

Prononcer mâle ou prononcer mal:

Linguistic markers of effeminacy in early modern French

Barbara E. Bullock & Luke Eilderts

The University of Texas at Austin and The Pennsylvania State University

Author contact information:

Luke Eilderts
Department of French & Francophone Studies
211 Burrowes Building
Penn State University
University Park, PA 16801
lle117@psu.edu

Running head: *Prononcer mâle*

October 7, 2007

Introduction

Much contemporary sociolinguistic research focuses on the linguistic features that correlate with the perception of gendered speech in various languages (cf. overviews in Cameron 1990, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003). These works reveal how specific facets of linguistic behavior are acquired, produced, propagated, and perceived and they have been enormously influential in demonstrating how language practices are implicated in the social and cultural construction of gender. The findings that arise from sociolinguistic analyses of language and gender remind us that gendered speech behavior, contrary to popular belief, spans a vast continuum of linguistic variation. Nevertheless, select linguistic features often become stigmatized with respect to some presumed norm inevitably leading to the creation of linguistic stereotypes that may become “reified, institutionalized and totemized” (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985) as markers of a particular social grouping or identity. With respect to gender, linguists continue to confront the persistent and, in all likelihood, global stereotype that women’s speech is markedly different from, and inferior to, that of men (see Yaguello on the myths surrounding language and gender in French.)

Complementing the literature devoted to the sociolinguistic analysis of gender roles, there is a small but growing body of work that examines the perception of effeminacy in male speech from a sociophonetic perspective (see Munson and Babel 2007 for an overview). The idea that certain pronunciation patterns “sound effeminate” and that these patterns are intrinsically linked with a speaker’s gay identity is fully ingrained within modern popular culture. A particularly tenacious aspect of this notion is the widespread misperception that gay men, as signaled by their putatively distinctive effeminate speech patterns, speak like women — as if women’s speech itself could be reduced to a static, easily definable form. Although recent sociolinguistic research on the

phonetic properties that convey a gay male identity definitively refutes this view, the stereotype endures, and as this article demonstrates, is of long-standing.

The stereotyping of perceived effeminate speech in males is not a contemporary phenomenon; the literature produced by the *remarqueurs* or *chroniqueurs du langage* in the early modern period in France abounds with references to effeminate speech practices. Beginning with the first published grammatical works in France in the 16th and 17th centuries, linguistic commentators such as Tory (1480-1533), Estienne (1531-1598), and La Mothe le Vayer (1583-1672) among others all remark on gender differentiated pronunciations. Frequently, these *chroniqueurs* distinguish pronunciations which are “*mâle*” —and by extension, properly formed—from those deemed to be “*molle*” or “*effeminée*”, which are considered an egregious violation of the French language. Of course, it is not at all unusual in the linguistic history of French to find grammarians attributing solecisms to women (Ayres-Bennett 2004). But what is unique to the grammatical treatises of early modern France is the accusation that “unmanly” pronunciations were not only practiced by women but also by men, earning them such labels as *effeminés*, *mignons*, *déliçats* or worse.

The *mignons* of the court of Henry III (1574-1589) and those of the Italianate court before Henry’s reign, have always been characterized, even by their contemporaries, as the archetypal debauched effeminates. Yet the fact that markers of effeminacy were attributed to their speech is compelling for a sociolinguistic history of French because the language had simply not been standardized or codified by the Renaissance era. Due to regionalisms, extensive dialect differences, and significant language contact within the Italianate court of Catherine de Medici, linguistic variation was the norm in early modern France (Lodge 1993). This we know because quarrels among grammarians, specifically with regard to proper pronunciation and spelling, were

frequent, vitriolic and long-lasting; witness the title of Alemand's 1688 "*Guerre civile des françois sur la langue*".

In this article, we examine the issue of the linguistic stereotyping of effeminacy in early modern France in a socio-historical linguistic analysis (Ayres-Bennett 2004, Lodge 1993, 2004). Our approach combines evidence from the linguistic treatises of the *chroniqueurs* of early modern France with that provided by concurrent literary and cultural documents to provide insight into language variation and the conflicting values assigned to specific linguistic forms during that window of time. Specifically, we describe the features of pronunciation that were held to be markers of effeminacy by various grammarians and the degree to which they could be considered to be atypical within the linguistic system of early modern French. We also examine the social and historical context surrounding this time of extreme linguistic diversity in order to attempt to understand what an accusation of effeminate speech behavior meant at the time and to what extent alleged effeminate speech practices among men might then, as now, have correlated with the perception of a homosexual identity.

Our linguistic focus in this analysis is on segmental properties; that is, the variable pronunciation of vowels and, to a much smaller extent, consonants in the 16th and 17th century as this is the domain in which the *chroniqueurs'* remarks are most specific. Because most of the linguistic battles of the early modern French period swirled around issues of the relationship between pronunciation and orthography, there is no overt observation by the *chroniqueurs* of the prosodic properties of the time. However, it bears mentioning that although modern stereotypes hold higher pitch or increased variability in pitch to be a salient marker of perceived effeminacy, there appears to be no actual correlation between listeners' judgments of effeminacy and pitch in empirical studies. The question of whether the perception of pitch played a similar role in the

assessment and stereotyping of effeminacy in early modern France remains unanswerable.

Ultimately, we argue that the condemnation of certain linguistic practices as unmanly – thus wrong and even immoral – arose in a context of unquestionable linguistic diversity and of social-political antagonism. As we demonstrate, the stigmatized linguistic features were in no way aberrant, rather they were ubiquitous for the time and merely the expected variants in a language lacking standardization. Thus, the opprobrium that various *chroniqueurs* held for particular pronunciation practices was an outlet for the displacement of the scorn they held for the speakers themselves.

Effeminate pronunciations

In *Champfleury* (1529), one of the first French grammars of the language, Geoffrey Tory claimed that women from Lyon tended to replace “e” [ɛ] sounds with “a” [a] while Parisian women had the opposite tendency, replacing [a] with [ɛ], as in his oft-cited line: *Mon mery est a la porte de Paris*. That men generally did not participate either in the opening of the vowel to [a] (*père* > [par]) or in its raising to [ɛ] (*aspargé* > *asperge*) (or even to [e]) is made clear by the condemnation of such pronunciations by the Lyonnais grammarian Louis Meigret (1550) who writes following his own quasi-phonetic orthographic system.

...il ne se trouuera toutefois vocabl' en toute la langede
Francoeze, auquel le Courtizant seuffre la prononciacion de
l'un pour l'aotre: e memement l'e ouuert pour l'e, clos. le vou'
less' a penser qelle grac'aora l'e clos, en se vocable *mes, tes,*
ses, si nou' l'y prononcons, come nou's fecons en *pere, pere:* e
come font je ne sey qels effeminez minons aveq un preqe clos
reserrement de bouche: crenans a mon avis qe la voies virille
de l'home ne soet point tant harmonieuzé, ny agreable ao
dames, q'une lache, foible' e femenine.

Even though Meigret derides the effeminate quality of the vowel raising manifested in others' speech, he received a great deal of criticism among his contemporaries for practicing the fault he reproached since he transcribed his own pronunciation of *mere* and *pere* as [merə] and [perə] each with the closed aperture [e] he railed against using in similar words. Meigret's pronunciation of these words would have been perceived as "feeble, weak, and feminine" in other regions.

What is important about these early commentaries is that they underline a common aspect of phonological variation that was perceptually salient throughout the early modern period; that is, the instability of the front vowels [e] [ɛ] [a] before a following /r/ phoneme. The uncertainty over which vowel preceded the /r/ in such common words as *Pierre/Piarre*, *asperge/asparge*, *serge/sarge*, *guerre/guarre*, *herondelle/harondelle/hirondelle*, would continue well into the 18th century and only time, usage, and intervention by the French Academy would sort out the eventual accepted pronunciation of these words. Despite rampant variation in the Renaissance, it is clear from these early linguistic commentators and from others who were to follow that different social values were assigned to a speaker's selection of one particular variant over another, and that these values were apparently malleable.

For instance, what was an acceptable "feminine" characteristic of Lyon, (for example, the opening of the vowel as in the pronunciation of *guarre* for *guerre*) had at the same time become stigmatized in Paris as a decidedly lower class pronunciation and it would continue be stereotyped as characteristic of uneducated speech through the 17th and 18th centuries (cf. Pope 1934: 41, 187, Lodge 1996). Thus, what could be considered to be a gendered pronunciation in one region was interpreted elsewhere to index not gender but an entire social class. It must be recalled that at the time there was little consensus on the social values assigned to a particular linguistic trait and these

varied according to the *chroniqueur* and his own preferred variety. For instance, Henri Estienne, in his *Remonstrance aux autres Courtisans* mocks the courtiers' preference for "soft sound" (*le son doux*), noting their use of [a] in place of [ɛ] before a following /r/: *guarre, Place Maubart, Piarre* rather than *guerre, Place Maubert, and Pierre*. Notice, that this linguistic behavior exactly mirrors that of both the women of Lyon and also of the Parisian underclass who would be ill characterized as soft or feminine. Because regional varieties were predicated on just such micro-phonetic adjustments, the value judgments assigned to them altered from one region to another. Because of this, the linguistic traits that characterize effeminacy in the mid 16th century will change with time.

Because there were no established pronunciation standards in 16th century France, what we witness in early descriptive grammatical works is the attempt of the grammarians to decide upon a prestige norm or, failing that, to condemn certain speech practices. In those areas of the grammar where usage fluctuated, the norm had to be established on the speech of the people who were considered to hold the most prestige in society. This was particularly true of the phonological system because there was no simple way to judge correctness since the orthographic practices of the time also lacked codification and merely reflected the phonetic variation in society. Thus, much of the early work on the French language shows a distinct preoccupation with working out the details of both correct pronunciation and spelling and also with delineating who in society speaks the most correct French.

While the court was held up as a model for correct speech among the earliest grammarians, Tory (1529) and Meigret (1550), the prestige of the court began to decline dramatically, particularly among the protestant *chroniqueurs*. Most notable among them was Henri Estienne who despised the Italianized court of Catherine de Medici and the depravity of her son, Henry III. According to Estienne, the solecisms of the court were due in large part to the corrupting influence of contact with Italian on the French

language. The linguistic characteristics that Estienne attributed to the Italianized speech of the courtiers included the assimilation of consonant clusters such that *Alexandre* was pronounced *Alessandre*, the substitution of the diphthong [wɛ] as in *François* for the monothong [ɛ], *francès*, and the use of *ou* [u] rather than *o* [o], saying *chouse* instead of *chose* which actually reflected an archaic, rather than an innovative, pronunciation. But of the phonological features that Estienne enumerates, only the reduction of consonant clusters can plausibly be attributed to language contact with Italian as the others were common and firmly established phonetic variants in areas of France where no Italian influence could possibly be imputed.

We know from the works of various grammarians of the 16th and 17th centuries that each of the vowel shifts that Estienne and others held to be salient characteristics of the corrupt speech of the courtiers reflected the general instability in the vowel system of the language (cf. Pope 1934). As Medieval spellings attest, the fluctuations between [u] and [o] and between [ɛ] and [a] had already been in evidence for centuries. Figure 1 illustrates the positioning of the vowels in question in terms of their articulatory and acoustic traits.

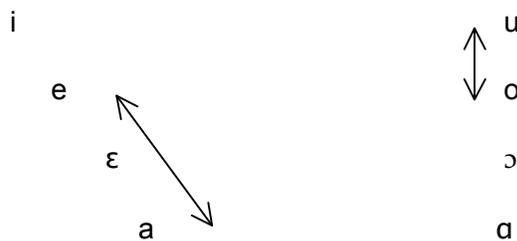


Fig. 1: Vowel space and quality adjustments

The arrows in Figure 1 depict the areas of the vowel space where there were common fluctuations in vowel quality or timbre. These quality adjustments are expected from an acoustic phonetic perspective. First, the phoneme /r/ in French and many other

languages had and continues to have an effect on the quality of preceding vowels, frequently obscuring the perceptibility of [ɛ] and [a]. And although the vowels along the vertical dimension in Fig. 1 appear to be spaced at equal distances, [o] was, by all available accounts, likely produced with a very closed aperture and was perceptually very similar to [u] with which it had merged in Medieval French and, for a period of time, [o] had disappeared from the vowel inventory of French altogether (Pope 1934). Thus, the restoration of [o] in words like *chose* and *nostre* during the Renaissance could be seen as a phonetic innovation and not the norm.

Thus, the pronunciation variants Estienne ascribed to Italianized courtiers and others practicing effeminate speech were in no way aberrant or atypical of Renaissance French. Given this and given the fact that Renaissance French lacked any accepted prestige norm, it is somewhat surprising to encounter the excessively strong value judgments assigned to the courtiers' pronunciation. Commentaries about courtiers' speech habits quickly become accusations of "unmanly" speech practices beginning in the later half of the 16th century and escalating into the 17th century. Pasquier (1572) and Estienne both complain about the monophthongization of the diphthong *oi* (to [ɛ]) as if it in some way emasculated the language. Pasquier in a letter to Ramus (cited in Thurot pp 375-376), for instance, contrasts his own (and his correspondent Ramus') manly usage with that of the courtier:

Le courtisan aux mots douillets nous couchera de ces paroles,
*reyne, allét, tenét, menét...*Ni vous ni moy (je m'asseure) ne
prononcerons, et moins encore escrirons ces mots..., ains
deumeuron en nos anciens que sont forts, *royne, alloit, venoit,*
tenoit, mentoit.

Estienne (1579:252) also attacks this pronunciation among *courtisans* (of *françois* as *francès*), accusing them of mimicking women and invoking the then current prejudice

that women and *mignons* spoke the way they did because of a prudish aversion to opening their mouths:

Et ie sçay bien qu'entre vous courtisans trouuez tous ces mots de trop meilleure grace, pource qu'ils sont plus mignards, et qu'il ne faut pas que les dames ouurent tant la bouche: comme aussi elles en font conscience, ou pour le moins en font le semblant.

Estienne's *Deux dialogues* is the most brutal criticism of the corrupting influence of the pronunciation habits of the *mignons* of Henry III. As Connor (1997:141) notes, "Such pronunciations, in the view of Estienne, would destroy the French language by effeminizing it and, by extension, would aid in the destruction of France." In one illustrative passage, Estienne's fictional interlocuteurs discuss the Italianized pronunciation of the name Alexander as *Alessandre*, and conclude that the *mignard* pronunciation deprives the name of its stateliness (Estienne 1572; II,249)

CELT...ne prononcez vous pas auusi Alessandre à l'Italienne, pour Alexandre?

PHIL AUS: Vrayement j'oy plusieurs qui prononcent ainsi ce mot à la façon d'Italia: mais quant à moy j'en fay encore que conscience: car j'ay honte à mignarder ainsi le nom d'un si magnanime et si vaillant roi...Ce n'est pas seulement le mignarder, c'est le corrompre et dépraver, quant à son origine.

....

CELT: N'est-ce pas merveille qu'entre vous courtisans faites vertu d'un vice estranger en cet endoit, comme en plusieurs autres?

The tenor of the *Dialogues* is virulently anti-courtier and arguably homophobic as Estienne repeatedly describes the courtiers' pronunciations as *mignarde* and *efféminée*.

Significantly, he also uses *efféminé* as a substantive, describing not just the speech behavior of the courtier but the courtier himself. There is little doubt that Estienne clearly attempted to set up stereotypes of *mignon* speech, thereby stigmatizing the courtier (and the king) as unmanly and, ultimately, debased. His own arguments, however, show how arbitrary it is to align a particular linguistic feature to a particular social value because these may always change. For example, Estienne tags the opening of [ε], as in *Piarre* for *Pierre*, as an effeminate articulation. But the stereotype that will eventually prevail is the opposite and it is one that he invokes himself with regard to the same phonetic change in other lexical items; that the effeminate, like a woman, is too delicate to fully open his mouth in order to pronounce a “viril” vowel.

Attestations to the effect that the vocalic pronunciations of the courtiers are woman-like, even overly so, persist into the writings of later *chroniqueurs*:

Chouse, feble, veage, sont prononcés par pure manie de nouveauté par quelques courtisans et autres gens de cette espèce, **qui s’abandonne à d’absurdes caprices comme des femmes enceintes**. L’ancienne prononciation régulière vaut mieux: cette autre prononciation ne fait que gêner la langue” (Duez 1639 cited in Thurot 247). (emphasis ours)

Alemand (1688:219) replicates this prejudice succinctly, contrasting the masculine with the feminine pronunciations.

Ceux qui veulent absolument retenir les a, & dans l’écriture & dans la prononciation, & qui s’en tiennent à cette façon de prononcer mâle disent toujours Saint Barnabé & les Barnabites, au contraire les gens polis & délicats, & qui changent toujours l’a en e pour rendre la prononciation plus douce aime mieux dire Saint Bernabé & les Bernabites, les Dames sur tout parlent &

écrivent toujours de la manière, & une infinité de gens les imitent.

The *chroniqueurs* deliberately attempted to stigmatize the speech of the detested courtiers of their time and, by doing so, to document and prescribe a preferred norm. Yet, as we know, the actual linguistic features singled out by Estienne, Meigret, and others as effeminate were very often adopted as the standard in the 17th century; thus, today the vast majority of French speakers do pronounce *faible* with [ɛ] regardless of social identity.

The markers of a stereotypically effeminate speech, then as now, are entirely impressionistic and are affected by the sentiments of the hearer toward the speaker. The markers identified also proved to be inherently unstable and tended to shift with time. By the later 17th century, Alemand (1688:231) introduces other phonological variables that lead to a “*mignard*” or effeminate pronunciation from “les dames et parmi ceux que en les imitant preferent la prononciation douce & polie.” These include the depalatalization of the nasal consonant in *agneau* (pronounced as [ano]), and the pronunciation of *pacha*, borrowed from Turkish, as *passa*. In contrast to his predecessors who appeared fixated on mocking pronunciations that were *douce* and *molle*, Alemand seems more comfortable defending speech forms that he deems to be masculine. He protests against the reduction of the Latin geminate /r/ to a single /r/ in *Arrius*, *Arriens*, announcing that the reduced /r/ is “molle & insensible” while the doubled /r/ is “mâle et majestueuse” (156-157). He even singles out and defends the French pronunciation of *avoine* against its etymologically correct competitor, *aveine*, by declaring:

Avoine comme plus françois a prévalu, les Gens de Guerre dont la prononciation est bien plus mâle & qui ont si souvent occasion d'en parler ont beaucoup contribué à luy fair remporter l'avantage sur aveine. (Alemand 1688:188)

It is essential to note that it is not the linguistic function of a pronunciation variable that is indexed in these commentaries but the social value assigned to it that permits the perpetuation of linguistic stereotypes. But such assessments are ephemeral and it is to be remembered that in the long process of the standardization by the linguistic authorities in France, many “effeminate” productions were indeed elevated to the standard because they were always available among the competing linguistic alternatives that were widespread throughout the 16th and 17th centuries.

The Sense and Social Significance of the Term “Efféminé”

The rhetoric used by the *chroniqueurs* with regard to linguistic effeminacy is strikingly familiar to the modern ear but it is necessary to consider the denotation and connotation of the term *efféminé* in its own time, as the semantic properties of lexical items shift through time. The linguistic treatises themselves provide insight into the gendered social norms of the day but more explicit documentary evidence is available that allows us to contextualize and clarify the linguistic and social significance of *efféminé*.

History has come to regard Henry III and his *mignons* not only as foppish and frivolous but also as engaging in homosexual behavior. Brézol’s *Histoire licencieuse Henri III et ses Mignons* (1910-1919), based in large part on the diary and scrapbook, *Mémoires-Journaux du règne de Henri III* (L’Estoile 1546-1611), directly accuses Henry of the “vice” of *l’uranisme*, a term then current to reference male homosexuality. Brézol claimed that this became the king’s sole obsession and that, as a consequence, Henry and his *mignons* ruined France morally and materially. Even as late as the 20th century, the prejudice still persisted that homosexuality was a direct importation from Italy via the debauched court; the term *vice italien* is still a euphemism for male homosexuality. It is,

then, no wonder that language contact with Italian was invoked as a corrupting influence on the French language.

As we have documented, language commentators of the time, Estienne, in particular, did not hesitate to cast accusations of effeminacy, sissiness (*mignardise*), and limpiness (*mollesse*) at the court nor did commentators refrain from referring to individuals, using substantives based on the same roots: *mignards*, *molles*, *efféminés*. However, it is not clear that the term *efféminé* implied homosexuality even though, applied to a man's behavior, it was clearly negative. In a corpus-based, quantitative study of the *Trésor de la langue française*, Olsen (1991) underscores the pejorative connotations of the term *efféminé* in France. His correlation of all the words that co-occur with *efféminé** in the ARTFL database of literature from 1600-1964 most often yielded derivatives of *mou*, followed by adjectives such as *lâche*, *faible*, and the nouns *vice*, *volupté*, *luxe*.

As noted by Cady (1996:132), the term *efféminé* had a "diversity of meaning it lacks today." An effeminate man could be a cajoler or a flatterer of women, he could be a kind of helpless "weakling", or, as Cady points out, he could be perceived, as were the *mignons*, as a cross-dresser but one who was not necessarily homosexual. But based on the accounts in the explicit *Mémoires-Journaux*, Cady concludes that "effeminate" applied to men was indeed intended to index homosexuality because the term is applied specifically and exclusively in the *Mémoires* to refer to men who were attracted to and who had sex with other men. The satirical poetry and the documentary evidence provided by these journals demonstrated that Henry and several of his favorites were said to have engaged in homosexual activity, reputedly even to the point of marrying one another in mock ceremonies.

While there is no explicit reference to sexual behavior in Estienne's writings on language, his excessive anti-Italianism and his references to the vice and depravity of

Italianized speech habits suggest that he probably subscribed to the popular notion that homosexual practices were Italian vices adopted by the French courtiers, along with bad pronunciation. Further, Estienne's predecessor in defending the French language against its Italian competition, DuBellay, obliquely accused the Italianized French courtiers of engaging in homosexual behaviors by comparing them to the vanquished Romans in Greece who were reputed to have allowed their sexual practices to lead them to defeat (cf. Pauline Smith 1966).

While we cannot conclude that Estienne intended to imply that the courtiers were homosexual from his linguistic treatises (although see Smith 1966), he clearly believed that the courtiers modeled their speech habits on those of women. This, of course, tallies with contemporary stereotypes that gay men "sound like" woman (Munson and Babel). We know from Estienne's *Deux Dialogues* that the courtiers dressed like women, that they adopted hair styles that were fashionable for the opposite sex, and that they were altogether "*mignon et poupin*" (Estienne I, 240). A good deal of the description of the *mignons'* manners of style and comportment provided by Estienne would lead us to believe that the sexes were nearly indistinguishable. Satirical poetry by Ronsard, D'Aubigné and others and the explicit fantasy, *L'Isle des Hermaphrodites*, reinforce the general stereotype of the courtiers' (and the king's) ambiguous gender identity.

Given the courtiers' imitation of women in all areas of fashion, it is not unreasonable to suggest that *mignon* speech was not an Italian affectation at all nor an index of homosexual identity, it was instead a linguistic mode that drew from the phonological variation prevalent throughout early modern France. The venomous reactions to the speech habits of the courtiers by the *chroniqueurs* throughout the early modern period merely reflects the early modern French politics of "sexual slander" (Merrick 1994: 668) such as that perpetrated by the pamphleteers of the Mazarinades (1648-1653). This tactic of imputing sexual "inversion" to an adversary is summarized by

philosopher and feminist, Poulain de la Barre (p. 95), 'Lorsqu'on veut blâmer un homme avec moquerie, comme ayant du courage, de résolution et de fermeté, on l'appelle efféminé, comme si on voulait dire qu'il est aussi lâche qu'une femme.'

Although the behavior of the courtiers was widely condemned (and mocked) outside the court, we must recall that Henry ruled the nation and that he and his *mignons* were in a position of power, if not prestige. Regardless of the infamy of the court, much of the stigmatized courtly, effeminate pronunciations would prevail to become standardized and codified as part of the grammar. Ultimately, the linguistic variables that had marked the perception of effeminate speech would be forced to shift but the myth that effeminate men speak like women would never disappear.

Conclusion

The *chroniqueurs* of early modern France cast a very wide net in attempting to chronicle the effeminate speech habits of those they held in contempt, catching within it only unremarkable phonological variants that could be found in countless regional and social dialects throughout the realm. The features that they ridiculed and reviled — shifting vowel qualities, the reduction of consonant clusters, and the variable articulation of the phoneme /r/ — are each still prone to phonetic variation in French. Then, as now, what is perceived as stereotypically effeminate speech is nothing more than the normal linguistic variation attested in the speech patterns of a multiplicity of speakers of diverse regional, ethnic and social backgrounds.

We note that the condemnation of certain linguistic practices by deeming them unmanly or effeminate is a recurrent trope in the history of the French language. Viewed from a wider perspective, the imagined polarization of manly and unmanly forms of French by the *chroniqueurs* is but an echo of the medieval disparagement of the French language in its entirety as a frivolous and effeminate language when compared to its

stately, manly progenitor, Latin (Brunot). We close by noting that this latter viewpoint is frequently shared by many contemporary foreign language learners (Levy 1993) who eschew the study of French in preference for languages perceived to be less effeminate, including, ironically, Italian. One cannot help but wonder how much the *chroniqueurs'* rhetoric may have contributed to this misperception of their language.

References

- Alemand, Louis-Augustin (1688) *Nouvelles observations ou guerre civile des françois sur la langue*. Paris: Slatkine Reprints, 1968.
- Artus, Thomas, Sieur d'Embry. *L'Isle des hermaphrodites*. Slatkine Reprints, 1996.
- Ayres-Bennett. *Sociolinguistic Variation in Seventeenth Century France: Methodology and Case Studies*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Brézol, Georges. *Histoire licencieuse Henri III et ses mignons*. Paris: Librairie des bibliophiles, 1910-1919.
- Cady, Joseph. The 'Masculine Love' of the 'Princes of Sodom' 'Practising the Art of Ganymede' at Henri III's Court: The Homosexuality of Henri III and His Mignons in Pierre de L'Estoile's Mémoires-Journaux. In Murray, Jacqueline, Eisenbichler, Konrad (eds.) , *Desire and Discipline: Sex and Sexuality in the Premodern West*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996: 123-154.
- Brunot, Ferdinand. *Histoire de la langue française des origines à nos jours, tome 1*. Paris: A. Colin, 1966.
- Cameron, Deborah. *The Feminist Critique of Language*. London/New York: Routledge, 1990.
- Conner, Randy. Les Molles et les chausses: Mapping the Isle of Hermaphrodites in Premodern France. In Livia, Anna and Hall, Kira (eds.), *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender and Sexuality*. NY/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997: 127-146.
- Eckert, Penelope and McConnell-Ginet, Sally. *Language and Gender*. Cambridge, UK/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Estienne, Henri (1531-1589). *Deux dialogues du nouveau langage françois italianizé et autrement desquizé principalement entre les courtisans de ce temps*. Paris: A. Lemerre, 1885.

- L'Estoile, Pierre de (1546-1611) *Mémoires-Journaux*. Paris: Librairie des bibliophiles, 1875-1896.
- La Mothe Le Vayer, François de (1583-1672). *Oeuvres*. Slatkine Reprints, 1970.
- Le Page, R. B. and Tabouret-Keller-Andrée. *Acts of Identity: Creole-based Approaches to Language and Ethnicity*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Levy, Francine. *La représentation (très) féminine du français-langage-étrangère*. *The French Review* 66.3 (Feb. 1993): 453-465.
- Lodge, Anthony. *French: From Dialect to Standard*. London/New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Lodge, Anthony. Stereotypes of Vernacular Pronunciation in 17th – 18th Century Paris. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 112, 2 (1996): 205-231.
- Lodge, Anthony. *A Sociolinguistic History of Parisian French*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Meigret, Louis (1550) *Le Traité de la grammaire française*. Tübingen: G. Narr, 1980.
- Munson, Benjamin and Babel, Molly. *Loose Lips and Silver Tongues, or, Projecting Sexual Identity Through Speech*. *Language and Linguistic Compass* 1.
- Merrick, Jeffrey. The Cardinal and the Queen: Sexual and Political Disorders in the Mazarinades. *French Historical Studies*, 18,3 (Spring 1994): 668-699.
- Olsen, Mark. Gender Representation and histoire des mentalités: Language and Power in the Trésor de la langue française. *Histoire et Mesure* 1991, V1-3: 349-373.
- Pope, Mildred K. *From Latin to Modern French with Especial Consideration of Anglo-Norman*. Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1934.
- Smith, Pauline M. *The Anti-coutier Trend in Sixteenth Century France*. Geneva: Droz, 1966.

Thurot, Charles (1823-1882) De la prononciation française, depuis le commencement du
XVI^e siècle d'après les témoignages des grammairiens. Geneva: Slatkine
Reprints, 1966.

Tory, Geoffrey (ca. 1480-1533). *Champfleury*. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1973.

Yaguello, Marina. Les mots et les femmes: Approche sociolinguistique à la condition
féminine. Paris: Payot, 1978.