More exactly, 8/34 informants (24%) recognize it as verb adjacent (manner adverb) (2.5: little known), 11 others (32%) (one of whom mentioned he associates the adverbial with elder informants) recognize its usage in phrase initial position (3.3: little known). In Reference French, the phrase modifier (“clearly, to sum up”) displays no restriction in usage, whereas its verb-adjacent usage seems more sporadic (Antidote for instance illustrates it only with a phrase modifier).

When both usages of the form are combined, the adverbial as a whole is still little known (2.9 / 1.8 respectively) by the groups of speakers aged 18 to 29 and 66 or more, but well known (5.9 / 5.0 respectively) by the groups of speakers aged 30 to 45 and 46 to 65. This age-distribution indicates the item’s legitimacy (belonging to the informants’ standard). The quantitative difference is partially confirmed by statistics when confronting age groups as compared to each other: the item is significantly better recognized by the group of speakers aged 30 to 45 than by the group of speakers aged 66 or more ($p=0.04$) (the difference with the other age groups is insignificant). This statistic difference does not indicate a clear increase in usage due to the item’s low recognition in the youngest group; it rather seems to indicate the item’s belonging to the speakers’ standard, at least in the inquired area.

Considering local recognition, one informant (male, aged 54) clearly states that the item is used in his dialect, though he considers it as rare and attributes it to speakers above 50.

Perceived frequency (B.1)

It is felt as not frequent (6.7) according to the only informant who commented the frequency of the phrase modifier. No data was collected for its verb-adjacent usage.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Rather vital (4.5): the adverbial is rather vital. However, data varies considerably between the different age groups: the item is rather vital (5.3) in the group of speakers aged 46 to 65 and vital (5.8) in the group of speakers aged 30 to 45, while it is only little vital (3.1 / 2.1 respectively) in the groups of speakers aged 18 to 29 and 66 or more.

However, this lower vitality in the youngest speaker group is merely quantitative. Indeed, confronting age groups as compared to each other shows that the item's vitality is only significantly different in the group of speakers aged 66 or more (low vitality) as compared to the speakers aged 46 to 65 ($p=0.03$) (rather vital) and more particularly to the speakers aged 30 to 45 ($p=0.02$) (vital).

This confirms data based on mere recognition. It clearly suggests an increase in usage in the examined dialect in apparent time (ongoing change) of this item belonging to Reference French.

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

- [C.2] *en/de clair* (*s'habiller*) [Modern French, Ref.] [with (semi-)copula] [semi-lexicalized] [ellipsis] “dress in light colors” is well known (4.4): it has been recognized by 16/34 informants (47%), one of whom mentioned she associates the adverbial with elder informants. This good recognition as opposed to the verb-adjacent adverbial and the phrase modifier used in initial position [Ref.] *en clair* could indicate a difference in frequency in Quebec. However, it is felt as not frequent (6.2) according to both informants who commented its frequency, even though it achieves a better recognition (well known) than the previous variants (little known).
- [C.2] [in reference to a metal surface] *frotter au clair* [Quebec (hapax?)] “rub hard, so that it shines” has not been recognized at all. This prepositional variant referring to the color (as *s'habiller de clair*) is only attested in Quebec in the 20th century in one text: “Il se mit à ramasser ses nippes, sortit dehors, frotta au clair les *lisses [= lames fixées au patin] de sa traine” (Savard, TLFQ, hapax).
- [C.1] *(tout) à clair* [Europe: Middle French; dialectal: North, West of France; America: Acadia, Quebec, Louisiana; creoles: Antilles] “clearly”. This initially selected adverbial tested with the sentence *Avez-vous déjà entendu dire que la leçon est écrite à clair?* “Have you ever heard that the lesson is written ‘in clear?’” is unknown (0.2). It is one of two prepositional adverbials built with *clair* that goes back to Middle French (DMF, FEW), next to *mettre au clair* (below).
- [C.1] *(tout) au clair* [verb-adjacent] [Modern French, Ref.] [lexicalized] *mettre au clair*, *tirer au clair* “clarify, bring out into the open” (a near-synonym to *en clair*, above), also attested in Louisiana French (DLF), has been recognized by all 34/34 informants (100%): it is very well known (9.8). It continues an a more widely used adverbial in Middle French where it was not reduced to a collocational use with *mettre* and *tirer*, as in Modern French: *(tout) au clair* “in an obvious manner, obviously”, in particular attested with verbs of perception (e.g., *regarder au clair*, *apercevoir au clair*) “up close, clearly” (cf. ...*Quant tout au cler Me veulz grever* [= peser lourd], Mach. 1377, DMF, FEW II/1: 740a).
- [C.2] [Ref., rare] *tirer à clair* “clarify, bring out into the open” (synonym of *tirer au clair*) has also only been recognized by 3/34 informants (9%).

Remark

Concerning the main item's local recognition (A.2), data is here based on inferential analysis. Indeed, the fieldworker could not clearly attribute the informants' answers for A.2> it was not clear if statements made during the inquiries concerned only recognition in general or also local recognition.

28. *À couvert*

[Middle French: 16th century; Quebec] (1.) [with semi-copula] “in a secret way” (secretly)

Pour éviter que les gens sachent ce qu'on fait, il faut parfois agir à couvert (“In order to prevent people from knowing what we're doing, we sometimes have to act covertly ‘secretly’.”)

Recognition (A.1)

Well known (5.3): it has been recognized by 18/34 informants (53%). This adverbial, exclusively attested in the 16th century (FEW) according to our corpus, survives in Quebec, probably under the semantic influence of *à couvert* [Réf.: archaic] “covered”: “under the protection of” (nowadays little known, II.2 below) and [Ref.] modern French *à couvert* “under the material protection of something that covers” (very well known, II.1 below), are widely attested in the speech of colons in Quebec in the 17th and 18th centuries (TLFQ; also see Modern French *marcher à couvert* “without anyone seeing you” (Stendhal, FEW II: 148b).

Local recognition (A.2)

Well known (5.0): it has been recognized locally by 16/32 informants (50%). It is however little known (3.6) by the speakers aged 66 or more.

Perceived frequency (B.1)

Felt as not frequent (5.5): 12/16 informants (75%) consider the adverbial as being not frequent; only four (25% – mainly younger informants aged 26, 35, 39 and 67) consider it as frequent. Nevertheless, it is considered as overall frequent (7.4) in the group of speakers aged 66 or more but not frequent by the other groups; this overall result is due to the fact that the majority of informants in these three age-groups considered the item as not frequent, whereas in the group of speakers aged 66 or more, only two informants answered, one considering it not frequent (50%), but the other, frequent (50%). This shows that quantitative data are to be considered with caution. Indeed, these quantitative differences are not confirmed by statistics. However, results clearly show that this item, though not attested in our written corpus from the 16th century onwards, is actually well known on Quebec according to our inquiries.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Rather vital (5.1): The adverbial is overall rather vital. However, data varies slightly between the different age groups: it is vital (5.7) in the group of speakers aged 46 to 65, but only rather vital (5.3 / 5.4 / 5.2) in the other three age groups. However, this higher vitality is merely quantitative (no statistical differences).

Other meanings

(2.) “covert, protected”

• 2.1 *À couvert* [Old French, Modern French since 17th century, Ref.: rare?] “under the cover or protection of” (e.g., *marcher à couvert* “without anyone seeing you”) has been recognized by only 11/34 informants (32%): it is little known (3.3). Furthermore, it is not frequent (6.2) according to both informants who commented its frequency.

• 2.2 *À couvert* ((se) mettre) [Modern French, Ref.] [semi-copula] [by restriction] “under the material protection of something that covers: in a protected place; out of the weather; out of sight” has been recognized by 30/34 informants (88%): it is very well known (8.7). However, it is not frequent (6.0): 15/23 informants considered the adverbial as not frequent, whilst only 8 consider it as frequent.

• 2.3 *À couvert* (cuire) [Modern French, Ref.] [lexicalized] “cover/cook with lid” has been recognized by 30/34 informants (88%): it is very well known (8.7). Furthermore, it is frequent (9.0) according to both informants who commented its frequency.

Other tested or mentioned adverbials built with the same stem (D)

(1.) [antonym] *à découvert* [Middle/Modern French, Ref.] “in the open, exposed, without hiding, transparently”

Pour résoudre une affaire, on dit parfois qu'il vaut mieux agir à découvert. (“solve a case, it is sometimes said that it is better to act in the open”.)

Recognition (A.1)

Overall, it is very well known (7.3): 25/34 informants (73%) recognized the adverb. More precisely, it is very well known (8.2) by the group of the youngest informants, aged 18 to 29, and well known (6.8 / 7.1 / 6.1) by the three groups of informants aged 30 or more.

Local Recognition (A.2)

Well known locally (6.9): 21/25 informants who recognized the adverbial say they have heard it locally. No data was collected for the other four informants.

Perceived frequency (B.1)

It is felt as frequent (7.0): 10/21 informants (48%) consider the adverbial as not frequent, and the other 11/21 (52%) consider it as frequent. More exactly, it is frequent for most groups but not frequent (6.9) for the group of speakers aged 46 and more (more particularly those aged 66 or more).

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital (7.0) in all age groups. This suggests stability in usage.

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned prepositional adverbials

(2.) *À découvert* (laisser un indice) [Modern French (since 17th century), Ref.] “(to leave a clue) without any obstacles between the eye and the object” has been recognized by 22/34 informants (65%): it is well known (6.4). However, it is felt as not frequent (4.6) according to all 6 informants who commented its frequency.

(3.) *À découvert* [Old/Middle/Modern French, Ref.] “without protection, without shelter” is little known. More precisely:

- *À découvert* (coucher “sleep”) (same meaning) has been recognized by 11/34 informants (32%): it is little known (3.3). However, it is felt as frequent (7.8): 3/9 informants consider the adverbial is not frequent, but 6/9 consider it as frequent.
- *À découvert* (combattre “fight”) [with semi-copula] (same meaning) has been recognized by only 6/34 informants (18%): it is little known (1.9). However, it is felt as frequent (7.0): 2/3 informants consider the adverbial as not frequent, the third considers it as frequent.

29. *En dernier*

[dialectal: West of France; Quebec, Louisiana; creoles; cf. au dernier Newfoundland] [phrase modifier] [outside an enumeration] “after consideration; ultimately, to finish” (Ref. “finally”)

En dernier, il s’était décidé pour porter une cravate. (“He ended up deciding to wear a tie.”)

Recognition (A.1)

Well known (4.7): 16/34 informants (47%) recognized the adverbial. Three informants mentioned that it is more common in the area to hear *finalement* “finally” in the same context.

Local recognition (A.2)

Well known locally (4.2): only two of the 16 informants who recognized the adverbial, two elder speakers, believe it is not used locally.

Perceived frequency (B.1)

It is felt as not frequent (6.5): 9/15 informants (60%) consider the adverbial as not frequent, and the other 6/15 (40%) consider it as frequent. More exactly, it is felt as not frequent in average, though as frequent by male informants (7.6) and by informants in the age group above 45 (7.5) and more clearly so by those in the age group above 65 (8.3). These quantitative differences are parallel to tendencies observed in terms of recognition, though again not backed up by statistics.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

The adverbial is rather vital (4.9). However, data varies considerably between the different age groups: the item is rather vital (3.4 / 4.8 respectively) in the group of speakers aged 30 to 45 and those aged 46 to 65 (as well as for female informants: 4.3), while it is vital (6.1 / 6.4 respectively) in the group of speakers aged 18 to 29 and those aged 66 or more (as well as for male informants: 5.6). Confronting age groups as compared to each other shows that the item’s vitality is significantly different in the group of speakers aged 66 or more (for whom it is vital) as compared to the group of speakers aged 30 to 45 (from whom it is only rather vital) ($p=0.03$) (the difference with the other age groups is insignificant). This statistical difference indicates a possible decrease in usage in the examined dialect in apparent time (ongoing change) of this North American dialectalism [Quebec, Newfoundland, Louisiana; creoles] of Western-European origin; however, this change is not confirmed by its (quantitatively) increased vitality in both extreme age groups (vital) as compared to both middle-aged groups (rather vital). Its quantitatively higher vitality in the group of male informants (due to quantitative tendencies, more exactly its better recognition in this group, which also perceives it as frequent) could indicate its belonging to the vernacular stock rather than to the learnt tradition, in coherence with historical data.

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

• *En dernier* (*souffrir...*) [dialectal: West of France; Quebec, Louisiana; creoles (Louisiana, Haiti)] [verb-adjacent] [outside an enumeration] “towards the end of a period, of a process” (in the end), in particular “(to suffer) at the end of one’s life” has been recognized by 24/34 informants (71%): it is well known (7.0). It is felt as frequent (7.9): only 7/25 informants consider the adverbial as not frequent; the other 18 consider it as frequent. It is slightly better recognized by male and elder speakers (though this quantitative difference is not backed up by statistics); parallel tendencies are observed in terms of frequency.

• *En dernier* [Modern French, Ref.] [within an enumeration] “after the others” has been recognized by all 34 informants (100%): it is very well known (9.8). It is also very frequent (9.7): 8/34 informants consider it as frequent, the other 26 consider it is very frequent.

30. *Par exprès*

[Middle/Modern French (up to 17th c.), Switzerland (Neuchâtel); Acadia, Quebec; creoles: Greater Antilles] [verb-adjacent] “on purpose”

Parfois les enfants font des bêtises par exprès, cela leur permet de tester des choses. (“Sometimes children do stupid things on purpose, it allows them to test things.”)

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

Very well known (9.8): it has been recognized by all 34 informants (100%). Interestingly, 25/34 informants pronounce it /ɛkspRɛ/, one of whom admitted also pronouncing it /espRɛ/ sometimes, and 7/34 pronounce it /ɛksipRɛ/.

Perceived frequency (B.1)

It is felt as very frequent (9.4): 16/32 informants (50%) consider the adverbial is frequent, whereas the other 16 informants who commented its frequency (50%) consider it as very frequent. More precisely, it is felt as very frequent in average, though only as frequent in the group of speakers above 45 (9.2 the category’s upper limit) and more particularly in the group of speakers above 65 (8.9); this could possibly suggest a possible hint towards increase in usage. However, these quantitative differences are not backed up by statistics.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital + (9.5): the adverbial is very vital in all age groups, in spite of a slight (merely quantitatively) reduced perceived frequency in the two upper age groups, which could possibly suggest a possible hint towards increase in usage. This suggests stability in usage.

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

- *Exprès* [short adverb] [Ref.] (same meaning) has been recognized by all 34 informants (100%). It is also felt as very frequent (9.4): amongst the eight informants who commented its frequency (mainly women), four consider the adverbial as frequent and the remaining four consider it as very frequent.

31. *En grand*

[Quebec: ageing?] [verb-adjacent; with semi-copula] (2.2) [adverbial of intensity and quality] “in an exaggerated, showy way” (also e.g. “spend a lot on a party”) (*faire les choses en grand(e); voir les choses en grand(e); fêter en grand(e)...*) (Ref. *en grande pompe*)

Peut-on faire les choses en grand? (“Can one do things *in big?”)

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

Very well known (9.8): it has been recognized by all 34 informants (100%). None of the informants used or mentioned the phonetic variant rendered in *en grande*.

Perceived frequency (B.1)

It is felt as frequent (9.1): 6/8 informants (75%) consider the adverbial is frequent, and the other 2/8 (25%) consider it is very frequent.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital + (9.3): the adverbial is very vital, in all age groups.

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

(1) [Adverbial of intensity]

- 1.1 **En grand** [Acadia, Quebec] (cf. West of France 19th-20th century *grand*) “a lot, much; [used for emphasis], extremely” (really; very) [with full verbs] (e.g. *manger en grand, travailler en grand, pousser en grand; C’était bon en grand...*); [with copula] (e.g. *être laid en grand, être beau en grand, être bête en grand, être malade en grand...*) has been recognized by 7/34 informants (mostly women) (21%): it is little known (2.2). Furthermore, it is felt as not frequent (6.2) according to both informants who commented its frequency; the frequency of the adverbials use with full verbs (“a lot”, e.g. *manger, travailler, pousser*) has not been tested.

- 1.2 **En grand** [West of France; Acadia: maritime; Quebec; Ref.: marine] “completely” (e.g., *se tromper*) has been recognized by only 5/34 informants (15%): it is little known (1.6). Furthermore, it is felt as not frequent (6.7) according to the only informant who commented its frequency.

- 1.3 **En grand** [Quebec] [with full verbs] “in reality, in real” [also used to emphasize another adjective or adverbial or an opinion or statement you are saying] (really, truly) (Réf. *vraiment*)

[phrase modifier in final position] *Au sujet d’une rénovation, j’ai entendu un voisin dire: ça va faire une belle maison en grand.* (“Concerning a renovation, I heard a neighbor say: this will become a really nice house.”)

Recognition (A.1/A.2)

Little known (1.9): the adverbial has only been recognized by 6/34 informants (18%), all aged between 57 and 76: the adverb’s recognition is clearly age-dependent: it is well known (3.8) by the elder informants (46+ years old), but unknown (0.4) by the younger informants (18-45 years old).

This age-correlation is statistically significant when comparing the two major age groups ($p=0.01$, weak dependency), though it is not confirmed statistically when comparing four age groups. This statistical difference corresponds to expected general tendencies according to which informants in the upper age group are considered as potential linguistic conservators as compared to their previous life stages, which also includes the preservation of vernacular forms (Wissner forthcoming), which the tested dialectalism may belong to. It is to be noticed that three of the six elder informants who recognize the item belong to the group of informants aged 46 to 65 (the informants’ exact ages are 57-59-61-67-69-76); yet, all three are retired, and are therefore expected to display the same tendencies. However, the fact that the only two informants aged 80 or more (two men who had mainly had manual occupations) do not recognize the item does not seem to be relevant.

Perceived frequency (B.1)

The adverbial is not frequent (4.6) according to all six informants (100%) who commented its frequency.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital – (2.6): the adverbial is little vital. However, data varies considerably between the different age groups: the item is not vital amongst younger speakers aged 18 to 45 (0.6), who did not recognize it at all, but rather vital amongst elder speakers aged 46 or more (4.0) (all speakers who recognized it are aged between 57 and 76). Statistically, this age-correlation is significant ($p=0.001$, strong dependency; even $p<0.001$, high dependency according to the *t*-test). Furthermore, it is not vital (0.9) in the group of speakers aged 30 to 45, while it is little

vital (1.1) in the group of speakers aged 18 to 29, and rather vital (4.4) in the group of speakers aged 46 to 65 and those aged 66 or more. There is a significant age-correlation ($p=0.02$, weak dependency) for vitality between the group of speakers aged 30 to 45 and the mean of the other age groups. More precisely, confronting age groups as compared to each other shows that the item's vitality is significantly different ($p=0.01$) between the group of speakers aged 18 to 29 and 30 to 45, on the one hand, and the speakers aged 46 to 65 and 66 or more, on the other.

- 1.4 **En grand** [Quebec] [phrase modifier, in absolute usage] “in reality, in real” has not been recognized at all. This confirms that 1.3 modifies the verb rather than the phrase.

(2) [Adverbial of intensity and quality]

- 2.1 **En grand** [Quebec] “just, pleasantly, with excellence”. (*parler en grand* “speak in a chastened way”) has also only been recognized by 3/34 informants (9%). Furthermore, it is felt as not frequent (6.2) according to both informants who commented its frequency.

- 2.2 **En grand(e)** (*faire les choses en grand(e)...*): see main item

- 2.3 **En grand** (*servir la messe*) [Quebec: traditionnal] [lexicalized] “perform the duties of a thurifer / ceremonialist” has been recognized by only 1/34 informants (3%), who however mentioned that the adverbial was widely used in the past; it is little known (0.8). In the same paradigm, the lexicalized expression *server la messe en petit* “help a priest perform ceremonial duties as an acolyte” has not been recognized at all. It is felt as not frequent (6.7) according to the only informant who commented its frequency.

- 2.4 **En grand(e)** (*partir*) [Quebec] [lexicalized] [formal variant] [semi-copula] “get carried away (in word or in thought)” is very well known (8.4): it has been recognized by 29/34 informants (85%); five of them mentioned you could also hear *partir en grand*. Furthermore, it is felt as frequent (7.3): 2/4 informants consider the adverbial is not frequent, but the other two consider it as frequent.

(3) **En grande** (*se mettre/être*) [Quebec] [(semi)-copula] [lexicalized] [formal variant] “shift into high gear; speed up; hurry” has been recognized by 12/34 informants (35%): it is little known. Furthermore, it is felt as not frequent (6.2) according to both informants who commented its frequency.

- [C.1] [formal variant] [nominalized] (4) **à la grande** [Ref.: old] (*vivre à la grande*) “in an exaggerated, showy way” (formal variant of [Quebec] *en grande*) has been recognized by only one informant, an elder man (aged 67) from Saguenay (3%): it is little known (0.8). According to Reference French, it is old too (TLF).

- [C.2] [formal variant] [nominalized] (5) **à la grandeur** [Acadia, Quebec] “completely” (e.g., *peinturer, ouvrir...*) has been recognized by all 34 informants (100%): it is very well known (9.8). Furthermore, two informants mentioned that they consider it as being frequent (9.0).

Remark

Concerning the main item's local recognition (A.2), data has not been collected explicitly; its local recognition has therefore been obtained and interpreted by inference considering data on recognition (A.1) and on verbal and non-verbal hints observed during the inquiries.

Concerning the recognition of 1.3 *en grand*, it could not be clarified during the inquiries if the informants interpreted *en grand* rather as an adverbial of manner ([verb-adjacent] “in reality”), or to emphasize another adjective or adverbial or an opinion or statement (phrase modifier, “really really”); both usages correspond to Reference French *vraiment*.

32. *À lège, alége, alège, allège*

[dialectal: Normandy; North-America] [verb-adjacent, with (semi-)copula, adjective] “unloaded, without loading [of materials]”

Hier j’ai observé un chantier où des camions partaient avec leur charge et revenaient à lège. (“Yesterday I observed a building site where trucks were leaving with their loads and returned empty.”)

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

Very well known (9.2): 32/34 informants (94%) recognized the adverb. 23 informants mentioned the adverbial can be used with the verb *voyager*, 19 with the verbs *partir/(re)venir*, and only two with the verb *magasiner*. [B.3] Eight of them associate this usage with the construction field, and/or the industrial field, particularly with the language of workers and truckers.

Perceived frequency (B.1)

It is felt as frequent (8.4): 5/32 informants (16%) consider the adverbial as not frequent, 26/32 others (81%) consider it as frequent, and only 1/32 (3%) considers it as very frequent.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital + (8.8): the adverbial is very vital in all age groups. This suggests stability in usage.

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

- *Allège* [Quebec] [(semi-)copula, adjective] (metonymic) [in reference to any kind of vehicle] “empty, without any people or animals on board” (*Embarquez dans ma voiture, je suis à lège*), though mentioned without any restriction for Quebec French at the end of the 20th century (DHFQ), is only little known (2.7): it has only been recognized by 9/34 informants (26%).
- *Allège* (*marcher/tourner*) [by analogy] [Quebec] “(for an engine, a mechanism) to operate in neutral, at idle, uselessly”, indeed mentioned without any restriction for Quebec French at the end of the 20th century (DHFQ), is well known (3.9): it has been recognized by 13/34 informants (38%).
- *À lège* (*revenir*) [agriculture] [Quebec: Saguenay–Lac-St-Jean] “without carrying or dragging any load, with no weight” (*revenir à lège, faire un bout à lège* “come back/progress without ploughing”) has not been recognized at all (0%).
- *À lège* [by analogy] [Quebec] [(semi-)copula] “with an empty stomach”, though mentioned without any restriction for Quebec French at the end of the 20th century (DHFQ), has only been recognized by 1/34 informants (3%): it is little known (0.8). Furthermore, it is felt as not frequent (6.7) according to the only informant who recognized it.
- *Allège* [figurative] [Quebec] [(semi-)copula] “at ease; free of any constraint, of any embarrassment”, though mentioned without any restriction for Quebec French at the end of the 20th century (DHFQ who suggest a heritage from France even though it is attested writing only since 1920), has not been recognized at all (0%). S20, a woman aged 26 with high language awareness, mentioned she uses *à l’aise* (same meaning) instead of *allège*, for instance when traveling with few or no luggage (phonetic attraction reinforced by parasyonymy with Modern French *à l’aise*, TLF, cf. Old and Middle French *a aise*, TL, DMF).
- *Allège* (*faire un voyage*) [Quebec] “without bringing anything, without having obtained any result” (*empty-handed*) – though mentioned as ageing (‘veilli’) for Quebec French at the end of the 20th century (DHFQ 44 III.2, see above) – has been recognized by 28/34 informants

(82%): it is very well known (8.1). The semantic restriction [Quebec: Saguenay] synonymic to *faire un voyage bredouille* “come back empty-handed from the hunt” has not been tested explicitly.

- **Allège** [ext.] (*revenir*) [Quebec] “without having reached the desired goal” (similar meaning as above but in collocation with *revenir*), mentioned as out of usage (‘veilli’) for Quebec French at the end of the 20th century (DHFQ 44 III.2), is only little known (1.6): it has been recognized by only 5/34 informants (15%); one more informant was not sure. However, only three of them are aged 57 or older: for the Saguenay–Lac-St-Jean, this age-distribution does not allow to confirm or infirm any diachronic restriction. Most informants specified that they rather hear [Ref.] *revenir bredouille*.

- **Allège** [adjective] [in reference to vehicles such as boats, canoes or cars] “empty, without cargo” has not been tested explicitly.

33. *Au long*

[Middle/Modern French, Ref. aged; Quebec: without restriction] [verb-adjacent] “at length, in detail”

Dans l’aéroport, une femme bavarde s’étendait (bien) au long sur son sort. (“In the airport, a talkative woman spoke at length about her fate.”)

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

Little known (1.0): only 3/34 informants recognized the adverb.

Perceived frequency (B.1)

Felt as not frequent (5.8) according to all 3 informants (100%) who commented its frequency.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital – (2.2): the adverbial is little vital in all age groups. This suggests stability in usage.

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

- **Tout au long** [Middle/Modern French, Ref.] “during the entire period” has been mentioned by two informants (6%).

- [C.2] **en/sur le long** (*avoir les côtes*) [lexicalized] [Quebec] “lazy; skinny; stiff” has been recognized by two informants (6% - little known), more exactly with the meaning “skinny”; a third informant recognized it, but attributes a literal meaning to it: [Ref.] “lying”. It is felt as not frequent (6.2) according to both of them.

- [C.2] **en long** (*tirer*) [Quebec?] “stretch over time; last beyond what is necessary” (cf. Modern French (17th century) *en long* “for (too) long”) has been mentioned by two (younger) informants (6%), who consider it as not frequent (6.2).

- [C.2] **en long et en large** [Modern French (since 17th century), Ref.] “in depth” has been recognized by 30/34 informants (88%): it is very well known (8.7).

- [C.1] **de long en large** [Modern French (since 19th century), Ref.] [with enunciative verbs] “at length, in detail”: see *large*.

- [C.1] **sur le long** and **sur le large** [Ref.]: see *large*.

- [C.1] **en long et en large** [Ref.]: see *large*.

- [C.1] **sur le long et/puis sur le large** [Quebec]: see *large*.

- [C.2] *en longueur (tirer)* [Ref.] “stretch over time; last beyond what is necessary” has been mentioned by two other informants (6%).
- [C.2] *à la longue* [Ref.] “over time” has also been mentioned by two different informants (6%).

34. *En neuf*

[Quebec; creole: Sainte-Lucie] [adverbial of manner] [verb-adjacent; with semi-copula] “in a different way, on new bases; as if it were the first time” (*recommencer tout en neuf, repartir en neuf, se repogner [=se ressaisir] en neuf, ...*) (Ref. à nouveau “afresh”)

Parfois on dit que c'est mieux de revenir sur le passé et de recommencer en neuf. (“Sometimes they say it’s better to go back and start fresh.”)

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

Very well known (7.5): 26/34 informants (76%) recognized the adverbial used with a full verb, interpreted as an adverbial of time “from the beginning”. More precisely, it is very well known (8.5, 9.3 respectively) by the groups of informants aged 30 to 45 and 66 or more, but well known (5.0, 6.1 respectively) by the groups of informants aged 18 to 29 and 46 to 65. This quantitative difference, which does not follow expected patterns, is partially confirmed by statistics when confronting age groups as compared to each other: the item is significantly better recognized by the group of speakers aged 66 or more than by the group of speakers aged 18 to 29 ($p=0.04$) (the difference with the other age groups is insignificant).

13 informants declared they pronounce the final consonant (as in Reference French), whereas eight declared they pronounce it without the final consonant (consonant elision $[-\text{œ}]$), four of whom add that they alternate between both pronunciations. Two informants mentioned it is more common for them to say or hear *à neuf* (with the final consonant) instead. One informant mentions the expression is currently associated with the verb *repartir* (*repartir en neuf*).

The adverbial is mentioned without restriction by TLF, who quotes Gide, but it does not seem well known in France according to an informal inquiry; the dictionary Usito mentions this usage as figurative (without restriction) but quotes a Quebec author (Parizeau 1981). However, Antidote clearly attributes it to Quebec French, describing it as “little frequent”: *repartir à neuf, repartir à zéro* “start over, start afresh” (Antidote).

Perceived frequency (B.1)

It is felt as frequent (7.3): 11/26 informants (42%) consider the adverbial is not frequent, 14/26 others (54%) consider it as frequent, and only 1/26 (4%) informant considers it is very frequent. More exactly, it is overall felt as frequent as well as by most age-groups (46+; 30-45, 46-65, 66+) and by female informants, but it is not considered as frequent by the group of speakers aged 45 or less and more particularly under 30 as well as by male informants (6.7 / 5.0 / 6.9). However, these quantitative differences are not confirmed statistically.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital (7.3): The adverbial is overall vital. Data varies considerably between the different age groups: it is vital amongst the group of speakers aged 45 or less (6.9), but very vital amongst the group of speakers aged (7.6). However, this quantitative difference is not confirmed by statistics. More exactly, it is rather vital (5.0) in the group of speakers aged 18 to 29, vital (6.4) in the group of speakers aged 46 to 65, and very vital (8.0 / 8.3 respectively) in the group of speakers aged 30 to 45 and those aged 66 or more. These quantitative differences do not follow expected patterns. The comparison of age groups as compared to each other also

shows that the item's vitality is significantly lower in the group of speakers aged 18 to 29 (only rather vital) as compared to the group of speakers aged 30 to 45 ($p=0.03$) and even more so to the group of speakers aged 66 or more ($p=0.01$) (very vital). This is clearly due to the statistical difference in recognition by the group of speakers aged 66 or more as compared to the group of speakers aged 18 to 29 ($p=0.04$), as well as the item's perceived low frequency amongst younger speakers (under 46) and more particularly so in the group of speakers aged 29 or less (not frequent), whereas it is overall felt as frequent, and more particularly so in the group of speakers aged 46 or more. Insofar as results are clearly different amongst the younger speakers, this decrease, which is not linear, shows a loss of vitality in the youngest speaker group, more particularly as compared to the eldest speaker group (ongoing change).

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

- **En neuf** (1) [Modern French, Ref.: rare] “making something look like new (when renovating)” (*refaire, remettre (tout) en neuf*) has been recognized by 32/34 informants (94%): it is very well known (9.2). However, no-one mentioned (2) [with (semi-)copula] “with new things” as in *s’habiller en neuf*.
- [C.1] **à neuf, tout à neuf** [Quebec] “in a different way, on new bases; as if it were the first time” (*recommencer, repartir à neuf*) – has been explicitly mentioned by 5/34 informants (15%): it is little known (1.6); one of them (S2) only recognized this specific meaning. When excluding the uncertain responses combining both meanings, the item *à neuf* “afresh” displays a recognition of 5/34: it is also little known (1.6). None of informants commented the item's frequency.
- [C.2] **à neuf, tout à neuf** [Modern French 18th century, France 20th century: regional (East), Quebec; Ref. sporadic] “making something look like new (when renovating); with new things” (*refaire, remettre (tout) à neuf*) has been recognized like *en neuf*, by 32/34 informants (94%): it is very well known (9.2). Furthermore, it is felt as very frequent (9.4): 2/4 informants who commented its frequency considered the adverbial is frequent, and the other 2/4 consider it is very frequent. However, for this formal variant, the informants' recognition could also potentially refer to another meaning “afresh”; indeed, in most cases, due to situational constraints, the inquiry did not allow to clearly distinguish if informants recognized only the first meaning “with new things” or both meanings “with new things” and “afresh”.
- [C.2] **de neuf, tout de neuf** [Old/Middle/Modern French, Ref.] “making something look like new (when renovating); with new things” (*tout refaire de neuf*) has been recognized by 8/34 informants (24%) in its first meaning, “making something look like new”: it is little known (2.5). Furthermore, it is felt as not frequent (6.2) according to both informants who commented its frequency. It has further been recognized in its second meaning “with new things” by one informant (a woman in her twenties), as in *être vêtu tout de neuf* (3%): it is also little known (0.5).

35. À noir

[Quebec, traditional] [verb-adjacent] “completely, in full” (parasyn. *à blanc*)

Peut-on alors aussi brûler une forêt à noir “de fond en comble”? (“Is it also possible to burn a black forest from top to bottom?”)

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

Unknown (0.2): none of the informants recognized the adverb; it is not vital (0.3).

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

- *À noir* [Quebec] (*vider quelque chose*) “empty something completely, from top to bottom” has not been recognized at all (0%).
- *À noir* [Quebec] (*voter*) [ext.] [lexicalized] “(to vote) almost unanimously” has not been recognized at all (0%).
- *Au noir* (*travailler/payer*) [Modern French, Ref.: very contemporary, informal] [nominalized] “work/pay illegally, undeclared” has been mentioned by 19/34 informants (56%): it is well known (5.6).
- [synonym] *à net, à plat* [Quebec: East] (syn. of *à noir* “completely”): see *à blanc*.

36. *Au parfait*

[Middle/Modern French: old; dialectal: Centre, West of France; Acadia, Quebec] [verb-adjacent; with semi-copula] “to perfection, in every possible way or to the greatest possible degree” (perfectly, fully)

Une personne méticuleuse arrive à imiter les autres au parfait. (“A meticulous person manages to imitate others perfectly.”)

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

Little known (0.5): Only 1/34 informant recognized the adverbial, a woman in the late fifties who is not in direct contact with other varieties of French (only short travels, mainly in French-speaking Quebec).

Perceived frequency (B.1)

It is felt as not frequent (6.7) according to the only informant who commented its frequency, a woman in the late fifties who is not in direct contact with other varieties of French (only short travels, mainly in French-speaking Quebec).

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital – (2.1): the adverbial is little vital. Differences in the item’s age and gender distribution – it is vital only in the group of speakers aged 45 to 65 (difference of $p=0.03$ with the group of speakers aged 30 to 45) and amongst female informants ($p=0.01$) – are statistical, though not considered relevant here as they are based on only one positive answer (from a retired female nurse from Laterrière, aged 57).

Remark

Considering mere statistics of item’s vitality, it is striking that data varies considerably between the different age groups: the item is not vital (0.9) in the group of speakers aged 30 to 45, while it is little vital (1.1 / 3.2 / 1.1) in the other three age groups (which the only person who recognized the item belongs to). Statistically, the age-correlation is insignificant ($p=0.14$) between the younger (18-45) and the elder (46+) speakers according Roy’s calculator (vitality sheet), though significant according to the calculator’s t -test ($p=0.008$, weak dependency). The comparison of age groups as compared to each other also shows that the item’s vitality is significantly different in the group of speakers aged 30 to 45 as compared to the groups of speakers aged 46 to 65 ($p=0.03$). The data also varies significantly between both gender groups: the adverbial is not vital (0.6) for the male speakers but little vital (2.5) for the female speakers. More precisely, there’s a statistically significant gender-correlation ($p=0.01$, weak dependency) for the vitality in the female and male speakers.

37. *À la rebours*

[Modern French: very informal (16th-19th c.), dialectal (20th c.): West and East of France; North America: Acadia, Quebec, Louisiana] [verb-adjacent; with semi-copula] “in the wrong way, in revers, unlike, the other way around” (Ref. “backwards, the wrong way”)

Pour critiquer, peut-on aussi dire de quelqu'un qu'il fait les affaires à la rebours? (“In order to criticize somebody, can we also say that person is doing things the wrong way?”)

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

In a non-technical situation of use, *à la rebours* “the wrong way”, tested with the verb *faire les affaires* has been recognized by 1/34 informants, an aged man (81) who is not in direct contact with other varieties of French (3%): it is little known (0.5). The initially technical usage (forestry) with the verb *bûcher* “notch badly” – tested with the sentence *Pour exploiter une forêt, il faut veiller à ne pas bûcher à la rebours* “to exploit a forest, you have to take care not to badly notch the tree that is to be felled” – is unknown (0.2).

Perceived frequency (B.1)

It is felt as not frequent (6.7) according to the only informant who commented its frequency, an aged man (81) who is not in direct contact with other varieties of French.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital – (1.4): the adverbial is little vital. Differences in the item’s age and gender distribution – it is vital only in the group of speakers aged 66 or more (difference of $p=0.03$ with the group of speakers aged 30 to 45) and amongst male informants ($p=0.01$) – are statistical. However, they are not considered relevant here as they are based on only one positive answer, from a retired plumber (from Saint-Honoré, aged 81), who is not in direct contact with other varieties of French; he can therefore be considered as particularly reliable to inform on his local dialect.

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

- *À rebours* [since Old French; Ref.] (same meaning) has not been recognized at all.
- *Au rebours* [Middle/Modern French, Ref.: old] (same meaning) has not been recognized at all.
- [C.1] *De rebours* [Middle/Modern French (16th-17th century)] (same meaning) has not been recognized by four informants during test inquiries.
- [Formal variant] *À la rebrousse (de)* [Quebec] (same meaning) has not been recognized by four informants during test inquiries.
- [C.2] *de rebours* [dialectal: West of France; Quebec] “in a bad mood, moodily, out of temper” has not been mentioned by the informants.

Remark

Concerning the main item’s local recognition (A.2), it is to be added that data was not collected directly. Therefore, for this specific item, the data used for local recognition has been obtained and interpreted by inference with the recognition (A.1) data and the interviews (the informant who recognized it did not consider it to be strange or borrowed, but rather ‘little frequent’ and ‘old’).

When considering mere statistics in reference to the main item’s vitality, it is to be noted that data varies considerably between the different age groups: the item is not vital (0.9) in the group of speakers aged 30 to 45, while it is little vital (1.1 / 1.1 / 3.2) in the other three age groups. Statistically, the age-correlation is insignificant ($p=0.14$) between the younger (18-45)

and the elder (46+) speakers according to Roy's calculator ('Vitality - 2 & 4 age groups' tab). However, according to Welch's *t*-test, the same age-correlation is significant ($p=0.008$, weak dependency). The comparison of age groups as compared to each other also shows that the item's vitality is significantly different in the group of speakers aged 30 to 45 as compared to the groups of speakers aged 66 or more ($p=0.03$). The data also varies significantly between both gender groups: the adverbial is not vital (0.6) for the female speakers but little vital (2.5) for the male speakers. More precisely, there's a statistically significant gender-correlation ($p=0.01$, weak dependency) for the vitality in the female and male speakers.

The item's prepositional usage *à la rebours du bon sens* (same meaning) has not been recognized at all.

38. *De travers*

[Middle/Modern French, Ref.] [verb-adjacent; with semi-copula] "the wrong way round"

J'ai lu que lors de l'intense exploitation des forêts dans la région, il était important de ne pas bûcher de travers "mal entailler (arbre)". ("I read that during the intense exploitation of the forests in the region, it was important not to badly notch the trees.")

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

Very well known (9.2): Only 2/34 informants did not recognize the adverb (94%). More precisely, it is very well known (9.3, 9.4, 9.3 respectively) by the groups of informants aged 18 to 29 and 30 to 45, but also 66 or more; it is only well known (7.1) by the group of informants aged 46 to 65. 16 informants paired the adverbial with the verb *faire quelque chose* "do something" and 13 other associations were established between the adverbial and the verb *agir* "act".

Perceived frequency (B.1)

It is felt as frequent (8.4): 3/20 informants (15%) consider the adverbial as not frequent, and the other 17/20 (85%) consider it as frequent.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital + (8.8): The adverbial is very vital. Data varies slightly between the different age groups: the group of speakers aged 46 to 65 is the only one that displays a lower vitality (only vital: 7.1), while it is very vital (8.3 / 8.6 / 8.3) in the other three age groups. This quantitative difference is not confirmed by statistics. This suggests stability in usage.

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

- *De travers* [Middle/Modern French, Ref.] [by semantic extension] "obliquely, on the side, in the direction of the width", tested with the verb *labourer* "plough on the side" has been recognized by 8/34 informants (24%).

- [C.2] *sur le travers* [Modern French: France: sporadic] [nominalized] (same meaning), also tested with the verb *labourer* [Quebec: technical?] "plough on the side", has been recognized by 8/34 informants (24%).

- *De travers* [semi-copula] [figurative] [Middle/Modern French, Ref.] "incorrectly, the wrong way" tested with the sequences *aller de travers (en voiture)* "drive poorly, zigzag", *s'habiller de travers* "dress crooked, askew, not in the right way" and [Modern French, Ref.] *tout va de travers* "nothing goes as planned", have been recognized by all 34 informants: it is very well known (9.8).

- **De travers** (*être*) [copula] [Quebec] “in contradiction (with others)” (*Il y a des gens qui sont toujours de travers dans les timons*), is very well known (8.4): it has been recognized by 29/34 informants (85%). It is also felt as frequent (7.0): 2/3 informants who commented its frequency considered the adverbial is not frequent, the other considers it as frequent.

- **De travers** (*être*) [metonymic] [semi-copula] [Quebec, Louisiana] “cross or ill-humored, grouchy, in a bad mood” (e.g. *se lever de travers* “get up in a bad mood”) is very well known (9.0): it has been recognized by 31/34 informants (91%) (though found in current literature for Louisiana, not Quebec). It seems of European anchorage considering Modern French and Ref. *mettre son bonnet de travers* (same meaning), where it is now old (FEW XIII/2: 223b; TLF).

- [C.2] **À travers** (*aller*) [Middle French, Modern French: Quebec, Louisiana] ‘wrong, not in the right way’ has been recognized by three informants (9%): it is little known (1.0).

- [C.2] **Au travers** [copula] [Quebec] ‘amongst’ (*Il y a quelques pommes au travers qui ne sont pas bonnes*) has also been recognized by all 34 informants: it is very well known (9.8).

Remark

The adverbial coexists with prepositional usages:

- [C.2] [prep.] **en travers** (*être*) [copula] [Quebec] *être en travers des autres* “in contradiction with others, different from others” and [Louisiana] *être en travers* “grouchy” have not been mentioned by the informants.

- [C.2] [prep.] [Ref.] **en travers de** (*rester*) [copula] [Ref] *rester en travers (d’un chemin)* “diagonally” has been recognized by 30/34 informants (88%): it is very well known (8.7).

39. (P’)en toute

[Acadia, Quebec, Ontario] (adverbial of negation) “not at all”

*J’en veux pas **pantoute**; Je lui en ai pas prêté **pantoute**; Le bois se tient pas **pantoute** [est pourri, séché]; -T’as-tu suivi des cours de langues? -**Pantoute**. (“I don’t want any; I didn’t lend it to him at all; The wood is rotten, dried out; -Did you take language classes? -No, not at all.”)*

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

The adverbial **pantoute** used to reinforce another negation in final position has been recognized by all 34 informants (100%): it is very well known (9.8). All 34 informants exclusively use the univerbized adverbial **pantoute**. Nobody explicitly recognized or mentioned its historical compounds as in the transcription <pas en tout(e)>. The latter is still attested in North America ([Acadia, Newfoundland, Quebec, Louisiana]) in the 20th century, in dictionary entries (Dionne 1909, DQF, Brousseau 2001: 337, GraCoFal: 153) including in the metadiscourse (ALEC, Dulong 1989); it is of European origin, where it is attested in Middle French in the West of France (DMF) – which also knew *point en tout* (DMF), kept in the 20th century only in dialects (Normandy, Centre) (FEW IX: 593), and sporadically in Modern French up to the 20th century (TLF).

Two informants explicitly confirm its absolute usage (–*Pantoute*.), which was also used by another informant (S25) spontaneously during the inquiry in response to another question.

Perceived frequency (B.1)

It is considered as very frequent (9.9). This estimation is based on inferential analysis considering the informants’ answers on its recognition.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital + (9.6): the adverbial is very vital in all age groups. This confirms stability in usage.

***Pantoute* (simple negation adverb)**

The initially targeted item *pantoute* as an adverbial of negation used without another adverbial of negation (e.g. *pas*) (*J'en veux pantoute*) has only been recognized by one informant (3% – little known adverb), who specified that it is only used by adolescents. This underlines not only the adverb's full univerbation insofar as the agglutinated *pas* is not perceived anymore, but also the adverb's belonging to the informants' standard (norm of usage) since it requires the presence of the negative particle, following the formal written norm of Reference French.

The simple negation adverb is not frequent (6.7) according to the only informant who commented its frequency; more exactly, the latter attributes this usage to adolescents, attribution which hints at its informality.

Remark

With regards to the item's local recognition (A.2), data was not collected directly. Therefore, for this specific item, the data used for local recognition has been obtained and interpreted by inference with the recognition (A.1) data and the interviews.

40. *En premier*

[France: Anglo-Norman, Old Provençal, Middle-Dauphine (archaic), dialectal and regional in Modern French in France: South-East, Central-West; Acadia, Quebec, Ontario] [verb-adjacent, phrase modifier] [outside an enumeration] “initially, first of all, at the beginning” (Ref. synonym *tout d'abord*)

Un témoin m'a dit que pour donner son âge, il fallait en premier qu'il compte. (“An interviewee told me that in order to give his age, he first had to count.”)

Recognition (A.1)

Very well known (8.7): 30/34 informants (88%) recognized the adverb. More precisely, it is very well known (8.5, 8.2, 9.3 respectively) by informants aged 30 to 45, 46 to 65 and 66 or more, but only well known (7.1) by informants aged 18 to 29.

Local recognition (A.2)

Very well known locally (8.1): 28/34 informants (82%) also recognized it as a locally used adverb.

Perceived frequency (B.1)

It is felt as frequent (8.2): 6/28 informants (21%) consider the adverbial is not frequent, 21 others (75%) consider it as frequent and one informant (a younger woman) (4%) considers it as very frequent. Altogether, it is more frequent for women ($p=0.04$, weak dependency); yet, this difference is not statistically relevant when using Barlow's method (8.5 exceeds 7.9). Furthermore, in both gender groups, the item remains in the same category (frequent).

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital + (8.3): The adverbial is overall very vital. Data varies slightly depending on the speakers' age and gender: the item is only vital (7.2 / 7.7 / 7.7) in the younger group of speakers aged 18 to 29, 30 to 45 and 46 to 65 (and for male informants, 7.5) while it is clearly

very vital (8.3 / 8.6) above 65 as well as amongst female informants. These quantitative differences are not confirmed by statistics. This suggests stability in usage.

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

- **En premier** [see above] [phrase modifier in initial position] (same meaning) (*En premier, je ne voulais pas*) has been recognized by 21/34 informants (62%): it is well known (6.1). However, it is felt as not frequent (4.4) according to all seven informants who commented its frequency. Two informants mentioned that it is more common in the area to hear or say *au début* in the same context.
- **En premier** [see above] [phrase modifier in final position] (same meaning) (*Pour eux c'était un droit acquis, en premier*) has been recognized by 14/34 informants (41%); it is also well known (4.2).
- **En premier** [Acadia (notably Nova Scotia); also Quebec, Ontario, Louisiana; creole: Haiti] "in olden days" (formerly) has been recognized by 9/34 informants (26%); it is little known (2.7). Furthermore, it is felt as not frequent (5.3) according to the 4 informants who commented its frequency. Among them, four specified the adverbial is not used in the area, and two others consider its usage as rare.
- **En premier de tout** [Quebec, Newfoundland] "initially" has been recognized by 20/34 informants (59%): it is well known. However, it is not frequent (5.0) according to the five informants who commented its frequency.
- **En premier** [Ref.] [within an enumeration] has not been tested.

41. Au ras

[America: Acadia, Newfoundland, Quebec, Ontario, Louisiana; creole: St-Lucie] [verb-adjacent (with full verbs) and with (semi-)copula] "at the same height (as), closely past (to), close by"

Mon voisin entretient sa pelouse en la gardant toujours très courte. Peut-on dire qu'il coupe son herbe au ras? ("My neighbor keeps his lawn very short. Can we say that he cuts his grass very close to the lawn?")

Recognition (A.1, A.2)

Well known (5.6): 19/34 informants (56%) recognized the adverbial as a verb modifier (e.g., *couper au ras, passer au ras*). Five of them mentioned they also hear *à ras*, whereas nine other informants (26%) confirmed they only hear *à ras* (below). Its usage with (semi-)copula is widely attested in our corpus in America (from Acadian to creole, see above); it has been recognized by 14/34 informants (41%): it is also well known (4.2). Among them, six informants (18%) mentioned they use/hear both *au ras* and *à ras* in this context. However, 16/34 informants (47%) mentioned they only use/hear *à ras* in this case instead. Only four informants (12%) did not recognize any of the forms.

Perceived frequency (B.1)

It is felt as frequent (7.3): 9/21 informants (43%) consider the adverbial as not frequent, the other 12 (57%) consider it as frequent.

Vitality (A.1 2x, A.2, B.1)

Vital (5.9): the adverb is vital. However, data varies slightly between the different age groups: the item is only rather vital (4.8 / 5.5 respectively) for the speakers aged 18 to 29 and those aged 66 or more, while it is vital (6.0 / 7.0 respectively) for the speakers aged 30 to 45 and

those aged 46 to 65. This quantitative difference, which suggests stability in usage, is not confirmed by statistics. However, the lower vitality in the most extreme age groups, in which highly informal usages can tend to be better recognized, may hint towards vernacularity.

Paradigm: other tested or mentioned adverbials or short adverbs

- **À ras** [dialectal: West, East; Newfoundland, Quebec] (same meaning) has been mentioned by 15 informants (44%) (five of which also recognize *au ras* in the same meaning): it is well known (4.4).
- **Au ras** [Quebec] [adv.] [in attributive function] (<VERB + *au ras* + NOUN>) “close to, nearby” (*Se chauffer au ras le poêle; Je suis restée au ras lui*) has been recognized by 18/34 informants (53%): it is well known (5.3). However, it is felt as not frequent (6.2) according to both informants who commented its frequency. Eight informants (24%) mentioned they use/hear both *au ras* (little known, 2.5) and *à ras* (tested with the sentence *On fait quelque chose à ras 12h?*) in this context. However, 14/34 informants (41%) mentioned they only use/hear *à ras* in this case instead: the latter is well known (4.2). Only two informants (6%) did not recognize any.
- **À ras** [Quebec] (fig.) [adv.] [with full verbs and (semi-)copula] “roughly” (*Son hotdog a coûté à ras 5 piasses*) has only been recognized by 3/34 informants (9%): it is also little known (1.0). *Au ras* in this meaning was not mentioned by the informants.
- **À ras** [Modern French, Ref.] [mainly prepositional usage; also with (semi-)copula] “very close” (*couper ses ongles à ras la peau*) has been recognized by 32/34 informants (94%): it is very well known (9.2).
- **Ras** [Quebec] [short adverb] “very short, close by” has been mentioned by 5/34 informants (15%); it is little known (1.6).

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Alphabetic index of prepositional adverbials in Saguenay–Lac-St-Jean

This list includes all items that were tested or explicitly mentioned by informants during inquiries in the Saguenay–Lac-St-Jean area, may they belong to Reference French or to the specific French in the area, in Quebec or more widely in North America. Only very few of them are not recognized anymore nowadays (less than 15 items out of 177, Wissner / Gagnon forthcoming). Are underlined the thirteen adverbials spontaneously mentioned by the informants during the inquiries.

adret → à l'*adret* [Quebec] “at the correct place” → compare with *dret*, *drette*

alège → à lège → lège

alège → à lège → lège

allège → à lège → lège

blanc → à *blanc* (1) “**completely, very much, without exception**”: (1.1) [Quebec] (e.g., *brûler à blanc*, *bûcher à blanc*) “completely; the extreme”; (1.2) [in particular] [Quebec] *chauffer à blanc* [in reference to a wood stove] “(to heat up) very strongly”; (1.3) *à blanc* [Quebec] [lexicalized] *voter à blanc* “vote without exception, almost unanimously”; (1.4) (*tout*) *à blanc* [adjectival usage] [dialectal: West of France; Quebec] “completely covered (with water, snow, frost etc.)”; (1.5) (*tout*) *à blanc* “[in reference to wood] completely sandblasted”; (2) *à blanc* [in reference to the color]: (2.1) [Middle/Modern French, Ref.] (*chauffer, geler, buleter, rougir...*) “so that it becomes white”; (2.2) [Modern French Ref.] [lexicalized] *saigner quelqu’un à blanc* “depleting someone’s financial resources, taking all their money”; (3) [by semantic crossing of French *blanc* “white” with Old/Middle French *bland* “flattering, misleading”]: (3.1) [Middle/Modern French, Ref.] [referring to a firearm] “without (live) ammunition” (e.g., [adjective] *armé à blanc*, *tirer (des balles) à blanc*, *charger une arme à blanc*) “without using black powder, without (live) ammunition, by doing as if”; (3.2) [Modern French: very informal?] [lexicalized] *tirer à blanc* “ejaculate sterile/infertile semen”

brave → *en brave* [Middle/Modern French, Ref.: old, sporadic; Quebec: common] “bravely” (*se conduire, se battre...*)

bref → *en bref* (1) [Europe: Old/Middle French; Modern French: rare; Quebec French: ageing?] [verb-adjacent] “**very soon**” (in brief); (2) [Ref.] [phrase modifier] “**to sum up**” [Ref.]

bon → *pour de bon* [Ref.] “definitely”

bon → *pour (tout) de bon* [Modern French: France (18th-19th century), informal; dialectal: West of France; Acadia, Quebec] “definitely; seriously”

bon → *tout à bon* [Quebec] “definitely, truly”

bonne → à la *bonne* [argot, lexicalized] *avoir (quelqu’un) à la bonne* “appreciate, like” → *bon*

certain → *pour certain* [Ref.: rare] [lexicalized] *donner (quelque chose) pour certain* “ascertain that something is true”, [in particular] [Quebec] *pour (très) certain (que)* “(it is) with no doubt (that)”

**ciec* → à **ciec*, *par *ciec* “in ignorance, without checking”

clair → *en clair* (1) [Modern French, Ref.] [verb-adjacent; phrase modifier] “**clearly, explicitly, intelligibly; clearly, to sum up**”; (2) [Modern French, Ref.] [in reference to the color] [ellipsis] [with (semi-)copula] [semi-lexicalized] “**in light colors**” (*s’habiller en clair*)

clair → *de clair* [Modern French, Ref.] [in reference to the color] [ellipsis] [with (semi-)copula] [semi-lexicalized] “in light colors” (*s’habiller de clair*) → *en clair* (2)

clair → à *clair*, *tout à clair* (1) [Europe: Middle French; dialectal: North, West of France; America: Acadia, Quebec, Louisiana; creoles: Antilles] [verb-adjacent] “**clearly, explicitly, intelligibly**” → *en clair* (1); (2) [Ref., rare] *tirer à clair* “**clarify, bring out into the open**” → *au clair* (1)

clair → *au clair* [verb-adjacent] (1) (*tout*) *au clair* [Modern French, Ref.] [lexicalized] “**evidently, clearly**”, *mettre au clair*, *tirer au clair* “**bring out into the open**” → à *clair* (2); (2) *au clair* (e.g. *frotter au clair*) [Quebec (hapax?)] “**[in reference to a metal surface] rub hard, so that it shines**”

continu → *en continu* [Ref.: old(?); dialectal: West of France; Quebec: traditional] “continuously, forever, constantly, non-stop”

court → *à court* [Modern French, Ref.] [with copula] “short of money” (sometimes felt as dialectal in Quebec and Louisiana) → *de court* (4)

court → *de court* (1) [Modern French (Ref.?)] [lexicalized] *prendre de court* “**catch off guard, unprepared**”; (2) [Europe: Middle/Modern French: old] [lexicalized] *tenir de court* “**leave little freedom**”; (3) [Quebec: Saguenay (Saint-Ambroise)] [lexicalized] *se plier la patte de court* “**throw mud or snow**”; (4) [Quebec] [with copula] *de court* “**short of money**”

couvert → *à couvert* (1) [Europe: Middle French (16th century); Quebec] “**in a secret way**” (e.g., *agir à couvert*); (2) “**covered, protected**”: (2.1) [Old and Modern French, Ref.: rare?] [with semi-copula] “under the cover or protection of” (e.g., *combattre, marcher à couvert*); (2.2) [Modern French, Ref.] “under the material protection of something that covers: in a protected place; out of the weather; out of sight” (e.g., *se mettre à couvert*); (2.3) [Modern French, Ref.] [lexicalized] *cuire à couvert* “cover/cook with lid”

darnier → *en dernier* (1)

découvert → [antonym] *à découvert* (1) [Middle/Modern French, Ref.] “**in the open, exposed, without hiding, transparently**” (*parler à découvert*), partial antonym of *à couvert* (1-2); (2) [Old/Middle/Modern French, Ref.] [with semi-copula] “**without protection, without shelter**” (e.g., *coucher à découvert, combattre à découvert*), partial antonym of *à couvert* (2); (3) [Modern French (since 17th century), Ref.] “**without any obstacles between the eye and the object**” (e.g., *laisser un indice à découvert*), partial antonym of *à couvert* (1-2)

dernier → *en dernier* (1) [outside an enumeration]: (1.1) [dialectal: West of France; Quebec, Louisiana; creoles] [phrase modifier] “after consideration; ultimately, finish” (Ref. *finally*), [formal variant] *au dernier* [Newfoundland]; (1.2) [dialectal: West of France; Quebec, Louisiana; creoles (Louisiana, Haiti)] [verb-adjacent] “towards the end of a period, of a process” (in the end); (1.3) [semi-lexicalized] *souffrir en dernier* “suffer at the end of one’s life”; (2) [within an enumeration]: [Modern French, Ref.] “after the others”

direct → *en direct* [Ref.: archaic, learned] “simultaneously” → compare with *drette*

dret, drette → (*tout*) *à drette* [dialectal: West of France; Quebec: ageing?, Ontario] “on the right (hand-)side” → *à droite*

droit → *à droit* (1) [Modern French: France (mainly 16th-17th century); Quebec: sporadic] “**on the right (hand-)side**” (variant of *à droite, à drette*); (2) [Old/Middle/Modern French: out of usage; Quebec (syn. of *tout droit*)] “**directly**”

droite → *à droite* [Middle/Modern French (since 16th century), Ref.] “on the right (hand-)side” (variant of *à droit*)

dwette → *à dwette* [adwɛt] [Quebec (Saguenay–Lac-St-Jean): innovative?] “on the right (hand-)side” (variant of *à drette*)

en tout, en toute → *pas en tout, pas en toute* → (*pas*) *pantoute* → *pantoute*

especial → *en especial* [Europe: Old Provençal, Old/Middle French; Quebec] [verb adjacent; phrase modifier] “in particular, mainly” → *spécial*

exprès → *par exprès* [Europe: Middle/early Modern French (up to 17th century), Neuchâtel (20th century); America: Acadia, Quebec, creoles: Greater Antilles] [verb-adjacent] “on purpose”

extrême → *à l’extrême* [Ref.] “extreme, to the extreme”

extrême → *vers l’extrême* [Ref.] (with verbs of movement) “extreme, to the extreme”

fixe → *de fixe* [Ref.: sporadic or hapax] “regularly”

grand → *en grand* (1) [adverb of intensity]: (1.1) [Acadia, Quebec] [used with full verbs] “a lot, much; [used for emphasis], extremely” (really; very) (*manger en grand, travailler en grand, pousser en grand...*); (1.2) [West of France; Acadia: maritime; Quebec; Ref.: marine] “completely” (*se tromper en grand*); (1.3) [Quebec: ageing?] [with full verbs] “in reality, in real” [also used to emphasize another adjective or adverb or an opinion or statement you are saying] (really, truly) (Ref. synonym *vraiment*); (1.4) [Quebec] [in absolute usage] (used to reinforce an assertion or to question the truth of what has been said previously) *en grand!*; (2) [adverb of

intensity and quality: (2.1) [Quebec] “just, pleasantly, with excellence”; [in particular] *parler en grand* “speak in a chastened way”; (2.2) *en grand* [Quebec] “in an exaggerated, showy way” (*faire les choses en grand; voir les choses en grand; fêter en grand*) (Ref. synonym *en grande pompe*); [in particular] “spend a lot on a party” (*faire les choses en grand, fêter en grand...*) (2.3) [Quebec] [lexicalized] *servir la messe en grand* “perform the duties of a thurifer or a ceremonialist”; (2.4) [Quebec] [lexicalized] *partir en grand* [semi-copula] “get carried away (in word or in thought)”

grande → *en grande* [formal variant] (1) [Quebec] “**in an exaggerated, showy way**” (*faire les choses en grande; voir les choses en grande; fêter en grande*) (Ref. synonym *en grande pompe*) (variant of *en grand* (2.2)); [in particular] “spend a lot on a party” (*faire les choses en grande, fêter en grande...*) → *en grand* (2.2); (2) [Quebec] [lexicalized] *partir en grande* [semi-copula] “**get carried away (in word or in thought)**” (variant of *en grand* (2.4)); (3) [Quebec] [with (semi-)copula] [lexicalized] *se mettre en grande, être en grande* “**shift into high gear; speed up; hurry**” → *grand*

grande → *à la grande* [formal variant] [Ref.: old] (*vivre à la grande*) “in an exaggerated, showy way” → *en grande* (1)

grandeur → *à la grandeur* [Quebec] “completely” (*peinturer à la grandeur, ouvrir à la grandeur...*) → *en grand* (1.2)

gros → *en gros* (1) [Old/Middle/Modern French, Ref.] [phrase modifier; verb-adjacent] “**to sum up; roughly, hastily**”; (2) [Old/Middle/Modern French, Ref.] [verb-adjacent] “**in large quantities**”

gros → *au gros* [lexicalized] [Quebec] *aller au gros* “defecate”

grosse → *à la grosse* [dialectal: Anjou, Acadia, Quebec] “coarsely, roughly; hastily, carelessly” → *gros*

improviste → *à l'improviste* [Ref.] “unexpectedly, suddenly, unforeseen”

large → *au large* (1) “**far away**”: (1.1) [Europe: 16th-17th centuries; Quebec, Louisiana; creole] [with (semi-)copula] “far away, in the distance (on land)”; (1.2) [Ref.] “on the open sea, offshore”; (2) [informal?] [lexicalized] *se faire mettre au large* “**get sidelined**”; (3) [Ref.: archaic] “**easily; at ease**”

large → *en large* (1) [Ref.] [lexicalized] *en long et en large* “**at length, in detail**” → *en long* (3); (2) *en large* [with enunciative verbs], e.g. *raconter quelque chose en large* “**in detail**” (or “**roughly**”?)

large → *sur le large* [Ref.?] [nominalized] “lengthwise”

lège → *allège* (1) “**unloaded, empty, emptily**” [with (semi-)copula; adjective] [verb-adjacent]: (1.1) [dialectal: Normandy; North America] “unloaded, without loading [of materials]” (*voyager allège, partir allège, revenir allège, venir allège, magasiner allège...*); (1.2) [Quebec] (metonymic) “empty, without any people or animals on board” (*être allège*); (2) [by analogy] [with (semi-)copula] [verb-adjacent]: (2.1) [Quebec] “(for an engine, a mechanism) operate in neutral, at idle, uselessly” (*marcher allège, tourner allège*); (2.2) [agriculture] [Quebec: Saguenay–Lac-St-Jean] “without carrying or dragging any load, with no weight” (*revenir allège, faire un bout allège* “[in reference to agriculture] come back or progress without ploughing”); (2.3) [Quebec] “with an empty stomach” (*travailler allège*); (3) [figurative meanings] [with (semi-)copula]: (3.1) [Quebec] “at ease; free of any constraint, of any embarrassment”; (3.2) [Quebec] “without bringing anything, without having obtained any result, without having reached the desired goal” (empty-handed) (*revenir allège, faire un voyage allège*); [in particular] [Quebec] *revenir allège* “come back empty-handed from the hunt”

léger → *de léger* (1) [Ref.: literary, rare] “**without thinking, mindless**”; (2) [Middle/Modern French: old] “**too easily**”; (3) [Ref.: literary, rare] [with semi-copular] “**with or in light clothes**”

légère → *à la légère* (1) [Modern French, Ref.] “**without thinking, mindlessly**” (notably *agir à la légère, prendre une chose à la légère*) → *de léger* (1); (2) [Ref.: literary, rare] [with (semi-)copula] “skimpy, skimpily” (*vêtu de léger*)

long → *au long* (1) [Middle/Modern French, Ref. aged; Quebec: without restriction] “**at length, in detail**”; (2) [Middle/Modern French, Ref.] [lexicalized] *tout au long* “**during the entire period**”

long → *en long* (1) [Quebec?] “**during the entire period**” (*tirer en long*) → *tout au long* (2); (2) [Modern French (since 17th century), Ref.] [lexicalized] *en long et en large* “**in depth**” → *en large* (1); (3) *de long en large* [Modern French (since 19th century), Ref.] [lexicalized] “**at length, in detail**” → *au long* (1), *en large*; (4) [Quebec] [lexicalized] *avoir les côtes en long* “**lazy; skinny; stiff**” (variant of [nominalized] *sur le long* (3))

long → (1) *sur le long* [Ref.?] [nominalized] “lengthwise” (see Modern French *en long*, same meaning) → *sur le large*; (2) *Sur le long et sur le large, sur le long p(u)is sur le large* [Quebec] [lexicalized] “**at length, in depth, in an overly detailed way**” → *au long* (1), *en long* (2-3), *en large*; (3) [Quebec] [lexicalized] *avoir les côtes sur le long* “**lazy; skinny; stiff**” (variant of *en long* (4))

longue → *à la longue* [Ref.] “over time”

longueur → [Ref.] *tirer en longueur* “stretch over time; last beyond what is necessary” (→ *tirer en long?*) → *en long* (1)

mal → *à mal* (1) [Modern French, Ref.: old; (also Quebec: rare)] [lexicalized] *aller à mal* “**[for a person] be ill; [for an object] get worse**”; (2) [Modern French, Ref.: old] [lexicalized] *mettre à mal* “**rape; abuse**”; (3) [Ref.: old] *prendre quelque chose à mal* “**take something the wrong way**” → *en mal* (1); (4) [Modern French, Ref.: old] [lexicalized] *prendre, interpreter quelque chose à mal* “**see the bad side of something**”

mal → *à de mal* [traditional Quebec] [lexicalized] *trouver quelque chose à de mal* “be deprived by the absence of, miss something”

mal → *en mal* (1) [Old French; Modern French: old] [lexicalized] *prendre quelque chose en mal* “take something the wrong way” → *à mal* (3); (2) [Modern French, Ref.: old?] [semi-lexicalized] *tourner (quelque chose) en mal, virer (quelque chose) en mal* “**emphasize the negative side (of something)**”; (3) [Modern French, Ref.] [lexicalized] *parler en mal de quelqu'un* “**speak badly of someone**”

neuf → (*tout*) *en neuf* (1) [Quebec; creole (Sainte-Lucie)] [verb-adjacent] [adverb of manner] “**in a different way, on new bases; as if it were the first time**” (*recommencer tout en neuf, repartir en neuf, se repogner [= se ressaisir] en neuf...*) (Ref. *à nouveau* “afresh”) → *à neuf* (1); (2) [with (semi-)copula] [Modern French, Ref.: rare] “**making something look like new (when renovating)**” (*tout refaire en neuf*); (3) “**with new things**” (*s'habiller en neuf*)

neuf → *à neuf* (1) [Quebec] [verb-adjacent] [adverb of manner] “in a different way, on new bases; as if it were the first time” (*recommencer à neuf, repartir à neuf*) (Ref. *à nouveau* “afresh”) → *en neuf* (1); (2) [Modern French 18th century, France 20th century: regional (East), Quebec; Ref. sporadic] “**making something look like new (when renovating); with new things**” (*tout refaire à neuf; s'habiller à neuf*) → *en neuf* (1-3)

neuf → *de neuf* [Old/Middle/Modern French, Ref.] “making something look like new (when renovating); with new things” (*tout refaire de neuf; s'habiller de neuf*) → *à neuf* (2), *en neuf* (2-3)

noir → *à noir* (1) [Quebec, traditional] “**completely, in full**” (*vider quelque chose à noir* “empty something completely, from top to bottom”) → compare with *à blanc* (1) (*brûler à noir*); (2) [Quebec] [lexicalized] *voter à noir* “**(to vote) almost unanimously**”

noir → *au noir* [Modern French, Ref.: very contemporary, informal] “illegally, undeclared” (*travailler au noir, payer au noir...*)

ordinaire → (*comme / plus qu'*) *à l'ordinaire* [Ref.] “ordinarily”

ordinaire → *d'ordinaire* [Ref.] “ordinarily”

ordinaire → *par ordinaire* [Quebec?] “extraordinarily”

parfait → *au parfait* [Middle/Modern French: old; dialectal: Centre, West of France; Acadia, Quebec] “to perfection, in every possible way or to the greatest possible degree” (perfectly, fully)

(*pas*) *pantoute* [Acadia, Quebec, Ontario] adverb of negation “not at all” [reinforces another negation; also in absolute usage] (*Le bois se tient pas pantoute; J'en veux pantoute; Pantoute...*)

pas en tout, pas en toute [Middle French in the West of France; dialectal: Normandy, Centre; Acadia, Newfoundland, Quebec, Louisiana] → *pantoute*

p'en toute → *pantoute*

pentoute → *pantoute*

petit → [antonym] *en petit* [Quebec] [lexicalized] *servir la messe en petit* “help a priest perform ceremonial duties as an acolyte”, near antonym of *servir la messe en grand* (*en grand* (2.3))

plein → à plein (1) [Ref.: archaic; Quebec: ageing] “**completely, totally, absolutely**”; (2) [quantifier] (2.1) [Europe: archaic; Acadia, Quebec: traditional] “in quantity”; (2.2) [Acadia, Quebec] [verb modifier, phrase modifier in initial position] “a lot, very much”; (3) [Quebec: rare] “**[in reference to water] deep**”; (4) [Quebec: rare] “**[in reference to water] at high tide**”

plein → *en plein* [Ref.: ageing?; Quebec] [verb modifier; also in absolute usage] “completely, totally, absolutely” (notably *C'est en plein ca!*) → *à plein* (1)

premier → *en premier* [outside an enumeration] (1) [France: Anglo-Norman, Old Provençal, Middle-Dauphine (archaic), dialectal and regional in Modern French in France: South-East, Central-West; Acadia, Quebec, Ontario]: (1.1) [verb modifier], (1.2) [phrase modifier in parenthetical, initial and final position] “**initially, first of all, at the beginning**” (Ref. synonym *tout d'abord*); (1.3) [Quebec, Newfoundland] [lexicalized] *en premier de tout*; (2) [Acadia (notably Nova Scotia); also Quebec, Ontario, Louisiana; creole: Haiti] [verb modifier] “**in olden days**” (formerly)

ras → à ras (1) [Modern French, Ref.] [mainly prepositional usage; also with (semi-)copula] “**very close**” (*couper ses ongles à ras la peau*); (2) [dialectal: West, East; Newfoundland, Quebec] [with full verbs; with (semi-)copula] “**at the same height (as), closely past (to), close by**” → *au ras* (1); (3) [Quebec] [<verb + à ras + noun>] [attributive] “**close to, nearby**” (*On fait quelque chose à ras 12h?*) → *au ras* (2); (4) [Quebec] “**roughly**” (*Son hotdog a coûté à ras 5 piasses*) → *au ras* (3)

ras → *au ras* (1) [America: Acadia, Newfoundland, Quebec, Ontario, Louisiana; creole: St-Lucie] [with full verbs; also with (semi-)copula] “**at the same height (as), closely past (to), close by**” (*couper l'herbe au ras*) → *à ras* (2); (2) [Quebec] [<verb + au ras + noun>] “**close to, nearby**” → *à ras* (3); (3) [Quebec] [with full verbs and (semi-)copula] “**roughly**” → *à ras* (4)

rebours → *à la rebours* [Modern French: very informal (16th-19th century), dialectal (20th century): West and East of France; North America: Acadia, Quebec, Louisiana] “in the wrong way, in revers, unlike, the other way around” (backwards, the wrong way) (also [Europe: informal] [preposition] *à la rebours du bon sens*)

rebours → [since Old French; Ref.] *à rebours* → *à la rebours*

rebours → [Middle/Modern French, Ref: old] *au rebours* → *à la rebours*

rebours → (1) [Middle/Modern French (16th-17th century)] *de rebours* → *à la rebours*; (2) [dialectal: West of France; Quebec] “**in a bad mood, moodily, out of temper**”

rebrousse → [Quebec] *à la rebrousse* (*de*) → *à la rebours*

sec → à sec (1) [Middle/Modern French (France: very informal)] [with semi-copula] “**in need; ruined**”; (2) [Quebec] [with copula] *être à sec* “**lack something (other than money); lack ideas, inspiration**”; (3) *à sec* “**on dry**”: (3.1) [Old/Middle/Modern French, Ref.] “placed out of the water”; (3.2) [with copula] [Quebec?] *à sec* “on dry” (*mon verre est à sec*); (3.3) [with full verbs] [Quebec?] “without tears” (*souffrir/pleurer à sec* “suffer/cry without tears”)

sec → *de sec* [Ref.: rare] “[*dressed*] with light clothes” (adjective: ellipsis of *de vêtements secs*)

sérieux → *au sérieux* [Ref.] [lexicalized] *prendre au sérieux* “take seriously” (*prendre quelqu'un au sérieux, prendre quelque chose au sérieux, se prendre au sérieux*)

spécial → *en spécial* [Quebec] “discounted (on flyers); on offer on the menu (in restaurants)”

sûr → *pour le sûr* (1) [Middle/Modern French, French: France sporadic, dialectal; Acadia, Quebec: traditional] [verb-adjacent] “**certainly, with no doubt**”; (2) [Quebec, Acadia: Nova Scotia (Isle Madame)] [phrase modifier] same meaning

sûr → *pour sûr* (*que*) [Ref. (archaic?)] [phrase modifier] “certainly, with no doubt” → *pour le sûr* (2)

travers → *de travers* (1) [with semi-copula] [Middle/Modern French, Ref.] [with (semi-)copula] “**the wrong way round; incorrectly, the wrong way**” (*aller de travers, s’habiller de travers*); [in particular] [lexicalized] [Modern French, Ref.] *tout va de travers* “nothing goes as planned”; (2) [Middle/Modern French, Ref.] [with (semi-)copula] “**obliquely, on the side, in the direction of the width**”; (3) [Quebec] [with (semi-)copula] “**in contradiction (with) others**”; (4) [Quebec, Louisiana] [with (semi-)copula] *de travers* “**cross or ill-humored, grouchy, in a bad mood**” (*se lever de travers* “get up in a bad mood”) [in particular] [lexicalized] [Quebec] *se lever de travers* “get up in a bad mood”

travers → *sur le travers* [Modern French: sporadic] [nominalized] “obliquely, on the side, in the direction of the width”, in particular [lexicalized] (Quebec technical?) *labourer sur le travers* “plough on the side” → *de travers* (2)

travers → *à travers* [Middle French, Modern French: Quebec, Louisiana] “incorrectly, the wrong way” (*aller à travers* “go wrong”) → *de travers* (1)

travers → *au travers* [copula] [Quebec] “amongst” (e.g., *Il y a quelques pommes au travers qui ne sont pas bonnes*)

vrai → *au vrai* [Modern French: Ref. old or regional, Quebec traditional] “in fact; really, totally, truly” (e.g., *Au vrai, de souffle court, il n’allait jamais jusqu’au bout*, Mauriac, TLF; *On ne sait plus au vrai ce qu’on entend*)

vrai → *en vrai* [Old/Middle French; Modern French: Lyon area; Quebec] [verb-adjacent; phrase modifier in initial and final position] “really, for good, indeed” (*En vrai, il est pas si petit que ça; Tu vas y aller, en vrai?; c’était pas en vrai*)

vrai → *pour de vrai* (parasyonym of *pour vrai*) [Modern French, Ref.] [verb-adjacent; phrase modifier] [used to emphasize an opinion or statement] “really; totally, truly” → *pour vrai* (2)

vrai → *pour le vrai* [Modern French: old or regional; Quebec: common] [verb-adjacent; phrase modifier] [used to emphasize an opinion or statement] “really; totally, truly” → *pour vrai, pour de vrai*

vrai → *pour vrai* (parasyonym of *pour de vrai*) (1) [Quebec: common; Old/Middle/Modern French (France: up to 19th century)] [verb-adjacent] (*dormir, s’énerver, savoir, retenir, accepter...*) “really; totally, truly”; (2) [phrase modifier] [used to emphasize an opinion or statement, or another adjective or adverb; used to state or ask about the truth or fact of something]: (2.1) [Middle/Early Modern French; Quebec: common] [phrase modifier in initial position] “really; totally, truly”; (2.2) [Quebec] [phrase modifier in final position] “really; totally, truly”